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RELIEFS AND INSCRIPTIONS AT LUXOR TEMPLE — VOLUME 1

**THE FESTIVAL PROCESSION OF OPET
IN THE COLONNADE HALL**

WITH TRANSLATIONS OF TEXTS, COMMENTARY, AND GLOSSARY

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PLATES 1 — 128

**THE FESTIVAL PROCESSION OF OPET
IN THE COLONNADE HALL**

WITH TRANSLATIONS OF TEXTS, COMMENTARY, AND GLOSSARY

By

THE EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY

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To the memory of

GEORGE R. HUGHES
(Field Director, 1949–1964)

and

CHARLES FRANCIS NIMS
(Field Director, 1964–1972)

MEMBERS OF THE EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE PREPARATION OF THIS VOLUME

Epigraphers

Peter F. Dorman, 1985, Associate Director, 1988–89, Field Director, 1989–
 James P. Allen, 1973–76
 Lanny Bell, Field Director, 1977–89
 Mark Ciccarello, 1973–74, 1977–79
 Deborah Darnell, 1990–
 John Coleman Darnell, 1988–
 Bernard Fishman, 1979–82
 Richard Jasnow, 1981–82, 1989–
 William J. Murnane, 1972–81, Assistant Director, 1981–86
 Peter A. Piccione, 1979–80
 Ann Macy Roth, 1978–79
 Mark Smith, 1976–77
 Charles Cornell Van Siclen III, Acting Director, 1976–77
 Kent Weeks, Field Director, 1973–76
 Frank J. Yurco, 1974–77

Artists

Barbara Arnold, 1985–89
 Reginald Coleman,† 1957–78
 Christina Di Cerbo, 1989–
 Barbara Garfi, 1982–85
 Salvatore Garfi, 1982–85
 Vivienne Groves, 1988–90
 James B. Heidel, 1990–
 Paul Hoffman, 1982–83
 Francis Howard, 1975–79
 Helena Jaeschke, 1984–85
 W. Raymond Johnson, 1979–
 H. Martyn Lack,† 1966–76
 Peter Der Manuelian, 1984–87
 Carol Meyer, 1985–92
 Susan Osgood, 1985–87, 1989–
 Thad D. Rasche, 1978–1982
 John Romer, 1973–77
 Richard Turner, 1976–80

Field Architect

Jean Jacquet, 1991–92

Photographers

Cecile Keefe, 1991–
 Eric Krause, 1977–78
 Karen Krause, 1979–81
 Daniel Lanka, 1986–89
 Susan Lezon, 1983–85, 1987–
 Diana Olson, 1981–82
 John Ross, 1974–76
 Thomas Van Eynde, 1986–89, 1990–91

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PREFACE

The present volume, which documents the processional scenes of the festival of Opet in the Colonnade Hall, inaugurates a new category of Epigraphic Survey publications, Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple, similar to the long-established series pertaining to Karnak, and anticipates additional volumes on various parts of the temple of Luxor. While the previous history of the Survey's activities in the area of ancient Thebes has centered primarily on Ramesside monuments, and in particular those of Ramesses III, the documentation of the Colonnade Hall is a logical continuation of earlier work. Chronologically, the decoration of the Colonnade bridges the gap between two recent Survey volumes, *The Tomb of Kheruef* and *The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I at the Hypostyle Hall*, and in content it offers the most detailed depiction of the festival of Opet, versions of which have already been published in *The Temple of Khonsu, Volume 1* and *Ramesses III's Temple Within the Great Inclosure of Amun, Part 2*. Of immediate concern, too, was the fragile condition of the sandstone walls of the Colonnade Hall and the necessity of preserving its deteriorating reliefs in a definitive manner.¹

From the point of view of recarving, rededication, and reuse by a succession of kings, the Colonnade Hall is one of the more complicated portions of Luxor Temple. The construction of the monument was apparently completed during the reign of Amenhotep III, but his death and the subsequent Amarna interlude halted the immediate commencement of the decorative program.² With the accession of Tutankhamun to the throne and the restoration of religious ascendancy to Thebes, the decoration of the interior of the Colonnade began in earnest. But Tutankhamun did not live to see the completion of the interior reliefs, and at his death the southernmost portion of the Hall was left only as a painted cartoon.³ His successor, Ay, decorated the northern facade of the Hall in low raised relief but did not pursue the carving of the interior side walls or columns. Horemheb subsequently usurped virtually all of the cartouches of the two post-Amarna pharaohs both inside and out, officially obliterating their monumental achievements.⁴ It was Sety I who undertook the final carving of the interior of the Colonnade Hall, completing the ritual offering scenes before the barks in Luxor Temple and the southern walls of the Hall.⁵ The line of demarcation in the Opet reliefs that separates the work of Tutankhamun and Sety I can be easily distinguished by the marked differences in the two styles of workmanship. The carving of Tutankhamun is typified by a flat, very low relief that often shows signs of hasty execution, but which also exhibits figures and details that are finely modeled and finished.⁶ The craftsmanship of Sety I is characterized by a high, rounded relief and the consistently careful finishing of raised surfaces and background alike.⁷

This initial volume on Luxor Temple is devoted solely to the scenes depicting the festival procession of Opet, located in the lowermost register of the Colonnade Hall. Except in the northeastern corner, the walls of the Hall have been destroyed to the extent that even much of this lowest register is no longer to be seen *in situ*, the remainder having been quarried away after the Roman occupation of Luxor for reuse in the construction of Coptic and medieval buildings of the town. The episodes depicting the procession of Opet are not only far more elaborate than any earlier or later example of the festival,⁸ but their narrative sense and unified composition are unsurpassed by any festival reliefs preserved from pharaonic Egypt. From the time they were disencumbered of debris just over one hundred years ago, during the systematic clearance of the central portion of Luxor

1. On this point, see K. Weeks, in *OIAR 1973/74*, pp. 15–16; C. Van Siclen III, in *OIAR 1976–77*, p. 11; and L. Bell, in *OIAR 1977/78*, p. 6.

2. To judge from the hacked figure of Amun on one of the doorjambs of the facade, to be published in Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple, Volume 2, Amenhotep III was able to complete at least this one scene before his death, if only in paint. See W. R. Johnson, "Images of Amenhotep III in Thebes: Styles and Intentions," in *The Art of Amenhotep III: Art Historical Analysis*, edited by L. Berman (Cleveland, 1990), pp. 29–32.

3. The southernmost scenes bear the unrecut cartouches of Sety I, who must have been responsible for the original carving. It seems clear from the compositional unity alone (see below) that the painted draft for the entire Opet register—and probably all interior registers as well—were accomplished at one and the same time.

4. Horemheb's cartouche appears on the veil of the Amun bark on pl. 58, in a scene carved by Sety I. For the presence of Horemheb's cartouche here, see the epigraphic and iconographic comments for pl. 58. For remarks on the alterations of the proportions of the Amun bark by Sety I, see the epigraphic comments for pl. 50.

5. The portal of Luxor Temple depicted on the eastern wall falls within the border of the southern offering scene (pl. 55) and was carved during the reign of Sety I. By contrast, the portal portrayed on the opposite wall, preserved only in fragments, lies to the north of the offering scene (pl. 35) and was completed under Tutankhamun.

6. For finer details in particular, see the soldiers and the dancing Nubians on pl. 92 and the facial details of the king and Amun-Re on pls. 127A and 127B.

7. A fuller account of the alterations undertaken by subsequent kings in the decoration of the Colonnade Hall will be provided in Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple, Volume 2, in which the other *in situ* portions of the monument will be published.

8. For an enumeration, see W. Murnane, "Opetfest," *LÄ* 4, 577–78, n. 15.

Temple,⁹ the Opet scenes have been published in varying degrees of accuracy and usefulness, and they have frequently been the subject of commentary.¹⁰

The north-south orientation of the Colonnade Hall provides the perfect locus for a precise imitation of the north-south geographical movement of the annual procession itself, when the portable barks of Amun, Mut, and Khonsu, accompanied by the king and his own royal bark, made their way to the Southern Opet.¹¹ The outbound journey of the Theban triad is depicted on the western wall, where the sequence of events runs from north to south, and their homeward progression is portrayed on the eastern wall, proceeding from south to north. For the purpose of more convenient reference, the scenes of the side walls have been organized into ten episodes that reflect the major public settings of the Opet festival. The first five episodes appear on the western wall, where the king (1) offers to the barks of Amun, Mut, and Khonsu at Karnak; (2) accompanies the barks to the edge of the Nile; (3) participates in the riverine voyage upstream to Luxor; (4) follows the barks from the riverbank to the facade of Luxor Temple; and (5) offers once more to the barks in their Luxor sanctuaries. The eastern wall echoes this arrangement in episodes 6 through 10, but in reverse order, tracing the procession from Luxor back again to Karnak.

The northern and southern end walls of the Colonnade Hall are published here as an integral part of the lowermost register. In these scenes the king stands not in the company of the portable barks, which are employed exclusively to signify the divine presence in the processional scenes, but directly in front of the deities themselves. In the two scenes on the northern walls, the king emerges from his palace and is greeted by standing figures of Amun and Mut, while the scenes on the southern walls depict offerings made to the enthroned Amun and Mut and to Amun and Amunet. Although the texts are not specific, it is logical to conclude that the *topoi* represented are Karnak¹² and Luxor, respectively, bridged by the public procession portrayed on the side walls. A decorative dado originally existed below the reliefs of the first register, but it has almost entirely vanished under the marginal inscriptions added by Merneptah and Ramesses IV (to be published in *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple*, Volume 2). Vestiges of the dado are preserved only below the ground lines in three of the northern and southern scenes (pls. 3, 52, and 119).

The fragmentary nature of the extant walls tends to obscure the remarkable compositional elements that become clear only in a schematic reconstruction of the full height of the register (see the elevations in the key plan at the beginning of the plate section), additional details of which have been revealed by the reconstruction of block fragments that once belonged to the Opet register. The overall composition of each side wall is carefully and logically balanced. The immense riverine processions, which occupy the central position of the side walls, are framed on either side by approaching and receding bark processions on land. The temple facades of Karnak (to the north) and Luxor (to the south) introduce the ritual scenes located at the far extremities of the side walls.

The river episodes are in themselves compositional *tours de force*. The barges of Amun and the king occupy pride of place, with the barges of Mut, Khonsu, and the queen bringing up the rear. Each river barge within the scene is framed by a hovering sun disk (or vulture, in the case of Mut's barge) and two flanking falcons. The long horizontal riverbank scene below the Nile, preserved on both eastern and western walls, was originally echoed at the top of the register by lines of running soldiers carrying standards, the existence of which can now be confirmed only on block fragments. Subregisters within each scene are related in a vertical way as well. For example, the king's barge is positioned directly alongside the royal chariots, while the barge of Amun is accompanied by chanting priests and priestesses, moving in a far more sedate fashion than the turbulent crowds nearby.

Although the essential organization of each side wall into five episodes is patently clear, it remains to some extent arbitrary. In fact, the distinction between each of the episodes has been intentionally blurred by a number of transitional elements. On the western wall, for example, the initial offering made by the king to the divine barks in Karnak is enclosed within an architectural border that frames the offering scene and meets the facade of the temple behind the king (see the key plan), providing the

9. G. Daressy, *Notice explicative des ruines du temple de Louxor* (Cairo, 1893), pp. iii–ix.

10. Earlier publications of the Opet reliefs include those of Daressy, *ibid.*, pp. 40–51; *idem*, “Louxor,” pp. 380–91, pls. 1–16; Wreszinski, *Atlas* 2, pls. 189–202; Wolf, *Opet*. Other references can be found in PM II², 312–16, to which can be added G. Gaballa, *Narrative in Egyptian Art* (Mainz, 1976), pp. 85–90; W. Murnane, *LÄ* 4, 574–79; *idem*, “La Grande Fête d'Opet,” in *Dossiers d'histoire et archéologie* 101 (1986), 22–25; and W. R. Johnson, “À la recherche des décors perdus,” in *ibid.*, 50–52. The sacral purpose of the Opet festival itself has been variously described as an enactment of the celestial voyage of the sun (G. Foucart, “Études thébaines: La Belle Fête de la vallée,” *BIFAO* 24 [1924]: 123–26); as a *hieros gamos* between Amun and Mut, though primarily on the basis of the interpretation of the word *ip.t* as “harem” (A. Gardiner, “Inscriptions from the Tomb of Sirenepwet I., Prince of Elephantine,” *ZÄS* 45 [1908–09]: 127–28, n. 2; Wolf, *Opet*, pp. 72–73; C. Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals* [Leiden, 1967], p. 78); simply as an “excursion of the gods” (S. Schott, “The Feasts of Thebes,” in *Work in Western Thebes 1931–33*, OIC 18 [Chicago, 1934], pp. 66–67); and most recently as the celebration of the cult of the *ka* of the living king (L. Bell, “Luxor Temple and the Cult of the Royal Ka,” *JNES* 44 [1985]: 289–90).

11. In the translations to the plates, the word *ip.t* is rendered simply as “(the) Opet,” but is understood to mean the secluded ritual apartments of Luxor Temple, following C. Nims, *Thebes of the Pharaohs* (London, 1965), p. 127. For a recent review of the term *ip.t* and its interpretations, see P. Paminger, “Amun und Luxor—der Widder und das Kultbild,” *Beiträge zur Sudanforschung* 5 (1992): 93–95.

12. For the probable location of the royal palace adjacent to the temple of Amun at Karnak, see M. Gitton, “Le Palais de Karnak,” *BIFAO* 74 (1974): 63–73; and D. O'Connor, “City and Palace in New Kingdom Egypt,” *CRIPEL* 11 (1989): 78–82.

scene with a specific geographical frame of reference.¹³ And yet the same facade serves as the backdrop for the second episode as well, the emergence of the barks borne on the shoulders of priests. Below the facade, the piles of offerings, clustered below and behind the king, spill over toward the entrance of the pylon (pl. 4), and it is difficult to say just where the offering episode properly ends.¹⁴

In addition to overlapping elements, variant scale plays an important role in easing the transition from one episode to another. The priests shown departing from the portal of the Karnak pylon are rendered in smaller scale than their associates who carry the barks (pl. 16). It is likely that this device was not intended to show them as youthful acolytes—they are roughly the same scale as the musicians and clappers who appear in front of the procession—but to effect a transition between the scale of the pylon facade and the large priestly figures that transport the barks. The figures leading the procession also appear more appropriate in scale in comparison to the crowds that line the riverbank in the adjoining episode to the south. In a transitional pose, the trumpet player who terminates the crowd scene at the edge of the river turns to look back at the oncoming bark (pl. 32). Farther along the western wall, as the bark of Amun approaches the portal of Luxor Temple, the priestly figures once again shrink drastically in size, as if to depict them in more appropriate scale to the facade of Luxor. Several are shown stepping through the portal itself, which is viewed as if from the interior of the temple (see pl. 42 and the iconographic comments), thus leading the eye automatically to the adjacent and final episode, the offerings before the sanctuary.

The use of variant scale can be remarked at almost every juncture between the episodes of the Opet procession. On the eastern wall, for example, as the divine barks are carried to the river from Luxor Temple, the man pronouncing the “cackling” speech (pl. 67) is intermediate in scale between the butchers before him and the men behind him. The priest to his left, who turns backward to sprinkle milk before the feet of the bearers (pl. 99), belongs in scale to the riverbank crowds of the riverine procession and is physically one of their number, but his action—to say nothing of the caption above his head—belongs rather to the previous episode. At the northern end of the same river procession, the group of small-scale priests who gather with fattened cattle before the pylon of Karnak likewise serve a transitional role between the approaching bark procession and the facade of the temple (pl. 101). Other transitional elements include the two kneeling figures preserved on block fragment 459 (pl. 17), who prostrate themselves on a floating ground line inserted between the leading towboats of the riverine procession on the eastern wall; but their obeisance is directed across the scene divider, toward the bark procession on the riverbank in front of Luxor Temple.

This intentional blurring of boundaries between episodes advances the concept of unified composition, as one scene leads into another, often despite the presence of scene dividers. As it becomes difficult to distinguish where one episode ends and another begins, the effect is one of unbroken movement. In the western riverine procession, lines of men are shown still hauling on the towropes of the Mut and Amun barges, but the lead towboats are already furling their sails upon their safe arrival at Luxor (pl. 17). In the eastern riverine procession, the boats arrive at the Karnak quay even as the crowds on the riverbank are shown departing Luxor (pl. 68). Although separated into five episodes, the beginning and end of the southward and northward journeys of the Theban triad take place within the boundaries of a single scene that spans the entire wall, overarched by an enormous “heaven” sign (see the key plan).

Even more than the subject matter of the reliefs—a recurrent festival of renewal—it is the lack of clear boundaries between adjacent episodes that removes the Opet scenes from a specific sequential context and emphasizes its continuous, non-singular nature. At the same time, the specificity in architectural setting is doubtless a legacy of the preceding Amarna period.

The compositional integrity of the Opet reliefs is a persuasive criterion to support the premise that the draft for the decoration of the Colonnade Hall—all registers of it—was laid out at one time, during the reign of Tutankhamun, with the carving of the last unfinished scenes having been accomplished by Sety I, based on the original cartoon.¹⁵ The changes wrought by Horemheb extended only to the usurpation of Tutankhamun’s royal names, but even this alteration is not entirely consistent. The hymn chanted by the celebrant on the bank of the Nile (pl. 20) ends with the Horus name of Tutankhamun, “fair of births,” a phrase that escaped the notice of Horemheb’s redactors. A far more obvious example is the veil that billows around the cabin of the Amun bark in the final offering scene (pl. 110), on which the name of Nebkheperure is twice legible. But in this case it is

13. The presence of two vertical architectural elements at the far right side of the enshrined Amun bark requires that both reappear somewhere in the scene: one touches down in front of the bark of Amun, as the canopy pole of the shrine; the second clearly represents the precinct wall of the temple of Karnak and terminates at the temple facade (see pl. 5 and compare the key plan). The reconstructed vertical element rising from the top of the pylon on the western wall is confirmed by the similar representation of Karnak on the eastern wall (pl. 100), in which the juncture between the facade and the architectural border is visible to the right of the offering list.

14. In the parallel scene on the eastern wall (pl. 100), the break between episodes is more marked, since a vertical line separates the group of priests and cattle in front of the pylon from the offerings within the temple precinct.

15. It is worth noting that the renewal texts of Tutankhamun that name Nebmaatre (pl. 3) might imply that even the draft originated with Amenhotep III. It is more likely, however, that the compositional complexity and geographical specificity of the Opet register are derivative of similar large-scale scenes known from Tell el Amarna and Karnak and which postdate Amenhotep III; see, for example, Davies, *Amarna* 1, pl. 25; idem, *Amarna* 6, pls. 19–20; J. Lauffrey, “Les «talatat» du XI^e pylône de Karnak et le *Teny-menou*,” *Karnak* 6 (1980): 67–89; J.-L. Chappaz, “Un Nouvel Assemblage de *talâtâr*: Une Paroi du *Rwd-Mnw* d’Aton,” *Karnak* 8 (1987), pp. 81–120. The “renewal” of the monument is therefore a reference to the decoration of a building already physically in existence.

difficult to believe that such a prominent occurrence of Tutankhamun's prenomen would have been accidentally overlooked.¹⁶ Sety I also seems to have effected several alterations in the carving of the Opet reliefs, particularly in enlarging certain features of the bark of Amun (see the commentary for pl. 43). And just as Horemheb allowed the name of Tutankhamun to remain on the veil of the Amun bark in Karnak Temple, in a scene otherwise expunged of the young king's name (see pls. 108 and 111), Sety I took care to show the name of Horemheb on the veil of the Amun bark as it appears on its pedestal in Luxor Temple (see pl. 58 and the commentary to it).

Although the intention of the Survey was to publish the Colonnade Hall in a single volume, it became evident that the documentation amassed from the monument was too great to be contained in a single volume. For the Opet procession alone, numerous detail views are required for the illustration of the peripheral vignettes of the river procession and for the adequate provision of contextual views. The unusual number of multiple-page foldouts in this volume is mandated both by the unified nature of the Opet narrative and its unyielding horizontal format. It was decided, therefore, to devote the first volume from Luxor Temple to the reliefs of the procession of the Opet festival. The second volume will contain the remaining *in situ* portions of the Colonnade Hall: the columns, architraves, upper register scenes, the facade, doorways, marginal inscriptions, and graffiti. Even with this apportioning of material, the size and weight of the present folio are far greater than any yet published by the Survey. Some readers may find it unwieldy, but the subject matter of the Opet procession will not admit of further partition, nor the finished plates of less than optimum presentation.

Contextual and art-historical considerations make it imperative to provide the reader with plates that elucidate detail, in addition to others that provide general overviews, and for this reason a relatively consistent scheme of presentation has been followed. The largest and most complex episodes are the river processions on both eastern and western walls, in which the details of the ships and the riverbank crowds are shown at a scale of 1:4. Larger elements within these scenes, such as the towboats and the barges of Amun and Mut, are separately presented at an approximate scale of 1:6.4, which is the same scale used to show details of the land processions and the ritual offering scenes at Karnak and Luxor. The drawings can therefore be usefully cross-referenced by the reader for the direct comparison of all episodes of the Opet procession at roughly the same scale. Overviews of individual episodes are provided at a scale of 1:10¹⁷ and, for even larger context, 1:15 as well. The northern and southern end walls are shown at approximately 1:12.

Because the scenes within each episode are shown at more than one scale, it has not been possible to impose consistency on where the corresponding translations are given. Generally, the translation for a text is provided wherever it is shown in entirety at the largest scale possible. For example, the translations for the long horizontal texts over the soldiers and celebrants that accompany the riverine procession are discussed in reference to the overviews of the riverbank, where the texts are fully shown: pls. 18 and 91. But the drinking songs are published in greater detail on two separate plates, and the commentary for these is found with the discussion of pl. 26. In other cases, such as the texts placed around and over the river barges of Amun and Mut on the eastern wall (pls. 78 and 82), it seemed more reasonable to translate the accompanying texts as if they belonged to a single scene, whether or not they happen to be shown in greater detail elsewhere. In order to assist the reader, abundant cross references indicate where the translations for such texts are located.

The long list of Epigraphic Survey staff members appended to this first volume on the reliefs of Luxor Temple reflects the considerable number of years invested in the documentation of the Colonnade Hall. The inception of work at the Colonnade dates to 1974, when planning photography was begun and the first artists' enlargements penciled.¹⁸ The original goal of the Survey was to document only the scenes of the Opet festival, but within one year the scope of research was enlarged to include the entire monument.¹⁹ From the beginning, it was acknowledged that an opportunity existed to record the scenes of the Opet festival in a degree of detail that had not been previously attempted, and which would be fully justified by the unique subject matter of the reliefs. A commodious scale of 1:3 was initially selected as the drawing standard for the sprawling riverine procession, for the sake of the exquisite depictions of the river barges and towboats, the crews of sailors, the elaborately overlapped rigging, and the crowds of jubilant citizens and musicians along the riverbank. The richness of detail, even at the reductions used in this volume, may now be studied at an optimum size. As for the majority of the scenes that flank the river procession, showing the temple offering scenes and the progress of the portable barks by land to and from the banks of the Nile, it was determined to draw them at the smaller scales of 1:5 or 1:6. It is inevitable, however, that documentation begun years earlier will not conform to more recent work, a dilemma that previous field directors have noted.²⁰ Because the last Opet drawings were approved only in the spring of 1992, a final task involved careful checks of all the facsimiles for consistency in

16. Other examples of Tutankhamun's names preserved intact in the Colonnade Hall will be documented in volume 2.

17. Except for plate 108, which, for reasons of format constraints, is presented at 1:12.

18. K. Weeks, in *OIAR* 1974/75, p. 9.

19. Idem, in *OIAR* 1975/76, pp. 5–6.

20. See, for example, the comments of E. Wente, in *Khonsu* 1, p. ix; and G. Hughes, in the Epigraphic Survey, *The Bubastite Portal*. RIK 3. OIP 74 (Chicago, 1954), pp. xi–xii.

the conventions used for damage and for “sun” and “shadow” lines. While it has proved impossible to eliminate all variation in artists’ techniques, the aim has been to impose a relatively consistent appearance on all the drawings of the Opet reliefs.

During this period of epigraphic activity in the Colonnade Hall, work was also initiated on the temple of Amun at Medinet Habu, which has been part of the Survey’s original concession in the Theban area since 1924. In preparation for planning photography and subsequent epigraphic scrutiny, conservation was undertaken to clean the painted reliefs of the Thutmoside chapels, and the revelation of brilliant color intact under the layers of sooty grime must be considered one of the fine achievements of Lanny Bell’s tenure at Chicago House.²¹ For a number of years Survey epigraphers worked at compiling preliminary hand copies of the scenes and inscriptions of the temple and of other portions of the mortuary complex of Ramesses III.²² The work at the Amun temple, commenced in 1981, has progressed alongside the documentation of the Colonnade Hall, and has required that certain resources be assigned there during each field season. For many years staff members of the Survey have been fully engaged on both sides of the Nile, some almost exclusively at Medinet Habu.

There is no doubt that one unforeseen circumstance has significantly prolonged the epigraphic task at Luxor: the discovery and documentation of hundreds of block fragments that come from the destroyed walls of the Colonnade Hall. These stone fragments have been stored in several extensive blockyards to the north and southeast of the temple since the time they were excavated in the vicinity of Luxor Temple.²³ By the spring of 1977, in the course of searching for parallel material for the Opet scenes, Epigraphic Survey staff members had identified 150 fragments that belonged to the destroyed walls of the Colonnade.²⁴ Soon the number had grown to 250 fragments, and the potential for augmenting the extant Opet scenes and for reconstructing the missing upper registers had been fully recognized.²⁵ In recent years, the catalogue of block fragments has passed the two-thousand mark, and much of the preliminary identification and joining of block fragments, as well as the reconstruction of the scenes on paper, has been undertaken by W. Raymond Johnson. The groups that pertain to the Opet register have been drawn according to the standard Survey method and are included in this publication.²⁶ Only one fragment has been identified in a museum collection, Turin S 18057, and it has been included on pl. 42 thanks to the gracious permission of Professor Anna Roveri-Donadoni.

The overviews of the major episodes in the Opet register show the fragment groups floated into their original positions above the extant walls. Five of the major fragment groups are fully discussed in context with the scenes to which they belong, while other miscellaneous blocks are presented in a series of plates toward the end (pls. 120–26). Several fragments, while indisputably part of the Opet register, cannot be conclusively placed. As a general observation, the reconstructed fragment groups clearly reflect the manner in which the walls of the Colonnade Hall were demolished for reuse.²⁷ It is to be expected, for example, that fragments excavated from the foundations of a single structure will often prove to be adjoining pieces of a single block. Nor is it surprising that the recovered fragments are often to be reconstructed in horizontal strips that reflect the sequence in which the individual blocks were prised loose from the walls of the temple.

On the detail plates of the fragments, the numbers next to each block correspond to those of the Chicago House fragment registry. Vertical and horizontal dashed lines indicate the presence of dressed surfaces on individual fragments, by which the original size of blocks and course lines can be reconstructed. The upper surfaces of the fragments occasionally display an incised setting mark, which shows the location of a join between two blocks of the next higher course, and such mason’s marks are also indicated by vertical dashed lines.

The methodology employed in recent seasons at Chicago House has been discussed by Lanny Bell.²⁸ The drawings have been inked as if the sun were shining from the upper left corner, casting a shadow below and to the right of the lightly raised

21. Bell, in *OIAR 1981–82*, pp. 8–9, and subsequent reports.

22. As reported by idem, in *OIAR 1979–80*, p. 10, and later reports.

23. The presence of decorated block fragments at Luxor is a long-attested phenomenon. Before their significance was fully acknowledged, many were reused as filling material in the reconstruction of the raised pavement of the sun court and elsewhere. The most recent extensive discovery of inscribed fragments occurred during the excavations of Zakaria Ghoneim (1948–50), Shehata Adam (1955–58), Abdul-Qader Muhammad (1958–60), and Hassan Bakri (1960–61) during their clearance of the area to the north of the first pylon, the alleyway of sphinxes, and the sector directly to the west of the alleyway. By 1961, the fragments were being stockpiled in blockyards around the temple. In addition to the references given in Porter and Moss for the excavations, see M. el-Saghir et al., *Le Camp romain de Louqsor*, MIFAO 83 (Cairo, 1986); M. Abdul-Qader Muhammad, “Preliminary Report on the Excavations Carried Out in the Temple of Luxor: Seasons 1958–1959 & 1959–1960,” *ASAE* 60 (1968): 231, 253, 254–56, with pls. 36, 40, 41, 82; H. Bakri, “Fresh Light on Luxor and Its Monuments,” *Egypt Travel Magazine* 139/140 (1966): 19–23. See also the brief notices by J. Leclant in his continuing series “Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan,” in *Orientalia* 19 (1950): 362–63, pl. 33; 20 (1951): 454–55, pl. 45; 30 (1961): 184, pl. 35; 31 (1962): 201; 33 (1964): 346, with n. 4.

24. Van Siclen, in *OIAR 1976–77*, pp. 11–12.

25. Bell, in *OIAR 1979/80*, pp. 8–10, with figures. Teams of epigraphers were organized the following season for a systematic examination of the blockyards (idem, in *OIAR 1980–81*, pp. 14–16). Reconstructed fragments have been published in a preliminary way in subsequent issues of *OIAR*, in Johnson, in *Dossiers d’histoire et d’archéologie* 101 (1986): 51–52, and idem, in *The Art of Amenhotep III*, p. 30.

26. Those that belong to the upper registers, for which there is very little or no context, will appear in a later volume on Luxor Temple.

27. Fragment 36, on pl. 121, was reused as the upper part of a column and shows extensive reworking.

28. Bell, “The Epigraphic Survey: The Philosophy of Egyptian Epigraphy after Sixty Years’ Field Experience,” in *Problems and Priorities in Egyptian Archaeology*, edited by J. Assmann, G. Burkard, and W. V. Davies (London, 1987), pp. 47–51, with abundant references on p. 44, n. 4.

figures of the scenes, and damage to the reliefs is shown where it interrupts a line or provides useful information on the construction or decoration of the monument.²⁹ In other respects, certain aspects are shown with greater realism than in previous Survey volumes. In particular, there is greater visual differentiation between accidental damage, intentional hacking, and natural abrasion. Special care has been taken to show trace lines of an original carved version—drawn as a thin, single-weight line—as well as areas of uncarved stone, often located along the edges of blocks, where the loss of plaster also meant the loss of the carved relief. Quarry marks, made during the original extraction of the stone, and chisel marks from the dressing of the blocks can occasionally be noticed in these areas. In certain places, the erosion of the wall surface is so complete that nothing of the original surface remains, but the loss of stone has been so uniform that the shapes of individual signs can be distinguished; these have been rendered as damaged areas “shaped” as signs.³⁰

Archival sources have proved of significant benefit to the collation of the Opet reliefs. Professor Jaromír Málek of the Griffith Institute kindly provided the Survey with drawings of portions of the Opet procession made by Howard Carter in 1916–1917 at the request of Dr. Alan H. Gardiner, as well as the photographs Carter worked from. The photographs that supplement the drawings of this folio were taken by Friedrich Koch around 1912, and it is due to the kindness of Professor Elke Blumenthal of Leipzig University, where the negatives are now housed, that the Survey is able to publish them here.³¹ The photographs are remarkable not only for their exquisite clarity and their ideal natural lighting, but in numerous places they reveal substantial details that have long since been eroded from the walls, and it is for this reason that they have been employed here as the fundamental photographic record of the Opet reliefs. The disadvantage is that there is not a one-to-one correspondence between the Koch photographs and the Survey’s drawings. Constrained in part by the proximity of the great columns to the walls, Koch opted for methodical coverage of the walls, rather than logical presentation of the reliefs scene by scene. The photographic plates, therefore, do not always correspond to the way in which the Survey has chosen to document the walls according to episodes and vignettes. Furthermore, because the original negatives exhibit noticeably different scales and contrasts, there has been no attempt to splice together individual Koch negatives into photographic montages of the wall. In only one or two instances, due to poor contrast in the Koch version, modern photographs have been preferred for this volume.

In the case of the Opet reliefs, the loss of detail over the last century has been so marked that older photographs of the Colonnade Hall have been used to supplement the extant evidence. In an extension of the normal epigraphic method, the Survey staff have examined the Koch photographs and the published plates of Daressy³² and Wreszinski for traces of carved relief that have worn away or fallen off the wall, and such details that can be confirmed have been added to the drawings in dashed line. Minor Koch additions have been drawn directly over the normal damage or cement convention (for example, the figures of the oarsmen and ship’s rigging on pl. 73); but in several cases, other major restorations based on the Koch photographs, often consisting of entire portions of blocks, have necessitated the wholesale deletion of damage around the dashed lines for the sake of clarity (for example, see the hands of the king and the forward aegis of the bark of Amun on pl. 108, and the wig of Mut on pl. 119).³³

Because of the commitments of the Epigraphic Survey on both banks of the Nile and the division of material from the Colonnade Hall into more than one volume, as described above, there are several staff members who had no direct hand in the documentation of the Opet procession as it appears in this folio, but who nonetheless were an integral part of the Epigraphic Survey over the years. It is a particular pleasure to acknowledge their contributions below, either as members of the professional staff who were directly involved with documentation and conservation at Medinet Habu, or as members of the administrative support staff who made the daily field tasks both feasible and rewarding.

29. The standard consistently used since 1961, as noted by Wente, in *Khonsu* 1, pp. ix–x.

30. Compare the hieroglyphs above the Khonsu bark on pl. 48 with the photographic detail on pl. 128A.

31. These are the photographs, taken during the Ernst von Sieglin expedition to Luxor under the directorship of Georg Steindorff, that Wolf used as the basis of his folding plates in his publication of the Opet reliefs (*Opet*, p. vii). Wolf’s plates, therefore, show many of the restorations that appear in this volume in dashed line.

32. Because they were taken immediately following the clearance of the Colonnade, the Daressy photographs have been especially enlightening in certain areas. Unfortunately the quality of printing in the Daressy plates is extremely poor, and it has not been possible to determine the present location of the negatives, which would undoubtedly provide additional information.

33. In past volumes, such as *The Tomb of Kheruef*, dashed lines have signified proposed restorations of text in damaged areas. In the present volume, dashed lines normally indicate carved relief that can be verified from older photographs, and in this case they appear only in lost portions of the wall. The only exceptions are cases in which dashed lines are routinely used to complete the ground lines of scenes and, in the case of the small stone fragments, the existence of block and course lines.

PREFACE

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Epigraphers:

Lorelei Corcoran, 1986–87
 Stephen Parker, 1987–88
 Stephen Shubert, 1982–85
 Edward Walker, 1986–87

Artists:

Clare Semple, 1974–75
 Anna Turner, 1979–80

Photographers:

Robert Cedarwall, 1985–86
 Michael Langenstein, 1978–79

Conservators:

Christel Faltemeier, 1988–89
 Helena Jaeschke, 1981–84
 Richard Jaeschke, 1981–85
 Rudolf Meyer, 1988–89
 John Stewart, 1986–88

Librarians:

Martha R. Bell,† 1981–89
 Andrée Bichara, 1974–76
 Mindy Parker, 1987–88
 Elizabeth Piccione, 1980–81
 May Trad, 1976–79, 1980–81

House and Office Administrators:

Paul Bartko, 1991–
 Martha R. Bell,† 1977–1981
 Kathryn Dorman, 1989–
 Roxanne Gordon, 1987–89
 Rita Joyce, 1987–89
 Christian Loeben, 1985–87
 Peter A. Piccione, 1989–91
 James Riley, 1991–

Archival Assistants:

Diana Grodzins, 1987–88, 1989–90
 Helen Jacquet, 1991–92
 Elinor Smith, 1989–
 Charles Cornell Van Siclen III, 1983–84

Assistant for Development:

Jill Carlotta Maher, 1984–

Resident Egyptologists:

Labib Habachi,† 1977–84
 Henri Riad, 1985–

Rais:

Hagg Ibrahim,† up until 1978

Chief Engineer:

Saleh Shehat Suleiman, 1978–

It is also a pleasure to acknowledge the members of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization whose years of cooperation, support, and friendship have contributed in a significant way toward the successful completion of the documentation of the Colonnade Hall. These members include those who served as Chairman of the Organization during the years of the project, Dr. Shehata Adam, Dr. Ahmed Kadry, Dr. Sayid Tawfik, and Dr. Mohammed Bakr; Dr. Mohammed el-Saghir, Chief Inspector for the Antiquities of Southern Upper Egypt; and Dr. Sayed Abd el-Hamid and Dr. Sayed el-Hegazy, both Chief Inspectors for Karnak and Luxor. We also extend our appreciation to the various directors of the American Research Center in Egypt (ARCE), who have facilitated the progress of work so fundamentally and who, before 1985, administered the funding of the Survey: Mr. John Dorman, Dr. Paul Walker, Dr. Terry Walz, Dr. James Allen, Dr. Robert Wenke, Dr. Nanette Pyne, Mr. Richard Verdery, Dr. Robert Betts, and Dr. Iliya Harik. Sincere thanks are also due to the members of the ARCE staff in Cairo, in particular Mr. Albert Ahad, Mrs. Amira Khattab, and Mr. Ibrahim Sadek.

Since 1985, with the expiration of the Foreign Currency Program of the Smithsonian Institution, the work of the Epigraphic Survey has been sustained by the contributions of many friends from all over the world, without which this first volume on Luxor Temple could not have been completed. An extraordinary measure of grateful thanks is due to all of them for their steadfast support of the field work at Chicago House over these past years. Since January of 1991 the in-country operating expenses of the Survey have been entirely funded through a cultural endowment enacted by the United States Congress in 1990 and administered by the American Embassy in Cairo. As one of the beneficiaries of the endowment, the Survey is especially indebted to the former American Ambassador, Frank G. Wisner, his successor, Robert J. Pelletreau, Jr., Public Affairs Officer Kenton Keith, and Cultural Affairs Officer Frank Ward. The publication of the *Festival Procession of Opet* in its present form has been made possible thanks to an award from the Getty Grant Program of the J. Paul Getty Trust, and it is a particular pleasure to acknowledge here the enthusiastic support and encouragement of Dr. Deborah Marrow, Director of the Getty Grant Program, and Dr. Charles J. Meyers, Program Officer.

The translations and commentary to this volume are fundamentally the work of Richard Jasnow and John Coleman Darnell, augmented by additions contributed by W. Raymond Johnson, Deborah Darnell, and the undersigned. The painstaking assembly of the individual drawings for the accompanying plates—as many as fifty reduced prints to a single plate—was undertaken by Susan Osgood, and Andrew Baumann assisted in the final proofreading of the manuscript. The cumbersome task of bringing the volume to press has been greatly facilitated by the assistance and advice of the Publications Office of the Oriental Institute, for which we thank Thomas Holland and Thomas Urban.

It is with great regret that we note the recent deaths of two former staff members who passed many seasons at Chicago House, Reginald Coleman and Martha Bell; their names will long be associated with the Epigraphic Survey.

Finally, in recognition of the inspiration they have provided to the present generation of epigraphers, artists, and photographers at Chicago House, this volume is affectionately dedicated to the memory of two former field directors, George R. Hughes and Charles F. Nims, who faithfully guided the Survey for almost a quarter of a century, from 1949 to 1972.

PETER F. DORMAN

CHICAGO HOUSE, LUXOR
 OCTOBER, 1993

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ÄA	Ägyptologische Abhandlungen. Wiesbaden, 1960–
ADAIK	Abhandlungen des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Glückstadt-Hamburg-New York, 1958–
AH	Aegyptiaca Helvetica. Basel and Geneva, 1974–
ASAE	<i>Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte</i> . Cairo, 1900–
ASE	Archaeological Survey of Egypt. London, 1893–
ATP 1	R. Smith and D. Redford, <i>The Akhenaten Temple Project, Vol. 1: Initial Discoveries</i> . Warminster, 1976
ATP 2	D. Redford (ed.), <i>The Akhenaten Temple Project, Vol. 2: Rwd-mnw, Foreigners and Inscriptions</i> . Aegypti Texta Propositae 1. Toronto, 1988
AV	Archäologische Veröffentlichungen. Berlin and Mainz, 1970–
BÄBA	Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde. Berlin-Leipzig-Cairo, 1926–
<i>Battle Reliefs</i>	The Epigraphic Survey, <i>The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I</i> . RIK 4. OIP 107. Chicago, 1986
BdE	Bibliothèque d'étude. Cairo, 1908–
<i>Beit el-Wali</i>	H. Ricke, G. Hughes, and E. F. Wente, <i>The Beit el-Wali Temple of Ramesses II</i> . Memoirs of the Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition 1. Chicago, 1967
BES	<i>Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar</i> . New York, 1979–
BIFAO	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale</i> . Cairo, 1901–
BMMA	<i>Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art</i> . New York, 1905–
BSEG	<i>Bulletin de la Société d'égyptologie, Genève</i> . Geneva, 1979–
CdE	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i> . Brussels, 1925–
CDME	R. Faulkner, <i>A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian</i> . Oxford, 1972
col(s).	column(s)
Daressy, "Louxor"	G. Daressy, "La Procession d'Ammon dans le temple de Louxor," in MMAF 8 (Paris, 1892), pp. 380–91, pls. 1–16
Davies, <i>Amarna</i>	N. de G., <i>The Rock Tombs of El Amarna</i> , vols. 1–6. ASE 13–18. London, 1903–08
DFIFAO	Documents de fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale. Cairo, 1938–
DLE	L. Lesko (ed.), <i>A Dictionary of Late Egyptian</i> , vols. 1–5. Berkeley and Providence, 1982–
EES	Egypt Exploration Society, London
FIFAO	Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale. Cairo, 1924–
fig(s).	figure(s)
frag(s).	fragment(s)
Gayet, <i>Louxor</i>	A. Gayet, <i>Le Temple de Louxor. Fasc. 1</i> . MIFAO 15. Paris, 1894
GM	<i>Göttinger Miszellen</i> . Göttingen, 1972–
HÄB	Hildesheimer ägyptologische Beiträge, Hildesheim, 1976–
JARCE	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i> . Boston and Princeton, 1962–
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i> . London, 1914–
JEOL	<i>Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap "Ex Orient Lux."</i> Leiden, 1938
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i> . Chicago, 1942–
JSSEA	<i>Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities</i> . Toronto, 1971–
<i>Kheruef</i>	The Epigraphic Survey in cooperation with The Department of Antiquities of Egypt, <i>The Tomb of Kheruef: Theban Tomb 192</i> . OIP 102. Chicago, 1980
<i>Khonsu</i>	The Epigraphic Survey, <i>The Temple of Khonsu</i> , vols. 1 and 2. OIP 100, 103. Chicago, 1979 and 1981

KRI	K. Kitchen. <i>Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical</i> , vols. 1–7. Oxford, 1969–
l(1).	line(s)
LÄ	W. Helck, E. Otto, and W. Westendorf (eds.). <i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i> , vols. 1–7. Wiesbaden, 1975–1992
LOAPL	<i>Langues orientales anciennes: Philologie et linguistique</i> . Louvain-Paris, 1988–
MÄS	Münchener ägyptologische Studien. Berlin, 1962–
MDAIK	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo</i> . Cairo, 1930–
MH	The Epigraphic Survey, <i>Medinet Habu</i> , vols. 1–8. OIP 8, 9, 23, 51, 83, 84, 93, 94. Chicago, 1930–69.
Meeks, Alex	D. Meeks, <i>Année lexicographique</i> , vols. 1–3. Paris, 1980–1982
MIFAO	Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale. Cairo, 1902–
MMAF	Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologie française. Cairo, 1884–
Nelson, Hypostyle Hall	H. Nelson, <i>The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak: The Wall Reliefs</i> , W. J. Murnane (ed.). OIP 106. Chicago, 1981
Nelson, Key Plans	H. Nelson, <i>Key Plans Showing Locations of Theban Temple Decoration</i> . OIP 56. Chicago, 1941
n(n).	note(s)
no.	number
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis. Freiburg and Göttingen, 1973–
OI	Oriental Institute, Chicago
OIAR	<i>The Oriental Institute Annual Report</i>
OIC	Oriental Institute Communications. Chicago, 1922–
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications. Chicago, 1924–
OLP	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica</i> . Leuven, 1970–
OMRO	Oudheidkundge mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden. New Series. Leiden, 1920–
pl(s).	plate(s)
PM	B. Porter, R. L. B. Moss, et al. <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings</i> , vols. 1–7. 1st ed., Oxford, 1927–51; 2nd ed., vols. 1–3, Oxford, 1960–81
p(p).	page(s)
RAPH	Recherches d'archéologie, de philologie et d'histoire. Cairo, 1930–
RdE	<i>Revue d'égyptologie</i> . Paris-Cairo, 1933–
RE	Georg Wissowa, ed. <i>Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaften, neue Bearbeitung unter Mitwirkung zahlreicher Fachgenossen</i> , vols. 1–24, 1A–9A, Suppl. 1–10. Stuttgart, 1893–1965
RIK	Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak. Chicago, 1936–
SAK	<i>Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur</i> . Hamburg, 1974–
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization. Chicago, 1931–
SASAE	Suppléments aux annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte, Cairo, 1946–
TT	Theban Tomb
TTS	The Theban Tombs Series. London, 1915–1933
Urk.	G. Steindorff (ed.), <i>Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums IV: Urkunden der 18. Dynastie</i> , fasc. 1–16 (ed. K. Sethe), 17–22 (ed. W. Helck). Leipzig-Berlin, 1906–58
vol(s).	volume(s)
Wb.	A. Erman and H. Grapow. <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache</i> , vols. 1–7, and <i>Belegstellen</i> , vols. 1–5. Berlin, 1926–63
Wolf, Opet	W. Wolf, <i>Das schöne Fest von Opet. Die Festzugsdarstellungen im grossen Säulengange des Tempels von Luksor</i> . Leipzig, 1931
Wreszinski, Atlas	W. Wreszinski, <i>Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte</i> , vols. 1–3. Vienna, 1923–42
YES	Yale Egyptological Studies. New Haven, 1986–
ZÄS	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i> . Leipzig-Berlin, 1863–

TRANSLATIONS OF THE TEXTS AND COMMENTARY

PLATE 3. THE KING DEPARTING THE PALACE, GREETED BY AMUN AND MUT¹

TRANSLATION²

BEFORE AMUN

¹“[... Djeser]kheperu[re]-Setepenre,^a given life ²“[...] all [...] all valor and strength, all health, and all joy, like Re every day. ³(I) have given to you very many jubilees like Re.”

BEFORE MUT

⁴“[... rul]er of joy,^b while you govern the flatlands, and while the hill countries work for you,^c you celebrating jubilees like Re forever and ever.”

BEHIND THE KING

⁵The protection of all life surrounds him like Re[...]^d

BEFORE THE KING

⁶Renewal of the monum[ent] of his father, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nebmaatre.

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aThe cartouche is usurped from Tutankhamun. Henceforth this usurpation of Horemheb is indicated by an asterisk following the name. In a few cases too little is preserved to be certain that a cartouche is recut, but even in those instances such a usurpation is probable.

^bReading *hqꜣ ꜥw.t-ib*; the same phrase occurs on pl. 20, l. 4. It is also possible to restore the pronouncement of the goddess in this text as *smn.i ꜥw m hqꜣ ꜥw.t-ib*, “I have established you as a ruler of joy,” on the basis of the statement *smn.k sw m hqꜣ ꜥw.t-ib*, “may you establish him as a ruler of joy,” on pl. 20, l. 4. For the significance of the compound *ꜥw.t-ib*, see J. Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester* ADAIK 7 (Glückstadt, 1970), p. 67; M. Alliot “Les Rites de la chasse au filet aux temples de Karnak, d’Edfou, et d’Esneh,” *RdE* 5 (1946): 98, n. 2.

^cFor a discussion of this type of statement, see D. Lorton, *The Juridical Terminology of International Relations in Egyptian Texts through Dyn. XVIII* (Baltimore, 1974), pp. 90–104.

^dFor this translation, see J. J. Clère, *RdE* 17 (1965): 206. The initial position which *sꜣ* occupies when it appears in this phrase further suggests a genitival construction rather than a bald listing of terms.

1. On this type of scene, see P. Barguet, “Note sur la sortie du roi hors du palais,” *Hommages à François Daumas* (Montpellier, 1986), vol. 1, pp. 51–54.

2. The marginal inscriptions are translated in the second volume of *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple*.

PLATE 4. KEY TO RELIEFS DEPICTING THE BARKS OF THE THEBAN TRIAD AND THE BARK OF THE KING IN KARNAK TEMPLE AND THEIR DEPARTURE: EPISODES 1 AND 2

For the fragments floated into place on this plate, see pl. 121.

PLATE 5. EPISODE 1: THE KING THURIFYING AND POURING A LIBATION BEFORE THE BARKS OF THE THEBAN TRIAD IN KARNAK TEMPLE, WITH THE BARK OF THE KING BELOW

For the texts, see the translations of pls. 7, 8, 10, and 11.

PLATE 7. THE BARK OF AMUN IN KARNAK TEMPLE: DETAIL OF PLATE 5

TRANSLATION³

BEHIND THE AMUN BARK

¹“[...] the office of Atum and the lifetime of Re in heaven, ²[... ye]ars of Atum and the strength of your father, the lord of the gods, like Re for ever. ³[... Mon]tu through^a your limbs like Re forever.”

BEFORE THE STAFF OF WEPWAWET

⁴“(I) have given to you the lifetime of Re and the kingship of Atum.”

BEFORE THE RAM-HEADED STAFF OF AMUN

⁵“(I) have given to you years of eternity upon the throne of Horus in joy.”

BEFORE THE FIRST FALCON-HEADED STAFF

⁶“(I) have given to you the insignia of your father, Re, you living forever and ever.”

BEFORE THE SECOND FALCON-HEADED STAFF

⁷“(I) have given to you valor and victory against every foreign land, you living like Re.”

BEFORE THE THIRD FALCON-HEADED STAFF

⁸“(I) have given to you the power of your father, Amun-Re, like Re every day.”

BEFORE THE STAFF OF OSIRIS

⁹“(I) have given to you the kingship of the [two] land[s] (and have caused) that your limbs be rejuvenated and that your monuments endure.”^b

3. The texts translated here, including the statements attributed to the divine staffs, are closely paralleled on the eastern side, for which see pl. 110.

BEFORE THE W3S-STAFF

¹⁰“(I) have caused for you that your monuments endure like heaven forever.”

BEFORE THE STAFF OF THE KING

¹¹“(I) have given to you [all] mankind, that which the sun disk encircles being under your supervision.”

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aFor this expression, compare *MH* 2, pl. 96, l. 17: *ph.ty Mntw 3bh m h'w.k*, “the strength of Montu imbuing your limbs.” For the writing of *m/n-ht* as *nht*, see R. Caminos, *A Tale of Woe from a Hieratic Papyrus in the A. S. Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow* (Oxford, 1977), p. 59, and R. Jasnow, *A Late Period Hieratic Wisdom Text (P. Brooklyn 47.218.135)*, *SAOC* 52 (Chicago, 1992), p. 111.

^bThe handle has been omitted from the *k* basket at the end of the line.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The block decorated with the tops of the divine staffs is studded with numerous hard round inclusions that, when left on the wall, distort the carved lines and, when the sculptor has cut them out, leave circular depressions that are filled with plaster. Small traces of plaster are preserved on the carrying pole, on the stand of the bark, and on the area of the four royal figures on the bark pedestal.

Traces of blue paint are preserved on the blue crown of the leftmost king figure on the bark pedestal; on the foremost steering oar; and in the sky sign below the aegis of Amun (in the phrase *h' n R' m p.t* of l. 1). There is a trace of greenish blue paint on the collar of the rearmost aegis.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

On representations of the four king figures holding up the sky-sign, see D. Kurth, *Den Himmel stützen*, *Rites égyptiens* 2 (Brussels, 1975), pp. 120–22.⁴ For the continuation of the lower horizontal line of the *p.t*-sign to meet the vertical sides, compare W. Westendorf, *Altägyptische Darstellungen des Sonnenlaufes auf der abschüssigen Himmelsbahn*, *MÄS* 10 (Berlin, 1966), pl. 6, fig. 10.

On the divine staffs and the variety of statements attributed to them, see B. van de Walle, “Le Pieu sacré d'Amon,” *Archiv Orientalní* 20 (1952): 111–35 (for the Luxor examples, see pp. 114–15). For more recent discussions of the divine staffs, see C. Chadeffaud, *Les Statues porte-enseignes de l'Égypte ancienne (1580–1085 avant J. C.). Signification et insertion dans le culte du Ka royal* (Paris, 1982), pp. 147 ff.; H. Satzinger, “Der Heilige Stab als Kraftquelle des Königs: Versuch einer Funktionsbestimmung der ägyptischen Stabträger,” *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 77 (1981): 9–43; L. Bell, “Luxor

Temple and the Cult of the Royal Ka,” *JNES* 44 (1985): 270–71; W. Murnane, “False Doors and Cult Practices inside Luxor Temple,” *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, BdE 97/2 (Cairo, 1985), pp. 135–36; and J. Janssen, “Kha'emtōre, a Well-To-Do Workman,” *OMRO* 58 (1977): 222–23.

On furniture decorated with fecundity figures, see J. Baines, *Fecundity Figures* (Warminster, 1985), pp. 330–41.⁵ Before the enshrined bark of Amun is a single shrine pole; behind the bark are two shrine poles. This indicates that an outer shrine topped by a corniced roof (better preserved on the eastern wall, pl. 108) extended over the scene from the pylon of Karnak Temple to the back of the bark shrine. For the proposed restoration of these features, see the key plan.

PLATE 8. THE BARKS OF MUT AND KHONSU IN KARNAK TEMPLE: DETAIL OF PLATE 5

TRANSLATION

BEFORE THE SHRINE OF THE BARK OF MUT

¹Mut [...]^a

BEHIND THE SHRINE OF THE BARK OF MUT

²Words spoken by Mut, lady ³of heaven: “[My] ⁴beloved bodily [son], ⁵Djeser[kheperu]re-Setepenre,* who made for (me) ⁶this beautiful monument, ⁷[...]”

BELOW THE BARK OF MUT

⁸Words spoken:^b “[(I) have given] to you all life, stability, and dominion on my part. ⁹(I) have given to you all health on my part. ¹⁰(I) have given to you all joy on my part ¹¹as reward for this your beautiful, pure monument, ¹²permanent and splendid, which you have made for me.”

OFFERING LIST BEFORE THE BARK OF MUT^c

¹³Libation (on the offering chest)

¹⁴Presentation with the *wšr.t*-incense^d

¹⁵The offering meal

¹⁶Water ... : 10^e

¹⁷Water ... , red vessels: 10

¹⁸Wine of Lower Egypt, pottery vessels: 10

¹⁹Wine of Lower Egypt, red vessels:^f 10

²⁰Butcher knife: 1

²¹Foreleg: 1

²²Leg: 1

²³Ribs: 2^g

²⁴Roa[st] joint: 2

²⁵*pqw*-cake: 1

²⁶White bread: 1

²⁷*b(n)b[n]*-bread: 1^h

²⁸Be[er]: 2ⁱ

²⁹*r3*-goose: 1

³⁰*tr[p]*-goose ...]

4. A fragment of a similar pedestal, bearing the cartouches of Amenhotep III, is now stored in a magazine at Luxor Temple; see A. J. Spencer, *Excavations at El-Ashmunein II the Temple Area*, British Museum Expedition to Middle Egypt (London, 1989), p. 85, n. 11 to chapter 6.

5. Baines's description of the kneeling figure of the king (*Fecundity Figures*, p. 336) should be modified in light of the drawing published here.

- ³¹*st*-goose [...]
³²*srt*-goose [...]
³³Pigeon: 1
³⁴*nh(n)w*-bread: 1
³⁵*sšr.t*-bread: 2^j
³⁶Myrrh: 2^k
³⁷Green eye-paint: 2
³⁸Black eye-paint: 2
³⁹Orpiment: 2
⁴⁰Lapis lazuli: 2
⁴¹Yellow ochre: 1
⁴²Carbon black: 1
⁴³Every kind of plant^l

BEFORE THE SHRINE OF THE BARK OF KHONSU

⁴⁴[Khonsu Neferhotep]^m

ABOVE AND BEHIND THE BARK OF KHONSU

⁴⁵Words spoken b[y Khonsu] ⁴⁶[...]: ⁴⁷["Djeser-kheperu]re-[Setepenre ...] ⁴⁸(My) heart ⁴⁹is joy[ful ...] ⁵⁰[...] ⁵¹[...] all [fla]tlands and every hill country like Re."

BELOW THE BARK OF KHONSU

⁵²["(I) have given to you] all life, stability, dominion, and all health [on] my part." ⁵³[(I) have given to you] all joy and all contentment on my part. ⁵⁴[(I) have given to you] all [va]lor and all victory on my part. ⁵⁵[(I) have given] to you years of eternity and every foreign land on my part ⁵⁶[as] reward for this your beautiful, pure monument."

OFFERING LIST BEFORE THE BARK OF KHONSU

- ⁵⁷[Libation on the offering chest]
⁵⁸Presentation with [the *wšr.t*-incense]
⁵⁹The offer[ing meal]
⁶⁰[Water, *mnsʒ*-jars:] ¹2¹
⁶¹[Water, pottery ves]sels: 10
⁶²Water, [red vessels ...]
⁶³[Natron of *šbty* ... (?)]^o
⁶⁴*wr*-[bread ...]
⁶⁵[š ʿ]y.t-[cakes: 20]
⁶⁶Water, [potter]y vessels: ¹20¹
⁶⁷[Water, red] ve[ssels ...]
⁶⁸Wine of Lower Egypt, pottery ves[sels ...]
⁶⁹[Wine of Lower Egypt,] r[ed vessels ...]
⁷⁰[Butcher knife: 1]
⁷¹[Foreleg: 1]
⁷²[*midʒ*-cut of] meat: 1
⁷³Back [cut of meat]: 2
⁷⁴*šp.ty*-vessels of beer: 2
⁷⁵Roast joint: 2
⁷⁶Wine: 2
⁷⁷Water, *mnsʒ*-jars: 2
⁷⁸Milk, *gngn*-vessel: 1

- ⁷⁹O feared one!^p
⁸⁰*snw*-vessel of honey: 1

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aCompare the position of the label before the shrine of the bark of Mut on pl. 113, l. 1.

^b"Words spoken" is repeated above ll. 9–12.

^cW. Barta discusses this type of offering list, *Die altägyptische Opferliste von der Frühzeit bis zur griechisch-römischen Epoche*, MÄS 3 (Berlin, 1963), pp. 135 ff. and 141–49.

^dOn the variation between *ššr.t* and *wšr.t*, see Barta, *Opferliste*, p. 140, n. 31.

^eThis and the following entry present a crux in the Luxor offering lists (see pl. 45, ll. 4–5, pl. 62, ll. 4–5, and pl. 113, ll. 16–17). While *šm* is perhaps the archaic word *ššmw* for "vase" (*Wb.* 4, 411/2; H. Balcz, "Die Gefäßdarstellungen des Alten Reiches (Fortsetzung)," *MDAIK* 4 [1933]: 32; Jasnow, *A Late Period Hieratic Wisdom Text*, p. 126), it is also possible that the difficulties of interpretation are due to a scribal error. *Wb.* 2, 175/4 (*Belegstellen*) lists this example as *mt.t*, miscopying the *šš* above.

^fIn the southern offering list on the eastern wall (pl. 62, l. 7), this item is given as *dš.t*.

^gThe quantities differ slightly between this list and that on pl. 62, l. 11, where only one rib is offered; two are given on pl. 113, l. 23.

^hThese are the obelisk-shaped loaves depicted in the offering scenes (*Wb.* 1, 459/12). On this word and its orthographies, see J. Baines, "*Bnbn*: Mythological and Linguistic Notes," *Orientalia* 39 (1970): 399–400.

ⁱIn the offering lists accompanying the barks of Mut, pl. 113, l. 28, only one jug of beer is offered.

^jThis is identical to *sššr.t*, "ein Gebäck," *Wb.* 4, 25/4–5.

^kThe following six lines are quoted in E. Iversen, *Some Ancient Egyptian Paints and Pigments*, Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser 34/4 (Copenhagen, 1955), p. 26 (provenience given incorrectly as "Karnak").

^lBarta renders this item as "alle Jahresfestopfer," see Barta, *Opferliste*, p. 50.

^mThere is space for a now missing label in front of the shrine of the portable bark, as on pl. 113, l. 44.

ⁿAs with the Mut bark, *dd-mdw*, "words spoken," stood at the head of ll. 52–56; note the cobra's head visible at the top of l. 55.

^oCompare pl. 113, l. 64.

^pAlternative translations are "O fear" or "fear descends" (see *Khonsu* 1, p. 30, n. e).

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

According to Schott, scallop-rimmed vessels such as that shown before the bark of Mut have Hathoric associations.⁶

6. S. Schott, *Das schöne Fest vom Wüstentale* (Wiesbaden, 1952), p. 790 (26) and fig. 9 on p. 791 (27). J. Dittmar, *Blumen und*

These "Hathoric" vases are shown in the sections of the Colonnade decorated by Tutankhamun, but not in those decorated by Sety I.⁷ The scallop-rimmed bowl, with or without an attached foot, is a stylized floral form that seems to have derived from the footed bowl, a predynastic shape with which it continued to be associated.⁸ Both actual vessels and representations of this type are common in the Old Kingdom,⁹ Middle Kingdom, and Second Intermediate Period.¹⁰ Few surviving ceramic vessels from the New Kingdom have a scalloped rim,¹¹ but the scallop-rimmed bowl, sometimes with a foot, does occur in temple scenes of the early Eighteenth Dynasty, often in association with bowls of the related "*Prunkgefäß*" shape.¹² The scalloped rim seldom occurs after the Eighteenth Dynasty,¹³ the *Prunkgefäß* taking

Blumensträuße als Opfergabe im alten Ägypten, MÄS 43 (Munich-Berlin, 1986), pp. 77–78, discusses depictions of footed bowls bearing papyrus offerings before Hathor, two examples of which have scalloped rims and closely resemble the vessel before the bark of Mut in the Opet scene.

7. On this vase, see also the remarks of Wreszinski, *Atlas* 2, pl. 190, and Wolf, *Opet*, p. 43, n. 5, citing P. Wrede, "Eine Vase Amenophis' III.," ZÄS 43 (1906): 71–72. The latter is, however, a vessel with in-turned flanges.
8. Compare J. Bourriau, *Umm El-Ga'ab: Pottery from the Nile Valley before the Arab Conquest* (Cambridge, 1981), p. 48, no. 74, and C. Hope's comments about the interior decoration in *JEA* 71 *Reviews Supplement* (1985): 4.
9. Actual vessels: G. Reisner, *Mycerinus: The Temples of the Third Pyramid at Giza* (Cambridge, 1931), pp. 219–20 and fig. 70, no. 1, type XXI "tall slender bowl-stand" (a scallop-rimmed bowl on a slender foot), and A. L. Kelley, *The Pottery of Ancient Egypt: Dynasty I to Roman Times* (Toronto, 1976), pl. 26.1, 70 and 8Z; pl. 30.3, 38a, b, h, m; pl. 31.1, 8. Representations: H. Balcz, "Die Gefäßdarstellungen des Alten Reiches," *MDAIK* 3 (1932): 112, figs. f and h. The former of these two figures may be seen in context, depicted in a register just over the heads of three kneeling female singers, in H. Junker, *Giza X: Der Friedhof südlich der Cheopspyramide, Westteil*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften, 74. Band, 1. Abh. (Vienna, 1951), figs. 44, 45, and 46 and pp. 130–31. Note also the same type of bowl in the left hand of a maidservant to the left of the singers.
10. Kelley, *The Pottery of Ancient Egypt*, pl. 37.5, 161, 163, 164; pl. 43.1, "Group 7600"; pl. 44.2, 9D, 9M, 9P; pl. 53.1, 39; and H. Schäfer, "Die altägyptischen Prunkgefäße mit aufgesetzten Randverzierungen," in *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens* 4 (Leipzig, 1905), pp. 11–12, figs. 20, 21, and 24; for fig. 21, see H. Lange and H. Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs im Museum von Kairo*, vol. 4 (Berlin, 1902), pl. 106 (no. 786), noting the depiction of upper and lower rims denoting a separate stand beneath the vessel.
11. The "hemispherical bowl on high trumpet foot" found at Amarna, T. Peet and L. Woolley, *The City of Akhenaten* I, EES 38 (London, 1923), pl. LIV, type LXXIX/239, may be an exception.
12. Naville, *Deir el Bahari* 4, pls. 104 and 105 (before Hathor cow; from Shrine of Hathor), pls. 108, 109, and 112, and Wreszinski, *Atlas* 2, pls. 33a, 33b: #36—two "*Prunkgefäße*," probably of gold, with scallop decoration below the rim; #75—two slightly deeper *Prunkgefäße* with scalloping, one with ornate handles; #96—a silver scallop-rimmed bowl; #109—another scallop-rimmed bowl (possibly silver), above #110, the standard *Prunkgefäß*-shaped bowl; compare #195—a slender-footed *Prunkgefäß* of turquoise.
13. For a late exception: Schäfer, "Prunkgefäße," p. 11, fig. 22, from an archaising scene in the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty Theban tomb of Montuemhat.

over the role of standard Hathoric vessel in the Ramesside period.¹⁴

PLATE 10. THE KING THURIFYING AND POURING A LIBATION IN KARNAK TEMPLE: DETAIL OF PLATE 5

TRANSLATION

IN FRONT OF THE KING

¹Thurifying and making a libation to Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands.

TO THE LEFT OF THE OFFERING LIST

²[The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Djeserkheperure-Setepenre,] ³[lord of glorious appearances, Horemheb-Merenamun,] ⁴given life like Re [...], ⁵beloved of [Amun-Re...]

BEHIND THE KING

⁶The protection of all life surrounds him like Re forever and ever.

OFFERING LIST IN FRONT OF THE KING

⁷[... red] vessels: 10

⁸[Butcher] knife: 1

⁹[Fore]leg: 1

¹⁰[*midj*]-cut of meat: 1

¹¹[...]

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

On the figure of the king there is yellow pigment on the sun disk of the fourth uraeus from the right, and on the chest of the third uraeus from the right. Other paint traces are blue at the top of the *qbhw*-vase and green on the ground lines at far right. The feathered pattern of the king's sporran survives as a series of paint scars in an area of preserved ground plaster. A trace of red paint is visible on the sporran. Paint scars also form the bracelet on the lower wrist of the king.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENT

On the shape of the censer held by the king, see H. Beinlich, "Ein altägyptischer Räucherarm in Heidelberg," *MDAIK* 34 (1978): 27, n. 54.

PLATE 11. THE BARK OF THE KING IN KARNAK TEMPLE: DETAIL OF PLATE 5

For the offering list, see pl. 8.

14. For *Prunkgefäße* placed before the barks of goddesses in the Ramesside period, see P. Derchain, *Hathor Quadrifronts*, Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul 28 (Istanbul, 1972), p. 13 and pl. 3b; A. Calverly, M. Broome, and A. Gardiner, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*, vol. 1 (London and Chicago, 1933), pls. 19 and 22; and idem, *Abydos* 2, pls. 10–11. On the relationship of the scallop-rimmed vessels to the *Prunkgefäße*, see scene 4.3, text 11 in A. and A. Brack, *Das Grab des Horemheb, Theben Nr. 78*, AV 35 (Mainz, 1980), pp. 29–30, pls. 3, 4c, 32a, 36a, and 37a. For a discussion of terms for footed bowls, see Comte du Mesnil du Buisson, *Les Noms et signes égyptiens désignant des vases ou objets similaires* (Paris, 1935), pp. 53–55.

TRANSLATION

ABOVE THE BARK OF THE KING

¹Horus: mighty bull, effective of plans, ²Two Ladies: great of wonder ³in Karnak, Horus of Gold: ⁴content with *maat*, who created the two lands, ⁵[king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Djoser]kheperu[re]-Setepenre,* ⁶[lord of glorious appearances,] Horemheb-Merena[mu]n.*^a

BEHIND THE SHRINE OF THE BARK OF THE KING

⁷The protection of all life surrounds him like Re. ⁸His heart is joyful ⁹together with his *ka*, ¹⁰while [he] guides ¹¹the living.

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^aSuperimposed Horemheb titulary. The original Tutankhamun text is: *Hr k3 nht twt msw.t nb.ty nfr hp.w sgrh t3.wy Hr nbw (w)ts h'w.w shtp ntr.w* "Horus: mighty bull, fair of birth, Two Ladies: perfect of laws, who pacifies the two lands, Horus of Gold: who wears the crowns, who satisfies the gods."

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The bellies of the lowest two calf-cakes on the right are distinctly beveled (see the photograph on pl. 9).¹⁵

PLATE 12. EPISODE 2: THE BARKS OF THE THEBAN TRIAD AND THE BARK OF THE KING BEING CARRIED FROM KARNAK TEMPLE TO THE NILE

For the texts, see the translations of pls. 14 and 16.

PLATE 14. THE BARKS OF AMUN (NOW LOST), KHONSU, AND MUT BEING CARRIED FROM KARNAK TEMPLE TO THE NILE:
DETAIL OF PLATE 12

TRANSLATION

BEFORE THE BARK OF KHONSU

¹Thurifying.

ABOVE THE BARK OF KHONSU

²Words spoken by [Kh]onsu³-in-Thebes: "My beloved son, ⁴lord of the two lands, Djoserkheperure-Setepenre,* ⁵how beautiful is this monument ⁶which you have made for (me). (I) have given to you ⁷an eternity as king of the two lands ⁸and everlastingness ⁹upon the throne ¹⁰of Horus, every foreign land being ¹¹under your soles ¹²like (your) father Re ¹³every day."

BEHIND THE SHRINE OF THE BARK OF KHONSU

¹⁴The protection of life surrounds him.

BEFORE THE AEGIS OF MUT

¹⁵Thurifying to the aegis^a of Mut, mistress of the two lands.

ABOVE THE BARK OF MUT

¹⁶Words spoken by Mut, lady of heaven: ¹⁷"My son, Djoserkheperure-Setepenre,*^b ¹⁸who has made a monu-

ment for (his) father, Amun-Re, ¹⁹that he may give to you 20[...] ²¹...^c of Atum (and) his years ²²[as] ruler of the two lands like Re ²³forever and ever."

BEFORE THE BARK OF MUT

²⁴Words spoken:^d "(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion on my part. ²⁵(I) have given to you all joy on my part. ²⁶(I) have given to you all health on my part. ²⁷(I) have given to you all valor on my part."

BEHIND THE SHRINE OF THE BARK OF MUT

²⁸The protection of all life surrounds her.

NOTES TO TRANSLATION:

^aFor *h3w.ty* "aegis, countenance," see *Wb.* 3, 29/1–3; Meeks, *Alex*, vol. 1, entry 77.2582 and vol. 3, entry 79.1885; and Lesko, *DLE* 2, 95. For the multiplicity of uraei (*33 i'rr.wt*), and the associated ideas, see J. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott: Untersuchungen zur altägyptischen Hymnik I*, MÄS 19 (Berlin, 1969), pp. 205–06. On the significance of thurification before the uraei, see H. Kees, *Der Götterglaube im alten Ägypten* (Leipzig, 1941 ed.), pp. 53–54.

Another possible rendering is "to the double uraei, O Mut," if parallel to the similar annotation accompanying the king's bark on pl. 16, l. 3. On the basin dedicated to Hathor published by L. Habachi, *Tavole d'Offerta Are e Bacili da Libagione (n. 22001–22067)*, Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino 2 (Turin, 1977), pp. 58–59 and 148, the dual *h3w.ty* is quite deliberately employed, as there are two heads of Hathor on the basin.

^bIt is most probable that the statement of Mut is merely a direct address to the king (cf. pl. 67, ll. 3–8). Another alternative is to assume that the scribe intended a speech much like that of Mut on pl. 113, ll. 2–7: "Djoserkheperure-Setepenre,* who has made for me this beautiful monument, (I) have given to you life, stability, and dominion as a reward for this."

^cRestore possibly *i3w.t* "office."

^dRepeated above each column.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The surface upon which the text above the Khonsu and Mut barks is inscribed is exceptionally smooth and shiny, perhaps due to salt damage. The signs in this area seem to have been carved in a rudimentary fashion, e.g., the *hr*-sign in *hr t3w.ty* (l. 11) and the initial reed-leaf of *in* (l. 16). There is blue paint on the borderline in front of the drummer.

In the third row of priests from the left carrying the Mut bark there are two lines too many for the forward arms. Since the depth of the cut and the quality of line are identical, it is impossible to tell which lines are final.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

A priest sprinkles milk in front of the barks, which are thus symbolically traveling on milk. For the image of the bark on its stand as floating on milk, see S. Schott, "Das

15. For the offerings behind the bark of the king, see the discussion of pl. 62.

Löschen von Fackeln in Milch," *ZÄS* 73 (1937): 1–25. Compare also F. Labrique, "Du Lait pour éteindre les torches à l'aube, à Deir el Bahari," in *Ägypten im afro-orientalischen Kontext*, edited by D. Mendel and U. Claudi (Cologne, 1991), pp. 205–12, and D. Silverman, "A New Kingdom Funerary Procession and Ritual," *Serapis* 6 (1980): 125. See also the articles of W. Guglielmi, "Milchopfer," *LÄ* 4, 127–28 and n. 7, and H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1952), pp. 459–61. On the situla, see M. Lichtheim, "Oriental Institute Museum Notes: Situla No. 11395 and Some Remarks on Egyptian Situlae," *JNES* 6 (1947): 169–79 (Lichtheim also comments on the frequent use of the solar bark in the decoration of situlae on p. 175); C. Evrard-Derriks and J. Quaegebeur, "La Situle décorée de Nesnakhietou au Musée Royal de Mariemont," *CdE* 54 (1979): 26–56; and S. Cauville, "irt: un nom de la situle?" *RdE* 34 (1982–83): 137.

The Egyptian drummer, here and on pls. 38, 99, and 103, plays a drum of the same type as that used by the Nubian drummer on pls. 25 and 94. On this barrel drum (*qmqm*), see L. Manniche, *Ancient Egyptian Musical Instruments*, MÄS 34 (Munich-Berlin, 1975), pp. 6–9; C. Ziegler, "Tambours conservés au Musée du Louvre," *RdE* 29 (1977): 203–09; H. Hickmann, "La Daraboukkah," *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte* 33 (1950–51): 229–45; and M. Bietak, "Eine 'Rhythmusgruppe' aus der Zeit des späten Mittleren Reiches: ein Beitrag zur Instrumentenkunde des Alten Ägypten," in *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien* 56 (1985): 3–18. A relief from the temple of Kawa shows additional internal details, which would have probably been added in paint in the Luxor examples; see M. F. L. Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa* 2 (London, 1955), pp. 78–79, pls. 13–14, where Macadam compares the drummer and trumpeters in the Kawa relief with the Opet procession scenes in Luxor Temple. For the loops on the drum body to hold the straps, compare the drum CG 69350 in H. Hickmann, *Instruments de musique* (Cairo, 1949), pp. 107–08 and pls. 73–74. No loops are indicated on the drums shown on the eastern wall.

On the satchel worn by the *sem*-priests, see L. Borchardt, *Allerhand Kleinigkeiten* (Leipzig, 1933), pp. 19–21, and A. Gardiner in N. Davies, *Seven Private Tombs at Kurneh*, Mond Excavations at Thebes 2 (London, 1948), p. 14, with n. 3.

PLATE 16. THE PYLON OF KARNAK TEMPLE, WITH
THE BARK OF THE KING BEING CARRIED FROM
KARNAK TEMPLE TO THE NILE:
DETAIL OF PLATE 12

TRANSLATION

BEFORE THE KING

- ¹[...] stability, and dominion like Re forever and ever
²[...] ... carrying out the conveyance of his father to the Southern Opet.^a

BEFORE THE BARK OF THE KING

- ³"Thurifying to your two crowns, O good god."^b

- ⁴The good god, son of Amun, whom he appointed ⁵to be king upon his throne, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, ⁶Djeserkheperure-Setepenre,* whom Amun has preferred to any other king.^c

ABOVE THE BARK

- ⁷Wadjet, lady of Lower Egypt.^d

- ⁸The lord of the two lands, Djeserkheperure-Setepenre,*

- ⁹lord of glorious appearances, Horemheb-Merenamun,*

- ¹⁰given [life], stability, [and dominion] ¹¹like Re.

BEHIND THE SHRINE

- ¹²The protection of all life surrounds him.

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

- ^aCompare the similar statement on frags. 83, 99, and 549 (pl. 123).

- ^bThis line is an address of the censuring priest, couched in the second person. For censuring to the *w3d.ty*-crowns, compare *MH* 4, pl. 226, ll. 71–73. Another possible translation is "your two uraei," referring to the bow uraei of the two aegises. See also the discussion of *h3w.ty* in note *a* to pl. 14.

- ^cFor this statement, see E. Otto, "Bedeutungsnuancen der Verben *mrj* 'lieben' und *msdj* 'hassen,'" *MDAIK* 25 (1969): 98–100.

- ^dWadjet seems here to be the personification of the crown; compare the similar annotation on pls. 103, l. 16 and 117, l. 1. The *nb* basket may in fact belong to the spelling of the name, in which case one may translate "The Lower Egyptian Wadjet."

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The fan in the gateway has been scored with chisel marks, which were intended to serve as footing for plaster, obliterating the fan from the scene. If this fan is to be interpreted as one of those set up with the divine staffs behind the bark of Amun,¹⁶ it may have been thought more appropriate for inclusion in the upper register of the Opet reliefs in the company of the divine staffs.¹⁷ On the shrine of the bark of the king there are a few lines of an incompletely carved uraeus frieze. The inscription, *isxs*, on the right tower of the pylon is the only Coptic textual graffito in the Opet register, though there are several crosses and other designs dating to the Christian period (see, for example, pls. 56 and 105).

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

For a discussion of the significance of fans in processions of Amun, see H. Gauthier, *Les Fêtes du dieu Min*, RAPH 2 (Cairo, 1931), pp. 154–55; J. F. Borghouts, "The Ram as a Protector and Prophet," *RdE* 32 (1980): 42, n. 69; and L. Bell, "Aspects of the Cult of the Deified Tutankhamun," in

16. The fans are present in the scene depicting the bark in Karnak Temple on the eastern wall (pl. 108), but not in the representation of the Amun bark in Luxor Temple on that wall (pl. 58).

17. Compare the fragment group showing the priests carrying these objects into Luxor Temple (pl. 42).

Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar, BdE 97/1 (Cairo, 1985), pp. 31–59.

The features of Amun in the small ritual scenes on the pylon contrast consistently with those of the king. These iconographic peculiarities are a continuation of the style evident in the Tutankhamun scenes on the interior northern wall of the Colonnade Hall, and do not necessarily reproduce literally and exactly the decoration of the actual pylon gateway depicted. See also the discussion of pl. 119.

The reliefs here and on the eastern wall (pl. 105) probably show the Third Pylon of Karnak; see the discussion of the more completely preserved representation on the eastern wall on pl. 105.

For the sphinxes holding ram-headed vases before the Karnak Temple pylon and the ritual use of water at the temple portal, see C. Traunecker, “Les Rites de l’eau à Karnak d’après les textes de la rampe de Taharqa,” *BIFAO* 72 (1972): 195–236 (especially pp. 211–19; he cites this scene and parallels in p. 212, n. 5). See also the remarks of E. Graefe, “Der »Sonnenaufgang zwischen den Pylontürmen«. Erstes Bad, Krönung und Epiphanie des Sonnengottes à propos Carter, Tut-ankh-Amen Handlist No. 181,” *OLP* 14 (1983): 55–79.

A priest holds a duck-headed censer before the royal bark; for this motif, see A. Hermann, “Das Motiv der Ente mit zurückgewendetem Kopfe im ägyptischen Kunstgewerbe,” *ZÄS* 68 (1932): 86–105.

PLATE 17. KEY TO RELIEFS DEPICTING THE RIVER PROCESSION OF THE FESTIVAL OF OPET SAILING TO LUXOR: EPISODE 3

For the translation and discussion of the main reconstructed fragment group showing the towboats of the royal barge, see pl. 34; for the translations and discussions of isolated fragments floated in this overview, see pl. 121. For the texts inscribed on the standing walls, see the translations of pls. 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 26, 28, 29, and 30.

The *atef* crowns on the aegises of the Amun barge are restored on the basis of the depiction of this vessel on the hull of the Amun barge on pl. 79. The hull of a much destroyed boat below the rear aegis of the barge of Amun apparently belonged to a duck boat similar to that visible in this position on the eastern wall (pl. 80).

PLATE 18. CELEBRANTS ACCOMPANYING THE PROCESSION OF THE CEREMONIAL BARGES FROM KARNAK TO LUXOR, WITH REMAINS OF TOWBOATS ABOVE: DETAIL OF PLATE 17

See pls. 20, 21, 22, 23, and 26 for the texts not translated here.

TRANSLATION

HORIZONTAL TEXT ABOVE THE SAILORS AND SOLDIERS

The company of sailors^a who are pulling the bow-rope of the bark—the song of joy^b which they sing: “[The] ruler of

glorious appearances is in his bark like Re in [hea]ven. All the earth is united, jubilating^c at seeing his [excellen]ce(?)^d in his [ri]ver bark like Re in the night bark.^e [...] stands(?) [...] rejoicing^f A[ll] the land is in joy at the arrival at the noble Opet, his place of the first occasion, he giving [...] ^g of life and dominion to his son, Djeserkheperure-Setepenre,* a son who is beneficial to the one who bore him, inasmuch as he rows his father Amun so as to do what pleases his *ka*, he conveying him during (the festival) ‘Millions-of[-Years],’ by means of the royal bark ‘The-One-Who-Pro[pitiates]-the-Gods.’”^h

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aOn *s3* “company,” see D. Jones, *A Glossary of Ancient Egyptian Nautical Titles and Terms* (London, 1988), pp. 98–99 (#216); A. Schulman, *Military Rank, Title, and Organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom*, MÄS 6 (Berlin, 1964), p. 26; and J. Clère, “Nouveaux Documents relatifs au culte des colosses de Ramsès II dans le Delta,” *Kêmi* 11 (1950): 43, n. 9 (Clère offers useful remarks on naval personnel on pp. 44–45). Some of these men may have been “sailors of the sacred bark of Amun’s estate,” for which see R. Caminos, *The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*, *Analecta Orientalia* 37 (Rome, 1958), pp. 69–70.

^bCompare *hn nhmw ḏdw.sn*, “the song of joy which they sing,” Naville, *Deir el Bahari* 5, pl. 125, and *Urk.* 4, 1095/7; 2042/11. A parallel is also to be found on a block from the Second Pylon at Karnak published by H. Chevrier, “Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak, 1952–1953,” *ASAE* 53 (1956): 8 and pl. 1: *hn nhm ḏd.sn tw.k mī Mnt* [...], “The song of joy which they sing; ‘You are like Montu [...]’” This fragment, dating to the time of Tutankhamun, contains a scene showing the Nile and a trumpeter, and is very similar in style to the Luxor Opet reliefs. The opening of the hymn on the fragment is identical to that above the towboats in *Khonsu* 1, pl. 20, l. 7. On *nhm* in a military context, see A. Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents of the Ancient Egyptians*, Yale Near Eastern Researches 9 (New Haven and London, 1982), pp. 93–94. On *hn nhm* in Edfu, see M. Alliot, *Le Culte d’Horus à Edfou au temps des Ptolémées*, BdE 20/2 (Cairo, 1954), p. 487, comparing the Horus festival procession with that of Opet. In the Roman period papyrus Leiden T. 32, 2/19 is recorded the wish *sdm.k snhmhm is.t nsw.t*, “may you hear the jubilation of the king’s sailors” of the barge of Amun; see B. Stricker, “De Egyptische Mysteriën, Pap. Leiden T 32,” *OMRO* 31 (1950): 57 and pl. 3.

^cThe final -w of the infinitive of *nhm* attracts spurious plural strokes; see J. Osing, *Die Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen* (Mainz, 1976), vol. 1, p. 101, and vol. 2, pp. 581–82, n. 484.

^dThe reading *mnḥ.wt* is uncertain. For the *mnḥ.wt* of the king in a military context, see the discussion of *nswt mnḥ* in Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents of the Ancient Egyptians*, pp. 39–44, and the references in L. Koenen, “Die Adaptation ägyptischer Königsideologie am Ptolemäerhof,” in E. Van’t Dack, P. Van Dessel, and W. Van Gucht, *Egypt*

and the Hellenistic World, *Studia Hellenistica* 27 (Leuven, 1983), pp. 156–57, n. 39.

^eThe hanging mat which is the distinctive element of the night-bark is perhaps lost in the damage. On this feature, see E. Dondelinger, *Die Treibtafel des Herodot am Bug des ägyptischen Nilschiffes* (Graz, 1976), and W. Guglielmi, *Die Göttin Mr.t, Probleme der Ägyptologie* 7 (Leiden, 1991), pp. 184–85.

^fA portion of the *hr*-face is preserved after the break.

^gThere may in fact be nothing lost here, in which case *m* introduces the direct object.

^hSee *Khonsu* 1, p. 6 with n. c, on *hh.w n rnp.wt* as the name of a festival. The solar bark is also called *hh.w n rnp.wt* (*Wb.* 1, 271/11), and there may be a comparison here of the Amun barge with the solar boat; compare the identification of the king in his bark with Re in the night-bark earlier in this same text. See also the comments in *Kheruef*, p. 45, n. s (to pl. 28). For *Shtp-ntr.w* as the name of the royal bark, see Jones, *Nautical Titles*, p. 238 (#41).

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

On the standards carried by the soldiers, see R. Faulkner, "Egyptian Military Standards," *JEA* 27 (1941): 12–18, and S. Curto, "Standarten," *LÄ* 5, 1255–56. On the eastern wall (pl. 91), there are also standards with boats atop them. These have an additional element not found on the western wall examples, namely, two triangular *malqafs* above the superstructure.¹⁸

Two of the soldiers near the head of the procession have one fist clenched before them, and are not holding axes. A parallel for this gesture, associated with running, is N. Davies, *The Tombs of Two Officials of Tuthmosis the Fourth* (Nos. 75 and 90), *TTS* 3 (London, 1923), pl. 27.¹⁹

The first four soldiers carry flail-ensigns. As Wolf observes, these objects appear first in Hatshepsut reliefs at Deir el Bahari, and are encountered relatively often during the Amarna period; by the Ramesside period they have disappeared from the pictorial record.²⁰ Wolf believed that they

were perhaps a type of "Geißel," but others have thought them to be a kind of standard.²¹ On the eastern wall of the Colonnade Hall the men with flail-ensigns run along with soldiers (pl. 91), while here on the western wall they run in front of the soldiers. Their positioning is thus consistent with Faulkner's identification of the objects as standards, and indeed the men who bear them hold them like standards.²² As Faulkner declares, however, "it is difficult to believe that they were regimental standards in the ordinary sense of the word."²³

In the Opet reliefs, the ends of these objects billow out like the streamers of other standards.²⁴ They were, then, possibly not weapons, but signaling devices.²⁵ A similar standard possibly appears in a festival scene from Kawa, in which two men in a procession hold trumpets in their left hands and staffs with two small, fluttering hangings at their upper tips.²⁶ For a detail of these standards, see pl. 21.

pl. 31. The men carrying flail-ensigns run alongside the standard bearers and not with the troops. Naval officers on ships also hold such ensigns; a good example is Naville, *Deir el Bahari* 4, pl. 89.

21. Davies, *Amarna* 3, pp. 28–29, identified these objects as standards, as did Faulkner, *JEA* 27 (1941): 16–17, figs. 23–30.

22. D. Redford in *ATP* 2, p. 5, refers to this object as "the curious pendant standard." He further cites (*ibid.*, p. 11, n. 33) N. Davies, *The Tomb of Ken-Amūn at Thebes* (New York, 1930), p. 31, who terms these objects as "flail ensigns" (*ibid.*, p. 32). G. Roeder designates them as "Standarten (wie Dreschflügel)," *Amarna-Reliefs aus Hermopolis*, Pelizaeus-Museum zu Hildesheim: Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung 6 (Hildesheim, 1969), pp. 133 (under "4. Hof") and 312.

23. Faulkner, "Egyptian Military Standards," *JEA* 27 (1941): 17. These "flail-standards" may also have been termed *sry.t*. On the statue of Nakht published by Faulkner, "A Statue of a Serpent-Worshipper," *JEA* 20 (1934): 154–56 (= *Urk.* 4, 1492–93; Schulman, *Military Rank*, p. 166, no. 495f), the officer is called a *ṯy-sry.t*, once determined by $\overline{\text{ṯ}}$. Faulkner suggests that $\overline{\text{ṯ}}$ "is possibly only a blunder for" the fan (*JEA* 27 [1941]: 13, n. 14), but this determinative may refer specifically to the flail-like standards discussed here.

For *sry.t* with $\overline{\text{ṯ}}$ compare the $\overline{\text{ṯ}}$ $\overline{\text{ṯ}}$ $\overline{\text{ṯ}}$ of the Second Hittite Marriage Inscription (*KRI* 2, 283/13 and 15). K. Kitchen and G. Gaballa, "Ramesside Varia II," *ZÄS* 96 (1969): 17, n. 13, suggest reading this group as *ṯy-tkm*, soldiers attached to the chariotry, but whose precise functions are as yet unexplained. Kitchen and Gaballa observe that the order of officials in the Second Hittite Marriage Inscription (army, chariotry, and $\overline{\text{ṯ}}$ $\overline{\text{ṯ}}$ $\overline{\text{ṯ}}$) could be the reverse of the order found in the Kadesh Poem §§198–99 and 265 (*KRI* 2, 64–65 and 81): "officer (*sr.w*), charioteer, infantryman." The list in the Second Hittite Marriage Inscription appears to have the same order as that in the First Marriage Stela of Ramesses II, lines A39–40 (*KRI* 2, 250/10–15): "infantry, chariotry, officers (*sr.w*)." The $\overline{\text{ṯ}}$ $\overline{\text{ṯ}}$ $\overline{\text{ṯ}}$ appear to correspond to *sr.w*, recalling the attested association of the *ṯy.w-sr.wt* and the *sr.w* (*ATP* 1, p. 110). The $\overline{\text{ṯ}}$ $\overline{\text{ṯ}}$ $\overline{\text{ṯ}}$ as a *ṯy-sry.t*, parallel to the *sr* officer elsewhere, is therefore a possibility.

24. In Davies, *Amarna* 3, pl. 31, the elements at the tops of the "flail-standards" are treated as heavier than the streamers, which fly more horizontally as they ride the wind.

25. Compare the "wind-sock" standards such as the Late Roman *draco*, for which see K. R. Dixon and P. Southern, *The Roman Cavalry, from the First to the Third Century AD* (London, 1992), p. 61.

26. Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa* 2, p. 79 and pl. 14b. Macadam says that each of these men carries "a thin upright stick with two thongs (?) at the tip. If the objects carried by these figures are intended to produce noise of some kind these might be whistles, rattles, or 'bull-roarers' to be whisked round and round."

18. For the explanation of the added "level" as a raised portion of the ceiling along the center of the cabin, and for parallels for *malqafs* on boats, see E. Roik, *Das altägyptische Wohnhaus und seine Darstellung im Flachbild* (Frankfurt am Main, 1988), vol. 1, pp. 73–74 (§§D.3.1–2), pp. 75–76 (§D.5.1), p. 77 (§D.6.2G); vol. 2, fig. 115 (= Davies, *Amarna* 5, pl. 5), fig. 114b (see also L. Klebs, *Die Reliefs und Malereien des neuen Reiches. Teil I: Szenen aus dem Leben des Volkes* [Heidelberg, 1934], pp. 93–94, and fig. 68), and figs. 120a–b; W. V. Davies et al., *Tools and Weapons I: Axes*, Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum 7 (London, 1987), p. 51 (#156), pls. 27 and 32; and E. Kühnert-Eggebrecht, *Die Axt als Waffe und Werkzeug im alten Ägypten*, *MÄS* 15 (Berlin, 1969), pp. 55 and 59–60 (= Kat. P. 12), pl. 18, #2.

19. The scene depicts two rows of running soldiers. The men in one row carry a bow over the shoulder with one hand and hold the other fist clenched in front; the men in the other row hold the bow out in front with one hand and hold the other clenched at the side (*ibid.*, p. 36); in no case does the clenched fist hold anything.

20. W. Wolf, *Die Bewaffnung des altägyptischen Heeres* (Leipzig, 1926), pp. 78–79. Examples of this object are found in: Naville, *Deir el Bahari* 4, pl. 90; Wreszinski, *Atlas* 1, pl. 285; and Davies, *Amarna* 3,

PLATE 20. CELEBRANT AND HYMN:
DETAIL OF PLATE 18

TRANSLATION

¹“When you are in (the bark) “Mighty-of-Prow,” you appear beautifully,^a O Amun-Re. ²Everyone gives praise to you, the whole land being in festival, while your eldest son, ³your first-born, rows^b you to Opet. May you give him eternity as king of the two lands and everlastingness (consisting) of years of p[ease].^c ⁴May you endow h[im] with life, stability, and dominion, and es[tablish]^d him as a ruler of joy. May you reward him [with] ⁵mill[ions and] myriads^e of jubilees, (namely) your beloved son, whom [you] have placed [upon your throne].^f ⁶He prepares your [cult cha]pel,^g even as he has made festive your [tem]ple.^h He doubles your off[erings]ⁱ for you, ⁷they being established [in the]ir places^j according to their [forme]r condition.^k May you decree valor for him ⁸against the south and v[ictor]y against the north, you having broadened for him the [boun]daries^l of E[gypt to the limits of heaven]^m ⁹on every side. May you [set]ⁿ his lifetime to be like the duration of heaven, that he might appear like the sun disk [within it].^o ¹⁰With their backs laden, the rebellious [chiefs]^p come to you, [bearing] ¹¹their tribute [consisting of] every[thing],^q namely, the choicest of their goods, which are de[dedicated as a divine offering of]^r long-[horned] ¹²cattle, short-horned] cattle, gazelles, oryxes, w[ine and fru]it^s (as abundant) as ¹³water,^t and birds without limit. It is during your festival of Opet that your^u son, ¹⁴who does what is beneficial, offers them. May your hearts be pleased, O land of [Egypt],^v ¹⁵[... at see]ing^w Amun at rest in his Opet. The en[nead ...]^x ¹⁶[...] ‘ ... O perfect ruler, in order to do what satisfies us. Mut-[in-Karnak]^y ¹⁷creates your beauty, [her two arms]^z being the protection of your limbs, (while) Khonsu-in-Thebes, lord of joy, [grants]^{aa} ¹⁸jubilees for you and establishes your name as an enduring king,^{ab} the Horus fair of birth.’’^{ac}

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aThe adverbial use of *nfr* is found with verbs denoting divine manifestation, such as *wbn*, “appear,” and *rs*, “wake,” particularly in reference to the sun or sun god. See Davies, *Amarna* 1, pl. 36, l. 1, and J. Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern*, Theben 1 (Mainz am Rhein, 1983), pp. 118 and 238–39.

^bSpacing and context favor the restoration [*hr*] *hn.t.k r ip.t*. For the expression *wp h.t*, *Wb.* 1, 300/8–10, see R. Ritner, “A Uterine Amulet in the Oriental Institute Collection,” *JNES* 43 (1984): 214.

^cThe final sign group in l. 3 should be the offering mat (only the tip of the loaf is preserved here) followed by plural strokes; compare *MH* 4, pl. 246, I/C, l. 17; *MH* 8, pl. 614, l. 12.

^dTraces ensure the restoration of *s[mn]* as the missing verb, commonly used in reference to the king, his insignia, or his name; for example, *MH* 5, pl. 283A, bottom; *MH* 7, pl. 501, l. 1.

^eThe space is large enough to accommodate the writing of *hh[.w hr] hfn.w* or *hh[.w n] hfn.w*, “million[s of] myriads.” Another possibility is an expanded orthography of *hhw(y)*, including a curl *w* and slanting strokes, similar to *MH* 2, pl. 79, l. 7.

^fThe preformative *i-* here apparently introduces a relative form; on this morphological feature, see B. Kroeber, “Die Neuägyptizismen vor der Amarnazeit” (Ph.D. diss., University of Tübingen, 1970), pp. 175–79; *id[i.n.k hr ns.t.k]* is but one possibility that fits the available space.

^gThe traces below the flat *m* are the remains of *ḥ*. The word is often used with mortuary connotations; see W. Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: The Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13*, Publications of the Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition to Egypt 5 (New Haven and Philadelphia, 1974), pp. 10–13. However, *m ḥ* can also refer to buildings housing a divine cult, as in *Wb.* 2, 49/7. Examples of this usage are: *KRI* 1, 108/6; *KRI* 2, 325/14, 624/1; A. Mariette, *Abydos* 1 (Paris, 1869), pl. 48a; *MH* 3, pl. 184A; and *MH* 4, pl. 221, l. 13, bottom. See also M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Autobiographies Chiefly of the Middle Kingdom*, OBO 84 (Freiburg, 1988), pp. 92, n. 7, and 98, n. 9.

^hThe two stroke determinatives, arranged vertically, suggest the restoration of *r-pr*, often found with *shb*, “to make festive,” as in *MH* 1, pl. 46, l. 11; *MH* 6, pl. 391B; and *MH* 8, pl. 616B.

ⁱThe space at the bottom of l. 6 is probably to be filled by a complete writing of *p3w.t*, literally, “offering-loaves,” for which see *Wb.* 1, 495/6–9.

^jThere is sufficient space for [*hr*] *s.t.s* (*s* written for *sn*).

^kThe position of the *t* above the verb *wḏ* suggests a restoration of the temporal phrase [*imy-ḥ3*].*t*.

^lThe missing phonetic complements of *t3š.w*, “boundaries,” are to be added above the pool sign, and the crossed sticks to the right of the land wedge. This is followed by an abbreviated spelling of *Km.t*.

^mFor the restoration of [*r r- ḥ p.t*] *hr w3.t nb(.t)*, “to the limits of heaven on every side,” compare the identical phrase in *Battle Reliefs*, pl. 5, ll. 8–11.

ⁿThe break near the top of the column should be filled by the missing *t* of *nb[.t]*, tucked into the arm of *dī*, the verb commonly used with *ḥw* in the sense “to grant a lifetime.”

^oFor the restored phrase *mī itn [im.s]*, compare pl. 46, l. 17.

^pThe missing subject of *iw* is probably either *h3s.wt*, “foreign lands,” or *wr.w*, “chiefs,” written as the swallow with plural strokes over its back. Chiefs may be described as coming with *inw*-tribute “upon their backs” (*Battle Reliefs*, pl. 32, ll. 4–5). Foreign lands may also bring *inw*, “tribute” (see *Urk.* 4, 1656/9–10; *Khonsu* 2, pl. 114B, ll. 10–11; and *MH* 2, pl. 102, l. 15), and *h3s.wt* can be modified by *bšt* without proper feminine agreement (*MH* 8, pl. 598, l. 2; see also *Battle Reliefs*, p. 97, n. a). At the bottom of the column, plural strokes are to be added for the plural suffix pronoun, followed by the preposition [*hr*].

^qOn the basis of the book-roll determinative, plural strokes, and spacing, the most likely restoration seems to be *h.t*.

^rIn the lacuna below *h.t.sn*, the sense of the text suggests a transition to a temple offering, which the commodities listed in the next columns typify. Due to its positioning, *h* before the break must be followed by a low flat sign, as in the particle *hr* or the verb *hrp*, “to dedicate, to conduct.” Space for a restored text is further limited by the fact that the animals listed in l. 12 are fully written out, and it is therefore likely that the phonetic complements of *iwꜣ.w* should be accommodated at the bottom of l. 11. The narrow space remaining might be filled by *h[rp.(w) m htp-ntr m iwꜣ].w*, “being de[dicated as a divine offering consisting of long-horned] cattle.” The group *htp-ntr* is to be preferred over *ꜣb.t*, since verbs used with the hecatomb offering are more often *dī*, *sšp*, *(s)mꜣꜣ*, *qꜣb*, or the like. The verb *hrp*, however, is used both with *inw* (see *Urk.* 4, 55/9, and *MH* 5, pl. 317, l. 15) and with *htp-ntr* (see *Khonsu* 1, pl. 60, l. 1).

^sThough the individual signs are well proportioned, they are tightly arranged. At the top of the column, the determinative of *iwꜣ.w* was doubtless followed by a phonetic writing of *wndw*. Below *mꜣ-hd*, the *r* placed off-center to the left indicates that *irp* is probably the next commodity, and the notched pellets preserved at the left of the damaged area suggest the cramped determinatives of *dqr.(w)*, “fruit,” written without all its phonetic complements.

^tFor *mī nw*, “(as abundant) as water,” see L. Christophe, “La Stèle de l’an III de Ramsès IV au Ouâdi Hammâmât (No. 12),” *BIFAO* 48 (1949): 27. Compare also the statements employing *bꜣh*, “to inundate,” referring to the ruler filling a temple with his offerings (*Wb.* 1 449/16). In a more sanguinary context, referring to Ramesses III’s Libyan war of year 11, see *MH* 2, pl. 86, l. 29: *snf.sn hr s.t.sn mī nwy*, “their blood where they were was as (abundant as) water.”

^uThe handle has been omitted from the basket for *k*.

^vThe hymn now addresses the populace of Egypt, employing the plural suffix pronoun *tn*. There follows in apposition the vocative *pꜣ*, introducing *tꜣ n [Km.t]*.

^wThere is enough space at the top of l. 15 for the restoration of *[hr m]ꜣꜣ* or *[hft m]ꜣꜣ*, “at/when seeing.”

^xThe preserved words in l. 16, “in order to do what satisfies us,” suggest that a group of deities, probably the ennead, is addressing the king. The curved line directly below the viper in *ip.t.f* in l. 15 may in fact be part of *psd.t*, “ennead.” The speech of these gods then may continue to the end of the hymn. For the joy of the populace and the ennead during the festival proceedings, see pl. 69, ll. 7–11 and pl. 125 (frag. 436). Alternatively, the plural suffix pronoun *n* may refer to the people of Egypt, addressed earlier as *pꜣ tꜣ n [Km.t]*.

^yFor *Mw.t m ip.t-s.wt*, chosen here as a pendant to *Hnsw m Wꜣs.t*, see P. Lacau and H. Chevrier, *Une Chapelle d’Hatchepsout à Karnak* (Cairo, 1977), vol. 1, p. 361. The preposition *hr* should be restored at the bottom of l. 16, paralleling the *hr* + infinitive constructions of the succeeding lines. There does not seem to be sufficient space for *Mw.t m [išrw]*, “Mut-in-[Asheru].”

^zThe lacuna at the blockline can be filled with the group [ꜣwy.s], “[her two arms].”

^{aa}[*dī.t*] is the most probable restoration at the bottom of l. 17.

^{ab}On the epithet *nswt wꜣh*, see E. Blumenthal, *Untersuchungen zum ägyptischen Königtum des Mittleren Reiches 1: Die Phraseologie*, Abhandlungen der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, philologisch-historische Klasse, Band 61, Heft 1 (Berlin, 1970), pp. 267–68.

^{ac}Horemheb did not usurp this name of Tutankhamun.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

A man wearing the military kilt stands at the end of the riverborne procession and chants a hymn of praise to Amun-Re.²⁷ Facing the oncoming boats, the celebrant addresses his words to the approaching Userhat barge, and the text is consequently oriented to the right. This vignette seems also to have been included in a largely destroyed section of the Opet festival shown in *Khonsu* 1, pl. 20, in which parts of two columns of right-facing text are preserved at the far left of the jubilant crowds on the riverbank, but too little remains to provide any useful textual parallel.

PLATE 21. SOLDIERS AT THE HEAD OF THE PROCESSION: DETAIL OF PLATE 18

TRANSLATION

TEXT PRESERVED ABOVE WATER LINES

¹[...] in ²[...] his [...] in ³[... Djeserkheperure] -Setepen[re]* ⁴[...] in Opet.

For the text above the soldiers and discussion of iconography, see the translation and commentary of pl. 18.

PLATE 22. TWO ROYAL CHARIOTS AND ATTENDANTS: DETAIL OF PLATE 18

TRANSLATION

ABOVE THE LEADING CHARIOT

[The gr]eat^a span of his majesty.

ABOVE THE FOLLOWING CHARIOT

The great span of his majesty.

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^a“Great” is omitted in the corresponding annotations to the chariots on the eastern wall (pl. 95).

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The chariots, two of which appear here and on the eastern wall (pl. 95), probably represent one chariot for the king

27. Wolf, *Opet*, p. 14, also observed that this man was probably an officer and not, as might be expected, a priest. Wreszinski, *Atlas* 2, pl. 194, suggests that he may be a secular official but also notes the military character of the man’s attire.

and one for the queen.²⁸ For a recent discussion of Amarna period chariots, see J. K. Hoffmeier, "The Chariot Scenes," in *ATP* 2, pp. 35–45. Of basic importance is M. A. Littauer and J. H. Crouwel, *Chariots and Related Equipment from the Tomb of Tut'ankhamūn*, Tut'ankhamūn's Tomb Series 8 (Oxford, 1985); U. Hofmann, *Fuhrwesen und Pferdehaltung im alten Ägypten* (Bonn, 1989); and C. Rommelaere, *Les Chevaux du nouvel empire égyptien* (Brussels, 1991).

Another example of the band of uraei in front of the royal chariot, not a commonly represented element, is in Davies, *Amarna* 2, pl. 13, where the chariot of Akhenaten is depicted.²⁹ In view of the solar symbolism of the chariot, this band of uraei may be a physical representation of the epithet of the sun god *ḥꜥ i'rr.wt*, "numerous of uraei," on which see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 205.³⁰ Plumes seem also to be a decorative prerogative of horses of the royal chariots; see A. Schulman, "Egyptian Representations of Horsemen and Riding in the New Kingdom," *JNES* 16 (1957): 264, n. 12; Chappaz, *Karnak* 8 (1987): 113; and Rommelaere, *Les Chevaux du nouvel empire égyptien*, pp. 110–16.

There seem to be three strands representing the reins, although four strands are expected, i.e., one pair for each of the two horses. All four strands are found, for example, in Davies, *Amarna* 2, pl. 16. However, such schematic renderings as that depicted here are attested elsewhere, e.g., Nina Davies, *Tutankhamun's Painted Box* (Oxford, 1962), pl. 4.

The leftmost of the chariots has a hand grip, the curved frame of the chariot showing through a fenestration cut in the siding. The exposed portion of the frame is wrapped to serve as a hand grip.³¹ The object hanging below the bellies of the

horses is the "backing element," for which see Littauer and Crouwel, *Chariots*, pp. 4–5.

The chariot attendants wear an unusual tripartite coiffure; see Wolf, *Opet*, p. 14.³² Their hair style is shorter and less distinctive in the parallel scenes on the eastern wall (pl. 95).

PLATE 23. MEN TOWING THE BARGE OF AMUN: DETAIL OF PLATE 18

TRANSLATION

TEXT ABOVE WATERLINE

1[...] ... he/his 2[...] give/cause (?) 3[...] ... 4[...] ...
5[...] statue 6[...] ... 7[...] father

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

For the position of the arms of the towers, compare *ATP* 2, pl. 31. The traces of the small boat at the far right of the plate, behind the Amun barge, represent the duck boat that follows Amun in the riverine procession; see the iconographic comments to pl. 78.

PLATE 25. PROCESSION OF MUSICIANS AND DANCERS: DETAIL OF PLATE 18

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

For the clapping priests and their function, see H. Hickmann, "La Chironomie dans l'Égypte pharaonique," *ZÄS*

28. Compare the two sedan chairs and the two chariots awaiting the royal couple at the so-called *durbar* in Davies, *Amarna* 2, pl. 37. On Ankhesenamun and her association with chariots found in the tomb of Tutankhamun, see W. Decker, "Die Inschrift auf einem Wagen des Tutanchamun," *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens* (Göttingen, 1984), vol. 2, pp. 869–81, especially pp. 875–77.

29. Davies, *Amarna* 2, p. 18, observes with regard to Akhenaten's chariot: "The stay, which extends from the front rim of the car to the pole, is adorned with a row of uraei in what seems a dangerously slender design."

30. On the chariot as the vehicle of the sun, see L. Kákossy, "Bark and Chariot," *Studia Aegyptiaca* 3 (Budapest, 1977), pp. 57–65, and especially p. 58; see also J.-L. Chappaz, "Un Nouvel Assemblage de *talâtât*: une Paroi du *Rwd-Mnw* d'Aton," *Karnak* 8 (1987): 114 with nn. 119 and 120, and specifically p. 119. One should compare the epithet of Tutankhamun as *ḥꜥ hr ḥtr*, "appearing in glory on the chariot," for which see H. Beinlich and M. Saleh, *Corpus der hieroglyphischen Inschriften aus dem Grab des Tutanchamun* (Oxford, 1989), p. 23 (no. 48k [1]), p. 26 (50ss-Stock); and the epithet of Amenhotep III as *ḥꜥ hr ḥtr mī wbn Rꜥ*, "appearing in glory on the chariot span like Re's shining" (*Urk.* 4, 1658/13). The expression occurs already under Amenhotep II, *Urk.* 4, 1280/15 (Great Sphinx Stela) *ḥꜥ t in ḥm.f hr ḥtr mī Mnt m wsrw.f*, "appearing in glory by his majesty upon the chariot like Montu in his might."

31. On chariot handles, see the remarks of Hofmann, *Fuhrwesen und Pferdehaltung im alten Ägypten*, pl. 179; and A. Schulman, *Ceremonial Execution and Public Rewards*, OBO 75 (Freiburg, 1988), pp. 164–65, n. 278. For depictions of handles that consist of a portion of exposed frame and a small fenestration in the side of a closed chariot box, as in these Opet scenes, see *Khonsu* 1, pl. 61 (on a reused block from the time of Horemheb, in which the exposed frame is wrapped as in the Opet examples; a restored version of the

same scene is shown in E. Prisse d'Avennes, *Monuments égyptiens* [Paris, 1847], pl. 35); Davies, *Amarna* 4, pl. 22; idem, *Amarna* 6, pl. 20; and Nina Davies, *Tutankhamun's Painted Box*, pls. 1, 2, and 4. Another example is found in the tomb of Huy, for which see Nina Davies and A. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Huy*, TTS 4 (London, 1926), pl. 28; although not shown in actual use, the fenestration seems to have been reinforced with leather binding (see also Davies, *Amarna* 6, pl. 4, where the fenestrations are located high and very close to the chariot frame). Chariot handles also appear to be depicted as raised portions of a chariot frame, as mentioned by Hoffmeier, in *ATP* 2, pp. 35–36, pl. 37; examples are to be found in Davies, *Amarna* 1, pl. 19; idem, *Amarna* 2, pls. 15 and 17; and idem, *Amarna* 5, pl. 22 (see also Schulman, *Ceremonial Execution*, pp. 125–27, fig. 24). In these cases, however, the handles may not be part of the rigid frame, but rather a looped thong slung from it, inside or outside, and shown as raised loops whenever they are grasped by occupants of a chariot. In chariot representations it is often difficult to distinguish small fenestrations in a closed chariot box from possible decorative bosses on the box or from looped thongs hanging from an openwork frame, since all may be depicted as plain circular outlines; but for probable representations of the latter, see Davies, *Amarna* 1, pl. 10 (note the fragmentary painted detail on the chariot of the queen), and idem, *Amarna* 3, pls. 8, 12, and 14. No looped handgrips appear to have survived on actual chariots.

32. For the similar hair style of a charioteer in a scene from the Ramesses II temple at Abydos and a discussion of the possibility of "international fashions" among charioteers in the ancient Near East, see J. Darnell, "Supposed Depictions of Hittites in the Amarna Period," *SAK* 18 (1991): 133–34, n. 40. The mummy of an Egyptian charioteer from Deir el Bahari wears a long beard, apparently imitating foreign styles; see H. Winlock, "Excavations at Thebes," *The Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (November, 1921: Part 2): 35–36, and idem, *Excavations at Deir El Bahri 1911–1931* (New York, 1942), pp. 34–35.

83 (1958): 96–127, and H. Hickmann and C. G. Duc de Mecklembourg, *Catalogue d'enregistrements de musique folklorique égyptienne* (Baden-Baden, 1958), pp. 6–7.

PLATE 26. PRIESTESSES AND PRIESTS CHANTING A
SONG: DETAIL OF PLATE 18

TRANSLITERATION³³

West: ¹š[sp.t dh̄n] hr̄ ṛ.t hn̄.t t(ṣ) dp̄.t tp- ²itr[w]

East: ¹šsp̄.t dh̄n hr̄ ṛ.t hn̄.t t(ṣ) dp̄.t tp- ²itrw

West: ṛmn-R] ^cnb ns.wt tṣ.wy ^cnh̄.ti d̄[t]

East: ṛm[n-R] ^cnb ns.wt [tṣ].wy [^cnh̄].ti d̄.t

West: ³mswr ndr̄(.w) p̄.t st̄t̄.ti r̄ r̄sy

East: ³mswr ndr̄(.w) p̄.t st̄t̄.ti r̄ r̄sy

West: [mswr] ⁴ndr̄(.w) p̄.t st̄t̄.ti r̄ m̄ht̄.t

East: [mswr] ⁴ndr̄(.w) p̄.t st̄t̄.ti r̄ m̄h̄[t̄.t]

West: swr sqd̄[.w nw] ⁵[Ds̄]r-h̄pr̄[.w-R ^c] St̄p-n-R ^{c*} mry
ṛmn-R ^c Kṣ-mw̄.t f̄ h̄sy n̄tr̄[.w]

East: [swr] sqd̄[.w nw] ⁵Ds̄r-h̄pr̄.w-R ^c St̄p-n-R ^{c*} [mry] ṛmn-
R ^c Kṣ-mw̄.t f̄ h̄sy n̄tr̄[.w]

West: [i N̄.t]

East: i [N̄.t]

West: ⁶[dd-mdw ṛnd̄-h̄r̄.k ṛmn-R ^c pṣ̄.w.ty tṣ.wy h̄nty] ṛp̄.t-s.wt

East: ⁶dd-mdw ṛnd̄-h̄r̄.k ṛmn-[R ^c pṣ̄.w.]ty tṣ.wy h̄nty ṛp̄.t-s.wt

West: m̄ h̄ ^c.w.k m-h̄nw ^ch̄ ^c.w.k m̄ h̄[b̄.k n̄fr̄ n̄ ṛp̄.t]

East: m̄ h̄ ^c.w.k m-h̄nw ^ch̄ ^c.w.k [tp̄-itr̄w m̄ h̄]b̄.k n̄fr̄ n̄ ṛp̄.t hr̄
ṛb̄.k ṛm̄.s

West: ⁷mswr [qd̄ n̄ mr̄] nt̄(y) m̄ dp̄.t(?) n̄ dp̄.wt(?)

East: ⁷mswr qd̄ n̄ mr̄ nt̄(y) m̄ [dp̄.t(?) n̄ dp̄.wt(?)]

West: wṣ̄ ⁸.wt ṣkr̄.w [mr̄ n̄.k] H̄ ^cpy wr̄ ⁹h̄i

East: wṣ̄ ⁸.wt ṣkr̄.w mr̄ n̄.k H̄ ^cpy [wr̄] ⁹h̄i

West: [sh̄tp̄.k Nb̄.ty nb̄] n̄.t H̄r̄ tm̄ṣ̄- ^chn̄. t(w)] ¹⁰[n̄tr̄] hr̄
[n̄fr̄.t n̄tr̄]

East: sh̄tp̄.k Nb̄.ty nb̄ h̄[d̄.t H̄]r̄ tm̄ṣ̄- ^chn̄. t(w) ¹⁰n̄tr̄ hr̄ n̄fr̄.t
n̄tr̄

33. The transliteration is provided to facilitate the understanding of these texts. Both the western wall and the eastern wall (pl. 97) versions of the songs are included. A number of scholars have studied these compositions: K. Sethe, "Die beiden alten Lieder von der Trinkstätte in den Darstellungen des Luksorfestzuges," ZÄS 64 (1929): 1–5, and Wolf, *Opet*, pp. 17, 35, and 56–57. Parallels for the songs are preserved in: (1) the Thutmosis III version in the festival temple (P. Barguet, *Le Temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak. Essai d'exégèse*, RAPH 21 [Cairo, 1962], p. 176); (2) the Hatshepsut version in the *Chapelle Rouge* (Lacau and Chevrier, *Une Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, pp. 187–89 [§§265–68], blocks 104 and 171), and (3) the tomb of Mereruka as a small extract (The Sakkarah Expedition, *The Mastaba of Mereruka*, vol. 2. OIP 39 [Chicago, 1938], pl. 141; see also W. Barta, "Zur Lokalisierung und Bedeutung der mrt-Bauten," ZÄS 110 [1983]: 102–03). E. Drioton translates a portion of one of these songs in "Les Fêtes égyptiennes," published in *Pages d'égyptologie* (Cairo, 1957), p. 149.

West: pṣ̄.n H̄.t-H̄r̄ [ṛr̄.t n̄fr̄.t] ¹¹[n̄fr̄].wt n̄ Ds̄r-h̄pr̄.w-[R ^c]
St̄p[-n]-R ^{c*}

East: pṣ̄[.n] H̄.t-H̄r̄ ṛr̄<.t> n̄fr̄.t ¹¹n̄fr̄.wt n̄ Ds̄r-h̄pr̄[.w]-R ^c
St̄p-n-[R ^c]*

West: mry ṛmn̄ ¹²h̄sy n̄tr̄.w i N̄.t

East: mry ṛmn̄ ¹²h̄sy n̄tr̄.w i N̄.t

TRANSLATION³⁴

¹The chorus of those giving the rhythm^a while conveying the^b riverine^c ²bark:

"O Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands, may you live forever!^d ³A drinking place is hewn out,^e the sky is folded back to the south;^f [a drinking place] ⁴is hewn out, the sky is folded back to the north,^g that the sailor[s^h of] ⁵Djeserkheperure-Setepenre,* beloved of Amun-Re-Kamutef, praised of the go[ds], may drink." Utterance [by Neith].ⁱ

⁶Recitation:

"Hail, Amun[-Re, pri]meval one of the two lands, foremost one of Karnak, in your glorious appearance amidst your [riverine] fleet,^j in your beautiful festival of Opet, may you be pleased with it.^k ⁷A drinking place is built for the party^l which is in the (best) ship of ships(?).^m The paths ⁸of the Akeru are bound up for you;ⁿ a great Inundation ⁹is raised up.^o May you pacify the Two Ladies, O lord of the red/white crown, Horus strong of arm,^p while ¹⁰the god is conveyed with her, the good one of the god,^q (and) after Hathor has done the most ¹¹wonderful of things for Djeserkheperure-Setepenre,* beloved of Amun, ¹²praised one of the gods." Utterance by Neith.

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aFor šsp̄.t-dh̄n (Wb. 5, 484/16), see Lacau and Chevrier, *Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, p. 201 (§299 n. 2), and Guglielmi, *Die Göttin Mr̄.t*, p. 330.

^bFor t as the definite article tṣ̄ (Wb. 5, 211), compare *Beit el-Wali*, p. 11, n. e (a writing of tṣ̄ p̄.t); note also the orthography of tṣ̄ h̄ṣ̄.t in KRI 2, 361/3 (the Manshiyet es-Sadr stela of Ramesses II). In view of the archaism of the songs, t(ṣ̄) is perhaps to be rendered as "this," and not as the definite article. The hieroglyph employed for dp̄.t on the western wall lacks the details of the collar of the aegis. Compare the wooden vessel, displaying this exact appearance, in S. Glanville and R. Faulkner, *Wooden Model Boats*, Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum 2 (Oxford, 1972), pp. 62–64 and pl. 11b.

^cFor the compound tp̄-itr̄w, restored in the eastern wall version (wṣ̄ n̄ tp̄ itr̄.w, Wb. 1, 271/16), see Lacau and Chevrier, *Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, pp. 102–03, n. (m); KRI 2, 571/3; KRI 5, 187/11–12; and Jones, *Nautical Titles*, p. 134, #21. On this generalizing tp̄, see A. Gardiner, "Tuthmosis III Returns Thanks to Amūn," JEA 38 (1952): 21, n. 3; idem, "Some Reflections on the Nauri Decree," JEA 38 (1952): 31; and R.

34. Since the two versions are virtually identical, only significant variations are indicated, and not mere accidents of preservation.

Caminos, "Another Hieratic Manuscript from the Library of Pwerem Son of Kiki (Pap. B.M. 10288)," *JEA* 58 (1972): 220, n. 3.

^d*d.t* on the eastern wall has an apparently superfluous land sign above the *t*.

^eFollowing Sethe's conclusion that the adze should represent "ein altes Wort für 'zimmern,'" we suggest *nḏr*, "zimmern," as a possible reading of the sign, *Wb.* 2, 382/11–16. For *nḏr*, see also R. Drenkhahn, *Die Handwerker und ihre Tätigkeiten im alten Ägypten*, ÄA 31 (Wiesbaden, 1976), pp. 118–19. On the theological significance of drink, see H. Brunner, "Die theologische Bedeutung der Trunkenheit," *ZÄS* 79 (1954): 81–83. R. Faulkner, *CDME*, p. 117 renders this example of *mswr* as "drinking-bowl," but see K. Sethe, *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten* (Glückstadt and Hamburg, 1935–1962), vol. 4, p. 214.

^fSethe interpreted *p.t stt.ti* as referring to the construction of the roof of the drinking place. For *p.t* as roof, see *Wb.* 1, 491/10, and Meeks, *Alex*, vol. 2, entry 78.1405. The word *stt* here may be identical with *stt*, "vom Geflügel: gerupft?" *Wb.* 4, 363/1–2. See further R. Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, Brown Egyptological Studies 1 (London, 1954), p. 94 (= "to pluck"). This *stt* may be the causative of *itt*, "Verbum (vom fliegen o. ä. eines Vögels)," *Wb.* 1, 151/6. For *itt*, see J. Allen, *The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts*, Bibliotheca Aegyptia 2 (Malibu, 1984), p. 599. There, *jtt* / *jtjtj* is classified under "verbs with uncertain roots." The word appears in the Pyramid Texts to mean "to spread out/unfold wings," or perhaps "to fold back the wings in landing." The image expressed by *p.t stt.ti* is that of the sky as a pair of wings; compare the comb of King Wadj, discussed by Westendorf, *Altägyptische Darstellungen des Sonnenlaufes*, pp. 22–24; H. Goedicke, "Unity and Diversity in the Oldest Religion of Ancient Egypt," in *Unity and Diversity*, edited by H. Goedicke and J. J. M. Roberts (Baltimore, 1975), p. 205 and the literature in nn. 33–34.

^gThe mention of the sky as folded back to the south and to the north suggests the term *p.ty*, "the two heavens," referring to the heavens of Upper and Lower Egypt (*Wb.* 1 491/15, and Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 128 and 235, with n. 45). This reference to the south-to-north axis in the context of a riverine festival implies a connection with the royal New Year's celebration and the return of the wandering goddess, on which see D. Kessler, "Der satirisch-erotische Papyrus Turin 55001 und das 'Verbringen des schönen Tages,'" *SAK* 15 (1988): 171–96, specifically pp. 182–83, n. 40. The use of the directions south and north, in that order, may be an allusion to the southeast to northwest flight of the sun; see Westendorf, *Altägyptische Darstellungen des Sonnenlaufes*, p. 23.

^hSethe suggested restoring two more seated men followed by the *nw*-pot, but there is insufficient space; plural strokes and a *nw*-pot are more likely. For the spelling of *sqd*, see F. Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, British School of Archaeology in Egypt and Egyptian Research Account 13 (London, 1907), pl. 7A, and G. Goyon, *Nouvelles Inscriptions rupestres du*

Wadi Hammamat (Paris, 1957), pp. 67–68, #37; the title there consists of *nfr*, "recruit," and *sqd*, "sailor," and is not the single title *nfr* with two determinatives, as *ibid.*, p. 68.

ⁱThe *Chapelle Rouge* has *i.n N.t* (Lacau and Chevrier, *Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, vol. 1, pp. 187–88 and vol. 2, pl. 9, #171). For *i N.t*, see Allen, *Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts*, p. 113 (§210), who remarks: "The context is obscure: the first form could be erroneous for Hatshepsut's *jn njt*, or perhaps the verbal noun *j (n) njt*, 'utterance of Neith' is better understood, as a title." R. Faulkner, "The Verb *i* 'To Say' and Its Developments," *JEA* 21 (1935): 178, cites the Luxor Temple occurrence as an example of the *sdm.f* of the verb *i*. Neith's role in this "drinking song" is plausible, in view of her epithet, "Lady of inebriation in (the season of) the fresh inundation waters," *nb(.t) trrq m hn.t w3d(.t)*, lines 8–9 of hymn 7 in L. Žabkar, *Hymns to Isis in her Temple at Philae* (Hanover and London, 1988), p. 107, pl. 21, fig. 8, and p. 181, n. 25.

^jFor *h'w*, "flotilla (of the god)," compare *p3 h'w twt hr hn.t imn*, "the fleet is assembled conveying Amun," *Khonsu* 1, pl. 20, l. 1. On *h'w*, meaning "fleet," see the examples collected by Jones, *Nautical Titles*, p. 132. The lacuna after *m-hnw h'w.k* on the eastern wall may have contained *tp-itrw*, "riverine."

^k*ip.t hr ib.k im.s* is preserved only on the eastern wall. The *s* in *im.s* probably refers back to *ip.t*.

In the parallel text from *Chapelle Rouge* (Lacau and Chevrier, *Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, p. 187) is found an introductory remark *dd mdw sp-4 md.t n wi3 (?)*, "recitation four times—speech for the bark(?)." An alternative translation for the last phrase is "recitation for sailing," if one reads *ak* as *hni*, "to sail," or similar. This line is not included in the Luxor versions.

^lReading *mr.t*, "Hörige, Untertanen," *Wb.* 2, 106/11–20.

^mThe translation is uncertain; compare D. Meeks, *Alex*, vol. 1, entry 77.5034, who renders the phrase in the Hatshepsut version: *dp.t(?) n(.t) wi3.w* as "la barque des barques." For *dp.t(?) n dp.wt(?)*, "best ship," compare Amun-Userhat as *nb.t n wi3.w nb.w*, "mistress of all barks," in Wenamun 2, 25, A. Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Stories*, Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 1 (Brussels, 1932), p. 69, ll. 8–9.

ⁿPerhaps understand *mr.(ti)*, the third person plural feminine qualitative form. The handle of the basket in *n.k* on the eastern wall is not carved.

The mention of the Akeru, a reference to the east-to-western axis, suggests an allusion to the solar journey, in contrast to the south-to-north imagery of the first song. For the mention of the cardinal points in the drinking songs, compare H. Junker, "Poesie aus der Spätzeit," *ZÄS* 43 (1906): 106–07 and 126. The *3kr.w* are the "Schlangen als Erdgottheiten," *Wb.* 1, 22/7. On these chthonic demons, see Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, p. 13, and E. Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2. ÄA 7 (Wiesbaden, 1963), p. 104. For the Akeru and their associated *fnh.w* bonds, see also B. Altenmüller, *Synkretismus in den Sargtexten*, Göttinger Orientforschung IV/7 (Wiesbaden, 1975), p. 14. The sense then is that these


deities of the earth no longer pose a threat to the god on his solar journey.

W3.t is also appropriate to a celestial journey; Re journeys upon the “paths of heaven” in R. Parker, J. Leclant, and J.-C. Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak*, Brown Egyptological Studies 8 (Providence, 1979), pl. 32. See also H. Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume des Tempels von Luxor*, ÄV 18 (Mainz am Rhein, 1977), pl. 65, l. 13, and C. Desroches-Noblecourt and C. Kuentz, *Le Petit Temple d'Abou Simbel*, vol. 1 (Cairo, 1968), pp. 172–73, n. 201.

^oOn the eastern wall *h'pp* is written. For *h'py wr* (Wb. 3, 43/1), see J. Janssen, “The Day the Inundation Began,” *JNES* 46 (1987): 131. *h'y* is a qualitative form, in parallelism to the preceding *mr*.

^pOn the pacification of the Two Ladies and the unity of the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt, compare the song of the *hpš-b.wy* in *MH* 4, pl. 207. For the association of south with east and north with west in Egyptian temples (and on the west-east as the axis of Amun, and south-north as the axis of the king), see S. Cauville, “Une Règle de la «grammaire» du temple,” *BIFAO* 83 (1983): 51–84, and C. Loeben, “Bemerkungen zum Horustempel des Neuen Reiches in Edfu,” *BSEG* 14 (1990): 67.

The Hatshepsut version has *tp mr* after *Nb.ty*. The term *mr* does not necessarily refer to a canal (C. Nims, *Thebes of the Pharaohs* [London, 1965], pp. 122 and 202, believed that the water procession may have taken place upon a canal in the New Kingdom), but may designate a portion of the Nile. Compare the *mr* of V. Condon, *Seven Royal Hymns of the Ramesside Period*, MÄS 37 (Berlin, 1978), p. 15, l. 5, in a hymn to Ramesses VII: [... *p3y.k h'wt hr*] *mr* “[... your flotilla upon] the waterway,” in a passage describing a journey “to Opet to your mooring” (*r ip.t r mn.k*). This use of *mr* is paralleled by a similar use of the term *š*, “Teich, See, Becken,” Wb. 4, 397/1–398/17. On *š*, see J. Darnell, “Two Notes on Marginal Inscriptions at Medinet Habu,” in *Essays in Egyptology in Honor of Hans Goedicke*, edited by B. Bryan and D. Lorton (San Antonio, forthcoming); H. Junker, *Das Götterdekret über das Abaton* (Vienna, 1913), p. 32; and E. Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits nach den Versionen des Neuen Reiches*, vol. 2, AH 8 (Geneva, 1980), pp. 50–51.

For *Hr tm3-'* as a designation of the king, see Wb. 5, 367/18.  is to be read *hr*.

^qBarta, ZÄS 110 (1983): 103, reads: “*hnj.tw ntr hr nfrt ntr p3.n Hwt-hrw jrjt nfrt nfrwt n NN*,” “Der Gott (d. h. Amun) wird gerudert mit der Schönen des Gottes. Hathor hat getan das Schöne der schönen Dinge dem König NN.” Barta connects this statement with the journey of Amun to Luxor, the primary purpose of which was, according to that scholar, for “Vermählung.” If, as Barta suggests, this is a reference to the *hieros gamos*, and if *nfr.t ntr* is indeed to be read, it may be significant that Hatshepsut omitted the *nfr.t*. For further discussion of the relationship of these songs with the *hieros gamos*, see W. Barta, *Untersuchungen zur Göttlichkeit des*

regierenden Königs, MÄS 32 (Berlin, 1975), p. 112, who relates these songs to a *hieros gamos* intended to release the fertility of the Inundation.

Junker translates the closing portion of the song as: “dem Horus mit erhobenem Arm; wenn der Gott gerudert wird mit der ‘Schönen des Gottes’. Hathor hat das Schöne der schönen Dinge getan dem König NN.—so sagt Neith.” He proposes that the king’s Nile journey is being compared to the deity’s journey in the marshes of the Delta: “So schwebte dem Verfasser des Liedes das Götterpaar vor Augen, das im Boote fröhlich dahinfährt, so wie die Bilder des Alten Reiches den Grabherrn und seine Gemahlin bei Jagd und Vogelfang im Papyricht zeigen,” *Der sehende und blinde Gott (Mhntj-irtj und Mhntj-n-irtj)*, Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: Philosophisch-historische Abteilung, Jahrgang 1942, Heft 7 (Munich, 1942), pp. 43–44.

These hymns fit well the topos of a riverine procession and festival, on which see P. Derchain, “Le Lotus, la mandragore, et le perséa,” *CdE* 50 (1975): 82–86, and M. Fox, *The Song of Songs and the Ancient Egyptian Love Songs* (Madison, 1985), pp. 14–16. The *mswr* are perhaps the booths at the canal opening festival. This parallelism suggests that Sethe was correct in stating: “Man wird sich diese ‘Trinkstätte’ als eine Art Festzelt zu denken haben, in dem sich, dem hochzeitlichen Charakter des Luksorfestes entsprechend, ein lustiges Treiben abspielen mochte.”³⁵ A possible reference to the huts along the riverbank during the Opet festival is found in Hymn V 20, I, ll. 7–8 of Condon, *Seven Royal Hymns of the Ramesside Period*: *i3w.t.tw t3 mryt n W3.s.t [ndm.ti] m n3y.k ht3.w*, “be thou praised, O Bank of Thebes [joyful] in your awnings.”³⁶ The *ht3.w* are perhaps, however, the sails of the divine barks. On the possible meanings of *ht3* and this passage, see J. Darnell, “Two Sieges in the Æthiopic Stelae,” in *Ägypten im afro-orientalischen Kontext*, Mendel and Claudi (eds.), pp. 76–80.

PLATE 28. THE BARGES OF MUT AND THE QUEEN
SAILING TO LUXOR, ACCOMPANIED BY MEN
TOWING, SOLDIERS, AND MUSICIANS:
DETAIL OF PLATE 17

For the texts not translated here, see the translations of pls. 29 and 30.

TRANSLATION³⁷

HORIZONTAL TEXT ABOVE TOWING MEN

The company of sailors and the vanguard [of] the army^a w[ho are pull]ing the bow-rope for the mistress of the two lands. What they sing: “Heaven is shouting,^b the two lands are in festival, and the two banks are in jubilation when

35. See also Fox, *The Song of Songs and the Ancient Egyptian Love Songs*, pp. 46 and 48, n. q.

36. Condon, *Seven Royal Hymns of the Ramesside Period*, pp. 22 and 34.

37. This hymn is translated, with parallels, in Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 250–52.

they see the foremost of the gods as she illumines the land with her beauty. The gods give her praise and all mankind adores her while she is in the retinue of the lord of the gods in [his beau]tiful [festival of] Opet.”

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aFor this phrase, compare Beinlich and Saleh, *Corpus der hieroglyphischen Inschriften*, p. 26 (no. 50jj-Stab, text on the shaft). A. Schulman, “The Egyptian Chariotry: A Reexamination,” *JARCE* 2 (1963): 81 and n. 27, suggests “the leaders of the army” for *ḥꜣwty n mšꜥ*. Schulman renders this phrase in the parallel text on the eastern wall (pl. 91, l. 3) as “the companies and the contingents of ships, the leaders of the army who follow this august god.”

^bThe sky itself exclaims joyfully when Amun appears in his riverine procession. This is appropriate phraseology to a divine epiphany or cosmic disturbance; compare K. Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte* (Leipzig, 1908–1922), §1120, §1150, and §1771, and D. Kurth, in D. Kurth, H.-J. Thissen, and M. Weber, *Kölner ägyptische Papyri (P. Köln ägypt.)*, *Papyrologica Coloniensia* 9 (Opladen, 1980), pp. 33–34, n. 47.

PLATE 29. THE BARGE OF THE QUEEN:
DETAIL OF PLATE 28

TRANSLATION

IN FRONT OF THE BARGE OF THE QUEEN

¹[...] when he appears, everyone ²[... king of Up]per
[and Lower Egypt,] Horemheb-Merenamun*

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

On the representations of the barge of the queen, see the discussion of pl. 83. On each castle of the boat are smiting scenes in which the figure of the queen stands behind the king; compare the depiction on a piece of gold foil from KV 58, wherein the female figure behind Tutankhamun is clearly labeled Ankhesenamun, for which see E. Swan Hall, *The Pharaoh Smites his Enemies*, *MÄS* 44 (Berlin, 1986), p. 26. The rigging of the queen’s barge extended into the waterlines of the towboats above; for a similar treatment, compare G. Sée, *Grandes Villes de l’Égypte antique* (Paris, 1974), p. 254.

For the flail of the naval officers, a wooden handle with a ribbonlike attachment, see Klebs, *Die Reliefs und Malereien des neuen Reiches*, pp. 74–75.³⁸ The flail carried by policemen is similar in form; see G. Andreu, “Sobek comparé à un

policier,” in *Livre du centenaire*, MIFAO 104 (Cairo, 1980), pp. 6–7 and pl. 1B, where he suggests that the flail is “probablement la trique” and may be identical with the *šsm* discussed by G. Posener, “Les Quarante Rouleaux de lois,” *GM* 25 (1977): 63–66. This naval flail is probably related to the “loop” described by C. Boreux, *Études de nautique égyptienne*, MIFAO 50 (Cairo, 1924–25), pp. 412–13.³⁹

The ribbons of the flail shown were probably of cloth. In P. Anastasi IV 17, 2, in a list of items to be prepared for a royal festival, there is mention of an *isbr*-whip with a *krt* of red “ins-cloth.” This suggests red cloth ribbons for these festival “whips.”⁴⁰ For another cloth *krt*, perhaps also a “whip,” see T. Peet, *The Great Tomb-Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty* (Oxford, 1930), p. 101. The actual handle of a boatswain’s whip displays a form similar to that depicted in the Opet reliefs, for which see W. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt* 2 (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), p. 112, fig. 59.

PLATE 30. THE BARGE OF MUT:
DETAIL OF PLATE 28

TRANSLATION

ABOVE THE FORWARD AEGIS OF THE BARGE OF MUT

¹[...] ... at^a ²[... re]al [cedar] of the best of the hillsides
³[...] ...

BEHIND THE BARGE OF MUT

⁴[...] ... millions of ⁵[... st]rength of Amun, your noble father, who has decreed^b for you valor and victory against every land.

BETWEEN THE TWO FIGURES OF THE KING IN FRONT OF THE
BARGE

⁶All [... sur]round him like Re.

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aRestore perhaps: [*ntr.w hrr*]*w.w*, “[gods are satis]fied”; compare frag. 1144 (pl. 125). For the phrase *hrw r*, compare *Wb.* 2, 496/11 (*Belegstellen*). The next line seems to refer to [*š mš*]*ꜥ n tp ḥty.w*, “re[al cedar] of the best of the hillsides.” The passage may describe the joy of the gods at seeing the refurbished barge; compare RIK 2, pl. 90. The word *tp* may also be rendered as a generalizing particle, meaning “real Lebanese cedar.”

^bThe *wḏ* sign is palaeographically unusual.

38. “Die meisten Aufseher mit Peitschen sind bei der Schifffahrt zu sehen, wo sie auf jedem Schiff ihre Peitsche schwingen, um die Arbeiter anzufeuern,” Klebs, *Die Reliefs und Malereien des neuen Reiches*, p. 75. Compare also the flail carried by the ploughing tomb owner in Wreszinski, *Atlas* 1, pl. 19a. The ribbon flail appears to be used occasionally as a counterpart to the leather whip, B. Ockinga and Y. al-Masri, *Two Ramesside Tombs at El Mashayikh. Part 2: The Tomb of Anhurmoose-The Inner Room, and the Tomb of Imiseba* (Sydney, 1990), pl. 55. See also B. Löhr, “Aḥanjāti in Memphis,” *SAK* 2 (1975): 179 and pl. 5.

39. Compare also the “flails” carried by doorkeepers (*iry ʿ3*) in scenes from the tomb of Neferronpet, called Kenro, TT 178 (Sheikh abd el-Gurna), Wreszinski, *Atlas* 1, pls. 73–75. These are also carried by the doorkeeper in Davies, *Tomb of Nefer-Hotep*, pls. 13–14 and 16. Similar flails are grasped by a charioteer and several horsemen on the silver Egyptianizing dish Louvre A020135, Markoe, *Phoenician Bronze and Silver Bowls from Cyprus and the Mediterranean*, pp. 242–43. Compare also the flail carried by the man depicted at the entrance to a temple on the stela Brussels E2386, Schulman, *Ceremonial Execution*, pp. 26–27, fig. 11, pl. 4.

40. On the passage in P. Anastasi IV, see Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, p. 216.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENT

On the scallop-rimmed vase, see the discussion of pl. 8.

PLATE 31. MEN TOWING THE BARGE OF MUT:
DETAIL OF PLATE 28

For the text, see the translation of pl. 28.

PLATE 32. DANCING NUBIANS, SOLDIERS, AND
MUSICIANS: DETAIL OF PLATE 28

For the text, see the translation of pl. 28.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

For the trumpet, see H. G. Fischer, "The Trumpet in Ancient Egypt," in *Pyramid Studies and Other Essays Presented to I. E. S. Edwards*, edited by J. Baines et al. (London, 1988), pp. 103–09; H. Hickmann, *La Trompette dans l'Égypte ancienne*, SASAE 1 (Cairo, 1946), and S. Sauneron, "L'Abaton de la campagne d'Esna," *MDAIK* 16 (1958): 277–78, n. o.

The strings with tassels dangling from the neck of the lute (behind the trumpet player) can also be depicted as hanging from the arm of the lutenist; see the figured ostrakon in B. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1933–1934)*, FIFAO 14 (Cairo, 1937), p. 141, fig. 66.

The relief showing a group of dancing Nubians in the Speos of Horemheb at Gebel el Silsila⁴¹ provides a parallel to the scene here and on the eastern wall (pl. 94). The left-most dancer at Gebel el Silsila, depicted with his right hand hanging down behind him and the palm opening away from him, is in fact possibly modeled after the Opet example on pl. 94 (eastern wall). For this pose, compare the leaping dancer from the tomb of Amenemhet (TT 82), Nina Davies and A. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhêt (No. 82)*, TTS 1 (London, 1915), pl. 20. On the Nubian dancers in general, see E. Brunner-Traut, *Der Tanz im alten Ägypten*, ÄF 6 (Glückstadt-Hamburg-New York, 1938), pp. 54–56, and idem, "Une Danse nubienne d'époque pharaonique," *Kush* 7 (1959): 76–90. The bulbous objects swinging from the Nubians' kilts are perhaps rattles.⁴²

For the "maces" carried by some of the Nubian dancers, compare the objects held by several Nubians on an Amarna period block from Karnak published by P. Anus, "Un Domaine thébain d'époque 'amarnienne,'" *BIFAO* 69 (1974): 80, fig. 6. Such large wooden clubs are characteristic weapons of Nubian soldiers.⁴³ In P. Lansing 7, 2 "watchmen

pursue him (the dissolute student) with šbd-sticks and Nubians with maces," *iry.w 3.w m-s3.f hr šbd.w nhsy.w hr bdn.w*.⁴⁴ The word *bdn* may therefore be the Egyptian designation of the weapons carried by the Nubians in this scene; on the term *bdn*, see Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, pp. 201 and 395.

W. Decker, *Sport und Spiel im Alten Ägypten* (Munich, 1987), p. 84, fig. 45, interprets the men on the Karnak block as "fencers." The presence of these club-wielding Nubians in close association with wrestlers on the Karnak block indicates that the "maces" are related to ritual combat. Anus refers to them as "matraques," and observes that the tops of three more are visible on the lower left of the block.⁴⁵ The grouping of these recalls the appearance of the three "maces" in the Luxor procession. This suggests that a similar dance may have been depicted in the Amarna period scene. The Nubians in both the Karnak and Luxor scenes may all be stick-fighters.⁴⁶

PLATE 34. TOWBOATS OF THE ROYAL BARGE:
FRAGMENTS FROM THE WEST WALL RIVERINE
PROCESSION: DETAIL OF PLATE 17

For the positioning and context of these fragments, see pl. 17.

TRANSLATION

TO THE LEFT OF THE LEAD TOWBOAT

¹[... an excel]lent [sailing]^a to the beautiful Opet, the place of ... [...]

TO THE RIGHT OF THE TOWBOATS

²[...] (the bark) "The-One-Who-Pro[pitiates]-the-God[s],"^b king of Upper and [Lower Egypt,] Djoserkheperure[-Setepen]re* ³[...] son of Amun, whom the sun disk has born in/as^c [... h]im (?)^d ⁴[... one who]

1951], pl. 25D; see R. Drenkhahn, *Darstellungen von Negern in Ägypten* [Hamburg, 1967], pp. 102–03). For a brief description of the maces, see Wolf, *Bewaffnung*, p. 80. The maces are similar in shape to batons from the tomb of Tutankhamun (unpublished; on exhibition at the Cairo Museum). For a description of modern Nubian men carrying "hockey-stick"-like clubs, see A. Weigall, *A Report on the Antiquities of Lower Nubia* (Oxford, 1907), p. 24.

44. See A. Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 7 (Brussels, 1937), p. 105, ll. 12–13.

45. *BIFAO* 69 (1974): 80.

46. On dances and "Stocktanz," see also Drenkhahn, *Darstellungen von Negern in Ägypten*, pp. 82–86 and 166; she compares the stick dance of the Nubians with the Libyan/Egyptian boomerang" dance (ibid., p. 85, n. 7). Compare also the scenes of stick-fighting in *Kheruef*, pls. 61 and 63, and p. 64. Ritual stick-fighting is also associated elsewhere with riverine processions. A painting in the tomb of Khons, for example, shows two stick-fighters atop the cabin of a boat towing the barge of Montu; see Decker, *Sport*, pp. 94–95 and fig. 57. For further remarks on the religious significance of this activity, see O. Keel, "Die Weisheit «spielt» vor Gott," *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie* 21 (1974): 1–66; on Keel's work, note also the review by P. Derchain, *Stadion* 2 (1976): 155–56; and the comments by J. Quaegebeur, "Textes bibliques et iconographie égyptienne," *OLP* 20 (1989): 50–51.

41. Wreszinski, *Atlas* 2, pl. 161.

42. See H. Hickmann, "Die altägyptische Rassel," *ZÄS* 79 (1954): 116–25.

43. See Wolf, *Bewaffnung*, p. 62 and pl. 40, showing the bodyguard of Akhenaten. The maces are also carried by Nubians attending Ramesses III in the great lion hunt scene on the northern exterior wall of Medinet Habu (*MH* 1, pl. 35); they are shown, too, in the depictions of the second Libyan war (*MH* 2, pl. 62), and in a representation of combat in a fragment from the western High Gate of Medinet Habu (U. Hölscher et al., *The Excavation of Medinet Habu 4: The Mortuary Temple of Ramses III, Part 2*, OIP 55 [Chicago,

widens the borders of Egypt, perfect [...] lord of splendor
 5[...] ...^e [...] hig[h ...]

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aRestoring *hn.t nfr.t*. The phrase *ir.t hn.t nfr.t* is preserved on pl. 82, l. 1. Or, alternatively, restore *šsp tp wš.t nfr.t*, for which see Naville, *Deir el Bahari* 3, pl. 72.

^bThe royal bark *šhtp-ntr.w* appears also in the song of the towers on pl. 18.

^cThis phrase appears to be a variant of the more common *sš imn ms.n Mw.t*, the disk being the womb, on which see N. Grimal, *Les Termes de la propagande royale égyptienne* (Paris, 1986), p. 155, n. 454. See further the discussion of pl. 83, particularly n. f.

^dReading the traces as a *sw*-sign to the left and a quail chick to the right.

^eA portion of the snout and beard of a ram's head may be preserved on the far right of fragment 34, this being perhaps part of a title such as *wr šfy.t*, on which see *ibid.*, pp. 695–97.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

Plaster is preserved in many places on fragment 8 (e.g., streamer, hieroglyphs). The line on the pendant hanging from the prow of the towboat on fragment 1164 is red. There are many surviving traces of red on the sails; fragments 6 and 69 show that the sails were originally decorated in a checkerboard pattern. There are also some traces of red paint on the bodies of the sailors. Umber paint is preserved faintly on the spars slanting up to the right on fragments 19 and 507, and on the spar slanting up to the left on fragment 32. The painted remnants of a cartouche in front of the smiting figure of the king on the side of the forecabin survive on fragment 12.⁴⁷

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The two sailors on the stern of the rightmost towboat (fragments 1, 9, and 29) are on a larger scale than the other men on the towboats, perhaps in order to match the scale of the sailors furling the sails of the larger-scale king's barge following to the right. The tow ropes, after passing through the rings on the steering oar,⁴⁸ angle down to the right, reinforcing the identification of this towboat as part of an upper register group. Compare the horizontal extension of the towropes on fragment no. 77 (pl. 121), from the bottom register; compare also pls. 69, 71–73, and 75 (eastern wall procession). On fragment 1517 a sailor appears to hold a brace for trimming the sail.⁴⁹ The checkerboard pattern of the sails (cf. *Khonsu* 1, pl. 20) corresponds to the vertical edges of strips of fabric sewn together; on sails as composites of sev-

eral pieces of cloth, see L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World* (Princeton, 1971), p. 47, n. 27.

PLATE 35. KEY TO RELIEFS DEPICTING THE BARKS ARRIVING AT LUXOR TEMPLE AND THE KING AND BARKS IN LUXOR TEMPLE: EPISODES 4 AND 5

For the fragments depicted on this plate, see pls. 42 and 50.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

Immediately to the left of the acrobatic dancers is a representation of a wall and a doorway (the tops of the lines are lost in damage). The rightmost shadow line represents an open doorleaf viewed from the inside, partially concealed by the doorframe.⁵⁰ The slight rise at the bottom of the doorleaf as depicted here is also found on *talatat* blocks.⁵¹ A similar representation of a gate and wall is preserved in the tomb of Neferhotep (TT 49), for which see Davies, *The Tomb of Nefer-Hotep at Thebes*, vol. 1, pl. 18, and vol. 2, pl. 1.⁵² A wall, on which a trace of red paint survives, connects this small gate to the large portal of Luxor Temple just above it; in the parallel scene on the eastern wall (pl. 55), the feature is not visible and probably existed in paint only.

PLATE 36. EPISODE 4: THE BARKS ARRIVING AT LUXOR TEMPLE

For the texts not translated below, see the translations of pls. 38 and 40.

TRANSLATION

ABOVE THE OFFERING PILES BETWEEN THE BOOTHS IN THE BOTTOM REGISTER

Offering^a every good and pure thing, consisting of long-horned and short-horned cattle, fowl, incense, wine, fruit, gazelles, [ibe]xes, oryxes, every good plant of the god's land,^b they being offered before you in order that your *ka* may be satisfied [thereby], to Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands, foremost in Karnak, in your beautiful festival of Opet.

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aThe signs of *mš* are partially reversed. For *rdi mš*, see Chappaz, *Karnak* 8 (1982–85): 90, n. d. This text is paralleled on the eastern wall, for which see pl. 67, l. 16.

^bFor "every good plant of the god's land," *rnp(.t) nb.t nfr.t nw tš-ntr*, compare the Piye stela, l. 154, "all aromatic plants of the god's land," *hšw nb n tš-ntr*, N. Grimal, *La Stèle*

47. On smiting scenes, see the references in J. Leclant, "La «Famille libyenne» au temple haut de Pépi I^{er}," *Livre du centenaire*, p. 53, n. 1.

48. See pl. 84 below for the discussion of this feature where it is preserved on the standing wall.

49. Compare the ropes marked F on Winlock's drawing of object #336 from the tomb of Tutankhamun, D. Jones, *Model Boats from the Tomb of Tut'ankhamun*, Tut'ankhamun's Tomb Series 9 (Oxford, 1990), pl. 36.

50. Compare the Karnak Aton temple reliefs in the Luxor Museum, J. Lauffrey, "Les «talatat» du IX^e pylône de Karnak et le *Teny-menou*," *Karnak* 6 (1980): 67–89, fig. 1 (middle), and pl. 17 (where views from inside and outside are differentiated). See also ATP 1, pl. 85 (doorleaves of a broken-lintel shrine viewed from inside [7], and from outside [8]).

51. Lauffrey, *Karnak* 6 (1980): pl. 17, bottom.

52. Compare also the depiction of a gate and wall in the tomb of Pahemneter (TT 284), published in N. Davies, "Harvest Rites in a Theban Tomb," *JEA* 25 (1939): pl. 19.

trionphale de Pi(‘ankhy) au Musée du Caire, JE 48862 et 47086–47089, MIFAO 105 (Cairo, 1981), p. 50, pp. 136–37, n. 405.*

PLATE 38. THE BARK OF KHONSU ARRIVING AT
LUXOR TEMPLE, WITH MUSICIANS, BUTCHERS,
AND OFFERING BOOTHS: DETAIL OF PLATE 36

For the horizontal text in the bottom register, see the translation of pl. 36.

FRAGMENT 510

TRANSLATION

IN FRONT OF THE AEGIS OF KHONSU

[... wa]y^a [...]

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^aFor the position of this text, compare pl. 67. The inscription on pl. 67, l. 1, is “[O]pe[ning the wa]y [be]fore this god.” This fragment, therefore, may preserve the lower portion of *wꜣ.t*, “way.”

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

Traces of red paint are preserved on the myrrh which the second priest from the left is pouring in the bottom register. Red traces also survive on the base of the offering stand in front of him.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The priest between the Khonsu and Mut barks is badly obscured by damage, but the position of his upper arm and forearm make clear that he is a censuring priest, tucked in behind the fan bearers.

The acrobatic dancers overlap the doorleaf of the small gateway, suggesting that they are performing at least partially within the gateway itself. For the association of dancing and music with major gateways on the approach to a sanctuary, see A. Badawy, “The Approach to the Egyptian Temple in the Late and Graeco-Roman Periods,” *ZÄS* 102 (1975): 83–88. For parallels to the dancers, see Schott, *Wüstentale*, pp. 805–09 (pp. 41–45); J. Romano et al., *The Luxor Museum of Ancient Egyptian Art, Catalogue* (Cairo, 1979), pl. 9, no. 58; W. Kaiser et al., *Ägyptisches Museum Berlin* (Berlin, 1967), p. 46, cat. no. 469 (figurine); and Brunner-Traut, *Der Tanz im alten Ägypten*, pp. 48–52. The hands of the rightmost six dancers are crossed over each other as they touch the ground, a gesture unattested in similar representations, but which would result in a complete revolution of the dancers’ bodies in completing the somersault.⁵³

The small booths may represent temporary shrines, not permanent structures; compare Lauffray, *Karnak* 6 (1980): 83, fig. 1, pl. 19. On the booths and their association with water processions, see N. Davies, *The Tomb of Two Sculptors at*

Thebes, Robb de Peyster Tytus Memorial Series 4 (New York, 1925), p. 48, n. 1, and Ockinga and al-Masri, *Two Ramesside Tombs at El Mashayikh*, part 2, p. 49.⁵⁴ The eight booths, connecting the scenes of the riverine procession with those of the barks enshrined within Luxor Temple, are perhaps represented as outside of the temple precinct, and may be understood as lining the approach taken by the barks from the quay to the entrance of Luxor Temple. The identification of the small portal with open doorleaf, in front of which these booths appear to stand, is problematic;⁵⁵ see the iconographic comments for pl. 35. This makes it impossible to assign a location to the booths with any certainty.

What the men here and on the eastern wall pour on the offering piles is myrrh.⁵⁶ Compare the parallel in G. Martin, *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, Commander-in-Chief of Tut ‘ankhamūn, I. The Reliefs, Inscriptions, and Commentary*, Excavation Memoirs 55 (London, 1989), p. 101 and pls. 120 and 123, scene 83, where a man pours out myrrh with one hand and holds a dish containing a heap of myrrh in the other hand. This pouring of myrrh is represented in the same manner in the tomb of Khons (TT 31),⁵⁷ where a man pours myrrh on a pile of offerings in a pavilion. Another individual is shown pouring myrrh on a pile of offerings atop a towboat in the same tomb. The traces of red on some of the material as represented at Luxor are also consistent with an identification as myrrh.⁵⁸

On the burnt-offering altars and their iconographic antecedents, see Schott, *Wüstentale*, p. 785 (p. 21) and n. 1, and A. Brack and A. Brack, *Das Grab des Tjanuni. Theben Nr. 74, AV 19 (Mainz am Rhein, 1977)*, p. 29. A parallel to the action of pouring a melting cone of incense onto a pile of offerings by lifting up the stand on which it sits is found in the royal tomb at Amarna, G. Martin, *Royal Tomb at El-‘Amarna II. The Reliefs, Inscriptions, and Architecture*, Archaeological Survey of Egypt 39 (London, 1989), pl. 34; and compare also the fragmentary remains of the same kind of scene in *ibid.*, pl. 47.

Butchery scenes are associated with the Opet festival already at Deir el Bahari, Naville, *Deir el Bahari* 5, pls. 124 and 126. Similar small-scale butchery scenes in minor registers below major scenes are found on Amarna *talatat* blocks (ATP 1, pl. 73, 1 and pl. 74, 1 and 2). On the so-called

54. For booths around sacred lakes, see S. Sauneron, *Les Fêtes religieuses d’Esna aux derniers siècles du paganisme*, Esna 5 (Cairo, 1962), pp. 343–44, and C.-B. Arnst, “Die Aussagekraft unscheinbarer Motive,” *BSEG* 15 (1991): 6–7.

55. If located outside of the temple, it may represent the gateway into a precursor of the Ramesside court.

56. Wolf, *Opet*, p. 21 and n. 2, proposes that the men are pouring out oil, but he is uncertain. Wreszinski, *Atlas* 2, pl. 196, suggests that the men are piling meat onto the tables. Compare also Davies, *Two Sculptors*, p. 30.

57. Davies, *Seven Private Tombs at Qurnah*, Mond Excavations at Thebes 2 (London, 1948), pl. 12. Further parallels from the Amarna tombs are: Davies, *Amarna* 2, pl. 18; Davies, *Amarna* 4, pl. 15; and T. M. Davis et al., *The Tomb of Queen Tîyi* (London, 1910), pls. 32–33.

58. Schott, *Wüstentale* p. 779 (p. 15) remarks that myrrh is often represented as “eine rote, dickflüssige Masse.”

53. This curious detail is clearly documented in I. Lexová, *Ancient Egyptian Dances* (Prague, 1935), pl. 41, but not commented on.

“turriccephalic” butchers, see Martin, *Tomb of Horemheb*, pp. 37 and 84.

PLATE 40. THE BARKS OF MUT AND THE KING
ARRIVING AT LUXOR TEMPLE, WITH BUTCHERS
AND OFFERING BOOTHS BELOW:
DETAIL OF PLATE 36

TRANSLATION

ABOVE THE BARK OF MUT

¹“(I) have given to you ²all life, stability, and dominion,
³all valor and ⁴all victory ⁵[like] Re every day.”

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

Traces of red paint are visible on the collar of the front aegis of the Mut bark.

The rightmost group of priests carrying the bark of the king displays considerable variation in the head sizes of the priests. This recalls the situation on pls. 12–16, where a number of heads show trace lines of earlier, larger versions.

On the bull carcass farthest to the right, the bottom of the carcass may be indicated by the beveled edge of the base or ground line (directly beneath the butcher cutting into the carcass with his knife); compare the photograph on pl. 39.

PLATE 42. THE BARK OF AMUN APPROACHING
LUXOR TEMPLE: FRAGMENTS FROM THE
WEST WALL: DETAIL OF PLATE 35

For the context of these fragments, see pl. 35. For the text on fragments 8 and 481, see the translation of pl. 34.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The ear of the priest on fragment 31 is quite deeply modeled, a feature best seen in the photograph on pl. 41. There are traces of blue on the uppermost bit of plaster in the area of the king’s collar on fragment 1191.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

This fragment group contains a depiction of the transport of the divine staffs. Such scenes are quite rare, though another example is perhaps preserved on a badly damaged relief in Naville, *Deir el Bahari* 5, pl. 123.⁵⁹ The decoration of the portal jambs as represented here appears to reflect the scenes on the inner jambs of the northern entrance into the Colonnade Hall (i.e., images of the king wearing low crowns and presenting offerings to unaccompanied Amun figures);⁶⁰ the priests are entering the Colonnade Hall. This is confirmed by fragments 4 and 419, which show the forearm of the first priest in the upper register of priests overlapping the leftmost

jamb of the doorway. The decoration of the portal of Luxor Temple represented on the eastern wall (pl. 61) shows figures of the king wearing high crowns and presenting offerings to figures of Amun accompanied by a goddess. This reflects the actual decoration of the exterior jambs of the northern entrance to the Colonnade Hall.⁶¹

The placement of the gateway in the reconstruction is approximate. As here restored, there is a small space between the leftmost priest and the right jamb. On fragment 4, the right doorjamb clearly overlaps the rear arm of the priest bearing the *w3s* staff, and on fragment 419, the kilt of the lead priest overlaps the decoration of the gateway. Fragment 2220 is in the Turin Museum, number S 18057. Fragment 555 completes the upper left corner of a block, the lower portion of which is still preserved on the wall; this fragment floats approximately ten centimeters above the wall.

The scale of the king’s figure is the same as that on pl. 65; the height of the doorway is projected on the basis of the number of vignettes depicted on the jambs of Luxor Temple shown on pl. 61.

PLATE 43. EPISODE 5: THE BARKS OF MUT AND
KHONSU IN LUXOR TEMPLE, WITH STAFFS
BEHIND THE BARK PEDESTAL OF AMUN

For the texts, see the translations of pls. 45, 46, 48, and 50.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

These barks, and those in the parallel scenes at the southern end of the eastern wall (pl. 56), were carved by Sety I. They are noticeably different from those executed during the reign of Tutankhamun. The Sety barks have thicker prows and sterns, larger aegises, the collars of which rise above the gunwales, and a shrine-shaped pectoral added to the collar of each aegis. Although these enlarged iconographic features might be ascribed to Horemheb, whose name is found carved in the cabin and billow of the Amun bark enshrined in Luxor Temple at the southern end of the eastern wall (pl. 56), they do not occur in the few surviving examples of bark representations from the reign of Horemheb.⁶² These features are, however, often found in the monumental decoration of Sety I.⁶³ The Amun barks in par-

59. On the rarity of such scenes, see Satzinger, *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 77 (1981): 20.

60. Nelson, *Key Plans*, pl. 22, nos. L C 15 (eastern wall) and 16 (western wall); PM II², p. 314 (76) I and p. 315 (87) I 1, II 1, and III 1. These scenes will appear in *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple*, Volume 2.

61. Nelson, *Key Plans*, pl. 21, L A 63–65 (eastern wall) and L A 60 (western wall). The tall crowns of the lower two jamb scenes on plate 61, however, do not correspond exactly to the preserved crowns on the actual jambs.

62. Nelson, *Key Plans*, pl. 8, no. K G 308–10 (PM II², p. 184 (558)–(559) = photograph Chicago OI 6202); a slender bark hull may be seen in the traces of the erased Horemheb decoration in Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, pls. 12 and 266.

63. Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, pls. 178, 180, and 197; the Gurna temple of Sety I, Nelson, *Key Plans*, pl. 37, no. 8/9 (PM II², p. 408 (6) = photograph Chicago OI 6250), no. 17b (PM II², pp. 408–09 (5)–(7) = photograph Chicago OI 8256), no. 199 (PM II², p. 411 (41)), no. 217 (PM II², p. 413 (66) = photograph Chicago OI 8222), and no. 219/220 (PM II², p. 414 (69) = photograph Chicago OI 6383); and the temple of Sety I at Abydos, Calverley, Broome, and Gardiner, *Abydos* 2, pls. 10–11.

ticular are considerably larger than their Tutankhamun counterparts at the northern end of the hall (pls. 7 and 110). Rather than reflecting an innovation present in Tutankhamun's (or Horemheb's) cartoon for the scenes at the southern ends of the side walls, the increased scale is likely to be another example of Sety I's preference for enlarged bark aegises.⁶⁴

PLATE 45. OFFERINGS PILED BENEATH THE KING AT
LUXOR TEMPLE: DETAIL OF PLATE 43

TRANSLATION

THE OFFERING LIST

- ¹Libation on the offering chest
- ²Presentation with *wšr.t*-incense
- ³The offering meal
- ⁴Water ... : 1^a
- ⁵Water ... red vessels: 10^a
- ⁶Wine of Lower Egypt, pottery vessels: 10
- ⁷Wine of Lower Egypt, red vessels: 10
- ⁸Butcher knife: 1
- ⁹Fore[leg]: 1
- ¹⁰Leg: 1
- ¹¹[Ri]bs: 2
- ¹²[Roa]st joint: 2
- ¹³*pqw*-cakes: 1
- ¹⁴White bread: 1
- ¹⁵*b(n)bn*-bread: 1
- ¹⁶Be[er]: 1
- ¹⁷*rꜥ* -goose: 1
- ¹⁸*(t)rp*-goose: 1
- ¹⁹*st*-goose: 1
- ²⁰*sr*-goose: 1
- ²¹Pigeon: 1
- ²²*nh(n)w*-bread: 1
- ²³*ššr.t*-bread: 2
- ²⁴Myrrh: 2
- ²⁵Green eye-paint ^b
- ²⁶Black eye-paint
- ²⁷Orpiment
- ²⁸Lapis lazuli
- ²⁹Yellow ochre
- ³⁰Carbon black
- ³¹Every kind of plant

64. Compare the Amun bark fragment group from the eastern wall of the sun court of Amenhotep III at Luxor Temple (see W. R. Johnson, "Images of Amenhotep III in Thebes: Styles and Intentions," in *The Art of Amenhotep III: Art Historical Analysis*, edited by L. Berman [Cleveland, 1990], p. 30). Tutankhamun restored this representation of the Amun bark and Sety I added restoration inscriptions, altering the appearance of the bark as well. For other Sety I modifications of previously restored figures, see the brief comments of S. Bickel, "Blocs d'Amenhotep III réemployés dans le temple de Merneptah à Gourna: une porte monumentale," *BIFAO* 92 (1992): 11.

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aFor this problematic word, see note *e* to the translation of pl. 8.

^bThe lower two horizontal lines of offerings are vertically compressed and the quantities are omitted from the bottom line due to lack of space.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

Traces of red remain on the vases above the doorway to the right, on the first and second vases from the right, and on the line of the wall above the doorway. Traces of blue are preserved on the collars at the tops of the vase stands above the doorway and on the second and fourth collars from the right.

PLATE 46. THE BARK OF MUT AND OFFERINGS AT
LUXOR TEMPLE: DETAIL OF PLATE 43

TRANSLATION

OVER THE BARK OF MUT

¹Words spoken by Mut, ²lady of Asheru: ³"O my beloved ⁴bodily son, lord of the two lands, ⁵Menmaatre, ⁶my heart is happy ⁷through love of you, I being joyful ⁸at seeing ⁹your beauty. (I) have given ¹⁰to you an eternity as ¹¹king of the two lands, you having appeared ¹²in glory upon the throne of ¹³Atum. ¹⁴Your name ¹⁵shall continue to endure like heaven, ¹⁶your lifetime being like ¹⁷(that of) the sun disk within it."

BEHIND THE BARK OF MUT

¹⁸The protection of all life surrounds her.

PLATE 48. THE BARK OF KHONSU AND THE DIVINE
STAFFS BEHIND THE BARK PEDESTAL OF AMUN IN
LUXOR TEMPLE: DETAIL OF PLATE 43

TRANSLATION

ABOVE THE BARK OF KHONSU

¹Words spoken by ²Khonsu ³-in-Thebes, ⁴Neferhotep-in ⁵-Karnak: ^a⁶"O my beloved bodily son, ⁷lord of glorious appearances, ⁸Sety-Merneptah, ⁹(I) have given to you the south ¹⁰as well as the north so as to ¹¹satisfy your heart ¹²with them, flatlands and hill countries ¹³being enclosed ¹⁴in your grasp. ¹⁵No one exists who can oppose your arm ¹⁶in all the [lan]ds ¹⁷and [hill countries]."^b

BEHIND THE BARK OF KHONSU

¹⁸The protection of [life] surrounds him.

SPEECHES OF THE DIVINE STAFFS AND OTHER RITUAL

OBJECTS BEHIND THE AMUN BARK PEDESTAL

¹⁹"[(I) have given to you] life, stability, and dominion like Re"^c

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aOn Khonsu Neferhotep, see C. Vandersleyen, "Aménophis III incarnant le dieu Neferhotep," *OLP* 6-7 (1975-76): 537; J.-Cl. Goyon and C. Traunecker, "Une Stèle tardive dédiée

au dieu Neferhotep (CS X 1004),” *Karnak 7* (1978–1981): 299–302.

^bCompare pl. 125, fragments 2097, 2180, and 2147, l. 4.

^cThe line is repeated ten times. These are the only divine staffs depicted in the Opet reliefs which do not have individual speeches recorded. These staffs are also exceptional in that they are the only ones supported by personified *‘nh*, *dd*, and *w3s*-emblems. There seem to be nine divine staffs here, whereas in the parallel scenes only eight staffs are shown (see pls. 7, 58, and 112).

PLATE 50. THE BARK OF AMUN IN LUXOR TEMPLE:
FRAGMENTS FROM THE WEST WALL:
DETAIL OF PLATE 35

For the positioning and context of these fragments, see pl. 35.

FRAGMENT 89

TRANSLATION

¹[... Menmaat] ²Sety-Merne[ptah, ³given life] like Re eternally ⁴[... whom] Amun [has preferred] to [any other] king^a ⁵[...] all [...] before her [...]

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^aCompare pl. 16, l. 6.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

For the correct relative placement of these fragments, see pl. 35. Fragment 1032, preserving the *atef* crown of the Amun bark, has been placed in this group on the basis of scale, style, and orientation. The Amun bark does not display this feature where preserved elsewhere in the Colonnade Hall (see pls. 79 and 111). The aegis of the Amun barge, as depicted on the hull of the Amun barge on pl. 79, does wear the *atef* crown. It appears, therefore, that the *atef* crown was not an element of the aegis decoration during the entire Opet procession. For another example of the Amun bark aegis decorated with the *atef* crown in Luxor Temple, see Johnson, in *The Art of Amenhotep III*, ed. Berman, p. 30.

The Amun bark is larger, and it rests on a higher pedestal, than that depicted in the parallel scene on the eastern wall (pl. 58). The barks below (pls. 46 and 48) are correspondingly smaller here than in the parallel scenes on the eastern wall (pl. 59).

The rear aegis group (fragment numbers 764, 1090, 570, 1088, 1681, 1650, 1659, 1658) preserves the southwestern corner of the Colonnade Hall, where its western wall abutted the western edge of the entrance of Amenhotep III’s sun court. On stylistic grounds fragment 1105 can probably be attributed to this scene, though the exact placement is uncertain. A trace of light turquoise blue is visible on the wing in fragment 1017.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

Fragment 1017 preserves the figure of a standing winged goddess, one of a pair that adorned the upper portion of the shrines of the Amun barks carved by Sety I. They are standing on *mn*-signs that form part of a rebus of Sety I’s prenomen, *Mn-m3‘.t-R‘*, for which see Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, pls. 53 and 76. Below the standing goddesses on the Sety bark shrines are kneeling winged goddesses (cf. pl. 58). For further remarks, see the iconographic comments of pl. 58.

PLATE 52. THE KING CONSECRATING AN OFFERING
BEFORE AMUN AND MUT⁶⁵

TRANSLATION

BEFORE THE KING

¹[... every] beautiful and [pur]e [thing] for Amun, foremost of his Opet.

REMAINS OF THE PAINTED INSCRIPTION ON THE FORWARD
CANOPY POLE OF THE DIVINE KIOSK

²[...] mi[ghty] of [scimitar, who rep]els the [nine bows; Horus of Gold:] repeat[er of glorious ap]pearan[ces ... king of U]pper [and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands,] lord [of ritual, Men]ma[atre,] son of Re, [Sety-Merneptah]^a

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^aTransliterating: [... *sh*]m [*hpš d*]r [*pd.t-psd.t Hr-nwb*] *whm* [*h*]‘[*w ... n*]sw[*t bity nb t3.wy*] *nb* [*ir.t h.t Mn*]-*m3‘.t(-R‘)* *s3 R‘* [*Sty-Mr-n-Pth*]. This is the titulary of Sety I. For examples of such titularies on the canopy poles of kiosks, see, for example, Calverley, Broome, and Gardiner, *Abydos*, vol. 1, pls. 6 and 10.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

Traces of red paint remain on the arms and legs of the king, particularly on the hand holding the scepter. Traces of white plaster are visible on the kilt of the king, above the knee. There is rough pecking beneath the lotus bouquets, presumably to key for plaster, and these pecks still bear traces of plaster. The bases of such lotus bouquets are frequently squared off and do not reach the ground line, for which see Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, pl. 1. The inscription on the canopy pole was originally rendered in paint; the signs are visible now only as negative images in those areas where the background plaster has adhered to the wall.

Three fragments containing portions of the thrones upon which the deities sit have been incorporated into the drawing. The unfinished state of the throne and the interrupted ground line suggest that statuary was located in front of the scene when Sety I’s artisans came to carve the relief.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENT

For a photographic detail of the canopy pole inscribed with the titulary of Sety I, see pl. 128D.

65. See pl. 125 for possible fragments belonging to this scene (fragments 2097, 2180, 2147, 2125, and 2076b). The Ramesside marginal inscription will be translated in the second volume of *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple*.

PLATE 54. THE KING GIVING FLOWERS TO AMUN IN
THE PRESENCE OF AMUNET, WITH THE
ENNEAD BEHIND THE KING

TRANSLATION

BEHIND AMUN

¹The protection of all life, stability, dominion, and health
surrounds [him like R]e [...].

BEHIND AMUNET

²[... li]fe, stability [...].

BEHIND THE KING

³The protection of all life, all stability and dominion.

BEFORE THE SEATED DEITIES

⁴[Osiris]

⁵[Isis]^a

⁶Horus

⁷Hathor

⁸Sobek^b

⁹Tjenenet

¹⁰Iunet

BEFORE AMUN

¹¹“(I) have given to you all val[or].”

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aThe names of Osiris and Isis are restored on the basis of *Khonsu* 2, pl. 190. It is possible that the first half of the double ennead was represented in the now missing upper section of the scene. For this order of deities, see W. Barta, *Untersuchungen zum Götterkreis der Neunheit*, MÄS 28 (Munich and Berlin, 1973), pp. 59 and 67.

^bThe *s* has been mistakenly carved as a reversed reed leaf; compare pl. 113, l. 8. This apparently resulted from the misinterpretation of a painted line connecting the shorter end of the *s* to the longer side (cf. E. Hornung, *Das Grab des Haremhabs im Tal der Könige* [Bern, 1971], pls. 2 and 3).

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The uncarved portions of the relief here may indicate, as on plate 52, the presence of statuary in this area at the time when Sety I executed this scene. The dashed line beneath the figure of the king is a reconstructed ground line and is not based on an archival photograph.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The scene was carved under Sety I. Parallels for the king's unusual combination of beard and short layered wig are to be found, for example, on Column 14 in the Colonnade Hall, also carved by Sety I,⁶⁶ and on a small ushabti of Amenhotep III.⁶⁷

PLATE 55. KEY TO RELIEFS DEPICTING THE KING
AND BARKS IN LUXOR TEMPLE AND THE KING
AND BARKS DEPARTING LUXOR TEMPLE:
EPISODES 6 AND 7

For the texts, see the translations of pls. 58, 59, 61, 62, and 67.

PLATE 56. EPISODE 6: THE KING THURIFYING AND
POURING A LIBATION TO THE BARKS
ENSHRINED IN LUXOR TEMPLE

For the texts, see the translations of pls. 58, 59, 61, and 62.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENT

The scene was carved under Sety I.

PLATE 58. THE BARK OF AMUN IN LUXOR TEMPLE:
DETAIL OF PLATE 56

TRANSLATION

BEFORE THE RAM-HEADED STAFF OF AMUN⁶⁸

¹“(I) have given to you the lifetime of Re and the years of Atum, every foreign land being beneath your soles.”

BEFORE THE STAFF OF MUT

²“(I) have given to you the kingship of Horus and the power of Shu and Tefnut.”

BEFORE THE FIRST FALCON-HEADED STAFF

³“(I) have given to you the strength of the two lords and their share(s) of life and dominion.”

BEFORE THE SECOND FALCON-HEADED STAFF

⁴“(I) have given to you the throne of Geb and the excellent office of Atum.”^a

BEFORE THE THIRD FALCON-HEADED STAFF

⁵“(I) have given to you valor against the south and victory against the north, the fear of you being in all lands.”

BEFORE THE STAFF OF WEPWAWET

⁶“(I) have given to you an eternity as king of the two lands and everlastingness as ruler of joy.”

BEFORE THE STAFF OF OSIRIS

⁷“(I) have given to you my office, my place, (my) throne, my lifetime, and (my) period of existence upon earth.”

BEFORE THE STAFF OF THE KING

⁸“(I) have given to you all flatlands, all hill countries, and the Nine Bows in [...]”

ON THE VEIL OF THE SHRINE⁶⁹

⁹Horemheb-Mer[enamun]

¹⁰[Djeserkheperure-]Setepenre

66. To be published in *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple*, Volume 2.

67. J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne* 3/2 [Paris, 1958], pl. 107.

68. On the divine staffs, see the discussion of pl. 7.

69. See the discussion of pl. 50.

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aThe dashed restorations in this line and in subsequent lines are based on the Koch photograph of this scene. This photograph was unsuitable for reproduction as pl. 57, due to poor contrast.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The lotus leaf below the rear aegis, between the rear carrying poles, has an area of surviving plaster, containing blue paint on white background. There are many bits of plaster with remnants of blue pigment on the lotus bloom below the aegis, but no design is discernible.

The level of the stone surface in the area of the name of Horemheb on the billow is lower, and the carving flatter and shallower, than that of the surrounding stone. This suggests that Horemheb may have usurped the name of Tutankhamun, which may have been the only carved element of this portion of the wall at the time.⁷⁰ Despite the name of Horemheb on the veil of the Amun bark, this scene was carved under Sety I.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The shrines of the Amun barks carved by Sety I were decorated with a rebus of the king's prenomen (see the iconographic comments of pl. 50) and, as evident from this representation, the veils were adorned with the name of Horemheb. By comparison, the Tutankhamun depiction of the Amun bark on pl. 111 displays a rebus of the prenomen of Amenhotep III at the top of the shrine and the prenomen of Tutankhamun on the billow and the side of the veil below. Tutankhamun thus represented the Amun barge as though it were the bark of Amenhotep III, with the addition of a Tutankhamun veil; Sety I represents his version of the Amun bark with his own name on the shrine, and that of Horemheb on the veil. This may reflect a desire by Tutankhamun and Sety I to associate themselves with an earlier ruler by means of the decorative program of the Amun barks.

On the forward aegis of the Amun bark the pendant uraei are lion-headed and maned; on this form of uraeus, see W. Westendorf, "Uräus und Sonnenscheibe," *SAK* 6 (1978): 219–20. For the aegis decoration, compare Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, pls. 197 and 226; *Khonsu* 1, pl. 53 (with winged, falcon-headed uraei); and *MH* 4, pl. 229. The internal details of the lotus in the aegis were possibly added in paint.⁷¹

70. Compare the scene on the western exterior face of the northern gateway into the Colonnade Hall, where only the internal elements of two cartouches have been usurped by Horemheb, within a now vanished painted inscription of Tutankhamun. This scene will be published in *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple*, Volume 2.

71. Wolf, *Opet*, p. 39, describes the aegis decoration in some detail. A. Schulman mentions the decoration of this shrine of Amun in "A Memphite Stela, the Bark of Ptah, and Some Iconographic Comments," *BES* 2 (1980): 85, and discusses other shrines on pp. 84–85.

PLATE 59. THE BARKS OF MUT AND KHONSU IN LUXOR TEMPLE: DETAIL OF PLATE 56

TRANSLATION

ABOVE THE BARK OF MUT

¹Words spoken by [Mut ...]: ²"My son, (my) first bo[ma] ... , lord] of the two lands, ³Menmaatre. ⁴I am ⁵your mother ⁶who created ⁷your beauty. (I) bore ⁸you to act in accordance with my^b desire. (I) have given to ⁹you the lifetime of Re and the years of Atum. ¹⁰(I) have given to you all [val]or. ¹¹(I) have given to [you] all [victory]. ¹²(I) have given to you all j[oy]."

BEHIND THE BARK OF MUT

¹³The protection of all life surrounds her.

ABOVE THE BARK OF KHONSU

¹⁴Words spoken by Khonsu ¹⁵in-Thebes, Neferhotep: "My^c beloved [bod]ily son, ¹⁶lord of the two lands, ¹⁷Menmaatre, ¹⁸my heart is joyful ¹⁹through your love, (I) having received ²⁰[your] hecatomb.^d ²¹I have caused^e that the lands come to you ²²bowing down^f their ²³tribute upon their backs. ²⁴(I) have given to you ²⁵all joy, ²⁶all valor, ²⁷all victory and ²⁸[all] health [...]"

BEHIND THE SHRINE OF THE KHONSU BARK

²⁹The protection of all life surrounds him.

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aThere is no trace of the *h*-belly below the *n* in the middle of the second column. The top line of the *n* is well carved, but the bottom line is very shallow and the surface of the stone between the *n* and the damage at the blockline was left uncarved.

^bThe first person suffix pronoun is written with the seated male deity.

^cThe first person suffix pronoun following *h.t* is written with the seated female deity. Note that the suffix pronoun after *mr* in the same line is written with a seated royal figure.

^dAs parallels for linking *ib* and *ibw* with the receiving of *ib.t* (*šsp.n.i* being a circumstantial *sdm.n.f*), note the following:

- 1) *KRI* 2, 280/5–8: The *ib.t* is said to be "for" the heart.
- 2) *MH* 5, pl. 297, ll. 3–4: *htp.kwi ... šsp.n ib.i ib.t.k*, "I am satisfied ... for my heart has received your hecatomb."
- 3) *Khonsu* 1, pl. 53, l. 4: *ib.i htp hr ib.t.k šsp.i ir.n.k*, "My heart is satisfied with your hecatomb, and I accept what you have made."

^e*dī.i* may be a reduction of *dī.n.i*; on this phenomenon, see E. Wente, "A Late Egyptian Emphatic Tense," *JNES* 28 (1969): 1–14.

^fThe determinative of *ksm* represents a beardless Asiatic, which is either a mistake or an intentionally specific determinative representing a Hittite.⁷²

72. See Darnell, *SAK* 18 (1991): 113–40.

$$19 \dots [\dots]^i$$

20[...]
 21[...]
 22[...]
 23[...]
 24[...]
 25[...]
 26[...]: 2
 27[...]: 1(?)
 28[...] ...

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aAs in the following line, the word *šm* seems to follow *mw*. The next group is equally uncertain. The *ḥ*-bird is carved in a strangely dismembered fashion. The whole may be a miswriting of *mntḥ.ty*, due to confusion in interpreting an unclear cartoon.

^bAs mentioned above, the interpretation of *šm* is uncertain; see the discussion of pl. 8, note *e*.

^c*nn* seems to be written for *mn*, reading *mn.ty*.

^d*dšr.ty* is miswritten *dš.t*; compare *dš.ty* on pl. 8, l. 19.

^eThe *mn*-sign is written for *š*.

^fOr *ššr.t* as a spelling of *wšr.t*-incense; compare pl. 113, l. 41 (n. *g*).

^g*ḥ.t-ḥn*, is written simply with *ḥ* + *n* as a writing of *ḥn*, with no room for an eye at the end; compare *Wb*. 5, 537/3.

^hRestore *t ḥd*, "white bread."

ⁱPerhaps "*rḥ*-goose."

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENT

On the collar suspended from the right-hand pile of cow loaves, there are lines, possibly graffiti, perpendicular to the collar edges (cf. pl. 60).

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The cow-shaped objects on tables at the top of the plate are probably loaves of bread.⁷⁶ However, incense also occasionally appears in this form (see, for example, *MH* 5, pl. 328).⁷⁷ The five-lobed leaves in the upper middle portion of the plate seem to belong to gourds, for which see N. Beaux, "Cultures et supports en Égypte ancienne," *LOAPL* 3 (1991): 210. For the *crux ansata* in the doorway, with a palm frond rising from the end of each arm, compare W. Godlewski, *Le Monastère de St Phoibammon*, Deir El-Bahari 5 (Warsaw, 1986), p. 92, catalogue numbers 1, 3, and 26.

The offerings above the doorway on the left probably rest in a bowl, over which a garland is draped, represented by double semi-circular lines.⁷⁸ The stand appears to be a solid

ring-base,⁷⁹ which seems to have been flanked by small cups. One of these cups survives beneath the left side of the offering pile.⁸⁰

PLATE 63. EPISODE 7: THE KING DEPARTING LUXOR
 TEMPLE WITH THE BARKS OF AMUN (NOW LOST),
 KHONSU, MUT, AND THE KING

For the texts, see the translation of pl. 67.

PLATE 65. THE KING FOLLOWING THE BARK OF
 AMUN (NOW LOST): DETAIL OF PLATE 63

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

Behind the king's arm, a series of rough chisel marks occupies the area where the bottom of the streamer hanging from the back of the crown would have been. These marks approximate the line of the bottom of the streamer, but they cannot be unequivocally interpreted as incised lines. They have been shown using the damage convention.

PLATE 67. THE BARKS OF KHONSU, MUT, AND THE
 KING BEING CARRIED FROM LUXOR TEMPLE TO THE
 NILE, WITH BUTCHERS AND OFFERING BOOTHS
 BELOW: DETAIL OF PLATE 63

TRANSLATION

BEFORE THE PRIESTS IN THE UPPER REGISTER IN FRONT OF
 THE BARKS

¹[O]p[ening the wa]y [be]fore this god, Amun, lord of the
 thrones of the two lands.^a

BEFORE THE PRIEST ON THE GROUND LINE IN FRONT OF THE
 BARKS

²[Thu]rifying in front of Amun.

ABOVE THE BARK OF KHONSU

³Words spoken by Khonsu- ⁴in-Thebes, ⁵lord of joy: ⁶"My
 beloved son, ⁷lord of the two lands, ⁸Djeserkheperure-
 Setepenre.*"

lines representing the basket and the horizontal lines belonging to an internal division, for which see the block Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek AEIN 56 (A715, #110 in G. Martin, *Corpus of Reliefs of the New Kingdom from the Memphite Necropolis and Lower Egypt I* [London, 1987], p. 42, pl. 40). Against this speaks the absence of food offerings in the concave space below the rim.

79. The closest parallels for bowls of food on pottery stands appear to come from the Old Kingdom, in funerary contexts (see H. Balcz, "Die Gefäßdarstellungen des Alten Reiches: IV. die Gefäßformen," *MDAIK* 3 [1932]: 112, fig. 25, and idem, "Die Gefäßdarstellungen des Alten Reiches: VI. Tiefbauchige Gefäße," *MDAIK* 4 [1933]: 25, fig. 36).

80. The bowl on a stand depicted here does therefore correspond to the common offering piles composed of baskets flanked by cups; see, for example, Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume des Tempels von Luxor*, pls. 77, 96, 132. That these are baskets is shown clearly by the green color given to parallel elements in offering piles at Deir el Bahari (Naville, *Deir el Bahari* 1, pl. 15).

76. See Schott, *Wüstentale*, p. 789 (p. 25); there are several examples in the tomb of Ramesses III (see, e.g., Wreszinski, *Atlas* 1, pl. 374).

77. See H. Nelson, in H. Nelson, U. Hölscher, and S. Schott, *Work in Western Thebes 1931–33*, OIC 18 (Chicago, 1934), pp. 60–62, and C. Beinlich-Seeber and A. Ghaffar Shedid, *Das Grab des Userhat (TT 56)*, AV 50 (Mainz am Rhein, 1987), p. 42, n. 216.

78. The narrow double horizontal lines represent the lip of the bowl. Alternatively, the offerings could rest in a basket, the semi-circular

BEFORE THE BARK OF MUT

9"[...] 10[...] Djoserkheperu[re]-Setepenre* 11[...]"

ABOVE THE BARK OF THE KING

12[... the ni]ne bows, lord [of ...] lord 13of ritual, Djoserkheperure-Setepenre,* 14lord of glorious appearances, Horemheb-Merenamun,* 15beloved of Amun.

ABOVE THE OFFERING BOOTHS

16[Offering]^b every good and pure thing, consisting of long-horned and short-horned cattle, [birds, incense, wine, fruit, gazelles, oryxes, ibexes, every good plant of the god's land, they being offered before you, that] your *ka* may be sa[tisfied] thereby, to Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands, foremost in Karnak, in your beautiful festival of Opet.

ABOVE AND IN FRONT OF THE PRIEST TO THE LEFT OF THE OFFERING BOOTHS

17"How weary^c is the cackling^d goose!"^e

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aReading [w]p[.t wʒ].t [h]r ntr pn imn nb ns.wt tʒ.wy, which fits the available space admirably. Significantly, fragment 510, which occupies the parallel position on the western wall, preserves what may be the lower right corner of wʒ.t. Wolf, *Opet*, p. 28, suggested that the two upper men in front of the bark were libating and censuring. Wreszinski, *Atlas* 2, pl. 198, also apparently interpreted the rightmost figure as a censuring priest, comparing him to the man below, but his copy of the text (reading [ir.t] sntr instead of wp.t wʒ.t) cannot be reconciled with the surviving traces. The only other record is the annotation in Carter's Ashmolean notebook, where the text is faulty, and the Daressy, Koch, and Wreszinski photographs do not reveal any more of these signs than is visible today.

^bCompare pl. 36 for the restoration of missing portions of the text.

^cReading bgʒʒ.wy smn bʒgʒg. The left end of the cornice of the leftmost booth intruded into the space allotted for the inscription, thus requiring the separation of the two alephs of bgʒʒ.wy. The first word is bʒgʒ, "to be weary," *Wb.* 1, 431/2–11; on bʒgʒ, "to be weary," see also Allen, *Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts*, pp. 62 and 581; E. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, vol. 1. *Analecta Orientalia* 34 (Rome, 1955), p. 199; J. Zandee, "Sargtexte um über Wasser zu Verfügen," *JEOL* 24 (1975–76): 25; H. Goedicke, "Coffin Text Spell 6," *BSEG* 13 (1989): 63, n. 34; and M.-T. Derchain-Urtel, "Die Schwangere im Ozean?" *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens* (Göttingen, 1984) vol. 2, pp. 754–55. This may be an allusion to the weariness of the creator-deity after the act of creation; compare J. Allen, *Genesis in Egypt*, YES 2 (New Haven, 1988), pp. 18 and 49, and K. Sethe, *Amun und die Acht Urgötter von Hermopolis* (Berlin, 1929), pp. 44–45. The imagery employed here is appropriate to the riverine procession of Amun leaving the place of creation (*s.t n sp tpy*). There is clearly a punning aspect to this statement. The absence of

determinatives, as in the drinking songs (pls. 26 and 97), suggests that this may be an archaising text.

^dbʒgʒg is probably related to bgʒw, "Geschrei"; see *Wb.* 1, 482/11, and J. Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I* 348, pp. 120–21, n. 257 (= *OMRO* 51 [1971]) and p. 172, n. 415 (Borghouts notes possible confusion with bgʒw, "weariness"). bgʒw is perhaps in turn related to ngg, this last being the cry of the *smn*-goose; see W. Ward, "Lexicographical Miscellanies II," *SAK* 9 (1981): 367–69. Ward does not mention the verb *bg/bgg* as associated with *ngg*, etc., but a connection seems possible. For *ngg*, see also Allen, *Genesis in Egypt*, p. 94; J. Yoyotte, "Études géographiques I. La 'Cité des acacias' (Kafr Ammar)," *RdE* 13 (1961): 83; and C. Kuentz, "L'Oie du Nil (*chenalopex Aegyptiaca*) dans l'antique Égypte," *Archives du Museum d'histoire naturelle de Lyon* 14 (1926): 46–48.

^eThe *smn*-goose was associated with Amun; see *Wb.* 4, 136/3. For the goose of Amun, see J. Vandier, "L'Oie d'Amon," *Monuments et mémoires publiés par l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 57 (1971): 5–42; W. Guglielmi and J. Dittmar, "Anrufungen der persönlichen Frömmigkeit auf Gans- und Widder- Darstellungen des Amun," in *Gegengabe: Festschrift für Emma Brunner-Traut*, edited by I. Gamer-Wallert and W. Helck (Tübingen, 1992), pp. 119–42. For more on the egg and the goose, cackling and creation, see J. Bergman, *Isis-Seele und Osiris-Ei* (Uppsala, 1970), pp. 76–87. In Spell 49 of the Coffin Texts (A. De Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 1. OIP 34 [Chicago, 1935], p. 219f), there is mention of a "great cry" (*bgw/bʒg ʒ*) in the eastern horizon (?), which suggests a connection between *bg*, "to cry," and the creation of the new day. On the relationship of the goose and the *hieros gamos*, see D. Kessler, *SAK* 15 (1988): 178–89. For a reference to cackling *smn*-geese in the context of a procession of Amun returning to Karnak Temple, see Parker, Leclant, and Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa*, p. 59 and pl. 24.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

A. Fakhry, "Blocs décorés provenant du Temple de Louxor," *ASAE* 34 (1934): 93, pl. 1, publishes the block fragment containing the aegis of the Mut bark and the priests carrying the shrine. The Egyptian Antiquities Organization later restored the fragment to its proper position on the wall. For a photograph of this block in its present location, see pl. 127C, and compare the Koch photograph on pl. 66.

On the bark of Khonsu, there is a trace of blue paint on the wʒʒ.t eye on the prow of the bark. The paint traces on the collar of the aegis are green.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

On the basis of his stance and position, the leftmost man on the upper ground line should be, as Wreszinski suggested, the trumpeter, who appears in the parallel group on pl. 14. For a late example of a trumpet being blown at the head of an Egyptian sacred procession, see D. Bonneau, *La Crue du Nil* (Paris, 1964), pl. 6 (middle of the second century A.D.).

The rightmost man depicted here is probably performing the same function as the man to the right of the libating priest on pl. 103, and above the drummer on pl. 38. On pl. 14 there is, in the company of a trumpeter and libating priest, a man facing the barks, holding his arms extended towards the barks; this is apparently the same man as the rightmost individual here. The position of the hands and arms of these men is not suitable either for libating or incensing—what they are holding rises almost vertically, slanting in to the left slightly.⁸¹ The bottom of a vertical pole is in fact preserved, emerging below the hands of the man here. Neither the position of the traces nor their appearance suit very well an incense burner or aspergillum.⁸² A staff of Wepwawet held aloft by the priests fits the annotation to the man shown on pl. 67, but one expects much more of the pole below the hands; the pose of the arms and hands is also not what one would expect for a standard bearer. Still, this remains a possibility. An alternative is that the priest is holding a sistrum, which object also admirably accounts for the handle of the object, the slant in toward the priest on this plate, and the position of the priest's arms and hands. Compare the pose of the priest carrying a sistrum in procession in a scene from the southern portion of Luxor Temple, Gayet, *Louxor*, pl. 51, #37; on Amun and sistra, see C. Zivie, "Sistrum," *LÄ* 5, 962, n. 38.

PLATE 68. KEY TO RELIEFS DEPICTING THE RIVER
PROCESSION OF THE FESTIVAL OF OPET
RETURNING TO KARNAK FROM
LUXOR TEMPLE: EPISODE 8

For the texts inscribed on the standing walls, see the translations of pls. 26, 69, 78, 82, 83, 84, 91, 95, 96, and 99. For the fragments, see pls. 88, 90, and 123.

PLATE 69. THE BARGE OF THE KING AND
TOWBOATS: DETAIL OF PLATE 68

TRANSLATION

LEFTMOST VERTICAL LINE OF TEXT

¹[...] his [beauti]ful [festival of] Op[et^a ...]

ABOVE THE CENTRAL TOWBOAT

²[...] ... ³[...] ... ⁴[...] ... ⁵[...] ... ⁶[...] ... ^b

BEFORE THE BARGE OF THE KING

⁷The margins of cultivation shout ⁸and the two lands are in festival. The ennead of Thebes ⁹is [in j]oy as

Djeserkheperure-Setepenre* ¹⁰conveys his father Amun to ¹¹rest in Karnak.

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aThe trace to the right of the blockline is the curving right side of the *ip.t* sign; an identical writing is on pl. 78, 1.1.

^bThe orientation of the hieroglyphs suggests that the text is spoken dialogue addressed to the Amun barge.

PLATE 71. TOWBOATS OF THE BARGE OF THE KING:
DETAIL OF PLATE 69

PLATE 72. TOWBOATS OF THE BARGE OF THE KING,
LEFT HALF: DETAIL OF PLATE 71

For a photographic detail of the forecastle of the leading royal towboat, see pl. 128C.

For the texts, see the translation of pl. 69.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENT

The "butterfly-shaped" area of damage above the prow of the central towboat is an abortive tether hole. There is a deeply pecked Maltese cross near the steering oar of the second towboat from the right; two incised marks have been added above the forward forecastle of the leftmost boat.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENT

In the leftmost cabin the king is portrayed spearing an enemy, apparently a Nubian, whom he grasps by the hair. The left arm of the king is lowered, and he drives the spear through the enemy's diaphragm. This pose, with lowered hand holding the spear, is found in Hall, *Pharaoh Smites his Enemies*, fig. 48 and Schulman, *Ceremonial Execution*, pp. 54 and 201–04, and p. 222, n. 479.⁸³

PLATE 73. TOWBOATS OF THE BARGE OF THE KING,
RIGHT HALF: DETAIL OF PLATE 71

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENT

The man on the stern of the last towboat, restored on the basis of the Daressy photographs, holds a trumpet to his mouth. There is a man in this same position and pose in *Khonsu* 1, pl. 20. H. Fischer, in *Pyramid Studies*, edited by J. Baines et al., p. 105, discusses an Old Kingdom scene in which a sailor blows an "oboe-like instrument."

81. The presence of the staff or post in this scene precludes an identification with the gestures discussed by H. Müller, "Darstellungen von Gebärden auf Denkmälern des Alten Reiches," *MDAIK* 7 (1937): 107–08 (particularly fig. 45 on p. 107).

82. The trace of what the priest holds could theoretically fit the handle of an incense cup, for which see A. Blackman, "Remarks on an Incense-Brazier Depicted in Thutotep's Tomb at El-Bersheh," *ZÄS* 50 (1912): 66–68. The priest's hands touch in the Luxor scene, however, leaving no room for the actual cup.

83. In Hall, *Pharaoh Smites his Enemies*, p. 39 and fig. 77, the spear-holding hand is incorrectly described as "empty and lowered." Other scenes of the king spearing the foe, but with the arm brandishing the spear held above him, are in Hall, *ibid.*, figs. 49, 59, and 67. For a parallel to the juxtaposition of the pharaoh as trampling sphinx and spearing king, compare the decorated shields in Nina Davies and Gardiner, *The Tomb of Huy*, pl. 25. The pose of the king spearing his enemy survives into the Late Period, as is shown on the decoration of the Raphia Decree of Ptolemy IV, for which see H.-J. Thissen, *Studien zum Raphiadekret*, Beiträge zur Klassischen Philologie 23 (Meisenheim am Glan, 1966), pp. 71–73.

PLATE 75. THE BARGE OF THE KING:
DETAIL OF PLATE 69

For the text, see the translation of pl. 69.

PLATE 76. THE BARGE OF AMUN WITH DUCK BOAT,
TOWBOATS, THE BARGE OF THE QUEEN, AND
THE BARGE OF MUT: DETAIL OF PLATE 68

For the texts, see the translations of pls. 78, 82, and 83.

PLATE 78. THE BARGE OF AMUN WITH DUCK BOAT:
DETAIL OF PLATE 76

TRANSLATION

BEHIND THE SHRINE OF THE BARGE

¹Following the god in the temple in his every festival of Opet,^a the king of Upper and Lower Egypt,^b [...] Nebmaatre, given life.

ABOVE THE FIGURE OF AMENHOTEP III BEHIND THE SHRINE

²[King of Upper and Lower Egypt,] Nebmaatre, ³[son of Re,] A[me]nhotep, ⁴given life like Re forever, ⁵beloved of [Amun-Re], king of the gods, lord of heaven. ⁶[The protection of] all [life,] stability, dominion, and health surrounds him.

IN FRONT OF THE SHRINE OF THE BARGE

⁷Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands: ⁸“(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion. ⁹(I) have given to you all joy. ¹⁰(I) have [given] to you life and dominion, joy, h[ea]lth [...]”^c

OVER THE BARK OF AMUN

¹¹[Amun-R]e, lord of the thrones of the two lands, ¹²[lord of] heaven, ruler of the ennead: ¹³“(I) have given to y[ou] all flatlands and every hill country. ¹⁴[(I) have given to y]ou all life, stability, and dominion on (my) part. ¹⁵[(I) have given to y]ou all health on (my) part. ¹⁶[(I) have given to you] all years on (my) part.^d ¹⁷[(I) have given to you] all [jo]y on (my) part. ¹⁸[... all ...] dominion ¹⁹[...] all hea[l]th ²⁰[...] ²¹[...] ²²all [...] like Re ²³[forever] and ever.”

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aIn the depiction of the jubilee festivities of Amenhotep III in the tomb of Kheruef, the daughters of great ones are ushered in *r ir.t irw n hb.w-sd*, “in order to perform the jubilee ceremonies.” As Wente notes (in *Kheruef*, p. 46, n. d), the plural *hb.w-sd* found on pls. 51 and 56 of *Kheruef* cannot refer to all the jubilees of the king, for the plural on pl. 51 is followed by the ordinal “third.” Elsewhere Wente suggests that “the plural *hb.w-sd* ... perhaps refers to the multiplicity of rites comprised in a jubilee, whether on a single day ... or during the entire jubilee ...” (“Hathor at the Jubilee,” in *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson*, edited by G. Kadish, SAOC 35 [Chicago, 1969], p. 83, n. 2). The phrase *hb nb* here may not refer to “every Opet festival,” but to “every festival of Opet,” each individual celebration making up the

whole. The significance of this would be that Amenhotep III’s statue did not simply accompany the Amun barge, but was actually present during all portions of the festival, perhaps standing in the background each day as Tutankhamun officiated. If the Opet festival could also be understood as comprising several individual celebrations, *hb.s nfr n ip.t* on pl. 83, ll. 16–17, might be an example of this fragmentation, “her (particular) beautiful festival of Opet,” that is, Mut’s portion of the celebration, the festival viewed as a whole belonging to Amun. For multiple Opet ceremonies, compare possibly the “Millions-of-Years” festival on pl. 18.

^bThere is sufficient space for *nb t3.wy* in the lacuna above the cartouche.

^cNote the change in the orientation of line 10.

^dFor *dī.n(.i) n.k rnp.wt nb*, compare the similar statements in *MH* 5, pl. 273A (top); *MH* 6, pls. 476 and 478; and Gayet, *Louxor*, pl. 47. As parallels for the reversed *rnp.t*-signs, compare Gayet, *Louxor*, pls. 9, 36, and 68.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENT

Yellow paint survives on the crown of the forward aegis of the bark of the king.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

A number of the features associated with representations of the divine barges occur for the first time in these scenes. These are, for example, open shrines on the barges revealing the divine barks within; the Amun barge being accompanied by royal barks; and groups of attending priests at the stern, as observed by W. Murnane, “The Bark of Amun on the Third Pylon at Karnak,” *JARCE* 16 (1979): 11–27, and specifically for this example, p. 20.

For the duck-shaped boat, see A. Hermann, *ZÄS* 68 (1932): 103–04, and P. Derchain, “La Perruque et le cristal,” *SAK* 2 (1975): 62–63. Compare the similar vessels which accompany the great barge of Amun in the scenes of the riverine procession of Opet in the temple of Ramesses III in the first court of Karnak (RIK 2, pls. 84–90 and pl. 93B), and the scenes of Herihor celebrating Opet in the first court of Khonsu Temple (*Khonsu* 1, pls. 19 and 21). As Wolf observes, the single preserved example of this duck boat in Luxor Temple is shown in much too small a scale in comparison to the Userhat barge: “In Wirklichkeit war es ein ganz respektables Ruderschiff.”⁸⁴ These vessels appear to have been closely associated with offerings. In this connection one may cite the *wsh.w(t) nw htp-ntr*, “cargo ships of the divine offerings,” which are depicted with figures of geese atop their steering oars.⁸⁵ One may cite in reference to the Opet festival scenes the silver dish Berlin 14117.⁸⁶ There, a river

84. Wolf, *Opet*, p. 31; for later pharaonic examples of this sort of vessel, see the votive beds in U. Hölscher, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu V: Post-Ramessid Remains*, OIP 66 (Chicago, 1954), pp. 11 f., pl. 6 G.

85. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne* 5/2 (Paris, 1969), pl. 46, fig. 362.

86. See G. Möller, H. Schäfer, and W. Schubart, *Ägyptische Goldschmiedearbeiten*, Königliche Museen zu Berlin, Mitteilungen

procession, including a goose or duck boat (cf. the duck boat on pl. 80), appears to be accompanied by at least one chariot.⁸⁷ Rather than being a secular scene, as generally assumed by scholars,⁸⁸ this is probably a depiction of a religious procession.

Behind the shrine of the barge is a statue of Amenhotep III (see also the photographic detail on pl. 127D).⁸⁹ The presence of this object necessitated moving the expected figure of the king which assisted in steering the barge from stern⁹⁰ to prow. The result is the presence of back-to-back kings on the prow, the leftmost steering, the rightmost thurifying and pouring a libation to the deity.⁹¹ In this Opet scene all that remains of the leftmost king is a portion of his punting pole. Well-preserved examples of these dual royal figures are found on the Mut barge on pl. 82, and on the Khonsu barge on pl. 88. Such back-to-back figures of the king on the prow of the Amun barge occur in later scenes of the riverine procession of Opet, as, for example, on the Amun barge of Ramesses III's Opet reliefs at Karnak, although only single figures of the king appear on the barges of Mut and Khonsu in the same procession (RIK 2, pls. 90 and 92); Herihor's Opet reliefs at Khonsu Temple depict back-to-back figures of the ruler at the prows of the barges of Amun and Khonsu, and possibly the damaged Mut barge as well (*Khonsu* 1, pl. 19).⁹²

aus der ägyptischen Sammlung 1 (Berlin, 1910), p. 65, no. 97, pl. 15, cited by Hermann, ZÄS 68 (1932): 104, n. 1.

87. G. Markoe, *Phoenician Bronze and Silver Bowls from Cyprus and the Mediterranean* (Berkeley, 1985), pp. 31–32, photograph on p. 361, follows Schäfer in identifying this bowl as being of Egyptian manufacture (Schäfer suggested a Twenty-sixth Dynasty date). The origin of the vessel is not certain, and it may actually have been a Phoenician or Cypriote production; see H. Matthäus, *Metallgefäße und Gefäßuntersätze der Bronzezeit, der geometrischen und archaischen Periode auf Cypern*, *Prähistorische Bronzefunde* Abt. 2 Bd. 8 (Munich, 1985), pl. 46, no. 443, pp. 169–78 (specifically pp. 176–77).

88. For example, *ibid.*, p. 169.

89. See W. Raymond Johnson, "Honorific Figures of Amenhotep III in the Luxor Temple Colonnade Hall," in *For His Ka: Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer*, edited by D. Silverman, SAOC 55 (Chicago, 1994), pp. 133–44. On New Kingdom depictions of royal statues, see M. Eaton-Krauss, *The Representations of Statuary in Private Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, ÄA 39 (Wiesbaden, 1984), pp. 204–06.

90. As in the *Chapelle Rouge* (Lacau and Chevrier, *Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, vol. 2, pl. 9) and on the Third Pylon (R. A. Schwaller de Lubicz, *Les Temples de Karnak* [Paris, 1982], pp. 98–99).

91. A variant of this situation, in which two kings occupy the same barge, is found on the barges of Amun which Hatshepsut depicted on the third terrace at Deir el Bahari, in the scenes of the Opet and the Beautiful Feast of the Valley processions (see Naville, *Deir el Bahari* 5, pls. 122 and 126). On both vessels Thutmose III steers from the prow, while the stern section is too destroyed for certainty, but may have featured figures of Hatshepsut.

92. Sety I had two depictions of barges of Amun executed in the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak (one later usurped by Ramesses II). Both of these have barks of Mut and Khonsu positioned on the deck, but only one officiating king at the prow, the rowing king being omitted (Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, pls. 38 and 152).

PLATE 79. THE MIDSECTION OF THE BARGE OF AMUN: DETAIL OF PLATE 78

For the text see the translation of pl. 78.

PLATE 80. THE STERN OF THE BARGE OF AMUN WITH DUCK BOAT: DETAIL OF PLATE 78

For the text, see the translation of pl. 78.

PLATE 82. TOWBOATS, THE BARGE OF THE QUEEN, AND THE BARGE OF MUT: DETAIL OF PLATE 76

For the texts above the barge of the queen and towboats, see the translations of pls. 83–84.

TRANSLATION

ABOVE THE BARGE OF MUT (TEXT FACING RIGHT)

¹Making a [go]od conveyance by the king, the lord of the two lands, Djoserkheperure-[Setep]enre,* ²(namely), his rowing of his [moth]er, Mut, lady of heaven, during her ³annual festival when she is in^a the following of the lord^b of the gods in his festival of ⁴Opet, she making for him "given life."

OVER THE SHRINE OF THE BARGE

⁵Mut, the great one, lady of Asheru, lady of heaven, mistress of the gods.

ABOVE THE BARGE OF MUT (TEXT FACING LEFT, BEGINNING ABOVE PUNTING KING ON THE PROW)

⁶Words spoken by [Mut, lady] of A[sh]eru: "O my beloved bodily son, ⁷lord of the two lands, [Djoserkheperu]re[-Setepenre,* I am] your [moth]er, who created your beauty. (I) did suckle you ⁸when you were a nursling pri[n]ce.^c I have placed^d the fear of you among the nine bows ⁹and the awe of you among the Nubian tribesmen, your mace being upon (their) heads ¹⁰and the dread of you in their bodies all together, as reward for ¹¹this perfect monument which you have made for me. You have hewn ¹²anew for (me) (my) bark,^e adorned ¹³[with] all sorts of precious [ston]es, as a son does with ¹⁴[...]^f because he loves his mother, who has endowed [...]"

BEFORE THE FALCON OVER THE PROW OF THE MUT BARGE

¹⁵The Behdetite, the great god, variegated of plumage.

BEFORE THE FALCON OVER THE STERN OF THE MUT BARGE

¹⁶The Behdetite, the great god, variegated of plumage, lord of heaven, lord of Mesen.

IN FRONT OF AND BELOW THE VULTURE

¹⁷Nekhbet, ¹⁸the white (one) of [Hierakonpolis,] lady of [heav]en, mistress of the gods, as she gives life, stability, and dominion.

IN FRONT OF THE KING OFFERING TO THE MUT BARK

¹⁹[Thurify]ing^g and making a libation that he may make "given life."

OVER THE KING OFFERING TO THE MUT BARK

²⁰King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands,

²¹Djeserkheperure-Setepenre,* ²²given life like Re.

OVER THE ROWING KING

²³King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord [of the two lands,] ²⁴Djeserkheperure-Setep[en]re,* ²⁵Horemheb-Merenamun,* ²⁶given life like Re, ²⁷beloved of Mut, lady [of heaven,] ²⁸mistress of the two lands.

BETWEEN THE TWO KINGS

²⁹The protection of all life surrounds him like Re.

OVER THE ROYAL STATUE BEHIND THE SHRINE

³⁰The good god, lord of the two lands, ³¹Nebmaatre, ³²given life, stability, and dominion ³³like Re forever.

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aThe *n* is perhaps the result of confusion between *m/n* as spellings of the preposition “in,” for which see A. Erman, *Neuaegyptische Grammatik* (second edition; Leipzig, 1933), pp. 226–27, and 292.

^b*nb* is written as the *k*-basket.

^cThe nominal *šd.n(.i)* emphasizes the temporal clause of circumstance introduced by *iw*. This usage is paralleled by *Urk.* 4, 580/17, where *šd.n(.i)* must emphasize *m nḥn.k*. On *inpw* “royal nursling,” see C. Vandersleyen, “INEPOU: un terme designant le roi avant qu’il ne soit roi,” in *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt*, edited by U. Luft, *Studia Aegyptiaca* 14 (Budapest, 1992), pp. 563–66; D. Meeks, “Notes de lexicographie,” *RdE* 28 (1976): 87–89; H. Brunner, *Die Geburt des Gottkönigs*, *ÄA* 10 (second edition; Wiesbaden, 1986), pp. 27–29 and 223–24; W. Murnane, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies*, *SAOC* 40 (Chicago, 1977), pp. 254–55; A. Spalinger, review of Murnane, *Coregencies*, in *JARCE* 16 (1970): 192; D. Franke, “Anchu, der Gefolgsmann des Prinzen (Grabrelief Boston MFA 1971.403),” in *Miscellanea Aegyptologica*, edited by H. Altenmüller and R. Germer (Hamburg, 1989), pp. 81–85; and E. Feucht, “Kind,” *LÄ* 3, 429. On the significance of suckling and milk, see A. Grimm, “Zur Tradition des Spruchtitels *rš nj swšd wdḥw*,” *SAK* 10 (1983): 200–01, and J. Leclant, “Sur un Contrepoids de menat au nom de Taharqa, allaitement et «apparition» royale,” in *Mélanges Mariette*, *BdE* 32 (Cairo, 1961), pp. 251–84. For another reference to military prowess following immediately the description of the suckling of the king, see E. Feucht, “Verjüngung und Wiedergeburt,” *SAK* 11 (1984): 403–04.

^d*di.i* is possibly another reduced writing of the old *šdm.n.f* form; see note *e* to pl. 59.

^eThe determinative of *wš* is a depiction of the Mut barge.

^fRestore probably *ib mrr*, “a loving heart,” in the lacuna.

^gThe portion of slanting line above the leftmost pellet of *sntr* is the left side of a burning incense cup (Gardiner Sign-list R7).

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The paint traces shown on the inner canopy of the shrine of the Mut barge are red over white plaster. There is a bit of turquoise paint to the left of the leftmost uraeus in the lower frieze. On the front carrying pole of the bark of Mut there is a trace of yellow paint.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENT

For the hornlike appearance of the flagstaff stays on the shrine of the barge of Mut, compare the identical representations of flagstaff stays on the Third Pylon of Karnak as depicted in the tomb of Neferhotep (TT 49), for which see Davies, *The Tomb of Nefer-Hotep at Thebes*, vol. 1, pl. 41; vol. 2, pls. 3 and 6.⁹³

PLATE 83. THE BARGE OF THE QUEEN:
DETAIL OF PLATE 82

TRANSLATION

ABOVE THE BARGE OF THE QUEEN⁹⁴

¹Noblewoman, great [of praise],^a ²lady of charm, sweet of love, mi[stress] ³of Upper and Lower Egypt,^b pure [of arms] ⁴carrying the (two) sistras,^c [who pacifies] ⁵the deity with [her] voice, ⁶possessor of awe, [grea]t ⁷of love,^d mistress of the two banks of Horus—⁸as Mut rises ⁹in order to give pra[i]se^e to her, so she [sets] ¹⁰in order to double the love [of her]—¹¹the king’s great wife, [whom he loves], ¹²mistress of the two lands in [en]tirety,^g ¹³lad[y] of praise, ¹⁴Mutnedjmet,^h ¹⁵rows [Mut], ¹⁶the lady of heaven in ¹⁷her beauti[ful] festival of Opet.ⁱ

NOTES TO TRANSLATION:

^aAlthough Gitton gives *ḥs.wt* without brackets, and Wolf copies *ḥs.wt* within brackets, there is no trace now on the wall, and none can be discerned in any of the archival photographs. This title could have been simply *rp^c.t.t wr.t*, “great noblewoman”; compare the epitheta of the elder Amenirdis as given by Gitton, *BIFAO* 78 (1978): 399 (there *wr.t* is written twice, in the grouping *rp^c.t.t wr.t wr.t ḥs.wt*). However, lines 2 through 4 did extend below the blockline (the [^c.wy] of line 3 and [*šhtp.t*] of line 4 show clearly the length of the first lines), allowing room for *ḥs.wt* here. The

93. Compare the appearance of these mast stays with the protrusions often found on predynastic *pr-wr* shrines, at times in the company of mastlike poles; see, for example, G. Porta, *L’architettura Egizia delle origini in legno e materiali leggeri* (Milan, 1989), pp. 83–88, pls. 19–21.

94. The following text has been discussed by numerous scholars: Wolf, *Opet*, pp. 32 and 62 (#29 [trans.]); Wreszinski, *Atlas* 2, pls. 199–200; Helck, *Urk.* 4, 2037/18–2038/7; R. Hari, *Horemheb et la reine Moutnedjmet* (Geneva, 1964), pl. 32 and p. 190; and M. Gitton, “Variation sur le thème des titulatures de reines,” *BIFAO* 78 (1978): 392–94. See also L. Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, *Boreas* 14 (Uppsala, 1986), pp. 167–68 (#18.45), et passim, and Desroches-Noblecourt and Kuentz, *Le Petit Temple d’Abou Simbel*, p. 141, n. 1 (ll. 8–10), p. 157, n. 114 (ll. 3–5). Previous copies display a certain amount of variation; we have not commented on every proposed reading and interpretation.

word *hnw.t* at the bottom of line 2 appears to have been written with the wick *h* and pot over *t*, which suggests the appearance of another word below *wr.t* in column 1.

^bUp through this epithet, the queen's titles are the same as those given for Ankhesenamun in *Urk.* 4, 2049/4–5. The same titles, but with “mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt” in a different order, are found in M. Eaton-Krauss and E. Graefe, *The Small Golden Shrine from the Tomb of Tutankhamun* (Oxford, 1985), pl. 28 (D 2).

^cThere is no trace on the wall of either the *t* or *y* of *sš.ty*. The word was probably completed in paint which has not survived.

^dWith this line, the columns in the inscription become shorter, as the cabin of the barge rises below.

^eReading *hs.wt*.

^fThe parenthetic insertion in lines 8–10 is paralleled in the epitheta of Nefertiti⁹⁵ and, perhaps, of Mutnedjmet.⁹⁶ In the epithet of Nefertiti, it is Aton who rises; in that of Mutnedjmet (?), Re rises. Both of these parallels have the preposition *r* written out before the *r* of *rdi.t*, and there may have been room for this here (as in the restoration made by Desroches-Noblecourt and Kuentz, *Le Petit Temple d'Abou Simbel*, p. 141, n. 1).

In the epithet in Luxor Temple, Mut occupies the position of the solar deity in the other epitheta. *wn* and *hnp* here might refer simply to cultic appearances by the goddess; see Desroches-Noblecourt and Kuentz, *Le Petit Temple d'Abou Simbel*, p. 141, n. 1, and P. Lacau, “Les Verbes *wn* «poindre» et *psd* «culminer»,” *BIFAO* 69 (1971): 1–9. A solar rising of a goddess is attested elsewhere. Hathor, for example, is said to “rise” (*wn*) in Coffin Text spell 482, as recognized by R. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 2 (Warminster, 1977), p. 127, n. 2. Two versions of the spell substitute Re for Hathor, but the retained feminine suffix pronoun shows Hathor to have been the original deity. For the implications of this solar imagery, see Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, pp. 20–25; Wente, in *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson*, pp. 90–91; B. Altenmüller, *Synkretismus in den Sargtexten*, pp. 134–35; and Derchain, *Hathor Quadrifrons*, pp. 36–44.

Solar imagery is often applied to Mut; on the western wall of the Colonnade Hall she “illuminates (*shd*) the land with her beauty” (pl. 28). The royal epithet *ms n Mw.t* appears in the variant form *msw n itn* in the fragment group on pl. 34, l. 3. Additional examples of this solar imagery are to be found in: *Khonsu* 1, pl. 52 (fourth flagstaff from the left), and H. Stewart, “A Crossword Hymn to Mut,” *JEA* 57 (1971): 90, pls. 24–25. Mut is in fact called *itny.t*, “female sun disk” in the Nineteenth-Dynasty tomb of Samut called

Kiki; see A.-Q. Muhammed, “Two Theban Tombs, Kyky and Bak-en-Amun,” *ASAE* 59 (1966): pl. 49, ll. 22–23; P. Vernus, “Littérature et autobiographie. Les Inscriptions de *S3-Mwt* surnommé Kyky,” *RdE* 30 (1978): 115–46 (specifically p. 145); J. Assmann, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete* (Zurich, 1975), p. 376; and Stewart, *JEA* 57 (1971): 95, l. 38 (“her face is the sun in the sky in the morning” *hr.s itn m p.t bkt*). The name of the deity is lost, but the goddess who receives the epithet *itny.t* in Theban Tomb 82 may also be Mut; see Nina Davies and Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhēt*, p. 68 and pl. 30. Gardiner restored the name of Hathor, apparently on the basis of the epithet *nfr.t hr*. Mut can, however, also be called *nfr.t hr*; see I. E. S. Edwards, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc.*, 8 (London, 1939), p. 55, pl. 47; Gitton, *BIFAO* 78 (1978): 397, n. 4; and Stewart, *JEA* 57 (1971): horiz. l. 19 (see also vert. ll. 20 and 53). The identification of the goddess as Mut better fits the epithet [*nb.t*] *ip.t-s.wt*.

A syncretism of Mut and Hathor is perhaps expressed in the epitheta in the tomb of Amenemhet; see A. Rusch, “Mut,” *RE* 16/1, col. 932, and H. Te Velde, “Towards a Minimal Definition of the Goddess Mut,” *JEOL* 26 (1979–1980): 8. Note, however, that the Mut-Hathor cited by Bonnet (*Reallexikon*, p. 492), based on a translation by J. Breasted (*Ancient Records of Egypt* [Chicago, 1906], vol. 2, p. 248, §622) is incorrect, the text actually reading *mw.t.i H.t-Hr* (*Urk.* 4, 771/6). Beginning in the Ramesside period, Mut may be designated *R'y.t*, the female Re (A. Gutbub, “Rait,” *LÄ* 5, 87). Rather than referring simply to appearing and disappearing from view during a festival, the queen's titles here may therefore contain the earliest certain attestation of the goddess Mut in the role of *itny.t* / *R'y.t*.

^gThe phrase *t3.wy tm.w* is perhaps a graphic variant of *t3.w tm.w*; see *Wb.* 5, 219/8, and Meeks, *Alex*, vol. 2, entry 78.4496 and vol. 3, entry 79.3336. There is room for a flat *m* beneath the *tm*-sledge, but this is not necessary, as there are numerous examples of *t3.wy tm.w* in queens' titles without the *m* and seated man and woman determinatives; compare F. L. Macadam, “A Royal Family of the Thirteenth Dynasty,” *JEA* 37 (1951): pl. 6, second line of the queen's titles; C. Blankenberg-van Delden, “Ahmes Merytamon and Ahhotep I, consort of Senakhtenre Tao I?” *GM* 47 (1981): 15; and *Urk.* 4, 396/11.

^hThe head of the queen which originally surmounted the steering oar would have extended up below the cartouche, and may not have left sufficient space for ‘*nh.ti* (*d.t*). The *n* is a trace of the original name of Ankhesenamun, which has been recut for Mutnedjmet.

ⁱThe phrase *hb.s nfr n ip.t* “her beautiful festival of Opet” corresponds to the *hb.s n tp-rnp.t* “her annual festival” (pl. 82, ll. 2–3). For a discussion of the possible nuances of *hb.s*, see note *a* to pl. 78.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The surface of the stone is perceptibly scooped back in the area of the first six lines, and there are traces of what

95. See Davies, *Amarna* 4, pl. 31, and M. Sandman, *Texts from the Time of Akhenaten*, *Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca* 8 (Brussels, 1938), p. 55, ll. 2–3.

96. The titles are on an unpublished reused block in raised relief, on the eastern side of the roof of the hypostyle hall of Khonsu Temple. The name of the queen is not preserved on the exposed portion of the block, and the block is assigned to the reign of Horemheb only on stylistic grounds.

may have been an earlier bit of text in the *ntr* sign and in the quail chick in l. 5. The hieroglyphs in the first six lines also appear to be more roughly executed than those in the remainder of the text, though the poor state of preservation elsewhere in the titles makes this a somewhat subjective judgement.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

For the barge of the queen here, compare the representation of the barge of Nefertiti in the tomb of Maya at Amarna.⁹⁷ The queen's barge in the Colonnade Hall shows a double line at the bottom of the prow, leading from the very front almost to the area of the pennants. This feature also appears on the queen's barge as depicted on Amarna *talatat* blocks in W. Smith, *Interconnections in the Ancient Near East* (New Haven and London, 1965), figs. 194–95, there being an actual separate “tongue” at the forward bottom bow.⁹⁸ So too, this *talatat* group contains bowing men atop the barge's cabin. Unlike the ships on the Amarna blocks, the king, not the queen, carries out the smiting scenes on the sides of the castles of the queen's barge in the Luxor example.

PLATE 84. TOWBOATS ABOVE THE BARGE OF THE QUEEN: DETAIL OF PLATE 82

TRANSLATION

ABOVE TOWBOAT TO RIGHT

¹[...] ... ²[...] ... ³that his heart be satisfied ⁴with her/it.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The only deck structure of the near towboat, excepting the now missing forecastle, is a small, cornice-topped construction roughly amidships. For this feature, compare the towboats pulling the bark of Montu in the tomb of Khons.⁹⁹ The same element appears on a towboat hauling the barge of Anukis on a shrine in Turin.¹⁰⁰

There is an exact parallel to the rings on the steering oars on a block in R. Engelbach, *Riqqeh and Memphis VI*, BSAE 26 (London, 1915), pl. 54, no. 7. The towropes, anchored amidships near the mast, are passed through rings attached to the steering oars or steering oar poles. Sailors are at times shown pulling on the ropes passing through the rings on the oars, and raising the ring through which the towrope passes. This operation lifts the towrope out of the way of the rowers and deckhands, and allows greater flexibility for maneuvering the vessel. Round hooks and rings surmount the post of

the steering oar in a number of representations of vessels from the Middle Kingdom.¹⁰¹

In Davies, *Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah*, pl. 12, a man stands near the stern of a towboat, holding the rope, shown coiled near the steering oar. On pl. 15 of the same volume, the coil of the towrope is depicted as though wrapped around the steering oar just above the post.¹⁰² These representations suggest the use of the steering-oar post, even without a special attachment, to secure the towropes.

In scenes of towboats which have double, side-mounted steering oars, the towrope is attached to the top of a mast mounted amidships, and passes forward to the prow of the vessel, where it is tied off.¹⁰³ On vessels with a single, centrally mounted steering oar and post, there is no need for this arrangement, and the steering oar and post are used to fix the rope—attached amidships—and prevent it from interfering with navigation. The Opet towboats traveling northward back to Karnak have no mast or post amidships, and use the steering post. The towboats going southward, having masts and sails set, cannot use the mast or another post amidships, and also must use the steering post.¹⁰⁴ The more explicit scenes in the Opet reliefs thus render intelligible the more

101. See Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne* 5, p. 920, fig. 346 (tomb of Senet and Antefoker at Thebes), p. 890, fig. 337 with p. 891, n. 3 (tomb of Daga); P. E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, vol. 1. ASE 1 (London, 1891), pl. 14, bottom (here single, centrally mounted steering oars, as well as double side-mounted oars, have rings atop their posts); and P. E. Newberry, *El Bersheh*, vol. 1. ASE 3 (London, 1894), pl. 18 (the ring is shown as an almost completely circular hook on two steering oar posts). In none of these representations, however, is the towrope shown passing through the ring. In N. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebrâwi*, vol. 2. ASE 12 (London, 1902), pl. 7, the boom of a sail is shown impossibly passing through the half-ring at the top back of the post. Model boats exhibiting such rings are: Cairo Museum nos. 6077, 6078, 6079 in Room 27, and a boat in cabinet F in Room 32. See also H. Winlock, *Models of Daily Life in Ancient Egypt from the Tomb of Meket-Rê at Thebes*, Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition 18 (Cambridge Mass., 1955), pl. 84.

102. According to Davies, *Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah*, p. 19: “with foolish unreality the connecting rope lies slackly in the hands of the captain and is made fast, if at all, to the head of the steering-oar.” Certainly the towrope attachments are not realistically shown (*ibid.*, pl. 11, men on the stern hold the rope with no attachment shown [pp. 13–14]), but they suggest the attachment of the towrope amidships, with the steering post used to keep the rope up and out of the way.

103. So the boats towing the obelisk ship of Hatshepsut, on which see C. V. Sølvér, “The Egyptian Obelisk-Ships,” *The Mariner's Mirror* 26 (1940): 249–50, who states: “The purpose of leading the tow-rope to the top of a short mast is, of course, to give the tow-boat much greater freedom of movement and to prevent the tow-rope from being in the way of the rowers or from fouling the sternpost”; *idem*, “Egyptian Obelisk-Ships,” *The Mariner's Mirror* 33 (1947): 41–42. Compare also the tow-boat in the scene of the *Abydosfahrt* in N. Davies, *The Tomb of Puyemrê at Thebes*, vol. 2. Robb de Peyster Tytus Memorial Series 3 (New York, 1923), pl. 46. A similar arrangement is attested for Roman vessels; see L. Casson, “Harbour and River Boats of Ancient Rome,” *Journal of Roman Studies* 55 (1965): 31–39.

104. The towboats pulling the barges of Mut and Khonsu in the Ramesses III depictions of the Opet festival show the towropes going from the mast to the top of the centrally mounted steering oar post, although they are not shown as clearly wrapped around the post (RIK 2, pls. 84 and 92).

97. Davies, *Amarna* 5, pl. 5.

98. For this jag in the bow of the queen's barge, see B. Landström, *Ships of the Pharaohs* (London, 1970), pp. 108–09.

99. Davies, *Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah*, pls. 11–12 and 15; Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne* 5, pp. 976–77, figs. 372–73 and p. 1011, fig. 385; and Landström, *Ships of the Pharaohs*, p. 115, no. 354.

100. Valbelle, *BIFAO* 72 (1972): fig. 4 and pl. 46.

obscure and schematic representations of towing and nautical tackle.

PLATE 85. THE PROW OF THE BARGE OF MUT, WITH
PORTION OF THE BARGE OF KHONSU ABOVE:
DETAIL OF PLATE 82

For the texts, see the translation of pl. 82.

PLATE 86. THE STERN OF THE BARGE OF MUT, WITH
PORTION OF THE BARGE OF KHONSU ABOVE:
DETAIL OF PLATE 82

For the texts, see the translation of pl. 82.

PLATE 88. THE BARGE OF KHONSU: FRAGMENTS
FROM THE EAST WALL: DETAIL OF PLATE 68

TRANSLATION

IN FRONT OF THE SHRINE OF THE BARGE

¹Words spoken by Khonsu-in- ²Thebes, lord of joy: "O my beloved ³son, Djeserkheperure-Setepenre,* ⁴(I) have given to you all life and dominion like Re."

BEHIND THE SHRINE OF THE BARK (CONTINUATION OF THE
SPEECH OF KHONSU)

⁵"How beautiful is the monument which [you] have made [for me ...] ⁶lord of the two lands, one whom Re has [prefer]red ⁷[...] eternity as ⁸[...] ... everlastingness^a as ruler [...]."

WITHIN THE SHRINE OF THE BARK

⁹Words spoken by Khonsu-¹⁰[in]-Thebes Neferhotep: ¹¹"[O my] be[loved bodily son, ¹²Djeserkheperure-Setepenre,] given life, ¹³[(I) have given to you val]or against ¹⁴[the south and vic]tory against ¹⁵[the north, that] your he[art may be joyful ¹⁶together with yo]ur [ka] like [Re] every [day]."

OVER THE NOW DESTROYED FIGURE OF AMENHOTEP III

¹⁷King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nebmaatre, ¹⁸the son of Re, Amenhotep, ruler of Thebes, ¹⁹the image of Re, foremost of the two lands.

BEHIND THE NOW DESTROYED FIGURE OF AMENHOTEP III

²⁰The protection of life, stability, dominion [...]

IN FRONT OF THE SHRINE AND ABOVE THE FORWARD AEGIS¹⁰⁵

²¹[It is] the son of A[m]un who has fashioned^b for [his father (?)] ²²[(the bark) Broad-of-Str]ide,^c he being adorned with ²³[the crown of R]e,^d he having received the crook and flail ²⁴[in his grasp.] The heart of his majesty is [sat]isfied at ²⁵[conveying] his [father,] Khonsu-in-²⁶[The]bes, to rest in ²⁷Karn[ak].

BEFORE THE SHRINE AND ABOVE THE CENSING KING

²⁸Lord of the two lands, Djeserkheperure-Setep[en]re,*

²⁹[lord of glorious] appearances, Hor[emheb]-Merenamun.*

BETWEEN THE FIGURES OF THE KING

³⁰[The protection of all life ... surrounds him like Re] forever.

TO THE LEFT OF THE WINGED SUN DISK

³¹The Behde[tite ...]

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aThe trace above *d.t* is obscure; it is perhaps an *idb*-sign.

^bFor *ms*, "to fashion," used in connection with barks, compare *MH* 4, pl. 247D.

^cThe *t* and walking legs are the final signs in the name of the bark of Khonsu, *Wsh-nmt.wt*, well attested in the Graeco-Roman period.¹⁰⁶ This occurrence, together with that in G. Posener, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Deir el Médineh*, DFIFAO 18(Cairo, 1951–1972), pl. 71 (no. 1265, col. 1, l. 5), would be one of only two published examples from the New Kingdom.

^dCompare the similar phrase *hkr.w m shm.ty* "adorned with the two powerful ones (i.e., the double crown)," in M. Schade-Busch, *Zur Königsideologie Amenophis' III.*, HÄB 35 (Hildesheim, 1992), p. 214.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The paint remnants on the floral elements on fragment 470 are paint scars; there are no traces of the actual coloring. The bracelet on the king's wrist on fragment 1674 also consists of paint scars.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The shrine of the barge is open and without walls, lacking the double friezes of uraei which characterize the shrines of the barges of Amun and Mut in the same procession. This is paralleled in the Opet scenes in Khonsu Temple, with the sole difference being that there the barge of Khonsu has an open cobra shrine set within the larger open shrine.¹⁰⁷ All three of the divine barges in the Opet scenes of Ramesses III have closed shrines topped by uraeus friezes within larger shrines of a *pr-wr* shape.¹⁰⁸ The barge of Khonsu in the Colonnade Hall lacks flagstaffs, obelisks, and further accoutrements found on the other barges here.

The winged sun disk flanked by falcons hovering over the bow and stern sections of the Khonsu barge and over the rightmost aegis of the Amun barge (pl. 90) is a framing device found over each divine barge (over the Mut barge a vulture replaces the winged sun disk; see pl. 82), and is thus far unique to the Colonnade Hall.¹⁰⁹

105. Transliteration: 21) [*in*] *s3 imn ms n [itf (?)]* 22) [*wsh-nmt.wt hkr.w m 23) [h'w R] 'šsp.n.f hq3.t nh3h3 24) [m hf'f h]tp ib n hm.f hr 25) [hn.t it]f Hnsw-m- 26) [W3]s.t r htp m 27) ip.t-s.wt*

106. Jones, *Nautical Titles*, p. 251.

107. *Khonsu* 1, pl. 19.

108. RIK 2, pl. 84.

109. Winged sun disks over the barges do not occur in any other version of the Opet procession. The barge of Amun in Hatshepsut's *Chapelle*

PLATE 90. TOWBOATS OF THE BARGE OF KHONSU:
FRAGMENTS FROM THE EAST WALL:
DETAIL OF PLATE 68

For the positioning and context of these fragments, see pl. 68. The headings refer to pl. 68.

ABOVE THE TOWBOATS (FRAGMENTS 674, 1158, 224, 191, 624, 676, 79, 87, 615, AND 979)

TRANSLITERATION

¹[... *hny*].w *h*zwt.y.w n p³ *hq*z² [...] m ršw.t³ [... m^h]f *ib*.f⁴ [... *hr*] *hn*.t⁵ *imn* dī.f [n.f] ⁶*hfn*.w m rn[p.wt *hh*.w] ⁷m *hb*.w-sd⁸ *iw*.f tp t⁹ *hr* *ir*.t n *ib*.k¹⁰ [mn-]R^c m- ¹¹[*h*]nw p.t¹² [mī *ir*] s¹³ [mrr /z^h n] *it*.f dī.f¹⁴ [sw *hr* ns.t.f ...]

TRANSLATION¹¹⁰

¹[... sailor]s (and) vanguard of the ruler ²[...] in joy ³[...] he [filling(?)] his heart ⁴[...] conveying ⁵Amun, that he may give [to him] ⁶myriads of ye[ars and millions] ⁷of jubilees ⁸while he is upon earth ⁹acting in accordance with your wish, ¹⁰(O) A[mun-]Re ¹¹[i]n heaven,^a ¹²[as does a] son ¹³[who loves/who is excellent for] his father, that he may place ¹⁴[him upon his throne ...]

TO THE RIGHT OF THE FALCON WING (FRAGMENTS 672, 294, 62, 674, 1158, AND 224)

TRANSLATION

¹⁵[(The Behdetite) as he gives] all life [...] like [Re] forever.

ABOVE THE BARGE OF AMUN (UPPER GROUP OF FRAGMENTS)

TRANSLITERATION

¹⁶[...] ... *iw* *ir*[n.k sšm].w m [d] m [...] ¹⁷[...] s^z.i pr [m *h*].t.i *ir*.n.k [...] ¹⁸[...] *h*tp.w[-ntr (?)] *hh*.w *hfn*.w m *ht* [...] m^d*h*[n.k ...] ¹⁹[wīz] *imn*-R^c wsr-*h*z.t *shkr*.w m s^z[t *nb*.t] šps[t ...] ²⁰[...] w zww wr.t [...] nfr[w.s] r q^z [...] ²¹[...] m [i]b mr[r] n *it*.f dī.s sw *hr* [ns.t.f ...] ²²nb *ir*.t [h.t] Dsr-*h*pr.w-R^c Stp-n-R^c s^z R^c [Hr-m-*hb* Mr-n-*imn*] ²³dī 'nh mī R^c [...]

TRANSLATION

¹⁶[...] ... [You have] made [divine image]s of electrum^b [...] ¹⁷[...] my son, who has come forth [from m]y [bo]dy,^c you have made [...] ¹⁸[... divine(?)] offerings, millions and myriads of things(?)[... you have] hewn [...]

Rouge places Hatshepsut on the prow and Thutmose III at the stern, but there are no falcons overhead, nor is there a winged sun disk present (Lacau and Chevrier, *Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, vol. 2, pl. 9, blocks 104 and 291). The upper portions of the scene of the bark of Amenhotep III on the Third Pylon are no longer preserved. Vultures hover over the front aegises only of the Mut and Khonsu barges in Herihor's scenes, facing aft; another flies over the king's leftmost figure on the barge of Amun there, and one over the rear aegis of the barge of Amun, both facing the prow (*Khonsu* 1, pl. 19). The two back-to-back figures of Ramesses III on his Amun barge have back-to-back vultures directly overhead; nothing hovers over his single figures at the prows of the barges of Mut and Khonsu (RIK 2, pl. 84).

110. For this song, chanted by the sailors and soldiers running alongside the riverine procession, compare the similar declamations on pls. 18, 91, and 123.

¹⁹[the bark,] A[m]un-Re-Is-Mighty-of-Prow, decorated with [every] kind of splendid precio[us] sto[ne], [...] ²⁰[...] ... exceedingly wide, [its(?)] beauty(?) to the length^d [...] ²¹[...] with a lov[ing he]art for his father, that she (sic)^e may place him upon [his throne ...] ²²lord of rit[ual,] Djoserkheperure-Setepenre,* son of Re, [Horemheb-Merenamun,] ²³given life like Re [...].

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aFor this phrase, compare *imn*-R^c m-*h*nw p.t on fragment 546 (pl. 123) and R^c m-*h*nw p.t on pl. 18.

^bThe reading sšm.w, determined by a seated divine figure, is conjectural. The concluding sign of the line, by virtue of its position below the m, is certainly d'm, "electrum." In the Restoration Stela (*Urk.* 4, 2025–32), Tutankhamun states several times that he commissioned divine images of electrum, e.g., "his (scil. Amun's) noble image in true electrum" *it.t.f* (*imn*) šps.t m d'm m^z (*Urk.* 4, 2028/12); similarly, *Urk.* 4, 2028/15, 18, 19, and 2029/1–2.¹¹¹

In line 16 of this Luxor inscription the king is declared to have made divine images of electrum; in line 18 offerings (*h*tp.w[-ntr]) are mentioned; and in lines 18–19 there is a description of work on the sacred bark. This order of royal pious activity is paralleled by the Restoration Stela: fashioning images of the gods (*Urk.* 4, 2029/1–2), building sanctuaries for the gods (*Urk.* 4, 2029/3–4), endowing them with offerings (*h*tp.w-ntr; *Urk.* 4, 2029/5–6), and constructing the sacred barks (*Urk.* 4, 2030/1–5).

^cThe t and suffix pronoun of *h.t.i* are visible.

^dAlso possible is [nbw] nfr "fine gold," *Wb.* 2, 253/12.

^eThe suffix pronoun s seems to be mistakenly written here for f; compare the interchange between the suffix pronouns f and s in *Khonsu* 2, pl. 193 A, l. 3 and B, l. 3.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

Fragment 676 preserves the feet of an upper register of running soldiers accompanying the river procession, these soldiers filling the space between the front aegis of the Khonsu barge and the falcons hovering over the rear aegis of the Amun barge. A similar register of running soldiers existed above the upper row of towboats heading the river procession (see the key plan).

Fragment 620, showing the standards of the soldiers, is the only fragment of this group which can not be exactly fixed in position.

A number of the fragments of the group display deliberate excisions of figures of deities, humans, and animals.

111. On statues and statue parts of electrum, see J. Harris, *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals*, Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung, Veröffentlichung 54 (Berlin, 1961), p. 47, n. 17.

PLATE 91: CELEBRANTS ACCOMPANYING THE
PROCESSION OF THE CEREMONIAL BARGES
FROM LUXOR TO KARNAK:
DETAIL OF PLATE 68

For the drinking song below the barge of Amun, see the translation of pl. 26. For the short captions not translated below, see pls. 95, 96, and 99.

TRANSLATION

ABOVE SOLDIERS (LEFT SIDE)

¹[The vanguard] of the army exclaims before his majesty: "How flourishing is the perfect ruler! He has conveyed Amun so that he decrees for him valor against the south and victory against the n[orth]. Amun [is the god who decrees it]: 'Victory be to the ruler!'"^a

ABOVE SAILORS (MIDDLE)

²[The company of sailor]s^b who are in the following of his majesty—the song of joy which they sing: "Djeserkheperure-Setepenre* at the head of his festival(-procession) conveys the one who bore him. The kingship has been decreed for him in equivalence to the lifetime of Re in heaven, he being rewarded with valor and victory against every foreign land [which attack]s^c him. Amun decrees the victory for Djeserkheperure-Setepenre.* Amun is the god who decrees it: 'Victory be [to] the ruler!' The victorious and beloved king conveys Amun so that [...] may give [...]."

ABOVE SOLDIERS, SAILORS, AND MUSICIANS (RIGHT SIDE)

³The company of sailors and the vanguard of the army who are accompanying this noble god—the song of joy which they sing: "How flourishing is the [per]fect ruler, when he is in front of Amun so as to convey him to Karnak in his annual festival,^d as he does what pleases his father in the noble Opet, he (Amun) having received his (the king's) hecatomb.^e As the lifetime of Re and the years of Atum have been decreed for him, so is he rewarded with millions of years and myriads of jubilees,^f all foreign lands being beneath his soles like Re every day."

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aCompare the end of l. 2, and the similar statement in Beinlich and Saleh, *Corpus der hieroglyphischen Inschriften*, p. 27 (no. 50xx-Stab, written on the shaft).

^bThe traces are (left to right): the bottom of the feet of the quail chick, the lower back of the seated man determinative, and portions of the plural strokes. Compare the similar song on the western wall (pl. 18).

^cReading *ph*.

^dThis phrase may in fact be understood literally since the barge of the king is physically before, and towing, the Amun barge.

^eFor the god's pleasure as a direct result of the reception of the hecatomb, see the discussion of the text above the bark of Khonsu (pl. 59, note *d*).

^fThis balanced clause of two nominal passive *sdm.f* forms seems to be a *Wechselsatz*; for further examples of this particular type of *Wechselsatz*, see Allen, *Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts*, p. 332.

PLATE 93. RUNNING SOLDIERS, WITH NUBIAN AND
LIBYAN AUXILIARIES: DETAIL OF PLATE 91

For the text, see the translation of pl. 91.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The poor state of preservation of the wall warrants a detailed description of the group of soldiers to the right of the rightmost standard bearers. From the left to the right (beneath *hqʿ*) are represented: 1) an Egyptian with a baton in his left hand (right hand destroyed), 2) a Nubian with a baton in his right hand and a bow in his left, 3) an Egyptian with a scimitar in his right hand and a baton in his left, 4) a Libyan with an ax in his right hand and a short bow in his left, 5) a Nubian with a baton in his right hand and a bow in his left, 6) an Egyptian (as indicated by his sporran) with a scimitar in his right hand (as shown by the loop at the end of the handle [cf. the third man here]), and 7) a Libyan (as shown by the cloak) holding possibly a baton (see below) in his right hand.

The bow carried by the Libyan in this scene is considerably shorter (only a little over half as long) than that of the Nubian soldier ahead of him.¹¹² The bow of the Libyan is shown as being about one and two-thirds cubits long, a length which compares well with the measurements of the smaller composite bows from the tomb of Tutankhamun.¹¹³ The Nubian's bow is about one and a half meters long, at least as long as the largest composite bows of Tutankhamun. Wolf identified the bows of the Nubian bodyguards in Davies, *Amarna* 3, pl. 31, as composite bows.¹¹⁴ However, based on their considerable length, both those Nubian bows as well as these depicted in this Opet scene are probably gently curved self bows.¹¹⁵ The differing bow sizes here and in the Amarna scene, suggest that the Nubians are represented as using self bows, the Libyans small composite bows.¹¹⁶

112. In the royal bodyguard shown running in Davies, *Amarna* 3, pl. 31, the Libyan carries a small triangular composite bow, which, parallel to this scene, is noticeably shorter than the bow of the Nubian in front of him. Compare the bows of the Libyans in *MH* 2, pls. 68 and 70, where most bows are short; Libyans also carry small bows in *MH* 1, pl. 18. In *MH* 2, pl. 72, however, the Libyans are armed with bows of varying sizes. The Libyans then seem to have preferred the small bow, but larger bows were also apparently not unknown to them.

113. See W. McLeod, *Composite Bows from the Tomb of Tut 'ankhamūn*, Tut 'ankhamūn's Tomb Series 3 (Oxford, 1970), pp. 30–31.

114. *Die Bewaffnung*, p. 81.

115. See W. McLeod, *Self Bows and Other Archery Tackle from the Tomb of Tut 'ankhamūn*, Tut 'ankhamūn's Tomb Series 4 (Oxford, 1982), p. 51, for measurements of the larger self bows.

116. On the Amenhotep III stela published in F. Petrie, *Six Temples at Thebes* (London, 1897), pl. 10, the triangular composite bows carried by the king are of varying lengths, that on the right being longer than the one on the left. According to O. Bates (*The Eastern Libyans: An Essay* [London, 1914], pp. 144–45), "the bows used by the Libyans

The ax which the Libyan carries is type C of Kühnert-Eggebrecht, *Die Axt*, pp. 38–42, and 45–46, pl. 2.¹¹⁷ Such an ax would be archaic in Egypt at this period, but is still shown in use by Asiatics in battle scenes of the New Kingdom (ibid., p. 45). This form of ax is also carried by the Libyan in the king's bodyguard in Davies, *Amarna* 1, pl. 15.¹¹⁸

It is unclear what the second Libyan (number 7 above) holds in his right hand. It may be a baton or an ax with the handle pointing down. In the other hand he carried something too small to leave a trace below the present line of damage, probably a short bow such as the other Libyan bears. During the Ramesside period, according to the Egyptian evidence, the chief weapons of the Libyans were the sword and the bow; axes do not figure in the Libyan battle scenes of Sety I and Ramesses III.¹¹⁹ These depictions from the Opet reliefs are the latest surviving Egyptian representations of Libyan soldiers armed with apparently native axes.¹²⁰

For the loops on the scimitars carried, for example, by the Egyptian soldier to the left of the first Libyan, compare Davies, *Amarna* 1, pl. 14, and Davies, *Amarna* 3, pls. 30–31. These loops are also shown in scenes from the Nineteenth Dynasty, for example, on the scimitar of Sety I in *Battle Reliefs*, pls. 27–28,¹²¹ and the scimitar of Ramesses II in *Beit el-Wali*, pl. 13 (incompletely carved). These loops are thus far not attested by loop holes on actual swords.¹²²

PLATE 94. DANCING NUBIANS, TRUMPETER, AND SOLDIERS: DETAIL OF PLATE 91

For the text, see the translation of pl. 91.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The hair of the third dancing Nubian from the left is closely paralleled by that of the first Nubian from the left in front of the king's sedan chair in the Speos of Horemheb at Gebel Silsila West (Wreszinski, *Atlas* 2, pls. 161–62). The dance performed for Horemheb may be the same ritual dance of rejoicing as that found here in the Opet reliefs. A connection between these dances is made more probable by a relief in the Beit el-Wali temple of Ramesses II. In the top left of a scene of Nubians with tribute (*Beit el-Wali*, pl. 9), five Nubians carrying "maces" stride ahead. Four of these men raise one arm in a gesture of adoration, and the group is

seem sometimes to have been so small as to suggest that they were, as was sometimes the case in Egypt, used for poisoned arrows."

117. Kühnert-Eggebrecht, *Die Axt*, p. 129 (no. 76), cites only type G-IX, the ax carried by the Egyptian soldiers, for the Opet reliefs.

118. See also Bates, *The Eastern Libyans*, pp. 147–48. On the Libyan's ax, see further H. W. Müller, *Der Waffenfund von Balâta-Sichem und die Sichelschwerter* (Munich, 1987), pp. 31–33.

119. See, for example, *Battle Reliefs*, pls. 27–29; RIK 2, pl. 116; and *MH* 1, pls. 18–20.

120. For a contemporary depiction of foreign troops, including Libyans, Nubians, and Asiatics, see Martin, *Tomb of Horemheb*, pl. 117, no. 79.

121. The loop is around the king's wrist; see *Battle Reliefs*, p. 90, where it is suggested that the color green represents leather.

122. See Müller, *Waffenfund*, p. 148, with n. 56 and pl. 15c.

followed by a barrel drummer. As is the case with the similarly accoutered Nubians in the Speos of Horemheb, they too are apparently performing a victory dance.¹²³

For a photographic detail of the trumpeter, see pl. 128B.

PLATE 95. THE ROYAL CHARIOTS ESCORTED BY SOLDIERS: DETAIL OF PLATE 91

For the long horizontal text at the top of the plate, see the translation of pl. 91.

TRANSLATION

ABOVE THE LEADING CHARIOT

The span of his majesty.

ABOVE THE FOLLOWING CHARIOT

The span of [his] majesty.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

On the span of the rightmost chariot two objects are visible hanging below the forward belly of the horse. The first is the "backing element," discussed above in connection with pl. 22. The other, ovoid, object is a fly whisk.¹²⁴ The fly whisks, first depicted during the Amarna period, are not always shown so large and hanging so low, but parallels for this position may be found in Davies, *Amarna* 3, pls. 8, 12, and 32; Davies, *Amarna* 4, pl. 17; and *ATP* 2, pl. 17.¹²⁵ The harness of the right horse passes beyond the back of the neck and around the mane.¹²⁶ The mane of the left horse appears to be trimmed at the top.¹²⁷ The two concentric circles at the hubs of the wheels show the sleeves of the wheels passing

123. On the basis of New Kingdom cosmographic texts, the Libyans here may symbolize the western horizon, while the Nubians represent the eastern horizon. See J. Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, pp. 50–53, and idem, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 127. They can also together signify the lands of the south, where the "distant" goddess lives; compare P. Derchain and U. Verhoeven, *Le Voyage de la déesse libyque*, Rites égyptiens 5 (Brussels, 1985), pp. 31–32 and 37–38, and H. Junker, *Die Onurislegende* (Vienna, 1917), pp. 71–81.

124. Littauer and Crouwel, *Chariots*, pp. 90–91.

125. Though not so long, the fly whisk shown on the block in *ATP* 2, pl. 17, is quite bulbous. Hoffmeier (in ibid., p. 37) refers to these as "mnit-like necklace[s]," based on later examples depicting an object which resembles the counterweight of a menat necklace. He then discusses why a menat necklace would appear hanging from the saddle of a chariot span. The appearance of the object on the fan of Tutankhamun, as noted by Littauer and Crouwel, treated exactly as the mane of the horse, confirms that these are not all necklaces and strongly suggests that at least some are fly whisks. The object on the span of Sety I in *Battle Reliefs*, pls. 3, 10, 13, and 23, is identical to the proposed harness fly whisk represented on the fan from the tomb of Tutankhamun. Hoffmeier (ibid., p. 47) correctly characterizes the presence of these objects as one of the "new details" first depicted during the Amarna period. On this feature, see also Chappaz, *Karnak* 8 (1982–85): 115, and Hofmann, *Fuhrwesen und Pferdehaltung im alten Ägypten*, pp. 104 and 123.

126. So also Littauer and Crouwel, *Chariots*, pl. 78.

127. So also ibid., pl. 77 (the painted box of Tutankhamun).

over the axles.¹²⁸ For further discussion of chariots, see the iconographic comments to pl. 22.

For the overly bowed-out superstructure of the small boat on the third standard from the left in the group of standards immediately preceding the chariots, compare N. Davies, *The Tombs of Two Officials*, pl. 26.

PLATE 96. SOLDIERS BEHIND THE ROYAL CHARIOTS:
DETAIL OF PLATE 91

For the long horizontal text at the top of the plate, see the translation of pl. 91.

TRANSLATION

BEFORE THE LEFTMOST GROUP OF RUNNING SOLDIERS

... [...]^a

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^aThe signs appear to be *t3y hn* [...]. This may be an abbreviation of *t3y sry.t n t3 hny.t*, “standard-bearer of the navy,” for which see Jones, *Nautical Titles*, pp. 108–09. There are other instances wherein the standards of men designated “standard-bearers” were not actually depicted (see, for example, *ATP* 1, p. 110). The title *t3y* hardly seems to occur alone; compare *Wb.* 5, 348. In *Urk.* 4, 1621/7 there is a *t3y* which Helck translates as “die Träger,” commenting “wohl als ‘(Stock)-Träger’ zu interpretieren” in *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Übersetzung zu den Heften 17–22* (Berlin, 1961), p. 181 and n. 1. The men depicted taking part in the Opet procession may be performing the function of “out-runners,” for which the usual designation is *phrr*, *Wb.* 1, 541/15. There does not seem to be any possible connection here with the *t3y-tkm*, an obscure type of chariot soldier; see Schulman, *Military Rank*, pp. 71–72, and idem, *JARCE* 2 (1963): 89. Alternatively, one might translate “picked (ones) of the navy.” For *t3y* in this sense, and in association with the *s3.w-hny.t*, see Beinlich and Saleh, *Corpus der hieroglyphischen Inschriften*, p. 26 (no. 50jj-Stab, text written on the shaft).

PLATE 97. PRIESTS AND PRIESTESSES CHANTING A
SONG: DETAIL OF PLATE 91

For this song, see the translation and commentary for pl. 26.

PLATE 98. STANDARD BEARERS AND SOLDIERS:
DETAIL OF PLATE 91

For the text, see the translation of pl. 91.

PLATE 99. MUSICIANS AND PRIESTS:
DETAIL OF PLATE 91

For the horizontal text at the top of the plate, see the translation of pl. 91.

TRANSLATION

ABOVE THE LUTE PLAYERS

¹Minstrels of Khepeshyet^a

BEFORE THE LIBYAN MUSICIANS

²Minstrels of Libya^b

ABOVE THE MUSICIANS

³The musicians who are making music before this noble god, Amun, lord of the thrones of the two lands.

ABOVE THE PRIEST SPRINKLING MILK BEFORE THE BARK

⁴Purifying the way before the god: “Be pure! Be pure!”

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aFor this toponym, apparently located in the area between Nag Awlad in the south and er-Rizeikat in the north, in the 4th Upper Egyptian nome, see F. Gomaà, *Die Besiedlung Ägyptens während des Mittleren Reiches. I: Oberägypten und das Fayyūm*, Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients. Reihe B (Geisteswissenschaften) 66/1 (Wiesbaden, 1986), pp. 129–30.

^bThe Libyans seem to be performing a ritual dance, for which see the references in J. Osing, “Libyen, Libyer,” *LÄ* 3, 1020 and n. 107; compare the “dancing by the Libyans” (*ibw in Tmhw*) in Naville, *Deir el Bahari* 4, pl. 90. The spelling *Tmhw* here may perhaps result from a confusion between *Tmhw* and *Tmhw*; see A. Spalinger, “Some Notes on the Libyans of the Old Kingdom and the Later Historical Reflexes,” *JSSEA* 9 (1978/79): 127, and Verhoeven and Derchain, *Le Voyage de la déesse libyque*, p. 30, n. a. Note that P. Leiden T32, 3/17, quoted by Osing, mentions the “Sprüche der *t3nwy*.” The Mut ritual includes singing and dancing as part of the “*t3mh* (Libyan)-ceremony”; see Verhoeven and Derchain, *Le Voyage de la déesse libyque*, p. 22.

PLATE 100. KEY TO RELIEFS DEPICTING THE BARKS
ARRIVING AT KARNAK TEMPLE AND THE KING
PURIFYING THE BARKS AT KARNAK
WITH WATER: EPISODES 9 AND 10

For the texts, see the translations of pls. 103, 105, 110, 113, 115, 116, and 117.

PLATE 101. EPISODE 9: THE BARKS OF AMUN (NOW
LOST), KHONSU, MUT, AND THE KING BEING
CARRIED FROM THE NILE TO THE PYLON
OF KARNAK TEMPLE, WITH SACRIFICIAL
CATTLE BELOW

For the texts, see the translations of pls. 103 and 105.

128. Compare the appearance of the fragmentary chariot wheel from the tomb of Amenhotep III, published in A. Western, “A Wheel Hub from the Tomb of Amenophis III,” *JEA* 59 (1973): 91–94.

PLATE 103. THE BARKS OF AMUN (NOW LOST),
KHONSU, MUT, AND THE KING BEING CARRIED
FROM THE NILE TO KARNAK TEMPLE:
DETAIL OF PLATE 101

TRANSLATION

ABOVE THE PRIESTS IN THE UPPER REGISTER

¹Purifying the way: "Be pure! Be pure!"

BEFORE THE KHONSU BARK

²Words spoken: "(I) have given to you an eternity as king.

³(I) have given to you everlastingness as ruler of joy."

ABOVE THE KHONSU BARK

⁴(Khonsu) as he gives [all] life, stability, dominion, [all] health [...] all joy, and valor like Re.

ABOVE THE MUT BARK

⁵Mut, the great one, lady of ⁶Asheru, lady of he[aven],
⁷mistress of all the gods, ⁸as she gives life, stability, dominion and the celebration of millions of jubilees like Re every day.

IN FRONT OF THE MUT BARK

⁹Words spoken: "(I) have given to you all health and all joy. ¹⁰[(I) have given to] you all life, stability, [and dominion] like Re every day."

BEFORE THE BARK OF THE KING

¹¹The good god, the son of Amun, whom he appointed to be
¹²sole lord [up]on earth,^a king of Upper and Lower Egypt,
Djeserkheperure-Setepenre.*

BEFORE THE SHRINE OF THE BARK OF THE KING

¹³King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Djeserkheperure-Setepenre,* ¹⁴son of [Re], Horemheb-Merenamun,*
¹⁵given [life] like Re.

ABOVE THE FRONT AEGIS OF THE BARK OF THE KING

¹⁶Wadj(et), as she^b gives all life and all health.

BEHIND THE SHRINE OF THE BARK OF THE KING

¹⁷The protection of all life, stability, dominion, and all joy surround him like Re every day.

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aCompare "the lord of the two lands, Nebmaatre-Setepenre, the son of Amun, whom he loves, whom he appointed to be sole lord upon earth" (*nb t3.wy Nb-m3't-R' Stp-n-R' s3 imn mrr.frdi.nfr nb w' tp t3*), in Gayet, *Louxor*, p. 6.

^bFor the significance of this text, see the discussion of pl. 16, l. 7.

PLATE 105. THE PYLON OF KARNAK TEMPLE WITH
SACRIFICIAL CATTLE BELOW: DETAIL OF PLATE 101

TRANSLATION

TO THE LEFT OF THE WINGED SUN DISK

The Behde[tite ...]

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

There is a trace of blue pigment on the left side of the bay of the leftmost flagmast. There are two traces of yellow pigment just below the winged sun disk and above the horizontal shadow line below it.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

This is probably a representation of the Third Pylon of Karnak Temple, showing the gateway added to the front by Amenhotep IV.¹²⁹ The same structure is depicted on pl. 16. For the winged disk over the pylon, see Graefe, *OLP* 14 (1983): 60–61.¹³⁰ The horizontal line between the two towers of the pylon, below the winged disk but above the top of the doorway, is somewhat problematic. No such line survives in either of the Ramesses II representations of pylons at Luxor Temple.¹³¹ For a similar element above the doorway of the pylon, compare also Pillet, *BIFAO* 38 (1939): pls. 26–28 and fig. 2 on p. 243. The shadow line on plate 105 may indicate the bottom of the roof of the gateway, projecting in front of the Third Pylon.¹³² It seems to join the left side of the porch

129. For the identification of this scene as one of the Third Pylon, see G. Haeny, *Basilikale Anlagen in der ägyptischen Baukunst des Neuen Reiches*, BÄBA 9 (Wiesbaden, 1970), pp. 32 ff. For the gateway of Amenhotep IV, see J. Golvin, "La Restauration antique du passage du III^e pylône," *Karnak* 8 (1982–85): 203. The damaged relief of Meriamun from the time of Horemheb probably shows the Third Pylon as well and displays several interesting points of similarity with the Luxor Opet depictions; see M. Pillet, "Deux Représentations inédites de portes ornées de pylônes, à Karnak," *BIFAO* 38 (1939): 239–51, pls. 26–28, particularly fig. 2, p. 243, and pl. 27. Pillet believes the Meriamun scene represents the southern tower of the Second Pylon at Karnak; Haeny is uncertain as to whether this is the Second or Third Pylon. M. Azim and C. Traunecker, "Un Mât du IX^e Pylône au nom d'Horemheb," *Karnak* 7 (1978–1981): 80 (caption to fig. 4G), are also uncertain as to whether it is the Second or Third Pylon. A scene from the time of Herihor, however, supports the identification of the structure as the Third Pylon at Karnak. Herihor depicts the Second Pylon in a relief at Khonsu Temple (*Khonsu* 1, pl. 52), where it is explicitly named *shd W3s.t*, "the one who illumines Thebes." That pylon does not show the gateway depicted in a similar fashion in both the Luxor and in the Meriamun scenes. The offering bearers and sacrificial cattle in the Meriamun scene below the pylon greatly resemble those in the Opet reliefs as well. It is by no means impossible that the Meriamun scene is based upon the Luxor relief shown on pl. 105. On the cattle being led to Karnak, see J. Leclant, "La 'Mascarade' des boeufs gras et le triomphe de l'Égypte," *MDAIK* 14 (1956): 132.

130. He does not cite the Khonsu or Luxor examples, but compare *Khonsu* 1, pl. 52. A survival of the winged deity (the sun disk and Mut) over the gateway of the pylon can be seen in the bird over the gate of the Egyptian temple in scene 11 of the Palestrina mosaic; see H. Whitehouse, *The Dal Pozzo Copies of the Palestrina Mosaic* (Oxford, 1976), pp. 46–47, and A. Steinmeyer-Schareika, *Das Nilmosaik von Palestrina und eine ptolemäische Expedition nach Äthiopien* (Bonn, 1978), pp. 94–95.

131. For the western side of the southern interior wall of the Ramesside court, see R.A. Schwaller de Lubicz, *Le Temple de l'homme, Apet du Sud à Louqsor*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1957), p. 263, fig. 268; for the southern side of the eastern tower of the pylon, see C. Kuentz, *La Face sud du massif est du pylône de Ramsès II à Louxor* (Cairo, 1971), pls. 21 and 26.

132. It does not seem likely that this line is related to the painted line above the gateway in the Second Pylon depiction in Khonsu Temple, *Khonsu* 1, pl. 52. The Cronstrand drawing of the relief shows this

in this depiction. The representation of the porch has been subordinated to that of the pylon portal, which thus appears to overlap the columns of the projecting porch. For other representations of pylons, see A. Badawy, *Le Dessin architectural chez les anciens égyptiens* (Cairo, 1948), pp. 164 ff., and J. Yoyotte, "Un Porche doré: la porte du IV^e pylône au grand temple de Karnak," *CdE* 55 (1953): 32. According to Azim and Traunecker, *Karnak 7* (1978–1981): 81, these Luxor reliefs depict the grill emplacements of the masts of the Third Pylon for the first time.

As in the small scenes on the gateway of the pylon on the western wall (see pl. 16), the face of Tutankhamun displays Amarna-style features in contrast to Amun's more traditionally rendered visage.

PLATE 106. THE PYLON OF KARNAK TEMPLE (LEFT SIDE): DETAIL OF PLATE 105

PLATE 107. THE PYLON OF KARNAK TEMPLE (RIGHT SIDE): DETAIL OF PLATE 105

PLATE 108. EPISODE 10: THE KING PURIFYING THE BARKS WITH WATER IN KARNAK TEMPLE

For the texts, see the translations of pls. 110, 113, 115, 116, and 117.

PLATE 110. THE BARK OF AMUN RESTING ON ITS PEDESTAL IN KARNAK TEMPLE: DETAIL OF PLATE 108

TRANSLATION

ABOVE THE PROW OF THE BARK OF AMUN

¹A[mun-Re],^a lord of the thrones of the two lands, lord of heaven. ²[Words spoken by Amun-Re ...]: ³"O (my) beloved bodily son, I[ord of the two lands,] ⁴Djeserkheperure-Setepenre,* [m]y^b heart is [joyful] ⁵on account of that which you have done for me, (I) having received ⁶your hecatomb. (I) have caused your monuments ⁷to endure like heaven and your lifetime ⁸(to be) like (that of) the sun disk within it, as reward for ⁹this permanent, splendid, and pure monument that you have made for (me)."

ABOVE THE STERN OF THE AMUN BARK

¹⁰Words spoken: "(I) have given to [you all valor]."

¹¹Words spoken: "(I) have given to you all [victory]."^c

¹²Words spoken: "(I) have given to you all health."

¹³Words spoken: "(I) have given to you all joy."

¹⁴Words spoken: "(I) have given to you life, stability, and dominion."

¹⁵Words spoken: "(I) have given to you all flatlands and every hill country assembled under your soles."

¹⁶Words spoken: "(I) have given to you the lifetime of Re and the years of Atum, the strength of the two lords being in your actions."

¹⁷Words spoken: "(I) have given to you the power of Montu throughout your limbs for ever and ever."

BEFORE THE FIGURE OF THE KING IN FRONT OF THE SHRINE

¹⁸The good god, lord of the two lands, Djeserkheper[u]re-Setepen[re].*

OVER THE FIGURE OF THE KING BEHIND THE SHRINE

¹⁹The good god [...]

BEHIND THE SHRINE

²⁰The [prot]ection of all [life] surrounds him forever.

ON THE SHROUD BILLOWING OVER THE SHRINE

²¹Nebkheperure.^d

ON THE SHRINE ABOVE THE SHROUD

²²Nebmaatire.^e

BEFORE THE STAFF OF WEPWAWET

²³"(I) have given to you the lifetime of Re and the kingship of Atum."

BEFORE THE RAM-HEADED STAFF OF AMUN

²⁴"(I) have given to you years of eternity upon the throne of Horus in joy."

BEFORE THE FIRST FALCON-HEADED STAFF

²⁵"(I) have given to you the in[signia of yo]ur father, Re, you living for ever and ever."

BEFORE THE SECOND FALCON-HEADED STAFF

²⁶"(I) have given to you valor and victory against every foreign land, you living like Re."

BEFORE THE THIRD FALCON-HEADED STAFF

²⁷"(I) have given to you the power of your [fath]er, Amun-Re, like^f Re every day."

BEFORE THE STAFF OF OSIRIS

²⁸"(I) have given to you the kingship of the two lands (and have caused) that your limbs be rejuvenated and that your monuments endure."^g

BEFORE THE W3S-STAFF

²⁹"(I) have caused for you that your monuments endure like heaven for ever."

BEFORE THE STAFF OF THE KING

³⁰"(I) have given to you [all] mankind, that which the sun disk [encir]cles being under your supervision."

painted line as well (B. George and B. Peterson, *Die Karnak-Zeichnungen von Baltzar Cronstrand 1836–1837* Medelhavsmuseet Memoir 3 [Stockholm, 1979], pp. 74–75 and the cover illustration). Equally unlikely is the identification of this element with a low wall such as that connecting the pylon towers above the gateway of the Second Pylon at Medinet Habu; see U. Hölscher, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu 1: General Plans and Views*, OIP 21 (Chicago, 1934), pls. 21 and 23, and idem, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu 3: The Mortuary Temple of Ramses III. Part I*, OIP 54 (Chicago, 1941), pls. 16–17.

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aThe two small cracks running parallel and slanting down to the right immediately to the left of the reed leaf of *i[mn-r]* may be remnants of the *n*.

^bA trace of the seated god is preserved.

^cCompare the abbreviated writing of *nht* in the phrase *nswt nht* "victorious king" on pl. 91, l. 2. The lost word between *di.n(.i) n.k* and *nb* has little space allotted to it because of the presence of the falcon heads atop the oar posts protruding up into this column and was therefore abbreviated. There is a vertical work line just above the upper left corner of *nb*, which is a trace coming off the left vertical line of the "shoulder" of the arm holding a stick.

^dThe names of Tutankhamun on the shroud have been left intact. The name has been repeated twice, once between the crossed wings of the goddesses and again on the far right billow.

^eThe prenomen of Amenhotep III is written repeatedly in rebus fashion in the upper portion of the shrine. For this spelling of *Nb-mꜣꜥ.t-Rꜥ*, see Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume des Tempels von Luxor*, pls. 2, 3, 9–16, 18, and 22, and É. Drioton, "Deux Cryptogrammes de Senenmout," *ASAE* 38 (1938): 243 (in the identical prenomen of Ramesses VI).

^fNote that the *rnp.t* sign is falsely carved for the reed-leaf.

^gThe position of the *mn*-sign and its phonetic complement have apparently been reversed.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENT

The entire area of the rear aegis, to the left and right of the blockline, is sunk well below the surrounding wall surface as a result of the recutting of the collar.

PLATE 111. THE BARK OF AMUN IN KARNAK
TEMPLE: DETAIL OF PLATE 110

For the texts, see the translation of pl. 110. For a photographic detail of the fragment restored by the Egyptian Antiquities Organization to its original position above the bark of Amun, see pl. 128E.

PLATE 112. THE PEDESTAL OF THE BARK OF AMUN,
WITH DIVINE STAFFS AND OFFERINGS:
DETAIL OF PLATE 110

For the texts, see the translation of pl. 110.

PLATE 113. THE BARKS OF MUT AND KHONSU IN
KARNAK TEMPLE: DETAIL OF PLATE 108

TRANSLATION

BEFORE THE SHRINE OF THE BARK OF MUT

¹Mut, lady of heaven, mistress of the gods.

ABOVE THE STERN OF THE BARK OF MUT

²Words spoken by [Mut, lady of] ³heaven, to [her beloved bodily] son: ["O king of Upper and Lower Egypt,]

⁴Djeserkheperure-Setepenre,* who has made for me ⁵this beautiful monument, (I) have given to ⁶you life, stability, and dominion in ⁷exchange for this."

BENEATH THE BARK OF MUT

⁸[Words] spoken: "(I) have given to you all [life, stability, and dominion] on my part."^a

⁹Words spoken: "(I) have given to you [all] health [on] my part."

¹⁰Words spoken: "(I) have given to you all [...] on my part."

¹¹[...]

BEHIND THE SHRINE OF THE BARK OF MUT

¹²The protection of [all] life [and dominion surrounds her.]

OFFERING LIST BEFORE THE BARK OF MUT

¹³Libation on the offering chest

¹⁴Presentation with^b the *wšr.t*-incense

¹⁵The offering meal

¹⁶Water ... : 10^c

¹⁷Water from ... red vessels: 10^d

¹⁸Wine of Lower Egypt, pottery vessels: 10

¹⁹Wine of Lower Egypt, red vessels: 10

²⁰Butcher knife: 1

²¹Foreleg: 1

²²Leg: 1

²³Ribs: 2

²⁴Roast joint: 2

²⁵*pqw*-cake [...]

²⁶White bread [...]

²⁷*b[(n)bn]*-bread [...]

²⁸Beer: 1

²⁹*rꜣ*-goose: 1

³⁰Ribs [...]

³¹*st*-goose [...]

³²*srt*-goose [...]

³³Pigeon [...]

³⁴*nhnw*-bread [...]

³⁵*sšr.t*-bread: 1

³⁶Myrrh: 2

³⁷[Green eye-paint]: 2^e

³⁸[Black eye-paint]: 2^f

³⁹[Orpiment]: 2

⁴⁰Lapis lazuli: 1

⁴¹... [...] 2^g

⁴²Yellow ochre: 1

⁴³Every kind of plant

BEFORE THE SHRINE OF THE BARK OF KHONSU

⁴⁴Khonsu Neferhotep

ABOVE THE STERN OF THE BARK OF KHONSU

⁴⁵Words spoken by Kho<n>su: ⁴⁶“O (my) bodily son,
⁴⁷Djeserkheperure-Setepenre,* ⁴⁸my heart is very joyful
⁴⁹at seeing this monument ⁵⁰which you have made.”

BELOW THE BARK OF KHONSU

⁵¹Words spoken: “(I) have given to you [all life] and do-
minion [on my part.]”
⁵²Words spoken: “(I) have given to you [... on my part.]”
⁵³Words spoken: “(I) have given to you [all] va[lor on my
part.]”
⁵⁴Words spoken: “(I) [have] given to you [all] land[s ...]
⁵⁵as reward for [this] ⁵⁶permanent and excellent monument
[which you have made for me.]”^h

OFFERING LIST BEFORE THE BARK OF KHONSU


⁵⁷Roast joint: [...]
⁵⁸Libation on the offering chest: 1
⁵⁹[Presentation with the *wšr.t*-incense ...]
⁶⁰The offering meal: 1
⁶¹Water, *mns*³-jars: 2
⁶²Water, pottery vessels: 2
⁶³Water, red vessels: 2
⁶⁴Natron of *šbty*ⁱ: 2
⁶⁵*wr*-bread: 1
⁶⁶*šy.t*-cakes: 20
⁶⁷Water, pottery vessels: 10
⁶⁸Water, red vessels: 10
⁶⁹Wine of Lower Egypt, pottery vessel: 1
⁷⁰Wine of Lower Egypt, red vessels: 10
⁷¹Butcher knife: 1
⁷²Foreleg: [1]
⁷³[*md*³-cut of meat:] 1
⁷⁴B[ack cut of meat]: 1
⁷⁵*šp.ty*-vessel of [beer:] 1
⁷⁶[...] 2
⁷⁷Water, *mns*³-jars: 2
⁷⁸Milk, *gng*-vessel: 1
⁷⁹O feared one!
⁸⁰*snw*-vessel of honey: 1

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aThe reed leaf is mistakenly carved as *s*; for the confusion of these two signs, see n. *b* to the translation of pl. 54.

^bThe preposition *m* is mistakenly written with the aleph.

^cSee the discussion of this crux in n. *e* to the offering list on pl. 8.



^d*mw m* is followed by  and *dšr.ty*; compare the group on pl. 8, l. 17.

^eRestore *wšd*, “green eye-paint.”

^fRestore *msdm.wt*, “black eye-paint.”

^gPerhaps *šr.t* here is to be identified with *ššr.t/wšr.t*-incense; compare pl. 62, l. 12 (n. *f*).

^h*dd mdw* is repeated at the top of ll. 55 and 56.

ⁱ is written in error for ; the *š* is written as the hand (see *Khonsu* 1, pl. 53, l. 35).

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The decoration on the collar of Khonsu seems to be unparalleled. The lines appear to represent beards, or locks of hair. It is possible to associate both of these objects with Khonsu, but a pictorial parallel for this feature does not appear to exist. For Khonsu as *nb hšbs.t*, with the beard determinative, meaning “lord of the beard,” see *Urk.* 8, 93/19;¹³³ in P. Clère, *La Porte d'Évergète à Karnak*, MIFAO 84 (Cairo, 1961), pl. 9, Khonsu is *nb wpr.t*, “lord of the (youthful) side-lock.”

PLATE 115. THE KING PURIFYING THE BARKS WITH WATER IN KARNAK TEMPLE: DETAIL OF PLATE 108

TRANSLATION

IN FRONT OF THE KING

¹Making purification [by] the king himself for his father, Amun-Re, when [he comes to] rest [in] Ka[rnak].^a

²Words spoken fo[ur] times^b: “Be [pure! Be pure!]” for Amu[n]-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands. “Be pure! Be pure!” for his ennead,^c that he may make “given life.”

BEFORE THE VULTURE'S WING

³Nekhbet, the white (one) of Hierakonpolis.

ABOVE THE KING

⁴The good god, po[werful of arm]^d ...] chosen of [...],

⁵king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands [Djeserkheperure-Setep]en[re,]*^e ⁶the son of Re, lord of glorious appearances, [Horemheb-Merenamun], ⁷whose pow[er] Re has magnified [...] ⁸given life like Re forever.

⁹W[adjet, lady of Lower Egypt]^f

BEHIND THE KING

¹⁰[The protection] of all [life] surrounds him, and all health like Re forever and ever.

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aReading *hft htp.f m ip.t-s.wt*.

^bThe amount of available space renders it probable that four strokes are to be read here.

^cThe ennead here must include Mut and Khonsu, whose barks are also being purified by the king. For *psd.t* as a designation of the divine entourage, compare the description preserved on a Memphite stela fragment: “[...] to come to rest in his temple of Southern Opet, his ennead accompanying him,” ([...] *hpt m h.t.f n ip.t rsy.t psd.t f m-h.t.f*); see W. M. Petrie and J. H. Walker, *Memphis I*, BSAE 14 (London, 1909), pl. 6, l. x+2.

133. There may be a pun here on the term *hšbs.w.s*, referring to the starry heavens (*Wb.* 3, 230/1–2).

^dReading *nht*-^c. The trace below the *nfr*-sign appears to be the top of the shoulder of an arm. It is possible that the final hieroglyph in this line, restored from the Koch photograph, may be a *stp*-sign.

^eThe depth of the surviving portions of stone within the rightmost (*s3-R*) cartouche indicates that this is, as expected, usurped from Tutankhamun.

^fCompare the labels for Wadjet on pls. 16, l. 7; 103, l. 16; and 117, l. 1.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The area of preserved surface with carved lines just below and to the right of the king's shoulder is charred black. Apparently a large fire, perhaps a medieval or early modern domestic conflagration in one of the structures inside the Colonnade Hall, caused the surfaces of these blocks to fracture and exfoliate; this explains the poor condition of the stone, much of which has fallen away since the photographs of Daressy and Koch were taken.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

For the representation of the water which the king pours out (see pl. 108), compare S. Schott, *Die Reinigung Pharaos in einem memphitischen Tempel* (Berlin P 13242) (Göttingen, 1957), pl. 6a. On the sprinkling of the bark with water from a *nemset* vase, see H. Nelson, "Certain Reliefs at Karnak and Medinet Habu and the Ritual of Amenophis I," *JNES* 8 (1949): 218. On the *nemset* vase, see S. Tawfik, "Aton-Studies," *MDAIK* 35 (1979): 335–44.

PLATE 116. OFFERINGS BEHIND THE KING AT KARNAK TEMPLE: DETAIL OF PLATE 108

TRANSLATION

THE OFFERING LIST BEHIND THE KING

¹Wine of Lower Egypt, red vessels:^a 3

²Butcher knife: 1

³Foreleg: 1

⁴*mid3*-cut of meat: 1

⁵Back cut of meat: 2

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^aThe *šd* and *mḥ* signs have coalesced here (cf. *MH* 3, pl. 148, l. 313, and pl. 167, l. 1470).

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The stone preserving the offering list is of poor quality and appears to have been heavily plastered before the decoration was begun; many uncarved areas are smooth and a number of lines are extremely faint.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

For the quadripartite incense burner on the table behind the king, compare *Khonsu* 1, pl. 53.

PLATE 117. THE BARK OF THE KING IN KARNAK TEMPLE: DETAIL OF PLATE 108

TRANSLATION

ABOVE THE FORWARD AEGIS OF THE BARK OF THE KING

¹Wadjet, lady of Lower Egypt, as she gives all life and dominion like Re.^a

BEFORE THE SHRINE OF THE BARK OF THE KING

²King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Djoserkheper[u]re[-Setepenre,]* ³the son of Re, [Horemheb-Merenamun,]
⁴given life [...]

BEHIND THE SHRINE OF THE BARK OF THE KING

⁵The protection of all life and dominion, [...] ⁶and all health like Re forever.

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^aSee the discussion of pl. 16, l. 7.

PLATE 119. THE KING DEPARTING THE PALACE IN THE PRESENCE OF AMUN-RE AND MUT

TRANSLATION

SPEECH OF AMUN-RE

¹Amun-Re, king of the gods, foremost of Karnak, ²[who res]ides in his noble Opet, the great god, lord of heaven: ³"Welcome, ⁴my beloved son, lord of the two lands, whom Re has preferred." ⁵Words spoken: "(I) have given to you the kingship of the two lands and the years of Horus in joy. ⁶(I) have given to you the strength of the two lords, every foreign land being under your soles forever. ⁷(I) have given to you an eternity as [kin]g and everlastingness in joy."

SPEECH OF MUT

⁸Words spoken by Mut, lady of heaven, ⁹[the great one,] lady of Asheru, mistress ¹⁰of all the [gods], the eye of Re, (one) without her equal, who is at the head of the two banks of Horus: ¹¹"I am your mother who created your beauty, en[dowed]^a with life, stability, and dominion."

BEFORE THE STAFF OF WEPWAWET

¹²Wepwawet of Upper Egypt, the power of the two lands,^b as he gives all life, stability, and dominion.

BELOW THE FALCON

¹³The Behdetite, the great god, variegated of plumage, he[roic (one).]^c

ABOVE THE KING

¹⁴Wadjet, mistress of Lower Egypt, as she gives life, stability, and dominion. ¹⁵The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, Djoserkheperure-Setepenre,* ¹⁶the son of Re, his beloved, Horemheb-Merenamun,* ¹⁷the image of Re, foremost of the two lands, one whom Amun ¹⁸himself has chosen, ¹⁹given life, stability, and dominion.

ABOVE THE PALACE DOOR

²⁰[...] like Re.

BEFORE THE KING

²¹Renewal of the monument of his father, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nebmaatre.

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aRestoring the *hnm* vase in front of the *m*.

^bFor this epithet, see *Wb.* 4, 244/11.

^cReading *pr-ꜥ*.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The features of Amun and the king here correspond to their differing profiles on the western side of the interior northern wall in the Colonnade Hall (pl. 3). The face of Amun is probably intended to reflect the stylistic features of the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty. There is a similar contrast between the face of Amun and that of the king in the pylon scenes on both side walls (pls. 15, 16, 104–07). For photographic details of the head of Tutankhamun and the head of Amun, see pl. 127A and 127B.

PLATE 121. FRAGMENTS FROM THE OPET
PROCESSION, WEST WALL

FRAGMENTS 70 AND 192

TRANSLATION

¹[...] beneficent and lov[ing son] ²[...] Hor[em]heb-Merenamun* [...]

These fragments from the western wall preserve the upper left corner and a portion of the leftmost flagmast of the right tower of the pylon of Karnak Temple (see the discussion of pl. 105); they are floated in place on pl. 4. The location of these fragments on the western wall is assured by the appearance of the knots on the flagmasts, which match those on the western wall; those on the eastern wall have been carved in a different fashion. The blockline as well matches the blocklines projected for the western wall, but not those for the east.

FRAGMENT 81

The exact placement of this fragment, preserving portions of the tops of two flagmasts, is uncertain. Since most of the fragments of the Opet reliefs have survived in clusters, this fragment is shown on pl. 4, in association with fragments 70 and 192. The slightly varying widths of the spacing between the flagmasts also suggest the location shown.

FRAGMENT 2181

This fragment preserves the back shoulder of the rightmost *sem*-priest and the arms and chests of the following priests carrying the bark of Amun out of Karnak Temple. This fragment is shown in its original position on pl. 4; the placement is determined by the blocklines and the scale of the figures.

FRAGMENTS 1634, 548, 202, 77, AND 459

These fragments are shown in place on pl. 17. Fragments 1634, 548, 202, and 77 belong to the lower two registers of towboats heading the water procession on the western wall, their hulls still preserved *in situ* at the top of that wall. Fragment 1634 is positioned on the basis of the angles of the oar poles; fragments 1634 and 548 belong to the same block, and exhibit parallel fractures. The horizontal orientation of the towropes on fragment 77 securely places that fragment in the lower register of towboats.

Fragment 202, located at the top of the rightmost towboat in the lowest register of towboats, preserves a portion of a figure of a bird atop the masts of one of the towboats and is the only evidence for such decoration in the Opet reliefs. Birds crown the masts of the towboats in the Ramesses III (RIK 2, pls. 84–88 and 91–92) and Herihor (*Khonsu* 1, pls. 19–20 and 22–23) versions of the Opet riverine procession. These birds are not in evidence in the procession as preserved in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el Bahari. This element is found also in Late Period temple scenes, for example, É. Chassinat, *Le Temple d'Edfou 10/2*, MMAF 27 (Cairo, 1960), pls. 122 and 126.¹³⁴ If the sun line in front of the bird's head is the trace of a hieroglyph, the birds in these Luxor reliefs extended up into a horizontal band of inscription, as in the Herihor scenes (*Khonsu* 1, pl. 19).¹³⁵ The exact towboat to which fragment 202 belongs remains uncertain, although blocklines dictate a location at the middle or end of the group. The water lines on this fragment show that the water beneath the upper row of towboats of the western wall was decorated with zig-zags, unlike the less detailed water beneath the upper vessels on the eastern wall (pls. 84–85).

There are vestiges of a vertical column of text on the right side of fragment 77; the few legible signs seem to be [...] *t hr* [...].

The placement of fragment 459 between the two ranks of towboats is assured by the bit of diagonal rigging visible below the ground line at the bottom right of the block.

FRAGMENTS 237, 568, 498, 125, AND 479

These fragments belong to the barge of the king on the western wall, and are shown in place on pl. 17. The positioning is assured by the scale of the rigging. The forecastle of a boat on fragment 125 depicts a Libyan and a Nubian bound together; for the association of Libyans and Nubians, see the discussion of pl. 94. The fragments preserving the forecastle (125 and 479) fit the blocklines as they may be reconstructed. Fragment 479 is shown as an element of the forecastle, because the rear spar of the sail comes close to the top of the aftercastle, and might be expected to have left a trace above the uraei. On fragment 479, one can discern the top of the *atef* crown of the figure of the king on the side of the forecastle.

134. See also the references in S. Vinson, "The Earliest Representations of Brailed Sails," *JARCE* 30 (1993): 139, fig. 5, and 141, nn. 43–45.

135. On this element, see O. Keel, *Vögel als Boten*, OBO 14 (Freiburg, 1977), pp. 106–09, and Quaegebeur, *OLP* 20 (1989): 65–67.

FRAGMENTS 457, 36, 213, 127, AND 1099

As several of these fragments preserve details of the Amun barge still visible *in situ* on the eastern wall, they may be safely assigned to the Amun barge on the western wall; they are floated in position on pl. 17. The preserved block-lines of the eastern wall preclude the positioning there of fragment 457; consequently it is included with this western wall group. Fragment 36 was reused as part of a column in late antiquity. There are remains of two columns and one line of text on fragment 36.

TRANSLATION

¹[...] lord of the two lands, Djoserkheperure-Setepenre,*
²[...] lord of glorious appearances, Horemheb-Merenamun.* ³[...] ...^a dominion together with [...]^b

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aThe traces before the *wꜣs*-sign are unclear.

^bNote the change in orientation of l. 3.

PLATE 123. FRAGMENTS FROM A HYMN OF AMENHOTEP III (ABOVE) AND FROM THE OPET PROCESSION (BELOW)

FRAGMENTS 453, 454, AND 1008

These fragments seem to preserve a hymn of praise to Amenhotep III, consisting largely of expanded epithets drawn from his titulary. The text suggests an association of these fragments with the depiction of the statue of Amenhotep III standing behind the shrine of the barge of Amun. However, the exact placement within the Opet reliefs is uncertain. To judge from the patterns of erosion, fragments 453, 454, 1008, 432, 663, and 657 may all have belonged originally to one block.

TRANSLITERATION

¹[...] *sšm(?)*. *n* ²[...] *r smꜣ* [...] ³[...] *.w.sn* [...] ⁴[...]
 ... *smn* [*hp.w*] *sgrḥ tꜣ.wy* [...] ⁵[...] *šps n nꜣw.t šḥpr* [...]
⁶[...] *m nfr.w.f mꜣ qmꜣ sw* [...] ⁷[...] *ṯhn ḥpr*.*w* (?) *ḥꜣf*
mꜣ [*it.f Rꜣ* (?) ...] ⁸[...] *ḥn.sn ꜣḥ[ꜣḥ* (?) ...] ⁹[...] ...
 [...] ¹⁰[...] *snn*.*[w ...]*

TRANSLATION

¹[...] governed(?) ²[...] in order to renew [...] ³[...]
 their [image]s (?)^a ... [...] ⁴[...] ... who establishes the
 [laws], who pacifies the two lands [...] ⁵[...] noble [...]
 for Thebes,^b who creates the [...] ⁶[...] ... in his beauty
 like the one who created him [...] ⁷[...] brilliant of mani-
 festation]s (?),^d he appears in glory like [his father Re(?)
 ...] ⁸[...] they live, grow verd[ant (?) ...] ⁹[...] ...^e [...]
¹⁰[...] (divine) i]mage[s ...]

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aThe determinative suggests a word for divine images.

^bLiterally "city." This is perhaps a reference to the construction of a noble structure in Thebes; compare "maker of great

monuments in this city," (*iry mn.w ꜣ.w m nꜣw.t tn*), Schade-Busch, *Zur Königsideologie Amenophis' III.*, p. 335, no. 310b.

^cCompare "one who exults in his beauty like the one who created him" (*ḥꜣy m nfr.w.f mꜣ qmꜣ sw*) in *ibid.*, p. 222, no. 117a.

^dCompare *ṯhny.w ḥpr.w* in *ibid.*, p. 204, no. 89.

^eThe interpretation of the surviving signs in this line is uncertain; read perhaps *sšmw.t*, with the feet of the *sšm*-sign preserved at the top. The identification of the sign below the walking legs is difficult.

FRAGMENTS 432 AND 663

As noted above, these fragments may belong to the previous group, on the basis of content and the pattern of stone erosion. The exact placement remains, however, uncertain.

TRANSLITERATION

¹[...] *n ḥr nb mꜣ* (?) ... [...] ²[...] *w s ḥn ib.w nš* [...]
³[...] *shpr* (?) *rhy.t ḥpr wd.f* [*hr ꜣwy* (?) ...] ⁴[...]

TRANSLATION

¹[...] for everyone, like (?) ...^a [...] ²[...] ... who quickens hearts ... [...] ³[...] who nurtures (?)] mankind,^c whose decision is realized [immediately (?)^d ...] ⁴[...]

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aPerhaps *mꜣ Rꜣ d.t*, "like Re eternally."

^bCompare the *nb.ty* name of Amenhotep III: *nb.ty tsy idb.wy s ḥn-ib.w* in Schade-Busch, *Zur Königsideologie Amenophis' III.*, p. 153, no. 15.

^cFor another example of this epithet, see *KRI* 2, 751/11.

^dFor this epithet, see Blumenthal, *Untersuchungen zum ägyptischen Königtum*, p. 406, and Bell, *JNES* 44 (1985): 275. Further examples may be found in: *KRI* 2, 249/10 and the eastern face of the eastern architrave in the Colonnade Hall.¹³⁶

FRAGMENT 657

As noted above, the erosion pattern of this fragment suggests that it may belong to the previous group, but there is no direct join. Line 5 belongs to a separate text from that of lines 1–4.

TRANSLATION

¹[...] gr[ea]t of awe^a ²[...] love ³[...] (I) have given to
⁴[you ...] year[s ...] ⁵[...] ... [...]

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^aRestore *wr fꜣw* or *wsr fꜣw* (for the latter, see Schade-Busch, *Zur Königsideologie Amenophis' III.*, p. 191, no. 60).

136. To be published in *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple, Volume 2*.

FRAGMENTS 546, 1245, 626, 627, 619,
677, 488, 1829, AND 357

These fragments are portions of the upper register of running soldiers within the Opet reliefs. The amount of available space required by the figures and texts suggests a location on the eastern wall, where the relative absence of rigging better accommodates them.

FRAGMENT 546

TRANSLATION

[...] like Amun-Re in [heaven ...]^a

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^aCompare the song translated on pl. 18: *hqꜣ ḥꜣ.w m wꜣꜣ.f mꜣ Rꜣ m-ḥnw [p].t*, “the ruler of glorious appearances is in his bark like Re in [hea]ven”; and later: *mꜣ Rꜣ m-ḥnw skt.t*, “like Re in the night bark.” Compare also pl. 90, ll. 10–11: *i[mn-] Rꜣ m-[ḥ]nw p.t*, “A[mun-]Re [i]n heaven.”

FRAGMENT 1245

TRANSLATION

[...] “the victory [be to the ruler!” ...]^a

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^aReading [...] *pꜣ nḥt [n pꜣ ḥqꜣ ...]*. Compare the songs on pl. 91, in which the soldiers exclaim: (pl. 91, l. 1) “victory be to the ruler!” (*pꜣ nḥt n pꜣ ḥqꜣ*); (pl. 91, l. 2) “Amun decrees the victory for Djeserkheperure-Setepenre” (*wꜣ ḥmn pꜣ nḥt n Dsr-ḥpr.w-Rꜣ Stp-n-Rꜣ*); and again: (pl. 91, l. 2) “victory be [to] the ruler!” (*pꜣ nḥt [n] pꜣ ḥqꜣ*).

FRAGMENTS 626 AND 627

TRANSLATION

[...] his mighty [arm],^a giving to him [...]

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^aThe surviving signs of *ḥpꜣ* are *ḥ* and the upper left corner of *p*. Restore the *ḥr* face under the viper.

FRAGMENT 619

TRANSLATION

[...] (the festival) “Millions-of-Years” in (the royal bark) “The-One-Who-Propitiates-the-Gods” ... [...] give/place [...]^a

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^aReading [...] *ḥḥ.w rnp.wt m Sḥtp-ntr.w iw [...] dꜣ [...]*. Compare the song on pl. 18, and see n. *h* in the discussion of that plate.

FRAGMENTS 99, 83, AND 549

These fragments join and preserve the back steering oars of two towboats heading the water procession on the eastern wall, where all the towboats are represented with masts down. Their exact position in the row of five upper towboats on pl. 68 is conjectural.

TRANSLATION

¹[...] ²[... mil]lions are in joy ³[...] when they see the ⁴[ruler (?)] conveying his father Amun ⁵[...]^a

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^aThe text perhaps continued *r ḥtp m ip.t.f nfr.t*, “in order to rest in his beautiful Opet.” Compare for this fragment of song the text on pl. 69, ll. 7–11, as well as the song inscribed beneath the stern of the river barge of Amun in *Khonsu* 1, pl. 21, ll. 38–44.

FRAGMENT 90

This fragment preserves a portion of the falcon standard which stood, to the left of a standard topped by a cartouche, before the obelisks in front of the shrine of the Amun barge on the eastern wall (cf. the small depiction of the barge of Amun on the hull of the Amun barge on pl. 79). The block-lines here match those visible in the fragment groups to the right. It has been positioned in place on pl. 68.

TRANSLATION

¹[“... Djeserkheperure]-Setepenre* ²[...] (I) have [given] to you [...]”]

PLATE 125. FRAGMENTS FROM THE OPET REGISTER,
SOUTH WALL, AND MISCELLANEOUS FRAGMENTS

FRAGMENT 436

TRANSLATION

¹[...] ... [...] ²[... the two] lands are in festival [...] ³[...] see [his majesty conveying his father (?)]^a ...] ⁴[...] birth^b [...]

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aThe context suggests a restoration such as [*ḥm.f ḥr ḥn.t it.f*]; compare pl. 69.

^bReading *msw.t*.

FRAGMENTS 2125 AND 2076b

These fragments join and may belong to the scene on pl. 52, but their exact placement is uncertain.

TRANSLITERATION

¹[...] *y^a nty* [...] ²[...] *wbn m* [...] ³[...] *dꜣ.ḥ n.k qn.t* [...] ⁴[...] *tni^b* [...]

TRANSLATION

¹[“...] ... [...] ²[...] shine in [...] ³[...] I give to you valor [...] ⁴[...] exalt [...]”]

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aPerhaps *msy*, “to offer,” which would be appropriate to the scene illustrated on pl. 52. However, one would expect *rnpy.t* rather than *nty* to follow.

^bApparently *tni*, “exalt, distinguish.” The meaning may be that the pharaoh is distinguished from other mortals, but not

set apart from deities. In Beinlich and Saleh, *Corpus der hieroglyphischen Inschriften*, p. 13 (right half of side C of number 32 [wooden chest]), the statement is made that the gods in the following of Re should set Tutankhamun with them “without distinguishing him from one of you (scil. the gods).”

FRAGMENTS 2097, 2180, AND 2147

Fragments 2097, 2180, and 2147 join. The relationship between these three fragments and the previous two fragments is evidently a close one, although there is no direct join. Lines 2 and 3 of the group above may be positioned a short distance above lines 2 and 3 of the group below. The text of fragments 2097, 2180, and 2147 is:

TRANSLITERATION

TO THE RIGHT OF THE CANOPY POLE

¹[... s]ḏ.i [...] ²[...] ir.t hrr[.t ...] ³[...].k mī sḏ Nw.t [...] ⁴[... ḥḏs.wt nb.t (?)] m [ḥf] .k n ḥsf[.tw(?)] ḥ.k ...]

TRANSLATION

TO THE RIGHT OF THE CANOPY POLE

¹[“...] my [s]on^a [...] ²[...] doing that which pleas[es^b ...] ³[...] you/your like the son of Nut [...] ⁴[... all foreign lands(?) being] in your [grasp] without [your arm] being opposed (?) [...]^c

TO THE LEFT OF THE CANOPY POLE

¹[“... life]time of Re (and) the years [of Atum ...] ²[... the strength of] the two lords (and) [their] sh[ares ...]

The traces of a painted inscription on the canopy pole may belong to the titulary of Sety I on pl. 52 (see the discussion of that plate). The three horizontal elements are perhaps remnants of the upper horizontal lines in the portal of a serekh. A reading of these paint traces as *t3.w*, “lands,” is also possible.

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aThe outline of damage suggests the form of a *sḏ*-bird.

^bPerhaps “doing that which pleas[es your *ka*].”

^cCompare pl. 48, ll. 9–17.

FRAGMENT 1014

TRANSLATION

¹[...] ...^a [...] ²[...] him ... making festive^b [...] ³[...] ...^c [...]

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aThe remains of a *ḥs* vase are visible.

^b*shb* seems to be written after *sw*.

^cThe head appears to be *tp*; the position and available space make it unlikely that the head is part of a figure in a scene.

FRAGMENT 508

TRANSLATION

¹[...] in [his] Op[et ...] ²[... re]joicing^a ... [...] ³[...] he/his (?) the king [...]

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^aReading *ḥḥ.wt*, “joy,” *Wb.* 3, 41/3–10.

FRAGMENT 665

TRANSLATION

¹[“...] you (?) [...] ²[... all foreign lands] under your soles ... [...] ³[...] all^a ... [every] day [...] ⁴[...] all [...] dominion [...]

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^aPerhaps [*ntr.*]*w nb.w* “all [god]s.”

FRAGMENT 630

TRANSLATION

¹[...] ... guide (?) [...] ²[...] ...^a [...] ³[...] ... [...]

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^aPerhaps the top of a *tp* sign at the bottom of the column.

FRAGMENT 1696

TRANSLATION

¹[...] ... [...] ²[...] Two Ladies: perf[ect ...]^a ³[...] ... [...]

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^aThis may be part of the titulary of Tutankhamun, *nfr hp.w*, “perfect of laws.” The inscription does not appear to have been recut; compare the intact Horus name of Tutankhamun on pl. 20, l. 18.

FRAGMENT 1737a AND b

On the basis of scale and context, these fragments probably belong to the lower edge of the wing of the Behdetite who hovers, facing left, over the riverine barge of Amun in the river procession of the western wall, as well as the upper portions of two columns of text below. The bit of curved line preserved at the lower right-hand corner of the block represents the forward talon of the falcon as it clutches a *šn* sign. For a complete parallel, see the Behdetite hovering over the barge of Mut (but facing in the opposite direction) on the eastern wall on pl. 85.

TRANSLATION


¹[ete]rny [...] ²noble [...]

FRAGMENT 625

TRANSLATION

¹[...] ...^a [...] ²[...] guide (?) [...] ³[...] one who knows the one who bore [him (?)^b ...]

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aThe destroyed sign is , perhaps the divine name “Khepri.”

^bThis is perhaps a reference to the king as *rh ms [sw]*, “one who knows the one who bore [him].” Compare such statements as: “who knows the one who knows him (well enough) to fashion the one who fashioned him,” *rh rh sw r ms ms sw* of *Khonsu* 2, pl. 143 C, l. 1; and the claim of Hatshepsut, “I have remembered the one who created me,” *shꜣ.n.i qmꜣ wi* (*Urk.* 4, 364/17).

FRAGMENT 340

TRANSLATION

¹[...] ...^a [...] ²[...] his son [...] ³[...] Amu[n ...]

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^aRead [... ꜣ]w.

FRAGMENT 204

There is a trace of red on the *mn*-sign in the cartouche and a trace of yellow between the *mn*-sign and the *n* in the cartouche background.

TRANSLATION

¹[...] ...^a [...] ²[... intro]duction^b [...] ³[... Horemheb]-Merenamun* [...] ⁴[...] love ... [...]

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aPreserved is perhaps the bottom right of a seated figure.

^bReading [... *bs*]w.t; compare J. M. Kruchten, *Les Annales des prêtres de Karnak (XXI–XXIII^{mes} dynasties) et autres textes contemporains relatifs à l’initiation des prêtres d’Amon*, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 32 (Leuven, 1989), p. 168.

FRAGMENTS 682a, 682b, AND 565

TRANSLATION

¹[“...] she bore [you^a ...] ²[...] you/your [...] strengthening^b [...] ³[... over]throwing the one who attacks [him (?) ...] ⁴[...] ... [...]”

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aThe dependent pronoun *tw*, “you,” would fit well the areas of damage and preserved stone after *ms.n.s*. The text apparently preserves a portion of the speech of the goddess Mut.

^bThe traces suit the restoration *hr* in the break between fragments 682a and 565.

FRAGMENT 1144

TRANSLATION

¹[... god]s content of hea[rt ...] ²[...] ...^a valor (and) vi[ctory (?) ...]^b

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aThere appears to be the bottom of an *f* at the top of the preserved line.

^bFor the probable Opet context of this fragment, compare RIK 2, pl. 90, l. 8 (Opet procession scenes of Ramesses III): *p.t hr nhmw ‘d.w m ršw.t ntr.w hrw.w-ib*, “heaven is shouting, the shores are in joy, the gods content of heart.”

FRAGMENTS 1166 AND 659

TRANSLATION

¹[...] ...^a [...] ²[...] his two [a]rms in (?) [...] ³[...] ... [...]

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^aThe sign above the bookroll may be the bottom of a neck, perhaps *šfy.t*, “awe.”

PLATE 126. MISCELLANEOUS FRAGMENTS
FROM THE OPET REGISTER

FRAGMENT 1154

TRANSLATION

¹[...] ... [...] ²[...] water (?) from (?) [...] ³[... com]e (?) through aw[e of you(?) ...]^a

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^aThe walking-legs hieroglyph above *n šfy.t* indicates a verb of motion. The line probably describes foreign peoples coming before pharaoh in a self-abasing fashion; compare *Khonsu* 1, pl. 21, l. 14: “The nine bows are bowing through awe of you,” *pꜣ.t-psꜣ.t m ks(w) n šfy(.t).k*.

FRAGMENT 621

TRANSLATION

¹[...] ... [...] ²[...] the great one, alert (?)^a [...] ³[...] foreleg [...] ⁴[...] ... like [...]

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^aReading tentatively *wr.t spd-hr*.

FRAGMENT 660

TRANSLATION

¹[...] hewn ... [...] ²[...] every sort of beautiful stone [...]^a

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^aThis is a description of the construction of a divine bark; compare the fragment group preserving the towboats of the barge of Khonsu on the eastern wall (pl. 90, ll. 18–19).

FRAGMENT 669

TRANSLATION

¹[...] ...^a [...] ²[... inun]dation ... [...] ³[...] ...^b [...]

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aRead [...] *pn* [...]. Lines 1 and 2 seem to belong to a text reading from right to left, while line 3 is oriented in the opposite direction.

^bThe identity of the sign above the *sw* is unclear.

FRAGMENT 666

TRANSLATION

¹[...] ...^a [...] ²[...] ...^b [...] ³[...] under [...]

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aThe bottom of a *t* is preserved at top.

^bThe sign after the reed leaf is unclear.

FRAGMENT 117

TRANSLATION

¹[...] his beau[tiful] and pure seat [...] ²[...] ... [...]

FRAGMENT 589 (PHOTOGRAPH ONLY)

This fragment is shown in place on pl. 96.

FRAGMENT 1157

TRANSLATION

¹[...] ... do/make ... [...]

FRAGMENT 2191

TRANSLATION

¹[...] ... [...] ²[...] he/his [...] create^a [...] ³[...] ... [...]

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^aReading *shpr*.

FRAGMENT 2188

On the basis of the distinctive pinkish color and condition of the sandstone, fragments 2188 and 2186 may originally have belonged to the same block.

TRANSLATION

¹[...] ... in (?) ...^a [...]

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^aThe traces below the *m* may not belong to the line of hieroglyphic text, but rather be part of the prognathous face of a figure (perhaps a sailor).

FRAGMENT 2186

On the basis of the distinctive pinkish color and condition of the sandstone, fragments 2188 and 2186 may originally have belonged to the same block.

FRAGMENT 30

TRANSLATION

¹[...] ... [...] ²[...] him (?) an eternity consisting of life, stability, dominion [...] ³[...] everlastingness upon the throne of Horus [...] ⁴[... king] of Upper and [Lower Egypt,] Djoserkheper[ure-Setepenre* ...]

GLOSSARY

ABBREVIATIONS

adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
art.	article
aux.	auxiliary
caus.	causative
circ.	circumstantial
def.	definite
dem.	demonstrative
div.	divinity
fem.	feminine
frag(s).	fragment(s)
inter.	interjection
loc.	locality
masc.	masculine

n.	noun
part.	particle
pl(s).	plate(s)
poss.	possessive
prep.	preposition
pron.	pronoun
RN	royal name
sing.	singular
ult. inf.	class of verbs having a weak final radical
vb.	verb
voc.	vocative
3ae inf.	class of verbs having a weak third radical
4ae inf.	class of verbs having a weak fourth radical

šw adj. vb. “to be wide, expansive,” 11:8; 46:6; 59:17; 88:15 (restored); 90:20; 110:4 (restored)

šw.t-ib n. “joy,” 3:2, 4; 7:5; 8:10, 53; 14:25; 20:4; 20:17; 58:6; 59:11, 24; 61:2; 67:5; 78:9, 10, 17 (partly restored); 88:2; 103:3, 4, 9, 17; 110:13, 24; 119:5, 7

špd n. “bird,” 20:13; 36 (above offering piles); 67:16 (restored)

šh adj. vb. “to be beneficial,” with *n* “to,” 18 (horizontal text); 90:13 (restored); frag. 70 and 192 (pl. 121):1

šhw n. “benefactions,” 20:14

šhšh vb. “grow green, verdant,” frags. 453, 454, and 1008 (pl. 123):8 (partly restored)

ššr.t n. “roast joint,” 8:24, 75; 45:12; 62:12; 113:24, 57

ššr.t n. “type of incense,” see *wšr.t*

škr.w div. “Akeru, earth-divinities,” 26:8; 97:8

štp vb. “to be laden,” 20:10

i first person sing. suffix pron. passim.

i vb. “to say,” 26:5 (restored), 12; 97:5 (partly restored), 12

išw n. “praise,” 20:2; 28 (horizontal text)

išw.t n. “office,” 7:1; 58:4, 7

ii vb. ult. inf. “to come,” 119:3

i i vb. 3ae inf. “to wash,” in the compound *i i ib* “to satisfy the heart,” 48:11

iw vb. ult. inf. “to come,” 20:10; 59:20; frag. 1154 (pl. 126):3 (uncertain)

iw part., 8:48; 20:1; 90:16; 113:47; frag. 619 (pl. 123)

iw.k circ. form, second person sing. masc., 20:1; 82:8

iw.f circ. form, third person sing. masc., 90:8; 91:3

iw.s circ. form, third person sing. fem. 28 (horizontal text); 82:3

iwš n. “long-horned cattle,” 20:11–12 (partly restored); 36 (above offering piles); 67:16

iw^c n. “leg,” 8:22; 45:10; 62:10; 113:22

iwny.t div. “Iunet,” 54:10

iwn.tyw n. “Nubian tribesmen,” 82:9

ib n. “heart,” 8:48; 11:8; 20:14; 46:6; 48:11; 59:7; 59:17; 84:3; 88:15, 24; 90:3, 9, 21; 97:6; 110:4; 113:48; frags. 432 and 663 (pl. 123):2; frag. 1144 (pl. 125):1. See also *šw.t-ib*, *hry-ib*

ip.t loc. “Opet,” 18 (horizontal text); 20:3, 14, 15; 21:4; 26:6 (restored); 28 (horizontal text); 34:1; 36 (above offering piles); 52:1; 67:16; 78:1; 82:4; 83:17; 91:3; 97:6; 119:2; frag. 508 (pl. 125):1 (partly restored). See also *ip.t-rsy* (.t)

ip.t-rsy(.t) loc. “the Southern Opet (= Luxor Temple),” 16:2

ip.t-s.wt loc. “Karnak (Temple)” 11:3; 20:16 (restored); 26:6; 36 (above offering piles); 67:16; 69:11; 88:26; 91:3; 97:6; 115:1 (partly restored); 119:1. See also *Nfr-htp m ip.t-s.wt*

imš.t n. “charm,” 83:2

imy adj. from prep. *m* “which/who is in,” 20:7 (restored)

imn div. “Amun,” 16:4, 6; 18 (horizontal text); 20:15; 26:11; 30:5; 34:3; 50:4; 52:1; 67:1, 2, 15; 69:10; 88:21; 90:4; 91:1 (twice), 2 (three times), 3; 97:11; 99:3; 103:11;

- 119:17; frags. 83, 99, and 549 (pl. 123):4; frag. 340 (pl. 125): 3. See also *Hr-m-ḥb* (-*Mr-n-imn*)
- imn-R* ^c div. “Amun-Re,” 7:8; 10:1, 5 (restored); 14:18; 20:1; 26:2 (partly restored); 36 (above offering piles); 61:1; 67:16; 78:5 (restored); 7, 11 (partly restored); 90:10 (partly restored); 19; 97:2 (partly restored); 110:1, 2, 27; 115:1, 2; 119:1; frag. 1245 (pl. 123); frag. 546 (pl. 123)
- imn-R* ^c *p3w.ty t3.wy* div. “Amun-Re, the primeval one of the two lands,” 26:6 (restored); 97:6 (partly restored)
- imn-R* ^c *K3-mw.t.f* div. “Amun-Re-Kamutef,” 26:5; 97:5
- imn-ḥtp* RN “Amenhotep,” 78:3; 88:18
- in* prep. “by,” passim
- inw* n. “tribute,” 20:11; 59:21
- inpw* n. “nursling prince,” 82:8
- ink* first person independent pron., 59:3; 82:7 (restored); 119:11
- ind-ḥr* vb. “hail,” 26:6 (restored); 97:6
- iri* vb. 3ae inf. “make, do, celebrate,” 3:4; 8:5, 12; 10:1; 14:1, 6, 15, 18; 16:2, 3; 18 (horizontal text); 20:6, 14, 16; 26:1, 10 (restored); 52:2 (restored); 59:7; 61:1 (twice); 67:2, 13; 68 (right side); 82:1, 4, 11, 13, 19 (twice); 88:5 (partly restored); 90:9, 12 (restored), 16, 17, 22; 91:3; 97:1, 10; 103:8; 110:5, 9; 113:4, 50, 56 (restored); 115:1, 2; frags. 2097, 2147, and 2180 (pl. 125):2; frag. 1157 (pl. 126):1
- ir.t* n. “eye,” 119:10
- irp* n. “wine,” 8:18, 19, 68, 69, 76 (restored); 20:12 (partly restored); 36 (above offering piles); 45:6, 7; 62:6, 7 (written *iry*); 67:16 (restored); 113:18, 19, 69, 70; 116:1
- irt.t* n. “milk,” 8:78; 113:78
- is.t* div. “Isis,” 54:5 (restored)
- isw* n. “exchange,” 113:7
- išrw* loc. “Asheru,” 46:2; 82:5, 6; 103:6; 119:9
- it* n. “father,” 3:6; 7:2, 6, 8; 14:12, 18; 16:2; 18 (horizontal text); 23:7; 30:5; 69:10; 88:21 (restored), 25 (restored); 90:13, 21; 91:3; 110:25, 27; 115:1; 119:21; frags. 453, 454, and 1008 (pl. 123):7 (restored); frags. 83, 99, and 549 (pl. 123):4; frag. 436 (pl. 125): 3 (restored)
- itm.w* div. “Atum,” 7:1, 2, 4; 14:21; 46:13; 58:1, 4; 59:8; 91:3; 110:16, 23; frags. 2097, 2147, and 2180 (left of the canopy pole; pl. 125):1 (restored)
- itn* n. “sun disk,” 7:11; 20:9 (spelled *itn*); 34:3; 46:17; 110:8, 30
- itrw* n. “river,” 18 (horizontal text); 26:2; 97:2, 6 (restored)
- ith* vb. “to drag, pull,” 18 (horizontal text); 28 (horizontal text; mostly restored)
- idb.wy* n. “the two banks (= Egypt),” 28 (horizontal text); 83:7; 119:10
- ^c n. (1.) “arm,” 48:15; 115:4 (restored); frags. 2097, 2147, and 2180 (pl. 125):4 (restored); (2.) dual ^c.wy “arms,” 20:17 (restored); 83:3 (restored); frags. 432 and 663 (pl. 123):3 (restored); frags. 1166 and 659 (pl. 125): 2 See also *pr-^c*, *r-^c.wy*, *tm3-^c*
- ³ adj. “great,” 22, above leading chariot, above the following chariot; 82:15, 16; 83:6; 119:2, 13
- ³.*t* n. “(precious) stone,” 82:13; 90:19; frag. 660 (pl. 126):2
- ³.*b.t* n. “hecatomb,” 59:19; 91:3; 110:6
- ³.*bw* n. “purification,” 115:1
- ³.*n.t* see *d³.b.t³.n.t*
- ³.*nh* (1.) vb. “to live,” 7:6, 7; 26:2; 97:2; 110:25, 26; frags. 453, 454, and 1008 (pl. 123):8; (2.) n. “life,” 3:1, 5; 8:8, 52; 10:4, 6; 11:7; 14:14, 24, 28; 16:10, 12; 18 (horizontal text); 20:4; 40:2; 46:18; 48:18 (partly restored), 19 (speech of divine staffs); 50:3 (restored); 54:1, 2, 3; 58:3; 59:12, 28; 61:1; 78:1, 3, 6 (restored), 8, 10, 14; 82:4, 18, 19, 22, 26, 29, 32; 88:4, 12, 20, 30 (restored); 90:15, 23; 103:4, 8, 10, 15 (restored), 16, 17; 110:14, 20 (restored); 113:6, 8 (restored), 12, 51 (restored); 115:2, 8, 10 (restored); 117:1, 4, 5; 119:11, 12, 14, 19; frag. 30 (pl. 126):2; (3.) n. “the living (ones),” 11:11
- ³.*ntiw* n. “myrrh,” 8:36; 45:24; 113:36
- ³.*rf* vb. “to enclose,” 48:13
- ³.*h^c* vb. “to stand,” 18 (horizontal text; uncertain)
- ³.*h^c* n. “lifetime,” 7:1, 4; 20:9 (twice); 46:16; 58:1, 7; 59:8; 91:2, 3; 110:7, 16, 23; frags. 2097, 2147, and 2180 (left of the canopy pole; pl. 125):1
- ³.*h^c.w* n. “fleet,” 26:6; 97:6
- ³.*hi* vb. 3ae inf. “to raise up, lift,” 26:9; 97:9
- ³.*š* n. “cedar,” 30:2
- ³.*š3* adj. “many,” 3:3
- ³.*d* n. “margin (of cultivation),” 69:7
- w3.t* n. “way, side, road, path,” 20:9; 26:7–8; frag. 510 (pl. 38); 67:1 (partly restored); 97:7–8; 99:4; 103:1
- w3h* vb. “to endure,” 20:18
- w3s* n. “dominion,” 8:8, 52; 14:24; 16:1; 18 (horizontal text); 20:4; 40:2; 48:19 (speech of divine staffs); 54:1, 3; 58:3; 61:2; 78:6, 8, 10, 14, 18; 82:18, 32; 88:4, 20; 103:4, 8, 10 (restored), 17; 110:14; 113:6, 8 (restored), 12 (restored), 51; 117:1, 5; 119:11, 12, 14, 19; frag. 36 (pl. 121):3; frag. 665 (pl. 125):4 (uncertain); frag. 30 (pl. 126):2
- W3s.t* loc. “Thebes,” 69:8; 88:18. See also *Hnsw-m-W3s.t*
- w3d* adj. vb. “to flourish,” 91:1, 3
- w3d* n. “green eye-paint,” 8:37; 45:25; 62:13; 113:37 (restored)
- W3d(y).t* div. “Wadjet,” 16:7; 103:16; 115:9 (partly restored); 117:1; 119:14
- w3d.ty* n. “the two crowns (?),” 16:3
- wi3* n. “(divine) bark,” 18 (horizontal text; twice); 82:12; 90:19 (restored)

- wiṣ nswt* n. “bark of the king,” 18 (horizontal text)
wy interj. “How (+ adj.),” 14:5; 67:17; 88:5; 91:1, 3
w^c (1.) n. “one,” 82:10; (2.) adj. “sole,” 103:12
w^b adj. vb. “to be pure, purify,” 8:11, 56; 36 (above offering piles); 52:1 (partly restored); 67:16; 83:3; 99:4; 103:1; 110:9; 115:2 (twice); frag. 117 (pl. 126):1
wbn vb. “to shine, arise, appear,” 20:1; 29:1; 83:8; frags. 2125 and 2076b (pl. 125):2
wpi vb. 3ae inf. “to separate, open,” 20:3; 59:2; 67:1 (partly restored)
Wp-wṣw.t div. “Wepwawet,” 119:12
wnn vb. “to be, exist,” 46:14; 58:7
wndw n. “short-horned cattle,” 20:12 (partly restored); 36 (above offering piles); 67:16
wr see *t wr*
wr (1.) adj. vb. “to be great,” 11:2; 26:8; 83:1; 97:8 (restored); frag. 657 (pl. 123):1 (uncertain; possible restoration); (2.) n. “great (one),” 20:10 (restored); 82:5; 103:5; 119:9 (restored); frag. 621 (pl. 126):2 (uncertain); (3) *wr.t* adv. “very, exceedingly,” 3:3; 90:20 (uncertain); 113:48. See also *hm.t-nswt wr.t*
whm vb. “to repeat,” 52:2 (partly restored)
Wsr div. “Osiris,” 54:4 (restored)
wsr (1.) n. “power,” 7:8; 58:2; 110:17, 27; (2.) adj. “powerful, great (of),” frag. 657 (pl. 123): 1 (uncertain; possible restoration)
Wsr-hṣ.t n. “Mighty-of-Prow,” bark or barge of Amun, 20:1; 90:19
Wsh-nmt.wt “Broad-of-Stride,” bark of Khonsu, 88:22
wṣr.t n. type of incense, 8:14, 58 (restored); 45:2; 62:2; 113:14, 59 (restored)
wṣ vb. “to carry, wear,” 11:4 (in original titulary of Tutankhamun)
wdn vb. “to offer,” 20:13
wḏ (1.) vb. “to decree,” 20:7; 30:5; 91:1 (twice[once restored]), 2 (three times), 3; (2.) n. “decision, decree,” frags. 432 and 663 (pl. 123):3

bṣgi vb. 4ae inf. “be weary,” 67:17
bṣgṣg vb. “to cackle,” 67:17
bṣk vb. “work,” 3:4
bṣ n. “wonder,” 11:2
bṣt n. “honey,” 8:80; 113:80
bṣty see *nswt bṣty*
bnbn n. type of offering bread 8:27; 45:15; 62:17 (partly restored); 113:27 (partly restored)
bnr adj. vb. “to be sweet,” 83:2
bḥd.ty div. “the Behdetite,” epithet of Horus of Edfu, 82:15, 16; 88:31; 105; 119:13

bsw.t n. “introduction (?),” frag. 204 (pl. 125):2
bṣtṣ adj. vb. “to be rebellious,” 20:10
bd n. “natron,” 8:63 (restored); 113:64

p.t n. “heaven, sky” 7:1, 10; 8:3; 14:16; 18 (horizontal text); 20:8 (restored), 9; 26:3, 4; 28 (horizontal text); 46:15; 78:5, 12; 82:2, 5, 16, 18 (partly restored), 27 (restored); 83:16; 90:11; 91:2; 97:3, 4; 103:6; 110:1, 7, 29; 113:1, 3; 119:2, 8; frag. 546 (pl. 123; restored)
pṣ (1.) masc. sing. def. art., 18 (horizontal text); 90:1; 91:1 (four times [once restored]), 2 (four times), 3; frag. 1245 (pl. 123; twice [once restored]); frags. 83, 99, and 549 (pl. 123):3; (2.) voc. “O ...,” 20:14, 16
pṣ.t n. “offerings, bread loaves,” 20:6 (partly restored)
pṣ(w) aux. vb. 3ae inf. “to have done in the past,” 26:10; 97:10 (partly restored)
pṣw.ty n. “primeval one,” see *imn-R^c pṣw.ty tṣ.wy*
pṣq see *pqw*
pn dem. adj. 8:6 (partly restored), 11, 56; 14:5; 16:3; 67:1; 82:11; 91:3; 99:3; 110:9; 113:5, 50, 55 (restored)
pr n. “house,” see *r-pr*
pri vb. 3ae inf. “to go forth,” 90:17
pr-^c n. “heroic (one),” 119:13 (partly restored)
ph vb. “reach, attack,” 91:2 (partly restored); frags. 682a, 682b, and 565 (pl. 125):3
ph.ty n. “strength,” 7:2; 30:5 (partly restored); 58:3; 110:16; 119:6; frags. 2097, 2147, and 2180 (left of the canopy pole; pl. 125):2 (restored)
psṣ n. “share,” 58:3; frags. 2097, 2147, and 2180 (left of the canopy pole; pl. 125):2
psd n. (1.) “back,” 20:10; 59:22; (2.) “back cut of meat,” 8:73; 113:74; 116:5
psd.t div. “ennead,” 20:15 (restored); 69:8; 78:12; 115:2 (partly restored)
psd.t n. “nine,” see *pḏ.t psd.t*
pqw n. type of offering cake, 8:25; 45:13; 62:15; 113:25
ptr vb. “to see,” frags. 83, 99, and 549 (pl. 123):3
Pth div. “Ptah,” see *Sty Mr-n-Pth*
pḏ.t psd.t n. “the nine bows,” 52:2 (restored); 58:8; 67:12; 82:8

f third person sing. masc. suffix pron., passim
fṣw n. “awe, splendor,” 34:4; 83:6; frag. 657 (pl. 123):1

m prep. “in, as, with, during,” 7:1, 5; 8:11, 14, 56 (restored), 58; 11:3; 14:7, 22 (restored); 20:1, 2, 3 (twice), 4 (three times; once restored), 5, 9 (*im.s*, restored), 11 (three times[twice restored]), 14, 15, 16 (restored), 17 (twice), 18; 18 (horizontal text; six times), 18 (horizontal text; twice in the compound preposition *m-hnw*); 21:1, 2, 4;

- 26:6 (twice), 7; 28 (horizontal text; four times); 30:4; 34:3; 36 (above offering piles; twice); 45:2; 46:10, 17; 48:12, 14, 16; 58:3, 5, 6 (twice), 8; 59:21; 62:2; 67:16 (twice); 69:8, 9 (restored), 11; 78:1 (twice); 82:2, 3 (twice), 8 (twice; once restored), 9, 10 (twice), 12, 13 (twice); 83:5, 16; 84:4; 88:7, 8, 22, 24 (restored), 26; 90:2, 6, 7, 16, 17 (restored), 18, 19, 21; 91:2 (four times), 2 (four times); 97:6 (twice), 7; 103:2, 3; 110:8 (twice), 16, 24; 113:6, 14 (mistakenly written as *ṣ*), 17 (uncertain), 55, 59 (restored); 115:1 (restored); 119:3, 5, 7 (twice), 11; frags. 453, 454, and 1008 (pl. 123):6; frag. 619 (pl. 123); frags. 83, 99, and 549 (pl. 123):2; frags. 2125 and 2076b (pl. 125):2; frags. 2097, 2147, and 2180 (pl. 125):4; frag. 508 (pl. 125):1 (uncertain); frag. 436 (pl. 125):2; frags. 1166 and 659 (pl. 125):2 (uncertain); frag. 1154 (pl. 126):2 (uncertain); frag. 2188 (pl. 126):1 (uncertain); frag. 30 (pl. 126):2. See also *Hnsw-m-Wṣt*, *hn*, *Nfr-ḥtp m ḥp.t-s.wt*
- mṣṣ* vb. “to see,” 18 (horizontal text); 20:15 (partly restored); 28 (horizontal text); 46:8; 113:49; frag. 436 (pl. 125):3
- mṣ-ḥd* n. “oryx,” 20:12; 36 (above offering piles); 67:16 (restored)
- mṣ* ^c adj. “real, genuine,” 30:2 (partly restored)
- mṣ* ^c.*t* n. “maat (= right order),” 11:4. See also *Mn-mṣ* ^c.*t-R* ^c, *Nb-mṣ* ^c.*t-R* ^c
- mṣ* ^c vb. “to render (offerings),” 36 (above offering piles; twice); 67:16 (twice restored)
- (*m*)-*mṣw.t* adv. “anew,” 82:12
- mi* prep. “like, as,” 3:2, 3, 4, 5; 7:2, 3, 7, 8, 10; 8:51; 10:4, 6; 11:7; 14:12, 22; 16:1, 11; 18 (horizontal text; three times); 20:6, 7, 9 (twice), 12 (partly restored); 30:6; 46:15, 16; 48:10, 48:19 (speech of divine staffs); 50:3; 54:1 (restored); 61:1, 2; 78:4, 22; 82:10, 22, 26, 29, 33; 88:4, 16, 30 (restored); 90:12 (restored), 15, 23; 91:3; 103:4, 8, 10, 15, 17; 110:7, 8, 26, 27, 29; 115:8, 10; 117:1, 5; 119:20; frags. 453, 454, and 1008 (pl. 123):6, 7; frags. 432 and 663 (pl. 123):1 (uncertain); frag. 546 (pl. 123); frags. 2097, 2147, and 2180 (pl. 125):3; frag. 621 (pl. 126):4 (uncertain)
- midṣ* n. a cut of meat, 8:72 (partly restored); 10:10 (partly restored); 113:73; 116:4
- m ḥ* ^c (.*t*) n. “cult chapel,” 20:6 (partly restored)
- mw* n. “water,” 8:16, 17, 60 (restored), 61 (restored), 62, 66, 67 (restored), 77; 45:4, 5; 62:5; 113:16, 17, 61, 62, 63, 67, 68, 77; frag. 1154 (pl. 126):2
- mw.t* n. “mother,” 59:4; 82:2 (partly restored), 7, 14; 119:11
- Mw.t* div. “Mut,” 8:1, 2; 14:15, 16; 20:16; 46:1; 59:1 (restored); 82:2, 5, 6 (restored), 27; 83:8, 15 (restored); 103:5; 113:1, 2 (restored); 119:8
- Mw.t-ndm.t* RN “Mutnedjmet,” 83:14
- mn* vb. “to remain, endure, establish,” 7:9, 10; 20:7; 46:15; 110:7, 28, 29
- mnw* n. “monument (s),” 3:6; 7:9, 10; 8:6, 11, 56; 14:5, 18; 82:11; 88:5; 110:6, 9, 28, 29; 113:5, 49, 55; 119:21
- Mn-mṣ* ^c.*t-R* ^c RN “Menmaatre,” (Sety I), 46:5; 50:1 (restored); 52:2 (partly restored); 59:3, 16
- mn.ty* n. “pottery vessel, jug,” 8:18, 66 (partly restored); 45:6; 113:18
- mnw.t* n. “pigeon,” 8:33; 45:21; 113:33
- mnḥ* adj. “excellent, beneficial, splendid,” 8:12; 58:4; 110:9; 113:56
- mnḥ.t* n. “excellence,” 18 (horizontal text; reading uncertain)
- mnsṣ* n. “*mnsṣ*-jar,” 8:60 (restored), 77; 113:61, 77
- mntṣ.ty* n. “pottery vessel,” 8:61, 68; 113:62, 67, 69
- Mntw* div. “Montu,” 7:3; 110:17
- mr* vb. “to bind,” 26:8 (restored); 97:8
- mr(.t)* n. “party, servants, underlings,” 26:7 (restored); 97:7
- mrī* vb. 3ae inf. “to love, prefer,” 8:4; 10:5; 14:3; 16:6; 20:5; 26:5, 11; 46:4; 48:7; 50:4 (restored); 59:15; 67:6–7, 15; 78:5; 82:6, 14, 28; 83:11; 88:3, 6, 11 (partly restored); 90:13 (restored), 21 (partly restored); 97:5 (restored), 11; 110:3; 113:3 (restored); 119:4 (twice); frag. 70 and 192 (pl. 121):1; frag. 204 (pl. 125):4. See also *Hr-m-ḥb* (-*Mr-n-ḥmn*), *Sty Mr-n-Pth*
- mr.wt* n. “love,” 46:7; 59:18; 83:2, 7, 10; frag. 657 (pl. 123):2
- mry.ty* n. “beloved,” 91:2; 119:16
- mḥ* vb. “to fill,” 90:3 (restored)
- mḥ.ty* n. “north,” 20:8; 26:4; 48:10; 58:5; 88:15 (restored); 91:1; 97:4
- mḥw* n. “Lower Egypt,” 16:7; 83:3; 115:9 (restored); 117:1; 119:14
- mḥwi* adj., “Lower Egyptian,” 8:18, 19, 68, 69 (restored); 45:6, 7; 62:6, 7; 113:18, 19, 69, 70; 116:1
- msī* vb. 3ae inf. “to bear (a child)” or “to fashion (a bark, statue),” 18 (horizontal text); 34:3; 59:6; 88:21; 91:2; frag. 625 (pl. 125):3; frags. 628a, 628b and 565 (pl. 125):1
- msw.t* n. “birth,” 11:1 (in original titulary of Tutankhamun); 20:18 (in titulary of Tutankhamun); frag. 436 (pl. 125):4
- mswr* n. “drinking place,” 26:3 (twice; once restored), 7; 97:3 (twice; once restored), 7
- msn* loc. “Mesen,” 82:16
- (*m*)-*skt.t* n. “night-bark,” see *skt.t*
- msdmw.t* n. “black eye-paint,” 8:38; 45:26; 62:13; 113:38 (restored)
- mš* ^c n. “army,” 28 (horizontal text); 91:1, 3
- mtn* vb. “to reward,” 20:4; 91:2, 3
- mdw* n. “word (s),” passim
- mdḥ* vb. “to hew,” 82:11; 90:18; frag. 660 (pl. 126):1

- n* sing. indirect genitive part., passim
- n.t* sing. fem. indirect genitive part., passim
- nw* plural indirect genitive part., passim
- n* prep. “to, for, through,” 10:1; 14:15, 18; 26:7 (restored), 11; 28 (horizontal text; twice); 46:7, 8; 52:1; 59:7, 18; 61:1; 67:16; 88:21; 90:9, 13 (restored), 21; 91:1, 2 (twice; once restored); 97:7, 11; 113:3; 115:1, 2 (twice; once restored); frags. 453, 454, and 1008 (pl. 123):5 (uncertain); frags. 432 and 663 (pl. 123):1 (uncertain); frag. 1245 (pl. 123):1 (restored); frag. 1154 (pl. 126):3 (uncertain)
- n.(i)* 8:5, 12; 14:6; 82:11 (twice); 88:6 (restored); 110:5, 9; 113:4, 56 (restored)
- n.k* 3:3, 4; 7:4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11; 8:8, 9, 10, 52 (restored), 53 (restored), 54 (restored), 55; 14:6, 19, 24, 25, 26, 27; 20:2, 6, 10, 18; 26:8 (restored); 30:5; 40:1; 46:10; 48:9, 19 (restored); 54:11; 58:1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8; 59:7–8, 9, 10, 11, 20, 23; 78:8, 9, 10, 13 (partly restored), 14 (partly restored), 15 (partly restored), 16 (restored), 17 (restored); 88:4, 13 (restored); 97:8 (*k* written *nb*); 103:2, 3, 9, 10; 110:10 (restored), 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30; 113:5–6, 8, 9, 10, 51, 52, 53, 54; 119:5, 6, 7; frag. 657 (pl. 123):3 (partly restored); frag. 90 (pl. 123):2; frags. 2125 and 2076b (pl. 125):3
- n.f* 20:3, 7, 8; 82:4; 90:5 (restored); 91:1, 2, 3; frags. 626 and 627 (pl. 123)
- n.s* 28 (horizontal text); 83:9
- n* negative, frags. 2097, 2147, and 2180 (pl. 125):4
- n* first person plural suffix pron., 20:16
- n.t* n. “the red crown,” 26:9
- N.t* div. “Neith,” 26:5 (restored), 12; 97:5 (restored), 12
- nʒ* pl. def. art., 28 (horizontal text; in the compound *nʒ n*)
- nʒy.f* third person sing. poss. adj., 18 (horizontal text; uncertain)
- nīʒw* n. “ibex,” 36 (above offering piles); 67:16 (restored)
- nīw.t* n. “city,” as a loc. “Thebes,” frags. 453, 454, and 1008 (pl. 123):5
- Nw.t* div. “Nut,” frags. 2097, 2147, and 2180 (pl. 125):3
- nwy* n. “water,” 20:13
- nb* adj. “all, every,” passim
- nb* n. “lord, master,” 7:2; 10:1, 3 (restored); 11:6 (restored); 14:4; 16:5, 8, 9; 20:17; 26:2, 9 (restored); 28 (horizontal text); 34:4; 36 (above offering piles); 46:4; 48:7; 52:2 (twice; once restored); 59:2 (restored), 15; 67:1, 5, 7, 12 (twice), 14, 16; 78:5, 7, 11, 12 (restored); 82:1, 3, 7, 16 (twice), 20, 23, 30; 88:2, 6, 28, 29 (restored); 90:22; 97:2, 9; 99:3; 103:12; 110:1 (twice), 3, 18; 115:2, 5, 6; 119:2, 4, 15; frag. 36 (pl. 121):1, 2
- nb.wy* n. “the two lords,” 58:3; 110:16; 119:6; frags. 2097, 2147, and 2180 (left of the canopy pole; pl. 125):2
- nb.t* n. “lady (of), mistress, possessor (of),” 8:2; 14:15, 16; 16:7; 28 (horizontal text); 46:2; 82:2, 5 (twice), 6 (restored), 18, 27; 83:2, 6, 13, 16; 103:5, 6; 113:1, 2; 115:9 (restored); 119:8, 9, 14
- nb.ty* n. “the Two Ladies,” 11:2; 26:9 (restored); 97:9; frag. 1696 (pl. 125):2
- Nb-mʒʿ.t-Rʿ* RN “Nebmaatre” (prenomen of Amenhotep III), 3:6; 78:1, 2; 82:31; 88:17; 110:22; 119:21
- Nb-hpr.w-Rʿ* RN “Nebkheperure” (prenomen of Tutankhamun), 110:21
- nbw* n. “gold,” see *Hr nbw*
- nfr* (1.) adj. “beautiful, perfect,” masc. 8:6 (partly restored), 11, 56; 11:2 (in original titulary of Tutankhamun); 14:5; 16:3, 4; 20:16; 26:6 (restored), 10 (restored), 11; 28 (horizontal text); 34:1 (twice; once partly restored); 36 (above offering piles; three times); 52:1 (partly restored); 67:16 (twice); 69:1; 82:1, 11, 30; 83:17; 88:5; 91:3 (partly restored); 97:6, 10, 11; 103:11; 110:18, 19; 113:5; 115:4; frag. 1696 (pl. 125): 2; frag. 117 (pl. 126):1; (2.) adv. “beautifully,” 20:1
- nfr.t* n. “the good one,” 26:10 (restored); 97:10
- nfr.w* n. “beauty,” 20:17; 28 (horizontal text); 46:9; 59:6; 82:7; 90:20 (partly restored); 119:11; frags. 453, 454, and 1008 (pl. 123):6
- Nfr-ḥtp(-m-ḥp.t-s.wt)* div. “(Khonsu) Neferhotep (-in-Karnak),” 48:4–5; 59:14; 88:10
- nm* n. “butcher knife,” 8:20, 70 (restored); 10:8 (partly restored); 45:8; 62:8; 113:20, 71; 116:2
- nmt.t* see *Wsh-nmt.wt*
- nn* dem. pron. “this, these,” 113:7
- nn* negative, 20:13; 48:15; 119:10
- nhm* vb. “to jubilate, shout,” 18 (horizontal text; twice); 28 (horizontal text); 69:7; 91:1
- nhm* n. “joy,” 18 (horizontal text); 91:2, 3
- nhḥ* (1.) n. “eternity,” 7:5; 8:55; 14:7; 20:3; 46:10; 58:6; 88:7; 103:2; 110:24; 119:7; frags. 1737a and b (pl. 125):1; frag. 30 (pl. 126): 2; (2.) adv. “forever, eternally,” 3:4; 7:6, 10; 10:6; 14:23; 16:1; 78:23 (restored); 110:25, 29; 115:10
- nhḥʒ* n. “flail,” 88:23
- Nhb.t* div. “Nekhbet,” 82:17; 115:3
- Nhn* loc. “Hierakonpolis,” 82:18 (restored); 115:3
- nhnw* n. type of bread, 8:34; 45:22; 113:34
- nhṯ* (1.) as adj. vb. and adj. “to be mighty, victorious, powerful” 11:1; 91:2; 115:4 (partly restored); (2.) n. “strength, power, victory,” 3:2; 7:3 (a spelling of *m-ḥt* “through”); 7:7; 8:54; 20:8; 30:5; 40:4; 58:5; 59:10 (restored); 59:26; 61:2; 88:14; 91:1 (twice), 2 (twice); 110:11, 26; frag. 1245 (pl. 123); frag. 1144 (pl. 125): 2 (uncertain)

- ns.t* n. “seat, throne,” 10:1; 16:5; 20:5 (restored); 26:2; 36 (above offering piles); 46:12; 58:4, 7; 67:1, 16; 78:7, 11; 90:14 (restored), 21 (restored); 97:2; 99:3; 110:1, 24; 115:2
- nsy.t* n. “kingship,” 7:4, 9; 58:2; 91:2; 110:23, 28; 119:5
- nswt* n. “king,” 14:7; 16:5, 6; 20:3, 18; 46:11; 50:4; 58:6; 78:5; 82:1; 91:2; 103:2; 115:1; 119:1, 7; frag. 508 (pl. 125):3. See also *wi3 nswt*, *hm.t-nswt wr.t*
- nswt bity* n. “king of Upper and Lower Egypt,” 3:6; 10:2 (restored); 11:5 (restored); 16:5; 29:2 (partly restored); 34:2; 52:2 (partly restored); 78:1, 2 (restored); 82:20, 23; 88:17; 103:12, 13; 113:3 (restored); 115:5; 119:15, 21; frag. 30 (pl. 126):4
- nš[...]* reading and meaning uncertain, frags. 432 and 663 (pl. 123):2
- ngn* see *gngn*
- nty* rel. pron. “who, which (is),” 18 (horizontal text); 26:7; 28 (horizontal text); 91:2, 3; 97:7; 99:3; frags. 2125 and 2076b (pl. 125):1
- ntr* n. “god,” 7:2; 11:4 (in original titulary of Tutankhamun); 16:3, 4; 26:5, 10 (twice; restored), 12; 28 (horizontal text; three times); 67:1, 16; 78:1, 5; 82:3, 5, 15, 16, 18, 30; 83:5; 91:1 (restored), 2, 3; 97:5, 10 (twice), 12; 99:3, 4; 103:7, 11; 110:18, 19; 113:1; 115:4; 119:1, 2, 10 (restored), 13; frag. 1144 (pl. 125):1. See also *h.t-ntr*, *hṭp-ntr*, *Shṭp-ntr.w*, *t3-ntr*
- ndm* vb. “be glad,” 20:14. See also *Mw.t-ndm.t*
- ndr* vb. “to hew,” 26:3, 4; 97:3, 4
- r* prep. “to, for, against,” 3:4; 7:7, 10; 16:1, 2, 5, 6; 18 (horizontal text; three times); 20:2, 3, 8 (three times; the last instance restored), 16; 26:3, 4; 30:1, 5; 34:1; 48:10; 50:4; 58:5 (twice); 59:7; 69:10; 83:9, 10; 88:7, 13, 14, 26; 90:20; 91:2, 3 (three times); 97:3, 4; 103:11; 110:26, 29; 113:49; frags. 453, 454, and 1008 (pl. 123):2. See also *h3.t*
- r3* n. type of goose, 8:29; 45:17; 113:29
- r-^c* n. “end, limit,” 20:8 (restored)
- r-^cwy* n. “two arms, actions,” 110:16
- r-pr* n. “temple,” 20:6
- R^c* div. “Re,” 3:2, 3, 4, 5; 7:1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8; 8:51; 10:4, 6; 11:7; 14:12, 22; 16:1, 11; 18 (horizontal text; twice); 30:6; 40:5; 48:19 (speech of divine staffs); 50:3; 52:2; 54:1; 58:1; 59:8; 61:1, 2; 78:3 (restored), 4, 22; 82:22, 26, 29, 33; 88:4, 6, 16 (restored), 18, 19, 23 (partly restored), 30 (restored); 90:15 (restored), 22, 23; 91:2, 3 (twice); 103:4, 8, 10, 14, 15, 17; 110:16, 23, 25, 26, 27; 115:6, 7, 8, 10; 117:1, 3, 5; 119:4, 10, 16, 17, 20; frags. 453, 454, and 1008 (pl. 123):7 (restored); frags. 2097, 2147, and 2180 (left of the canopy pole; pl. 125):1. See also *imn-R^c*, *Mn-m3^c.t-R^c*, *Nb-m3^c.t-R^c*, *Nb-hpr.w-R^c*
- r^c* n. “day,” 3:2; 7:8; 14:13; 40:5; 88:16 (restored); 91:3; 103:8, 10, 17; 110:27; frag. 665 (pl. 125):3
- rwḏ* adj. “flourishing, permanent,” 8:12; 110:9; 113:56
- rp^c.t.t* n. “noblewoman,” 83:1
- rn* n. “name,” 20:18; 46:14
- rnp.t* n. “year,” 7:2, 5; 8:55; 14:21; 20:3; 58:1; 59:8; 78:16; 82:3; 90:6; 91:3 (three times); 110:16, 24; 119:5; frag. 657 (pl. 123):4; frags. 2097, 2147, and 2180 (left of the canopy pole; pl. 125):1; see also *hḥ(.w) n rnp.wt*
- rnpṯ* adj. vb. 4ae inf. “to be rejuvenated, young,” 7:9; 110:28
- rnpw.t* n. “plants, plant products,” 8:43 (written *rny*); 36 (above offering piles); 45:31; 67:16 (restored); 113:43
- rh* vb. “to know,” frag. 625 (pl. 125):3
- rhy.t* n. “subjects, (all) mankind,” 7:11; 28 (horizontal text); 110:30; frags. 432 and 663 (pl. 123):3
- rsy* (1.) n. “south,” 20:8; 26:3; 48:9; 58:5; 88:14 (restored); 91:1; 97:3; (2.) adj. “southern,” see *ip.t-rsy(.t)*
- ršw.t* n. “joy(fulness),” 18 (horizontal text); 69:9; 90:2; frags. 83, 99, and 549 (pl. 123):2
- rdi* vb. 3ae inf. “to give, grant, cause,” 3:1; 10:4; 14:19; 16:4, 10; 18 (horizontal text); 20:2, 3, 5, 9, 17 (restored); 23:2; 28 (horizontal text); 36 (above offering piles); 50:3 (restored); 59:20; 61:1; 67:16 (restored); 78:1, 4; 82:4, 8, 18, 19, 22, 26, 32; 83:9; 88:12; 90:5, 13, 21, 23; 91:2; 103:4, 8, 11, 15, 16; 110:6; 115:2, 8; 117:1, 4; 119:12, 14, 19; frag. 619 (pl. 123); frag. 90 (pl. 123):2; frag. 657 (pl. 123):3; frags. 626 and 627 (pl. 123); frags. 2125 and 2076b (pl. 125):3
- dī.n.(i) n.k.* ... “(I) have given to you ...,” with the following objects:
- 3w.t-ib nb* “all joy,” 59:11 (partly restored); 78:9; 110:13
- 3w.t-ib nb hr.i* “all joy on my part,” 8:10; 14:25; 78:17
- 3w.t-ib nb hṭp nb hr.i* “all joy and all contentment on my part,” 8:53
- 3w.t nb qn.t [nb] nḥt nb snb [nb]* “all joy, all valor, all victory, and [all] health,” 59:23–27
- i3w.t.i s.t.i ns.t.(i) ḥ^c.i wn.(i) tp t3* “my office, my place, (my) throne, my lifetime, and (my) period of existence upon earth,” 58:7
- ḥḥ w3s [3w.t-ib s[nb ...]* “life and dominion, joy, h[ea]lth ...,” 78:10 (*rdi* is restored)
- ḥḥ w3s nb mī R^c* “all life and dominion like Re,” 88:4
- [*ḥḥ*] *w3s [nb hr(i)]* “[all life] and dominion [on my part],” 113:51
- ḥḥ dd w3s* “life, stability, and dominion,” 110:14; 113:5–6
- ḥḥ dd w3s mī R^c* “life, stability, and dominion like Re,” 48:19 (speech of divine staffs; partly restored)

- nh dd w3s nb* “all life, stability, and dominion,” 78:8
nh dd [w3s] nb mī R^c r^c nb “all life, stability, and [dominion] like Re every day,” 103:10
nh dd w3s nb hr.i “all life, stability, and dominion on my part,” 8:8; 14:24; 78:14; 113:8 (partly restored)
nh dd w3s nb snb nb [h]r.i “all life, stability, dominion, and all health [on] my part,” 8:52
nh dd w3s nb qn.t nb nht nb [mī] R^c r^c nb “all life, stability, and dominion, all valor and all victory [like] Re every day,” 40:1–5
h^c n R^c nsy.t n.t itm^w “lifetime of Re and the kingship of Atum,” 7:4; 110:23
h^c n R^c rnp.wt n.t itm^w “lifetime of Re and the years of Atum,” 58:1; 59:7–8
h^c n R^c rnp.wt n.t itm^w ph.ty nb.wy m r-^c.wy.k “lifetime of Re and the years of Atum, the strength of the two lords being in your actions,” 110:16
wsr.w it.k imn-R^c mī R^c r^c nb “the power of your father, Amun-Re, like Re every day” 7:8; 110:27
wsr.w Mntw ht h^c.w.k dt sp-2 “the power of Montu throughout your limbs for ever and ever,” 110:17
ph.ty nb.wy psš.sn m nh w3s “the strength of the two lords and their share(s) of life and dominion,” 58:3
ph.ty nb.wy h3s.t nb hr tbwty.k d.t “the strength of the two lords, every foreign land being under your soles forever,” 119:6
mnw.k mn mī p.t “that your monuments endure like heaven,” 110:6–7
mnw.k mn mī p.t r nh^h “that your monuments endure like heaven forever,” 7:10; 110:29
nh^h m nswt “an eternity as king,” 103:2
nh^h m nswt t3.wy “an eternity as king of the two lands,” 46:9–11
nh^h m nswt t3.wy d.t hr s.t Hr h3s.t nb hr tbwty.k mī it.(k) R^c r^c nb “an eternity as king of the two lands and everlastingness upon the throne of Horus, every foreign land being under your soles like (your) father Re every day,” 14:7–12
nh^h m nswt t3.wy d.t m hq3 3w.t-ib “an eternity as king of the two lands and everlastingness as ruler of joy,” 58:6
nh^h m [nswt] d.t m 3w.t-ib “an eternity as [kin]g and everlastingness in joy”; 119:7
[nht] nb “all [victory],” 59:10 (restored); 110:11 (restored)
ns.t Gb i3w.t mn^h n.t itm^w “the throne of Geb and the excellent office of Atum,” 58:4
nsy.t Hr wrs.w n Šw Tfnw.t “the kingship of Horus and the power of Shu and Tefnut,” 58:2
nsy.t t3.wy rnp^y h^c.w.k mn mnw.k “the kingship of the two lands (and) that your limbs be rejuvenated and that your monuments endure,” 7:9; 110:28
nsy.t t3.wy rnp.wt Hr m 3w.t-ib “the kingship of the two lands and the years of Horus in joy,” 119:5
rnp.wt nb hr(.i) “all years on (my) part,” 78:16
rnp.wt nh^h hr s.t Hr m 3w.t-ib “years of eternity upon the throne of Horus in joy,” 7:5; 110:24
rnp.wt nh^h h3s.t nb hr.i “years of eternity and every foreign land on my part,” 8:55
rhy.t nb šnn itn hr s.t hr.k “all mankind, that which the sun disk encircles being under your supervision,” 7:11; 110:30
rsy mī mht.t r i^c ib.k m im.sn “the south as well as the north so as to satisfy your heart with them,” 48:9–12
hb.w-sd 33 wr mī R^c “very many jubilees like Re,” 3:3
hkr.w n it.k R^c “the insignia of your father, Re,” 7:6; 110:25
snb nb “all health,” 110:12
snb nb 3w.t-ib nb “all health and all joy,” 103:9
snb nb hr.i “all health on my part,” 8:9; 14:26; 78:15; 113:9 (partly restored)
qn(.t) nb “all valor,” 54:11; 59:9; 110:10 (restored)
qn.t nb nht nb hr.i “all valor and all victory on my part,” 8:54
qn.t nb hr.i “all valor on my part,” 14:27; 113:53
qn.t nht r h3s.t nb “valor and victory against every foreign land,” 7:7; 110:26
[qn].t r [rsy n]ht r [mh.ty] “[val]or against [the south and vic]tory against [the north],” 88:13–15 (partly restored)
qn.t r rsy nht r mh.ty snd.k m t3.w nb.w “valor against the south and victory against the north, the fear of you being in all lands,” 58:5
t3.w nb.w h3s.t nb.t “all flatlands and every hill country,” 78:13
t3.w nb(.w) h3s.t nb.t dmd hr tbwty.k “all flatlands and every hill country assembled under your soles,” 110:15
t3.w nb.w h3s.wt nb pd.t psd.t m [...] “all flatlands, all hill countries, and the Nine Bows in [...],” 58:8
t3[.w nb.w ...] “[all] land[s ...],” 113:54
d.t m hq3 3w.t-ib “everlastingness as ruler of joy,” 103:3
h voc. part. “O ... !” 8:79; 113:79
h3y-hnw vb. “to exult and praise/jubilate,” 28 (horizontal text)

hp n. “law,” 11:2 (in original titulary of Tutankhamun); frags. 453, 454, and 1008 (pl. 123):4 (restored)

hnw see *h3y-hnw*

hrw vb. 3ae inf. “be content, to satisfy,” 11:4; 18 (horizontal text); 20:16; 84:3; 91:3; 97:6; frags. 2097, 2147, and 2180 (pl. 125):2; frag. 1144 (pl. 125):1

h.t-ntr n. “temple,” 78:1

H.t-Hr div. “Hathor,” 26:10; 54:7; 97:10

h3 prep. “surround,” 3:5; 10:6; 11:7; 14:14, 28; 16:12; 30:6; 46:18; 48:18; 54:1; 59:12, 28; 61:2; 78:6; 82:29; 88:30 (restored); 103:17; 110:20; 113:12 (restored); 115:10

h3.t n. “front,” in compound *imy h3.t* “which was before,” 20:7 (restored)

h3.t prep. “before,” 36 (above offering piles); 67:1 (in *r-h3.t* “before”), 16 (restored); 91:3; 99:4

In the compound *hr-h3.t* “before,” 67:2; 91:1; 99:3

h3wty.w n. “vanguard,” 28 (horizontal text); 90:1; 91:1, 3

h3w.t.t n. “the foremost (one),” 28 (horizontal text)

h3w.ty n. “aegis,” 14:15

h3.t n. “bow,” see *Wsr-h3.t*

h3t.t n. “bow-rope,” 18 (horizontal text); 28 (horizontal text)

h3.w n. “limbs,” 7:3, 9; 20:17; 110:17, 28

h3 vb. 3ae inf. “to be joyful, rejoice,” 8:49 (partly restored); 46:7–8; 113:48

h3.wt n. “rejoicing, joy,” frag. 508 (pl. 125):2

H3py div. “Hapy, Inundation,” the Nile god, 26:8; 97:8 (written *H3pp*); frag. 669 (pl. 126):2

hb n. “festival,” 20:2, 14; 26:6 (partly restored); 28 (horizontal text; twice); 36 (above offering piles); 67:16; 69:8; 78:1; 82:2, 3; 83:16; 91:2, 3; 97:6 (partly restored); frag. 436 (pl. 125):2. See also *Hr-m-hb*

hb-sd n. “jubilee,” 3:3, 4; 20:5, 18; 90:7; 91:3; 103:8

hfn.w n. “myriads, hundreds of thousands,” 20:5; 90:6, 18; 91:3

hm n. “majesty,” 22 (above leading chariot), 22 (above following chariot); 88:24; 91:1, 2; 95 (above leading chariot), 95 (above following chariot); frag. 436 (pl. 125):3 (restored)

hm.t-nswt wr.t n. “king’s great wife,” 83:11

hn3 prep. “together with,” 11:9; 88:16 (restored); frag. 36 (pl. 121):3

hnw.t n. “mistress,” 82:5, 18, 28; 83:2 (partly restored), 7, 12; 103:7; 113:1; 119:9

hnq.t n. “beer,” 8:28; 45:16; 62:18; 113:28

hnk n. “presentation,” 8:14, 58; 45:2; 62:2; 113:14, 59 (restored)

Hr div. “Horus,” 7:5; 11:1 (in titulary); 14:10; 20:18; 26:9; 54:6; 58:2; 83:7; 97:9; 110:24; 119:5, 10; frag. 30 (pl. 126):3

Hr nbw title (of king) “Horus of Gold,” 11:3; 52:2 (restored)

Hr-m-hb-(Mr-n-imn) RN “Horemheb-(Merenamun),” 10:3 (restored); 11:6; 16:9; 29:2; 58:9; 67:14; 82:25; 88:29 (partly restored); 90:22 (restored); 103:14; 115:6 (restored); 117:3 (restored); 119:16; frags. 70 and 192 (pl. 121):2; frag. 36 (pl. 121):2; frag. 204 (pl. 125):3

hr n. “face,” frags. 432 and 663 (pl. 123):1 (in the compound *hr nb* “everyone”); frag. 621 (pl. 126):2 (in compound *spd-hr*; uncertain). See also *ind-hr*, *s.t* (for the compound *s.t-hr*)

hr prep. “on, upon, concerning, with, because,” 7:5; 8:13 (supplied), 57 (restored); 11:4; 14:9; 16:5; 18 (horizontal text; four times); 20:2, 3 (restored), 5 (restored), 7 (restored), 9, 10, 16 (restored), 17, 18; 26:1; 28 (horizontal text; three times); 45:1; 46:12; 59:22; 62:1; 67:16; 69:7, 10; 82:9, 14; 83:15; 88:24; 90:4 (restored), 9, 14 (restored), 21; 91:2 (four times), 3; 97:1; 99:3; 110:5, 24; 113:13, 58; frag. 77 (pl. 121; uncertain); frags. 432 and 663 (pl. 123):3 (restored); frags. 626 and 627 (pl. 123, partly restored); frag. 665 (pl. 125):2; frag. 436 (pl. 125):3 (restored); frags. 682a, 682b, and 565 (pl. 125):2 (restored); frag. 30 (pl. 126):3

hry-ib nisbe “(residing) in,” 119:2

hry-tp nisbe “at the head of,” 119:10

hry.t n. “dread,” 82:10

hh(.w) n. “million(s),” 20:5; 30:4; 90:6 (restored), 18; 91:3; 103:8; frags. 83, 99, and 549 (pl. 123):2

hh(.w) n rnp.wt n. “millions of years,” name of festival, 18 (horizontal text; partly restored); frag. 619 (pl. 123)

hsi vb. 3ae inf. “to praise,” 26:5, 12; 97:5, 12

hsw n. “reward, praise,” 8:11, 56; 82:10; 110:8; 113:55

hs.t n. “praise,” 83:1 (restored), 9 (partly restored), 13

hs n. “singer, minstrel,” 99:1, 2

hq3.t n. “crook,” 88:23

hq3 n. “ruler,” 3:4 (partly restored); 14:22; 18 (horizontal text); 20:4, 16; 58:6; 78:12; 88:8, 18; 90:1; 91:1 (twice), 2, 3; 103:3; frag. 1245 (pl. 123; restored); frags. 83, 99, and 549 (pl. 123):4 (restored)

htp vb. “rest, be satisfied, to set,” 20:15; 36 (above offering piles); 67:16 (partly restored); 69:11; 83:9 (restored); 88:24, 26; 115:1

htp n. “contentment, satisfaction, peace,” 8:53; 20:3 (partly restored); 119:3. See also *imn-htp*, *Nfr-htp*, *Nfr-htp(-m ip.t-s.wt)*, *Hnsw nfr-htp*, *dbh.t-htp*

htp-ntr n. “divine offering,” 20:11 (restored); 90:18 (partly restored)

htri n. “span,” 22 (above leading chariot), 22 (above following chariot); 95 (above leading chariot), 95 (above following chariot)

- ḥd* n. “mace,” 82:9
ḥd adj. “white,” as an epithet of Nekhbet, *ḥd.t* “the white (one),” 82:18; 115:3. See also *t ḥd*
ḥd.t n. “the white crown,” 97:9
- ḥ.t* n. “thing, product,” 20:11 (twice); 36 (above offering piles); 52:2 (restored); 67:13, 16; 90:18 (uncertain), 22
ḥs.t n. “foreign land, hill country,” 3:4; 7:7; 8:51, 55; 14:10; 22; 48:12–13, 17 (restored); 58:1, 8; 78:13; 91:2, 3; 110:15, 26; 119:6; frags. 2097, 2147, and 2180 (pl. 125):4 (restored); frag. 665 (pl. 125):2 (restored)
ḥ i vb. 3ae inf. “to appear in glory,” 20:9; 46:11; frags. 453, 454, and 1008 (pl. 123):7
ḥ c n. “glorious appearance,” 10:3 (restored); 11:6 (restored); 16:9; 18 (horizontal text); 26:6; 48:7; 52:2 (restored); 67:14; 88:29; 97:6; 115:6; frag. 36 (pl. 121):2
ḥ w n. “crown, diadem,” 11:4 (in original titulary of Tutankhamun); 88:23 (restored)
ḥwi vb. 3ae inf. “to protect, endow with (*m*),” 20:4
ḥpr vb. “to come to pass, to come into existence,” frags. 432 and 663 (pl. 123):3
ḥprw n. “manifestation,” frags. 453, 454, and 1008 (pl. 123):7 (restored)
ḥpš n. “scimitar,” 52:2 (restored)
ḥpš n. “foreleg, (mighty) arm,” 8:21, 71 (restored); 10:9 (restored); 45:9; 62:9; 113:21, 72; 116:3; frags. 626 and 627 (pl. 123); frag. 621 (pl. 126):3 (uncertain)
Ḥpšy.t loc. “Khepeshyet,” 99:1
ḥf c n. “grasp,” 48:14 88:24 (restored); frags. 2097, 2147, and 2180 (pl. 125):4 (restored)
ḥft prep., with verb, “as, when,” 29:1; 115:1
ḥn n. “song,” 18 (horizontal text); 91:2, 3
Ḥnsw div. “Khonsu,” 8:45 (restored); 113:45 (written *Hsw*)
Ḥnsw-m-Ws.t div. “Khonsu-in-Thebes,” 14:2–3; 20:17; 48:2–3; 59:13–14; 67:3–4; 88:1–2, 9–10 (*Ḥnsw-m-Ws.t Nfr-ḥtp*), 25–26
Ḥnsw nfr-ḥtp div. “Khonsu Neferhotep,” 8:44 (restored); 113:44
ḥnt n. “offering chest,” 8:13 (supplied), 57 (restored); 45:1; 62:1; 113:13, 58
ḥnty n. “yellow ochre,” 8:41; 45:29; 62:14; 113:42
ḥnty adj. “foremost (one),” 26:6 (restored); 36 (above offering piles); 52:1; 67:16; 88:19; 97:6; 119:1, 17
ḥr prep. “with, before, by, from,” 8:8, 9, 10, 52, 53, 54, 55; 14:24, 25, 26, 27; 50:5; 78:14, 15, 16, 17; 113:8, 9, 10, 51 (restored), 52 (restored), 53 (restored)
ḥrw n. “voice,” 83:5
ḥrp vb. “to dedicate, bring,” 20:11 (restored)
ḥsbd n. “lapis lazuli,” 8:40; 45:28; 113:40
- ḥsf* vb. “to oppose,” 48:15; frags. 2097, 2147, and 2180 (pl. 125):4
(*m/n*)-*ḥt* prep. “throughout,” 7:3 (written *nḥt*); 110:17
ḥty.w n. “hillsides,” 30:2
- ḥ.t* n. “body, belly, womb,” 8:4; 20:3; 46:3; 48:6; 59:2 (restored), 14–15 (partly restored); 82:6, 10; 88:11 (restored); 90:17 (restored); 110:3; 113:3 (restored), 46
ḥnw prep. “in,” in the compound preposition (*m*)-*ḥnw*, 18 (horizontal text; twice); 26:6; 90:10–11; 97:6; frag. 546 (pl. 123)
ḥni vb. 3ae inf. “convey by water, row,” 16:2; 18 (horizontal text; twice); 20:3; 26:1, 9; 34:1 (restored); 69:10; 82:1, 2; 83:15; 88:25 (restored); 90:4; 91:1, 2 (twice), 3; 97:1, 9; frags. 83, 99, and 549 (pl. 123):4; frag. 436 (pl. 125):3 (restored)
ḥn n. “sailor, naval contingent,” 18 (horizontal text); 28 (horizontal text); 90:1 (partly restored); 91:2 (partly restored), 3
ḥn [...] see *tšy ḥn* [...]
ḥnm vb. “to unite, endow,” 82:14; 119:11
ḥr prep. “under, with,” 7:11; 14:11; 20:10 (restored); 26:10; 58:1; 83:4; 91:1, 3; 97:10; 110:15, 30; 119:6; frag. 665 (pl. 125):2; fragment 666 (pl. 126):3 (uncertain). See also *ḥr ḥs.t* under *ḥs.t*
ḥkr vb. “to be adorned,” 88:22
ḥkr.w n. “insignia,” 7:6; 110:25
- s* third person sing. fem. suffix pron., 14:28; 20:17 (restored) 28 (horizontal text; four times); 46:18; 50:5; 59:12; 82:2, 4, 18; 83:5 (restored), 10 (twice; once restored), 17; 90:20 (restored), 21; 97:6 (in *im.s*); 103:8, 16; 113:2 (restored), 12 (restored); 117:1; 119:10, 14
s.t n. “seat, throne, place,” 7:5, 11 (in phrase *ḥr s.t ḥr.k* “under your supervision”); 14:9; 18 (horizontal text); 20:7; 34:1; 58:7; 110:30 (in phrase *ḥr s.t-ḥr.k* “under your supervision”); frag. 117 (pl. 126):1; frag. 30 (pl. 126):3. See also *ip.t-s.wt*
sš n. “son,” 8:3 (restored); 14:3, 17; 16:4; 18 (horizontal text; twice); 20:2, 5, 14; 34:3; 46:3; 48:6; 52:2; 59:2, 14; 67:6; 78:3 (restored); 82:6, 13; 88:2, 11 (restored), 18, 21; 90:12, 17, 22; 103:11, 14; 110:3; 113:3, 46; 115:6; 117:3; 119:4, 16; frags. 70 and 192 (pl. 121):1 (restored); frags. 2097, 2147, and 2180 (pl. 125):1, 3; frag. 340 (pl. 125):2
sš n. “company,” 18 (horizontal text); 28 (horizontal text); 91:2 (restored), 3
sš n. “protection,” 3:5; 10:6; 11:7; 14:14, 28; 16:12; 20:17; 46:18; 48:18 (partly restored); 54:1, 3; 59:12, 28; 78:6 (restored); 82:29; 88:20, 30 (restored); 103:17; 110:20; 113:12; 115:10 (restored); 117:5
sšb adj. “variegated,” 82:15, 16; 119:13

- s* 3 caus. vb. "to make great, magnify," 115:7
- s'nh* vb. "to quicken, to cause to live, enliven," frags. 432 and 663 (pl. 123):2
- sw* third person sing. masc. dep. pron. 18 (horizontal text; twice); 20:4 (three times); 34:3 (uncertain); 90:14 (restored), 21; 91:1 (restored), 2 (three times); frags. 453, 454, and 1008 (pl. 123):6; frag. 1014 (pl. 125):2; frags. 682a, 682b, and 565 (pl. 125):3 (restored)
- sw' b* caus. vb. "to purify," 99:4; 103:1
- swr* vb. "to drink," 26:4; 97:4
- swh* caus. vb. "to enlarge, extend," 20:8; 34:4 (partly restored)
- Sbk* div. "Sobek," 54:8
- sp* n. "occasion," 18 (horizontal text); 99:4 (*sp*-2 "twice"); 103:1 (*sp*-2 "twice"); 110:17 (*sp*-2 "twice"); 115:2 (*sp*-4 "four times," partly restored), 2 (*sp*-2 "twice," two times)
- spr* vb. "to arrive," 18 (horizontal text)
- sph.t* n. "ribs," 8:23; 45:11; 62:11; 113:23, 30
- spd* adj. "effective," 11:1; frag. 621 (pl. 126):2 (in the compound *spd-hr*; uncertain)
- sm3* caus. vb. "renovate, renew," 3:6; 119:21 (*sm3.wy* "renewal"); frags. 453, 454, and 1008 (pl. 123):2
- smn* caus. vb. "to establish," 20:4, 18; frags. 453, 454, and 1008 (pl. 123):4
- smn* n. "goose," 67:17
- smsw* adj. "eldest," 20:2
- sn* third person plural suffix pron., 18 (horizontal text); 20:7 (twice; in the first example perhaps written *s*), 10, 11 (twice); 28 (horizontal text; twice); 58:3; 59:22 (twice; the second example written *s*); 82:10 (written *s*); 91:1, 2, 3; frags. 453, 454, and 1008 (pl. 123):3, 8; frags. 83, 99, and 549 (pl. 123):3; frags. 2097, 2147, and 2180 (left of the canopy pole; pl. 125):2 (restored)
- sn* third person plural dependent pron. 20:13
- snw* n. "equal," 119:10
- snw* n. "*snw*-vessel," 8:80; 113:80
- snb* n. "health," 3:2; 8:9, 52; 14:26; 54:1; 59:27; 61:2; 78:6, 10, 15, 19; 103:4, 9, 16; 110:12; 113:9; 115:10; 117:5
- snn* n. "image," frags. 453, 454, and 1008 (pl. 123):9 (partly restored)
- snht* caus. vb. "to strengthen," frags. 682a, 682b, and 565 (pl. 125):2 (uncertain)
- sntr* n. "incense," especially in the phrase *ir.t sntr* "thurifying," 10:1; 14:1, 15; 16:3; 36 (above offering piles); 61:1; 67:2, 16 (restored); 82:19 (partly restored)
- snd* n. "fear," 58:5; 82:8
- snd* n. "feared one" (uncertain), 8:79; 113:79
- sr(.t)* n. type of goose, 8:32; 45:20; 113:32
- shb* caus. vb. "to make festive," 20:6; frag. 1014 (pl. 125):2 (partly restored)
- shtp* caus. vb. "to pacify, propitiate" 11:4 (in original titulary of Tutankhamun); 26:9 (restored); 83:4 (restored); 97:9
- Shtp-ntr.w* n. "The-One-Who-Propitiates-the-Gods," bark of the king, 18 (horizontal text); 34:2; frag. 619 (pl. 123)
- shd* caus. adj. vb. "to illumine," 28 (horizontal text)
- shpr* caus. vb. "to create," 11:4; frags. 453, 454, and 1008 (pl. 123):5; frags. 432 and 663 (pl. 123):3 (restored); frag. 2191 (pl. 126): 2
- shn* n. "power," 119:12
- shn* adj. vb. "to be mighty," 52:2 (partly restored)
- shr* caus. vb. "to overthrow," frags. 682a, 682b, and 565 (pl. 125):3 (partly restored)
- shr(.w)* n. "plans, condition, manner," 11:1; 20:7
- shkr* caus. vb. "to adorn," 82:12; 90:19
- sšš.t* n. "sistrum," 83:4 (dual)
- sšm* vb. "to govern, lead, guide," 3:4; 11:10; frags. 453, 454, and 1008 (pl. 123):1 (uncertain); frag. 630 (pl. 125):1 (uncertain); frag. 625 (pl. 125):2 (uncertain)
- sšm* n. "divine image," 90:16 (restored)
- sšr.t* n. type of bread, 8:35; 45:23; 113:35
- sqd* n. "sailor," 26:4; 97:4
- skt.t* n. "night-bark," 18 (horizontal text)
- sgrh* caus. vb. "to pacify," 11:3 (in original titulary of Tutankhamun); frags. 453, 454, and 1008 (pl. 123):4
- st* n. "libation," 8:13, 57 (restored); 45:1; 62:1; 113:13, 58
- st* n. type of goose, 8:31; 45:19; 113:31
- Sty Mr-n-Pth* RN "Sety-Merneptah," 48:8; 50:2 (partly restored); 52:2 (restored)
- stp* vb. "to choose, prefer" 115:4; 119:17. See also *Dsr-hpr.w-R' -Stp-n-R'*
- stp* n. "choicest," 20:11
- stt* vb. of uncertain type, possibly meaning "to fold back," 26:3, 4; 97:3, 4
- š3w* n. "equivalence," 91:2
- š'y.t* n. type of cake, 8:65 (partly restored); 113:66
- Šw* div. "Shu," 58:2
- šw.t* n. "plumage," 82:15, 16; 119:13
- šbty* n. unknown meaning, 8:63 (restored); 113:64
- špn.t* n. type of drinking vessel, 8:74 (written *šp.ty*); 113:75 (written *šp.ty*)
- špsy* adj. vb. "to be august, noble," 18 (horizontal text); 30:5; 82:13; 90:19; 91:3 (twice); 99:3; 119:2; frags. 453, 454, and 1008 (pl. 123):5; 1737a and b (pl. 125):2
- šfy.t* n. "awe," frag. 1154 (pl. 126):3
- ššf.t* n. "awe," 82:9
- šm (?)* n. "vessel, jar (?)," but reading and translation very uncertain; in some cases *šmt3.ty* or *šm' t* appears to be

- written, perhaps a corruption of *mntʒ.ty*, 8:16, 17; 45:4, 5; 62:4, 5; 113:16, 17 (?)
- šm*^{ˈw} loc. “Upper Egypt,” 83:3; 119:12
- šm*^ˈ vb. “to make music, sing,” 99:3
- šm*^{ˈw} n. “musician,” 99:3
- šms* vb. “to follow,” 78:1; 82:3; 91:2, 3
- šmsw* n. “retinue,” 28 (horizontal text)
- šmtʒ.ty* (?) n. meaning uncertain, see *šm* (?)
- šni* vb. 3ae inf. “to encircle,” 7:11; 110:30
- šsp* vb. “to receive,” 59:18; 88:23; 91:3; 110:5
- šsp.t-dhn* n. “chorus,” 26:1 (partly restored); 97:1
- šdi* vb. 3ae inf. “to nurse, suckle,” 82:7
- qʒ* n. “height, length,” 90:20
- qʒi* adj. vb. ult. inf. “to be high,” 34:5 (partly restored)
- qʒb* vb. “to double,” 20:6; 83:10
- qbḥw* n. “libation,” 10:1; 61:1; 82:19
- qmʒ* vb. “to create,” 20:17; 59:5; 82:7; 119:11; frags. 453, 454, and 1008 (pl. 123):6
- qn.t* n. “valor,” 3:2; 7:7; 8:54; 14:27; 20:7; 30:5; 40:3; 54:11; 58:5; 59:9, 25; 61:2; 88:13; 91:1, 2; 103:4; 110:10 (restored), 26; 113:53; frags. 2125 and 2076b (pl. 125):3; frag. 1144 (pl. 125):2
- qni.t* n. “orpiment,” 8:39; 45:27; 113:39 (restored)
- qd* vb. “to build,” 26:7; 97:7
- k* suffix pron. 3:4 (twice); 7:2, 3, 6, 8, 9 (twice; second example written *nb*), 10, 11 (written *nb*); 8:11, 56; 14:6, 11; 16:3; 20:1, 2, 3 (three times), 4 (three times), 5 (three times; once restored), 6 (three times), 7 (twice), 9, 14 (twice; first example written *nb*), 17 (twice), 18 (twice; once in dative); 26:6 (three times; first example restored), 9 (restored); 30:5; 36 (above offering piles; three times); 46:7, 9, 14, 16; 48:11, 14, 15, 19 (restored); 58:1, 5; 59:6, 18, 19 (restored); 67:16 (three times; once restored); 82:7 (twice), 8, 9 (twice), 10; 88:15, 16; 90:9; 97:6 (five times), 9; 110:6 (twice), 7, 15, 16, 17, 25, 27, 28 (twice), 29, 30; 119:6, 11 (twice); frags. 2097, 2147, and 2180 (pl. 125):3; frags. 2097, 2147, and 2180 (pl. 125):4; frags. 2097, 2147, and 2180 (pl. 125):4 (restored); frag. 665 (pl. 125):1 (uncertain), 2; frags. 682a, 682b, and 563 (pl. 125):2; frag. 660 (pl. 126):1 (restored). See also *iw*, *ir*, *n.k*
- k(wi)* first person sing. qualitative ending, 46:8
- kʒ* n. “ka,” 11:9; 18 (horizontal text); 36 (above offering piles); 67:16; 88:16 (restored)
- kʒ* n. “bull,” in epithet *kʒ nḥt* “mighty bull,” 11:1
- Km.t* loc. “Egypt,” 20:8 (partly restored), 14 (restored); 34:4
- ksw* n. “bowing,” written *ksm*, 59:21
- Gb* div. “Geb,” 58:4
- gnḡn.t* n. type of vase for milk, 8:78 (written *ngn*); 113:78 (written *gng*)
- ghs* n. “gazelle” 20:12; 36 (above offering piles); 67:16 (restored)
- t wr* n. type of bread, 8:64 (partly restored); 113:65
- t ḥd* n. “white bread,” 8:26; 45:14; 113:26
- tʒ* fem. sing. def. art. 18 (horizontal text; twice, once partly restored); 26:1; 28 (horizontal text; three times); 97:1
- tʒ* n. “land, flatland, earth,” 3: 4; 7:9; 8:51; 10:1; 11:2 (in original titulary of Tutankhamun), 4; 14:4, 7, 15, 22; 16:5, 8; 18 (horizontal text; twice); 20:2, 3, 14; 26:2; 28 (horizontal text; three times); 30:5; 36 (above offering piles); 46:4, 11; 48: 12, 16; 52:2 (restored); 58:5, 6, 7, 8; 59:2, 15, 20; 67:1, 7, 16; 69:8; 78:7, 11, 13; 82:1, 7, 20, 23 (restored), 28, 30; 88:6, 19, 28; 90:8; 97:2; 99:3; 103:12; 110:1, 3 (restored), 15, 18, 28; 113:54; 115:2, 5; 117:2; 119:4, 5, 12, 15, 17; frag. 36 (pl. 121):1; frags. 453, 454, and 1008 (pl. 123):4; frag. 436 (pl. 125):2. See also *imn-R*^{ˈpʒwty tʒ.wy}
- tʒ-nṯr* loc. “god’s-land,” 36 (above offering piles); 67:16 (restored)
- tʒ-tm.w* n. “everyone, the whole land,” 20:2; 29:1; 83:12–13
- tʒš* n. “boundary,” 20:8; 34:4
- tī* second person sing. qual. ending, 7:6, 7; 26:2; 46:12; 97:2; 110:25, 26; 119:3 (written *t*)
- tī* third person sing. fem. qual. ending, 26:3, 4; 97:3, 4
- tī.t* n. “image,” 88:19; 119:17
- tw* passive marker, 26:9 (restored); 91:2; 97:9; frags. 2097, 2147, and 2180 (pl. 125):4 (restored)
- tw* second person sing. masc. dep. pron. 59:7; 82:7; frag. 436 (pl. 125):4 (restored); frags. 682a, 682b, and 565 (pl. 125):1 (restored)
- twi* adj. vb. “to be fair, perfect,” 11:1 (in original Tutankhamun titulary); 20:18; 34:4
- twi* vb. “to be united,” 18 (horizontal text)
- twi* n. “statue,” 23:5
- tp* n. “head,” 30:2; 82:3, 9; 91:2, 3. See also *hry tp*
- tp* prep. “upon,” 18 (horizontal text; partly restored); 26:1; 58:7; 90:8; 97:1, 6 (restored); 103:12
- tpy* adj. “first,” 18 (horizontal text)
- Tfn.t* div. “Tefnut,” 58:2
- Tm* div. “Atum,” see *itm.w*
- tm.w* adj. “whole, entire,” see *tʒ-tm.w*
- tn* second person plural suffix pron. 20:14
- trp* n. type of goose, 8:30; 45:18 (written *rp*)
- Tḥmw* loc., see *Tmḥw*

t third person plural fem. qual. ending, 20:7
t3y hn [...] military designation of uncertain meaning, 96
 (before the leftmost group of running soldiers)
tbwty n. “soles, sandals,” 14:11; 58:1; 91:3; 110:15; 119:6;
 frag. 665 (pl. 125):2
tm3-^c n. “strong-of-arm,” 26:9; 97:9
Tmh^w loc. “Libya,” 99:2 (spelled *Thmw*)
tni vb. 3ae inf. “to raise up, exalt,” frags. 2125 and 2076b
 (pl. 125):4 (uncertain)
Tnn.t div. “Tjenenet,” 54:9
thn vb. “be bright, gleam,” frags. 453, 454, and 1008 (pl.
 123):7 (restored)

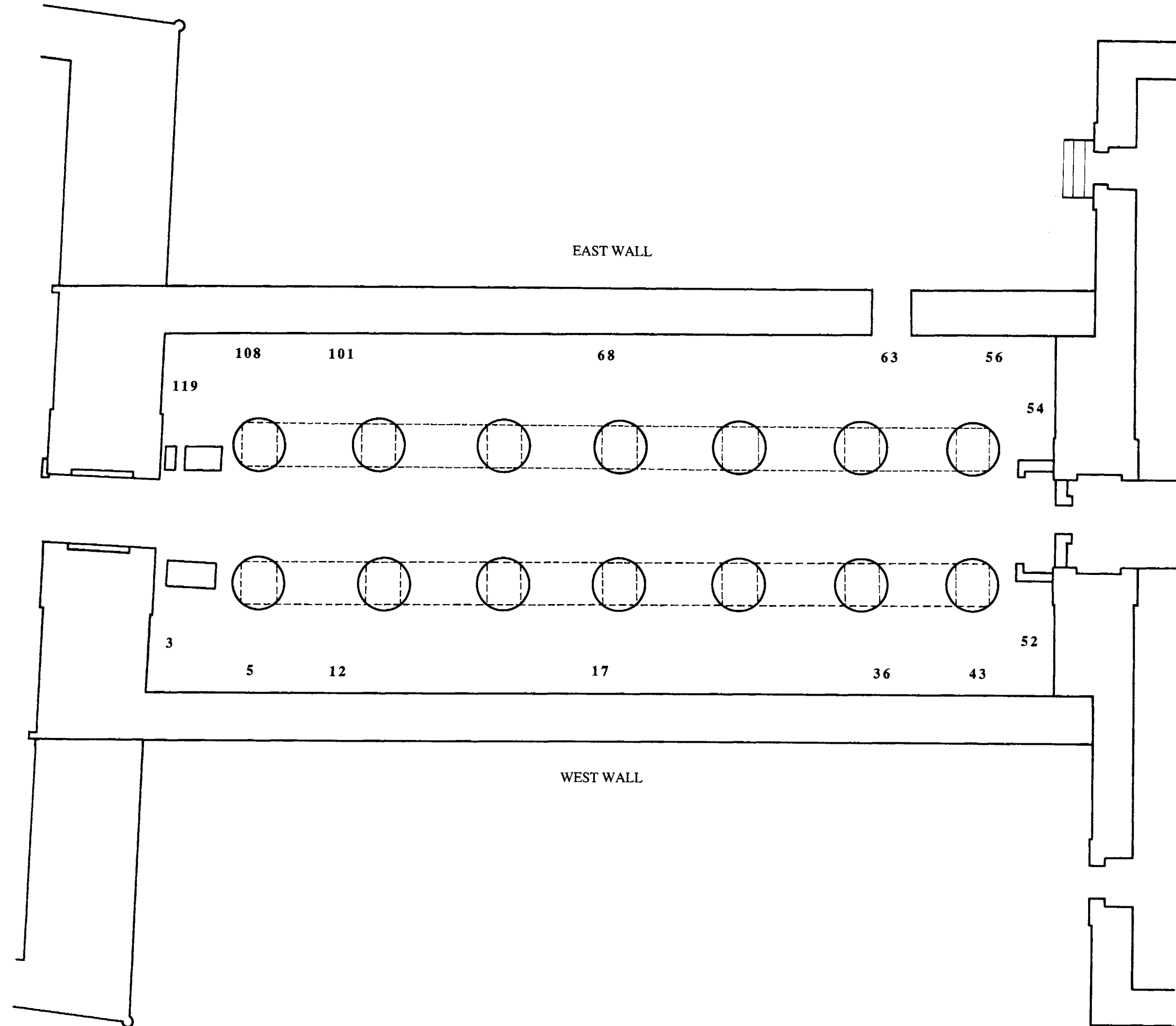
dw3 vb. “to adore,” 28 (horizontal text)
dbh.t-htp n. “offering meal,” 8:15, 59; 45:3; 62:3; 113:15, 60
dp.t n. “ship, bark” 26:1, 7 (twice); 97:1 (restored), 7
 (twice; both examples restored)
dm^d vb. “assemble, unite,” 110:15
dr vb. “to repel, to smite, cast out, subdue,” 52:2 (partly
 restored)
dhn see *šsp.t-dhn*
dšr.ty n. “red vessel,” 8:17, 19, 62 (restored), 67, 69 (partly
 restored); 10:7 (partly restored); 45:5, 7; 62:5, 7; 113:17,
 19, 63, 68, 70; 116:1
dqr n. “fruit,” 20:12 (partly restored); 36 (above offering
 piles); 67:16 (restored)

d.t (1.) n. “everlastingness,” 14:8; 20:3; 58:6; 88:8; 103:3;
 119:7; frag. 30 (pl. 126):3; (2.) adv. “eternally, forever,”
 3:4; 7:2, 3, 6; 10:6; 14:23; 16:1; 26:2; 50:3; 78:4, 23
 (restored); 82:33; 88:30; 90:15; 97:2; 110:17, 20, 25;
 115:8, 10; 117:5; 119:6
d^b.t n.t n. “carbon black,” 8:42; 45:30; 62:14
d^m n. “electrum,” 90:16
dr n. “limit,” 20:13

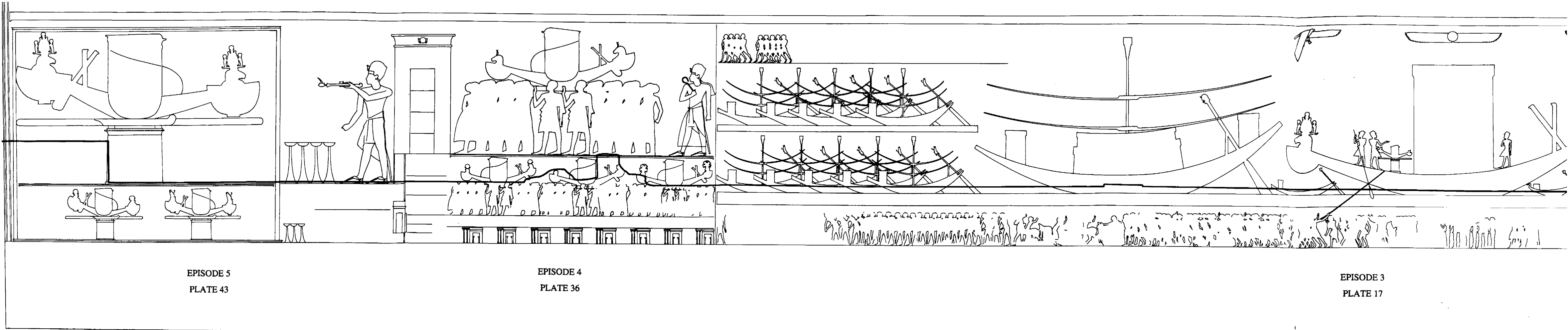
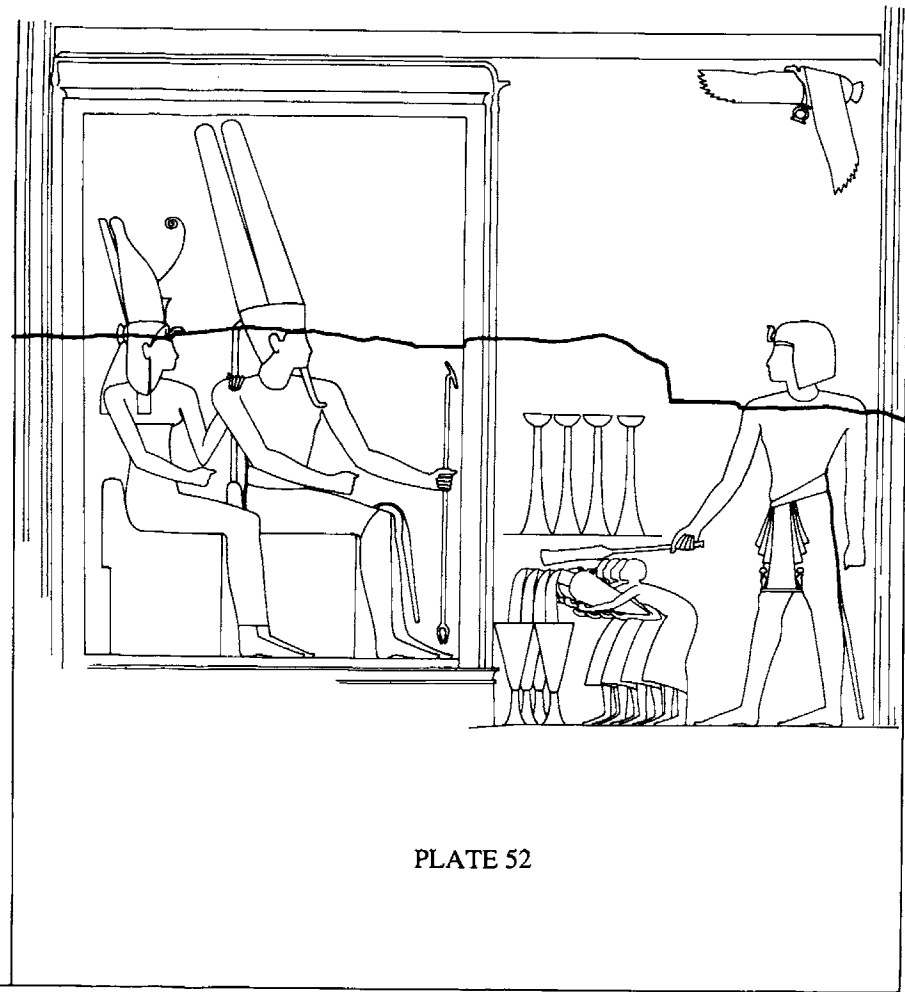
dr n. “entirety,” 18 (horizontal text; twice, second example
 partly restored); 20:2
ds n. “-self,” 115:1; 119:18
Dsr-hpr.w-R^c Stp-n-R^c RN “Djeserkheperure-Setepenre”
 (prenomen of Horemheb), 3:1; 8:5, 47 (partly restored);
 10:2 (restored); 11:5 (partly restored); 14:4, 17; 16:6, 8;
 18 (horizontal text); 21:3 (partly restored); 26:5, 11;
 34:2; 58:10; 67:8, 10, 13; 69:9; 82:1, 7 (partly restored),
 21, 24; 88:3, 12 (restored), 28; 90:22; 91:2 (twice); 97:5,
 11; 103:12, 13; 110:4, 18; 113:4, 47; 115:5 (partly
 restored); 117:2; 119:15; frag. 36 (pl. 121):1; frag. 90 (pl.
 123):1 (partly restored); frag. 30 (pl. 126):4
dd vb. “to say, sing,” 18 (horizontal text); 28 (horizontal
 text); 91:2, 3
dd mdw “words spoken,” passim
dd n. “stability,” 8:8, 52; 14:24; 16:1, 10; 20:4; 40:2; 48:19
 (speech of divine staffs); 54:1, 2, 3; 61:2; 78:6, 8, 14;
 82:18, 32; 88:20; 103:4, 8, 10, 17; 110:14; 113:6, 8
 (restored); 119:11, 12, 14, 19; frag. 30 (pl. 126):2

Numerals

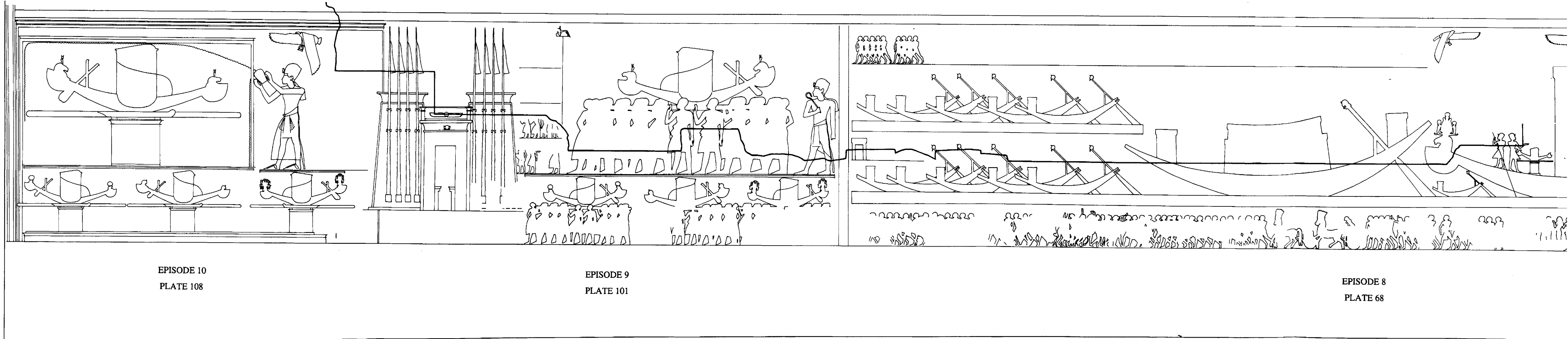
1 8:20, 21, 22, 25, 26, 27, 29, 33, 34, 41, 42, 70
 (restored), 71 (restored), 72, 78, 80; 10:8, 9, 10;
 45:4, 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22;
 62:9, 10, 11, 14, 27 (uncertain); 113:20, 21, 22, 28,
 29, 35, 40, 42, 58, 60, 65, 69, 71, 72 (restored), 73,
 74, 75, 78, 80; 116:2, 3, 4
2 8:23, 24, 28, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 60, 73, 74, 75, 76,
 77; 45:11, 12, 23, 24; 62:12, 13, 26; 113:23, 24, 36,
 37, 38, 39, 41, 61, 62, 63, 64, 76, 77; 116:5
3 116:1
10 8:16, 17, 18, 19, 61; 10:7; 45:5, 6, 7; 62:4, 5, 6; 113:16,
 17, 18, 19, 67, 68, 70
20 8: 65 (restored), 66 (partly restored); 113:66



GROUND PLAN OF THE COLONNADE HALL IN LUXOR TEMPLE
NUMBERS IN BOLD TYPE REFER TO PLATE NUMBERS

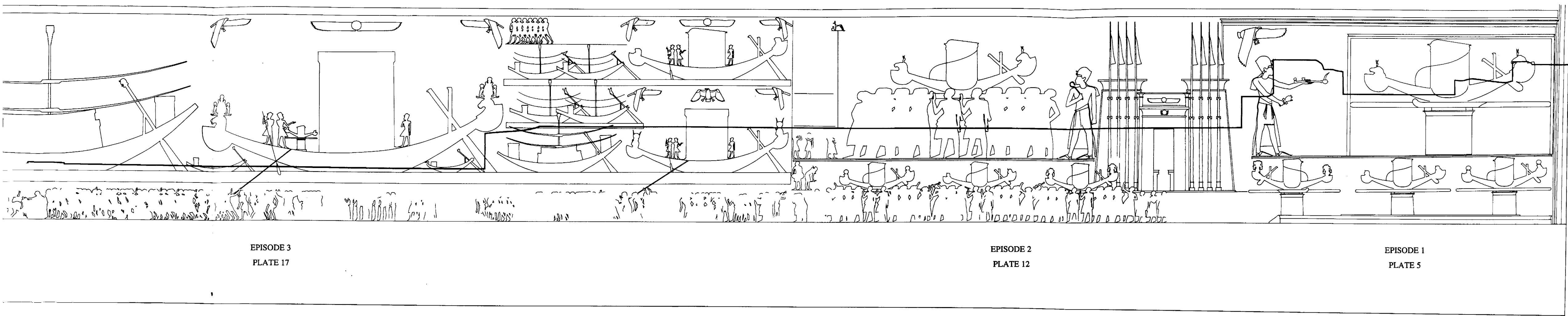


WEST WALL

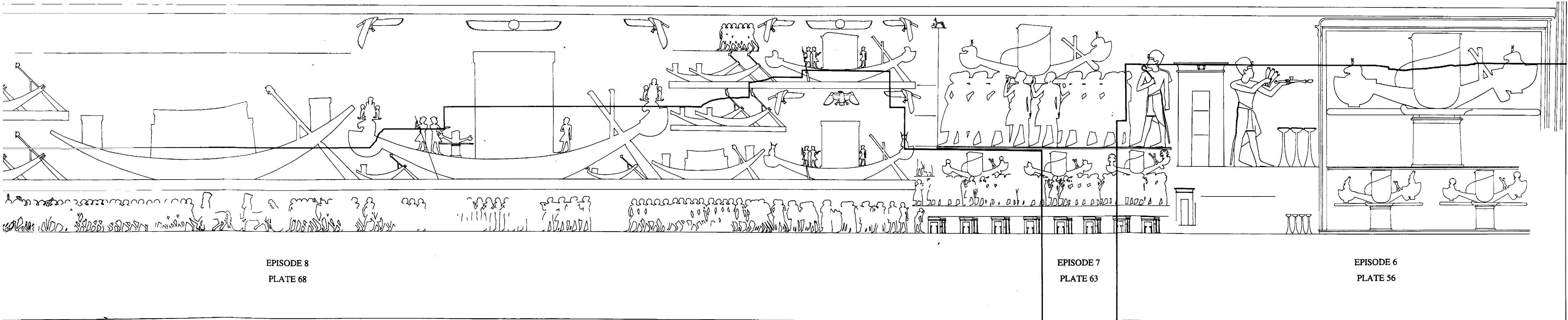
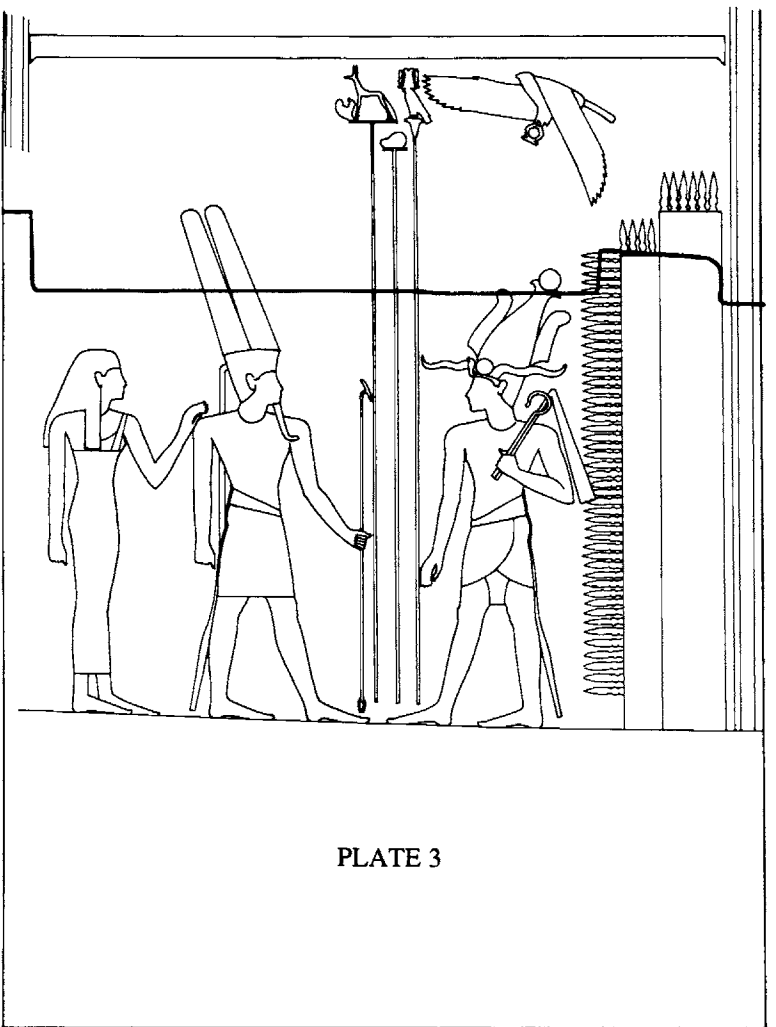


EAST WALL

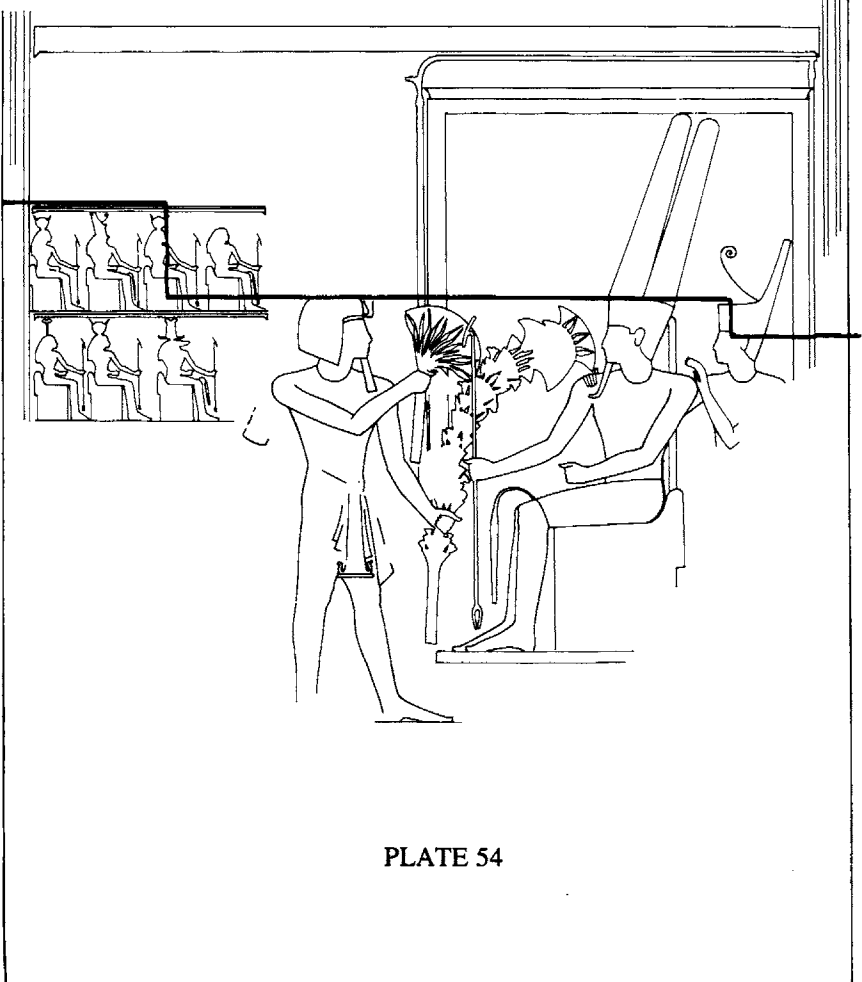
Drawing by Johnson



WEST WALL



EAST WALL





Photograph by Van Eynde

VIEW OF THE COLONNADE HALL FROM THE FIRST COURT OF LUXOR TEMPLE

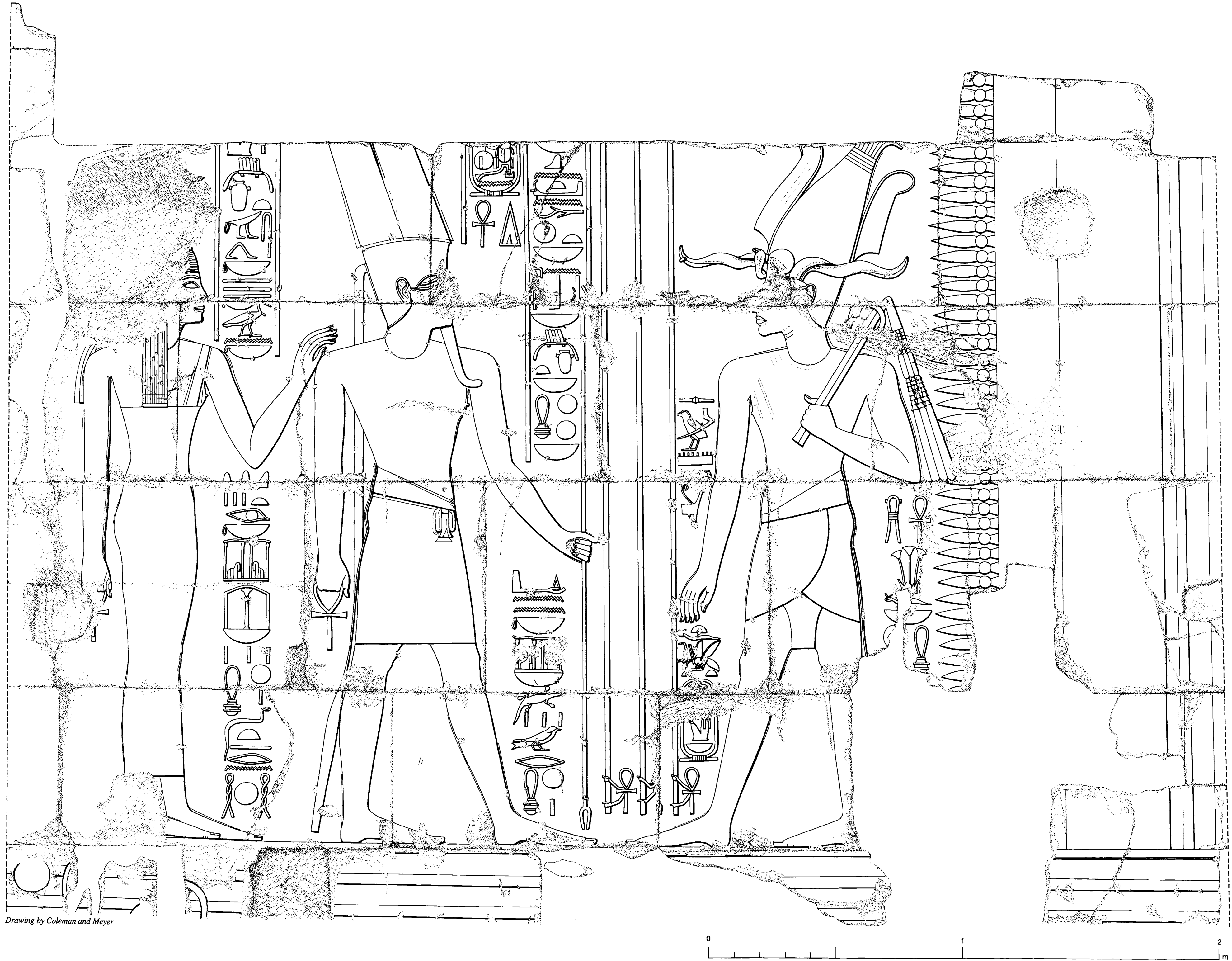


Photograph by Koch

THE KING DEPARTING THE PALACE, GREETED BY AMUN AND MUT

(Compare plate 3)

Adjoins plate 4

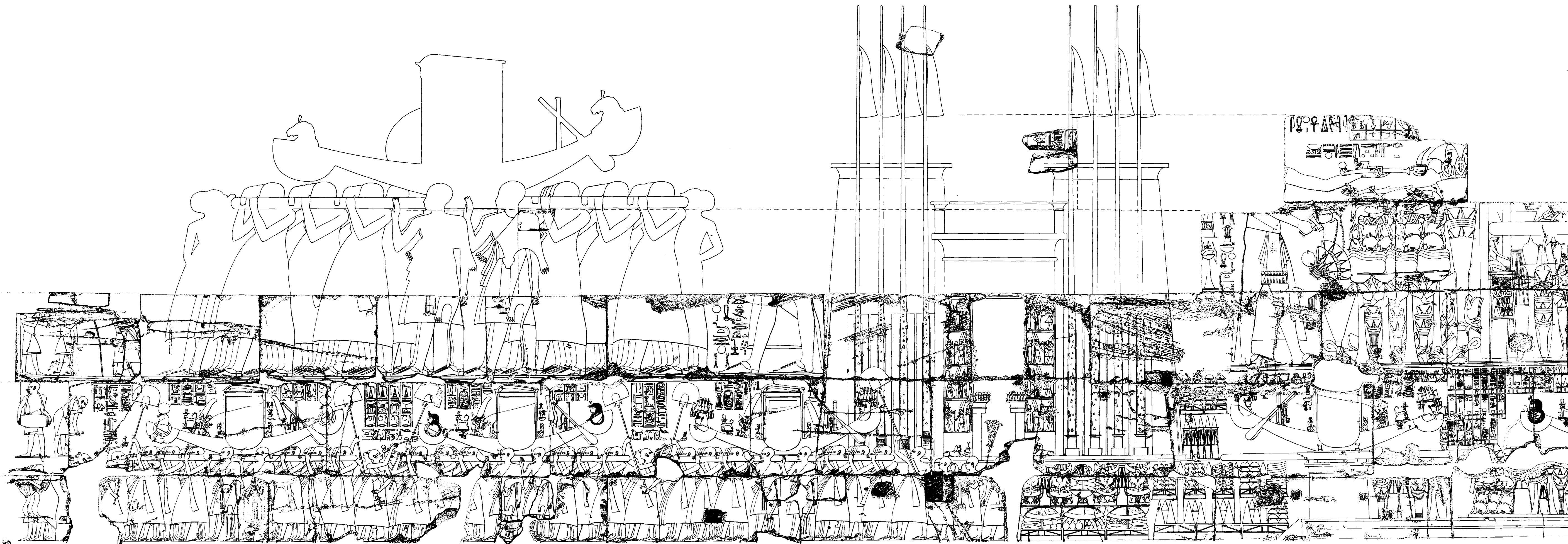


Drawing by Coleman and Meyer

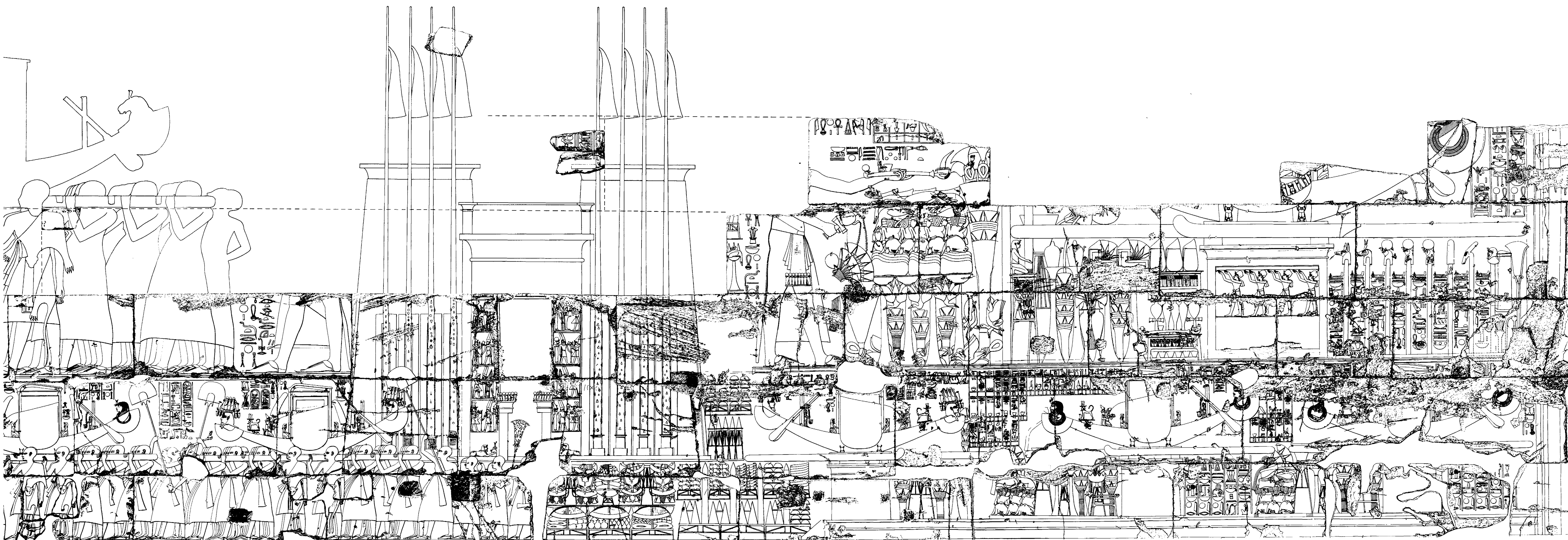
THE KING DEPARTING THE PALACE, GREETED BY AMUN AND MUT

NORTH WALL, WEST SIDE

(See plate 2)



KEY TO RELIEFS DEPICTING THE BARKS OF THE THEBAN TRIAD AND THE BARK OF THE KING
IN KARNAK TEMPLE AND THEIR DEPARTURE: EPISODES 1 AND 2
WEST WALL, NORTHERN SECTION
(See plates 5-16; in situ these reliefs are continuous)



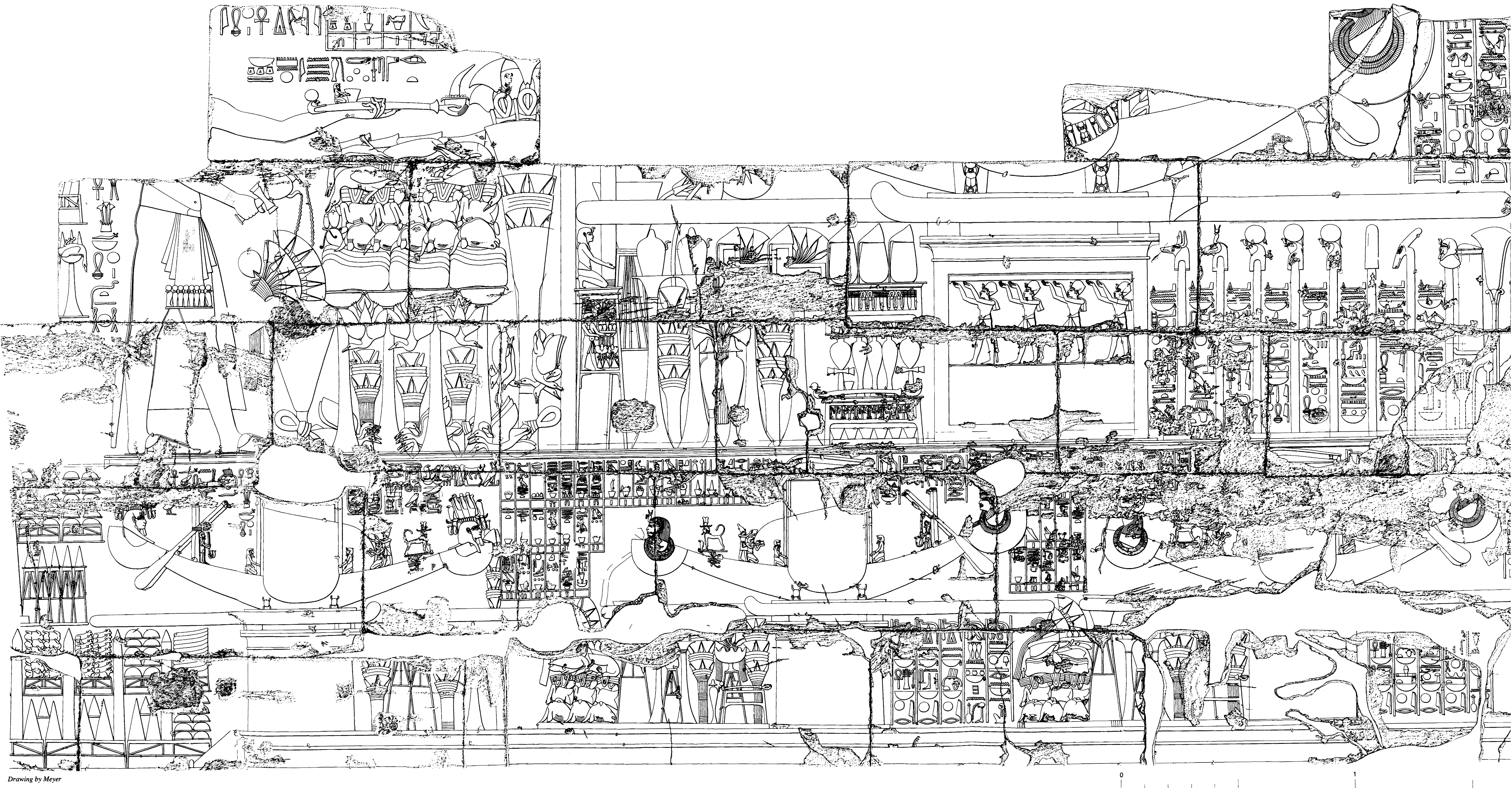
Adjoins plate 3

KEY TO RELIEFS DEPICTING THE BARKS OF THE THEBAN TRIAD AND THE BARK OF THE KING
IN KARNAK TEMPLE AND THEIR DEPARTURE: EPISODES 1 AND 2

WEST WALL, NORTHERN SECTION

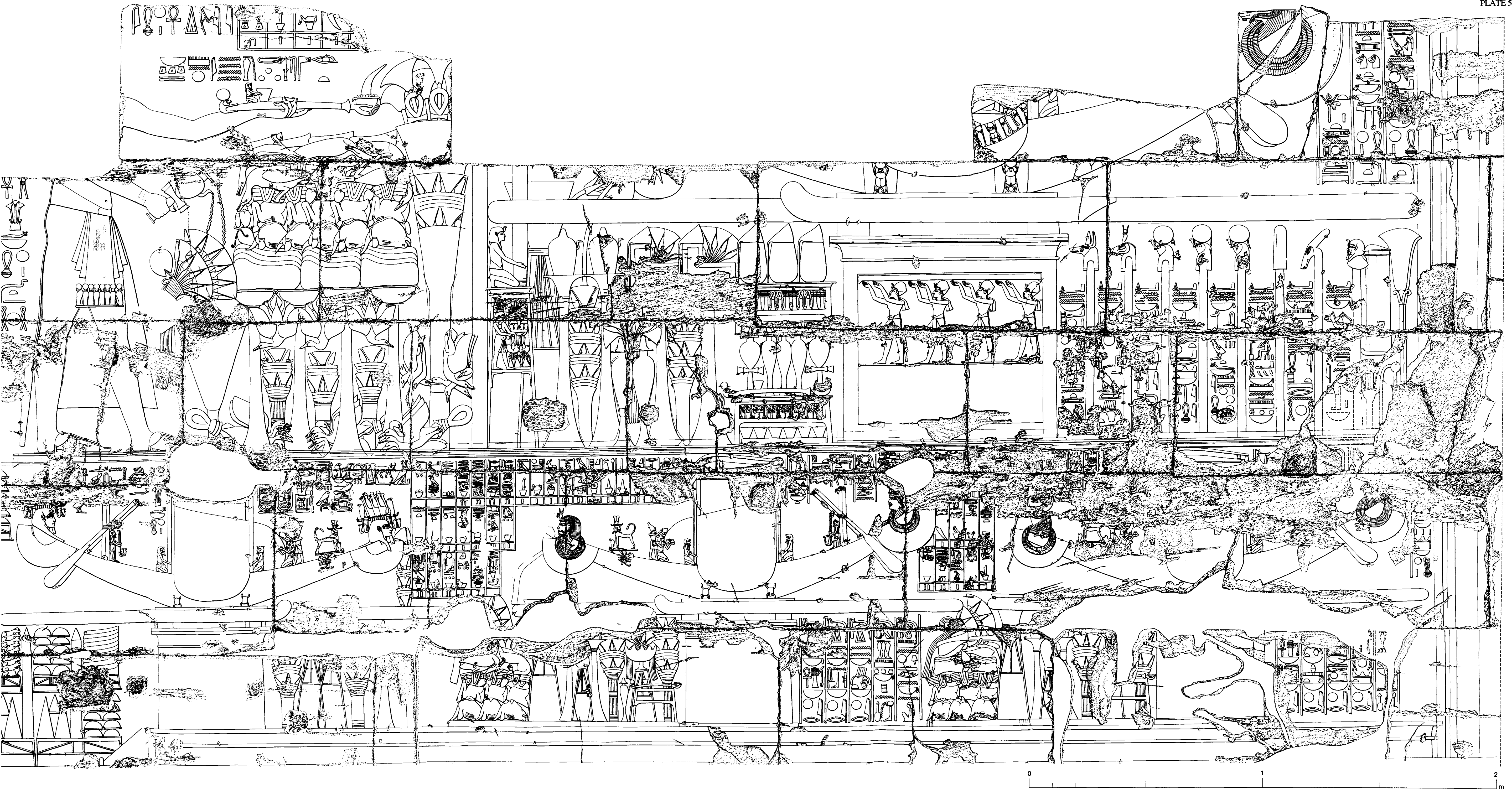
(See plates 5-16; in situ these reliefs are continuous)

Adjoins
plate 12



Drawing by Meyer

EPISODE 1: THE KING THURIFYING AND POURING A LIBATION BEFORE THE BARKS OF THE THEBAN TRIAD
IN KARNAK TEMPLE, WITH THE BARK OF THE KING BELOW
WEST WALL, NORTHERN SECTION
(See plates 4 and 6-11)



Adjoins
plate 3

EPISODE 1: THE KING THURIFYING AND POURING A LIBATION BEFORE THE BARKS OF THE THEBAN TRIAD
IN KARNAK TEMPLE, WITH THE BARK OF THE KING BELOW
WEST WALL, NORTHERN SECTION
(See plates 4 and 6-11)

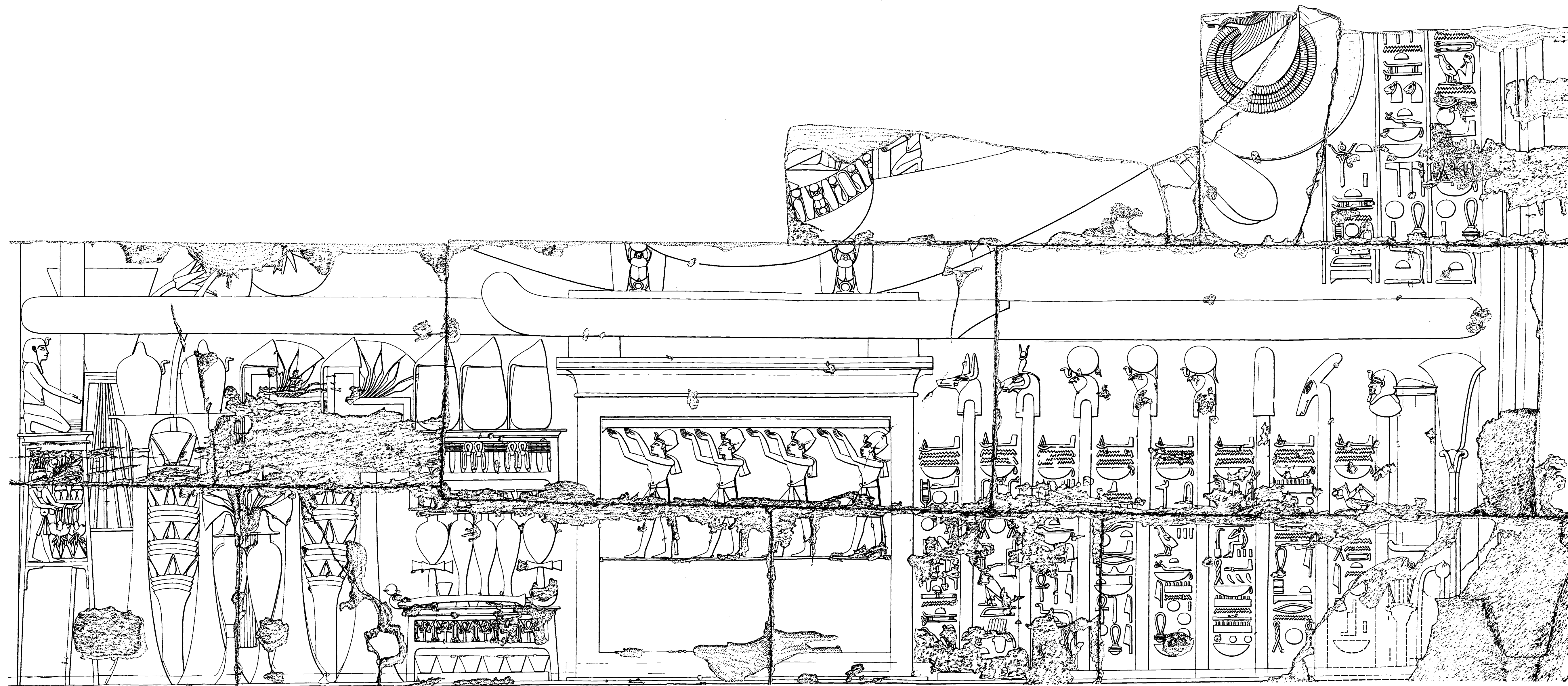


Photographs by Koch



THE BARKS OF THE THEBAN TRIAD IN KARNAK TEMPLE

(Compare plates 7 and 8)

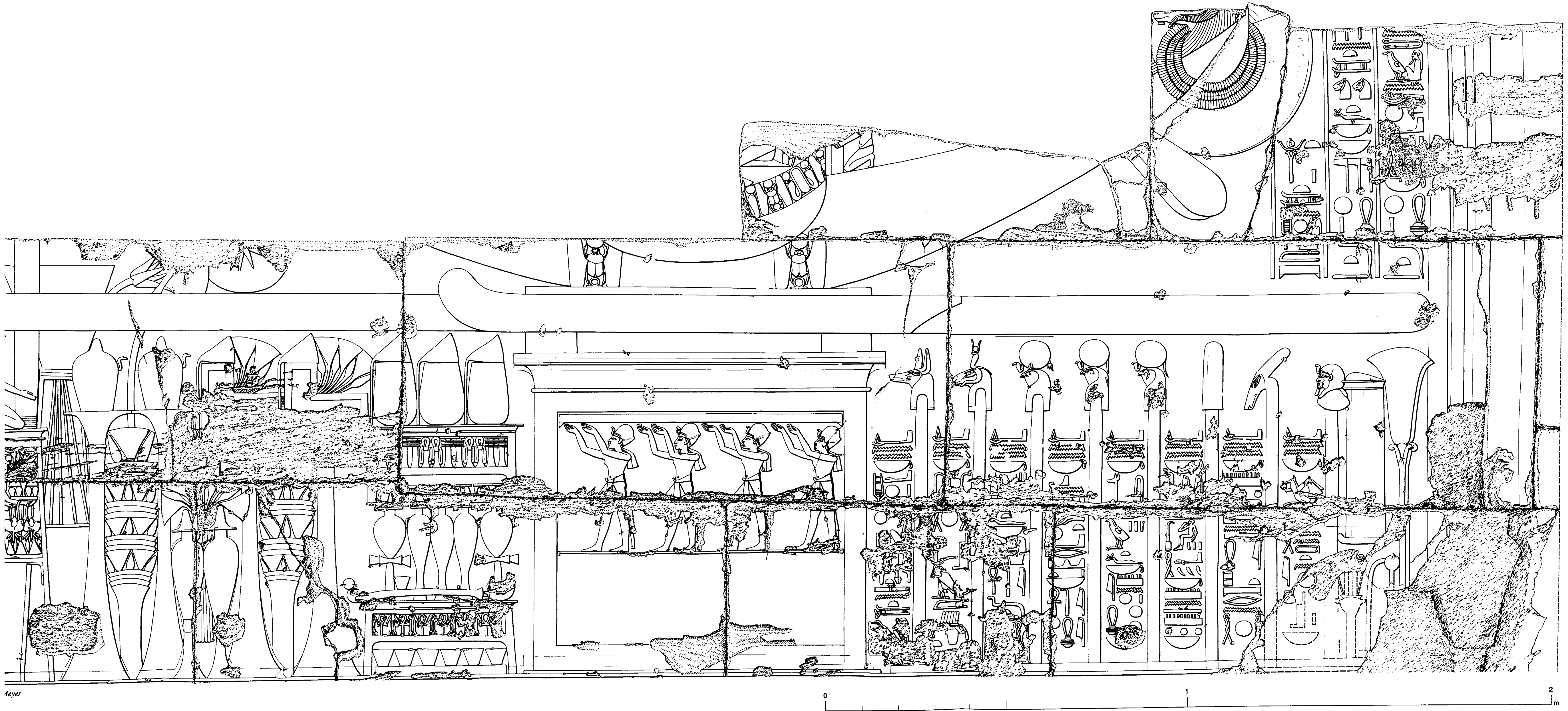


Drawing by Meyer

THE BARK OF AMUN IN KARNAK TEMPLE: DETAIL OF PLATE 5

WEST WALL, NORTHERN SECTION

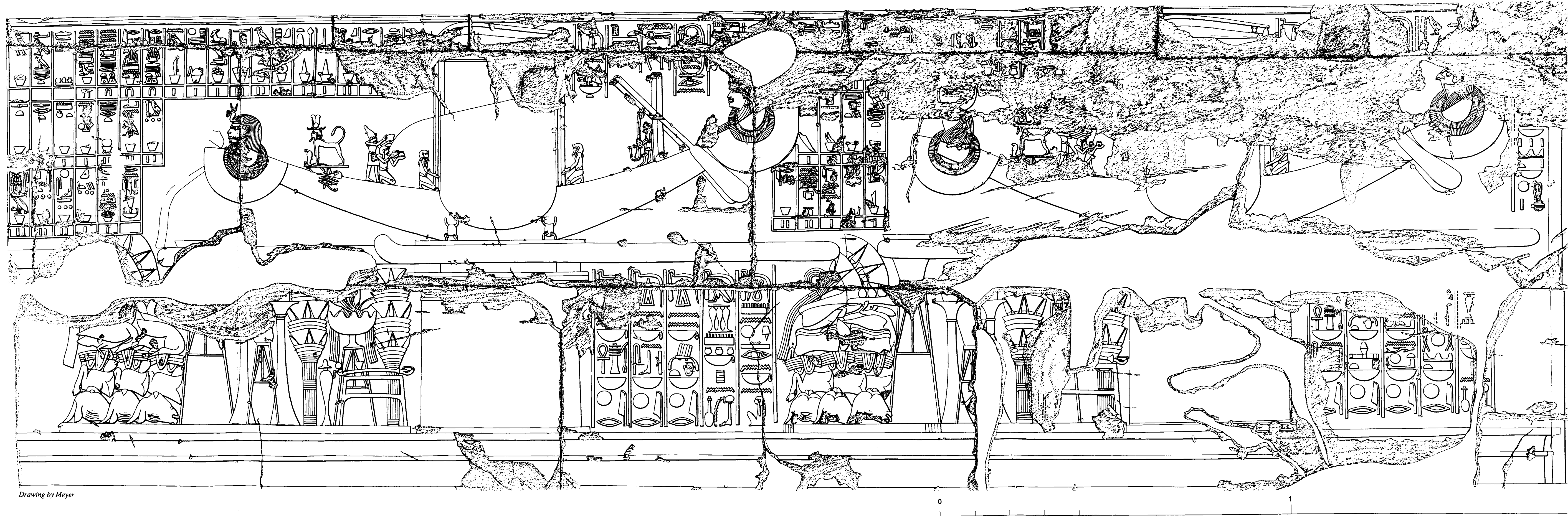
(See plate 6)



THE BARK OF AMUN IN KARNAK TEMPLE: DETAIL OF PLATE 5

WEST WALL, NORTHERN SECTION

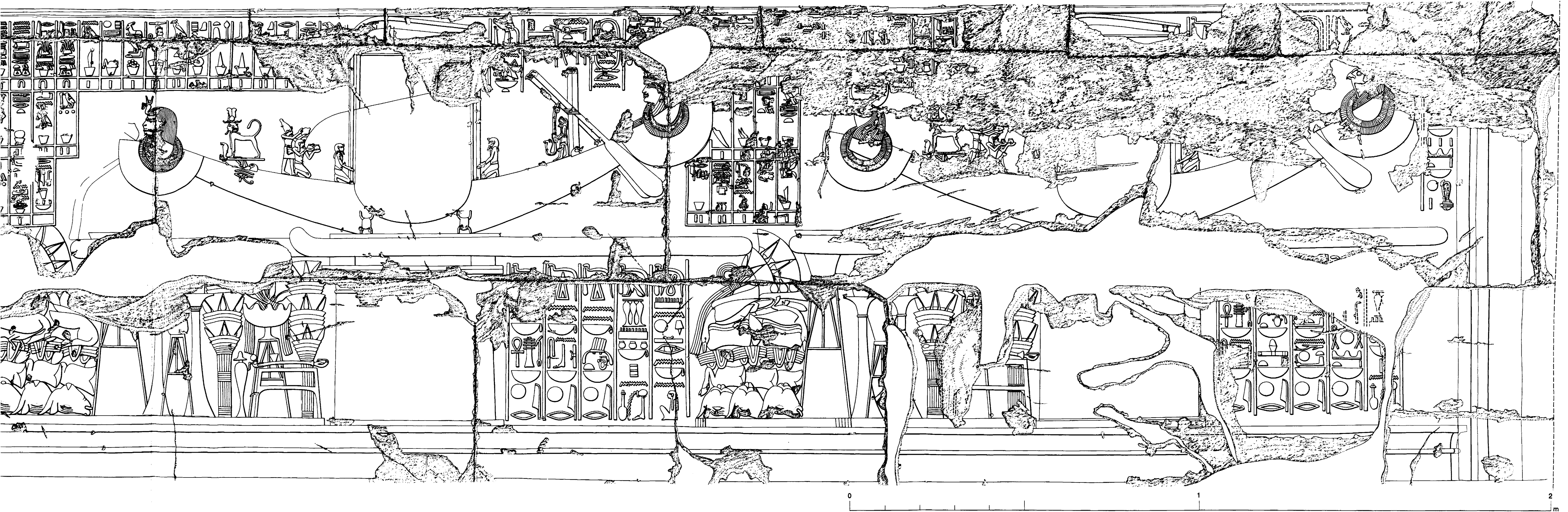
(See plate 6)



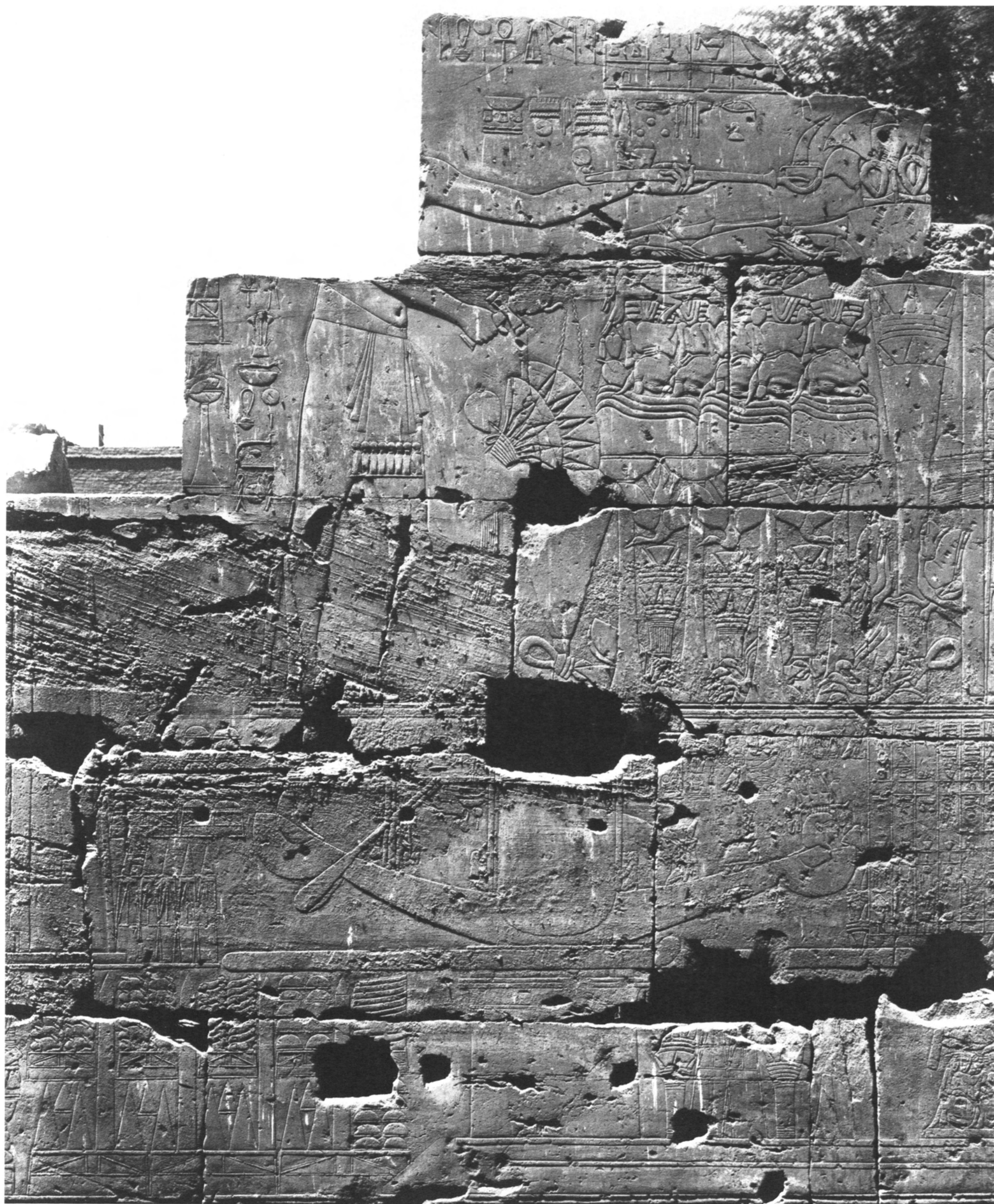
THE BARKS OF MUT AND KHONSU IN KARNAK TEMPLE: DETAIL OF PLATE 5

WEST WALL, NORTHERN SECTION

(See plate 6)



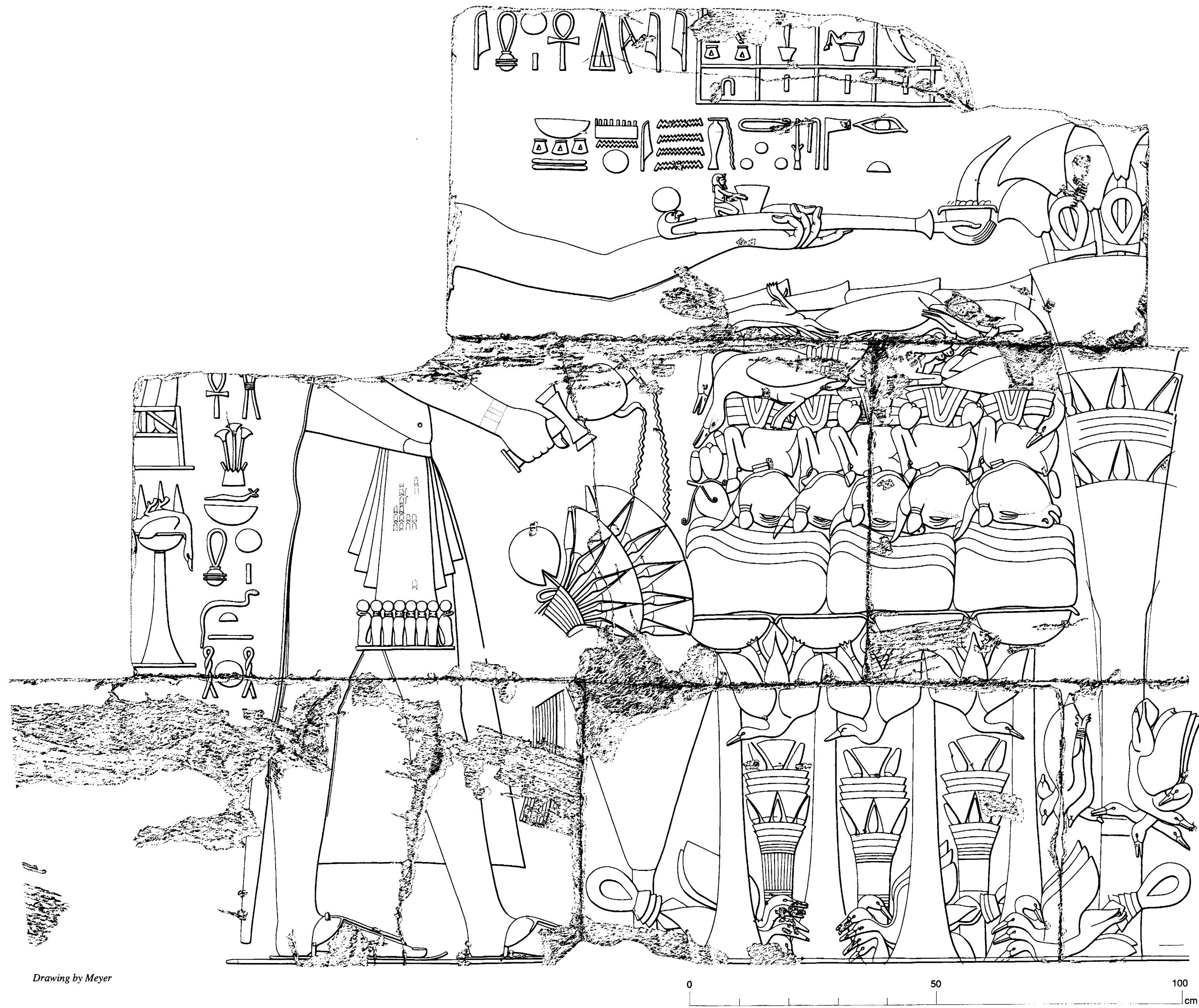
THE BARKS OF MUT AND KHONSU IN KARNAK TEMPLE: DETAIL OF PLATE 5
WEST WALL, NORTHERN SECTION
(See plate 6)



Photograph by Koch

THE KING THURIFYING AND POURING A LIBATION IN KARNAK TEMPLE, WITH THE BARK OF THE KING BELOW

(Compare plates 10 and 11)

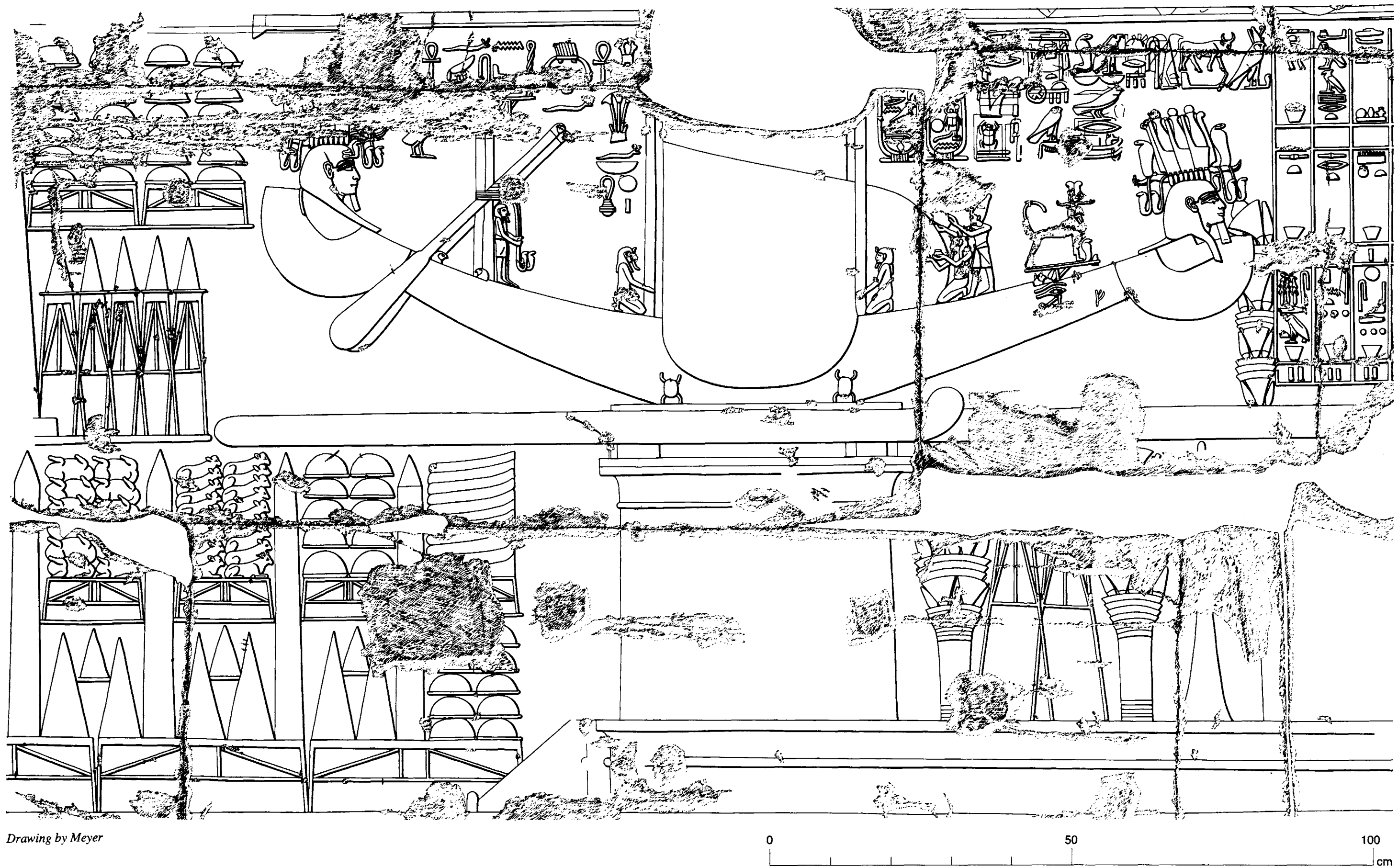


Drawing by Meyer

THE KING THURIFYING AND POURING A LIBATION IN KARNAK TEMPLE: DETAIL OF PLATE 5

WEST WALL, NORTHERN SECTION

(See plate 9)

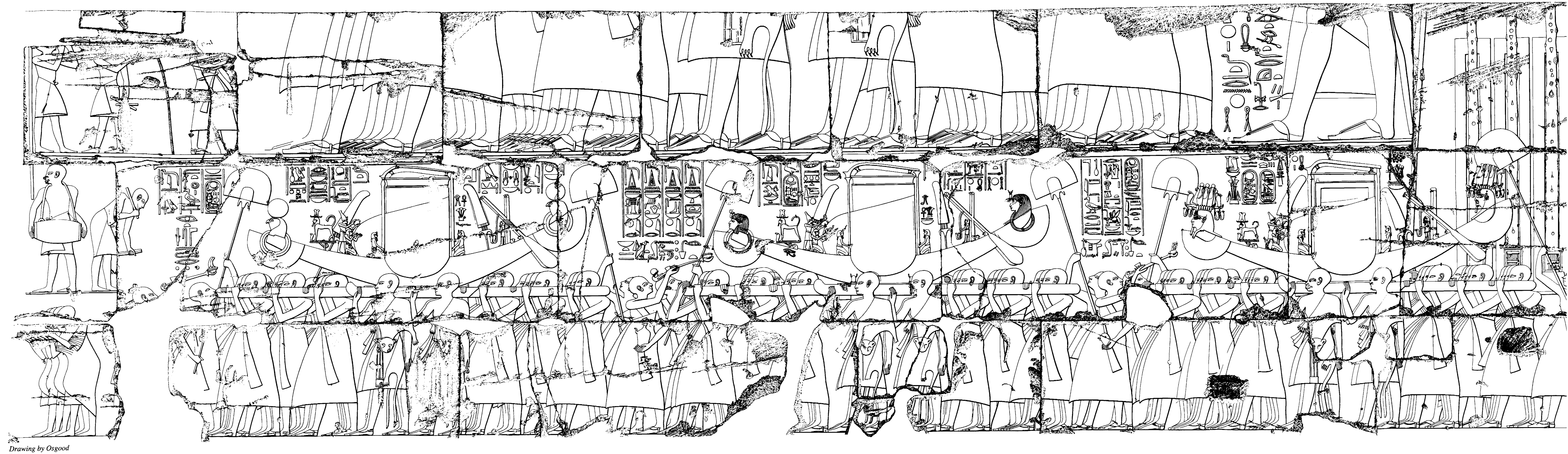


THE BARK OF THE KING IN KARNAK TEMPLE: DETAIL OF PLATE 5

WEST WALL, NORTHERN SECTION

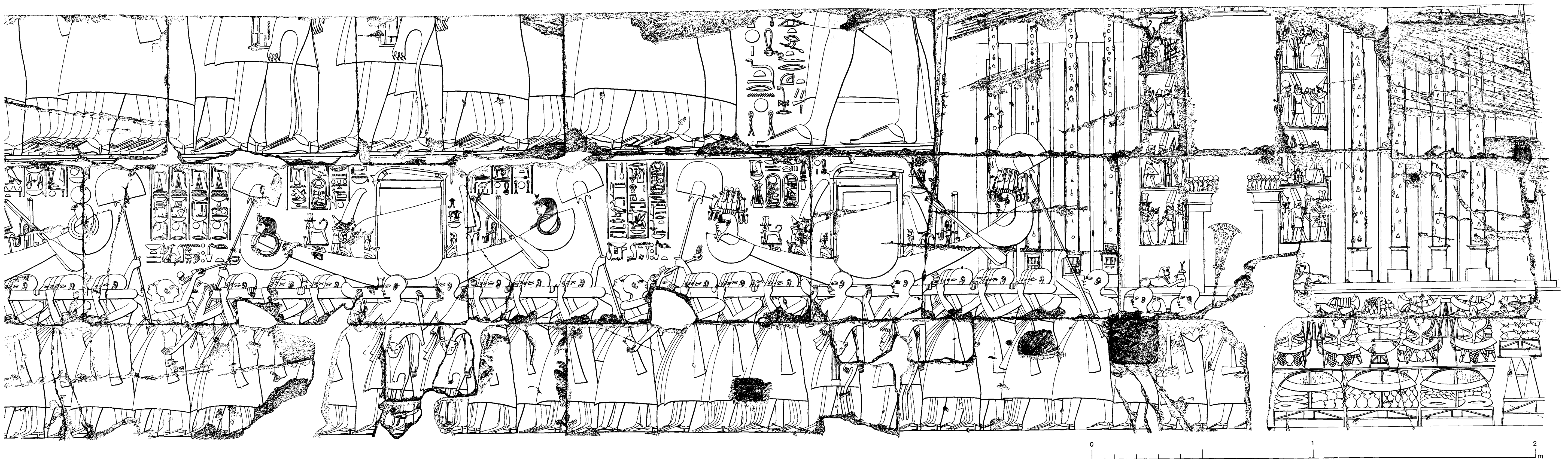
(See plate 9)

Adjoins
plate 28



Drawing by Osgood

EPISODE 2: THE BARKS OF THE THEBAN TRIAD AND THE BARK OF THE KING BEING CARRIED
FROM KARNAK TEMPLE TO THE NILE
WEST WALL, NORTHERN SECTION
(See plates 4 and 13-16)



EPISODE 2: THE BARKS OF THE THEBAN TRIAD AND THE BARK OF THE KING BEING CARRIED
FROM KARNAK TEMPLE TO THE NILE
WEST WALL, NORTHERN SECTION
(See plates 4 and 13-16)



Photographs by Koch



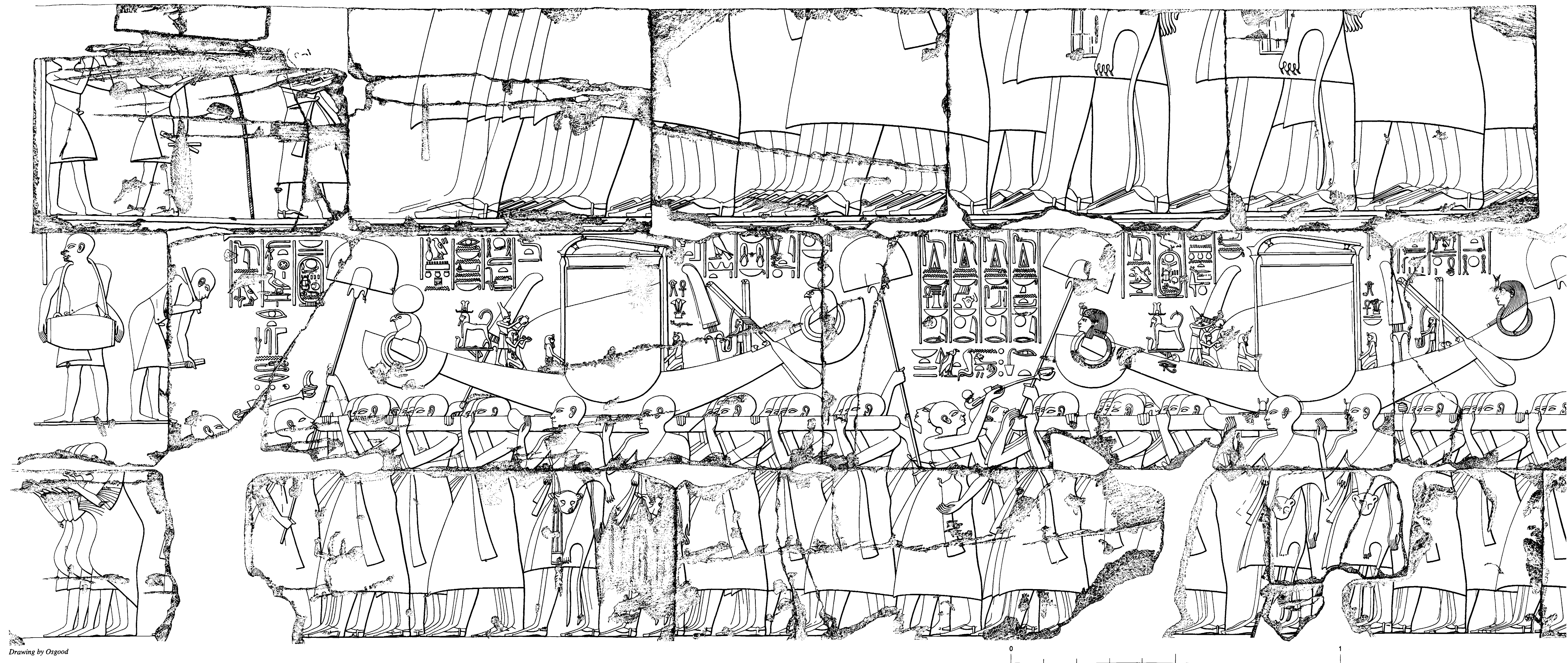
THE BARKS OF AMUN, KHONSU, AND MUT BEING CARRIED FROM KARNAK TEMPLE TO THE NILE

(Compare plate 14)



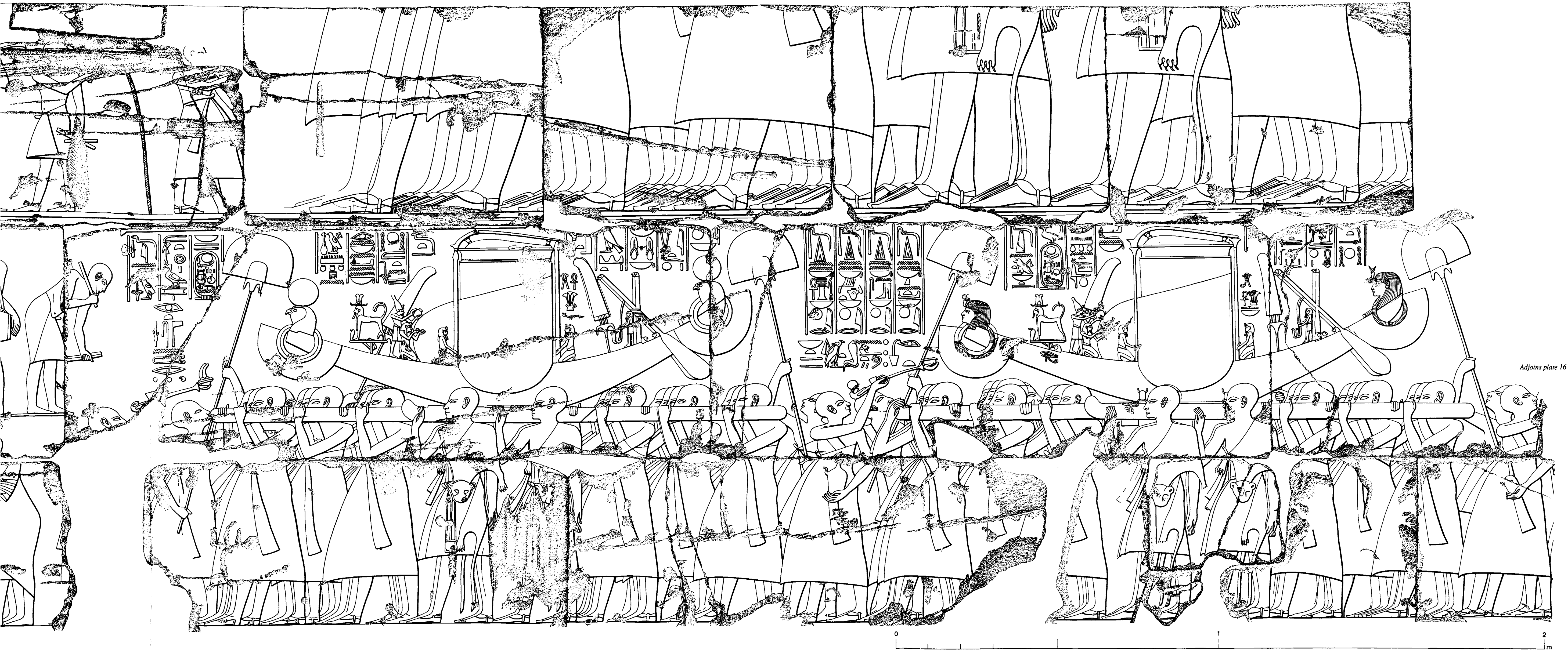
THE BARKS OF AMUN, KHONSU, AND MUT BEING CARRIED FROM KARNAK TEMPLE TO THE NILE

(Compare plate 14)

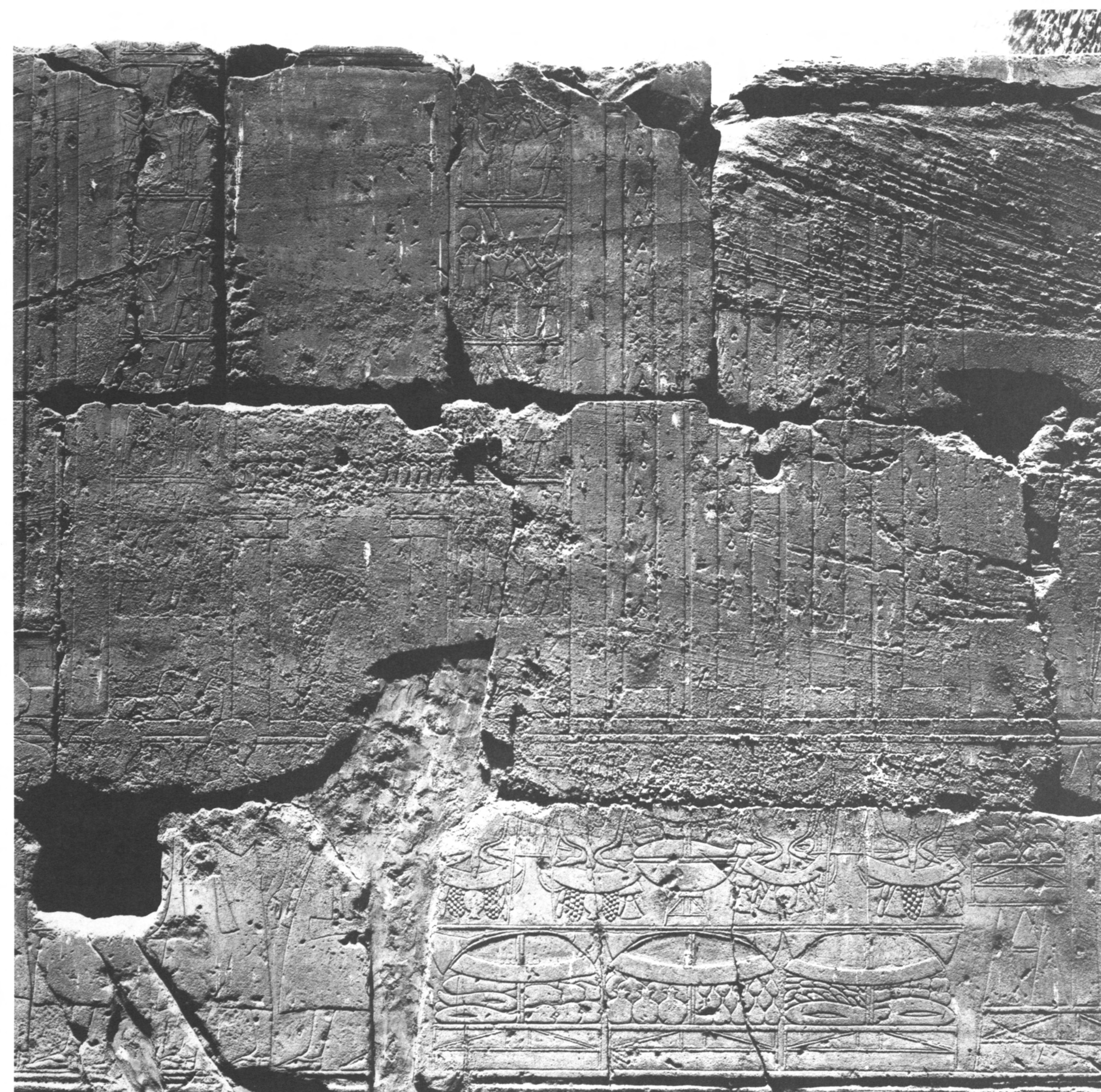


Drawing by Osgood

THE BARKS OF AMUN (NOW LOST), KHONSU, AND MUT BEING CARRIED FROM KARNAK TEMPLE
TO THE NILE: DETAIL OF PLATE 12
WEST WALL, NORTHERN SECTION
(see plate 13)



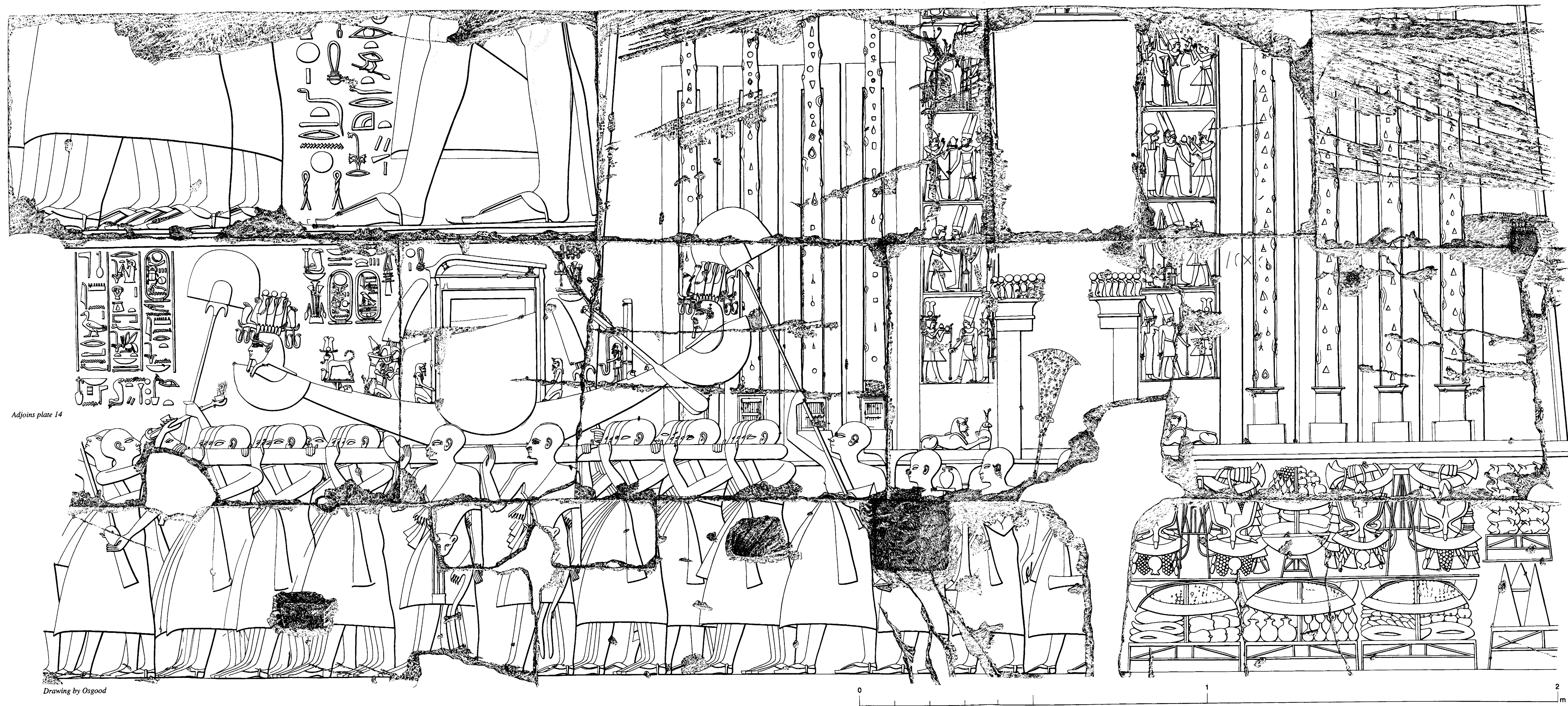
THE BARKS OF AMUN (NOW LOST), KHONSU, AND MUT BEING CARRIED FROM KARNAK TEMPLE
TO THE NILE: DETAIL OF PLATE 12
WEST WALL, NORTHERN SECTION
(see plate 13)



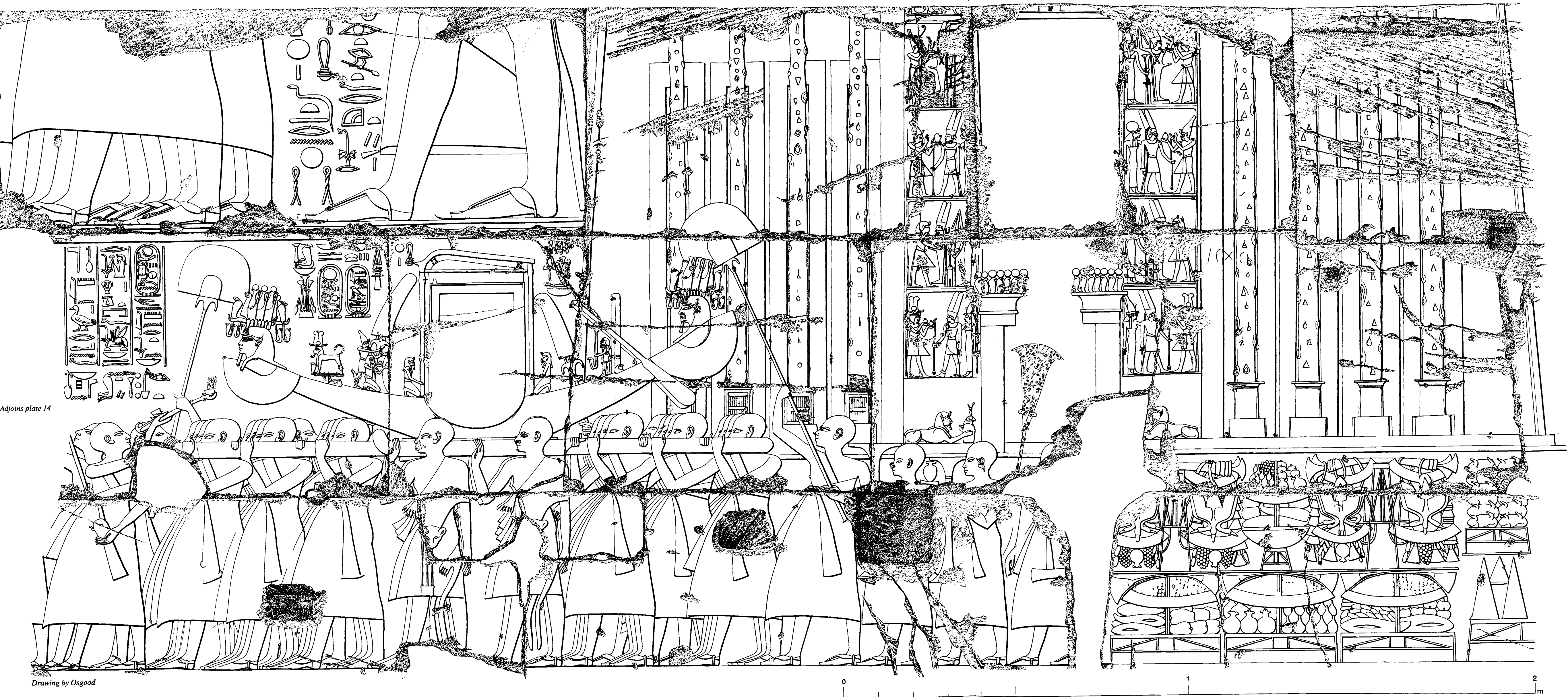
Photographs by Koch

THE PYLON OF KARNAK TEMPLE, WITH THE BARK OF THE KING BEING CARRIED
FROM KARNAK TEMPLE TO THE NILE

(Compare plate 16)

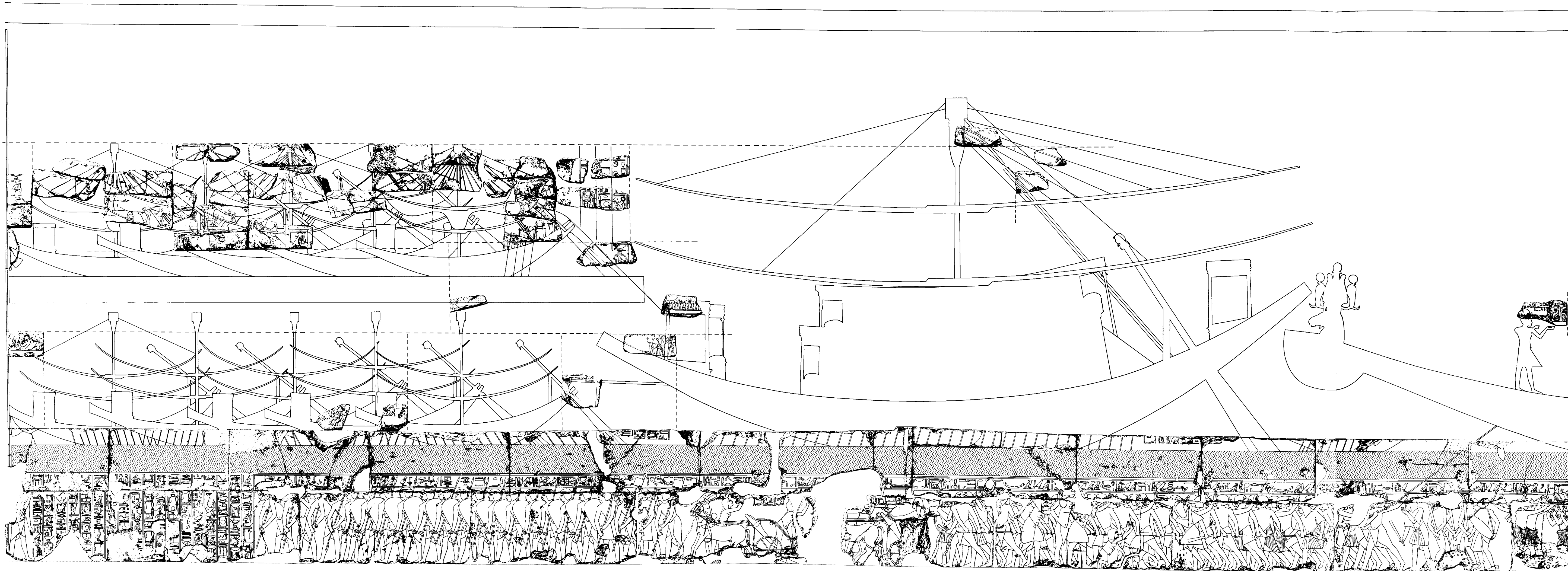


THE PYLON OF KARNAK TEMPLE, WITH THE BARK OF THE KING BEING CARRIED FROM KARNAK TEMPLE
TO THE NILE: DETAIL OF PLATE 12
WEST WALL, NORTHERN SECTION
(See plate 15)



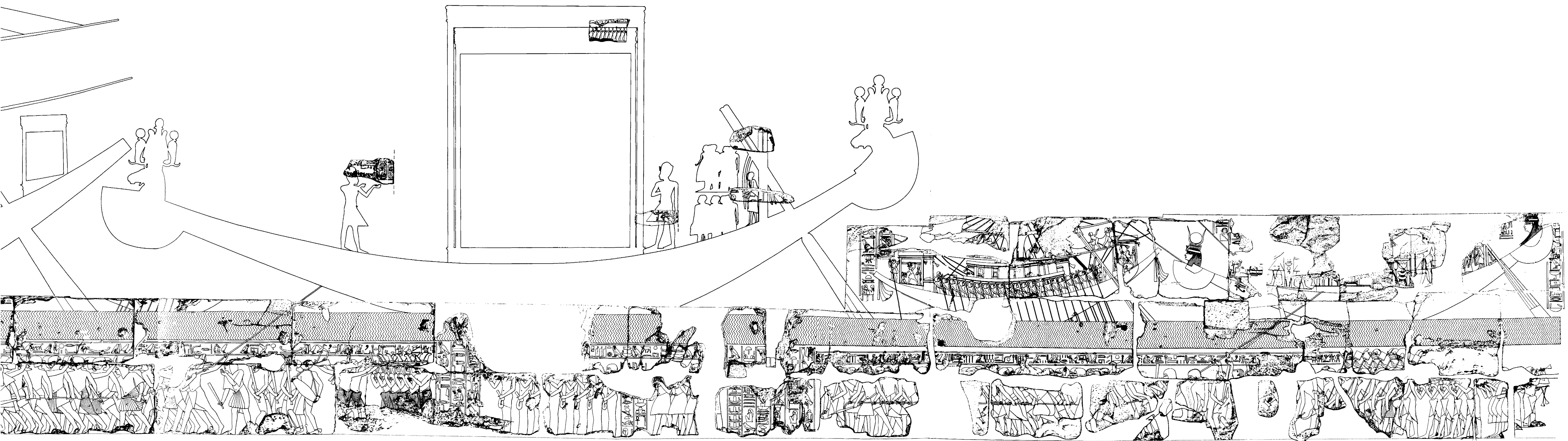
THE PYLON OF KARNAK TEMPLE, WITH THE BARK OF THE KING BEING CARRIED FROM KARNAK TEMPLE
TO THE NILE: DETAIL OF PLATE 12
WEST WALL, NORTHERN SECTION
(See plate 15)

Adjoins plate 35



Drawing by Di Cerbo, Coleman, B. Garfi, S. Garfi, Howard, Johnson, Lack, and Meyer

KEY TO RELIEFS DEPICTING THE RIVER PROCESSION OF THE FESTIVAL OF OPET SAILING TO LUXOR:
EPISODE 3
WEST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION
(See plates 18-34; in situ these reliefs are continuous)



Adjoins plate 4

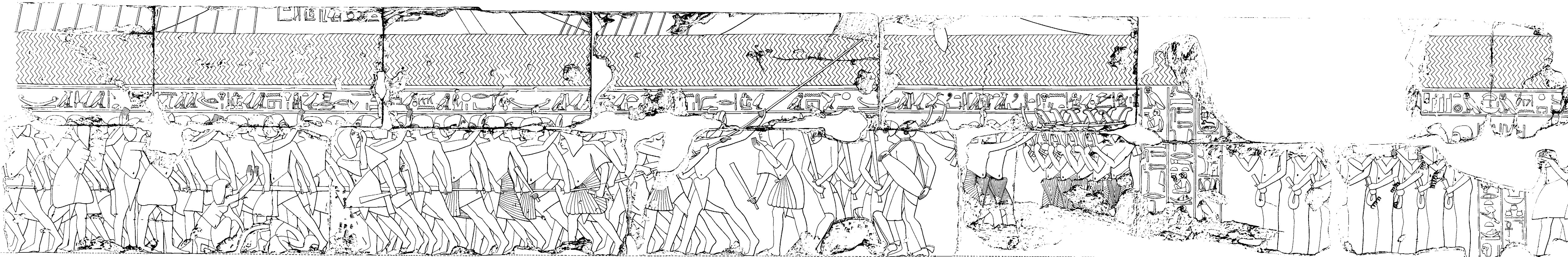
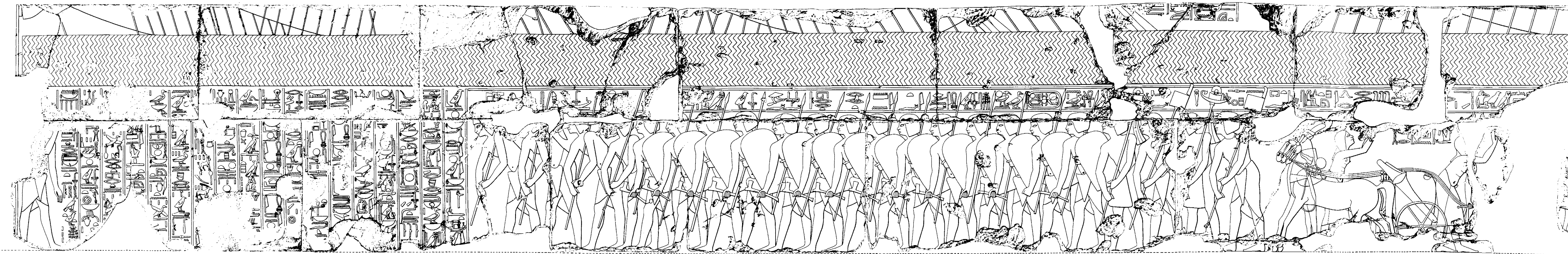
RELIEFS DEPICTING THE RIVER PROCESSION OF THE FESTIVAL OF OPET SAILING TO LUXOR:

EPISODE 3

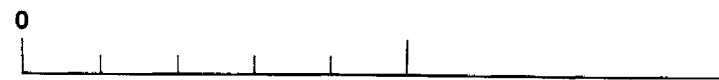
WEST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION

(See plates 18-34; in situ these reliefs are continuous)

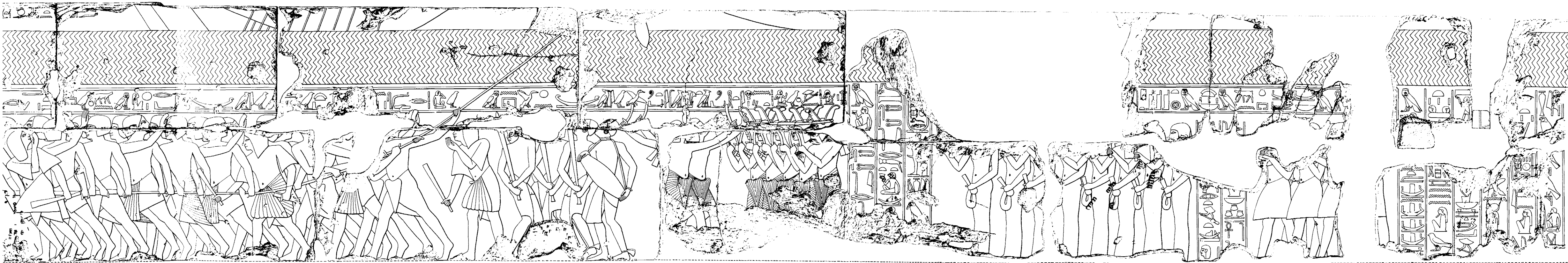
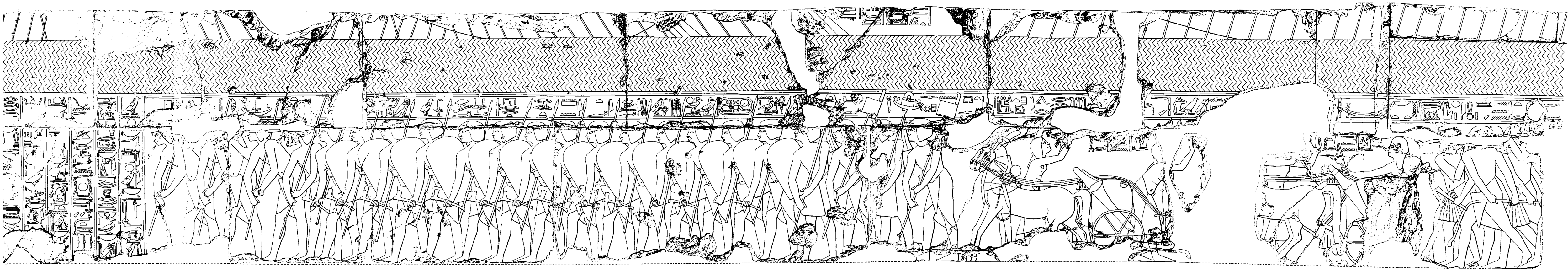
Adjoins plate 36



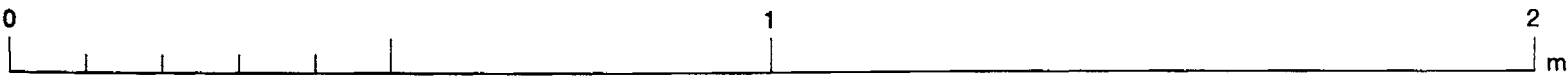
Drawing by Coleman, B. Garfi, S. Garfi, Johnson, and Lack



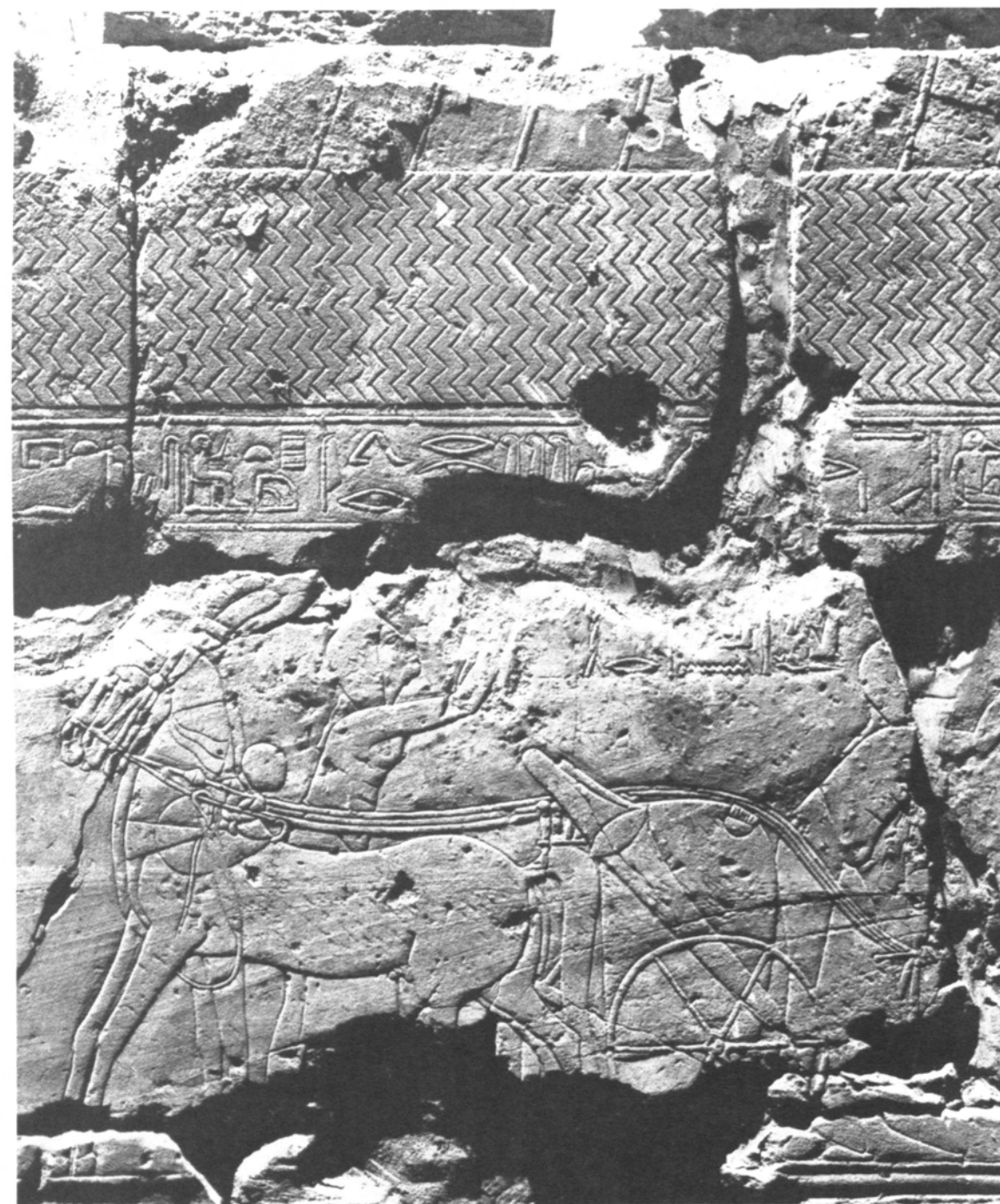
CELEBRANTS ACCOMPANYING THE PROCESSION OF THE CEREMONIAL BARGES FROM KARNAK TO LUXOR,
WITH REMAINS OF TOWBOATS ABOVE: DETAIL OF PLATE 17
WEST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION



Adjoins plate 28



CELEBRANTS ACCOMPANYING THE PROCESSION OF THE CEREMONIAL BARGES FROM KARNAK TO LUXOR,
WITH REMAINS OF TOWBOATS ABOVE: DETAIL OF PLATE 17
WEST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION

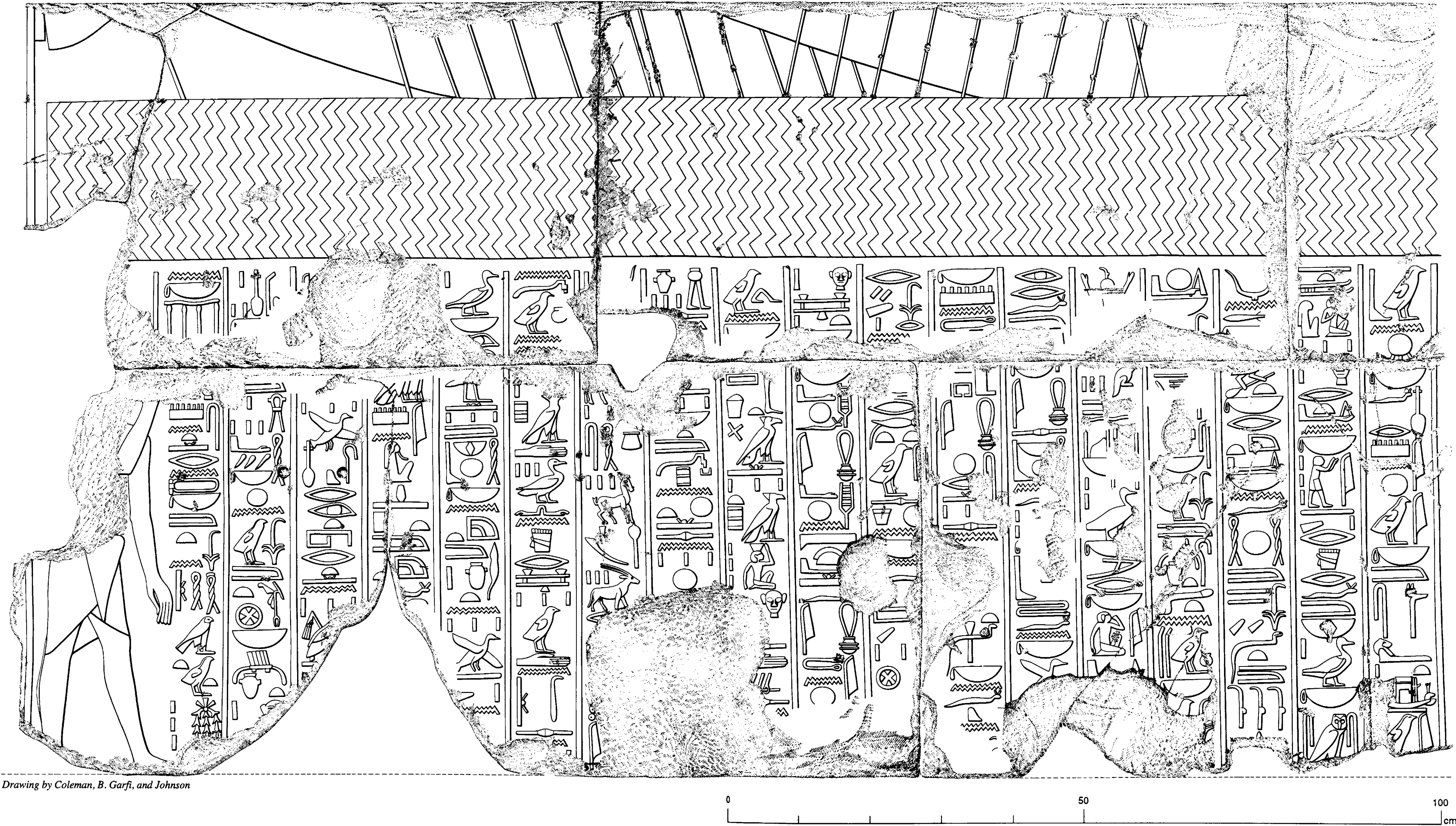


Photographs by Koch

CELEBRANT AND HYMN, SOLDIERS, TWO ROYAL CHARIOTS, AND MEN TOWING THE BARGE OF AMUN
(Compare plates 20-23)

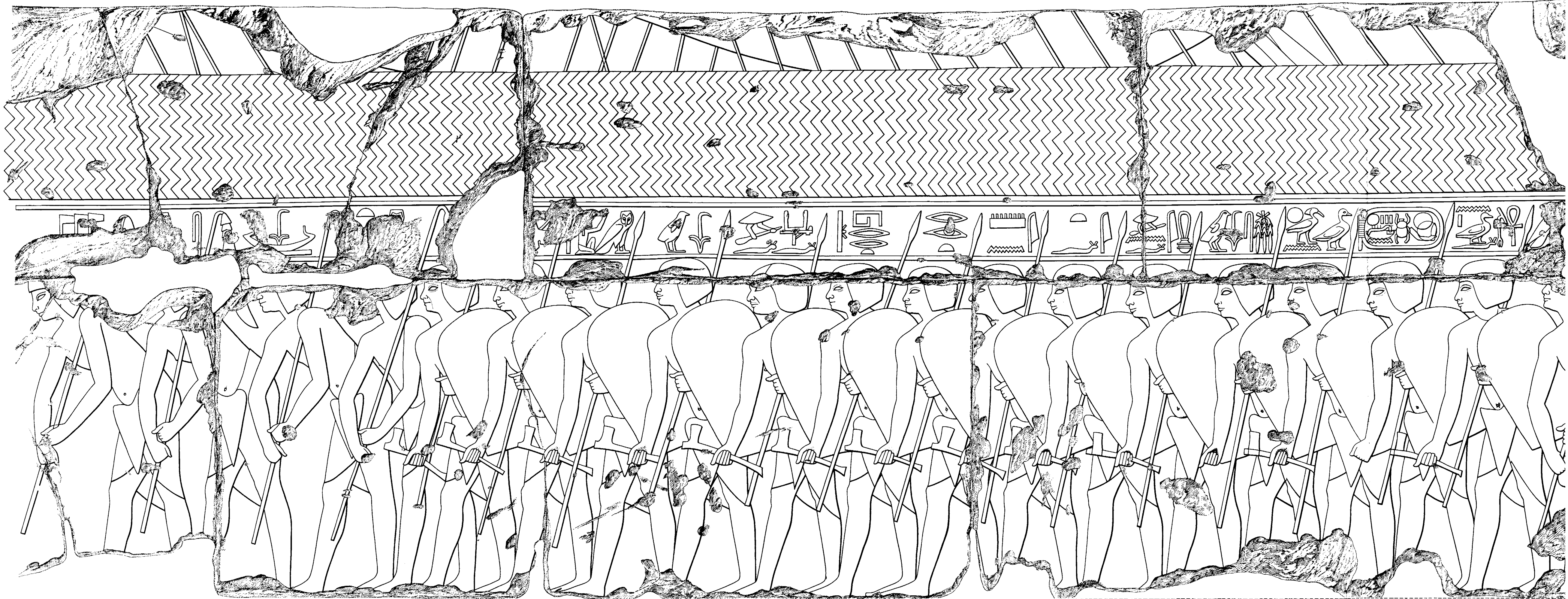


CELEBRANT AND HYMN, SOLDIERS, TWO ROYAL CHARIOTS, AND MEN TOWING THE BARGE OF AMUN
(Compare plates 20-23)



CELEBRANT AND HYMN: DETAIL OF PLATE 18
WEST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION
(See plate 19)

Adjoins plate 20



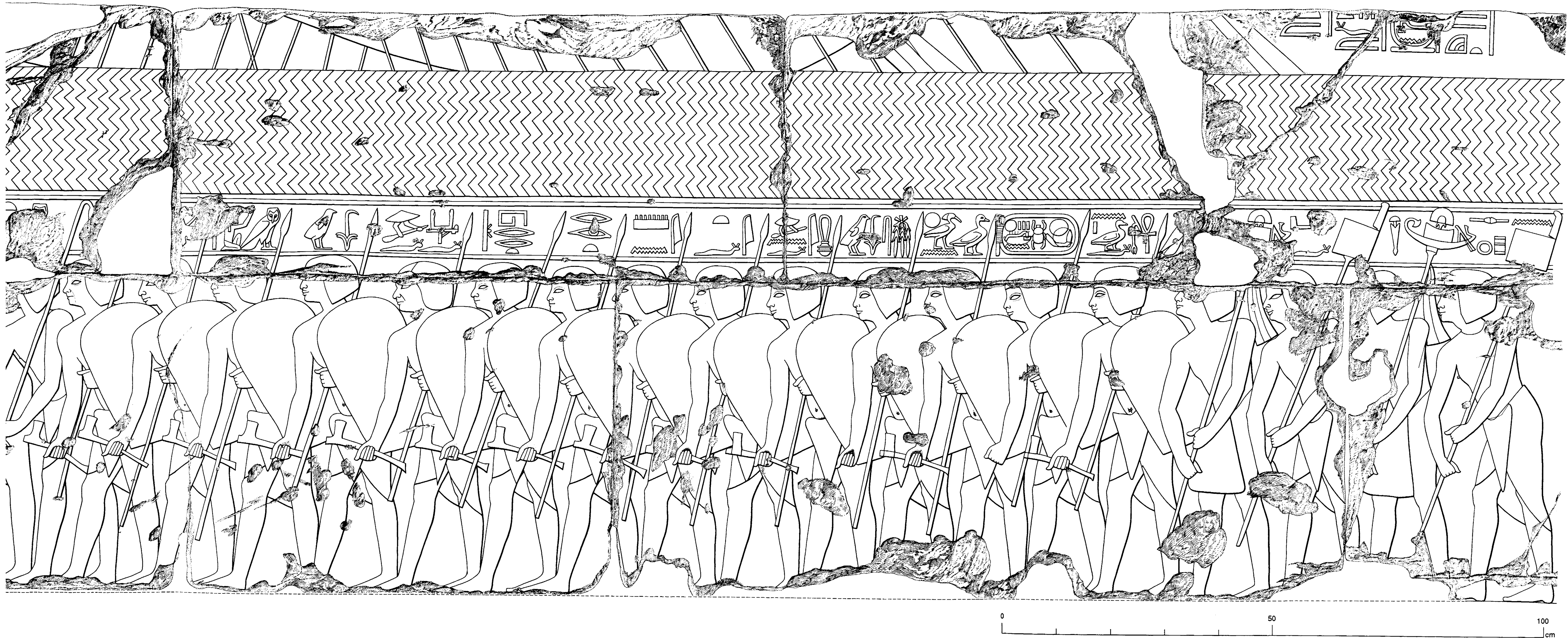
Drawing by S. Garfi, Johnson, and Lack

SOLDIERS AT THE HEAD OF THE PROCESSION: DETAIL OF PLATE 18

WEST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION

(see plate 19)



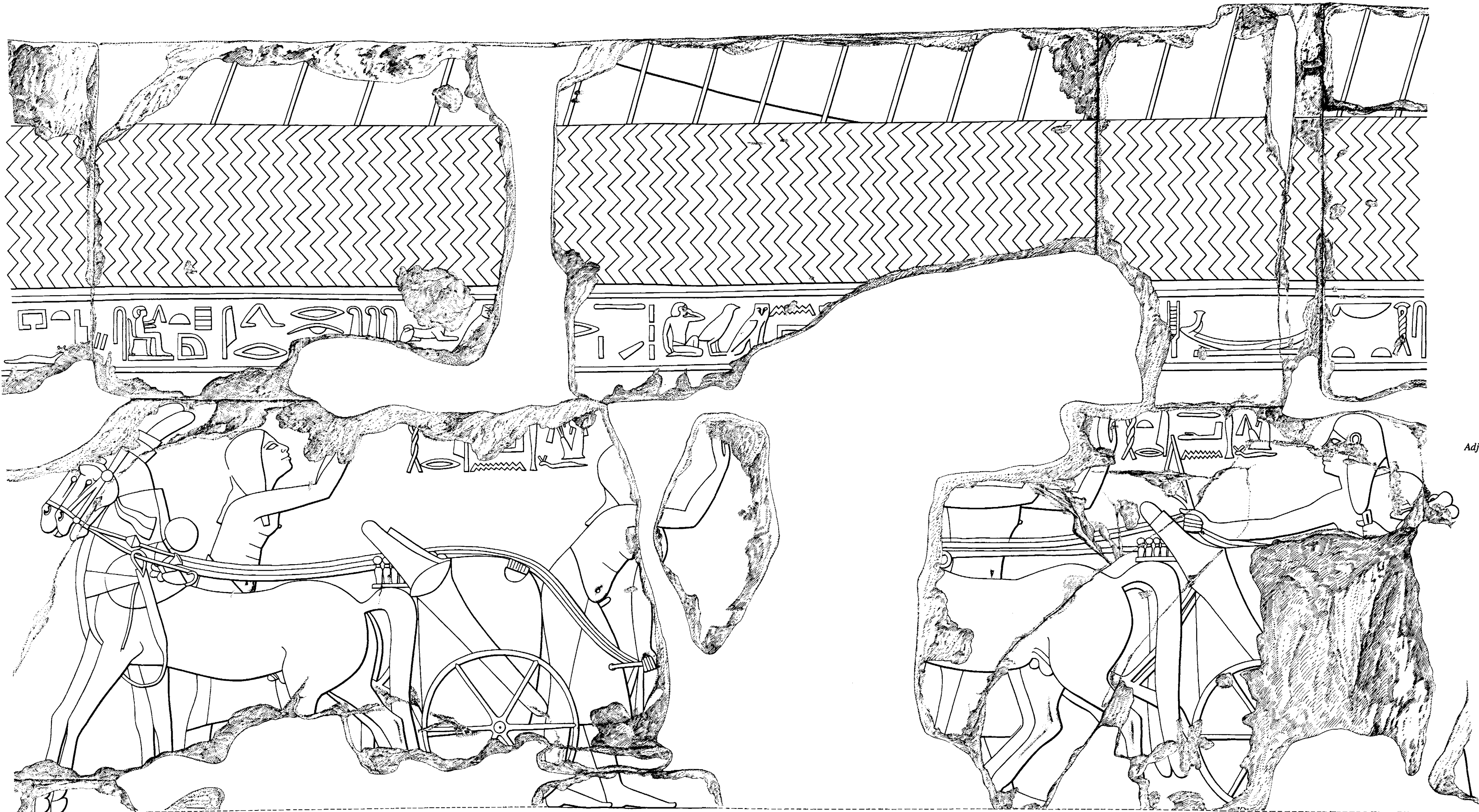


Adjoins plate 22

SOLDIERS AT THE HEAD OF THE PROCESSION: DETAIL OF PLATE 18
WEST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION
(see plate 19)

Adjoins plate 21

Adjoins plate 23

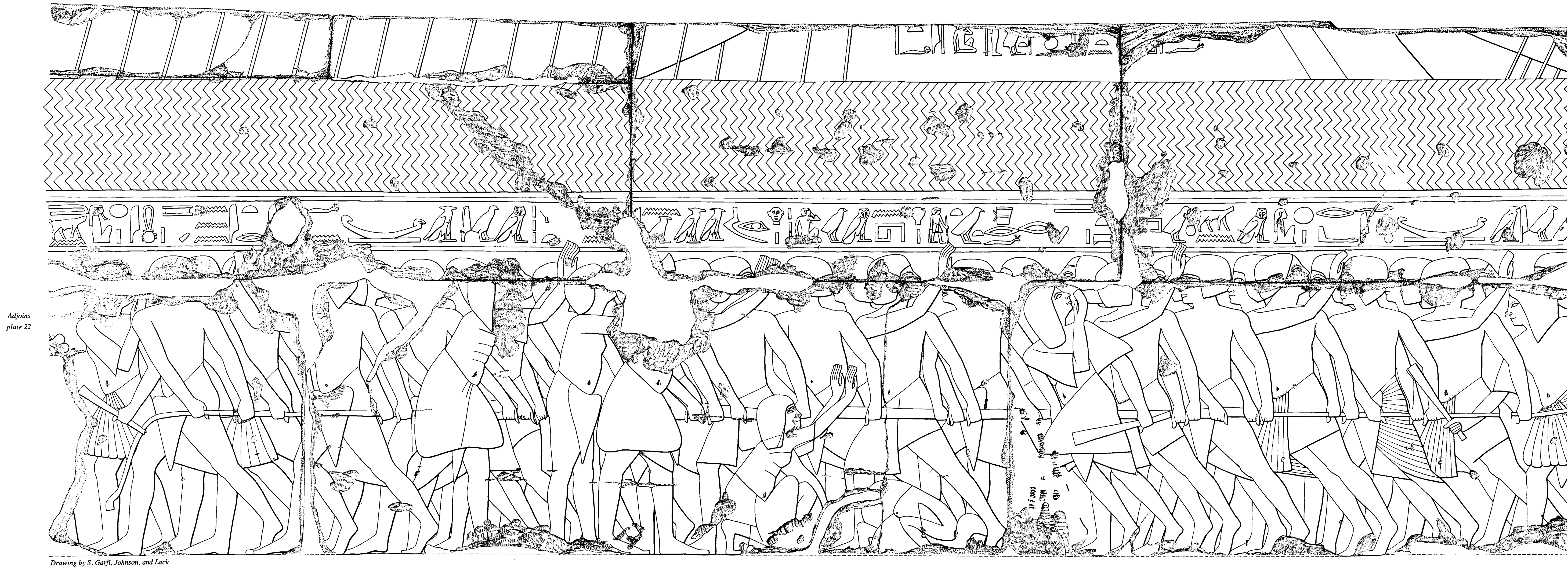


Drawing by S. Garfi and Lack

TWO ROYAL CHARIOTS AND ATTENDANTS: DETAIL OF PLATE 18

WEST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION

(See plate 19)



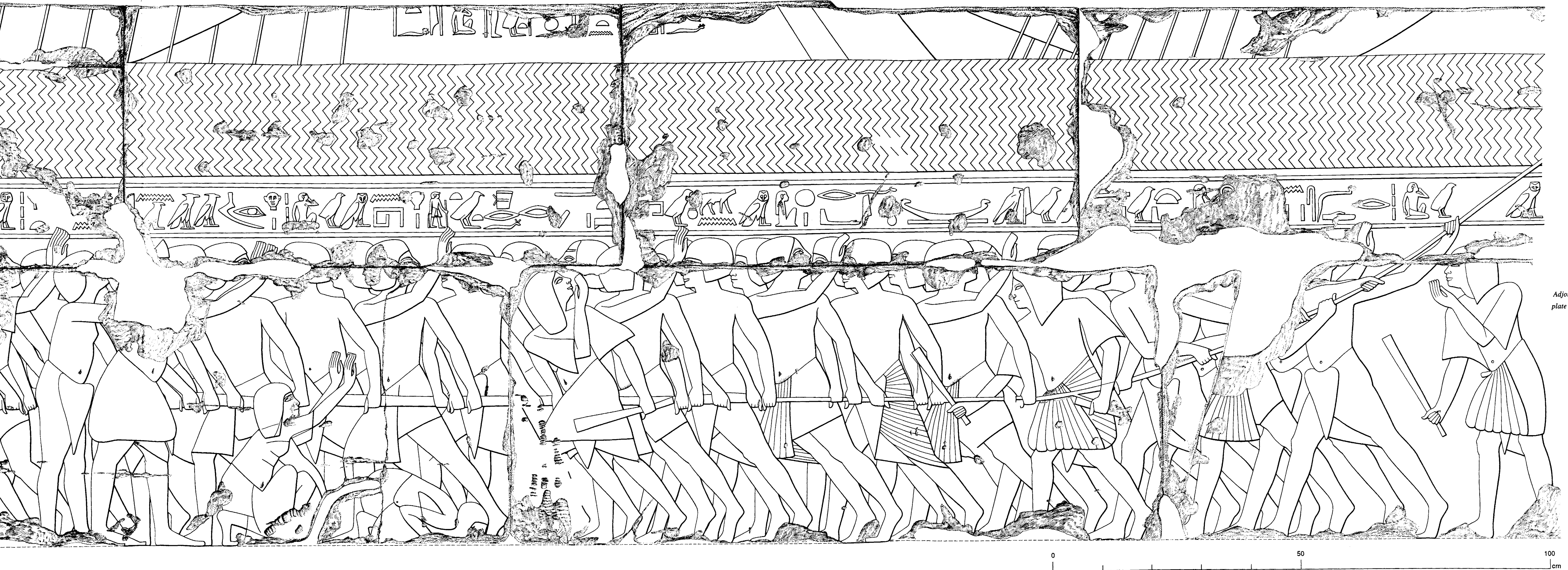
Adjoins
plate 22

Drawing by S. Garfi, Johnson, and Lack

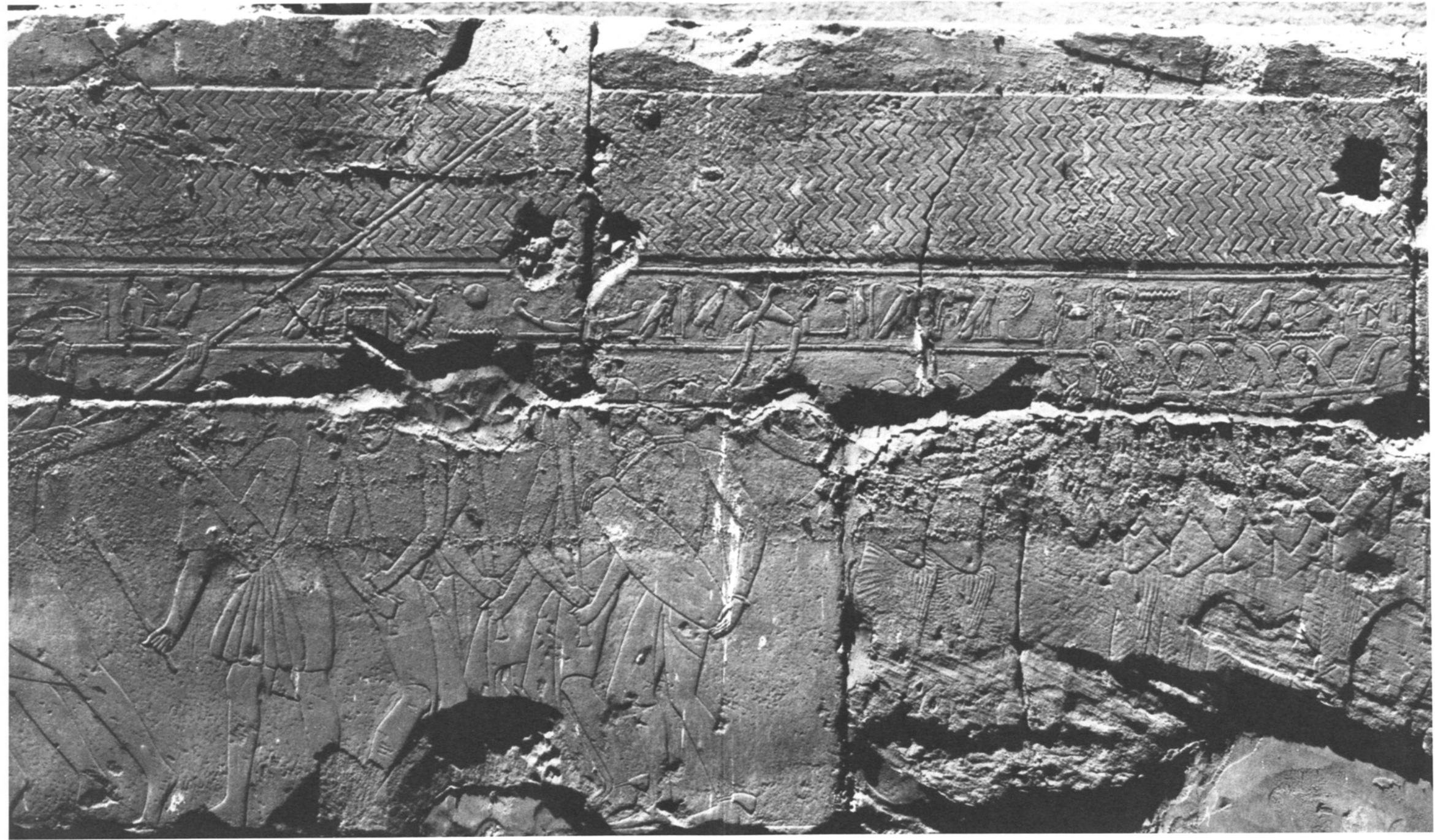
MEN TOWING THE BARGE OF AMUN: DETAIL OF PLATE 18

WEST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION

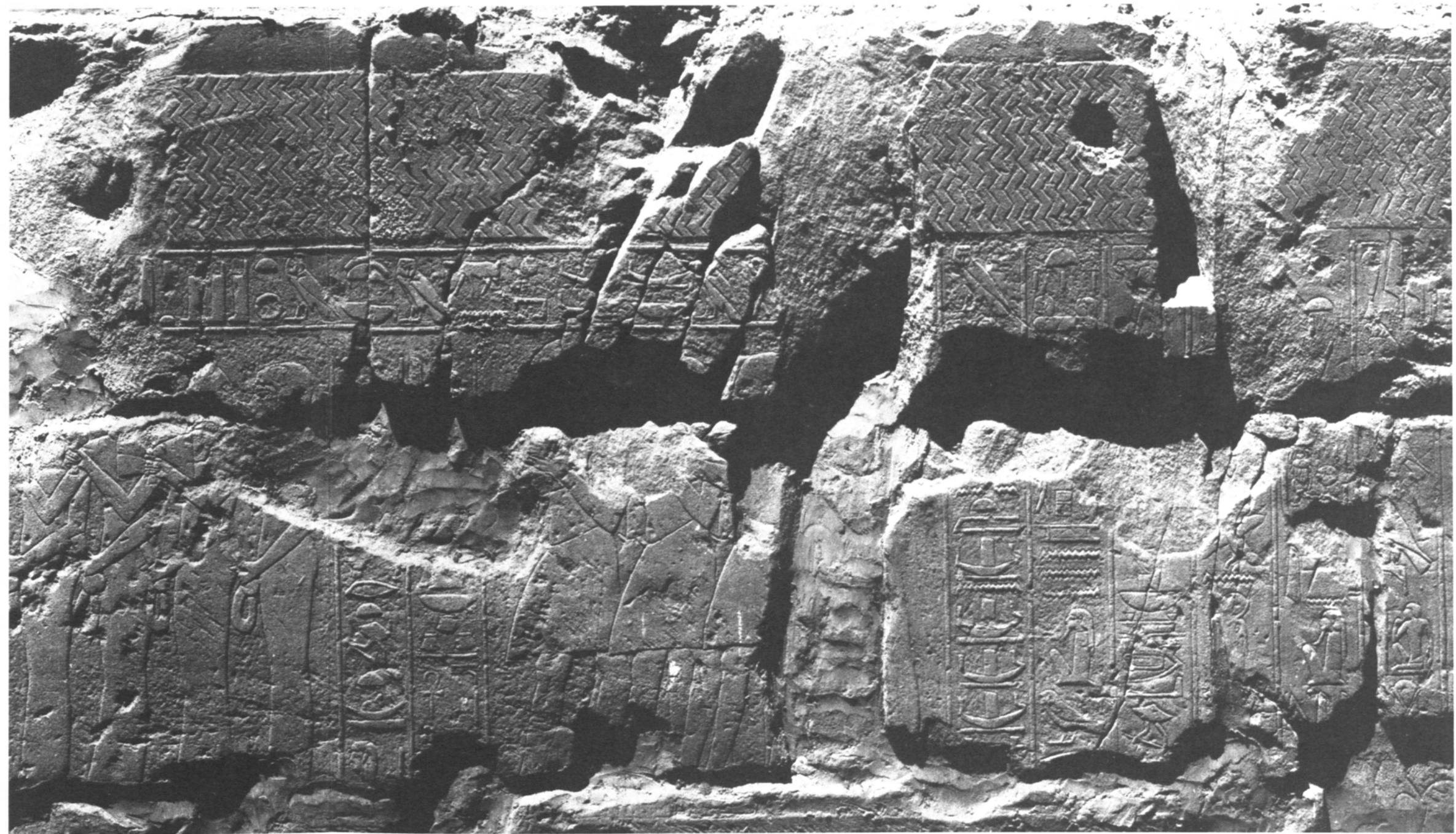
(see plate 19)



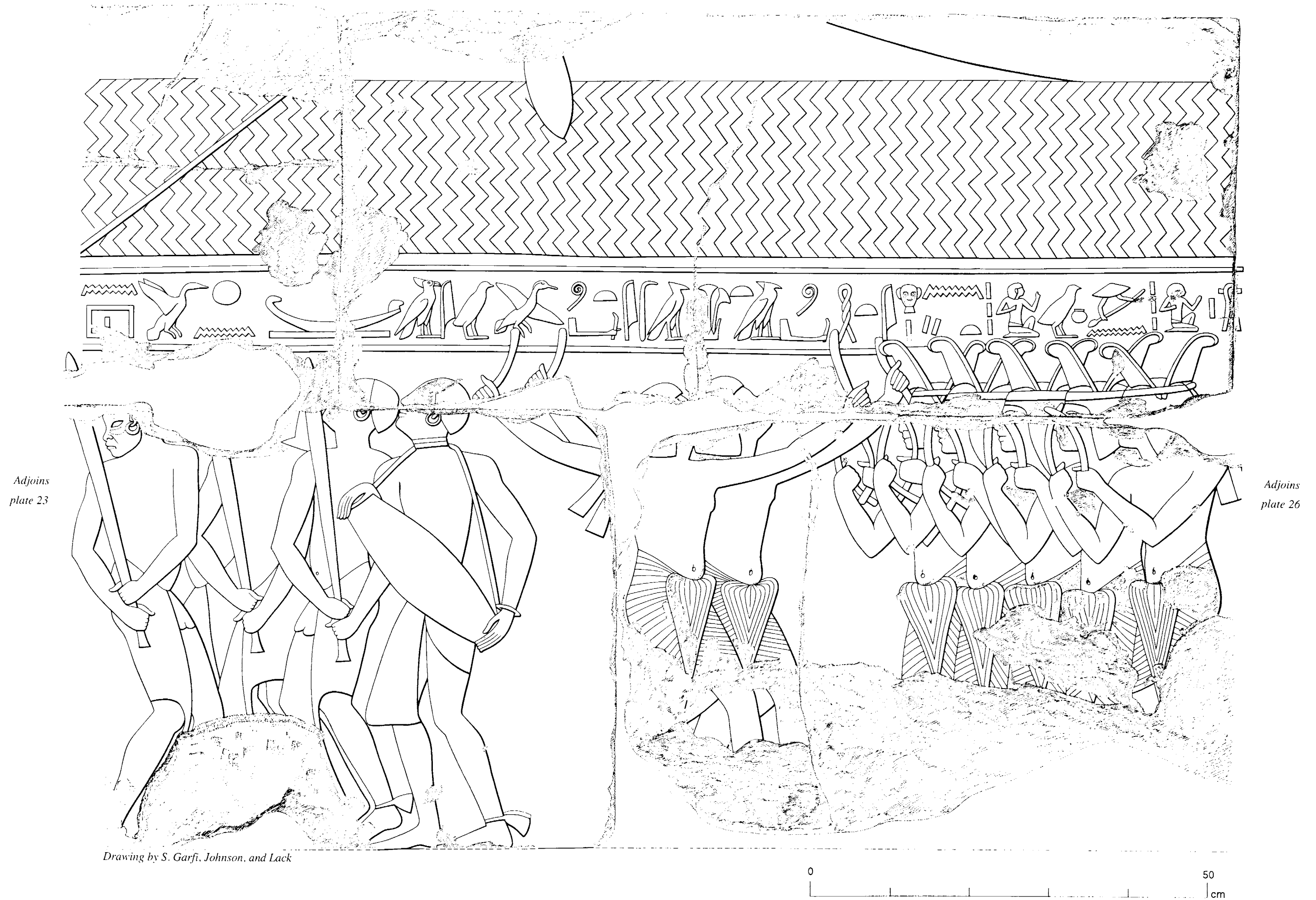
MEN TOWING THE BARGE OF AMUN: DETAIL OF PLATE 18
WEST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION
(see plate 19)



Photographs by Koch



PROCESSION OF MUSICIANS AND DANCERS
(Compare plates 25 and 26)

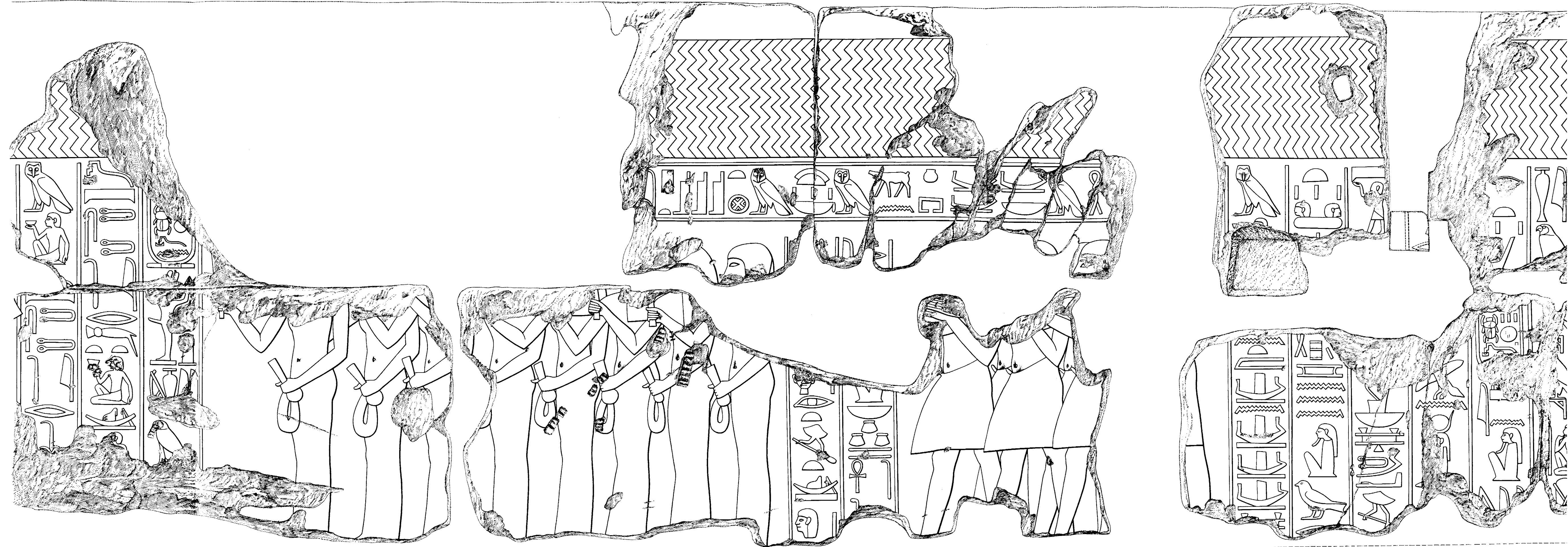


PROCESSION OF MUSICIANS AND DANCERS: DETAIL OF PLATE 18

WEST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION

(See plate 24)

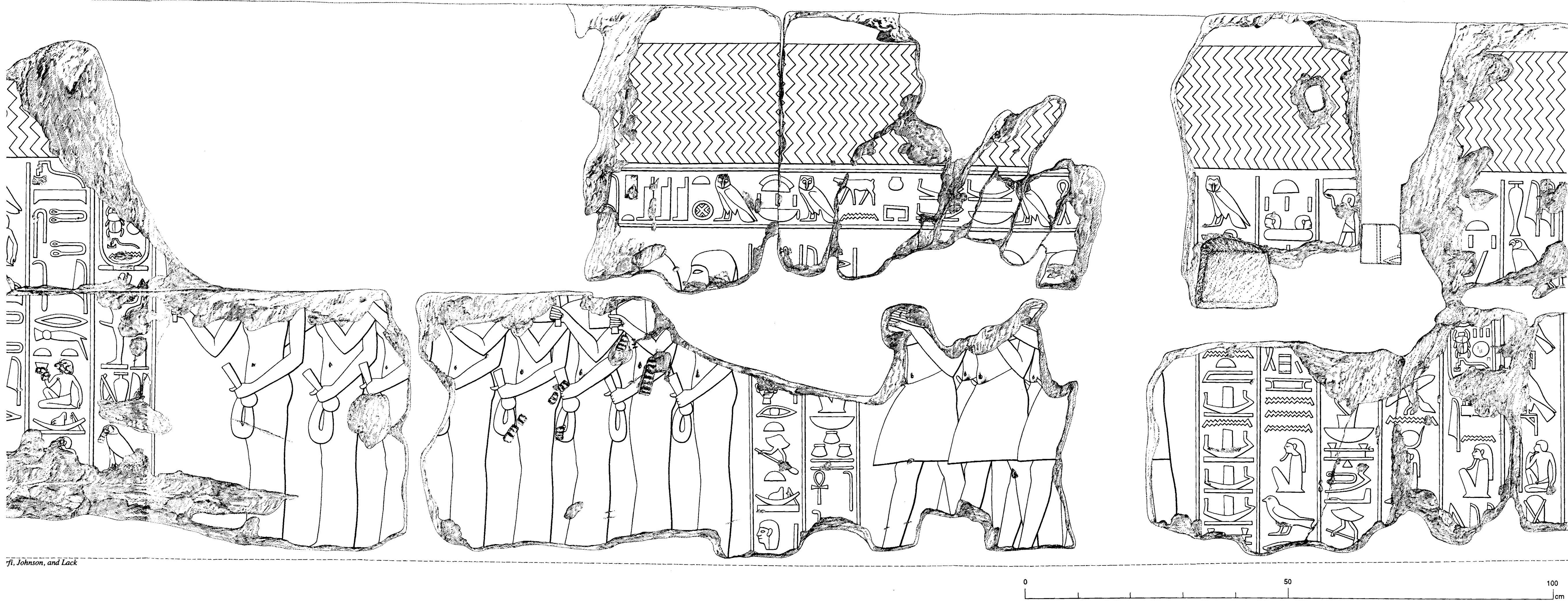
Adjoins plate 25



Drawing by S. Garfi, Johnson, and Lack

0 50

PRIESTESSES AND PRIESTS CHANTING A SONG: DETAIL OF PLATE 18
WEST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION
(see plate 24)



J. Johnson, and Lack

PRIESTESSES AND PRIESTS CHANTING A SONG: DETAIL OF PLATE 18
 WEST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION
 (see plate 24)

Adjoins plate 28

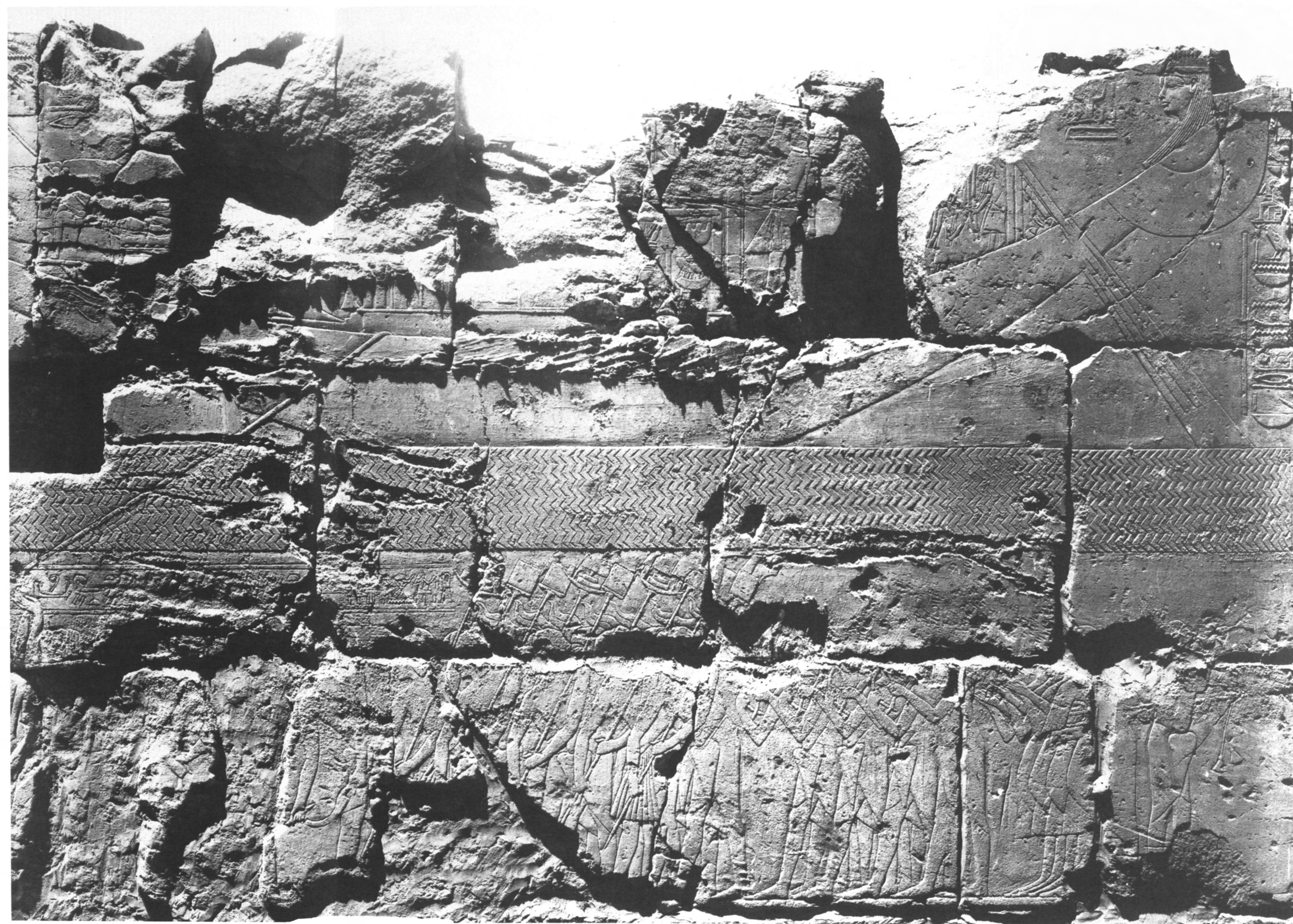
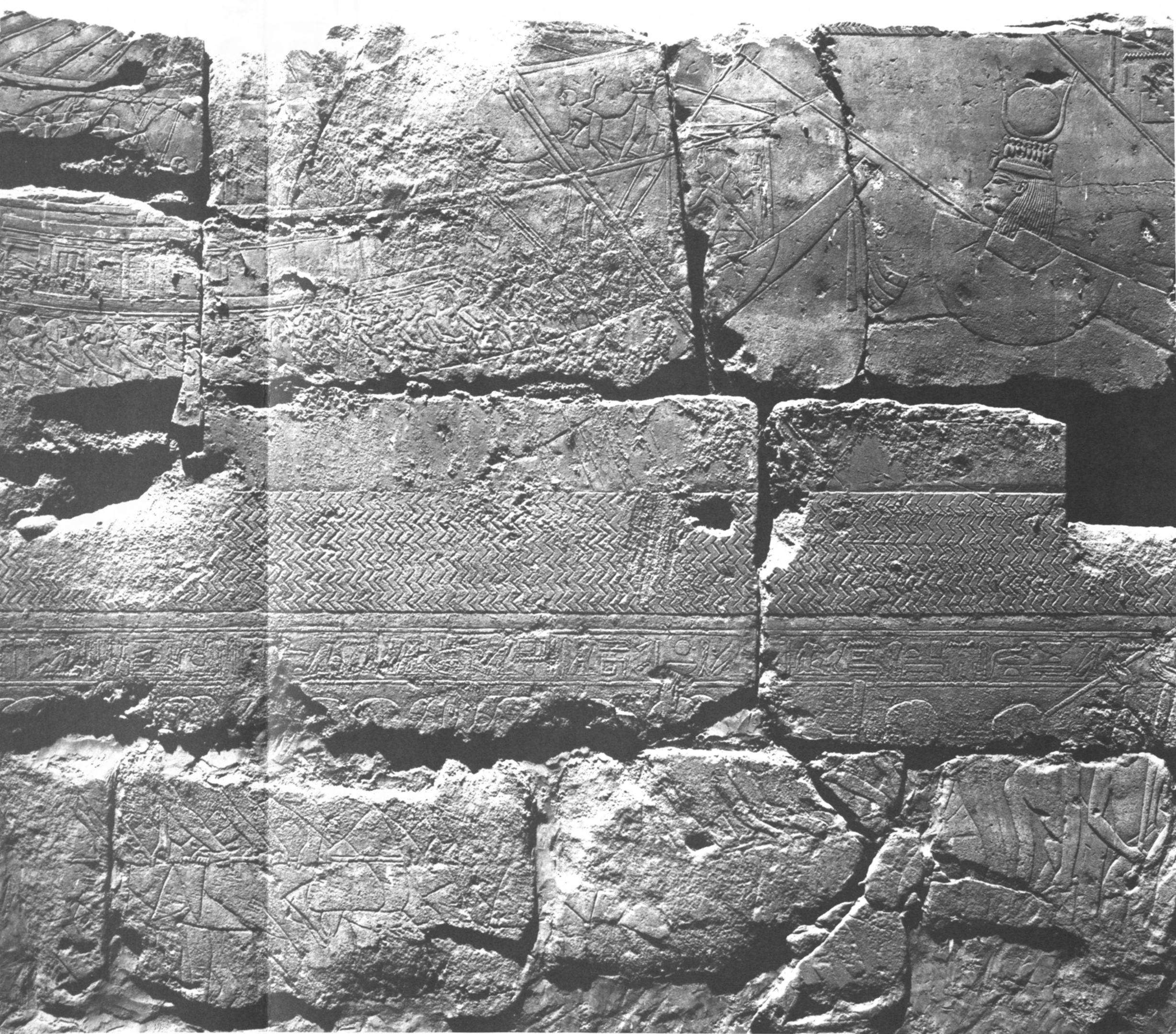


Photographs by Koch



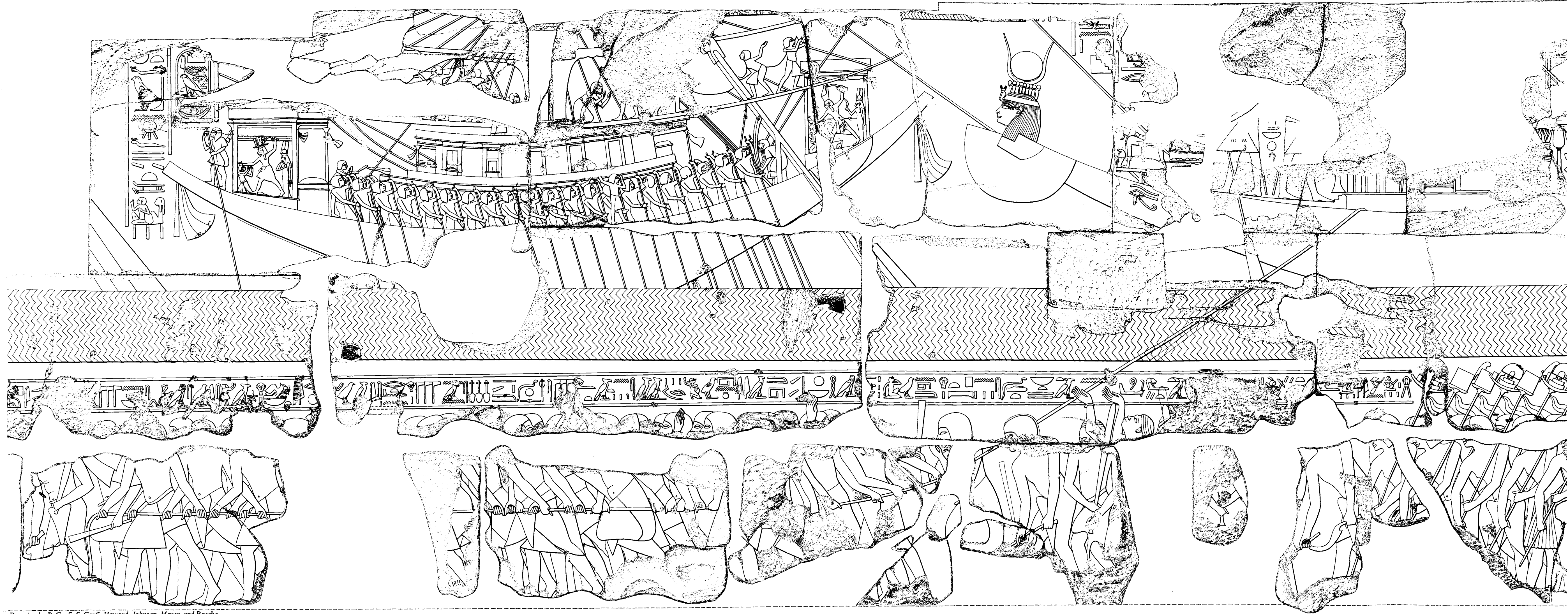
THE BARGES OF MUT AND THE QUEEN SAILING TO LUXOR, ACCOMPANIED BY MEN TOWING,
SOLDIERS, AND MUSICIANS

(Compare plate 28)



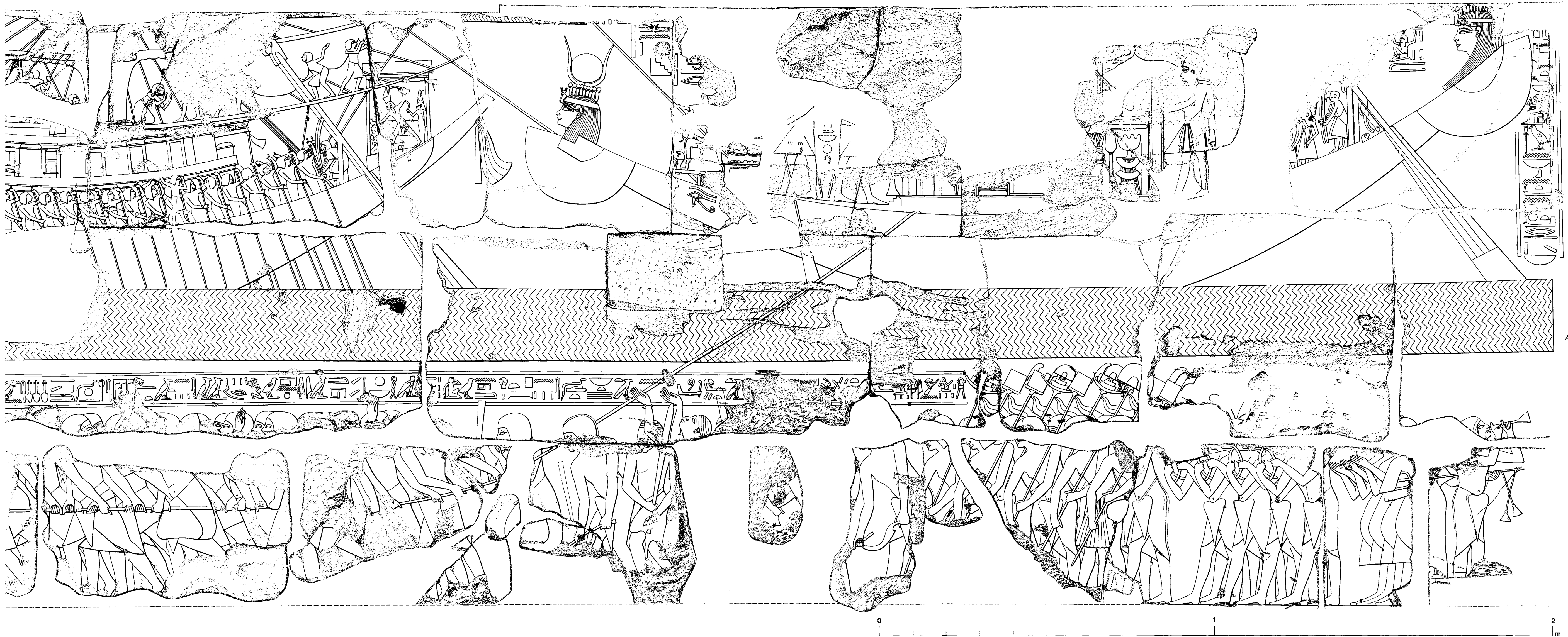
THE BARGES OF MUT AND THE QUEEN SAILING TO LUXOR, ACCOMPANIED BY MEN TOWING,
SOLDIERS, AND MUSICIANS
(Compare plate 28)

Adjoins plate 18



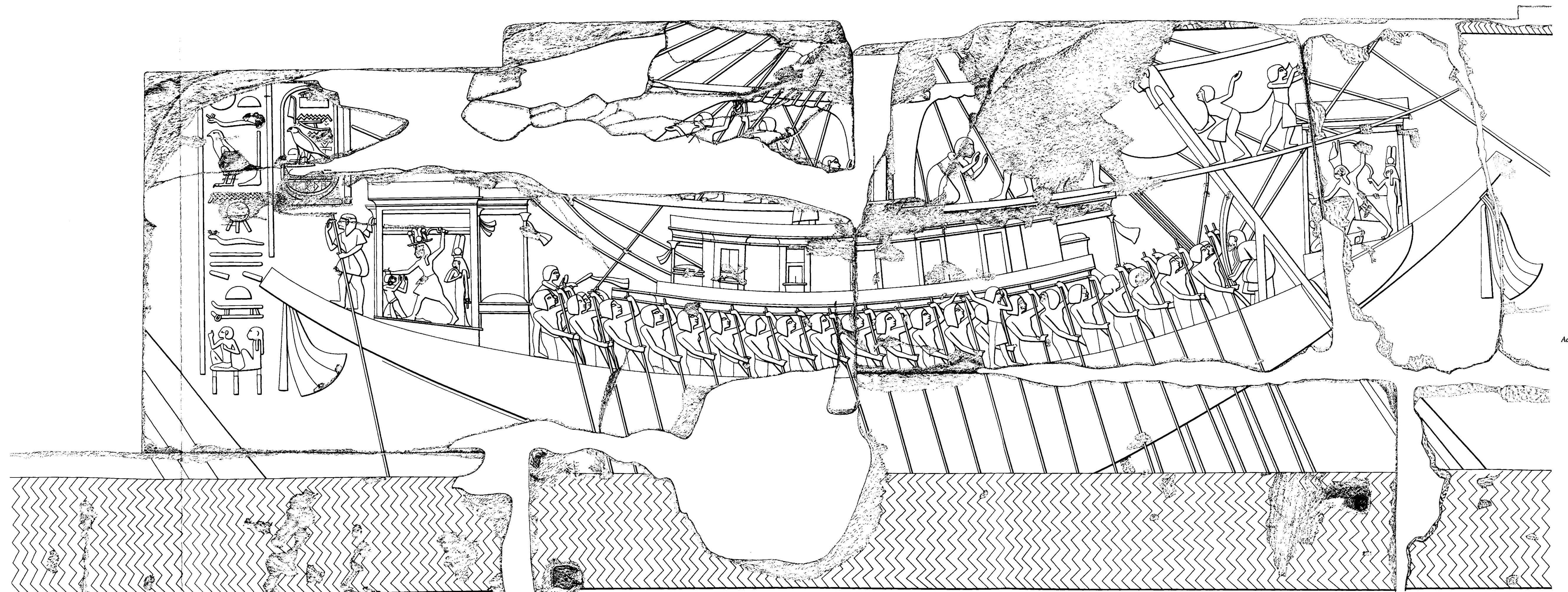
Drawing by B. Garfi, S. Garfi, Howard, Johnson, Meyer, and Rasche

THE BARGES OF MUT AND THE QUEEN SAILING TO LUXOR, ACCOMPANIED BY MEN TOWING,
SOLDIERS, AND MUSICIANS: DETAIL OF PLATE 17
WEST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION
(See plate 27)



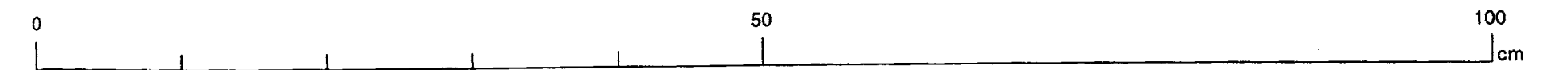
Adjoins plate 12

THE BARGES OF MUT AND THE QUEEN SAILING TO LUXOR, ACCOMPANIED BY MEN TOWING,
SOLDIERS, AND MUSICIANS: DETAIL OF PLATE 17
WEST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION
(See plate 27)

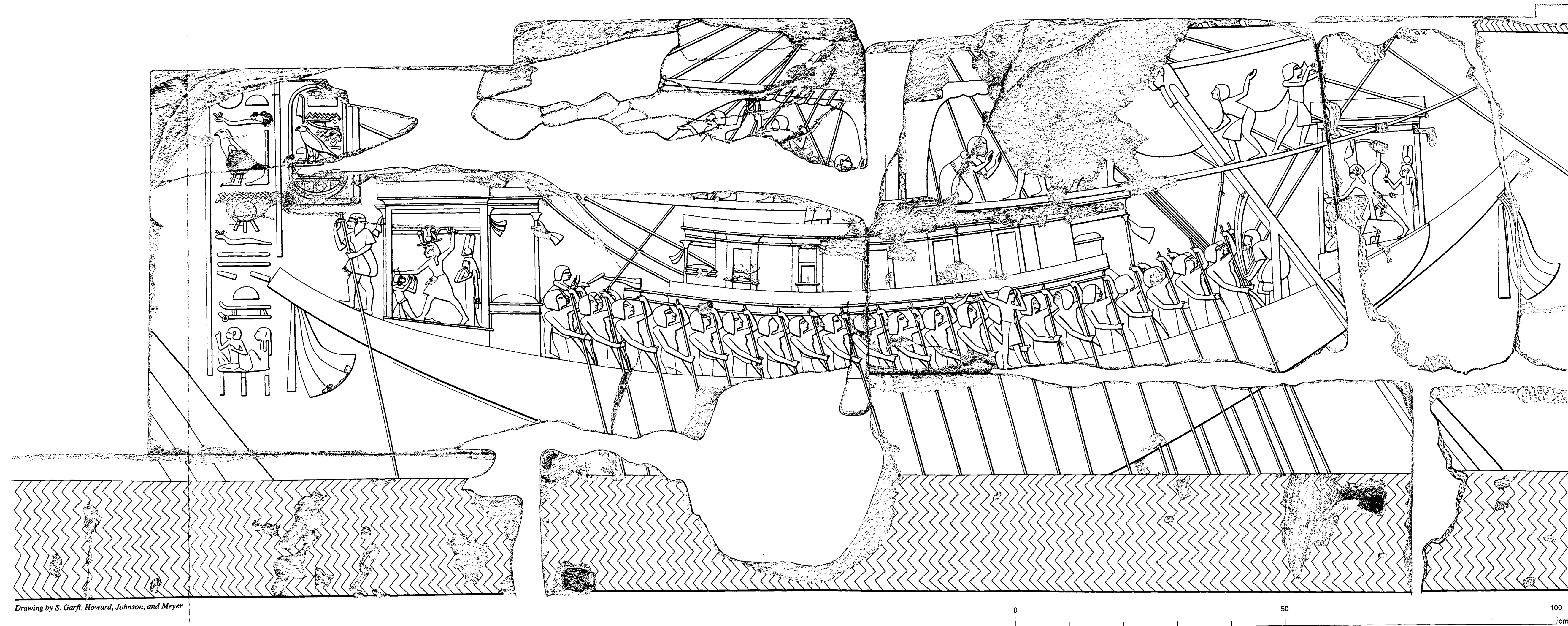


Adjoins plate

Drawing by S. Garfi, Howard, Johnson, and Meyer



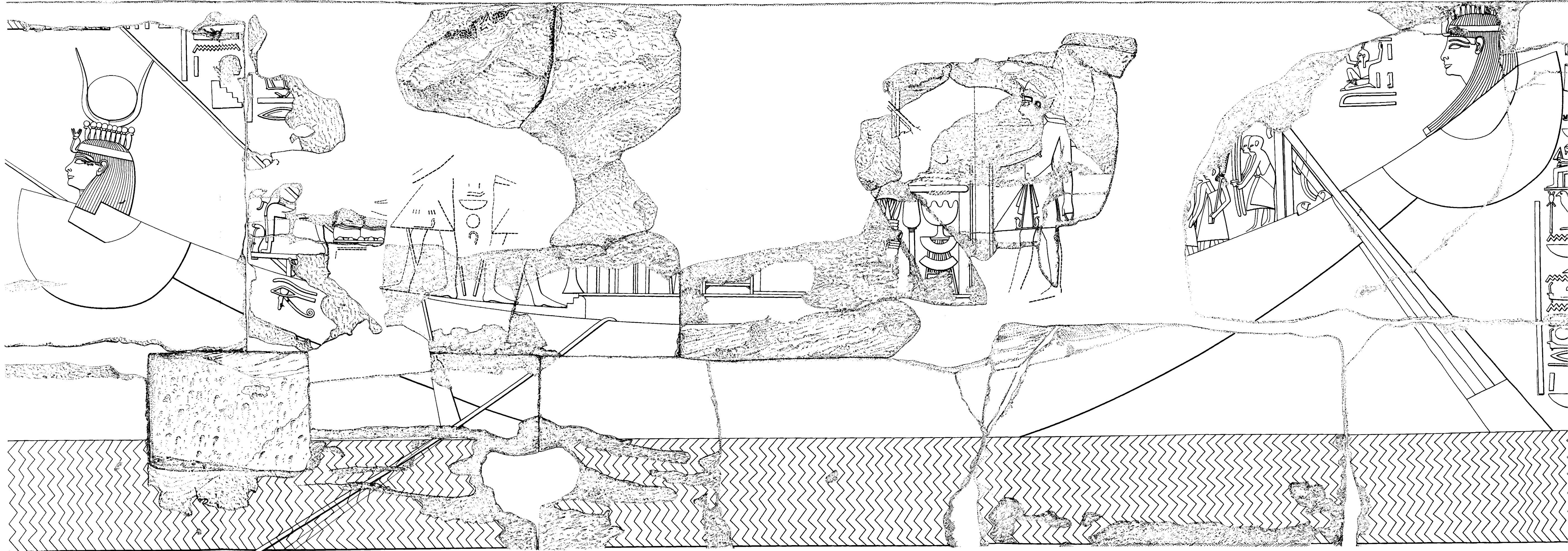
THE BARGE OF THE QUEEN: DETAIL OF PLATE 28
WEST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION



Adjoins plate 30

THE BARGE OF THE QUEEN: DETAIL OF PLATE 28
WEST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION

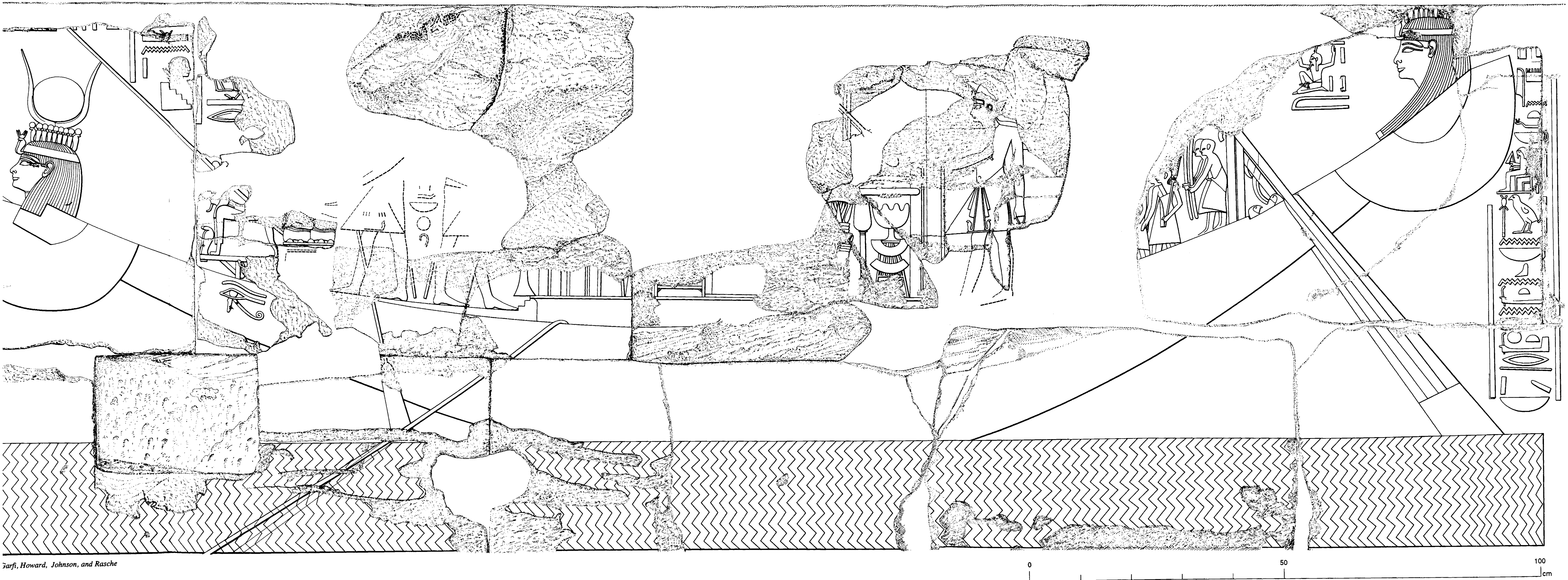
Adjoins plate 29



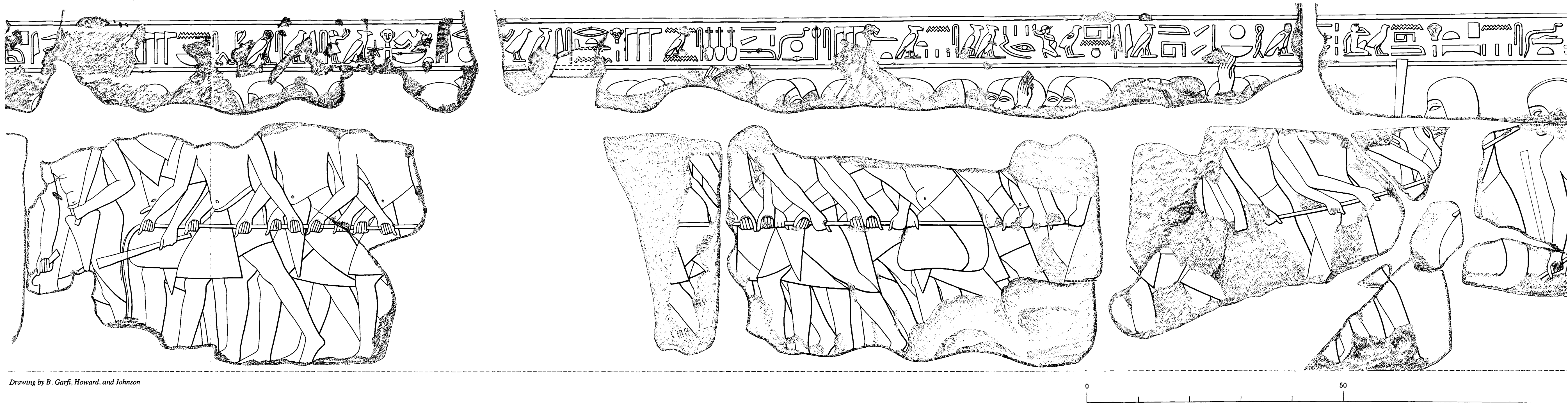
Drawing by S. Garfi, Howard, Johnson, and Rasche

0 50

THE BARGE OF MUT: DETAIL OF PLATE 28
WEST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION

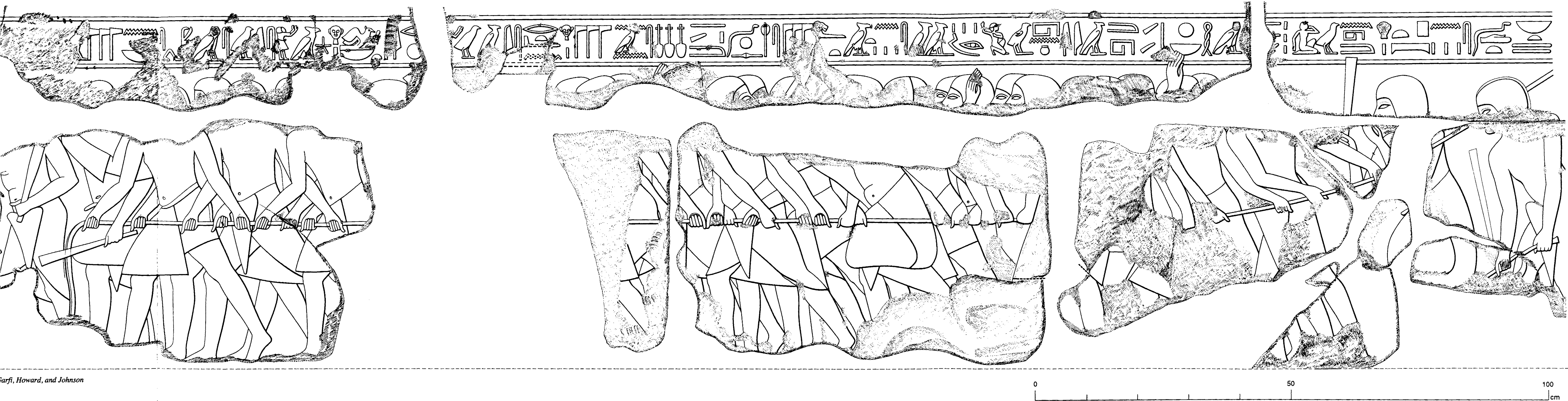


THE BARGE OF MUT: DETAIL OF PLATE 28
WEST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION



Drawing by B. Garfi, Howard, and Johnson

MEN TOWING THE BARGE OF MUT: DETAIL OF PLATE 28
WEST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION

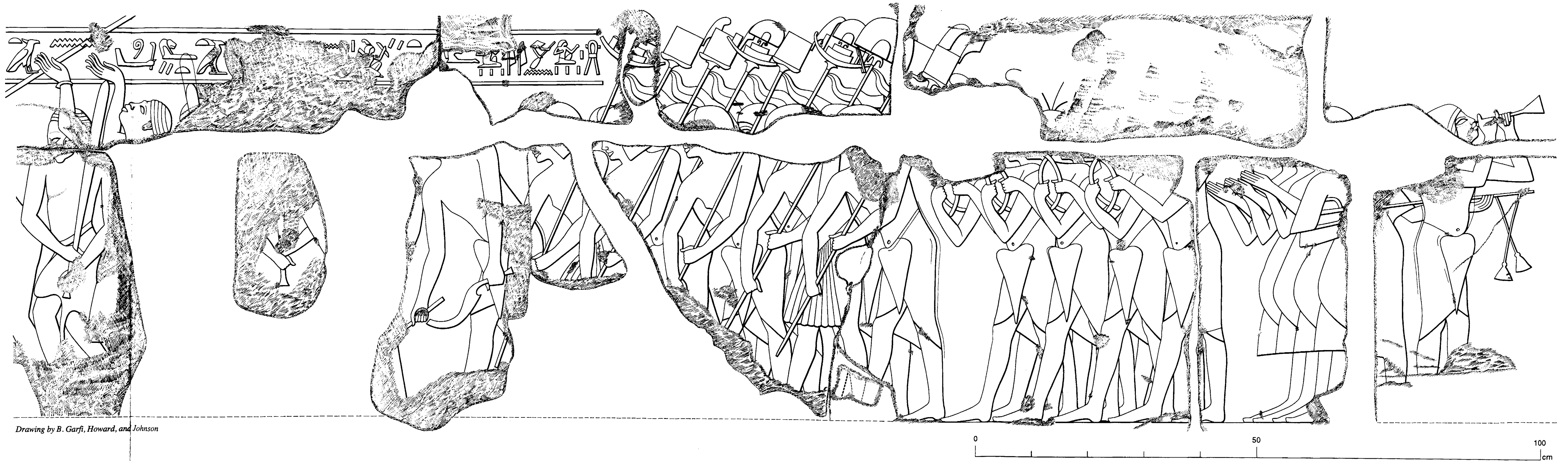


Parfi, Howard, and Johnson

Adjoins plate 32

MEN TOWING THE BARGE OF MUT: DETAIL OF PLATE 28
WEST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION

Adjoins plate 31



Drawing by B. Garfi, Howard, and Johnson

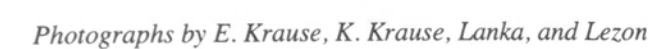
DANCING NUBIANS, SOLDIERS, AND MUSICIANS: DETAIL OF PLATE 28
WEST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION

Plate 31

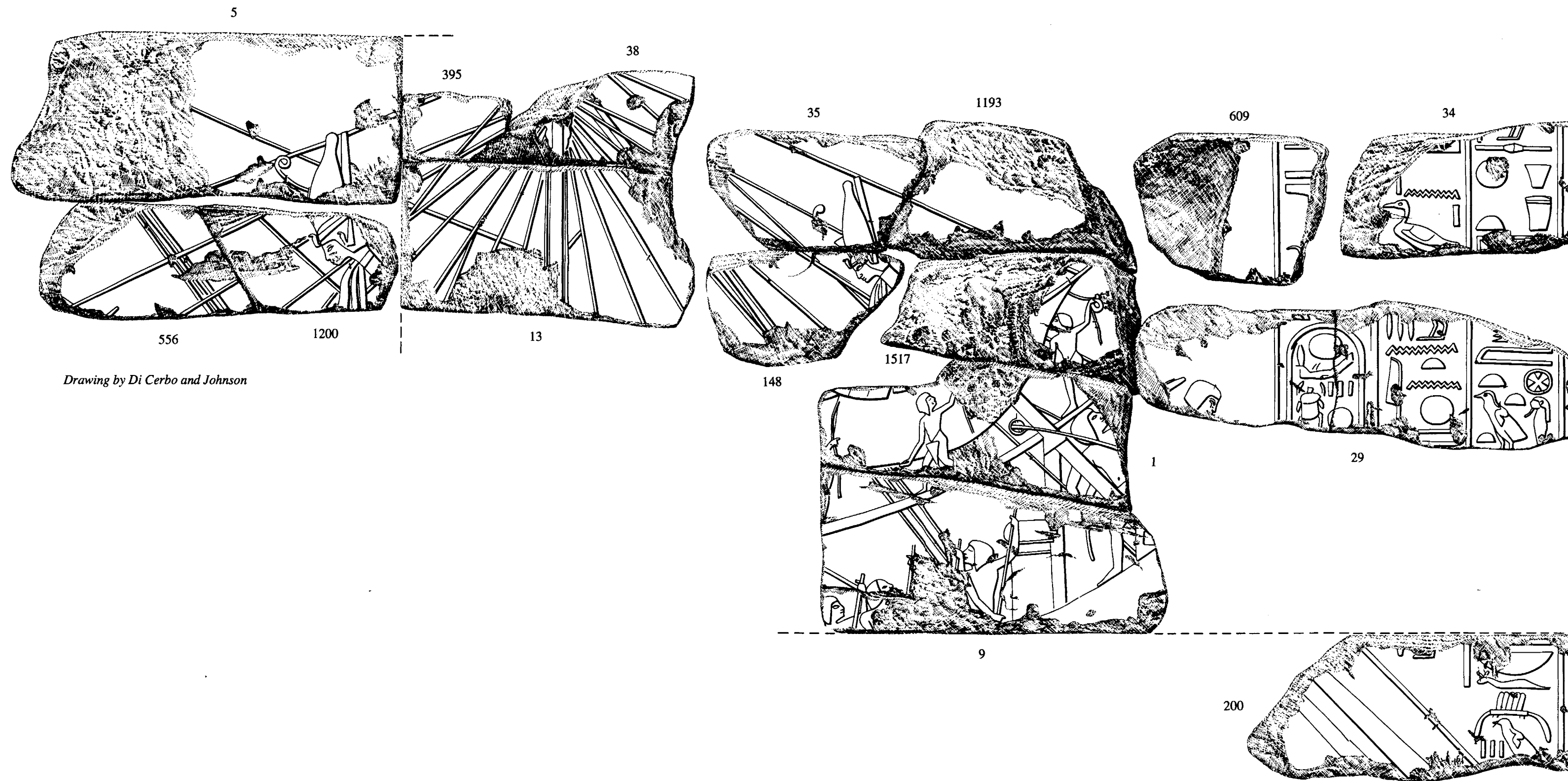
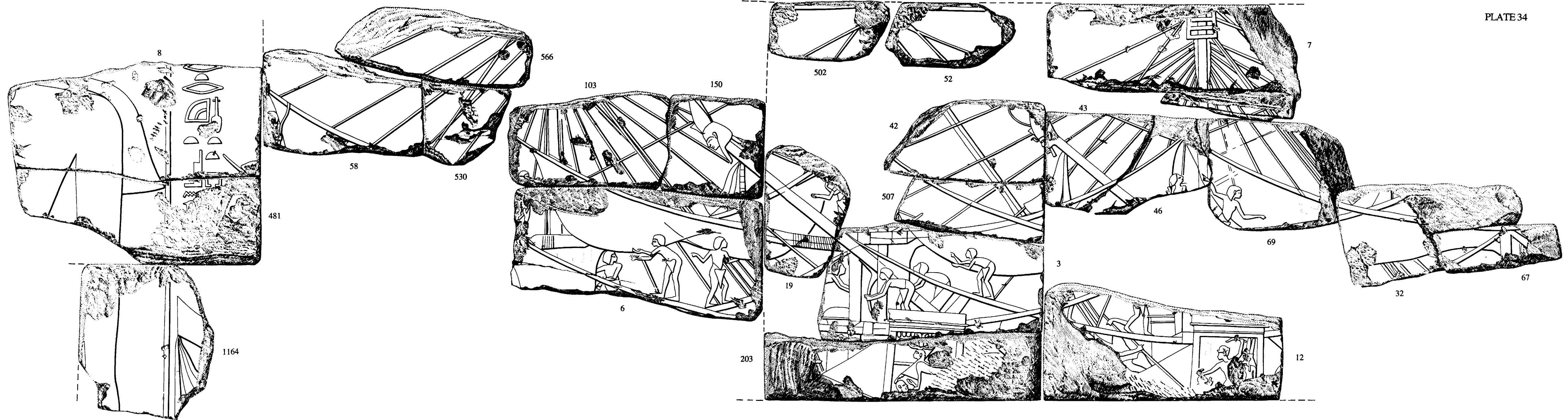


Drawing by B. Garfi, Howard, and Johnson

DANCING NUBIANS, SOLDIERS, AND MUSICIANS: DETAIL OF PLATE 28
WEST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION



TOWBOATS OF THE ROYAL BARGE: FRAGMENTS FROM THE WEST WALL RIVERINE PROCESSION
WEST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION
(Compare plate 34)

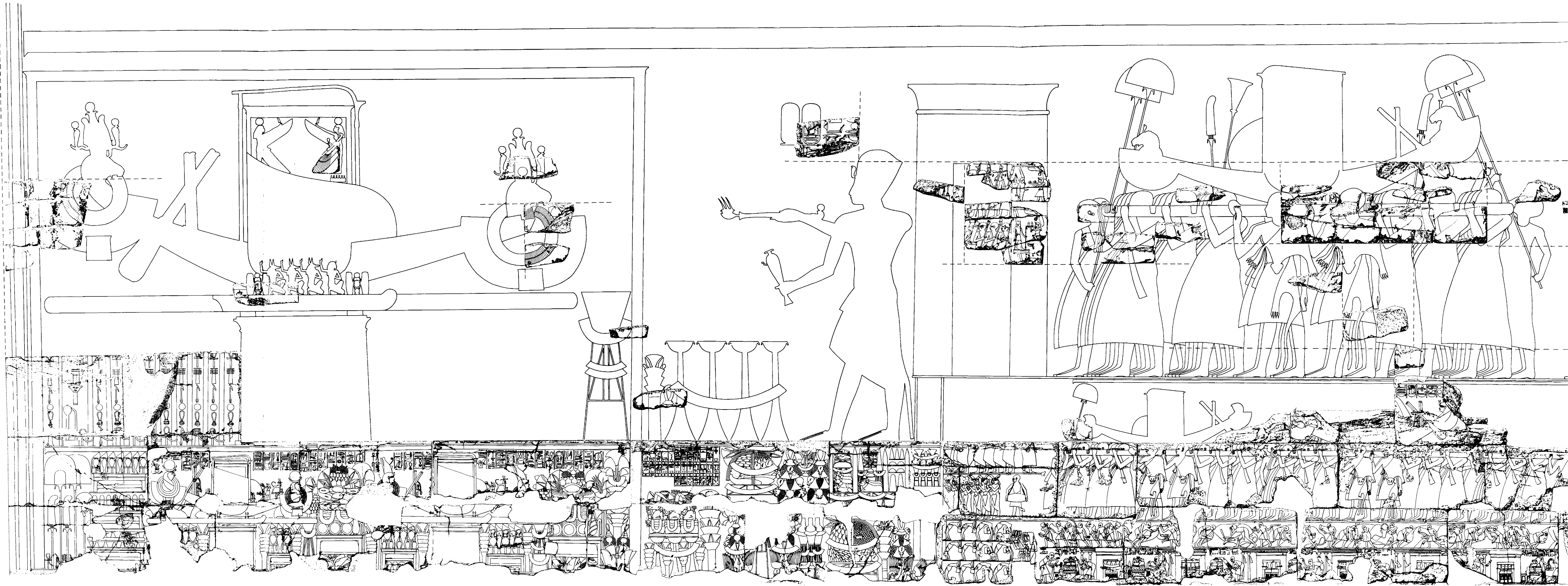


Drawing by Di Cerbo and Johnson

0 50 cm

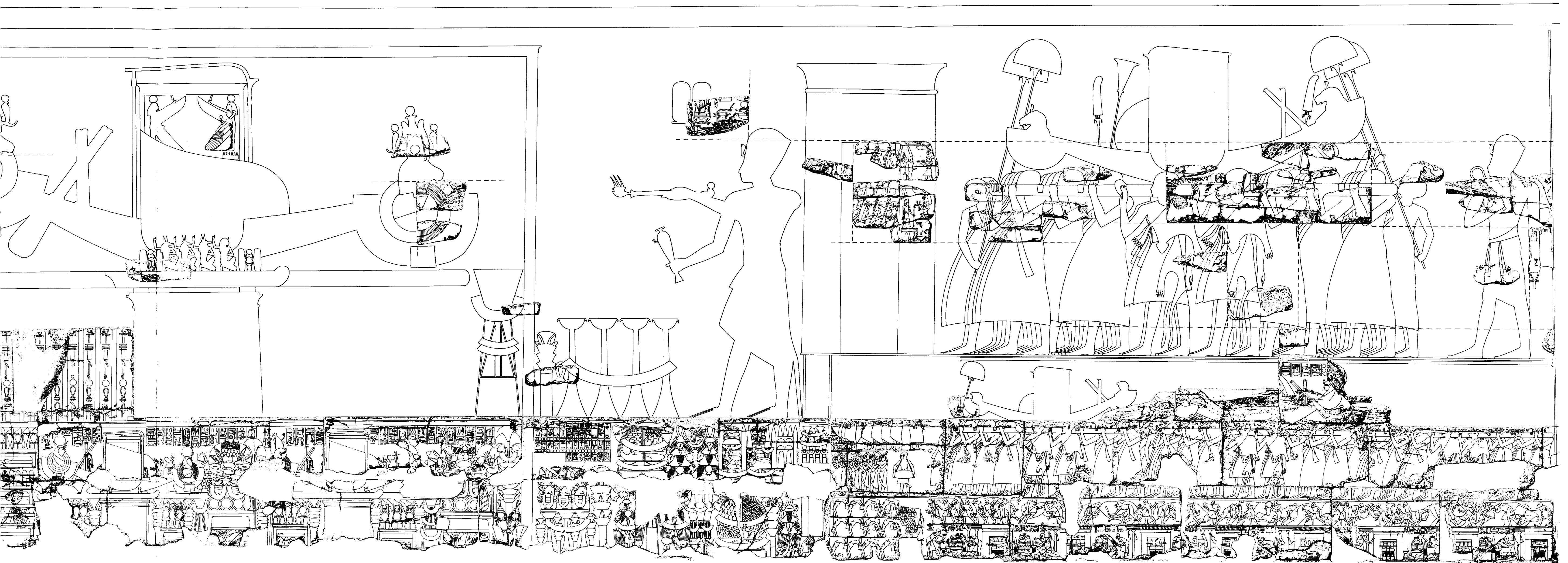
TOWBOATS OF THE ROYAL BARGE: FRAGMENTS FROM THE WEST WALL RIVERINE PROCESSION:
 DETAIL OF PLATE 17
 WEST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION
 (See plate 33)

Adjoins plate 52



Drawing by Di Cerbo, B. Garfi, S. Garfi, Groves, Heidel, Johnson, Manuelian, Meyer, and Romer

KEY TO RELIEFS DEPICTING THE BARKS ARRIVING AT LUXOR TEMPLE AND THE KING AND BARKS
IN LUXOR TEMPLE: EPISODES 4 AND 5
WEST WALL, SOUTHERN SECTION
(See plates 36-50; in situ these reliefs are continuous)

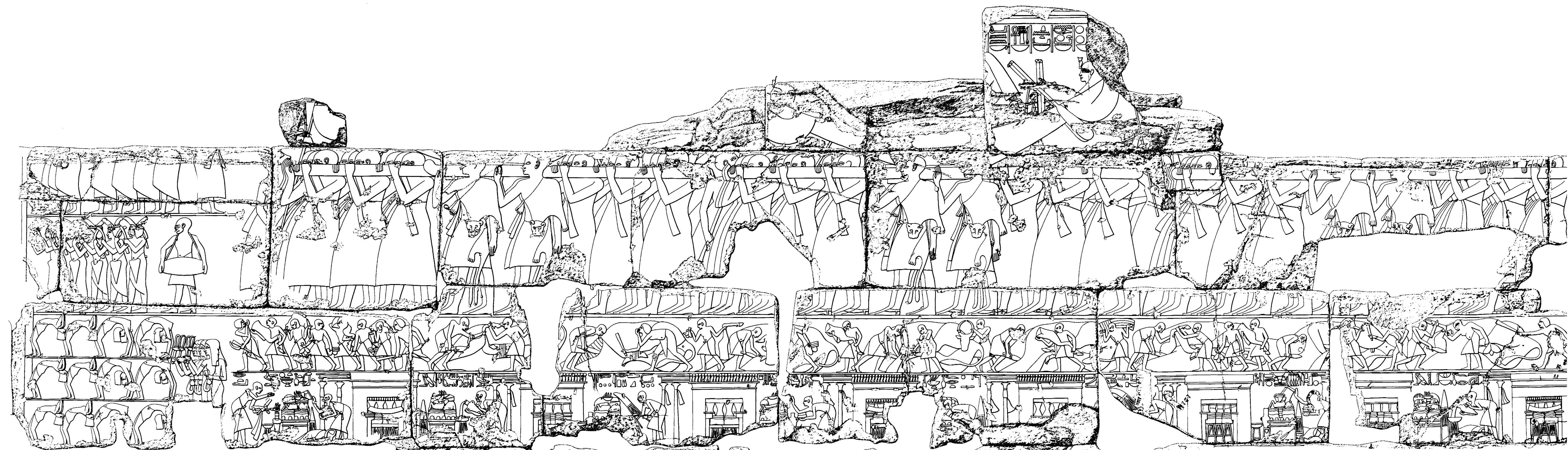


Adjoins plate 17

S. Garfi, Groves, Heidel, Johnson, Manuelian, Meyer, and Romer

KEY TO RELIEFS DEPICTING THE BARKS ARRIVING AT LUXOR TEMPLE AND THE KING AND BARKS
 IN LUXOR TEMPLE: EPISODES 4 AND 5
 WEST WALL, SOUTHERN SECTION
(See plates 36-50; in situ these reliefs are continuous)

Adjoins plate 43

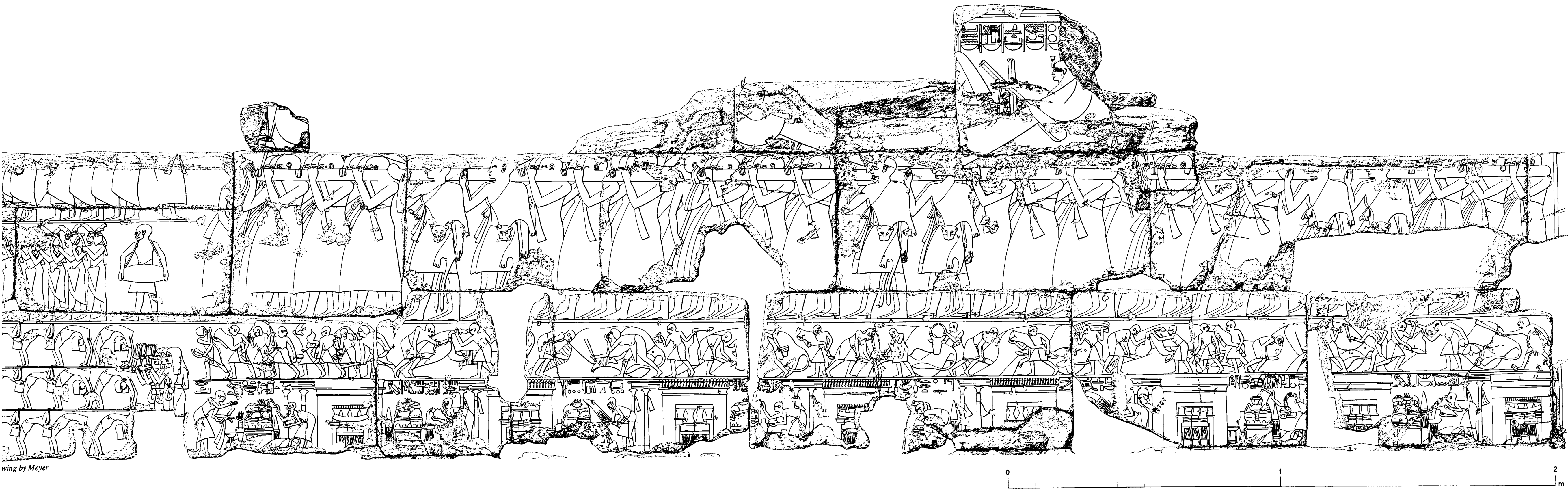


Drawing by Meyer

EPISODE 4: THE BARKS ARRIVING AT LUXOR TEMPLE

WEST WALL, SOUTHERN SECTION

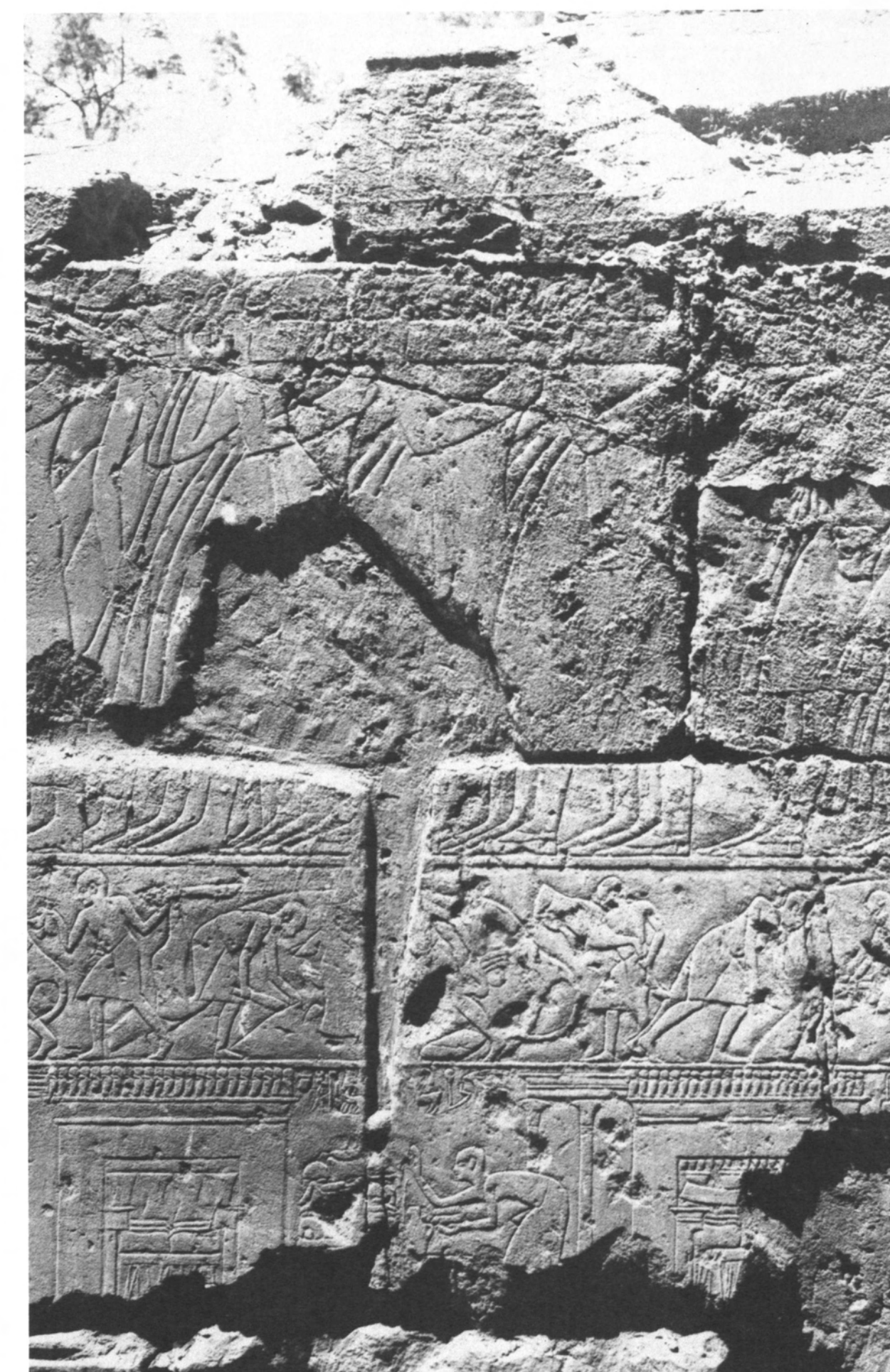
(See plates 37-40)



EPISODE 4: THE BARKS ARRIVING AT LUXOR TEMPLE
WEST WALL, SOUTHERN SECTION
(See plates 37-40)

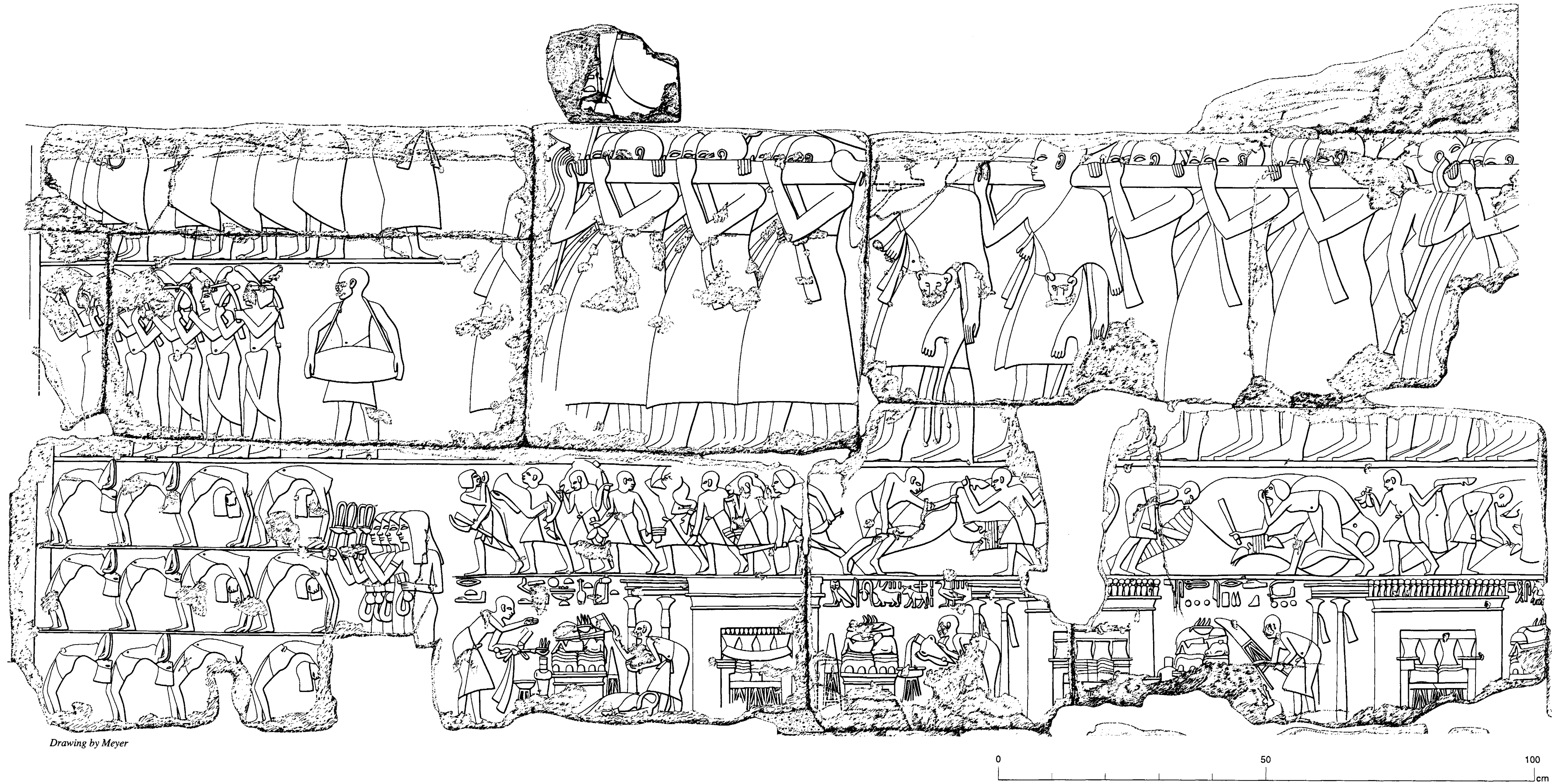


Photographs by Koch



THE BARK OF KHONSU ARRIVING AT LUXOR TEMPLE, WITH MUSICIANS, BUTCHERS,
AND OFFERING BOOTHS

(Compare plate 38)

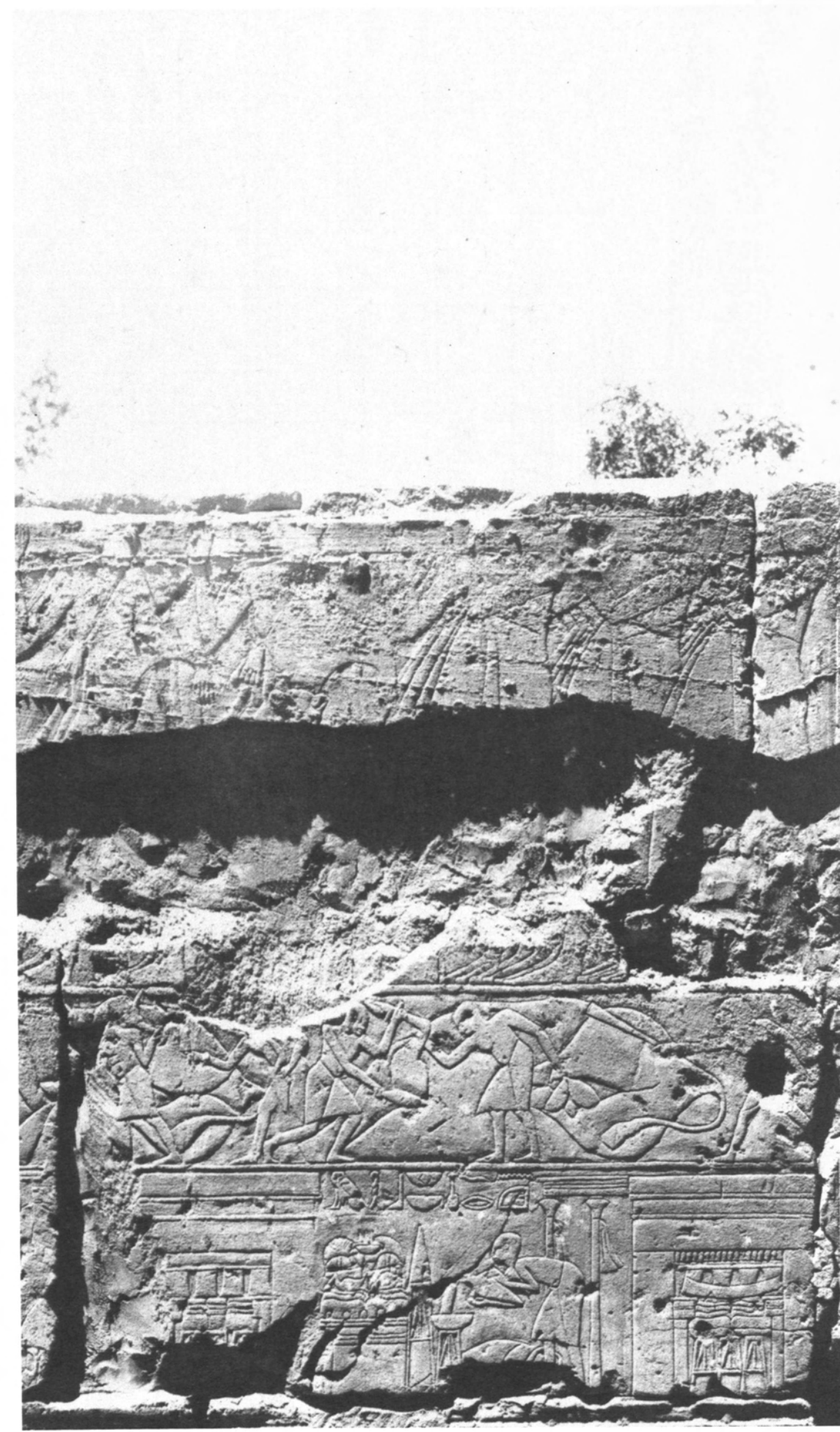


Adjoins plate 40

THE BARK OF KHONSU ARRIVING AT LUXOR TEMPLE, WITH MUSICIANS, BUTCHERS,
AND OFFERING BOOTHS: DETAIL OF PLATE 36
WEST WALL, SOUTHERN SECTION
(See plate 37)

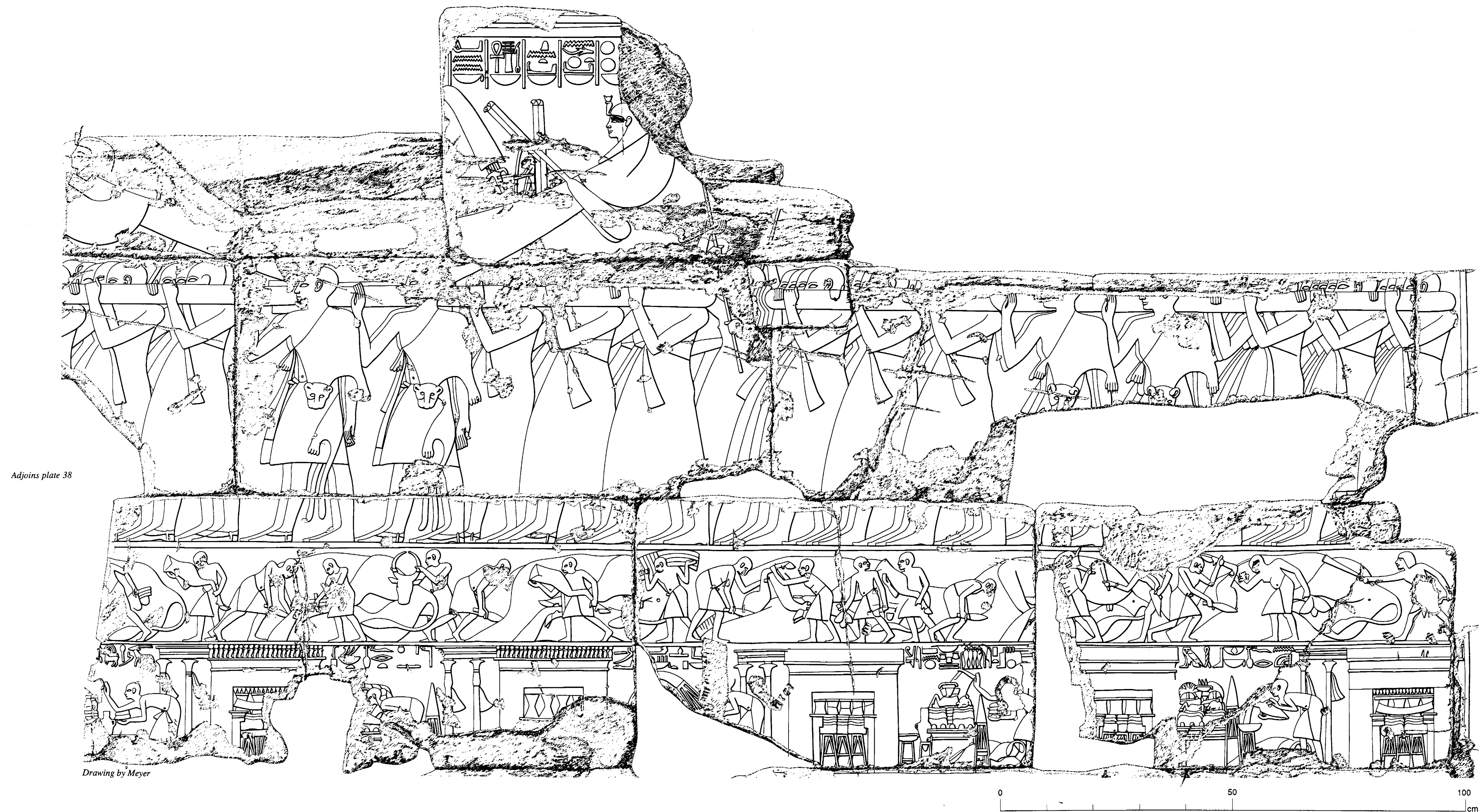


Photographs by Koch



THE BARKS OF MUT AND THE KING ARRIVING AT LUXOR TEMPLE, WITH BUTCHERS
AND OFFERING BOOTHS BELOW

(Compare plate 40)

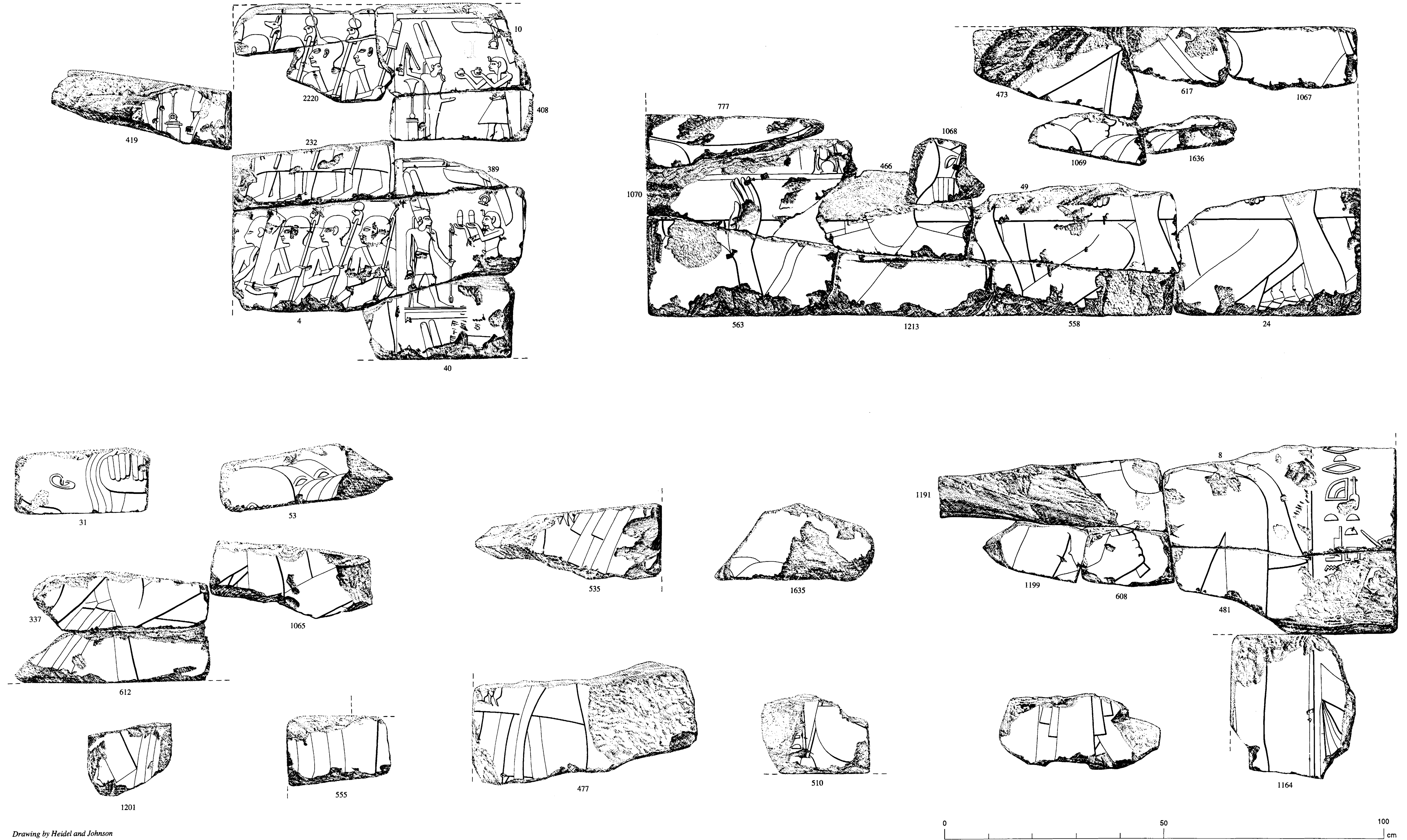


THE BARKS OF MUT AND THE KING ARRIVING AT LUXOR TEMPLE, WITH BUTCHERS
AND OFFERING BOOTHS BELOW: DETAIL OF PLATE 36
WEST WALL, SOUTHERN SECTION
(See plate 39)



Photographs by K. Krause, Lanka, and Lezon

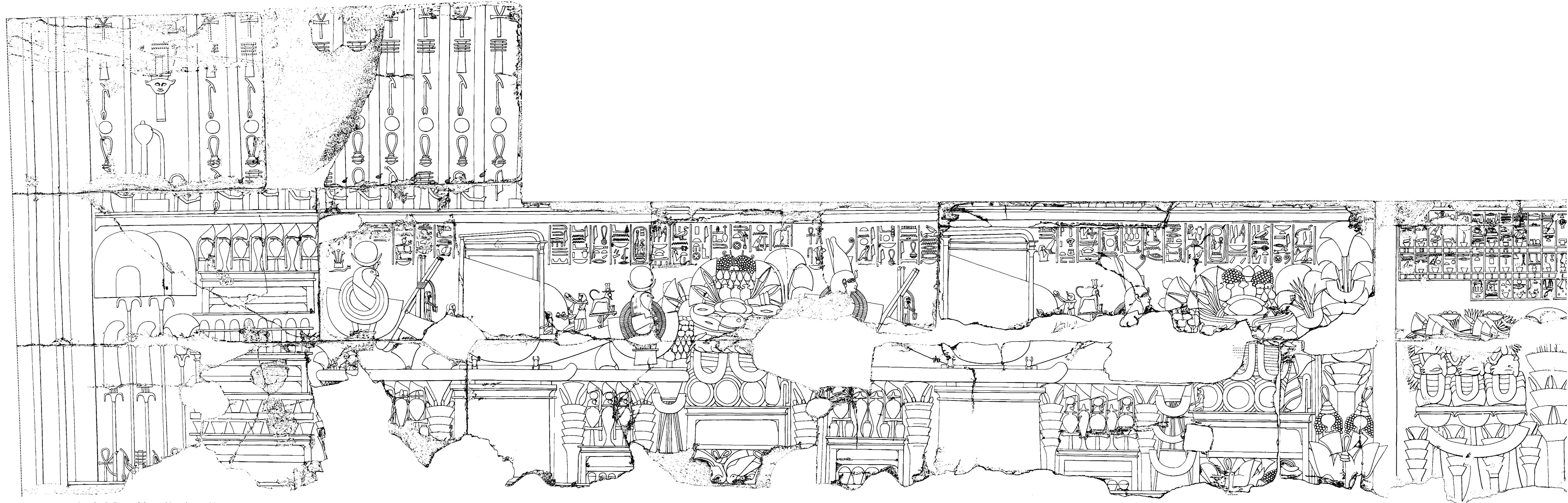
THE BARK OF AMUN APPROACHING LUXOR TEMPLE: FRAGMENTS FROM THE WEST WALL
WEST WALL, SOUTHERN SECTION
(Compare plate 42)



Drawing by Heidel and Johnson

THE BARK OF AMUN APPROACHING LUXOR TEMPLE: FRAGMENTS FROM THE WEST WALL:
 DETAIL OF PLATE 35
 WEST WALL, SOUTHERN SECTION
(See plate 41)

Adjoins
plate 52



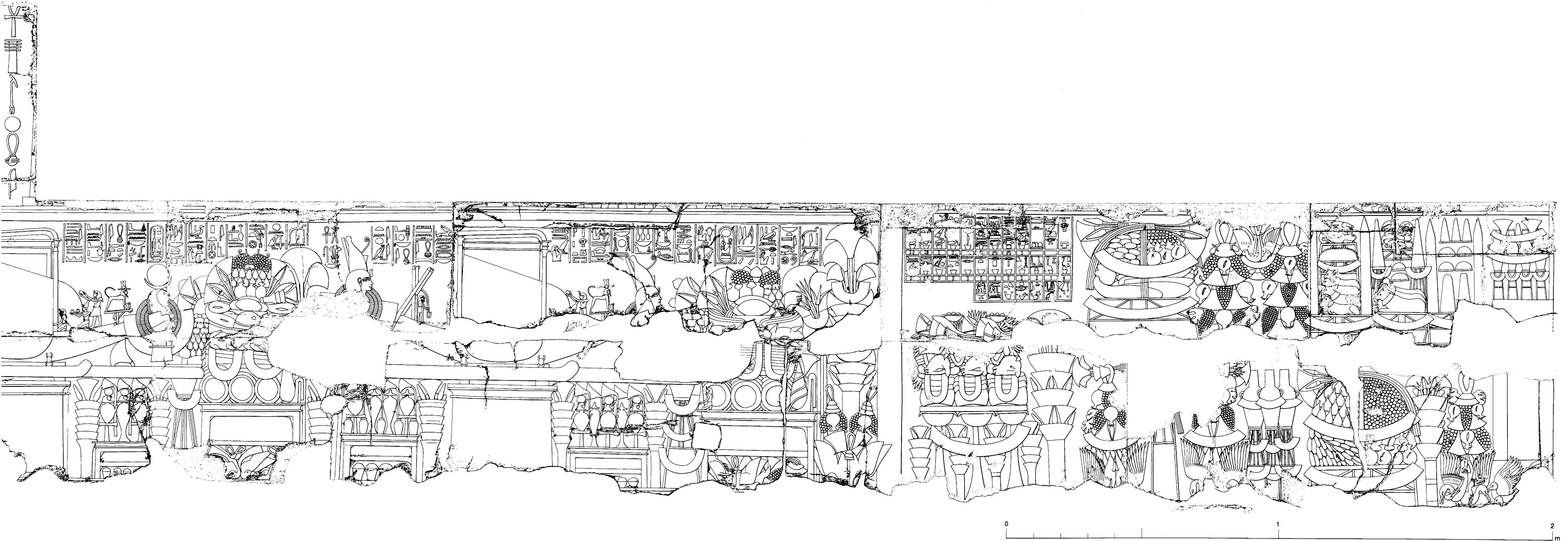
Drawing by B. Garfi, S. Garfi, Groves, Johnson, Manuelian, and Romer

EPISODE 5: THE BARKS OF MUT AND KHONSU IN LUXOR TEMPLE, WITH STAFFS
BEHIND THE BARK PEDESTAL OF AMUN

WEST WALL, SOUTHERN SECTION

(See plates 35 and 44-48)

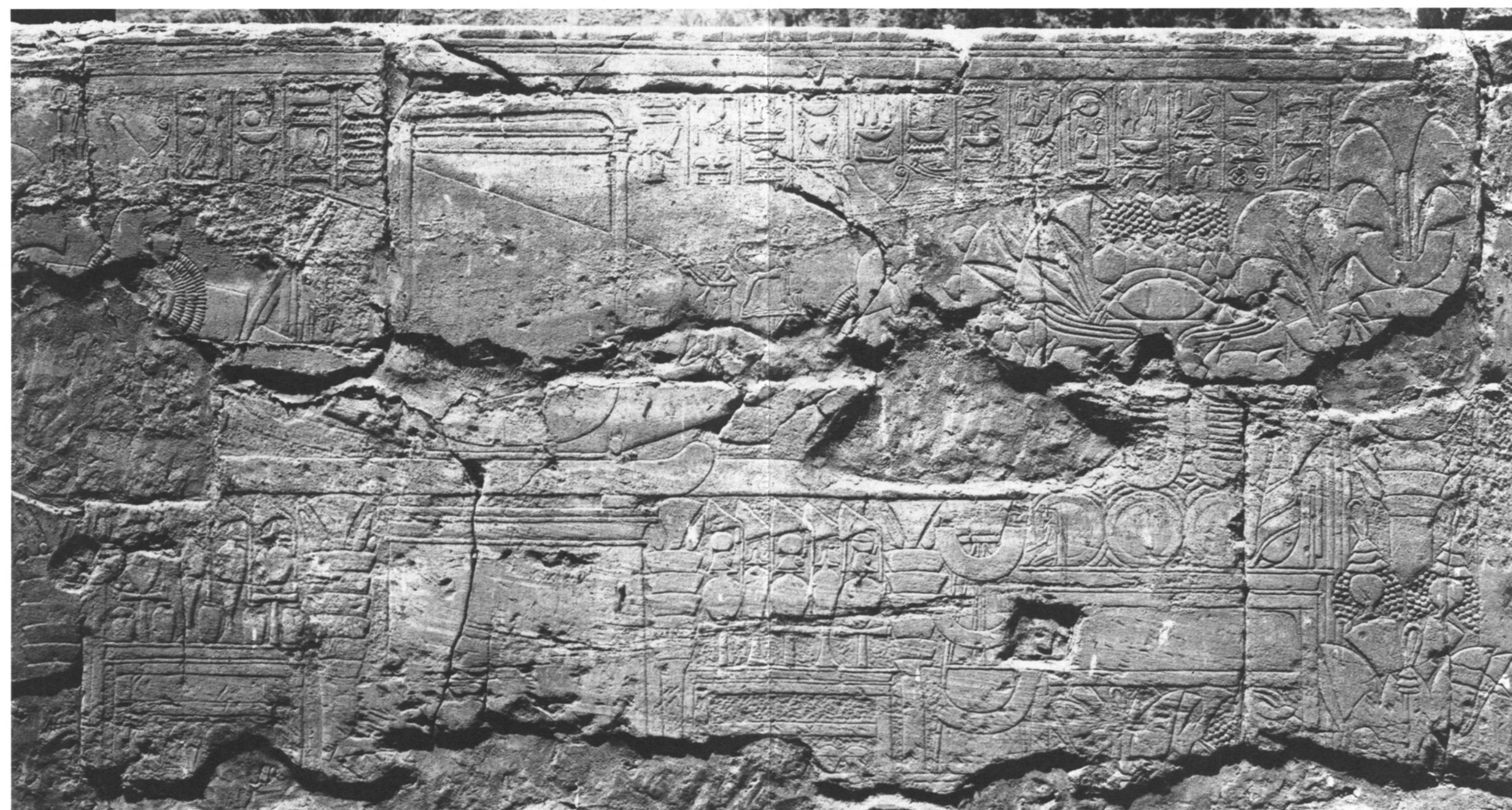
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EPISODE 5: THE BARKS OF MUT AND KHONSU IN LUXOR TEMPLE, WITH STAFFS
BEHIND THE BARK PEDESTAL OF AMUN

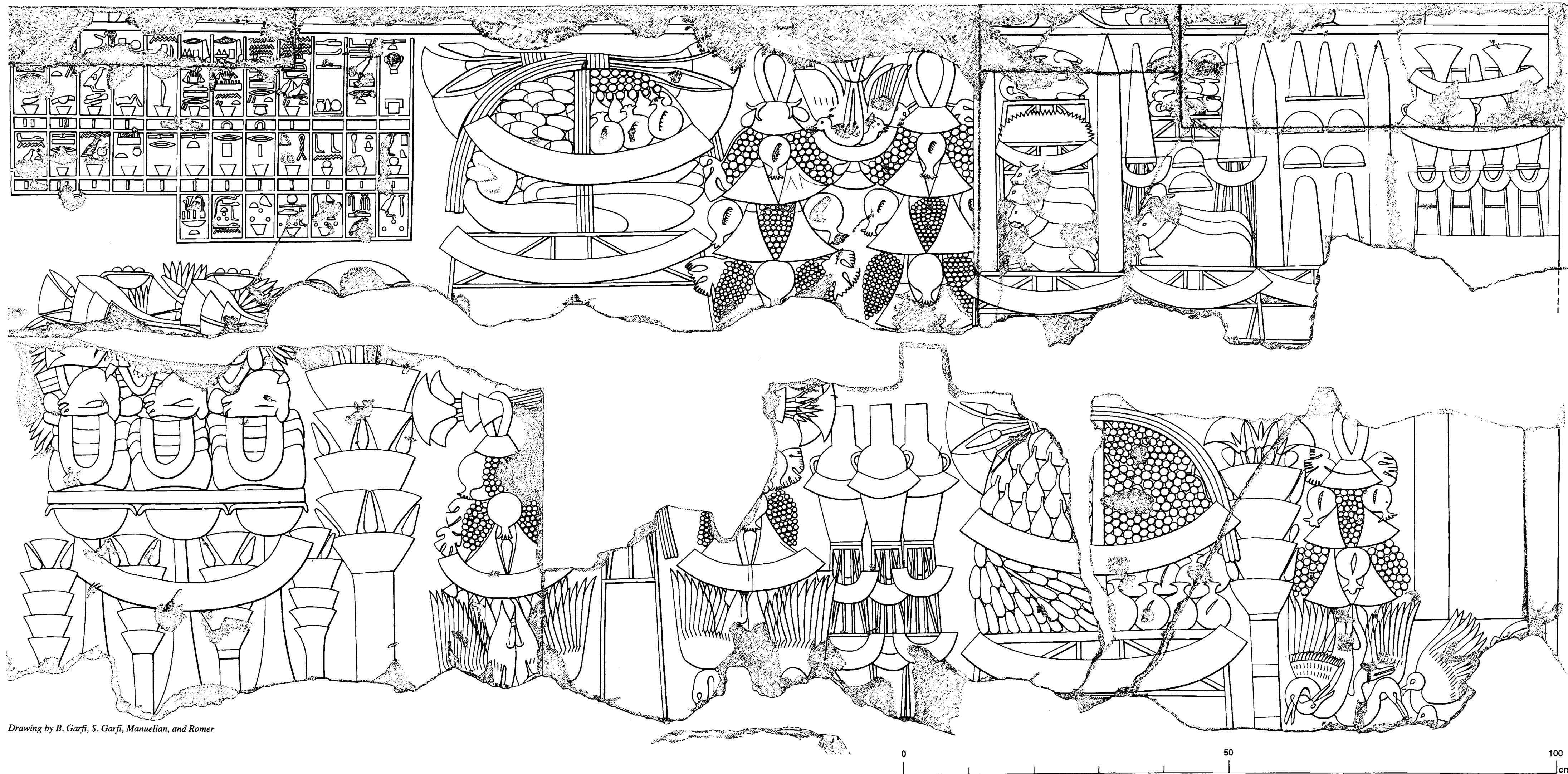
WEST WALL, SOUTHERN SECTION

(See plates 35 and 44-48)



Photographs by Koch

OFFERINGS AND THE BARK OF MUT IN LUXOR TEMPLE
(Compare plates 45 and 46)



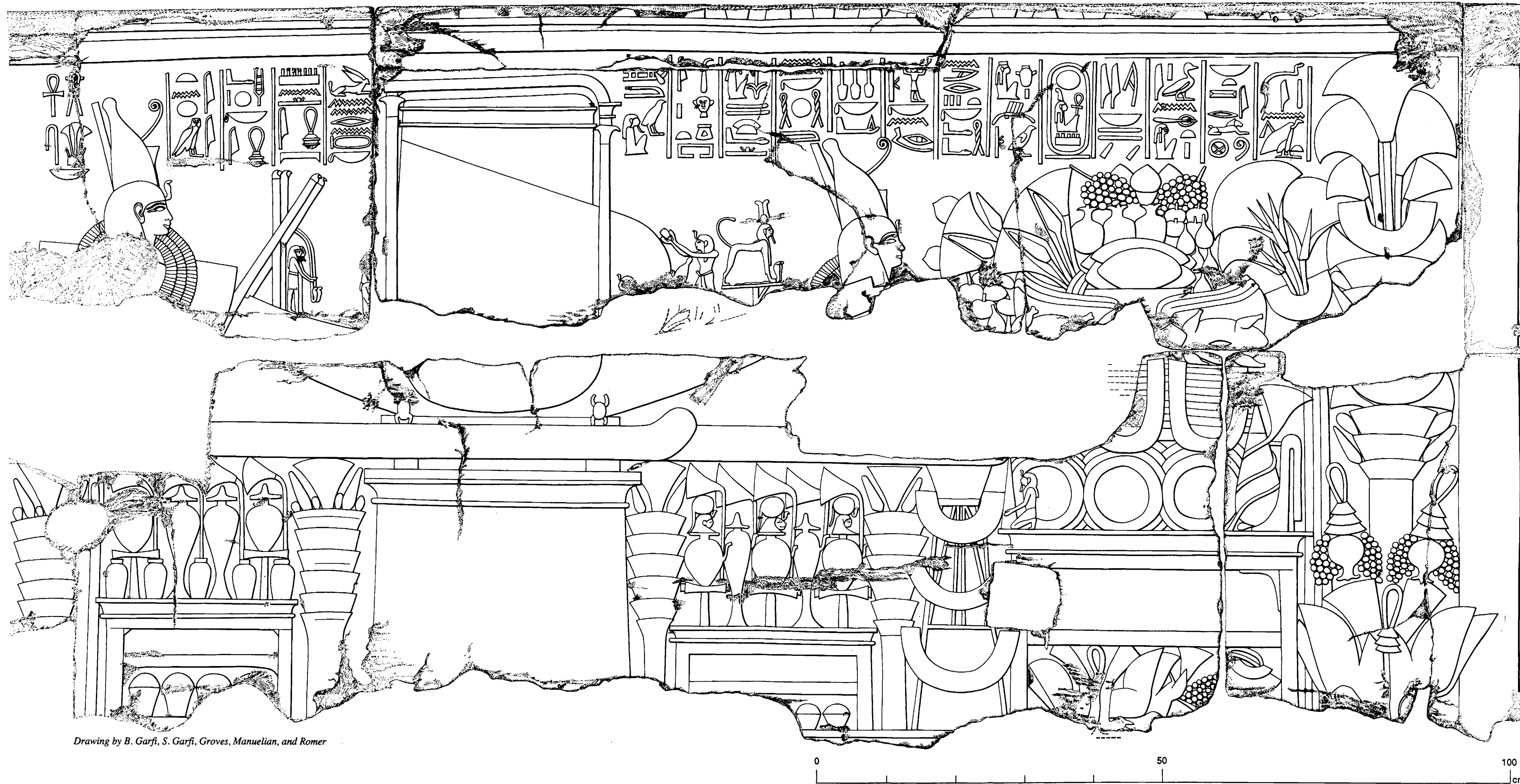
Adjoins plate 46

Drawing by B. Garfi, S. Garfi, Manuelian, and Romer

OFFERINGS PILED BENEATH THE KING AT LUXOR TEMPLE: DETAIL OF PLATE 43

WEST WALL, SOUTHERN SECTION

(See plate 44)



Drawing by B. Garfi, S. Garfi, Groves, Manuelian, and Romer

THE BARK OF MUT AND OFFERINGS AT LUXOR TEMPLE: DETAIL OF PLATE 43

WEST WALL, SOUTHERN SECTION

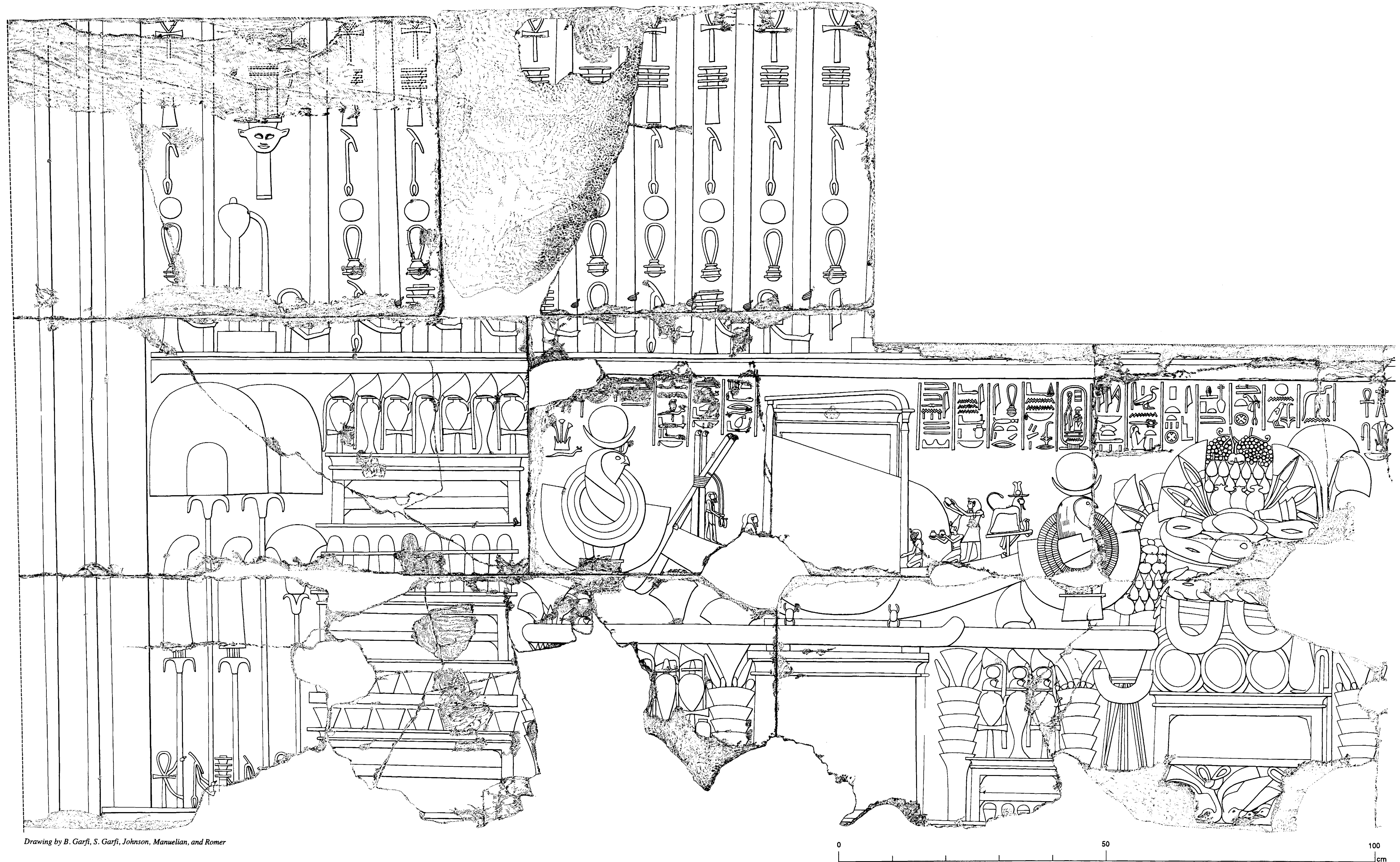
(See plate 44)



Photograph by Koch

THE BARK OF KHONSU AND THE DIVINE STAFFS BEHIND THE BARK PEDESTAL OF AMUN
IN LUXOR TEMPLE

(Compare plate 48)



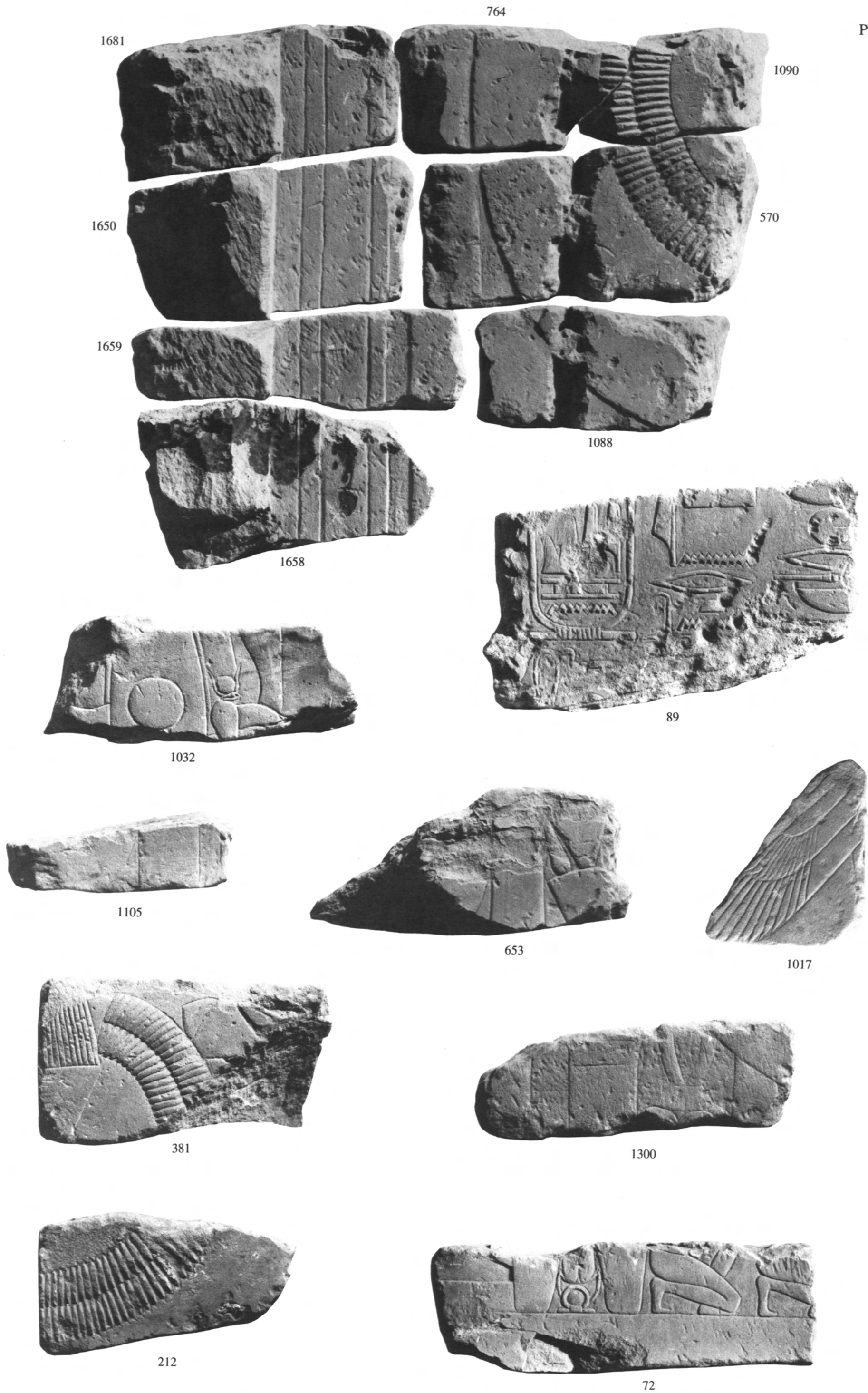
Drawing by B. Garfi, S. Garfi, Johnson, Manuelian, and Romer

*Adjoins
plate 46*

THE BARK OF KHONSU AND THE DIVINE STAFFS BEHIND THE BARK PEDESTAL OF AMUN
IN LUXOR TEMPLE: DETAIL OF PLATE 43

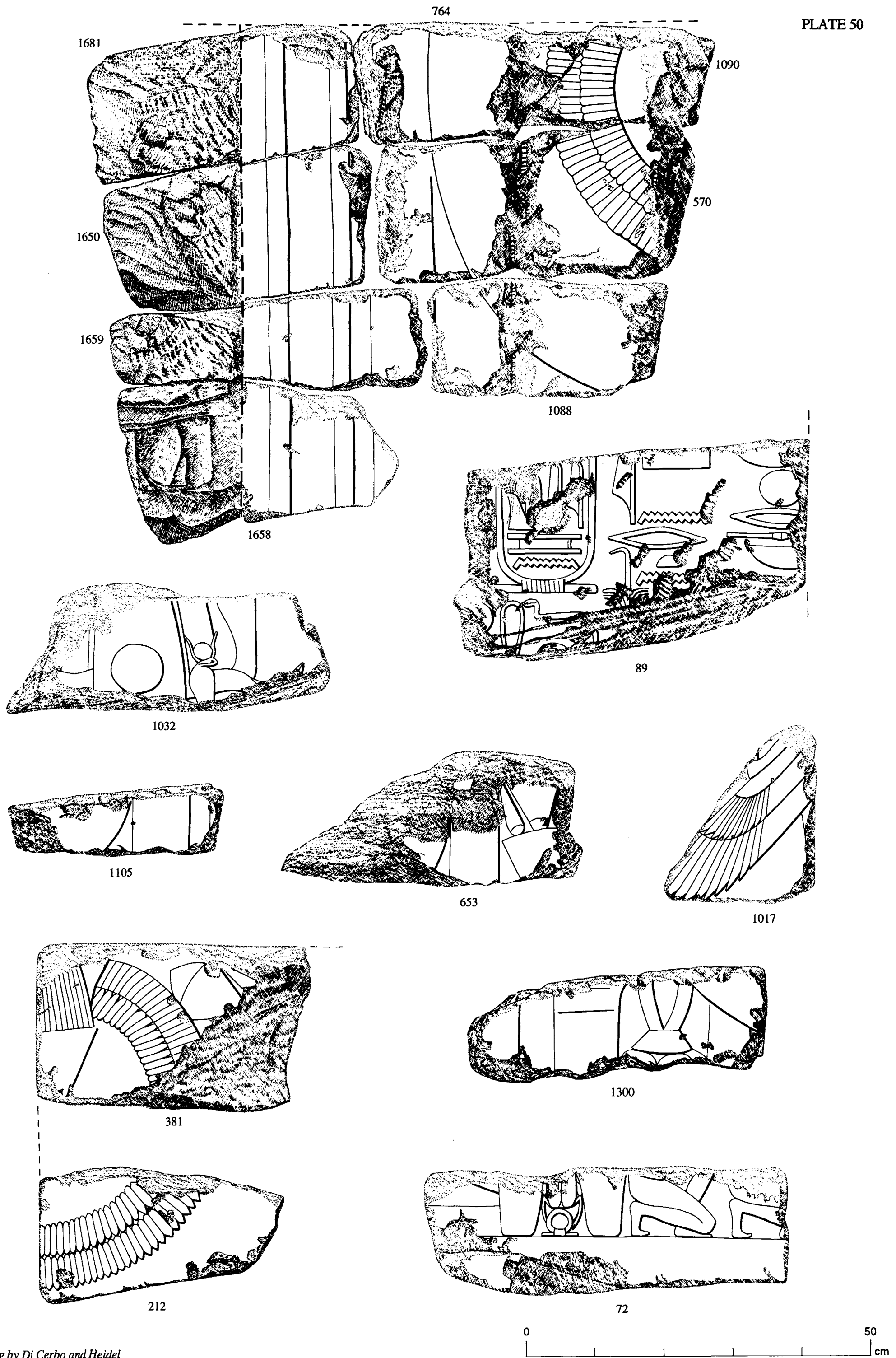
WEST WALL, SOUTHERN SECTION

(See plate 47)



Photographs by Keefe, K. Krause, Lanka, and Lezon

THE BARK OF AMUN IN LUXOR TEMPLE: FRAGMENTS FROM THE WEST WALL
(Compare plate 50)

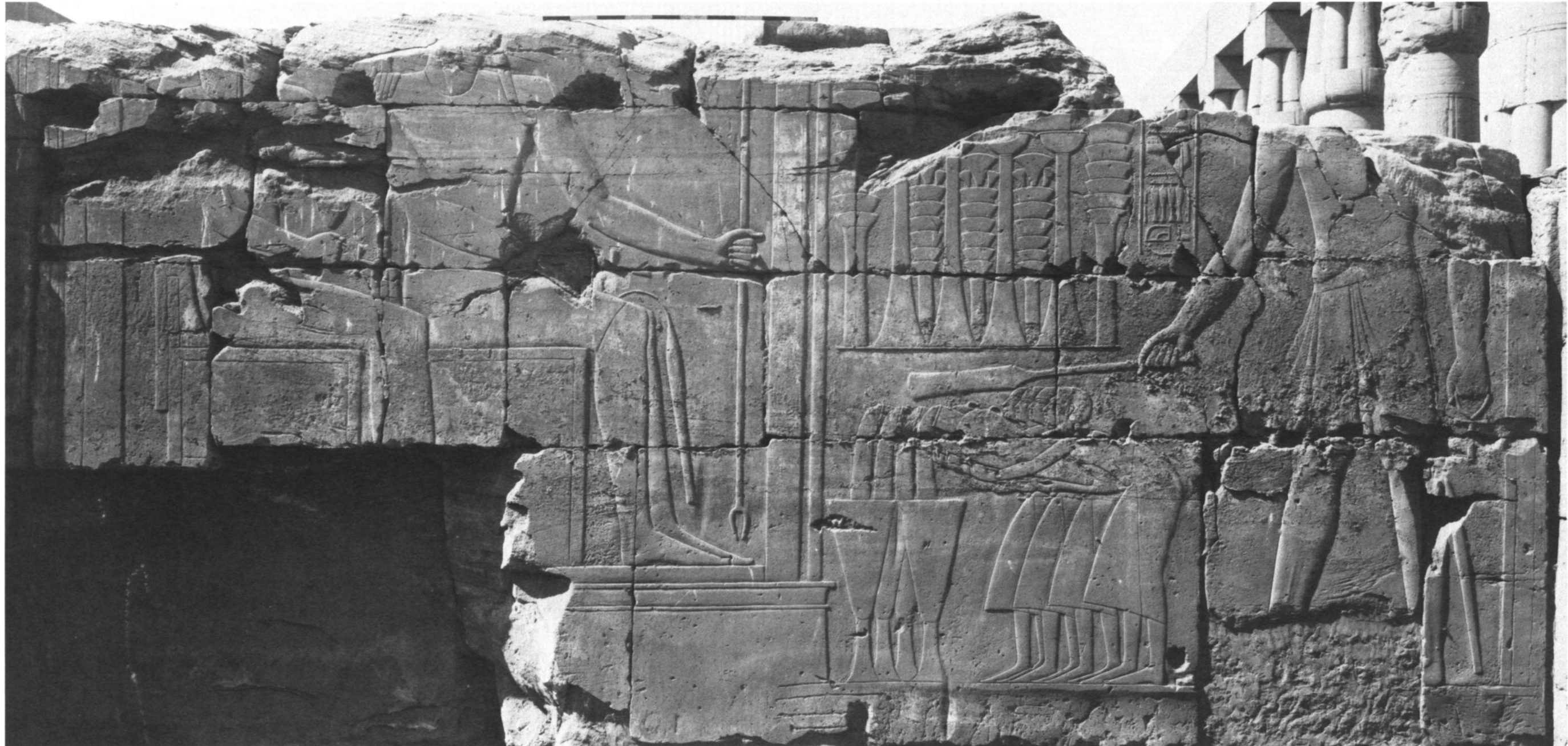


Drawing by Di Cerbo and Heidel

THE BARK OF AMUN IN LUXOR TEMPLE: FRAGMENTS FROM THE WEST WALL: DETAIL OF PLATE 35

WEST WALL, SOUTHERN SECTION

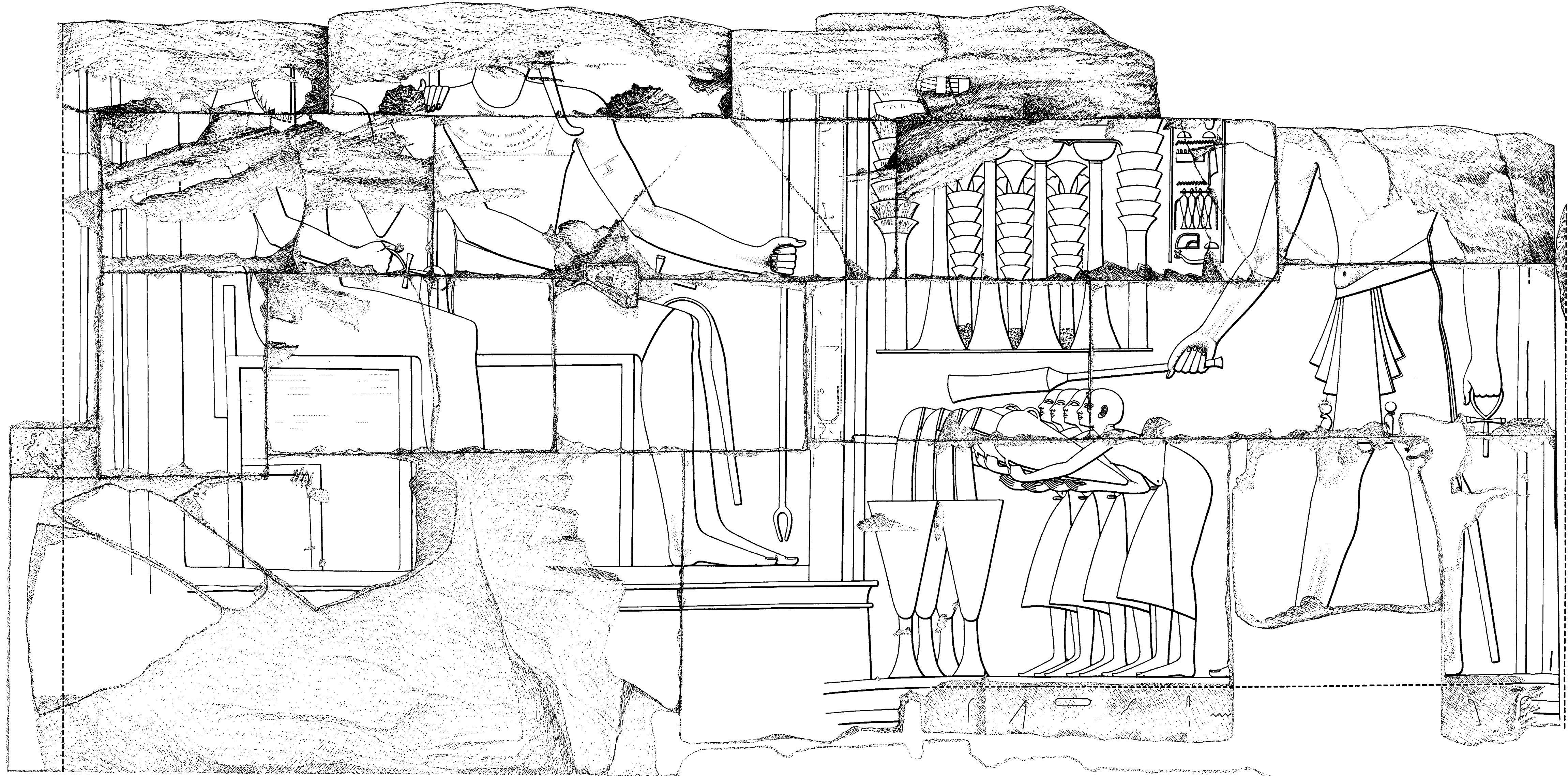
(See plate 49)



Photograph by Lezon

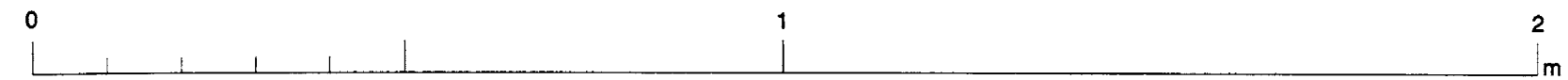
THE KING CONSECRATING AN OFFERING BEFORE AMUN AND MUT

(Compare plate 52)



Drawing by Coleman and Osgood

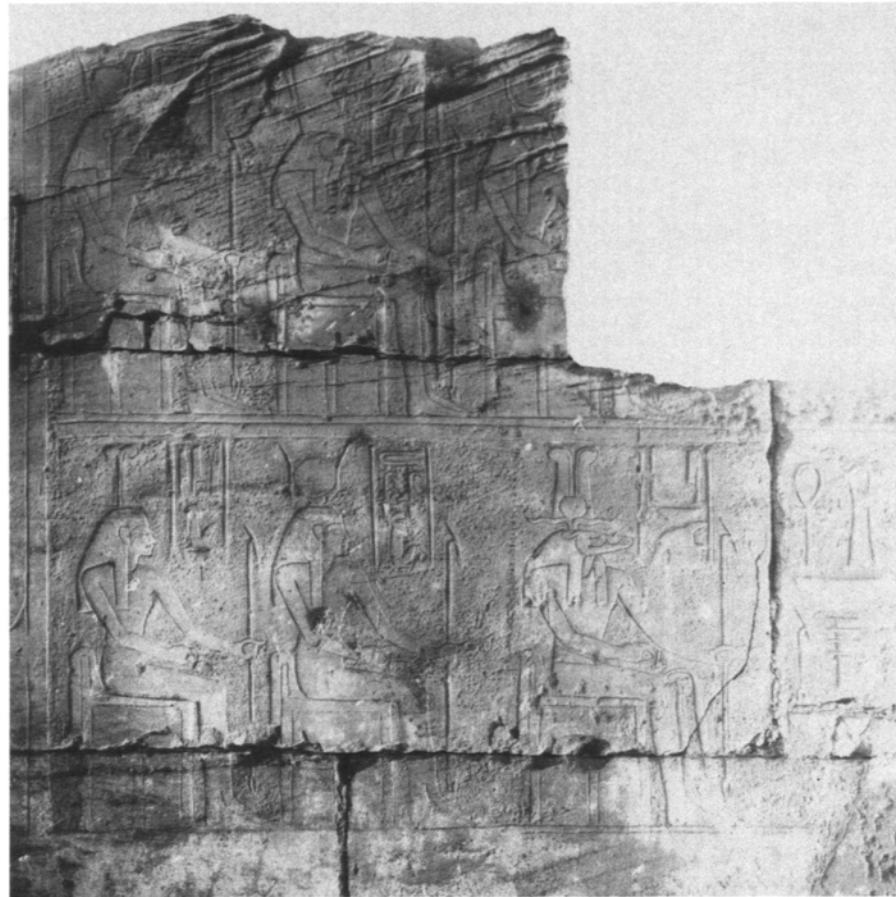
Adjoins plate 35



THE KING CONSECRATING AN OFFERING BEFORE AMUN AND MUT

SOUTH WALL, WESTERN SECTION

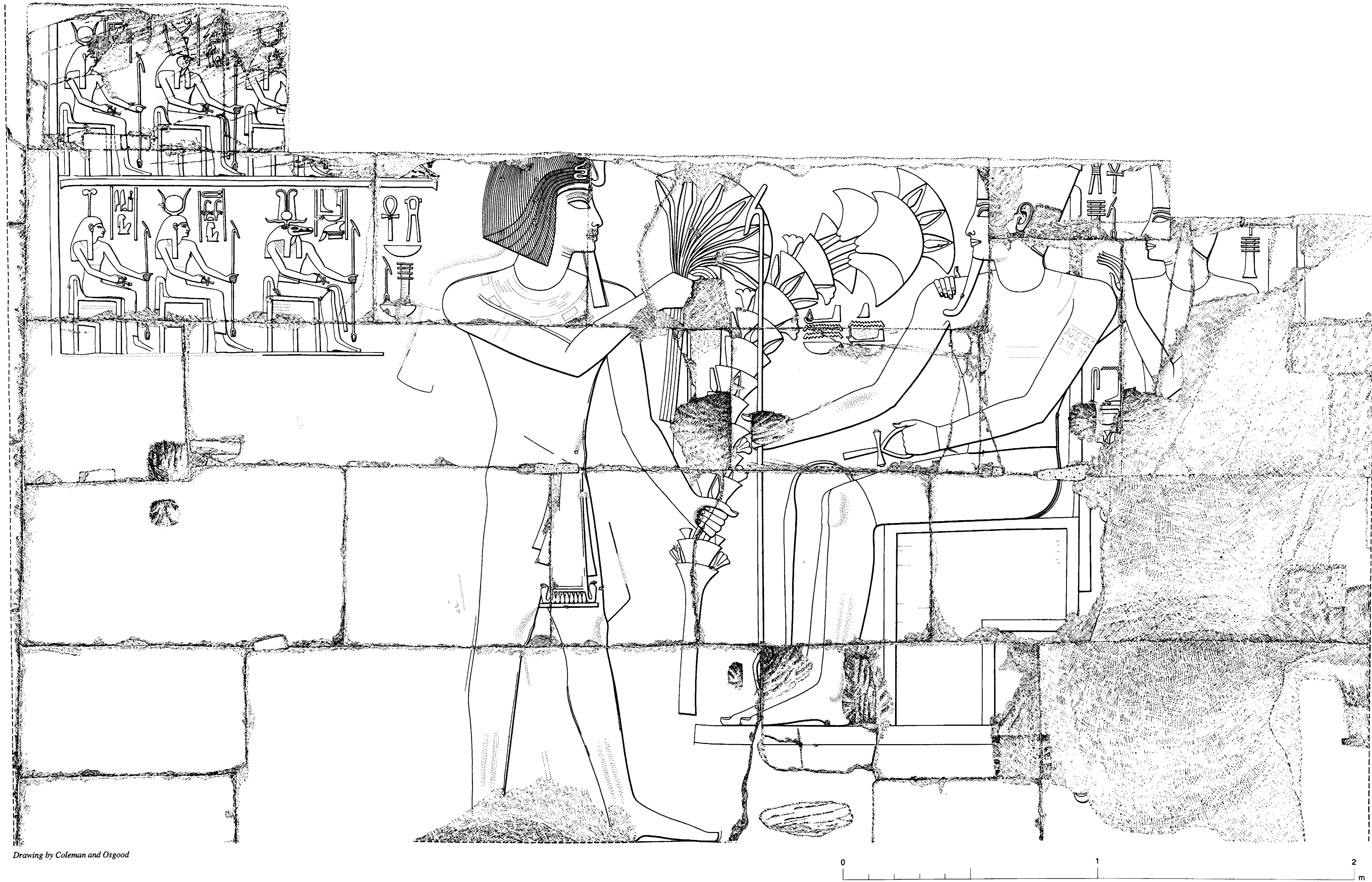
(See plate 51)



Photographs by Koch

THE KING GIVING FLOWERS TO AMUN IN THE PRESENCE OF AMUNET, WITH THE ENNEAD
BEHIND THE KING
(Compare plate 54)

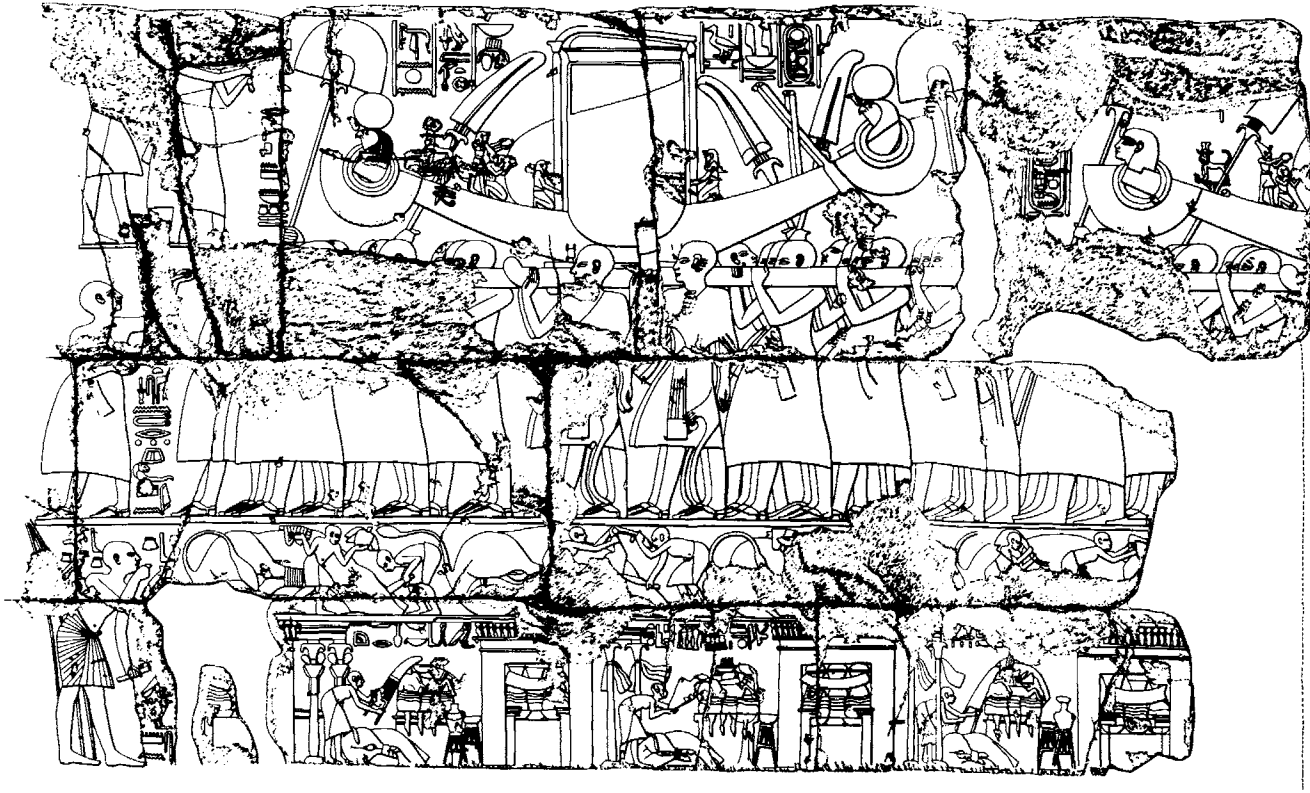
Adjoins plate 55



Drawing by Coleman and Osgood

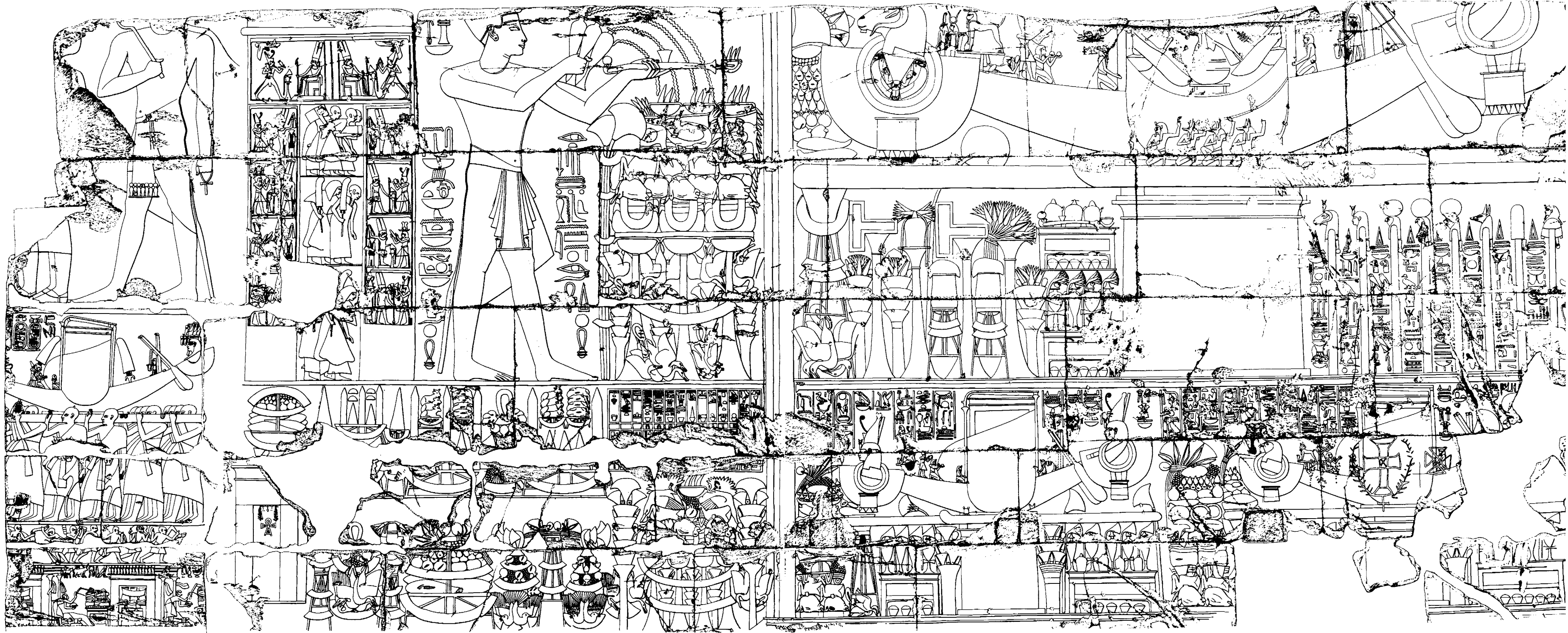
THE KING GIVING FLOWERS TO AMUN IN THE PRESENCE OF AMUNET, WITH THE ENNEAD
BEHIND THE KING
SOUTH WALL, EASTERN SECTION
(See plate 53)

Adjoins plate 68

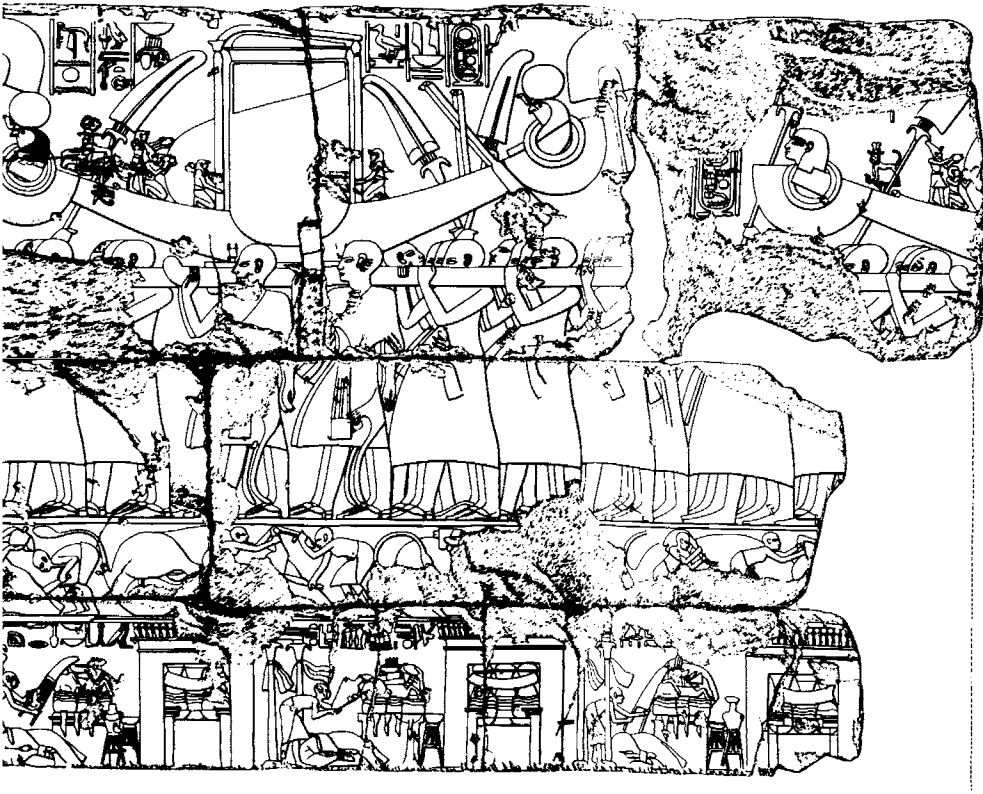


Drawing by Coleman, Jaeschke, and Meyer

LATER DOORWAY

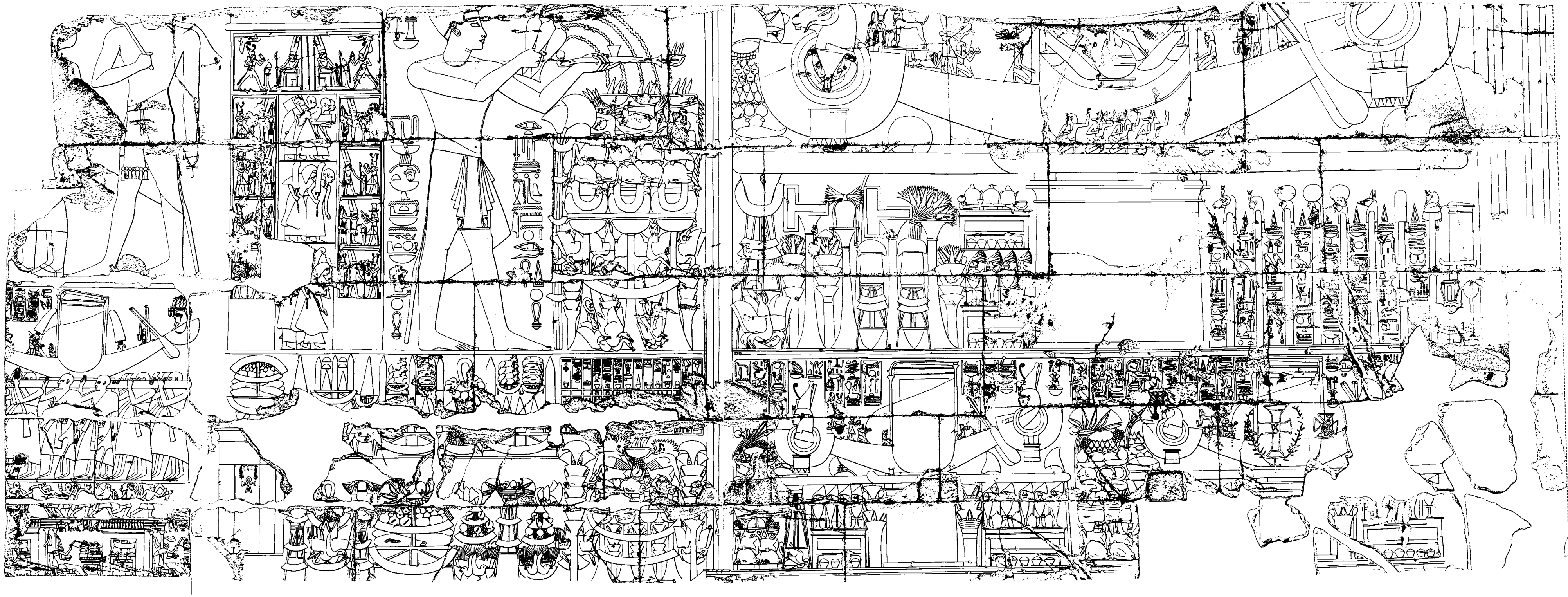


KEY TO RELIEFS DEPICTING THE KING AND BARKS IN LUXOR TEMPLE AND THE KING AND BARKS
DEPARTING LUXOR TEMPLE: EPISODES 6 AND 7
EAST WALL, SOUTHERN SECTION
(See plates 56-67; in situ these reliefs are continuous)



hke, and Meyer

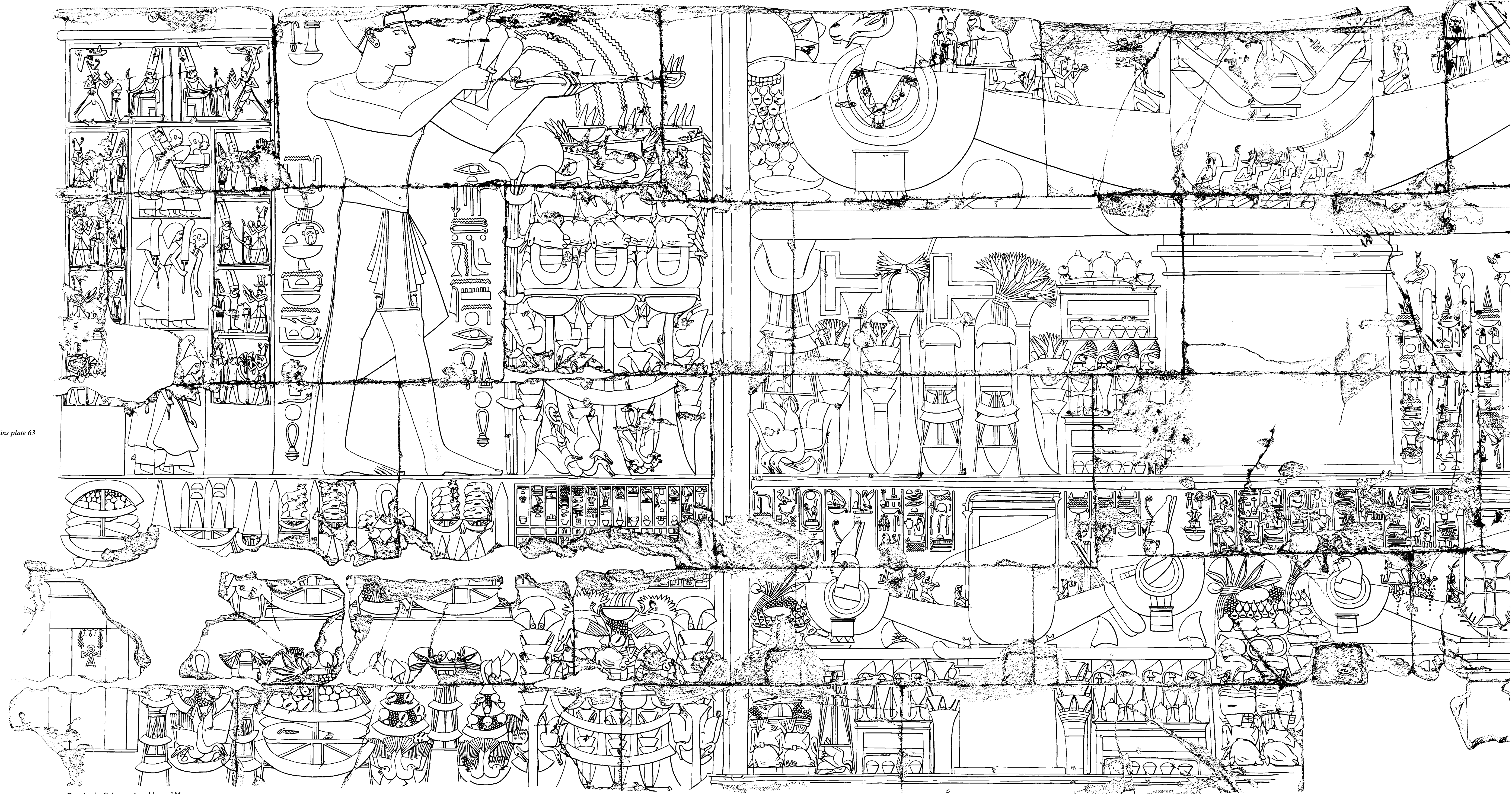
LATER DOORWAY



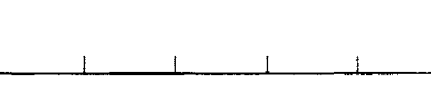
Adjoins plate 54

KEY TO RELIEFS DEPICTING THE KING AND BARKS IN LUXOR TEMPLE AND THE KING AND BARKS
DEPARTING LUXOR TEMPLE: EPISODES 6 AND 7
EAST WALL, SOUTHERN SECTION
(See plates 56-67; in situ these reliefs are continuous)

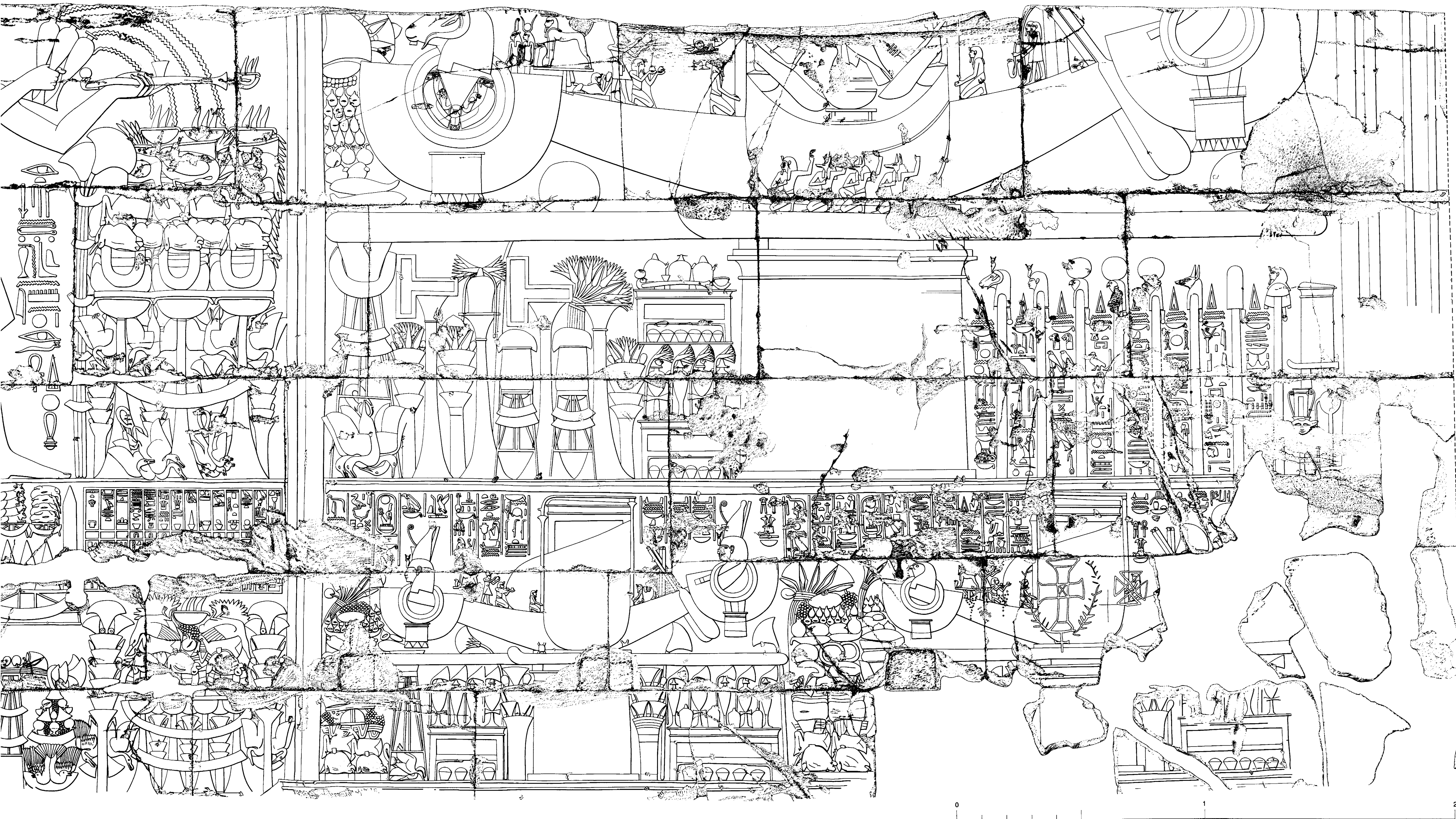
Adjoins plate 63



Drawing by Coleman, Jaeschke, and Meyer



EPISODE 6: THE KING THURIFYING AND POURING A LIBATION TO THE BARKS ENSHRINED
IN LUXOR TEMPLE
EAST WALL, SOUTHERN SECTION
(See plates 55 and 57-62)



Adjoins plate 54

EPISODE 6: THE KING THURIFYING AND POURING A LIBATION TO THE BARKS ENSHRINED
IN LUXOR TEMPLE
EAST WALL, SOUTHERN SECTION
(See plates 55 and 57-62)

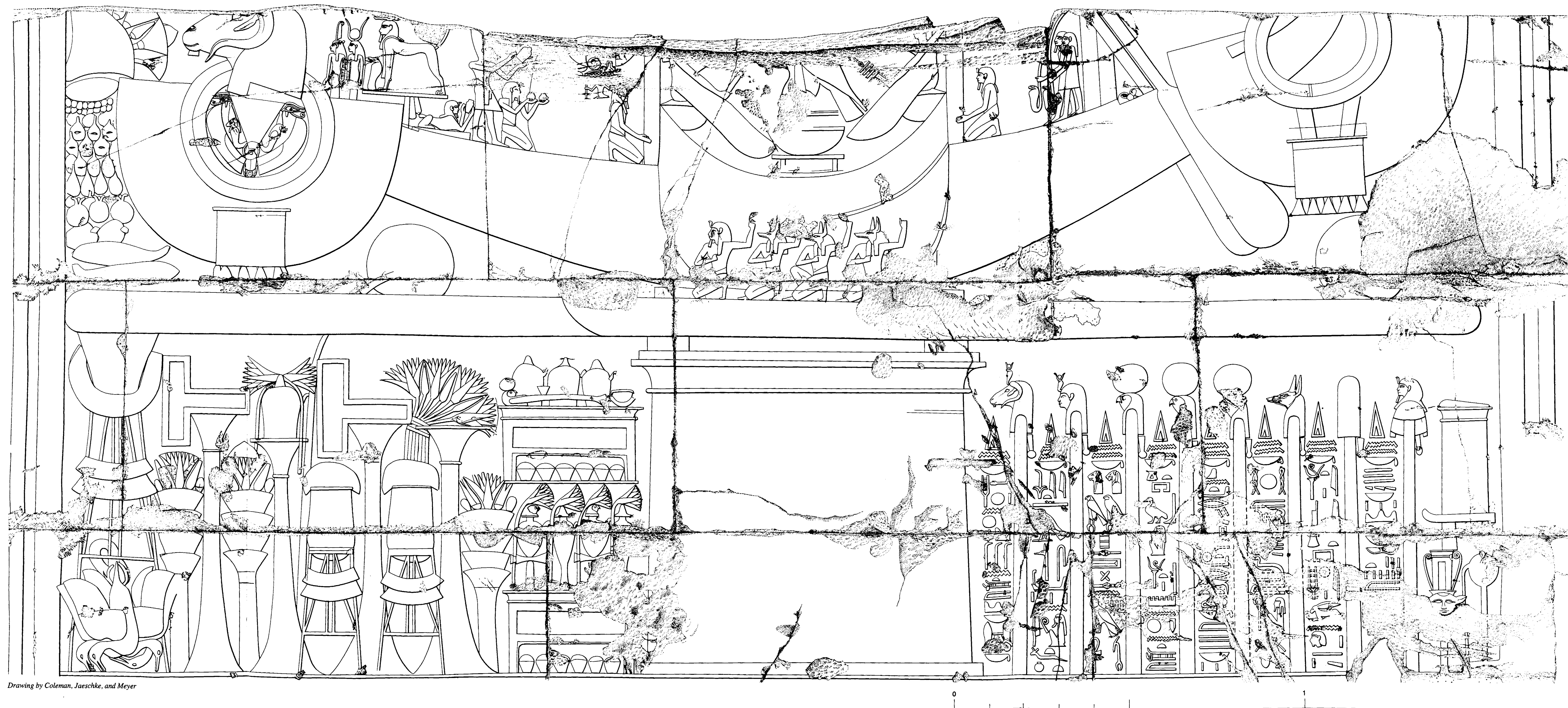


Photograph by Lezon

THE BARKS OF THE THEBAN TRIAD ENSHRINED AT LUXOR TEMPLE

(Compare plates 58 and 59)

Adjoins plate 61

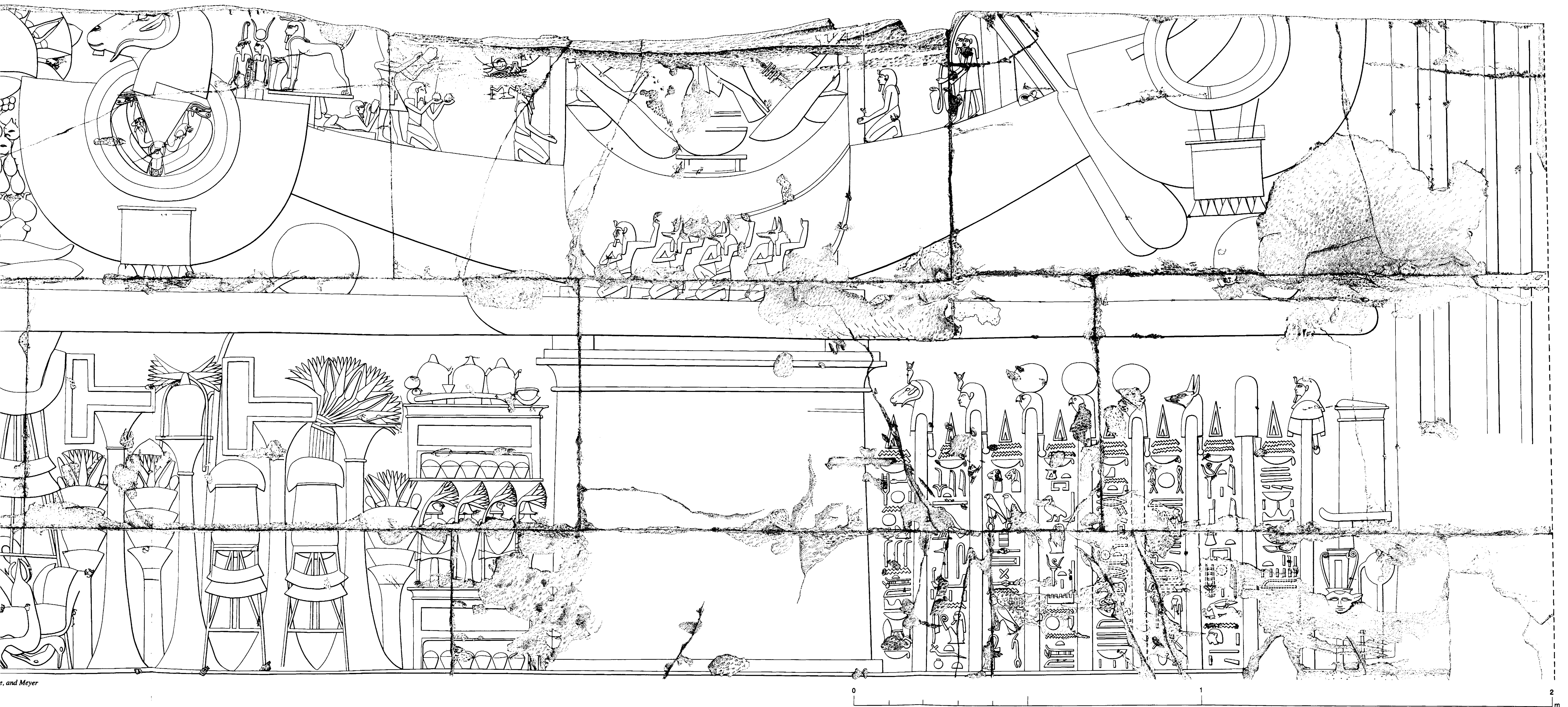


Drawing by Coleman, Jaeschke, and Meyer

THE BARK OF AMUN IN LUXOR TEMPLE: DETAIL OF PLATE 56

EAST WALL, SOUTHERN SECTION

(See plate 57)

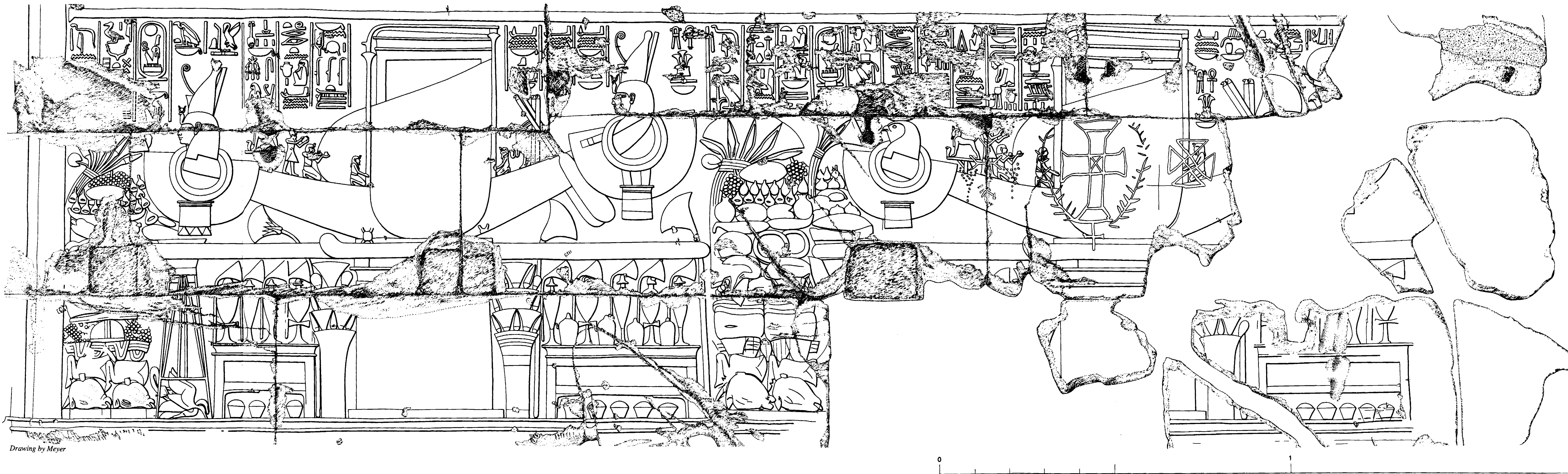


THE BARK OF AMUN IN LUXOR TEMPLE: DETAIL OF PLATE 56

EAST WALL, SOUTHERN SECTION

(See plate 57)

Adjoins plate 62

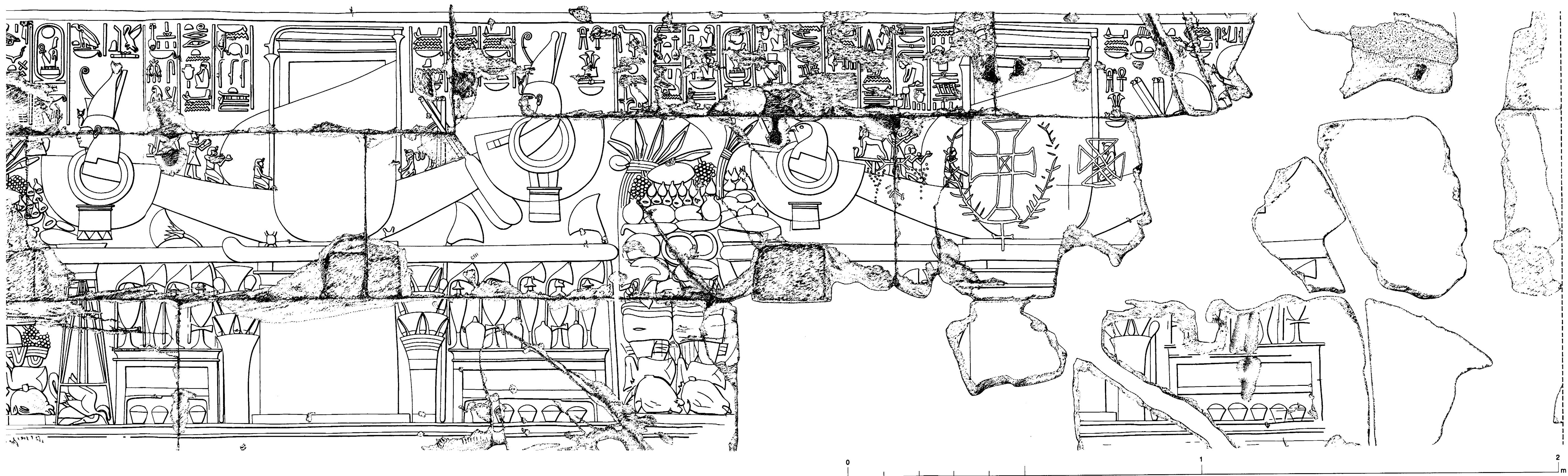


Drawing by Meyer

THE BARKS OF MUT AND KHONSU IN LUXOR TEMPLE: DETAIL OF PLATE 56

EAST WALL, SOUTHERN SECTION

(See plate 57)



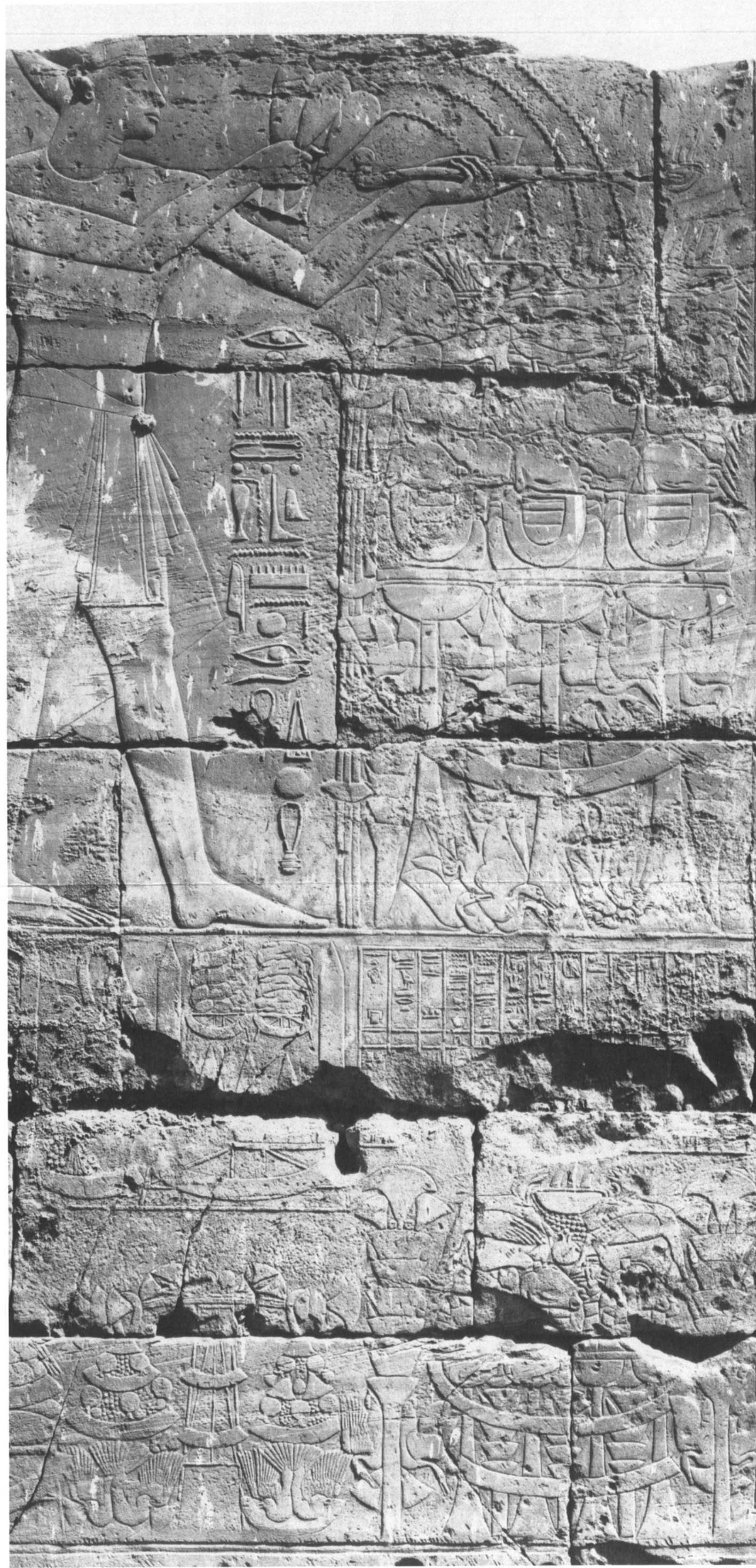
THE BARKS OF MUT AND KHONSU IN LUXOR TEMPLE: DETAIL OF PLATE 56

EAST WALL, SOUTHERN SECTION

(See plate 57)

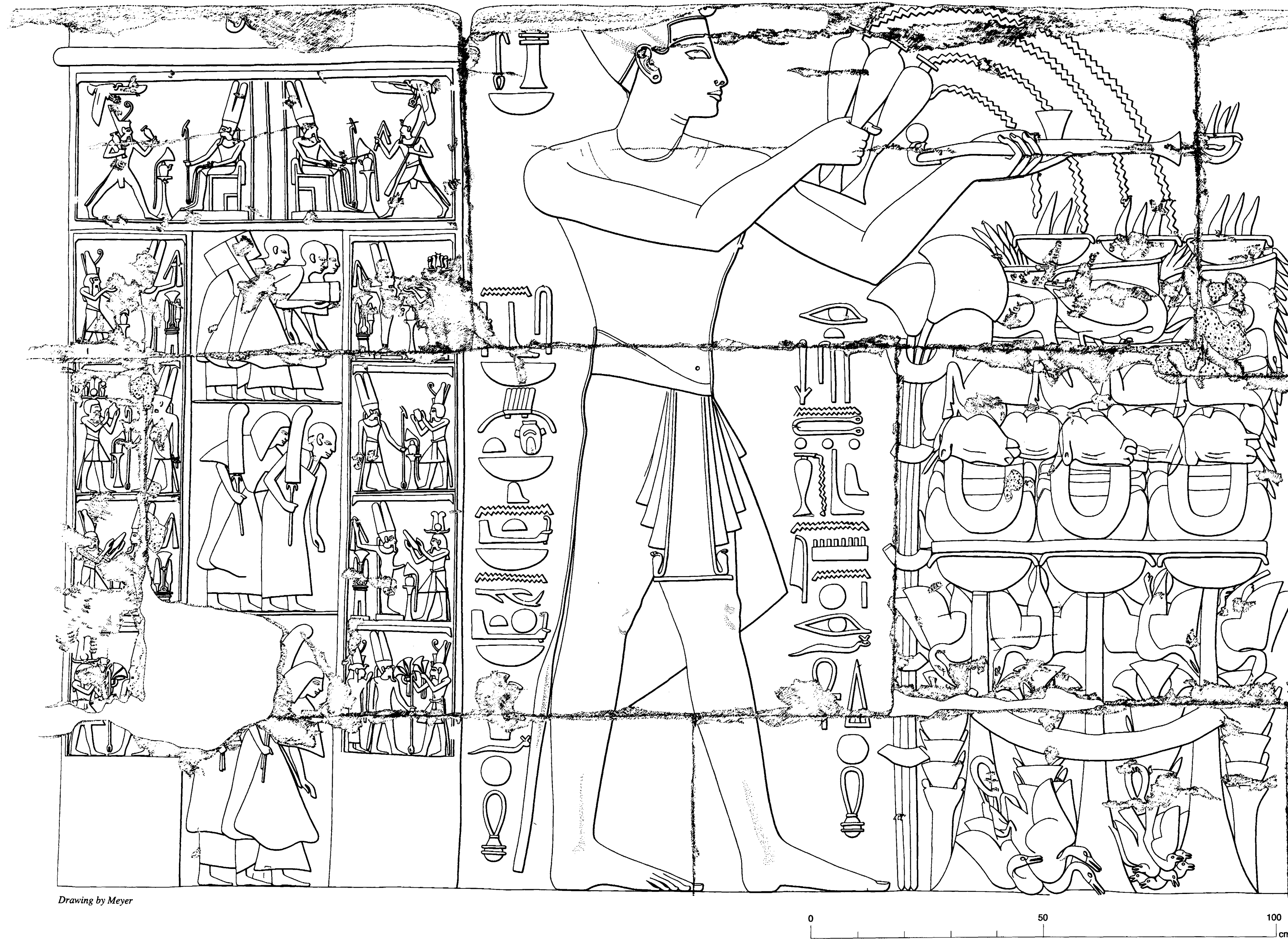


Photographs by Koch



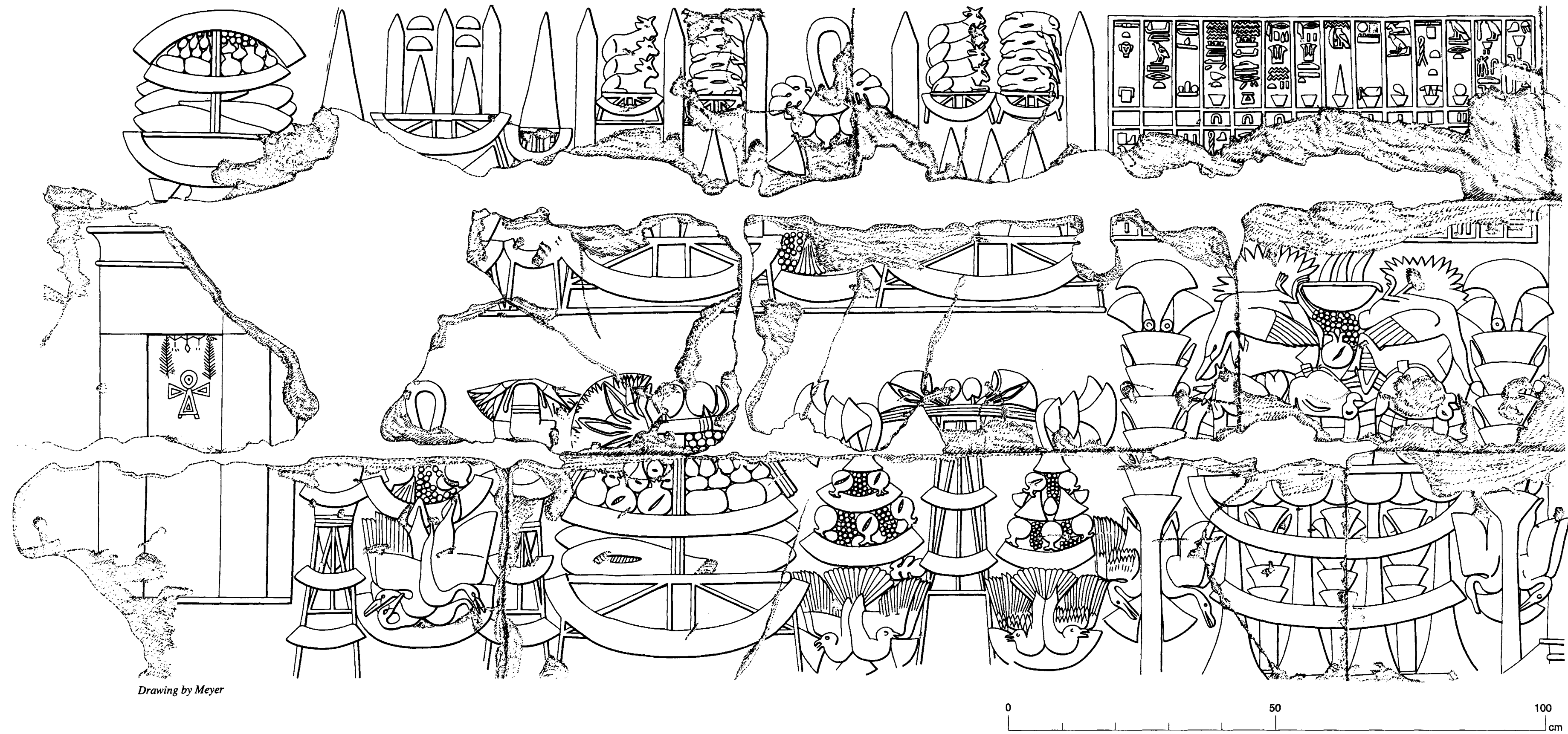
THE KING THURIFYING AND POURING A LIBATION IN LUXOR TEMPLE, WITH THE PORTAL OF LUXOR TEMPLE
AND HIGH OFFICIALS BEHIND AND OFFERINGS BELOW

(Compare plates 61 and 62)

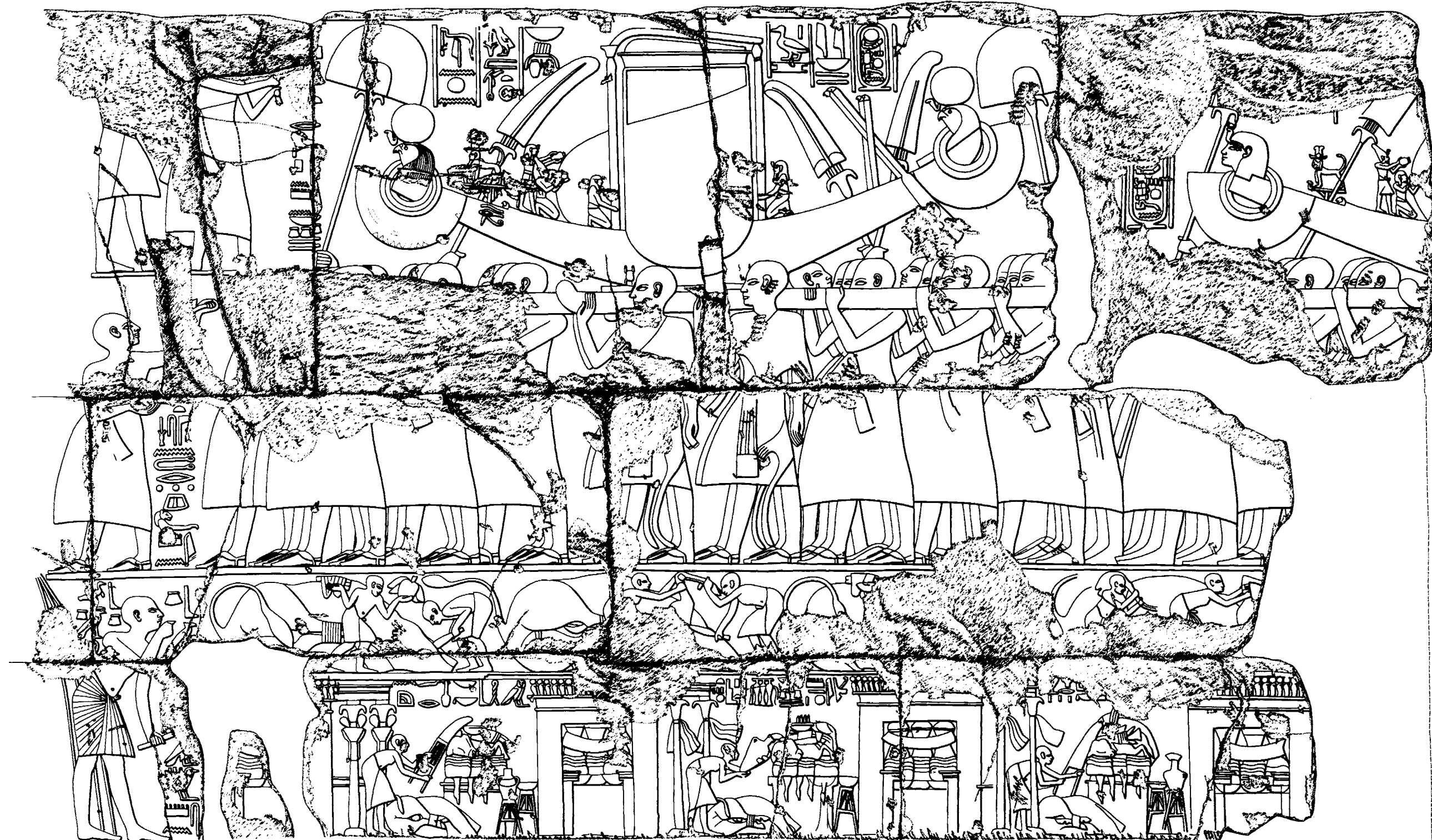


Adjoins plate 58

THE KING THURIFYING AND POURING A LIBATION IN LUXOR TEMPLE, WITH THE PORTAL OF LUXOR TEMPLE
AND HIGH OFFICIALS BEHIND: DETAIL OF PLATE 56
EAST WALL, SOUTHERN SECTION
(See plate 60)

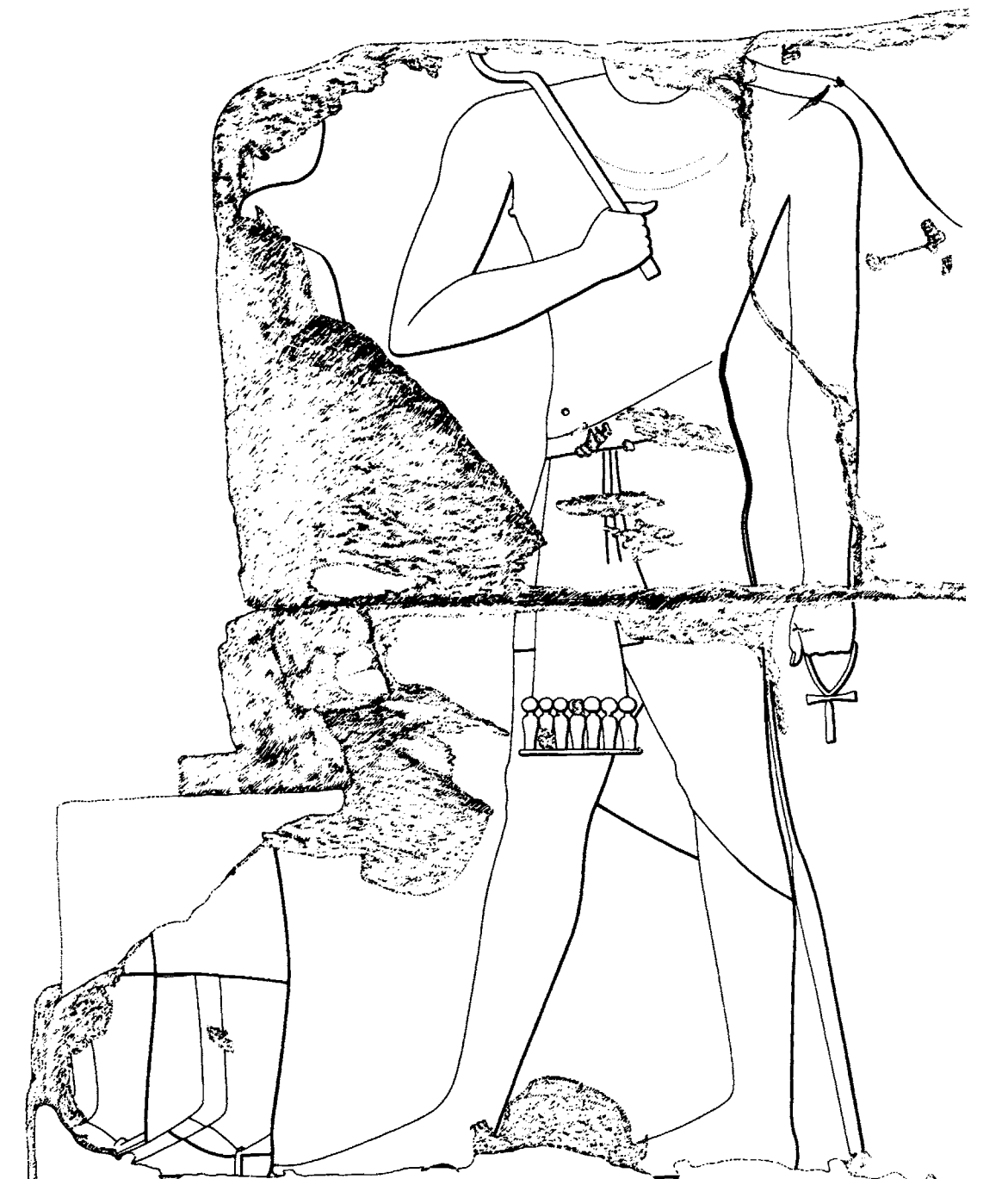


OFFERINGS BENEATH THE KING AT LUXOR TEMPLE: DETAIL OF PLATE 56
EAST WALL, SOUTHERN SECTION
(See plate 60)



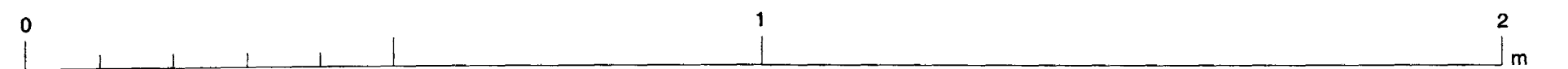
Drawing by Meyer

EPISODE 7: THE KING DEPARTING LUXOR TEMPLE WITH THE BARKS OF AMUN (NOW LOST), KHONSU,
MUT, AND THE KING
EAST WALL, SOUTHERN SECTION
(See plates 55 and 64-67)



Adjoins plate 56

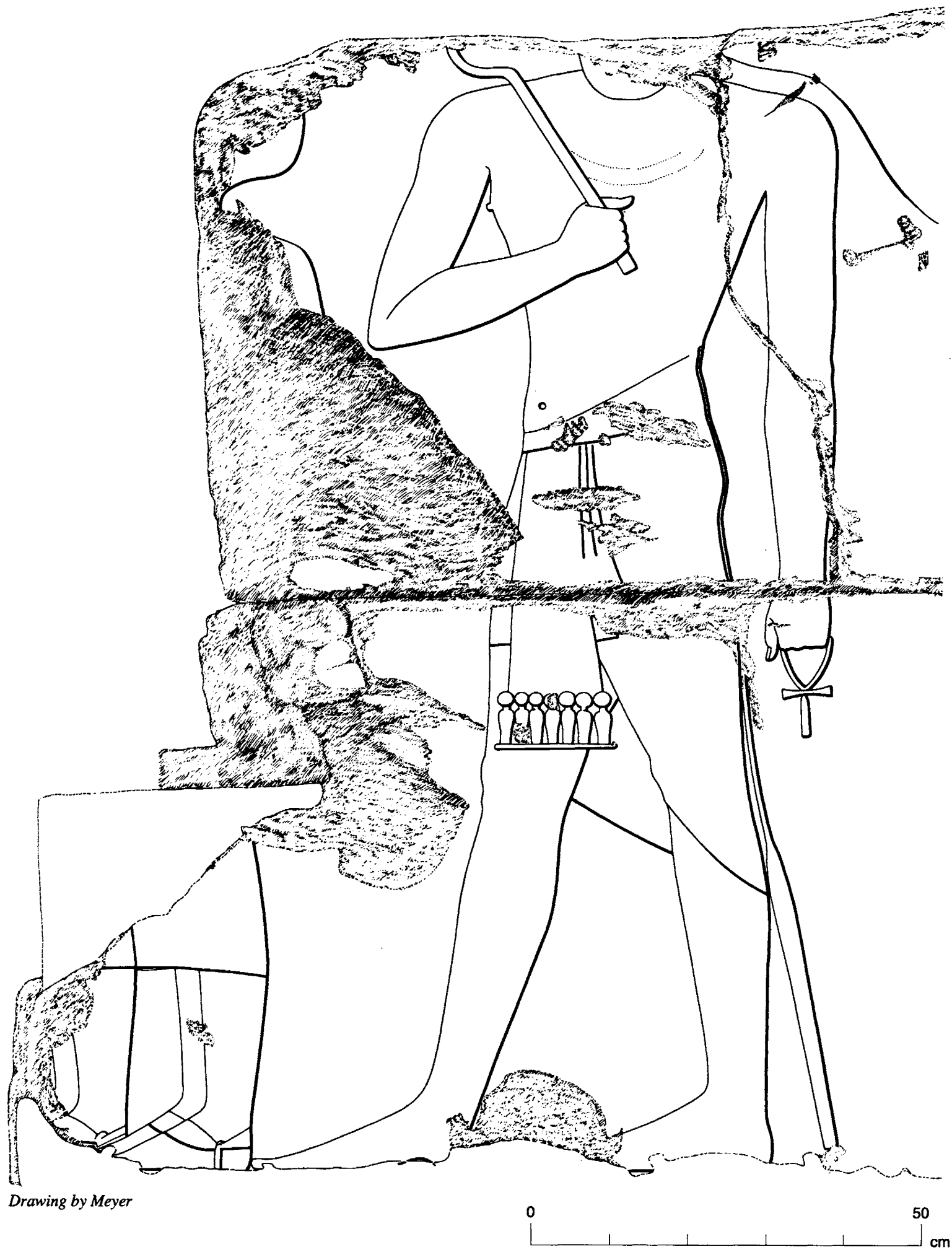
LATER DOORWAY





Photograph by Koch

THE KING FOLLOWING THE BARK OF AMUN (NOW LOST), WITH THE BARK OF THE KING, BUTCHERS,
AND OFFERING BOOTHS BELOW
(Compare plates 65 and 67)



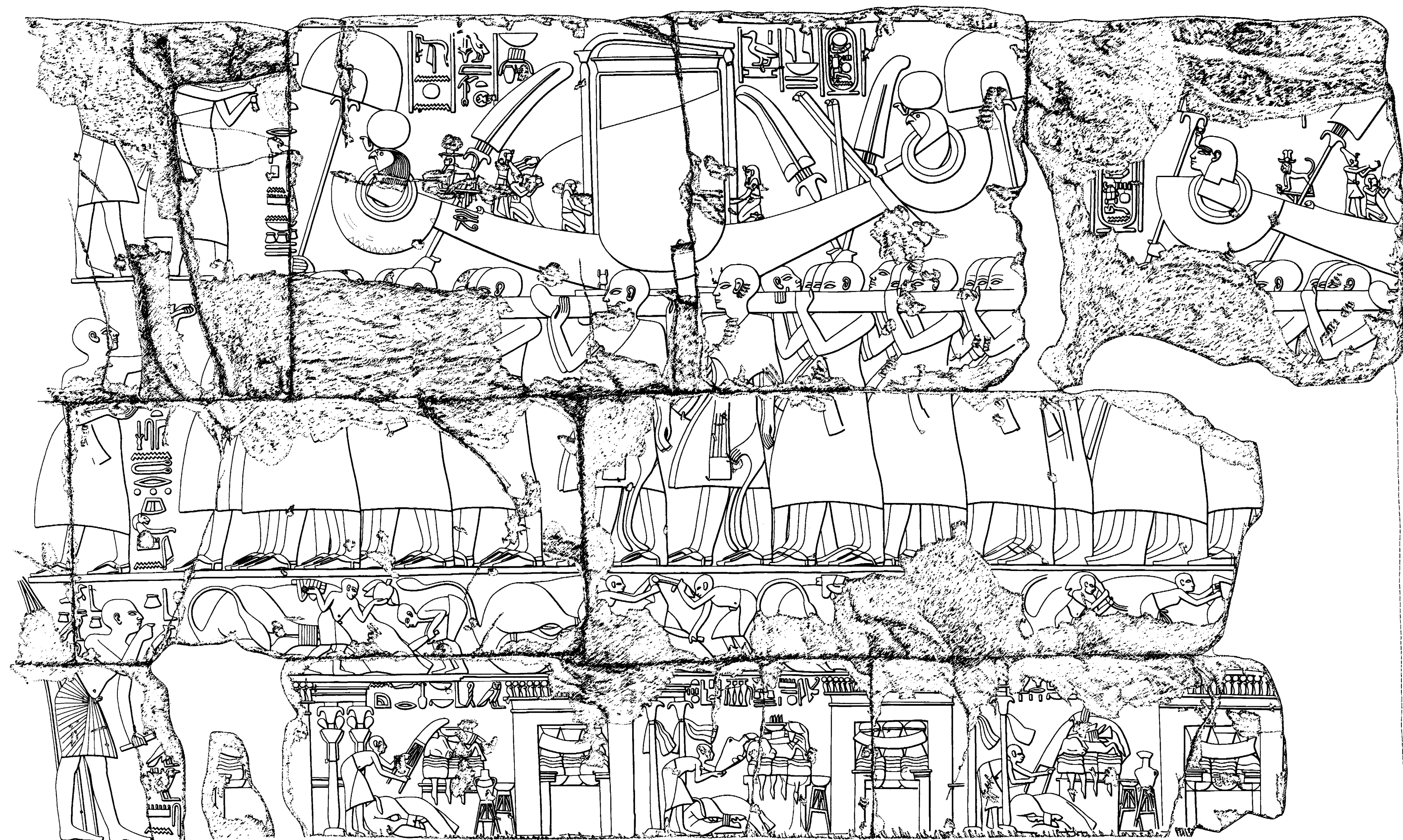
THE KING FOLLOWING THE BARK OF AMUN (NOW LOST): DETAIL OF PLATE 63
EAST WALL, SOUTHERN SECTION
(See plate 64)



Photograph by Koch

THE BARK OF KHONSU BEING CARRIED FROM LUXOR TEMPLE TO THE NILE, WITH BUTCHERS
AND OFFERING BOOTHS BELOW

(Compare plate 67)



Drawing by Meyer

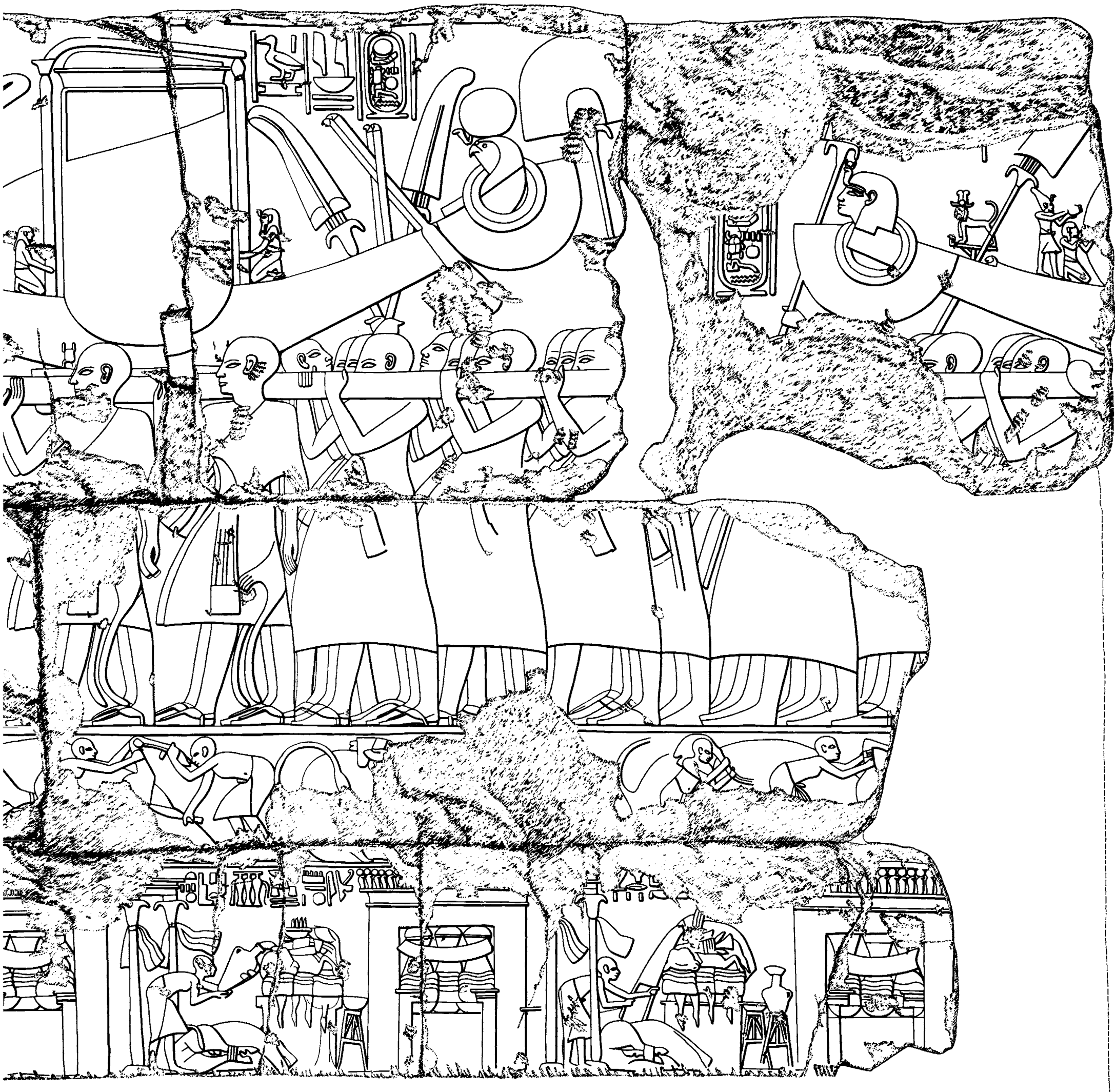
LATER DOORWAY



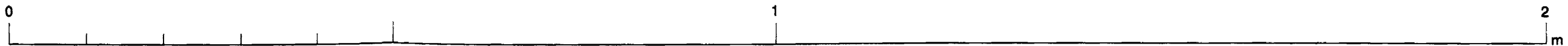
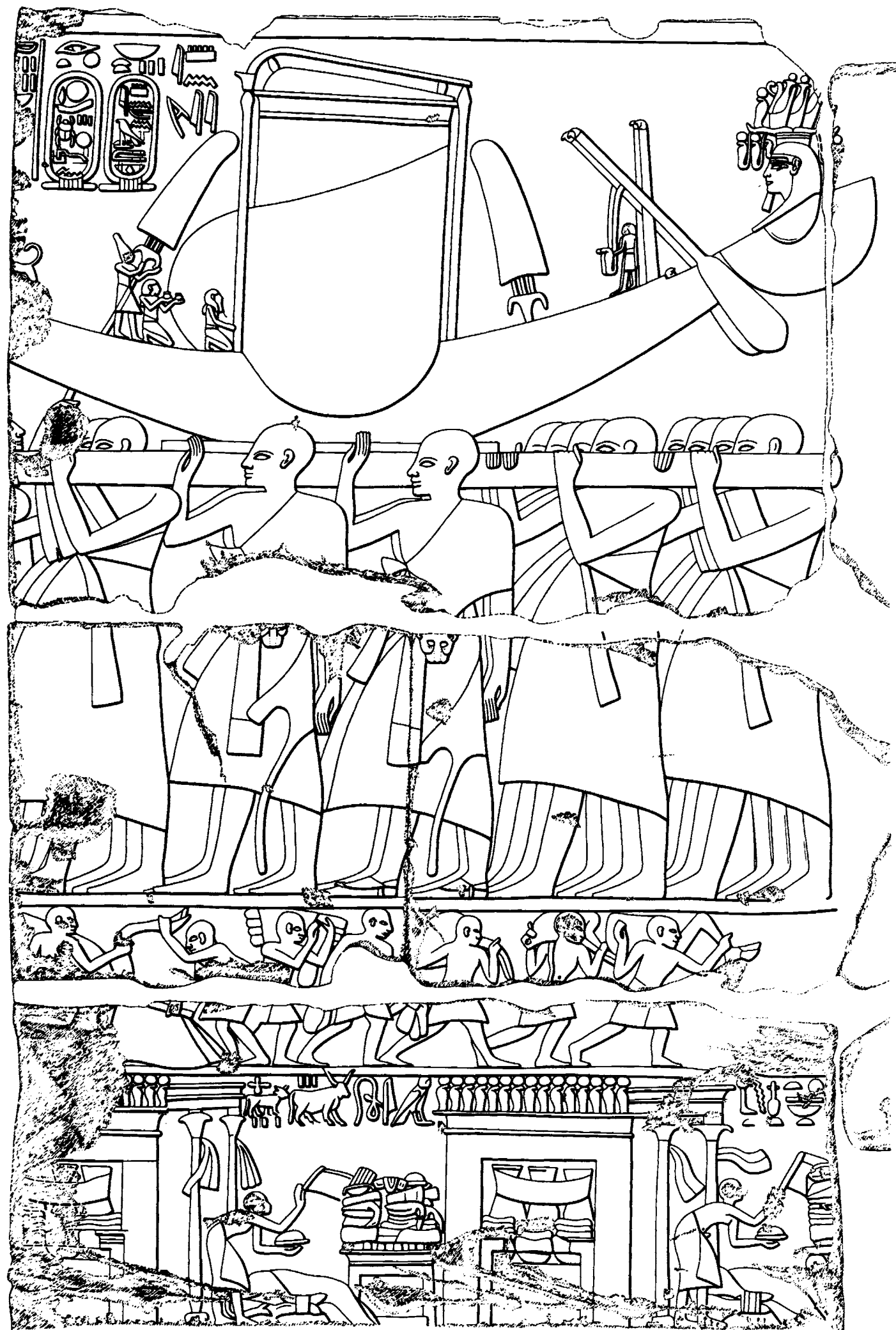
THE BARKS OF KHONSU, MUT, AND THE KING BEING CARRIED FROM LUXOR TEMPLE TO THE NILE,
WITH BUTCHERS AND OFFERING BOOTHS BELOW: DETAIL OF PLATE 63

EAST WALL, SOUTHERN SECTION

(See plates 64, 66, and 127C)

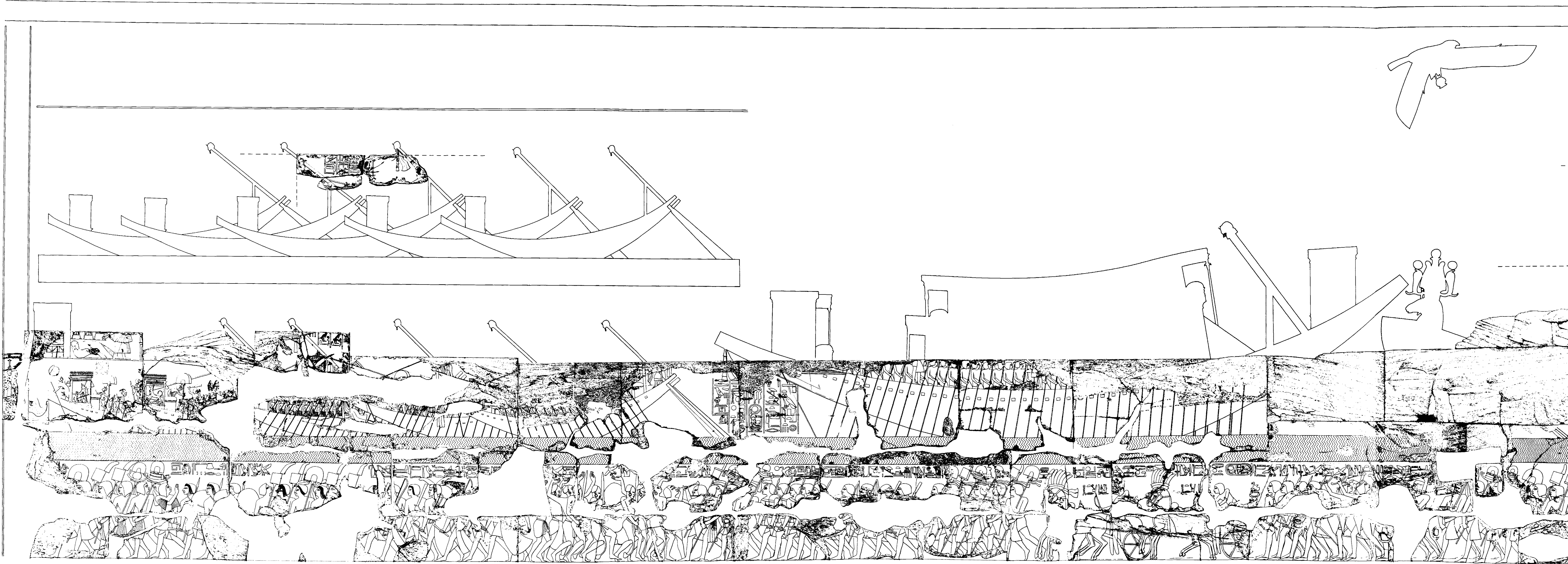


LATER DOORWAY



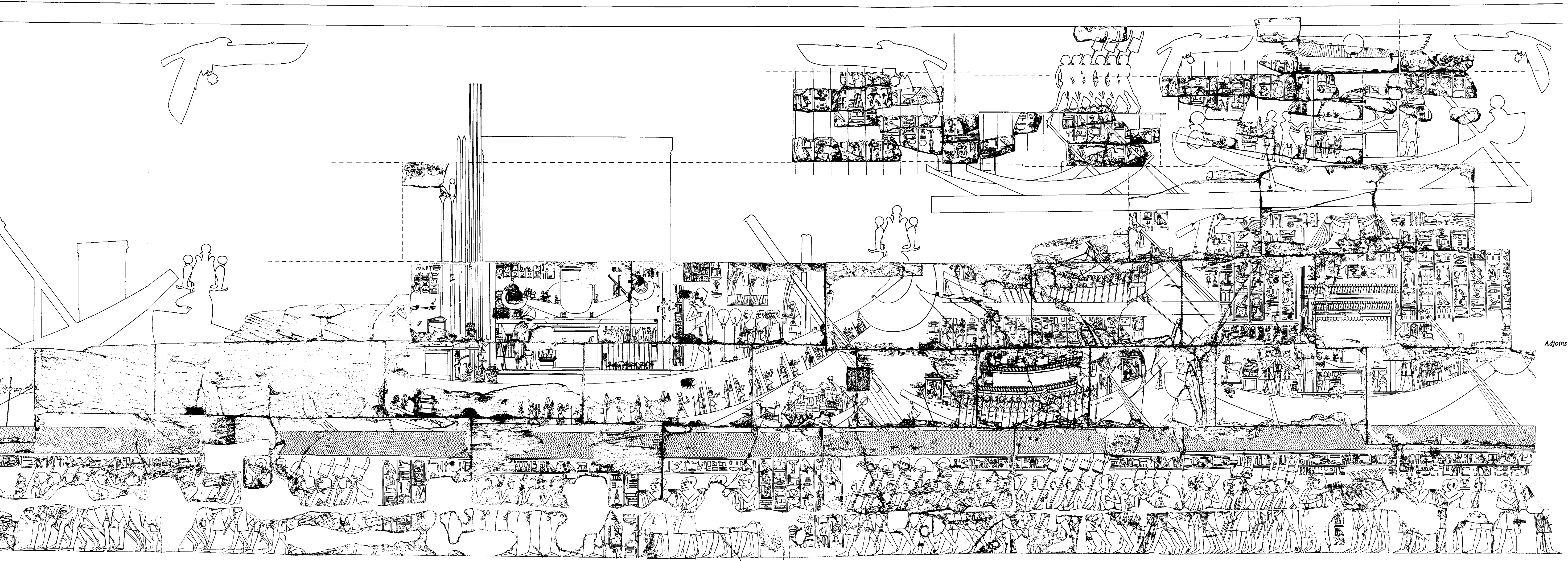
THE BARKS OF KHONSU, MUT, AND THE KING BEING CARRIED FROM LUXOR TEMPLE TO THE NILE,
WITH BUTCHERS AND OFFERING BOOTHS BELOW: DETAIL OF PLATE 63
EAST WALL, SOUTHERN SECTION
(See plates 64, 66, and 127C)

Adjoins plate 100



Drawing by Di Cerbo, S. Garfi, Heidel, Hoffman, Howard, Johnson, Lack, Manuelian, Meyer, Osgood, and Romer

KEY TO RELIEFS DEPICTING THE RIVER PROCESSION OF THE FESTIVAL OF OPET
RETURNING TO KARNAK FROM LUXOR TEMPLE: EPISODE 8
EAST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION
(See plates 69-99; in situ these reliefs are continuous)

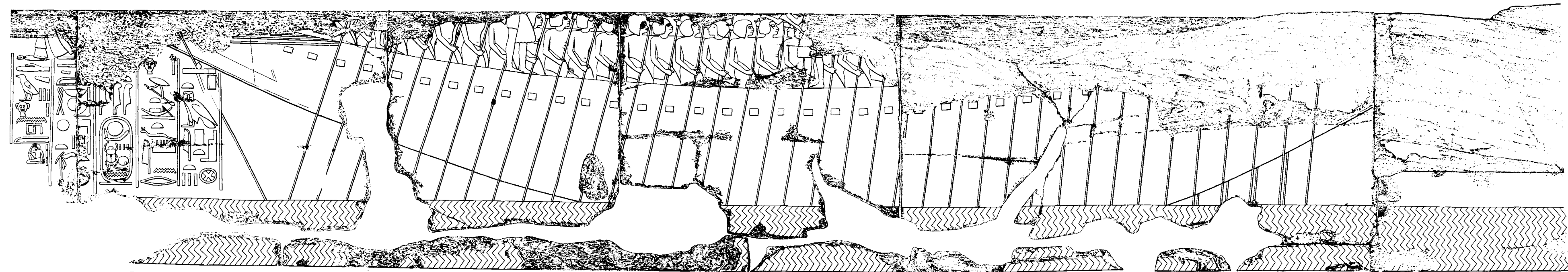
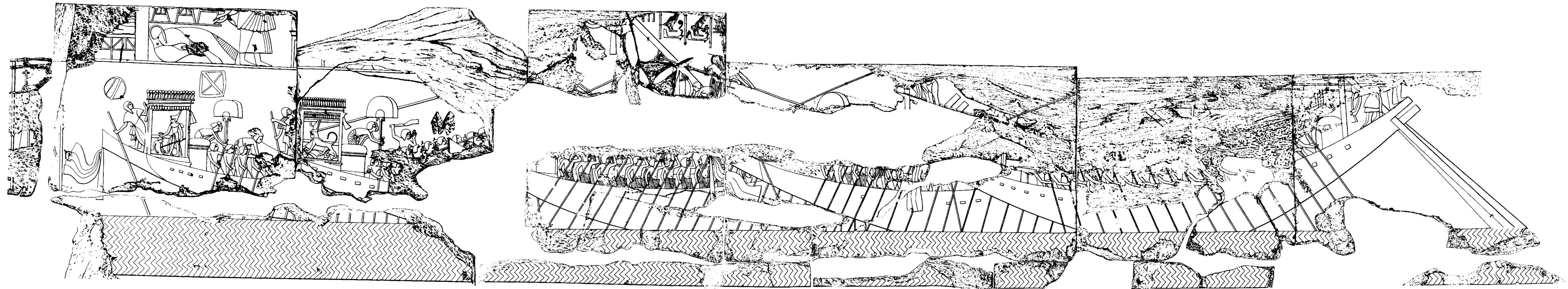


Adjoins plate 55

KEY TO RELIEFS DEPICTING THE RIVER PROCESSION OF THE FESTIVAL OF OPET
RETURNING TO KARNAK FROM LUXOR TEMPLE: EPISODE 8

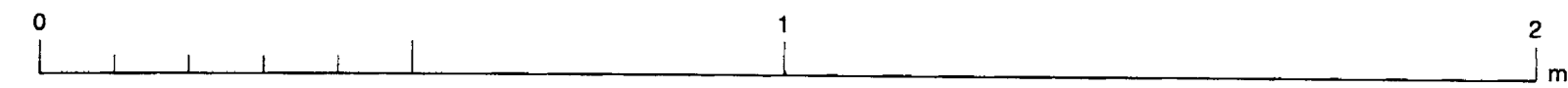
EAST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION

(See plates 69-99; in situ these reliefs are continuous)



Adjoins plate 76

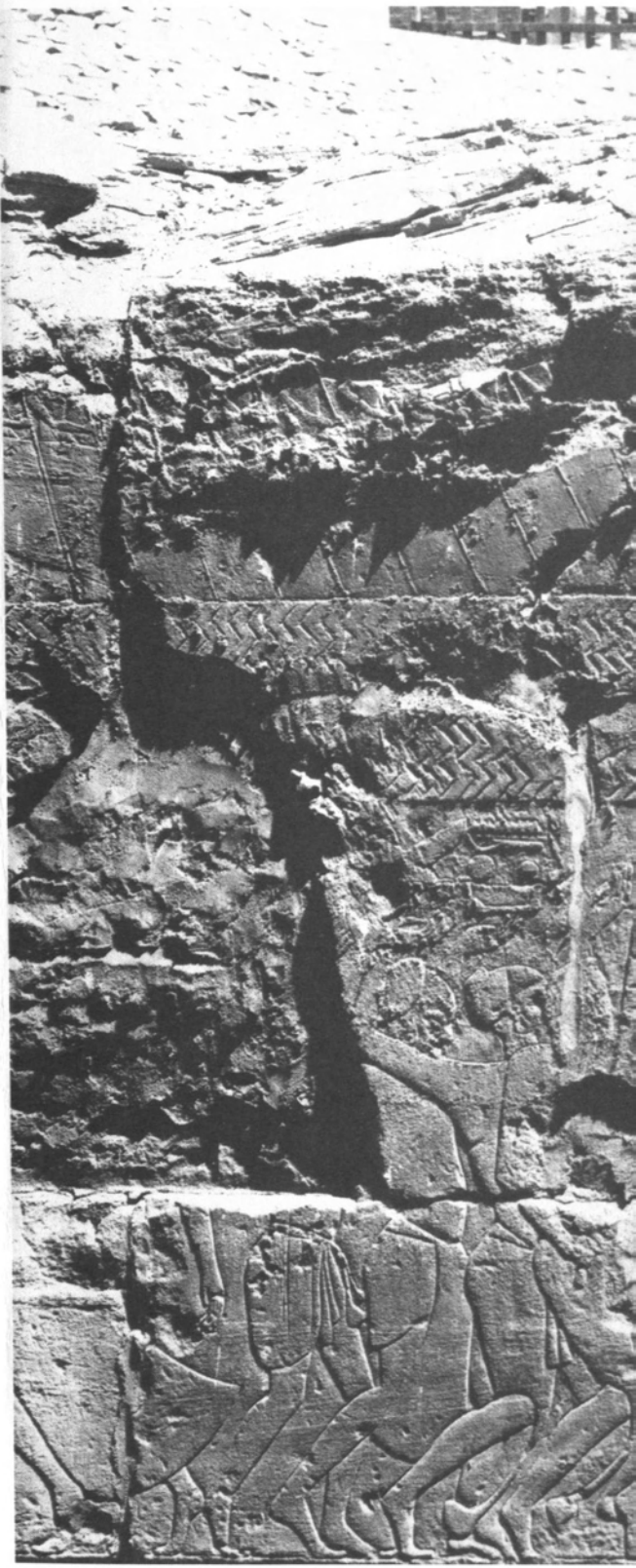
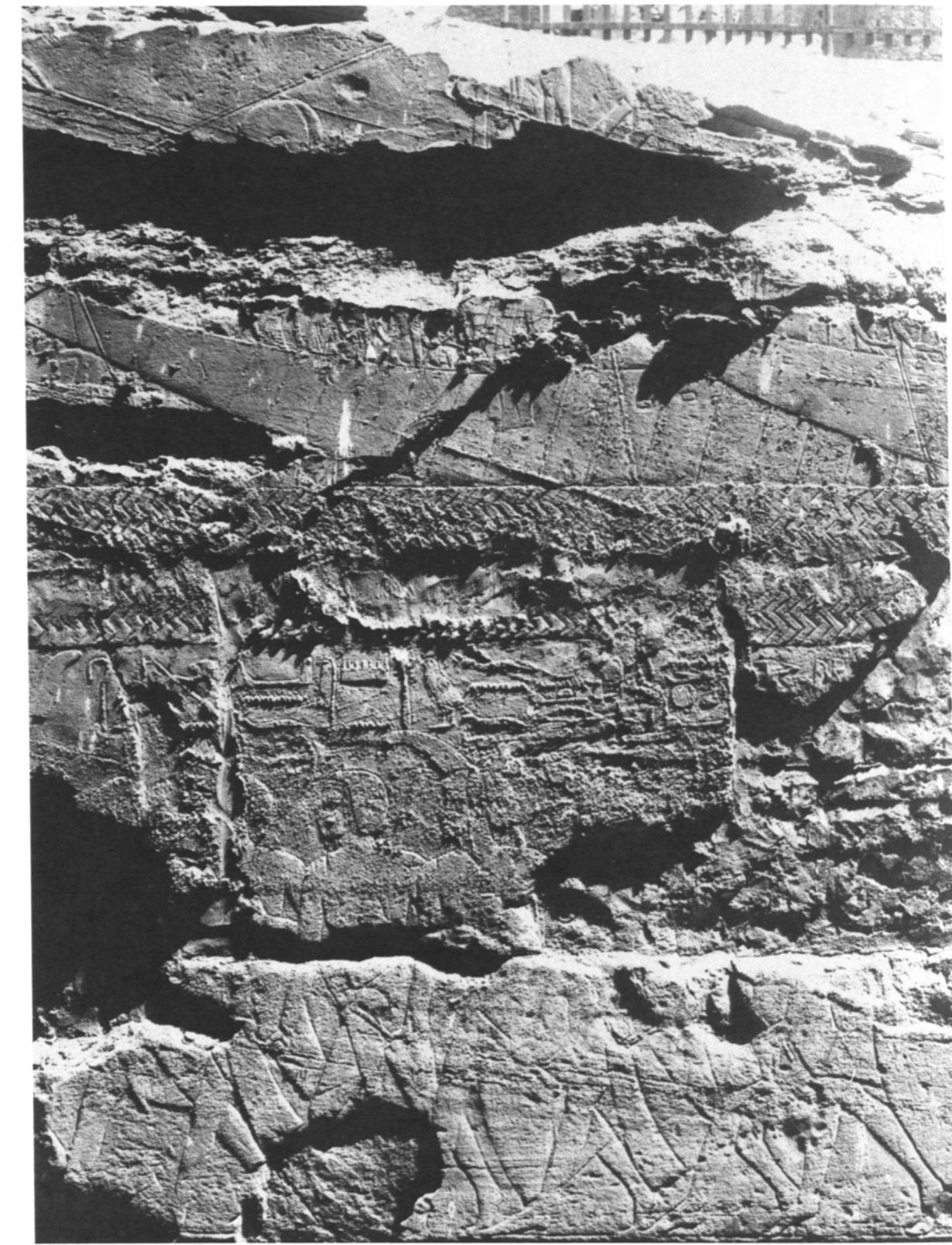
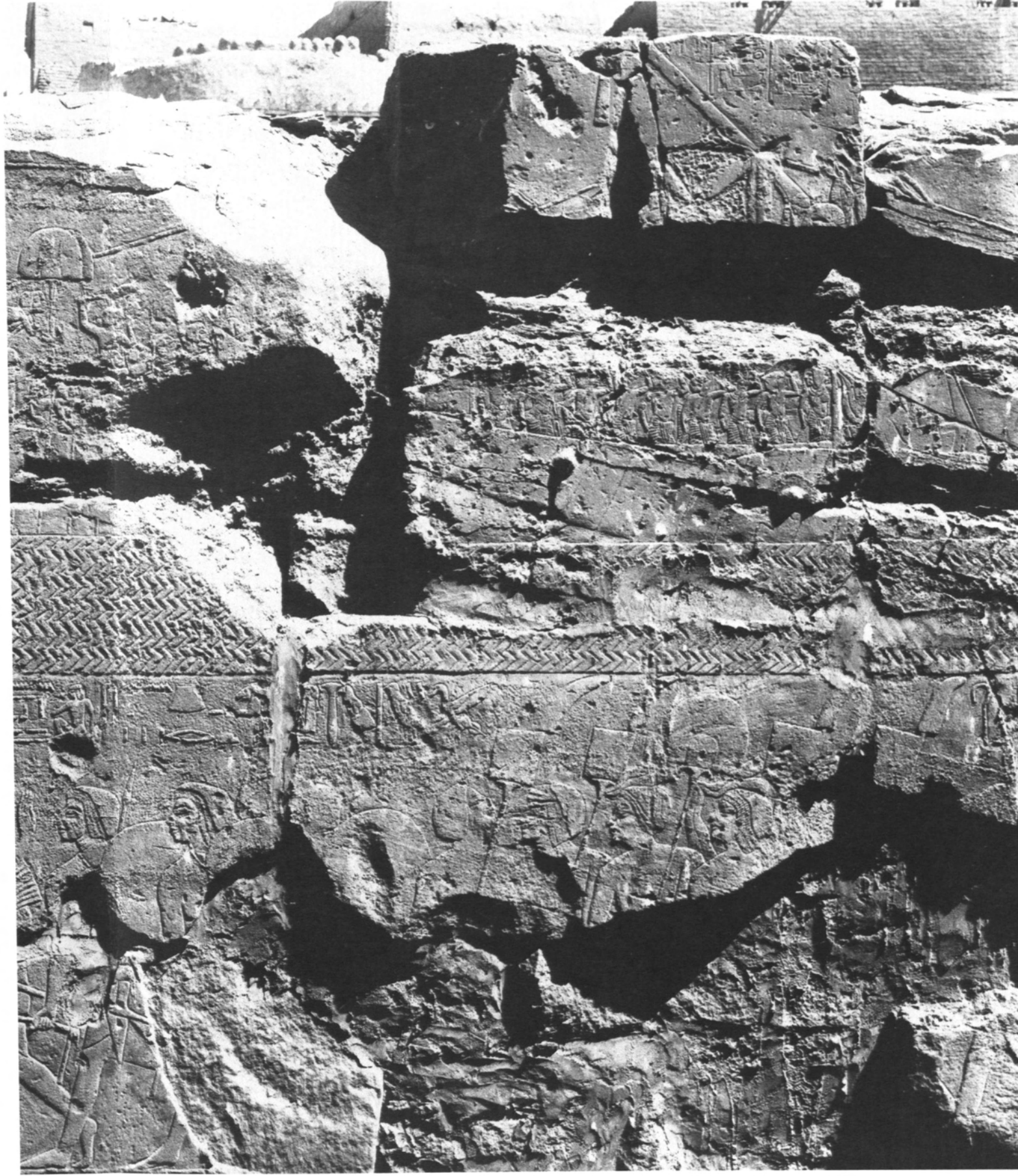
Drawing by Di Cerbo, Hoffman, Howard, Johnson, Osgood, and Romer



THE BARGE OF THE KING AND TOWBOATS: DETAIL OF PLATE 68
EAST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION

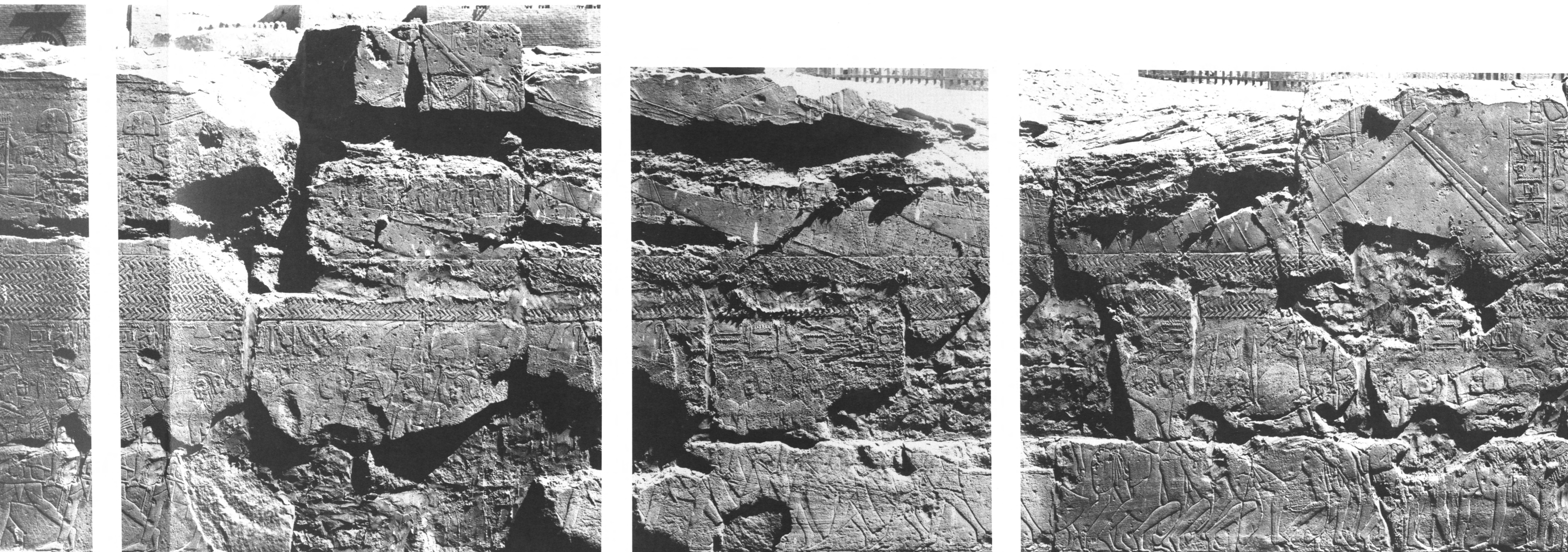


Photographs by Koch



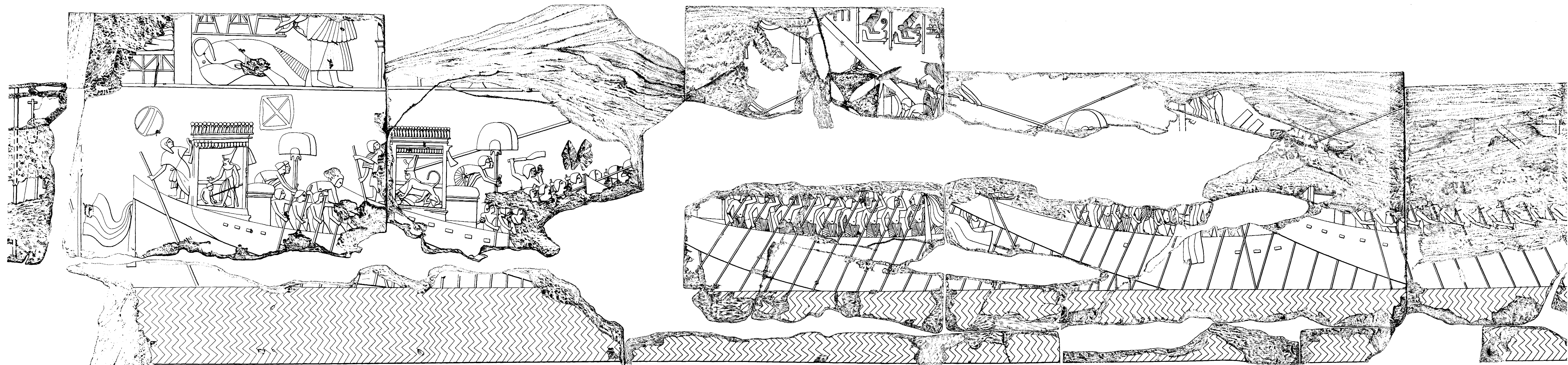
TOWBOATS PULLING THE BARGE OF THE KING, AND CELEBRANTS ON THE RIVERBANK

(Compare plates 71-73, and 93-94)



TOWBOATS PULLING THE BARGE OF THE KING, AND CELEBRANTS ON THE RIVERBANK

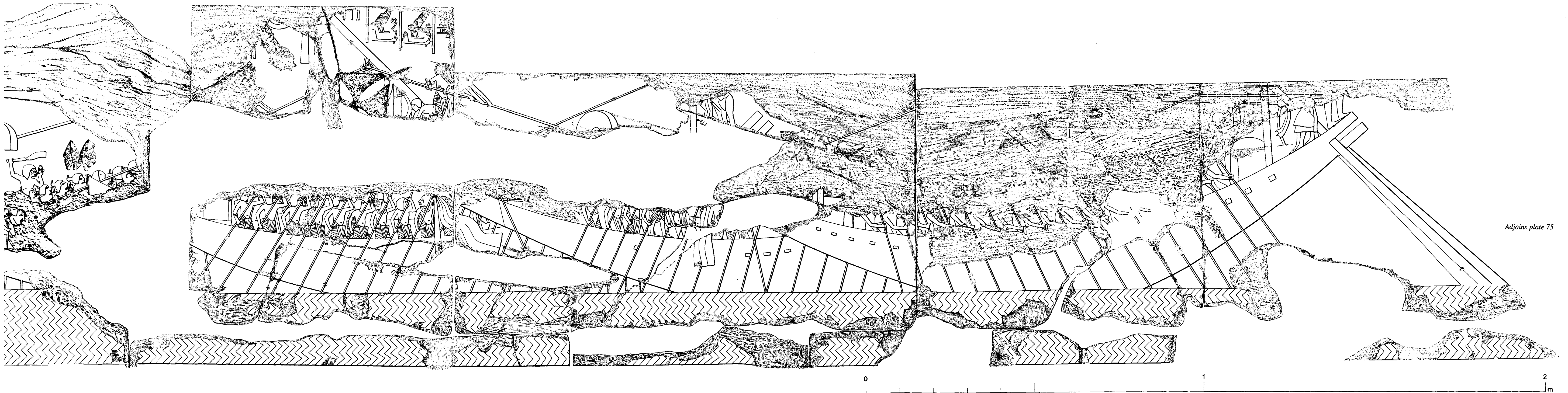
(Compare plates 71-73, and 93-94)



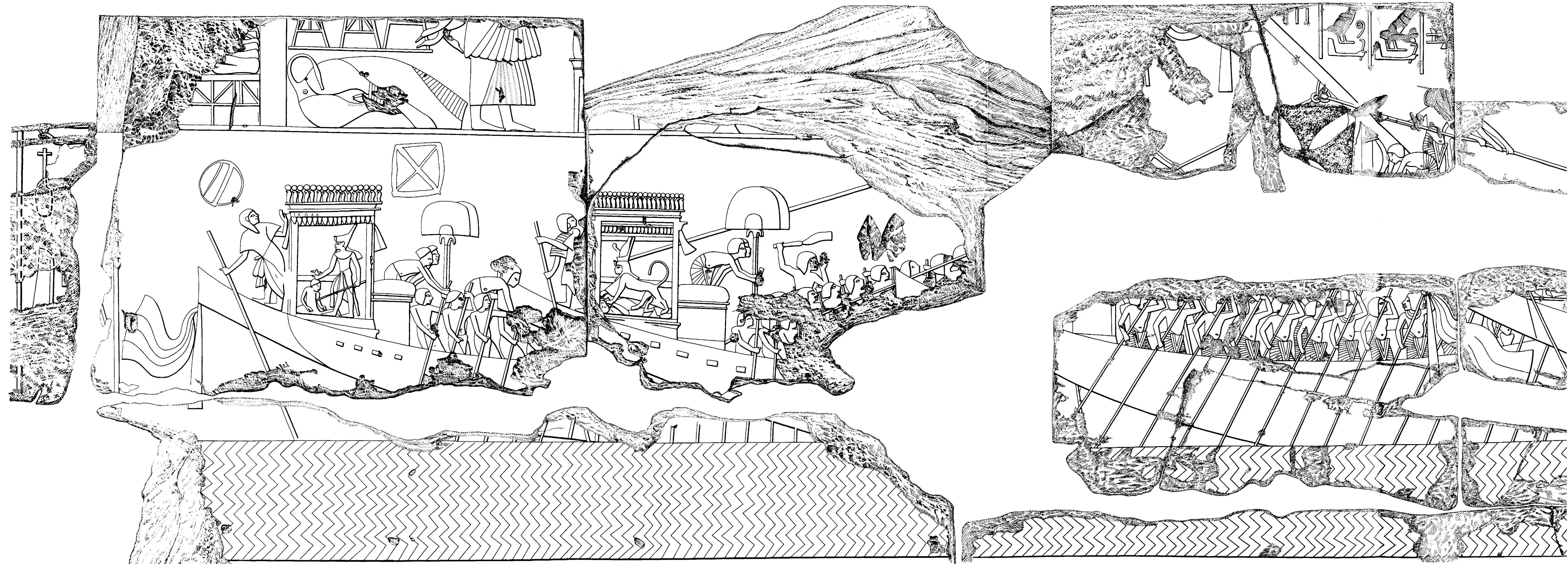
Drawing by Di Cerbo, Hoffman, Howard, and Johnson



TOWBOATS OF THE BARGE OF THE KING: DETAIL OF PLATE 69
EAST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION



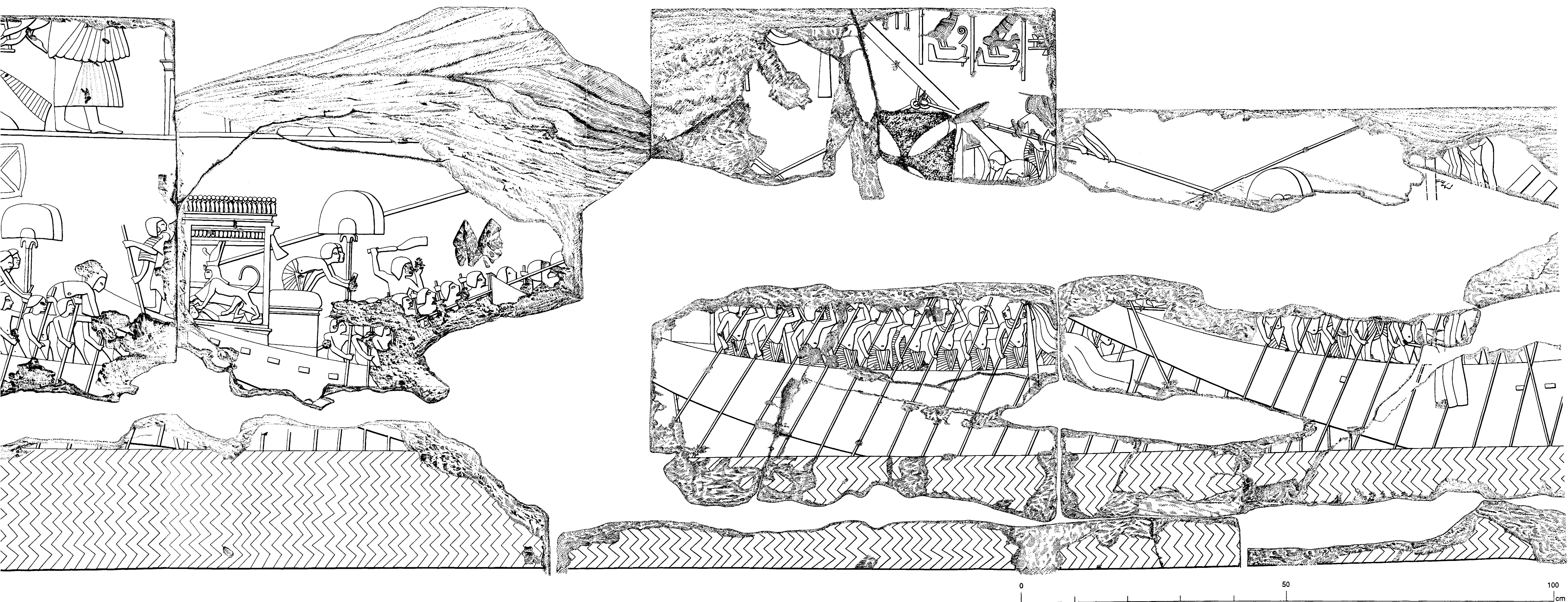
TOWBOATS OF THE BARGE OF THE KING: DETAIL OF PLATE 69
EAST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION



Drawing by Di Cerbo, Hoffman, Howard, and Johnson

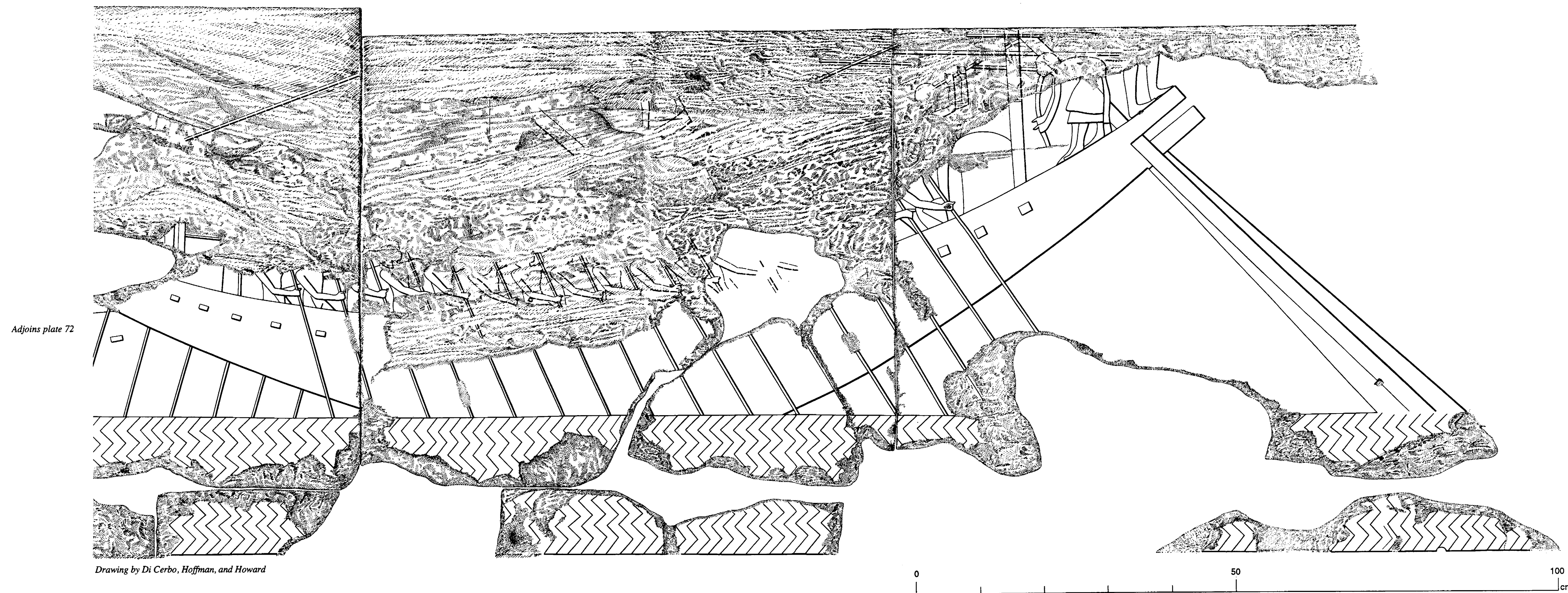
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TOWBOATS OF THE BARGE OF THE KING, LEFT HALF: DETAIL OF PLATE 71
EAST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION

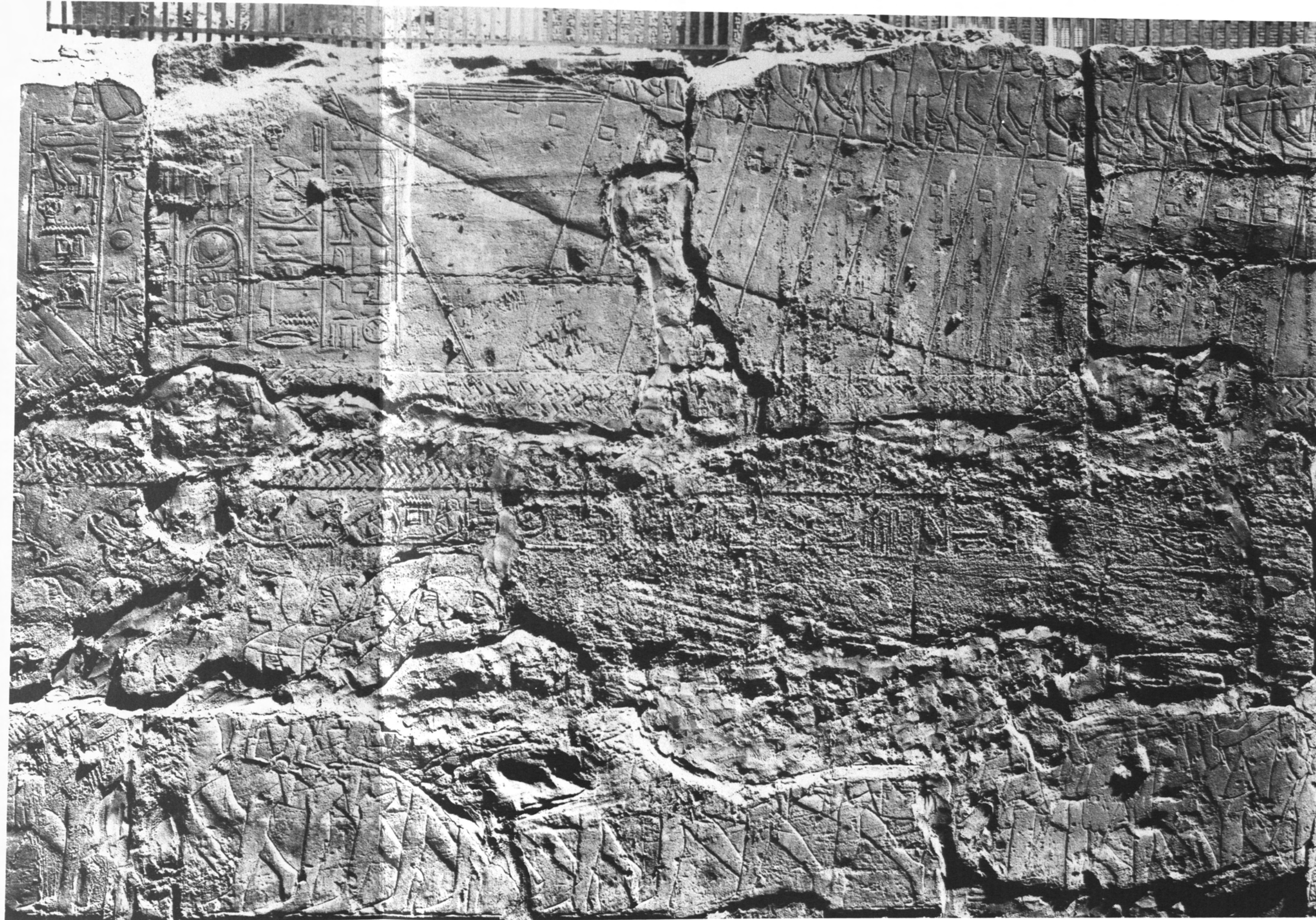


Adjoins plate 73

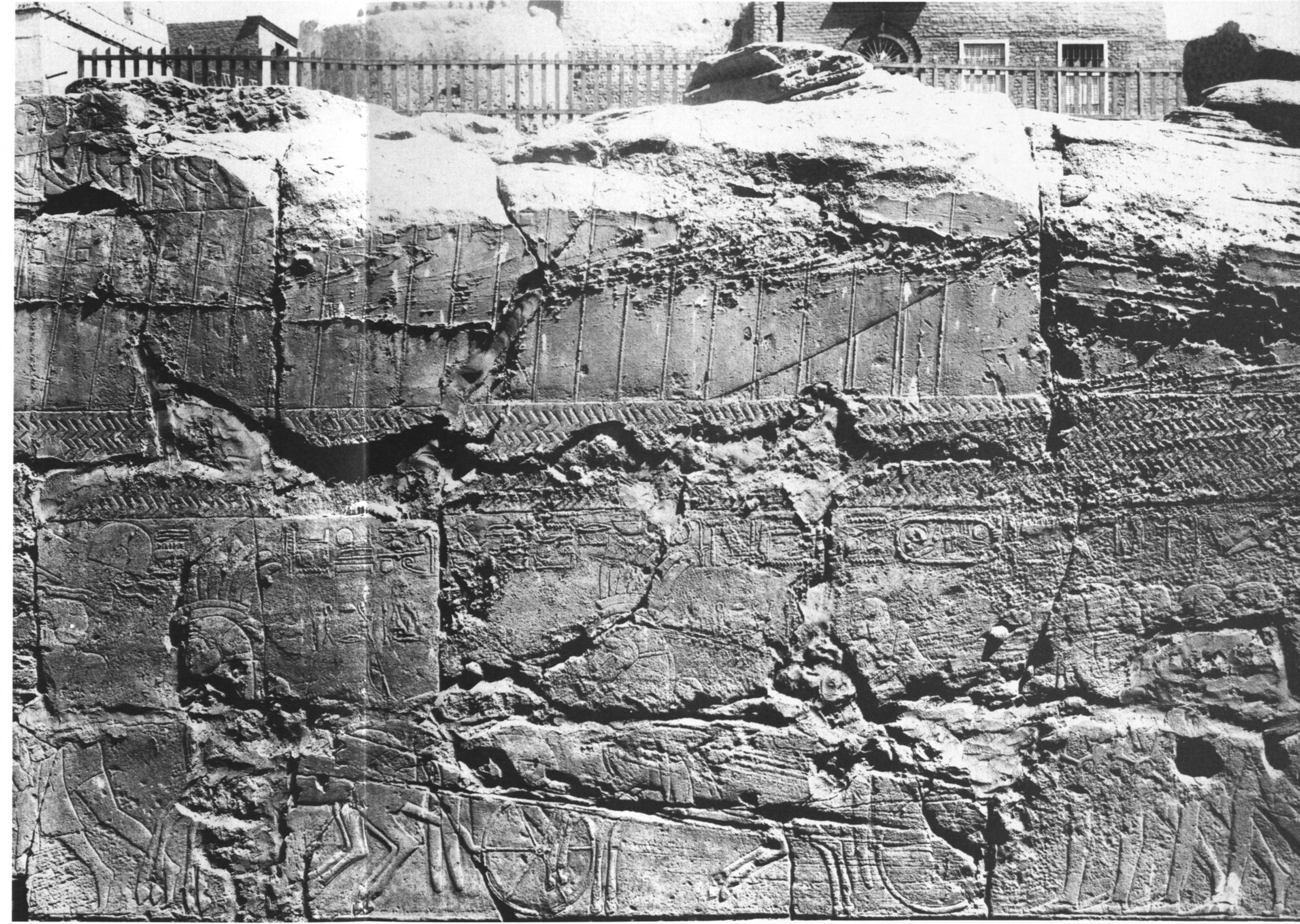
TOWBOATS OF THE BARGE OF THE KING, LEFT HALF: DETAIL OF PLATE 71
EAST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION



TOWBOATS OF THE BARGE OF THE KING, RIGHT HALF: DETAIL OF PLATE 71
EAST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION

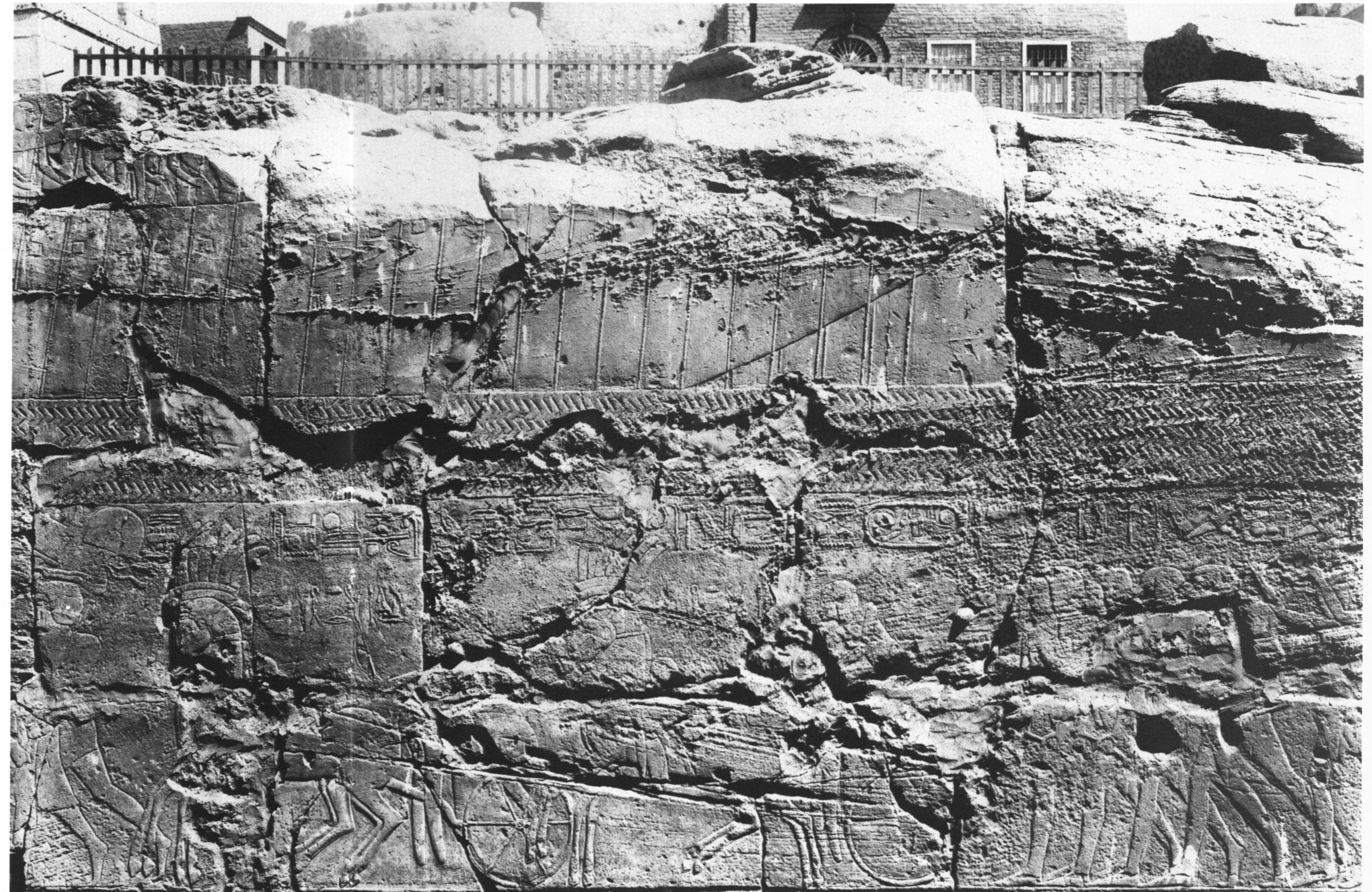
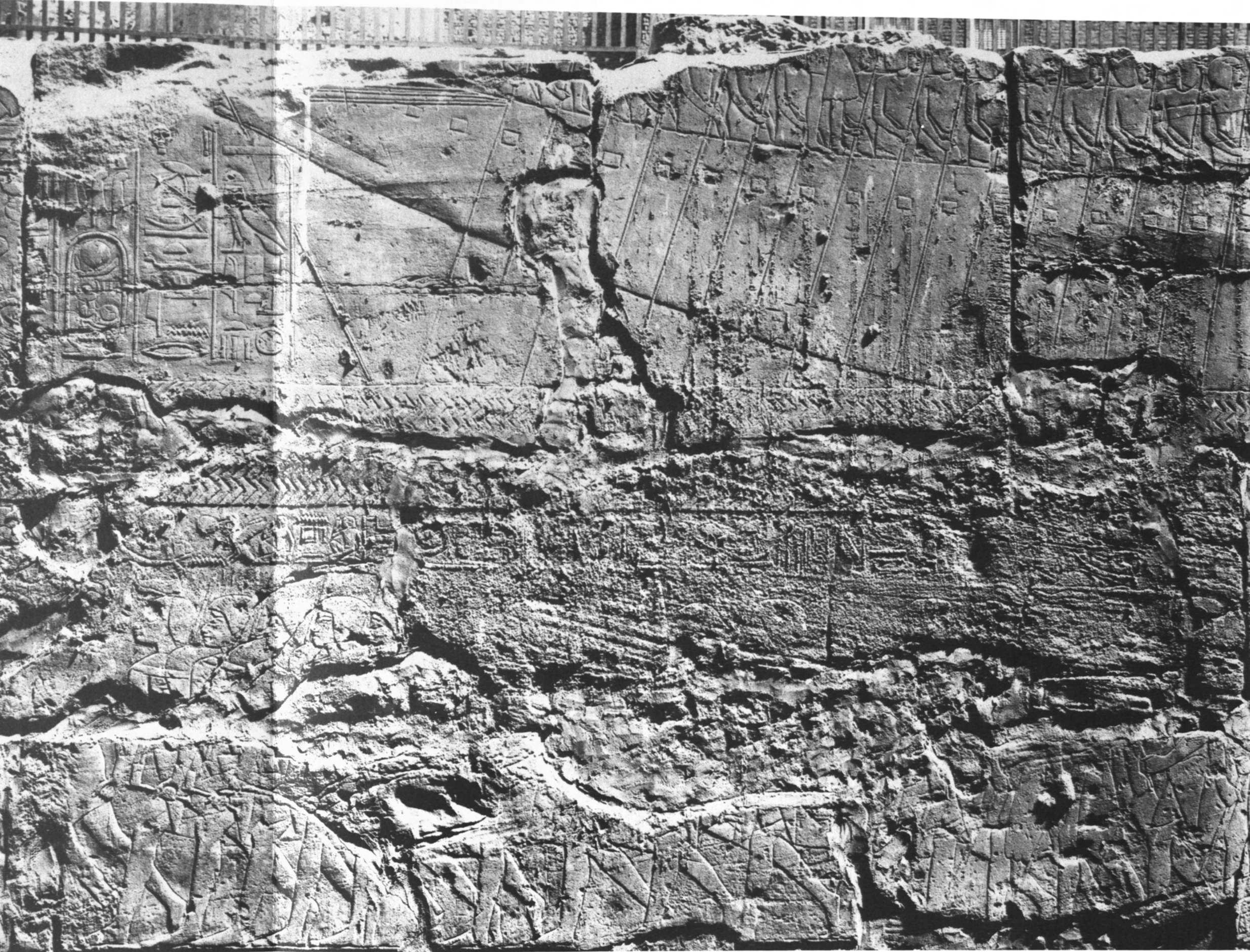


Photographs by Koch

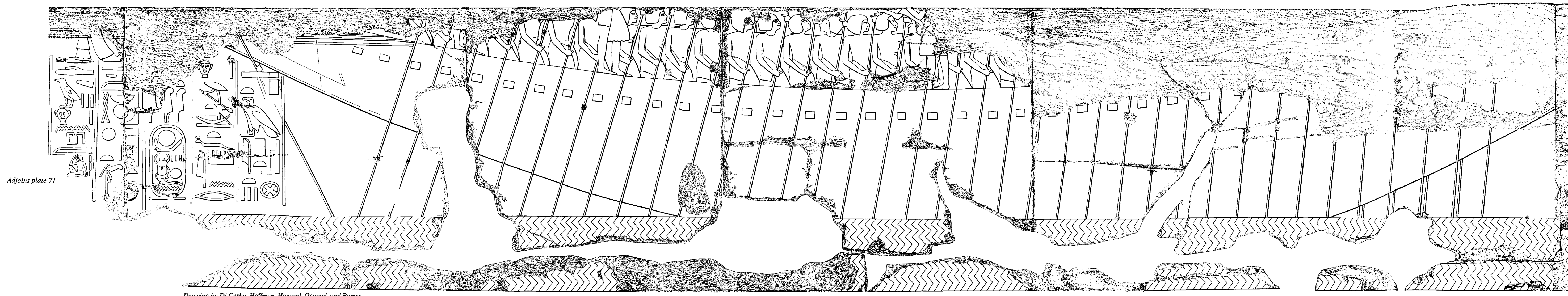


THE BARGE OF THE KING, AND CELEBRANTS ON THE RIVERBANK

(Compare plates 75 and 94-96)



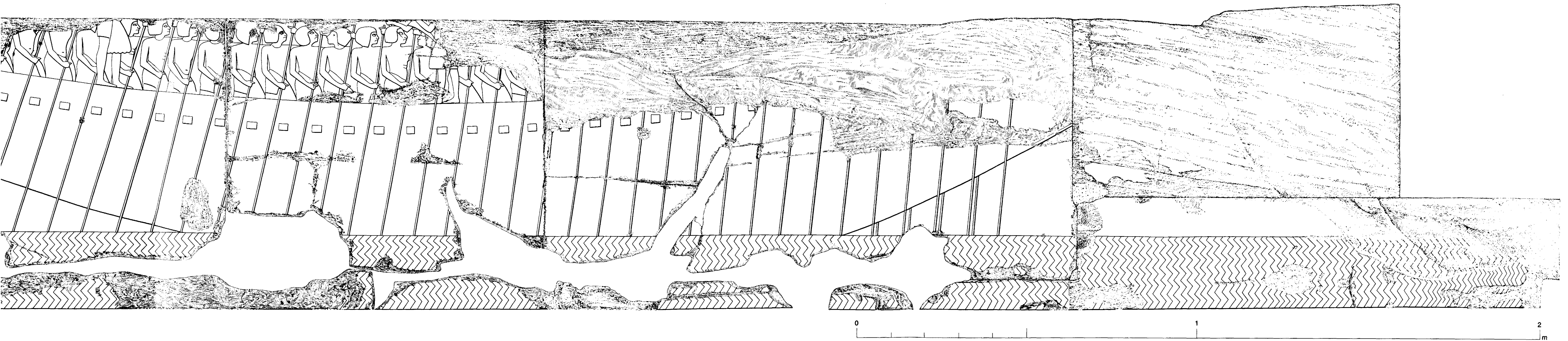
THE BARGE OF THE KING, AND CELEBRANTS ON THE RIVERBANK
(Compare plates 75 and 94-96)



THE BARGE OF THE KING: DETAIL OF PLATE 69

EAST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION

(See plate 74)

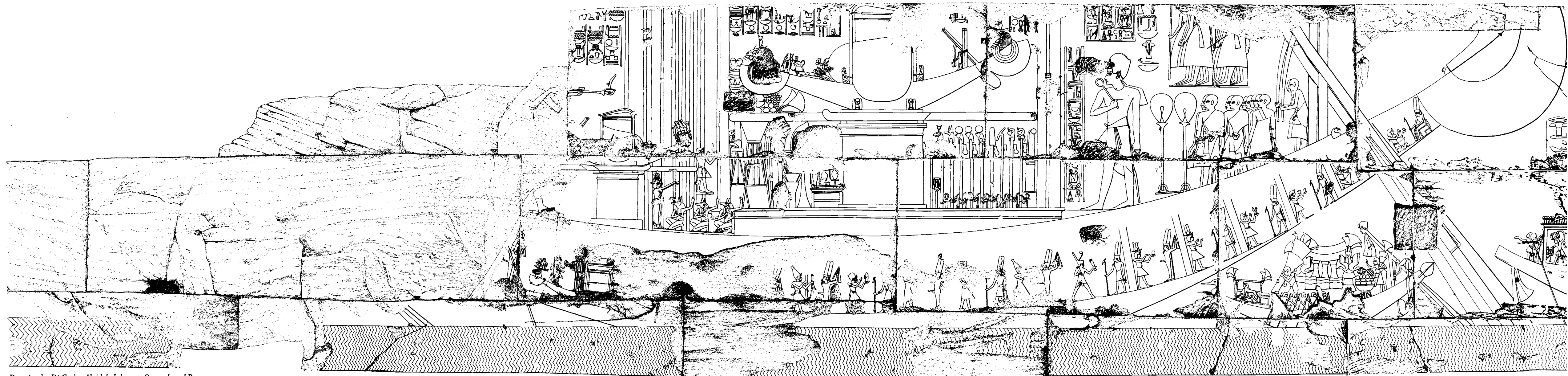


THE BARGE OF THE KING: DETAIL OF PLATE 69

EAST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION

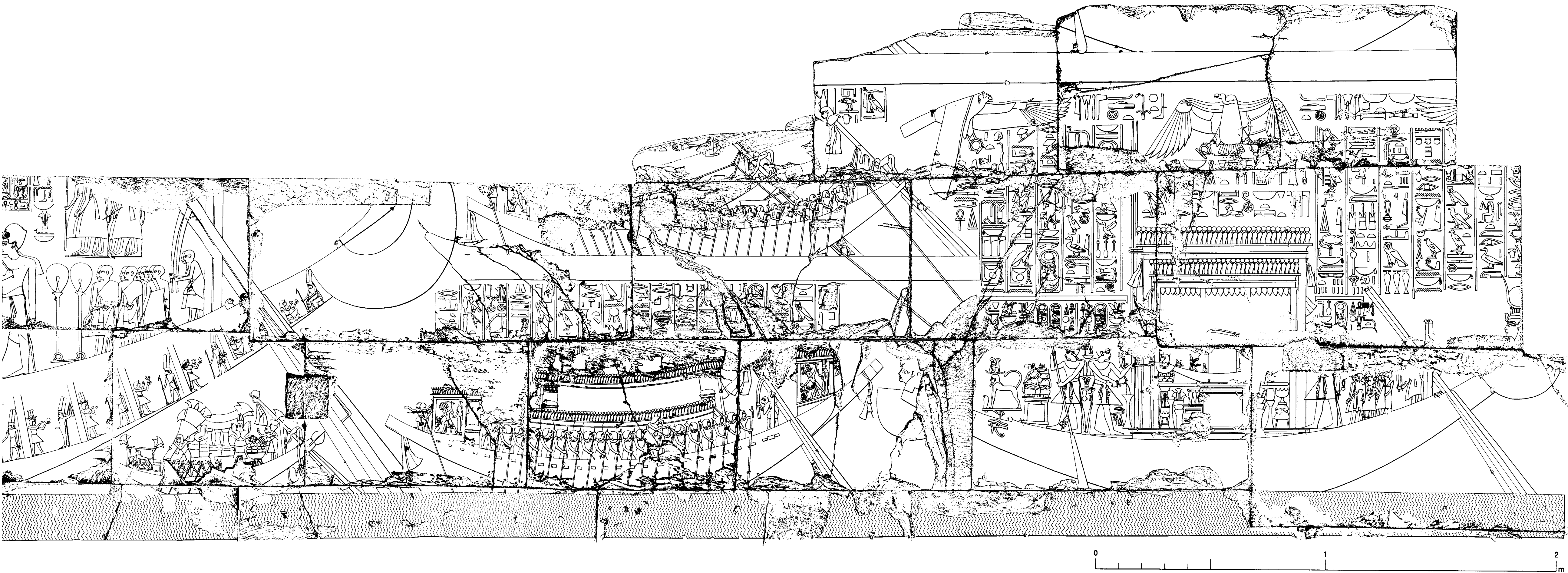
(See plate 74)

Adjoins plate 69

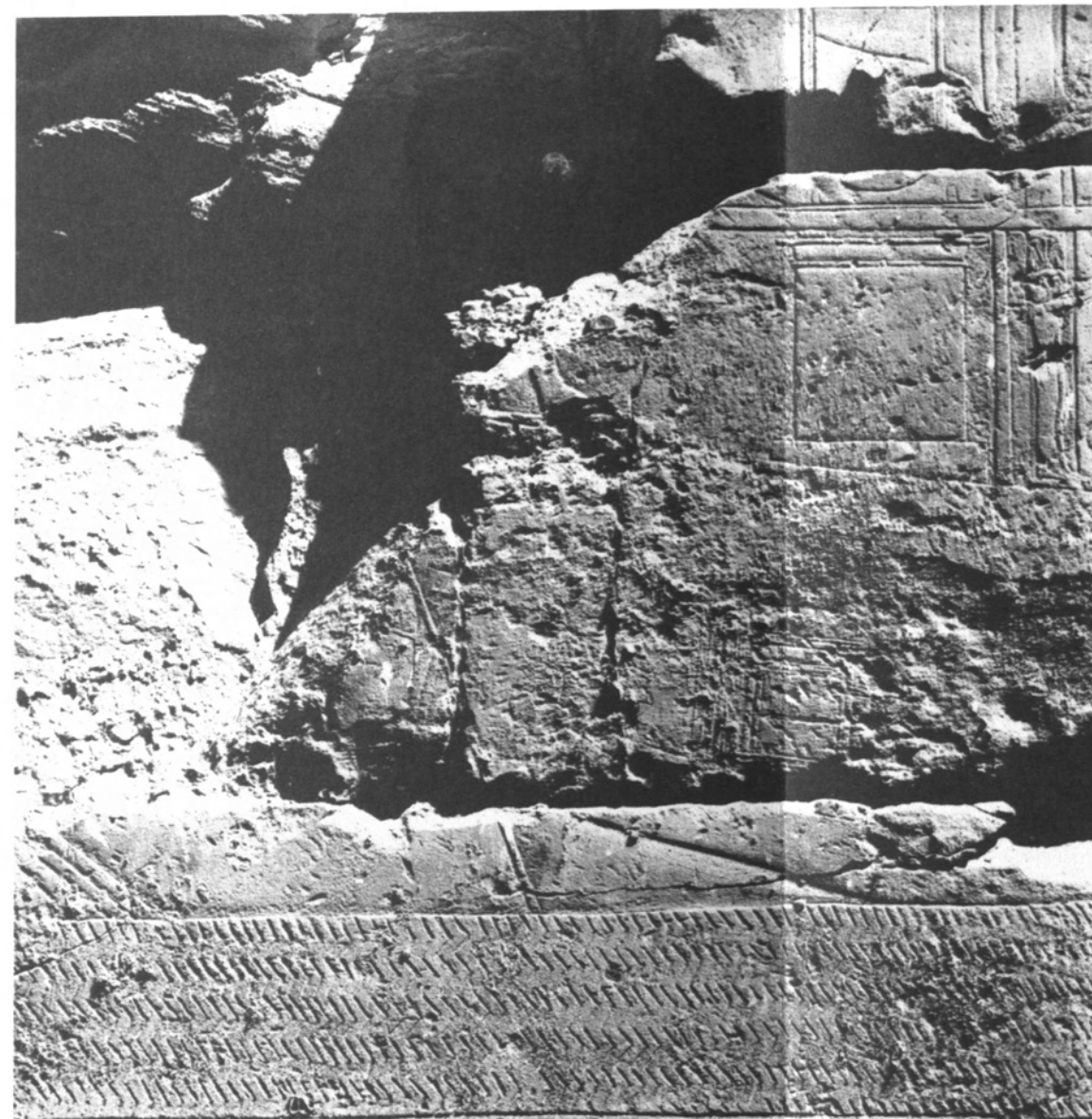


Drawing by Di Cerbo, Heidel, Johnson, Osgood, and Romer

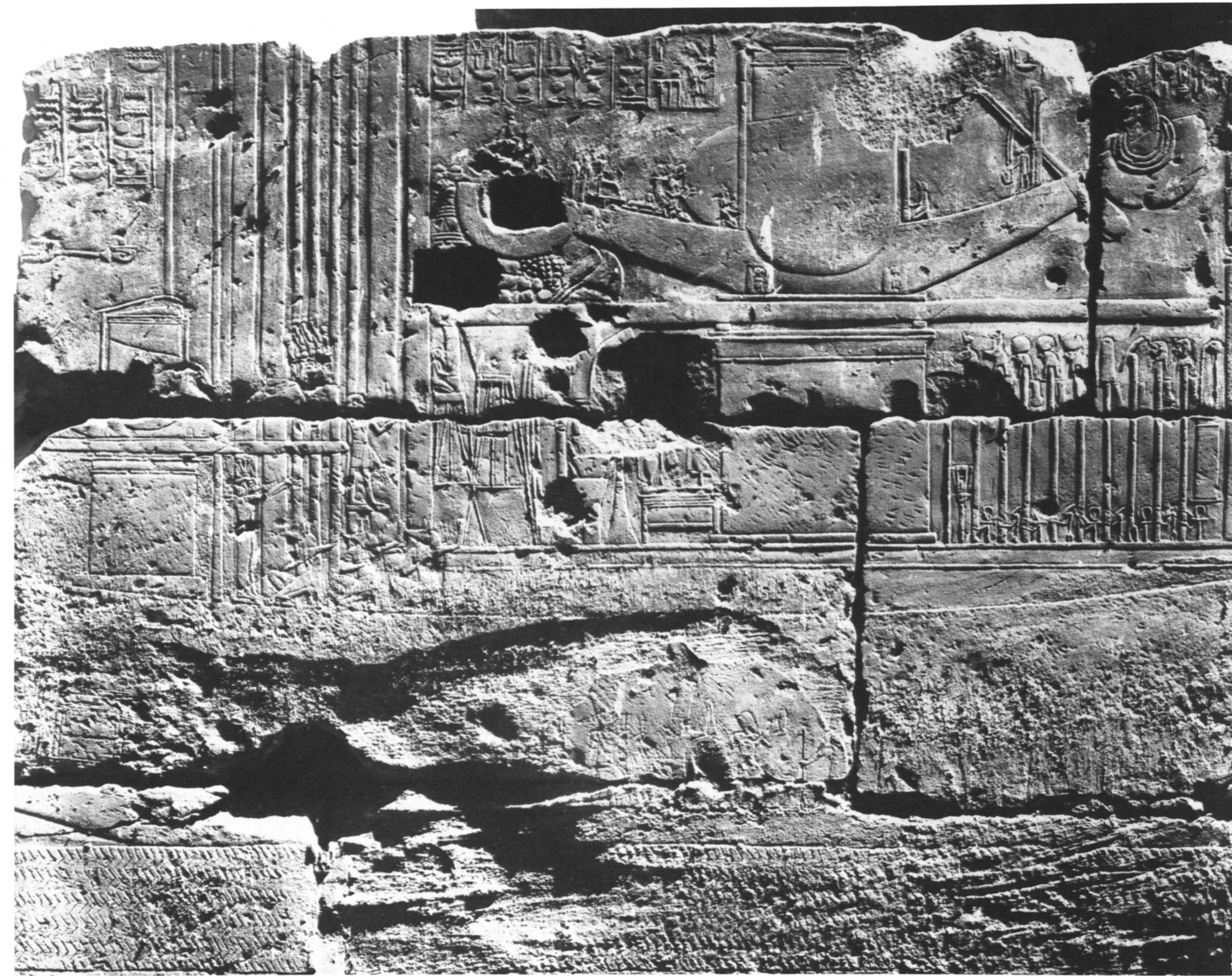
THE BARGE OF AMUN WITH DUCK BOAT, TOWBOATS, THE BARGE OF THE QUEEN, AND THE BARGE OF M
DETAIL OF PLATE 68
EAST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION



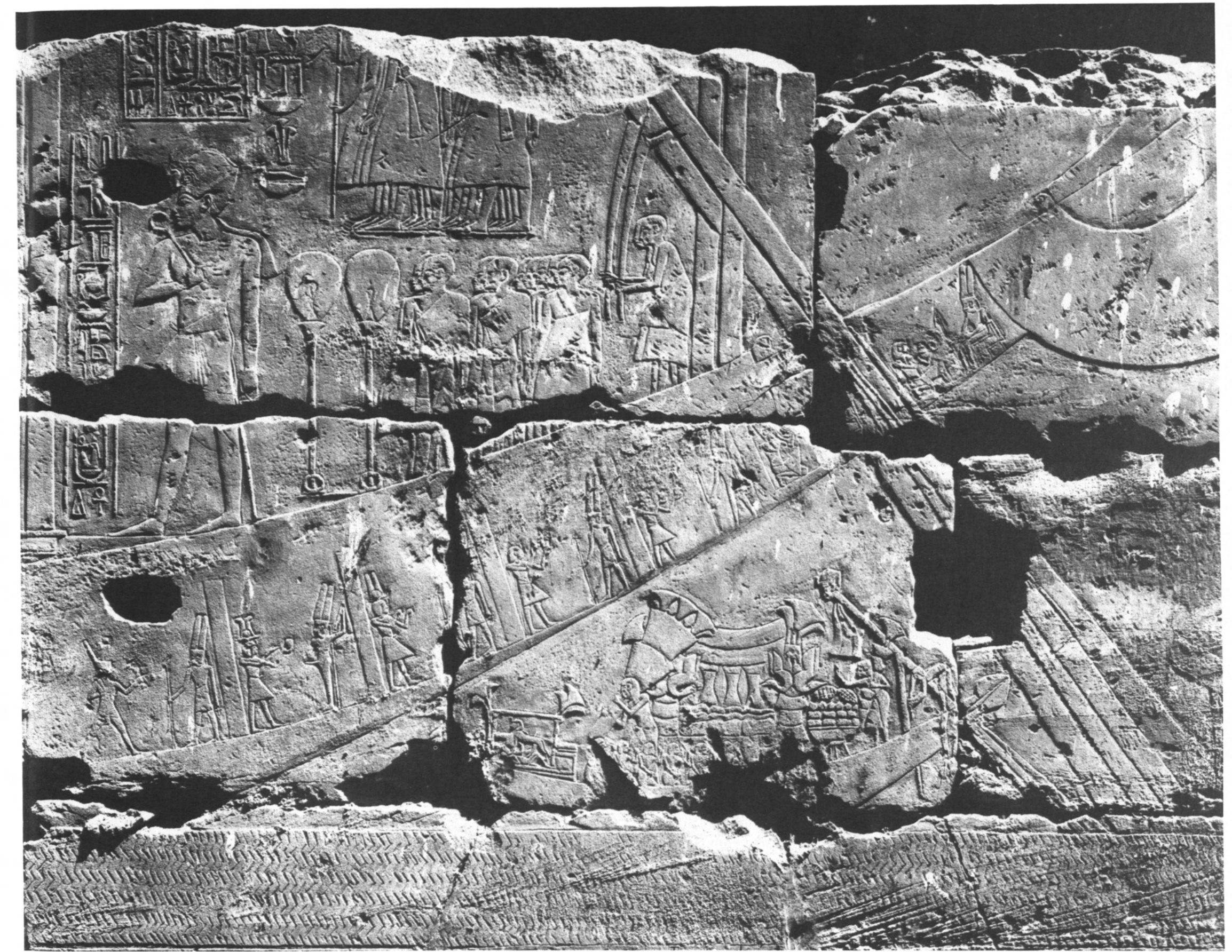
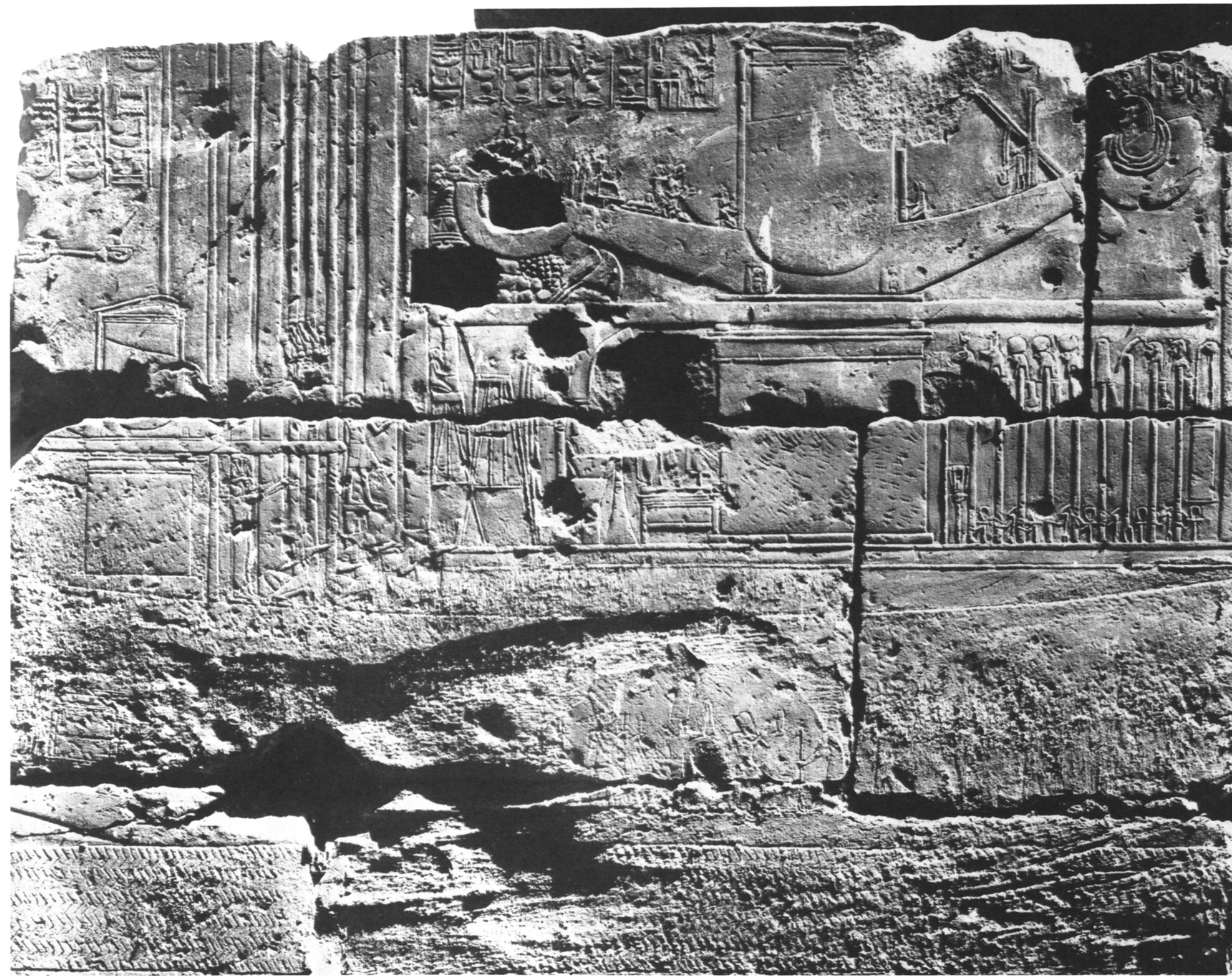
ARGE OF AMUN WITH DUCK BOAT, TOWBOATS, THE BARGE OF THE QUEEN, AND THE BARGE OF MUT:
DETAIL OF PLATE 68
EAST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION



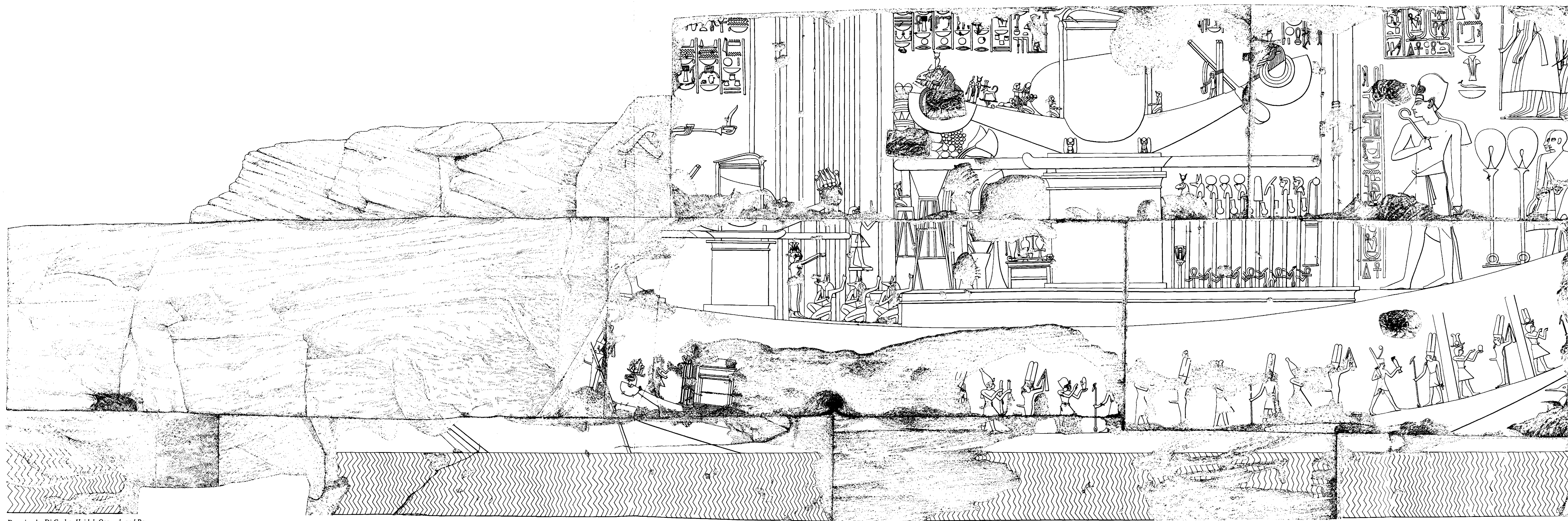
Photographs by Koch



THE BARGE OF AMUN WITH DUCK BOAT
(Compare plate 78)



THE BARGE OF AMUN WITH DUCK BOAT
(Compare plate 78)



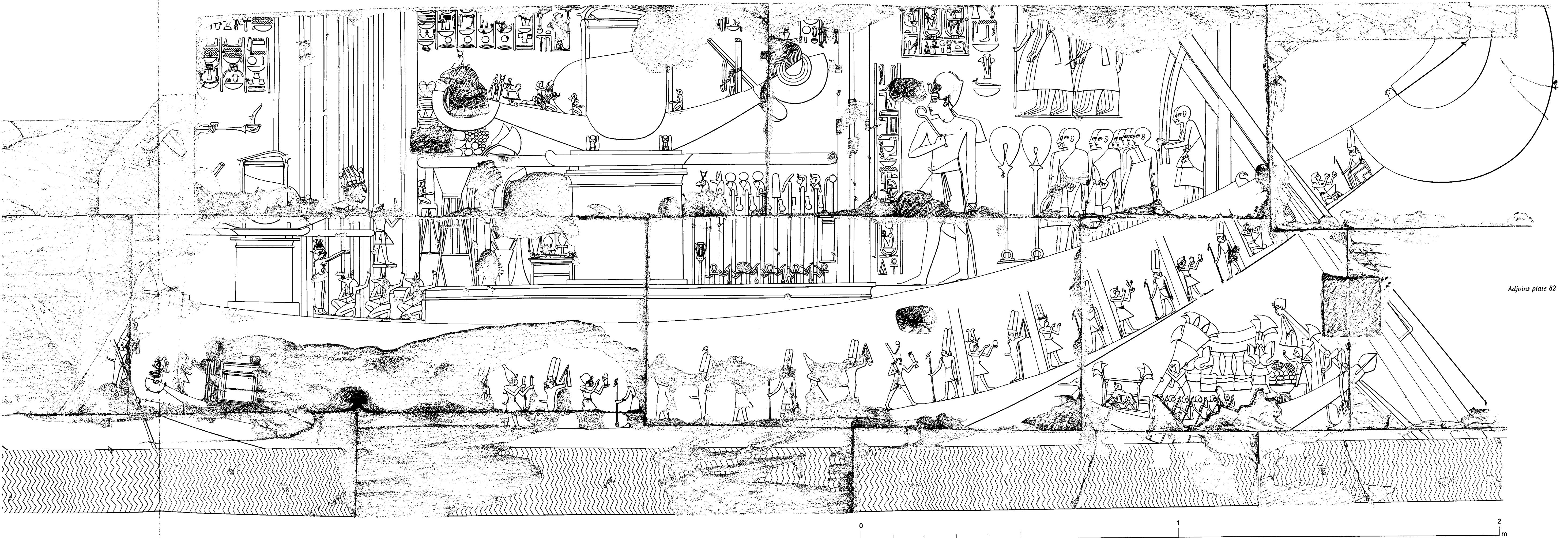
Drawing by Di Cerbo, Heidel, Osgood, and Romer



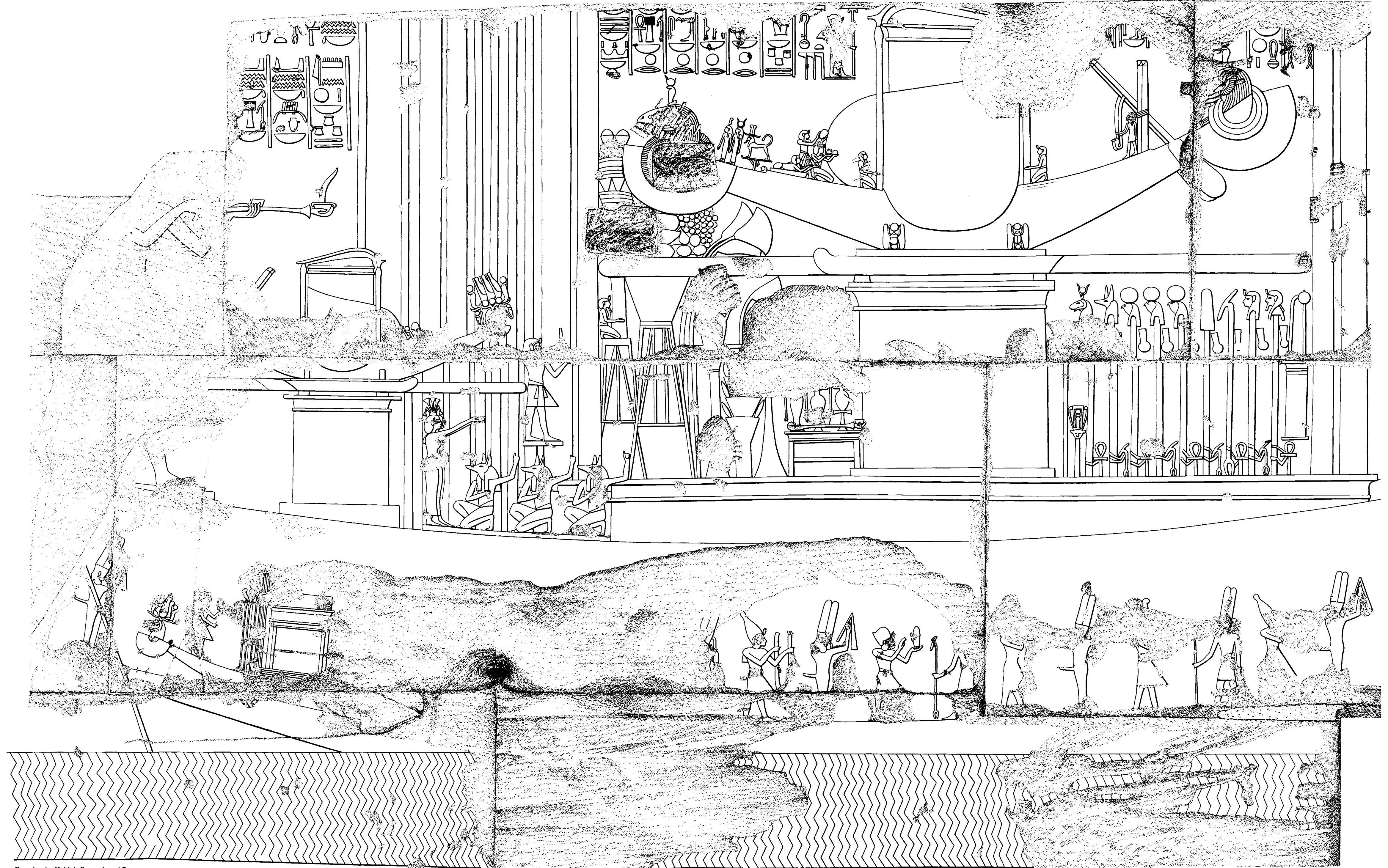
THE BARGE OF AMUN WITH DUCK BOAT: DETAIL OF PLATE 76

EAST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION

(See plate 77)

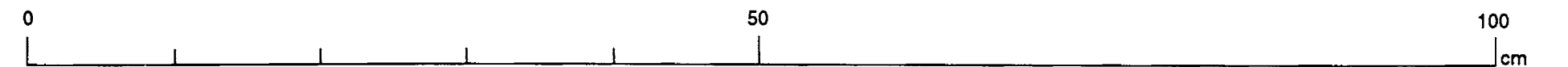


THE BARGE OF AMUN WITH DUCK BOAT: DETAIL OF PLATE 76
EAST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION
(See plate 77)

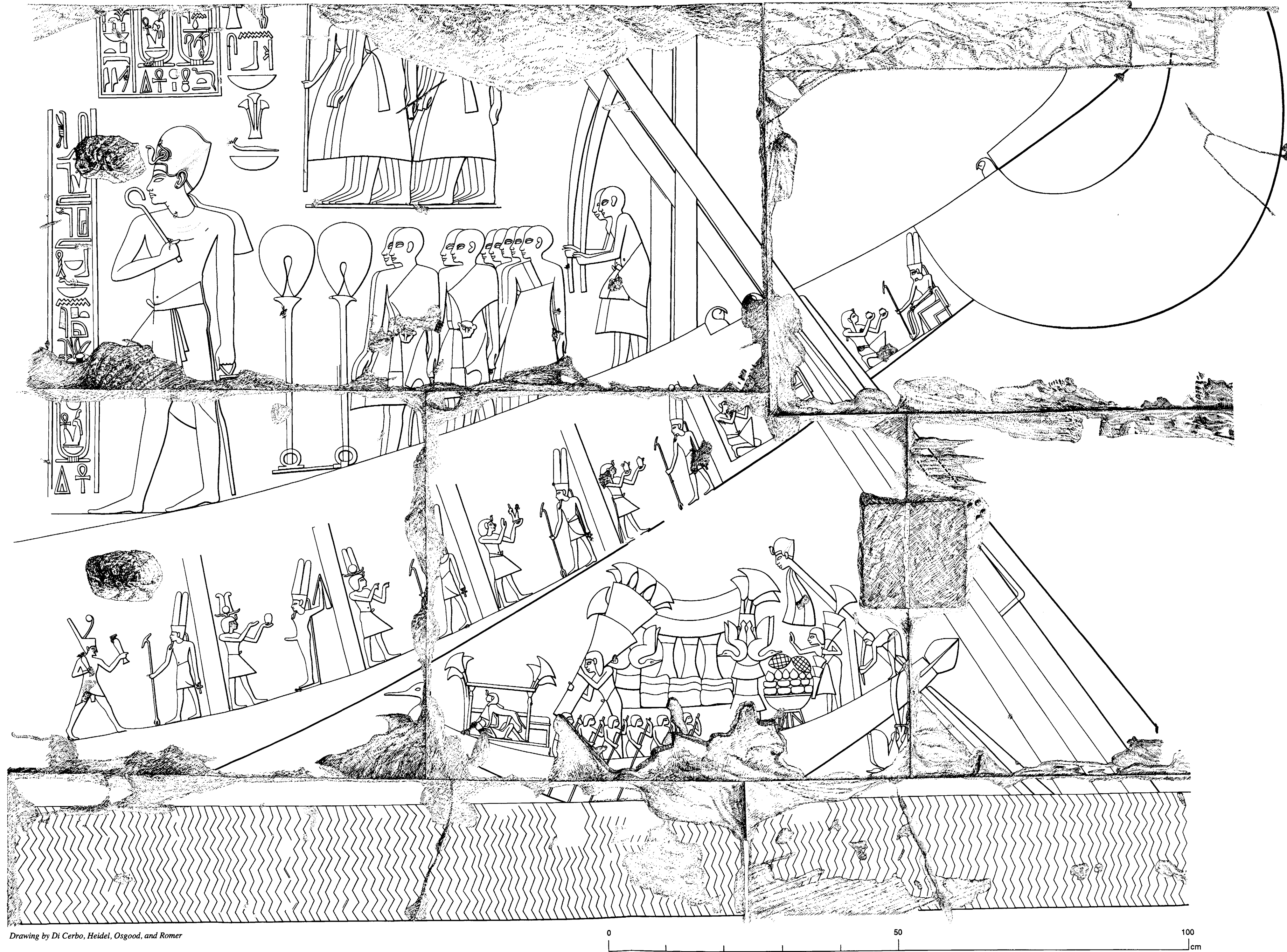


Adjoins plate 80

Drawing by Heidel, Osgood, and Romer



THE MIDSECTION OF THE BARGE OF AMUN: DETAIL OF PLATE 78
EAST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION



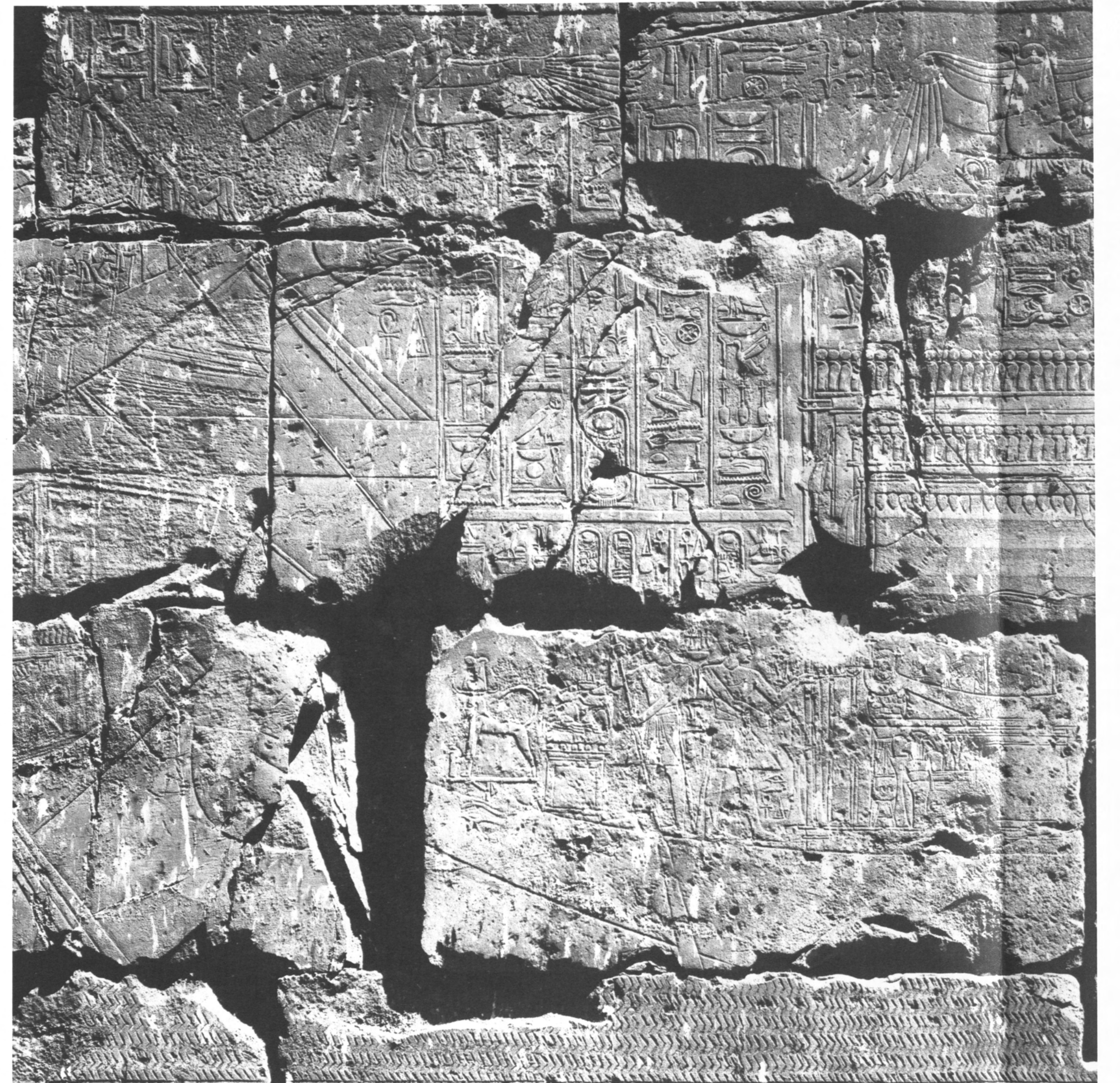
Drawing by Di Cerbo, Heidel, Osgood, and Romer

THE STERN OF THE BARGE OF AMUN WITH DUCK BOAT: DETAIL OF PLATE 78

EAST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION

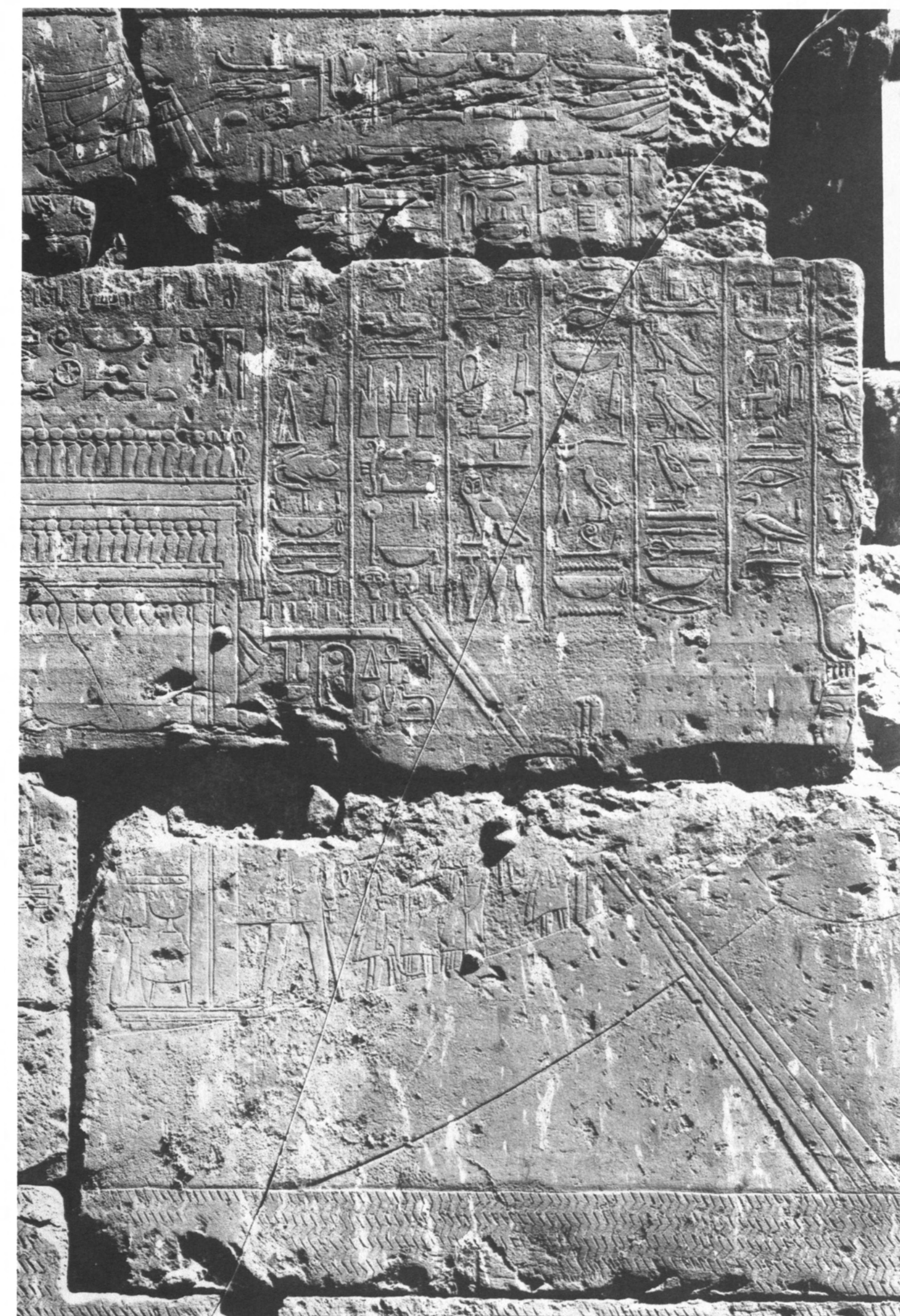


Photographs by Koch



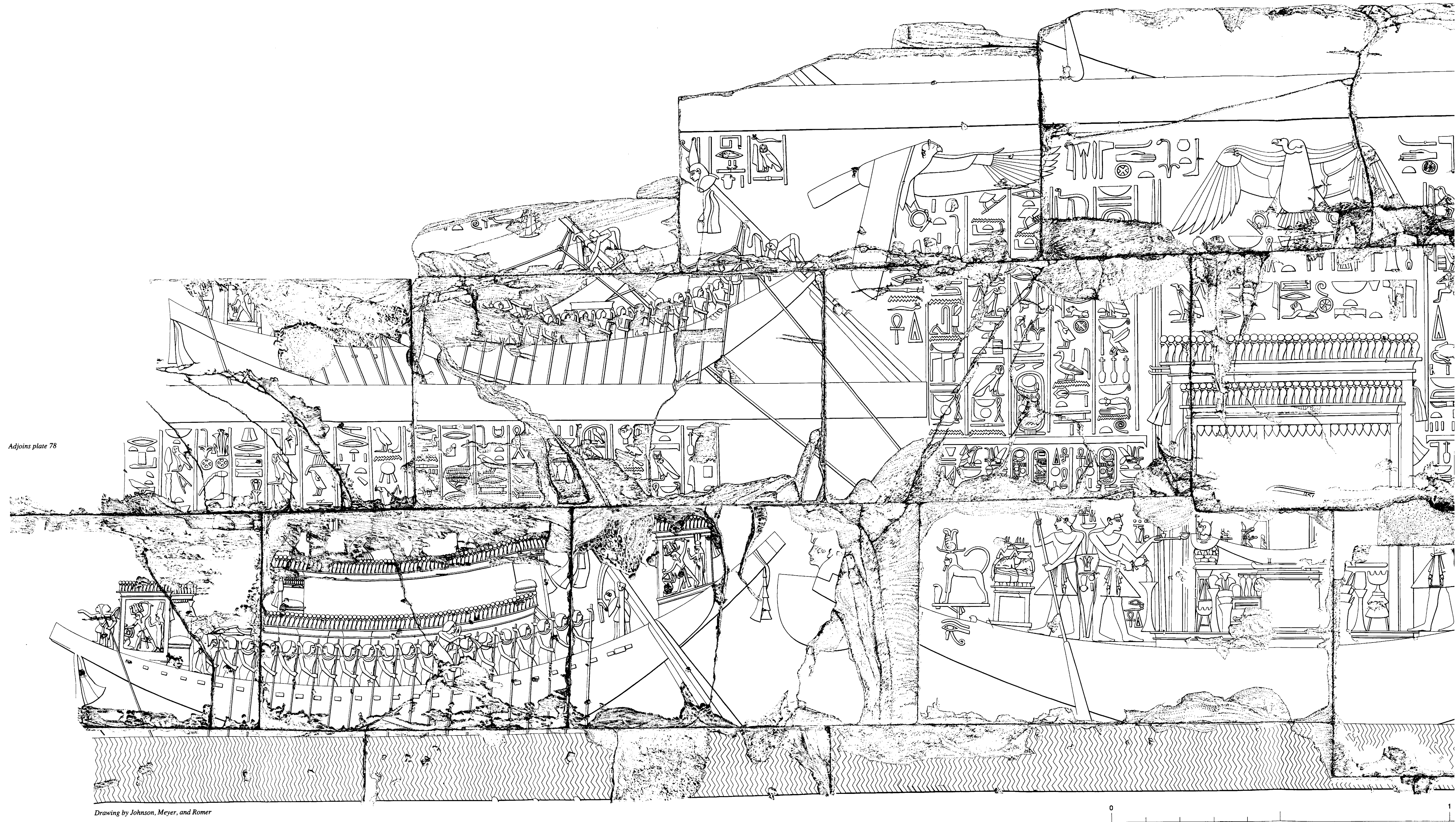
TOWBOATS, THE BARGE OF THE QUEEN, AND THE BARGE OF MUT

(Compare plates 82-86)



TOWBOATS, THE BARGE OF THE QUEEN, AND THE BARGE OF MUT

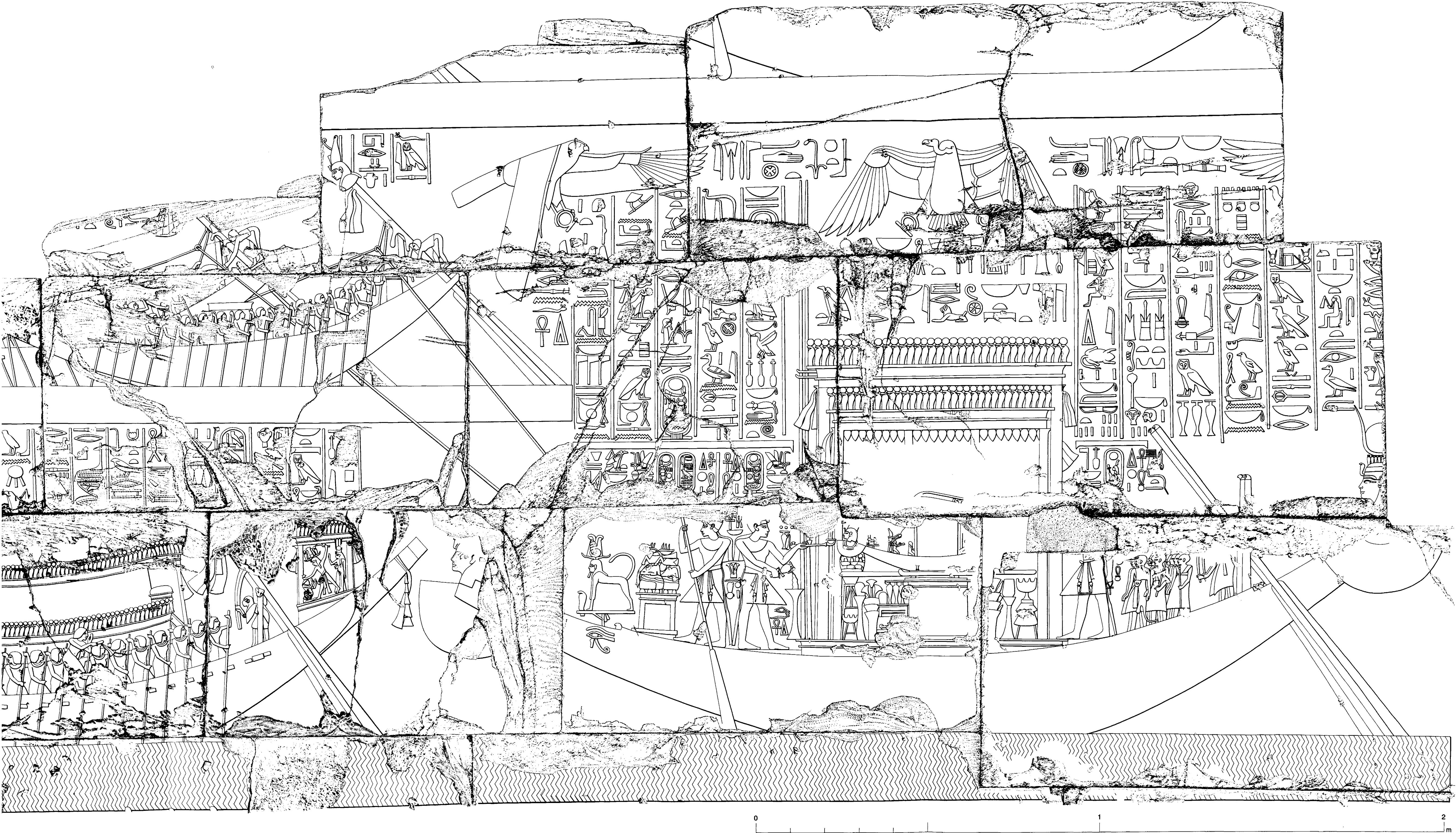
(Compare plates 82-86)



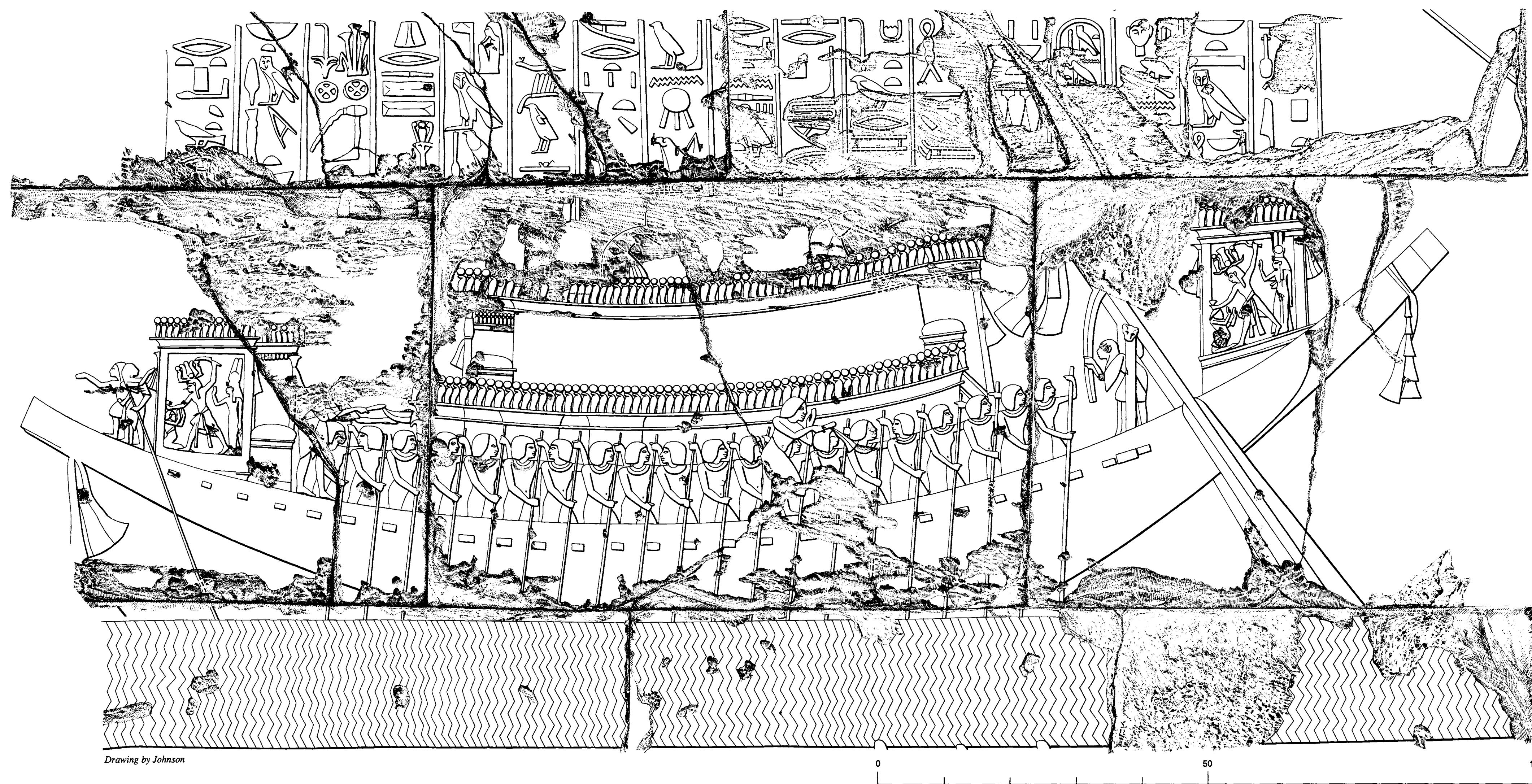
Adjoins plate 78

Drawing by Johnson, Meyer, and Romer

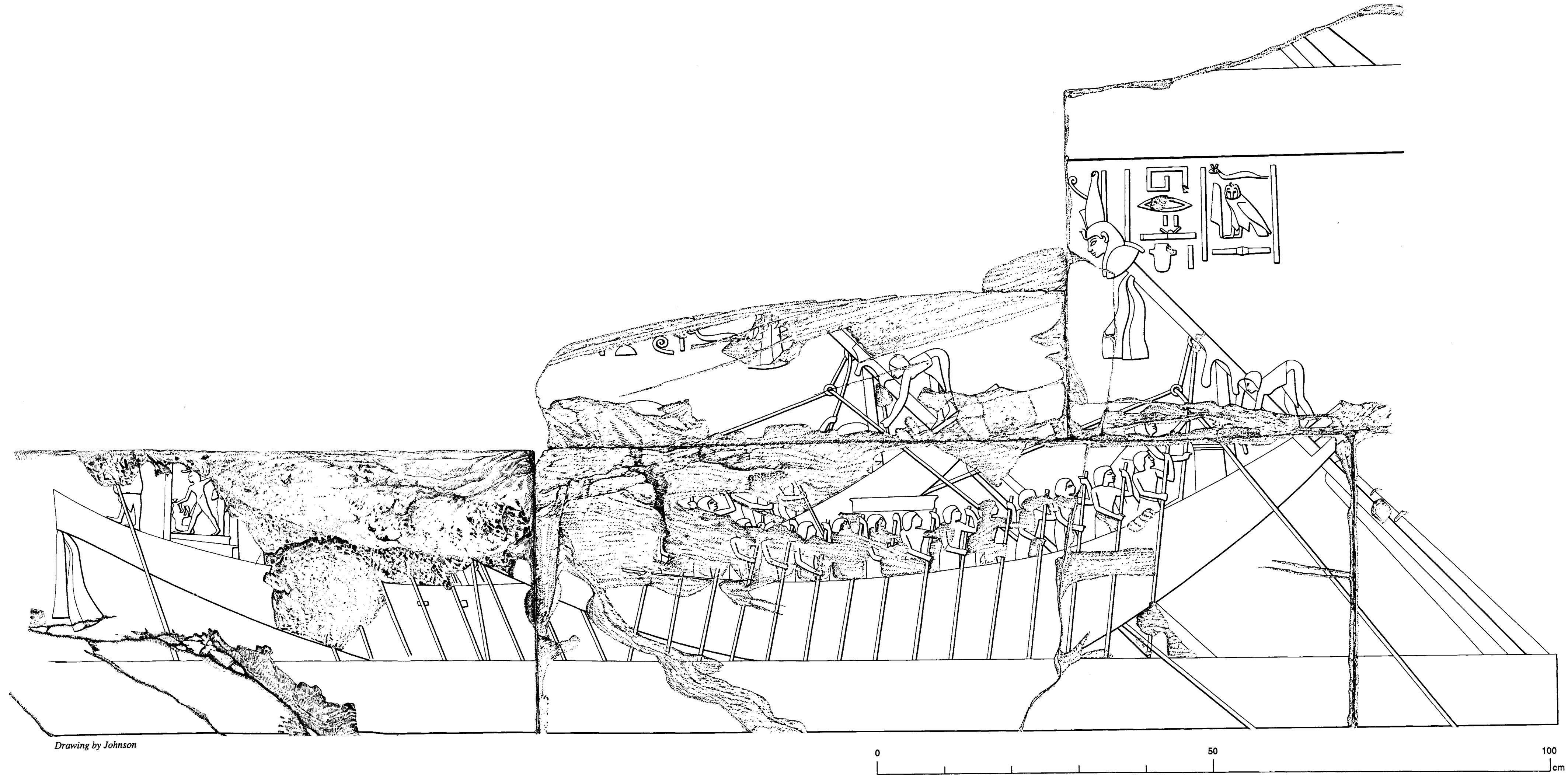
TOWBOATS, THE BARGE OF THE QUEEN, AND THE BARGE OF MUT: DETAIL OF PLATE 76
EAST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION



TOWBOATS, THE BARGE OF THE QUEEN, AND THE BARGE OF MUT: DETAIL OF PLATE 76
EAST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION



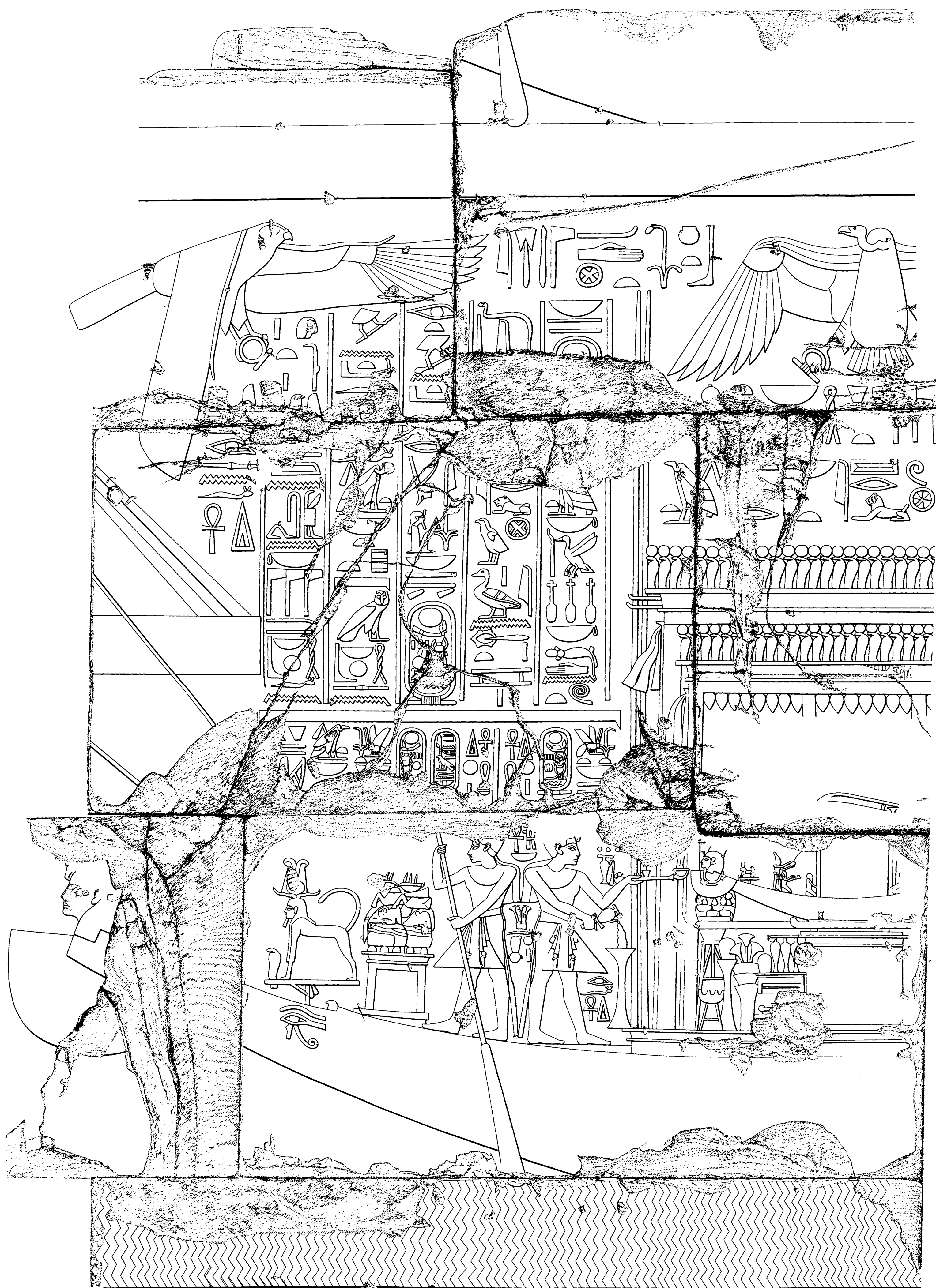
THE BARGE OF THE QUEEN: DETAIL OF PLATE 82
EAST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION
(See plate 81)



TOWBOATS ABOVE THE BARGE OF THE QUEEN: DETAIL OF PLATE 82

EAST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION

(See plate 81)

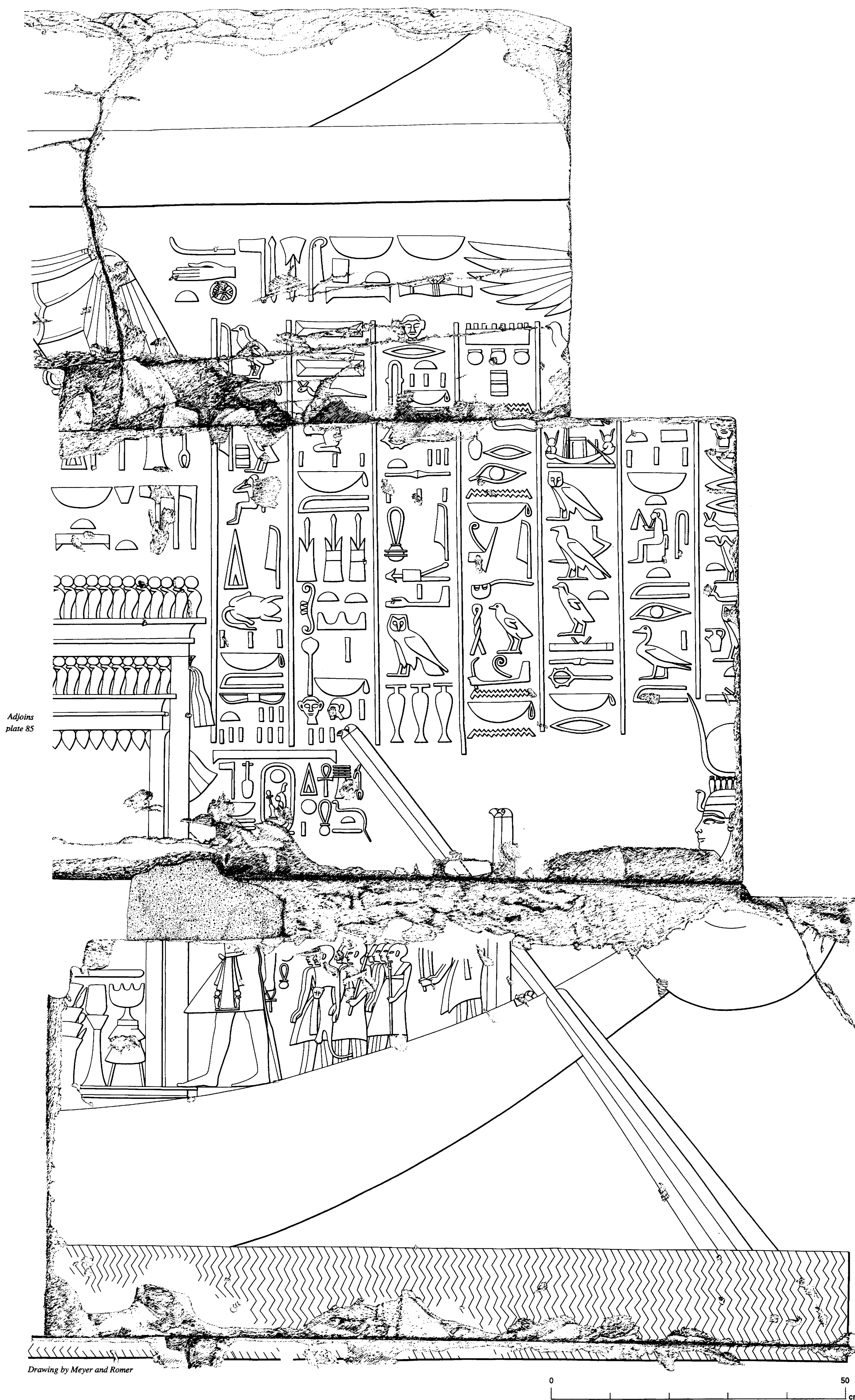


Adjoins
plate 86

THE PROW OF THE BARGE OF MUT, WITH PORTION OF THE BARGE OF KHONSU ABOVE: DETAIL OF PLATE 82

EAST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION

(See plate 81)

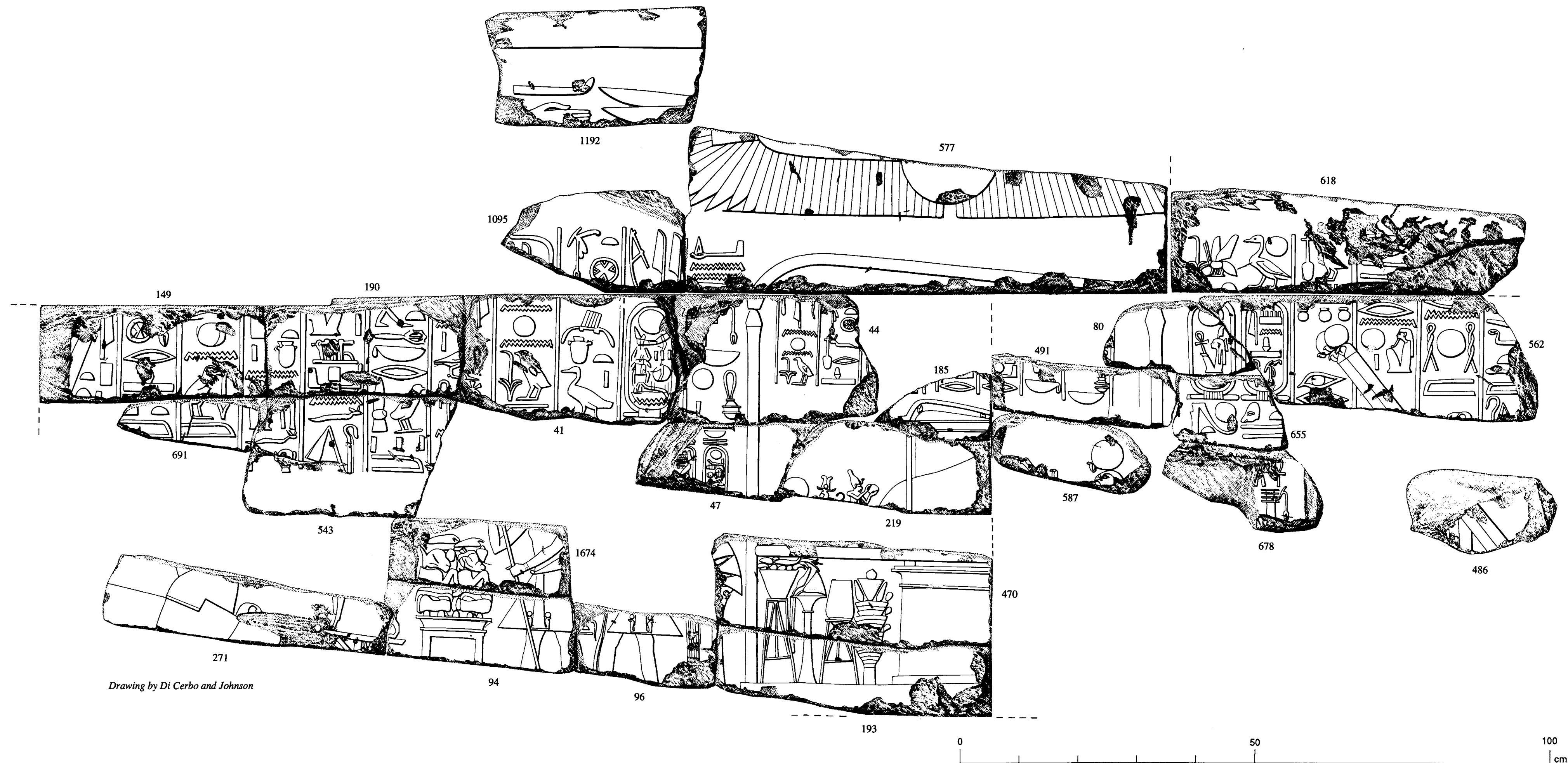


THE STERN OF THE BARGE OF MUT, WITH PORTION OF THE BARGE OF KHONSU ABOVE: DETAIL OF PLATE 82
EAST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION
(See plate 81)



Photographs by K. Krause and Lezon

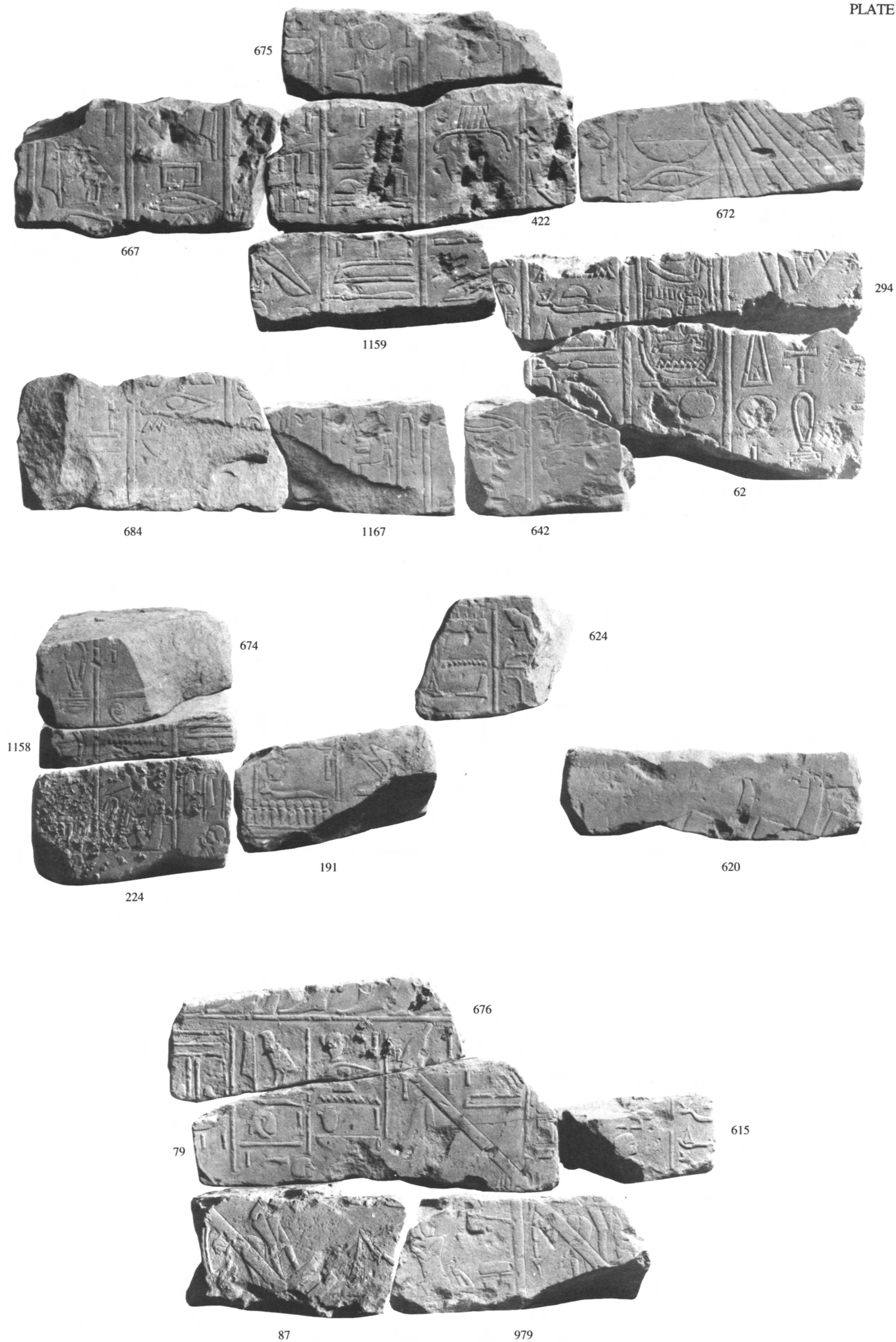
THE BARGE OF KHONSU: FRAGMENTS FROM THE EAST WALL
(Compare plate 88)



THE BARGE OF KHONSU: FRAGMENTS FROM THE EAST WALL: DETAIL OF PLATE 68

EAST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION

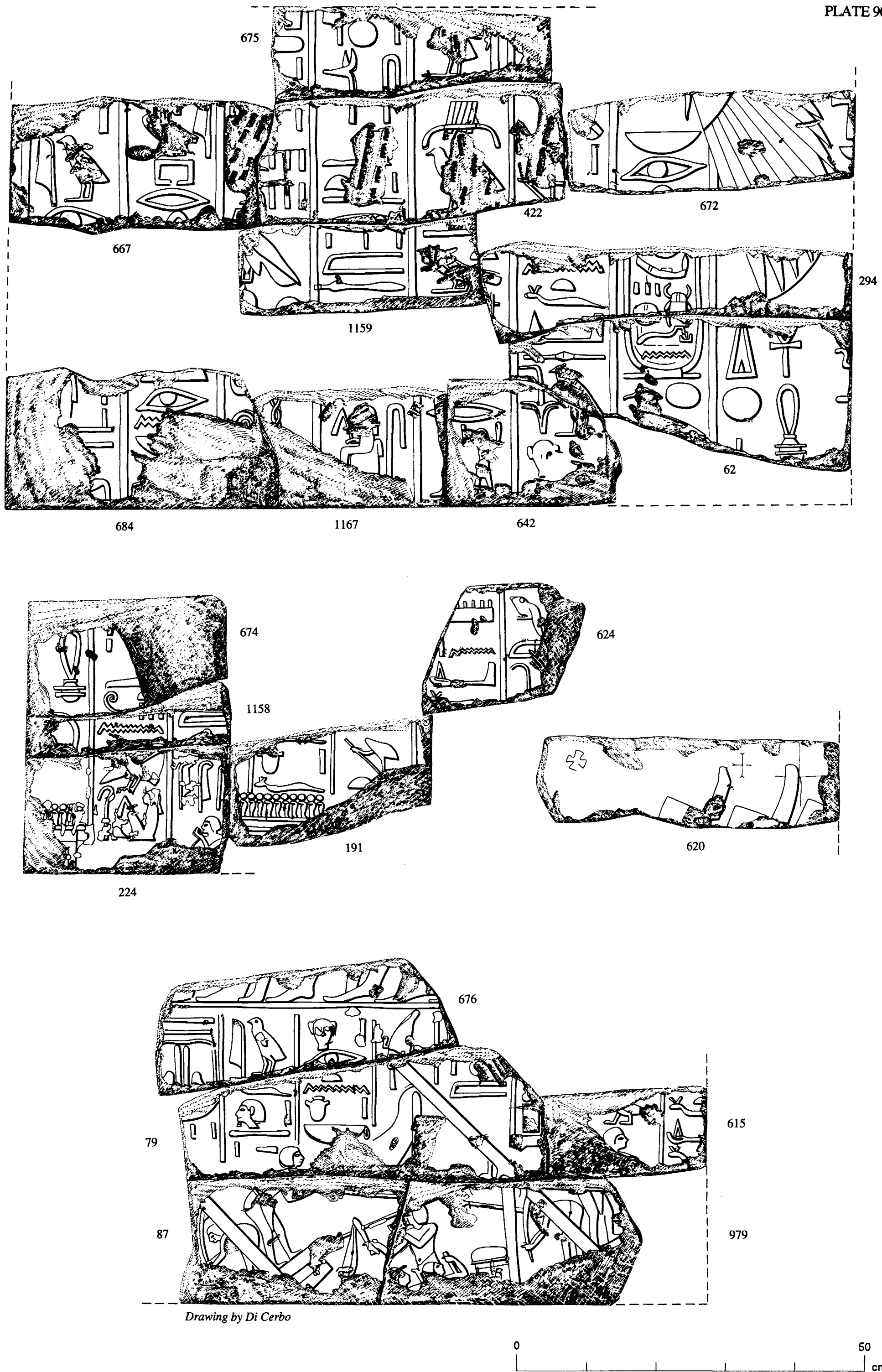
(See plate 87)



Photographs by K. Krause and Lezon

TOWBOATS OF THE BARGE OF KHONSU: FRAGMENTS FROM THE EAST WALL

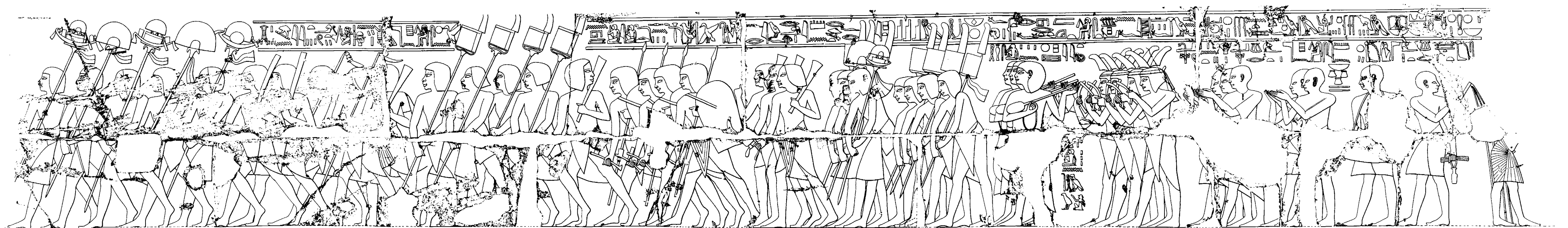
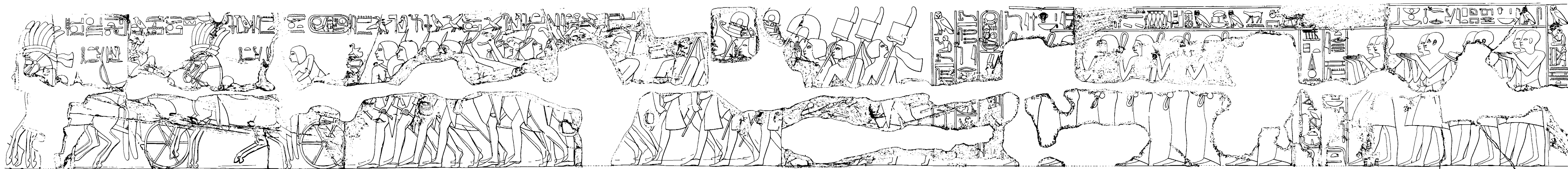
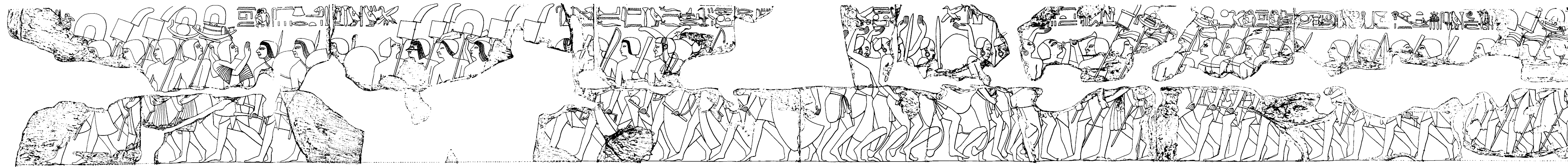
(Compare plate 90)



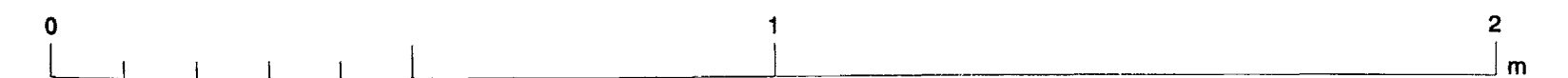
TOWBOATS OF THE BARGE OF KHONSU: FRAGMENTS FROM THE EAST WALL: DETAIL OF PLATE 68

EAST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION

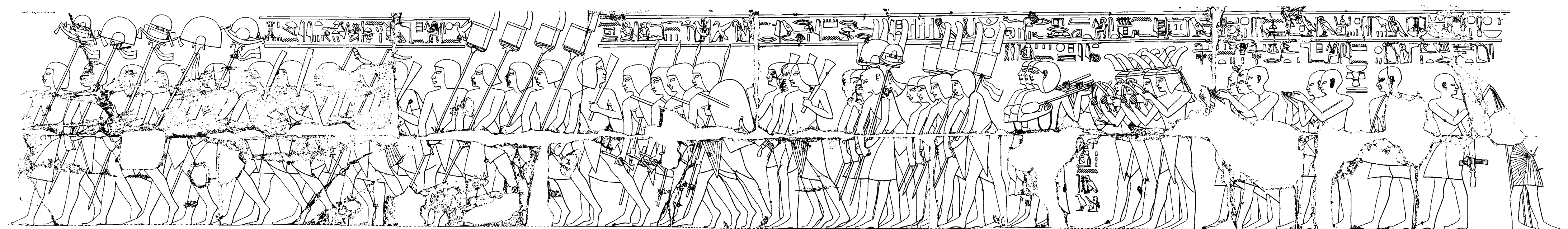
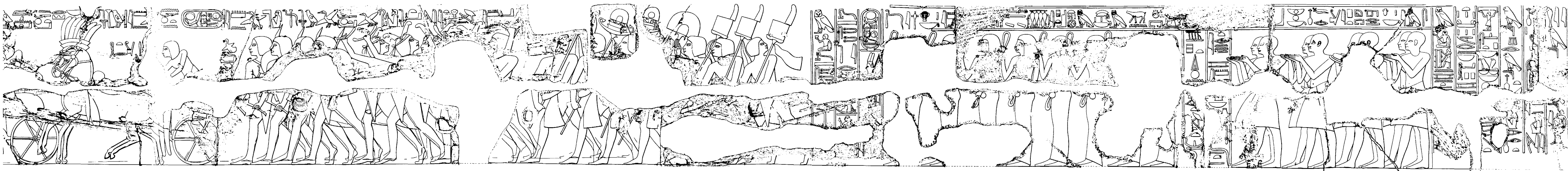
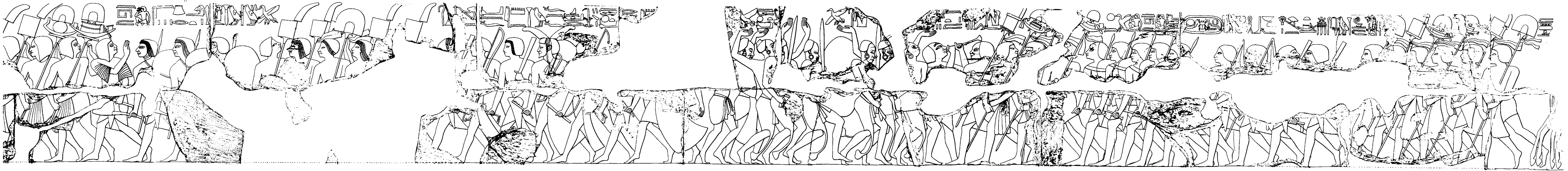
(See plate 89)



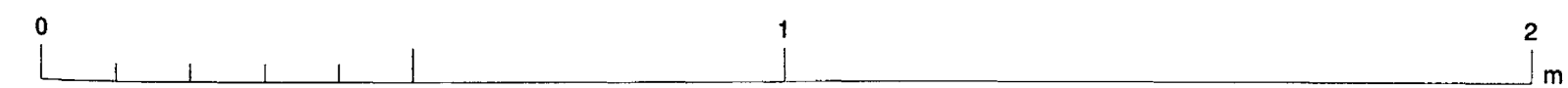
Drawing by Di Cerbo, S. Garfi, Heidel, Howard, Johnson, Lack, Manuelian, and Romer



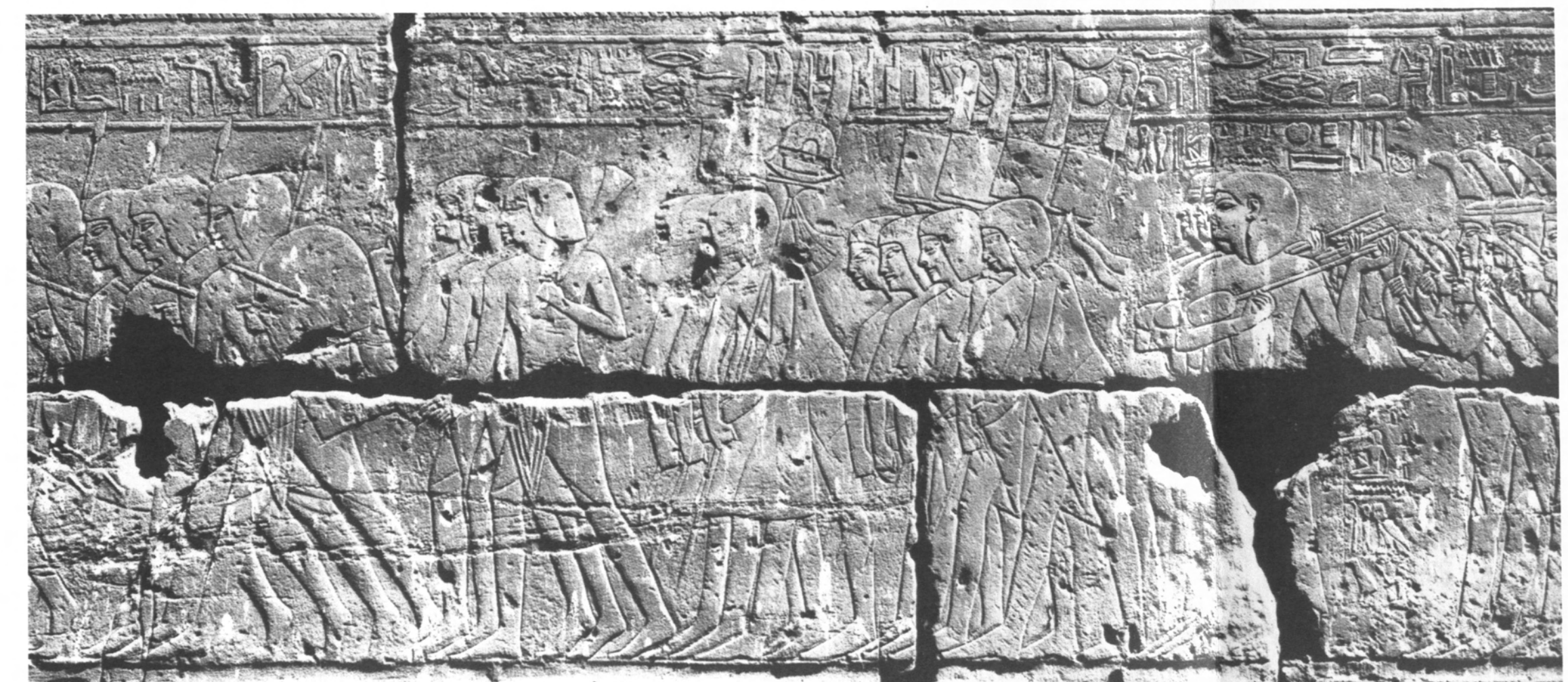
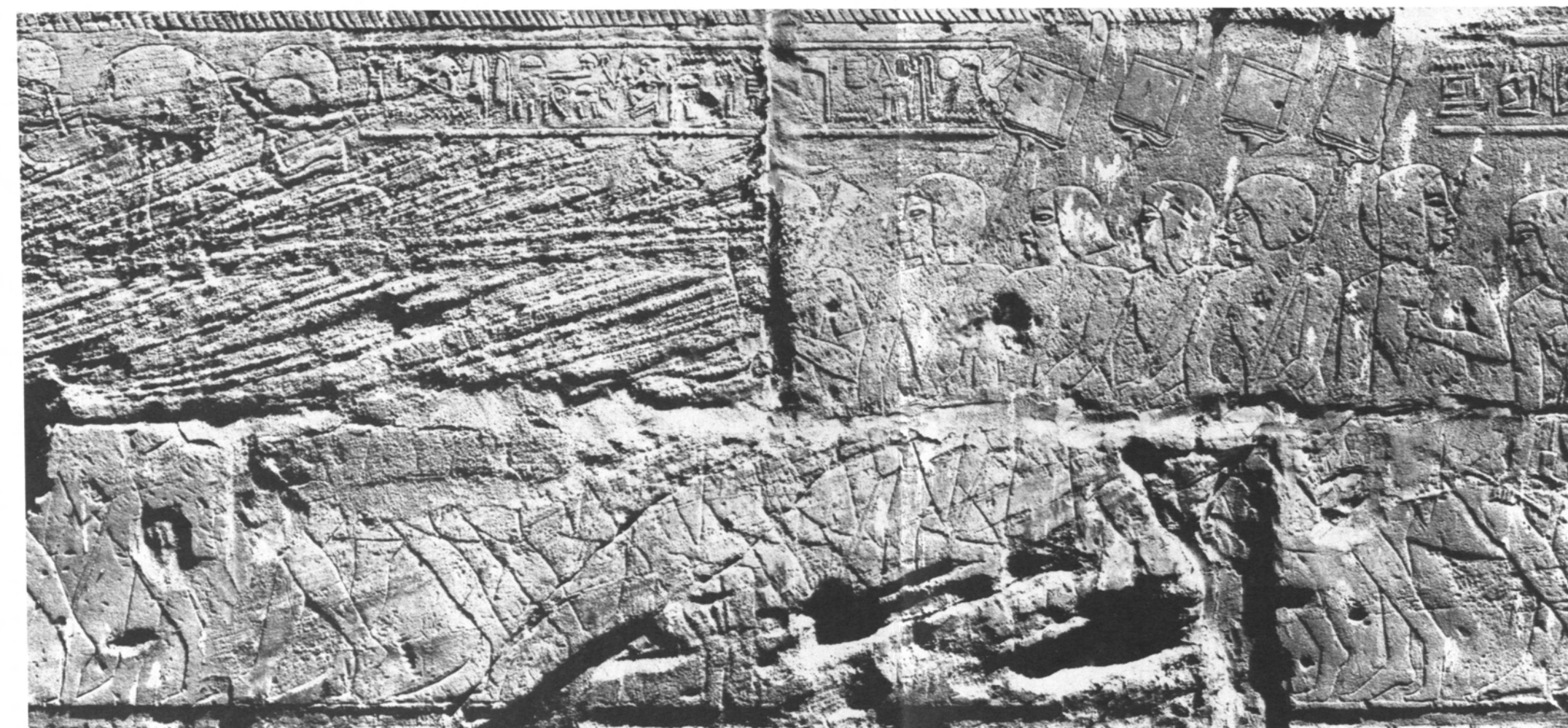
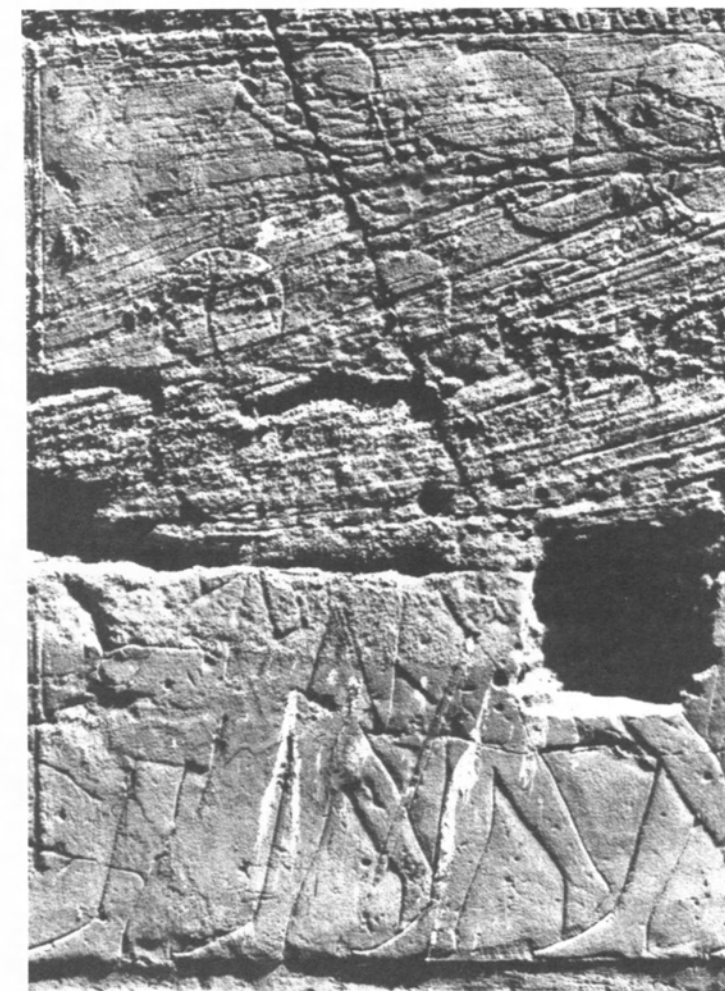
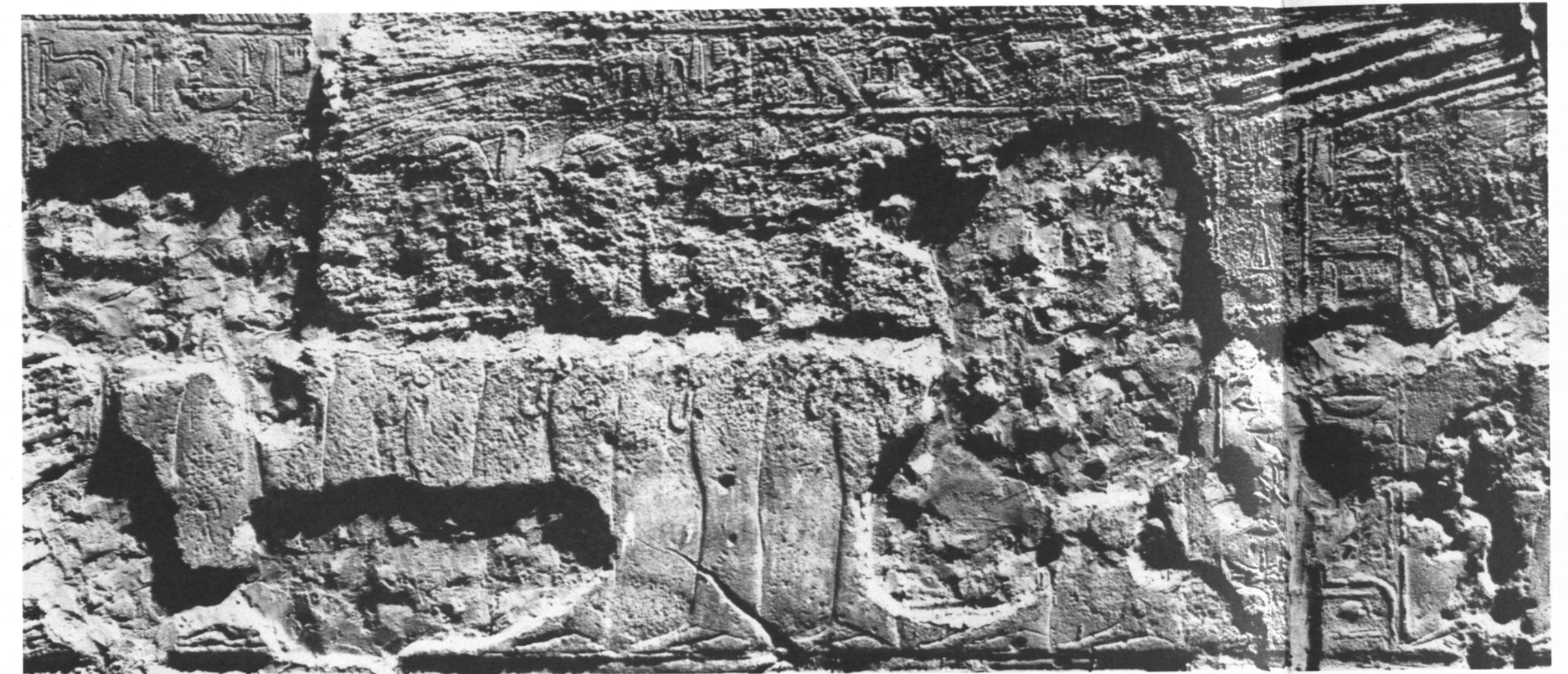
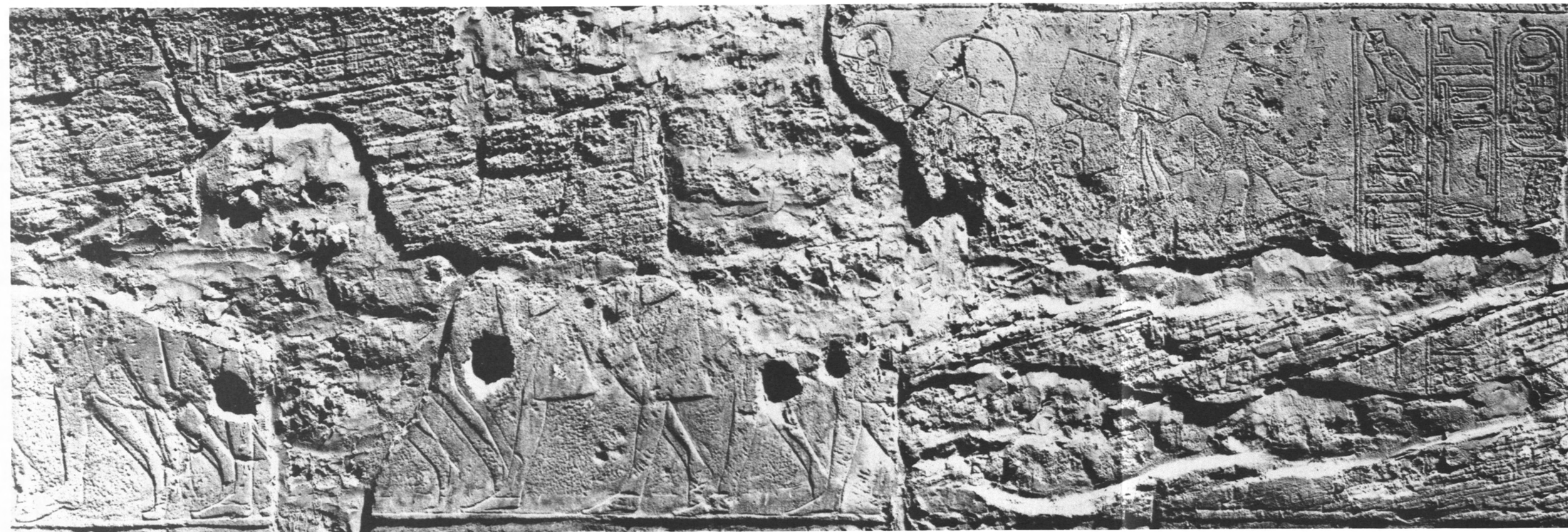
CELEBRANTS ACCOMPANYING THE PROCESSION OF THE CEREMONIAL BARGES FROM LUXOR TO
KARNAK: DETAIL OF PLATE 68



Drawing by Di Cerbo, S. Garfi, Heidel, Howard, Johnson, Lack, Manuelian, and Romer



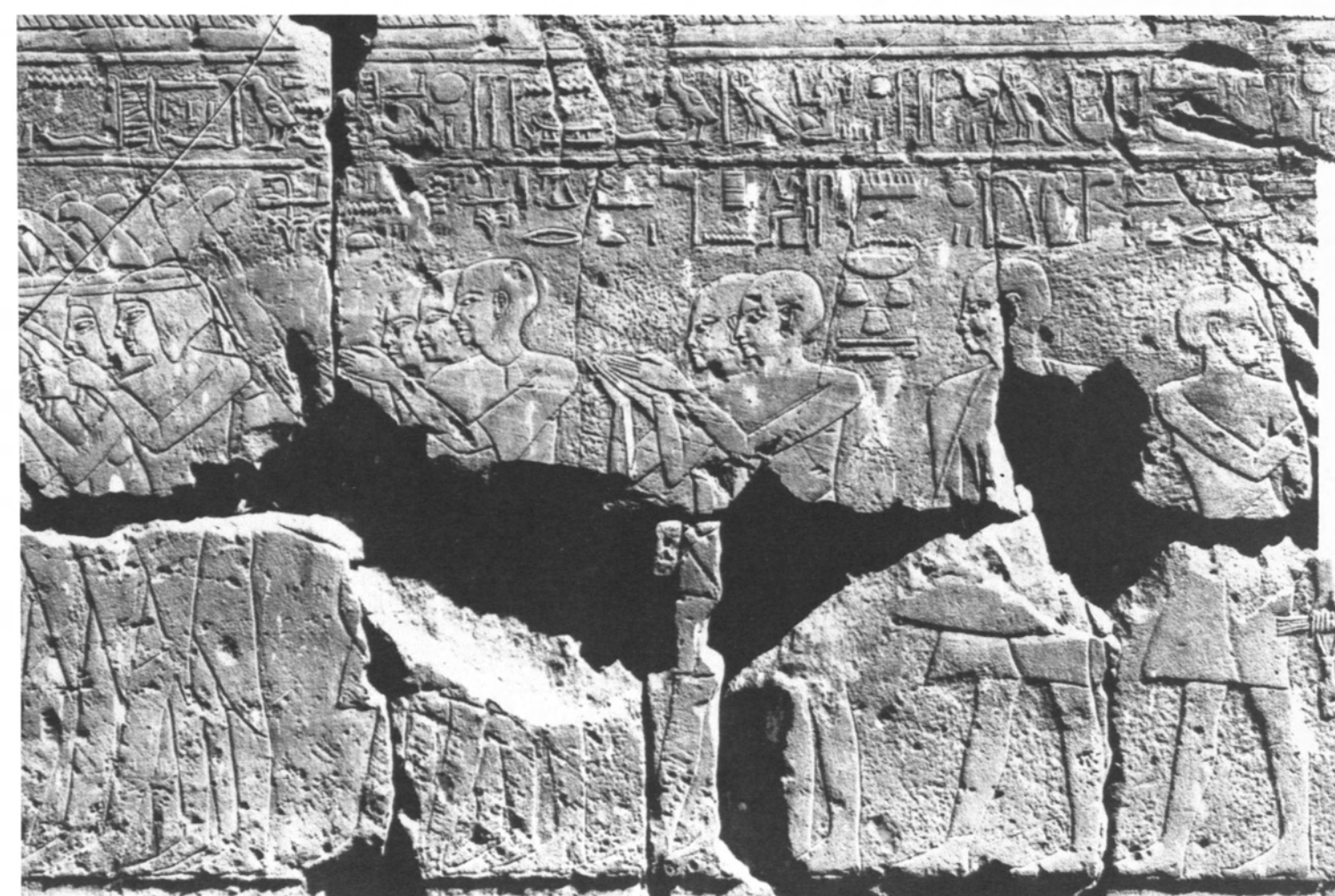
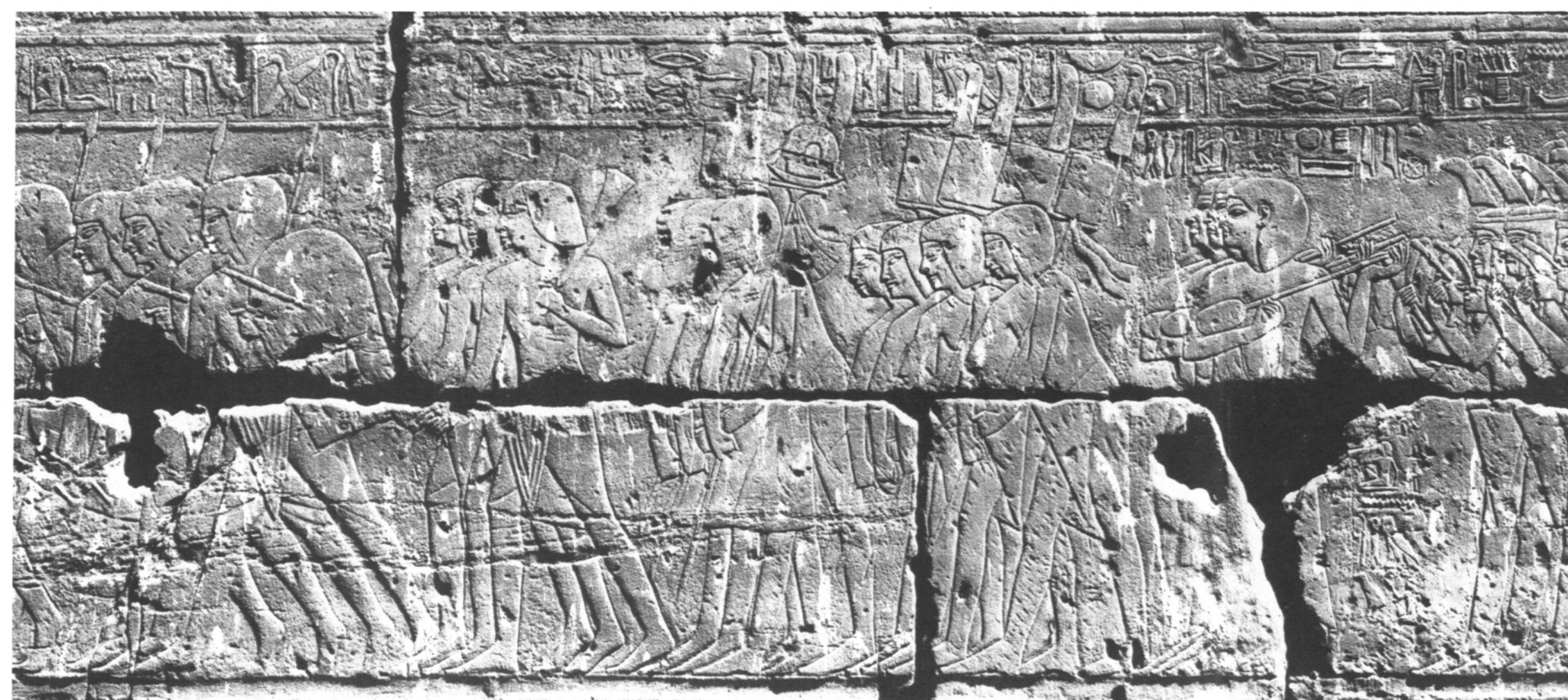
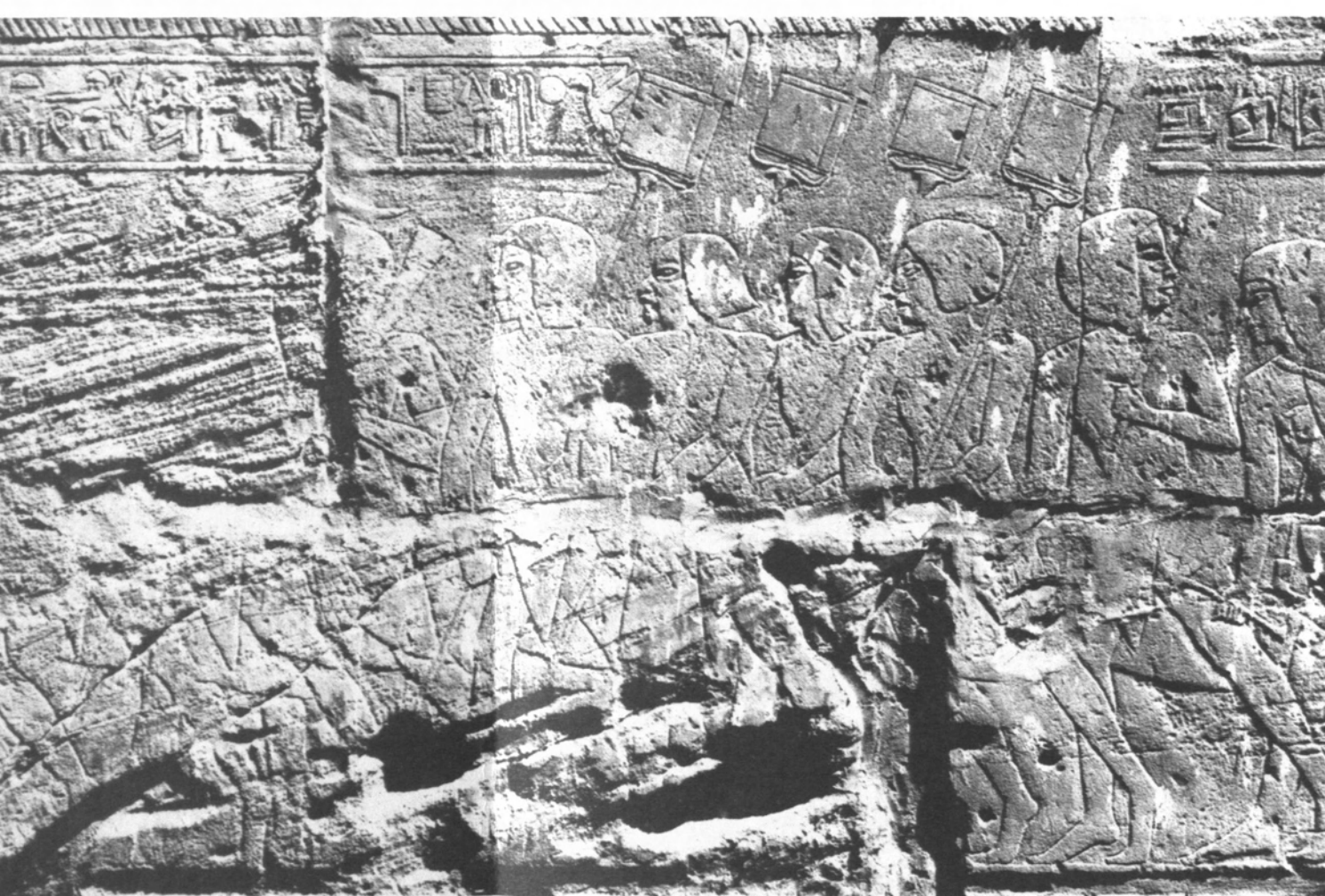
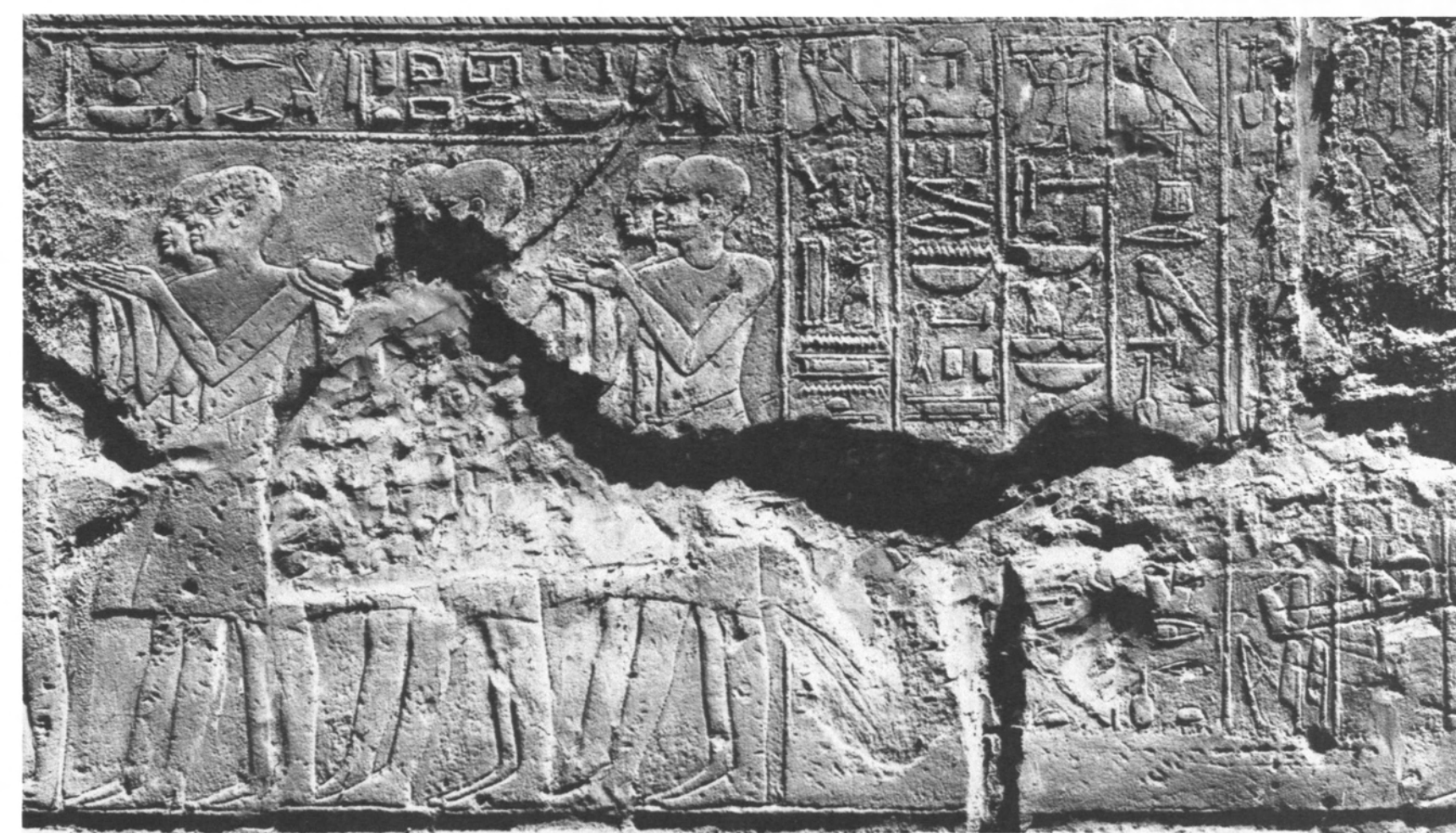
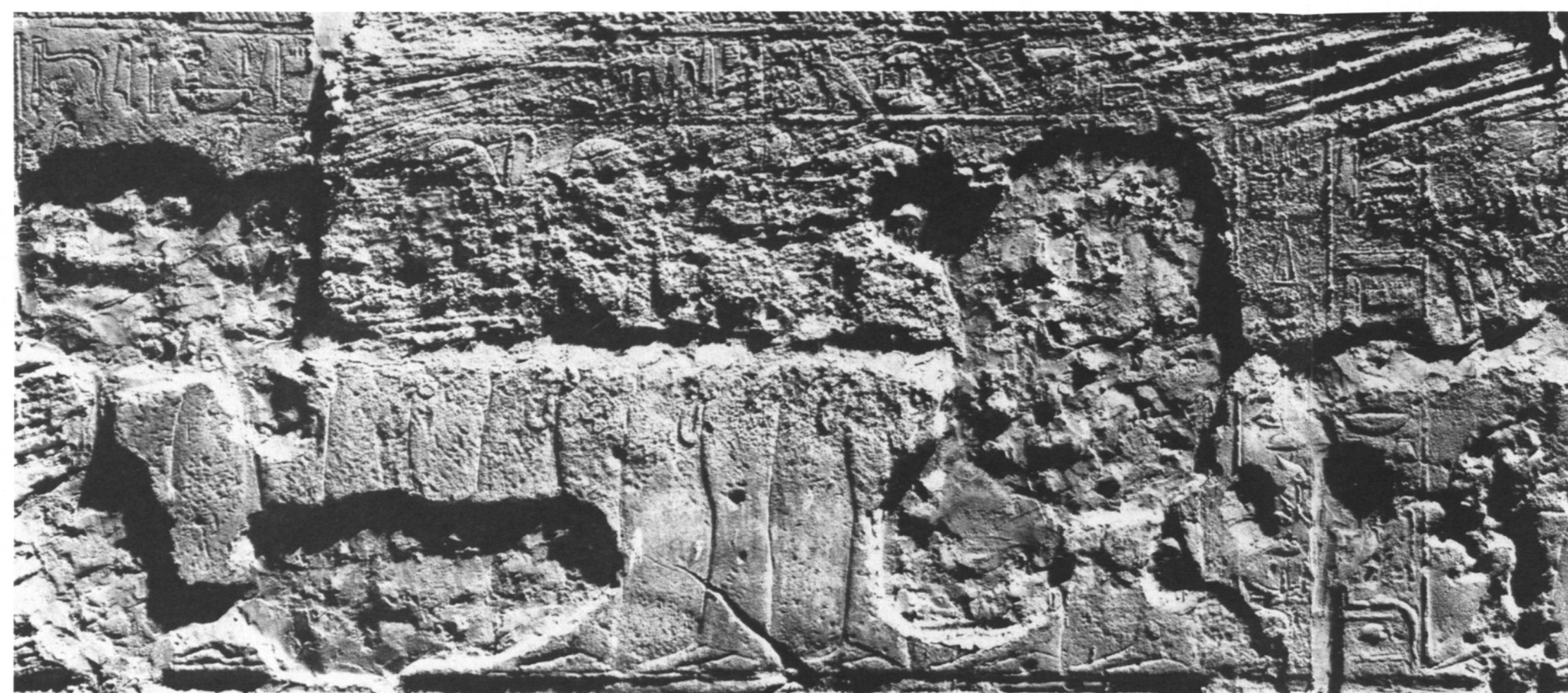
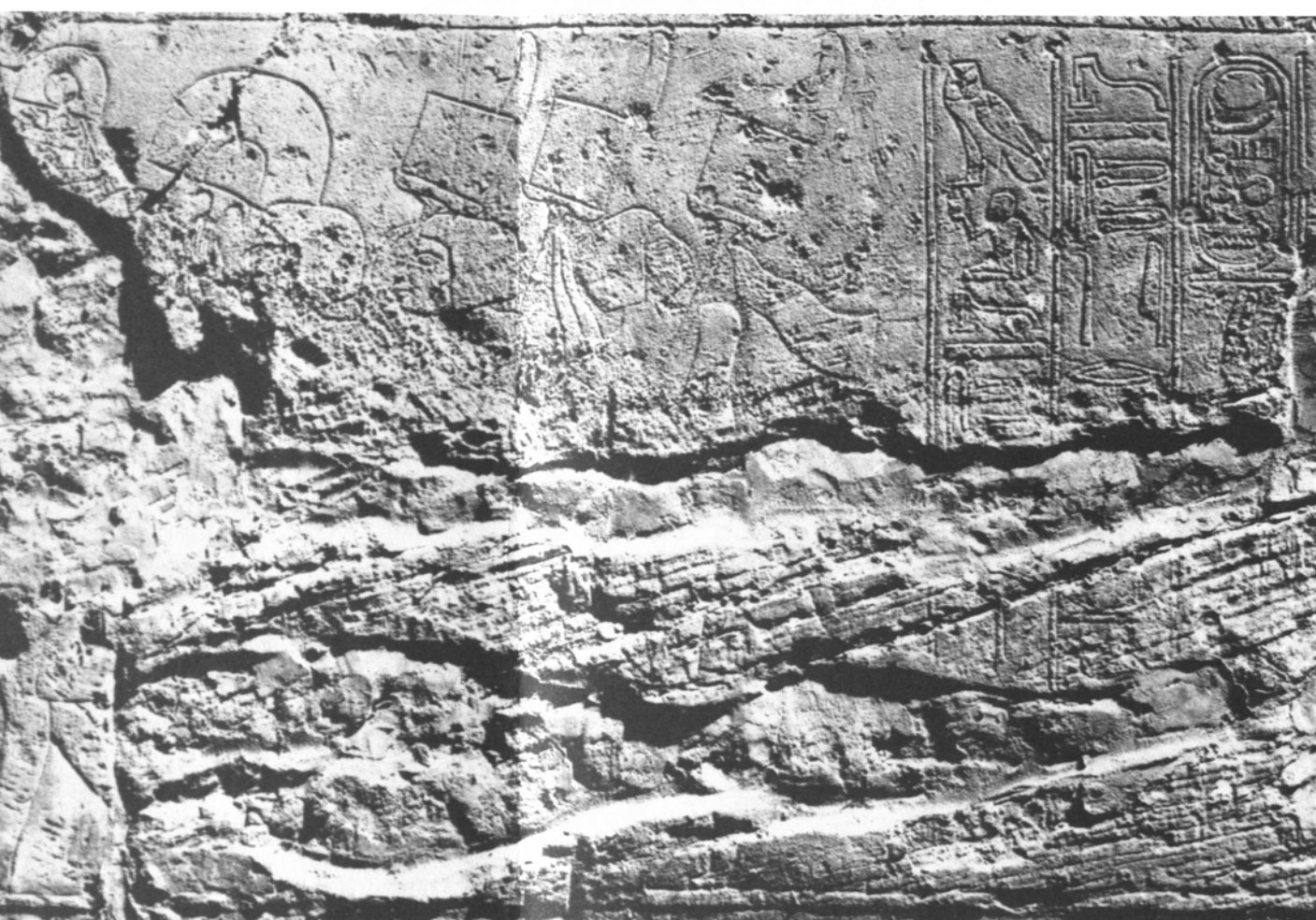
CELEBRANTS ACCOMPANYING THE PROCESSION OF THE CEREMONIAL BARGES FROM LUXOR TO
KARNAK: DETAIL OF PLATE 68



Photographs by Koch

SOLDIERS AND CELEBRANTS ON THE RIVERBANK

(Compare plates 91 and 93-99)



SOLDIERS AND CELEBRANTS ON THE RIVERBANK

(Compare plates 91 and 93-99)



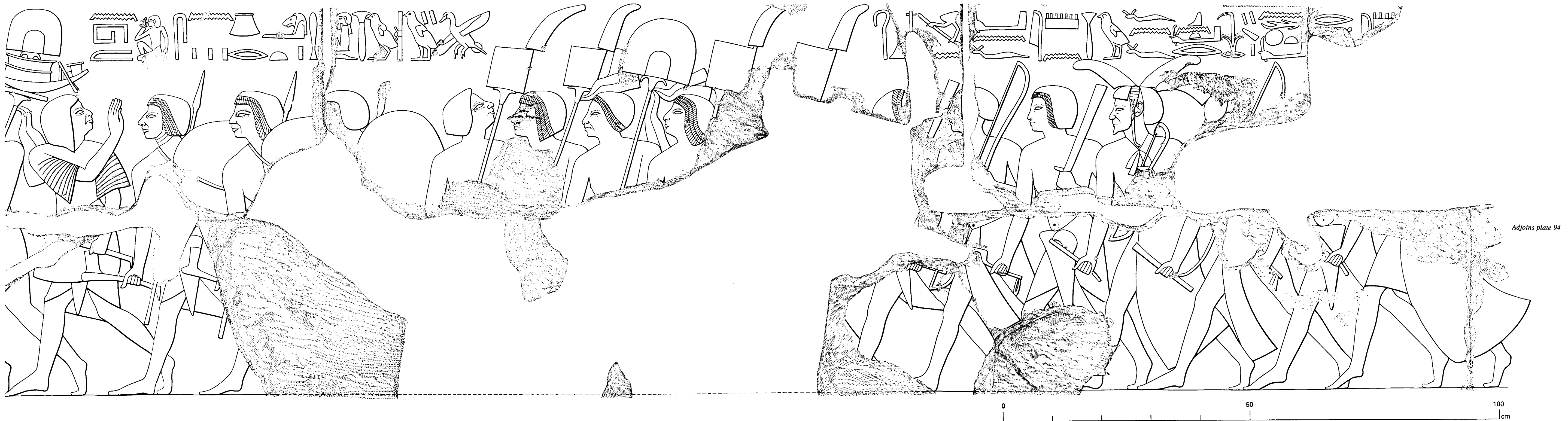
Drawing by Di Cerbo, Lack, and Manuelian

RUNNING SOLDIERS, WITH NUBIAN AND LIBYAN AUXILIARIES: DETAIL OF PLATE 91

EAST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION

(See plate 70)

0

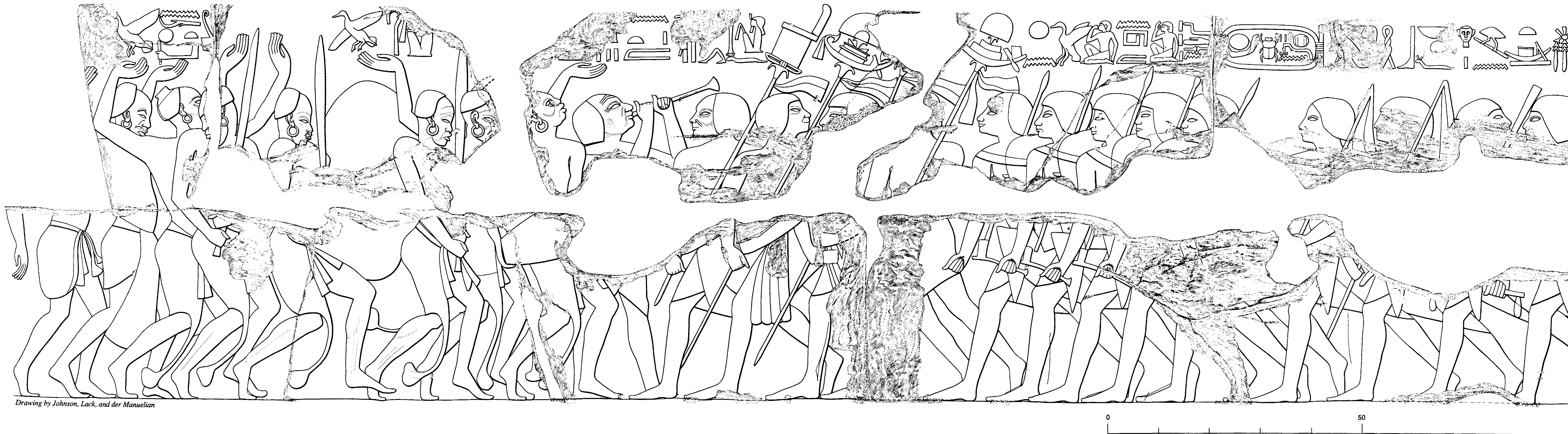


RUNNING SOLDIERS, WITH NUBIAN AND LIBYAN AUXILIARIES: DETAIL OF PLATE 91

EAST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION

(See plate 70)

Adjoins plate 93

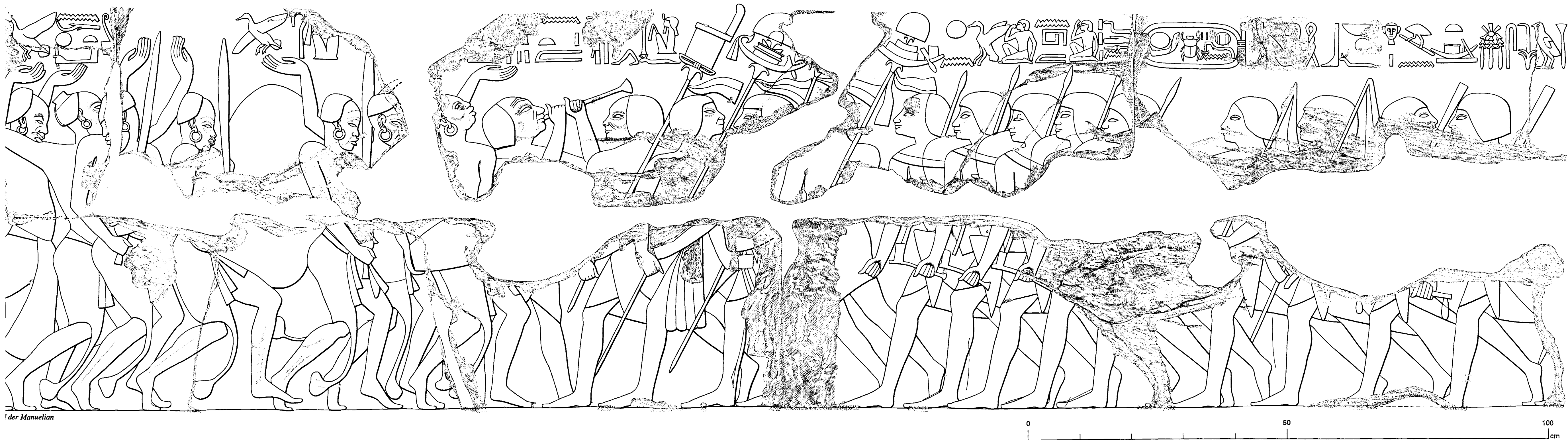


Drawing by Johnson, Lack, and der Manuelian

DANCING NUBIANS, TRUMPETER, AND SOLDIERS: DETAIL OF PLATE 91

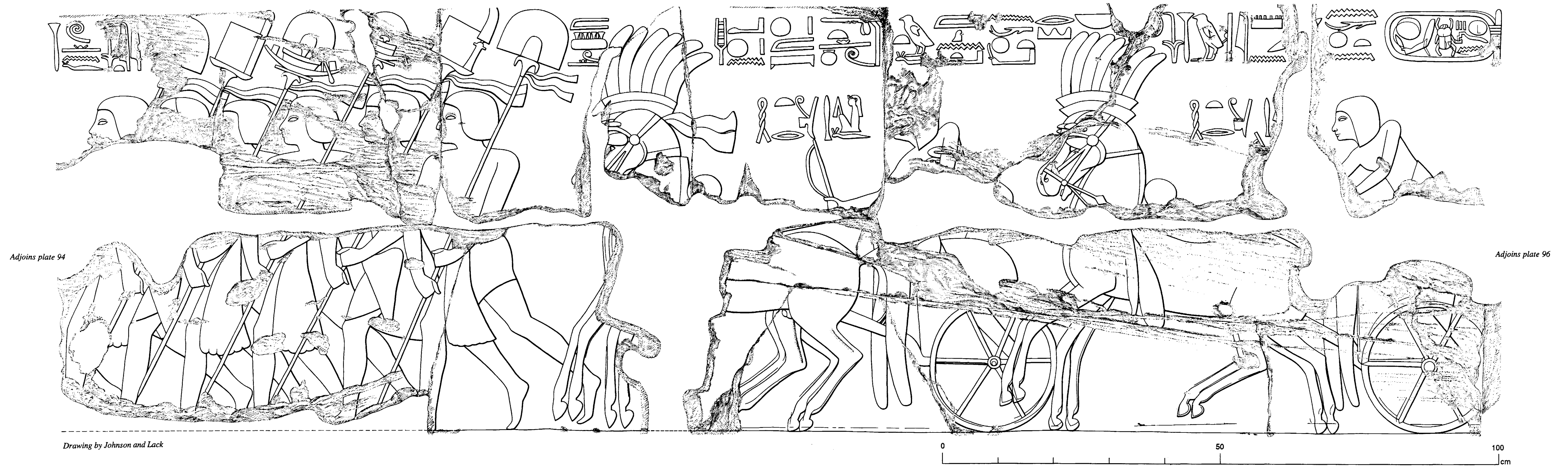
EAST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION

(See plates 70 and 74)



DANCING NUBIANS, TRUMPETER, AND SOLDIERS: DETAIL OF PLATE 91
EAST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION
(See plates 70 and 74)

Adjoins plate 95

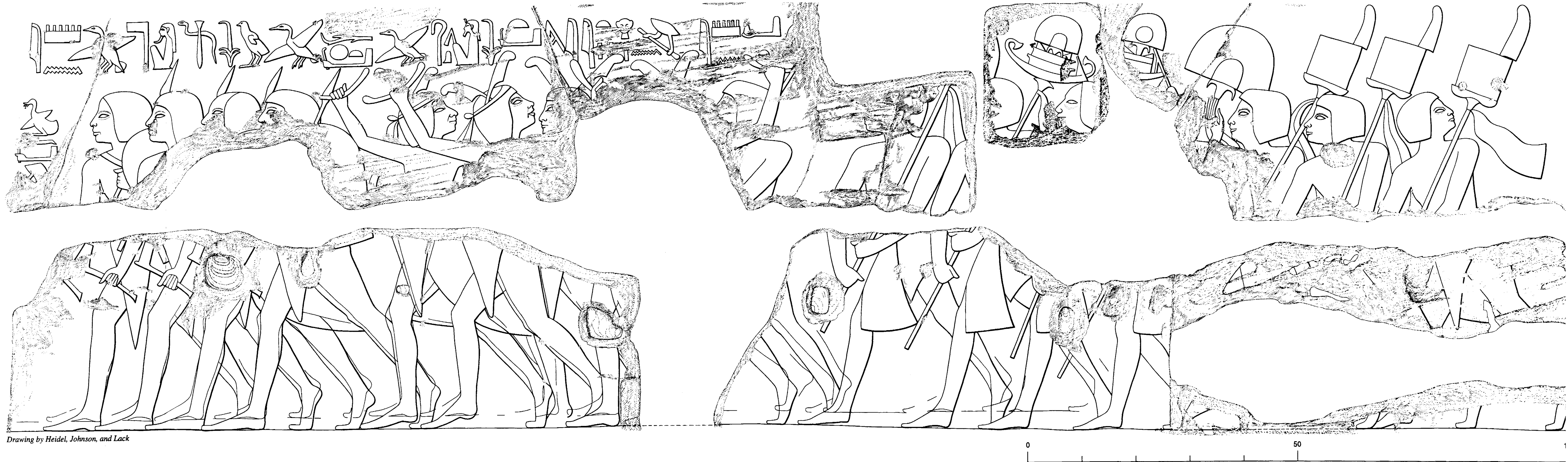


THE ROYAL CHARIOTS ESCORTED BY SOLDIERS: DETAIL OF PLATE 91

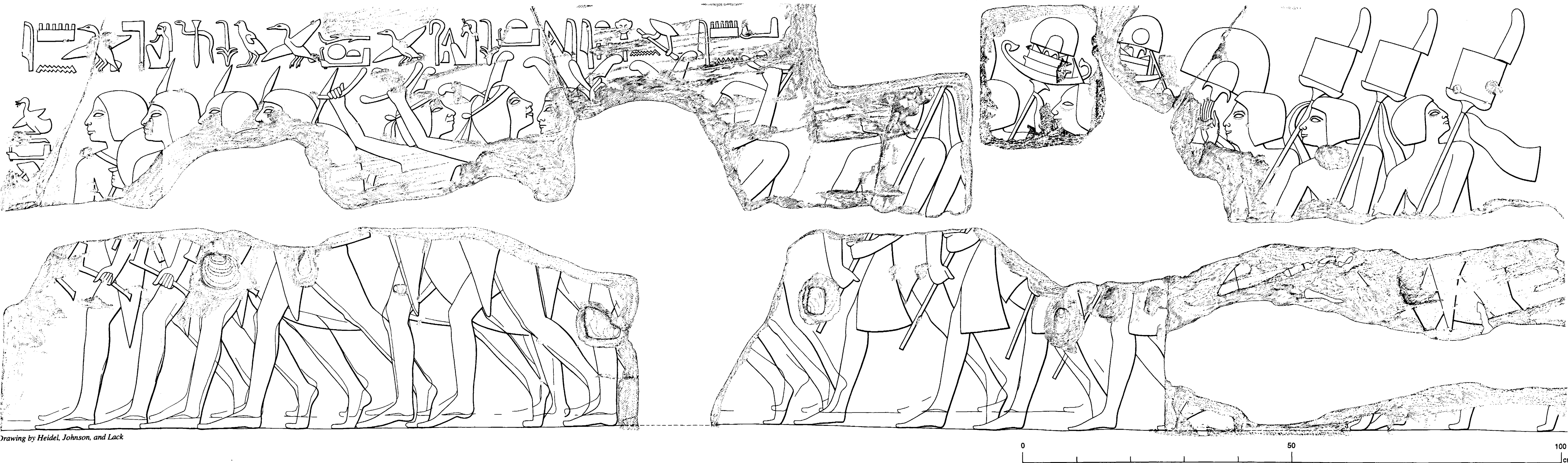
EAST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION

(See plate 74)

Adjoins plate 95

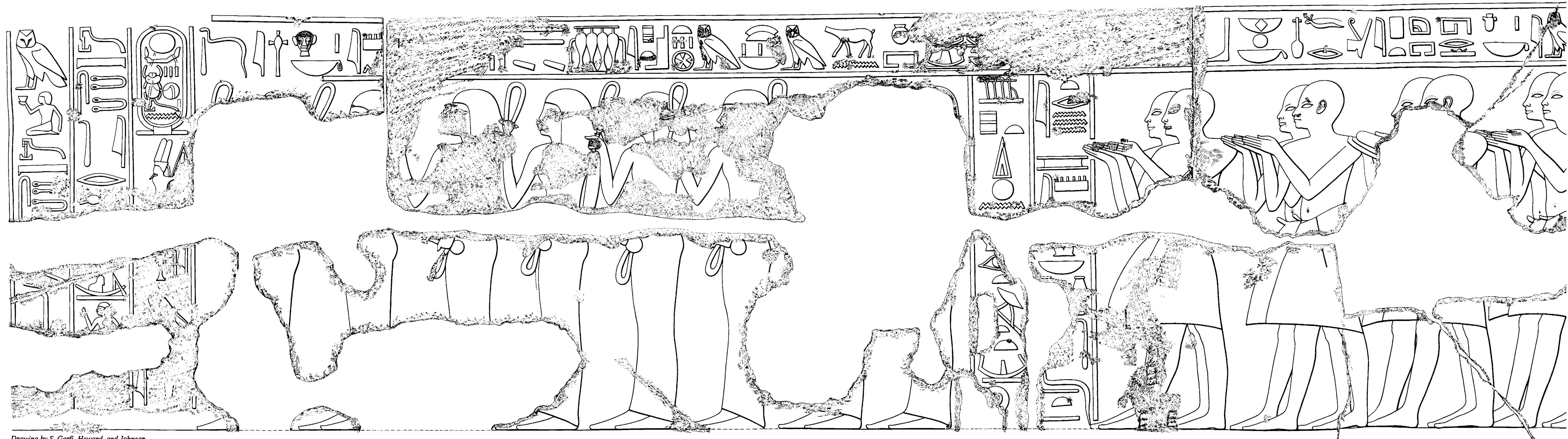


SOLDIERS BEHIND THE ROYAL CHARIOTS: DETAIL OF PLATE 91
EAST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION
(See plates 74 and 92)

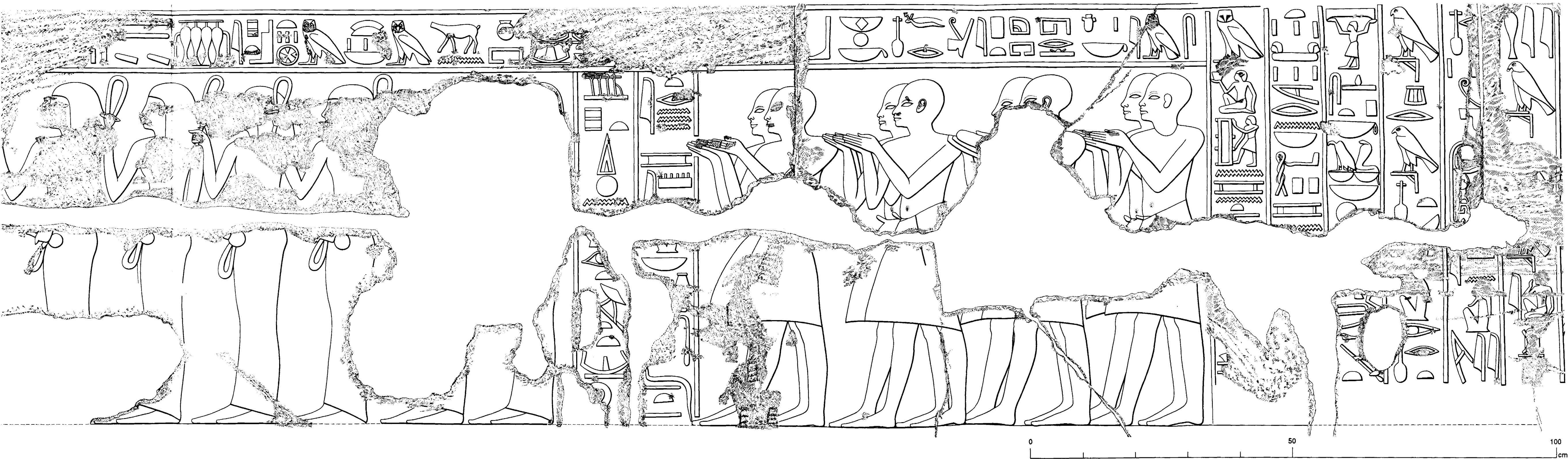


Adjoins plate 97

SOLDIERS BEHIND THE ROYAL CHARIOTS: DETAIL OF PLATE 91
EAST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION
(See plates 74 and 92)

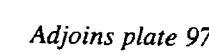


PRIESTS AND PRIESTESSES CHANTING A SONG: DETAIL OF PLATE 91
EAST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION
(See plate 92)

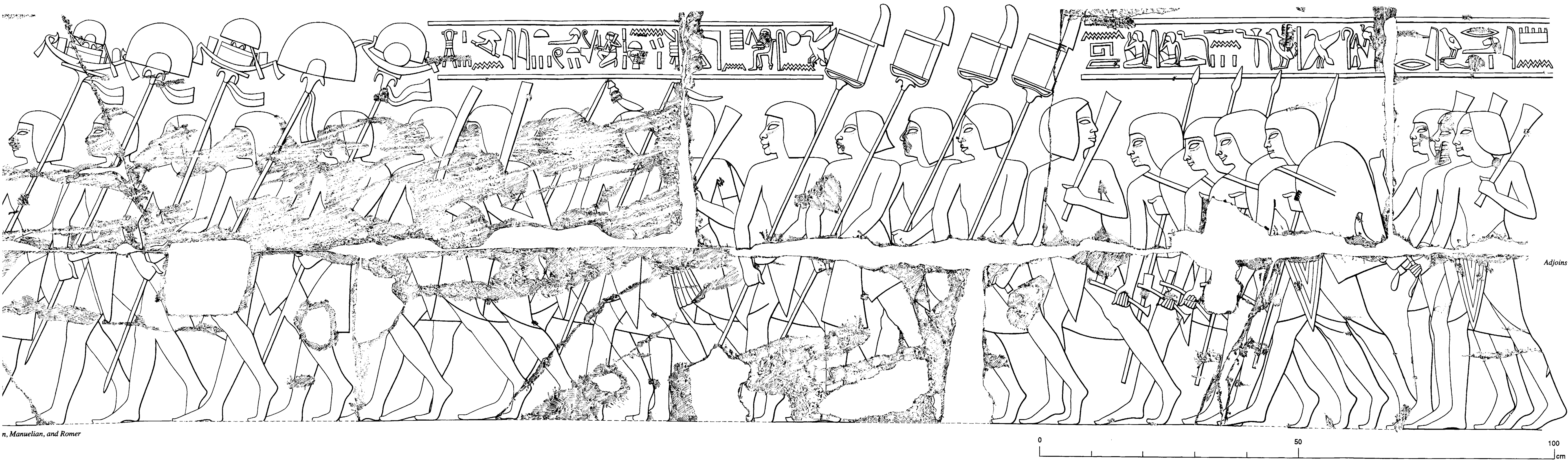


Adjoins plate 98

PRIESTS AND PRIESTESSES CHANTING A SONG: DETAIL OF PLATE 91
EAST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION
(See plate 92)



A horizontal scale bar with tick marks at 0 and 50.

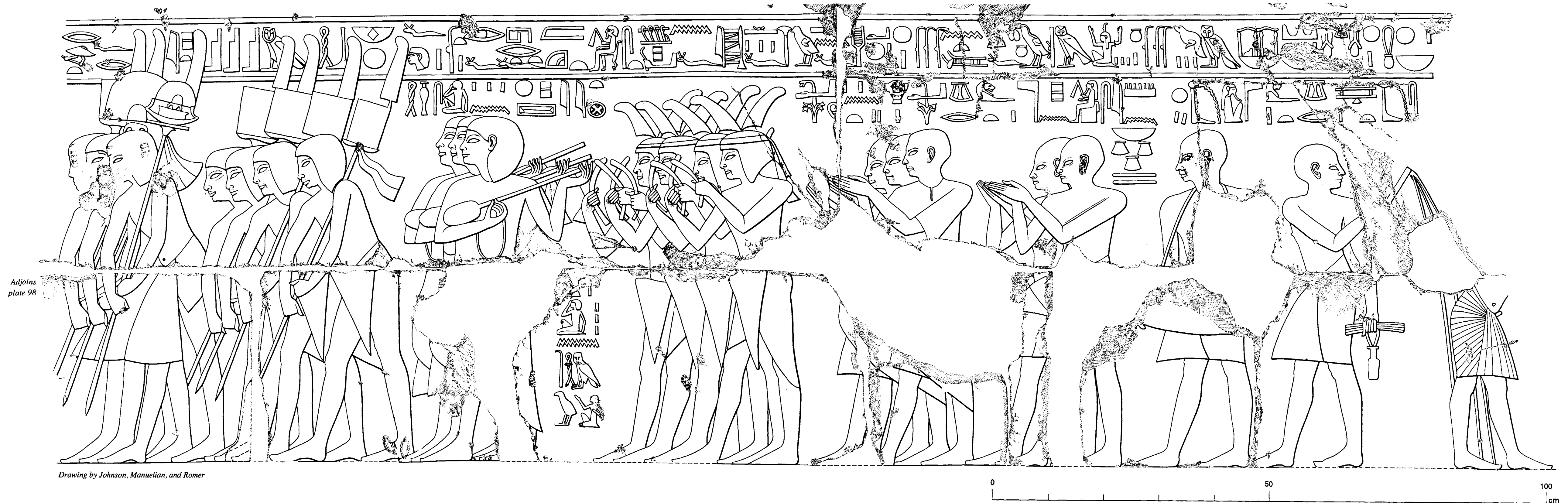


n, Manuelian, and Romer

STANDARD BEARERS AND SOLDIERS: DETAIL OF PLATE 91

EAST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION

(See plate 92)



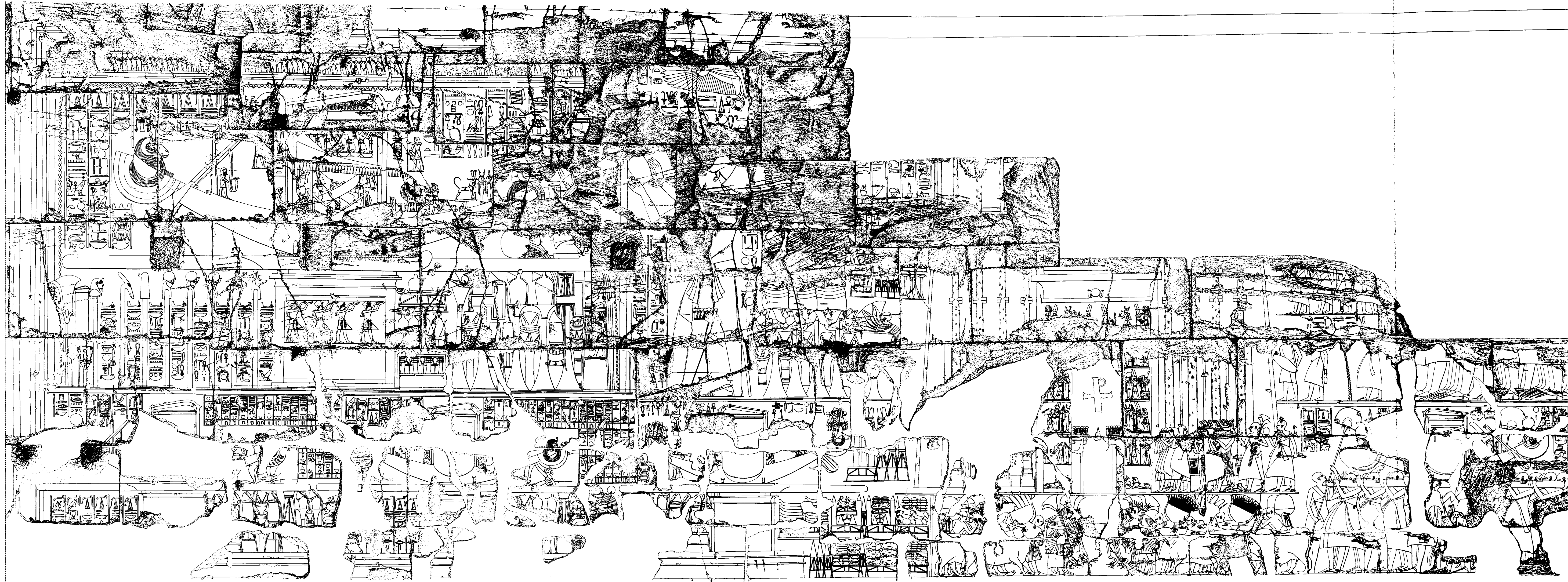
Drawing by Johnson, Manuelian, and Romer

MUSICIANS AND PRIESTS: DETAIL OF PLATE 91

EAST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION

(See plate 92)

Adjoins plate 119

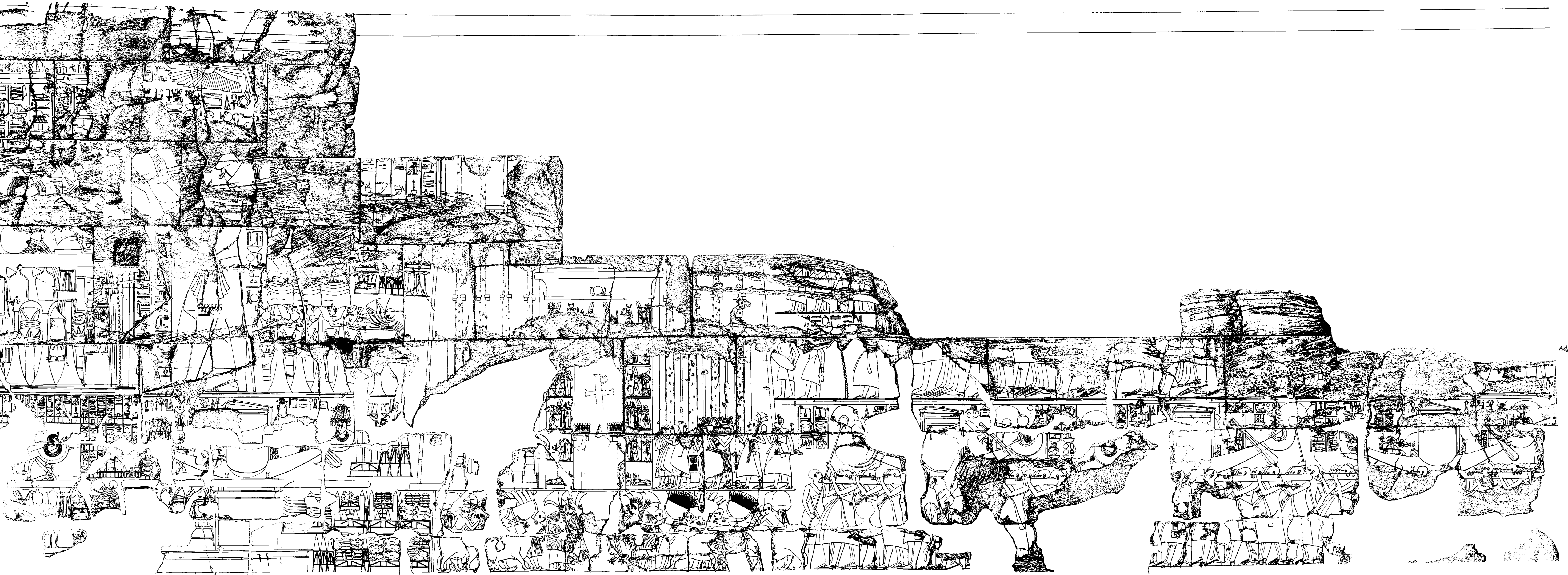


Drawing by Arnold, Johnson, Meyer, and Osgood

KEY TO RELIEFS DEPICTING THE BARKS ARRIVING AT KARNAK TEMPLE AND THE KING PURIFYING
THE BARKS AT KARNAK WITH WATER: EPISODES 9 AND 10

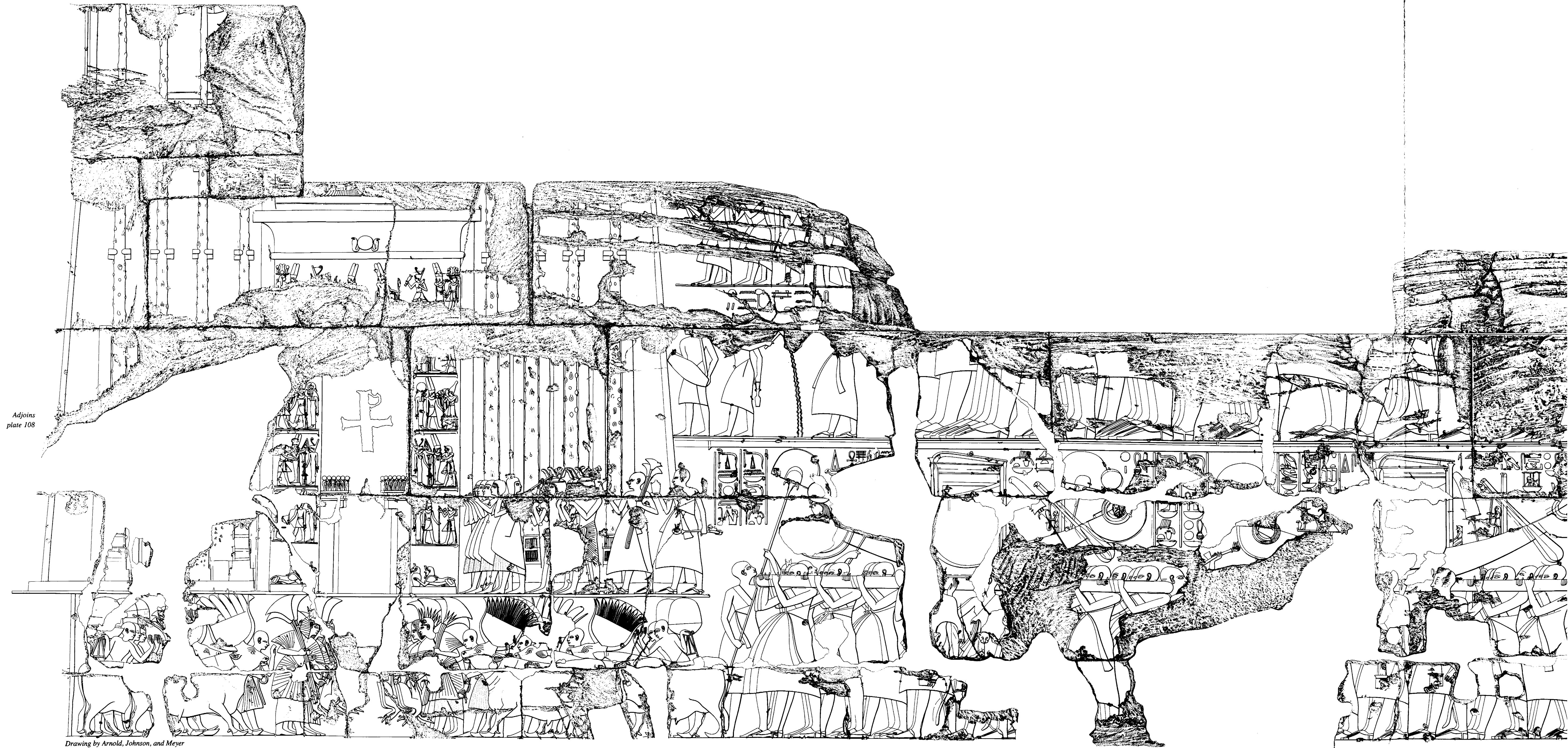
EAST WALL, NORTHERN SECTION

(See plates 101-117; in situ these reliefs are continuous)



Adjoins plate 68

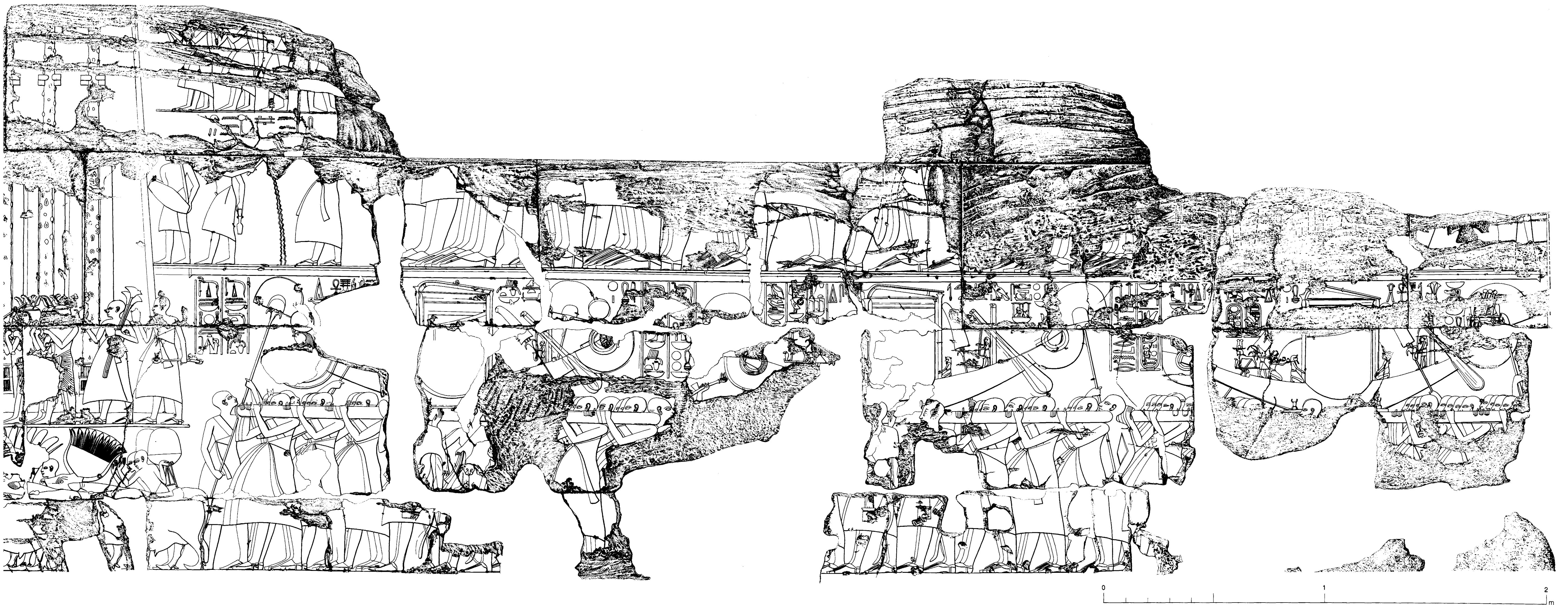
KEY TO RELIEFS DEPICTING THE BARKS ARRIVING AT KARNAK TEMPLE AND THE KING PURIFYING
THE BARKS AT KARNAK WITH WATER: EPISODES 9 AND 10
EAST WALL, NORTHERN SECTION
(See plates 101-117; in situ these reliefs are continuous)



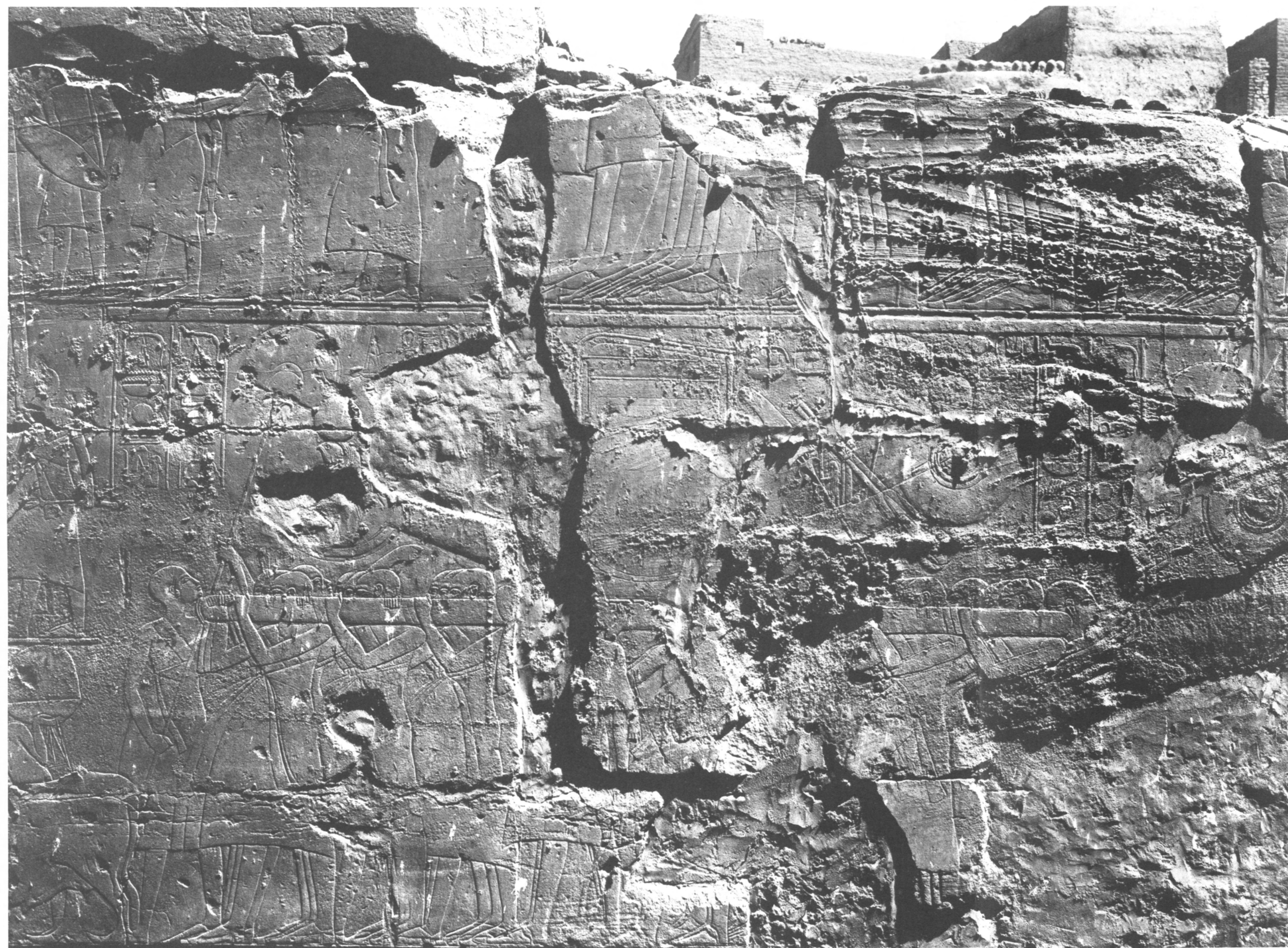
Adjoins
plate 108

Drawing by Arnold, Johnson, and Meyer

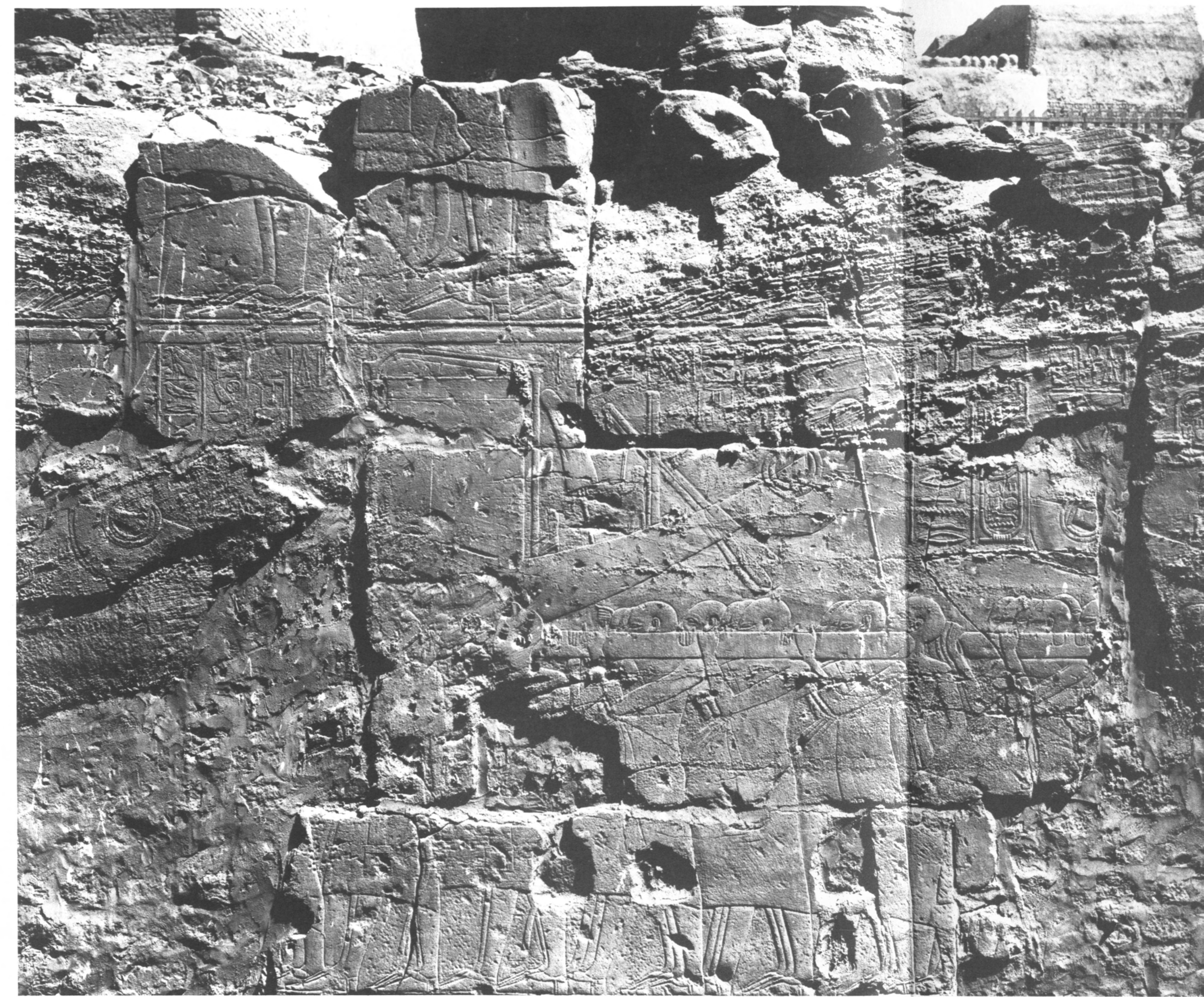
EPISODE 9: THE BARKS OF AMUN (NOW LOST), KHONSU, MUT, AND THE KING BEING CARRIED FROM THE
NILE TO THE PYLON OF KARNAK TEMPLE, WITH SACRIFICIAL CATTLE BELOW
EAST WALL, NORTHERN SECTION



EPISODE 9: THE BARKS OF AMUN (NOW LOST), KHONSU, MUT, AND THE KING BEING CARRIED FROM THE
NILE TO THE PYLON OF KARNAK TEMPLE, WITH SACRIFICIAL CATTLE BELOW
EAST WALL, NORTHERN SECTION

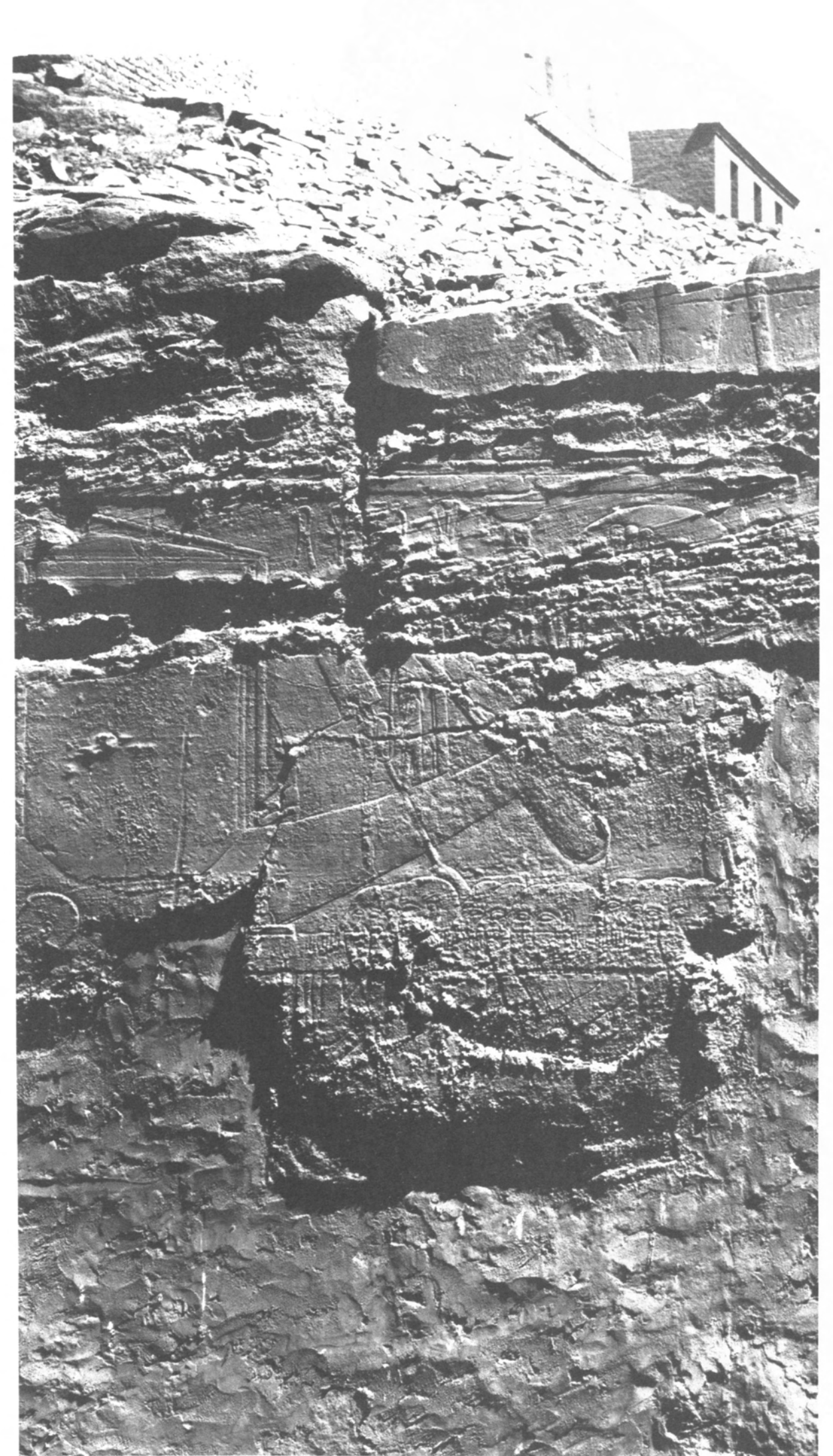


Photographs by Koch

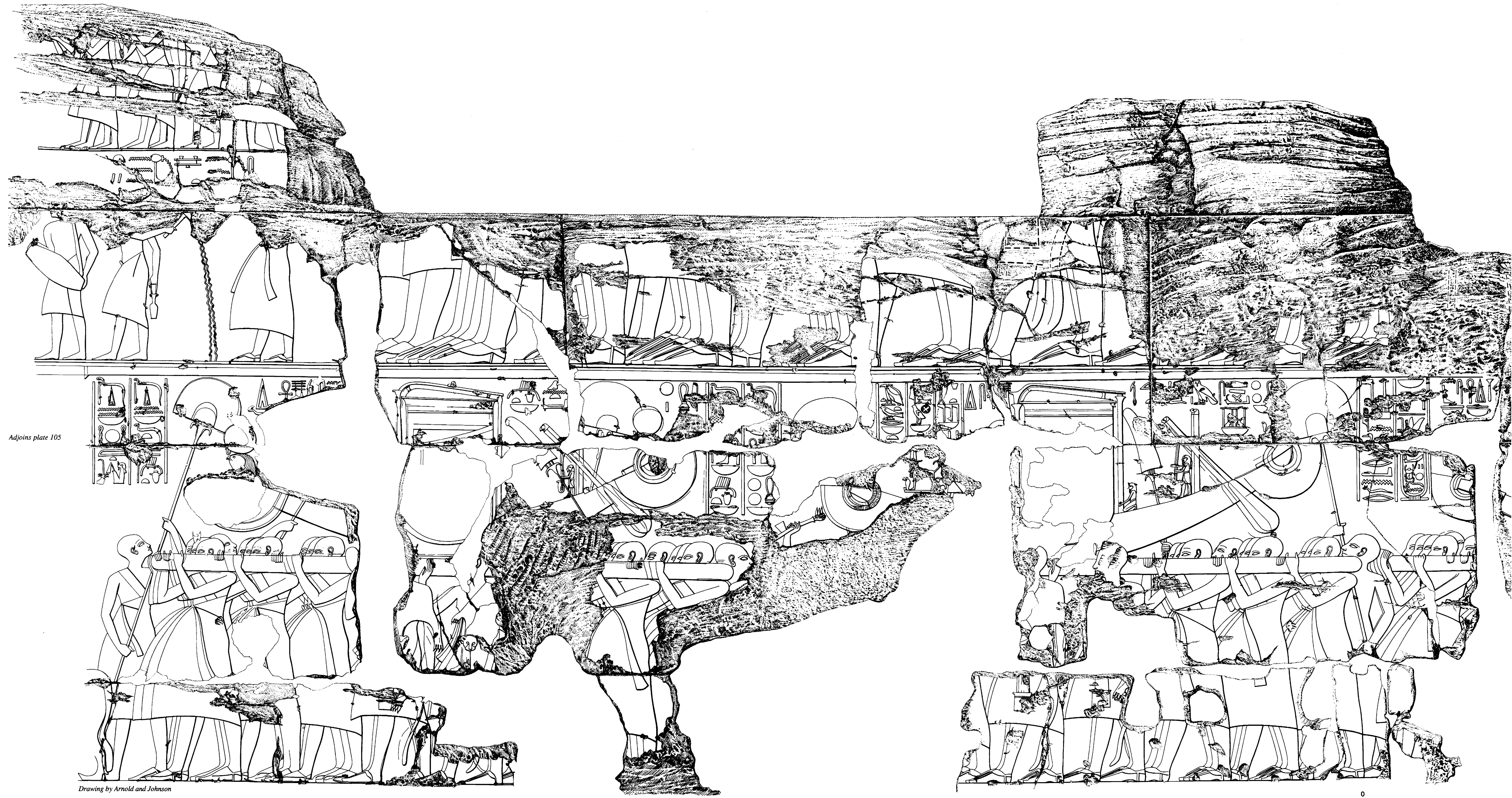


THE BARKS OF AMUN (NOW LOST), KHONSU, MUT, AND THE KING BEING CARRIED FROM THE NILE TO KARNAK TEMPLE

(Compare plate 103)



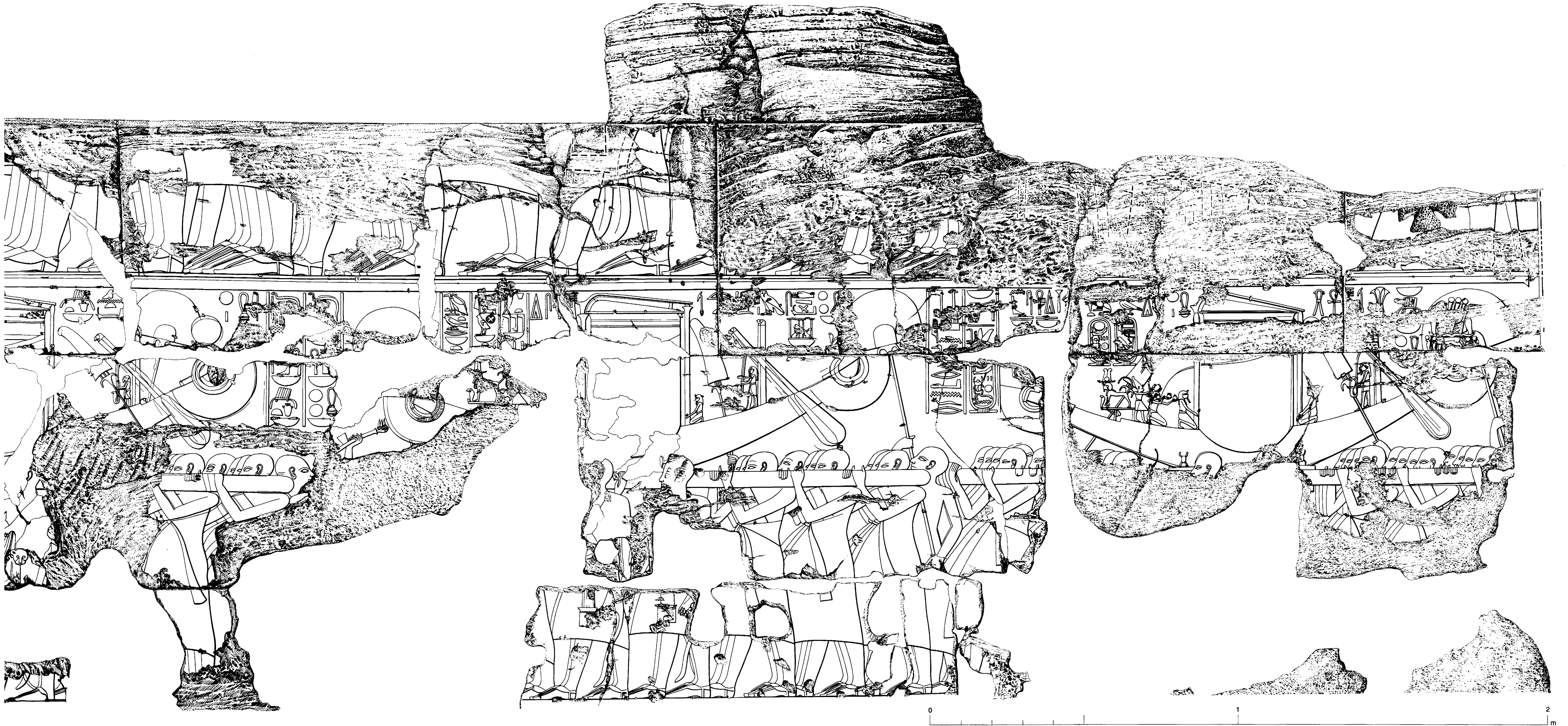
THE BARKS OF AMUN (NOW LOST), KHONSU, MUT, AND THE KING BEING CARRIED FROM THE NILE TO KARNAK TEMPLE
(Compare plate 103)



Adjoins plate 105

Drawing by Arnold and Johnson

THE BARKS OF AMUN (NOW LOST), KHONSU, MUT, AND THE KING BEING CARRIED FROM THE NILE TO
KARNAK TEMPLE: DETAIL OF PLATE 101
EAST WALL, NORTHERN SECTION
(See plate 102)



THE BARKS OF AMUN (NOW LOST), KHONSU, MUT, AND THE KING BEING CARRIED FROM THE NILE TO
KARNAK TEMPLE: DETAIL OF PLATE 101

EAST WALL, NORTHERN SECTION

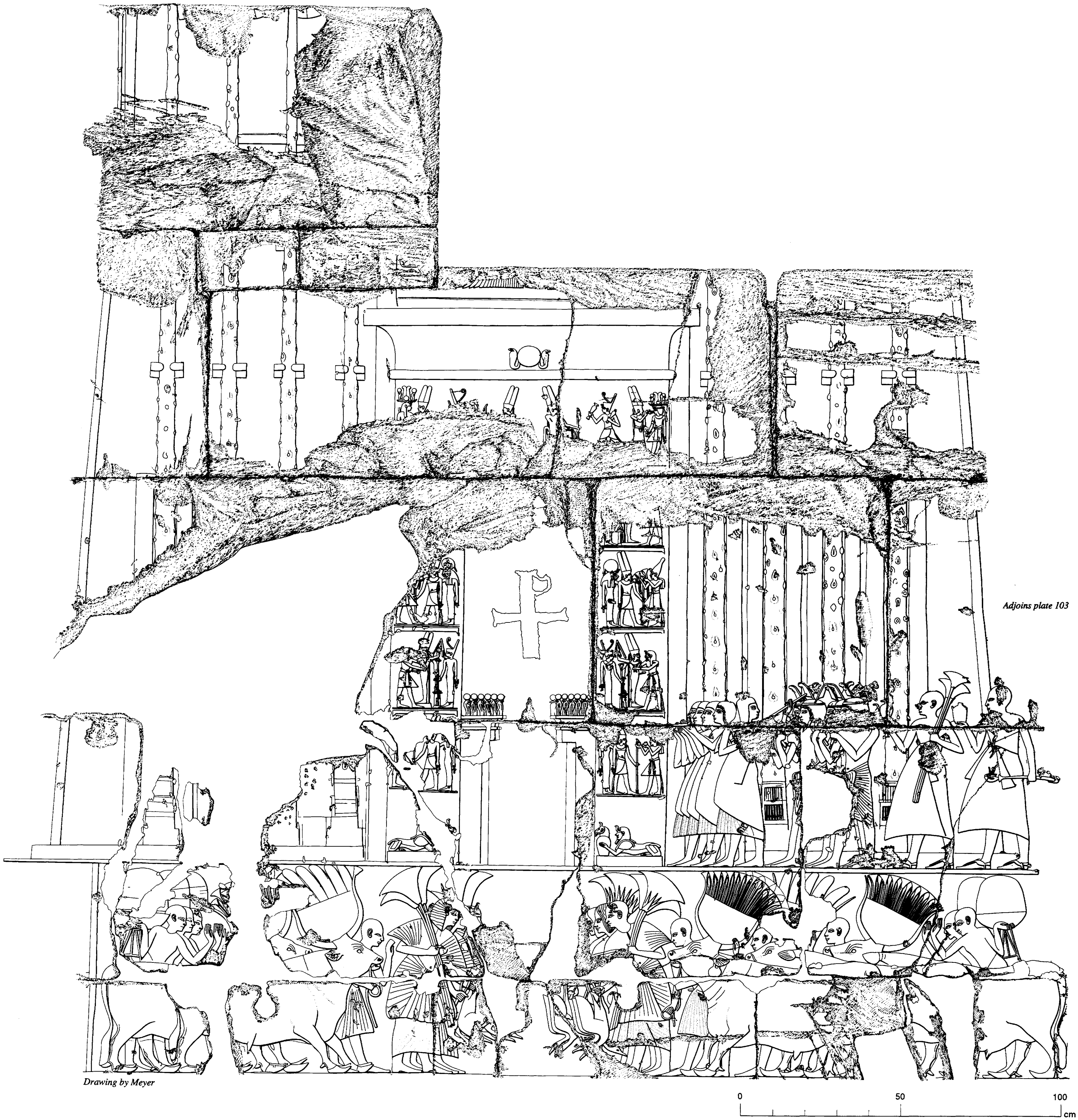
(See plate 102)



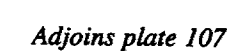
Photograph by Koch

THE PYLON OF KARNAK TEMPLE WITH SACRIFICIAL CATTLE BELOW

(Compare plates 105-107)

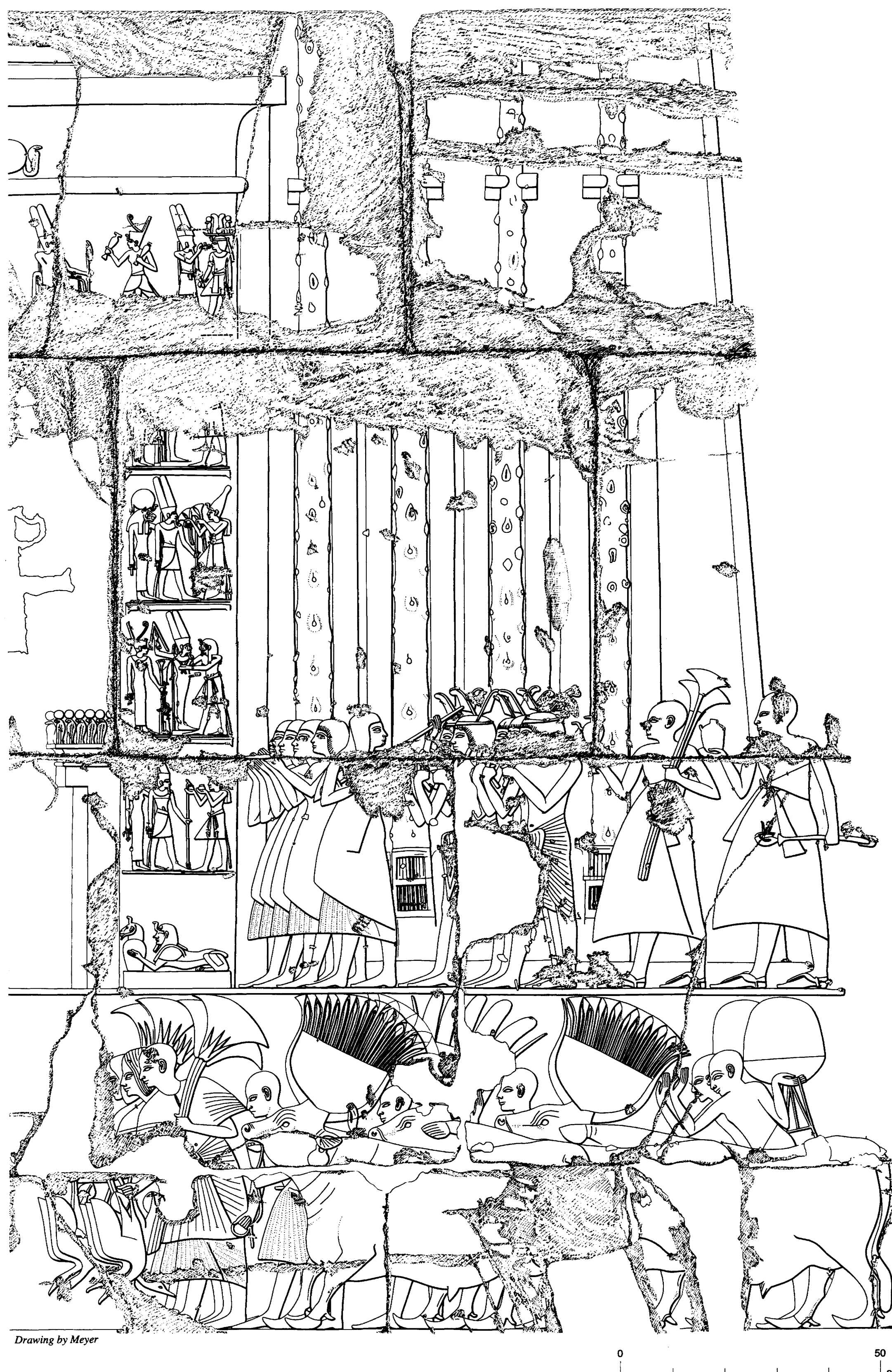


THE PYLON OF KARNAK TEMPLE WITH SACRIFICIAL CATTLE BELOW: DETAIL OF PLATE 101
EAST WALL, NORTHERN SECTION
(See plate 104)



THE PYLON OF KARNAK TEMPLE (LEFT SIDE): DETAIL OF PLATE 105
EAST WALL, NORTHERN SECTION
(See plate 104)

Adjoins plate 106



THE PYLON OF KARNAK TEMPLE (RIGHT SIDE): DETAIL OF PLATE 105
EAST WALL, NORTHERN SECTION
(See plate 104)

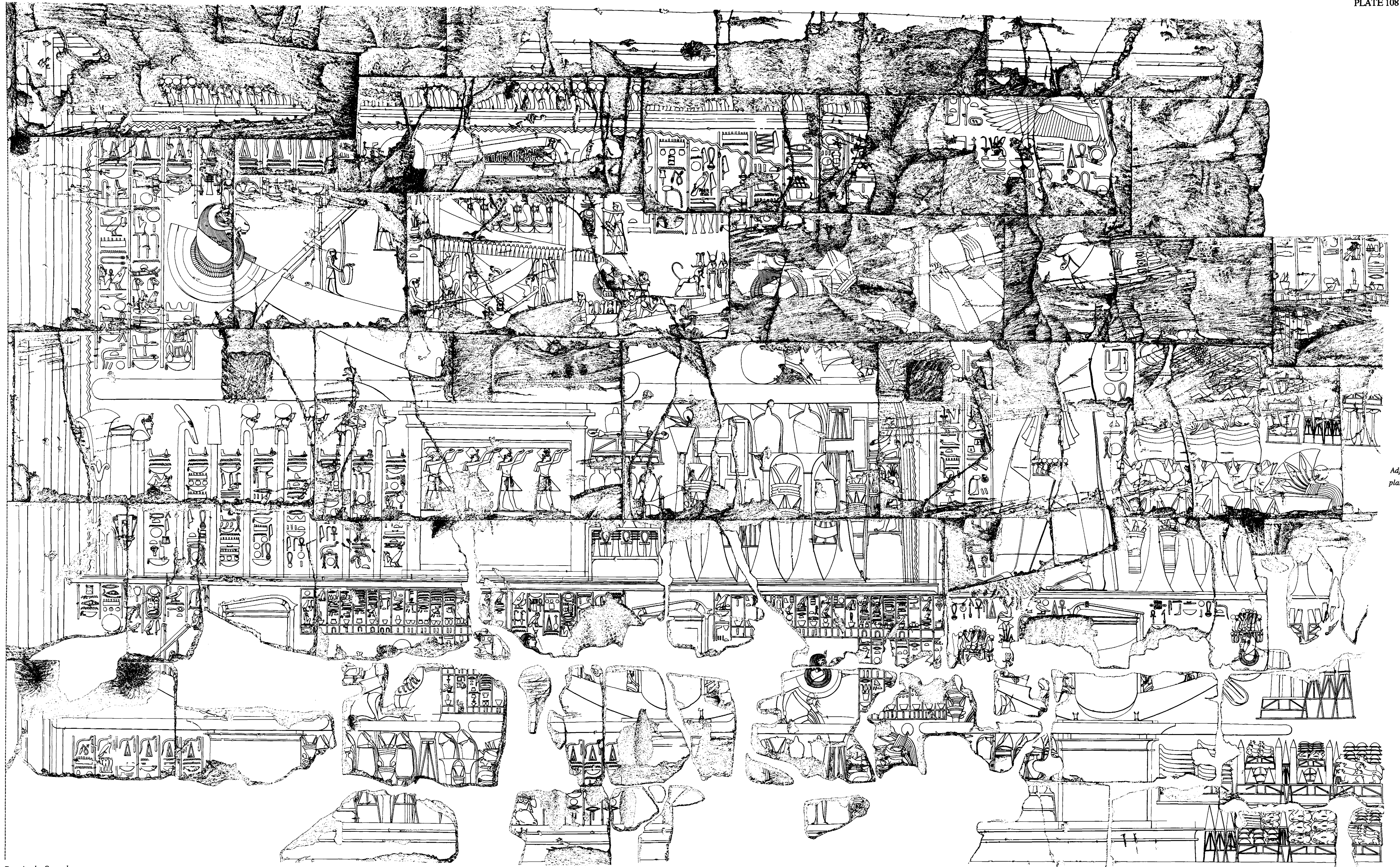
Adjoins
plate 119

Adjoins
plate 101

Drawing by Osgood

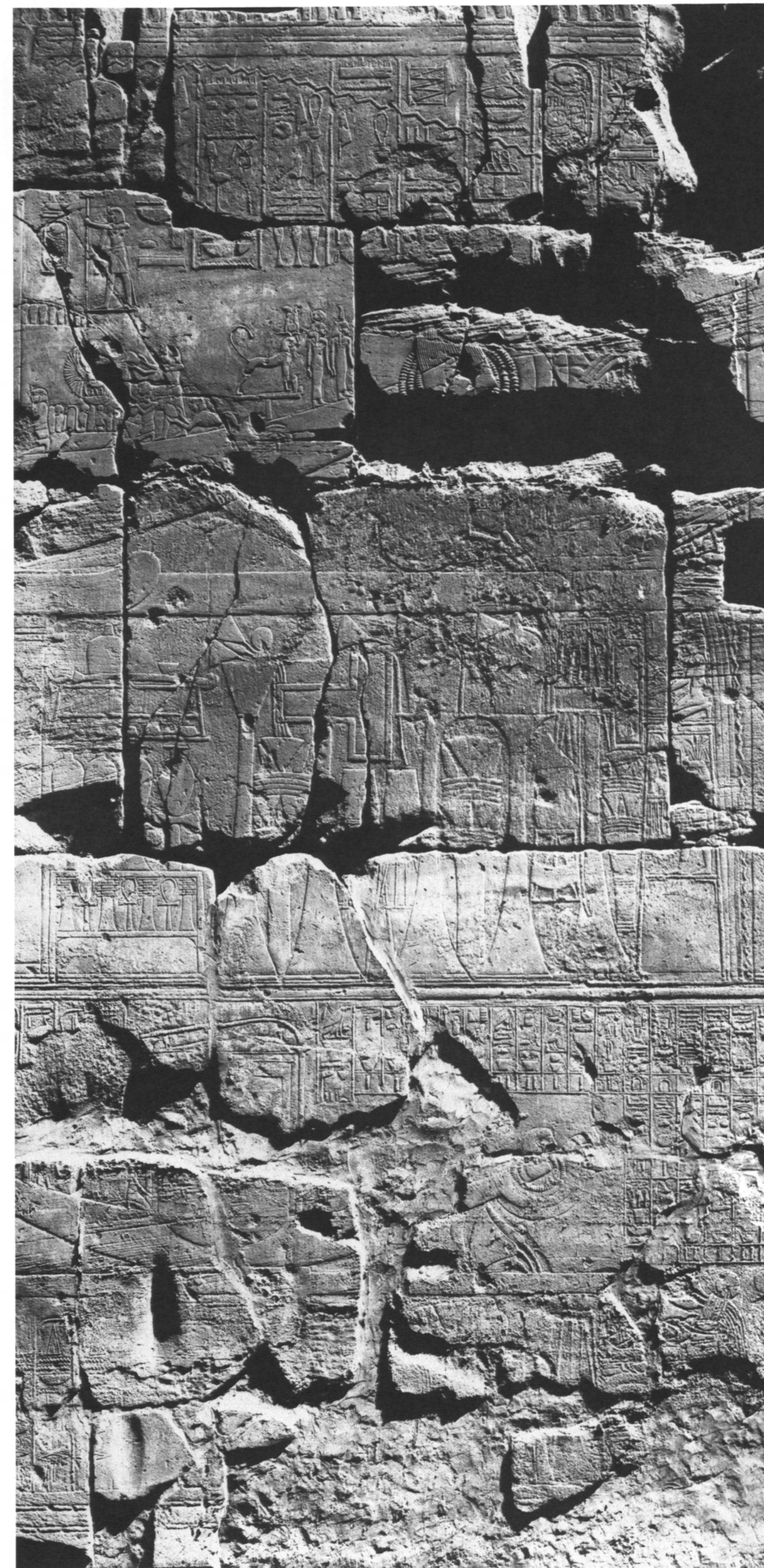
0 1 2
m

EPISODE 10: THE KING PURIFYING THE BARKS WITH WATER IN KARNAK TEMPLE
EAST WALL, NORTHERN SECTION



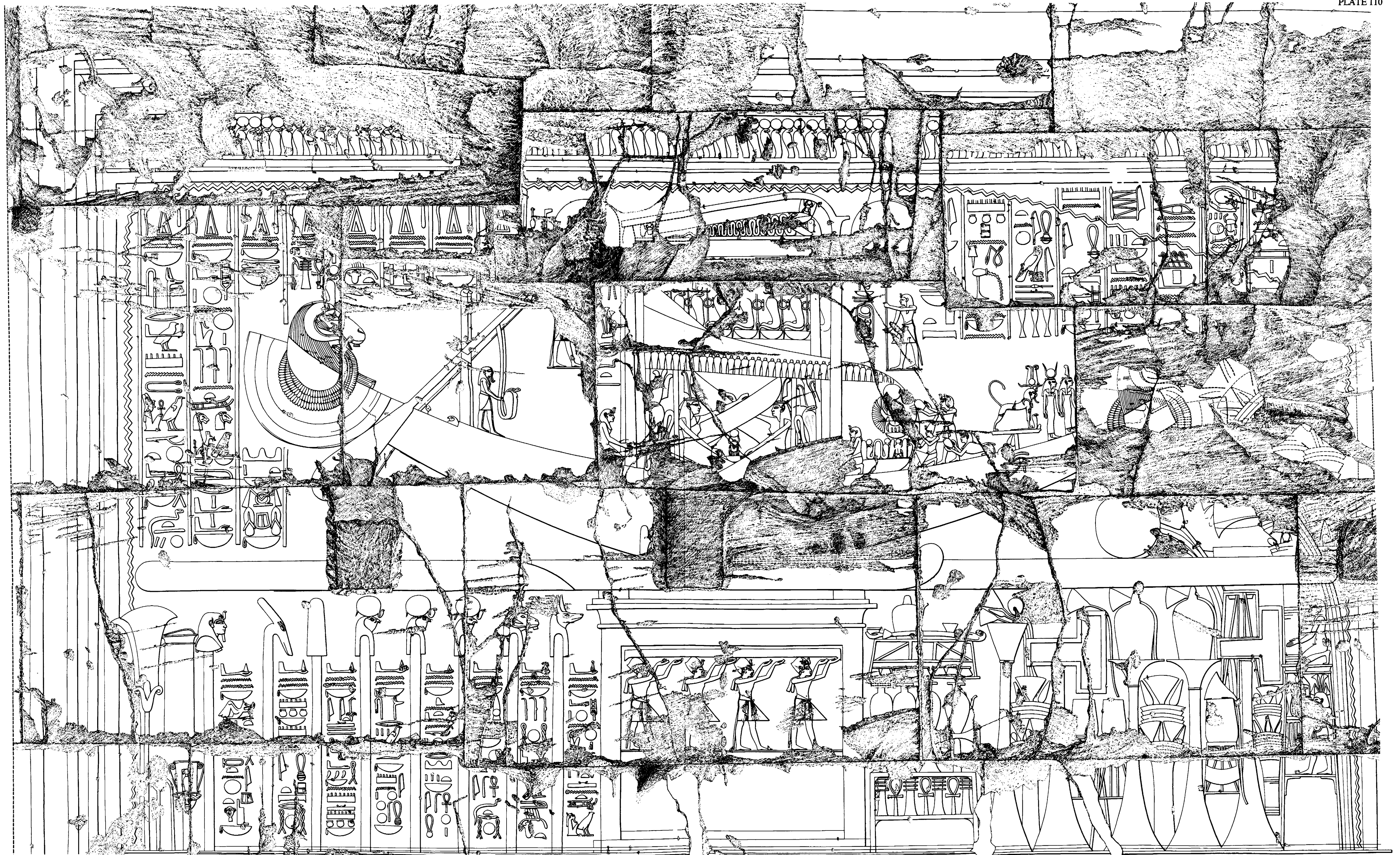


Photographs by Koch

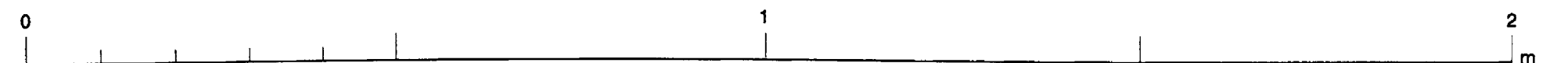


THE BARKS OF THE THEBAN TRIAD IN KARNAK TEMPLE

(Compare plates 110-113)



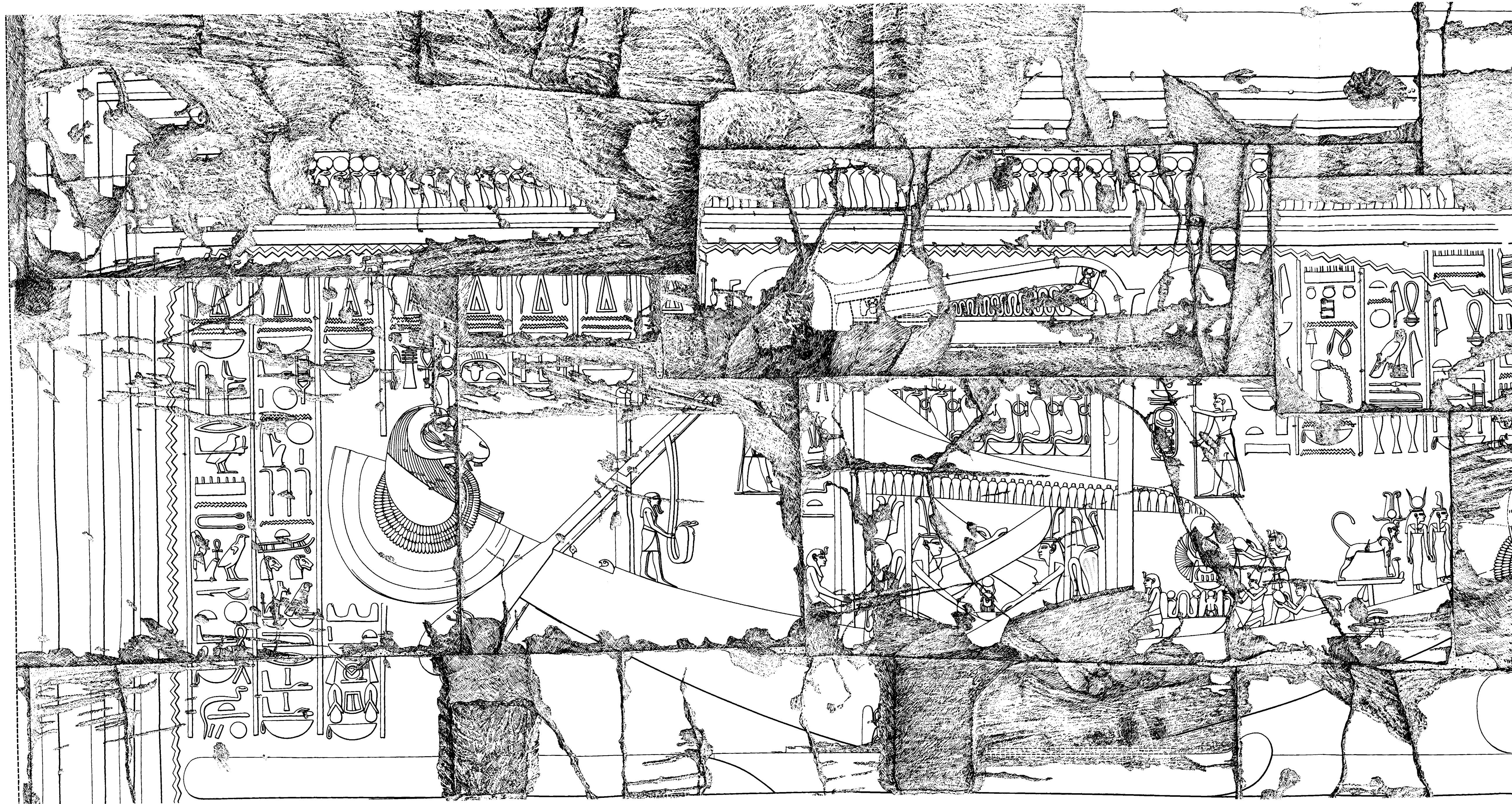
Drawing by Osgood



THE BARK OF AMUN RESTING ON ITS PEDESTAL IN KARNAK TEMPLE: DETAIL OF PLATE 108

EAST WALL, NORTHERN SECTION

(See plate 109)



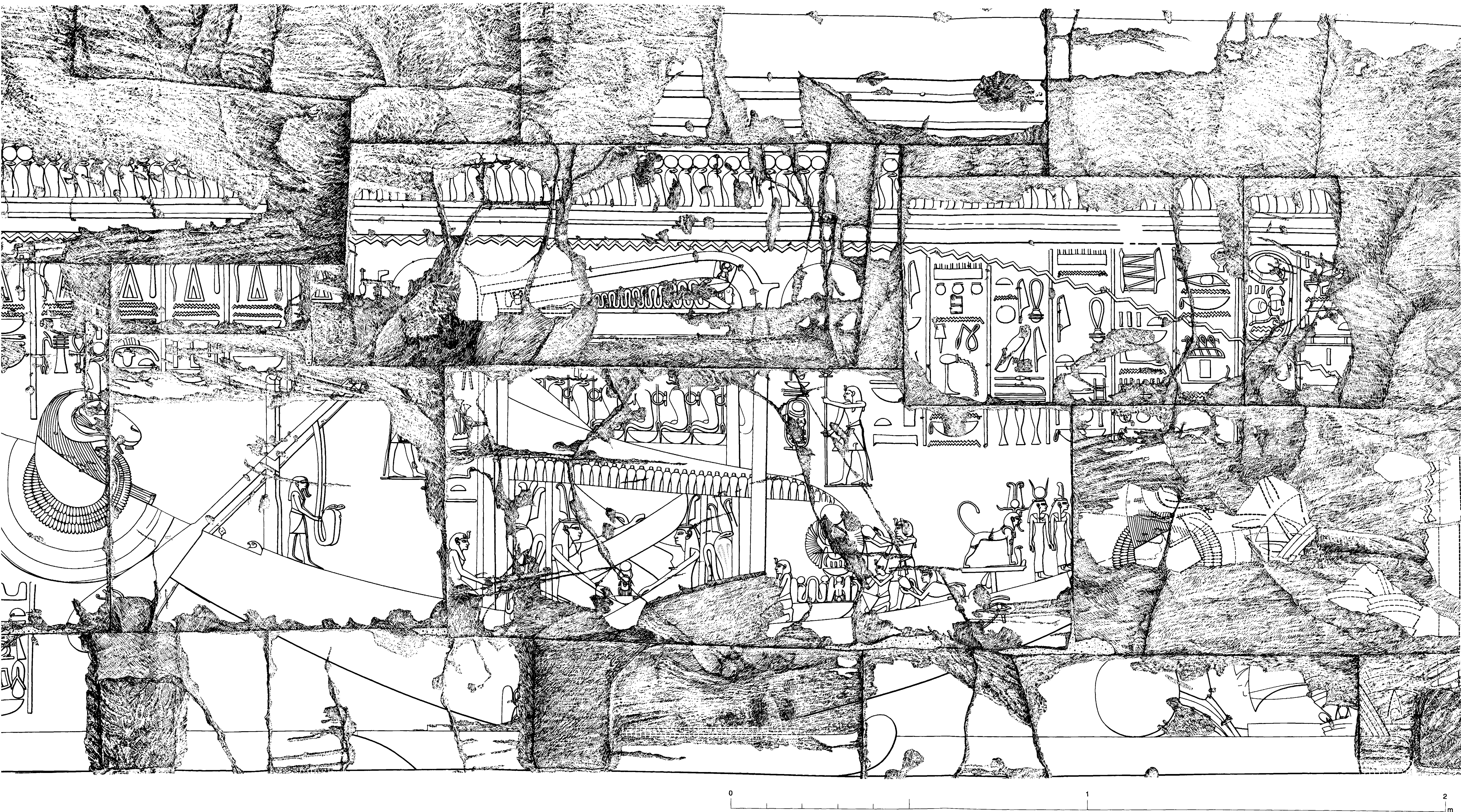
Drawing by Osgood



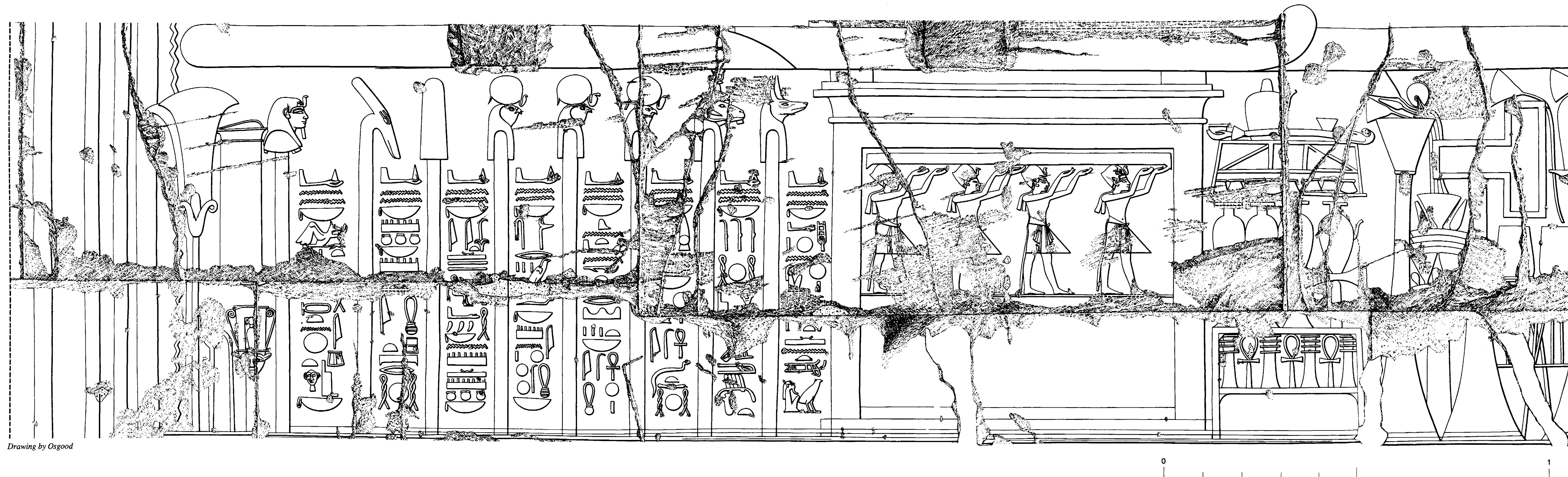
THE BARK OF AMUN IN KARNAK TEMPLE: DETAIL OF PLATE 110

EAST WALL, NORTHERN SECTION

(See plate 109)



THE BARK OF AMUN IN KARNAK TEMPLE: DETAIL OF PLATE 110
EAST WALL, NORTHERN SECTION
(See plate 109)

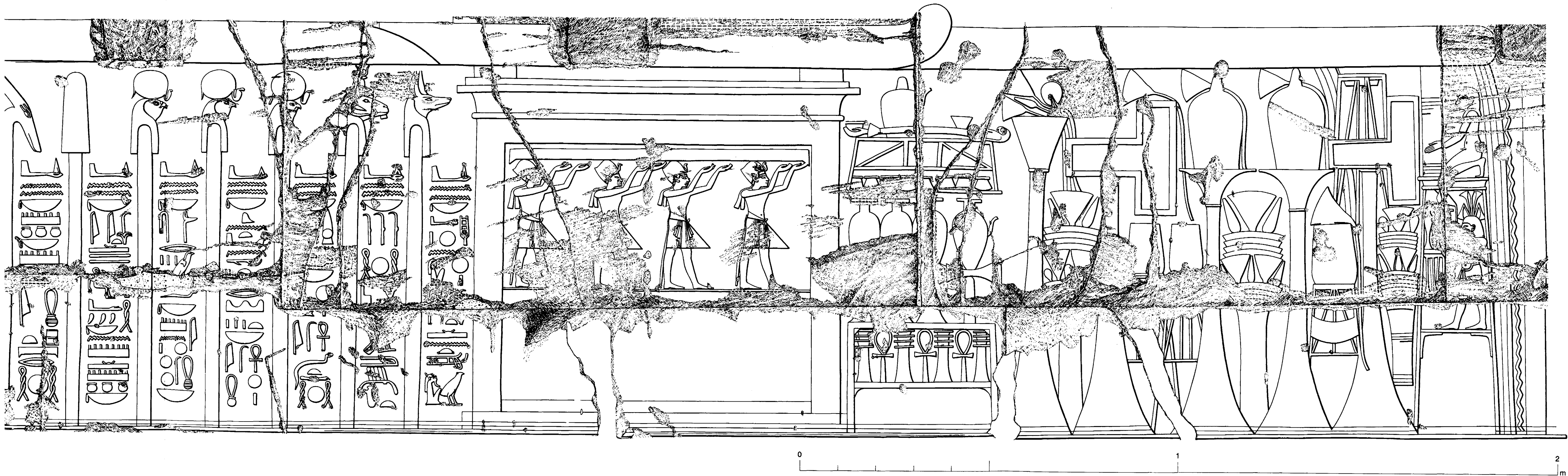


Drawing by Osgood

THE PEDESTAL OF THE BARK OF AMUN, WITH DIVINE STAFFS AND OFFERINGS: DETAIL OF PLATE 110

EAST WALL, NORTHERN SECTION

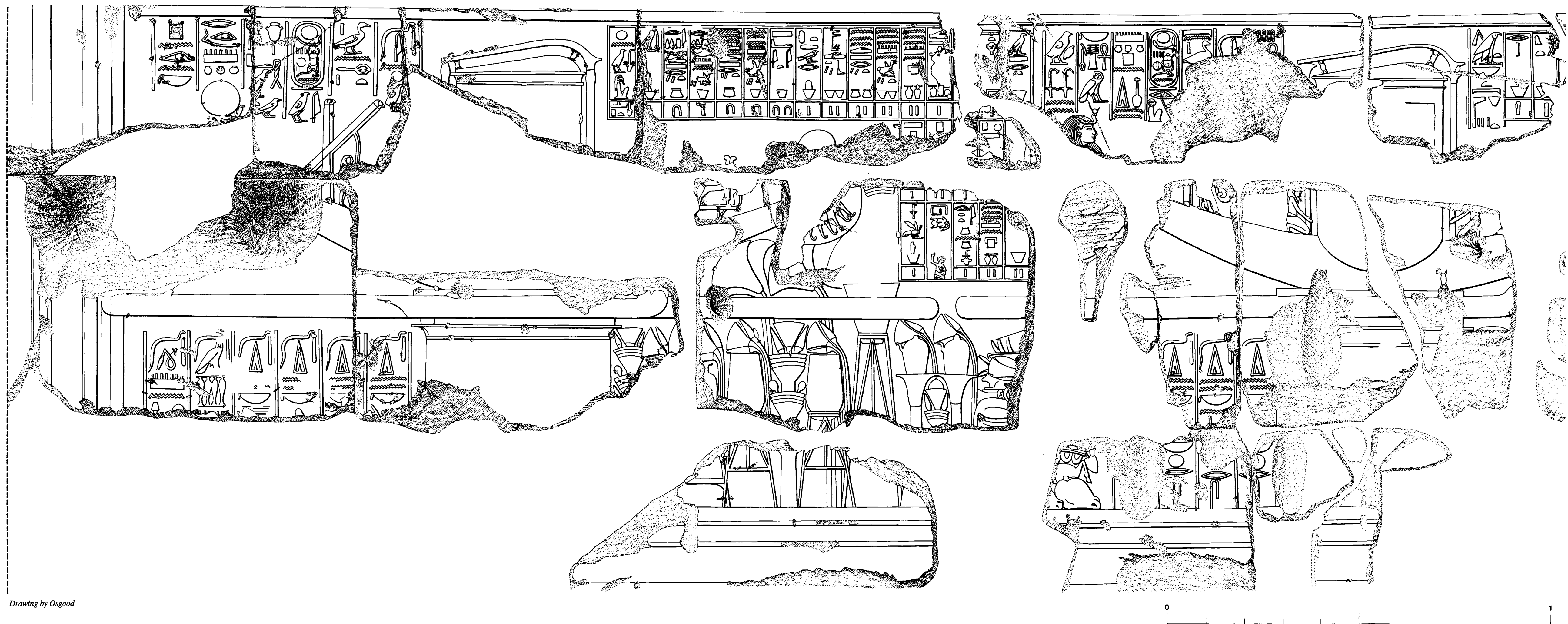
(See plate 109)



THE PEDESTAL OF THE BARK OF AMUN, WITH DIVINE STAFFS AND OFFERINGS: DETAIL OF PLATE 110

EAST WALL, NORTHERN SECTION

(See plate 109)

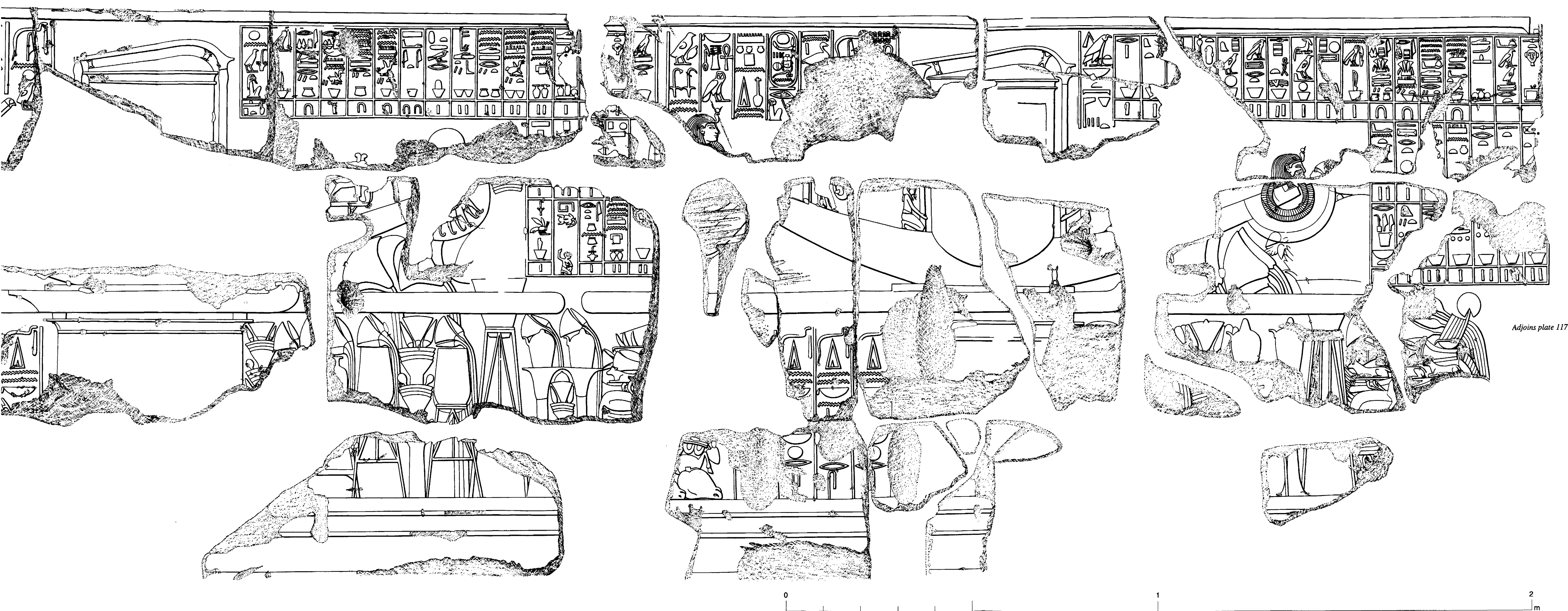


Drawing by Osgood

THE BARKS OF MUT AND KHONSU IN KARNAK TEMPLE: DETAIL OF PLATE 108

EAST WALL, NORTHERN SECTION

(See plate 109)



THE BARKS OF MUT AND KHONSU IN KARNAK TEMPLE: DETAIL OF PLATE 108

EAST WALL, NORTHERN SECTION

(See plate 109)

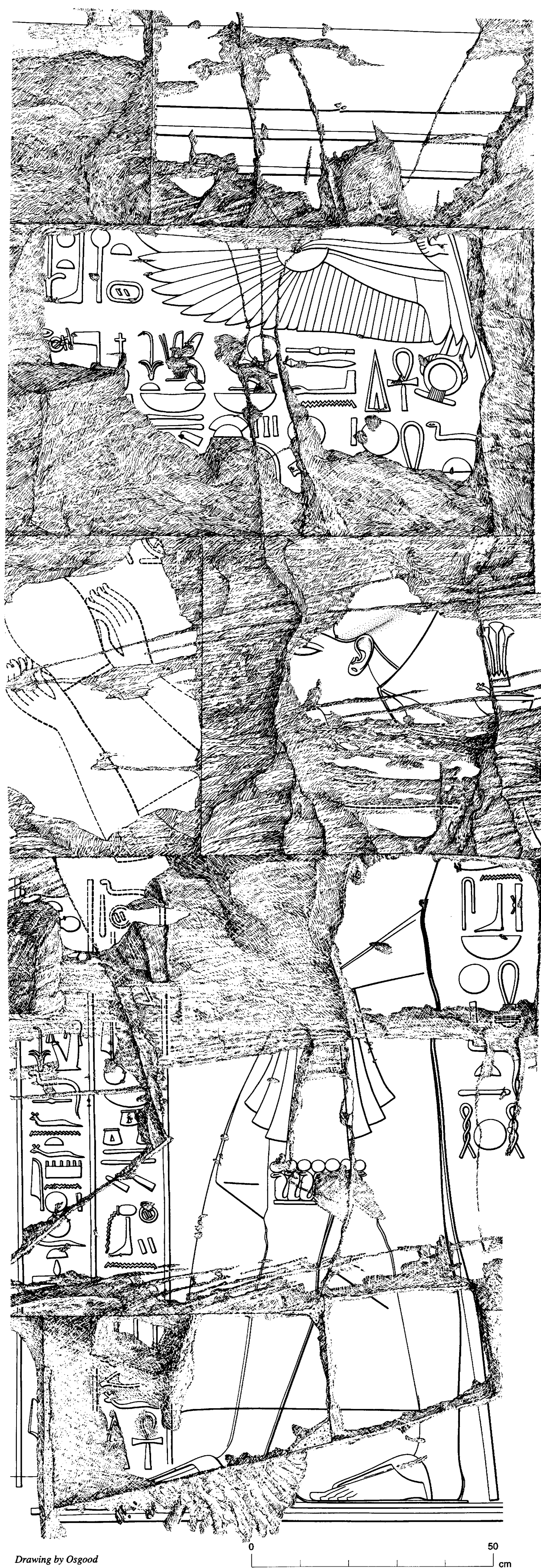


Photographs by Koch



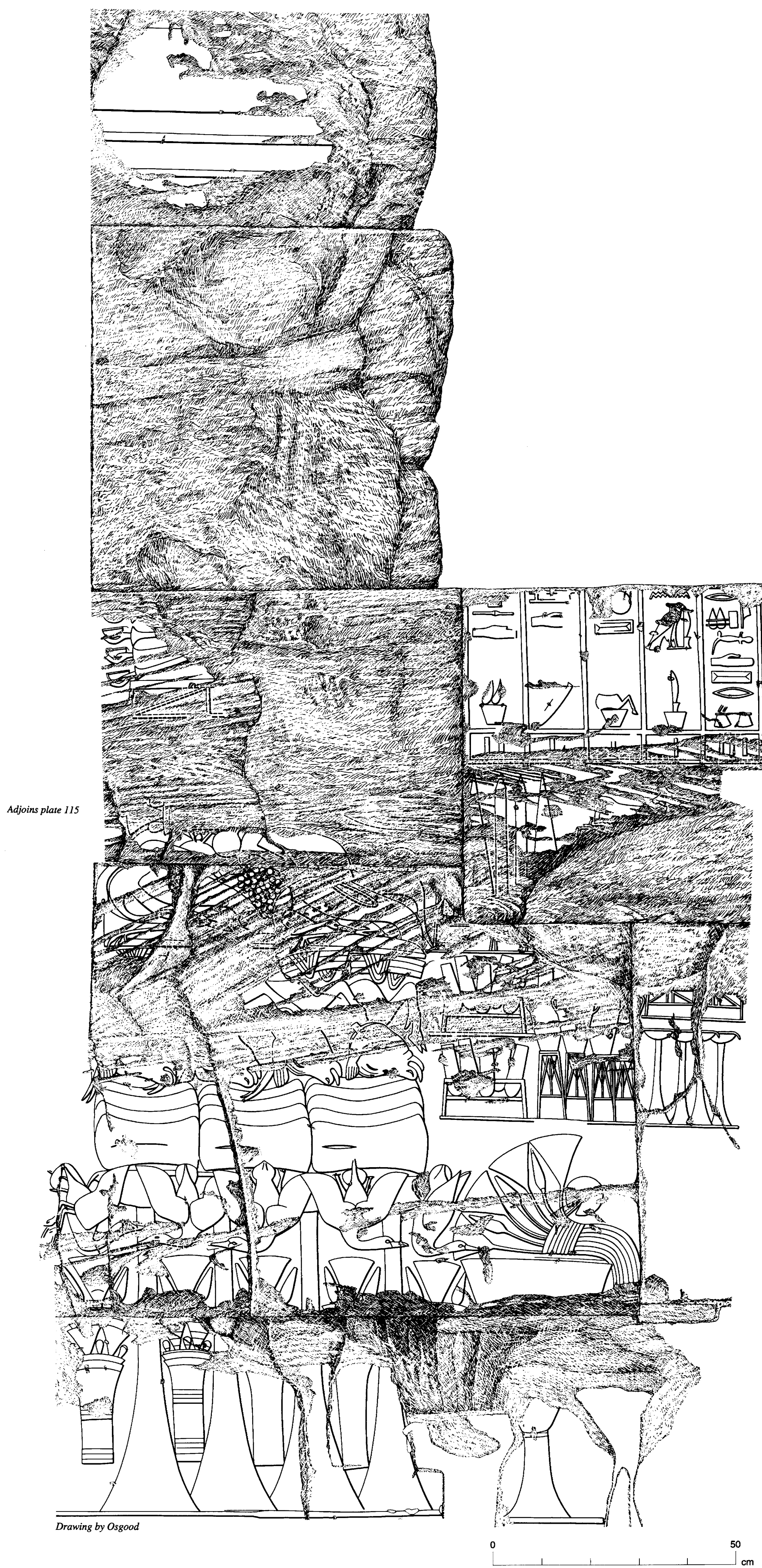
THE KING PURIFYING THE BARKS WITH WATER IN KARNAK TEMPLE, WITH THE BARK OF THE KING BELOW

(Compare plates 115-117)



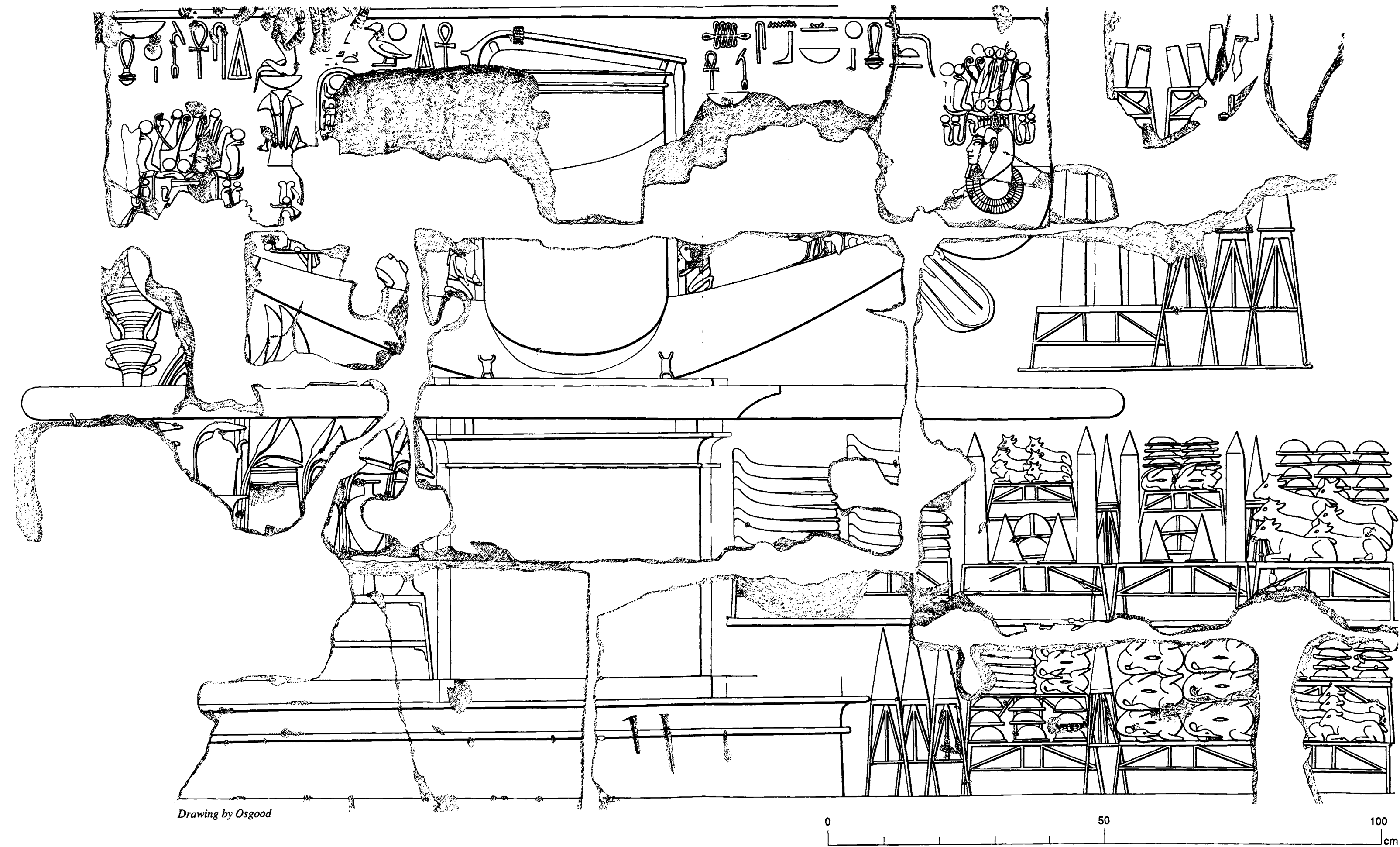
Adjoins plate 116

THE KING PURIFYING THE BARKS WITH WATER IN KARNAK TEMPLE: DETAIL OF PLATE 108
EAST WALL, NORTHERN SECTION
(See plate 114)



OFFERINGS BEHIND THE KING AT KARNAK TEMPLE: DETAIL OF PLATE 108
EAST WALL, NORTHERN SECTION
(See plate 114)

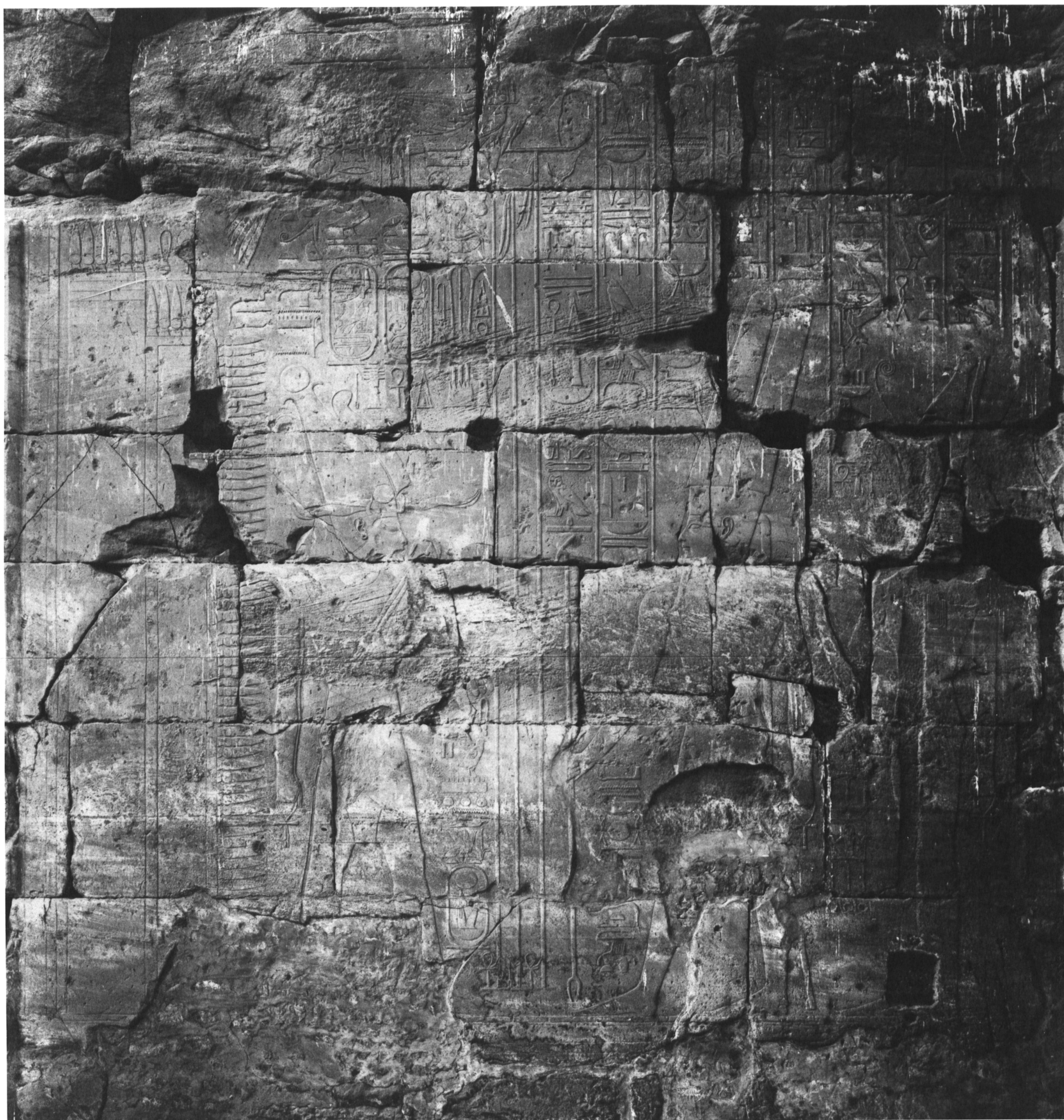
Adjoins plate 113



THE BARK OF THE KING IN KARNAK TEMPLE: DETAIL OF PLATE 108

EAST WALL, NORTHERN SECTION

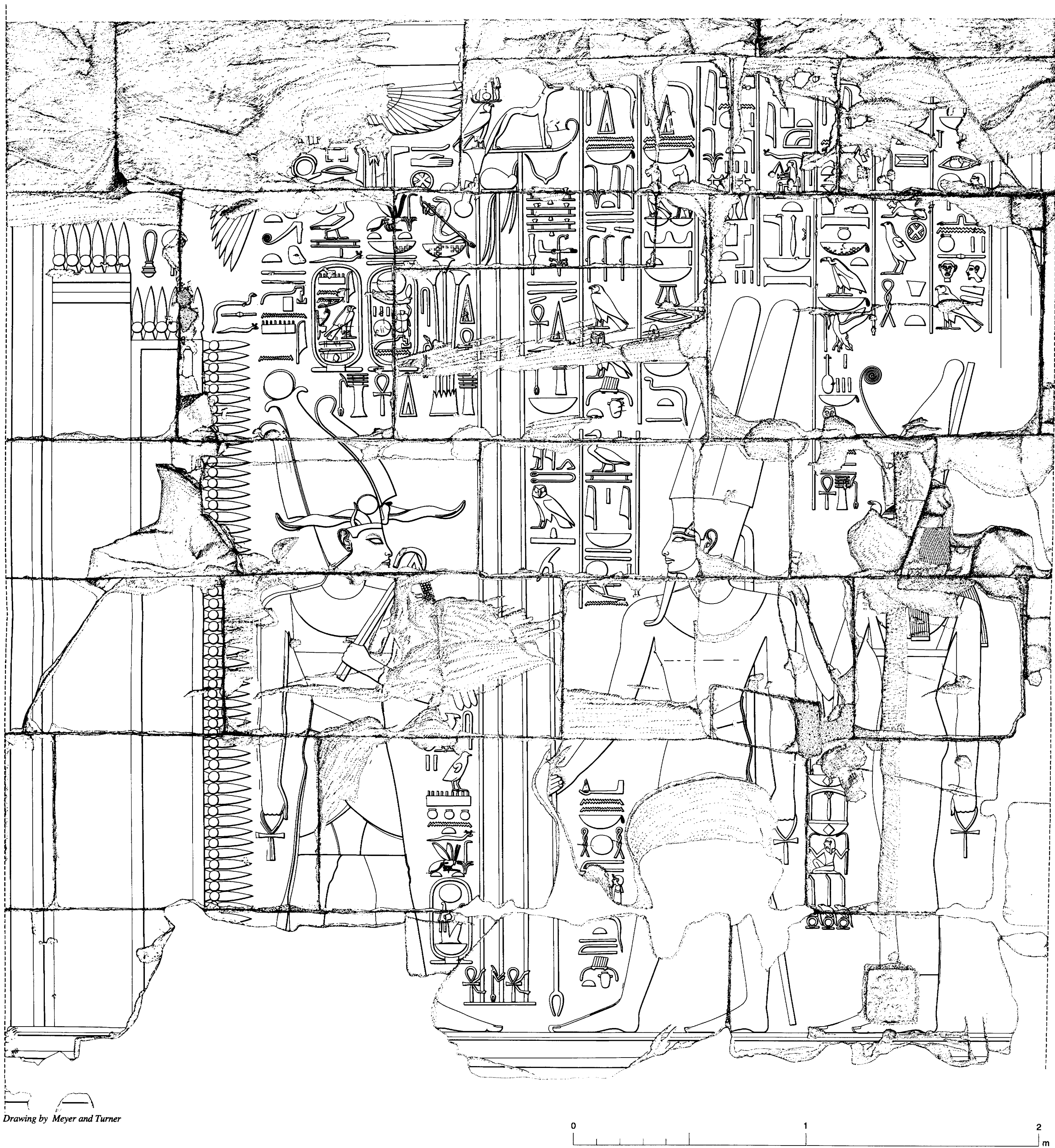
(See plate 114)



Photograph by Koch

THE KING DEPARTING THE PALACE IN THE PRESENCE OF AMUN-RE AND MUT

(Compare plate 119)

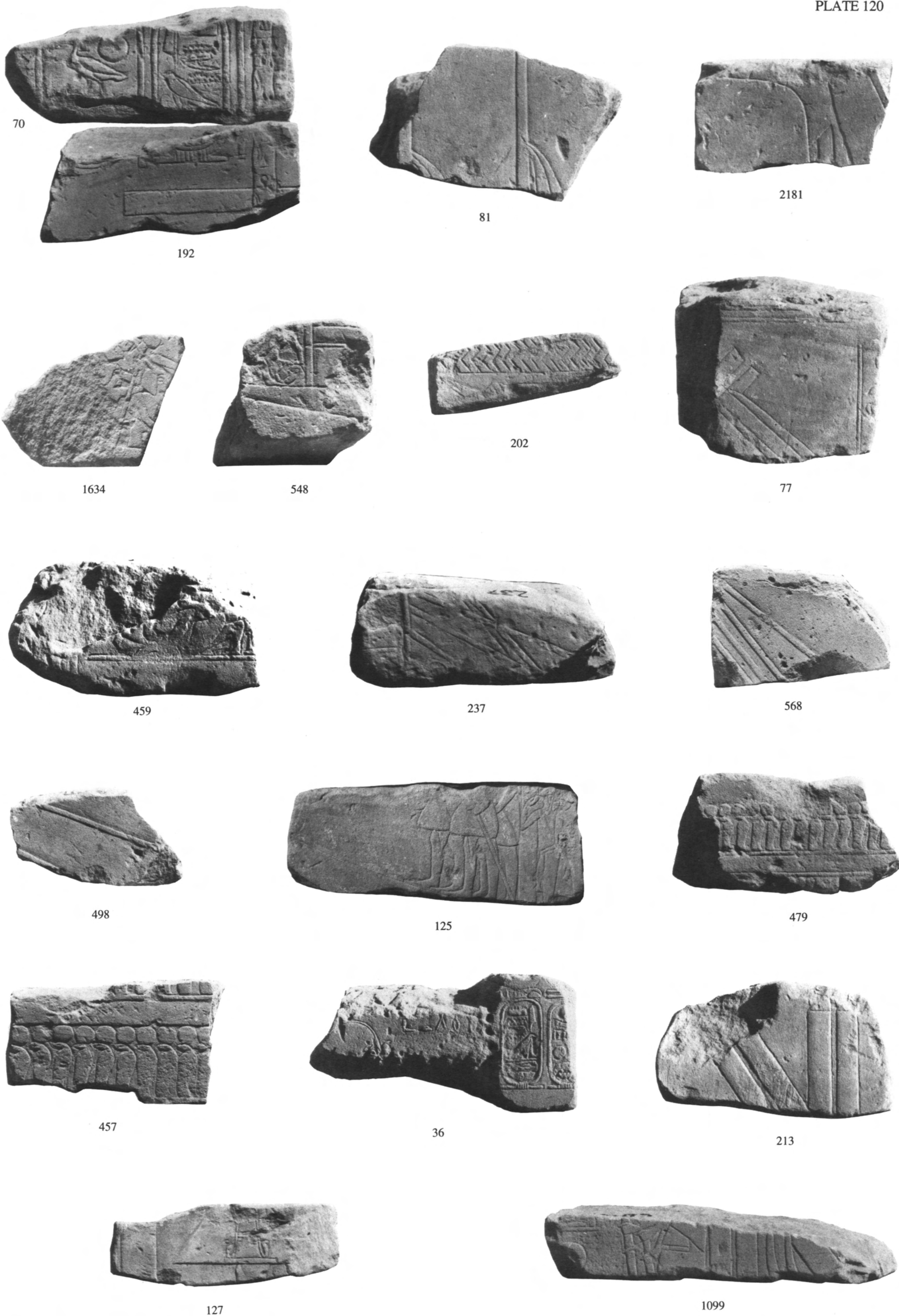


Drawing by Meyer and Turner

0 1 2 m

Adjoins
plate 108

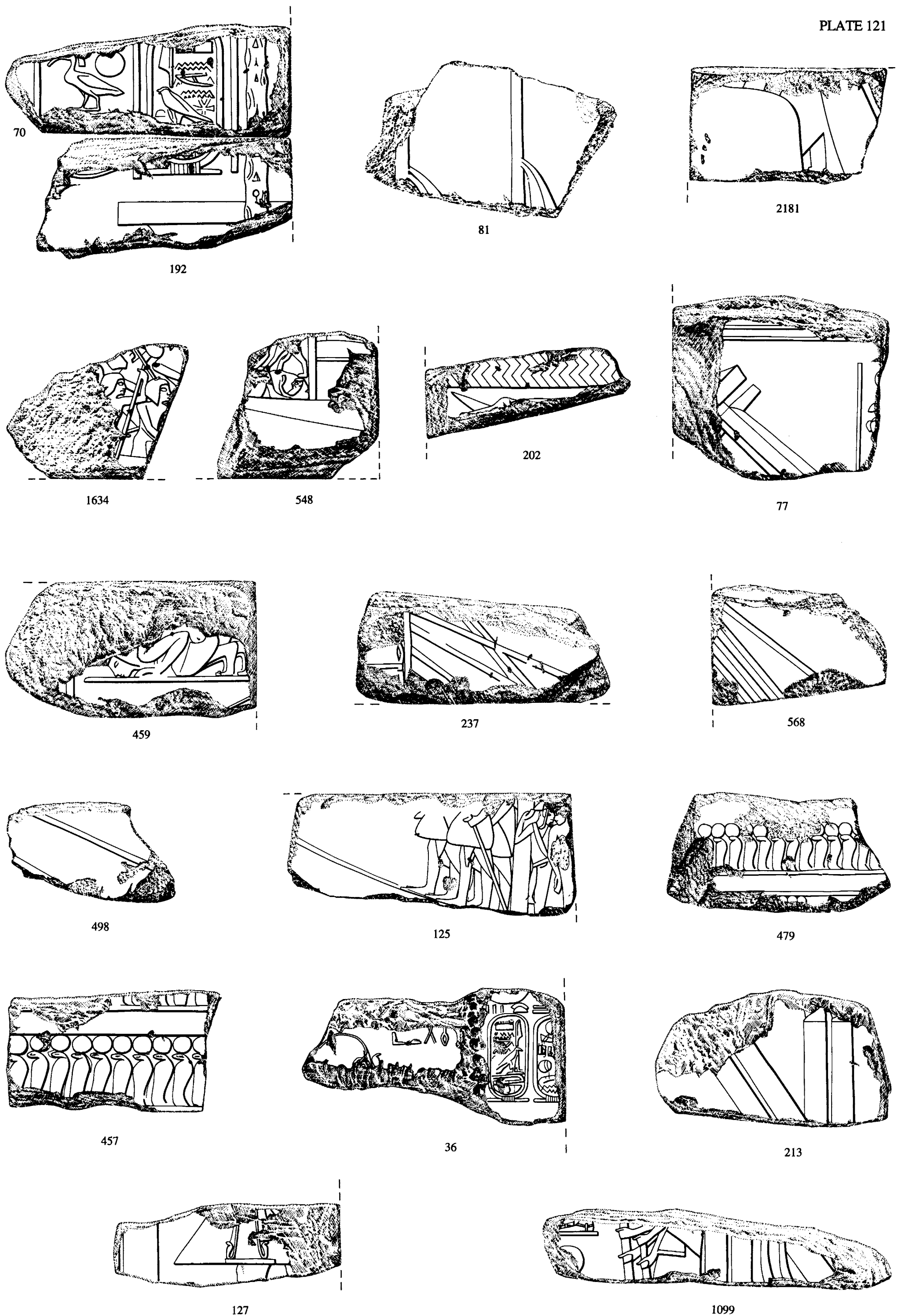
THE KING DEPARTING THE PALACE IN THE PRESENCE OF AMUN-RE AND MUT
NORTH WALL, EASTERN SECTION
(See plate 118)



Photographs by E. Krause, K. Krause, Lanka, and Lezon

FRAGMENTS FROM THE OPET PROCESSION, WEST WALL

(Compare plate 121)

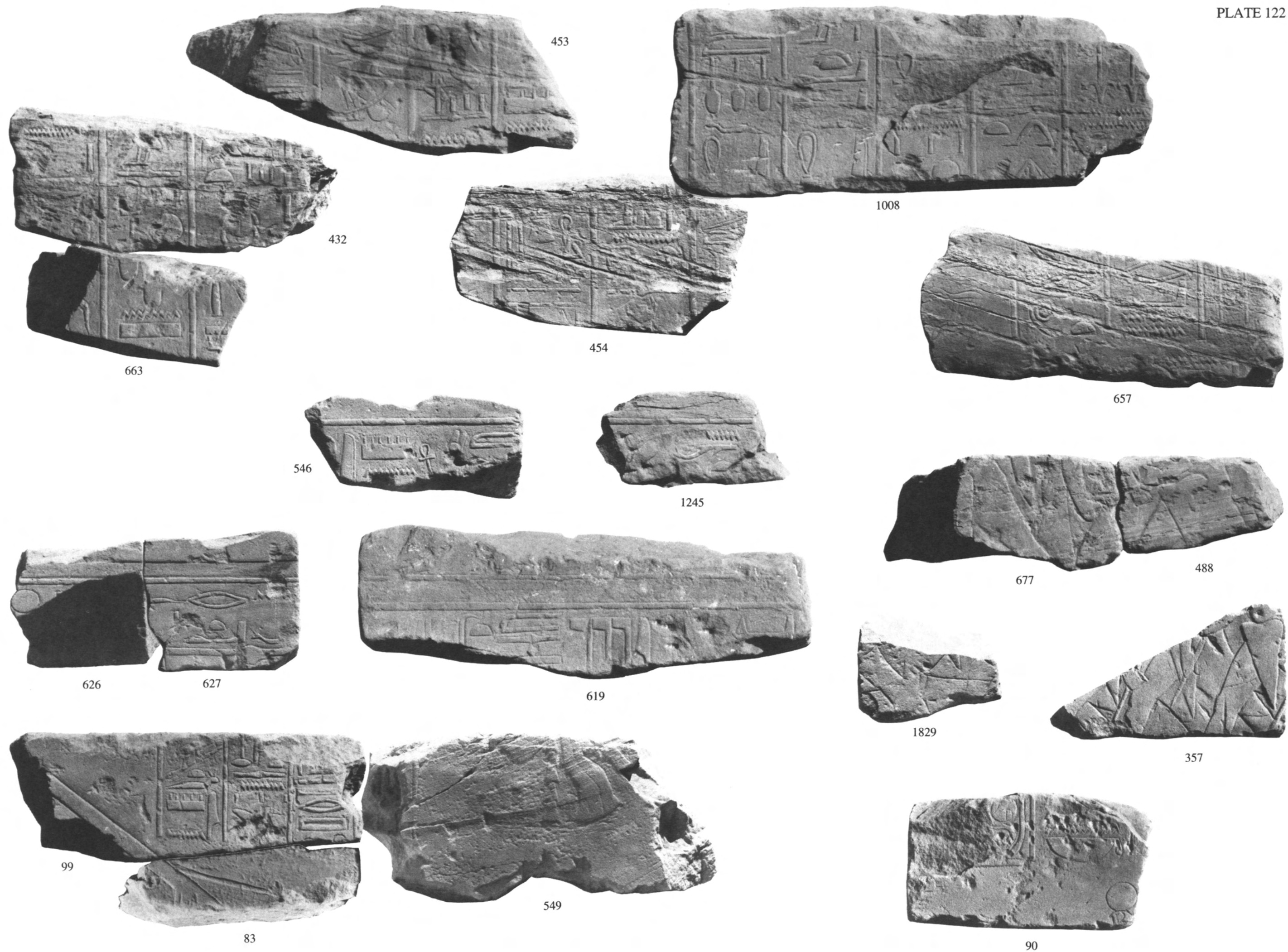


Drawings by Heidel and Johnson

0 50 cm

FRAGMENTS FROM THE OPET PROCESSION, WEST WALL

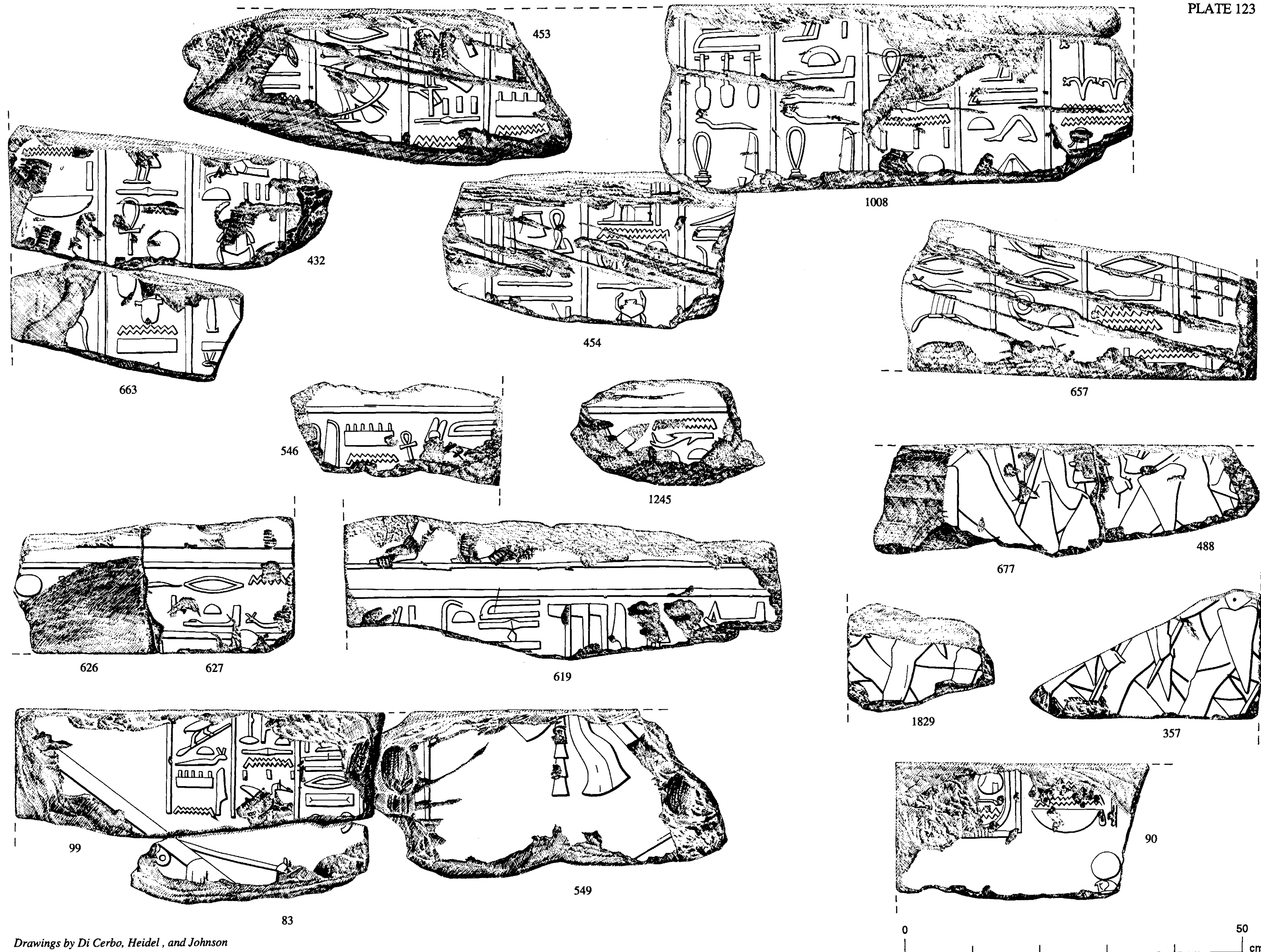
(See plate 120)



Photographs by K. Krause, Lanka, and Lezon

FRAGMENTS FROM A HYMN OF AMENHOTEP III (ABOVE)
AND FROM THE OPET PROCESSION (BELOW)

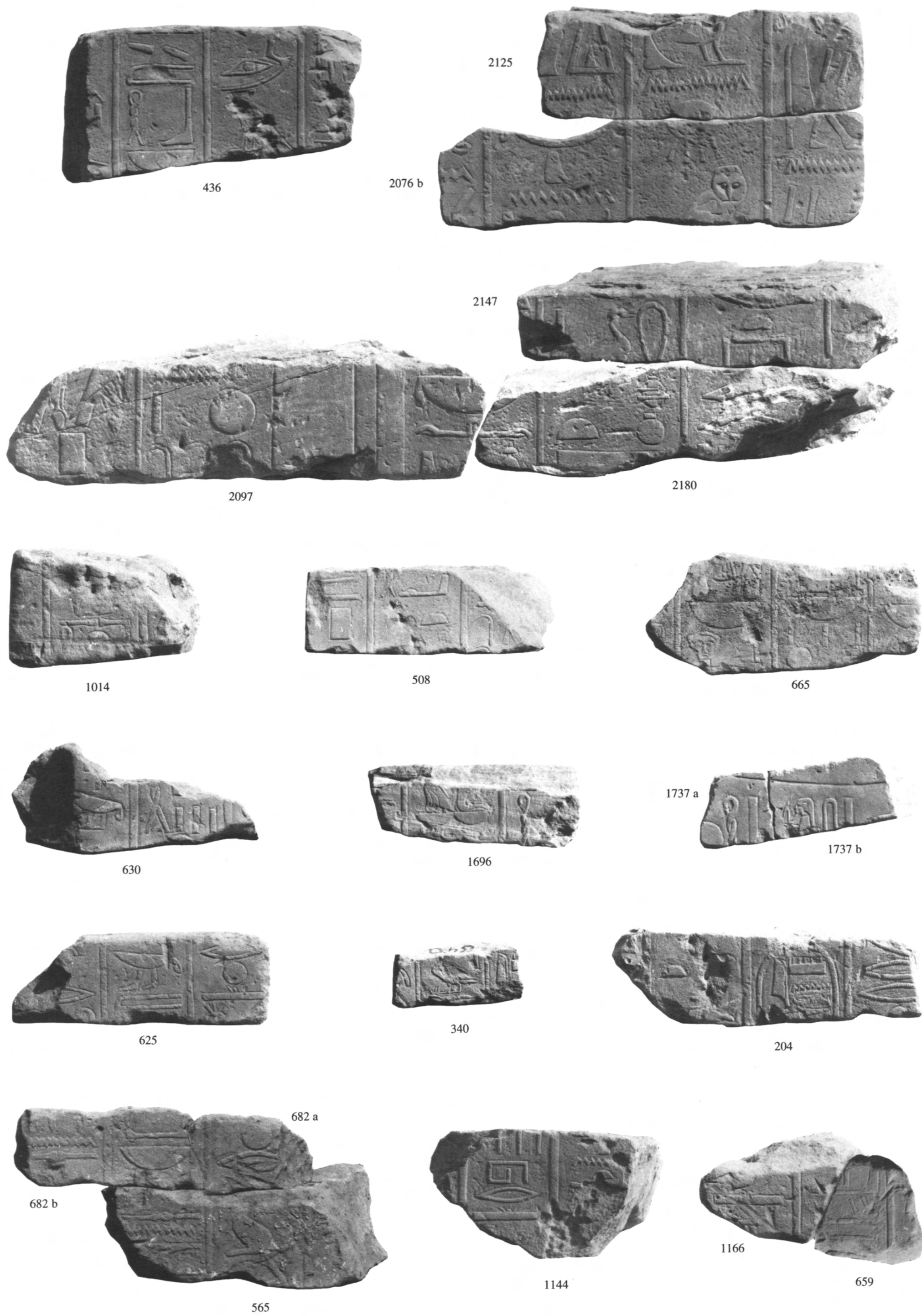
(Compare plate 123)



Drawings by Di Cerbo, Heidel, and Johnson

FRAGMENTS FROM A HYMN OF AMENHOTEP III (ABOVE)
AND FROM THE OPET PROCESSION (BELOW)

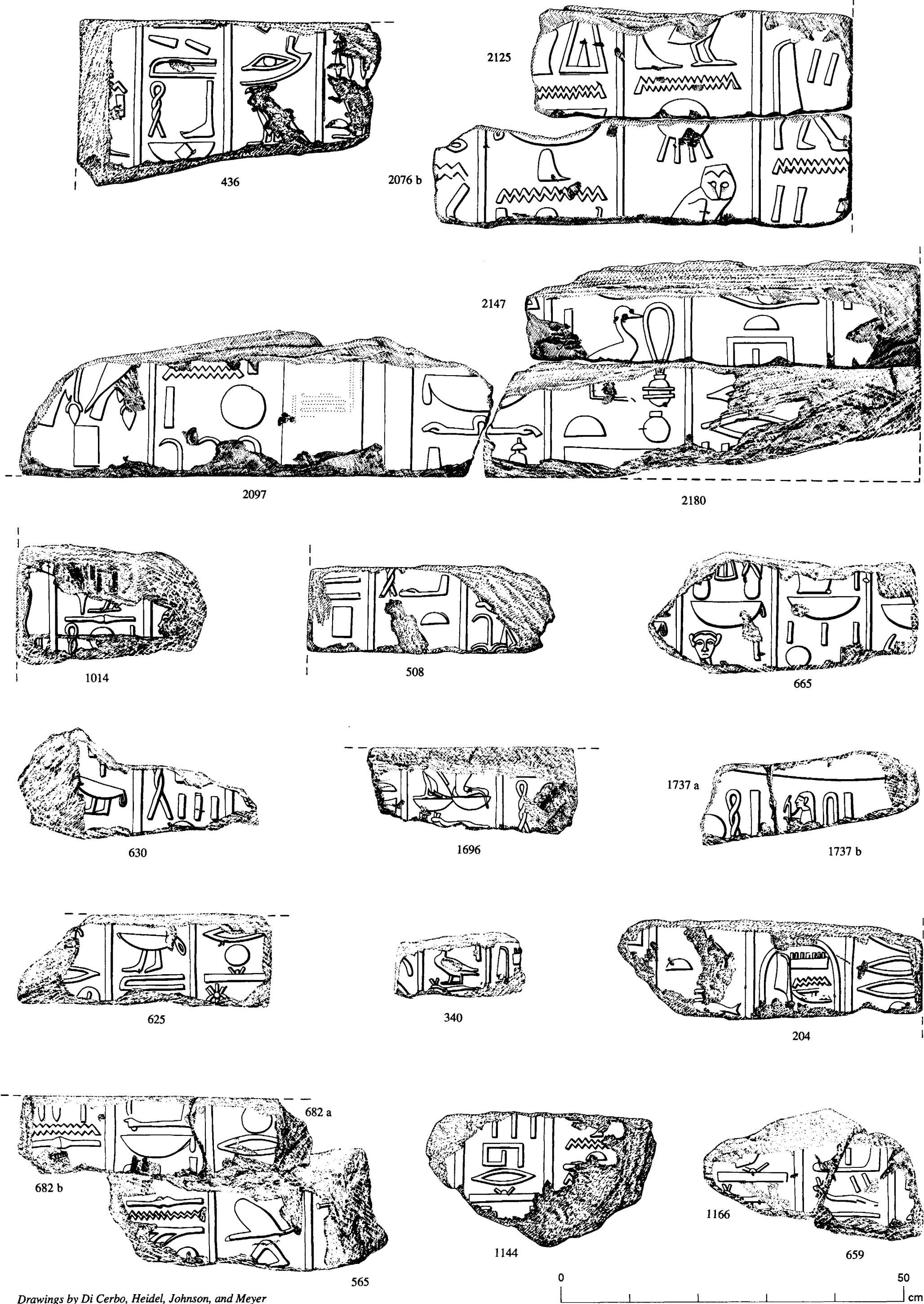
(See plate 122)



Photographs by Keefe, E. Krause, K. Krause, Lanka, and Lezon

FRAGMENTS FROM THE OPET REGISTER, SOUTH WALL, AND MISCELLANEOUS FRAGMENTS

(Compare plate 125)



FRAGMENTS FROM THE OPET REGISTER, SOUTH WALL, AND MISCELLANEOUS FRAGMENTS

(See plate 124)



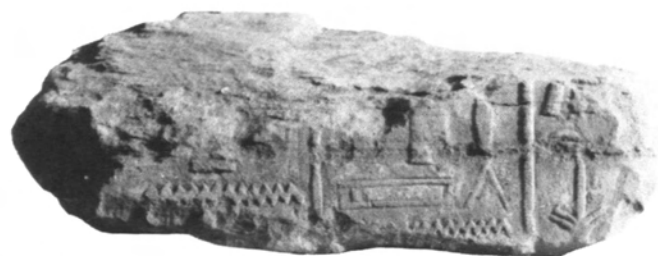
1154



621



660



669



666



117



589



1157



2191



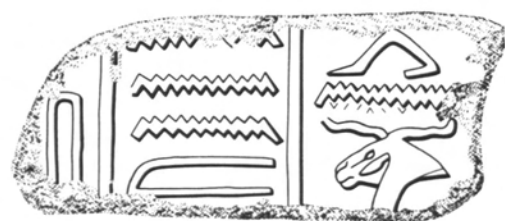
2188



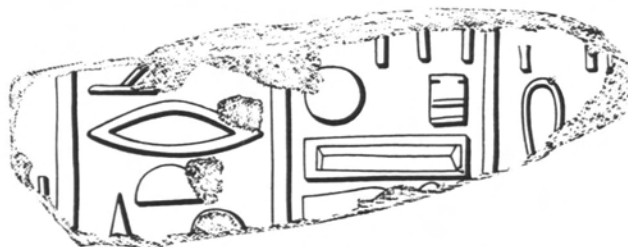
2186



30



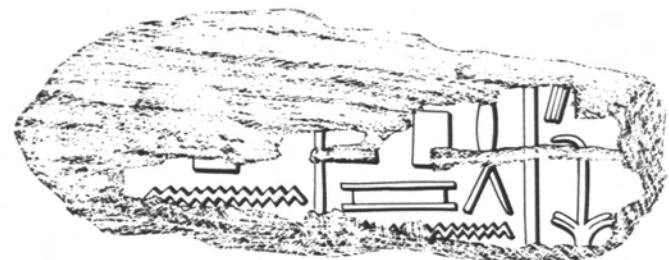
1154



621



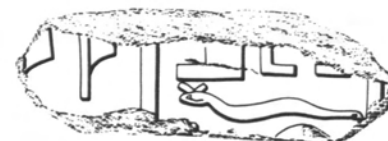
660



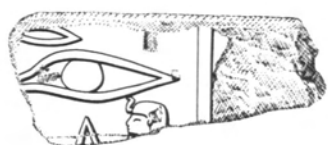
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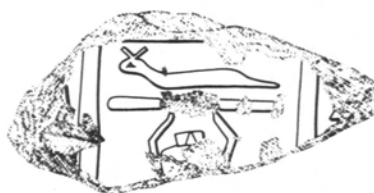
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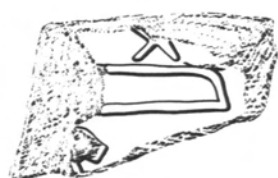
117



1157



2191



2188



2186



30



Photographs by Keefe, E. Krause, K. Krause, and Lezon
Drawings by Di Cerbo, Heidel, and Johnson



A. DETAIL OF THE HEAD OF THE KING
NORTH WALL, EAST SIDE (SEE PL. 118)

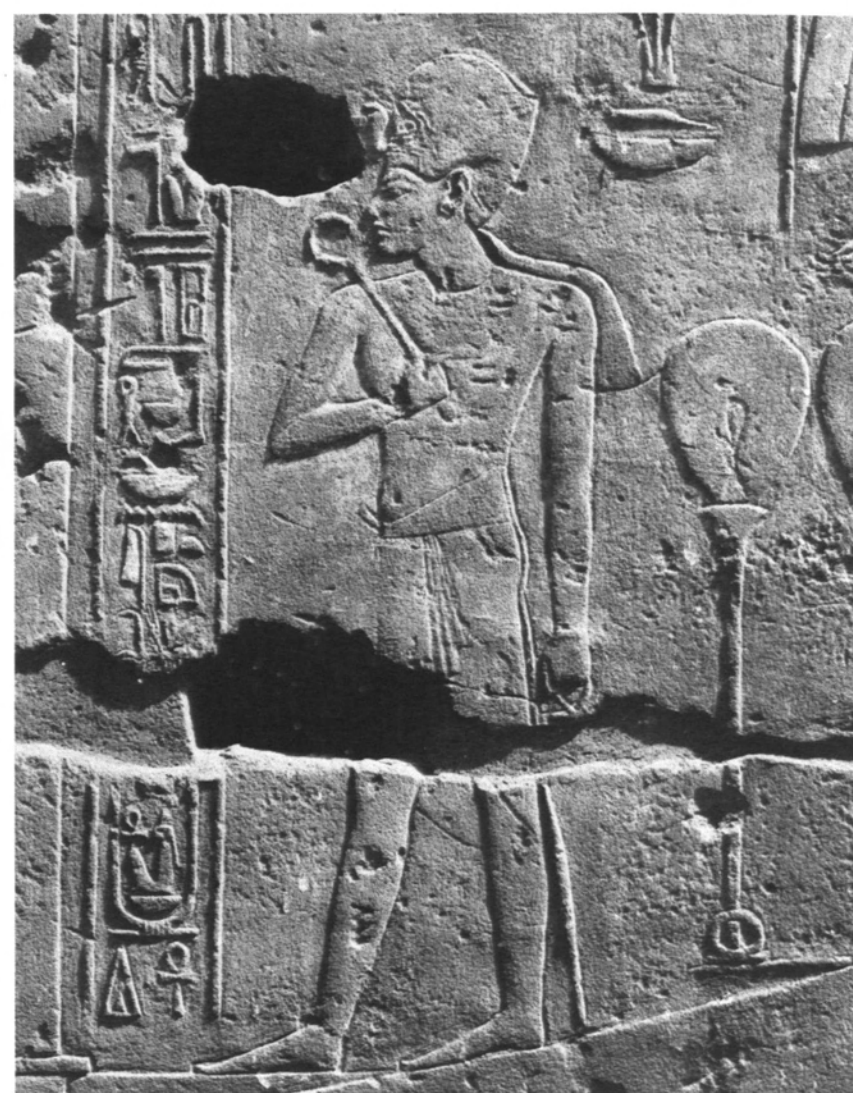


B. DETAIL OF THE HEAD OF AMUN-RE
NORTH WALL, EAST SIDE (SEE PL. 118)



Photographs by Keefe

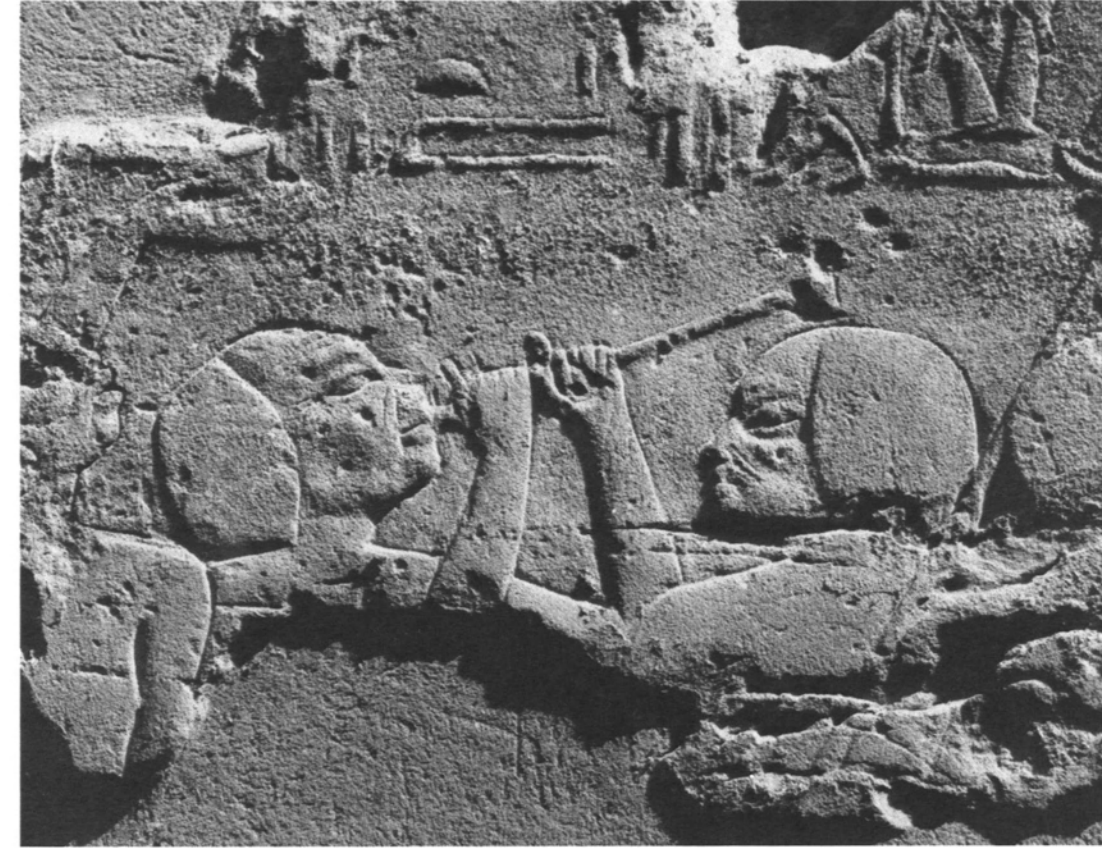
C. FORWARD PORTION OF MUT BARK
EAST WALL, SOUTHERN SECTION (SEE PL. 67)



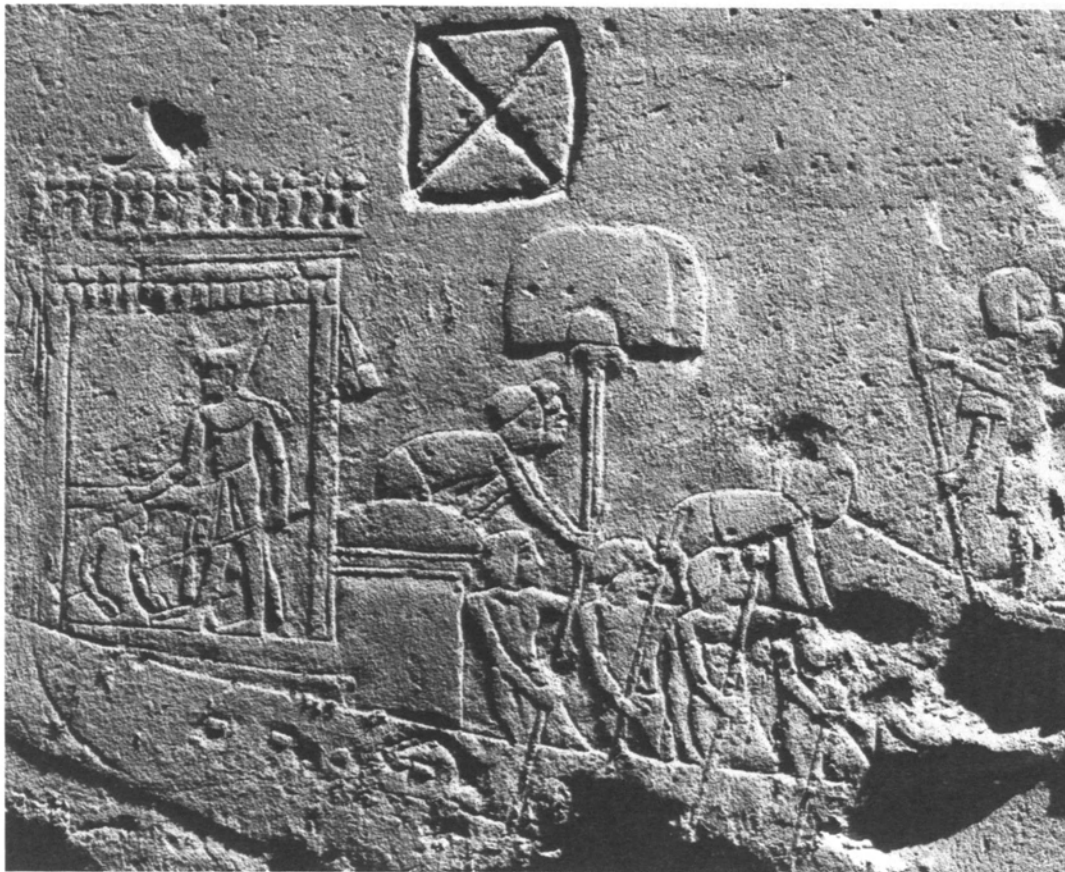
D. DETAIL OF AMUN BARK: FIGURE OF AMENHOTEP III
EAST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION (SEE PL. 80)



A. ERODED SIGNS OVER BARK OF KHONSU
WEST WALL, SOUTHERN SECTION (SEE PL. 48)

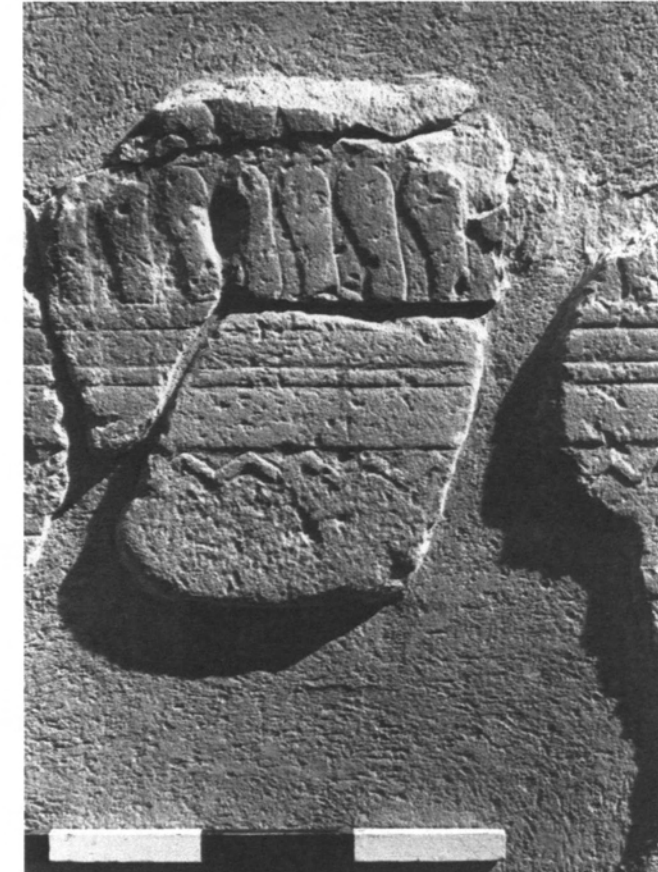


B. TRUMPETER IN RIVERBANK PROCESSION
EAST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION (SEE PL. 94)



Photographs by Keefe

C. FORECASTLES OF LEADING TOWBOATS
EAST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION (SEE PL. 72)



D. DETAIL OF SHRINE POLE
SOUTH WALL, WEST SIDE (SEE PL. 52)

E. REPLACED FRAGMENT OVER BARK OF AMUN
EAST WALL, NORTHERN SECTION (SEE PL. 111)

