Ceremonial Execution and Public Rewards: Some Historical Scenes on New Kingdom Private Stelae

Schulman, Alan R.

Abstract: The repertoire of scenes on Egyptian private stelae is relatively limited to scenes of the funerary banquet, of the deceased receiving offerings, or making them. About the reign of Thutmose IV in the New Kingdom, and lasting through the end of Dynasty 20, scenes which seemingly have nothing to do with these motifs begin to occasionally appear in the stelae repertoire: the king smiting his enemies, receiving a weapon from a god, a god’s barque carried in procession, the deceased being rewarded with gold collars or riding in his chariot, and the like. The present work attempts to discern why such scenes appear on private stelae. After a careful examination of all of the known private monuments of this class which depict who specific motifs, a) the king smiting an enemy and b) the awarding of gold sbiw-collars to the stela’s dedicatee, a total of approximately 35 monuments, the conclusion was reached that such representations are not merely timeless stereotypes but actually represented specific events which took place at specific points in time. Thus the stelae function on two levels simultaneously, a concrete one commemorating the original event, and an abstract one in which the scene illustrated is repeated for eternity.

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The Author:

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ALAN R. SCHULMAN

CEREMONIAL EXECUTION AND PUBLIC REWARDS

Some Historical Scenes on New Kingdom Private Stelae

UNIVERSITÄTSVERLAG FREIBURG SCHWEIZ VANDENHOECK & RUPRECHT GÖTTINGEN 1988
To the Memories of
Hilda Schulman, 1904-1986
Rudolf Anthes, 1896-1985
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My teacher and dear friend, the late Rudolf Anthes, was fond of telling the following story about one of his colleagues in Berlin. I think it was Spiegelberg. It seemed that whenever a student would come up with a clearly absurd translation of a text, or an ingenious solution to an Egyptological problem, Spiegelberg would look at him squarely in the eye, muse for a moment, and then say: "Yes...that is possible... With God anything is possible". Even this book, but it would not have possible without the kindness and helpfulness of a number of friends and colleagues who read the manuscript, discussed its contents with me, provided me with both the photographs and the permissions to publish them in the plates, collated texts for me when it was necessary and possible, and, in general, endured the barrages of questions with which I assaulted them with the patience of the Saints. Consequently it gives me great satisfaction to acknowledge here their thoughtfulness, kindness, and assistance, though I, of course, am solely responsible for any flaws, faults, or errors which may be present: Richard Fazzini, Jim Romano, and Diane Gutzman of the Department of Egyptian and Classical Art and the Wilbour Library of the Brooklyn Museum, Henry Fischer, Christine Lilyquist, Ann Russman of the Department of Egyptian Art of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Herman de Meulenaere and C. de Wit of the Egyptian Department of Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels, the late Labib Habachi, Klaus Baer, and John A. Larsen of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Louise Berge and Maebetty Langdon of the Art Institute of Chicago, Susan H. Auth of the Newark Museum, Wolfgang Müller and Karl-Heinz Priese of the Ägyptisches Museum Berlin, DDR, Peter and Irmgard
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Basically I am a historian. My training is essentially Egyptological. What I am not is an artist or draftsman. The line drawings which illustrate the individual stelae discussed and catalogued in the text are not and do not pretend to be facsimiles of the various monuments, but they do show everything of the latter which I could see. In most cases I worked from a combination of studying the original monument, my own photograph of it, and the published photographs of it, but in some cases I had to depend only on the published photograph or line drawing. In such instances, however, this has been noted in the text. In most instances my line drawings show both the scene and the text of the individual stelae, but in a few instances I have shown only the scene. In all cases of the published monuments, the publications in which they appear are easily accessible and are given as fully as possible. In the case of the unpublished documents I have included a photograph.

New York and Tel Aviv, 1986
# Abbreviations

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<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ASAE</td>
<td>Annales du service des antiquités de l’Égypte.</td>
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<tr>
<td>BIFAO</td>
<td>Bulletin de l’Institut Francais d'Archéologie Orientale.</td>
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<tr>
<td>CAH</td>
<td>Cambridge Ancient History. 3rd edition.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cépé</td>
<td>Chronique d’Égypte.</td>
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<tr>
<td>CRIFEL</td>
<td>Cahier de Recherches de l’Institut de Papyrologie et d’Égyptologie de Lille.</td>
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<tr>
<td>GM</td>
<td>Göttinger Missellen.</td>
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<td>JARCE</td>
<td>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt.</td>
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<tr>
<td>JEA</td>
<td>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.</td>
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<tr>
<td>KAI</td>
<td>K.A. Kitchen, <em>Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical.</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>LD</td>
<td>C.R. Lepsius, <em>Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien.</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>LdAE</td>
<td>Lexikon der Aegyptologie.</td>
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<tr>
<td>MDAIK</td>
<td>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Institute Abteilung Kairo.</td>
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<tr>
<td>MIO</td>
<td>Mitteilungen des Institutes für Orientforschung.</td>
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<td>FN</td>
<td>H. Ranke, <em>Die ägyptische Personennamen.</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Rec. trav.</td>
<td>Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l’archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes.</td>
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<td>Abkürzung</td>
<td>Titel</td>
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<tr>
<td>VDI</td>
<td>Vestnik Drevne Istorii.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wb.</td>
<td>Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WZKM</td>
<td>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ZAeS</td>
<td>Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde.</td>
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Introduction

To tell the truth, while there have been some hundreds of studies of individual stelae and collections of monuments of this kind, these have usually been made from a single viewpoint, artistic, philological, historical, or religious, and have concerned themselves mainly, if not solely, with the particular stelae which were their subjects. There have been but very few investigations in depth on the subject of stelae in general, on their meaning and function, on their historical, psychological, or sociological perspectives and significance. These considerations are usually dealt with only in short lexicon and dictionary articles. Part of the problem and of the rationale for this is, undoubtedly, to be found in the attitude of Egyptological scholarship which has, traditionally, approached the material in the same way, considering it a conventional and commonplace feature of Ancient Egypt, primarily as an element and item in the mortuary cult of the deceased, in the case of private stelae, or as a vehicle for both the propagation and the recording of the king's acts and dicta, in the case of the royal ones. However, in spite of the stereotyped pictorial and textual material found over and over again on the vast bulk of them, particularly on the private stelae, there are enough departures from the standard repertoire of their scenes, chiefly and most noticeably on the New Kingdom, non-royal stelae dating from the later part of the 18th Dynasty until the end of the 20th. There is even enough diversity in the treatment of individual details of those stelae whose scenes are taken directly from the stock repertoire so that we may well consider, in retrospect, if we should not be
It is generally accepted that there are three basic classes or types of stela, funerary, votive, and commemorative-historical, each probably originally envisioned for a different function and purpose. The mortuary stela usually contained a representation of its deceased owner, normally seated before an offering table, often being worshipped by members of his family. A second, very common, pictorial motif showed the dead person adoring one or another of the gods. On virtually all funerary stelae, when a text was appended, it frequently included, among other things, the htp-di-nswt invocation for offerings and the well-being of the deceased in the Afterworld. The commemorative-historical stela was, basically, of royal origin and in its scene pictured the king engaged in some activity, usually religious in nature. Its text, often lengthy, recounted an achievement of the king, contained an encomium of him, or the like. The votive stelae was, in its purest form, an expression of faith on the part of the worshipper toward a god, and its text indicated this faith in one way or another, as did also its scene. However, these three types of stelae frequently overlapped one another in the way that they were used. Often stelae which clearly are not funerary, but votive, commemorate an incident. At the same time, by virtue of their having been found in the tomb, or by virtue of the occasional pious wishes inscribed on them for the well-being of the ka of their owner (which, one assumes, were to be fulfilled in the Afterworld), it would appear that they, then, were also funerary to some extent.

It is a commonplace Egyptological truism that an essential feature of the ancient Egyptian's concept of the Afterworld
contained, for those who were fortunate enough to achieve life in it for Eternity, a repetitive continuation of their existence in this world, of their lives, deeds, benefits, rewards, and honours. Certainly, this is reflected, if not borne out, by the biographical (as opposed to the purely religious) scenes which decorated the walls of their tombs. And, indeed, one such scene, the mortuary repast, is, without question, also the most frequent scene found on funerary stelae. Others, however, on what are seemingly funerary stelae are not really tomb scenes, for they show the king, not the stela's owner, as the principal personage, usually in an act of worship or performing some ritual before one or more deities. One may well ask why such a scene appears on a private mortuary or votive stela? By private stelae, I mean those which were commissioned by or dedicated to an individual other than the king, and for his own purposes, whatever these may have been. Such monuments, and these include rock-cut as well as free-standing stelae, are recognizable either from their texts, which often include the statement that the monument was "made by" so-and-so, and by the representation of their instigator, alone, or with members of his family, as part of the pictorial element. The main thrust of the present study will attempt to demonstrate that, in such cases where the pictorial element of a private stela seems to bear no relation to its text, the basic intent of the monument in question was neither funerary nor votive, but commemorative, and that the primarily royal scene (which usually has a counterpart somewhere on a wall in the temple) pictures, when it occurs on a private stela, a ceremony in which the king participated and one which the owner of the stela either witnessed in person, if it was a public affair, or else was among the
throng of spectators outside in the courtyard, if the ceremony was taking place inside the temple proper, in a part of it where the lay public was not admitted. In other words, such scenes recorded actual physical events which took place at specific points in time and which may, under certain circumstances, be utilized as reliable historical documents.

That private individuals could and did erect stelae which remembered specific events in their own lives is unquestioned. Elsewhere I have dealt with two, very clear, examples of this. The first of these is furnished by those stelae whose scene shows the processional bark of a deity, carried by its bearer-priests, being approached by the stela's owner in order to consult the oracle of the god, while the accompanying text, beginning with the exact date of the event, verbally narrates the incident.5 The second instance illustrates one of the most important, if not the most important, part of the funeral ceremony, that in which the mummy of the deceased is undergoing the ritual which will animate it and revivify the deceased in the Afterworld, the ritual of Opening-of-the-Mouth.5a In the chapters which follow, I shall deal with two other real situations, ceremonies in which the king figures, which are commemorated on private stelae. In some instances, the obvious indications and criteria for labelling certain of the stelae to be discussed as private stelae are lacking6 and, at first glance, these would appear to be royal monuments. However, on careful analysis, it can be shown that they, too, are probably of a private origin. Of the two historical situations which will be studied, the first is concerned with what surely was a public holiday, the occasion and ceremony during which the Egyptian
king ritually executed captive enemy rulers in the presence of a god. The second event is more of a personal matter and commemorates the public honouring to the owners of the stelae by the king's own hand.
Footnotes:


3. See, e.g. Yoyotte, loc. cit.

4. Which is not to say that the king does not appear in private tomb scenes, because he does, but in those situations which pertain to a personal relationship with the tomb owner: scenes of audience, reward, promotion, and the like. He does not, however, to my knowledge, appear in scenes which show him as the chief participant in a ceremonial rite in the temple, unless it be at Amarna. And even here the visit of the king to the temple of the Aton can be explained in
terms of its relationship to the duties of the tomb owners where it occurs.


6. See below, chapter 1, Section B, stelae nrs. 2, 5, 7, 10, 12, and 13.
Chapter 1. The Pharaoh Slays His Enemies

A

The familiar motif of the victorious king slaughtering a vanquished enemy chief, usually in the presence of one or another of the gods, is attested in Egyptian art since the beginning of the 1st Dynasty, if not earlier. An integral part of the royal myth and persona, it recurs on the walls of the temples and palaces, on their gateways and pylons, columns and pillars. It is carved on the sides of the cliffs of the border marches of Egypt and beyond, wherever Egyptian armies campaigned against the Asiatic and the Nubian, as a stark reminder of the power of Egypt and of the fate to be expected by the rebel.

Nor is it restricted to royal and monumental art. It is also found on a plethora of different kinds of lesser objects, royal and non-royal alike, ranging from scarabs, pectorals, and other types of jewelry, to weapons, artists' sketches, and stelae. Its presence on royal stelae, both rock-cut and free-standing, is obvious and needs no further comment or discussion.

On private stelae the occurrence of the motif of the triumphant pharaoh in the act of killing an enemy seems to be restricted to the later 18th Dynasty through the early 20th. At least, no epigraphically datable examples prior to the reign of Thutmose IV or later than that of Ramesses III are known to me. To date 19 instances of this genre of scene on private free-standing and rock-cut stelae, 5 of them unpublished, have been forthcoming (see below, Sections B-C), although, undoubtedly, there are still others, both published and unpublished, which I have either inadvertently overlooked, or the existence of which I am unaware. Still, the 19 examples already collected, which
may be taken as a fair random sampling of the private stelae bearing this scene, provide, when studied as a group, sufficient material to allow us to draw a number of insights into their historical, artistic, and art-historical contexts, as well as to raise and possibly answer a number of previously unasked questions concerning their raison d'être. It should be noted, however, that this chapter will not address itself to the symbolic, religious, or philosophic concepts associated with or inherent in the motif. These aspects have already been dealt with previously by other scholars and are, to my knowledge, even the subject of yet to be published studies. 14

In the treatment of the individual stelae which follows in Sections B and C, they have been arranged as far as it is possible in chronological sequence, with those whose date is not firmly assured by the presence of a royal name, being placed at the end, although, typologically, a somewhat different order could have been followed. No distinction has been made between those which are, patently, private stelae and those which probably are. The dimensions of most of those listed in Section B are relatively small, but one does approach a nearly monumental size. 15 Approximately half of them have the conventional round-topped shape. 16 The others are rectangular, with the scene framed by what is certainly a doorway or a gateway. 17 The scene itself is essentially the same for all 19 stelae and the general description of it which follows will not be repeated in the discussion of any of the individual pieces, even in the case of the 5 previously unpublished ones, save to note any variations.

On all of the stelae the king is pictured in the act of slaying an enemy captive, or group of captives, 18 in the presence
of one of the Egyptian gods, usually Ptah. Striding and half-leaning forward, he grasps the prostrate victim, presumably defeated enemy rulers, by their hair with one hand, in order to steady their heads for the death blow which he is about to deliver with crushing force from the smiting weapon held in his other hand, this usually, either the maceaxe or the gpš-sword.

In most cases the king wears a headdress consisting of the short Nubian wig, surmounted by a double-plumed disk which rests upon a pair of ram's horns, from which a disk-crowned uraeus rears up. This headdress has, on occasion and probably wrongly, been interpreted or described as the atef-crown. Not infrequently, the wig to which the uraeus has been affixed, is bound by a fillet, the end or ends of which hang down behind the wig like streamers. The remainder of the king's dress usually comprises a short, knee-length kilt with apron or flap, held in place by a belt, and a broad collar around his neck. The intended victim, whose nationality differs from stela to stela, is usually shown sunk down on one knee. His face is sometimes turned towards the king, sometimes away from him and toward the god. At least one of his hands is raised, either in a gesture of supplication for mercy, or else in a piteous and futile attempt to ward off his imminent fate.

B

1. Stela Brussels E 4499, from Memphis. Limestone, with no traces of colour. 27 x 17 cm., texts and figures incised. Bibliography: W.M.F. Petrie, Memphis I (London: 1909) 7 and pls. 7 (photograph) and 8 nr. 4 (line drawing); L. Speelers, Recueil des inscriptions égyptiennes des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire à Bruxelles (Brussels: 1923) 37 and 134 (text only). Part of
the text also published in Duk. IV, 1563. See also B.M. Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV* (unpublished Yale PhD dissertation: 1980) 205 n. 61. (Fig. 1).

Rectangular in shape, the stela actually takes the form of an open portal. The doorway itself is recessed, its jambs and lintel projecting forward, while a cavetto cornice, now mostly broken away, caps the lintel. Incised squarely in the center of the lintel is a pair of vertical cartouches, each surmounted by a pair of feathers and horns, that on the left containing the prenomen "Menkheprure", that on the right the nomen "Thutmose". Both jambs bear a vertical line of indifferently-carved hieroglyphs, each facing towards the opening of the doorway and each set within a rectangular frame which runs to the height of the jamb. The text on the left reads:

"The Horus, the Mighty Bull, the Son of Atum, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the lord of the Two Lands, Menkheprure, beloved of Amün the king of the gods".

The text of the corresponding right jamb reads:

"The Horus, the Mighty Bull, the Son of Re', the lord of Diadems, Thutmose, beloved of Ptah the lord of Ma'at, the king of the Two Lands".

The smiting scene, which takes place in the presence of Ptah, is set within the aperture of the doorframe. The god is identified by a vertical line of text as "Ptah, the Great One, the lord of Ma'at". He is in a mummiform guise and, clutching a w3s-scepter, stands facing to the left, on a ma'at-shaped pedestal. At the left, facing him, is the king. His kilt is calf-length and a lion's tail is attached to the back of his belt. His weapon is the maceaxe. The enemy whom he is about to slay, a Libyan, to
judge from his phallic sheath, faces the god, but has turned his head towards the king, to whom he raises up his left arm in a useless gesture of supplication. All three figures stand on a ground line. The top of the scene has been set off by a double border line, so that a wide empty space intervenes between the top of the scene and the soffit of the lintel. Likewise, there is an even wider empty space between the ground line and the single horizontal line of text which runs between the jambs at the bottom of the stela and which is marked off by a border line. The text itself is damaged and only partly legible. It is clear, however, that it contained the title and name of the stela's dedicator:

"[Made by] the scribe? in the house of gold?, granted life".

2. Stela Petrie, Riqqeh and Memphis VI (London: 1915) pl. 55 nr. 12, from Memphis, present location unknown. Limestone, with no traces of colour. Dimensions unknown, texts incised, figures in raised relief. Bibliography: Petrie, loc. cit. with a brief mention ibid. See also Bryan, loc. cit. n. 60. (Fig. 2).

Rectangular in shape, the stela shows a portal, the lintel of which is capped by a cavetto cornice with the torus molding clearly preserved. The scene is set within the recessed aperture. At the left, Ptah, mummiform, stands in a naos which is set upon a ma'at-shaped pedestal and whose front side is suggested by the lower part of the combination w3s-‘m3-‘d-scepter which the god clutches. In the field within the naos, over the god's head, a short horizontal line of hieroglyphs names him "Ptah, the lord of Ma’at". To the left of the shrine and facing it is the sacrificial scene. The lion's tail is attached to
the back of the king's belt. Along with the hair of the semi-supine captive, the king also holds a bow with his left hand.

The victim, even more clumsily rendered than the other figures, faces the god, but his head is turned towards the king. One of his hands grasps the king's left arm as if to restrain it, and the other is raised helplessly. The only indication of his nationality is his beard which suggests that he is either a Libyan or an Asiatic. On a raised vertical panel in the field between the naos and the king's head is a cartouche, surmounted by the plumed, horned, sundisk and containing the prenomen "Menkheprure", granted life". In the field behind the king's back a short vertical line of raised hieroglyphs contains part of an apotropaic statement "all life and stability". The entire tableau is set off by a raised rectangular border, which abuts the inner reveals of the jamb, but which is separated from the soffit of the lintel and from the bottom edge of the stela by a very broad, empty, field. Exactly how broad the lower of this pair of fields was, cannot be determined since the bottom of the stela is lost.

3. Stela Kestner Museum, Hannover, 1935.200.230, provenance unknown. Limestone, with minimal traces of red colour preserved. 21 x 14.5 cm. texts and scene incised. Bibliography: P. Munro, "Untersuchungen zur altägyptischen Bildmetrik", Städel-Jahrbuch N.F. 3 (1971) 35 fig. 32. (Fig. 3 and Pl. 1).

Both registers of this round-topped stela are framed by a border paralleling its outline. The sacrificial tableau fills the upper register. The king's weaponry consists of a ḫはずです-sword with which he is delivering the fatal blow, and a bow which he holds together with the hair of the two prostrate captives, a
Nubian and an Asiatic, who face him. The Asiatic raises one hand in a plea for mercy. The Nubian's two arms hang down at his sides, in resignation to his doom. The god in whose presence the execution is being carried out is "Ptah, the lord of Ma'at". He stands in a naos, the base of which is a ma'at-shaped pedestal, and the open front of which is indicated by the artist's simply not having continued the carving of its front wall from the level of the god's stomach up to the cornice just beneath its top. In the field between the naos and the king's plumed, horned headdress, is a vertical cartouche reading "the good god, Menkheprure". Behind his back is a vertical line reading: "Horus, powerful of arm". A broad, double line separates the two registers, its upper edge simultaneously serving as the ground line for the figures in the upper one. In the lower register, facing right, a man, two women, and a second man, kneel in adoration to the ceremony depicted in the register above them. The first man offers a lighted brazier with one hand, the second man and the first woman each hold a single lotus flower in one hand. All three raise the other, and the second woman both, hands in the gesture of adoration. The first man wears a shoulder-length wig, the second is shaven-headed. Both are clad in long kilts. The left arm of the second man, the hand of which is holding the flower, is shown in front of his upward-bent left leg. Each of the two women wears an ankle-length dress, that of the second woman being somewhat more loosely-flowing. The surface of the stela in both of the registers is marred by scratches. In addition, it has been cracked by salt action, especially in the lower register, so that the short, sometimes deeply-incised, vertical inscriptions over the heads of
the four worshippers are obscured and somewhat difficult to read. Over the head of the first man and slightly in front of it is "Made by the ḫry-wr-priest." His name, which is continued over the head of the first woman is damaged because of the scratches and the salt action, but appears to be "Iry." The name and title of the first female seem to be written in the field between her left arm and abdomen. With difficulty the title can be read as "lady of the house", but the name is completely illegible. Over the head of the second woman is a clear "his sister" and in the field between her and the second man is her title, followed by her name. The title, damaged but legible, is "the lady of his house", and the name appears to be "Tia", with the determinative, for lack of space, written underneath the upraised arm of the second male. Finally, over this man's head is a clear "his sister" (sic!), followed by the common masculine name Ptahmose which, however, seems to have a feminine determinative written behind the nape of his neck.

4. Stela Chicago Art Institute 1893.75, provenance unknown. Limestone, with no traces of colour. 14.4 x 23.8 cm. text and scene incised. Bibliography: Briefly described, but not illustrated in T.G. Allen, A Handbook of the Egyptian Collection (Chicago: 1923) 41, and mentioned by Bryan, op. cit. 251. (Fig. 4 and Pl. 2).

In the shape of a gateway with the cavetto cornice and torus molding in raised relief, the stela is comprised of two registers which are deeply recessed within the gate's aperture. The upper left corner of the lintel is lost. The surface of the upper right corner is chipped away. In addition, the left corner of the soffit is chipped away with slight damage to the beginning of
the text of the left jamb. In the center of the lintel, beneath the torus molding and facing to the right, are two vertical cartouches containing, respectively, the prenomen "Menkheprure" and the nomen "Thutmose". The vertical column of text on each jamb faces inward, towards the aperture. That on the right reads:

"The good god, the lord of the Two Lands, Menkheprure, the Son of Re, the lord of Diadems, Thutmose, beloved of Ptah".

The text of the left jamb is identical, save that it substitutes the name of "Amunre" for that of Ptah. The smiting scene is in the upper of the two registers. The inner ribbing of the feathers of the king's headdress are indicated. He also wears a double-stranded broad collar and the ends of his belt are shown on each side of the wide, triangular apron of his calf-length kilt. His weapon is the ḫeḥ-sword. He holds a single prisoner, an Asiatic who wears a long robe, has long hair, but, apparently, no beard. The prisoner's head and arms are turned to the left, towards the king, but his kneeling body faces the god Ptah who, in his usual mumiform guise, is shown standing inside a closed naos, this resting on a ma'at-shaped pedestal. A side-curtain within the naos is summarily suggested by a single curved line at the height of the god's chest. Vertically, in the field behind the king's back, is a lotus-headed fan, the shaft of which terminates in the archaic form of the cartouche. The entire scene of the upper register is roofed over by the sky-hieroglyph. This rests upon two supports, that at the right incorporating the back of the naos. Inside the shrine, in the field before his head, the name of Ptah is writ-
ten retrograde. In the field between the top of the naos and
the feathers of the king's headdress "Lord of the Two Lands" is
written vertically. Likewise, vertically to the left of the
left support of the sky-hieroglyph there seem to be traces of a
column of text, but this may only be caused by pits on the sur­
face of the stone and by shadows thrown on it by the raised
left jamb. The figures and naos stand on a ground line which
also serves as the register divider. Beneath this, facing to
the right, a woman and a man, respectively, kneel with their
hands raised in adoration to the scene above. The woman
wears a long wig which covers her left shoulder and reaches to
the small of her back. Her sleeved dress is very loose and di­
aphonous. The man, shaven-headed and bare to the waist, wears
an ankle-length kilt. Two horizontal lines above his navel may
indicate the muscles of his chest. In front of the woman, be­
tween her upraised arms and her bent knee, is her name: "Ya".
Behind her head is her title: "lady of the house". Two vertical
lines of text behind the man read:
"Made by the w"t-priest of Ptah, Bestu, who will
be revered and justified ".
There may be some additional traces after this.

5. Stela Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 64.285, pro­
venance unknown. Limestone, with no traces of colour. 5.8 x 7.8
cm., text and scene incised. Bibliography: previously unpublish­
ed. (Fig. 5 and Pl. 3).

The original shape of the stela cannot be determined,
inasmuch as part of its left side, running diagonally from ap­
proximately just above the upper left corner to the center of
the top is lost, as is also the upper right corner. The design
consists of a scene framed by a gateway or a doorway, but with the corners of the stela missing, it is impossible to say whether the trace of a horizontal line at the top is merely the top of the portal's lintel, or whether it is the soffit of an otherwise missing cornice, although the latter is more likely. Each jamb rests upon a platform which is bisected at the central axis of the aperture by a stairway (?) with sidewalls. The top of this platform projects in a cornicelike overhang, beneath which is an additional molding. The tops of the ends of the stairway's sidewalls have a similar cornicelike overhang. Only a single step of the stair itself is shown, since the entire architectural complex is cut off by a base line. In the tableau which occupies the central axis of the gateway, Ptah, mummiform and holding a w3s-scepter with both hands stands on a m3ft-shaped pedestal. The king, wearing a long kilt with pendant apron faces him and offers the sacrifice. The break at the left side of the stela has carried away his upraised right hand along with the shaft of the smiting weapon which it held. Nevertheless, it is clear from what remains that the weapon was the ḫḫš-sword rather than the maceaxe. A rather deep gouge in the surface of the stone has destroyed the details of the king's right foot and weathering has obliterates the outline of his left leg, buttocks, and the small of his back. Both of the pair of enemies whom he is about to sacrifice to Ptah kneel towards the god, but one of them has swiveled his hips around so that his torso, his head, and his right arm face the king, with his right hand raised in a vain gesture of supplication. Even though a pit in the stone slightly obscures the details of his valanced wig, it is apparent that ethnically he is a Nubian. The nationality of the second sacrificial victim is equally as clear.
Although the details of his dress are damaged and obscure, his rather full, pointed, beard marks him out as an Asiatic, and this, when coupled with what looks to be a shaven head suggests that his homeland was Mitanni. The entire tableau is enclosed by a rectangular frame, the bottom of which serves as the ground line for the humans and also for the pedestal upon which the god stands. The top of this frame is broken by the plumes of the king's headdress, the curved blade of his sword, and probably by his now-lost right hand. In the field beneath the top border line and the heads of the prisoners a pair of vertical cartouches contain, respectively, the prenomen "Djeserkheprure" and a badly mangled form of the nomen "Horemheb". Over the head of the god is "Ptah, the Lord of Ma'amit". Beneath the cartouche with the royal nomen and facing to the right is a very deeply-incised "strength". In the field above the top border, between the king's plumes and the reveal of the right jamb, is the sky-hieroglyph, elongated and very deeply cut. Above and below the framed scene are the by-now familiar wide, blank fields, that underneath being wider than that above.

6. Stela Louvre E 16373, from Deir el-Medineh. Limestone, with no traces of colour. 32.2 x 34 cm. text and figures incised. Bibliography: B. Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1935-1940) (Cairo: 1940) 39 and pl. 36 nr. 1, 62-64 with fig. 4. (Fig. 6).

Round-topped, the stela has two register framed by a border which parallels its outline. The upper register contains the sacrificial scene showing the king slaughtering three captives. No god is present. In addition to his usual costume, the king wears a square, false beard. No lion's tail is attached to
his belt, but a pair of sundisk-crowned uraei adorn the ends of the pendant apron of his ankle-length kilt. The king's weapon is a pear-shaped mace. Of the three kneeling enemies, a Nubian, a Syrian, and another Asiatic, one faces away from him, the other two toward him, all three with a hand, one with both hands, raised in a gesture of supplication. In the field over their heads, framed within a rectangle, the top edge of which has the shape of the sky-hieroglyph, are two vertical lines of text, facing left and reading:

"the good god, the lord of the Two Lands, Wosimare'setepenre', granted life".

In the field behind the king's back a single vertical line reads:

"The protection of life, stability, and good fortune is behind him".

A reed mat which serves as the ground line for the figures of the upper register also separates it from the lower one. In this, at the left and facing right, a man kneels with his hands raised in the gesture of adoration. He wears a long, braided wig, a multiple-stranded broad collar, a sleeved upper-garment, and a long kilt with a wide, pleated, triangular apron. Before him is a text of six vertical lines of well-incised hieroglyphs, reading:

"Giving praise by the scribe in the Place of Eternity, Ramose, to the lord of the Two Lands, He who lives on Ma'at, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Wosimare'setepenre', the Son of Re', the lord of Diadems, Ramesses-mi'amun, granted life, that he may give to me a beautiful lifetime in the Place of Truth".

7. Stela Florence Museo Archeologico 2587, provenance unknown. Limestone, no traces of colour preserved. 23 x 27 cm.
figures in sunken relief. Bibliography: S. Bosticco, Museo Archeologico di Firenze: Le stele egiziane del Nuovo Regno (Florence: 1965) 57 nr. 49 and pl. 49 nr. 1; I. Rosellini, Oggetti di antichità egiziane riportati dalla spedizione letteraria toscana in Egitto e in Nubia (Florence: 1830) nr. 58; W. Berend, Principaux monuments de Musée Egyptien de Florence (Paris: 1882) 84-85 with a fig. on 84. For additional bibliography, see Bosticco, loc. cit. (Fig. 7).

Only the lunette containing the scene of this round-topped stela is preserved. From the published photograph one gains the impression that the stela, at some time, had been cut down and somewhat foreshortened. At the right, facing left, is the king. Although the details of his coiffure are obliterated, since he wears the plumed, horned disk, it is most probable that he also wore the short Nubian wig. A uraeus is faintly visible on his brow and the texture of the stone behind the back of his head and immediately beneath his upraised left arm suggests that a pendant streamer was also affixed to the headdress. His chest is covered by a short-sleeved jerkin, the crossed ties of which are visible on his midriff. His short, pleated kilt is of an archaic pattern and is held in place by an elaborate belt. He wears the false beard, a pair of armlets and bracelets on his biceps and wrists, and a double-stranded broad collar. The kneeling, suppliant prisoner whom he grasps by the hair is a Libyan, nude save for a decorated belt, a pair of similarly-decorated crossbands over his chest, and a pair of armlets and bracelets. The god before whom the sacrifice takes place is Ptah, behind whom is an elaborate bouquet of lotus flowers. No trace of any inscription is evident today, but according to the
publications, originally there was a line of text identifying
the king as Merneptah. 61 There are some scratches in the field
behind his back which may be the remains of this. Traces of a
reed mat are visible beneath the right foot of the prisoner, the
pedestal of Ptah, and the bouquet of lotus flowers. This served
as a ground line for the tableau and simultaneously separated it
from whatever text and scene might have existed on the now-miss­
ing lower part of the stela.

8. Stela Cairo JE 88879, from Qantir. Sandstone, with no
traces of colour. 90 x 40 cm. scene in sunken relief, text in­
ASAR 52 (1952) 507-514 and pl. 29. (Fig. 8).

Both the scene above and the text below of this round­
topped stela are framed by a border which parallels the outline
of the stone. In the lunette, over the head of the king, is a
sundisk with a pair of pendant uraei. The king wears the Blue
Crown with uraeus in front and pendant streamers behind. The
lion's tail is affixed to his belt. His weaponry consists of a
ḥpš-sword, which he is wielding with his right hand, and a bow,
which he holds in his left as he grasps the hair of two kneeling,
suppliant prisoners, its lower half concealed by their heads and
bodies. Habachi described these prisoners as Asians, with no
further specification. 62 Yet the features of the captive facing
the god seem to me to be clearly Libyan, 63 an impression also
suggested by the traces of what appears to be a band of cloth
running diagonally across his chest from his left side to his
right shoulder.64 Centered in the field over the heads of the
pair of victims are two vertical cartouches reading:

"the lord of the Two Lands, Wosimare'-'mī'amūn,
the lord of Diadems, Ramesses-hikaon".

The god in whose presence the sacrifice is taking place is represented as an anthropomorphic deity in Asiatic garb. He wears the tall, conical crown from which a long, tassel hangs down almost to the ground line. His short, striped kilt is fringed at its hem. In his left hand he holds a w3s-scepter and with his right he offers a ḫpḥ-sword to the king. The field above and in front of his head, where his identifying adscription was, is damaged and nothing can be read there, so that his identity must be adduced from his iconography. Habachi was certainly correct in identifying him as Seth. 65 Below the ground line on which all of the figures stand and which serves to separate the scene above from it is a text of 6 horizontal lines of hieroglyphs, facing to the left and reading:

"The Horus, the Mighty Bull, Great of Kingship, the Embodiment of the Two Ladies, Great of Festivals like Tatenen, 66 the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the lord of the Two Lands, Wosimare-āīmūn, the Son of Re, the lord of Diadems, Ramesses-hikaon, granted life. Now his majesty commanded that there be given fields, 16 aoruras, 67 as a reward 68 to the shield-bearer, the one from the foreign land, Wosimare-nakht, 69 who will be justified, in the district of the town of Kheriu, 70 its water-source 71 being the Well of Smentowe. 72

9. Stela Kestner Museum, Hannover, 1935.200.229, from Memphis. Limestone, with no traces of colour. 16 x 11.2 cm. figures in sunken relief, text incised. Bibliography: Petrie, Memphis I 18-19 and pl. 8 nr. 3; 73 Bryan, loc. cit. n. 61. 74
Both registers are framed by a border paralleling the outline of this round-topped stela. The surface has suffered somewhat because of weathering, with damage to the lower bodies of the prisoners in the upper register, and to the right arm and face of the worshipper in the lower. Portions of the stone, at the upper left side, at the beginning of the curve of the top, and from the lower left side of the bottom up to about one quarter of the height of the upper register, are missing. The sacrificial scene fills the upper register. Over the king's head, damaged, a falcon deity hovers, its wings protectively outspread. Vertically, in the field behind the king's back, is the statement "the protection of all life like Re" which, coupled with its physical position, is to be completed ("is behind him"). The king's weaponry consists of the maceaxe with which he is smiting the captives, and a bow which he holds in his left hand along with their hair. The victims are a Nubian and an Asiatic. The god in whose presence the sacrifice is taking place is Ptah, who stands in a naos, the base of which is not on the ground, but rather floats above the outstretched leg of one of the prisoners. Over their heads, in the field between the protective falcon and the naos is an unfinished inscription. A rectangular panel which would have taken a pair of cartouches containing the king's nomen and prenomen has been left blank. Above it, facing the naos in two lines, continued by a third below it, is:

"the good god, the lord of the Two Lands, the Son of
Re', the lord of Diadems, granted life like Re'."
The lower register shows a man and a woman, facing to the right, kneeling in adoration. The man, wearing the short "military"
wig\textsuperscript{75} and a long, elaborately pleated kilt, has both hands raised. The woman, most of whose body is damaged in back, wears a pleated garment, a cone of perfumed fat on her fillet-bound wig, and rattles a sistrum with her left hand.\textsuperscript{76} Before the pair is a text of two vertical lines which fills the height of the register and is continued over their heads in 6 single square high lines, the last of which is illegible, but which probably contained a determinative. The text reads:

"Giving praise to Ptah and kissing the earth to his ka.\textsuperscript{77}

Made by the overseer of weavers, Ramose, (and) his sister,
the lady of the house, Taia\textsuperscript{78} [---]."

10. Stela Kestner Museum, Hanover, 1935.200.204, from Memphis. Limestone, with no traces of colour. 17 x 9 cm. an-epigraphic(?), scene in sunken relief. Bibliography: Petrie, Memphis I\textsuperscript{7} and pl. 8 nr. 2;\textsuperscript{79} Bryan, loc. cit. (Fig. 10).

The outline of the stela is that of a rectangular gateway or doorway whose cavette cornice is actually molded in raised relief. The scene is enclosed by a frame whose upper and lower borders fill the width of the portal's aperture, but whose right and left borders are separated from the reveals of the jambs by a narrow space. A broad, empty field is between the top of the frame and the soffit of the lintel, and an even broader, rectangular field, this time containing 4 human ears,\textsuperscript{80} fills the space between the bottom border and the bottom edge of the stela. The god before whom the king is making the sacrifice is Ptah. Although Petrie's drawing shows no traces of any inscription, I can barely discern, on my own photograph of the stela, the surface of which is pitted and weathered here, the mostly-illegible traces of a short vertical line of hieroglyphs,
the last of which seems to be the nh-bird. If I am correct, then the line is undoubtedly to be restored "[Ptah, the one who hears] prayers*, the more so in view of the 4 ears below. Like­wise, there may be something in the field between the head of the god and the head of the king, but the surface of the stone is so pitted and cracked here, that any attempt to read or re­store a text is fruitless. Petrie’s drawing also shows the king sitting a single prisoner with his hps-sword, but, again, a care­ful examination of my own photograph suggests that there may have been more. I seem to see 2 bodies facing one another and at least 3 legs extended outwards in different directions.

11. Stela Brussels & 2386, purchased at Giza and presumably from the Memphite area. Limestone, with no traces of colour. 18 x 19.3 cm. text incised, figures in sunken relief. Bibliography: previously unpublished. (Fig. 11 and Pl. 4).

Only the lower part of the stela is preserved, but it is clear that it originally had the shape of a rectangular por­tal whose lintel, cornice, most of the left jamb, and part of the right jamb are now lost. In addition, an almost square chunk has been chipped off the surface of the lower left cor­ner. The jambs are set on a platform and the aperture of the portal is reached via a staircase of which only one step is re­presented and which has no sidewalls. On the outer side of each jamb is a pillar or flagpole. That on the right rests on a base and has a streamer wrapped around its lower part. A corre­sponding base for the left pillar is no longer preserved, but may not have been as high as that on the right side, since the tip of a human ear is visible just above the break, with another, fully­preserved ear above it. If there had been a streamer wrapped
around this pillar to correspond with that on the right, it would have been on a now-lost part of the stela. Standing on the base of the right pillar, his hands raised in adoration towards the tableau visible within the aperture, is a shaven-headed male worshipper, wearing a long calf-length kilt with a wide flaring triangular apron and, perhaps, some sort of pectoral, of which the right upper corner is visible on his chest, just below the hollow of the throat, the rest being hidden by his left biceps. Above his head, vertically, is part of, if not his complete name: "Ashahebsed". Both the name, his dress and shaven head, as well as the general style of the stela, suggest a Ramesside date. The diagonal fracture of the stone has resulted in, not only the loss of whatever text may have preceded Ashahebsed's name, but also the upper part of the scene, including the upraised arm of the king, the weapon which it wielded, and his headress, although we may assume that it was the plumed, horned, disk, since the lower part of the short Nubian wig on which this was worn is still visible. Also lost is the face of the king, the upper torso and head of the god, the top of the latter's scepter, and the empty field which separated the scene from the soffit of the lintel. The prisoner who is being executed has sunk down on his knees, his head facing the deity, but with his right hand raised in supplication to the king. Although his facial features are indeterminate, his short wig, the band of cloth wrapped over one shoulder, and, particularly, his phallic sheath, indicate that he is a Libyan. The deity, clearly Ptah, stands on the ground line rather than on his usual pedestal. Beneath this ground line and the top of the stair at the bottom of the stela is a broad, empty field.
12. Stela Egyptian Museum, Berlin, DDR, 20912, purchased in Luxor, provenance unknown. Limestone, with no traces of colour. 23 x 18.5 cm. anepigraphic, scene in sunken relief. Bibliography: previously unpublished. (Fig. 12 and Pl. 5).

No border parallels the outline of this round-topped stela, but a clearly-preserved doorway runs vertically for almost its entire height, from the bottom to halfway above the curve of the shoulder, and the torus molding at the top of the lintel extends horizontally to touch the stela's outer edges. The cornice, lintel, and jambs are all of equal thickness, as is the platform on which the jambs stand. This shows no separation between the bottoms of the jambs and its upper surface, almost as if it were a threshold. The scene, which is framed by the doorway, occupies the upper three-fifths of the aperture, the soffit of the lintel serving as its upper border. The usual broad empty field is present between the base of the scene and the top of the platform. The king's knee-length kilt is pleated. His weaponry consists of the maceaxe which he is brandishing and a bow which he holds in the hand which steadies the heads of two captives. These are an Asiatic, who faces him, and a Nubian, who faces the god in whose presence the sacrifice is being performed. This latter, Ptah, is shown in his usual mumiform guise, holding a w3s-scepter and standing on a pedestal. Unlike the feet of the king and of the prisoners, the pedestal does not rest on the wide ground line.

13. Stela Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 423.1908, from Memphis. Limestone, with no traces of colour. 14.6 x 12.4 cm. anepigraphic, scene in sunken relief. Bibliography: Petrie, *Memphis I* 7 and pls. 7 and 8 nr. 1. (Fig. 13).
The scene is framed by a border paralleling the outline of the stela's round top. The king wears the short, valanced Nubian wig, with a uraeus on his forehead, but not the plumed, horned disk. His weapon is the ḫpš-sword. The captive being sacrificed is a Nubian. The deity, Ptah, is shown in his usual mummiform guise, but without a beard. In the field between the king and the god, facing the king, a falcon deity hovers with its wings spread protectively towards the king.

14. Stela Newark Museum 29.1788, provenance unknown, purchased in Cairo. Limestone, with no traces of colour. 18.9 x 14 cm. scene partly in sunken relief, partly incised, text incised. Bibliography: previously unpublished. (Fig. 14 and Pl. 6).

The scene and text of this small stela are set within a border paralleling its outline, round-topped. Occupying slightly more than half of the left side and running virtually the entire height of the stela is a gateway with cavetto cornice and torus molding. On the lintel of this gateway, which is very clearly delineated from the tops of the jambs, very faint traces of, perhaps, an inscription seem to be visible. The tableau of the smiting king, framed by a double line at the top and a single line below, occupies most of the upper half of the aperture of the gate, with only a small, blank field above, and with the entire bottom half of the opening serving as the empty field below. The king is at the left, wearing a knee-length kilt with pendant apron and, as a headdress, what seems to be the plumed, horned disk, with uraei rearing up from the horns, but these details are quite obscure. His weapon is the ḫpš-sword which he swings with his upraised right arm, while he grasps the prisoner
by his topknot with his left. The nationality of the latter is impossible to determine, for the details of his head and face are not visible. Nor, for that matter, is the position of his arms clear, although from the position of his legs, bent at the knees and facing to the right, it is clear that the captive's body was facing the god. The deity is Ptah, in his usual mummiform guise, holding a w3s-scepter and standing on a pedestal. The pedestal, the prisoner's outstretched legs and the king's right leg all rest on the line framing the bottom of the scene, but the king's somewhat foreshortened left leg looks as if it were resting on the hollow of the prisoner's left knee. The field to the right of the gateway contains the figure of a worshipper below and, what at first sight, seems to be 2 vertical lines of text above. The worshipper, a male, wearing apparently the so-called "military" wig, cut away in a pronounced vee at the nape of the neck, kneels with both hands raised in the gesture of adoration to the scene taking place within the aperture of the gateway. He is obviously wearing a kilt, the waistline of which is marked off, but its other details are not at all so visible. His left knee and the toes of his left foot, the sole of his right foot, and the 2 jambs of the gateway all sit upon a double ground line which extends in each direction to the side borders of the stela. This may very well represent a platform. Although 2 vertical columns had been prepared for a text over the adorant's head, only the first of these contains an inscription which, however, runs horizontally for a single hieroglyph, the determinative of the worshipper's name, into the last square of the second column. A large break has chipped away most of the surface of the upper part of both columns, but what is not
damaged in the lower portion of the second shows that, with the exception just noted at the bottom of the column, it never contained an inscription. The text of the first column reads:

"Hail [to you, 84] Osir Idi Made by Hor."

Thus far, only free-standing private stelae with the scene of the king smiting his enemies in the presence of a deity have been noted. We must now take into consideration those private stelae which are rock-cut which have the same motif. As before, the criteria used to establish the non-royal origin of such monuments are the inclusion of a representation of the dedicator and/or a statement to the effect that it was "made by" him. However, unlike my treatment of the free-standing stelae in Section 3 above, I have by no means attempted to deal with every example of the private rock-cut stelae with this theme known to me here, although I have included the majority of them. For those which I have omitted, see the Appendix.

Actually, the distinction which I make between these 2 types of stela is, for the most part, academic. Both had no mortuary function, but were obviously commemorative in intent. Both have similar, if not identical, shapes and composition (except that the rock-cut stelae often have almost monumental dimensions). While I have no real explanation as to why some of the dedicators preferred the rock-cut version over the free-standing, it might be noted that, in the instances included below, they were officials of a much higher rank than were the men who commissioned the free-standing stelae. This does suggest that they may have had much more wealth and resources at their disposal and, consequently, were able to afford the more
lavish variant of the monument. 88

As in the preceding Section, the rock-cut stelae are ordered here in a chronological sequence on the basis of the royal names which they bear. All are Ramesside, starting with Seti I and ending with Amenmesse. The scene is that described for the free-standing stelae and only variants in detail will be noted in the description of the individual items.

15. Rock-cut stela, west side of the ancient road between Aswan and Philae. Bibliography: J. De Morgan, Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Egypte antique I (Cairo: 1894) 20 nr. 124; AE I, 303; L. Habachi, "The Graffiti and Work of the Viceroys of Kush in the Region of Aswan", Kush 5 (1957) 27. For earlier publications, see PM V, 247. (Fig. 15).

In the upper of the two registers, the king, wearing a simple bag wig and a short kilt of an archaic pattern, grasps a kneeling prisoner by the hair. The weapon which he wields is the maceaxe. The nationality of the prisoner cannot be determined from De Morgan's drawing. No deity is present. Slightly before and over the king's head is a sundisk from which a pair of uraei emanate, with 'nps looped around their throats. Over the head of the slaughtered victim is a pair of vertical cartouches containing, respectively, the prenomen "Menmare'" and the nomen "Seti-merneptah". In the lower register, beneath the captive and facing toward the king, a man, wearing a long kilt and no wig, stands with both hands raised in adoration to the king. In are 3 vertical lines of text, reading:

"Giving praise to your ka, 0 victorious and triumphant king, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menmare', granted life like Re'. (Made by) the first charioteer
of his majesty, the king's son of Kush, Amenemope. 89

16. Rock-cut stela, east side of the ancient road between Aswan and Philae. Bibliography: De Morgan, op. cit. I, 28 nr. 5; KRI I, 302; Habachi, op. cit. 27. For earlier publications, see PM V, 245. (Fig. 16).

At the right, facing to the left, the king, wearing a simple bag wig and an archaic type of kilt, grasps a kneeling enemy of indeterminate nationality by the hair, to steady him as he deals the death blow with his ḫpḥ-sword. No deity is present, but, at the right, facing the tableau, a man, wearing a long kilt, kneels in adoration. An ostrich-feather fan, his badge of office, 90 is attached to his belt(?) by two cords. In the field above and between the prisoner and the adorant, facing to the left, a pair of vertical cartouches and a short, horizontal line of text identify the king as:

"the good god, the lord of the Two Lands, Menmare',
the Son of Re', the lord of Diadems, Seti-mernepta',
granted life forever and ever".

Beneath the scene, facing in the same direction as the worshipper, 2 horizontal lines of text identify the latter as:

"the fan-bearer on the right hand of the king, the overseer of the Southern Land, Amenemope, who will will be justified".

17. Rock-cut stela, east side of the ancient road between Aswan and Philae. Bibliography: De Morgan, op. cit. I, 29 nr. 12; KRI I, 302; Habachi, op. cit. 27. For earlier publications, see PM V, 246.

Although only the feet of the king are preserved, their striding pose has led both Habachi and Kitchen to assume, un-
doubtedly correctly, that what is preserved is part of the smit-
ing scene. Below the feet are the remains of a single horizont-
al line of text, reading:

"[-----], the overseer of the Southern Land, the king's
son of Kush, Amenem[ope]."

18. Rock-cut double stela, to the south of the great temple
of Abu Simbel (nr. 24). Bibliography: *LD* III, pl. 195 b,c; *LD* V,
pl. 167; *KAI* III, pp. 104-106. Collated with my own photographs.
For additional bibliography, see *FM* VIII, 118. (Fig. 17).

a. The north (right-hand) stela:

In 2 registers which are separated by 4 horizontal lines
of text, the body of the stela is deeply recessed within a rect-
angular frame, the left-hand column of which is also shared by
the adjoining south stela. In the center of the frame's top is the
winged sundisk with "the Behdetite, the great god" on either side.
The right and left jambs of the frame contain identical sets of
the king's titulary, differing only in the qualifying epithet af-
ter the nomen. These texts read:

"The Horus, the Mighty Bull, the Beloved of Ma'at, the
king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the lord of the Two Lands,
Wošimare'-setepenre', the lord of Diadema, Ramesses-mi'-
amūn, the Beloved of Amūnre' (var: of Horus, the Lord of
Behen), granted life".

In the scene itself the king, wearing the Blue Crown from which a
streamer dangles down in back, wields the maceaxe with one
hand, while the other grasps the hair of a pair of prostrate
prisoners, Asiatics, to judge from their features. Behind the
king's upraised left arm a winged sundisk with a single pendant
uraeus hovers protectively. The god Amūn, wearing his double-
plumed crown, faces the king and offers him a ḫpḥ-sword. In front of the deity's head a pair of vertical lines of text read:

"Words spoken by Amunre', Lord of Karnak: '(I) have given to you all valour and all victory'."

In the field between Amun and the prisoners, a single vertical line of text records that what is happening is "the crushing the chiefs of wretched Kush". Before the king's head, his prenomen and nomen are repeated:

"the lord of the Two lands, Wosimare'-setepenre', the lord of Diadems, Ramesses-mi'amūn, granted life like Re'."

In the field between the back of the king's head and his upraised arm is "Horus, the Lord of Power". Behind the king's back is his Horus-name in a šerekh, personified by being mounted on a pole whose butt is the archaic form of the cartouche and from which a pair of arms emanate, the right hand holding a pole capped by a bearded head, the left grasping a ḫw-fan. Beneath this scene, 4 horizontal lines of text which separate it from the lower register read:

"Year 38 under the majesty of the Horus, the Mighty Bull, the Beloved of Ma'at, the lord of Festivals like his Father, Ptah-tatenen, the Favorite of the Two Ladies, the one who protects Egypt, who captures the foreign lands, Re' who engendered the gods, who established the Two Lands, the Horus of Gold, Rich of Years, Great of Victories, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the lord of the Two Lands, the Master of the Ritual, Wosimare'-setepenre', the Son of Re', of his body, his beloved, the lord of Diadems, the one who grasps the White Crown,
Ramesses-mi'āmn, granted life and eternity upon the throne of Horus”.

In the lower register, at the left, a man wearing an ankle-length kilt with a long, pleated, triangular apron, and holding an ostrich-feather fan of office with one hand, raises the other in a gesture of salutation. A text of 7 vertical lines before him reads:

"The king’s son of Kush, Setau, says: ‘May your father, Amūn, protect you with life, good fortune, and stability! May he grant you Eternity as king and Forever upon the throne of Horus’! Made by the king’s son of Kush, the overseer of the Southern Lands, the steward of Amūn, the royal scribe, Setau”.

b. The south (left-hand) stela:

The arrangement and composition of the south stela duplicates that of the north stela. In the center of the frame, at the top, is the winged sundisk, flanked by “the Behdetite, the great god”. The vertical texts on the jambs, starting with that on the left, read:

"The Horus, the Mighty Bull, the Beloved of Ma’at, the lord of Festivals like his father, Ptah-tatenen, the lord of the Two Lands, Wosimare-setepenre, the lord of Diadems, Ramesses-mi'āmn’.

In the smiting scene of the upper register, the king wears the short wig and plumed, horned sundisk. His weapon is the mace-axe. He holds a single, kneeling, cringing prisoner, apparently a Nubian, to judge from his physiognomy. The god in whose presence the execution is taking place, Horus, human-bodied and falcon-headed, wears the Double Crown and offers the king a ḫpā-
sword. A single vertical line before the deity, intersected by his outstretched arm, reads:

"Words spoken by Horus, Lord of Buhen: "(I) have given to you every victory against the South, every triumph against the North'."

Before the king is his titulary:

"the Lord of the Two Lands, Wosimare'-setepenre', the lord of Diadems, Ramesses-mi'amun".

Behind the king is his ka in the form of a personified serekh containing his Horus-name.

The 4 horizontal lines of hieroglyphs which separate the 2 registers are identical to those of the north stela, except that the epithets "Master of the Ritual" in line 3 and "of his body, his beloved" and "the one who grasps the White Crown" in line 4 are omitted. The epithet following the nomen is also different, here being "granted life like Re".

The only difference in the scene of the lower register is that Setau raises both hands in the gesture of adoration and that his badge of office, the ostrich-feather fan, is missing. However, the 7 vertical lines of text which precede him are quite different in content and tenor from those on the north stela:

"Giving praise to the good god, kissing the earth for the lord of the Two Lands, by the ka of the prince and the god's father, beloved of the god, the privy counselor of the house of the king, the eyes of the Upper Egyptian king, the ears of the Lower Egyptian king, the intimate of the Horus in his house, the king's son of Kush, Setau".

19. Rock-cut stela to the south of the great temple of Abu
Simbel (nr. 22). Bibliography: Habachi, "King Amenmesse and Viziers Amenmose and Khafemto: Their Monuments and Place in History", \textit{MDAIK} 34 (1979) 63 fig. 4; \textit{LA} III, pl. 204 c. See also \textit{PM} VII, 118.

Set within a rectangular frame representing a doorway, with a cavetto cornice and torus molding executed in high relief, the two registers of the stela are deeply recessed. In the center of the lintel, beneath the molding, is the hieroglyph ‘nh which is shared as the initial word by 2 virtually identical texts which then continue vertically on the jambs. That on the left reads:

"Long live the good god, the lord of the Two Lands, Wosikheprure'-mi'amün, granted life, the good god, the lord of the Two Lands, Wosikheprure'-mi'amün, the lord of Diadems, Seti-merneptah, beloved of Amûnre', the king of the gods."

The sacrificial scene occupies the upper register. The kneeling, supplicant whom he is about to smite seems to be a Nubian. The god before whom the latter is being ceremonially murdered is Amûn. He is offering the king a ḫpâ-sword. Over and behind the king's head a vulture hovers protectively. In the field in front of and over the deity's head are 2 vertical lines of text, with a third beneath the god's outstretched arm. These read:

"Words spoken by Amûnre', the king of the gods: 'I give your ḫpâ-sword to you [in order to crush] every land'."

In the field before and over the king's head are his cartouches:

"The good god, Wosikheprure'-mi'amün, Seti-merneptah".

Behind his back is:
"Horus, powerful of arm, lord of the ḫḥ-sword".

In the lower register, at the left, a man, wearing a long kilt, kneels with both hands raised in the gesture of adoration. Before him are 6 horizontal lines of text, the first 2 of which run the entire width of the stela, the remaining 4 being somewhat shorter. These read:

"Long live the Horus, the Mighty Bull, the Beloved of Ma'at, the one who establishes the Two Lands, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Wosikheprure'-mi'amün, the Son of Re', Seti-merneptah, the good god, powerful with his ḫḥ-sword, Hero, Valiant like Montu, the lord of strength like the son of Nut, Great of Terror like Amün, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Wosikheprure'-mi'amün, the Son of Re', Seti-merneptah, the ruler of Thebes, [the Beloved of] Amûnre', the ruler of the gods, granted life like Re".

At the end of the last pair of these lines, in front of and over the adorant's head a vertical and horizontal line, with another horizontal line behind his back, identify him and record that the stela was "made by the legate, Mery, of Wawat".

The scene common to all of these stelae contains the royal motif of the triumphant king slaying enemies in the presence of a god, but this is a motif which one really should not expect to find on a private monument. And, in fact, although several were certainly commissioned privately by the people who are pictured and/or named on them, the majority, at first glance, would seem to be royal, rather than private monuments. Such an assumption, however, is rather misleading. It should be noted
that on the indisputable royal stelae of this genre, rock-cut and free-standing alike, the deity before whom the sacrifice is carried out is usually accompanied in the scene by a speech "Words spoken by (the god) NN: 'I give (or: have given) to you all victory, etc.'." Such speeches are absent on the free-standing private stelae, most of which are relatively small in size, nowhere near the monumental dimensions normally associated with royal stelae. They are, however, present on some of the rock-cut private stelae. None of the private stelae have accompanying texts which could be characterized as royal as, e.g. those found on stelae Cairo JE 13725, which begins with the king's titulary and concludes with an encomium on his power, or Munich Gl. 29, which begins in the same way and then continues with an exchange of speeches between the king and the god. Although it is true that the text of stela nr. 8, Cairo JE 88879, does begin with the king's titulary and continues with a decree awarding a grant of land by the king to the shield-bearer Wosimare/nakht, it can be reasonably argued that it was Wosimare/nakht, not the king, who had been responsible for the erection of the stela. The other seemingly-royal stelae, all of which are more or less complete, have, at best, only the identifying captions of the figures and might be considered royal mainly because they picture the king. While none of this, by itself, is sufficient to warrant postulating a private origin for the stelae in question, when taken together with the facts that the scene appears on obviously non-royal stelae of similar non-monumental dimensions, that the god, when present, particularly on the free-standing stelae, is not accompanied by any utterance, and that no royal inscription is present beneath the scene, then I believe that a strong, albeit
circumstantial, argument can be made that this was, indeed, the
case and that none of the stelae under study here should be con-
sidered as other than private stelae. This, in turn, prompts me
to ask some probably-new and hitherto-unasked questions about
them, foremost among which are the reasons for the appearance of
of a royal scene on a non-royal monument, the meaning or signifi-
cance of the scene, itself, and, particularly, in connection with
the preceding question, the source(s) of inspiration and proto-
type(s) from which it is derived. While this chapter is concern-
ed only with the motif of the triumphant king slaughtering an en-
emy or a group of enemies in the presence of a god, it is obvious
that the answers to these questions, or at least to the first of
them, should be equally applicable to other representations of
the king and royal motifs on private stelae.

It has been noted in Section B that the ceremonial scene
is, on a number of stelae, viewed within the aperture of a door-
way or gateway, with empty fields both above and below it, while
on the remainder no such portal is represented. We may then pose
the question of whether the inclusion or omission of the portal
is of any importance. In other words, is it simply an artistic
device which takes this pleasing and symmetrical form to serve as
an additional frame, and to emphasize the scene which it encomp-
sasses, for certainly the scene pictured within it is the most im-
portant element of the visual portion of the stela, or is it an
integral part of the tableau itself? If the latter is the case,
then its absence on some stelae ought to have an import, but
this, in turn, depends on the interpretation of the scene as ei-
ther a symbolic and propagandistic illustration of the royal myth,
or as an actual depiction of a real event. I believe that the
latter was the case and, that on these stelae, we are looking at a specific ceremonial sacrifice which was performed in a specific temple at a specific point in time. If I am correct in this, then those instances of the scene where the portal is omitted are merely abbreviated and simplified, conceptually and ideologically, versions of those on which this architectural feature is present, a case of pars pro toto. It can be further argued that the gateway itself is to be interpreted by this principle, if we consider the scene of a stela (Fig. 20) found by Mariette at Abydos and now in the Cairo Museum, temp. nr. 16/3/25/12.111 In the upper of the two registers, beneath the curve of its top, is a winged sun-disk and immediately below this, filling the entire register, is the pylon of a temple, comprising the 2 towers, each with a cavetto cornice and torus molding, flanking a smaller gateway which, likewise, is complete with a cavetto cornice and torus molding. In front of each tower, on either side of the gateway and close to it, is a pair of flagpoles and in front of these, facing inwards towards the gateway, a colossal statue of a king, wearing the White Crown, stands on a statue base. Viewed through the gateway’s aperture, with a narrow empty field below it, is a scene depicting a king, wearing the Blue Crown, standing and offering something to the god, Ptah. The upper register is separated from the lower by a double ground line. In the lower register, at the left and facing right, a man kneels before a pair of heaped-up offering tables, both hands raised in the gesture of adoration. In front of the offering tables are 4 vertical lines of text, continued by an additional, horizontal line in the field over the altars. These read:

"Giving praise to Ptah, the Lord of Ma'at, and kissing
the earth for his ka: 'I send praises for you to the height of heaven. (I) exalt your beauty. You are beautiful when you are at rest. May you favour me every day'! Made by the goldsmith, Ramose'.

The temple pylon pictured here exhibits a remarkable degree of realism and also a, perhaps unwitting, degree of perspective, with each of its elements properly positioned in the sequence in which it would be seen by anyone approaching it. Closest to the viewer is the pair of colossal statues flanking the dromos. Between and behind them is the gateway projecting in front of the towers on each side of it. The flagstaves abut the fronts of the towers, directly behind and in line with the statues. The tableau in the aperture of the gateway is on a direct central axis with the sanctuary. Since the other architectural elements of the complex are correctly and realistically depicted, it is then not unreasonable to suppose that the scene, within the canon of Egyptian art, likewise depicted an architectural feature of or within the temple. Its position on the central axis of the gateway, when taken together with the fact that one of the figures in it is that of the god, suggests that what the tableau illustrates is an action within a sanctuary, probably the main sanctuary of the temple, and that the empty field at its bottom is actually the forecourt. The figure of the deity, as I have tried to show elsewhere, is not that of the god incarnate, but is rather that of his cult statue shown in profile in accordance with the traditional canon. If we understand that the worshipper, the goldsmith, Ramose, is reciting his prayer and making his offerings to the god within the temple, as the text indicates, how, then, are we to explain the figure of the king? The simplest
explanation is that he, too, is being shown in the act of performing a ceremony before the cult statue of the god within the sanctuary, while Ramose makes his orisons outside, in the courtyard. This interpretation is supported by the scene of the upper register, unique, to my knowledge, of a stela (Fig. 21) in Berlin (nr. 23077). There, at the right and facing left, a male worshipper, the outline draftsman of Amun, Nebre', wearing an ankle-length kilt with a wide apron and an elaborately plaited wig, kneels before an offering table, both of his arms raised in the gesture of adoration. To the left of the offering table the god Amunre' sits upon a throne. The figure of the god is superimposed on the facade of a temple, directly before the central axis of the gateway, which is hidden by his body. The two towers of the pylons, however, the platform on which they stand, and the pair of flagstaves which front each tower are clearly seen. The text of this stela has been the subject of several studies in depth and, for the most part, does not concern us here, but the last few lines of it do have a bearing on the thesis of this study. After a long hymn to the god, praying for mercy and thanking him for saving the life of his son, Nebre' concludes the text with the following statement:

"... 'I will make this stela upon your name and I will inscribe this hymn on its face for you, in writing, for you have saved the outline draftsman, Nakhtamun for me'. So I spoke to you and you hearkened to me. Now see, I am doing what I said. You are the lord of the one who calls to him, the one who is content with Truth, the lord of Thebes. Made by the outline (draftsman) Nebre' and (his) son, Khay".
In short, the scene on the upper register in all probability pictures Nebre's original prayer on behalf of his son, Nakhtamun, when he visited the temple in order to seek the aid of the god. The only conceivable reason for the presence of the temple on the stela, behind the god, would be because the prayer took place inside the temple. Since the god, obviously, is more important than the building, he has pride of place in the scene. Thus he is portrayed superimposed on the edifice.

On analogy, the same line of reasoning which I have applied to the Abydene stela Cairo 16/3/25/12 and to stela Berlin 23077, should also be applied to the stelae with the smiting scene. This is numismatically abbreviated on those where the pylon gateway is shown (note particularly stela nr. 14) and is even more simplified on those where it is not. The representation of the cult statue in profile gives the false impression that it is standing in the temple's forecourt, which, obviously, it is not. Nevertheless, that the ceremonial execution was carried out in the forecourt seems certain for several reasons, not the least among which is the fact that this was the only part of the temple which was accessible to the lay public. Indeed, not only on stela nr. 14, but also on stela nr. 17, the dedicator is shown outside the gateway, adoring the king as he performs the slaughter within. On stelae nrs. 3, 4, 6, and 9, and on rock stelae nrs. 15, 16, 18, and 19, which also picture the dedicator watching the sacrificial rite, we may assume that these are simplified illustrations of the ceremony which, pars pro toto, is indicated by the king, the victim(s) and the cult statue of the god. In all of these cases, as in that of Cairo 16/3/25/12 and Berlin 23077, for both technical and traditional reasons, the worship-
pers are shown outside the temple or are separated from it by being placed in the lower register, but it is most likely that they actually watched the ceremony from inside the temple's forecourt which, as will be shown below, was the normal venue for ceremonies of this nature.

On his Ama-da stela, Amûnhotpe II recorded the execution of 7 Syrian rulers as follows: 121

"His majesty returned in joy to his father, Amûn, after he had slain, with his own mace, the 7 princes who had been in the region of Takhsi, with them placed upside-down from the prow of the falcon-ship of his majesty. ... Afterwards, the bodies of 6 of these enemies were hanged from the wall of Thebes, the hands 122 as well. Then the other enemy was taken southwards, to Nubia, and hanged from the wall of Napata."

Although it would appear, in this text, that the captives were executed in Asia, this does not preclude other captive chiefs from having been brought alive to Egypt on other occasions 123 to grace the pharaoh's triumphal return and to figure in his thanksgiving to the gods, after which, as in Rome millennia later, they were ceremonially slain. The Ama-da text strongly suggests, in view of the treatment of the corpses of the victims, that the degradation was witnessed by the Egyptian populace, who undoubtedly savoured the humiliating spectacle of the bodies hanging from the walls of Thebes and Napata (and, we may assume, from those of other major Egyptian cities). Is it not unreasonable, then, to suppose that the execution of the captive enemy rulers was, likewise, an essentially public affair, if not a public holi-day? In this respect, the importance of the ceremonial execution
The defeat of enemy leaders is underscored by its prominent occurrence on the walls of the temples. Certainly, in the magnificent series of battle reliefs of Seti I at Karnak\textsuperscript{124} and those of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu,\textsuperscript{125} to cite but 2 examples, the final scene in each series is the formal despatch of the conquered chiefs before the gods.\textsuperscript{126} That these particular scenes were, indeed, the most important within the series which they culminated is quite apparent from their placement on the temple walls. Although chronologically they should have come last, inasmuch as they depicted the final episode of their respective narratives, their location, usually on the face of the pylon, insured that that they would be the first scene to be viewed by anyone who approached the temple's entrance. While they obviously presented the timeless truth of the triumph of the king at all times over all of his foes, they must also have illustrated a specific act in a specific ceremony at a specific point in time.

We may now turn to the question asked earlier about the inspiration, prototype, motivation, and historical reality behind the appearance of the royal motif of the ceremonial sacrifice on the non-royal monuments surveyed above. I have already suggested that what was represented pictured an actual event. However, it may be argued that this was not the case and that what is entailed here is nothing more than a visual illustration of the royal myth demonstrating the inevitable and invincible triumph of Egyptian pharaoh\textsuperscript{127} which normally entered into the repertoire of the tableaux of royal stelae and then, for reasons unknown to us, though perhaps by imitation, also entered into the repertoire of private stelae scenes. In support of such an argument, one might cite the well-known scene of Sahure\textsuperscript{5} smiting a Libyan chief
in the presence of his wife, Khutyotes, and his sons, Usa and Uni, with a detailed list of the herds of animals which had been taken as plunder appended. Just as this seeming historical statement loses its historical credibility in the light of those showing Pepi I, Pepi II, and Taharka, likewise slaying a Libyan ruler in the presence of his identically-named wife and children, the same could hold true for virtually every representation of the pharaoh smiting an enemy. Nevertheless, as John Wilson noted over 2 decades ago, at some point in time an Egyptian king undoubtedly did slay a Libyan prince in the presence of his wife, Khutyotes, and his sons, Usa and Uni, an event which subsequently entered the royal myth. In other words, in spite of the fact that the scene ultimately became incorporated into the royal myth, it did at some particular time illustrate a real event. While the obvious propagandistic value of the scene, whether it appears on a temple pylon or wall, on a free-standing or a rock-cut stela, particularly on the latter which are found in the border marches of Egypt and beyond, cannot be either minimized or overlooked, the fact that in many of these latter instances specific, known individuals commissioned its portrayal, with themselves appearing as spectators of it, suggests that in these cases, at least, more than a glorification of the king via the royal myth was intended, and that an actual event was also being shown and commemorated.

Starting, then, from the premise that the smiting does depict an actual, physical event, as is, indeed, suggested if not explicitly stated textually, it is then patent that this event was the inspiration for and the historical reality which underlies its appearance in art, particularly in monumental
temple art. While it is logical to assume that the temple scene, in turn, was the prototype of the stela scene, this probably was not the case unless, by this assumption, is understood the technical and mechanical aspects of reproducing a real event in a two dimensional picture. It is manifestly evident that the inspiration for the stela scene also would have been the actual ceremony.

It follows, then, that since a real event seems to have been shown on these private stelae, albeit frequently in an abbreviated manner, it must have taken place at a specific time and in a specific building, obviously a temple which must also be depicted in the scene. Consequently, the next points to be determined, if possible, are at what time or times, on what occasion or occasions, and in what temple, or temples?

Only the double-stela of Setau at Abu Simbel has any specific date, namely regnal year 38 of Ramesses II. The text, itself, gives no indication of why this monument was commissioned or exactly what it commemorates. John Schmidt has suggested, most cautiously, that, since year 38 is the earliest known date for Setau, the commissioning of the stela could have marked his installation as viceroy of Kush. Even so, this does not explain why the king is pictured on it in the act of slaughtering several foes. We would expect that the ritual execution of a conquered ruler to take place only after the war in which he had been defeated was ended, and then during the victory celebrations. How soon these would have taken place after the war was over, however, is another question, although, reasonably, we should not expect the time gap to have been very long. We might expect the nationalities of the prisoners to give an indi-
cation of against whom the war had been fought. In the case of the Abu Simbel double-stela, however, this actually confuses the issue for, according to the drawing of Lepsius, some of the victims seem to have been Asiatics, but there is no evidence for any war of Ramesses II in Asia after year 21, the date of his treaty with the Hittites. Moreover, the ascription to the prisoners on the south stela identifies them as "the chiefs of wretched Kush," and this, undoubtedly, was who they were. We may well assume that the artist who prepared this stela was influenced by what now must have been a stock scene in his repertoire and gave no really careful attention to whether or not the nationality of the victims was in harmony with what the accompanying text recorded. Certainly long after that had been any major war waged by Ramesses II in Nubia, there must have been the more or less frequent border incidents and engagements which have always plagued the frontier between a civilized state and its barbarian neighbour. In other words, what the double-stela commissioned by the viceroy of Kush, Setau, in regnal year 36 of Ramesses II, may have pictured is the ceremonial sacrifice of several Kushite chiefs taken after a border skirmish, with the reason for the commissioning of the stela being to mark Setau's installation as viceroy. In its execution, however, the scene and the event which it pictured were transformed into the less factual, but more dramatic illustration of the royal myth. Such an interpretation could very well be applied to the other rock-stelae erected by other viceroys and their immediate subordinates, but we are still faced with the problem of why this same scene of the triumph of pharaoh should figure on the stelae of private individuals of lesser rank, not on the border marches, but in Thebes,
Memphis, and Qantir, from whence most of the free-standing stelae which contain it originate. Most of those which have texts do not elucidate this point. The texts only indicate that the stela in question was "made by" so and so and/or contain a short hymn-let.\textsuperscript{144} One, however, the stela of Wosimarenakht from Qantir (nr. 8), the text of which records the bestowal of a grant of land to him \textit{as a reward}, provides the key to our understanding of the rationale for the commissioning of stelae with this scene by people of lower rank. At first glance, the combination of the text and tableau of the Qantir stela seems incongruous, the former appearing to have no relation to or bearing on the nature of the latter. After all, what does the picture of the slaying of an enemy ruler have to do with the awarding of a land grant by the king? Seemingly nothing, until we remember that the scene is a representation of a \textit{public} ceremony. The inference from this is clear: what could be more logical at the conclusion of such a public ceremony in which the evil are justly punished, then to confer rewards on the good, on the various loyal and deserving subjects of the king? Likewise, it would be equally logical for the recipients of such rewards to commemorate both the award and the ceremony at which it was given. When viewed in this light, Schmidt's speculation about the motivation for the commissioning of the Abu Simbel double-stela of year 38 becomes quite plausible. Additional support for the probability of this being the correct interpretation is to be found in the more varied group of stela scenes to be discussed more fully below, in Chapter 2, which illustrate an entirely different ceremony and its aftermaths. Stelae Hildesheim 374\textsuperscript{145} and Louvre C 213\textsuperscript{146} both picture their dedicators, "the soldier, Mose, of the great company "Ramesses-
mi'āmūn, the Beloved of Atum'\textsuperscript{147} and "the overseer of the royal harim, Hormin",\textsuperscript{148} standing before the window of appearances and receiving gold collars from the king's own hand, Mose from Ramesses II, Hormin from Seti I, in a public ceremony. Stela Cairo CG 34.177\textsuperscript{149} shows "the scribe of the offering table of the lord of the Two Lands, Any" riding in his chariot after the award, his neck laden with similar gold collars. Stelae Cairo CG 34.178 and CG 34.180, both of which also belong to Any, show him wearing these collars as he sits at a table and is attended by a servitor.\textsuperscript{150} Although this group of 5 stelae, all of which depict their owners wearing this gold of honour, show incidents related to a ceremony outside the scope of the present chapter, it may nevertheless be noted here that, on 2 of them, a specific public ceremony is recorded and that, on the remaining 3, the fact that the stela's owner is shown wearing the gold, indicates that the awarding of it to him was, without question, a significant and important event of his life. With this in mind, we may then logically conclude that those dedicators of the stelae with the smiting scene would have regarded their mere attendance at the ceremony and their witnessing of the execution as an important event in their lives, one worthy of commemoration. This, of course, is quite consistent with the psychological rationale which underlays the raison d'être of many, if not all, Egyptian stelae.

In the preceding Section I have attempted to establish that the smiting scene depicts the very formal occasion, at which the dedicator was present, when captive enemy chiefs were ritually despatched in the presence of a god, that they did not merely
commemorate or reiterate in a symbolic manner the eternal triumph, power, and invincibility of pharaoh. Since the time range of the stelae extends from the middle of the 18th Dynasty until, at the least, the beginning of the 20th (assuming that when the cartouche of a king is present, then the stela is to be dated to his reign), it is obvious that, although the same ceremony is being shown, it is being shown at different times and in different places. It would, therefore, be most satisfactory if we could then assign or relate somehow the individual sacrifices pictured on those stelae whose date seems to be firmly assured by the cartouche of a specific king to the triumphant aftermath and the victory celebrations which followed a specific war known to have been waged in the reign of the king in question. In the light of our extant evidence, however, this can hardly be more than speculation and, probably, often fruitless speculation at that. Thutmose IV is shown slaying variously a Libyan, a Nubian, and an Asiatic. While there is no evidence, whatsoever, of any campaigning on his part against the Libyans, the Konosso stela of his year 8 records a punitive action against Nubian raiders, as does that of his year 7, unless these two inscriptions, as has been suggested, refer to the same event. Whatever its exact nature may have been, such military activity which this king carried out in Asia, whether in North Syria or in Palestine, seems to have been ended by his regnal year 6. Consequently, the victory celebrations depicted on the stelae dated to his reign might have taken place around year 8 and the stelae, themselves, may have been carved at about the same time. The only military activity attested for Horemheb after he became king (and its nature is debatable for it seems to have been a propagandistic lie rather than a bona fide campaign) did take
place in Nubia. Conversely, the only military activities in Asia in which he may have taken part were most likely carried out while various of the Amarna pharaohs sat on the throne, but after gaining the throne himself, Horemheb claimed that even these were part of his royal achievements.

The captive being slain by Seti I on the rock-cut stelae at Aswan (nos. 15-17) was probably a Nubian. While it is true that his nationality cannot be ascertained from De Morgan's drawings, Seti I is known to have waged at least one real war in the south, about regnal year 8, against the Nubian country of Irem, the viceroy of Kush, Amenemope, who commissioned these stelae, held office for all of Seti I's reign, possibly even into the opening years of that of Ramesses II, and these rock-cut stelae are all located on the frontier of Egypt and Nubia where, if only for reasons of propaganda and of intimidation, we would expect to see triumphs over Nubians flaunted. Consequently, it is not forcing the evidence to associate these scenes of the execution of a Nubian prince with the Nubian war of Seti I's year 8, with the ceremonial slaughter taking place sometime after year 8, the 13th day of the 3rd month of the Proyet season, when the victory was achieved. If, however, this were the case, then it is clear that the occasion which prompted Amenemope to commission the carvings was not his installation as viceroy (as probably was the reason for the commissioning of the double-stelae of Setau at Abu Simbel; inasmuch as Amenemope, by this time, had already been in office for several years.

Excluding the Abu Simbel double-stela, the other non-royal monument with a smiting scene which can be securely fixed to the reign of Ramesses II is that of "the scribe in the Place of Eter-
nity, Ramose", from Deir el-Medineh (nr. 6). Here, although 3 distinct ethnic types are shown being despatched simultaneously by the king, a Nubian, a Syrian, and a Shasu, it is quite possible that the representation is not real, but only a reiteration of a stock scene. However, since no Hittite is shown among the victims, it could also very well be that the ceremony which was represented reflected, retrospectively, events which took place before the Kadesh campaign against the Hittites in regnal year 5. In this event, the Nubian captive may be associated with the victory against the Nubians pictured at the Beit el-Wali temple which seems to date from the earliest years of Ramesses II's reign, when he was still coregent with Seti I, and also at the temple of Derr. The Syrian and the Shasu could easily be associated with a victory in Palestine or Syria during the campaign of year 4, which saw Ramesses reach as far north as the Nahr el-Kelb near Beirut.

Since the major military activity carried out during the reign of Merneptah was the repelling of the invasion by the coalition of Libyans and Sea Peoples in his regnal year 5, it is not at all surprising to find a Libyan pictured as the sacrificial victim on the single stela which is more or less firmly dated to his reign, (nr. 7), and it is not unreasonable, then, to suppose that the stela in question had been commissioned and set up in this year, or shortly thereafter.

Virtually nothing is known of the events, either internal or external, of the short reigns of Amenmesse and Seti II. However, if my interpretation of the historical reality behind and the inspiration for the smiting is acceptable, then certainly the scene of the rock-cut stela which the legate of Wawat, Mery,
set up at Abu Simbel (nr. 19) in honour of Amenmesse and which was later usurped by Seti II should be taken as an indication of some military action by, at least, the former, an action then either repeated or claimed by the latter. Since the prisoner being executed is a Nubian, this, together with the stela's Nubian provenance and the fact that it was instigated by a high-ranking official of the Nubian administration, should all lead us to expect that this putative military activity had taken place in Nubia, although it may possibly have entailed nothing more than a punitive action on the border marches.

The last ruler to whose reign any of the private stelae are firmly dated is Ramesses III, the stela in question being that of the shield-bearer, Wosimare'nakht, from Qantir, which has been discussed in some detail above. The fact that one of the prisoners shown on it is an Asiatic and the other a Libyan suggests a time after the Second Libyan War of regnal year 11, for although real warfare on Ramesses' part in Asia, and specifically in Syria, such as is illustrated in the historical reliefs both at Medinet Habu and at Karnak, probably did not take place, the suggestion that some sort of military operation was carried out in Asia following the defeat of the Peoples of the Sea in year 8, in an attempt to drive them as far as possible away from Egypt, is quite plausible and undoubtedly contains an element of truth. This, of course, would explain the presence of the Asiatic here.

There were, obviously, very good reasons why captives of a particular national type appear in some smiting scenes, but not in others, or what on some occasions a single prisoner was shown and, in other instances several. We do not have here an example
of artistic license or whim. It should be clear that the motif of the king smiting a victim (in the presence of a god), while certainly a conventional item in the repertoire of the Egyptian artists, is to be taken more seriously than it usually is. It is not to be dismissed as a mere, stock, scene. When used judiciously, it can, as I have tried to show above, be a useful historical document.

If the sacrifice depicted on the stelae was a real event which took place at a specific time, after a successful military operation, in a real temple, it should be possible, perhaps, to the location of, at least some, of these temples, if not to identify them. On the great majority of the free-standing stelae, the god in whose presence the execution of the prisoners is being carried out is the Memphite god, Ptah. Several of these stem from Petrie's excavations in the great temple of Ptah at Memphis, others were purchased at Giza and in Cairo, and probably also originally came from Memphis. 2 were acquired at Luxor and may have originated in Thebes. The provenance of the others is unknown, although it is not inconceivable that some of them came from Memphis. It is likewise probable that the execution pictured on all of them was carried out in the forecourt of the great temple of Ptah in Memphis. This, surely, was the case with the pieces actually excavated there and, since at least 1 of those bought at Luxor agrees so closely in its depiction of the architectural detail of the temple in which the ritual was accomplished with those of unquestioned Memphite origin, it can scarcely be doubted that it portrays the same incident in the same locality. Moreover, being purchased in Luxor does
not assure an original provenance from Luxor, but even if it did, it is not impossible for the dedicator of the stela, who may have lived in Thebes, to have been present at a ceremony in Memphis, which he later commemorated on a stela in Thebes.

The single stela which pictures Seth as the deity presiding over the execution was excavated by Habachi at Qantir and we may assume that it was there, in a temple of Seth, that the ceremony pictured on it was carried out.

While no god is shown on the stela from Deir el-Medineh, it is reasonable to suppose that the prisoners shown on it were actually slain before Amünre'. Although it is difficult to decide in which of Amün's Theban temples this might have taken place, the Deir el-Medineh provenance suggests that it should have been on the West Bank of Thebes, and the reign of Ramesses II suggests that it might have been the Ramesseum. However, considering the importance and the emphasis of the ritual slaughter of the captive enemy chiefs, it is also not inconceivable, on analogy with the Memphite examples, that it took place in the most important temple of Thebes, the temple of Karnak.

With regard to the rock-cut steleae, it is most logical to suppose that the rite depicted on them took place in the most important temple in their vicinity: the great temple of Abu Simbel, obviously, in the case of the steleae of Setau and Mery. No deity is depicted on the rock-stelae of the viceroy of Kush, Amenemope, but since they are situated on the road between Aswan and Philae, it is not difficult to assume that here the sacrifice was offered to the most important deity of the region, Khnūm, possibly in his temple on Elephantine.

Of the steleae of either firmly-assured or presumed Mem-
phite origin and/or connection, those which show the ceremonial sacrifice as being viewed through the temple's gateway are remarkably consistent in detail, except for the numbers and nationality of the victims. These vary from stela to stela. On two stele, the inclusion among other details of at least a pair of and as many as four human ears, seemingly inexplicable at first glance, allows us to identify the particular manifestation and cult statue of Ptah before which and to whom the sacrifice is being consumated as "Ptah, (the pair of ears) who hears petitions". It is probable that this particular manifestation of the god was among the most important worshipped in Memphis. A great many stelae have been found there, or are presumed to have come from Memphis, which picture Ptah in combination with a pair or several pairs of ears, together with the epithet "(the pair of ears) who hears petitions", sometimes with the epithet alone, sometimes with the ears, but not the epithet. In addition, a large number of stelae have been found, especially at Memphis, which have no anthropomorphic representation of any god, but show only a single ear, a pair of ears, or multiple pairs of ears. While the epithet and the ears are also found with deities other than Ptah, the stelae picturing only ears have always been attributed only to Ptah. While this view can probably no longer be maintained today, it is, nevertheless, most likely that this was the case with those found at Memphis. We are dealing here with the thoroughly Egyptian phenomenon of depicting the same concept simultaneously in various ways, each capable of standing alone, but, when used in combination with the others, supporting, reinforcing, and supplementing them. In view of this, it is then perhaps not too speculative to see this form...
of Ptah in every representation of him from Memphis, even without any other indication being present. Certainly this is the form of the god on two of the stelae under study and, if all show the same ceremony taking place in the same temple, it follows that they should be taking place before the same cultic image and manifestation of the deity. If, in most cases, he is shown without the accompanying ears or epithet, this is, then, another example of the principle pars pro toto.

It should also be noted that the epithet "(the pair of ears) who hear petitions" is, then, implicit in the representation of ears together with a deity. Along with the other gods at Deir el-Medineh, it is found with Amun-Re, and, although I know of no instances in connection with Seth, it is found at Qantir where Seth was an important god. On analogy with the Memphite examples, it is not unreasonable to suppose that in both Thebes and Qantir, the cult statue before which this ritual slaughter was consumated likewise bore the epithet "(the pair of ears) who hears petitions". Admittedly, this can only be speculation, but it is logical to offer thanks, by means of a sacrifice, to the deity "who hears petitions" in the hope and belief that, by doing so, the god will continue to hear the prayers of him offering the sacrifice. In the cases under discussion this would have been for continued victory. Such a reciprocal exchange is even suggested by the scene of the Qantir stela of Wosimarenakht and by those on the Abu Simbel rock-cut stelae of Setau and of Mery. Here, the god in whose presence the prisoners are being slain is pictured offering the king a second weapon, a motif well-attested in Egyptian art. Insofar as one normally would expect a weapon to be offered before it is to be used, and not
while it, or another weapon, is being employed. This action on the part of the god seems somewhat out of place. The first idea that comes to mind is that the artist must have conflated two separate ceremonies which he depicted simultaneously: the ritual despatch of the captured enemy leader at the conclusion of a war, together with the giving of the sword and victory to the king, which marked the divine sanction for the opening of a campaign. This latter rite is graphically portrayed in the reliefs of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu where, at the beginning of the series which illustrate the 1st Libyan War, Ramesses is shown standing before Amünref. The king of the gods is seated on a throne, while Thoth and Khonsu stand nearby, as witnesses. As Amün presents a sword to the king, he says:

"My beloved son, take for yourself the sword, that you may smite the heads of the rebellious countries! ... Forward, (my) son, to cast down him who attacks you, to slay [---]."

Like the sacrificial rite, the ritual of conferring the sword on the king at the beginning of a war figures as the scene, often in an abbreviated and simplified form, on both royal and private stelae. However, this ceremony is not what is being pictured in the tableaux of the Qantir and Abu Simbel stelae, nor do we have here a conflation of the two rites, conferring the sword and smiting the foe, in a single scene. What is being shown is a more elaborate version of the triumphal sacrifice. As was pointed out in the preceding Section, the first scene to greet anyone approaching the temple from the front was that of the sacrifice, even though, chronologically, it should have and would have concluded the narrative series of scenes of the king's
victory. In its most expanded form on the temple wall, while
the king slaughters a host of cringing enemies, the god offers
him the sword and, at the same time, leads still more enemies to
the king to be slaughtered, these being symbolically by the
anthropomorphic name-rings, each containing a different toponym.
On royal and private stelae, even on scarabs, it occurs in a much
abbreviated form, with the number of victims drastically reduced
and the additional captives which are presented by the god alto­
gether omitted. The speeches of the god make it clear that he
has already granted victory to the king and that he shall con in­
ue to do so, as the following excerpts indicate:

"I cause the chiefs of the Southern Countries to come to
you, ... that you may give the breath (of life) to whom­
soever you wish, but to slay whomsoever you wish, as you
desire. ... I will give to you my sword (here) before
you to overthrow the (Nine) Bows".

"Take for yourself the sword, O victorious king! Your
mace has smitten the Nine Bows. ... I will give you
power. I will place the fear of you in every foreign
land and the dread of you in the hearts of their chiefs.
I will make your boundaries wheresoever you wish!"

While this is, of course, highly symbolic hyperbole, it is, nev­
ertheless, clear that the scene and the ceremony which it depicts
had a very real origin, one whose occurrence is so graphically
recalled on some of the private stelae of the New Kingdom.
Footnotes:


9. See, e.g. LD III, pls. 61, 129, 140, 144; H. Ranke, The Egyptian Collections of the University Museum. (Philadelphia: 1950) 15 fig. 2, 103 fig. 62; ANEP 102 fig. 312; The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu II: Later Historical Records of Ramesses III. (Chicago: 1932) pls. 101, 102, 114, 120-122.

10. See, e.g. J. Černý, A.H. Gardiner, and T.E. Peet, The Inscriptions of Sinai. 2nd ed. (London: 1952) pls. 1, 3, 8; LD III, pls. 69c, 81 g-h; LD IV, pl. 197.

12. For examples of both types of royal stelae see, e.g. stelae Munich Gl. 29 and Cairo JE 13715, both published by W. Barta, "zwei ramessidische Stelen aus den Wadi Sannūr", *MDAIK* 20 (1965) 96-101 and pl. 35; stela Gulbenkian Museum, Durham, 1964/176, published by H.S. Smith, *The Fortress of Buhen: The Inscriptions* (London: 1976) 143, pls. 37 nr. 1 (drawing) and 77 nr. 3 (photograph); *AP* III, pls. 69, 81, 197.

Stelae in the Field Museum of Natural History (Chicago: 1936); H.P. Lutz, Egyptian tomb steles and offering stones of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology of the University of California (Berkeley: 1927); O. Koefoed-Petersen, Les stèles égyptiennes (Copenhagen: 1948); P. Lacau, Les stèles du Nouveau Empire (Cairo: 1909); W. Spiegelberg, B. Pörtner, and K. Dryoff, Aegyptische Grabsteine und Denksteine aus süddeutsche Sammlungen 3 vols. (Strassburg: 1902-1906); B. Pörtner, Aegyptische Grabsteine und Denksteine aus Athen und Konstantinopel (Strassburg: 1908); P.A. Boeser, Denkmäler des Neuen Reiches, Dritte Abteilung, Stelen (Leiden: 1913); J. Cerny, Egyptian Stele in the Banks Collection (Oxford: 1956); R. Tosi and A. Roccati, Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina (Turin: 1972); H. Stewart, Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection 3 vols. (Warminster: 1976-1983); E. Brescian, Le stele egiziane del Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna (Bologna: 1985); P. Ramond, Les stèles égyptiennes du Musée G. Labit à Toulouse (Cairo: 1977); J.M. Saleh, Les antiquités égyptiennes de Zagreb (Paris: 1970); S. Bosticco, Museo Archeologico di Firenze. Le stele egiziane 3 vols. (Florence: 1965-1972). In addition, I have gone through my own collection of about 1000 photographs of mostly unpublished stelae and I have perused the major journals, excavation reports, Festschriften, and the published handbooks of the collections and special exhibitions other than those listed above, but these are too numerous to include here, though some are cited in various notes throughout this study.

14. See above, n. 8. Of the unpublished studies, one is by E.S.
Hall, "The Pharaoh Slays his Foes" which was slated to appear in the alas, now-defunct, Miscellanea Wilbouriana, a second is D.R. Seton, The king of Egypt annihilating his enemies: a study in the symbolism of ancient monarchy (unpublished University of Birmingham M.A. thesis). I am aware also that there is a Munich PhD dissertation, written under the supervision of D. Wildung by S. Schoske, but, unfortunately, no details about it have been available to me.

15. See below, Section B, stela nr. 8, which is almost a meter high.

16. See below, Section B, stelae nrs. 3, 6-9, 12-14.

17. See below, Section B, stelae nrs. 1, 2, 4, 5, 10, 11.

18. See below, Section B, stelae nrs. 1-5, 7, 10-11, 13, and Section C, stelae nrs. 15, 16, 18b, and 19, all of which picture a single captive. The remainder of the stelae show several.

19. Except for nr. 8, where the god is Seth, nrs. 18a and 19, where he is Amûn, and 18b, where he is Horus of Buhen. No deity is shown on nrs. 6, 15-17.

20. With the combination maceaxe, see stelae nrs. 1, 2, 7, 9, 12, 15, 18a-b; With the hps-sword, see nrs. 3-5, 8, 10, 13, 14, and 16. On stelae nrs. 6 and 19, the weapon is the pear-shaped mace. On nr. 11, where that portion of the scene where it appeared is lost, there is no way of knowing what it may have been. For the rather curious weapon which I call the maceaxe, see H. Bonnet, Die Waffen der Völker des Alten Orients (Leipzig: 1928) 41-42.

21. On stelae nr. 8 and '18b, the king wears the Blue Crown. On nr. 19 it is the White Crown. On nrs. 16-16, it is a bag wig. On all of the others it is the short, valanced Nubian
wig, the so-called "military wig" (for which see C. Aldred, "Hair Styles and History", AJA N.S. 15 [1957] 141-147) which, with the exception of stela nr. 13, is surmounted by the horned, plumed disk. For this headdress see the next note.

22. See M. Aly, F. Abdel-Hamid, and M. Dewachter, Le Temple d’Amena IV (Cairo: 1967) 18, where this headdress, listed separately from the crowns worn by the king, is called "the coiffure with ostrich plumes". It is not discussed under the entry Kronen in LdAe III, 811-816, but is briefly alluded to under the entry Federn und Federkrone, ibid. II, 142-144, particularly n. 10.

23. B.g. B. Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1935-1940) (Cairo: 1952) 62; Bostocco, Museo Archeologico di Firenze 57. What argues against identifying this headdress as the atef-crown is that fact that in every case where it is shown, it lacks the conical crown to which the feathers and horns are affixed.

24. See stelae nrs. 1, 2, 6, 9, and 18a. On nrs. 8, 18b, and 19 the streamers appear to be affixed to the crown which the king wears. On nr. 4, although I can make out no streamer behind his head, I do seem to detect a trace of its end below his upraised arm. More curious is what appears to be a long tasseled object dangling vertically from the crook of his bent right-elbow. This looks like the long tasseled streamer sometimes affixed to the crown worn by Asiatic gods.

25. See stelae nrs. 3, 6-8, 10-12. On nrs. 1 and 5 the collar is summarily indicated by a single curved line at the king’s neck.
26. The recessing and the cornice are clear on Petrie's photograph, but not on his drawing, where the former comes out as a three-sided frame and the latter seems to be a horizontally-hatched border.

27. Although exactly like the feather headdress referred to above in n. 22 (save that no uraei rear up from the horns), Petrie's drawing does not show the sundisks. These, however, are just visible on the photograph.

28. Although visible in his photograph, in Petrie's drawing the projecting tops of the tails of the ms-sign are omitted, and the s is reversed.

29. For the New Kingdom writing of bity here with the Red Crown, see Wh. II, 330, 5, right hand column.

30. X3 nṯȝ.t.w rather than k3 nṯȝ.t is written, with both the quail-chick and the plural strokes clearly legible.

31. J.H. Walker, the translator of the texts published in Petrie, Memphis I, was unable to read anything here and dismissed the traces with the comment "indistinct titles". However, it is not unlikely, particularly in the light of the poor orthography and misspellings in the text itself, and also in the light of the poor quality of the drawing (see above, n. 25, and below, nn. 32, 33), that he just did not understand what was written. On both Petrie's and my own photographs, the beginning of the line is obscured by the shadow thrown by the projection of the right jamb, but I seem to see the scribe's reed pen and the traces which are visible suggest the rest of the hieroglyph sẖ.

32. Petrie's drawing shows a large t over the house sign, this followed by an illegible group consisting of a horizontal
stroke on top, with a hornlike sign curving up to meet it from below. On the photograph, however, the t is clearly the horizontal m. The indistinct group which follows is pitted and weathered, but I seem to make out nb "gold".

33. After the s of ms, Petrie's drawing shows an indistinct trace consisting of a tall, vertical stroke, crossed by a wide x, the lower left arm of which is lost. After this the balance of the line is left blank. The photograph, however, reveals the indistinct trace to be the determinative of the seated man holding a flail. In the supposedly empty space which follows this, the tip of the dî-loaf and the entire and the entire 'nh are quite clear. For the very common name, Ramose, see FN I, 218, 3.

34. Misspelled h-t-p.

35. The loop of the 'nh is missing.

36. Occasionally the open door(s) of the naos can be seen, see stelae Hildesheim 429 (published by L. Habachi, "Khâta 'na-Qantir: Importance", ASAE 52 [1952] pl. 36b), Copenhagen AEIN 1346 (see Koefoed-Petersen, Les stèles égyptiennes pl. 30), Philadelphia E 13626 (Memphis find nr. M-4344), 29-65-563 (Memphis find nr. M-2768), Cairo JE 45552 (Memphis find nr. M-2904), and Brooklyn 19.91 (these last four all unpublished). Usually, when the naos is intended to be shown with the doors open, this is done by not completely indicating the front, as on stela nr. 3, and see also stelae University College, London, 14573 (published by Stewart, Egyptian Stelae I, pl. 28 nr. 2), ex-Metropolitan Museum of Art 08.203.2E (published by Petrie, Memphis I pl. 11 nr. 19), passim. On the other hand, when the doors of the naos are meant to be
closed, this was accomplished by showing the naos' front from the base to its cornice, see, e.g. stelae British Museum 262 and 263 (published by T.G.H. James, *Hieroglyphic texts* IX, pl. 35), University College, London. 14392 (published by Stewart, op. cit. pl. 41 nr. 2), passim.

37. Normally one would expect an apotropaic statement here. If this is such, then we should restore mry "beloved of" at its end. Otherwise, the sentence is another identifying label of the king. One wonders, however, if a different reading is not possible if what has been taken as the loop of the t is not a scratch or pit in the stone. If this were the case, then, on the authority of Wb. II, 227, 3, the falcon could be read as nb "lord" with the two horizontals beneath it as t3.wy "(of) the Two Lands". M3 remains unchanged, but the horizontal line beneath its determinative, which really does not look like the -arm, would be read as t3, the entire sentence then reading: "the lord of the Two Lands offers the land" which, after all, is exactly what the king is doing via the person of the captive enemy chief.

38. For this rather rare title, see Wb. III, 139, 7, where, however, hry is written with the face and not the sky sign.

39. For the name, see PN I, 41, 8.

40. The head of the f-viper is obscured and touches the column divider to its right.

41. Difficult to see, but certain. For other examples, see PN I, 389, 22, where he suggests that it may merely be a variant of T13, ibid. 337, 18.

42. See PN I, 140, 9, where it is attested only as a masculine name.
43. Hardly noticeable here, but certain.
44. The present whereabouts of the stela is unknown. It was last seen in 1921 when a listing of the Art Institute's Egyptian collection was made. It was not included among those Art Institute pieces which were acquired by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago and, since there is no record of its ever having left the Art Institute, it can reasonably be assumed that it is still there, misplaced in one or another of the Museum's storerooms (Personal Communication of 18 February 1981, from Dr. Louise Berge, Assistant Curator, Department of Classical Art of the Art Institute).

45. Allen, loc. cit., while noting that it "was received through M. Emile Brugsch", suggested that it most probably came from Thebes, from somewhere near the mortuary temple of Thutmose IV, and PW II^2, 446, accepts this provenance. Allen, however, gave no reasons for assigning a Theban origin to it and Bryan, loc. cit., is undoubtedly correct in suggesting a Memphite provenance for it on stylistic and iconographic grounds.

46. The long hair of the prisoner insures that he was an Asiatic, but the scale of the photograph and the seeming lack of any detail of his dress preclude a more specific identification. The lack of the beard suggests a Hittite, but other nationalities are equally possible.

47. Sketchily indicated, but certain, the front wall of the naos can be traced at the bottom, between the back of the prisoner and the w3s-staff of Ptah. Its upper part is clearly visible above the captive's head and the god's arms. Its topmost part is somewhat covered by the tip of the staff.
For other examples of naoi with the doors closed, see above, n. 36.

48. Compare stela nr. 5 below, where the sky-hieroglyph again appears, but this time covering only the right half of the tableau, and also stela nr. 2, above, where the scene within the aperture of the portal is inclosed by a thick, raised border. What appears to be the triangular projection of the left end of the sky is caused by a break in the stone immediately below. Nevertheless, both here and in the corresponding place on the right, I seem to detect a slight diagonal thickening of the uprights, as if, indeed, they were melding into the ends of a sky-hieroglyph. For the possible significance of these clear instances of this sign at the top of the scene, see below, n. 120.

49. Probably just a spelling error of no special significance, it occurs not infrequently with the name of Ptah, compare stelae Philadelphia E 12507, University College, London, 14393, and Rochedale Museum, number unknown (all published by Petrie, Memphian I, pls. 12 nr. 24, 10 nr. 9, and 11 nr. 15), ex-Museum Scheuler S 995 (published by H.P. Blok, "Remarques sur quelques stèles dites 'à oreilles'", Remi I (1928) pl. 9 nr. 2), Berlin West 14666, ex-Metropolitan Museum of Art 90.6.146, and Philadelphia E 13619 (all unpublished), all of which show this retrograde spelling. Note also stela Louvre E 13072 (published by Ledrain, Les monuments égyptiens pl. 19 nr. 2) where the god's name is misspelled t-p-h, and see also n. 34 above.

50. With enough room in the field below for a vertical cartouche to have been inserted. There is no possibility of reading
this group as "Lord of Ma'at" and taking it as the epithet qualifying the name of Ptah. In that case it should have been written inside the naos together with the name of the god.

51. I possibly see a $\text{j31}$-bird at the top, followed by a pair of horizontal signs below, but this is very uncertain. Until the stela can be located and can be physically studied, it is best to leave open the question of whether there had been an inscription here.

52. Unusual is this arrangement in which the woman is portrayed before the man, as if it were she who was the principal worshipper, even though it was he who explicitly dedicated the stela.

53. For the name, see PF I, 5, 24. Allen, loc. cit. transcribed it as "Yu"; apparently misreading the aleph-vulture as the quail chick.

54. For the name, see PF I, 96, 17, where it is found in a somewhat different spelling. Allen, loc. cit. followed by Bryan, loc. cit. read the name as "Ist(u)", apparently reading the initial hieroglyph as the reed leaf, but the foot is very clear on the photograph. My old friend, Klaus Baer, also had no hesitation in reading this sign b, as is clear from a handcopy of the photograph which he had earlier sent me. Furthermore, there is no reason to inclose the -u of the name in brackets as Allen did. It is quite clear on the photograph.

(Berkeley: 1968) 265 fig. 142 (the temple of Amun-re-Montu at Karnak North), and 271 fig. 145 (the temple of Hathor at Deir el-Medineh). For a representation of such a stairway with side walls (at the entrance to a periptal temple), see ibid. 261 fig. 156 and pl. 36 (from the tomb of Ipuy at Deir el-Medineh). For an ancient three-dimensional model of such a cult temple, complete with stairway (Brooklyn 49.183), see Badawy, "A Monumental Gateway for a Temple of King Sety I, An Ancient Model Restored", Miscellanea Wilbouriana 1 (1972) 1-20.


58. The prenomen appears to be written ḫpr.w-rāw-rāw followed by an additional vertical stroke alongside those of ḫpr.w, and with a pair of horizontal lines, the lower of which is ḫ, below. Undoubtedly these are to be read ṣtp/n-rāw, see Uruk.
IV, 2113, 2115, 2120, passim. The nomen is garbled. The falcon ḫr and beneath it, at the left, the ḫb-sign are all right, but behind the falcon is an n?, written with the Red Crown, a second, similarly-written n, but facing in the opposite direction, is to the right of the ḫb and at the bottom of the cartouche is a horizontal n. Clearly, in view of the prenomen, the scribe wanted to write ḫr-m-ḥb-mry-imn or the like, but was probably defeated in this by the minute amount of space available to him.

59. The foe at the left is certainly a Syrian, and the enemy in the center a Nubian. The other prisoner, at the right and facing the king, can be identified from his beard and from his headcloth, the latter held in place by a fillet, more closely as a Shasu, see E.F. Wente, "Shekelesh or Shasu?", JNES 22 (1963) 167-172.

60. On this well-known individual, see now Černý, A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period (Cairo: 1973) Appendix B: The Scribe Raʾmose, 317-327.

61. So Bosticco, o. cit. citing Rosellini, and Berend, op. cit. 84 n. 1, citing a manuscript of Migliarini.

62. Op. cit. 508: "The prisoners, represented bearded, should stand for Asians, but to what country of Asia they appertain is difficult to say". But see above, nn. 46, 57, 59.

63. He has the short pointed beard and the neck-length curled hairdo so characteristic of the Libyans, see O. Bates, The Eastern Libyans (London: 1914) figs. 10, 12, 20, 22-24, 49, and pls. 1-3.

64. See ibid. 132 and the literature cited there.

65. Loc. cit., but dress and facial features alone do not fully
warrant such an identification. In my "The Winged Reshep", 

JARCE 16 (1979) section 3 (71-73), I point out that virtually all of the Asiatic gods worshipped in Egypt, Reshep, Keserty, Mikal, Ba'al, and Ba'al-Saphon, look alike, are dress-alike, and, if no identifying caption is present, can be distinguished from one another only through their characteristic poses. But in these instances, it is the cult statue of the god which is being represented, while here, on stela nr. 8, if the offering of the sword by the god has any significance, it should be that of the god himself, rather than his cult statue. Hence the pose is of no help in determining who he was. Nevertheless, the provenance of Qantir for the stela virtually assures that he was Seth. See, also, below, nn. 185 and 201.

66. With the god's name written in honorific transposition.

67. Habachi, op. cit. 509 n. b, takes as a writing for via confusion from hieratic, but it is more likely that it was confused with see Wh. IV, 356, right hand column.

68. Here written without the final .t, but with the determinative of the man with his hand to his mouth and plural dots.

69. For the name, see PN I, 85, 16. I do not take as did Habachi, loc. cit. as a plural noun, connected with the preceding in his title by a direct genitive, but rather as a nisbe, here singular, "dweller of a foreign land", "outlander", on the authority of Wh. III, 236, 1, understanding the following as the determinative. In other words, Wosimarefnakht was not an Egyptian from a mountain region, but a foreigner in Egyptian service. This is confirmed by the formulation of his name which has as an ele-
sent the prenomen of the king (see W. Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches* [Leiden: 1958] 273). While none of the other men of this name known, are explicitly attested with the title "shield-bearer", it is most probable that both "the brigade commander, overseer of the foreign countries of Tonetjer, and overseer of the palace, Wosime-re'-nakht, of Tjeku" (fragment of a tomb jamb from Tel er-Re'tabeh published by Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities* [London: 1906] pl. 31) and "the royal scribe, Wosime-re'-nakht, of the army" (hieratic ostraca from Qantir mentioned by Habachi, op. cit. 511), both of whom had this same foreign origin and both of whom served under Ramesses III, are to be identified with him. For the title kr'-w "shield-bearer", see my *Military Rank, Title, and Organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom* (Berlin: 1964) pars. 171-172 and refs. 477-478.

70. For the identification of this place with the village of Es-Sama'na, 2 kilometers to the southeast of Qantir, see Habachi, op. cit. 512-514, where other attestations of it are cited, but with a slightly different spelling.

71. Following Habachi, ibid. 509-510, textual note f.

72. Identified by Habachi, ibid. 486-487, with the well in Qantir.

73. Petrie, *Memphis I*, 8, assigned this stela to Munich, but it, somehow, entered the von Bissing collection and, ultimately, was acquired by the Kestner Museum along with many other sculptures and reliefs from this collection.

74. There is no reason to assume, as Bryan, loc. cit. has, that stelae nrs. 1 and 9 are of the same date and were dedicated by the same man. The Ramose of the Brussels stela and the
the Ramose of the Hannover piece each have quite different titles which, unlike those of the various Wosimare'nakhts, cited above in n. 69, have nothing in common. That the Brussels stela dates to the reign of Thutmose IV seems assured by his cartouches, but see below, Section E, n. 151. However, no such explicit chronological indicators are present on stela 9. Any attempt to date it can be done only on stylistic grounds, but there is nothing in the orthography or paleography of the hieroglyphs, in the composition and arrangement of the registers, or in the dress and details of the figures to indicate a more specific date than late 18th or early 19th Dynasty. If the name of the dedicator alone is the basis for assigning both stelae to the same man, we then should also assign stela nr. 6 to him, a patent absurdity since this piece is firmly dated to the reign of Ramesses II.

75. See above, n. 21.

76. Although neither Petrie's drawing on pl. 8 nor his photo on pl. 9 show the cross bars of the sistrum's loop, the object can hardly be anything else. If it had been a menyit-necklace, we should expect the looped part to drape downward over the woman's hand. And it certainly is not a flaming brazier.

77. Petrie's photograph is on too small a scale here to be clear, and his drawing is inaccurate. The sign to the left of the de-loaf, as my own 1:1 scale photograph shows, is clearly Ꝝ. The sign following the n of sn, which looks like a badly-carved grg or fng, really does not exist. Actually, it is a deep, diagonal pit which runs from the infinitival
ending .t of sn to just to the right of the middle of the following t3-hieroglyph.

78. Though not apparent in Petrie's drawing or photograph, the t shows clearly on my own photograph, as does the tail of the bird which is clearly the vulture and not the quail chick. The name is not attested in Efr, but it does occur for a woman in the 16th Dynasty on a stela in the British Museum, nr. 322), see J. Leiblein, Dictionnaire des noms hiéroglyphiques I (Christiana: 1871) 225 nr. 675. There is just enough room in the now-missing 7th line to restore m3'-hrw.

79. See above, n. 73.

80. For the significance of ears on stelae, see now my "Reshep Times Two", in W.K. Simpson and W.M. Davis, eds., Studies in Ancient Egypt, The Aegean, and the Sudan: Essays in honour of Dows Dunham on the occasion of his 90th birthday, June 1, 1980 (Boston: 1980) 164-165, nn. 52-54, and, earlier, M. Sandman-Holmberg, The God Ptah (Lund: 1946) 69-73, Blok, op. cit. 123-135. That the ears are all from the same side of the head, rather than being in pairs, is apparently of no particular import, since they are almost as frequently attested on stelae in this manner as in pairs and multiple pairs. See also stela nr. 11 and, also, Section F, nn. 190-200, below.

81. For the epithet, see my "Reshep Times Two", n. 54, and, especially Sandman-Holmberg, op. cit. 74-75. One wonders if, in the multiplicity of the ears, there is not a rebus, with the first pair to be read ms3'-wy "the pair of ears" and the second ms3'-wy "the ones which hear (scl. prayers)". Such a suggestion is even more tempting in those instances where
more than four ears are pictured, e.g., stelae Hildesheim
375 (published by Habachi, op. cit. pl. 34 B), ex-Metropoli-
tan Museum of Art 08.205.2B (published by Petrie, Memphis I,
pl. 11, nr. 19), Copenhagen AEIN 1016 (ibid., pl. 13, nr. 20),
University College, London, 14398 (ibid., pl. 20, nr. 48),
passim. In such cases, the additional ears might also be
read as a participle, only this time in the passive rather
than the active voice, and as a plural sdm.w "that which is
to be heard". Support for such an interpretation is, per-
haps, to be found in the famous passage in the Maxims of
Ptahhotpe, lines 534-563 (published by Z. Žaba, Les Maximes
de Ptahhotpe (Prague: 1956) 58-61) where the key word sdm is
repeated over and over, each time with a different nuance,
in a literary masterpiece of the type of punning which the
Egyptians so loved.

82. While it is not possible on the evidence of the name alone,
without the title or other corroborating data, it is, never-
theless, tempting to identify him with the well-known royal
butler under Ramesses II, Ramessesashhebsed. On the latter,
see now the stimulating article of Spalinger, "A Fragmentary

83. Starting at the right of the lintel and facing to the right,
one can, perhaps, with a strong imagination, discern the
trace of vertical sign, followed by a cartouche containing
a name ending in -ms-s(w), with a number of faint, indistinct
vertical hieroglyphs following. Although inscriptions on
representations of gates on stelae are not particularly com-
mon, they are attested, e.g. stelae nrs. 1 and 4 above each
show a pair of vertical cartouches in the center of the lin-
tel. Admittedly, the possible traces on the lintel of stela nr. 14 are of a horizontal inscription, but horizontally inscribed lintels are also known to exist, e.g. lintel Philadelphia E 13573, unpublished, from the University Museum's 1915-1923 excavations at Memphis, find nr. X-4363, consists of two horizontal lines: above is the winged sundisk, flanked by the epithet "Behdety" and below, facing an 'nh in the center are, at the left, the prenomen of Seti I, "the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menmaref, the Beloved of Amün" and, at the right, his nomen, "the Son of Re', Seti-merneptah, the Beloved of Mût".

84. The reed leaf of ḫw and the body and arm of the seated man with his hand raised in the salutation are clear at the beginning of the lacuna. The curved underside of the ḫ-basket, together with its handle, here reversed so that it is on the left, are still visible. There is just enough room in the break to restore the plural strokes of ḫw and the horizontal n.

85. For the name, see PN I, 251, 8.

86. As on stelae nrs. 1, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 11, and 14.

87. Omitted are the rock-cut stela of the viceroy of Kush, Amenemope at Kasr Ibrim, the Aswan stela dated to year 2 of Amsesses II, and the lesser Abu Simbel stelae (nrs. 12 and 13). All are included below in the Appendix to this study, where the reasons for their exclusion from Section C will be given. However, they shall, on occasion, be referred to in some of the notes which follow.

88. The men who commissioned these monuments were the heads of the Nubian provincial administration: the viceroy of Kush,
the legate of Wawat, and possibly a fortress commander.


90. For the fan as a badge of office, see Reisner, op. cit. 80-82 and pls. 9-10.

91. Not apparent in Lepsius' drawing, but clear on my own photograph.

92. So, from Lepsius' drawing. My own photograph, unfortunately, is not clear on this point. See, however, the next note.

93. It is only on this stela that what the king is doing is explicitly stated in the text, unless the suggestion made in n. 37 above, that the text behind the king on stela nr. 3 is to be read: "the lord of the Two Lands offers the land" is correct. If so, then "offering the land" would mean the same as "crushing the chiefs" of the land involved, here the chiefs of Kush or, rather, of certain Kushite tribes.

94. This actually was the ka of the king, as was shown by P. Barguet, "Au sujet d'une représentation du royal", ASAE 51 (1951) 205-215. For a clear representation of the royal ka in a fully anthropomorphic guise, see tomb relief University College, London, 14481 + 14581, published by Stewart, op. cit. pl. 45 nr. 1.

95. For the most recent discussion of this well-known viceroy of Kush, see M. Dewachter, "Remarques à propos d'huisseries en pierre retrouvées au temple nord de Ouadi es-Séboua", CHIPEL 7 (1985) 23-37. For his monuments and the earlier studies

96. Not really clear in Lepsius' drawing, but quite visible on my own photograph.

97. The right hand text has nb ḫw "lord of Diadems" here. ṫ3, ṳy is recorded in Lepsius', but not in Habachi's drawing.

98. Habachi's drawing here and in every other instance where a royal name is given in the text omits the later usurpation of Seti II in order to show the original elements of the name of Amenmesse. I have retained the usurpations in my translation, since they are what are seen today. That the rock-stela was cut during Amenmesse's reign is certain, see Habachi's convincing arguments, op. cit. 62-64.

99. The corresponding right hand text here simply mi ṣ ṭ "like Re".

100. The corresponding right hand text here has mry Ḥr nb ḫm "the Beloved of Horus, lord of Miam".

101. Ṣity is written simply with the Red Crown, for which writing see Ṣb. II, 435, right hand column.

102. Habachi's drawing shows, vertically, ḫ-W3-W3, where ḫ is obviously an error for the tall n, for, inasmuch as the following pair of W3-signs make it certain that the toponym "Wawat (t) was to be read, the preceding sign should have been a genetival n. For the office and function of the legate of Wawat, see Gauthier, op. cit. 229-230, where the legate Mery is discussed, and Reisner, op. cit. 84-85.

103. See above, n. 86, for examples.

104. As, e.g. on stelae Gulbenkian Museum, Durham, 1964/176, Munich GL 29, and Cairo JE 13715, see above, n. 12, for the
references.

105. And also on those rock-cut stelae which do not picture the sacrifice being offered in the presence of a god, see nrs. 15-17.

106. The preserved portion of the Durham stela measures 70 x 89 cm. The similarly incomplete stela Munich Gl. 29 measures 135 x 87 cm. A stela found at el-Alamein in 1942 and now republished by Habachi, "The Military Posts of Ramesses II on the Coastal Road and the Western Part of the Delta", BIFAO 80 (1980) 20 and pl. 7, measures 70+x x 90+x cm. The only other free-standing royal stela known to me on which the smiting king motif appears, Cairo JE 13715, is intact and measures 144 x 75 cm.

107. See above, n. 12, for the publication. The text reads:

"Long live the Horus, the Mighty Bull, the Beloved of Ma'at, the sovereign, great of festivals like Tatenen. When he appears, everyone lives, the likeness of Re', the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Wosimare'-setepenre', the Son of Re', Ramesses-miamun, who captures all lands in valour and victory. None can oppose him. His sword is powerful".

108. See above, n. 12, for the publication. The text reads:

"Long live the Horus, the Mighty Bull, the Beloved of Ma'at, the lord of festivals like his father, Ptah-tatenen, Re' who engendered the gods, the one who established the Two Lands, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the lord of the Two Lands, Wosimare'-setepenre', the Horus of Gold, Rich of Years, Great of Victory, the Son of Re', the lord
of Diadems, [Ramesses-]mi'amūn. Words said by Seth, the Great God: 'My beloved son [...]. Words said by the king (or the like): 'I have come out of love of you, O Great of Strength. May you be satisfied, for there is made for you [...][".

It should be noted that I differ in some details from Barta who, loc. cit., translates line 2: "den Re geboren hat, den die Götter die beiden Länder gegründet haben". The royal character of such texts is also demonstrated by the very fragmentary preserved portion of the el-Alamein stela (see n. 106 for the reference):

"[-----], the Son of Re', Ramesses-mi'amūn [-----] enemies, together with [their] families(?). He overthrew [-----] upon his right hand of fighting, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Wosimare'-setepenre', the Son of Re' [-----] he captures the land of Libya in an instant. He is powerful, the one who makes [-----]."

It should be noted that I differ greatly in my translation from that of Habachi, op. cit., 20.

109. But on his own initiative and not by royal command, as was the case with the overseer of treasurers, Neshi, who erected the Kamose stelae, certainly the second and probably the first, at Karnak, as is related at the end of the second stela, see now Helck, Historisch-Biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und Neue Texte der 18. Dynastie (Wiesbaden: 1975) 97 and, earlier, Habachi, The Second Stele of Kamose and His Struggle against the Hyksos Ruler and His Capital (Glückstadt: 1972) 44:
"His majesty commanded the prince and count, the privy counselor of the palace, the chief of the entire land, the royal treasurer, the conductor of the Two Lands, the overseer of the companions, the one who is powerful of arm, Neshi: 'Cause that all which my majesty did in valour be made upon a stela which will rest in its place in Karnak in the Theban nome forever and ever!' Thereupon he (i.e., Neshi, who is pictured and named at the end of the text) said before his majesty: 'I will act in accordance with all that has been commanded and that which is praised in the presence of the king'."

110. But, if we were to carry this argument to its logical end, we would then have to conclude, absurdly, that any tomb scenes in which the king is pictured are, because of such clear indications, royal tombs!


112. Written Pth M3’t nb, probably for harmonious reasons.

113. While such a meaning is not really attested for gb3 "to dress", "to equip", *Wb.* V, 556, 1-556, 8, or for gb3 "to replace", "to repay", ibid. 555, 1-556, 10, it, nevertheless, seems justified from the context. Ramose is doing something with praises to the height of heaven, while he exalts the beauty of Ptah. This can only be something like "sending" or "singing" them to the god.

114. One would expect the preposition r to be employed here for a place, rather than n, but, according to *Wb.* loc. cit.
neither verb gb3 appears to have been construed with r.


116. See my "Reshep Times Two", Section C, nn. 52-55.


118. For other monuments of this man, see Erman, "Denksteine...", 1096, W. Spiegelberg, Aegyptische und Andere Graffiti (Inschriften und Zeichnungen) aus den thebanischen Nekropolen (Heidelberg: 1921) 127 nr. 136. For the name, see FN I, 186, 1, and for the title, A.H. Gardiner, Ancient Egyptian Onomastica I (Oxford: 1947) 71* nr. 180.

119. See Erman, "Denksteine...", 1087-1110.

120. It may be noted that the front faces of some of the Osiride pillars in the first courtyard of the Medinet Habu temple symbolically picture the sacrifice of the defeated enemy ruler (see Medinet Habu II [Chicago: 1932] pls. 118A, C, E, and 119A). In each of these instances, the depiction of the execution is accompanied by a brief statement of the identity of the victim, respectively: "the wretched chief of the land of Nubia", of "Temeh", of "Ta-sety", of "Peleset", of "Kush", of "Kode", of "Kush" a second time, and of "Hatti". Moreover, the full sacrificial scene is shown on the inner faces of the columns on the south side of the same court-
yard, ibid. pls. 120-122. On these Ramesses is shown smit­
ing Syrians, Libyans, Hittites, various Nubian types, and
various other Asiatic (Palestinian) types in the presence of
Amün of Karnak or of Re'-Horakhty. As the king is smit­
ing, the god simultaneously offers him a sword (on this, see bel­
ow, Section F, nn. 206-213). Since the decoration of a par­
ticular part of the temple frequently reflected or indicated
the particular services, activities, and ceremonies carried
on in it, we may accept these pillar-base and column scenes
as strong evidence that the ceremonial sacrifice of the de­
fested enemy prince was one of the functions which was car­
rried out in the first courtyard, i.e., the forecourt, of the
temple. This is confirmed, moreover, by certain iconograph­
ic details pictured on those stelae which actually take the
shape of, or show, the pylon gateway (above, stelae nrs. 1,
2, 4, 5, 10-12, 14) where the actual scene of the slaying is
always set off horizontally by a very broad and usually em­
pty field at the bottom (though on stela nr. 4 kneeling wor­
tippers are shown here), and by a much narrower empty field
above. On stelae nrs. 2, 4, and 5, the upper field is either
replaced or capped by the sky-hieroglyph. This runs across
the full width of the gate's aperture on two of them, while
on the third it covers only the right half of the scene.
The sky-hieroglyph should have something more than just a
decorative meaning here. I submit that it is a clear and
obvious indication that the action which is depicted beneath
it is taking place outside, in the open air. The curious
empty rectangle below the scene can then be understood as
picturing the part of the forecourt itself in which, on
stela nr. 4, the spectators are actually shown.

121. Urk. IV, 1279, and most recently Černý, Le temple d'Amada,
Cahier V. Les inscriptions historiques (Cairo: 1967) 6-7 and
pl. 2, 7. The same barbarous treatment of the corpse of an
enemy chief is likewise recorded in the tomb biography of
Ahmose, the son of Ebana, at the outset of the 18th Dynasty
(see Urk. IV, 9):

"Then his majesty (Thutmose I) sailed northwards,
every land in his grasp, that wretched Nubian hang-
ing head downwards from the prow of his falcon-ship
and landed at Karnak".

It was not only dead enemy rulers who were transported to
Egypt to be humiliatingly exhibited there. An Amarna talat-
tat from Karnak pictures a captured Syrian chief shut up in
a cage and hanging from the sailyard of a royal ship, see H.
Chevrier, "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak, 1952-1953",
ASAE 53 (1955) pl. 7, and M. Abdul-Kader Mohammed, "The Ad-
ministration of Syria-Palestine during the New Kingdom",
ibid. 56 (1959) pl. 1. Compare, also, S. Schott, "Ein unge-
wöhnliches Symbol des Triumphes über Feinde Aegyptens", JNES
14 (1955) 97-99, for the ideological meaning of such scenes.

122. The taking of hands and phalli as trophies and as evidence
for the body count of the dead is well-attested, both textu-
ally and pictorially, throughout the New Kingdom. Ahmose,
the son of Ebana, boasts of the separate occasions when he
"carried off as booty" hands (see Urk. IV, 3-5, 7), as does
Ahmose-Pennekhbet (ibid. 35-36). Before Megiddo, Thutmose
III notes of his soldiers (ibid. 659) that "they brought
the booty which they had carried off, consisting of
hands, of living prisoners, of horses, and of chariots."

The loot taken at Megiddo itself (ibid. 663) included "33 hands" and in a list of plunder taken on his final campaign in Asia (ibid. 730-731) includes "29 hands". Amunhotep II claims on separate occasions (ibid. 1304, 1307, 1308) and, on the first of these "20 hands were (affixed) to the foreheads of his horses" as he travelled in his chariot. In the Ikhet campaign of Amunhotep III (ibid. 1660) "312 hands" are recorded in the list of booty. In the badly damaged Karnak inscription of Merneptah (KRI IV, 8) "250 hands" were taken from the Shekelesh and "790" from the Teresh. At Medinet Habu, after the conclusion of the 1st Libyan War, the scribes of Ramesses III are pictured in a pair of scenes (Medinet Habu I, pls. 22, 23) recording the totals (running into the thousands) of the hands taken during the fighting. Likewise they are shown doing this after the 2nd Libyan War (ibid. pl. 75). In fact, the triumphal recording of the severed enemy hands and their presentation to the king, even on the battlefield, is frequently attested in Ramesside art, see ibid. pl. 42 and W. Wreszinski, Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte II (Leipzig: 1914-1935) pls. 25, 62a, 64, 70, and 169, all of which show the same incident at the battle of Kadesh as portrayed on different temple walls. An Amarna block from Karnak (see J. Leclant, "Fouilles et travaux en Égypte, 1952-1955", Orientalia 23 [1954] 65, and Helck, "Abgeschlagene Hände als Siegeszeichen", GM 18 [1975] 23-24 with fig.) pictures a file of Egyptian soldiers marching, each with human hands spitted on his spearpoint, and in a Kadesh scene (see Wreszinski, op. cit. II, pl. 70) an Egyp-
tian officer carries a coil of rope to which a number of se­
vered hands are threaded. The great Karnak inscription of 
Merneptah (see ERI IV, 7) describes:
"asses ... laden with the uncircumsized phalli of 
the land of Libya, together with the severed hands 
of (every?) country which was with them",
and a passage in a Ramesside literary text, P. Anastasi II, 
5, 3-4, in praise of Merneptah gloats:
"How pleasant is your going to Thebes, victorious 
(âpt.tî, which is crossed out in the original text),
bowed down with hads and with chiefs pinioned in 
front of you. You will offer them to your glorious 
father, Amûn-kamûtêf".

In view of the foregoing, the walls of Thebes and of the 
other Egyptian cities must have presented a revolting spec­
tacle, festooned with these gruesome tokens of victory.

123. This certainly would have been the case with the Syrian chief 
suspended in a cage from a ship's yardarm (see n. 121, above) 
and, in fact, the stela of year 4 of Merneptah from Amada 
(published A. Abd-El-Hamid Youssif, "Merneptah's fourth Year 
Text at Amada", ASAE 56 (1965) 273-280, and more recently by 
Černý, Le temple d'Amada 1-3 and pls. 4, 5, 8), though dam­
and corrupt, and applying to the followers rather than to 
their rulers, graphically depicts this:
"There was no occasion for their survival. All of 
the people of Libys were carried off. ... They were 
given to the [----] in hundreds of thousands and tens 
of thousands, the remainder being impaled to the 
south of Memphis, destroyed. Everything was carried
off to Egypt. ... The Medjai(?) were carried off to Egypt and fire was hurled against their multitudes in the presence of their relatives(?). (As to) the remainder, their hands were cut off because of their crime, and others had eyes and ears removed".

Since impalement was also inflicted on the defeated Nubians of Ikayta after the Nubian war of year 12 of Akhenaton (see stela Durham 1966/186 + 1966/213 + Philadelphia E 16022 A-B, published by H.S. Smith, The Fortress of Buhen 124-125 and pls. 29 and 75 nrs. 3-4, and most recently in my "The Nubian War of Akhenaton", L’Égyptologie en 1979: Axes prioritaires de recherches II (Paris: 1982) 300-302), we may well assume that it was a regular feature of the punishments meted out to Egypt’s defeated enemies. The reference to the Libyans being "impaled to the south of Memphis" makes it clear that, like those defeated chiefs whose bodies were hung from the walls of Thebes and Napata, the humiliation of the conquered foe, dead or alive, provided a public spectacle for the Egyptians to gloat over.

124. Published by the Epigraphic Survey, The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I pls. 2-14, 22-36. The most recent publication of the texts is KRI I, 6-11, 13-15, 17-32. The most recent study of them is that of W. Murnane, The Road to Kadesh. A Historical Interpretation of the Battle Reliefs of King Sety I at Karnak. (Chicago: 1985). See also below, n. 477.

125. Published in Medinet Habu I, pls. 9-11, 13-24, 26, 29-44, and II, pls. 62-78, 87-99. The most recent edition of the texts is that of KRI V, 6-20, 27-37, 43-54, 78-87. The best study, translation of them, and critical commentary is still that of

126. For the arrangement of the Seti I scenes, compare the convenient schematic drawing of their placement on the north and east walls of the great Hypostyle Hall, between the 2nd and 3rd Pylons at Karnak published by Breasted in *ARP* II, 39: the campaigns against the Shasu and Syrians, begins on the northern end of the east wall and continues along the north wall, with the sacrificial scene, the largest in the series, positioned immediately to the left of the doorway in the center of the north wall. Correspondingly, the series illustrating the wars against the Hittites and the Libyans, which occupies the western half of the north hall, with the final scene, the sacrifice, positioned just to the west of the doorway. Even more telling is the placement of these scenes at Medinet Habu. The historical series covers the faces of the north and south outer walls, starting at the back and ending on the exterior faces of the south and north towers of the pylon, each of which bear only the single picture of the king smiting his foes. This, on a truly monumental scale, fills the vast expanses of the faces of the towers. This scene is repeated, moreover, on the exterior of the 1st Pylon of many other temples, Luxor, Edfu, and Philae, to cite but a few.

127. See above, n. 8, and the literature cited there and add Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh (1935-1940)* 61-64, "Note 8: Le roi vainqueur des peuples étrangers".

128. Published by L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahu-Nefer II* (Leipzig: 1913) pl. 1.

130. See G.A. Gaballa, Narrative in Egyptian Art (Mainz am Rhein: 1976) 94-131 (= chap. 7) which is mainly concerned with Ramesside war scenes, for a particularly illuminating and enlightening discussion on this point. His trenchant comments on the nature of such "historical" scenes and texts, particularly those of Ramesses III (128) are worth quoting:

"... the texts of Ramesses III are rather rhetorical and very rarely give any specific event, location or characters. Instead they concentrate almost wholly upon the divine personality of the king. These qualities are more or less repeated in the reliefs. The scenes are repetitive and conventional. Each scene is mainly centered around the heroic figure of the king. His commanding, dominating image is everywhere we turn and always attracts our attention more than the event depicted. ... In such composition
where the king is absolutely victorious and the enemy is utterly defeated, the divine power of the king meets no real challenge. ... Even the presence of Egyptian and foreign troops in the battles does not reduce the supremacy of the king".


132. These were made by "the scribe in the house of gold", Ramose (nr. 1), "the hry-wr-priest, Iry" (nr. 3), "the w∂b-priest of Ptah, Bestu" (nr. 4), "the scribe in the Place of Eternity, Ramose" (nr. 6), "the shield-bearer, the one from the foreign land, Wosimarefakht who will be justified" (nr. 8), "the overseer of weavers, Ramose" (nr. 9), "Ashahebsed" (nr. 11), "Hori" (nr. 14). On the other hand, stelae nrs. 15-17 were dedicated by "the first charioteer of his majesty, the fan-bearer on the right hand of the king, the overseer of the Southern Land, the king's son of Kush, Amenemope", nrs. 18a-b were commissioned by "the king's son of Kush, Setau", and nr. 19 by "the legate of Wawat, Mery".

133. See above, nn. 121-123, and the references cited there.

134. Although in the case of the Amada text of Amunhotpe II (n. 121, above) the implication seems to be that the prisoners were clubbed to death before the king returned to Thebes, the text is not as to whether this took place on the battlefield. Were they first captured during the campaign and then slain by the king after the final battle, or were they killed by him during the course of several battles? There is evidence for both possibilities.

135. See above, stelae nr. 18a-b.

136. Just the year is given. See, however, n. 140, below.
137. The text following the year date on each of the duplicates of the stela contains only the titulary of Ramesses II. Those accompanying the figure of Setau contain a pious wish for the king, on the one hand (nr. 18a), and a statement that Setau praises him (nr. 18b), on the other. Nothing more.


139. While, of course, this is only speculation, it may be noted that the execution of the Libyans taken in the war of Merneptah's year 4 took place in that same year, and that the Nubians of Ikayta captured in Akhenaton's Nubian War of year 12 were also dispatched in year 12 (see above, n. 123, for references).

140. See _LD III_, pl. 195b-c. On both of the stelae the prisoners seem to have long hair and beards. If so, they can hardly be Nubians. However, my own photograph of the captive on the south stela clearly shows a Nubian. Moreover, Lepsius' drawing shows only a single prisoner on the north stela when there are actually two. The Asiatic nationality of the captives on the north stela was possibly deliberate on the part of the artist to balance the Nubian triumph on the south stela.

141. For the wars of Ramesses II, see _KRI II_, 151 (the dated documents) and 152-222 (the undated documents). For the probability that the undated documents of the Asiatic wars refer to events after the battle of Kadesh but before year 18, see my "Aspects of Ramesside Diplomacy: The Treaty of Year 21", _The SSEA Journal_ 8 (1977-1978) 125-126, nn. 32-33. It is not impossible that the events recorded in some of the un-
dated documents referring to Nubian wars may have taken place around year 38, but if this were so, it cannot be proven in the light of the present extant evidence.

142. But see the end of n. 140, above.

143. Habachi, "The Graffiti and Work..." 27, saw the rock-cut stelae of the viceroy, Amenemope, at Aswan (above, nrs. 15-17) as evidence for a Nubian victory of Seti I which Faulkner, CAH 3rd ed. II chap. 23, 224, connects with the pangenic at Kaer Ibrim (below, Appendix, stela nr. 31) and the Nubian War of Seti's year 8? which is recorded on a stela from Amarah West and on its duplicate from Sai, see KRI I, 102-104 and, for the reading of the date, K.A. Kitchen, "Historical Observations on Ramesside Nubia", in E. Endesfelder et al., eds. Aegypten und Kush (Berlin: 1977) 214-219 and J. Vercoutter, "Un campagne militaire de Seti I en Haute Nubie", Rev. d’Ég. 24 (1972) 201-208; see also nn. 162 and 166 below. In this they are followed by Spalinger, "Traces of the Early Career of Ramesses II", JNES 38 (1979) 276-281. Spalinger also sees the Nubian war pictured at the Beit el-Wali temple of Ramesses II (see H. Ricke, G.R. Hughes, and E.F. Wente, The Beit el-Wali Temple of Ramesses II [Chicago: 1967] pl. 8) and also the Aswan stela dated to "year 3, month 3 of Shomu, day 26" of Ramesses II (below, Appendix, stela nr. 22) which was dedicated by an official (possibly a fortress commander, if the restoration of KRI II, 345 n. 10b is correct) whose name is too illegible, for me at least, to read. In this they are certainly correct, for, in spite of the arguments of T. Säve-Söderbergh, Aegypten und Nubien (Land: 1941) 168, that the rock-stelae only contained stereotyped inscrip-
tions of the king, devoid of any real historical context, it is difficult, if not impossible, to disassociate the Aswan rock-cut stelae from that at Kasr Ibrim. That the latter did reflect a real war is effectively argued by R.A. Caminos, The Shrines and Rock-Inscriptions of Ibrim (London: 1968) 86.

The Aswan inscription of year 2 of Ramesses II, which contains an encomium to the king similar to that of the Kasr Ibrim text, has been taken as a straightforward historical document (e.g. ARK III, 204-205, pars. 478-479) although there is only a bare allusion in it, and then only in the most conventional terms, to the crushing of both Nubians and Temehu Libyans. Nevertheless, these inscriptions, even without the positive confirmation of the Amarah West and Sai stelae, or the implied confirmation possibly supplied by the Nubian warscenes at Beit el-Wali (see Spalinger, loc. cit. for these illustrating a war waged under Seti I, even though Ramesses II appears in them as king), more than circumstantially attest a Nubian war of Seti I. The Sai and Amarah West stelae allow us to locate it more precisely in his reign.

The figure of the viceroy of Kush, Amenemope, is crucial to this, since we know that he was followed in office by the viceroy Nun, probably in Seti's 9th or 10th regnal year according to Spalinger, loc. cit. 285, although I see no reason why this could not have taken place as late as year 11, the year Seti died. Reisner, "The Viceroys of Ethiopia..." 38, allowed Amenemope a tenure of some 15 years, from ca. 1315-1290. If Seti's Nubian war took place in year 8 and he came to the throne around 1318 (following Faulkner's chronology in CAH), then, even considering that the dates in question
are only approximate, it is still not improbable that Amenemope acceded to the viceregalty previously held by his father, Paser, just around the time of Seti's war in Nubia. Since his presentation of the tribute of Nubia to and his reward in the presence of Ramesses II pictured at Beit el-Wali (see below, Chapter 2, Section A, n. 215) are not to be accepted at face value as having taken place under the latter, but, according to Spalinger, cp. cit. 280-281, reflect, rather, his activity under Seti I, he certainly would have participated in this war. I leave open the question, however, of whether it was he or Ramesses II as crown prince who commanded the Egyptian forces. With the Aswan and Kasr Ibrim rock-stelae, then, Amenemope would have commemorated not only the king's victory and his own role in it, but also his installation in office. This same rationale may be applied to the Aswan inscription of Ramesses II's year 2 as well, for while it may and should have some sort of historical basis insofar as it was commissioned by a private individual, it seems reasonable to suppose that there was another reason for its commissioning other than those furnished by its generalized historical allusions. This could very well have been the appointment of its dedicator, whatever his name might have been, to his post.

144. See above, n. 123.
145. See below, Chapter 2, Section B, stela nr. 21.
146. See below, Chapter 2, Section B, stela nr. 20.
147. For the unit called the "company" (s3) and its importance within the structure of the Egyptian military establishment, see my Military Rank 26-30 pars. 46-59. For the rank borne
by Mose, $\text{w}^{1}\text{w}$, see ibid. 37-37 pars. 77-83. It is most probable that, in the case of Mose, here $\text{w}^{1}\text{w}$ did not indicate a specific rank, but simply meant "soldier" in the most general sense, see ibid. 37 par. 82. As a distinct rank, $\text{w}^{1}\text{w}$ "infantry soldier" was that of an ordinary ranker, the lowest of the low within the military hierarchy. Mose, on the other hand, was clearly a high-ranking officer of the unit and probably even commanded it.

148. For the name, see PM I, 248 nr. 14. For his other monuments see KRI I, 310-319.

149. See below, Chapter 2, Section B, stela nr. 22.

150. See below, Chapter 2, Section B, stela nr. 26.

151. While this is undoubtedly the case with the rock-cut stelae, it does not always seem to have been so with respect to the free-standing monuments. Stela Hannover 1935.200.230 (see above, nr. 3) while clearly bearing the cartouches of Thutmose IV, nevertheless on stylistic grounds, particularly in the treatment of the figures and the details of their dress, looks to be of a later, Ramesside, date and is, in fact, so dated by Munro. Städel-Jahrbuch N.F. 3 (1971) 35, a date also accepted by the editors of PM (Personal Communication from Dr. J. Malek dated 20 November 1980) and subsequently confirmed by conversations with various colleagues at the Brooklyn Museum, notably James Romano, Richard Fazzini, and Betsy Bryan, in March of 1981. Obviously a Ramesside date for a stela bearing cartouches of an 18th dynasty ruler would seem to present difficulties for the thesis which I have proposed above in Section E above. Dr. Bryan, however, has made the quite plausible suggestion to me that, since we
know that there was a cult of the deified Thutmose IV in the
Ramesside period, it could very well be that the scene on
Hannover 1935.200.235 pictures a *reenactment within the cultic ritual* of a major event from the lifetime of the deified
king, in other words, a reenactment of the original actual
ceremony with a priest playing the role the king in much the
same way as the Myth of Horus at Edfu reenacts the triumph
of Horus over Seth (see, most recently, H.W. Fairman, *The
Triumph of Horus: An Ancient Egyptian Sacred Drama* (London:
1974)). While it is true that most of what we know about
the cults of deified kings is in regard to their functioning
as oracles (see Cerny, "Egyptian Oracles" in R.A.Parker, *A
Saite Oracle Papyrus* in the *Brooklyn Museum* (Providence:
1962) 41-44), such a drama and portrayal of the important
events of their lives and reigns could quite plausibly have
been part of *these rituals*. The cults of the deified Amun-
hotep I and the deified Ahmose-Nefertari have been well-stu-
died, see Černý, "Le culte d’Amenophis Ier chez les ouvriers
de la nécropole thébaine", *BIFAO* 27 (1927) 159-203. That of
the deified Thutmose IV is less well-known. To the best of
my knowledge, it is mainly attested by representations of
offerings being made to his cult statue, see, e.g., stele
Philadelphia E 11486, published by W.L.S. Loat, *Gurob* (Lon-
don: 1905) pl. 16 nr. 2, Leiden AP 62, published by Boeser,
op. cit. (above, n. 13), and Cairo CG 24.170. For the cults
of deified kings other than those of the New Kingdom rulers,
see D. Wildung, *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige im Bewusstsein
ihrer Nachwelt* (Berlin: 1969) and most recently his *Egyptian
Saints: Deification in Pharaonic Egypt* (New York: 1977) where
he also deals with the non-royal personages, Imhotep and Amûnhotpe son of Hapi. For the personnel attached to a typical cult statue of a deified king in the Ramesside period, see my "A Cult of Ramesses III at Memphis", JNES 22 (1963) 177-184 and Helck, "Zum Kult am Königinstatuen", ibid. 25 (1966) 32-41. It should be stressed that this explanation for the Ramesside date of Hannover 1935.200.230 supports, rather than challenges, my idea that the scene involved portrays a real event. If, however, this is not acceptable, then the only logical alternative left to me, if my basic premise is correct, is to assume that the Ramesside date is incorrect. I am loath to do this in spite of the fact that dating on stylistic grounds is not always absolute and that many of the features used to support a Ramesside date for the stela do appear already in the 18th Dynasty.

152. See above, stelae nrs. 1 (a Libyan), 2 (an Asiatic or a Libyan), 3 (a Nubian and an Asiatic), 4 (an Asiatic).


154. For the most recent and best study of Thutmose's military activity in Asia, see the penetrating analysis of Bryan, op. cit. 417-422, in which she corrects all the misconceptions offered by R. Gieon, "Tuthmosis IV and Asia", JNES 28 (1969) 54-59. Bryan has convincingly and persuasively dem-
onstrated that he waged only a single campaign, in Syria, and that any activity carried out in Palestine was nothing more than a "showing of the flag".

115. Assuming that the now mostly-lost text of the Konosso stela of year 7 did refer to some sort of military activity in Nubia, see Ing. IV, 1555-1556, and also assuming with both Redford and Bryan, loc. cit. that the date is not to be emended as Helck, loc. cit. proposes to year 8, then it still does not seem likely, given the probable logistical abilities of a New Kingdom army, even when led by the king in person, to have been able to have successfully campaigned in both Asia and Nubia in the same year. The most aggressive and energetic 18th Dynasty rulers, Thutmose III and Amenhotpe II, did not attempt to war in both the north and the south in the same regnal year. With this in mind and remembering that the highest date attested for Thutmose IV is regnal year 8 on the Konosso stela (against Bae's supposed year 20 of this king, see Bryan, op. cit. 5-9), then some time during regnal year 6 is clearly the latest possible date for his military activity in Asia to have taken place.

156. Certainly we should not expect to find pictures of Nubians being ceremonially sacrificed before the campaigning against them had been concluded victoriously. It is perhaps significant in this respect that, of the four stelae bearing the cartouche of Thutmose IV, three, nos. 1, 2, and 4, are iconographically so similar in showing the actual pylon gate as to suggest that they were carved at the same time. Stela nr. 3, which seems to be Ramesside in date and which pictures a ritual reenactment of the ceremony pictured on the other
three (see n. 151) obviously was carved long after the actual event took place.

157. See my "A Private Triumph in Brooklyn, Hildesheim and Berlin", JARCE 7 (1968) 34 and particularly n. 37 with the literature cited there.


159. See above, stelae nrs. 15 and 16. However, on the stela which Amenemope had carved at Ksar Ibrim (Appendix, nr. 31) the prisoner is clearly a Nubian.

160. See above, n. 143, also for references. While Säve-Söderbergh, loc. cit. argues that since no indications of this war are included in the historical scenes and lists of Seti I at Karnak, it could hardly have been more than a simple "showing of the flag". In this he is followed by A.J. Arkell, A History of the Sudan from the Earliest Times to 1821 2nd ed. (London: 1961) 95. Faulkner, loc. cit. likewise sees this as nothing more than a punitive enforcing of the Egyptian peace in the South. However, it might be noted on the one hand that Sai and Amarah West where the two copies of the inscription recording this fighting were found are relatively close to each other, so that a case could be made for their having been erected there for purely local consumption. On the other hand, the Nubian region against which Seti campaigned has not been located with certainty as being in the vicinity of Amarah West or Sai. For Irem as a place and not a tribal name, as Faulkner assumes it to be, see K. Zibelius, Afrikanischer Orts- und Völkernamen im hieroglyphischen und hieratischen Texten (Wiesbaden: 1972) 84-85. Moreover, if the Nubian victory of the king alluded to at
Kasr Ibrim and suggested by the rock-cut stelae at Aswan also refer to the same war, we may safely assert that Seti's triumph was proclaimed throughout the length of Nubia, something we would not expect to have been the case for a mere punitive action. Clearly, then, Seti I's Nubian war, even though not attested at Karnak, was a major *small war*, a colonial war. For the distinction between *small colonial wars* and major wars, see my "The Nubian War of Akhenaton" Sections A and C.

161. See above, n. 143.

162. The date, badly damaged, is preserved only in the Amarah West version (see *KRI* I, 102). It reads:  

It is more likely that it is to be restored to anything other than *year 9*, with the former more likely. For the restoration of year 9, the upper five integers would have had to have been squeezed very closely together to fit the available space, but see n. 166 below.

163. See above, n. 136.

164. See above, stela nr. 6.

165. See above, n. 59 with the literature cited there.

166. See W.J. Murnane, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies* (Chicago: 1977) 67-70, where the arguments both for and against the early dates of these scenes and hence the coregency are clearly given. It occurs to me that, since the coregency seems to have lasted until year 2 of Ramesses II and to have overlapped the two years of Seti I (Murnane, ibid., 81-87), it is not impossible that the Nubian war illustrated at Beit el-Wali and alluded to in the Aswan stela of year 2 of Ramesses (so Breasted, *AHK* III, 205 par. 476 and Murnane, op.
cit. 87) was identical to the Nubian war of Seti, in which case the damaged date of the Amarah West stela is to be restored as regnal year 9, in spite of my remarks in n. 162, above.

167. For the Nubian war pictured at Derr, see A.M. Blackman, *The Temple of Derr* (Cairo: 1913) pls. 13-20. For additional bibliography, see PM VII, 85.

168. See *PM* VII, 1 (the middle stela of year 4 of Ramesses II at the Nahr el-Kelb) and for additional bibliography, PM VII, 385.

169. See stela nr. 7 and n. 61 above.

170. See n. 98 above. The name of the stela's dedicator, Mery, has not been altered. This suggests to me that he continued in office as the legate of Wawat after Seti II came to power. In fact, he may even have been responsible for the usurpation of Amenemesse's name, perhaps as a protestation or affirmation of loyalty to the new regime.

171. See above, Section D, end.

172. So Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (Oxford: 1961) 288. Faulkner, op. cit. 243, however, suggests that there may have been a grain of historical reality underlying these Syrian war scenes. For the historicity of Ramesses III's wars in general, see now L.H. Lesko, "The Wars of Ramesses III", *Serapis* 6 (1980) 83-86.

173. So Faulkner, loc. cit.

174. See above, n. 8 with the literature cited there, but note also the comments of Gardiner and Černý, *The Inscriptions of Sinai* 27-28.

174. E.g., while nowhere among the other documents preserved from
his reign is there any other evidence of activity of Thutmose IV in Libya or against Libya, that fact that a Libyan is depicted on one (nr. 1) and possibly two (nr. 2) of the stelae unequivocally dated to his reign should have some meaning. While it is, at best, indirect evidence, it nevertheless is evidence for an implied hostile action against Egypt's unruly eastern neighbours in the reign of Thutmose IV. Similarly, stela nr. 19 provides at least one new hisorical datum for the little-known reign of Amenmesse, an action in Nubia which then, implicitly through the replacement of his name by that of Seti II, allowed this same action to be attributed to the latter.

176. See above, stelae nrs. 1-5, 7, 9-14.
177. Stelae nrs. 1, 2, 5, 10, 13.
178. Stelae nrs. 11 and 14.
179. Stelae nrs. 4 and 12.
181. Stela nr. 4. See n. 45 for its probable Memphite origin.
182. It is on these grounds that Bryan, op. cit. 241, assigns a Memphite provenance to it.
183. I attribute a Memphite origin to stela nr. 11, which was purchased at Giza, and possibly also to nr. 14, which was purchased from a Cairo dealer, not because they were acquired in the Memphite region, but because of the homogeneous stylistic and iconographic attributes which they share with those excavated at Memphis (above, n. 177). In the case of nr. 4, a Theban provenance has been postulated without any such basis only on the assumption of Allen, see above n. 45, and this, probably wrongly, has become fixed in the literature. For the
ramifications of such arbitrary attributions of the origins of objects, see the brilliant and penetrating study of O.W. Muscarella, "Ziwye and Ziwye: The Forgery of a Provience", *Journal of Field Archaeology* 4 nr. 2 (1977) 197-218.

184. A reasonable and not unprecedented assumption, see my "A Memphite Stela, The Bark of Ptah...", 87 n. 8, 90.

185. Stela nr. 8.

186. Stela nr. 6.

187. Stelae nrs. 18a-b, 19.

188. Stelae nrs. 15-17. A god is present in the Kasr Ibrim scene (Appendix, stela nr.31), but since his upper body and head are missing, his identity is in question. Probably, however, he was Horus of Miam, in which case the sacrifice could have taken place in his temple, possibly located across the river, in Aniba.

189. See stelae nrs. 1, 2, 4, 5, 10-12. Of these, only nrs. 10 and 12 picture two prisoners. Where the nationalities can be identified, they are a Libyan (nrs. 1, 11, 12), an Asiatic (nrs. 4, 12) and either an Asiatic or a Libyan (nr. 2).

190. Stelae nrs. 10 (four ears, and 11 (at least two ears). See above, n. 81.

192. See stela Rochedale, number not known (published by Petrie, *Memphis I* pl. 11 nr. 15) and statuette-stela Cairo JE 45555 (published in my "Rhesep Times Two" 165 fig. 3). On a number of other stelae on which both Ptah and ears are pictured, there is no way of determining if the epithet was also present since these are too fragmentary or otherwise damaged, e.g. stelae Dublin 518-9.08 (published by Petrie, op. cit. pl. 13 nr. 29), ex-Metropolitan Museum of Art 06.20528 (ibid. pl. 11).
109

10 nr. 13), Memphis I pl. 11 nr. 20 and Riggeh and Memphis
VI pl. 55 nr. 13, the locations of both which are unknown,
Cambridge EGA 4256.1943 (unpublished), Hannover 1935.200.203
(= ex-Museum Scheurleer S-995, published by Blok, op. cit.
pl. 9 nr. 2) and Hannover 1935.200.205 (= ex-Museum Scheur-
lier S-60, published ibid. pl. 8 nr. 2).

193. The only examples known to me all come from the 1915-1923
excavations of the University Museum of the University of
Pennsylvania at Memphis and all are unpublished: stelae
Philadelphia E 13570 (find nr. M-4374), E 13594 (find nr.
M-2753), E 13604 (find nr. M-2794), E 13613 (find nr. M-
2970), E 13624 (find nr. M-3142), E 13628 (find nr. M-4375),
29-75-564 (find nr. M-2776), and 29-75-565 (find nr. M-2812).

194. E.g., stelae British Museum 1472 (published by Petrie, Mem-
phis I pl. 10 nr. 14), ex-Metropolitan Museum of Art 08.20-
52B (ibid. pl. 11 nr. 19), British Museum 589 (published by
James, op. cit. pl. 31), British Museum 1466 (published by
R.A.W. Budge, A Guide to the Egyptian Galleries (Sculpture)
(London: 1909) 304-305, Hildesheim 375 (published by Habachi,
"Khafna-Qantir..." pl. 34), Hannover 1935.200.687 (= ex-
Museum Scheurleer S-27, published by Blok, op. cit. pl. 8 nr.
1), Berlin 13271, unpublished, but see Königliche Museen zu
Berlin, Ausführliches Verzeichnis der ägyptischen Altertümer
und Gipsabgüsse 2nd ed. (Berlin: 1899) 34.

195. E.g., stelae University College, London, 14393 (published by
Petrie, op. cit. pl. 10 nr. 9) and Louvre E 24852 (unpub-
lished), both of which bear a single ear along with the name
of Ptah. For those stelae picturing a single or multiple
ears and which are usually attributed to Ptah but, in fact,
have no divine name written on them, see nn. 198-199, below.

196. See stelae Manchester 4905.8 (published by Petrie, op. cit. pl. 10 nr. 10) and Dublin 518-9.08 (ibid. nr. 12). The Manchester stela has the epithet as well as Ptah's name and the the ears.

197. E.g., stelae Philadelphia E 12507 (published by Petrie, op. cit. pl. 12 nr. 24), ex-Metropolitan Museum of Art 08.2062D (ibid. pl. 12 nr. 22), Brussels E 4498 (ibid. nr. 21), Brus­sels without number (ibid. nr. 25), British Museum 1471 (ibid. pl. 30 nr. 30), Copenhagen 1651 1017 (ibid. pl. 11 nr. 18), Cairo JE 35175 from Mit Rahineh (unpublished), Univer­si­ty College, London, 14398 (published by Petrie, op. cit. pl. 20 nr. 48), Manchester 4909 (published ibid. pl. 13 nr. 49), Edinburgh 1906.363 (ibid. pl. 11 nr. 17), and Bristol E 2268A (ibid. pl. 11 nr. 16).

198. See, e.g., stelae Turin 50051 (published by Tosi and Roccati, op. cit. 282): Soped; Turin 50052 (ibid. 283): Khonsu; Cairo JE 43691 (published by Bruyère, "Quelques stèles trouvées par M.É. Baraize à Deir el Médineh", ASAE 25 (1925) pl. 2 nr. 2), Manchester 4910 (published by Petrie, op. cit. pl. 18 nr. 21), Bankes 16 (published by Černý, Egyptian Stelae pl. 16): Hathor; Brooklyn 37.1515E (published by S. Sharpe, Egyptian inscriptions from the British Museum and other sources 2nd series [London: 1841] pl. 39), Brooklyn 37.1534E (unpublish­ed), Berlin 7354 (published by A. Erman, Die Religion der Aegypter [Berlin: 1934] 145 fig. 53), and Cairo JE 43566 (published by Bruyère, op. cit. pl. 2 nr. 1): Amönref; Brit­ish Museum 350 (published by Budge, Sculpture pl. 21): Min or Minamün, the figure is clearly that of the ithyphallic
Hildesheim 402 (published by Habači, "Khata'na-Qantir..."
530) and Hildesheim 1092 (ibid. 533) picture the statue of
Ramesses-montuemtowe and the epithet, but no ears are shown.
This is also true for Hildesheim 1100 (ibid. 541) and Berlin
14662 + Turin 50067 (published by B. Grdseloff, Les débuts
du culte de Rechef en Égypte [Cairo: 1942] pl. 2), both of
which picture Reshep and the epithet, but do not show any
ears.


200. The following examples were excavated by Petrie at Memphis:
- stelae Manchester 4905–4908 (Memphis I pls. 10 nr. 6 and 13
  nrs. 27–28), Philadelphia E 12506 (ibid. pl. 10 nr. 11),
- University College, London, 14394 (ibid. pl. 13 nr. 26), Brit­
  ish Museum, number unknown (ibid. pl. 10 nr. 7), and stela
  Kigqeh and Memphis VI pl. 55 nr. 14, present location unknown.
All of these could very well have been dedicated to Ptah.
However, stela Cairo JE 72296 (published by Hassan, op. cit.
43 fig. 31 nr. 11) and an unnumbered stela now in a Giza
magazine (ibid. nr. 12) were excavated by Hassan near the
Sphinx and, although anepigraphic, were probably dedicated
like the other ear stelae from Giza (see preceding note) to
one or another of the manifestations of Horus worshipped
there. Stelae Berlin 19789 and 20437, both unpublished, are
said to have come from Abusir. Stela Brooklyn 16.95 was pur­
chased at Abu Tig, and stela Oriental Institute, Chicago,
11105 (unpublished) and Stockholm Mh 10002 (published by B.
J. Petersen, "Aegyptische Steine und Steintagen aus
Stockholmer Sammlungen", Opuscula Atheniensia 9 (1963) 100
fig. 5) are both of unknown provenance. Although stelae
University College, London, 14432 and 14433 (published, but not illustrated by Stewart, op. cit. 38) are said to have possibly come from Memphis and stela Oxford 1692.1093, unpublished, is thought to come from Sakkara. These attributions, however, were probably made on analogy with the excavated Memphite examples, but the truth is that, like the Chicago and Stockholm stelae, their provenance is really not known. They could easily have come from a site other than Memphis. As the case of the two Giza examples suggest, when Ptah is not attested either pictorially or textually on an ear stela, it is quite misleading to assume that it was dedicated to him and to assign such an anepigraphic ear stela a Memphite origin. Other provenances and other deities are equally possible.

201. For Amünre' at Deir el-Medineh, see stela Cairo JE 43566 and for the epithet at Qantir, stelae Hildesheim 1100 and Berlin 14662 + Turin 50067 (Reshep), or Hildesheim 402 and 1092 (Ramesses-montuestowe). For the exact references, see n. 198 above.

202. This do ut des "I give that you may give" concept of reciprocity is well-attested in the htp-di-nswt formula, see W. Federn, "Htp (r)dj(w) (n) 'Inpw: zum Verständnis der vor-osirianischen Opferformel", MDAIK 16 (1958) 120-130. That the king's gratitude and offering to the god went far beyond the mere sacrifice is amply demonstrated textually, see Gardiner, "Tuthmosis III Returns Thanks to Amun", JEA 38 (1952) 6-23.

203. Above, stela nr. 8.

204. Above, stelae nrs. 18a-b.
205. Above, stela nr. 19.

206. E.g. **AD III** pl. 29 (north outer wall of the great temple of Amûn at Karnak); ibid. pl. 139a, 140a (temple of Redesyeh, first room); ibid. pl. 144 (north outer wall of the great temple of Amûn at Karnak), 145a (south outer wall at Karnak), 185b (temple of Derr, forehall, left rear), 184a (ibid. right rear), 186 (Abu Simbel, great temple, left side of east wall of room F), pl. 187b (Maḥr el-Kelb, middle stela), 207d (temple of Ramesses III at Karnak), 209c–d (Medinet Habu, first pylon), 211 (ibid. second pylon), stela Philadelphia 29-107-958 (published by A. Rowe, *The Topography and History of Beth Shan* [Philadelphia: 1930] pl. 45), passim.

207. See *Medinet Habu* I pl. 13.


209. See above, n. 126, and compare Hilscher, op. cit. 5–6.

210. See, e.g. **AD III**, pl. 129, 144, 145, 207d, 209c, d, 210a, passim.

211. For scarabs, see, e.g., Jerusalem J907 (published by Rowe, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs* pl. 15 nr. 579), British Museum 39215 (published by Hall, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs ... British Museum* 109 nr. 1109), 47053 (ibid. nr. 1108), 47099 (ibid. nr. 1110), 17124 (ibid. 221 nr. 2211), passim.

212. From the outer face of the north tower of the first pylon.

For the full text, see *Medinet Habu* II pl. 102.

213. From the south face of the vestibule of the second pylon at
Karnak. For the full text, see K.A. Kitchen and G.A. Gaballa, "Ramesside Varia II", Aegyptologische Zeitschrift 96 (1969) pl. 8 and fig. 8, and for an excellent discussion of such "Ramesside Triumphal Texts", ibid. 23-28.
Chapter 2. The Giving of Gold Collars as a Reward

A

Unlike the scene of the king smiting an enemy in the presence of a god, which does not at all figure in the tomb art of the New Kingdom, that in which a faithful official is personally rewarded by the king (and, in one instance, his wife by the queen) with gold, usually in the form of gold collars, is one of the most popular and important autobiographical motifs found in the private tombs of the New Kingdom from shortly after the middle of the 18th Dynasty through the Ramesside period, with the most numerous examples attested in the rock-cut tombs of Tel el-Amarna. It is also found, in at least two instances, carved on a temple wall, once at Beit el-Wali and once at Karnak. In this scene, the personage who is being honoured, accompanied by several friends and attendants, is shown in the presence of the king (and, often, also the queen) who either sits in a small kiosk or stands at the window of appearances in the palace. In some cases the king and/or the queen are depicted in the very act of handing down the gold collars and in virtually every instance the recipient is shown with his hands raised in an attitude of jubilation, his neck bedecked with the collars, while a pair of attendants anoint him and adjust them to sit properly around his throat and over his shoulders. In the texts which accompany this scene, the speech of the king usually gives his reasons for the bestowal of the reward and that of the rewarder contains his gratitude in reply to his royal master. In most instances the king wears the Blue Crown, but once his headdress is the simple nemes-headcloth and, in another, the nemes surmounted by the atef-crown. Mostly the king is clad in his...
normal daily dress, but in the last-cited example he appears in the mumiform gestalt of Osiris. The garb and headgear of the queen varies from representation to representation, regardless of whether she is alone or is accompanying the king. The gold collars which are the principal item being bestowed are of the type which the Egyptians called Ṣby.w. They comprised up to four strands of tightly-strung, heavy, biconical gold beads. When they are shown being worn in both relief and painting (i.e. two-dimensionally) or in sculpture in the round (i.e. three-dimensionally), they are immediately recognizable in two ways. Unlike the broad floral collar which presents an unbroken silhouette at the neck and shoulders of the person wearing it, the curved profile of the last visible bead in each strand of the Ṣby.w characteristically bulges above the line of the shoulder and, since more than one of these collars is worn at the same time, their overlapping curves present a scalloped effect across the chest and shoulders of their wearer. Although other items of reward and honour are not shown actually being conferred in these tomb scenes there are indications in the accompanying texts and ancillary sub-scenes that they included of other pieces of gold jewelry, in one case a pair of linen gloves, gifts of cattle, promotion to higher office, and, as we have seen in the previous chapter, grants of land.

Receiving a reward in the presence of or from the very hand of pharaoh, himself, clearly was a high and memorable point in the life and career of the recipient. Obviously this was the reason it occupied pride of place among the autobiographical scenes of his tomb. Frequently it is not only the actual moment of the bestowal which was depicted. A series of additional tab-
leaux and subscenes continued the narrative, with the recipient, wearing his gold of honour, returning home in his chariot, receiving the acclamation of his colleagues, friends, family, and retainers upon his arrival, and, still proudly wearing the gold collars, feasting at a table. In a few Amarna tombs he is even portrayed wearing the collars while he performs an act of worship having nothing to do with the ceremony of reward on the reveals of the tomb's doorway.

Like the ceremonial sacrifice of a captive enemy prince or its ritual reenactment which the dedicator of a stela witnessed in person and at which he may have been, himself, rewarded, so the ceremony of his reward and/or promotion at the king's own hand was also commemorated by the recipients on stelae. Though not as numerous as those with the smiting scene, all of the examples known to me have been collected and studied in Section B of this chapter. These, however, do not at all present the homogeneous tableau found on the sacrificial scene stelae, but rather include the actual awarding of the gold and some of the narrative stages of its aftermath. Moreover, unlike the stelae with the smiting scene, where the majority of those whose provenance is assured by controlled excavation and which come from a temple, most of those which picture the various stages of the rewarding with gold which also have a firm provenance through controlled excavation come from the tomb. But although they do have a certain mortuary significance, these are not the conventional funerary stelae which contain the stereotyped htp-di-nswt formula to insure offerings for the well-being of their deceased owner in the Afterworld. However, some of them do contain invocations of a kind to the ka-soul of the person to whom they were dedicated.
and one, stela nr. 30, clearly pictures a funerary repast in the
Afterworld.

B

20. Stela Louvre C 213, provenance not known. Limestone,
with no traces of colour. 100 x 92 cm. text and scene in sunken
relief. Bibliography: Ch. Boreux, Musée National du Louvre: Dép-
artment des antiquités égyptiennes: guide-catalogue sommaire I
(Paris: 1932) 60 and pl. 8, and, earlier: E. Ledrain, La stèle du
Collier d'or (Paris: 1876); P. Pierret, Recueil d'inscriptions
inédites du Musée du Louvre II (Paris: 1878) 10; S. Gabra, Les
conseils de fonctionnaires dans l'Égypte pharaonique. Scènes de
recompenses royales aux fonctionnaires (Cairo: 1929) 42-43, pl. 2;
KRI I, 309; Gaballa, Narrative in Egyptian Art 130 n. 238. (Fig. 22).

Although this rectangular stela is complete, it somewhat
disconcertingly appears unfinished. A wide, empty, horizontal
field runs across the width of its top, almost as if the artisan
who had carved the monument had left this portion deliberately
unworked, so that it could either be fashioned or fitted into a
cornice. Below this blank space, occupying a little more than
three-fifths of the remaining area is the scene with its attend­
ant texts. At the left, facing right, "the king of Upper and
Lower Egypt, Memaré, the Son of Re', Seti-merneptah" stands at a
window of appearances. Since the lower part of his body is con­
cealed by the balcony, it is clear that he is standing behind the
window and looking out. He wears a simple nemes-heaacloth, with a
uraeus affixed to his brow, a broad collar, and a sleeved garment
over his upper body. Leaning forth out of the window, his left
hand resting on the edge of a wide cushion which covers the win­
dowsill, he gestures downward with his right hand at a pair of
Abby. w-collars and at a long rectangular object (an ingot of precious metal?) which sit on the plate of a high table with openwork sides. A falcon, its wings outspread and its claws clutching a fan, hovers protectively over the king, and a pair of vertical cartouches behind his back contain his nomen and prenomen. The window is unadorned, save that its upper sill is capped by a cavetto cornice and what appears to be a torus molding. At the right, before the table with the collars, a man stands and looks up at the king, his arms raised high in the gesture of jubilation, his feet set firmly on a ground line. He wears a long, elaborately-pleated wig and a long sleeved-garment with a wide, triangular apron. He is attended by a pair of shaven-headed retainers, each wearing a calf-length pleated kit with a long pleated apron. One adjusts a gold collar around the jubilant's neck, while the other whose hands are above and below his waist looks as if he is about to pick up something, possibly another collar, from the table. This, in reality, would have been right next to the trio, but due to the conventions of Egyptian art, it seems to be at a distance from them. However, on the basis of parallels to the scene, the second attendant may simply be anointing his master with oil. In the field above the men, ten vertical lines of text contain the speeches of both the king and the jubilant. The of the king, the three lines to the left, reads:

"Words spoken by his majesty to the nobles who are at his side: 'Give much gold to the one who is praised, the overseer of the royal harim, Hormin, him whose lifetime is long, whose old age is happy, him without blemish and without fault in the palace, whose utterance is sound, whose comings and goings are at their place, who shall..."
The response of Hormin, contained in the remaining seven lines, is as follows:

"That which the overseer of seal-bearers, the overseer of the royal harem, Hormin who will be justified, said: 'Your appearance is beautiful, O goodly ruler! Amun loves you, for you are here forever, like your father, Re, making his lifetime, O ruler who has made me [great] among men, the one who has created me by his ka. There is joy and happiness for the ones near you, those who hear your teaching. I am a humble man, one whom you have caused to be a great man by what you have done. I have achieved a happy old age without (any)one having found fault (in me)'."
will do the embalming for you and Isis will pour out her milk for you. The (ceremony of) Opening-of-the-Mouth will bring joy to your ka in every good place. The ritual priest will perform the Opening-of-the-Mouth and the Greatest-of-Artificers will cause your ka to be raised up. The haunch of beef will be cut for your ba and it (i.e. the ba) shall be divine in the necropolis. Wennofer shall love you and shall exalt you in the presence of the Ennead.


Both registers of this round-topped stela are somewhat marred by horizontal breaks which run obliquely upward from the left edge to the right edge, with a large chip of the surface gouged out at the right end of each. This has caused some loss to the scenes above and below. The upper of the two registers contains a double scene. In the center, facing to the left, "the lord of the Two Lands, Wosimare'-setepenre', the lord of Diadems,
Ramesses-mi'amūn stands and offers a small figure of Ma'at to "Ptah, the Lord of Ma'at, the king of the Two Lands, he who hears petitions". The king wears the Blue Crown with uraeus and pendent streamer, a broad collar, and a sleeved, calf-length, diaphonous overgarment beneath which his knee-length kilt is clearly visible. The mummiform god stands on a pedestal inside of an open naos, the front and doors of which are not indicated. The other scene of the register is to the right of this. In the center, facing to the right "Wosimare'-setepenre' Ramesses-mi'amūn" stands at a window of appearances and throws down a pair of gold šby.w-collars to a man who stands below, adoring him. Since Ramesses' entire body, clad as before, is shown, it is clear that he is being viewed from inside the window, looking out. The window's enclosed balcony, which occupies about two-fifths of its height and which is capped by a cavetto cornice and torus molding, is covered with a thick cushion upon which the king rests his left arm, while he raises his right hand to throw out a collar. The upper part of the window is framed by a pair of jambs which support a corniced lintel capped by a frieze of sundisk-crowned uraei. Just to the right of the right jamb, i.e., just outside it, are four vertical lines of incised hieroglyphs, the first of which faces towards the other three is interrupted by the second of the gold collars which the king presents. These read:

"The king, himself, is giving silver and every good thing of the palace to the overseer of the scribe(s) [who ----] for the army, the one who gives satisfaction on account of that which comes forth from his mouth, Mose [----]."

Mose stands at the far right of the register. His figure has been badly damaged by the large gouge in the right edge of the
stela, which was caused by the vertical fracture at the bottom of the register. Only his arms, upraised in the gesture of adoration, his lower legs, and the hem of his kilt are still preserved. Between him and the window are various offerings or, more likely in view of the text, gifts. These seem to include three ingots of metal contained in two nb-baskets, and a haunch of meat. They are placed upon and below a table.

The lower of the two registers has but a single scene. At the left and filling its entire height is "Ramesses-mi'amün-the-Sun-of-Rulers", a colossal statue of the king. It depicts the king seated upon a square, high-backed throne and wearing the Double Crown on top of a nemes-headcloth. In the field in front of it, his feet on a level with its waist, the king stands, clad as in the upper register. He holds a škn3-scepter in his left hand and, with his extended right hand, offers a gold Šhy.w-collar. At the right, on a level with the base of the statue and facing it and the king is a large group of men, some bending down, the others looking upward and stretching their hands towards the king in an attempt to catch the various gold collars and other objects which he has showered down upon them. In front of this company and slightly apart from them is their leader, surely the Mose of the upper register. He thrusts himself forward, the hands of his outspread arms cupped to receive the rewards cascading down about him. Since all of the men, including Mose, wear the so-called "military kilt" with the large, inverted triangular apron, and with several also wearing the so-called "military wig", it is obvious that they are soldiers. This is confirmed by the text which is in the field over their heads. It consists of twelve vertical columns of incised hieroglyphs which con-
tain two separate speeches. The four lines at the left which face in the same direction as does the king record his speech to the assembled soldiers. The remaining eight lines contain their reply. The speech of the king is as follows:

"Words spoken by his majesty to the army: 'Now see the things which the soldier²⁶⁹ Mose, whom his majesty loves, has done in the presence of Pharaoh! How good are the things²⁷⁰ which he has done so very greatly'."

To this, the assembled soldiers reply:

"Words spoken by the entire army at the honouring of their leader²⁷¹ 'You are Re'! You are like Him when you appear.²⁷² We live because you look at that which was done by(??)²⁷³ the soldier Mose of the great company of Ramesses-mi³³amûn "[Beloved of] Atum",²⁷⁴ (in the presence of)²⁷⁵ "His statue" Ra[beses-mi³³amûn]­the-Sun-[of-Rulers] belonging to²⁷⁶ Ra[beses-mi³³amûn]".

22. Stela Cairo CG 34.177, from the tomb of Any (nr.23) at Amarna. Limestone, with colours well-preserved. 27 x 23 cm. scene in sunken relief, text incised. Bibliography: N. De Garis Davies, The Rock Tombs of El Amarna V (London: 1906) 10 and pl. 22. Earlier, G. Daressy, "Tombeaux et stèles-limites de Hagi­Qandil", Rec. trav. 15 (1895) 45; G. Steindorff, "Vier Grabstel­len aus der Zeit Amenophis' IV", ZAS 34 (1896) 65-67 and fig. 3; U. Bouriant, G. Legrain, and G. Jequier, Monuments pour servir à l'étude du culte d'Atonou en Egypte (Cairo: 1903) pl. 25. See al­so M. Sandman, Texts from the Time of Akhenaten (Brussels: 1936) 68 where, however, it should be noted that her identification of this and the other stelae from the tomb of Any as British Museum
objects is incorrect. The numbers are Cairo Museum Journal d'entrée numbers. Those cited by Steindorff, op. cit. are the old Giza Museum numbers. (Fig. 24).

The scene, set within a blue border which parallels the outline of this small round-topped stela pictures its owner and a charioteer standing a moving chariot. The passenger, wearing a robe with short, pleated sleeves, and a wavy shoulder-length wig, steadies himself by leaning both hands on the upper edge of the vehicle's box. A cone of perfumed incense sits on top of his head and, in addition to an earring and a bracelet on his right wrist, he wears four gold by. w-collars around his neck. The shaven-headed driver is bare to the waist and holds the reins with both of his outstretched hands. He seems to be leaning himself forward in an attempt to urge the team of horses from a walk to a faster gait. The chariot, the typical light car of the 18th Dynasty, with six-spoked wheels, has a closed, painted-leather bowcase affixed to its sidepanel. Outside of the usual head and shoulder harness, the chariot-horses show no other equipment. The background of the stela is painted yellow, the heads and arms of the two men and the body of the charioteer are red, as is the leather of the sidepanel and the leather insets of the bowcase. The two horses are likewise painted red. The passenger's hair and eye are black. In the field above there are six vertical lines of blue-painted hieroglyphs and beneath the fourth of these are three additional short, horizontal lines. These last serve as the caption for the charioteer. The main text reads:

"The real scribe of the king, his beloved, the scribe of the offering table of the lord of the Two Lands, the steward, Any, who will be justified. (He says): 'I return
in peace with the rewards of the king. He has commanded a goodly burial for me and he has granted that I shall reach the state of reverence in peace".

The short text over the head of the driver identifies him as "the charioteer of the royal scribe Any, Tjay".

23. Stela in Giza, number not known. From the Sphinx amphitheater at Giza. Limestone, with no traces of colour. Dimensions not known, scene and text in sunken relief. Bibliography: S. Hassan, The Great Sphinx and Its Secrets (Cairo: 1953) 61 and fig. 52; Ch. M. Zivie, Gize au deuxiéme millennium 254 nr. 6; Schulman, "A Memphite Stela, The Bark of Ptah..." 101 nr. 48. (Fig. 25).

Only a fragment of the scene of this small votive stela is preserved. In the center, resting on a ground line and facing to the left are the hind legs and tails of a standing team of horses. These are yoked to a chariot seen immediately to their right. Of the chariot itself, all that is preserved are its pole, visible between the rumps and tails of the horses, a four-spoked wheel whose spokes cross in such a way as to suggest that the intent of the artist had been to carve six but, for some reason, did not, the frontpanel of the car and the lower part of a bow-case affixed to the sidepanel. A man stands in the chariot. Only the lower part of his pleated kilt is preserved. At the left a pair of attendants face the vehicle. The nearer of these, standing behind the horse-team, wears a calf-length pleated kilt and bows down. His arms, superficially looking like the anthropomorphic rays of the Aton, are pressed against the apron of his kilt. The second attendant, standing just to the left of the horses' forelegs and dressed like his fellow, is more erect. Probably his hands were raised in adoration. At the right of the scene,
time on a larger scale than the other two, a third man stands facing the rear of the chariot. His body is preserved from the buttocks down. He wears a calf-length kilt and sandals. His sash has been gathered up at his no-longer visible belt, its bunched-up, peplumlike effect making it look as if it were a second apron worn higher over the regular apron of his kilt. The butt and lower part of the shaft of a fan which he holds is inclined in such a direction so as to insure that he is holding it to shade the occupant of the chariot. The remains of a vertical column of hieroglyphs, facing left, stand between the fan-bearer and the man in the chariot, but there is no way of determining to which of them it belongs. What can be read of the mutilated text is: "the overseer of [--] of the lord of the Two Lands, [--]."  

24. Stela Cairo CG 34.176, from the tomb of Any (nr. 23) at Amarna. Limestone, some colour preserved. 42 x 28 cm. scene and text in sunken relief. Bibliography: Davies, op. cit. 10 pl. 21; Daressy, op. cit. 44; Steindorff, op. cit. 65 and fig. 2; Bouriant-Legrain-Jequier, op. cit. 50 and pl. 25; Sandman, op. cit. 67. (Fig. 26).  

Both registers are inclosed by a border which parallels the outline of the stela's round-top. Above, at the right and facing left, "the real scribe of the king, his beloved, the scribe of the offering table of the lord of the Two Lands, Any, who will be justified" stands erect in a very formal, almost statuelike attitude, his right arm bent at the elbow, the hand holding a staff, the left arm hanging straight down at his side, its hand clutching a handkerchief. Any wears a quarter-sleeved upper garment over his long, calf-length kilt. Its lower part has been
gathered through his belt so that it gives a peplumlike appearance at his knees. His wig curves naturally over his shoulders and on his feet are sandals. "The scribe, Nebwawi", shaven-headed, bare-chested, barefoot and wearing a short knee-length kilt, stands facing Any. His right hand is extended in a gesture of address. His left hand grasps a roll of papyrus. "He says: 'Look at the ox, the one of which it was said to bring it'. In the lower register, which is separated from the upper by a double ground line, Nebwawi, dressed as before, leads a short-horned ox by a halter, presumably into the presence of Any in the upper register. The bovine's throat is festively bedecked with a broad collar. This, in turn, is adorned with a lotus flower and two buds. In the field over this scene are eight vertical lines of text which read:

"The scribe Nebwawi, he says: 'We have seen the beautiful things which the goodly ruler has done for his scribe of the offering table. He has ordained a happy burial for him in Akhetaton'".

Traces of dark red colour are still visible on the flesh of the men and the hide of the ox. The horns of the animal originally had been gilded.

25. Stela Cairo CG 32.178, from the tomb of Any (nr. 23) at Amarna. Limestone, some colour preserved. 27 x 23 cm. scene in sunken relief, text incised. Bibliography: Davies, op. cit. 10 and pl. 22; Daressy, op. cit. 44; Steindorff, op. cit. 67 and fig. 4; Sandman, op. cit. 67-68; De Meulenaere, Le règne du soleil: Akhenaton et Néfertiti (Brussels: 1975) 83 nr. 22. (Fig. 27).

The scene of this small stela is set within a frame which
parallels the outline of its round-topped shape except on its left side. Here it is replaced by the right side of a doorway, i.e. the right jamb, the right corner of the lintel with its cornice. Davies, possibly rightly, identified this as "the latticed door of the shrine in his (i.e. Any's) tomb".292 To the right of this doorway and facing left, Any sits on a folding stool, the legs of which terminate in ducks' heads and the seat of which is covered with an animal skin.293 He wears a diaphanous ankle-length pleated robe with pleated half-sleeves, bracelets on his wrists, armlets on his ticeps, and four gold &=w-collars around his neck. His sandal-clad feet rest upon a platform which also supports the base of the doorjamb behind him, the legs of the stool, and the visible leg of a rectangular, openwork-sided table laden with various kinds of food and floral bouquets. The left side and leg of the table are concealed by his feet and the lower part of his robe. His left hand is raised in a gesture of what looks to be salutation. On the other side of the table and facing him is a retainer who offers a large jar with a prominent collar. The flesh of the two men is painted red, as is the jar and the legs of the stool. Any's adornments were overlaid with gold leaf. In the field above the scene are eight vertical lines of text which comprise two adscriptions to it. The five lines at the left belong to Any and, when taken in conjunction with the action performed by the attendant (which we may read as a rebus for the Egyptian words meaning "to make a libation", to pour out)294 then read:

"Making a libation for the ka of the real scribe of the king, his beloved, the scribe of the offering table of the lord of the Two Lands, the steward, Any,
who will be justified".

The two lines of text at the extreme right identify the man who is making the liquid offering and record that the stela was "made by the servant of the scribe of the king, Any, Anymer". The line preceding this contains his speech to Any: "Let wine be poured out for you".

26. Stela Cairo CG 34.180, from the tomb of Any (nr. 23) at Amarna. Limestone, some colour preserved. 41 x 27 cm. scene in sunken relief, text incised. Bibliography: Davies, op. cit. 9-10 and pl. 22; Daressy, op. cit. 45; Steindorff, op. cit. 63-65 and fig. 1; Bouriant-Legrain-Jequier, op. cit. pl. 26; Sandman, op. cit. 67. (Fig. 28).

Unlike the others from the tomb of Any previously discussed, the scene of this round-topped stela is not set off by a border. At the left and facing right, Any sits on a high-backed, lion-footed chair with openwork sides. He wears the usual diaphanous robe, the pleats and apron of which the artist has attempted, albeit unsuccessfully, to portray in a realistic manner with the apron laying flat on his lap and the pleats gathered and bunched up. A cone of perfumed incense surmounts his wig. Several thick gold šby.w-collars encircle his neck, bracelets are on his wrists, and sandals on his feet. His right hand is held formally to his side, its fist clutching a napkin or handkerchief. His left hand is extended, palm down, perhaps to touch or take one of the offerings which are heaped in front of him in a large nb-basket. This sits on a low square, openwork-sided stand, the left leg of which is concealed by Any's feet. Its right leg, Any's feet, and the feet of his chair all rest on a narrow pedestal or mat. The contents of the basket are various types of food.
together with a floral bouquet of which only the stems are visible. To the right of these a man stands facing Any and offers a bouquet of flowers to him. He wears a shoulder-length wig and a calf-length pleated and sleeved garment with a pendant apron. The thighs of the robe have been gathered over his sash and hang, peplum-like, over the apron. Traces of red paint are still visible on the feet, arms, and faces of the two men. In the field over their heads eight vertical lines of hieroglyphs comprise two separate texts. The four lines at the left belong to Any and read:

"the real scribe of the king, his beloved, the scribe of the offering table of the lord of the Two Lands, the steward, Any, who will be justified with a goodly burial".

The remaining four lines are the speech of the offerant and read:

"Your nourishment is a bouquet of the Aton! May he give breath to me(sic!). May he unite your body. May you see Ra whenever he appears, and adore. He shall listen to what you say".

Beneath the scene a horizontal line of hieroglyphs records the fact that the stela was "made by the overseer of works, Pakha, who will be justified".

Stela Copenhagen AEIN 897, provenance unknown. Brown sandstone, no traces of colour. 45 x 37 cm. scene in sunken relief, text incised. Bibliography: Koefoed-Petersen, *Les stèles égyptiennes* 31-32 and pl. 37. Earlier, M. Mogensen, "A Stele of the XVIIIth or XIXth Dynasty with a Hymn to Ptah and Sekhmet", *PSBA* 35 (1913) 37-40 and pl. 2; A.F.R. Platt, "Notes on the Stela of Sekhmetmer", ibid. 129-130 and pl. 31; Koefoed-Petersen, *Re-
Since the upper part of the stele is lost, there is no way of knowing what its original shape was. It seems to have had two registers. In the upper of these, in the center and facing right, the god Ptah sits on a high-backed throne which stands on a pedestal. The goddess Sakhmet stands behind the throne. In front of Ptah, on a base line incised above his foot, the remains of a rectangular openwork-sided stand are still visible. Of the god, only the curve of his buttocks, his mummy-wrapped legs, and his feet, can still be seen. All that is left of the goddess is her body from the abdomen down, her left forearm and hand holding a staff, and the 'nb which her right hand grasped. The side of the throne is framed by a reed-mat border, as is the smaller square inset at its lower left, the face of the latter being decorated with the unification symbol. The sidepanel of the pedestal is covered with a frieze of alternating $\wedge$ and $\wedge$ hieroglyphs. The goddess wears a tight calf-length sheath. A bracelet encircles her left wrist and a similar piece of jewellery is on each leg, just above the ankle.

The lower register is separated from the upper by a doubled register line. At the right, facing left, a man kneels with both hands raised in the gesture of adoration to the deities above. A cone of perfumed incense sits atop his long elaborately-plaited wig, the latter also encircled by a filet. A number of Over the sleeved diaphonous upper-garment he wears a number of gold $\wedge$y.w-collars adorn his neck. His robe is drawn through his belt at the waist, so that its lower part hangs out in front as if it were a triangular apron, but the actual apron can be seen
very clearly underneath it. He wears an armlet on each forearm, just below the crook of the elbow. In front of him, filling the major part of the register and continuing behind his back, is a hieroglyphic text of fourteen vertical lines which read:

"The servant here praises your beauty, 0 great Ptah, he who is south of his wall, Tatenen who resides in the walls, august god of the Primeval Time, he who fashioned man and gave birth to the gods, primeval one, making the life of mankind so that one says in his heart: 'See, they have come into existence!', he who foretells that which not yet is and who has renewed that which is, nothing at all exists without his not knowing it; he creates the needs of every day in accordance to what he determines, you have placed the earth at its statutes like you made it, and Egypt remains under your command as (it did) at the first time!

And hail to Beautiful-of-Face, the favorite of the house of Ptah, Great Sakhmet, the lady of heaven, she who is on the brow of Re', who makes the northward journey of his Eye in the great house of Hierankonpolis and (that of) his double uraei in the house of flame at Buto, who is upon his brow in the evening bark, who is with him in the dawn bark when she blocks the approaching attack of the Apophis serpent. Ragging against the ones who are with him (i.e. Apophis), she has grasped the spear, 0 Sakhmet, Great One, the beloved of Ptah, the lady of heaven and mistress of the Two Lands!

May the two of you grant a happy lifetime without sick-
ness to my limbs. 313  May my face be free from injuries. 314  May my ears be opened. Life will not be forced open(??) 315 and its totality 316 shall not exist. I shall be transfigured among the glorious spirits, one who is praised in ma'at, the [----], the stonemason of of the king, 317 Merysakhmet". 318


In the upper of this round-topped stela's two registers, at the left and facing right, a man sits on a high-backed, lion-footed chair with openwork sides. He wears a diaphonous sleeved upper garment over his ankle-length kilt, the triangular apron of which sits squarely on his lap. 319 On top of his elaborately-plaited shoulder-length wig is a large cone of perfumed incense. The valanced wig is bound with a fillet around the brow. The man's neck and chest are festooned with massive gold sby.w-collars. His right hand rests on his lap. The left is raised to his chest, the fist clutching the stem of a lotus, the flower of which is pressed to his nose. His bare feet rest upon a reed mat, as does the base of a tall narrow table which, however, is partly concealed by the feet. This is heaped up with a variety of food offerings. Facing the table at the right is a second man who pours a libation from a hs-jar to the seated figure. Bare-chest-
ed, he wears a less elaborate wig, a broad collar around his neck, and a pleated calf-length kilt with the narrow inverted apron usually associated with the so-called "military kilt". Behind the chair at the left is a tall floral bouquet, from the top of which a lotus flower and two buds emanate. The feet of the libationer, the reed mat, the feet of the chair, and the base of the bouquet all rest upon a second mat which also serves to separate the two registers. In the field over the offering table, a little off-center, is the archaic form of the cartouche flanked by a pair of wedjat-eyes, with two zigzags of water and a basin beneath the cartouche. Above this group, centered at the arc of the stela's top, a single horizontal line of crudely-incised hieroglyphs identifies the seated figure as "(the tutor of) the king's daughter, Paserpanetjer". Below, to the right of the group and over the libationer's head two short vertical lines record that the stela was "made by the soldier, Parennefer". This text is continued by a third vertical line which, curiously, is to the right, between the offerings and their recipient. This reads: "for his lord, Paserpanetjer". Behind the chair a single vertical line of text, which is continued behind the bouquet, again identifies the seat man, but this time with a slightly different title, as "the overseer of the tutor(s), Paserpane.tjer".

In the center of the lower register is a tall narrow cylindrical offering table, to the right and left of which sits a couple, each on a high-backed and lion-footed couch. The two men and the woman at the right all wear similar short valanced wigs. The woman at the left wears the more usual longer woman's wig which is held in place by a fillet. The two men, each bare-chested, wear long diaphanous pleated kilts, as does seemingly
the woman of the right hand couple. The other female is clad in a tight-fitting sheath. The attitude of the two men is identical with that of Paserpanetjer, but that of their companions differs. The lady on the left holds the right biceps of the man seated next to her with her right arm, while her left embraces his back. This is also the position of the right arm of the other woman, whose hand can be seen grasping her partner's right shoulder. Her left arm is pressed to her side, the hand on her lap. On the table is a large squat jar, flanked by two hs-jars, and some kind of vegetable. In the field above this, between the two couples and behind the lady on the left, are six vertical lines of rudely incised hieroglyphs which identify the two pairs. The couple on the right are, respectively, "Tuty" and "Meyta". The pair on the left are "Parennefer" and "his lady, the mistress of the house, Yeyu, whom the soldier, Parennefer, of (the ship or unit named) sired".

29. Stela Yale University Art Gallery 28.53, from Serabit el-Khadim. Limestone, with no traces of colour. 70 x 51 cm. scene and text incised. Bibliography: A. H. Gardiner, T. E. Peet, and J. Verny, The Inscriptions of Sinai 2nd ed. (London: 1955) 194 nr. 302 and pl. 75; J. Pijoan, Summa Artis. Historia General del Arte. 3. El arte egipcio hasta la conquista romana. 2nd ed. (Madrid: 1945) fig. 266. (Fig. 31).

A man stands at the left side of this round-topped stela, both of his hands raised in a gesture of salutation. Shaven of pate, he wears an elaborate sleeved upper garment over his long kilt. This has an equally long triangular apron which is looped through his belt, the ends of which dangle down asymmetrically on each side of the apron. On his feet he wears a pair of sand-
als and around his neck are two thick gold šby.w-collars. In front of him, facing in the same direction as he does, and continuing in the field over and behind his head, are six vertical lines of well-cut hieroglyphs, the first three of which run the full height of the stela. The text reads as follows:

"Year 3, third month of Shomu: His majesty commanded his praised one, his beloved, the intimate of his lord, the overseer of the treasury of gold and silver, the privy counselor of the august palace, Sebekhotpe, who will be justified, to bring for him all which his heart desired, (namely) turquoise, from his fourth expedition. He said before his lord: 'The Spirits of Pe and Nekhen rejoice for you and that which the sundisk encircles worships you, who created (even) the tribesmen, (- - -), who guides the name (of?) the royal butler, Sebekhotpe, who will be justified".

30. Stela Vatican City 253, provenance unknown. Limestone, with no traces of colour. 62 x 64 cm. text and scene in sunken relief. Bibliography: G. Botti and P. Romanelli, Le Sculture del Museo Gregoriano Eozio (Vatican City: 1951) 77-78 and pl. 49 nr. 125. (Fig. 32).

Only a small, almost rectangular fragment from the left side of the stela is preserved. It is impossible to determine what the monument's original shape may have been, how many registers it might have had, or the exact placement of the fragment on the left side. At the extreme left the scene is bordered by a nicely modelled vertical reed mat. To the right of this, facing right, a male sits on a high-backed chair in front of a now-lost table which had been heaped up with a large variety of meats,
breads, fruits, and floral bouquets. Part of the seat, the back, and the curved cushion of the chair are preserved, the curlique top of the latter breaking the outline of the reed mat border behind it. The man seated on the chair wears a quarter-sleeved pleated and diaphanous upper garment over his long kilt, the pleats of which fall naturally on his lap and thighs. Although his finely modelled facial features are those of a youthful person, horizontal lines indicating the obesity of age are visible beneath his breasts. His elaborately-plaited wig is surmounted by an extra-large cone of perfumed incense. Each of his wrists is encircled by a bracelet and around his neck he wears two kinds of collar. Underneath is a multiple-stranded broad collar of ovid and tubular beads. Over this he wears a four-stranded gold σby.w-collar, the ties of which are visible just above his right shoulder. His right arm is held formally to his right side. In its clenched fist he holds a handkerchief whose end loops out over the fist, almost parallel to his lap, while its body flows loosely and freely down from the bottom of the fist. His left hand is extended forward in a gesture of salutation, although through an optical illusion it almost looks to be plucking a piece of fruit from the offerings on the table before him. In the field in front of his head, above his left arm and the offerings are the remains of a text of seven vertical lines of moderately-incised hieroglyphs. Beneath these is an eighth horizontal line. While none of the vertical lines are complete, it is clear that they contained a text of a religious content. What I can read is as follows:

"[-----] witness(?) the heart. Its (evil) occasion does not exist. [-----] with all the ones who live in it. The
god [-----] on truth. His abomination is falsehood.
[-----] without allowing to sleep another [-----] my 'voice'\textsuperscript{341} when it cries out [-----] greatly, greatly.
My voice is not raised approaching and I am not brought back".

The horizontal line beneath these vertical columns reads:
"[-----], thousands of beer, thousands of beef, thousands of fowl, thousands of milk, thousands of wine, thousands of ungent, thousands of alabaster and linen, thousands of every thing".

Unlike the scene of the king ceremonially slaughtering a captured enemy which, other than on the private and public stelae discussed in the preceding chapter,\textsuperscript{342} is found in monumental art only in the temple, that depicting the reward of a favoured and the various stages of its aftermath, although it is on occasion found on temple walls,\textsuperscript{343} is, nevertheless, primarily a genre belonging to the repertoire of tomb art.\textsuperscript{344} The reasons for this seem fairly straightforward when we take into consideration the nature and context of each of the ceremonies being illustrated. In the case of the former, a public event is being recorded, one in which the pharaoh himself is the principal actor, performing a rite of triumphal thanksgiving to the god(s) on his own behalf and on that of Egypt for, one may assume, continued triumph, well-being, and victory. In the case of the ceremony picturing the rewarding of an official with gold, in spite of the fact that the king is shown playing a leading role in it at one particular instant in time, what is being commemorated is, essentially, a private matter. The emphasis is not so much on the
king as it is on the exceptional honour which is being conferred on the recipient, being rewarded by the king's own hand. The tangible evidence of this royal largess is immediately apparent in the form of the gold šbyw-collars worn by the various officials being honoured. The king is present only in those scenes which picture him in the very act of conferring the collars. 345

An unique temple scene picturing a ceremony akin to the one in which rewards are given, but one possibly of a more public nature, has been reconstructed from a number of Amarna talatat which had been used as fill in various of the pylons of the great temple of Amûn at Karnak. 346 There, the king is pictured at the window of appearances while below, in the courtyard outside, a number of courtiers and officials enjoy a banquet at the king's expense. Redford has convincingly shown that this was "probably one of the many ceremonies of the sd-festival, when the king distributed his bounty to his officers in a concrete fashion". 347 He cites a number of texts, the earliest going back at least to the reign of Amînhotpe III, which describe such a ceremony, 348 the most detailed and graphic description being that preserved in the Decree of Horemheb: 349

"I made the regulations for the provisioning 350 of my [majesty] with respect to every holiday(?): 351 They came around to 352 my majesty three times a month. It came to be for them like a festival, every man sitting down at [his] portion of every good thing, consisting of good bread, meat, cakes from the royal possessions, 353 [their heads] annointed with oil. Their acclamation reached heaven, extolling the goodness of the lord [of the Two Lands]. 354 The leaders
of the infantry, every great one of the army, every man among [-----] without number during the casting down to them from the window and the hailing of every man by his name by the king himself. They went away from the Presence rejoicing and provisioned with the goods of the palace”. In his discussion of the Karnak talatat with this banquet scene beneath the window of appearances, Redford correctly points out that the king is not pictured casting down collars and other such items to the assembled throng below because, while the feast was indeed a public ceremony, the awarding of gold collars was essentially a private matter.355

The respective public and private natures of the sacrificial and reward ceremonies are likewise manifested on the private stelae on which they are found. In this respect it is interesting to note that all of those which illustrate the ritual sacrifice and whose provenance is firmly assured by controlled excavation356 come from the temple. Conversely, virtually all of those relating to the ceremony of reward and whose provenance is equally fixed by excavation come from the tomb.357 On the stelae with the sacrificial scene, the dedicator plays no role whatsoever save that of a passive observer and witness. This is true even for the single exemplar which has a real narrative text, the Qantir stela of Wosinamekht (nr. 8) which records what was awarded to him, not what he did. The principal focus in the scenes of such stelae is the ceremony itself and the chief actors, the only participants in fact, are the king, the victim(s), and the god. Indeed, the presence of the dedicator is not even always indicated either pictorially or textually.358 To the contrary,
on the stelae with the scene of the rewarding and the various stages of its aftermath, the principal personage, the official who is being or has been rewarded, and who is not always their dedicator, is almost always shown wearing the gold šby.w-collars. Nor is this obvious pride in being the recipient of such a reward from the king's own hand confined only to representations of it on the walls of his tomb and/or on his commemorative stelae. There are several instances where the men who were so honoured have left statues of themselves on which they display the collars around their necks.

With the exception of stela nr. 29, of the Ramesside royal butler, Sebekhotep, which was erected near the Hathor temple at Serabit el-Khadim in Sinai, only the stelae which were dedicated to or by the scribe of the offering table of the lord of the Two Lands, Any (stelae nrs. 22, 24-26) were actually found in situ, in his tomb at Amarna along with two others, Cairo CG 34.179 and CG 34.181, which were dedicated to him "by his brother, (Pth)may" and "by the servitor, Hay" respectively, though on these last two, as on nr. 24, Any is not depicted wearing the šby.w-collars. Four of these six stelae were found set up in niches, three on one side, one on the other, in the walls of the vestibule of Any's tomb. However, none of the published accounts specify which four of the six stelae these were, although one gets the impression from Boursian's description of the tomb that the four stelae were nrs. 22 and 24-26. Beyond the vestibule a short passage leads into the main chamber of the tomb, the walls of which do not appear to have been decorated save for a cornice running along the sides beneath the ceiling. At the far end of the corridor is...
is the shrine, the major part of which is occupied by the seated tomb-statue of Any, and the right and left walls of which each are decorated with a scene showing Any seated behind an offering table and being offered a libation (in the scene on the right wall) and a floral bouquet (in the scene on the left wall) by a servant. Both scenes, together with the texts which accompany them, were found in a badly-damaged state of preservation, but enough remains of each to allow most of its original appearance to be restored. In the right hand scene, Any, wearing the cone of perfumed incense on top of his wig, a sleeved upper garment, and sandals on his feet, sits in a formal attitude, one hand which holds a htp-scepter pressed against his chest, the other resting on his lap. A woman, probably his wife, stands behind him while before him, a man pours out the libation from a high-necked amphora. The text above identifies him as "the servitor and agent of the royal scribe, the justified Any, Meryre". Any also appears in this pose on stela Cairo CG 34.179, but there the dedicator, "his brother, (Ptah)may" is depicted hailing him with one hand and saying:

"There is made for you a htp-di-nswt invocation of bread and beer, meat and fowl, and libations of wine. So says (in) his brother, (Ptah)may."

On stela nr. 25, dedicated by "the servitor of the royal scribe, Any, Anymen", the latter is also depicted pouring out a libation from a similar amphora to the seated Any, while saying: "Let wine be poured out for you". More than half of the twelve lines of the text representing the speech of the servitor Meryre as he pours out the libation are lost. What is preserved reads:

"[-----] all [-----] you go forth. [-----]. You shall be
as one among [---]. The king has ordained for you a happy burial in the cliffs of Akhetaton, in the Place of Eternity. Its interior shall be for you the place of your ka. [remainder of the text is corrupt].

Finally, in connection with this scene it may be noted that on stelae Cairo CG 34.179 and 34.106 (nr. 26) Any is called "one who shall be justified with a goodly burial" and, on stela Cairo CG 34.177 (nr. 22) Any himself says: "I return in peace with the rewards of the king. He has commanded for me a goodly burial" and on stela Cairo CG 34.176 (nr. 24) the scribe Nebwawi describes "the beautiful things which the goodly ruler has done for his scribe of the offering table: he has ordained for him a happy burial in Akhetaton".

In the scene on the left wall of the shrine Any is dressed as before, but with the addition of four gold Nby.w-collars around his neck. He sits behind an offering table, one hand resting on his lap, its fist clutching a napkin or handkerchief, the other hand, palm down, extended as if partaking of the offerings. Facing him is the same Meryre' who this time raises one hand in salutation, while he pours out a libation from a hš-s-jar with the other. The accompanying text, which contains his speech to Any, though damaged, is better preserved than that in the scene on the right wall. On the basis of several parallel texts from the tomb of Ḫuya (nr. 1) at Amarna, much of the missing or corrupt part of it can be restored. It reads as follows:

"Accept the offerings of the king's own giving to the steward of ('Aakheprure'). Your name will flourish [---] every shrine of yours. Your name will flourish [---]."
which you desire. Every generation which shall come(?) shall call out to [you]. Your name shall not be sought [in your mansion]. You shall be a son for whom is made the htp-di-nswt invocation consisting of your bread and your beer of your house, the wine of the house which has come forth from the Presence, and [-----].

Any appears in the same attitude and attire on two of the stelae from his tomb, Cairo CG 34.181 and CG 34.180 (nr. 26). On the second of these he also wears the gold ḥby.w-collars. While the texts of neither of these two stelae can be directly related in content to the text of the scene on the left wall of the shrine, one might compare that of stela Cairo CG 34.179 where Any's brother, (Ptah) may says: "There shall be made for you a ḫtp-di-nswt invocation of bread and beer, meat and fowl, and libations of wine". Moreover, as we have just seen, the texts of stelae nrs. 22 and 24 make it clear that these benefices which Any shall enjoy come to him by the king's command and, we may even assume, from the king's own hand.

Although we do not know exactly which of the six stelae dedicated to Any were set up in the wall niches of the vestibule of his tomb, it is certain that at least two of them had to have been from among the group of stelae nrs. 22 and 24-26. If the impression given by Bouriant that it was all four stelae from this group is correct, then it is striking that in that portion of the tomb which normally contains scenes depicting those aspects of the lifetime of the deceased which he deemed important enough to be repeated for eternity in the Afterworld, four stelae, each illustrating a single different stage following the actual ceremony of being rewarded with gold by the king were found
in precisely this part of the tomb. Moreover, there is no reason to assume that the other two stelae likewise were not intended to be erected in similar niches, but since the tomb was apparently never finished, these were never carved. Even were this not the case, the placement of the four remaining stelae in the niches of the vestibule with scenes of the various stages of the aftermath of what must have been the most important single event in Any’s career, his being personally rewarded by the king, is paralleled in a number of other tombs at Amarna where these same scenes decorate the corresponding walls in them. This almost suggests that, in the case of Any whose tomb was a relatively modest one, the stelae in question served here as a simplified and certainly less expensive substitute form of tomb decoration. Furthermore, if this suggestion is acceptable, we may then very easily hypothesize that those other stelae relating to the rewarding ceremony also originally may have stood in niches in the corresponding parts of their tombs, but it must be emphatically stressed that this can only be speculation. It might also be argued that, were this the case, we should have expected to find in the tomb of Any a stela whose scene showed the actual award being made, as it is depicted on the stelae of Hormin (nr. 20) and Mose (nr. 21), but we do not. However, such an argument loses most of its force when we remember that the most important element of the ceremony was the reward itself, even more than the king’s giving of it.
Footnotes:

214. For the most recent study of this scene and its significance in tomb art, see G.A. Gaballa, Narrative in Egyptian Art 62-64 (the earlier 18th Dynasty), 72-78 (the Amarna period), 129-130 (the Ramesside period) and compare J. Vandier, Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne. IV. Bas-relief et peintures. Scenes de la vie quotidienne (Paris: 1964) 638-668, and A. Hermann, "Jubel del der Audienz. Zur Gebärden sprache in der Kunst des Neuen Reichs", ZAes 90 (1963) 49-66. For an earlier treatment, see S. Gabra, Les conseils de fonctionnaires dans l'Égypte pharaonique. Scenes de recompenses royales aux fonctionnaires (Cairo: 1929).

215. See H. Ricke, G.R. Hughes, and E.F. Wente, The Beit el-Wali Temple pl. 9 and, earlier, Hermann, op. cit. 61 and pl. 9c, Roeder, Der Felsentempel von Bet el-Wali (Cairo: 1938) 35 and pl. 30f. Interestingly enough, with the exception of Hermann, none of the other scholars who have investigate the rewarding scenes have included this one, yet it is identical with them: the viceroy of Kush, Amenemope, having been led into the presence of Ramesses II sitting inside a kiosk is decorated with gold šby.w.-collars after he has presented the king the booty taken from the Nubians. For the probability that this scene is also to be connected with the Nubian war alluded to in the Aswan inscription of year 2 of Ramesses II (which in turn may actually have been the Nubian war which took place between years 7 and 9 of Seti I) and which this same Amenemope commemorated with three rock-stelae near Aswan and a fourth at Kasr Ibrim, see above, Chapter 1 nr. 143.

216. See Hermann, op. cit. pl. 10 and, earlier, G. Lefebvre, In-
scriptions concernant les grands prêtres d'Amon Romê-Koy et Amenhotep (Paris: 1929) pl. 2. For the most recent treatment of the texts, see W. Helck, "Die Inschrift über die Belohnung des Hohepriesters 'Imn-htp', MDOG 4 (1956) 161-178.

For the possibility that the high priest Amunhotep is not being rewarded in the presence and by the hand of the king, himself, but rather in the presence of a statue of the king, since the royal figure stands on a pedestal, see W. Federn, "Roi ou statue royale?", ÇaÉ 34 (1959) 214.


218. See, e.g. Davies, The Rock Tombs of El-Amarna II (London: 1905) pls. 10 (from the tomb of Panehuy, nr. 6) and 33 (from the tomb of Meryre II, nr. 2); idem. ibid. III, pls. 16-17 (from the tomb of Huya, nr. 1); ibid. IV (1906) pl. 29 (from the tomb of Huya, nr. 9); ibid. VI (1908) pls. 4 (from the tomb of Parennefer, nr. 7), 17 (from the tomb of Tutu, nr. 8) and 29 (from the tomb of Ay, nr. 25); H. Schäfer, "Ein Relief aus der Zeit Tutanchamouns", Berliner Museen: Berichte aus den preussischen Kunstsammlungen 49 nr. 2 (1926) 39 fig. 3 (from the Memphite tomb of Horemheb); Davies, The Tomb of
of Neferhotep at Thebes (New York: 1933) pls. 9-13, 16 (nr. 49, of the chief scribe of Amun), idem. Two Ramesside Tombs at Thebes (New York: 1927) pls. 27-29 (from the tomb of Ipuy, nr. 217, at Thebes), Vandier, op. cit. 668 fig. 369 (from the tomb of the god's father of Amunre', Neferhotep, nr. 50, at Thebes), Petrie, Gizeh and Rifeh (London: 1907) pls. 29-30 (from a Ramesside tomb, owner unknown, at Rifeh), JEA I part I 2nd ed. 239 (Oriental Institute, Chicago, photographs 3911-14, 3916 and 10333 of the otherwise unpublished tomb of Amemaope, nr. 148, at Thebes). In at least three instances at Amarna the award seems to be taking place with the royal couple standing in a courtyard, see Davies, The Rock Tombs of el-Amarna I, pl. 30 (from the tomb of Meryre' I, nr. 4), ibid. II, pl. 41 (from the tomb of Meryre' II, nr. 2), and ibid. IV, pl. 7 (from the tomb of Pentu, nr. 5). For the window of appearances, see B.J. Kemp, "The Window of Appearance at El-Amarna and the Basic Structure of this City", JEA 62 (1976) 81-99, R. Stadelmann, "Tempelpalast und Erscheinungsfenster in der Thebanischen Totentempeln", MDAIK 29 (1973) 221-242. An earlier, but still excellent study is that of H. Schäfer, "Der König im Fenster. Ein Beitrag zum Nachleben der Kunst von Tell el-Amarna", Amtliche Berichte aus den Preuß. Staatsammlungen 40 nr. 3 (1918) 41-61. See IAAG II (1977) 14 (article "Erscheinungsfenster").

219. E.g. in the scenes from the Amarna tombs of Meryre', Meryre' II, Parennefer, Ay, and Tutu, and in the tombs of Neferhotep (nr. 50) and Ipuy. For the exact references, see above, n. 218.

220. Or else he is reaching up to the window, either to salute
the king or else to taking the collars which are being hand-
down, see previous note, as well the scene from the Memphite
tomb of Horemheb, cited in n. 218.

221. Not all of these scenes have texts preserved, and when they
are, the king's speech is frequently couched in such artifi-
cial hyperbole so that the specific reason for the bestowal
is not easily apparent. But Meryre' I was rewarded "because
of his obeying the teaching of Pharaoh, l.p.h., doing all
that was said", Tutu "because of his love for Pharaoh, l.p.
h." The legate of Miam, Penno was rewarded because he had
erected a statue of Ramesses VI in the temple of Derr and
also for what he had "done in the Neb(h)esy lands, the land of
Ikayta, when you had them brought as captives in the presence
of Pharaoh, your good lord", and the god's father of Amûn,
Neferhotep was rewarded "at the command of my lord, Amûn".
(One wonders, in this last case, if this is not an oblique
indication of Horemheb paying off a political debt for the
support of the clergy of Amûn for his usurpation of the Egyp-
tian throne?). There are two scenes in the Amarna tomb of
Huya which show him receiving gold collars. The motivation
for the first of these was his appointment as "the overseer
of the royal harem, overseer of the treasury, and steward in
in the house of the mother of the king". Clearly the bestow-
al of the collars was a concomitant feature of the promotion.
The replies of those being rewarded, when preserved, adds
little to our knowledge of why they are being so honoured.
In general they consist of encomia and paeans of praise of
the king.

222. In the scene from the tomb of the anonymous Ramesside offic-
ial from Rifeh, see above, n. 218.

223. In the scene from the tomb of Paser, nr. 106, at Thebes, see above, n. 217.

224. This particular scene, in comparison to the others of this genre, is rather unique. It depicts, I believe, the vizier Paser being rewarded in the Afterworld by the deceased and deified Seti I. My reasoning for this brash supposition is based mainly on the fact that the king, in Osiride guise, is depicted accompanied by the goddess Ma'at and the Souls of Pe and Nekhen. Unless the awarding of gold collars here was taking place during a particular religious ceremony, one which called for the king to appear as Osiris and with various priests and priestesses impersonating the deities, one can hardly come to any other conclusion. While there is no speech of the king, that of the goddess Ma'at is rather telling:

"Words spoken by Ma'at, the daughter of Re':

'My hands are behind you in life and good fortune. I give (---) you joy upon the throne'."

The term "throne" s.t-wr.t is written with the determinative of a shrine \( \text{\textdollar} \), so that the expression here clearly refers to a sanctuary within the temple and, as the speech seems to be addressed to the king rather than Paser, the inference is that we are dealing with a cult statue of the former resting within a sanctuary within the temple. Since Seti is shown in the Osiride form, this can hardly be a cult statue of the living king. Moreover, the attendants of Paser are all styled 'nym-but which \( \text{\textdollar} \), 75, 1, vaguely renders "priesterlicher Amtstitel" and the speech of Paser, though replete with lacu-
nae and containing the usual praise of the king, is filled
with references to "the Holy Place" (ḥqr.w) and to the nec­
cropolis. For the latest edition of these texts, see Kau I,
291-293.

225. Once, in the tomb of Neferhotep (nr. 49) at Thebes, she is
shown by herself as she confers gold ḫby.w-collars on the
wife of Neferhotep, see Davies, op. cit. pl. 14.

226. On these collars, see most recently C. Aldred, Jewels of the
Pharaohs abridged ed. (New York: 1978) 12-13 and, earlier,
pl. 31B. There is an abstract of an interesting unpublished
study by E. Ertman, "The 'Gold of Honor' in Royal Represent­
ation", Newsletter ARCE 83 (Oct. 1972) 26-27, which, among
other things, speculates on the possible connection of this
necklace with the cult of Amūn. For the word itself, see Wh.
IV, 439, and for its equation with the so-called "Gold of
Honor", see H. von Deines, "Das Gold der Tapferkeit, eine
militärische Auszeichnung oder eine Belohnung?", ZAs 79
(1954) 83-86.

227. To the references cited in nn. 217-218 above, add also ste­
lae nrs. 20-22, 25-30 in Section 8, below.

228. See, e.g. statues Cairo CG 42126, 42168, and 816, published
most recently by Vandier, op. cit. III: Les grands époques:
Le statuaire (Paris: 1958) pls. 147 nr. 1, 162 nr. 6, and
169 nr. 4.

229. E.g. the king orders the god's father of Amūn, Neferhotep
(tomb nr. 50 at Thebes) "to receive rewards in the presence
of the king, consisting of millions of everything, of silver,
gold, clothing, ungents, loaves of bread, beer, meat, and
cakes (Örk. IV, 2177). Penno, the legate of Miam, was specifically granted two silver bowls and ointment of gum or resin (see Hermann, "Jubel bei der Audienz..." 62-63 and fig. 16). The high priest Amünhotpe received, among other things, "one broad collar equipped with two strands of gold beads and a pectoral, a fillet for the head of an official, and two tied-together [-----], a total of four items of fine gold in skw-work, weighing ten deben", "twelve silver vessels weighing twenty deben, good bread, meat, [-----], four great amphorae of sweet beer, two hin of sweet ointment" and "twenty aourae of land with grain" (see Helck, "Die Belohnung..."). The last item in Amünhotpe's reward calls to mind the grant of land given to the shield-bearer Wosimare'nakht which was discussed in Chapter 2, Section E, end. The god's father Ay and his wife (see Davies, The Rock Tombs of el Amarna VI, pl. 29) are pictured standing and catching the collars which both Akhenaton and Nofretete are showering down at them, while other items, previously thrown down, are heaped up at their feet. These consist of "eighteen double necklaces of gold beads, at least two of them fitted with pectorals, two plain necklaces, five collars, no doubt of threaded faience trinkets, six fillets, probably of the same sort, four gold-en(?) cups, two with a foot, two without, two metal(?) vases, five signet rings, one pair of gloves, twelve pairs of plain armlets" (ibid. 22). Ay was apparently particularly pleased by the gloves since he is shown in an adjoining subscene proudly wearing them and showing them off to his admiring retainers. Gloves may also have figured as one of the items conferred on the Amarna noble Ḫuya if the horizontal stripes
from the wrist to the elbow on each arm raised to the king in adoration at the awarding ceremony do not indicate a series of banglelike armlets (see Davies, ibid. III, pl. 17 and compare the scene from the tomb of Ay just cited). Perhaps the most telling representation is from the tomb of Meryre II where, immediately after the rewarding, Meryre returns home wearing the šy.w-collar. He is followed by two long lines of servants carrying tables laden with all sorts of collars, vessels, foods, jars, flasks, jugs, amphorae, meat, fish, and cloth (ibid. II, pl. 37). See also stela nr. 25, below, whose owner proudly records that the king has granted him "a goodly burial in Akhetaton".

230. E.g. ibid. II, pl. 36 (from the tomb of Meryre II, nr. 2, at Amarna), ibid. III, pl. 5 (from the tomb of Parennefer, nr. 7) and 20 (from the tomb of Tutu, nr. 8); idem. The Tomb of Neferhotep pl. 16 (from the tomb of Neferhotep, nr. 49, at Thebes). Also see below, Section B, stela nr. 22. In a number of ancilliary scenes the chariot is shown parked with the charioteer waiting outside the locale in which his master is being rewarded, see Davies, The Rock Tombs of El Amarna II, pl. 11 (from the tomb of Panehsy, nr. 6), ibid. III, pl. 17 (from the tomb of Huya, nr. 1), ibid. VI, pls. 17 (from the tomb of Tutu) and 30 (from the tomb of Ay, nr. 26), and compare stela nr. 25, below, Section B.

231. See the preceding note for references.

232. E.g. Davies, op. cit. V, pl. 9 (from the tomb of Any, nr. 23).

233. E.g. ibid. I, p. 35, 37 (from the tomb of Meryre II, nr. 4), ibid. II, pls. 22 (from the tomb of Panehsy) and 31 (from the tomb of Meryre II), ibid. III, pl. 29 (from the tomb of
Ahmose, nr. 3), Wreszinski, Atlas I, pl. 189 (from the tomb of Khaemhet, nr. 57, at Thebes).

234. See above, n. 151.

235. See above, Chapter I, the latter part of Section E.

236. See above, n. 181.

237. See below, Section B, stelae nrs. 22, 24-26, all of which come from the tomb of Any at Amarna. Stela 29 which was found in situ at Serabit el-Khadim is certainly not a tomb stela.

238. See below, Section B, stelae nrs. 20, 25, 26, and 30.

239. See above, nn. 217-218 for the parallels.

240. See above, n. 148, for the name and for his other monuments.

241. r.f wd3. Gabra's rendering, Les conseils 42 "dont la bouche est saine" is perhaps a little too literal.

242. Gabra, loc. cit. renders this a little more freely: "dont la marche est à sa place (en bonne direction)". The sense seems clear enough.


245. Gabra's rendering, loc. cit. "le chef du sceau" perhaps attributes more to this title than is permissible. It is probably more preferable to retain the older Wb. V, 637, 11-16 rendering "Vorsteher des Schatzes" or the like.

246. Or, taking as a verb: "You appear beautifully".

247. Reading as imm.

248. Taking with the following Wb. dî, see Erman, Neuägypt-
Since p3 ia written, it is best to reflect this in the translation. It may even have the force of a vocative here: "O (You)!

Gabra's rendering, loc. cit. 43: "belle est la joie de tes voisins" presupposes that nfr is a verb here, but from its physical position in the sentence this is unlikely. It is better to understand it as a noun coordinate with rsw(t).

Literal: "belong to your neighbours".

Understanding sgm as a plural participle with the ending not written.

For the writing of nfr.w with three stars, see Wb. II, 354, right hand column and also É. Drioton, "Recueil de cryptographie monumentale", Abah 40 (1940) 409 nr. 4.

Taking ʿir.r.tw in the following line, nty twk ʿim-s here, and all of the following verb forms as various expressions of the future resulting as a consequence implied by the htp-dīnavt-formula "may he grant that...".

Gabra, loc. cit. 44, takes nhḥ as an adjective and shows the determinative of the entire expression to be the man with his hand to his mouth. Kitchen, loc. cit. reads the determinative as the seated man with two minuscule strokes below. I understand the word as a noun since Wb. II does not recognize it as an adjective. However, it is not attested as a noun there with either of these two determinatives, although a nhḥ determined with the seated god is known, loc. cit. 302, 10-11, as the name or nickname of various gods.

Unlike Gabra, loc. cit. I do not take bṣ.k as the emphasized subject of the following ḫmn.f, with the suffix .f serving
as a resumptive pronoun. There is no reason not to understand b3.k as a verbal form, see Wb. I, 411, 1-3.

257. I.e. the high priest of Ptah in Memphis will, himself, pre­side at Hormin’s funeral. For wr ḫrp hmw(.t) (and incident­ly sm, an office held simultaneously by the former), see Gardiner, Ancient Egyptian Onomastica I (London: 1947) 38*-39*.

258. And not as Kayser, Die Ägyptischen Altertümer 59, translates: "Ptah, der Gott der Wahrheit, der die Gebete des Königs der beiden Länder hört". "King of the Two Lands here refers to Ptah, not Ramses II, see Sandman-Holmberg, The God Ptah chap. 6, 80-86 ("Ptah as King"). For the epithet "he who hears petitions", see above, nn. 189-202.

259. See above, n. 36.

260. Although not clear in the published photographs, the auto­graphed copy of the text in KRI III, 263, 14, shows where the restoration sš admirably suits the traces beneath ḫmy-r in the first square. There are four military titles which begin with sš and end with m p3 māf: sš sḥw n p3 māf "the scribe of the assemblage of the army", see my Military Rank 66 par. 166 and refs. 238, 240, 468, sš aḥn n p3 māf "the scribe who writes commands for the army", ibid. 66 par. 168 and refs. 469-470, sm ḫnrt n p3 māf "the scribe of the prison of the army", ibid. 65-66 par. 165 and ref. 467, and sš dnl n p3 māf "the scribe of the distribution of the army", ibid. 66 par. 167 and refs. 238, 240). In view of the horizon­tal trace at the bottom of the second square of the lac­una, just above the clearly visible n, there is room, though cramped, to restore either sḥw or aḥn, both of which are
written with a narrow horizontal determinative. While such a title "overseer of the scribes who write commands for the army" or "overseer of the scribes of the assemblage of the army" is otherwise not known to me, it is clear that it referred to an officer of very high rank. Thus Mose should have been either a "scribe of the infantry" (sə mnfyt) or a "scribe of elite troops" (sə nfrw), ibid. loc. cit. See also nn. 147 above and 271 below.

261. Two more lines follow here, the first a lacuna of two squares with n-t legible at the bottom of the first. The traces in the second seem to read ḫm ḫr ḥf "Amūn, washing(?)", with possibly two more groups lost. I have no real suggestions for what may have originally stood there or how to translate what is visible.

262. Probably, from their shape, copper oxhide-ingots, see G. Bass, Cape Gelidonya: A Bronze Age Shipwreck (Philadelphia: 1967) 52-78.

263. The table is almost completely destroyed by the oblique fracture running across the face of the upper register. Only its plate is preserved, with the nb-baskets resting on it. The haunch of meat which sits on the register line conceals its foot.

264. Habachi, "Khata'na-Qantir..." 543-555, distinguishes four distinct cult statues of Ramesses II: 1) Wosimare'-setepen- re'-Montu-in-the-Two-Lands, 2) Ramesses-mi'amūn-the-God, 3) Wosimare'-setepenre'-the-God, 4) Ramesses-mi'amūn-the-Sun-of-Rulers, and mentions a fifth statue, pictured on a stela in Munich (Gl. 287) perhaps also from Qantir, and named Ramesses-mi'amūn-the-Ruler-of-Rulers. This may be related to
the statue Ramesses-mi'amün-the-Sun-of-Rulers, see the next note.

265. The statue Ramesses-mi'amün-the-Sun-of-Rulers is illustrated on one other statue, Hildesheim 1085, described but not shown by Habachi, loc. cit. 540. Here the figure of the king is dressed and crowned as on the stela of Mose, but unlike the latter, is shown in full profile. From these two instances may we conclude that this particular colossal statue was a seated one? It is tempting to suppose that the statue of Munich Gl. 287 (see Habachi, "The Qantir Stela of the Vizier Rahotep..." 67-77) is another example of the statue Ramesses-mi'amün-the-Sun-of-Rulers with a variant of the name. However, such an identification must be ruled out. Not only is there a difference in the name, the statue of the Munich stela is that of a standing figure and the known representations of "Sun-of-Rulers show it to have been a seated statue. It is this last point which is significant. Habachi, "Khata'na-Qantir..." 549-550, has shown that each of the individual statues is depicted on the Qantir stelae in the same attitude. There is a seated statue named Ruler-of-Rulers, but this is the southern of the Memnon Colossi Nebmare'-Ruler-of-Rulers which is also illustrated in the rock inscription of the architect Men, at Aswan, see Habachi, "The Qantir Stela..." 75-76 and figs. 4-5.

266. It is difficult to determine exactly what these other items were, but what looks like a bowl can be seen just over the forehead of Mose, with perhaps three more bowls in the field between the bottom of the text and the upraised arms of the assembled men. Over Mose's head one can make out two slender
cylindrical objects, that on the right perhaps a libation vase.


268. See above, Chapter 1, Section A, n. 21.

269. See above, n. 147.

270. For n before the relative form, see Erman, op. cit. par. 835.

271. Literally: "their lord". While nb conceivably may refer to the king, the context here makes it more like that Mose is meant.

272. Taking wbn.k as a virtual relative clause with the preceding twk mî ḫḏ.f, rather than the following `nh.n.

273. Kayser, loc. cit. translates: "so leben wir von Deinem Blick ..." and notes that "Der Rest der Inschrift ist durch Zerstörung leider nicht mehr verständlich", but the autographed copy of the text in *AB* III, 264, shows no hatching over over the last group of line 4 or the first group of line 5 of the reply of the assembled soldiers to Ramesses: ḫr nty īry which is then followed by the recognizable traces of the title wfr and the name Msw. As it stands, I agree that the text is incomprehensible here. If, however, we allow a corrupt text, or rather a corrupt orthography, and assume that is a poor writing of `mwn, some sense may be made out of it: n m33.k ḫr nty 1-īr wfr Msw, literally: "on account of your looking at that which the soldier, Mose, did".

274. For the "company", see above, n. 147 and the literature cited there. For the meaning of the name of a military unit of this size, see my *Military Rank* 74-75 par. 187. Other than
the present instance, a company of this name is not known to me.

275. Accepting the restoration offered in KRI III, 264 n. 6a.

276. Although Kitchen, ibid. n. 6b, points out that lines 7-8 of the text were completely erased anciently, his autograph at this point does not reflect this erasure. In line 8 the sundisk at the beginning and half of the cartouche at the end are written without hatching, indicating that these groups, at least, are undamaged and visible. In any event, the restoration can hardly be anything else.

277. As far as I can determine, it is not until the Amarna period that Egyptian chariots are shown with two occupants, the driver and the passenger. In the earlier 18th Dynasty representations, when they are depicted in motion, only a single chariot rider is shown, see e.g. Wreszinski, Atlas I, pl. 26a (from the tomb of Userhet, nr. 56, at Thebes), pl. 347 (from an anonymous tomb, nr. 143, at Thebes), Davies, The Tombs of Two Officials pls. 6 (from the tomb of Asmāḥet, nr. 75, at Thebes) and 24 (from the tomb of Nebamun, nr. 90), relief Luxor Museum J. 129 (published by Y. Yadin, The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands in the Light of Archaeological Study [New York: 1963] 200), sculptor’s model(?) Hannover 2953 (published by I. Woldering, Ausgewählte Werke der Ägyptischen Sammlung 2nd ed. (Hannover: 1956) pl. 38); faience tile Metropolitan Museum of Art 17.194.2797 (published by Yadin, op. cit. 168). Chariots with only a driver are also shown on a number of pictorial ostraca, e.g. Cambridge EGA 4287.1943 (published by H. Brunner-Traut, Egyptian Artists’ Sketches [Leiden: 1979] pl. 23 nr. 27), Stockholm MM 14111.
(published by Petersen, *Zeichnungen aus einer Totenstadt* (Stockholm: 1973) pls. 45 nrs. 81, 82, and 46 nr. 83); Brussels E 6438 and E 6440 (published by J. Capart, "Ostraca illustrant des texts littéraires", *CÉ* 16 (1941) 191-193 figs. 2-3), Berlin 21771 and 23678 (published by Brunner-Traut, *Die altägyptischen Scherbenbilder (Bildostraka) der Deutschen Museen und Sammlungen* (Wiesbaden: 1956) pl. 36 nrs. 102-103), Munich 1551 vso (ibid. nr. 104), Deir el-Medineh 2158 (published by J. Vandier D'Abbadie, *Catalogue des ostraca figurés de Deir el Médineh* (nos. 2256 a 2722) (Cairo: 1957) pl. 19), ibid. nrs. 2783, 2784, and 2787 (idem. *Catalogue des ostraca figurés de Deir el Médineh* nos. 2734 a 3053 (Cairo: 1959) pls. 105-106). There is, however, no really good way of determining if any of these ostraca can unequivocally be assigned to the 18th Dynasty before the Amarna period. The dating criterion based on the number of spokes in chariot's wheel has been seriously questioned (see Brunner-Traut, *Die altägyptischen Scherbenbilder* 102 n. 7), but if the proposal of H.A. Liebowitz, "Horses in New Kingdom Art and the Date of an Ivory from Megiddo", *JARCE* 6 (1967) 18, that in the pre-Amarna 18th Dynasty, all four legs of the horses touch the ground, with fore and hindlegs spread apart to form a narrow-based isosceles triangle is correct, then possibly Munich 1551 vso, Deir el Medineh 2158 and Deir el Medineh 2783 may also date to this period. A number of representations from the earlier 18th Dynasty picture the chariot parked, an attendant next to it, while its owner inspects his harvests, but whether this attendant was a charioteer or a sais is impossible to tell. For these, see e.g. J.J. Tylor.
and F.L. Griffith, *The Tomb of Paheri at El Kab* (London: 1894) pl. 111, Wreszinski, *op. cit.* I, pls. 191 (from the tomb of Khaemhet, nr. 57, at Thebes), 231 (from the tomb of Menna, nr. 69, at Thebes), 260 (from the tomb of Djehutynæfer, nr. 80, at Thebes), and 424 (painting British Museum 37982, from an anonymous Theban tomb). That non-Egyptian chariots at this time carried both a driver and a passenger is clear from the representations of such on the sidepanels of the chariot of Thutmose IV, see Yadin, *op. cit.* 192-193 and compare Bruyère, *Deir el Médîneh Année 1926. Sondage au temple de Thotmès II* (Cairo: 1952) pls. 3-4.

278. The realistic manner in which the passenger steadies himself by resting both hands on the edge of the sidepanel is not without interest. When the vehicle is being used in combat, the passenger usually holds a shield in one hand and operates or helps to guide the reins with his other (e.g. Wreszinski, *op. cit.* II, pls. 62a, 137, 151, 183), maintaining his balance, one supposes, by spreading his legs squarely apart and bracing his body against the side of the car. In many instances, however, (e.g. *ibid.* pls. 17, 64, 66, 83, 92a, 169) only the arm and hand holding the shield are visible and it may be assumed that the other either holds on to the sidepanel on the far side of the chariot (*ibid.* pl. 128) or to the body of the charioteer (*ibid.* pl. 67). When the vehicle is being driven in a non-military situation and the passenger has both hands free, he usually steadies himself as on stela nr. 22, e.g. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of el Amarna II*, pls. 26 and 13, *ibid.* VI, pl. 20, Yadin, *op. cit.* 213–214 (the painted box of Tutankhamûn), J.D. Cooney, *Amarna*
Reliefs from Hermopolis in American Collections (Brooklyn: 1965) 52 fig. 50a (a Ramesside relief from North Sakkara), Wreszinaki, op. cit. pl. 166, Davies, The Tomb of Nefer-Hotep pl. 16. Ofen, moreover, the chariot box is equipped with handgrips. These are affixed to either its front or sides and the passenger grasps them instead of holding directly onto the edge of the car, see e.g. Davies, The Book of the Tomb of e1 Amarna I pl. 19, ibid. II pls. 13, 36, ibid. IV, pl. 22, ibid. VI, pl. 20.

279. Interestingly enough, while the bowcase, obviously an essential fixture of the chariot in military situations, is also usually shown attached to the sidepanel even when the vehicle is used for peaceful pursuits (including, of course, hunting desert game), the chariot is, nevertheless, shown without it on occasion. In tomb art I know of only one instance, on the chariot in the tomb of Khaemhet (Wressniki, op. cit. I, pl. 191), but on the pictorial ostraca the chariot without the bowcase attached is more common, see ostraca Stockholm Mm 14049 (published by Petersen, op. cit. pl. 65 nr. 126), Mm 14112, 14113, Berlin 21771, 23678, Brussels E 6438, 6440, and Deir el Medineh 2158, 2162, 2169, 2176 (the last three published by Vandier D’Abbadie, Catalogue... nos. 2256 a 2722 pls. 20, 22, 23) and Deir el Medineh 2783 and 2794 (the latter published idem. Catalogue... nos. 2256 a 2734 a 3053 pl. 106). Where no citation has been given immediately following any of the other ostraca just listed, the full reference will be found in n. 277 above.

280. For the reading of the title as w3 wdhw, see Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar 488, Signlist R3 n. 4. For other examples,
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e.g. statues Cairo CG 42235, 42244-42248. For the name Any, see FN I, 2, 11. For his tomb and other monuments, see Davi­es, The Rock Tombs of el Amarna V, 6-9 and pls. 9-11, 19-23.

281. For ii with the sense of "return", "come back", rather than just "come", particularly in the idiom ỉỉ m ētp "to return in peace", "to turn home happily", see Wb. I, 37, 33-34. For m haw.t "with rewards", ibid. III, 158, 2. Davies, loc. cit. translates the following wd.f as "who orders for me" as if wd were a participial form. There is no reason not to take as a sdm.f with with past reference and the beginning of a new sentence.

282. For the name, see FN I, 388, 11. Although we normally tend to assume that "charioteer" is a military designation (see my Military Rank 67-68 pars. 171-173) it is clear from this instance that it occurs in non-military contexts. One wonders if the man driving the chariot of "the royal scribe of memoranda, Tjay" on the fragment of a Ramesside tomb relief from North Sakkara (see above, n. 278) is the personal chari­oteer of this Tjay, or, since the fragment may picture a military context,—there is a bowman and a second chariot in this register and the feet of marching men in the register above it,—, or the royal scribe is actually a passenger in a military vehicle driven by a regular chariotsy soldier of the rank.

283. So described by Hassan, loc. cit. On the other hand, Zivie, loc. cit. simply calls it a relief.

284. One can hardly suppose any other attitude. If he had been holding a fan like the third man at the right, we would expect some trace of its shaft and butt to be visible.
285. Which would make him a person of some importance, as is also suggested by his larger size. For the sandal, which is of the newer type with the projection curving upward at the toe, see M. Abdul-Qader Muhammed, The Development of the Funerary Beliefs and Practices Displayed in the Private Tombs of the New Kingdom at Thebes (Cairo: 1966) 156-157.

286. For this rather common mode of dress, see Davies, The Rock Tombs of el Amarna I, 10-11, and compare Abdul-Qader Muhammed, op. cit. 152.

287. For this very common name, see PN I, 119, 13. Unfortunately there is no way of identifying him with any of the many men known to have had this name. Nor do I have any suggestion for what was lost in his title.

288. For the pose, which goes back to the Old Kingdom, see Vandier, Manuel d’archéologie égyptienne IV 67 fig. 20 nrs. 69-73. It is well attested for statues in the round in the Old and Middle Kingdoms, see ibid. III. La statuaire pls. 16 nrs. 1, 3 (statues Cairo CG 14 and 32), 35 nr. 1 (statue Brooklyn 50.77), 43 nr. 1 (statue Cairo CG 80), 45 nrs. 1, 2 (statues Cairo CG 46992 and Copenhagen 1560). However, inasmuch as this pose is not attested by Vandier for any of the New Kingdom private statues, we may then assume that it is Any himself who is being pictured, not a statue of him.

289. See above, n. 286, and the references cited there.

290. For the name, see PN I, 184, 6.

291. For the significance of the bovine, obviously intended as a sacrificial offering, hence the festive decorations, see H. Kees, "Bemerkungen zum Tieropfer der Aegypter und seiner Symbolik", Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu
Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Kl. (1942) nr. 2, 71-88 and more recently J. Leclant, "La 'Mascarade' des boeufs gras et le triomphe de l'Égypte", MDAIK 14 (1956) 129-145. Although the decoration of the horns of the various beasts illustrated by Leclant, figs. 1-21 and pls. 7-8, is missing from that of the ox on stela 24, the collar and flower adornment of the latter is shown on a number of his examples, e.g. figs. 1-3, 8, 14-16, and 18-19.

292. Loc. cit. I have qualified this identification because I think that Davies was wrong. The entrance of and the shrine itself with the seated statue of Any are quite well preserved, ibid. pl. 20. For Davies to have been correct, two assumptions have to be made: a) that the representation of the structure on the stela should be in accord with the actual physical shrine and b) that the figure of Any on the stela is actually that of the statue in the shrine and should look like it. While the first of these assumptions can, more or less, be defended by supposing that the cornice of the structure on the stela actually represents the roof of the tomb and that the curved element beneath this cornice is the roof of the shrine, curved to conform to the concave contour of the ceiling of the passage leading to the shrine's entrance, the horizontal elements then being interpreted as the cavetto cornice and torus molding so evident on the real doorway, we have difficulty with the second assumption. The figure of Any on the stela in no way conforms with his statue in the shrine. The latter sits on a high-backed chair, set on a pedestal which rests on a raised dais and is reached by a short flight of steps. The pose of the statue is quite un-
like the figure on the stela. As far as I can make out, the statue wears no Ỉny.w-collars and sits rather stiffly, the arms bent at the elbow and resting on his lap. Compare this with the animated attitude of Any on the stela which is certainly that of a living person engaged in a vigorous action, not that of a statue. Even more telling is the fact that the statue in the niche sits on a high-backed chair while the figure on the stela sits on a folding stool. Since, to my knowledge, statues are never depicted seated on the latter item of furniture, it is then conclusive that the representation of Any on the stela pictures the man himself and not his statue.

293. In general, representations of people seated on stools are rare on stelae, and outside of the present instance I have been unable to find any where the legs of the stool terminate in ducks' heads. For examples in tomb paintings, however, see Davies, The Tomb of Ken-Amun at Thebes (New York: 1930) pl. 17, idem. The Tomb of Two Sculptors at Thebes (New York: 1925) pl. 7 (from the tomb of the chief sculptor, Nebamün, nr. 181), Wreszinski, Atlas I, pl. 369 (from the tomb of Yepy, nr. 217, at Thebes). Apparently it was commonplace enough to figure on the occasional ostracon, see, e.g. ostracon Munich 1549 (published by Brunner-Traut, Die altägyptischen Scherbenbilder pl. 2 nr. 95). A number of such stools, some of them in an excellent state of preservation, are extant, e.g. H.Carter, The Tomb of Tut.ankh.Amen. Discovered by the Late Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter III (London: 1933) pl. 33, Berlin 12552 (published in Ägyptische Museum Berlin [Berlin: 1967] nr. 643), Metropolitan Museum of Art
Hayes, Scepter II, 202 and fig. 116, British Museum 2477, described but not illustrated in British Museum, A Guide to the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Egyptian Rooms, and the Coptic Room (London: 1922) 87 and perhaps identical with the British Museum stool illustrated in J.G. Wilkinson, The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians new ed. I (New York: 1878) 411 fig. 190 nr. 1. For a general discussion and additional bibliography, see Vandier, Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne III, 60 nn. 4 and 7 and earlier Schäfer, loc. cit. n. 3, and Wrezinski, op. cit. I, pl. 39b. Although Hayes, loc. cit. notes that this type of stool was most popular during the 18th Dynasty, its attestation in the Deir el-Medineh tomb of Yepuy clearly shows that it was still in use during the Ramesside period. Finally, for a discussion of the symbolism of the duck's head, see A. Hermann, "Das Motiv der Ente mit zurückgewendem Köpfe im ägyptischen Kunstgewerbe", ZAs 68 (1932) 86-105.

294. See my "The Royal Butler Ramesesseperre", JARCE 13 (1976) 120 (stela Cairo TR 3/7/24/17) and 121 (lintel(?)) Brooklyn 35.1315). There, as here, the inscriptions associated with the figures performing the action seem to begin in the middle of a sentence. Hence it is not improbable that the picture of the worshipper's action is to be read as a rebus in combination with the rest of the text. After all, any hieroglyph is a picture en petite. For the pictorial nature of these and conversely the hieroglyphic nature of pictorial representations, see now the brilliant study of H.G. Fischer, "Redundant Determinatives in the Old Kingdom", The Metropolitan Museum Journal 8 (1973) 7-24.
295. A pit has obliterated the left third of the mr-canal which, incidentally, looks more like the δ-pool.

296. For the name, which is attested only here, see E 1, 2, 12.

297. I take m3'-gwr here, as I have done virtually throughout the entire study, in an anticipatory sense, i.e. not that he is already dead and thus "justified", but that he will be "justified" in the future, and clearly, "with (m) a goodly burial". See my "The Royal Butler Ramsessesemperre" 119 n. 16 and 122 n. 46.

298. Davies, loc. cit. 1G, translated: "Unto your ka! A bouquet of the Aten". Steindorff, loc. cit. 65, misread the opening words here and was unable to translate. Davies' translation is poetic but makes little sense. If, however, we understand k3 as "nourishment", "offering" (see W. V, 91, 3-13 and ibid. the right hand column for the spelling with the k3-arms and the stroke, but no determinative), then we have a good non-verbal sentence expressing a timeless state of being, and so I have taken it.

299. Steindorff, loc. cit. apparently followed by Ranke, since there is no independent listing for P3-h3 in E, read the name as P3-gwr "Pakharu" (see E I, 116, 17), probably on the basis of the throwstick determinative. But the throwstick only indicates that the man or the name was of foreign origin. I see no reason to emend it and consequently have followed Davies, loc. cit. in reading it as written.

300. It was acquired at a sale of art in Egypt in 1894, but beyond this, nothing is known of its origin. If, however, its owner can be equated with one of the Merysakhmets from Deir el-Medineh (see below, n. 318), perhaps it can be assigned
to the Theban area.

301. See above, n. 286, and the literature cited there.

302. With nfr.w written in honorific transposition.

303. Koefoed-Petersen, Les stèles égyptiennes 32, translated ḫrt ‘nb ḫm.w as a participal phrase qualifying the preceding p3w.ty: "Dieu des premiers âges qui créa l’espèce humaine". While the general sense of this is correct, grammatically it should be noted that ḫrt is an infinitive and any translation should reflect this.

304. Koefoed-Petersen did not attempt to translate ḫdf tw m ḫbf ḫm"] sn which seems logically to be the result of Ptah’s creation. The sense seems clear: Ptah is the Primeval One who fashioned the life of mankind, a fact so acknowledged by whomsoever stops to ponder on it. Of course, to our modern ears this is an obvious and cumbersome repetition.

305. Compare Koefoed-Petersen, loc. cit: "pour lui, il n’est rien qu’il ignore". The text: ḫp.w nb(.wt) m ḫm.f ḫp.w, literally: "there does not exist everything which has come into existence as that which he does not know their coming into existence".

306. ḫpr.f pr.t ḫrw r’ nb ḫnty s3.n.f. For this transitive use of ḫpr whereby it has the force of shpr, see ḫb. III, 264, 16-17.

307. All of the preceding sentences have, thus far, been descriptive and qualifying epithets of Ptah in line 1. With the change to the pronoun of the second person singular, the speaker has arrived at the main thought and clause. This same structure is repeated in the next section of the text where Sakhmet is invoked towards the end of line 5, except
that the verb of the main clause of this second section, towards the end of line 8, is now in the dual, its antecedents being both Ptah and Sakhmet.

308. There is a deep gouge in the surface of the text at this point which has all but obliterated the tall vertical sign(s) which stood there. Koefoed-Petersen, loc. cit., read in the lacuna ½ ¼, but a careful scrutiny of my own photograph shows that, while such a reading is possible, it is more likely that what stood there according to the preserved traces was ¼ which is nothing more than the determinative of pr-wr. This is even more probable in light of the mention almost immediately afterwards of the pr-nsr (for which see the following note). For the pr-wr, see Wb. I, 517, 2-4.

309. For the pr-nsr, see Wb. I, 518, 1.

310. The imagery invoked here is striking. Mör, Wb. II, 167, 7, is used "vom Berg der Wind abhalt". ḫty, transcribed by Koefoed-Petersen, loc. cit. as ¼ ¼ and Mogensen, "A Stele ..." 39 as ¼ ¼, was already correctly recognized by Platt, "Notes..." 132. While it is not attested in the Wb. in this exact spelling and nuance, the sense is clear enough, compare Wb. III, 337, 5-338, 1.

311. For the idiom ḫty hr "to rage against", see Wb. III, 159, 9. I take the verb here as the 3rd feminine singular of the Old Perfective.

312. For mḥ3 "spear", see Wb. II, 47, 1-3.

313. It is with this sentence that the long invocation to Ptah and Sakhmet ends and the main reason for the prayer of Mery-sakhmet to them is stated. Only Platt, op. cit. 131, connected ḫ3 āt "my limbs" with the preceding nn ½ή."
(for the construction, see Erman, Neuägyptische Grammatik par. 478, end). Mogensen, "A Stele..." 40 and Koefoed-Petersen, Les stèles égyptiennes 32, both assumed that it was the subject of the following sw m sib.w, but this is incorrect grammatically. Merysakhmet is asking the two deities to grant several things, the first of which, a "happy lifetime" etc. is a noun clause serving as the direct object of di.tn. After this, however, the remaining desiderata are expressed by verbal clauses, i.e. m3p.f forms with noun subjects, see Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar par. 76.

314. See the preceding note. The subject of sw is, of course, hr.ī.

315. Neither Mogensen nor Koefoed-Petersen, loc. cit. attempted to translate this sentence. Koefoed-Petersen, Recueil, loc. cit. transcribed the first two hieroglyphs of line 10 as ë, but as Platt, op. cit. 132 and pl. 31, correctly noted, what is actually written is ë. I have rendered this and the following as independent sentences, but it is quite possible that they are also dependent on di.tn as additional desiderata to be granted by the divine couple. Admittedly, my translation of wb3 here is a guess and I really do not know what both this and the following sentence mean.

316. While swÍ "totality", Wb. IV, 212, 6-15, is not attested in this spelling, the word can hardly be anything else. Koefoed-Petersen's transcription of the text, loc. cit. omits the plural dots beneath the bookroll determinative, they they are quite apparent on the photograph.

317. There is a lacuna of at least two squares before the legible and preserved traces which begin with nswt. Platt's facsimile, loc. cit. pl. 31, confirmed by a careful examination of
the photograph, shows immediately to the right of nswt in the lacuna the tip and blade of the māh-axe and beneath this there is a clear t, thus: māh. The title, then, is not lost, but is to be read: māh nswt m kd which, though not to my knowledge attested elsewhere, is undoubtedly a variant of the well-known māh-kd nswt "stone mason of the king", Wh. II, 190, 15.

318. For the name, see PN I, 157, 25. While no other "stone mason of the king" of this name is known to me, it is interesting to note that out of thirty-four randomly collected examples of this name, twenty-nine come from Deir el-Medineh and five of these, Theban graffiti nrs. 356, 466, 1841, 2080, and 230!) belonged to a Merysakhmet who was an "outline draftsman" (sāḥ kd).

319. Usually the apron is not indicated on the two-dimensional representations of seated figures. A least a random perusal of the New Kingdom stelae published in the Cairo Catalogue Générale, Posi and Roccati, Stele... di Deir el Medina, Koefoed-Petersen, Les stèles égyptiennes, and Stewart, Egyptian Stelae... have produced no examples. Out of the thus-far published volumes of British Museum stelae which contain mostly or completely New Kingdom stelae (vols. 5-10) only three examples, British Museum 797 (vol. 7, pl. 36), 156 (vol. 9, pl. 28), and 146 (ibid. pl. 47) show the apron depicted in the same manner as on stela 28.

320. See above, n. 267, and the literature cited there.

321. Weidemann, op. cit. 332-333, believing that the man in question was the viceroy of Kush, Paser I, under Ay and Horemheb (see the next note) assumed that the writing sāḥ nswt
was an error for s3 nswt and accordingly noted this with sic! While it is true that nothing precedes s3t nswt, there is, as will be shown below in nn. 322 and 325, good reason for believing that the sic! was not justified, and that s3t nswt was indeed intended, although the scribe did omit something in front of it.

322. Wiedemann, loc. cit. read the name as "Paser", understanding the hieroglyphs p3 nfr as an epithet "the god" which indicated that Paser had been deified. Moret, op. cit. 145, disregarded the words p3 nfr, but read the hieroglyph of the seated man on the throne which occurs in one of the three writings of the name as part of it: "Pawerpasep". Gauthier, op. cit. 200, agreed with Wiedemann that he was the viceroy Paser I, but suggested that the nfr-sign was actually to be read as the throwstick and stood for some word for foreigner, again taking this as an epithet alluding to perhaps a Nubian origin for the viceroy. While none of the three proposed readings of the name are attested in EM, that of Moret can be immediately discarded. The hieroglyph of the man seated on a throne is simply a variant determinative replacing the bearded seated man which occurs in one of the other writings. Since in all three instances, the penultimate sign before the man determinative is the nfr-sign, we must assume that it was the nfr-sign which the scribe intended. Consequently, we may also discard Gauthier's proposed reading. If we rule out the proposed identification with the viceroy Paser I which is based on both reading the three hieroglyphs following or as an epithet, together with the assumption that s3t nswt which precedes the name once is an error for s3 nswt (see the
preceding note), then I see no obstacle for reading the name as it is written in all three instances: Paserpanetjer.

323. The eyeball of ḫr is missing. For the name, see AN I, 114, 24, and for the title, above, n. 147.

324. Alternately, it is possible that the two lines "made by the soldier, Parennefer" simply identify the dedicator of the stela and that we should assume that what Parennefer is doing is to be read as a hieroglyph ṫb, ṫbh, or the like, meaning "make a libation". Such an ideographic writing is attested for ṫbh from the Late Period on, see Wh. V, 27, the right hand column. There is no reason why it could not have been so used earlier. If so, then this would be combined with the following line to read: "Making a libation for his lord, etc." However, it should be noted that whichever alternative this line is to read with, it is out of place in respect to whatever precedes it. For reading the combination of the picture + the text, see also above, n. 294.

325. Wiedemann, loc. cit. transcribed the beginning of the line as ṣ rmn followed by the determinatives (?) of the ἐ-arm beneath which was a disk. I would divide it differently. Starting at the very end, the sign which he read as a disk looks more like the breast ∇. This, in turn, suggests that the three preceding signs, mn + its phonetic complement n + the ἐ-arm are to be read as a single word mn(.t) "tutor", for the writing of which without the final .t see Wh. II, 94, 5, the right hand column. If I am correct, then it is obvious that this title which is frequently associated with the children of the royal family should be connected with the problematic s3t nswt at the beginning of the horizontal line
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at the top of the stela. S3t nswt, then, is surely to be as written, with the understanding that the artisan who carved the stela omitted mn'(t) for one reason or another.

326. Wiedemann's statement, loc. cit. that the stela was "of exceedingly bad workmanship" is nowhere better demonstrated than here, unless the lady suffered a withered left arm which is accurately shown in the same manner as is the polio-crippled right leg of the "doorkeeper, Rama" of stela Copenhagen 134, (see Koefoed-Petersen, op.cit. pl. 44). Such sloppiness of execution, however, is more likely when one looks at the general layout of the stela, with the off-center cartouche flanked by the wedjat-eyes, the poorly cut hieroglyphs, and the strange arrangement of the three lines of text discussed above in n. 324. Also worthy of note is the fact that this woman seemingly wears a man's calf-length pleated kilt and a wig similar to those worn by the seated men. Yet that she is a woman is clear from the determinative of her name and from her well-defined breast. For the valanced wig worn by women, see Aldred, "Hair Styles..." 145.

327. The name is not attested in PN, but compare tt, ibid. I, 383, 21-23.
328. The name is not attested in PN.
329. For the name, see PN I, 55, 15.
330. Several illegible traces are evident beneath the name. Unless these were a plene writing of m3(-erw, it is most likely that they specified the military unit to which Parennefer belonged. This could have been any of the following, the "company" (as, see my Military rank 136 ref. 320a-c), a "ship's contingent (hny't, ibid. 136 ref. 321a-c), the "Residence"
331. Following the suggestion of Gardiner, Petrie, and Černý, loc. cit. note c, that the horizontal n written here be emended to mh.

332. For the ḫūw n nbw Ḥd, compare Gardiner, Ancient Egyptian Onomastica I 26* nr. A90, which deals with the similar title ḥūw pr-ḥd n Ḥd nbw, obviously a variant of it (see also Wh. I, 518, 5-8). While a Sebekhotpe (called Panehay) is known to have held this office in the years 30-36 of Aḥm-hotpe III (see Helck, Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches (Leiden: 1958) 512 nr. 9), stela nr. 29 is clearly Ramesside in date and cannot have been the same man. However, neither Helck, loc. cit. nor Černý in his supplement to and review of Helck's book, Bibliotheca Orientalis 19 (1962) 140-144, included the latter among the incumbents of this high administrative office. From this we might well assume that the Sebekhotpe of stela nr. 29, though he was an "overseer of the treasury of gold and silver", was not the "overseer of the treasury". Yet he was a royal butler and in the Ramesside period the royal butler ranked among the highest magnates of the land, often performing functions normally exercised by such officials as the vizier or the viceroy of Kush, see my "The Royal Butler Ramesessempere" 123-124, and also n. 334, below.

333. On the title ḥn sātšw in general, see my "Two Unrecognized Monuments of Shedsunefertem", JNES 39 (1980) 305, commentary note g and the literature cited there. Although no other instances of a ḥn sātšw n ḫn ṣps are known to me, compare Wh.
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IV, 299, 7, hry sšt3w n nswt, and statue Cairo CG 42164, hry
sšt3w n nr nswt.

334. For the name, see PN I, 305, 6. The only other instance
known to me of a royal butler with this name is found in a
papyrus in Turin, see now S. Allam, Hieratische Ostraka und
Papyri (Tübingen: 1973) pl. 133, which is dated to a "year
1, month 2 of Shomu, day 7" of an unspecified 20th Dynasty
king (but see below) and which reads:

"the coming of the nobles, the vizier Neferronpe, the
first prophet of Amün, Ramesesnakht, the royal butler
Seherwenemef, the royal butler Pra'nakht, the (over-
seer) of the treasury Montuemtowe, the royal butler
Autumnakht, the royal butler Sebekhotpe, and the brig-
ade commander Payiri"
to bring some mortuary equipment for the royal tomb. If the
two Sebekhotpes are one and the same man, as is likely, the
naming of him here after the overseer of the treasury Montu-
estowe suggests that, along with the royal butler Autumnakht,
he was immediately subordinate to Montuemtowe. If, then,
his designation as "overseer of the treasury of gold and sil-
ver" discussed above, in n. 332, did not refer to the office
held by the head of this administration,—and it probably
did not, since on Stela Sinai 302 Sebekhotpe still refers to
himself, first of all, as a royal butler—, the title never-
theless still indicates his position within the treasury
administration. The dates for the two documents can probably
be narrowed down with a little more precision. Of the three
great officials mentioned in the Turin papyrus, the vizier
Neferronpe is attested from year 1 of Rameses IV to year 13
of Ramesses IX (so Helck, op. cit. 464), and the first prophet of Amün Ramessesnakht from year 1 of Ramesses IV to at least the reign of Ramesses VII (so Černý, CAH 3rd ed. II, chap. 35: "Egypt from the Death of Ramesses III to the End of the Twenty-First Dynasty" 637 n. 2). The overseer of the treasury Montuemtowe, however, is attested only from the end of the reign of Ramesses III or year 1 of Ramesses IV until year 4 of Ramesses V (so Helck, op. cit. 519). Consequently, the Turin text and two years later, stela nr. 29, are to be dated to years 1 and 3, respectively, of the reigns of either Ramesses IV or Ramesses V.

335. Gardiner, Peet, and Černý, op. cit. 194, translated: "all that the sun disk embraces praises thee" which, though essentially what the sentence means, is nonetheless somewhat free. "All" is not present in the Egyptian unless it is inherent in An, written here with two archaic cartouches, the first to be read phonetically, the second as the determinative.

336. Gardiner, Peet, and Černý, loc. cit. did not really attempt to translate this sentence which reads p3 ħn mw mhw(t), but did suggest, loc. cit. note d, that it might be rendered "he who joined the family". What this might mean completely escapes me. While, admittedly, my own translation is little more than a guess, in view of the fact that the provenance of the stela is the mining country in Sinai, it seems plausible to suppose that mhw(t) is better understood in its meaning of "tribe", "clan of Bedouin", etc. (see WH. II, 114, 8) rather than in that of "family" (ibid. 114, 7). If so, the the participle ħn mw should refer to an action per-
formed by the king in connection with these desert dwellers. While none of the meanings assigned to ḫmn in Wb. III, 377, 3-379, 20, basically all nuances and extended uses of "join", "unite oneself with", and the like, really suit the king with regard to the desert tribesmen who, after all, are normally considered hostile to Egypt, there is another, less common ḫmn "build", "fashion", "create", ibid. 382, 1-3, which might be suitable here in the sense that it is the king who creates all, even the Bedouin. Compare the Great Hymn to the Aton from the tomb of Ay (published by Sandman, Texts from the Time of Akhenaton 94), although there it is also true that it is the Aton, not the king, who is pictured as the universalistic creator:

"You fashioned the earth as you wished, you alone.
All mankind, herds and flocks, everything on earth that walks on legs, and that which is the heaven which flies upon their wings, the lands of Syria and Kush, and the land of Egypt. You set every man to his place and you make their requirements".

Of course it is also possible that we have here still another verb ḫmn, the meaning of which is unknown.

337. Not translated by Gardiner, Peet, and Černý, loc. cit. What is written here seems to be a badly-formed g-serpent with a t underneath it. To be read ḫ.t "forever" and connected with the preceding phrase?

338. Ṣn "name" is clear. What precedes it looks like a misformed ssm. While possibly a title of Sebekhotpe, on analogy with titles like sḥm.w-hb "festival leader (Wb. IV, 288, 22-23) or sḥm.w-k3.w "director of offerings" (ibid. 289, 1), it is
more likely, since no such title is attested in the \textit{Wb.} that this participial phrase also refers to the king, specifying still another benefice of his.

339. To date there have been no exhaustive studies in depth of this title and the office which it encompassed, although I already have touched upon some aspects of it in my "The Royal Butler Ramessessam\'on", \textit{JNES} (forthcoming) Section C.

340. For representations of aged and aging people, see E. Riefstahl, "An Egyptian Portrait of an Old Man", \textit{JNES} 10 (1951) 65-73.

341. The \textit{hwr-\textit{mt}} is quite clear. It is followed by a bird-hieroglyph which, however, really does not look like the quail chick (\textit{w}), but the following double reed leaves and the determinative of the man with his hand to his mouth seem to insure the reading.

342. See above, Chapter 1, stelae nrs. 1-19.

343. See above, nn. 215-216 for references.

344. See above, n. 214, for references.

345. See above, nn. 217 and 218 for references in tomb art, and for stelae, nrs. 20 and 21.


347. Ibid. 134.

348. Ibid. nn. 86-88. The texts in question are \textit{Urk.} IV, 811, 1459-1460, 1867, and \textit{Papyrus Boulaq} 18, 37, 1-2, and 45, 1.

349. \textit{Urk.} IV, 2:58, Helck, "Das Dekret des Königs Haremheb", \textit{ZAb} 80 (1955) 125-126. For translations, see Smith and Redford,
op. cit. 134, Helck, op. cit. 126, and, earlier, K. Pflüger, "The Edict of King Haremheb", JNES 5 (1946) 266.

350. Helck, loc. cit. translated mkt as "protection", a meaning well-attested for it, see Hp. II, 160, 22-161, 4, but in the light of what follows, "protection" is hardly appropriate. Pflüger's rendering, loc. cit. "(wants) to protect" is also unsatisfactory since mkt is clearly a noun. Redford, loc. cit. is probably correct in assigning a meaning of "provisions", "provisioning", or the like for it, based on mkt "provisions", "nourishment", Hp. II, 162, 5.

351. Helck's "für jeden (Ersten)", loc. cit. makes no sense here. If his restoration of the text at this point (hrw t)p or (r't)p, depending on how the sundisk is to be read (see Urk. IV, 2158), is correct, the allusion is certainly to a specific point in time, literally "every first day". However, since Horemheb's officials came "three times a month", as the following sentence relates, then "every hrw/r't p" obviously cannot have been "every first day" of the month. It is not improbable that the phrase did mean something like "holiday" as both Redford and I have taken it.

352. While the antecedent of the suffix .sn in phr_sn was probably expressed in the lacuna at the beginning of the line, it is clear that .sn refers to the officials who were present at the banquet outside the window.

353. Redford's "at royal expense", loc. cit. is perhaps a bit too free.

354. Loc. cit.

355. By his use of "........" Helck, loc. cit. suggests that the lacuna between nb and hry.w tp nw mnfyt was a very large one.
Actually it is only one square wide, just enough room for the restoration t3.wy proposed by both Pflüger and Redford, loc. cit.

356. See above, stelae nrs. 1, 6, 8-10, 13, and possibly 2, as well as the rock-cut stelae nrs. 14-19. Of all of these stelae with firm provenances, only nr. 6 was found in a tomb.

357. See above, stelae nrs. 22, 24-26. Those which do not come from a tomb are nrs. 23, from the Sphinx amphitheater at Giza, and nr. 29, from outside the Hathor sanctuary at Serabit el-Khadim.

358. See above, stelae nrs. 2, 5, 7, 12, and 13.

359. This certainly was so in the case of stelae nrs. 22, and 24-26 which were dedicated to Any by various of his associates and subordinates.

360. The hby.w-collars do not appear worn on only one of the group of stelae nrs. 20-30, namely nr. 24. This has been included, however, because of the presentation of the bovins to Any, an act which is paralleled in several of the tomb scenes which narrate the events immediately after the collars have been bestowed, see Davies, The Rock Tombs of el Amarna VI, pl. 26, idem. The Tomb of Nefer-Hotep pl.17, and compare idem. The Rock Tombs of el Amarna II, pl. 37.

361. See above, n. 228, for references.

362. For the restoration of the name, see Davies, The Rock Tombs of el Amarna V, 10. For the name see FM I, 140, 6.

363. For the name, see ibid.

364. See Davies, op. cit. 6 and pl. 8, and compare Bouriant, op. cit. 49.

365. See Bouriant, loc. cit. He mentioned, ibid. n. 2, that a
fifth stela had been found, but that he was unable to locate it in the Cairo Museum.

366. See Davies, loc. cit. 7.

367. Ibid. 8 and pls. 8-10, 20. Pls. 8 and 20 show the statue in the shrine. Only in the scene reproduced in pl. 9 is the offering table preserved.

368. Davies, loc. cit. pl. 10 and earlier, though in a less accurate copy, Houriant, loc. cit. 56 fig. 21.

369. See Davies, loc. cit. pl. 9.

370. What is preserved on the wall here is which certainly is to be restored "[His wife], the lady of the house As--". Davies assumed that she had survived Any because of her speech:

"She says: '----- son ----- you arrive -----. He (i.e. the king) commanded for you your place of eternity' ".

However, on the basis of the speech of the servitor Meryre' who offers Any a libation in the same scene (see below), it is more likely that the figure of Any is not that of the deceased Any at a funerary banquet in the Afterworld, but rather the living Any who is celebrating at a banquet after having been rewarded by the king.


372. I take ir.tw as a perfective sdm.f with future reference,
see Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* par. 450, 3, and ibid. par. 448 for the spelling. If in is rendered as it normally is as the preposition introducing the agent "by", the resulting sentence, with its arbitrary mixture of the pronouns .k and .f, is quite awkward. Such awkwardness disappears if we understand in as a parenthetic phrase meaning "says", see Gardiner, op. cit. 433 and pars. 436-437.

373. This rendering of wā is a bit free, but the sense is clear enough.

374. Literally: "the mountain (ḏw) of Akhetaton" which can hardly be anything other than the cliffside where the tombs of the Amarna nobles were located.

375. There is just enough room in the lacuna at the bottom of the line to restore m st. This is virtually assured by the following nhh at the beginning of the next line, for while st m3£ is the more usual term for a cemetery, what else could the st nhh have been?

376. I cannot explain this spelling of k3 with the prothetic reed-leaf.

377. What is preserved is ink(?), n ḫd.k(?) followed by the titles of Meryreš, sqm-š and rwd, written corruptly with the fore-leg rather than the bowstring, n sě nswt. I have no suggestion for the corrupt portion preceding the titles.

378. For this anticipatory use of m3£-prw, see above, n. 297, and the references cited there.

379. See Davies, op. cit. pl. 9.

380. Compare the hieroglyph 𓊖 (Gardiner, op. cit. Signlist A 26) which is used as the determinative in such words as nis "summon", "call", ḫw "call", or the vocative interjection 𓊗 "O".
Although only the foot and lower part of the jar are preserved, it can hardly be anything else.


The parallels in the tomb of Huya, *ibid.* 41, have n ḏḏw nswt for which there is just enough room in the lacuna here, with space for the preposition n at the beginning of the next line.

There is a lacuna approximately three-quarters of a square high at the beginning of the line, the upper part of which undoubtedly contained the preposition n, if it was written with the water zigzag. However, if the preposition was written with the Red Crown, this would have filled the entire lacuna. Beneath this is a clearly written imy-r below which, at the left, are three tiny, unevenly spaced, vertical strokes. In view of Any's title "steward", attested on five of the six stelae (nrs. 22, 25, 26, Cairo CG 34.179 and Cairo CG 34.181) as well as elsewhere in the tomb, the restoration which immediately comes to mind is that of the same title. It must be admitted, however, that pr _ipv does not really fit the preserved traces. They do suit the writing .Surface which could easily have come from a confusion of the hieratic writings of ḏḏw and n.

In his drawing, Davies, *loc. cit.* shows, with a question mark, what may have been a horizontal sign, curving downward at the left and thickened with a perceptible blob at its right end. Sandman-Holmberg's handcopy here, *loc. cit.* does not include these traces. If my restoration of the preceding title as "steward" (see preceding note) is correct and since
Any was the steward of the temple-estate of Amunhotpe II (n pr '3-ḥprw-r', see Davies, loc. cit. pl. 20), it is not impossible that this questionable, slightly-curved, horizontal sign was the poorly-rendered curved top of a cartouche. This obviously would have contained the prenomen of Amunhotpe II which is also present in the scene as part of the text identifying Any:

"The scribe of the king, the one whom [his] lord loves, the scribe of the offering table of the Aton, the scribe of the altar, he who supplies (restore hn) nourishment for the lord of the Two Lands in Akhetaton, (the steward of the temple-estate) of 'Aakhep-rure', granted life, Any, who shall be justified — in peace".

With the exception of hn, which is based on the preserved traces, all of the other restorations here were made on the basis of Any's titles recorded by Davies, loc. cit. 7. Although ṗmy-r pr '3-ḥprw-r' seems to have been written instead of ṗmy-pr n pr '3-ḥprw-r', the omission of n pr need not trouble us greatly. The title and its specifications could be expressed by a direct genitive. If this had been the case, the artist who painted this text could easily have made an error here.

386. I have no suggestions whatsoever for the few traces which are recognizable here. The parallels are of no help.

387. Although nb is incorrectly written with the k-basket, it is nevertheless certain from the parallels, see Sandman-Holmberg, loc. cit.

388. Ré, though garbled, is certain from the parallels. I have
no suggestions for the badly-preserved signs which follow at
the beginning of the next line. The parallel texts have hr
\( \text{i.s.k} \) "upon your tomb-chamber", but what is preserved in the
first two squares of the break is the trace of a tall vertical
sign at the left, beneath this what seems to be a k3-arms
and a stroke. Davies, loc. cit. 17, restored [in the abode],
presumably having been influenced by the parallels.

389. It is most probable that the relative form of m3\(^2\) was written
here, although I cannot explain the writing with the hoe, be-
neth which was a now-lost small sign and a stroke. Davies,
also recognized and translated this as a relative, but clear-
ly had reservations about it: "which thou lovest(?)".

390. Following the translation of Davies, loc. cit. The parallel
text in the tomb of Huya reads: m3.tw \( \text{g3} \) nb(w) \( \text{hpr.f.} \). The
Any text reads m3, followed by a lacuna which is just big
enough for the determinative. Beneath this are the traces of
a bird's feet and tail and there is enough room for a t-loaf
in front of its breast. This line then concludes with the
walking legs for which I have no suggestions. The next line
begins with \( \text{g3} \) nb, beneath which is a lacuna approximately
one square high, just enough room for plural strokes and the
hpr-beetle, the phonetic complement of which starts the fol-
lowing line. This is followed by the 'nd-netting needle which
makes no sense and is probably to be emended to .f.

391. M \( \text{h.t.k} \) occurs in all of the parallel texts from the tomb of
Huya. There is just enough room for it, if slightly squeezed
together, in the lacuna.

392. Davies here recorded: wnn.k m s3 n illegible traces .tw [---]
\( \text{htp-di-nswt} \). This is certainly to be restored wnn.k m s3 n
rir₄ tc [n-r] htp-di-nswt.

393. I really do not know what this last phrase means. Davies translated it as I have, but questioned his translation. There is a lacuna at the beginning of the line which has enough room for the genetival n and immediately below this the pr-sign and stroke occupy the left half of the square, suggesting that some short, squat sign originally stood at the right. I have no suggestion as to what this might have been.

394. Davies, loc. cit. translated "and [water] from thy sluice(?)", but the lacuna is not big enough to restore the three water zigzags, the more so since at its lower right side is a short vertical stroke which can only be the right hand element of the plural strokes. This is followed by m sb3 n, an almost imperceptible trace at the left of the beginning of the next line, and n-k. I must admit that I have no suggestions here. There are no parallels from the tomb of Huya.

395. See above, n. 365, for the reference.


397. See Davies, op. cit. 6-7.

398. See above, nn. 230-233.

399. The more so since their tombs are not, to my knowledge, preserved.
Chapter 3: Afterthoughts

It is not my intention to recapitulate here the various and immediate conclusions which have been arrived at in the preceding two chapters. These, I believe, are evident and need no further amplification. Nevertheless, a few additional remarks and afterthoughts may be in order.

Along with the scarab, the ushebty, the sarcophagus, and the statue, the stela is one of the most familiar objects which has survived from Ancient Egypt. However, only one of its types, the commemorative/historical royal is studied for and within its intrinsic context as an historical document. The others, the private stelae, particularly those votive and funerary types, which clearly constitute the vast majority of the monuments of this category, are studied for their artistic content, for their religious context, for the philological and onomastic information provided by their texts, when such are present, and, on occasion for the socio-economic data which can be gleaned from them. Only rarely are they studied as purely historical documents. Yet every object which is preserved from Pharaonic Egypt should be considered as and is, in fact, an historical document and should also be studied from this point of view. This is not to say that the traditional and conventional perspectives which are used to study private stelae should be discarded. Rather they should be approached with new questions and new perceptions as I have attempted to do with the stelae which were investigated in Chapters 1 and 2 and in two earlier studies.430

The main group of stelae examined in Chapter 2 clearly illustrate an actual event, the private, or rather, individual, personal public ceremony in which a faithful servant of the king was
rewarded with gold, particularly with gold šby.w-collars, and
with its aftermath when the servant so-rewarded returned home
from the ceremony, proudly wearing these very same collars. The
importance of this event in the life and career of the individual
recipients of the reward is underscored by its relatively frequ­
ent appearance in the narrative biographical scenes occupying the
public portion of their tombs. Indeed, in the tomb of Any at Am­
arna, although the ceremony and its aftermath do not figure in
the preserved decoration inside the tomb, stelae which illustrate
various aspects of its immediate aftermath filled a series of
niches cut in the rock passage immediately outside the tomb entr­
ance. The representations of Any inside the tomb in what are con­
ventionally described as funerary scenes likewise show him wearing
these same collars. The very fact, however, that the collar is
worn in such scenes in the tomb or in their analogues on stelae
or even on statues would seem to confirm their importance and
their significance to the individuals pictured with them. This,
in turn, would seem to reiterate that when they appear, their very
appearance recalls the ceremony at which they were awarded.

In Chapter 1, the scene which every stela examined shares
in common is one picturing the king in the act of slaying an enemy
or group of enemies in the presence of a god, a scene and motif
usually interpreted as symbolizing the timeless triumph and invin­
cible power of the royal persons. Yet, while this is undoubted­
ly correct, I have attempted to show that this stereotyped, sym­
bolic, conventional theme is nevertheless rooted in an actual
event, the ritual execution of a captured enemy ruler during the
ceremonial thanksgiving offered by the pharaoh to the god(s) at
the conclusion of a successful military campaign. Certainly there
is reason to assume that the king's performance in such a ceremony would have been viewed by all those who were spectators to it,—for clearly this ritual slaughter was public, one part of a public spectacle,—as the most tangible demonstration of the awesome might and power of the king, concrete testimonial of his inevitable triumph over his foes and of his omnipotence in all matters. Inasmuch as any achievement of the king automatically became part of the royal myth and became integrated into the king's persona, it is easy to see how this very real event could then be metamorphosed into a symbolic concept and how its depiction then entered the iconographic repertoire of the Egyptian artist as a conventional stereotype which visually conveyed this concept.

It is not only in the act of smiting an enemy that the king appears on private stelae. Often he is shown making some kind of offering to one or another of the gods and on analogy with the real ceremony underlaying the smiting scene, I submit that in these cases as well, a specific event in time, the king's participation in some specific religious ceremony at which the instigators of the stelae in question were also present is likewise being commemorated. Although it is outside the parameters of the present study to attempt to determine exactly which religious rituals might have been involved, it might be pointed out that at least one, illustrated on stela Cairo JE 45548 and which pictures the king offering to several processional barks, those of Amūn, Mūt, and Khonsu, must be connected with a ceremony inside the temple in either a so-called hall of barks, i.e. the depository within the temple where the processional barks were stored when not in use, or else in one of the chapels where these portable boat-shrines which contained a cult statue of the god were kept.
Such ceremonies are often depicted on the walls of the appropriate room of the temple where they took place. If such private stelae do, in fact, even though incidentally, commemorate a real ceremony in which the king participated, we may wonder if the scenes of those private stelae on which the king does not appear and which, after all, form the vast majority of the preserved corpus of these monuments (and not only from the New Kingdom), are likewise rooted in an actual event which took place at a point fixed in time? An examination of the stelae discussed in Chapter 2 suggests that this was the case, that incidents which had an especial meaning and significance for the owner or dedicator of the stelae, the two not necessarily being the same person, could and did figure in their scenes. This is demonstrated just as vividly by the group of stelae whose scenes picture the processional bark of a god delivering an oracle to the dedicator of the stela or by those showing the funerary rite of Opening-of-the-Mouth being performed. In each of these instances, there is no question but that an actual incident is being portrayed. This, in turn, suggests that those stelae scenes which show either the deceased alone or with members of his family making an offering to the gods, or those showing a member or members of his family making offerings to the deceased might also picture actual events rather than conventional stereotypes. In two of my recent studies on the Egyptian iconography of the Asiatic god Rešep, I attempted to show that the representations of the deity on New Kingdom stelae were not symbolic abstracts of the god himself, but rather, like the pictures of Ramesses-Montuemtowe on the Qantir stelae or those of the Sphinx on the Giza stelae, were concrete depictions of specific, individual cult statues of the
There is no reason not to suppose, then, that on those monuments where the dedicator is pictured making an offering this was also the case, that what actually was being portrayed was an act of worship at a specific point of time in a specific temple or shrine. In short, the stela's owner was making offerings to the cult statue(s) of the divinity or divinities involved. Likewise, when it is the deceased to whom offerings are being made by various members of his family, we should understand that it was not so much his spirit, his ka in the Afterworld, which is being shown, but his tomb statue in the tomb during a funerary banquet. This latter, in fact, may have been the inspiration for that large group of stelae whose texts identify the deceased as an 3y ikr n R' "a spirit who is effective for Re" and whose pictures show the deceased sitting, standing, or kneeling and holding a lotus. These could very well have been depicting, not the deceased, but his tomb statue.

In each of these cases, however, it should not be assumed that, in addition to picturing real events in real locations at real points in time, such scenes did not also have a timeless symbolism, that they did not simultaneously convey the notion that the actual event, whatever it might have been and wherever it might have taken place, was continually and unendingly being repeated forever for the duration of Eternity. This, after all, is one of the basic motivations underlaying virtually all Egyptian mortuary and monumental art: the infinite, timeless repetition of whatever was being pictured so that it lived, continued, and was repeated forever. Whether this desire for eternal repetition, everlasting continuation, or whether this symbolic interpretation was both the original and primary motivation for the appearance
of the scenes found on the private stelae of the New Kingdom and probably of the earlier periods of Egyptian history as well, is a moot question, one which is only incidental to this study. It seems clear enough to me that such scenes did have a real context, did portray actual events, that they did have a historicity. With this understanding in mind, then they certainly provide us with a new and hitherto untapped source of historical documents, though it is true not so much for political history as for social and/or religious history.
Footnotes:

400. In both my "A Memphite Stela..." and my "The Iconographic Theme..." To the stelae which I have discussed in the first of these, add now stela Hannover 1935.200.442, published by Munro, "Untersuchungen zur altägyptischen Bildmetrik" 41 fig. 44.

401. See above, n. 8, for references.

402. See above, n. 129 and the literature cited there.


404. See my "A Memphite Stela..." 98 n.39, 109 pl.2, and the references cited there.


406. See my "A Memphite Stela..." 96 n. 34, 97 n. 36, and the references cited there.

407. For this particular aspect of the funeral ceremony, see E. Otto, Das ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual (Wiesbaden: 1960) and G. Goyon, Rituels funéraires de l'ancienne Égypte (Paris: 1972) 87-120.

408. See my "The Winged Reshep" 73 and my "Reshep Times Two" 164-
166. For the cult statues of Ramesses-Montuemtowe on the Qantir stelae and those from Giza which picture the Sphinx, see my "The Winged Resheph" 82 nn. 34-38.

409. For the 3h ḫfr n Rˁ and the stelae picturing them, see now the impressive study of R. Demarée, The 3h ḫfr n Rˁ-Stelae: On Ancestor Worship in Ancient Egypt (Leiden: 1983) and, earlier, Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1934-1935): troisieme partie (Cairo: 1939) 151-167: "Le culte du Khou Aker ḫfr."
Appendix

Four rock-cut stelae were deliberately omitted from my enumeration in Chapter 1: the stela set up at Kasr Ibrim in the reign of Seti I by the viceroy of Kush, Amenemope, a stela set up at Aswan in year 2, month 3 of Shomu, day 26 of Ramesses II, and two of the lesser stelae, nrs. 12 and 13, at Abu Simbel. Of these the Aawan stela could very well have been included in Chapter 1. It was excluded because of the length of its text, although it conforms perfectly with the other stelae of this chapter in every other respect. The two Abu Simbel stelae, save for the wretched remnants of their texts, have never been published. My own photographs of them are poor and reveal virtually nothing. The late Labib Habachi kindly looked at them for me, but with little better result:

"Nothing visible more than what can be seen in the upper register: Ramesses II smiting a prisoner with Amenre offering him the scimetar, and followed by a hawk-headed god, most probably Harakhti. Nothing shows if in the lower register was the representation of ... people". 410

Consequently, since I have not really been able to study these two monuments and since I am unwilling to make any judgements about them on the basis of the extremely-sketchily published descriptions,411 other than noting their existence below, they have been omitted from any further consideration. The stela which the viceroy Amenemope commissioned at Kasr Ibrim differs in two particulars from the other stelae which has the triumphal scene. Instead of being clubbed to death, the victim is being slain by a spearthrust, and the action, at first glance, appears to be taking place on the battlefield rather than inside a temple. The
presence of an empty chariot and its attendant horse-team next to
the king would seem to imply that he had just dismounted from
his vehicle in order to dispatch his enemy.\textsuperscript{412} I will return to these
apparent incongruities after I have described the stelae.

31. Rock-cut stela on the east bank of the Nile, not far up-
stream from the shrines of Kasr Ibrim. Bibliography: A.A. Camino-
sa, \textit{The Shrines and Rock-Inscriptions of Ibrim} (London: 1968) 83-
90 and pls. 39-40, F. Hintze, "Die Felsenstele Sethos I bei Kasr
Ibrim", \textit{ZAAS} 67 (1962) 31-40 and pl. 3, KR! I, 98-99. For earli-
er publications, see Caminos, op. cit. 83 and PM VII, 94. (Fig.
33).

Only the lower part of the scene, framed by a vertical
border line and set off from the text below by a thickish ground
line, is preserved. At the extreme left a god stands on a rect-
angular pedestal.\textsuperscript{413} His body from the waist down and a bit of
his clenched left hand and the \textit{w3s}-staff which it holds are still
visible. There are neither traces nor room for his right hand to
hang down straight at his side. It is probable that the missing
arm, as Caminos observed, must have been extended to offer the
king a sword.\textsuperscript{414} As all that is preserved of the god's dress is
his short kilt and the animal tail attached to the rear of his
belt, his identity is in question. The sacrificial prisoner, a
Nubian, kneels in front of the god. He has thick lips and wide,
flaring nostrils. His dress includes a massive earring, a short
bag-wig, a broad collar, a short kilt of stiffened material,\textsuperscript{415}
and the sporran worn by Nubians affixed to his belt in front.\textsuperscript{416}
His right knee rests on the ground line, its leg stretching back-
wards so that the foot projects in front of the god's pedestal.
His right arm flails upwards wildly. His left hand clutches his
kneecap. The king vigourously strides forward towards him. With one hand and arm, neither of which are preserved, he stabs the struggling captive with a fatal thrust through the abdomen. Such is the violence of the deathblow that the speartip has completely passed through the victim's body and juts out of the small of his back. With his other arm the king grasps the Nubian's hair firmly to steady the body for the death thrust. The king wears the archaic-patterned kilt, a wide belt, and the lion's tail. His right foot covers and obscures the left foot of the prisoner. To the right an undulating line slopes up diagonally from the ground over to the right border. On this the king's waiting chariot and its team of caparisoned horses stands. Of the two weapon cases attached to its side, that for the spears or javelins is empty. The wavy line certainly indicates the uneven flat desert terrain. Part of the chariot's wheel is covered by the king's left calf and the pawing forelegs of the horses project beyond the frame of the scene.

Underneath this violent tableau is a hieroglyphic text of twelve lines pertaining directly to it and three vertical lines which identify a male figure in the lower left corner as the dedicator of the stela. Holding his symbols of office and elaborately dressed, he has around his neck a thick, bulging, choker-like necklace around his neck, undoubtedly a ḫby.w-collar. The main text reads:

"Long live the Horus, the Mighty Bull who appears in Thebes, who causes the Two Lands to live, the Embodiment of the Two Ladies, who repeats births, powerful of sword, who repels the Nine Bows, the Horus of Gold who repeats appearances, rich of bows in all lands, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt..."
pt, Menmare'-Tutre', the Son of Re', Seti-semester, the Son of Re', Seti-semester, the Son of Re', Seti-semester, granted life forever and ever, the good god who smites the Nine Bows, rich of heart, who overthrows his enemies, who slaughters Kush, who tramples down the Tnw-folk, who carries off their chiefs as prisoners, the Horus, the Mighty Bull, firm of heart like the Son of Nut, the valiant king who makes his border at any place he desires, he spends the seasons of ploughing in Tomery and the seasons of his harvests among the Knw-folk, destroying their farms, hacking up their cities. His horses are sated with grain and his soldiers are intoxicated with wine through the victories of his sword. To him come the foreigners of the South, bowing down, and the Northerners, making obeisance to his power. That which Re, the Father encompasses is beneath his counsel and they obey, their hearts like one, without their being rebellious. They tag after his feet like hounds do, in quest of his giving the breath of life to them. O victorious king who protects Egypt, who tramples down the hillmen, who repels the flatlands in their places, the rulers of their foreign lands who did not acknowledge Egypt, who were rebellious against his majesty (i.p.h.), your valiant strength has carried them off, your power has trampled them down, the dread of you has encircled their lands, and your plans have baffled them. O goodly ruler who slays his enemies, who has destroyed the land of the Nehesi with his sword, whose southern frontier reaches as far as the wind does, while the northern one penetrates to the end of the Great Green.
Sea, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Memh re'-Tutre',
the Son of Re', Seti-merneptah, the Beloved of Amôrê, king
of the gods, granted life forever and ever".

This text, of course, is not a descriptive narrative to
the scene above, but is rather a speech, a panegyric addressed to
the king by the viceroy Amenemope. The three vertical lines of
text which precede and identify him contain an additional speech:

"The king's son of Kush, Amenemope, he says: 'Your Father,
Amôrê, protects you with all life, stability, and
good fortune. He gives to you the South like the North.
All countries bow down to your power. All lands are united
beneath your sandals'."  

32. Rock-cut stela dated to regnal year 2 of Rameseses II
at Aswan. Bibliography: De Morgan, Catalogue des monumens I,
6; XQ III, pl. 175g; KAI II, 344-345. For additional bibliogra­
phy, see PM V, 245 (Fig. 34).

The text of this stela has been published on several occa­
sions, but its scene has been reproduced only in the line drawing
of De Morgan. The curve of the stela's top is formed by the wing­
ed sun di s k. The tableau beneath this is comprised of two similar
scenes. In the center, facing outward, are respectively Khnûm and
Amûn, each offering a sword with his right hand to the king. Khnûm
holds a vêr-staff in his left hand, Amûn an 'nî. In front of and
over the head of each is a speech. That of Amûn reads: "Words
spoken by Amûn: 'I have given your sword to you'". The speech of
Khnûm reads: "Words spoken by Khnûm, lord of Samut:\n'I have
given to you every [---]'". In front of each god the figure of
the "lord of the Two Lands, Wosimare'-setepenre', the lord of Dia­
dems, Rameseses-mi'amûn, granted life like Re' allays a pros-
trate enemy. Each figure of the king, wearing the Double Crown, wields the maceaxe with his left hand and holds a bow in the same hand with which he grasps the hair of the foe whom he is about to kill. The victim in the right hand scene kneels on both knees toward Khnūm, but has swivelled his torso toward the king to whom he raises both hands in a futile gesture of supplication. The prisoner being slain before Amūn kneels on one knee toward the god, but has also turned his upper body to the king, raising both hands to him to beg for mercy. This captive wears a capetelike upper garment, a tight-fitting skullcap(?) and an ankle-length kilt. The other has a hairdo reaching down to his shoulder and likewise wears a sleeved upper garment. Unfortunately De Morgan's drawing does not allow any real conclusions to be made about the ethnicity of the victims. Behind the upraised arm of each Ramesses is the statement: "trampling the chiefs of the land of Nubia", from which we may assume that the victims are Nubians representing two different tribes or regions. Underneath and separated from the double scene is a hieroglyphic text of eleven horizontal lines. The text reads as follows:

"Year 2, month 3 of Shomu, day 26, under the majesty of the Horus, the Mighty Bull, the Beloved of Ma'at, the Embodiment of the Two Ladies who protects Egypt, who captures the foreign lands, the Horus of Gold, rich of years, great of victory, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the ruler of the Nine Bows who overthrows the rebellious ones, the lord of the sword, the lord of the Two Lands, Wosimare'-setepenre', the Son of Re', of his body, his beloved, the lord of Diadems, Ramesses-mi'amūn, the Beloved of Amūnre', the king of the gods, and of Khnūm the lord of Samut."
"Long live the good god, the Montu of millions, the one strong like the Son of Nūt, the fighter on the battlefield, the lion, powerful of heart, he has overthrown hundreds of thousands in the completion of an instant, the great wall of his army on the day of battle, the fear of whom has penetrated all lands. Tomeri (i.e. Egypt) rejoices when the ruler is in it, for he has extended its borders forever. The Asiatics are destroyed and their towns are looted. He has trampled down the foreigners of the North, the Tjemehu are overthrown on account of [their] fear of him, and the Asiatics are desirous of the breath (of life) from him, the one who, by means of his campaigns, causes that Egypt lives, that their hearts are filled with his plans, that they sit peacefully because of the shadow of his sword, and that they do not fear any foreign land. He has destroyed the fighting men of the Great Green Sea, the great water of the Northland. While they lay asleep, the king is wakeful. Precise of counsel, not a thing which he says fails, and the foreigners come to him carrying their children in order to beg the breath of life from him. His battlecry is powerful throughout the land of Nubia, his strength drives back the Nine Bows. Babylon, Hatti, and Yey(--.) bow down to his power, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the lord of the Two Lands, Wosimare-setepenrê, the Son of He'[., of his body, the lord of the sword, Ramesses-ai'amûn, [the beloved of] Amûnre', Khnûm, Satis, and 'Ameket".

Beneath this long text is an additional set of scenes and texts,
of which those on the left are virtually completely destroyed, but which undoubtedly duplicated those on the right. At the extreme right a man, wearing a shoulder-length wig and an ankle-length kilt, kneels and raises both hands in the gesture of adoration. In front of him are six vertical lines of text which is continued in two additional short vertical groups over his arms and in front of his face. A third group is in the field behind his head. This inscription reads as follows:

"Giving praise to the lion, the lord of [---], kissing the ground to the lord of the Two Lands, that he may give [-----] the prophet of the Primeval God, his beloved, (-----) his majesty upon all his victories [-----] every [-----], the overseer of the fortress(?) (-----).  


The scenes of this pair of stelae have not been published and their texts are mostly lost. The description given in PM simply notes "the King smites captives before Amun". That given by Kitchen for nr. 13 expands this slightly: "king strikes foe with mace before Amun and Horus", while that sent to me by Habachi adds the fact that Amun is offering the king a sword. The preserved portion of the text of nr. 12 contains the nomen, prenomen, and two epithets of Ramesses II, and that of nr. 13 but little more:

"Long live the Horus, the Mighty Bull, the Beloved of Maʿat, the Embodiment of the Two Ladies, [-----] lands, the Horus of Gold, rich of years, great of victories, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the
lord of the Two Lands, Wosi(ma)re<-(setepenre''), the Son of Re(§), Ra[meses-mi]Jamün [-----]. The good god, the Son of Amün, great [------] who slaughters the chiefs and the [great one]s466 of every [foreign land --- ---] heaven [--------].

While it is probable that these two stelae are to be considered as privately-commissioned monuments, as are the other rock-cut stelae at Abu Simbel, there is no way of determining who commissioned them, under what circumstances they were commissioned, or what, specifically, they may commemorate. Consequently, other than having noted their existence here, they have been excluded from consideration in my discussion and analysis of the stelae surveyed in Chapter 1. This is not the case, however, with stelae nos. 31 and 32. The former has been dealt with here, rather than in Chapter 1, mainly because its scene differs from the usual iconography of the death of the enemy. Here the action seems to be taking place on the battlefield rather than in the temple courtyard and the prisoner is being slain with a spear thrust rather than being clubbed to death. However, it is difficult to disassociate the Kasr Ibrim rock-stela from the other rock-stelae commissioned by the viceroy Amenemope at Aswan.467 These almost certainly commemorated the victorious conclusion of a campaign of Seti I in Nubia, probably in his year 8.468 Now, since the death of the captive is taking place in front of the statue of the god, who is also simultaneously offering the sword to the king, it is not unlikely that we have here a conflation of several scenes which include the victory on the battlefield and the subsequent sacrifice of the captured chief in the temple.469 It has been suggested that the motivation for Amenemope's commissioning this and the Aswan
texts was, simultaneously, to commemorate the victory, his participation in it, and his installation as viceroy. Since, in the Kasr Ibrim scene, he seems to be wearing the gold ḫby.ẖw-collars, it is, in the light of Chapter 2, tempting to further assume that they possibly were awarded to him because of some deed of valour of his in the course of the war and that he was also, albeit indirectly, commemorating the award as well, but this can only be pure speculation.

Although the Aswan inscription is dated to a specific point in time in the reign of Ramesses II, it should not, as it usually is, be reckoned as a royal inscription, nor should it be assumed that it was the king himself who was responsible for it. In spite of its beginning with a date and the king's titulary, the text is not a narrative. It is a panegyric addressed to the king, although unlike that contained in the Kasr Ibrim stela, he is not addressed in the second person. Moreover, this text is probably not to be disassociated from that of the dedicator pictured beneath it. Although broken and somewhat incomprehensible, it continues to describe the exploits of the king. Insofar as it seems to correspond completely in its iconographic and schematic details with the stelae studied in Chapter 1, like them it should be scrutinized for whatever historical implications it may possess. Its pictorial element implies that the victory which it commemorates was over Nubians, but the text claims victory over Libyans, Asiatics, "the fighting men of the Great Green Sea", i.e. a Sea People, and even Hatti and Babylon are represented as making overtures of submission. But these triumphs, or rather claimed triumphs in year 2 can hardly be reconciled with the dated wars of Ramesses II. His major confrontation
with the Hittites at Kadesh took place in regnal year 5, three years after the date of the Aswan stela. His inscription of year 4 at the Nahr el-Kelb near Beirut, two years after the Aswan text’s date suggests that his campaigning in Syria-Palestine did not take place much before then. Only the war against the Sherden (= "the fighting men of the Great Green Sea") and possibly a Libyan war take place in year 2. While there are a number of references to military activity on the part of Ramesses in Nubia, none of these, other than that implied by the scene of the Aswan stela can be associated with a specific date and, as has been suggested above, it is not unlikely that this war was the same as that which, though without any date, is depicted on the walls of the Beit el-Wali temple of Ramesses which actually took place during the period when he was coregent with his father. If this is correct, then the other triumphs alluded to in the Aswan inscription, over the Libyans, the Asians, the Sherden, even the submissive gestures of the Hittites and the Babylonians, could very well refer to the foreign wars of Seti I in which Ramesses II could have participated as a prince royal, crown prince, or coregent.
Footnotes:
410. Personal communication from Cairo, dated 24 August 1981.
411. See below, stelae nrs. 33a-b.
412. For similar scenes where the king has dismounted from his chariot to fight on foot, see, e.g. Wreszinski, Atlas II, pls. 34, 116, 140, 146, and 154.
413. Caminos, op. cit. 84, calls this a "short platform" which would mean that the god was standing on a raised flooring or stage. This, in turn, suggests that it was the god, himself, incarnate, who stood there. A pedestal, on the other hand, indicates that it was a statue of the god before whom the prisoner was being killed. This would be highly improbable if the action was taking place on the battlefield, for there is no evidence that the Egyptians carried divine statues into battle. It is not impossible that there is a conflation of two scenes and two ideas here: victory on the battlefield, followed immediately by the ceremonial execution of the captive enemy chief in the nearest temple.
414. Loc. cit. n. 7.
415. Ibid.
417. Although the internal detail of the individual biconical gold beads has not been indicated, the bulges of the collar above the line of Amenemope's shoulder can hardly be anything else but the curved profile of the last visible bead, see above, Chapter 2, Section A, nn. 226-228.
418. Essentially I have followed the translation of Caminos, op. cit. 85-86, though with some slight modifications. These are indicated in the following notes.
419. For ḫrw "rebel", "enemy", see Ṣḥb. II, 456, 13-20.

420. Caminos, op. cit. 86, the comment to line 3, takes ṭnw as an otherwise unattested ethnogeographic designation. It must be admitted, however, that the possibility of its being a corrupt writing for ḫnw "Retjenu", i.e. the Syro-Palestinian area, is a tempting one, see Caminos, loc. cit. for references. If so, then Kush, mentioned in the preceding line is balanced by ḫnw here. However, a spelling of ḫnw with the foreign people determinative, rather than that of the foreign land is not recognized by Ṣḥb. II, 460, 10-15. On the other hand, see Gauthier, Dictionnaire des noms géographiques III, 141, where a writing ¥ is noted.

421. For the unusual spelling of ṭrw with the man striking with a stick rather than the man holding a staff, see Caminos, loc. cit. n. 5.

422. Emphasis supplied. The antecedent of "he" is, of course, Horus in line 1, followed by the long stream of qualifying praises and then resumed by ḫ of ïrr.f.

423. Following Caminos, op. cit. 87 n. 4.

424. Again I have followed Caminos, ibid. 86, the comment to line 5, and rendered this as an otherwise unattested ethnogeographic designation. Again, the suggestion that this is also a faulty transcription of ḫnw (above, n. 420) is tempting, the more so since these people seem to have both farms and towns. While the Nubians undoubtedly engaged in farming, to my knowledge, there is no evidence that they possessed urban centers large enough or sophisticated enough to warrant their being called by the Egyptian term niwt "city". On this point, see my "The Nubian War of Akhenaton" nn. 66 and 123.
Caminos, op. cit. 88, renders mnw as "plantations", but under the influence of the term as used in the Antebellum South the nuance which "plantation" conveys to me is somewhat distorted. Consequently I have opted for the more neutral "farms".

For some graphic illustrations of ḫb3 "to hack up" which led to its use as a technical term to describe attacks against walled areas, cities, see my "Siege Warfare in Pharaonic Egypt", Natural History 78 (March 1964) 13-14.

I prefer to understand bât as either a noun or an infinitive and take nn bât.sn "their rebellion/rebelling does not exist" as a virtual relative clause parallel to and complementing the preceding ẖb.sn ẖwr "their hearts like one". Caminos, loc. cit. prefers to see nn bât.sn as a gnomic statement "and (they) will not rebel".

Caminos' picture of hounds crawling behind their master, loc. cit. 85, is illchosen because neither hounds nor any other canines crawl. They do run alongside of or tag behind their masters. ḫmph, Ṭḥ. III, 384, 8-13, which is even attested with a canine determinative, means "to follow after", "to accompany" which quite suits the translation I have proposed.

For this more literal rendering of sb.tw ṭḥst.f, see Caminos, ibid. 89.

Compare Caminos, loc. cit.

I interpret everything after "O victorious king" at the end of line 8 and the beginning of line 9 until "in their place" in the middle of line 9 as a series of specifications which qualify "O victorious kings", all of them antecedents in
anticipatory apposition to the subject of the next four sentences: "your ... strength", "your power", "your dread", "your plans".

432. Likewise, I have taken everything following "rulers" in the middle of line 9 until "(l.p.h.)" near the beginning of line 10 in the same way, only here "rulers" and the qualifying specifications are the antecedents to the objects of the verbs in these sentences: "them", "them", "their lands", and "them".

433. For the spelling of phr, see the comments of Caminos, loc. cit.

434. See Caminos, ibid. the comment to line 11.

435. Caminos, ibid. translates sk.n.k as written "you have destroyed" and then emends the suffix .f of ḫpš.f to .k in order to be consistent with sk.n.k. Hintze, op. cit. 39, however, preferred to see sk as a participle, emending n to the strong arm determinative, with the k-basket as the phonetic complement. Since an emendation seems necessary either way, I prefer that of Hintze, and take sk t3 Nhšlw as a participial phrase parallel to the preceding ṣb km(3)tyw.f.

436. To translate ṣḏq wr as "ocean" is almost pleonastic. Those bodies of water which we today describe as "oceans" were probably beyond the ken of the Ramesside Egyptians. The "Great Green Sea" here was undoubtedly the Mediterranean.

437. Caminos, op. cit. 90, translates hw ḫt.k as a wish "May your Father protect", but there is no reason not to understand it as an affirmative sentence.

438. Since di.f is a sḏm.f and not a sḏm.n.f, to translate by the Present tense seems preferable.
439. See Caminos, loc. cit.

440. According to Gauthier, Dictionnaire V, 32, a locality in Upper Egypt, possibly the island of Bigeh. Breasted, Aby III, 205 par. 479, translated, simply, "the cataract region".

441. Following the restoration of Kitchen, op. cit. 344.

442. Mī R only in the text of the right hand scene.

443. In each instance this phrase is preceded by another. That of the left hand scene reads: $\text{ ptpt }$, that of the right hand scene $\text{ ptpt }$. These were undoubtedly epithets describing the king, in the light of which it is probably better to translate ptpt as a participle: "the one who tramples".

444. On this point see my "The Nubian War of Akhenaton" mn.78-80.

445. The text has $\text{ sgm-ib }$. Breasted's rendering, loc. cit. as "strong-hearted lion" presumes that sgm-ib is used adjectively here. While this, of course, is possible, it is equally possible to take it as an independent epithet.

446. Literally: "his fear has penetrated" (or: "penetrates", the verb is a sgm.f with noun subject.

447. By "Asiatics" (Stiyw) presumably are meant the inhabitants of Syria-Palestine.

448. The text has $\text{ jyw.f}$, literally: "his breath", which can only refer to $\text{ jyw n 'nh }$ "the breath of life".

449. Written $\text{ a }$ where the seated god (seated king according to Lepsius, loc. cit.) is surely not to be taken as the 1st person singular suffix pronoun .snapshot, but as the determinative of the participle diw. For the instrumental use of the preposition m, see Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar par. 162, 7. Breasted, loc. cit. apparently did not fully understand this portion of the text which he translated "who sends Egypt on
campaigns".

450. "Sn sn n 3s.t nb.t "literally: "Their fear does not exist (or: They do not fear) on account of any foreign land". 3s.t, in spite of the plural strokes, should be understood as a singular.

451. For the writing of n just with n, see Erman, Neuägyptische Grammatik par. 174.


453. Literally: "There does not fail that which he has said, everything".

454. Only the beginning of this toponym is preserved, thus: Kitchen, loc. cit. would restore: 41\[. Breasted, loc. cit. note d, suggested: "probably Arvad or Isy-Cyprus".

455. Only the first two words of the text are preserved: "Giving praise [--------]".

456. These were recorded only by De Morgan, loc. cit. His copy was repeated by Kitchen, op. cit. 345, without, however, being collated either with the original or with a photograph of the original.

457. Restore ḫ withheld "Diadems", ṣps "the sword", or the like if the lacuna was, as Kitchen, loc. cit. implies, only a single square. However, it is not certain that only a single square was lost. Where such vertical columns of text are accompanied by the kneeling figure of the speaker, those columns of text farthest from the figure usually fill the full height of the register, growing shorter only when they have to accommodate the figure. De Morgan's drawing shows no cross-hatching indicative of lacunae at the bottoms of any of these
lines, but De Morgan was not the most accurate of copyists, and certainly there were such lacunae. That following the preserved nb, assuming that the text continued down to the ground line, was a little more than two and one half squares high.

458. Kitchen, op. cit. 345 n. 9d, "Loss (if any) unknown" is misleading. The lacuna following di.f (see preceding note) is almost two squares high.

459. Written: \[\text{[symbol]}\], where the stroke is certainly to be restored ḫm-nfr. Since this is a title, we would expect it to have been followed by either a personal name or a specification. Ṣrtf "his beloved" which follows the group \[\text{[symbol]}\] suggests the latter. The group is either understood as a garbled writing of tpy or of ḫm.ty, \textit{wb.} I, 496, 14, "the one belonging to the primeval time", "the primeval god". I prefer the latter, but it is not found with this spelling.

460. I have no suggestions for this line which reads \[\text{[symbol]}\] and which ends in a lacuna a little more than one square high.

461. After "all his victories" there is a lacuna about one square high. The text immediately following, and which ends in a similar lacuna, is completely unintelligible to me. It seems to read: \[\text{[symbol]}\].

462. Following the emendation of Kitchen, loc. cit. n. 10b, that the group before the man's face is to be read ḫm-y r ḫtn.

463. From its position in De Morgan's drawing, where the topmost sign preserved is on a level below the crown of the adorant's head, we may assume that something originally stood above the group, certainly part of a title, and that the man's
name is also lost.

464. Above and behind the king's head is: "Wesi[ma]re'[Setep]en-[re'] Ra[messes]-nif'amün, granted life, the Horus, Powerful-of-arms, the Lord of the sword". All that is legible of the main text is the beginning of the second line: "the king of Upper and lower Egypt, Ra[messes-nif'amün -------]".

465. See above, n. 410.

466. Following the restoration of Kitchen, op. cit. 772.

467. See above, n. 143.

468. Ibid. and also n. 160, above.

469. See above, n. 413.

470. E.g. Kitchen has included it in vol. II of KRI: Ramesses II, Royal Inscriptions, rather than KRI III: Ramesses II, his Contemporaries. Breasted, loc. cit. has included it among the royal inscriptions, as does J. Schmidt, Ramesses II: A Chronological Structure for His Reign (Baltimore: 1973) 25, where he wishes to redate it to year 10.

471. I.e. Syro-Palestinians.

472. For the Hittite war, see Faulkner, "Egypt from the Inception of the Nineteenth Dynasty..." 221.

473. See above, n. 141, for references.

474. For the Sherden war of year 2, see J. Yoyotte, "Les stèles de Ramesses II à Tanis. Ier partie ", Kemi 10 (1949) 60-74. For the possibility of a Libyan war in the same year, see Faulkner, op. cit. 230, nn. 4-5.

475. For the Nubian wars of Ramesses II, see Faulkner, ibid.

476. See above, n. 143.

477. For the most recent study of Seti I's foreign wars, see now W.J. Munawe, The Road to Kadesh. Slightly earlier, but still
**Addenda**

For some inexplicable reasons, the material contained in the two addenda which follow was omitted from the main text.

1. The following rock-cut stela should be listed and described in the Appendix immediately after stela nr. 31. Although it has the catalogue number 31a, it should be noted that its footnotes start with number 478.

31a. Rock-cut stela, west side of the ancient road between Aswan and Philae. Bibliography: De Morgan, loc. cit. nr. 123; Habachi, loc. cit. 26; FAI I, 302; for other publications see PM V, 247. (Fig. 35).

The king, wearing the Blue Crown, has dismounted from his chariot. In the hand with which he grasps a kneeling enemy by the hair he also holds what is probably a bow.\(^{478}\) His other hand, hanging at his side, has thrust a shafted weapon into the body of the foeman.\(^{479}\) A groom steadies the prancing chariot-horse. Behind the captive, another elaborately dressed man kneels with both hands raised in salutation to the king who is identified by a pair of vertical cartouches as "the good god, Menmareʻ, the Son of keʻ, Seti-merneptah". The kneeling adorant is named in a caption of four vertical lines. These also contain a brief invocation to the king:

"Giving praises to your ka, O victorious king, O Horus who causes the Two Lands to live!\(^{480}\) Made by the first charioteer of his majesty, the king's son, Amenemope, the son of the king's son, (Pâ)ser".

One last point to be noted here is the nationality of the sacrificial victim. Although, like all the other rock-cut stelae commissioned by Amenemope at Aswan (see above, stelae nrs. 15-17) no internal details of any of the figures are indicated in the
various publications, the outline of the captive's hairdo, his short, pointed, beard, and his seemingly-sleeved garment not only argue against his having been a Nubian (as he is on the other three rock stelae of Amenemope at Aswan as well as that at Kasr Ibrim), but rather suggest that he was a Libyan. Virtually every scholar who has dealt with these particular stelae have taken them as referring to the same event. If this is correct and if the identification just given for the nationality of the victim of Aswan rock inscription nr. 123 is also correct, then it would appear that there is a contradiction here. This, however, is probably not the case or, if it is, it can be easily resolved. We might start by noting that, in strictu sensu, the tableau of Aswan nr. 123 does not actually show the king smiting the enemy, though, as was the case on the Kasr Ibrim monument, there can be no doubt that is about to, or has transfixed his prisoner with the spear which he holds. Like the Kasr Ibrim scene, the action here also seems to be taking place on the battlefield, with the king having just dismounted from his chariot. The Nubian war and victory which the other rock stelae commemorate seems to have taken place in Seti's regnal year 87. On the Kasr Ibrim stela, however, the text of which is much longer than those of the other monuments, it would appear that, unless it is mere rhetorical hyperbole, Seti is claiming victories in the North against various foes, and while Libyans are not explicitly named here, it is clear from his Karnak battle scenes that he fought a war against the Libyans. If such a victory had been won, there is no reason why it could not have been depicted in a rock stela on the Nubian marches, the more so since there is good evidence that captives were transported from one part of Egypt's empire to another where they were executed and their corpses put on public
Footnotes:

478. The apparent curve of the lower edge of what seems to be a knife is actually a lock of the victim's hair which splays out from the king's fist. When this is removed from consideration as part of a weapon, what is left can only be a bow, compare Figs. 1, 3, 8, 10, 12, 18, and 34.

479. I take this to be a thrusting weapon such as the king also wields in the Kasr Ibrim scene (see Fig. 33). Not only does the weapon lack any visible head which might identify it as a smiting weapon, a mace, maceaxe, or the like, its "business end" seems clearly to be buried in the prisoner, even though the attitude of the king as he stabs with it is rather serene and lacks the violent agitation inherent in the action of smiting or stabbing so clearly portrayed on the Kasr Ibrim stela. The analogy with the latter scene, save for this detail of the king's pose, is otherwise un challengable. The two scenes are in exact harmony, for the fact that no god is shown here is of no consequence, as is clear from stela nr. 6.

480. Following the restoration of Kitchen, loc. cit.

481. For this Libyan hairdo, beard, and dress, see Bates, op. cit. figs. 10, 12, 23, 35, 48, and pls. 1-3; Pritchard, ANEP figs. 1-2, 7-8, and compare stela nr. 7.

482. See above for references. Interestingly enough, no one seems to have commented on the Libyan ethnicity of the victim of Aswan nr. 123.

483. See above, n. 160.

484. See the Epigraphic Survey, The Battle reliefs of King Sety I, 87-107 and pls. 27-32.

485. See above, nn. 121-123.
2. The following works which have been cited in the footnotes should also be included in the Bibliography:


Murnane, W.J. The Road to Kadesh: A Historical Interpretation of the Battle Reliefs of King Sety I at Karnak (Chicago: 1985).

3. On page 66 the last sentence of footnote 14 should be changed to read: The Munich PhD dissertation of S. Schoske, Die Siegreiche König. Bildquellen zur altägyptischen Feindsymbolik will be published, I believe by Harrasowitz in Wiesbaden. It should be entered in the appropriate section of the Bibliography.

4. On page 137 the Bibliography of Catalogue nr. 29 should be now expanded to include:


Likewise the General Bibliography should be altered to include it.
Fig. 1  Stela Brussels E4499
Fig. 2  Stela Riggeh and Memphis VI, nr.12
Fig. 4 Stela Chicago Art Institute 1893.75
Fig. 5  Stela Metropolitan Museum of Art 64.285
Fig. 6 Stela Louvre E16373
Fig. 8 Stela Cairo JE 88879
Fig. 9  Stela Hannover 1935.200.229

Fig. 10  Stela Hannover 1935.200.204
Fig. 11  Stela Brussels E2386
Fig. 13  Stela London (V.A.) 423.1908

Fig. 14  Stela Newark (New Jersey) 29.1788
Fig. 15  Rock Stela Aswan 124

Fig. 16  Rock Stela Aswan 5
Fig. 17  Rock Stela Aswan 12

Fig. 19  Rock Stela Abu Simbel 22
Fig. 18  Rock Stela Abu Simbel 24
Fig. 24  Stela Cairo CG 34.177

Fig. 25  Unnumbered Giza Stela
Fig. 26  Steia Cairo CG 34.176
Fig. 27  Stela Cairo CG 34.178
Fig. 28  Stela Cairo CG 34.180
Fig. 29  Stela Ny Carlsberg 897
Fig. 33  Rock Stela of Amenemope at Kasr Ibrim
Fig. 34 Aswan Rock Stela of Ramesses II
Fig. 35  Rock Stela Aswan 123
Pl. 1  Stela Hannover 1935.206.230. Photograph courtesy of the Kestner Museum, Hannover.
Pl. 2 Stela Chicago Art Institute 1893.75. Photograph courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
Pl. 3  Stela Metropolitan Museum of Art 64.285. Photograph courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
Pl. 4 Stela Brussels E 2386. Photograph courtesy of the Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels.
Pl. 5 Stela Berlin (DDR) 20912. Photograph courtesy of the Egyptian Museum, Berlin, German Democratic Republic.
Pl. 6  Stela Newark 29.1788. Photograph courtesy of the Newark Museum, Newark, New Jersey.