



A part of the so-called Abydos King List: on the left, **Sethy I** gesturing towards his child the future **Ramses II** with the right hand and holding a censor in the other.

(Photography : SEYDOU MOUSSA, Abydos, 2006)

□ A (re)investigation of the so-called King List in the Abydos temple

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Abstract: *The so-called Abydos King List is the iconographic corpus decorating the right wall of the passage, referred to as the Gallery of the Lists, leading from the second Hypostyle Hall to the Butcher's Hall of Mortuary Temple of Sethy I at Abydos. Building upon the analyses included in previous studies, the aim of the present article is, to propose a new interpretation for the currently investigated object by (re-)examining the following features: the hieroglyphic inscriptions accompanying the two principal figures, namely Sethy I and Ramses II, as well as the two attributes which the latter is holding in his hands.*

Keywords: Abydos King List, mekes, imy(t)-pr, Sethy I, Ramses II

Résumé : *Une (ré)enquête sur la dite Liste des Rois dans le temple d'Abydos. — La dite liste des rois d'Abydos est le corpus iconographique qui décore le mur droit du passage, appelé la Galerie des Listes, menant de la deuxième salle Hypostyle à la salle du Boucher du temple mortuaire de Sethy I^{er} à Abydos. S'appuyant sur les analyses effectuées dans de précédentes étude, l'objectif du présent article est de et de proposer une nouvelle interprétation de l'objet actuellement étudié en (re)examinant les caractéristiques suivantes: les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques accompagnant les deux principales figures, à savoir Sethy I^{er} et Ramsès II, ainsi que les deux attributs que ce dernier tient dans ses mains.*

Mots-clés: Abydos King List, mekes, imy(t)-pr, Sethy I^{er}, Ramses II

I. Introduction

The so-called King List in the Abydos temple has been considered by a number of scholars amongst the older generation of scholars Mariette¹ and Dümichen². It has also been mentioned in a number of works on Abydos temple, such as those undertaken by Porter-Moss³ and Frankfort⁴. Then, in the mid-seventies, the Table was collected by Kitchen in his valuable collection⁵ about the Ramesside inscriptions. Finally, the currently investigated scene has been illustrated and mentioned in a number of studies in chronology and history in Egyptology carried out by Redford⁶ and others (e.g. Dautzenberg⁷, Alfi⁸ and

¹ See Mariette (1869), *Abydos: description des fouilles exécutées sur l'emplacement de cette ville* I, pl. 43.

² See Dümichen (1869), *Historische Inschriften altägyptische Denkmäler* II, pl. 45.

³ See Porter; Moss (1939), *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings* VI, p. 25 (229)–(230).

⁴ See Frankfort; Buck; Gunn (1933), *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, MEES 39.

⁵ See Kitchen (1975, 1993), *Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical* I, 176–179, §77 and *Ramesside Inscriptions: Translated and Annotated* I, pp. 152–160.

⁶ See Redford (1986), *Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals and Day-Books: A Contribution to the Study of the Egyptian Sense of History*, SSEA 4, pp. 18–20.

⁷ See Dautzenberg (1990), “Zur Systematik der Abydosliste”, *GöttMisZ* 114, pp. 47–52.

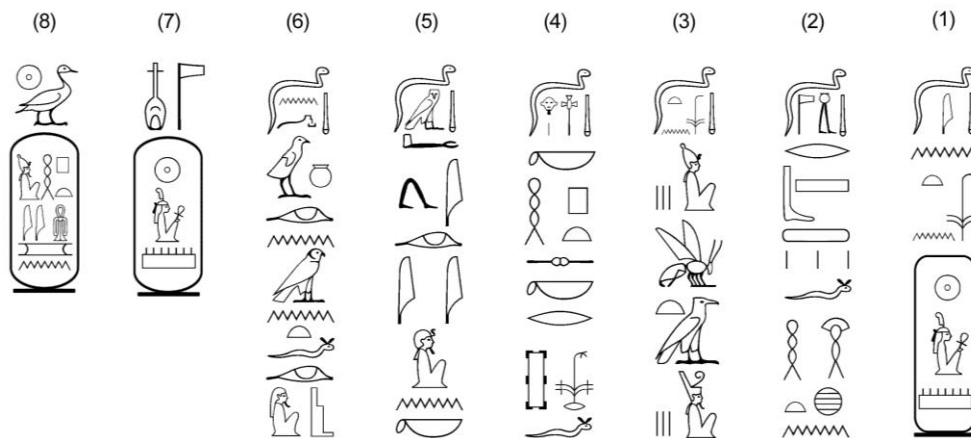
Dodson⁹). All these studies have concluded that the pharaoh Sethy I and his son, Prince Ramses (later king Ramses II), are on the way to make an offering to Ptah-Sokar-Osiris and they are reciting praises to their ancient rulers¹⁰ who are named on the rest of the scene. The scholars have assumed that the Hereditary Prince Ramses II is depicted holding two open papyrus rolls to read from.

Based on a systematic study, this article, which studies the so-called Abydos King List, may suggest some improvements to the previous translations of the inscriptions accompanying Sethy I and Ramses II. After presenting transliterations, translations and commentaries for their speeches, the question of the two symbols which the second is holding in his hands is addressed.

II. Accompanying inscriptions of Sethy I and Ramses II

II.1. Recitation of Sethy I

In the text inscribed from right to left and which runs in eight vertical columns above Ramses II →↓ (1-8)¹¹, Sethy I eulogizes Ptah-Sokar, saying (fig. 1):



(1) *dd-mdw in nsw (mn m3t R^c)l* (2) *dd-mdw in ntr r šbw=f w3h-ht n* (3) *nsyw bityw* (4) *ind-hr=k pth-skr rsy-inb=f* (5) *my*¹² (6) *ir nsw*¹³ *n=k* (7) *nw ir.n Hr n it=f Wsir* (8) *ntr nfr (mn m3t R^c)l*⁽⁸⁾ *s3-R^c (Sthy mry n Pth)l*


⁸ See Alfi (1993), « La liste de rois d'Abydos », *DE* 27, pp. 19-26.

⁹ See Dodson (2019), *Sethy I King of Egypt: his Life and Afterlife*, pp. 40-41 (fig. 38).

¹⁰ The Abydos List, which shows only those pharaohs that were deemed worthy, omits the names of many earlier pharaohs who were apparently considered illegitimate, such as the Hyksos, Hatshepsut, Akhenaten, Smenkhkare, Tutankhamen and Ay; in all, seventy-six kings are mentioned.

¹¹ See Kitchen (1993), *Rameside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical I*, 177, 8-10 and *Rameside Inscriptions: Translated and Annotated I*, p. 153; Redford (1986), *Pharaonic King-Lists, SSEA* 4, pp. 18-19; Mariette (1869), *Abydos I*, pl. 43; Dümichen (1869), *Historische Inschriften altägyptische Denkmäler II*, pl. 45.

¹² Meeks, *Année lexicographique II*, 78.1654 and Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 410 recorded the verb *my* which has the meaning of "to bring".

¹³ One might wonder if the determinative  is used in this context as a royal graphical form to the word *Try* which can have the meaning of "Companion, Associate", see *Wb I*, 103, 18; 105, 6; Meeks, *Année lexicographique I-3*, 77.0379, 78.0405, 79.0283; Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian I*, 45; Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch II*, p. 330.

⁽¹⁾Utterance by king (Establisher of the ma'at of Re)l ⁽²⁾bringing the god to his food and laying down an offering for ⁽³⁾the kings of Upper and Lower Egypt ⁽⁴⁾Hail to you, O Ptah-Sokar South-of-His-Wall!⁽⁵⁾ the king (Ramses II)¹⁴ may bring and make for you ⁽⁶⁾these (things) that Horus made for his father Osiris, ⁽⁷⁾Perfect god (Establisher of the ma'at of Re)l, ⁽⁸⁾Son of Re (The Sethian, beloved of Ptah)l.

Based on the representation of Sethy I who appears gesturing towards the Prince Crown Ramses II with the right hand and holding a censor in the other, our view is that his gesture which certainly speaks more than words is to introduce his eldest son and his successor Ramses II, as the rightful heir to the throne and first in the line of succession, to their ancient legitimate ancestors.

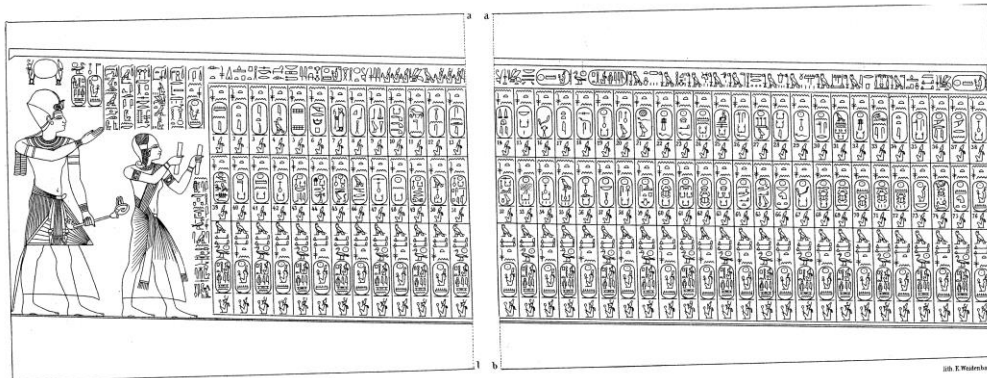


Fig. 1. The so-called Abydos King List.

After: Mariette (869), *Abydos I*, pl. 43.

II.2. Recitation of Ramses II

The recitation of the Hereditary Prince Ramses II, which runs on a vertical column, in front of his figure, traced from right to left →↓ (9), reading¹⁵:



⁽⁹⁾nis hknw¹⁶ in iry-p^t s3-nsw smsw n ht=f mry=f R^c-msi-sw m3^c-hrw

⁽⁹⁾Recitation of thanksgiving by Hereditary prince, eldest and bodily king's son, his beloved, Ramses, justified.

It is evident that the subsidiary text, accompanying Ramses II's figure, expresses his thankfulness to the god Ptah-Sokar and to his 72 deigned ancestors for having been

¹⁴ The gesture of Sethy I towards his beloved son the Hereditary Prince Ramses II confirms clearly that the former's recitation concerns mainly the latter.

¹⁵ See Kitchen (1993), *Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical I*, 177, 10 and *Ramesside Inscriptions: Translated and Annotated I*, p. 153; Redford (1986), *Pharaonic King-Lists, SSEA 4*, p. 18; Mariette (1869), *Abydos I*, pl. 43; Dümichen (1869), *Historische Inschriften altägyptische Denkmäler II*, pl. 45.

¹⁶ The word hknw can have the meaning of "thanksgiving", see Wb III, 179, 6-19; Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, 179; Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian II*, 143.

appointed as a joint king to his father Sethy I in order to learn the position. In other words, Ramses II expresses his gratitude to them for validating his legitimacy for the access to the throne of Egypt and his right to rule a united estate as do Atum (Re), Shou, Geb, Osiris and Horus after the death of his father.

III. Two attributes which Ramses II holding in his hands

As mentioned above, all the previous studies have assumed that the Crown Prince Ramses II is shown holding two papyrus rolls in order to read from. However, since the papyrus Louvre 3129¹⁷, dating to the Ptolemaic period¹⁸, enabled Horus to claim that his legitimacy as the rightful heir to the throne of a permanently united Egypt was officially marked by the reception of the *mekes* “Succession Act”¹⁹ and the *imy(t)-pr* “Act of Possession”.



(⁷)(...) *sw ns hr nst Gb(b) hk3=f idbw* (⁸)*m nsyt nt T3-tnn Isdn-wr*²⁰ *hr sš m sšw Sš3t hr sš imy(t)-pr* *h' rf 1r mks m f=imy(t)-pr it(=f) hr=f (...)*

(⁷)(...) He goes upon the throne of Geb who rules the banks (⁸)in the kingship of the Tanen. The god Isden-the-great is writing in the registers and the goddess Seshat is writing the testament. Horus rises up the *mekes* in his hand and the testament of his father with him (...).

Therefore, the terrestrial kings, being seen as manifestations of the “living Horus” on the throne of Egypt, have to satisfy such a requirement. Within this framework of kingship practices, it is essential for the Crown Prince Ramses II to be seen holding the *mekes* and the *imy(t)-pr* in his raised hands when he participates in his co-regency ceremony. Accordingly, the current paper may suggest that Ramses II is portrayed holding the *mekes* and the *imy(t)-pr*, which were given to him by his divine “fathers”. These two Acts establish the Prince as a legitimate heir of his ancestors and the gods who had ruled Egypt in mythic prehistory. But, the question that inevitably comes to mind is this: which Act is being held in the right hand, whereas the second is being grasped in the left one?

III.1. The *imy(t)-pr* is in the right hand of Ramses II

The *imy(t)-pr* “act of possession”²¹ is regularly being held in the right hand of the pharaoh. For example, on the second register of the east wall, 3rd western Room at Edfu temple²²,

¹⁷ For this interesting passage C, 7-8, see *Urk.* VI, 11, 7-12.

¹⁸ Another version of this text occurs on the papyrus BM 10252 (13, 10-17) dated to year 17 of Nectanebo I (363 BC), see Gee (2010), “Exercitation in V arious Temples”, p. 68, *Urk.* VI, 11, 7-12.

¹⁹ The current study considers the view of Derchain-Urtel who concluded that the *mekes* is a “Succession Act”, see Derchain-Urtel (1981), *Thot à travers ses épithètes dans les scènes d'offrandes des temples d'époque gréco-romaine*, p. 16.

²⁰ See *LGG* I, 560_B.

²¹ The *imy(t)-pr* contains a list of all the areas of Egypt and its inhabitants. For more about the *imy(t)-pr*, see *Wb.* I, 73(20)-74(5); *Mrsich* (1968), *Untersuchungen zur Hausurkunde des Alten Reiches: ein Beitrag zum altägyptischen Stifungsrecht*, *MÄS* 13; Gödecken (1980), “Imet-per (*Imyt-pr*)”, in *LÄ* III, col. 141-145; Derchain-Urtel (1981), *Thot à travers ses épithètes dans les scènes d'offrandes des temples d'époque gréco-romaine*, p. 16; Kinnaer

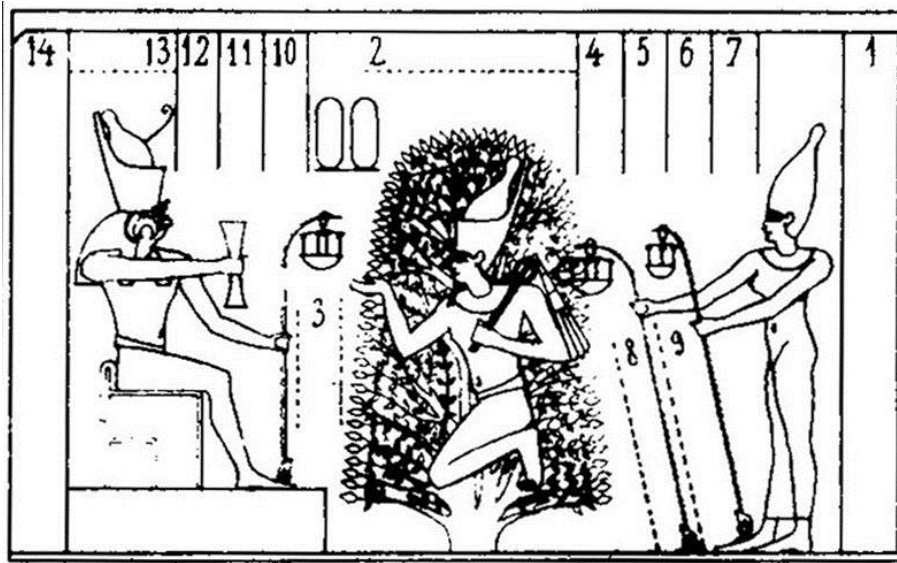


Fig. 3. Ptolemy IV receiving the *imy(t)-pr* from Horus in the presence of Nekhbet.
After: Edfou IX, pl. 29b (west wall).

III.2. The *mekes* is in the left hand of Ramses II

There are abundant evidences in the visual art indicating that the *mekes*²⁴ was frequently depicted in reliefs and the pharaoh grasps it in his raised left hand with the *nh3h3*-flail in the other, when he performs a ritual run during his coronation ceremonies, such as the First Dynasty pharaoh Den²⁵ (Pl. I, figs. 5-6), the Second Dynasty pharaoh Khasekhemwy²⁶ (Pl. II, fig. 7), the Third Dynasty pharaoh Djoser²⁷ (Pl. II, fig. 8), the Fourth Dynasty pharaohs Sneferu²⁸ (Pl. III, fig. 9) and Mycerinus²⁹ (Pl. IV, fig. 10), the Fifth Dynasty pharaoh Nyuserre³⁰ (Pl. IV, fig. 11), the Sixth Dynasty pharaoh Pepi II³¹ (Pl. V, fig. 12), the Twelfth

²⁴ The *mekes* was an important part of royal ceremonial regalia known from the time of the First Dynasty pharaoh Den (2914 - 2867 BC). For more about the *mekes*, see Lacau (1904-1905), *Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire*, CGC, pl. 36 (figs. 126-127); Kees (1912), *Der Opfertanz des ägyptischen Königs*, pp. 142-146; Spiegelberg (1917), "Varia.", ZÄS 53, pp. 101-104; Jéquier (1921), *Les frises d'objets des sarcophages du Moyen Empire*, MIFAO 47, pp. 173-176; Wb. II, 163, 15-16; 269, 6; Bother (1950), "Notes on the Mycerinus Triad", BFMA XLVIII, pp. 10-17; de Wit (1968), *Les inscriptions du temple d'Opet, à Karnak III*, BiAeg 13, pp. 127, n. 93 and 142, n. 532; Kaplony (1977), *Die Rollensiegel des Alten Reichs I*, MonAeg 2, p. 235; Derchain-Urtel (1981), *Thot à travers ses épithètes dans les scènes d'offrandes des temples d'époque gréco-romaine*, p. 16; Cauville (1983), *La théologie d'Osiris à Edfou*, BiEtud 91, p. 41 (n. 3); Kinnaer (1991), "Le Mekes et l'Imit-Per dans les scènes des temples ptolémaïques et romains", OLP 22, p. 94; Barta (1982), "Mekes", in LÄ IV, col. 20-21; Wilson (1997), *A ptolemaic Lexikon*, OLA 78, pp. 473-774.

²⁵ See Petrie (1900), *The Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty 1900 I*, pl. 15, n° 16; Emery (1938), *The Tomb of Hemaka*, p. 64, n° 8 (fig. 26).

²⁶ See Schäfer (1902), *Ein Bruchstück altägyptischer Annalen*, p. 27 (Nr. 4).

²⁷ See Smith (1946), *A History of Egyptian Sculpture*, pl. 31, a.

²⁸ See Fakhry (1961), *The Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur. Volume II, The Valley Temple. Part I, The Temple Reliefs*, figs. 120 (a.), 96 (b.), 43 (c.), 55 (d.) and 58 (e.); Friedman (2011), "Reading the Menkaure Triads: Part II (Multi-directionality)", in: N. Strudwick, H. M. Strudwick (eds.), *Old Kingdom, New Perspectives: Egyptian Art and Archaeology 2750-2150 BC*, p. 107, fig. 19.

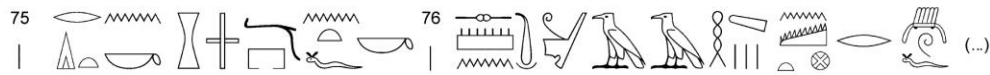
²⁹ See Bother (1950), BFMA XLVIII, p. 12, fig. 5.

³⁰ See Bissing (2002), *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-re (Rahutes) I*, pl. 13.

³¹ See Lepsius (1972), *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien II*, pl. 116a.

Dynasty pharaoh Senusert III³² (Pl. V, fig. 13), the Eighteenth Dynasty pharaohs Thutmose III³³ (Pl. VI, figs. 14-16), Amenophis III³⁴ (Pl. VII, figs. 17) and Ramses II³⁵ (Pl. VIII, fig. 18) and Twenty-sixth Dynasty pharaoh Apries³⁶ (Pl. VIII, fig. 19).

Furthermore, the gods, assigned to transmit the *mekes* to the ruling king, are represented grasping the *mekes* in their left hands. For instance, in the temple of Horus at Edfu, enclosure east wall (interior face), Horus, followed by Hathor and Ahi, receiving prayers and offerings from the king Ptolemy XI Alexander I, the queen Cleopatra III, a series of 53 geographical personages and the god Thoth who is grasping the *mekes* in his left hand and gesturing towards Horus with the other (fig. 4). Thoth addresses Horus, saying³⁷:



⁽⁷⁵⁾*rdi(=i) n=k mks imy(t)-pr n it=k* ⁽⁷⁶⁾*smn.ti n3 3ht n Kmt r 3w=f (...)*

⁽⁷⁵⁾I give to you the *mekes* and the testament of your father, ⁽⁷⁶⁾(so that) the fields of the whole Egypt are being established (...).



Fig. 4. Start of the east wall of Edfu temple's enclosure wall (interior face) showing Horus receiving prayers and offerings from Ptolemy XI Alexander I, Cleopatra III and a series of 53 geographical personages and Thoth. After: *Edfou* X/2, Pl. 158.

³² See *Id.* (1972), *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien* III, pl. 57a.

³³ See *Id.*, *Ibid.*, pl. 35a; Kees (1914), *ZÄS* 52, pl. 7; Naville (1908), *The temple of Deir el Bahari* VI, pl. 157.

³⁴ See Gayet (1894), *Le Temple de Louxor*, MMAF 15, pl. 71 (fig. 173-174), pl. 72 (fig. 180-1181).

³⁵ See Nelson; Murnane (1981), *The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak*, OIP 106, pl. 35.

³⁶ See Petrie (1909), *The Palace of Apries*, BSAE 15, pl. 5.

³⁷ See *Edfou* VI, p. 199, 8-9.

IV. Conclusion

It is clearly evident now that the start of the so-called King List in the Abydos temple, shows Sethy I introducing his eldest son and successor, Crown Prince Ramses II, to their 72 deigned ancestors who are named on the rest of the scene. The Hereditary prince Ramses II is portrayed with the *mekes* in the left hand and the *imy(t)-pr* in the right one to confirm his legitimacy as the rightful heir to the throne and first in the line of succession.

Reference should here be made to the belief prevalent of the New Kingdom³⁸, conforming to the mythological pattern of “Horus appearing in the arms of his father Osiris”³⁹, that the king's chosen successor (usually his son) would rule with him in order to learn the position and ensure a smooth transition of power. Accordingly, the scene could be interpreted partly as meaning that the pharaoh Sethy I has appointed his eldest son Ramses II as a co-ruler and his successor, to ensure, it was hoped by Sethy I, a smooth succession after his death.

In the political sphere, it is essential for the Crown Prince Ramses II to be seen holding the *mekes* and the *imy(t)-pr* in his raised hands when he participates in his co-regency ceremony in presence of the god Ptah-Sokar and his deemed worthy ancestors. These two Acts give a strong connotation of his legitimacy. The underlying message is that Ramses II is deriving directly the right to become a joint king from a divine authority.

The fact that Ramses II is described as “triumphant” or “justified” implies that his status as ruler was approved of by the divine trial, as did his divine prototype (Horus); it is a kind of political legitimization for the access to the throne⁴⁰.

In brief, the so-called King List in the Abydos Temple is a ritual expressing the hand over of the *mekes* “succession act” and the *imy(t)-pr* “Act of Possession” to the legitimate heir of his ancestors, namely Ramses II, in a divine-royal context. The two Acts emphasize the validation of his legitimacy for the access to the throne of Egypt and his right to rule a united estate as do Atum (Re), Shou, Geb, Osiris and Horus. Accordingly, one might consider the scene as a way of legitimization for Ramses II's accession to the throne, as a new Horus succeeding his father Osiris.

³⁸ Among the regencies of the New Kingdom, one may mention that of Hatshepout and Tutmosis II, see Murnane (1977), *Ancient Egyptian coregencies*, chapter 2.

³⁹ The Egyptians had evolved this scheme consisted in appointing the heir apparent coregent with his father in order to mitigate the risks of the succession, see Frankfort (1948), *Kingship and the Gods*, pp. 101-102.

⁴⁰ Since the Papyrus Chester Beatty I enabled Horus to claim that his legitimacy as the rightful heir to the throne of Egypt was officially agreed by a successful legal action before the divine trial, therefore, the terrestrial kings, being seen as a manifestations of the 'living Horus' on the throne of Egypt, have to satisfy such a requirement. The Papyrus Chester Beatty I was originally published by Alan Henderson Gardiner, see Gardiner (1931 and 1932), *The Library of A. Chester Beatty and Late Egyptian Stories*.

V. Planches

Pl. I

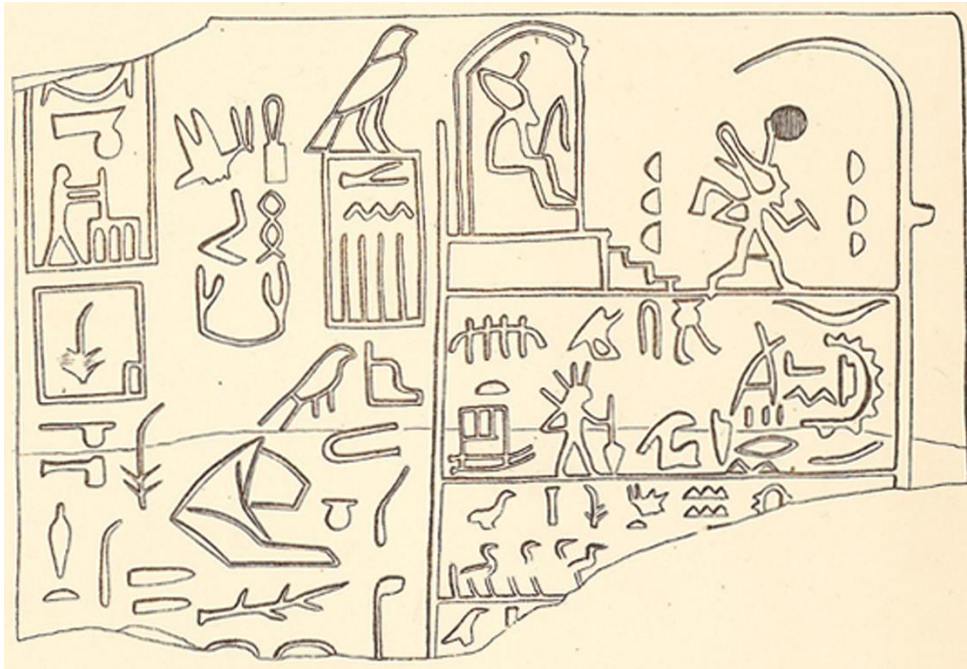


Fig. 5. Ebony label EA 32650 from Den's tomb at Abydos. The upper right register: (left) Den is sitting in his Heb Sed pavilion, (Right) Den performing a ceremonial run around the ritual boundary D-shaped markers.

After: Petrie (1900), *The Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty* 1900 I, pl. 15, n° 16.

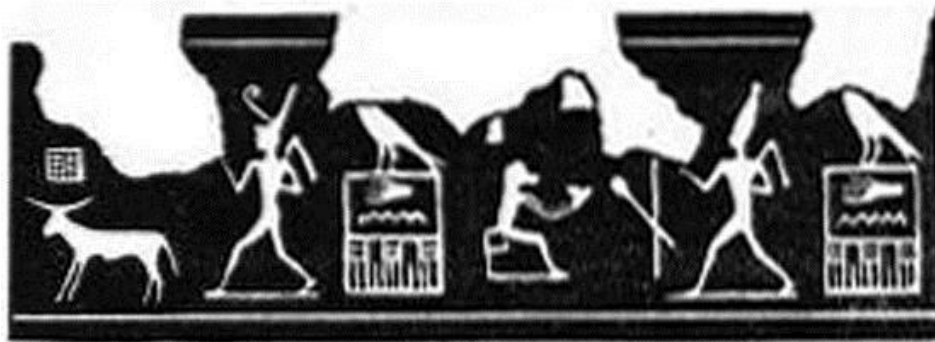


Fig. 6. Sealing (Cat. No. 434) from the tomb of Hemaka. (Left) Den performing a ritual race by running behind a bull. (Right) Den running a symbolic race in front of the god Thoth.

After: Emery (1938), *The Tomb of Hemaka*, p. 64, n° 8 (fig. 26).

Pl. II



Fig. 7. Khasekhemwy used a figure of a man wearing the white crown and holding a flail in the right hand and the *mekes* in the left one as a determinative for his name.

After: Schäfer (1902), *Ein Bruchstück altägyptischer Annalen*, p. 27 (Nr. 4).



Fig. 8. Step Pyramid of Djoser, a relief illustrating Djoser performing a ceremonial run.

After: Smith (1946), *A History of Egyptian Sculpture*, pl. 31, a.

Pl. III

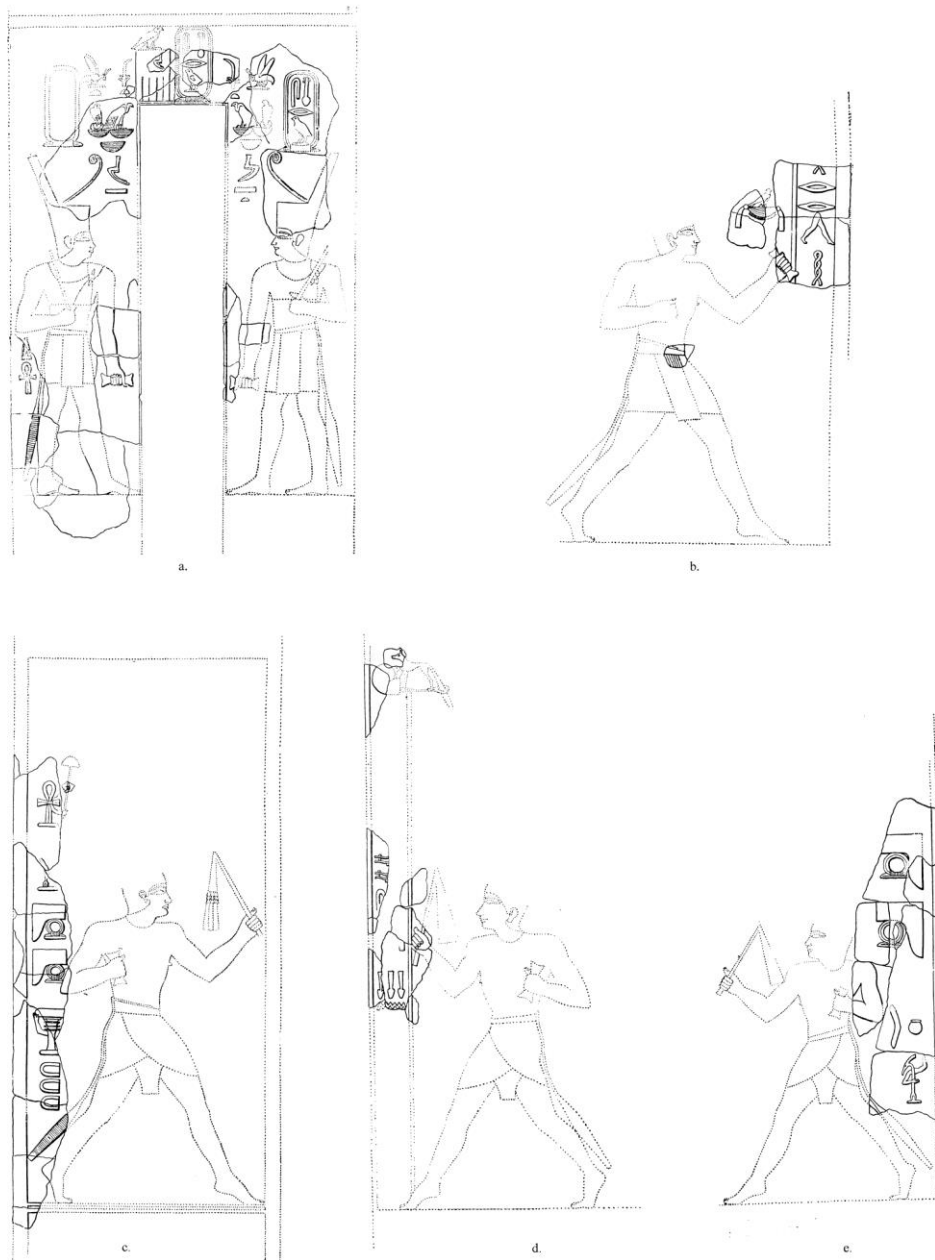


Fig. 9. Reconstructed images of Sneferu standing and running with mekes.
 After: A. Fakhry, *The Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur. Volume II, The Valley Temple. Part I, The Temple Reliefs*, figs. 120 (a.), 96 (b.), 43 (c.), 55 (d.) and 58 (e.).

Pl. IV



Fig. 10. (Left) The Mycerinus Boston Triad: Wenut, Hathor and the king (After: MFA⁴¹). (Right) Left hand of Mycerinus grasping the mekes (from the triad)
 After: Bother (1950), "Notes on the Mycerinus Triad", *BFMA* XLVIII, fig. 5 (p. 12).

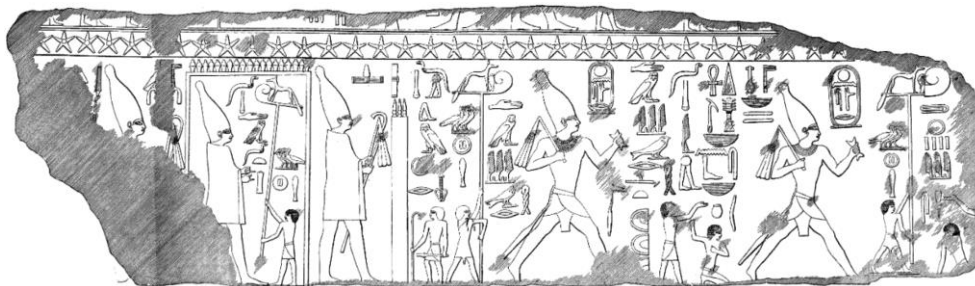


Fig. 11. Sun temple of Nyuserre, Throne pavilion showing Nyuserre performing the so-called "traversing the fields" ritual around the ritual boundary D-shaped markers as part of the Sed festival.

After: Bissing (2002), *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-re (Rahutes)* I, pl. 13.

⁴¹ <https://collections.mfa.org/objects/171696/triad-group-hathor-mycerinus-and-goddess-of-the-hare-nome?ctx=a9a6c6cc-dcf3-41c8-832a-e0adef2a9986&idx=5>

Pl. V

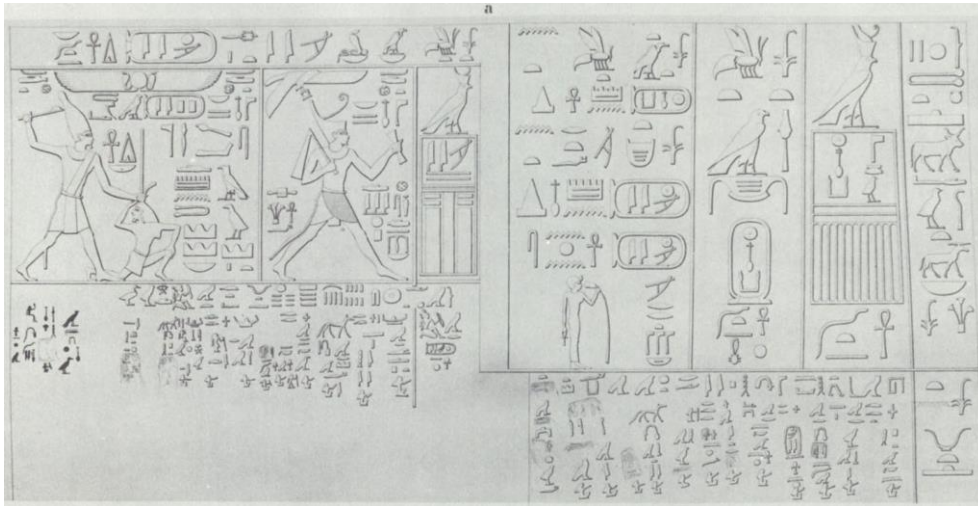


Fig. 12. Rock Inscriptions from Wadi Maghara (South-Sinai). (Right) Pepi II Neferkare performing the so-called "traversing the field four times" ritual.

After: Lepsius (1972), *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien* II, pl. 116a.



Fig. 13. Temple of Kummeh, Room C.D., south wall representing the deified king Senusert III giving life to Thutmose III in presence of Khnum.

After: Lepsius (1972), *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien* III, pl. 57a.

Pl. VI

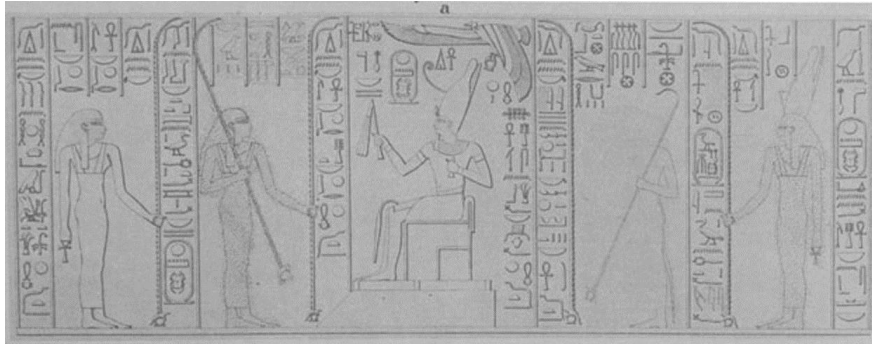


Fig. 14. Great temple of Karnak, side rooms of the portico depicting the coronation ceremonies of Thutmose III.

After: Lepsius (1972), *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien* III, pl. 35a.



Fig. 15. Great temple of Karnak, Jubilee Hall, north wall showing (Left) Thutmose III performing the so-called "hold the lower Egypt in his fist" ritual, (right) Thutmose III performing the "traversing the fields four times" ritual around the ritual boundary D-shaped markers as the king of Lower Egypt.

After: Kees (1914), "Nachlese zum Opfertanz des ägyptischen Königs", *ZÄS* 52, pl. 7.

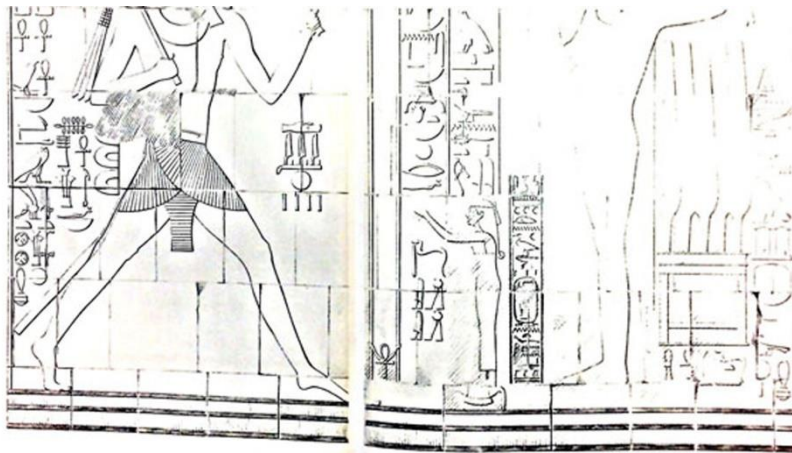


Fig. 16. Temple of Deir el Bahari, lower colonnade's scene (south side) representing Thutmose III performing the "traversing the field four times" ritual before Amun-Min.

After: Naville (1908), *The temple of Deir el Bahari* VI, pl. 157.

Pl. VII

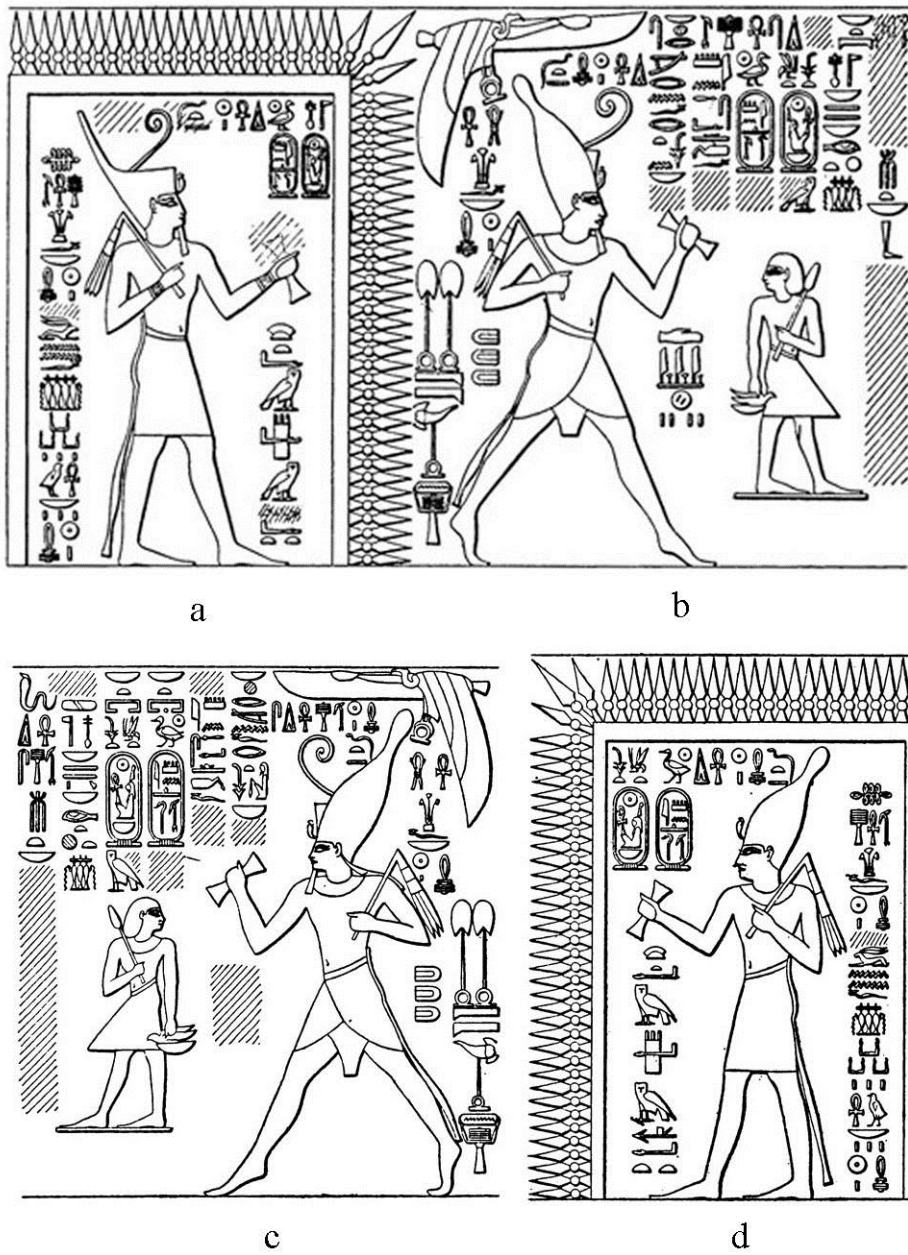


Fig. 17. Luxor Temple, Room G, east wall, first register showing Amenophis III standing and performing the so-called “traversing the field four times” ritual.

*After: Gayet (1894), *Le Temple de Louxor*, MMAF 15, pl. 71-72, figs. 173-174, 180-181.*

Pl. VIII



Fig. 18. Great temple of Karnak, west wall, south wing, lowest register, fifth scene from the north showing Ramesses II performing a ceremonial run before Monthu.

*After: Nelson; Murnane (1981), *The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak*, OIP 106, pl. 35.*



Fig. 19. Palace of Apries, Pylon showing Apries performing a ceremonial run around the ritual boundary D-shaped markers.

*After: Petrie (1909), *The Palace of Apries*, BSAE 15, pl. 5.*

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