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God of Confusion?: An Examination of the Egyptian God Seth in New Kingdom
Expressions of Royal Ideology

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Abstract

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There exists a tendency in Egyptology to focus on three specific aspects of Seth's character: murderer, homosexual, and lord of foreign lands. This approach separates Seth out as an abnormality within the Egyptian pantheon, framing him as an irregular deity whom the ancients had to deal with the best they could. Advances in the perception of Egyptian myth and religion allow for a fresh re-examination of the god Seth and confirm that he, like all members of the Egyptian pantheon, possessed a fluid and flexible character that changed in relation to the context in which he was found. After studying Seth's role in one specific context, that of New Kingdom expressions of royal ideology, Seth is proven to be a part of divine ordered creation who is a supporter and representative of legitimate Egyptian Kingship.

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Chapter One

Introduction

Introduction

In 1967, Herman te Velde published his seminal work *Seth, God of Confusion: A Study of His Role in Egyptian Mythology and Religion*.¹ While te Velde's research was an important step towards a comprehensive understanding of the god, subsequent authors have been hesitant to move beyond his methodology and framework. There remains a tendency within Egyptology to focus on three specific aspects of Seth's character as a murderer, homosexual, and lord of foreign lands, thus separating Seth out as an abnormality within the Egyptian pantheon. When Seth is then encountered in contexts which do not fit these specific aspects of his personality, it creates a problem for scholars. In the decades since te Velde's book was first published great advances have been made in the study and modern perception of Egyptian myth and religion, and these developments allow for a productive re-examination of the controversial deity Seth within all his given contexts.

Seth is represented in Egyptian art as an imaginary animal, a male anthropomorphic figure, or a composite deity with the head of his animal and the body of a man. The Seth animal is a creature with erect squared-off ears, a curved snout, and a raised tail shaped like an arrow. It is generally agreed that the being was viewed as a desert dweller by the ancient Egyptians, and a number of scholars have proposed animals

¹ Herman te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion: A Study of His Role in Egyptian Mythology and Religion* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1967).

that the Seth animal may represent or animals which inspired the creature.² However, the inclusion of the Seth animal on objects and in tomb scenes alongside other imaginary beings supports the idea that the Egyptians thought of the Seth animal as a fantastic creature.³ The origin and meaning of Seth's name is also enigmatic, and it can be written as *stš*, *sth*, *swth*, *sth*, and *swti*. In Egyptian texts, the Seth animal itself was used as a determinative usually for words associated with the disruptions of truth and order (the Egyptian concept of *maat*), such as physical aggression, loud noises, disease, and unusual meteorological events.⁴

In the Pyramid Texts (c.2356-2152 BCE), Seth is established as a member of the Ennead, the group of nine gods consisting of the creator god and the first three generations of his offspring which feature in the creation account associated with the site of *iwntw* (Greek Heliopolis), the main center of the Egyptian solar cult. In this

² The most commonly suggested animals are an aardvark, donkey, dog, and pig. For more see Hellmut Brunner, "Seth und Apophis – Gegengötter im ägyptischen Pantheon?," *Saeculum* 34 (1983): 226; Erik Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt: The One and the Many* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), 118; Erik Hornung, "Seth: Geschichte und Bedeutung eines ägyptischen Gottes," *Symbolon* 2 (1974): 5-6; Angela McDonald, "Tall Tails: The Seth Animal Reconsidered," in *Current Research in Egyptology 2000*, ed. Angela McDonald and Christina Riggs (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2000): 75-81; Ken Moss, "The Seth Animal: A Dog and Its Master," *Ancient Egypt Magazine* 10 (2009): 42-46; Irene Shirun-Grumach, "Horus, Seth, Anubis – A Model," *Lingua Aegyptia* 9 (2001): 249-59; Herman te Velde, "Seth," in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie V*, ed. Wolfgang Helck and Eberhard Otto (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1976), 908-09; William A. Ward, "The hiw-Ass, the hiw-Serpent, and the God Seth," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 37 (1978): 23-34; te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, 13-20.

³ J. Leibovitch, "Une Statuette du Dieu Seth," *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 44 (1944): 101; te Velde, "Seth," 909; te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, 15-17. The Seth animal, even as a fantastic creature, may have been constructed in such a way as to represent essential characteristics of the god, with the sleek muscular body of a predatory animal and an erect tail shaped like an arrow. See McDonald, "Tall Tails," 75-81.

⁴ Angela McDonald, "A Metaphor for Troubled Times – The Evolution of the Seth Deity Determinative in the First Intermediate Period," *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 134 (2007): 26-39; J. Zandee, "Seth als Sturmgott," *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 90 (1963): 147; McDonald, "Tall Tails," 75-81; te Velde, "Seth," 909; te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, 24-25.

cosmology, the creator god Atum arose upon a primeval mound out of the waters of chaos. Atum created the first gendered pair of deities, Shu and Tefnut, who went on to produce the gods Geb and Nut. The latter pair of deities had four divine children of their own: Osiris, Isis, Seth, and Nephthys. It is this mythic lineage which gives Seth one of his most common epithets, Son of Nut.⁵

As a member of the Ennead Seth was considered part of divine ordered creation, but he also had a more ominous role as the murderer of his brother Osiris. It is largely this aspect of his identity which has led to the characterization of Seth as the personification of violence, confusion, and disorder. However, the major theme of the Osiris myth is resurrection after death, and therefore Osiris had to die in order for death to be explained.⁶ Further, since death is a natural and inevitable part of ordered existence, the death of Osiris in itself may not have been presented as a wholly negative event. In the Book of the Dead (c.1550 BCE-50 BCE), Atum even says: “How perfect is that which I have done for Osiris in contradistinction from all gods. I have given him the realm of the dead”.⁷ Certainly Seth’s actions were not considered wholly reprehensible, as the only explicit mention in Pharaonic texts of punishment leveled against Seth for the

⁵ Hornung (“Seth,” 9) points out that Seth is the only one of Nut’s children who is called this with any frequency. While te Velde (*Seth, God of Confusion*, 28) takes pains to emphasize that this epithet is an indication of immaturity and weakness, there are numerous examples of Horus being referred to as the Son of Isis.

⁶ Jan Assmann, *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), 24; Eugene Cruz-Uribe, “*stḥ ʿ3 pḥty* ‘Seth, God of Power and Might’,” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 45 (2009): 202; Lana Troy, *Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1986), 36; Herman te Velde, “The Egyptian God Seth as a Trickster,” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 7 (1968): 38; te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, 81-82.

⁷ Te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, 81.

death of Osiris is Seth having to “carry Osiris”.⁸ When Seth killed his brother, he was serving as the powerful and necessary catalyst which set Osiris’s rebirth into the afterlife in motion, a mythic event which allowed humanity to hope for their own rebirth after death. In this light, Seth and Osiris may be seen as a cosmic duality representing two points in the continuum of the process of rebirth.⁹

Osiris had been the king of Egypt during his lifetime, and the question of who was his legitimate successor led to a struggle between his brother Seth and his son Horus. The notion of a competition for the earthly throne of Osiris can be found in the Pyramid Texts, and variants of the story occur throughout the rest of Egyptian history.¹⁰ This conflict and the relationship between Horus and Seth helps to define both gods, who are called variously the “Two Gods”, “Two Lords”, “Two Rivals”, and “Two Combatants”. Perhaps the best known and most complete version of the tale comes from the Chester-Beatty Papyrus I which dates to the 20th Dynasty of the New Kingdom.¹¹ Known today as *The Contendings of Horus and Seth*, the papyrus tells the story of Seth and Horus as they take their quarrel to the Ennead for judgment. The members of the divine court cannot agree amongst themselves who should succeed Osiris, and the two rivals turn to

⁸ John Gwyn Griffiths, *The Conflict of Horus and Seth from Egyptian and Classical Sources: A Study in Ancient Mythology* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1960), 5.

⁹ Troy, *Queenship*, 35; te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, 32.

¹⁰ The story is referenced in Middle Kingdom Coffin Texts, the New Kingdom Book of the Dead, literary narratives, and magical papyri.

¹¹ For the possible historical and propagandistic functions behind the literary text see Barry J. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization* (New York: Routledge, 1989), 28-29; Ursula Verhoeven, “Ein historischer ‘Sitz im Leben’ für die Erzählung von Horus und Seth des Papyrus Chester Beatty I,” in *Wege öffnen: Festschrift für Rolf Gundlach*, ed. Mechthild Schade-Bush (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996), 347-63; Edward F. Wente, Jr., “The Contendings of Horus and Seth,” in *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry*, 3rd edition, ed. William Kelly Simpson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 91; Griffiths, *Conflict*, vii; Hornung, “Seth,” 12.

physical combat. During the course of their fighting, Seth attempts to have what has been characterized as “homosexual” relations with Horus.¹² The section in question reads, “Now afterward at evening time, bed was prepared for them [Horus and Seth], and together they lay down. During the night Seth caused his phallus to become stiff and inserted it between Horus’s thighs. Horus then placed his hands between his thighs and caught Seth’s semen”.¹³ While it is clear that his sexual conduct was considered to be beyond the boundaries of proper decorum, the point of Seth’s behavior was to humiliate and dominate Horus in order to show he was unfit to rule Egypt. Seth’s sexuality should not be seen as a defining characteristic of either the god or the literary narrative.¹⁴

Within the *Contendings of Horus and Seth*, Horus’s hostilities are not limited to his rival for the throne. He also quarrels with his mother Isis, even decapitating her in some versions of the *Contendings*.¹⁵ At least two primary sources, a 13th Dynasty stela from Abydos and the New Kingdom Harris Magical Papyrus, tell of Horus sexually violating Isis.¹⁶

¹² The earliest and longest version of the so-called “homosexual” episode can be found in the Kahun papyrus, dating to the Middle Kingdom. Te Velde (*Seth, God of Confusion*, 34-36) in particular characterizes the exchange between Horus and Seth as homosexual. For a more detailed discussion of the concept of homosexuality in ancient Egypt see Thomas A. Dowson, “Queering Sex and Gender in Ancient Egypt,” in *Sex and Gender in Ancient Egypt: Don Your Wig for a Joyful Hour*, ed. Carolyn Graves-Brown (Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2008), 27-46; R.B. Parkinson, “Boasting about Hardness: Constructions of Middle Kingdom Masculinity,” in *Sex and Gender in Ancient Egypt: Don Your Wig for a Joyful Hour*, ed. Carolyn Graves-Brown (Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2008), 115-42; R.B. Parkinson, “‘Homosexual’ Desire and Middle Kingdom Literature,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 81 (1995): 57-76.

¹³ Wente, Jr., “Contendings,” 99.

¹⁴ Hornung, “Seth,” 8.

¹⁵ Deborah Sweeney, “Gender and Conversation Tactics in ‘The Contendings of Horus and Seth,’” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 88 (2002): 161; Griffiths, *Conflict*, 46.

¹⁶ The stela text reads: Your heart associates with the king as the heart of Horus associated with his mother Isis when he violated (*nk.n.f*) her and inclined his heart towards her, his thigh being on hers without ceasing. Griffiths, *Conflict*, 48.

Although Horus ultimately wins the earthly throne of Egypt, Seth does not suffer a negative fate. The sun god claims Seth as his own saying, “Let me be given Seth, the Son of Nut, that he may dwell with me, being a son to me, and he shall thunder in the sky and be feared”.¹⁷ First attested in the Coffin Texts (c.2050 BCE), Seth and his 4,500 pound scepter were thought to travel on the prow of the solar bark each night in order to protect the sun god from the dangerous snake Apophis.¹⁸ Through Seth’s defeat of the purely chaotic Apophis, the sun god is able to be successfully reborn each morning. It is in reference to this role that Seth is given the epithet “Chosen of Re”.

The third most commonly noted attribute of Seth is his association with foreign lands, people, and divinities. From at least the 1st Dynasty, the Libyan god Ash was shown in Egyptian art with the head of a Seth animal, and Seth himself was considered to be the lord of foreign lands as early as the Old Kingdom.¹⁹ During the Second Intermediate Period, the Hyksos ruled parts of Egypt from the Delta site of Avaris. The foreign kings seem to have favored a form of the Egyptian god Seth as their main deity.²⁰ Te Velde and other scholars who assign Seth an unfavorable role within the Egyptian

¹⁷ Wente, Jr, “Contendings,” 103. As early as the Pyramid Texts Seth is associated with storms, an association which can have positive and negative connotations. See Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 52; te Velde “Seth as a Trickster,” 39; Zandee, “Sturmgott,” 147. Thunder could be seen as Seth’s voice. See Hornung, “Seth,” 11; Zandee, “Sturmgott,” 150.

¹⁸ J. F. Borghouts, “The Evil Eye of Apophis,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 59 (1973): 114-50; Brunner, “Seth und Apophis,” 227; te Velde, “Seth,” 909; te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, 99-100; Zandee, “Sturmgott,” 149. Most references to Seth on the solar bark, textual and iconographic, date to the New Kingdom. See te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, 100.

¹⁹ Ludwig Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahure*, Vol. II *Die Wandbilder: Abbildungsblätter* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrich, 1913), plate 5; te Velde, “Seth,” 909-10; te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, 109-12. Ash could be shown in Egyptian art with the head of a Seth animal, falcon, or man.

²⁰ See Manfred Bietak, “Zur Herkunft des Seth von Avaris,” *Ägypten und Levante: Zeitschrift für ägyptische archäologie und deren Nachbargebiete* 1 (1990): 9-16.

pantheon do so, in part, because of his seemingly close association with the Hyksos.²¹ However, these rulers saw themselves as the rightful heirs of Egyptian kingship and adopted native customs and religious ideologies. The Hyksos, noting similar characteristics between Seth and their native god Baal, conflated the two deities, allowing them to worship a god who was familiar to them through a traditional Egyptian form that would enhance their legitimacy as kings of Egypt. Seth's status within the Egyptian pantheon did not suffer from his association with foreign lands, even after the Hyksos were expelled from Egypt at the start of the 18th Dynasty. In fact, his link with foreign lands was utilized to its fullest extent in the New Kingdom as Egypt was increasingly involved in international affairs, and through the 20th Dynasty Seth continued to be associated in text and art with the Semitic god Baal, as well as Canaanite Reshef, and Teshub, the chief god of the Hittites.²²

Methodology

Studying ancient Egyptian religion in general, let alone an individual member of the pantheon, is difficult due to the nature of the primary sources. It is therefore understandable why those scholars who have examined Seth focus on the main themes dealt with by te Velde in 1967: Seth as a murderer, homosexual, and foreigner. However, this approach has divorced Seth from the larger Egyptian pantheon, singling him out as an abnormal deity whom the ancients had to deal with as best they could. In the decades since te Velde's book was published, important scholarship has helped develop the

²¹ Te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, 66.

²² See Bietak, "Herkunft des Seth," 9-16; te Velde, "Seth," 910; te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, 109; Zandee, "Sturmgott," 148-49.

understanding of Egyptian religion and mythic texts allowing for an ideal opportunity to re-evaluate Seth and his place within the pantheon of ancient Egypt.²³

In order to properly utilize primary sources to understand Seth's role in ancient Egyptian religious thought, the nature of the sources themselves must be examined. While individual deities and mythic allusions figure prominently in ancient Egyptian text and art, coherent narratives which can definitely be termed "myths" as defined by modern western authors according to the Classical Homeric tradition are sorely lacking.²⁴ The textual sources available to scholars are principally monumental inscriptions, ritual texts, and literary accounts, all of which were produced by and for the elite classes of ancient Egyptian society. These texts utilize culturally recognized themes and symbols, but the content was tailored to the specific context (e.g. temple, funerary, or healing texts) and audience (e.g. deities, priests, or medical patients). Certain thematic and symbolic connections would have been appropriate only in particular situations, and a change in context would bring with it a change in association.²⁵ That is not to say that the

²³ Particularly important to the current study are Jan Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt: History and Meaning in the Time of the Pharaohs* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2002); John Baines, "Egyptian Myth and Discourse: Myth, Gods, and the Early Written and Iconographic Record," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 50 (1991): 81-105; John Baines, "Myth and Literature," in *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms*, ed. Antonio Loprieno (New York: E.J. Brill, 1996), 361-77; Katja Goebis, "A Functional Approach to Egyptian Myth and Mythemes," *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions* 2 (2002): 27-59; Vincent A. Tobin, "Divine Conflict in the Pyramid Texts," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 30 (1993): 93-110; Vincent A. Tobin, *Theological Principles of Egyptian Religion* (New York: P. Lang, 1989); Herman te Velde, "Relations and Conflicts between Egyptian Gods, particularly in the Divine Ennead of Heliopolis," in *Struggles of Gods: Papers of the Groningen Work Group for the Study of the History of Religions*, ed. Hans Gerhard Kippenberg (New York: Mouton, 1984): 239-57.; Hornung, "Seth," 1-12.

²⁴ When scholars search for "myth" in ancient Egypt, they seem to be looking for narrative stories with an ordered sequence of events that explain and define Egypt's cosmology. See Baines, "Myth and Discourse," 81; Goebis, "Functional Approach," 27-59; Tobin, "Divine Conflict," 94; Tobin, *Theological Principles*, 1.

²⁵ Goebis, "Functional Approach," 27-59; Tobin, "Divine Conflict," 94-95; Tobin, *Theological Principles*, 22-23.

Egyptians did not have a mythic tradition, but monumental inscriptions, ritual texts, and literary accounts were not intended to provide dogmatic statements about religious beliefs in ancient Egypt.²⁶ For example, it has already been mentioned that while his death is alluded to in the Pyramid Texts, a clear-cut and lucid tale about the death of Osiris is not to be found. The purpose of the Pyramid Texts was to aid in the rebirth and regeneration of the deceased kings in whose tombs the texts were located. Therefore, rather than a coherent linear narrative about the death of Osiris, the texts present a series of funerary spells which provide associations between the deceased king and the appropriate deities which would aid the mortal king's rebirth in the afterlife.²⁷ In a funerary context, such spells were proper and necessary, and the effectiveness of these spells was not reliant upon a sense of internal consistency or linear narrative.

It is also important to note that a mythic episode may be found recounted in many different versions in Egyptian texts. The Heliopolitan creation story has already been discussed, but there are numerous other accounts of creation found in Pharaonic Egypt. The cosmology which originated at the site of Hermopolis is one such example. In this creation account, the world was created by the Ogdoad, a group of four divine pairs who lived in the primeval waters: Nun and Nunet, Amun and Amunet, Huh and Huhet, Kuk and Kuket.²⁸ After the death of the Ogdoad, the deities continued to exercise influence on the world from their home in the underworld. The Hermopolis creation story existed alongside the Heliopolitan version without being ideologically contradictory. For the

²⁶ Goebis, "Functional Approach," 27-59. Oral traditions from all classes of Egyptian history are lost, so it is impossible to say what the nature of these sources would have been.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 38-59; Tobin, "Divine Conflict," 102-106.

²⁸ Even within the Hermopolis creation stories were multiple variations. In one version, life emerged from an egg, while in another life bloomed from a lotus flower.

ancient Egyptians, different versions of a mythic episode did not represent deviations from a single canonical myth, but rather the versions reflected a myth's many possible forms.²⁹ It is this lack of a single fixed version of a mythical narrative that allowed Egyptian myth to function within so many varied contexts.

The context in which mythic statements were used influenced not only their form, but also the content including the particular roles and qualities of the deities employed. Therefore, Egyptian mythic accounts and the divine actors included in them display great fluidity and variability. For example, in the tale of *The Destruction of Mankind* (c.1306-1137 BCE), the sun god Re is ruling over both gods and humanity on earth. However, humanity plots a rebellion against their divine but aged ruler. Upon learning of the scheme, Re sends out his fiery Eye to kill them. After seeing the initial destruction wrought by the Eye of Re, the sun god changes his mind and devises a ruse to placate the goddess. Beer is dyed red with ochre, and the blood colored beverage is used to flood the fields of Egypt. The Eye of Re laps up what she believes to be blood and becomes inebriated. What is of particular interest here is that the Eye of Re is referred to in the text as both Hathor and Sekhmet.³⁰ This text demonstrates that the individual identity of the deities in Egyptian mythic statements is highly variable and is of secondary importance to the role played by the divine actor within the text.³¹ What is important in this text is that a goddess acts as the fiery Eye of Re to carry out the sun god's vengeance

²⁹ Goebis, "Functional Approach," 38-59. For the ancient Egyptians, variations and contradictions were not seen to be mutually exclusive.

³⁰ Both goddesses are given this epithet in other monumental contexts as well, not just in *The Destruction of Mankind*.

³¹ Goebis, "Functional Approach," 42-59; Tobin, "Divine Conflict," 94; Tobin, *Theological Principles*, 37-39.

upon humanity. Who specifically acts in this capacity is of secondary importance to the role itself.

The characteristics ascribed to individual Egyptian deities are also highly variable and dependent upon context. Sekhmet as the Eye of Re is associated with destruction, and it is in reference to this aspect of her personality that Sekhmet was thought to accompany the king into battle. For example, in the poetic account of Ramesses II's actions at the Battle of Kadesh the Hittite enemies are made to say to each other: "Beware, take care, do not approach him [Ramesses II], Sekhmet the Great is she who is with him, she is with him on his horses, her hand is with him; Anyone who goes to approach him, Fire's Breath comes to burn his body".³² Sekhmet had a dual nature which embodied positive, creative, and protective qualities alongside her warlike and destructive traits. Ancient Egyptian physicians were usually priests of Sekhmet, and the goddess was frequently invoked in medical spells. The major gods within the Egyptian pantheon tend to lack a coherent identity which associated them with a single sphere of influence, and the multifaceted nature of Egyptian divinities highlights the fact that they were neither wholly positive nor wholly negative.³³ All Egyptian deities had a dangerous and unpredictable side to their personality which was placated by cult and ritual.

These same concepts of context dependent fluidity and flexibility also apply to artistic representations of divinities and mythic material. Egyptian gods and goddesses

³² Kenneth A. Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions Translated and Annotated, Vol. II, Ramesses II, Royal Inscriptions* (Oxford: B.H. Blackwell, 1996), 12.

³³ For example, the deceased king needs to protect himself against Osiris in the Pyramid Texts as one spell asks "May Osiris not come with his evil coming. Do not open your arms to him". See David P. Silverman, "Divinity and Deities in Ancient Egypt," in *Religion in Ancient Egypt: Gods, Myths, and Personal Practice*, ed. Byron E. Shafer (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 23; Assmann, *Mind of Egypt*, 204; Baines, "Myth and Discourse," 90-92; Hornung, *Conceptions*, 213; Tobin, *Theological Principles*, 108-109.

could take a variety of iconographic forms and were not limited to a single canonical visual appearance. As previously mentioned, Seth could be represented in Egyptian art as an imaginary animal, a male anthropomorphic figure, or a composite deity with the head of a Seth animal and the body of a man. Hathor could be shown as a cow, a female anthropomorphic figure, or as a composite deity with the head of either a lion or a cow and the body of a woman. The iconographic images of the gods found in Egyptian art were not meant to provide a likeness of the true manifestation of the deity.³⁴ The iconography was created to provide visual cues about certain qualities of the divine, and thus Egyptian deities could be depicted in a number of different forms in order to best suit the given context.³⁵

Parameters of Current Study

Like any Egyptian deity, Seth possessed a character which was highly variable and context dependent. As the first step in a proper re-assessment of Seth's divine nature and role within the Egyptian pantheon, the present study will examine the role of Seth within one specific context: the use of Seth in New Kingdom expressions of royal ideology. The decision to focus on royal material is largely due to the nature of the archaeological evidence. The majority of surviving art, architecture, and written material was produced for a small audience comprised of elite, priests, and royalty. While these primary sources present an officially sanctioned view of the state, the king, and the office of kingship, they drew upon wider culturally held ideas about kingship and divinity.

³⁴ Hornung, *Conceptions*, 113-17; Hornung, "Seth," 6; Silverman, "Divinity and Deities," 16-17.

³⁵ Hornung, *Conceptions*, 125; Hornung, "Seth," 1; Silverman, "Divinity and Deities," 23; Tobin, *Theological Principles*, 35-36. As Hornung points out (*Conceptions*, 113-14), the different forms of the gods do not represent a historical development where one appearance replaced another, but rather the different forms existed side by side.

Also supporting the use of royal material is the special relationship between the king and the realm of the divine. The king was a mortal human who occupied the divine office of kingship and served as the intermediary between humanity and deities. The relationship between the king and the gods was one based on reciprocity. The king received life, prosperity, and the ability to rule from the gods which allowed the king to make offerings to the deities who continued to endow him with the positive characteristics needed by an Egyptian king to maintain *maat*. The king's role as mediator of divine authority was one of his most important roles in Egyptian society and was one of the primary themes of royal art, architecture, and text.³⁶ Frequently the king of Egypt is referred to as *ntr nfr* (the Perfect God), a reference to the divinity of the office of kingship and the king's unique relationship with the Egyptian pantheon.³⁷ For example, in addition to temple statuary and reliefs, Egyptian deities could inhabit the physical body of the king.³⁸ In fact, the king's body could be occupied by more than one deity at a time, with each god behind a different aspect of that king's unique personality.³⁹ Some deities

³⁶ Antonio Loprieno, "The 'King's Novel'," in *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms*, ed. Antonio Loprieno (New York: E.J. Brill, 1996), 282-83; Lana Troy, "Religion and Cult during the Time of Thutmose III," in *Thutmose III: A New Biography*, ed. Eric H. Cline and David B. O'Connor (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 130.

³⁷ For more on the nature of the office of Egyptian kingship and its relationship to the divine see John Baines, "Kingship, Definition of Culture, and Legitimation," in *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, ed. David B. O'Connor and David P. Silverman (New York: E.J. Brill, 1995), 3-47; John Baines, "Origins of Egyptian Kingship," in *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, ed. David B. O'Connor and David P. Silverman (New York: E.J. Brill, 1995), 95-154; Eberhard Otto, "Legitimation des Herrschens im pharaonischen Ägypten," *Saeculum* 20 (1969): 385-411; David P. Silverman, "The Nature of Egyptian Kingship," in *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, ed. David B. O'Connor and David P. Silverman (New York: E.J. Brill, 1995), 49-89.

³⁸ John Baines, "Ancient Egyptian Kingship: Official Forms, Rhetoric, Context," in *King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar*, ed. John Day (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1988), 5; Hornung, *Conceptions*, 141.

³⁹ Baines, "Ancient Egyptian Kingship," 5-6.

were more closely associated with the king and the office of kingship, but the king was the “son” of all the gods.

The office of Egyptian kingship originated in the 4th millennium BCE and was Egypt’s central institution for over 3,000 years. While it exhibited great continuity in terms of ideas and iconography, how the office was viewed by the individual kings and Egyptian society as a whole varied over the course of Egyptian history in response to social, economic, and political changes as well as changes in how individual kings understood their position within the state.⁴⁰ These variations in views were reflected in royal texts and monuments, as each king chose to emphasize different aspects of kingship and their own individual strengths in response to the state of Egypt during their rule.⁴¹ The over 3,000 year history of Pharaonic Egypt would be difficult to cover in one work, so the current study will focus on the New Kingdom (c.1550-1070 BCE). This period allows for a particularly rich examination of the god Seth due to the quality and quantity of preserved royal monuments which provides insight into the ideology of Egyptian kingship and its relationship to the divine for almost 400 years.

⁴⁰ Peter J. Brand, “Ideology and Politics of the Early Ramesside Kings (13th Century BC): A Historical Approach,” in *Prozesse des Wandels in historischen Spannungsfeldern Nordostafrikas/Westasiens: Akten zum 2. Symposium des SFB 295, Mainz, 15.10-17.10.2001*, ed. Walter Bisang et al. (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2005), 23-25.

⁴¹ Gay Robins, “Legitimation,” in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, Vol. 2, ed. Donald B. Redford (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 286; Brand, “Ideology,” 23-25.

Chapter Two

Seth in Royal Monuments before the New Kingdom

Introduction

Before examining the use of Seth in New Kingdom royal monuments, it is important to establish his presence in royal material from before 1550 BCE. What follows is not intended to be an exhaustive catalogue, but should serve to illustrate how kings utilized Seth in their monuments from the Predynastic Period through the Second Intermediate Period.

1. Scorpion Macehead

Predynastic Period

Archaeological Site: Main Deposit, Temple of Horus, Hierakonpolis

**Current Location: Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, Oxford
(AN1896-1908.E3632)**

Bibliography: James E. Quibell, *Hierakonpolis. Part I* (London: Quaritch, 1900), pl. XXVIC; Gay Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 27; te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, 12.

The earliest certain attestation of the Seth animal is on the Scorpion Macehead which dates to the Naqada III period. Above King Scorpion, who is performing an agricultural ritual, the Seth animal can be found atop two standards from which *rekhyt* birds hang by their necks.

2. Stela

Early Dynastic Period, Reign of Djer

Archaeological Site: Subsidiary Tomb around Royal Tomb of Djer, Abydos

Bibliography: B. Porter and R.L.B. Moss, asst. by E.W. Burney, now ed. by J. Malek, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Statues, Reliefs and Paintings*, Vol. V. *Upper Egypt: Sites* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 2004), 79; Troy, *Queenship*, 152.

Royal textual references to Seth begin in the 1st Dynasty. A royal woman named Seshemetka was given the title $\text{𓆎}(t) \text{st}\text{š}$: She Who Carries Seth, as well as $m33t \text{hr}$: She Who Sees Horus.⁴²

3. Stela

Early Dynastic Period, Reign of Den

Archaeological Site: Subsidiary Tomb around Royal Tomb of Den, Abydos

Bibliography: Porter and Moss, V, 83; Troy, *Queenship*, 152.

A royal woman contemporary with the 1st Dynasty king Den held the titles She Who Carries Seth ($\text{𓆎}(t) \text{st}\text{š}$) and She Who Sees Horus ($m33t \text{hr}$).

4. Stela

Early Dynastic Period, Reign of Den

Archaeological Site: Subsidiary Tomb around Royal Tomb of Den, Abydos

Bibliography: Porter and Moss, V, 83; Troy, *Queenship*, 152.

Semat, a royal woman associated with King Den, was also called She Who Carries Seth ($\text{𓆎}(t) \text{st}\text{š}$) and She Who Sees Horus ($m33t \text{hr}$).

5. Stela

Early Dynastic Period, Reign of Peribsen

Archaeological Site: Royal Tomb of Peribsen, Abydos

Current Location: The British Museum, London (EA 35597)

Bibliography: A.J. Spencer, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum Volume V. Early Dynastic Objects* (London: British Museum Press, 1980), 16; Porter and Moss, V, 81.

Kings before and after Peribsen wrote their names inside a *serekh*, representing the royal residence, topped by a Horus falcon, indicating that Horus resided in the body of the king within the palace. Peribsen chose to place his name inside a *serekh* surmounted by a Seth animal, thus conveying the idea that Seth inhabited the body of the ruling king.

6. Jar Sealing

Early Dynastic Period, Reign of Peribsen

Archaeological Site: Royal Tomb of Peribsen, Abydos

Current Location: The British Museum, London (EA 35595)

⁴² The spellings of Seth's names given in the hieroglyphs vary, but are consistently translated here as "Seth". See page 2 in the previous chapter.

Bibliography: William Stevenson Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom* (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1978), Figure 40; Porter and Moss, V, 81; Spencer, *Catalogue*, 56.

On a jar sealing from Peribsen's tomb the Seth name of the king is accompanied by an anthropomorphic figure with a long, slightly curved nose wearing the White Crown and holding a *w3s* scepter. The hieroglyphs above the figure label him as the Libyan god ʒš.⁴³

7. Jar Sealing

Early Dynastic Period, Reign of Khasekhemwy

Archaeological Site: Royal Tomb of Khasekhemwy, Abydos

Current Location: The British Museum, London (EA 35589)

Bibliography: Porter and Moss, V, 87; Spencer, *Catalogue*, 56.

Peribsen's successor was Khasekhem, who wrote his name inside the traditional falcon topped *serekh*. Later in his reign, the king's name was changed to Khasekhemwy and was written inside a *serekh* with a Horus falcon and a Seth animal on top. On a jar sealing from Khasekhemwy's tomb a standing anthropomorphic figure holding a *w3s* scepter faces one of the *serekhs*. The text above the figure labels him as ʒš.

8. Jar Sealing

Early Dynastic Period, Reign of Khasekhemwy

Archaeological Site: Royal Tomb of Khasekhemwy, Abydos

Current Location: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (01.4.164)

Bibliography: Porter and Moss, V, 87.

A third variation of Khasekhemwy's name came when he added the epithet "The Two Lords are at Peace within Him" to his name, with the "Two Lords" referring to Horus and Seth. All the hieroglyphs for his name and epithet were enclosed in a *serekh* topped with a Horus falcon and Seth animal, both wearing the Double Crown.

9. Wall Relief Fragment

Old Kingdom, 3rd Dynasty, Reign of Djoser

⁴³ This is one of the first indications of an association between Seth and the foreign god Ash. In the Old Kingdom, the Libyan god Ash begins to be shown in Egyptian art with the head of the Seth animal. The association between Seth and Ash does not seem to have been as strong, at least within the royal sphere, as the relationship between Seth and other foreign deities. See page 6 in the previous chapter.

Archaeological Site: Heliopolis**Current Location: Museo Egizio, Turin**

Bibliography: Bernard Mathieu, “Seth polymorphe: le rival, le vaincu, l’auxiliaire,” *Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne* 4 (2011): 140; Ludwig D. Morenz, “Die Götter Redetext: Die ältestbelegte Sakral-Monumentalisierung von Textlichkeit auf Fragmenten der Zeit des Djoser aus Heliopolis,” in *5. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung: Würzburg, 23.-26. September 1999*, ed. Horst Beinlich (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002), 143; Hornung, *Conceptions*, 108 n. 20; Smith, *History*, Figures 48-53.

Djoser commissioned a small shrine dedicated to the Ennead at Heliopolis. A number of fragments are inscribed with *sd* hieroglyphs, suggesting this shrine may be connected with the Sed Festival.⁴⁴ Amongst the gods found on the relief fragments is *sth nbwt*: Seth of Ombos.

10. Wall Relief Fragment**Old Kingdom, 3rd Dynasty, Reign of Djoser****Archaeological Site: Heliopolis****Current Location: Museo Egizio, Turin**

Bibliography: Hornung, *Conceptions*, 108 n. 20; Mathieu, “Seth polymorphe,” 140; Smith, *History*, Figures 48-53.

On a second relief fragment from Djoser’s shrine is the text: *di ʿnh dd w3s nb*: Given all life, stability, and dominion. To the right of the text is a recumbent Seth animal above a male human head. It is unclear if the Seth animal is meant to be a label for the human figure or if they are two separate individuals.

11. Statue Fragment**Old Kingdom, 4th Dynasty, Reign of Khafre****Archaeological Site: Private Mastabas, Giza Plateau****Current Location: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (14-12-49.33)**

Bibliography: B. Porter and R.L.B. Moss, asst. by E.W. Burney, now ed. by J. Malek, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Statues, Reliefs and Paintings*, Vol. III Part 1. *Memphis. Abu Rawash to Abusir* (2nd ed.) (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1994), 24.

⁴⁴ The particulars of this royal festival are discussed in the following chapter.

Fragments from a seated statue of Khafre were recovered from within private mastabas on the Giza Plateau. The sides of the king's throne were decorated with images of Horus and Seth holding *w3s* scepters.

12. Inscription of Khamerernebtj

Old Kingdom, 4th Dynasty, Reign of Menkaure

Archaeological Site: Mastaba of Khamerernebtj, Giza Plateau

Bibliography: Porter and Moss, III Part 1, 273; Troy, *Queenship*, 153-54.

In her tomb at Giza, one of Menkaure's wives is called *m33t hr stš*: She Who Sees Horus and Seth.⁴⁵

13. Wall Relief Fragment

Old Kingdom, 5th Dynasty, Reign of Sahure

Archaeological Site: Mortuary Temple of Sahure, Abusir

Current Location: Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin (21782)

Bibliography: Mathieu, "Seth polymorphe," 143; Porter and Moss, III Part 1, 326; Robins, *Art*, 61.

Seth's control over foreigners is evident in a relief from the causeway of Sahure's mortuary temple, where he is shown in his composite form holding a *w3s* scepter while leading bound foreign captives to the king. The hieroglyphs in front of his ears label him as *nbwty*: the Ombite.⁴⁶

14. Wall Relief

Old Kingdom, 5th Dynasty, Reign of Neuserre

Archaeological Site: Sun Temple of Neuserre, Abusir

Bibliography: Werner Kaiser, *Die kleine Hebseddarstellung in Sonnen-Heiligtum des Neuserre* (Cairo: Selbstverlag de Herausgebens, 1971); Matthias Rochholz, "Sedfest, Sonnenheiligtum und Pyramidenbezirk: Zur Deutung der Grabanlagen der Könige der 5. Und 6. Dynastie," in *Ägyptische Tempel – Struktur, Funktion und Programm: Akten der Ägyptologischen Tempeltagungen in Gosen 1990 und in Mainz 1992*, ed. Rolf Gundlach and Matthias Rochholz (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1994), 267; Troy, "Religion and Cult," 148-49.

⁴⁵ The title was used for nine royal women of the 4th Dynasty. See Troy, *Queenship*, 152-54.

⁴⁶ *Nbwt* and Ombos are other names for the site of Nagada, the location of one of Seth's major cults. *Nbwty* in Egyptian is a nisba adjective, which means literally "the one from Ombos". See pages 151-53 for more on Ombos.

Neuserre is shown celebrating a Sed Festival on the walls of his sun temple. One section of relief depicts the procession of Neuserre as the king of Upper Egypt. He is shown wearing the White Crown and the enveloping Sed Festival cloak while carrying a crook, flail, and *w3s* scepter. Neuserre is seated on the throne which is being carried on a *nb* shaped palanquin by four men. The king is identified by the cartouche in front of his scepters: *n-wsr-r^c*. To the far right of the cartouche is a recumbent Seth animal identified as *nbwty*: the Ombite. Two registers below this is a second recumbent Seth animal shown above the *Per-Wer* shrine of Upper Egypt.

Directly to the right of the above scene, in the same section of wall relief, Neuserre is again shown with the White Crown and Sed Festival cloak carrying a crook, flail, and *w3s* scepter while being carried in his palanquin. Behind the king's crown is the recumbent Seth animal, the Ombite (*nbwty*), above the *Per-Wer* shrine of Upper Egypt.

15. Pyramid Texts

Old Kingdom, 5th Dynasty, Reign of Wenis

Archaeological Site: Pyramid of Wenis, Saqqara

Bibliography: James P. Allen, *The Ancient Pyramid Texts* (Atlanta, Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), 31, 39, and 45.

During the reign of Wenis, the last king of the 5th Dynasty, the corpus of Egyptian royal funerary spells known as the Pyramid Texts were first written down. In a number of spells, Seth and Horus are linked to the king as an inherent duality present in kingship.⁴⁷ For example, in the burial chamber of Wenis is written: See me, as you have seen the forms of the progeny who know their spells, the Imperishable Stars, and see the two in the palace – that is Horus and Seth.

⁴⁷ The references to Seth found in the complete corpus of Pyramid Texts are too numerous to list here in their entirety. Rather, a collection of spells have been selected to show the inherent link between Seth and the king as presented in the Old Kingdom funerary spells.

Within the Pyramid Texts are also examples of spells highlighting the intrinsic link between the king and Seth apart from the duality with Horus. The text praising the sun in the pyramid of Wenis contains the section: He shall descend on his opponent and stand up over the Great One as his greater – the one whom Nephthys has blessed, for he has taken away opposition, (saying): You have provided yourself as (Seth), Great of Magic in Ombos, Lord of the Nile Valley. When Wenis is at the entrance to the horizon, the texts reads: [That is] the seat he has, the one he took, the one he raised, [which] his father Shu [gave him] beside Seth.

16. Inscription of Nimaathap

Old Kingdom, 5th Dynasty

Archaeological Site: Mastaba of Nimaathap, Giza Plateau

Bibliography: Porter and Moss, III Part 1, 136; Troy, *Queenship*, 155.

Nimaathap, a royal woman of the 5th Dynasty, held the title *m33t hr stš*: She Who Sees Horus and Seth.⁴⁸

17. Wall Relief Fragment

Old Kingdom, 6th Dynasty, Reign of Teti

Archaeological Site: Mortuary Temple of Teti, Saqqara

Current Location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 39861)

Bibliography: B. Porter and R.L.B. Moss, asst. by E.W. Burney, now ed. by J. Malek, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Statues, Reliefs and Paintings*, Vol. III Part 2. *Memphis. Saqqara to Dahshur* (2nd ed.) (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 2003), 394; James E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara, 1907-1908* (Le Caire: Impr. de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1909), pl. liv [2]; Smith, *History*, 202.

A fragmentary relief of Seth in his composite form was found with other relief fragments showing the Sed Festival in the mortuary temple of Teti. However, it is unclear how the Seth fragment relates, if at all, to the ritual scenes.

18. Pyramid Texts

Old Kingdom, 6th Dynasty, Reign of Teti

⁴⁸ This title was used by eight royal women in the 5th Dynasty. In the 6th Dynasty, it was held by six women. See Troy, *Queenship*, 154-156.

Archaeological Site: Pyramid of Teti, Saqqara**Bibliography:** Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 77.

From the Pyramid Texts in the tomb of Teti comes the purification spell: The face of Teti has been washed by the gods...the right side of Teti which is Horus...the left side of Teti which is Seth.

19. Pyramid Texts**Old Kingdom, 6th Dynasty, Reign of Pepi I****Archaeological Site: Pyramid of Pepi I, Saqqara****Bibliography:** Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 105 and 153.

Seth is found paired with Horus as well as on his own in the Pyramid Texts of Pepi I. In the first case, it is said to the king: When you go, Horus goes; when you speak, Seth speaks. Elsewhere, the king's strength is said to be "Seth the Ombite's strength".

20. Wood Panel**Old Kingdom, 6th Dynasty, Reign of Pepi II****Archaeological Site: Valley Temple of Pepi II, Saqqara****Current Location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 52021)****Bibliography:** Gustave Jéquier, Ahmed eff Youssef, and Jean-Philippe Lauer, *Le monument funéraire de Pepi II. Tome II, Le temple* (Le Caire: Institut français de'Archéologie orientale, 1938), pl. iii; Gustave Jéquier, "Rapport préliminaire sur les fouilles exécutées en nécropole Memphite," *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte* 28 (1928): 51-60; Porter and Moss, III Part 2, 426.

A gilded wooden panel originally part of a box or chest was recovered from Pepi II's valley temple at Saqqara. The king is shown at the center of the scene facing towards Horus on the viewer's left. Horus grasps the hand of Pepi II while his other hand is raised to the crown of the king. Behind the king is Seth shown in his composite form and wearing a tripartite wig. The text above the god's head labels him as *nbwt(y)*: The Ombite. Like Horus, Seth holds on to the king with one hand and raises the other to Pepi II's crown. This scene type is meant to represent the coronation of the king as ruler of Upper and Lower Egypt.

21. Wall Relief

Old Kingdom, 6th Dynasty, Reign of Pepi II

Archaeological Site: Mortuary Temple of Pepi II, Saqqara

Bibliography: Jéquier, et al., *Pepi II*, pl. ii; Porter and Moss, III Part 2, 428.

On a relief from the antechamber of Pepi II's mortuary temple, the king is shown standing before figures arranged into three registers. Originally the top register was filled with the figures of Upper Egyptian gods, but only Seth, Khnum, and Montu survive.

Seth is labeled in this scene as the One from Sw.⁴⁹

22. Wall Relief

Old Kingdom, 6th Dynasty, Reign of Pepi II

Archaeological Site: Mortuary Temple of Pepi II, Saqqara

Bibliography: Jéquier, et al., *Pepi II*, pl. ii; Porter and Moss, III Part 2, 428.

In a second wall relief from the mortuary temple of Pepi II, the king is again shown standing before three registers of figures. Seth is depicted in the middle register in his composite form with a *w3s* scepter in his forward hand and an *ʕnh* in his rear hand.

Behind the god is the *Per-Wer* shrine of Upper Egypt. Above his head, Seth is identified as *imy šmʕ*: The One Who is in Upper Egypt.

23. Wall Relief

Middle Kingdom, 11th Dynasty, Reign of Nebhepetre Montuhotep II

Archaeological Site: Chapel of Nebhepetre Montuhotep II, Dendera

Bibliography: Alan H. Gardiner, "Horus the Behdetite," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 30 (1944): 25.

On a wall relief from the king's chapel at Dendera, Horus and Seth are shown kneeling

with the plants of Upper and Lower Egypt in a scene showing the *sm3-t3wy* motif.

24. Lintel

Middle Kingdom, 11th Dynasty, Reign of Nebhepetre Montuhotep II

Archaeological Site: Temple of Amun, Karnak, Thebes

Bibliography: Luc Gabolde, *Le «Grand Château d'Amon» de Sésostri Ier* (Paris: Diffusion de Boccard, 1998), 112; Labib Habachi, "King Nebhepetre Mentuhotep: His Monuments, Place in History, Deification and Unusual Representations in the Form of

⁴⁹ Sw is another Egyptian site associated with Seth. See pages 149-51 for more on Sw.

Gods,” *Mittlungen des Deutschen Archaologischen Institutes, Kairo* 19 (1963), 35-36; Mansour el-Noubi, “A Lintel of Senwosret I Discovered at Karnak,” *Discussions in Egyptology* 40 (1998): 99; B. Porter and R.L.B. Moss, asst. by E.W. Burney, now ed. by J. Malek, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Statues, Reliefs and Paintings, Vol. II. Theban Temples* (2nd ed.) (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1994), 209; Martina Ullmann, “Thebes: Origins of a Ritual Landscape,” in *Sacred Space and Sacred Function in Ancient Thebes*, ed. Peter Dorman and Betsy M. Bryan (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2007), 5.

On a lintel from Karnak the king is seated at the middle of the scene facing to the viewer’s right on a throne decorated with the *sm3 t3wy* motif. His forward arm is extended and holds a staff, while his rear arm is held closer to the body. The text in front of the king indicates he is the *ntr nfr nb t3wy*: The Perfect God, Lord of the Two Lands. In front of his staff the text gives his name as *nswt bity nb-hpt-rꜥ ꜥnh dt*: King of Upper and Lower Egypt Nebhepetre, living forever. Over the figure of the king is a winged sun disk adorned with two uraei.

Facing Nebhepetre Montuhotep, on the viewer’s right, are Horus and Wadjet who each hold a *w3s* scepter in their forward hands and an *ꜥnh* in their rear hands. Horus is identified by the text: *bḥdt(y) di ꜥnh nb t3 di snb ꜥnh*: The Behdite, who gives life, the Lord of the land, who gives health and life. Wadjet’s name is written above her figure. Behind the central figure of the king is the text: *s3 ꜥnh nb ḥ3.f*: All protection and life around him. Following this text are the figures of Seth and Nekhbet, who carry *w3s* scepters in their forward hands and *ꜥnh* signs in their rear. The text above them reads: *nbwt(y) nhbt di.s ꜥnh nb*: The Ombite, Nekhbet, she gives all life.

25. Wall Relief Fragment

Middle Kingdom, 11th Dynasty, Reign of Nebhepetre Montuhotep II

Archaeological Site: Chapel of Osiris of Coptos, Karnak, Thebes

Bibliography: Porter and Moss, II, 207.

This block was found reused within the later Osiris chapel. The king is shown seated with Isis and Seth standing behind his throne while he faces towards Horus and an unknown goddess.

26. Wall Relief Fragment

Middle Kingdom, 11th Dynasty, Reign of Nebhepetre Montuhotep II

Archaeological Site: Mortuary Temple of Nebhepetre Montuhotep II, Deir el-Bahari, Thebes

Bibliography: Dieter Arnold, “Royal Cult Complexes of the Old and Middle Kingdoms,” in *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, ed. Byron E. Shafer (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997), 75; Dieter Arnold, *Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep von Deir el-Bahari. 2 Die Wandreliefs des Sanktuars* (Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern, 1974), 22-23, taf. 10; el-Noubi, “Lintel of Senwosret I,” 99; Porter and Moss, II, 391.

In a similar composition to the two blocks from Karnak described above, Nebhepetre Montuhotep is seated on a throne at the center of the scene flanked by two pairs of deities. At the far right are the remains of a deity whose forward hand holds the *rnpt* hieroglyph. The damage makes it unclear what type of crown the king is wearing, but he is shown holding a staff in his forward hand and a flail in his rear. Remains of his cartouche can be seen in front of the king’s face. Nebhepetre Montuhotep’s throne is decorated with the *sm3 t3wy* motif, and the king and the throne are on top of a dais decorated with *tit* amulets, *dd* pillars, and *w3s* scepters. Behind the king is the damaged figure of the god Seth who holds a *rnpt* sign in his forward hand and two *nh* signs in his rear. A second *rnpt* sign is cradled in the crook of his elbow. Behind Seth is a column of text which reads: *...mnw iri.n nswt bity nb t3wy wsir-m3^ct-r^c stp-n-r^c n it.f imn-r^c nb nhḥ*:
 ...Monuments which the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Usermaatre Setepenre made for his father Amun-Re, Lord of Eternity.⁵⁰ The remains of a

⁵⁰ The cartouche is that of Ramesses II who carried out restorations at the site during his reign in the 19th Dynasty.

goddess can be made out behind the column of text. She carries a *w3s* scepter in her forward hand and an *ꜥnh* in her rear hand.⁵¹

27. Lintel

Middle Kingdom, 12th Dynasty, Reign of Amenemhat I

Archaeological Site: Funerary Complex of Amenemhat I, Lisht

Current Location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 40484)

Bibliography: Erik Hornung and Elisabeth Staehelin, *Neue Studien zum Sedfest* (Basel: Schwabe, 2006), 71; William Kelly Simpson, “Studies in the Twelfth Egyptian Dynasty,” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 2 (1963): 61.

Amenemhat I is shown twice at the center of the scene on this fragmentary lintel. The two images of the king are seated back to back in a Sed Festival pavilion. The figure of the king on the viewer’s left is wearing the White Crown of Upper Egypt and the Sed Festival cloak while seated on a throne decorated with the *sm3 t3wy* motif. He accepts a bundle of *rnpt* hieroglyphs from a lost anthropomorphized standard. The damaged text in front of the king’s face reads: *shꜥtp-ib-rꜥ nb t3wy ht nbt mi rꜥ*: Sehetepibra, Lord of the Two Lands, (given) all things, like Re. This composition is paralleled in the second figure of the king wearing the Red Crown of Lower Egypt. Here, the king accepts the bundle of *rnpt* signs from an anthropomorphized standard topped with a seated Seth animal. The forward arm of the standard presents the *rnpt* hieroglyphs, and the rear hand holds the hieroglyphs *w3s* and *ꜥnh*. The text on this half of the lintel reads: *imn-m-ḥꜥt nꜥr nꜥr nb t3wy di ꜥnh ddt nb mi rꜥ*: Amenemhat, the Perfect God, Lord of the Two Lands, given all life and stability like Re.

28. Statues

Middle Kingdom, 12th Dynasty, Reign of Senwosret I

Archaeological Site: Funerary Complex of Senwosret I, Lisht

Current Location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 31301, JE 31139)

Bibliography: Dieter Arnold, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret I* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art), 37; Gardiner, “Horus,” 25-26; Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 28-29; el-Noubi, “Lintel of Senwosret I,” 100; Porter and Moss, II, 135.

⁵¹ Porter and Moss identify the goddess as Hathor, while Arnold names the deity as Nekhbet.

Senwosret I, the successor of Amenemhat I, also built his mortuary complex at the site of Lisht from which a series of seated statues of the king were recovered. Five of these statues show the king seated on a throne with a *sm3 t3wy* motif featuring Horus and Seth decorating the sides. The central portion of the *sm3* hieroglyph is topped by the cartouche of Senwosret I. Seth, representing Upper Egypt, ties the sedge plant around the *sm3* hieroglyph. The text above him reads: *di.f^cnḥ dd w3s nb nbwt(y) nb t3 šm^cw*: he gives all life, stability, and dominion, The Ombite, Lord of the Southern Land. Facing Seth is Horus, representing Lower Egypt, who ties the papyrus plant around the *sm3* hieroglyph. The text above Horus parallels that of Seth: *di.f^cnḥ dd w3s nb ntr ʕ3 s3b šwt*: he gives all life, stability, and dominion, the Great God of Variegated Plumage.

In a variant of this scene, Horus and Seth are shown on one throne base wearing the Double Crown. The text above Seth reads: *di.f^cnḥ nb nbwt(y)*: He gives all life, the Ombite. Similarly, Horus is labeled with the text: *di.f^cnḥ nb bhdt(y)*: He gives all life, the Behdite. Two other throne sides label Seth as *nb sw* (The Lord of Sw), while in another instance he is simply called the Lord of the Southern Land.

On one throne base, fecundity figures replace Horus and Seth. The text associated with Upper Egypt is recorded as: *dd mdw di.n n.k stḥ swt.f t3 šm^cw*: Words spoken: Seth has given to you his thrones of Upper Egypt. On the viewer's right, the text reads: *dd mdw di.n n.k ḥr nswt.f t3 mḥw*: Words spoken: Horus has given to you his thrones of Lower Egypt.

29. Lintel

Middle Kingdom, 12th Dynasty, Reign of Senwosret I
Archaeological Site: Temple of Amun, Karnak, Thebes
Current Location: Open Air Museum, Karnak

Bibliography: Eugene Cruz-Uribe, “*sth ʕ3 phty* ‘Seth, God of Power and Might’,” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 45 (2009): 210-11; el-Noubi, “Lintel of Senwosret I,” 93-103; Porter and Moss, II, 135.

A lintel of Senwosret I was found at Karnak between the 4th and 5th Pylons. At the center of the lintel is the god Amun giving life to Senwosret I under a winged sun disk adorned with two uraei. The area to the right of the sun disk is damaged, but the text on the left side is preserved: *bḥdt(y) ntr ʕ3 s3b-šwt nb msn*: The Behdite, the Great God of Variegated Plumage, Lord of Mesen. The king, identified by the cartouche in front of his face, is shown wearing the Red Crown of Lower Egypt and holding a mace in his rear hand and a staff in his forward hand. Senwosret I’s figure is followed by an anthropomorphized *ka* standard bearing his Horus name *ʕnh-mswt*. A damaged figure of Seth can be made out behind the *ka* standard holding a *rnpt* sign in his forward hand with two *ʕnh* signs hanging from his rear elbow. The text associated with Seth, like the figure of the god, is damaged but reads: [*dd mdw*] *di.n(.i) n.k rnpwt st ḥry st ḥr dt*: [Words spoken]: (I) have given to you the years of Seth upon the throne of Horus forever. The figure of a goddess is preserved behind the text, but her name is lost.

Moving back to the center of the lintel, Amun is named in the text by his crown: *imn nb nswt t3wy*: Amun, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands. His speech to Senwosret I is preserved behind his figure: *dd mdw di.n(.i) n.k ʕnh dd(t) nb mi rʕ dt*: Words spoken: (I) have given to you all life and stability like Re forever. The left half of the lintel is better preserved, and the figures of Montu and Nekhbet can clearly be seen following Amun. Montu’s speech to the king is preserved and is the same as that given by Amun. The text associated with Nekhbet reads: *nḥbt ḥdt nḥn di.s ʕnh w3s*: Nekhbet, the White One of Nekhen, she gives life and dominion.

30. Lintel

Middle Kingdom, 12th Dynasty, Reign of Senwosret III

Archaeological Site: Temple of Montu, Medamud

Current Location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 56497)

Bibliography: Betsy M. Bryan, “Designing the Cosmos: Temples and Temple Decoration,” in *Egypt’s Dazzling Sun: Amenhotep III and His World*, ed. Arielle P. Kozloff, et al. (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art in cooperation with Indiana University Press, 1992), 105; Fernand Bisson de la Roque, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamoud (1929)* (Le Caire: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1930), pl. VIII; Cruz-Uribe, “Seth,” 211; Gardiner, “Horus,” 31-32; el-Noubi, “Lintel of Senwosret I,” 100.

Senwosret III added to the temple of Montu at Medamud, and a lintel from the site shows a Sed Festival scene similar to the one of Amenemhat I at Lisht (Catalogue 27).

Senwosret III is depicted twice at the center of the lintel wearing the Sed Festival cloak.

The figures of the king are seated back to back in a Sed Festival pavilion which is protected by a winged sun disk adorned with uraei. The winged sun disk is identified in the text to either side of it as *bḥdt(y) ntr ʿ3*: The Behdite, the Great God. Both figures of the king are labeled with identical text: *sn-wsrt nb irt ḥt*: Senwosret, Lord of Cultic Action. The image of the king on the left side of the lintel shows him wearing the Red Crown of Lower Egypt and accepting a *rnpt* sign from a standard topped by a Horus falcon, identified in the text as the Behdite. Behind the standard, framed between two *rnpt* signs, is a column of text: *ḏd mdw ḏi.n(.i) n.k ʿnh w3s nb ḥr smn gnwt[k]...*: Words spoken: (I) have given to you all life and dominion in order to establish [your] annals.... The area of the lintel behind this text is divided into two registers. In the top register is a falcon on a post holding an *ʿnh* sign and a *w3s* scepter before the *Per-Nw* shrine of Lower Egypt. Below this register the god Amun is shown before a second sanctuary with text that reads: *imn nb nswt t3wy ḏd w3s nb*: Amun, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, (gives) all stability and dominion.

The decoration of the lintel on the viewer's right parallels that on left side using iconography appropriate for Upper Egypt. Senwosret III wears the White Crown and accepts a *rnpt* sign from a standard topped by a seated Seth animal. The text indicates that the standard represents the Ombite. Behind the standard is the same text as on the left side of the lintel. The area behind the text is again divided into two registers. The top register shows a heron on a perch before the *Per-Wer* shrine of Upper Egypt. In the register below this, the god Montu is shown standing before a second shrine. The text reads: *mntw nb w3st hr-ib m3dw*: Montu, Lord of Thebes, who dwells in Medamud.

31. Pectoral

Middle Kingdom, 12th Dynasty, Reign of Senwosret II or Senwosret III

Archaeological Site: Unknown, Possibly Dahshur

Current Location: Myers Collection of Egyptian Antiquities, Eton College (1585)

Bibliography: Stephen Spurr, Nicholas Reeves, and Stephen Quirke, *Egyptian Art at Eton College: Selections from the Myers Museum* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999), 16.

The kings of the 12th Dynasty eventually moved their burials and mortuary complexes to the site of Dahshur. It likely from this site that a royal pectoral featuring Horus and Seth was recovered. The gemstone inlays are now lost, but the details of the electrum frame of the pectoral remains. A Bat emblem under a sun disk with two uraei forms the central axis of the pectoral which is flanked by seated figures of Horus and Seth under a pair of *wedjat* eyes. Seth is shown as a Seth animal with an arrow shaped tail, while Horus is depicted as a falcon-headed sphinx. The gods are seated on a reed mat and the whole composition is framed by bent papyrus stalks.

32. Lintel

Middle Kingdom, 13th Dynasty, Reign of Sobekhotep III

Archaeological Site: Temple of Montu, Medamud

Bibliography: Arnold, "Royal Cult Complexes," 83; Cruz-Urbe, "Seth," 211.

The 13th Dynasty king Sobekhotep III added to the Temple of Montu at Medamud, and one of his additions was a lintel similar to that of Senwosret III (Catalogue 30). At the center of the lintel are two depictions of Sobekhotep III wearing the Sed Festival cloak. On the viewer's right, the king wears the White Crown, and on the viewer's left Sobekhotep III wears the Red Crown. The figures are both labeled as *šm-rꜥ ḥwi-t3wy nb irt ḥt*: Sekhemre Khewytawy, Lord of Cultic Action. The two figures of the king are shown seated back to back in a Sed Festival pavilion underneath a winged sun disk adorned with two uraei. The winged sun disk is labeled on either side of its wings as: ꜥ3 *ntr bḥdt(y)*: The Behdite, the Great God.

The figure of the king wearing the White Crown accepts a *rnpt* sign from an anthropomorphized standard topped by a seated Seth animal. The god is identified by the text above his head as the Ombite (*nbwty*). Behind the standard is the text: *ḏḏ mdw di.n(i) n.k ꜥnh w3s nb ḥr smn gnwt.k m ...*: Words spoken: (I) have given to you all life and dominion in order to establish your annals in....

On the viewer's left, the figure of Sobekhotep III wearing the Red Crown is shown in a parallel scene accepting a *rnpt* sign from an anthropomorphized standard topped by a falcon identified as the Behdite (*bḥdt(y)*). The speech associated with the god reads: *ḏḏ mdw di.n(i) n.k ꜥnh w3s nb ḥr smn gnwt.k m ...*: Words spoken: (I) have given to you all life and dominion in order to establish your annals in....

33. Statue

Second Intermediate Period, 14th Dynasty, Reign of Nehesy

Archaeological Site: Tell Moqdam

Bibliography: Donald B. Redford, "Textual Sources for the Hyksos Period," in *The Hyksos: New Historical and Archaeological Perspectives*, ed. Eliezer D. Oren (Philadelphia: University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, 1997), 4.

On a statue from this Delta site, Nehesy is called The Perfect God, Lord of the Two Lands, Son of Re, Nehesy, Beloved of Seth, Lord of Avaris. Nehesy is the first attested king to use the epithet Beloved of Seth, Lord of Avaris.

34. Obelisk

Second Intermediate Period, 14th Dynasty, Reign of Nehesy

Archaeological Site: Tanis

Bibliography: Manfred Bietak, *Avaris, The Capital of the Hyksos: Recent Excavations at Tell el-Dab'a* (London: British Museum Press, 1996), 40-41; Manfred Bietak and Irene Forstner-Müller, "The Topography of New Kingdom Avaris and Per-Ramesses," in *Ramesside Studies in Honour of K.A. Kitchen*, ed. Mark Collier and Steven Snape (Bolton: Rutherford Press Limited, 2011), 28; William Matthews Flinders Petrie, *Tanis: Part I, 1883-4* (London: Trübner & Co., 1889), pl. III; Bietak, "Herkunft des Seth," 14; Goedicke, "Reflections," 57; Redford, "Textual Sources," 4; te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, 118.

Found at Tanis, a section of text on an obelisk of Nehesy reads: The king's son Nehesy [he made it as] his monument for Seth, Lord of *r3-3ht*...the king's eldest son Nehesy, Beloved of Seth, Lord of *r3-3ht*.

Chapter Three

Catalogue of Seth in New Kingdom Royal Monuments

Introduction

This catalogue includes references to and depictions of Seth as found on New Kingdom royal monuments from the reign of Ahmose through Ramesses III. While the New Kingdom does not end with Ramesses III, the material of his successors is so fragmentary that it is not useful for the present study. A royal monument is here defined as a work originating from royal patronage. Monuments or other works commissioned by private individuals in praise of Seth or the king are not included. Purely hypothetical reconstructions of Seth on royal monuments are also excluded.⁵²

The catalogue is arranged geographically, beginning with Lower Egypt, then moving on to Upper Egypt, Nubia, and Western Asia. Within each group, individual entries are listed alphabetically. Unprovenanced monuments are listed chronologically at the end of the catalogue.

Lower Egypt

Alexandria

35. Obelisk

19th Dynasty, Reign of Seti I

Archaeological Site: Harbor at Alexandria

Bibliography: Peter Brand, “The ‘Lost’ Obelisks and Colossi of Seti I,” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 34 (1997): 114; Peter Brand, *The Monuments of Seti I: Epigraphic, Historical, and Art Historical Analysis* (Boston: Brill, 2000), 134; Jean-Pierre Corteggiani, “Les aegyptiaca de la fouille sous-marine de Qaït-Bay,” *Bulletin de la société française d’egyptologie* 142 (1998): 32, fig. 4; Jean-Yves Empereur, “Alexandria: The Underwater Site near Qaitbay Fort,” *Egyptian Archaeology* 7 (1996): 7; Jean-Yves Empereur and Stéphane Compoin, *Alexandria Rediscovered* (New York: G. Braziller, 1998), 62 and 65, figs. 61-62, and 64; William La Riche, *Alexandria: The Sunken City* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1996), 59.

⁵² See Appendix I for a selection of hypothetical reconstructions, including the statue of Horus and Seth crowning Ramesses III.

On the uppermost shaft of the obelisk are two parallel scenes with Seti I depicted as a Seth-headed sphinx presenting a bread offering to an enthroned manifestation of Atum. The sphinx is labeled above his figure as *nswt bity mn-m³t-r^c s³ r^c sty mry-n-ptḥ ...dt*: King of Upper and Lower Egypt Menmaatre, Son of Re Seti Merenptah... forever. The sphinx sits upon a platform inscribed with *mry-n-ptḥ* and extends a bread offering to Atum who presents an *ḥnḥ* sign to the nose of the sphinx, while holding a second *ḥnḥ* sign on his lap. Atum is identified by the text in front of his face: *itm nb t³ iwnw di.f ḥnḥ dd(t) [w³s] nb*: Atum, Lord of the Land of Heliopolis, who gives all life, stability, [and dominion].

Athribis

36. Statue

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

Bibliography: Kenneth A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*, Vol. II, *Ramesses II, Royal Inscriptions* (Oxford: B.H. Blackwell, 2003), 468; B. Porter and R.L.B. Moss, assisted by E.W. Burney, now ed. by J. Malek, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Statues, Reliefs and Paintings*, Vol. IV. *Lower and Middle Egypt* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 2004), 66; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated II*, 288.

The text on the back pillar of this fragmentary triad of Ramesses II between two solar deities compares the king to *s³ nwt* (the Son of Nut).

Avaris

37. Lintel Fragment

18th Dynasty, Reign of Tutankhamun, Reused by Horemheb

Archaeological Site: Temple of Seth

Bibliography: Manfred Bietak, *Avaris and Piramesse: Archaeological Exploration in the Eastern Nile Delta* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), pl. XXXVIIIa; Universität Wien, Institut für Ägyptologie, *Pharaonen und Fremde: Dynastien im Dunkel* (Wien: Eigenverlag der Museen der Stadt Wien, 1994), nr. 393; Bietak, "Aftermath," 22 and 51; Bietak, "Herkunft des Seth," 13; Bietak and Forstner-Müller, "Topography," 30 and 36.

On the top left hand portion of the lintel is an inscription naming the god *sth* ⲥ3

nḥtw: Seth, Great of Power.

Bubastis

38. Obelisk Base

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

Bibliography: Edouard Naville, *Bubastis (1887-1889)* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1891), 42, pl. XX and XXXVI; Eric P. Uphill, *The Temples of Per Ramesses* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips), 122.

A *serekh* of Ramesses II topped by a figure of Horus wearing the Double Crown can be seen on this obelisk base. To the right of the *serekh* is text identifying the god *sth n r^c[-msw] mry-imm*: Seth of Ramesses Meryamun. The columns of text are situated in such a way that the Horus falcon on the *serekh* faces to the viewer's right and receives an ⲥ*nh* sign from the Seth hieroglyph used in the writing of the god's name.

39. Statue Fragments

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

Archaeological Site: Reused in Sed Festival Gate of Osorkon

Bibliography: Hourig Sourouzian, "Seth fils de nout et Seth d'Avaris dans la statuaire royale Ramesside," in *Timelines: Studies in honour of Manfred Bietak*, ed. Ernst Czerny et al. (Leuven: Peeters, 2006), 337.

The god Seth of Ramesses Meryamun (*sth n r^c-msw mry-imm*) is mentioned on these statue fragments.

40. Small Column

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions II*, 438; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated II*, 265-266; Uphill, *Temples*, 68.

Ramesses II is called *mry sth n r^c-msw mry-imm* (Beloved of Seth of Ramesses Meryamun) as well as *mry sth ⲥ3 pḥty s3 nwt* (Beloved of Seth, Great of Strength, Son of Nut) in the inscriptions on this small column.

41. Column

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

Archaeological Site: Temple of Bastet**Current Location: The British Museum, London (EA1065)****Bibliography:** Uphill, *Temples*, 111.

In the inscription on this column, the king is referred to as *mry sth ꜣ phty nb pt*:

Beloved of Seth, Great of Strength, Lord of Heaven.

42. Inscription**19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II****Archaeological Site: Colossal Statue of Senwosret II****Bibliography:** Sourouzian, "Seth," 347.

Ramesses II added an inscription to a colossal statue of Senwosret II where he gave himself the epithet *mry nbwty*: Beloved of the Ombite.

Gebel Abu Hassa

43. Wall Relief Fragments**19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II****Archaeological Site: Temple of Horus and Hathor****Bibliography:** Lionel Schmitt, "Le Temple du Gebel Abou Hassa," *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 105 (2005), 374; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions II*, 406; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated II*, 232; Porter and Moss, IV, 53.

Relief fragments from the temple show an erased figure of Seth along with his name and epithets: *sth ꜣ [phty]...sth ꜣ phty ntr ꜣ.....ꜣ phty ntr ꜣ...: Seth, Great [of Strength]...Seth, Great of Strength, the Great God...Great of Strength, the Great God.*

Gebel el-Shaluf

44. Stela**19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II****Current Location: Ismailia Museum, Ismailia (2758)****Bibliography:** G. Goyon, "Deux stèles de Ramses II au Gebel Chalouf," *Kémi* 7 (1938): 119-20, pl. XXI; J. Vandier, "Le dieu Seth au Nouvel Empire. A propos d'une récente acquisition du Louvre," *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 25 (1969): 189; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions II*, 303-04; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated II*, 137-40; Porter and Moss, IV, 53; Schmitt, "Gebel Abou Hassa," 383.

On the recto is a scene showing the king offering to Seth. Most of the god's figure is lost, but a conical cap with streamers is preserved as is the text: *sth ꜣ phty ꜣnh*

w3s nb [di.i n].k h3swt: Seth, Great of Strength, all life and dominion, [I give to] you foreign lands.

Along the left side of the verso, Seth is mentioned in a speech made by the goddess Anat: *ḏd mdw in ʕnti s3[i]...mssy tw mi sth r nb nbw*: Words spoken by Anat: [My] son...(I) bore you like Seth, in order to be the lord of lords. Seth's speech is preserved on the right side of the verso: *ḏd mdw in swth ʕ3 phty s3.i mry.i nswt bity wsr-m3ʕt-rʕ stp-n-rʕ s3 rʕ rʕ-mssw mry-ymn di ʕnh ink it.k špsw n.k...di.n(.i) n.k knt nht...m hpš.k nswt bity wsr-m3ʕt-rʕ stp-n-rʕ s3 rʕ rʕ-mssw mry-ymn di ʕnh wi iw n.k wrw nw pḏt 9...inw.sn...nswt bity wsr-m3ʕt-rʕ s3 rʕ rʕ-mssw mry-ymn di ʕnh di.n(.i) n.k phty...mi mnṯw...nswt bity wsr-m3ʕt-rʕ s3 rʕ rʕ-mssw mry-ymn di ʕnh mry sth ʕ3 phty*: Words spoken by Seth, Great of Strength: My son whom I love, King of Upper and Lower Egypt Usermaatre Setepenre, Son of Re Ramesses Meryamun, given life, I am your father, who enriches for you...(I) have given to you valor and strength...by your sword. King of Upper and Lower Egypt Usermaatre Setepenre, Son of Re Ramesses Meryamun, given life, I cause the chiefs of the Nine Bows to come to you, ...their tribute..., King of Upper and Lower Egypt Usermaatre Setepenre, Son of Re Ramesses Meryamun, given life, (I) have given to you strength...like Montu...King of Upper and Lower Egypt Usermaatre Setepenre, Son of Re Ramesses Meryamun, given life, Beloved of Seth, Great of Strength.

45. Stela

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

Current Location: Ismailia Museum, Ismailia (2757)

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions II*, 301-02; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated II*, 135-37; Schmitt, "Gebel Abou Hassa," 383.

In the main text, Ramesses included Seth within his Horus Name: *hr k3 nht mry sth*: Horus Strong Bull, Beloved of Seth.

Giza

46. Great Sphinx Stela of Amenhotep II

18th Dynasty

Archaeological Site: Temple of Horemakhet

Bibliography: José M. Galán, *Victory and Border: Terminology Related to Egyptian Imperialism in the XVIIIth Dynasty* (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg Verlag, 1995), 51; Peter der Manuelian, *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II* (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1987), 181-88; Kurt Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1906-1961), 1276-83.

Seth is mentioned twice within the main text of this stela. The first instance reads: *rdi.n.f.n.f nst gb i3t mnht nt itm hrt nbwy psšt nbtj rnpwt.sn m ʿnh w3s*: He [Re-Horakhty] gave to him [Amenhotep II] the throne of Geb, the potent office of Atum, the shares of the Two Lords, and the portions of the Two Ladies, their years in life and dominion.⁵³

In the second instance, the king's power is compared to that of the gods': *phṯy mntw n ʿwt.f nhtw.f mi s3 nwt*: The strength of Montu is in his limbs, his might is like the Son of Nut's.

47. Small Sphinx Stela of Amenhotep II

18th Dynasty

Archaeological Site: Temple of Horemakhet

Bibliography: Sethe, *Urkunden*, 1285-86.

Once in the main text of this stela, the text reads: *rdi.n.f.n.f st gb i3t mnht nt itm hrt nbwy psšt nbtj rnpwt.sn m ʿnh w3s*: He [the sun god] gave to him [Amenhotep II] the throne of Geb, the potent office of Atum, the shares of the Two Lords, and the portions of the Two Ladies, their years in life and dominion.⁵⁴

48. Dream Stela of Thutmose IV

18th Dynasty

Archaeological Site: Between the Front Paws of the Great Sphinx

⁵³ “The Two Lords” is written here as a Horus falcon and a seated Seth animal atop *nb* signs.

⁵⁴ “The Two Lords” is written here as a Horus falcon and a seated Seth animal atop *nb* signs.

Bibliography: Betsy M. Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 144-45; Carl Richard Lepsius, *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien, Tafelwerke Abtheilung III* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1849-1859), 68; Sethe, *Urkunden*, 1539-44.

Thutmose IV is compared to Seth in the text: *wsrw.f mi s3 nwt...shmt hnty h3swt sth s3 hk3*: His powers being like the Son of Nut...Sekhmet, foremost of foreign lands, Seth, Son of Heka.

49. Statue of Tia

18th Dynasty, Reign of Thutmose IV

Archaeological Site: Temple of Horemakhet

Bibliography: Bryan, *Thutmose IV*, 94; Porter and Moss, III Part 1, 40; Troy, *Queenship*, 165.

On the statue's base, the king's mother is given the title She Who Sees Horus and Seth (*m33t hr sth*).

Heliopolis

50. Inscriptions

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

Current Locations: Cleopatra's Needles in Central Park, New York and Victoria Embankment, London⁵⁵

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions II*, 478-81; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated II*, 297-301; Porter and Moss, IV, 4.

On the New York obelisk's west side, Seth is mentioned in Ramesses II's titulary: *hr k3 nht s3 sth*: Horus Strong Bull, Son of Seth. Seth is twice included within Ramesses II's titulary on the London obelisk. The first instance occurs on the east face: *s3 r^c r^c-msw mry-imm k3 nht mi s3 nwt*: Son of Re Ramesses Meryamun, Strong Bull like the Son of Nut. The second is on the obelisk's north side: *hr k3 nht s3 sth*: Horus Strong Bull, Son of Seth.

51. Flaminian Obelisk

⁵⁵ This pair of obelisks was originally erected in Heliopolis by Thutmose III, and later inscriptions were added by Ramesses II. In the 19th century C.E. the obelisks were separated and presented to New York and London as diplomatic gifts.

19th Dynasty, Reigns of Seti I and Ramesses II

Current Location: Piazza del Popolo, Rome

Bibliography: B. Porter and R.L.B. Moss, asst. by E.W. Burney, now ed. by J. Malek, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Statues, Reliefs and Paintings*, Vol. VII. *Nubia, the Deserts, and Outside Egypt* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1952), 409; Brand, “Lost Obelisks,” 101-02; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions II*, 476-78; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated II*, 294-97.

Seth is included in the titulary of Ramesses II on the obelisk’s north face: *hr k3*

nht s3 sth: Horus, Strong Bull, Son of Seth. On the east face of the obelisk, Ramesses II

is shown presenting bread to Atum, whose speech to the king is recorded: *dd mdw di.n(.i)*

n.k nst gb i3t tm psšwt nbwy m ʿnh w3s: Words spoken: (I) have given to you the throne of

Geb, the office of Atum, and the portions of the Two Lords in life and dominion.⁵⁶

52. Column

19th Dynasty, Reign of Merenptah

Bibliography: Hassan S.K. Bakry, “The Discovery of a Temple of Merenptah at On,” *Aegyptus* 53 (1973): 16-17; Kenneth A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*, Vol. IV, *Merenptah and the Late Nineteenth Dynasty* (Oxford: B.H. Blackwell, 2003), 38-39; Kenneth A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated and Annotated*, Vol. IV, *Merenptah and the Late Nineteenth Dynasty* (Oxford: B.H. Blackwell, 2003), 29-30; Hourig Sourouzian, *Les Monuments du Roi Merenptah* (Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1989), 56-59; Porter and Moss, IV, 70-71.

Anat, Sekhmet, Re-Horakhty, Montu, and Seth are shown in five registers

offering a sword to Merenptah. Seth in his composite form with a sun disk on his head

offers a scimitar to the king, while Merenptah presents wine offerings to the god in

return. The text associated with Seth reads: *sth nb w3s-b-w3s di.n(.i) n.k knt nb*: Seth,

Lord of Two Scepters Province: (I) have given to you all valor. He is further identified

by the text in front of his figure as: *st nb w3bw*: Seth, Lord of the Oxyrhynchus Nome.

53. Wall Relief Fragment

19th Dynasty, Reign of Seti II

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions IV*, 246; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated IV*, 172; Porter and Moss, IV, 61.

⁵⁶ The “Two Lords” is written with a falcon and Seth animal atop *nb* signs.

Within the king's titulary inscribed on this fragment is a reference to Seth: *nswt bity nb t3wy wsr-ḥprw-rꜥ mry-stḥ*: King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Userkheperure Meryseth.

Memphis

54. Stela

18th Dynasty, Reign of Amenhotep II

Bibliography: der Manuelian, *Amenophis II*, 221-27; Sethe, *Urkunden*, 1299-1316.

When the capture of Shamash-Edom is described in the text, Amenhotep II is said to be: *shṃ mi b3stt mi stḥ m 3t.f nt nšny*: powerful like Bastet, like Seth in his moment of rage.

55. Inscription

18th Dynasty, Reign of Horemheb

Archaeological Site: Temple of Ptah

Bibliography: Alan H. Gardiner, "The Coronation of King Horemhab," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 39 (1953): 14, 15, and 29; Sethe, *Urkunden*, 2122.

Horemheb's Memphite coronation inscription says that upon his taking the throne: The Whole Ennead of the "House of Fire" rejoiced at his appearance – Nekhbet, Wadjet, Neith, Isis, Horus, Seth, and the entire Ennead (*psdt nbw pr ḥt ihhy n ḥꜥ.f nḥbt w3dyt nt 3st ḥr stḥ psdt*).

56. Column Fragment

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

Archaeological Site: West Hall, Temple of Ptah

Bibliography: W.M. Flinders Petrie, *Memphis I* (London: School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1909), pl. 25; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions II*, 492; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated II*, 313.

On this column fragment the cartouches of Ramesses II are written over a *ḥb* sign. Facing the cartouches are two deities on *nb* baskets holding *was* and *shen* signs above the sedge plant and papyrus plant. The deity on the viewer's left is the vulture Nekhbet, and the deity on the viewer's right is Seth shown as a seated Seth animal.

57. Lintel**19th Dynasty, Reign of Merenptah****Archaeological Site: Outer Gateway, Temple of Merenptah****Bibliography:** W.M. Flinders Petrie, *Memphis II The Palace of Apries* (London: School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1909), pl. 21; Hornung and Staehelin, *Sedfest*, 71; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions IV*, 53-54; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated IV*, 41-42; Porter and Moss III Part 2, 223.

At the center of the lintel are two images of the king seated back to back in two kiosks. In between the kiosks is a winged sun disk adorned with two uraei. Extending down from the sun disk are two anthropomorphic arms holding columns of alternating ϵnh and $w3s$ signs around the titulary of Merenptah: $nb t3wy b3-n-r^c mry-imn nb h^c w mr-n-pt h htp-hr-m3^c t$: The Lord of the Two Lands Baenre Meryamun, Lord of Appearances Merenptah Hetephermaat. In both representations, the king is seated on a throne whose side is decorated with a lion wearing a sun disk. The area between the legs of the throne is filled with a $sm3 t3wy$ motif. Merenptah wears a modified Blue Crown topped by a sun disk with two uraei. In his rear hand he holds an ϵnh and the $hb sd$ hieroglyphs hang from his forward hand.

On the viewer's right, Merenptah accepts $\epsilon nh dd(t) w3s sn$ hieroglyphs from a seated Seth animal wearing the Double Crown. The text above the animal identifies him as: $[n]bwt(y) ntr \epsilon3 hnty sh-ntr sm^c w$: The Ombite, the Great God, Foremost of the Shrine of Upper Egypt. To the viewer's left is a parallel scene with a falcon headed sphinx wearing the Double Crown presenting the king with $\epsilon nh dd(t) w3s sn$ hieroglyphs. This figure here is identified in the text above his head as: $bhd(t)y ntr \epsilon3 hnty hm mh^c w$: The Behdite, the Great God, Foremost of the Shrine of Lower Egypt.

58. Inscription**19th Dynasty, Reign of Merenptah****Archaeological Site: Statue of Amenemhat III, South Gate, Temple of Ptah****Current Location: Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin (1121)**

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* IV, 53; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* IV, 41; Porter and Moss, III Part 2, 219.

On the back pillar, Merenptah is said to be: *mry stḥ ʿ3 pḥty nṯr ʿ3*: Beloved of Seth, Great of Strength, the Great God.

Pi-Ramesses

59. Column Base

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

Bibliography: Labib Habachi, *Tell el-Dab'a I: Tell el-Dab'a and Qantir: The Site and Its Connection with Avaris and Piramesse* (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2001), 210; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 458; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* II, 283; Porter and Moss, IV, 10; Uphill, *Temples*, 104.

Seth is invoked in the inscription giving the epithets of Ramesses II: *ʿnh nṯr nfr mry stḥ*: (Long) live the Perfect God, Beloved of Seth.

60. Mould

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 456; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* II, 282.

An open mould is inscribed with the text: *p3 twt ʿ3 n rʿ-mss mry-imn ʿḥ n stḥ*: The great statue of Ramesses Meryamun, Serviceable to Seth.

61. Scarab

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 456; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* II, 282.

A scarab is inscribed with the same text as the above mould: *p3 twt ʿ3 n rʿ-mss mry-imn ʿḥ n stḥ*: the great statue of Ramesses Meryamun, Serviceable to Seth.⁵⁷

Samannud

62. Stela

19th Dynasty, Reign of Tawosret/Siptah

Current Location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 43341)

⁵⁷ What exactly the inscriptions in Catalogue 60 and 61 refer to is unclear, but they were likely used to make offerings to a statue of divine Ramesses II, here in the manifestation of Ramesses Meryamun, Serviceable to Seth.

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* IV, 341-43; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* IV, 246-48.

Two references to the Son of Nut (*s3 nwt*) are found on the recto of this stela, but the fragmentary nature of the text makes the context uncertain.

Tanis

63. 400 Year Stela

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

Current Location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 60539)

Bibliography: Hans Goedicke, "The '400-Year' Stela Reconsidered," *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar* 3 (1981): 25-42; Rainer Stadelmann, "Die 400-Jahr Stele," *Chronique d'Égypte* 40 (1965): 46-60; Bietak, "Herkunft des Seth," 11; Brand, *Monuments*, 336-39; Habachi, *Tell el-Dab'a I*, 122-27; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 287-88; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* II, 116-17; Porter and Moss, IV, 23; Uphill, *Temples*, 84; Vandier, "Nouvel Empire," 188; te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, 124-29.

In the lunette, Seth stands to the viewer's left accepting offerings from a king, who is followed by a male figure. Seth is depicted in anthropomorphic form wearing a conical headdress with a sun disc and a long ribbon streaming down from the top point. The god has the thick nostrils and pronounced lips typically associated with foreigners in ancient Egyptian art. His name is recorded in the text above the *w3s* scepter held in his forward hand: *sth n r^c-mssw mry-imn di.f^cnh nb*: Seth of Ramesses Meryamun, who gives all life. According to the hieroglyphs in front of the king, Ramesses II is *rdit irp n it.f ir.f di^cnh*: Giving wine to his father, so that he may attain the state of given life. In between Ramesses II and the unnamed male figure is the text: *n k3.k sth s3 nwt*: For your *ka*, Seth Son of Nut.

The main text of the stela is dated to *rnpt 400 3bd 4 smw sw 4 nswt bity sth^c 3 phty s3 r^c mr.f nbwty mr r^c-hr-3hty wnn.f r nhh dt*: Year 400, 4th Month of Shemu, Day 4 (of) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Seth Great of Strength, Son of Re, His beloved, the

Ombite, Beloved of Re-Horakhty, may he exist eternally and forever.⁵⁸ Later in the main text, an official named Seti, who is given the titles vizier and high priest of Seth, appeals to Seth whom he calls: *sth s3 nwt ʕ3 phty m wi3 n hhw nhtw.f m h3t wi3 n rʕ ʕ3 hmhmt*: Seth, Son of Nut, Great of Strength in the Sacred Bark of Millions, his strength is at the prow of the Sacred Bark of Re, Great of War-Cry.⁵⁹

64. Stela

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

Bibliography: Labib Habachi, “Khata’na-Qantir: Importance,” *Annales du Service des antiquités de l’Égypte* 52 (1954), pl. XXIX; W.M. Flinders Petrie, *Tanis: Part II, 1886* (London: Trübner & Co., 1888), pl. III; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions II*, 291-92; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated II*, 122-23; Porter and Moss, IV, 21; Uphill, *Temples*, 85-86; Vandier, “Nouvel Empire,” 189.

Ramesses II leads two rows of captives to Ptah on the viewer’s left and two additional rows of captives to Seth on the right in the lunette of this stela. The beginning of Seth’s speech is preserved: *dd mdw (in) sth ʕ3 phty di.n(i) n.k ʕnh w3s nb nht...: Words spoken (by) Seth, Great of Strength: (I) have granted to you all life and dominion, [all] strength.....*

65. Stela

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

⁵⁸ Also causing debate is the dating of the text to the 400th year of the reign of Seth the Ombite. The appearance of Seth of Ramesses II in the lunette, as well as the fact that the stela was found at Tanis has led many to infer the stela was originally erected at Avaris. With this provenance in mind, it has been assumed that the stela is dated to 400 years after the establishment of the Seth cult in the Delta (T. Säve-Söderbergh, “The Hyksos Rule in Egypt,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 37 (1951): 64; Brand, *Monuments*, 336; Murnane, “Kingship,” 185-215; Stadelmann, “400-Jahr,” 51; te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, 126). However, the unusual but clearly intentional series of fours found in the stela’s date were meant to simply represent completeness or totality rather than referring to a specific historic event. See Hournung, *Conceptions*, 220-221.

⁵⁹ Much of the scholarship dedicated to the 400 Year Stela centers on the identities of the figures found in the text and how they relate to Ramesses II. See Etienne Drioton and Jacques Vandier, *L’Égypte* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1962), 328; Alan H. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961), 247-48; Labib Habachi, “The Four Hundred Year Stela Originally Standing in Khata’na-Qantir or Avaris-Piramesse,” in *Égyptologie: actes du XXIXe Congrès international des Orientalistes*, ed. Georges Posener (Paris: l’Asiathèque, 1975), 41-44; William J. Murnane, “The Kingship of the Nineteenth Dynasty: A Study in the Resilience of an Institution,” in *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, ed. David B. O’Connor and David P. Silverman (New York: E.J. Brill, 1995), 185-215; Brand, *Monuments*, 336-39; 247-248; te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, 124-126.

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions II*, 294; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated II*, 125; Petrie, *Tanis II*, pl. III; Porter and Moss, IV, 21; Uphill, *Temples*, 87; Vandier, “Nouvel Empire,” 189.

In the left half of the lunette, Ramesses II is shown standing before anthropomorphic Seth who is identified in the text as: *sth ꜥ3 pḥty nb pt di.f ꜥnh*: Seth, Great of Strength, Lord of Heaven, who gives life. In the main text of the stela the king is said to be: *ꜥ3 pḥty mi sth wsr ḥpš*: Great of strength like Seth, powerful of strong arm.

66. Stela

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*, II, 300; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated II*, 134; Petrie, *Tanis II*, pl. III; Uphill, *Temples*, 90; Vandier, “Nouvel Empire,” 189.

This stela is badly damaged, and only the left hand portion of the lunette remains. Here, Seth is shown with Ramesses II who receives an unknown item from a second god. Unfortunately, all of the texts are illegible.

67. Stela

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

Current Location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 34510)

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions II*, 289-90; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated II*, 118-20; Petrie, *Tanis II*, pl.II; Porter and Moss, IV, 21; Uphill, *Temples*, 85.

Ramesses II is twice compared to Seth in the main text of this stela: *nsw nḥt ꜥni m skw pḥty ꜥḥ3 ḥfnw ḥdb ḥr wnmy.f sm3 ḥr i3by.f mi sth m 3t.f n nšni*: Strong king, brave in battle, strong one who fights hundreds of thousands, overthrowing on his right side, killing on his left side, like Seth in his moment of rage. Later, the king is again compared to Seth: *iw.f mi sth m 3t šḥm.f mi mnṯw ḥr wnmy.f n ꜥḥ3*: He is like Seth in his powerful moment, like Montu on his right side for fighting.

68. Stela

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions II*, 292-93; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated II*, 123-24; Petrie, *Tanis II*, pl. II; Porter and Moss, IV, 21; Uphill, *Temples*, 86.

Along the edges of the stela, Seth is found within the epithets of Ramesses II: *mry itm iwnw nb t3wy r^c-hr-3hty swth^c 3 phty*: Beloved of Atum the Heliopolitan, Lord of the Two Lands, Re-Horakhty, and Seth, Great of Strength.

69. Stela

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions II*, 299-300; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated II*, 132-33.

Part of the king's titulary is given on this stela as: *hr k3 nht mry r^c phty mi sth s3 nwt shm ib m skw ptpt h3swt*: Horus Strong Bull, Beloved of Re, strong like Seth, Son of Nut, stout hearted in battle, trampling foreign lands.

70. Stela

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions II*, 407; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated II*, 233.

Although quite fragmentary, the Ombite (*nbwty*) is mentioned in the stela's main text.

71. Colossal Statue

19th Dynasty, Reigns of Ramesses II and Merenptah

Current Location: Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin (7264)

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions II*, 443-44; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated II*, 271; Petrie, *Tanis I*, 13 and 24; Porter and Moss, IV, 22; Sourouzian, *Merenptah*, 94; Uphill, *Temples*, 9.

On the right side of the seated statue's throne, Ramesses II's Horus Name is given as: *hr k3 nht mry sth mi r^c*: Horus Strong Bull, Beloved of Seth, like Re. On the left side of the throne, Ramesses II is called: *ntr nfr nb h^cw r^c-msw mry-imm mry sth^c 3 phty*: The Perfect God, Lord of Appearances, Ramesses Meryamun, Beloved of Seth, Great of

Strength. Merenptah later added his own inscription to the statue, giving himself the epithet *mry sth ntr ʿ3*: Beloved of Seth, the Great God.

72. Statue

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

Current Location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 37480)

Bibliography: Petrie, *Tanis I*, 16 and 25; Porter and Moss, IV, 20; Sourouzian, “Seth,” 344.

Ramesses II is given the epithet *mry sth s3 nwt*: Beloved of Seth, Son of Nut in the inscriptions on this statue.

73. Obelisk

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions II*, 421-22; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated II*, 250; Petrie, *Tanis I*, pl. IV and X; Porter and Moss, IV, 18.

On the four faces of the obelisk’s pyramidion, Ramesses II is shown before Horus, Atum, Seth, and Re-Horakhty. Seth is labeled: *sth ntr ʿ3 nb pt di.f ʿnh w3s nb*: Seth, the Great God, Lord of Heaven, who gives all life and dominion. On the shaft, Ramesses II’s Horus Name is given as: *hr k3 nht sth...:* Horus Strong Bull [Son/Beloved] of Seth.

74. Obelisk

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions II*, 423-24; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated II*, 251; Petrie, *Tanis I*, pl. X; Porter and Moss, IV, 20; Uphill, *Temples*, 78-79.

The king is shown before Horus, Atum, Seth, and Re-Horakhty on the pyramidion of this obelisk. Seth is labeled in the text as: *sth ntr ʿ3 nb pt*: Seth, the Great God, Lord of Heaven.

75. Obelisk

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions II*, 408-09; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated II*, 234-35; Petrie, *Tanis I*, pl. VII; Porter and Moss, IV, 14-15; Uphill, *Temples*, 73.

On the south face of the shaft Ramesses II is said to be: *šhm ib m ḥ3 mntw skw m-ḥr ḥnti k3 n sth*: Stout hearted in a fight, Montu in battle, Suckling of Anat, Bull of Seth.

76. Obelisk

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

Current Location: Zamalek, Egypt

Bibliography: Labib Habachi, *The Obelisks of Egypt: Skyscrapers of the Past* (New York: Scribner, 1977), 94.

On the east face Ramesses is said to be “a Montu among kings, who attacks hundreds of thousands, the strong one like Seth when he enters the fray” on the east face.

77. Obelisk

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions II*, 421; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated II*, 249.

Ramesses II is said to be: *mi s3 nwt*: like the Son of Nut in the inscriptions on the shaft.

78. Architrave

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions II*, 458; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated II*, 282.

Seth is referenced in Ramesses II's epithets: *mry sth s3 nwt ntr ḥ3 nb pt*: Beloved of Seth, Son of Nut, the Great God, Lord of Heaven.

79. Pillar

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

Bibliography: Petrie, *Tanis I*, 18-19, pl. XI; Uphill, *Temples*, 39.

Ramesses II is shown offering to the gods Ptah, Banebded, Re, and Seth on each of the pillar's four sides, for a total of 16 scenes. Seth is shown in his composite form throughout. On one side of the pillar, Seth wears the White Crown and is labeled as: *sth ntr ḥ3 nb pt ḥ3 phty*: Seth, the Great God, Lord of Heaven, Great of Strength. On another side, Seth is depicted without a crown or headdress and is labeled as: *sth ḥ3 phty s3 nwt di.f ḥnh w3s*: Seth, Great of Strength, Son of Nut, who gives life and dominion.

80. Large Column**19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II**

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 431; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* II, 259-60; Petrie, *Tanis II*, pl. V; Porter and Moss, IV, 14; Uphill, *Temples*, 19-20.

On this column Ramesses II is referred to as: *mry sth ʿ3 phty nb pt*: Beloved of Seth, Great of Strength, Lord of Heaven.

81. Medium Column**19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II**

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 433-34; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* II, 261-62.

Seth and Amun-Re decorate the sides of this column and are labeled as: *sth n rʿ-msw mry-imn imn-rʿ nb pt hk3 w3st*: Seth of Ramesses Meryamun and Amun-Re, Lord of Heaven, Ruler of Thebes.

82. Medium Column**19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II**

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 434; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* II, 262; Uphill, *Temples*, 53-54.

Seth is found twice in the epithets of Ramesses II on this column. The king is first called: *mry sth ʿ3 phty di ʿnh*: Beloved of Seth, Great of Strength, given life. Later in the dedication, Ramesses II is said to be: *mry sth n rʿ-msw mry-imn di ʿnh*: Beloved of Seth of Ramesses Meryamun, given life.

83. Medium Column**19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II**

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 434; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* II, 263.

In this instance, the king is said to be: *ntr nfr tit imn s3 rʿ sth...*: The Perfect God, the Image of Amun, the Son of Re, Seth....⁶⁰

84. Small Column

⁶⁰ On this column is an image of Seth of Ramesses Meryamun, however no photographs or drawings of this manifestation of the god could be located to determine his form.

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 436; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* II, 264; Uphill, *Temples*, 67.

A text on the column reads: *nṯr nfr mnḥ mnw n it.f stḥ ms sw s3 rꜥ nb ḥꜣw rꜥ-msw mry-*imn* mry stḥ ʿ3 pḥty di ʿnh*: The Perfect God, potent of monuments for his father Seth who created him, Son of Re, Lord of Appearances Ramesses Meryamun, Beloved of Seth, Great of Strength, given life. On the same column, Ramesses II is twice called *mry stḥ rꜥ-mssw mry-*imn**: Beloved of Seth of Ramesses Meryamun.

85. Small Column**19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II**

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 437; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* II, 265; Uphill, *Temples*, 68.

Ramesses II is called: *mry stḥ rꜥ-mss mry-*imn**: Beloved of Seth of Ramesses Meryamun. Elsewhere on the same column, he is called *mry stḥ ʿ3 pḥty s3 nwt*: Beloved of Seth, Great of Strength, Son of Nut.

86. Inscription**19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II**

Archaeological Site: Middle Kingdom Sphinx

Current Location: Musée du Louvre, Paris (A.21)

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 449; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* II, 276-77; Petrie, *Tanis I*, pl IV; Porter and Moss, *IV*, 23; Sourouzian, *Merenptah*, 96-97; Sourouzian, “Seth,” 348.

On the base of a sphinx Ramesses II is called *mry stḥ n rꜥ-mssw mry-*imn**: Beloved of Seth of Ramesses Meryamun.

87. Inscription**19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II**

Archaeological Site: Middle Kingdom Sphinx

Current Location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo (CG 1197)

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 449; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* II, 277; Porter and Moss, *IV*, 23; Sourouzian, *Merenptah*, 96-97; Sourouzian, “Seth,” 348.

Ramesses II is given the epithet: *mry sth n r^c-mssw mry-immn*: Beloved of Seth of Ramesses Meryamun on the base of the sphinx.

88. Inscriptions

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

Archaeological Site: Middle Kingdom Pair of Statues of Imyremeshaw

Bibliography: Sourouzian, “Seth,” 347.

On a pair of statues originally inscribed for the 13th Dynasty king Imyremeshaw, Ramesses II added his titulary with the epithet Beloved of Seth (*mry sth*) to the sides and bases.

89. Inscription

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

Archaeological Site: Middle Kingdom Statue

Current Location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo (CG 430)

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 442-43; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* II, 270-72; Porter and Moss, IV, 22; Sourouzian, “Seth,” 347.

Ramesses II added his titulary to the back pillar of this statue: *hr k3 nht mry m3^ct nswt bity nb t3wy wsr-m3^ct-r^c stp-n-r^c s3 r^c r^c-msw mry-immn shtp nbwy*: Horus Strong Bull, Beloved of Maat, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Usermaatre Setepenre, Son of Re Ramesses Meryamun, who satisfies the Two Lords.⁶¹ On the back pillar Ramesses II is also said to be *mry sth*: Beloved of Seth.

90. Inscription

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

Archaeological Site: Middle Kingdom Statue

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 445; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* II, 272; Petrie, *Tanis I*, pl. III; Porter and Moss, IV, 19; Sourouzian, “Seth,” 347; Uphill, *Temples*, 90.

On a reused statue, Ramesses II gave himself the epithet Beloved of Seth (*mry sth*).

91. Inscription

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

⁶¹ Here The “Two Lords” are written with two falcons on standards.

Archaeological Context: Old or Middle Kingdom Small Columns

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 435-36; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* II, 263-64; Porter and Moss, IV, 24; Uphill, *Temples*, 68.

On three small columns Ramesses II is given the epithet: *mry sth n r^c-msw mry-immn*: Beloved of Seth of Ramesses Meryamun.

92. Inscription

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

Archaeological Site: Old Kingdom Architrave of Pepi II

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 457-58; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* II, 282; Uphill, *Temples*, 12.

Seth is mentioned in an epithet of the king: *s3 r^c r^c-msw mry-immn mry sth ntr ʕ3 di ʕnh*: Son of Re, Ramesses Meryamun, Beloved of Seth, the Great God, given life.

93. Inscription

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

Archaeological Site: Middle Kingdom Architrave

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 457; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* II, 282; Uphill, *Temples*, 12.

On this architrave, Seth is included with Astarte and Montu within the text: *ʕstrf k3 n sth mnt(w) s3 mnt(w) ir m hpš.f*: Astarte, Bull of Seth, Montu, Son of Montu, who takes action with his strong arm.

94. Inscription

19th Dynasty, Reign of Merenptah

Archaeological Site: Middle Kingdom Statue of Senwosret I

Current Location: Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin (7264)

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* IV, 44; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* IV, 33; Porter and Moss, IV, 22.

Merenptah added his titulary to this statue and gives himself the epithet: *mry sth ntr ʕ3*: Beloved of Seth, the Great God.

95. Inscription

19th Dynasty, Reign of Merenptah

Archaeological Site: Middle Kingdom Statue of Senwosret I

Current Location: Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin (7265)

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* IV, 45; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* IV, 33; Porter and Moss, IV, 18.

On this seated statue's throne, Merenptah is twice called: *mry sth n mr-n-ptḥ ḥtp-ḥr-mꜣt*: Beloved of Seth of Merenptah Hetephermaat. On the base, Merenptah is said to be *mry sth nb ḥwt-wꜣrt*: Beloved of Seth, Lord of Avaris.

96. Inscription

19th Dynasty, Reign of Merenptah

Archaeological Site: Middle Kingdom Statue of Senwosret I

Current Location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 37465)

Bibliography: Bakry, "Temple of Merenptah," 19; Habachi, *Tell el-Dab'a I*, 113; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* IV, 45; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* IV, 33; Petrie, *Tanis I*, pl. 1; Porter and Moss, IV, 18; Sourouzian, *Merenptah*, 93.

Merenptah added his titulary to the back pillar along with the epithet: *mry sth ꜥ pḥty*: Beloved of Seth, Great of Strength.

97. Inscription

19th Dynasty, Reign of Merenptah

Archaeological Site: Middle Kingdom Statue of Senwosret I

Current Location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 37482)

Bibliography: Habachi, *Tell el-Dab'a I*, 113; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* IV, 45; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* IV, 33-34; Petrie, *Tanis I*, 5-6; Porter and Moss, IV, 18; Sourouzian, *Merenptah*, 93-94; Sourouzian, "Seth," 348; Uphill, *Temples*, 22-23.

On the throne of this seated statue, Merenptah is twice given the epithet: *mry sth n mr-n-ptḥ ḥtp-ḥr-mꜣt*: Beloved of Seth of Merenptah Hetephermaat. On the base Merenptah is called: *mry sth nb ḥwt-wꜣrt*: Beloved of Seth, Lord of Avaris, as well as: *mry sth ꜥ pḥty ntr ꜥ3*: Beloved of Seth, Great of Strength, the Great God.

98. Inscriptions

19th Dynasty, Reign of Merenptah

Archaeological Site: Three Middle Kingdom Sphinxes

Current Location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo (CG 393, 530, and 1243)

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* IV, 47; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* IV, 35; Petrie, *Tanis I*, pl.4; Porter and Moss, IV, 16-17; Sourouzian, *Merenptah*, 77; Sourouzian, "Seth," 348-49; Uphill, *Temples*, 93.

Merenptah added his titulary to three Middle Kingdom sphinxes. On the bases, the king is called: *mry sth*: Beloved of Seth.

Tell el-Maskhouta

99. Statue

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

Bibliography: Sourouzian, "Seth," 350.

This triad depicts Ramesses II between the Heliopolitan solar deities Re-Khepri and Atum. In the inscriptions, Re-Khepri is called "the object of love like Seth".

100. Statue

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

Bibliography: Sourouzian, "Seth," 350.

Seth is mentioned in the texts as: *sth ʕ phty*: Seth, Great of Strength.

Tell Moqdam

101. Statue Fragment

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 465; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* II, 286; Porter and Moss, IV, 39.

On the fragment Ramesses II is said to be: [*mi sth*] *s3 nwt*: [like Seth] Son of Nut.

102. Inscription

19th Dynasty, Reign of Merenptah

Archaeological Site: Second Intermediate Period Statue of Nehesy

Current Location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo (CG 538)

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* IV, 49-50; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* IV, 38; Porter and Moss, IV, 38; Sourouzian, *Merenptah*, 95; Sourouzian, "Seth," 341; Uphill, *Temples*, 126.

Merenptah added his titulary to a seated statue of Nehesy, and on the rear of the throne Merenptah is twice called: *mry sth nb hwt-wʕrt*: Beloved of Seth, Lord of Avaris.

Tell el-Retaba

103. Wall Relief

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

Archaeological Site: Right Wing, Façade, Temple of Atum

Bibliography: Hans Goedicke, “Ramesses II and the Wadi Tumulat,” *Varia Aegyptiaca* 3 (1987): 17; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 194; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* II, 58; Porter and Moss, IV, 55.

The wall relief is heavily damaged, but there are remains of a scene showing Seth wearing the Double Crown while offering a sword to Ramesses II. What form Seth took on this temple is unclear. The seated Seth animal of the god’s name is preserved, but the rest of the text associated with his image is lost.

Tell el Yahudiyeh

104. Statue

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

Current Location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo (CG 1228)

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 469; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* II, 289-90; Porter and Moss, IV, 56; Sourouzian, “Seth,” 331.

This colossal dyad depicts Ramesses II with a god whose figure has been destroyed. In the texts on the statue, the king is twice called: *mry stḥ*: Beloved of Seth. One other time he is called: <*mry*> *stḥ ʿ3 pḥty*: <Beloved> of Seth, Great of Strength. On the back of the statue, Ramesses II’s Horus Name is given as: *ḥr k3 nḥt mry stḥ*: Horus Strong Bull, Beloved of Seth. Also on the back of the statue the king is given the epithet: *mry stḥ s3 nwt*: Beloved of Seth, Son of Nut.

105. Column

19th Dynasty, Reign of Merenptah

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* IV, 49; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* IV, 37; Porter and Moss, IV, 56; Sourouzian, *Merenptah*, 64.

On this column Merenptah stands before an erased figure of Seth who is labeled as *stḥ mry n mry-n-ptḥ ḥtp-ḥr-mʿt*: Seth, Beloved of Merenptah Hetephermaat.

106. Inscription

20th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses III

Bibliography: Kenneth A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*, Vol. V, *Setnakht, Ramesses III, and Contemporaries* (Oxford: B.H. Blackwell, 2008), 260; Kenneth A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated and Annotated*, Vol. V, *Setnakht, Ramesses III, and*

Contemporaries (Oxford: B.H. Blackwell, 2008), 218-19; Martina Ullmann, *König für die Ewigkeit – Die Häuser der Millionen von Jahren: eine Untersuchung zu Königskult und Tempeltypologie in Ägypten* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz in Kommission, 2002), 444; Porter and Moss, IV, 56.

Ramesses III is given the epithet: *mry stḥ ʿ3 pḥty s3 nwt*: Beloved of Seth, Great of Strength, Son of Nut in the inscriptions on this column.

Fayum

107. Stela

20th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses III

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 270; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* V, 225.

Ramesses III erected a stela in the Fayum to provide for the provisioning of *p3 twt n r^c-mss ḥk3-iwnw s3 t3tnn mrwt mi stḥ*: the Statue of Ramesses Ruler of Heliopolis, Son of Tatonen, well-loved like Seth.

Upper Egypt

Khazindariya

108. Stela

20th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses III

Bibliography: Pierre Grandet, *Ramsès III: Histoire d'un Règne* (Paris: Pygmalion, 1993), 296-97; Labib Habachi, "Three Large Rock-Stelae Carved by Ramesses III near Quarries," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 11 (1974) 69-75; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 271; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* V, 226.

At the site of the New Kingdom quarry is a rock cut stela of Ramesses III. The central scene is flanked by two sets of the king's cartouches: *wsr-m3^ct-r^c mry-imn r^c-mss ḥk3-iwnw*: Usermaatre Meryamun, Ramesses Ruler of Heliopolis. The cartouches, topped by a sun disk and a pair of feathers, are positioned on top of *nbw* signs. At the center, Ramesses III faces to the viewer's left. Above the king's head is a sun disk with two uraei and *ḥ* signs hanging from their necks. The disk is labeled as: *bḥdt(y) nṯr ʿ3*: The Behdite, The Great God. To the left of the sun disk is the name of Ramesses III: *nswt*

bity nb t3wy wsr-m3ct-rꜥ mry-ymn s3 rꜥ nb ḥꜥw rꜥ-mss ḥk3-iwnw: King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Usermaatre Meryamun, Son of Re, Lord of Appearances, Ramesses Ruler of Heliopolis.

In front of the king, Seth is shown in his composite form wearing a modified Double Crown with a feather on the back. Seth holds the hand of Ramesses III with his front hand while presenting life to the king's nose with his rear hand. The text in front of his crown reads: *ḏd mdw in stḥ nb ṯbw*: Words spoken by Seth, Lord of Tjebu. Behind the king, also facing towards Seth, is a falcon headed god wearing the Double Crown. He grasps the hand of Ramesses III with his forward hand and presents life to the king with his rear. In front of his crown the text says: *ḏd mdw in nmty nb ṯbw*: Words spoken by Nemty, Lord of Tjebu.

Kom el-Ahmar

109. Stela

19th Dynasty, Reign of Merenptah

Current Location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 50568)

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* IV, 19-22; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* IV, 16-19; Sourouzian, *Merenptah*, 58.

On the verso of the Libyan War Stela, also called the Athribis Stela by Kitchen, Seth's contribution to the king's capturing of prisoners is mentioned: *[sh]wy p3 ḥ3kw in.n (i)n p3 ḥpš n pr-ꜥ3 ꜥnh wḏ3 snb m n3 ḥrw n rbw...nty ḥr p3 rwḏ imntt diw imn-rꜥ nsw ntr(w) itm nb t3wy iwnw rꜥ-ḥr-3ḥty pth ršw inb.f nb ꜥnh-t3wy swth [s3 nwt ꜥ3 pḥty nswt bity b3-n-rꜥ mry-ymn] s3 rꜥ mry-n-ptḥ ḥtp-ḥr-m3ct ḥr di*: [Sum]mary of the captives brought by the strong arm of the Pharaoh, life prosperity, health, from the enemies of Libu ... who were in the Western Region, whom Amen-Re, King of the Gods, Atum, Lord of the Two Lands, the Heliopolitan, Re Horakhty, Ptah South of his Wall, Lord of Ankhtawy, and

Seth [Son of Nut, Great of Strength], gave [to the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Baenre Meryamun], Son of Re Merenptah Hetephermaat.

Gebel Silsila

110. Stela

19th Dynasty, Reign of Seti I

Bibliography: Kenneth A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*, Vol. I, *Ramesses I, Sethos I, and Contemporaries* (Oxford, B.H. Blackwell, 1993), 80-81; Kenneth A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated and Annotated*, Vol. I, *Ramesses I, Sethos I, and Contemporaries* (Oxford: B.H. Blackwell, 1993), 68-70; Porter and Moss, V, 218.

Seth is mentioned once in the main text: *rs m kn nḥt mi s3 nwt*: Vigilant in valor and victory like the Son of Nut.

111. Wall Relief

19th Dynasty, Reign of Merenptah

Archaeological Site: North Wall, Rock Shrine of Merenptah

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* IV, 75-76; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* IV, 62-63; Lepsius, *Denkmaeler* III, 200e; Porter and Moss, V, 217; Sourouzzian, *Merenptah*, 194.

In this relief, Merenptah is shown offering to Seth, Nephthys, and Horus. The king wears the Blue Crown on the viewer's right and is labeled as: *nb t3wy b3-n-rḥ mry imn nb ḥḥw mr-n-ptḥ ḥtp-ḥr-m3ḥt*: Lord of the Two Lands Baenre Meryamun, Lord of Crowns Merenptah Hetephermaat. Standing in front of the king, on the viewer's left, are three deities. The first figure is erased, but the remaining text reads: *di.n(.i) n.k nb ḥḥ dd(t) w3s...sth nbwty nb šmḥw...*: (I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion...the Ombite, Lord of the Southern Land.... Behind the erased deity is Nephthys, whose text reads: *di[n(.i)]...nbt-ḥwt nbt nwt t3wy*, [(I) have] given...Nephthys, Mistress of the Two Lands. Following Nephthys is the god Horus who wears the Double Crown and says to the king: *di.n(.i) n.k 3wt-ib nb ḥr nṯr ʿ3 nb pt*

hr(y)-ib p3 mw w^cb, (I) have given to you all joy, Horus the Great God, Lord of Heaven who dwells in the Pure Water.

Matmar

112. Inscription

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

Archaeological Site: Amarna Period Lintel, Reused in Temple of Seth

Bibliography: Brunton, *Matmar*, 61-62, pl. 51; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 507; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* II, 325; Porter and Moss, V, 5.

An inscription from one of the temple's lintels giving the titulary of Ramesses II includes a reference to Seth: *nswt bity wsr-m3^ct-r^c stp-n-r^c r^c-mssw mry-imm mry mi sth*: King of Upper and Lower Egypt Usermaatre Setepenre, Ramesses Meryamun, Beloved like Seth.

113. Inscription

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

Archaeological Site: Temple of Seth

Current Location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 54398)

Bibliography: Brunton, *Matmar*, 62, pl. 49; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 507; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* II, 325; Porter and Moss, V, 5.

A stamped brick recovered from the site gives the king's name as: *r^c-mss mry-imm mry mi sth*: Ramesses Meryamun, Beloved like Seth.

Nagada

114. Lintel

18th Dynasty, Reign of Thutmose I

Archaeological Site: Temple of Seth

Current Location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 31881)

Bibliography: William M. Flinders Petrie and J.E. Quibell, *Nagada and Ballas 1895* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1896), 67-68, 70; Porter and Moss, V, 117.

At the top of the lintel is a winged sun disk, identified in the text to the left of the figure as: *bhdt(y) ntr 3 di.f^cnh*: the Behdite, the Great God, who gives life. Underneath the sun disk, in the center of the lintel, is the *nswt bity* name of Thutmose I (*3-hpr-k3-r^c*)

followed by the text *di ʕnh*, given life. On either side of the *di ʕnh* is the parallel text *mry sth*, Beloved of Seth, with the standing figure of the god acting as the hieroglyph writing his name. To the left of the cartouche is the vulture Nekhbet holding a *w3s* and *ʕn* hieroglyph on top of a *nb* sign and sedge plant. The text associated with Nekhbet on either side of the sedge plant reads: *di.s ʕnh w3s*: She gives life and dominion. Behind Nekhbet is a standing figure of Seth who holds an *ʕnh* in his rear hand and presents an *ʕnh* with his forward hand to the Horus name of Thutmose I (*k3-nht mry-m3ʕt*). Seth is identified by the hieroglyphs above his head as the Ombite, and the text in front of him reads: *di.f ʕnh dd(t) w3s nb snb nb mi rʕ*: He gives all life, stability, and dominion, and all health like Re.

To the right of Thutmose I's cartouche is a cobra holding a *w3s* and *ʕn* sign atop a *nb* basket and papyrus plant. The cobra is identified by the hieroglyphs behind the snake as Wadjet. On either side of the papyrus plant, the text associated with Wadjet reads: *di.s ʕnh w3s*: She gives life and dominion. Behind Wadjet is a second standing figure of Seth, identified as the Ombite by the text above his head. He holds an *ʕnh* sign in his forward hand and extends an *ʕnh* and *w3s* sign with his rear hand to the Horus name of Thutmose I. The text in front of Seth reads: *di.f ʕnh dd(t) w3s nb 3wt ib nb mi rʕ*: He gives all life, stability, and dominion, all joy like Re.

115. Inscription

18th Dynasty, Reign of Thutmose I

Archaeological Site: Door Jamb, Temple of Seth

Current Location: Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, London (UC 14795)

Bibliography: Petrie and Quibell, *Nagada*, 68; Porter and Moss, V, 177.

On this fragmentary door jamb is the text: *[ntr] nfr ʕ3hprk3rʕ s3 rʕ dhwtj[-ms hʕ-
]mi[-rʕ mr]y sth hr nbwt(y) ʕnh dt*: The Perfect [God] Aakheperkare, Son of Re Thutmose
[Appearing] like [Re] [Beloved] of Seth and Horus of Ombos, living forever.

116. Inscription

18th Dynasty, Reign of Thutmose I

Archaeological Site: Door Jamb, Temple of Seth

Current Location: Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, London (UC 14420)

Bibliography: Petrie and Quibell, *Nagada*, 68; Porter and Moss, V, 177.

A second door jamb fragment from the site bears the inscription: *...n it.f sth
nbwt(y) mʕnd(t) pr...*: for his father, Seth the Ombite in the bark of the sun god....

117. Inscription

18th Dynasty, Reign of Thutmose II

Archaeological Site: Door Jamb, Temple of Seth

Bibliography: Petrie and Quibell, *Nagada*, 68.

On a later door jamb from the Temple of Seth, Thutmose II is called *mry sth k3
nbwt nb šmʕw*: Beloved of Seth, the Bull of Ombos, Lord of Upper Egypt.

118. Inscription

18th Dynasty, Reign of Thutmose III

Archaeological Site: Votive Bowl from Foundation Deposit, Temple of Seth

Current Location: Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, London (UC 15875)

Bibliography: Petrie and Quibell, *Nagada*, pl.lxxix, p.68.

The votive bowl is inscribed with the text: *ntr nfr mn-hpr-rʕ mr(y) sth nbwt(y)*:
The Perfect God Menkheperre, Beloved of Seth the Ombite.

119. Inscription

18th Dynasty, Reign of Thutmose III

Archaeological Site: Votive Stone from Foundation Deposit, Temple of Seth

Current Location: Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, London (UC 15876)

Bibliography: Petrie and Quibell, *Nagada*, pl.lxxix, p.68.

A votive stone from the same foundation deposit is inscribed with the text: *ntr nfr
mn-hpr-rʕ mr(y) sth nbwt(y)*: The Perfect God Menkheperre, Beloved of Seth the Ombite.

120. Inscription

18th Dynasty, Reign of Thutmose III**Archaeological Site: Votive Axe Blade from Foundation Deposit, Temple of Seth****Current Location: Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, London (UC 15879)****Bibliography:** Petrie and Quibell, *Nagada*, pl.lxxix, p.68.

The same text is found on a third item from the foundation deposit: *ntr nfr mn-hpr-r^c mr(y) sth nbwt(y)*: The Perfect God, Menkheperre, Beloved of Seth the Ombite.

121. W3s Scepter**18th Dynasty, Reign of Thutmose III****Archaeological Site: Temple of Seth****Current Location: Manchester Museum, Manchester (1033)****Bibliography:** Porter and Moss, V, 117.**122. W3s Scepter****18th Dynasty, Reign of Amenhotep II****Archaeological Site: Northwest Section of Temple of Seth****Current Location: Victoria and Albert Museum, London (437-1895)**

Bibliography: Barbara Cumming, *Egyptian Historical Records of the Later Eighteenth Dynasty I* (Warminster, Aris & Phillips, 1982), 56; A. Lucas and J.R. Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (Mineola: Dover Publications, Inc., 1999), 157; Paul T. Nicholson, *Egyptian Faience and Glass* (Buckinghamshire: Shire Publications Ltd., 1993), 34; Mathieu, "Seth Polymorphe," 141; Petrie and Quibell, *Nagada*, 68, pl. lxxviii; Porter and Moss, V, 118.

This monumental faience *w3s* scepter measures 215.9 centimeters high and weighs 65 kilograms. The animal head of this scepter bears a striking resemblance to the Seth animal, as the long ears have blunted, squared off ends. On the shaft of the scepter is the titulary of Amenhotep II: *hr k3 nht shm pht nbty h^cw mi...hr nbw...nswt bity 3-hprw-r^c s3 r^c imn-htp ntr hk3 w3st di 3nh mi r^c dt*: Horus Mighty Bull, Powerful One of Strength, Two Ladies Appearing in Glory like... Golden Horus ... King of Upper and Lower Egypt Akheperure, Son of Re Amenhotep Divine Ruler of Thebes, given life like Re forever.

123. Inscription**20th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses III****Archaeological Site: Lintel, Temple of Seth****Bibliography:** Grandet, *Ramsès III*, 289; Petrie and Quibell, *Nagada*, 70.

Ramesses III's cartouches are inscribed in the center of this lintel. To the left of the cartouches is the text "Beloved of Seth the Ombite, Lord of the Land of Upper Egypt, the Great God". To the right of the cartouches is the text "Adoration to the *ka* of Seth...Beloved of Nut the Great who bore the gods, adorations to the *ka* of Nut".

Speos Artemidos

124. Wall Relief

18th Dynasty, Reign of Hatshepsut

Archaeological Site: South Wall of Portico, Temple of Pakhet

Bibliography: Dieter Arnold, *Die Tempel Ägyptens: Götterwohnungen, Kultstätten, Baudenkmäler* (Zürich: Artemis & Winkler, 1992), 137; Jean-Luc Chappaz, "Recherches au Spéos Artémidos: Fonction et programme «décoratif» d'un temple rupestre," in *Ägyptische Tempel – Struktur, Funktion und Programm: Akten der Ägyptologischen Tempeltagungen in Gosen 1990 und in Mainz 1992*, ed. Rolf Gundlach and Matthias Rochholz (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1994), 24; H.W. Fairman and Bernhard Grdseloff, "Texts of Hatshepsut and Sethos I inside Speos Artemidos," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 33 (1947): 16-17.

The texts in this area of the temple recount the declaration of Hatshepsut's divine kingship by the gods. Thoth announces the king's accession to the Great Ennead, who are shown in three rows of four: Montu, Atum, Shu, Tefnut, Geb, Nut, Osiris, Isis, Seth, Nephthys, Horus, and Hathor. Unfortunately, the titles and figure of Seth have been erased.

Thebes, East Bank

Karnak

125. Lintel

18th Dynasty, Reign of Ahmose

Archaeological Site: Near 3rd Pylon, Temple of Amun

Current Location: Open Air Museum, Karnak

Bibliography: Françoise Le Saout, Abd el-Hamid Ma'arouf, and Thierry Zimmer, "Le Moyen Empire à Karnak: varia 1." *Karnak* 8 (1987), 306-307, Taf. VII; Cruz-Urbe, "Seth," 211; Ullmann, *König für die Ewigkeit*, 24.

On the far left side of the left hand fragment is the Horus name of Ahmose ([ḥ - ḥprw] k3-m-w3st) atop a *ka* standard, followed by the figure of a god holding *rnpt* signs in his forward and rear hands. Two ḥnh signs hang from his bent rear elbow. Behind the god is a portion of text: [di.n.i] $\text{n.k rnpwt stḥ ḥr st ḥr dt}$: [I have given] to you the years of Seth upon the throne of Horus forever. Following the text is a goddess who also holds two *rnpt* signs in her forward and rear hands.

126. Wall Relief Fragment

18th Dynasty, Reign of Amenhotep I

Current Location: Karnak Open Air Museum

Bibliography: Cruz-Uribe, “Seth,” 214.

This block shows Seth the Ombite holding a crook. He was likely standing before a figure of Amenhotep I, whose cartouche can just be made out on the right hand side of the relief fragment (dsr-k3-r).

127. Lintel Fragment

18th Dynasty, Reign of Thutmose II or Hatshepsut⁶²

Archaeological Site: Festival Court of Thutmose II, Temple of Amun

Current Location: Open Air Museum, Karnak

Bibliography: Luc Gabolde, “La «Cour de fêtes» de Thoutmosis II à Karnak,” *Cahiers de Karnak* 9 (1993): 3, 40; Porter and Moss, II, 74 and 135; Le Saout, et al, “Karnak,” 307.

The remains of a winged sun disk are seen on the top right of the relief fragment and is labeled: $\text{bhdt(y) ntr ḥ3 s3b šwt nb pt di.f ḥnh}$: The Behdite, the Great God, Variegated of Plumage, Lord of Heaven, who gives life. At the bottom right corner are the tips of Seth’s squared off ears. His speech begins: [$\text{di.f ḥnh nb [ddt] w3s [nb] nbwt(y) nb t3 šmḥw ḥnty sw dd mdw di.n(i) n.k rnpwt n...}$]: The Ombite, Lord of the Land of Upper Egypt, Foremost of Sw, who [gives] all life, all [stability] and dominion. Words

⁶² Gabolde dates the relief to Thutmose II, while Le Saout et al label it as being produced during the reign of Hatshepsut.

spoken: (I) have given to you the years of... Behind this is the text associated with the lost figure of Nekhbet: *di.s ʕnh nb dd(t) w3s nhbt hdt nhn nb(t) fʕgt*: Nekhbet the White One of Nekhen, Mistress of Fagt, who gives all life, all stability and dominion.

128. Wall Relief Fragment

18th Dynasty, Reign of Thutmose II or Hatshepsut

Archaeological Context: Temple of Amun

Current Location: Open Air Museum, Karnak

Bibliography: Luc Gabolde, *Monuments décorés en bas relief aux noms de Thoutmosis II et Hatchepsout à Karnak* (Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 2005), 129, 136-37, pl. XLIa and c; Cruz-Uribe, "Seth," 213.

At the top of the scene is a Horus falcon with extended wings and a *šn* sign in his talons. The text identifies the falcon as: *nb pt di.f ʕnh*: Lord of Heaven, who gives life. On the left side of the relief, Seth is shown extending an *ʕnh* and *w3s* sign to the nose of Hatshepsut who is embraced by the goddess Nephthys. The text associated with Seth reads: *dd mdw di[.n.i n.k] ʕnh w3s nb di[.n.i n.k] snb nb nbwt(y) hnty šmʕw*: Words Spoken: [I have] given [to you] all life and dominion. [I have] given [to you] all health, The Ombite, Foremost of the Upper Egypt. Hatshepsut is identified by the cartouche in front of her head: *hmt ntr h3t-špswt... [di] dd(t) ʕnh dt*: The God's Wife Hatshepsut... [given] stability and life forever. On the far right of the relief fragment, Nephthys is identified in the column of text above her: *nbt-hwt hnty Ipt-swt*: Nephthys Foremost of Karnak.

129. Obelisk

18th Dynasty, Reign of Hatshepsut

Archaeological Context: Temple of Amun

Bibliography: Sethe, *Urkunden*, 366.

One of Hatshepsut's obelisks is inscribed with the text: *sm3 n.i nbwy psdwt.sn h33(.i) t3 pn mi s3 ist nht(.i) n.i mi s3 nwt*: The Two Lords shall unite their shares for me,

so that (I) may rule this land like the Son of Isis and that (I) may be strong for myself like the Son of Nut.⁶³

130-142. Akh Menu

18th Dynasty, Reign of Thutmose III

Bibliography: Arnold, *Die Tempel*, 120; Lepsius, *Denkmaeler* III, 33ff; Porter and Moss, II, 112-19.

130. Wall Relief

Archaeological Context: North Wall, Central Corridor

Bibliography: Paul Barguet, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak: Essai d'exégèse* (Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1962), 164; Lepsius, *Denkmaeler* III, 34d; Porter and Moss, II, 113; Troy, "Religion and Cult," 127; Ullmann, *König für die Ewigkeit*, 65.

Thutmose III is shown in this relief sitting on a throne with 18 gods arranged in three registers behind him. The gods are seated on thrones and hold *w3s* hieroglyphs in their forward hands and *ʕnh* signs on their laps. The gods, labeled as the Great Ennead, are Atum, Shu, Tefnut, Geb, Nut, Osiris, Isis, Seth, Nephthys, Amun, Min, Montu, Amunet, Tanenet, Hathor, Sobek, Horus, and Iunit. The text associated with Seth reads: *...rnpwt.f m ʕnh w3s nb dḥwtj-ms ḥʕ hr st hr di ʕnh dd(t) w3s...*: ...his years in all life and dominion, Thutmose appearing upon the throne of Horus, given life, stability, and dominion...

131. Wall Relief

Bibliography: Porter and Moss, II, 118.

The Ennead is shown seated in this relief.

132. Wall Relief

Bibliography: Porter and Moss, II, 119.

Thutmose III is standing before the Ennead.

133. Wall Relief

Bibliography: Porter and Moss, II, 119.

⁶³ Here, the "Two Lords" are written as two falcons on standards.

The gods Seth, Imseti, Geb, and Re are shown seated before the king.

134. Wall Relief

Bibliography: Hermann Kees, *Untersuchungen zu den Reliefs aus dem Re-Heiligtum des Rathures* (München: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1922), 37 and 116; Barguet, *Karnak*, 189; Porter and Moss, II, 116; Troy, "Religion and Cult," 127 and 147.

Horus and Seth are shown with an empty carrying chair between them at the beginning of the king's coronation. The remains of Horus are seen in front of the carrying chair, followed by the text *ḏd(t) w3s nb snb nb 3wt-ib nb hr.sn*: all stability and dominion, all health, all joy under them. Beneath the back of the carrying chair is the text *ḏd(t) w3s nb hr.sn*: all stability and dominion under them. Seth, identified by the text in front of his face (*swth*), carries the rear half of the carrying chair.

135. Wall Relief

Bibliography: Hornung and Staehelin, *Sedfest*, 61; Porter and Moss, II, 116; Troy, "Religion and Cult," 127.

Horus and Seth are shown carrying Thutmose III to the shrine of Upper Egypt.

136. Wall Relief

Bibliography: Hornung and Staehelin, *Sedfest*, 61; Troy, "Religion and Cult," 127.

Horus and Seth are shown carrying Thutmose III to the shrine of Lower Egypt.

137. Wall Relief

Bibliography: Barguet, *Karnak*, 186-187; Lepsius, *Denkmaeler* III, 35b; Porter and Moss, II, 117.

This relief shows Thutmose III being suckled by Hathor in the company of Horus and Seth. The inscription records the words of Horus: *ḏd mdw shn(.i) tw m s^ch.k wr hr st hr 3wt-ib.k dt sm3(.i) t3wy nb n ḏ3 wnn hm m s3 nḥ*: Words spoken: (I) cause you to alight upon the throne of Horus by means of your great dignity, you being joyful eternally. (I) unite the two lands, the Lord of Dja, existing assuredly with protection and life.

Hathor is identified in the text above her crown as Hathor, Mistress of Heaven (*hwt-hr nbt pt*). The smaller figure of Thutmose III is situated under the falcon of Horus the Behdite. The king's cartouche (*mn-hpr-r*) is also under the Horus falcon, followed by the text *di nḥ dd(t) dt*: given life and stability, forever. Behind Thutmose III is the text: *s3 nḥ dd(t) w3s snb 3wt-ib ḥ3[f] mi r*: protection, life, stability, dominion, health, and joy around [him] like Re. Following this text is the king's *ka* in the form of his Horus name, *k3-nḥt mry-r*, on an anthropomorphic *ka* standard underneath the *pt* hieroglyph and the text: *k3 nḥ n nswt nb t3wy*: the living *ka* of the King, Lord of the Two Lands.

To the right of the central scene is the speech of a goddess, whose figure and name have been largely lost: *dd mdw di.n(.i) n.k nḥ w3s nb hr.i ddt nb hr.i snb nb hr.i mi r...iw[nw]...*: Words spoken: (I) have given to you all life and dominion under me, all stability under me, all health under me, like Re. While the figure of Seth has been mostly erased from the right hand side of the scene, his speech is preserved: *dd mdw smn.n(.i) [n].k sḥ.k n nswt wy.i ḥ3.k m s3 nḥ nb di.n(.i) n.k nḥ w3s nb nbwt(y) nb t3 šmḥw ntr 3*: Words spoken: (I) have established [for] you your rank of King, my arms being around you with all protection and life. (I) have given to you all life and dominion. The Ombite, Lord of the Land of Upper Egypt, the Great God.

138. Wall Relief

Bibliography: Lepsius, *Denkmaeler III*, 35a.

Here, an enthroned Thutmose III is wearing the Double Crown and holding a flail in his forward hand with his rear hand clenched around a *mks* container. Above the king is a vulture with outstretched wings identified as: *Nḥbt ḥdt nḥn*: Nekhbet the White One of Nekhen. Thutmose III is identified in the text around his crown as: *ntr nfr nb t3wy mn-*

hpr-r^c di nḥ mi r^c: The Perfect God, Lord of the Two Lands Menkheperre, given life like Re. Behind the king is a column of text: *s3 nḥ dd(t) w3s snb nb ḥ3.f 3wt-ib.f mi r^c dt*: All protection, life, stability, dominion, and health around him, his joy like Re forever.

Mut and Wadjet stand before Thutmose III. The speech of Mut is given first: *dd mdw di.n(i) n.k nḥ w3s nb ḥr.i ddt nb ḥr.i mi r^c dt mwt nbt pt ḥnwt nṯrw nbw*: Words spoken: (I) have given to you all life and dominion under me, all stability under me like Re forever. Mut, Mistress of Heaven, Mistress of all the Gods. This is followed by the speech of Wadjet: *dd in w3dyt nbt pt n s3 ḥt.f mr.f nb t3wy mn-hpr-r^c di.n(i) n.k nḥ w3s nb ḥr.i snb nb ḥr.i di.n(i) n.k rnpwt nḥḥ ḥ^c.ti m nswt bity šm^cw mḥw mi r^c dt*: Said by Wadjet, Mistress of Heaven, to the son of his body, his beloved, Lord of the Two Lands, Menkheperre. (I) have given to you all life and dominion under me, all health under me. (I) have given to you years of eternity, (with) you appearing in glory as the Dual King of Upper and Lower Egypt like Re forever.

Behind the central image of the king is an almost completely erased figure of Seth, along with his speech: *dd mdw di.n(i) n.k [ns]y[t] t3wy nḥtw.k ḥt ḥ3swt nb nḥ.ti dt nbwt wr ḥk3w ḥnty sw nb t3 šm^cw*: Words spoken: (I) have given to you the kingship of the Two Lands, your victories throughout all foreign lands living forever. The Ombite, Great of Magic, Foremost of Sw, Lord of the Land of Upper Egypt. Behind Seth is the goddess Nekhbet, shown in her anthropomorphic form, whose speech reads: *dd in nḥbt ḥdt nḥn dḥwty-ms nfr-hprw s3 Imn n ḥt.f mry.f di.n(i) n.k nḥ w3s nb nḥbt ḥdt nḥn*: Said by Nekhbet the White One of Nekhen: Thutmose, beautiful of form, son of Amun of his body, his beloved, (I) have given to you all life and dominion. Nekhbet the White One of Nekhen.

139. Wall Relief

Bibliography: Barguet, *Karnak*, 160; Lepsius, *Denkmaeler III*, 33g and h; Porter and Moss, II, 114; Sethe, *Urkunden*, 572; Troy, "Religion and Cult," 127, 149, and 150.

This scene of Thutmose III running before Amun in the company of Horus and Seth is likely meant to depict an aspect of the king's Sed Festival. The figure and speech of Seth are found at the left side of the scene: *dd mdw di.n(.i) n.k irt hhw m rnpwt mi wdt.n it.k...mrr... di.n(.i) n.k nḥ w3s nb hr.i di.n(.i) n.k snb nb hr.i ...[sth/nbwt] nb t3 sm^cw nb pt wr hk3w s3 nwt ʕ3 pḥty hnty sw*: Words spoken: (I) have given to you the achievement of millions of years, according to what your father commanded... (I) have given to you all life and dominion under me. (I) have given to you all health under me, [The Ombite/Seth] Lord of the Land of Upper Egypt, Lord of Heaven, Great of Magic, Son of Nut, Great of Strength, Foremost of Sw.

In front of Seth is the god Amun, who is labeled by the text above his crown: *imn r^c nb pt*: Amun-Re Lord of Heaven. Amun says: *dd mdw di.n(.i) n.k nḥ w3s nb ddt nb di.n(.i) n.k 3wt-ib nb hr.i*: Words spoken: (I) have given to you all life and dominion, all stability. (I) have given to you all joy under me. In front of Amun's staff is a section of text which reads: *r šrt.k nṯr nfr nb t3wy mryw...*: To your nose, the Perfect God, the Lord of the Two Lands, beloved...

Thutmose III, shown running towards the figure of Amun, is positioned underneath a falcon with outstretched wings. Beneath the falcon is the titulary of Thutmose III: *hr k3 hdt mry r^c nswt bity nb t3wy mn-hpr-r^c stp-n-r^c s3 r^c mr.f dhwti-ms hk3 nṯr di nḥ mi r^c dt*: Horus Exalted of the White Crown, Beloved of Re, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands Menkheperre Setepenre, Son of Re, his beloved, Thutmose, divine ruler, given life like Re forever. Underneath his forward arm,

Thutmose III is said to be presenting libations (*hnp kbhw*). Behind the king are emblems associated with the Sed Festival and the text: *s3 ʕnh nb h3.f mi rʕ*: all protection and life around him like Re.

The scene is closed out on the right hand side by Horus whose speech reads: *dd mdw di.n(i) n.k irt hhw m rnpwt mi wdt.n it.k imn mr tw ʕnh.ti di.n(i) n.k ʕnh w3s nb hr.i di.n(i) n.k snb nb hr.i bhdt(y) ntr ʕ3 s3b swt nb pt hnty hbt hnty ʕnw hnty itr(t) mhʕw*:

Words spoken: (I) have given to you the achievement of millions of years, according to what your father Amun who loves you have commanded, may you live. (I) have given to you all life and dominion under me. (I) have given to you all health under me. The Behdite, the Great God, Variegated of Plumage, Lord of Heaven, Foremost of Hebet, Foremost of AINU, Foremost of the shrines of Lower Egypt.

140. Wall Relief

Bibliography: Barguet, *Karnak*, 166; Hornung and Staehelin, *Sedfest*, 60; Lepsius, *Denkmaeler* III, 34; Porter and Moss, II, 113; Troy, "Religion and Cult," 149 and 151.

Another scene which may be connected to the Sed Festival shows the king wearing the White Crown and shooting arrows in the company of Seth and Horus.⁶⁴ The central figures of Thutmose III and Seth are under a vulture with outstretched wings who is identified as: *nhbt hdt nhn di.s ʕnh w3s mi rʕ*: Nekhbet the White One of Nekhen, who gives life and dominion like Re. Thutmose III is identified by his titulary: *hr nbw dsr hʕw*

⁶⁴ While it is unclear what ritual is being depicted here, the association with the Sed Festival comes from the presence of the king in the Sed Festival robe on the viewer's left. Some scholars have posited that during the Sed Festival the king would visit the chapels of Horus and Seth, where he would receive four arrows. These arrows would then be shot towards each of the four cardinal points to ward off evil. See Ludwig D. Morenz, "Zur Dekoration der frühzeitlichen Tempel am Beispiel zweier Fragmente des archaischen Tempels von Gebelein," in *Ägyptische Tempel – Struktur, Funktion und Programm: Akten der Ägyptologischen Tempeltagung in Gosen 1990 und Mainz 1992*, ed. Rolf Gundlach and Matthias Rochholz (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1994): 226; Shafer, "Temples, Priests, and Rituals," 27. This interpretation is based largely on a later version of this scene from the reign of Taharqa (c.690-664 B.C.E.). See Troy, "Religion and Cult," 151-52 for a critical analysis of this argument.

šhm phty nswt bity mn-hpr-r^c s3 r^c n ht.f dḥwtymš ḥk3 w3st di ʿnh dt: Golden Horus
 Splendid of Appearances, Powerful of Strength, King of Upper and Lower Egypt
 Menkheperre, Son of Re of His body, Thutmose Ruler of Thebes, given life forever.
 Seth, labeled as The Ombite (*nbwty*), embraces the king who points an arrow towards a
 standard topped with two crossed maces. Above this standard and to the left is a vulture
 on a *nb* sign holding a *w3s* scepter on a sedge plant with the text: *di.s ʿnh w3s*: She gives
 life and dominion.

The scene is divided by a standard topped with an image of a jackal: *wp-w3wt šm^c*
ḥrp t3wy di.f ʿnh w3s nb ddt nb snb nb mi r^c: Wepwawet, the Upper Egyptian, Controller
 of the Two Lands, who gives all life and dominion, all stability, and all health like Re.
 To the right of the scene, Horus embraces Thutmose III. The falcon shown above Horus
 and the king is labeled as: *bḥdt(y) ntr ʿ3 s3b šwt nb pt di.f ʿnh w3s*: The Behdite, the Great
 God, Variegated of Plumage, Lord of Heaven, who gives life and dominion. Thutmose
 III's titulary is given as: *ntr nfr nb t3wy nb irt-ḥt nswt bity mn-hpr-r^c s3 r^c dḥwtymš ḥk3*
m3^ct nb ḥpš stp n r^c di ʿnh mi r^c: The Perfect God, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Cultic
 Action, King of Upper and Lower Egypt Menkheperre, Son of Re Thutmose Ruler of
 Truth, Lord of the Strong Arm, Chosen by Re and given life like Re. Thutmose III
 reaches a staff out to a second standard with two crossed maces labeled as The White
 One (*ḥdt*). Above and to the left of this standard is Wadjet shown as a cobra on a *nb* sign
 and papyrus plant. The text associated with her reads: *di.s ʿnh w3s*: She gives life and
 dominion.

141. Pillar

Bibliography: Lepsius, *Denkmaeler III*, 35c; Porter and Moss, II, 115.

On a square pillar within the Akh Menu is a relief of Thutmose III being embraced by Seth and Nephthys. Thutmose III wears the Double Crown and holds an *ꜥnh* sign in his rear hand while embracing Seth with his other arm. Nephthys stands behind the king embracing him. Above the figures of Thutmose III and Nephthys is a falcon identified as: *bḥdt(y) ntr ʕ3*: The Behdite, the Great God. Thutmose III is identified by his titulary: *ntr nfr nb t3wy nb 3wt-ib nb irt-ḥt mn-ḥpr-rꜥ di ꜥnh mi rꜥ dt*: The Perfect God, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Joy, Lord of Cultic Action, Menkheperre, given life like Re forever. The text above Nephthys identifies her as *nbt-ḥwt nb(t) pt*: Nephthys, Mistress of Heaven. Above Seth the text reads: *dd mdw di.n(i) n.k pḥty mi rꜥ nbwt(y) ntr ʕ3 nb pt*: Words spoken: (I) have given to you strength like Re. The Ombite, the Great God, Lord of Heaven.

142. Pillar

Bibliography: Lepsius, *Denkmaeler* III, 34c; Porter and Moss, II, 118.

A second pillar within the Akh Menu is decorated in a similar fashion to the one above. Thutmose III wears the Double Crown and holds *ꜥnh* signs while being embraced by Seth and Nephthys. A vulture with outstretched wings is positioned over Thutmose III and Nephthys, and she gives life (*di.s ꜥnh*). Thutmose III is identified as: *nswt bity nb irt-ḥt mn-ḥpr-rꜥ s3 rꜥ n ḥt.f ḏḥwty-ms ḥk3 w3st*: King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of Cultic Action, Menkheperre, Son of Re of His body, Thutmose Ruler of Thebes. The text associated with Nephthys reads: *di.s ꜥnh dd(t) w3s nb snb nb mi rꜥ nbt-ḥwt nb(t) pt ḥnwt ntrw*: Nephthys, Mistress of Heaven, Mistress of the Gods, who gives all life, stability, and dominion, all health like Re. The speech of Seth is recorded above his head: *dd in nbwt(y) ntr ʕ3 nb pt di.n(i) n.k dd(t) w3s nb ḥr.i*: Said by the Ombite, the Great God, Lord of Heaven. (I) have given to you all stability and dominion under me.

143. Wall Relief**18th Dynasty, Reign of Thutmose III****Archaeological Context: Sanctuary of Philip Arrhidaeus, Temple of Amun****Bibliography:** Porter and Moss, II, 98.

In a scene originally from Thutmose III's bark sanctuary, the king is shown holding a staff and a mace performing a purification ritual with natron in the presence of the Ennead.

144. Inscription**18th Dynasty, Reign of Amenhotep II****Archaeological Site: Pillars around Obelisks of Hatshepsut, Temple of Amun****Bibliography:** Sethe, *Urkunden*, 1328-29.

Seth is referenced once on these pillars: *rdi.n.f.n.i psšt nbwy*: He [Amun-Re] gave to me [Amenhotep II] the portions of the Two Lords.⁶⁵

145. Inscription**18th Dynasty, Reign of Amenhotep III****Archaeological Site: 3rd Pylon, Temple of Amun****Bibliography:** Galán, *Victory and Border*, 51; Sethe, *Urkunden*, 1724-25.

The king is compared to Seth at one point in the text: *nḥtw.f mi pḥty s3 nwt*: His strength is like the strength of the Son of Nut.

146. Statue of Sekhmet**18th Dynasty, Reign of Amenhotep III****Archaeological Site: Temple of Mut****Current Location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 39064)****Bibliography:** Sethe, *Urkunden*, 1763.

In the inscription on this statue, the goddess is called *shmt bnrt nbwy*: Sekhmet, the Sweet One of the Two Lords.⁶⁶

147. Statue of Sekhmet**18th Dynasty, Reign of Amenhotep III****Archaeological Site: Temple of Mut****Bibliography:** Sethe, *Urkunden*, 1767.

⁶⁵ Here, the "Two Lords" is written with two Horus falcons on standards.

⁶⁶ The "Two Lords" is written with a Horus falcon and a seated Seth animal on two *nb* signs.

On a second statue of the goddess, she is: *šhmt ḥnmst nṯrwy*: Sekhmet, the friend of the Two Gods.

148. Restoration Stela

18th Dynasty, Reign of Tutankhamun

Archaeological Site: Great Hypostyle Hall, Temple of Amun

Current Location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 43183)

Bibliography: Galán, *Victory and Border*, 51; Sethe, *Urkunden*, 2031-32.

In the main text, Tutankhamun is said to be: *wr pḥty mi s3 nwt*: great in strength like the Son of Nut.

149. Inscription

18th Dynasty, Reign of Horemheb

Current Location: Open Air Museum, Karnak

Bibliography: Cruz-Uribe, “Seth,” 214-15.

On this block is the lower half of a royal figure which is followed by [...] *w3s snb nb ḥ3.f*: all dominion and health around him. There is also a fragmentary column of left facing text which reads: *[rnp]w[t] ḥr stḥ ʿnh.ti*: the (year)s of Horus and Seth, may you live.

150. Inscription

18th Dynasty, Reign of Horemheb

Current Location: Open Air Museum, Karnak

Bibliography: Cruz-Uribe, “Seth,” 214-15.

This block shows the torso of a king along with a partial inscription behind him with the name of the God Seth clearly visible.

151. Wall Relief

19th Dynasty, Reign of Seti I

Archaeological Site: North Half of West Wall, Great Hypostyle Hall, Temple of Amun

Bibliography: Harold H. Nelson, *The Great Hypostyle Hall of Karnak*, Vol. 1, Part 1: *The Wall Reliefs* (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1981), pl. 146; Gardiner, “Baptism,” 4; Lepsius, *Denkmaeler* III, 124; Porter and Moss, II, 44; Ullmann, *König für die Ewigkeit*, 271.

Before Seti I is crowned by Amun later in the relief cycle, the king is purified by Horus and Seth. The central figure of the king is positioned underneath a winged sun disk which is labeled twice as *bḥdt(y)* (the Behdite). In between the sun's uraei are the hieroglyphs for dominion and life, *w3s* and *ḥnh*. The king is identified by the text above his head: *ntr nfr mn-m3ḥt-rḥ di ḥnh*: the Perfect God, Menmaatre, given life. The king faces the god Horus, whose speech is recorded above his head: *dd [mdw] in ḥr swḥb.n(.i) tw m ḥnh w3s ḥḥw.k ḥḥw n rḥ ir.k ḥbw-sd ḥ3t wrt*: [Words] spoken by Horus: (I) have purified you with life and dominion, your lifetime is the lifetime of Re. May you celebrate very many Sed Festivals. The text directly in front of Horus reads: *ḥbw.k ḥbw.i ḥbw.i ḥbw.k nb t3wy mn-m3ḥt-rḥ*: Your purification is my purification, my purification is your purification, Lord of the Two Lands Menmaatre.

Seth stands behind the king, and his speech is recorded above his figure: *dd mdw in nbwt(y) nb t3 šmḥw s3.i mry.i nb t3wy mn-m3ḥt-rḥ swḥb.n(.i) tw m ḥnh w3s rnpi.k mi it.k rḥ ir.k ḥbw-sd mi itm ḥḥ.ti m ḥk3 3wt-ib*: Words spoken by the Ombite, Lord of the Land of Upper Egypt: My son, beloved of me, Lord of the Two Lands, Menmaatre, (I) have purified you with life and dominion so that you may be youthful like your father Re, and so that you may celebrate Sed Festivals like Atum. May you appear in glory as ruler of joy. The text directly in front of Seth reads: *ḥbw.k ḥbw.i ḥbw.i ḥbw.k nb ḥḥw sty mry-imm*: Your purification is my purification, my purification is your purification, Lord of Appearances, Seti Meryamun.

152. Wall Relief

19th Dynasty, Reign of Seti I

Archaeological Site: North Half of West Wall, Great Hypostyle Hall, Temple of Amun

Bibliography: Cruz-Uribe, "Seth," 215; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* I, 206; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* I, 178; Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, pl. 139; Porter and Moss, II, 43.

Seti I is shown here kneeling and presenting bread offerings to Seth and Nephthys, both of whom are shown in anthropomorphic form. The king wears the Red Crown, and his action is described in the text before him: *skr t-ḥd n it.f swt pr[imn] ir.f di ʕnh*: Presenting white bread to his father Seth (in) the temple of [Amun], that he may perform the giving of life. Seti I's figure is situated underneath a vulture with outstretched wings who is identified as Nekhbet (*nḥbt*). The king's name is also underneath the vulture: *nb t3wy mn-m3ʕt-rʕ nb ḥʕw sty mry-imn di ʕnh mi rʕ*: Lord of the Two Lands Menmaat, Lord of Appearances, Seti Meryamun, given life like Re. In front of the king's titulary is the figure of a vulture holding a flail and *w3s* sign on a *nb* basket atop a papyrus plant flanked by the hieroglyphs *di ʕnh* (given life).

Seth and Nephthys stand facing the king holding *w3s* scepters in their forward hands and *ʕnh* signs in their rear hands. The speech of Seth is recorded above his head: *dd mdw in stḥ ʕ3 pḥty ḥr(y)-ib ḥwt-nṯr 3ḥ sty mry-imn m pr imn di.n.(i) n.k ʕnh w3s nb snb nb 3wt-ib nb ḥr.i*: Words spoken by Seth, Great of Strength, who dwells in the temple “Beneficent is Seti Meryamun in the Residence of Amun”. (I) have given to you all life and dominion, all health and all joy under me.

The speech of Nephthys follows that of Seth: *dd [mdw] in nbt-ḥwt snt [nṯr] di.s ʕnh nb 3wt-ib nb mi rʕ*: Words spoken by Nephthys, the Divine Sister, who gives all life and all joy like Re. There is also a preserved column of text in front of the goddess: *di.n.(i) n.k ḥfrw m rnpwt...mi [rʕ]*: (I) have given to you hundreds of thousands of years...like [Re].

153. Inscription

19th Dynasty, Reign of Seti I

Archaeological Site: North Wall, Great Hypostyle Hall, Temple of Amun

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* I, 6-8; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* I, 6-7; Porter and Moss, II, 19-21.

Seth, called the Son of Nut, is mentioned once in the rhetorical text over a figure of the king: *ḥpš.f wsr m knt nḥt pḥty.f mi s3 nwt*: His strong arm is powerful in valor and strength, his strength is like the Son of Nut's.

154. Inscription

19th Dynasty, Reign of Seti I

Archaeological Site: Temple of Amun

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* I, 17-18; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* I, 14-16; Porter and Moss, II, 22-23.

References to Seth occur twice in this text. The first is in an account of the battle between Seti I's army and the Hittites: *wr pḥty mi s3 nwt nḥtw nbwy m r-ᶜwy.f ḥb pri mi imy nbwt ᶜ3 ḥryt mi bᶜr ḥr ḥ3swt*: Great of strength like the Son of Nut, the strength of the Two Lords is in his hands, one who treads the battlefield like The One of Ombos, Great of Terror like Baal in foreign lands.⁶⁷ The second reference can be found in the portion of the text associated with the return of prisoners after the battle: *nsw nḥt wr pḥty ḥmhmt.f mi s3 nwt*: Victorious king, great of strength, his war-cry is like the Son of Nut's.

155. Inscription

19th Dynasty, Reign of Seti I

Archaeological Site: Temple of Amun

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* I, 22; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* I, 18; Porter and Moss, II, 22.

In the text dealing with Seti I's campaign against the Libyans, a mention is made of Seth in the rhetorical text near the depiction of Libyan prisoners: *šsr.f mi s3 nwt*: His [the king's] arrow is like the Son of Nut.

156. Inscription

19th Dynasty, Reign of Seti I

Archaeological Site: Temple of Amun

⁶⁷ The "Two Lords" is written with two Horus falcons on standards.

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* I, 29-31; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* I, 24-25; Porter and Moss, II, 23.

Seth is mentioned within the triumphal welcoming speech of Amun: *di.i n.k ht nbty nhtw.sn psšt ntrwy irw m psšt.k*: I give to you the property of the Two Lords, their victories and the shares of the Two Gods being made into your shares.⁶⁸

157. Inscription

19th Dynasty, Reign of Seti I

Archaeological Site: Temple of Amun

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* I, 414; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* I, 178.

On an architrave is the inscription: *sw3d.n n.f r^c nsyt.f k3b n.f sth phty.f diw n.f i3t n it.f gb smnti m hk3 3wt-ib*: Re made his kingship flourish for him, Seth doubles his strength for him his strength. The office of his father Geb is given to him, being established as a joyful ruler.

158. Stela

19th Dynasty, Reign of Seti I

Archaeological Site: Temple of Ptah

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* I, 40-41; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* I, 32-33; Porter and Moss, II, 67.

A section of the main texts begins: *ist ir ntr nfr^c 3 phty mi s3 nwt*: Now, as for the Perfect God, great of strength like the Son of Nut.

159. Stela

19th Dynasty, Reign of Seti I

Archaeological Site: Temple of Amun

Current Location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo (CG 34501)

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* I, 38-39; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* I, 31-32.

Seth is referenced within Seti I's titulary in the main text of this stela: *hr kn swb nbty nbwy m s3 hm.f b3w iwnw hr snhti phty.f nswt bity nb t3wy mn-m3^ct-r^c hk3 iwnw s3 r^c*

⁶⁸ Here, the "Two Lords" are written with a Horus falcon and seated Seth animal atop *nb* signs.

sty mry-n-ptḥ: Horus The Brave One to be Boasted About, The Two Ladies the Two Lords are as the protection of His Majesty, the Souls of Heliopolis are strengthening his power, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands Menmaatre Ruler of Heliopolis, Son of Re Seti Merenptah.⁶⁹

160. Statue

19th Dynasty, Reign of Seti I

Archeological Site: Karnak Cachette

Current Location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo (CG 42, 139)

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* I, 212; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* I, 183-184; Porter and Moss, II, 140.

A portion of the text on the outer face of the leg support reads: *ḳbh.n.f pḥty nbwy*:

He joined the strength of the Two Lords.⁷⁰

161-165. Temple of Amun, Great Hypostyle Hall

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

161. Wall Relief

Archaeological Site: Bottom Register, West End of South Wall

Bibliography: Cruz-Uribe, "Seth," 216; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 575; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* II, 375; Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, pl. 52; Porter and Moss, II, 47.

Ramesses II is shown receiving regalia and jubilees from Amun-Re, Mut, and Khonsu. To the left, the Iunmutef priest addresses the Great Ennead at Karnak, which is shown in four registers. In the middle two registers Tefnut, Geb, Nut, Osiris, Isis, Seth, Nephthys, and Horus are shown seated and holding *w3s* scepters. In this instance, Seth is depicted in his anthropomorphic form and is identified as the Ombite (*nbwty*).

162. Wall Relief

Archaeological Site: Above Doorway, East End of North Wall

Bibliography: Cruz-Uribe, "Seth," 216; Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, pl. 201.

⁶⁹ Here, the "Two Lords" are written with a Horus falcon and a seated Seth animal on *nb* signs.

⁷⁰ The "Two Lords" are written with a Horus falcon and a seated Seth animal atop *nb* signs.

Seth is shown seated next to Nephthys, and both deities are shrouded and hold *w3s* scepters. Seth and Nephthys are situated in between two other divine pairs: Osiris and Isis in front of them and Horus and Hathor behind them. Interestingly, in this arrangement of the Great Ennead, the gods are shown seated behind the goddesses, and the text associated with each divine pair is describing the actions of the goddesses on behalf of the king. The text associated with Seth and Nephthys reads: *ḏi.sn... n s3 rꜥ nb ḥꜥw rꜥ-mss mry-*imn stḥ ntr ʿ3 nbt-ḥwt*: They give...to the Son of Re, Lord of Appearances, Ramesses, Meryamun, Seth the Great God and Nephthys.*

163. Wall Relief

Archaeological Site: South Half of West Wall

Bibliography: Cruz-Uribe, "Seth," 216; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* I, 569-70; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* II, 370-71; Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, pl. 36; Porter and Moss, II, 46-47.

In the introductory scenes of the Opet Festival, Ramesses II and the Great Ennead are shown adoring the Theban Triad. In the middle register of the Ennead are Nut, Osiris, Isis, Seth, and Nephthys. Seth is shown in his anthropomorphic form with his arms raised in adoration of the Theban Triad. The text around him reads: *ḥꜥ.k nfr ḥk3 psḏt ḏi.k rnpwt itm n nb ḥꜥw rꜥ-mss mry-*imn nbwty ḏi.fꜥnh w3s wbn.k nfr imn-rꜥ ḏi.k nst.k n nb t3wy wsr-m3ꜥt-rꜥ stp-n-rꜥ*: May you appear beautifully, Ruler of the Ennead. May you give the years of Atum to the Lord of Appearances, Ramesses Meryamun. The Ombite, who gives life and dominion. May you rise beautifully, Amun-Re, and may you give your throne to the Lord of the Two Lands Usermaatre Setepenre.*

164. Inscription of Ramesses II

Archaeological Site: South Wall

Bibliography: G.A. Gaballa, "Minor War Scenes of Ramesses II at Karnak," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 55 (1969), 86; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 152-59; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* II, 29-35; Porter and Moss, II, 23-24.

In the Syrian War scenes, Seth is mentioned in the texts five times. The first can be found in conjunction with the scene of Ramesses II collecting his prisoners: *ib.f wmt hpš.f wsr phty mi s3 nwt nswt bity wsr-m3^ct-r^c stp-n-r^c s3 r^c r^c-mss mry-*imn di ʿnh mi r^c*: His heart is stout and his arm is mighty in strength like the Son of Nut, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Usermaatse Setepenre, Son of Re Ramesses Meryamun, given life like Re. Seth is next referenced in two parallel scenes of the king triumphantly returning to Egypt with his prisoners: *pdt.f m-^c.f mi b3stt šsr.f mi s3 nwt*: His bow is with him like Bastet, his arrow is like the Son of Nut.*

In the battle scenes showing Ramesses II attacking two Syrian forts Seth is in the rhetorical texts above the king's horses: *ntr nfr šhm phty pr-^c kni mi mntw mnḥ šhm mi s3 nwt nḥtw nbwy m r-^cwy.f hbti pri mi imy nbwt ʿ3 n ḥryt mi stḥ*: The Perfect God, powerful of strength, a hero brave like Montu, potent of power like the Son of Nut, the strength of the Two Lords is in his actions as one who treads the battlefield like the one who is in Ombos, great of dread like Seth.⁷¹ There is a similar text accompanying a scene of Ramesses II attacking a Syrian fort: *ʿnh ntr nfr šhm phty pr-^c knty mi mnt mnḥ šhm mi mtwt sw nḥtw nbwy m r-^cwy.f hbi ptri mi imy nbwt ḥryt.f mi b^cr ḥr ḥ3swt*: [Long] live the Perfect God, powerful of strength, a hero brave like Montu, potent of power like he who begot him. The strength of the Two Lords is in his actions as one who treads the battlefield like the one who is in Ombos, dread of him is like (that of) Baal in the foreign lands.⁷²

165. Inscription of Ramesses II
Archaeological Site: South Wall

⁷¹ In this text, the “Two Lords” is written with two falcons on standards.

⁷² In this text, the “Two Lords” is written with two falcons on standards.

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 573-75; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* II, 374-75; Porter and Moss, II, 47.

Within the depictions of the Festival of the Valley is a scene of Ramesses II censuring the sacred barks of the Theban Triad and Seti I. Seth is mentioned once in the speech of Amun: *di.i pḥr hmhmt.k ḥ3swt nbw ḥryt.k m ibw.sn mi imy nbwt*: I cause your war-cry to travel around all foreign lands, dread of you is in their hearts like the one who is in Ombos.

166. First Hittite Marriage Stela, Abridged Version

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

Archaeological Site: Temple of Mut

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 256-57; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* II, 96-99.

Seth is first mentioned in the list of epithets following Ramesses II's titulary: *mḥr ḥnt k3 mi stḥ*: Warrior of Anat, Bull like Seth. Later in the text, Seth is referenced in praise of the king: *pri.n.f m ḥt wḏw n.f knt sm3.n.f psšty nbwy*: (When) he came out from the womb, valor was decreed for him, he united the portions of the Two Lords.⁷³

167. Hittite Treaty of Year 21

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

Archaeological Site: Temple of Amun

Bibliography: Barry J. Kemp, "Imperialism and Empire in New Kingdom Egypt (c. 1575-1087 B.C.)," in *Imperialism in the Ancient World*, ed. Peter Garnsey and Charles R. Whittaker (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 12; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 225-32; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* II, 79-85.

Part of the introduction to the main text of the treaty reads: *ist hrw pn ḥm.f r dmi n pr-rḥ-msw mry-ḥmn ḥr irt ḥsst it.f ḥmn-rḥ-ḥr-3ḥty-tm nb t3wy iwnw ḥmn n rḥ-msw mry-ḥmn pḥt n rḥ-msw mry-ḥmn stḥ ḥ3 pḥty s3 nwt mi rdi.sn n.f nḥḥ m ḥbw-sd*: Now on this day, His Majesty was at the town of Pi-Ramesses Meryamun doing what pleased his father Amun-Re-Horakhty-Atum, Lord of the Two Lands, the One from Heliopolis, and Amun of

⁷³ In this text the "Two Lords" is written with a falcon and a Seth animal atop *nb* signs.

Ramesses Meryamun, Ptah of Ramesses Meryamun, and Seth Great of Strength, Son of Nut, accordingly they give to him an eternity of Sed Festivals.

Later in the historical prologue to the stipulations of the treaty Seth is credited with creating the situation which led to the treaty: *ḥ3t-s3-r p3 wr ʕ3 ḥ3t [ir] ntʕw n dit mn p3 šhr irw prʕ irw swṯḥ*: Hattusili, the Great Ruler of Hatti [makes] a treaty to make firm the condition which Re made and which Seth made.

The text also provides a list of divine witnesses to the treaty, including Seth, Amun, and Re. Fourteen of the other divine witness to the treaty are manifestations of Seth: Seth, Lord of Heaven, Seth of Hatti, Seth of the town of Arinna, Seth of the town of Zippalanda, Seth of Pattiariq, Seth of Hissaspa, Seth of Saressa, Seth of Aleppo, Seth of Lihzina, Seth of Hurma, Seth of Nerik, Seth of Sapinuwa, Seth of (town lost), and Seth of Sahipina.

At the end of the stela, a description of the state seals of Hatti are given: *nty m ḥr-ib p3 ʕnw n ḥd ḥr t3y.f rit ḥ3tyw ḥpw m twt n swṯḥ ḥr kni twt n p3 wr ʕ3 n ḥ3t inh m smdt mdw m dd p3 ḥtm n swṯḥ p3 ḥk3 n t3 pt p3 ḥtm n p3 nt-ʕ irw ḥ3t-s3-r p3 wr ʕ3 n ḥ3ti r-nḥt p3 šri n mʕw-s3-rʕ p3 wr ʕ3 n ḥ3ti r-nḥtw nty m-ḥnw p3 inh n p3 ḥpw p3 ḥtm n swṯḥ ḥk3 n t3 pt*:

What is in the middle of the tablet of silver on its first side: inlaid figures of the image of Seth embracing an image of the great ruler of Hatti, surrounded by a border of words saying “The seal of Seth, the ruler of the sky, the seal of the ritual which Hattusili made, the great ruler of Hatti, the hero, the younger son of Mursili the great ruler of Hatti, the hero”. What is within the enclosure of the inlaid figure: the seal of Seth, ruler of the sky.

168. Inscription

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

Archaeological Site: 2nd Pylon, Temple of Amun

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions II*, 168; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated II*, 42; Porter and Moss, *II*, 14.

Ramesses II is compared to Seth in the inscription accompanying a formal triumph scene: *nsw nḥt wr pḥty hmhmt.f mi s3 nwt*: Victorious king, great of strength, his war-cry is like (that of) the Son of Nut.

169. Great Libyan War Inscription
19th Dynasty, Reign of Merenptah
Archaeological Site: Temple of Amun

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* IV, 2-12; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* IV, 2-10; Porter and Moss, II, 49; Sourouzian, *Merenptah*, 143.

Seth is mentioned twice in this text, the first of which is during the description of the battle: *pri ir n p3 mšꜥ n hm.f ḥnꜥ nt-ḥtri.f imn-rꜥ ḥnꜥ.sn nbwty ḥr rꜥt n.sn*: So, the bursting forth of the army of his majesty and his chariotry succeeded, Amun-Re was with them, and the Ombite gave action to them.

The second mention of Seth occurs in the king's victory speech after battle: *n ḥr ḥꜥi m m3ꜥt ḥwi psdt 9 diw swth nḥtw kny nswt bity b3-n-rꜥ mry-imn s3 rꜥ mry-n-ptḥ ḥtp-ḥr-m3ꜥt ḥnḥ wd3 snb*: To the Horus who rejoices in Maat, who smites the Nine Bows, to whom Seth has given victory and valor, King of Upper and Lower Egypt Baenre Meryamun, Son of Re Merenptah Hetephermaat, life, prosperity, health.

170. Inscription
19th Dynasty, Reign of Merenptah
Archaeological Site: West Wall, South Approach, Temple of Amun

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 166; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* II, 40; Porter and Moss, II, 47.

In the rhetorical texts flanking a scene of the king binding prisoners, Seth is referenced once: *di.f wrw ḥ3rw n ꜥbꜥ nb n r.sn ḥps.f wsr mi mnt pḥty.f mi s3 nwt*: He causes the rulers of Khurru to cease all the boasting in their mouths, his strong arm is powerful like Montu, his strength is like the Son of Nut.

171. Inscription
19th Dynasty, Reign of Seti II
Archaeological Site: South Approach, Temple of Amun

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* IV, 263-266; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* IV, 188-189.

Here, the king is likened to Seth: ...*šft phty.f phrw m w3d-wr mi sth ʿ3 phty:*

...respect of his strength having circulated in the Great Green, like Seth, Great of Strength.

172. Statue

19th Dynasty, Reign of Seti II

Current Location: Museo Egizio, Turin (1383)

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* IV, 268; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* IV, 191; Porter and Moss, II, 292; Sourouzian, "Seth," 352.

The inscriptions on this statue give Seti II the epithet: *mry sth ʿ3 phty:* Beloved of Seth, Great of Strength.

173-178. Amun-Re Temple of Ramesses III

20th Dynasty

173. Pillar

Archaeological Site: Interior Court

Bibliography: András Gulyás, "The Osirid Pillars and the Renewal of Ramesses III at Karnak," *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 36 (2007): 32; Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak*, Vol. I, *Ramses III's Temple within the Great Inclosure of Amon* (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1936), pl. 12D.

The interior court of Ramesses III's temple at Karnak contains eight Osiride pillars. On the rear side of one pillar in the western half of the court, Ramesses III is shown receiving an ʿnh from Seth. The king, who is shown wearing the Blue Crown, is identified as: *nb t3wy wsr-m3ʿt-rʿ mry-imm nb hʿw rʿ-mss hk3-iwnw:* The Lord of the Two Lands Usermaatre Meryamun, Lord of Appearances Ramesses Ruler of Heliopolis. The figure of Seth has been erased, but some text remains: *dd mdw in [sth]...ʿnh w3s r fnd.k ntr nfr:* Words spoken by [Seth]... life and dominion to your nose, the Perfect God.

174. Wall Relief

Archaeological Site: North Wall, Hypostyle Hall

Bibliography: Epigraphic Survey, *Ramses III*, pl. 42; Porter and Moss, II, 31.

Ramesses III is shown offering to Seth and Nephthys in this relief. The king, facing to the left, wears the bag-wig headdress and is positioned underneath a sun disk adorned with two uraei and ϵnh signs. The disk is identified as: $bh[dy] ntr \epsilon 3$: The Behdite, the Great God. In front of the sun disk are the king's cartouches: $[nb t3wy] wsr-m3\epsilon t[-r\epsilon] mry-immn [nb h\epsilon w r\epsilon -mss] hk3-[iwnw]$: [Lord of the Two Lands] Usermaat[re] Meryamun, [Lord of Appearances Ramesses] Ruler [of Heliopolis]. Behind the figure of the king is the text: $s3 \epsilon nh \underline{dd}(t) w3s h3.f mi r\epsilon$: Protection, life, stability, and dominion around him like Re. Ramesses III's actions are described by the text in front of his forward leg: $nd-hr m nmst n it.f sth$: Gift of a *nemset* jar for his father Seth.

The figure of Seth is largely lost, but he was wearing the Double Crown and appears to have been shown in anthropomorphic form. Seth holds a $w3s$ scepter in his forward hand and an ϵnh sign in his rear. His speech is recorded above him: $\underline{dd} mdw in sth...m nbwt nb t3 sm\epsilon w ntr \epsilon 3 di.n(i) n.k phty di.n(i) n.k wsr$: Words spoken by Seth...in Ombos, Lord of the Land of Upper Egypt, the Great God: (I) have given to you strength. (I) have given to you power. Seth's speech continues in the text underneath his forward arm: $di.n(i) n.k \underline{knt} nb mi r\epsilon$: (I) have given to you all valor like Re. Nephthys stands behind Seth wearing the headdress which gives her name and holding an ϵnh sign in her forward hand. Portions of her speech remain above her figure: $\underline{dd} mdw in nbt-hwt snt ntr \epsilon 3t hnwt t3wy di.n(i) n.k... di.n(i) n.k...$: Words spoken by Nephthys, the sister of the god, Mistress of the Two Lands: (I) have given to you...(I) have given to you... Behind Nephthys is the text: $di.s \epsilon nh \underline{dd}(t) w3s mi r\epsilon$: She gives life, stability, and dominion like Re.

175. Wall Relief

Archaeological Site: Interior East Wall

Bibliography: Epigraphic Survey, *Ramses III*, 56b and 59a; Porter and Moss, II, 31.

In this relief, the king is shown censing before the shrine of Amun-Re. Behind the king is the Great Ennead standing in three rows of five. In the second row, the fourth god from the front is Seth. Although his figure is largely lost, a portion of the rounded nose of the Seth animal can be made out. The text remaining before his figure reads:

...*nbwt(y) nb t3 šmꜥw n nb ḥꜥw rꜥ-mss ḥꜥ3-iwnw mi [rꜥ]*:...the Ombite, Lord of the Land of Upper Egypt, to the Lord of Appearances Ramesses Ruler of Heliopolis like [Re].

176. Inscription

Archaeological Site: West Tower

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 108-109; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* V, 84-85.

Within his triumphal welcoming speech, Amun-Re says to Ramesses III: *di.i hmhmt.k phr ḥr ḥ3st nb ḥryt.k m ḥt.sn mi nbwty*: I cause your war-cry to pervade through every foreign land, the dread of you being in their bodies like the Ombite.

177. Inscription

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 213-216; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* V, 180-182; Porter and Moss, II, 28-29.

In the text associated with the Festival of Min is a speech given by Thoth while he writes the king's annals: *di.k n.f nhḥ...ḥfnw m ḥbw-sd dt m knt nḥt phṯy nbwy nst gb wsr n šw tfnwt*: May you give to him eternity...great quantities of Sed Festivals forever, with valor and victory, the strength of the Two Lords, the throne of Geb, the strength of Shu and Tefnut.⁷⁴

178. Inscription

Archaeological Site: Portico

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 276-80; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* V, 231-35; Porter and Moss, II, 30.

⁷⁴ The "Two Lords" is written with a Horus falcon and a seated Seth animal on two *nb* signs.

Amun says to Ramesses III: *di.i n.k pḥty.k mi s3 nwt*: I give to you your strength like the Son of Nut. Later, as Amun praises the king, Ramesses III is said to subdue every foreign land like the Son of Nut (*mi s3 nwt*).

179. Stela

20th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses III

Archaeological Site: In Front of 4th Pylon, Temple of Amun

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 89; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* V, 67-68.

Seth is mentioned in the main text of the stela: *nḥtw nbwy m r-^cwy.f hb ḥr pri mi imy nbwt ʿ3 ḥryt mi b^cr*: The strength of the Two Lords is in his hands, who treads upon the battlefield like the One who is in Ombos, great of dread like Baal.⁷⁵

180. Double Stela of Year 20

20th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses III

Bibliography: Alex J. Peden, *Egyptian Historical Inscriptions of the Twentieth Dynasty* (Jonsered: Paul Äströms förlag, 1994), 115-24; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 237-42; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* V, 201-05; Porter and Moss, II, 131.

In the main text of the left-hand stela, Amun says to the king: *di.i n.k pḥty mi mntw šft.k mi stḥ s3 nwt*: I give to you strength like Montu, your renown is like Seth, Son of Nut.

Luxor Temple

181-184. 18th Dynasty, Reign of Amenhotep III

181. Divine Birth Sequence of Amenhotep III

Bibliography: Hellmut Brunner, *Die Geburt des Gottkönigs: Studien zur Überlieferung eines altägyptischen Mythos* (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1964), 137-43; Benedict G. Davies, *Egyptian Historical Records of the Later Eighteenth Dynasty IV* (Warminster, Aris & Phillips, 1992), 31; William J. Murnane and Edmund S. Meltzer, *Texts from the Amarna Period in Egypt* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 23-24, 26; Ćwiek, "Fate of Seth", 44; Sethe, *Urkunden*, 1716-17, 1720.

⁷⁵ Here, the "Two Lords" is written with a seated Seth animal and a falcon atop *nb* signs.

Upon creating the infant Amenhotep III and his royal *ka*, Khnum declares that: *nḥt nbwy ꜥwt.k psšwt.sn...*: The strength of the Two Lords is in your limbs, their portions...⁷⁶ Later in the sequence, the speech of Hekau and Hapy is recorded: *dd mdw s3 sšm ms m imn-ḥtp ḥk3-w3st wꜥbw pr mst ḥr stḥ*: Words spoken: The son is led, presented as Amenhotep, Ruler of Thebes, pure <from> the birth house of Horus and Seth.⁷⁷ Throughout the texts describing the king's divine birth, Amenhotep III's mother Mutemwia is given the title She Who sees Horus and Seth (*m33t ḥr stḥ*).

182. Inscription

Archaeological Site: East Side, First Western Architrave, Forecourt
Bibliography: Sethe, *Urkunden*, 1691.

The text here reads: *swd n.f ꜥḥꜥw n nbwy ḥrwt.sn pḥty.sn ḥr.f di.sn n.f ꜥḥꜥw n rꜥ nswt n it.f itm*: To him are assigned the lifetimes of the Two Lords, their possessions and their strength are with him.⁷⁸ They give to him the lifetime of Re and the kingship of his father, Atum.

183. Inscription

Archaeological Site: West Side, Second Western Architrave, Forecourt
Bibliography: Sethe, *Urkunden*, 1694-95.

Seth is referenced within the titulary of Amenhotep III: *k3 rnpy spd ꜥbwy šḥm-ib mi s3 nwt*: Young Bull, Sharp of Horns, stout-hearted like the Son of Nut. On the east side of the same architrave Seth is found again: *ḳni nḥt mi s3 ist šḥm-ib mi s3 nwt*: Brave and strong like the Son of Isis, stout-hearted like the Son of Nut.

184. Inscription

Archaeological Site: Inner Aisle, Right Architrave, Forecourt

⁷⁶ The "Two Lords" is written with two Horus falcons on standards.

⁷⁷ Some scholars contend that this text is meant to evoke the image of the king being purified by Horus and Seth. See Brunner, *Die Geburt des Gottkönigs*; Davies, *Historical Records IV*, 31; Čwiek, "Fate of Seth," 44.

⁷⁸ The "Two Lords" is written with a Horus falcon and a seated Seth animal on two *nb* signs.

Bibliography: Sethe, *Urkunden*, 1704.

In a text similar to the one above, Seth is referenced within the king's epithets:

spd ʿbwy shm-ib mi s3 [nwt]: Sharp of Horns, stout-hearted like the Son of [Nut].

185-191. 19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

185. The Battle of Qadesh: The Poem

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 3-101; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* II, 2-14.

Seth is found at four points within the Poem. In praise of the king, Ramesses II is said to be: *wr šfyt wsr f3w mi swth hr tp dw*: Great of majesty, strong in splendor like Seth who is on the top of the mountain. Later in the Poem, Ramesses II describes his actions in battle: *tw hr stt hr wnmy.i hr kfʿw hr smh.i tw mi sth m 3t.f m hr.sn*: I was shooting at my right and capturing on my left, I was like Seth in his moment in their sight. As the Hittites see the full force of the king's power, they compare Ramesses II to Seth: *p3 nty m hnw.n swth ʿ3 phty bʿr m hʿ.f*: The one who is among us is Seth, Great of Strength, Baal in his flesh. Finally, Seth is invoked by the ruler of Hatti in a message sent to Ramesses II: *ntk swth bʿr m hʿ.f t3y.k hryt m tk3 m p3 t3 n ht3*: You are Seth, Baal in his flesh, dread of you is as a flame in the land of Hatti.

186. The Battle of Qadesh: The Bulletin

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 101-24; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* II, 14-18.

In the description of Ramesses II during battle, it is said of the king: *šsp.n.f hkrw.f t3w.f sw m p3y.f trn sw mi swth m 3t shm.f*: He assumed his panoply of war, he clothed himself with his coat of mail, he was like Seth in his powerful moment. Ramesses II is again compared to Seth later in the text: *iw hm.f mi swth ʿ3 phty mi shmt m 3t nšny.s*: His Majesty is like Seth, Great of Strength, like Sekhmet in the moment of her rage.

187. The Battle of Qadesh: The Reliefs

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 139; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* II, 22.

The Hittite king compares Ramesses II to Seth in the reliefs describing the battle:

di.n.f i3w n ntr nfr hr dd sw mi swth 3 phty m wnw.f bcr m hc.f: He [the Hittite king] gave praise to the Perfect God saying, “He is like Seth, Great of Strength, in his hour, Baal in his flesh”.

188. Inscription

Archaeological Site: Western Architrave, Forecourt

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 613; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* II, 406.

hk3 snnt itn rdi <n.>fr nsyf.k3b n.f sth phty.f: Ruler of all that the sun disc encircles, Re has given <to> him his kingship, and Seth has doubled for him his strength.

189. Inscription

Archaeological Site: North Side of Forecourt

Bibliography: Kenneth A. Kitchen, “Some New Light on the Asiatic Wars of Ramesses II,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 50 (1964): 51; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 172-75; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* II, 45-47; Porter and Moss, II, 108-09.

Ramesses II’s name is given as: *ntr nfr mntw hr hpš.f phty.f mi s3 nwt wr nhtw hr h3swt nb wsr-m3t-r stp-n-r r-mss mry-imm*: The Perfect God, a Montu on account of his strong arm, his strength is like the Son of Nut, great in victories in all foreign lands,

Usermaatre Setepenre, Ramesses Meryamun.

190. Inscription

Archaeological Site: East Wall, Forecourt

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 179-81; Kitchen, “Some New Light,” 51; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* II, 49-51.

The rhetorical text associated with a scene of Ramesses II in a chariot grasping a foreign prisoner says: *phty.f mi sth s3 nwt 33 kf*: His strength is like Seth, the Son of Nut, making numerous captures.

191. Eastern Obelisk

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 600-01; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* II, 395-96; Porter and Moss, II, 302-03.

On the south face, Ramesses II's epithets include: *ḥkꜣ wsr spꜣ ʿꜣ pḥty mi stḥ sꜣ nwt dit kmt n ḥbw m nḥtw.f*: Ruler, powerful of sword, great of strength like Seth, Son of Nut, who puts Egypt in festivity with his victories. On the obelisk's east face: *nsw mry mi imm mntw sꜣ mnt ir m ʿwy.f wr nḥtw ḥr ḥꜣst nb mi sꜣ nwt*: King, beloved like Amun, Montu Son of Montu, who acts with his hands, great of victories in every foreign land, like the Son of Nut.

Thebes, West Bank**192. Stela****18th Dynasty, Reign of Hatshepsut****Archaeological Site: Temple of Hatshepsut, Assasif**

Bibliography: Hassan S.K. Barakat, "A Primary Description of a New Temple of Queen Hatshepsut in Qurna," in *The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut: Results of the Investigations and Conservation Works of the Polish-Egyptian Archaeological Mission, 1972-1973*, ed. The Polish-Egyptian Archaeological Mission (Warsaw: State Enterprise for the Conservation of Cultural Property Information Centre, 1980), 106; Andrzej Ćwiek, "Fate of Seth in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari," *Études et Travaux* 12 (2008): 56.

Along the cultivation at the eastern edge of the Assasif are the remains of an unidentified temple of Hatshepsut. A small limestone stela was uncovered at the site which depicts the sacred bark of Seth in the lunette.

193. Offering Table**18th Dynasty, Reign of Thutmose III****Archaeological Site: Mortuary Temple of Thutmose III**

Bibliography: Piotr Laskowski, "Monumental Architecture and the Royal Building Program of Thutmose III," in *Thutmose III: A New Biography*, ed. Eric H. Cline and David B. O'Connor (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 201; Porter and Moss, II, 428; Sethe, *Urkunden*, 1250.

This offering table is dedicated to Seth and Nephthys, and the king's titulary is given as: *ntr nfr nb tꜣwy mn-ḥpr-rꜥ mry stḥ nbt-ḥwt m ḥnkt-ʿnh di ʿnh mi rꜥ dt*: The Perfect

God, Lord of the Two Lands, Menkheperre, Beloved of Seth and Nephthys in Henket-ankh, given life like Re forever.⁷⁹

194. Statue of Sekhmet

18th Dynasty, Reign of Amenhotep III

Archaeological Site: Mortuary Temple of Amenhotep III

Bibliography: Sethe, *Urkunden*, 1767.

On the statue the goddess is called: *shmt wpt rhwy*: Sekhmet, Who Parts the Two Combatants.

195. Lintel

19th Dynasty, Reigns of Seti I and Ramesses II

Archaeological Site: Southern Doorway, Festival Court, Mortuary Temple of Seti I

Bibliography: Porter and Moss, II, 443.

Seth and Nephthys are depicted seated next to each other amongst other members of the Ennead. All the deities are depicted in anthropomorphic form, shrouded, and holding *w3s* scepters. The text associated with Seth reads: *sth [nbw]t(y) nb t3 sm^cw di.f knt nb n nb t3wy wsir-m3^ct-r^c*: Seth the [Ombi]te, Lord of the Land of Upper Egypt, who gives all valor to the Lord of the Two Lands Usermaat[re]. The following text identifies Nephthys: *nbt-hwt...nhh n nb h^cw r^c-mss-s mry-immn*: Nephthys ...eternity to the Lord of Appearances Ramesses Meryamun.⁸⁰

196. Inscription

19th Dynasty, Reign of Seti I

Archaeological Site: Mortuary Temple of Seti I

Bibliography: Porter and Moss, II, 412; Ullmann, *König für die Ewigkeit*, 270.

In a scene of Seti I being purified by Horus and Thoth, Thoth's speech says: *dd mdw in dhwti nb mdw ntr n [sthi mry-n-pti] ^cbw.k ^cbw hr ts phr ^cbw.k ^cbw sth ts phr ^cbw.k*

⁷⁹ In this inscription, the name of Seth is written with a recumbent Seth animal on a standard. Henket-ankh is the name of Thutmose III's mortuary temple.

⁸⁰ The cartouches here are those of Ramesses II who completed the decoration of his father's temple.

ḥbw dhwtj ts phr: Words spoken by Thoth, Lord of the Divine Words to [Seti Merenptah]: Your purification is the purification of Horus, and vice versa. Your purification is the purification of Seth, and vice versa. Your purification is the purification of Thoth, and vice versa.

**197-201. Mortuary Temple of Ramesses II (The Ramesseum)
19th Dynasty**

197. Lintel
Archaeological Site: First Pylon
Bibliography: Porter and Moss, II, 432.

On the inside of the lintel two images of Ramesses II are shown seated back to back in Sed Festival pavilions. On the viewer's right he is shown as the King of Upper Egypt wearing the White Crown and receiving life from a falcon topped standard identified as: *bḥdt(y) ntr ʿ3 s3b šwt nb pt*: The Behdite, the Great God, Variegated of Plumage, Lord of Heaven. Ramesses II, who holds a *rnpt* sign, is identified in the text as: *ntr nfr nb t3wy wsr-m3ʿt-rʿ stp-n-rʿ di ʿnh mi rʿ dt*: The Perfect God, Lord of the Two Lands Usermaatse Setepenre, given life like Re forever.

In a parallel scene on the viewer's left, Ramesses II is shown as the king of Lower Egypt wearing the Red Crown and accepting life from a standard topped with a Seth animal labeled as: *nbwty nb t3 šmʿw*: The Ombite, Lord of the Land of Upper Egypt. Ramesses II, who again holds a *rnpt* sign, is labeled as: *s3 rʿ nb ḥʿw rʿ-mss mry-imm di ʿnh mi rʿ dt*: The Son of Re, Lord of Appearances, Ramesses Meryamun, given life like Re forever.

198. Inscription
Archaeological Site: First Pylon
Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* II, 179; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* II, 49.

Seth is mentioned in the rhetorical text before a figure of the king: *pḥty.f mi s3 nwt ptpt ḥ3swt*: His strength is like the Son of Nut, who tramples foreign lands.

199. Pillar
Archaeological Site: Second Court
Bibliography: Porter and Moss, II, 435.

On the back of one of the Osiride pillars, Ramesses II is shown offering wine to the Ombite.

200. Wall Relief
Archaeological Site: Second Inner Hallway
Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 657-58; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* II, 441; Porter and Moss, II, 441.

In this part of the temple is a litany of gods to which Ramesses II provides offerings, including an offering to the Ombite (*wdn nbwt(y)*).

201. The Divine Birth of Ramesses II
Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 666; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* II, 446-447.

One set of fragments associated with the king's birth shows the Theban Conclave, but only the figures and names of Nut, Osiris, Isis, Seth, and Nephthys survive. Seth is called here the Ombite (*nbwty*).

202. Israel Stela
19th Dynasty, Reign of Merenptah
Archaeological Site: Mortuary Temple of Merenptah
Current Location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo (CG 34025)
Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* IV, 12-19; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* IV, 10-15.

Seth is mentioned once in the main text: *ḥ3^c swth ḥ3.f r p3y.sn wr ḥf n3y.sn whytw ḥr r.f*: Seth has turned his back to their chief, plundered are their villages upon his word.

Deir el Bahari

203. Lintel
18th Dynasty, Reign of Amenhotep I
Archaeological Site: Mortuary Temple of Amenhotep I

Bibliography: H. E. Winlock, "A Restoration of the Reliefs from the Mortuary Temple of Amenhotep I," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 4 (1917): 11-13; Porter and Moss, II, 422.

The lintel is decorated with a dual scene of Amenhotep I seated back to back on a raised dais in a Sed Festival pavilion. Above the pavilion is a winged sun disk with uraei, identified in the text on either side of the wings as: *bḥdt(y) ntr ꜥ3 s3b šwt*: The Behdite, the Great God, Variegated of Plumage. On the viewer's right, Amenhotep I is shown as king of Lower Egypt wearing the Red Crown and Sed Festival robe while seated on a throne. He holds the flail and accepts a *rnpt* sign from the standard of Horus the Behdite.

Amenhotep I is identified by the cartouche in front of the falcon (*imn-ḥtp*). Behind the standard is the speech of Horus: *ḏd mdw di.n(.i) n.k ꜥnh w3s nb ḥr.i smn.n(.i) gnwt.k*:

Words Spoken: (I) have given to you all life and dominion under me. I have established your annals. The area behind the text is divided into three registers. The top register shows a falcon atop a standard holding a *w3s* scepter and presenting *ꜥnh*, *ḏd(t)*, *w3s* towards the center of the relief. A shrine is shown behind the standard, and the text states: *nhny di.f ꜥnh w3s nb ꜥnh w3s nb n ḏsr-k3-rꜥ*: The One from Hierakonpolis, who gives all life and dominion, all life and dominion to Djoserkara. The two registers below this show two figures before shrines presenting the text: *ḥbw-sd ꜥnh w3s nb di.f n imn-ḥtp/ḏsr-k3-rꜥ*: He gives Sed Festivals, all life and dominion to Amenhotep/Djoserkara.

On the left half of the lintel, Amenhotep I is shown as king of Upper Egypt wearing the White Crown and Sed Festival robe while seated on a throne. He holds the flail and accepts a *rnpt* sign from the anthropomorphized standard of Seth the Ombite. Amenhotep I is identified by the cartouche in front of the Seth animal (*ḏsr-k3-rꜥ*). Behind the standard is the speech of Seth: *ḏd mdw di.n(.i) n.k ꜥnh w3s nb ḥr(.i) smn.n(.i) gnwt.k*:

Words spoken: (I) have given to you all life and dominion under me. I have established your annals. The area behind the text is divided into three registers. The top register shows a heron atop a standard holding a *w3s* scepter while presenting *ʕnh, dd(t), w3s* towards the center of the relief. The standard is in front a shrine and accompanied by the text: *di.f ʕnh w3s nb ʕnh w3s nb n dsr-k3-rʕ*: He gives all life and dominion, all life and dominion to Djoserkara. The two registers below show two figures before shrines presenting the text: *di.f hbw-sd ʕnh w3s nb n imn-htp/dsr-k3-rʕ*: He gives Sed Festivals, all life and dominion to Amenhotep/Djoserkara. The figure on the bottom register is identified as the Ombite.

204. Lintel

18th Dynasty, Reign of Amenhotep I

Archaeological Site: Mortuary Temple of Amenhotep I

Bibliography: Porter and Moss, II, 422; Winlock, “Restoration,” 11-13.

A second lintel from the site is nearly identical in composition, but the king is shown as the ruler of Upper Egypt before the standard of Seth the Ombite on the right and as the king of Lower Egypt before the standard of Horus of Nekhen on left.

205-228. Mortuary Temple of Hatshepsut

18th Dynasty, Reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III

Bibliography: Dieter Arnold, “The Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri,” in *Hatshepsut, from Queen to Pharaoh*, ed. Catharine H. Roehrig et al. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2005), 135-40; Franciszek Pawlicki, *The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari* (Cairo: Ministry of Culture, The Supreme Council of Antiquities in association with the Polish Center of Archaeology, 2000).

205. Wall Relief

Archaeological Site: South Wall, Birth Portico

Bibliography: Cwiek, “Fate of Seth,” 46; Porter and Moss, II, 348.

The Theban Ennead is represented in two registers. In the upper row, the second to last figure is Seth who is situated between Nephthys and Hathor. Seth is represented in his anthropomorphic form with human head and divine beard, and the accompanying text

reads: *di.f ʕnh dd(t) w3s snb nb hr.f sth ntr ʕ3 ʕnh*: Seth, the Great God, living, who gives all life, stability, dominion, and health under him.

206. Wall Relief

Archaeological Site: West Wall, Birth Portico

Bibliography: Olga Bialostocka, "Hatshepsut's Regeneration in the Royal Cult Complex of Her Temple at Deir el-Bahari," in *8. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung: Interconnections between Temples; Warschau, 22.-25. September 2008*, ed. Monika Dolińska (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010), 18; Ćwiek, "Fate of Seth," 49; Porter and Moss, II, 348; Troy, "Religion and Cult," 127.

In this damaged scene, Horus and Seth crown Hatshepsut with the Double Crown and establish her *nbtj* name in the company of Nekhbet and Wadjet.⁸¹

207. Wall Relief

Archaeological Site: North Wall, Birth Portico

Bibliography: Ćwiek, "Fate of Seth," 44-46; Pawlicki, *Temple*, 22; Porter and Moss, II, 38; Troy, "Religion and Cult," 127.

In this scene, Horus and Seth crown Hatshepsut with the White Crown. The text of the scene is destroyed, but the coronation takes place within a shrine identified as: *hʕ niswt*: The Appearance of the King of Upper Egypt.

208. Wall Relief

Archaeological Site: North Wall, Birth Portico

Bibliography: Ćwiek, "Fate of Seth," 44-46; Porter and Moss, II, 348; Troy, "Religion and Cult," 127.

To the right of the above scene, Horus and Seth crown the king with the Red Crown. Seth is identified as the Ombite, Lord of the Land of Upper Egypt (*nbwty nb t3 šmʕw*), and Horus is identified as the Behdite, the Great God (*bhdy ntr ʕ3*), but their speeches are lost. Hatshepsut faces Seth, and the coronation takes place within a shrine identified as: *hʕ biti*: the Appearance of the King of Lower Egypt.

⁸¹ It has been suggested that a neighboring *sm3 t3wy* scene involved Horus and Seth as well. See Ćwiek, "Fate of Seth," 49; Karkowski, *Robe*, 92.

209. Inscription

Archaeological Site: Birth Portico

Bibliography: Ćwiek, "Fate of Seth," 48-49; Porter and Moss, II, 348; Sethe, *Urkunden*, 216 and 219; Troy, *Queenship*, 163.

Within the texts describing Hatshepsut's divine birth, her mother Ahmose is given the title: *m33t hrw m33t sth*: She who sees Horus and Seth.

210. Inscription

Archaeological Site: North End, West Wall, Birth Portico

Bibliography: Ćwiek, "Fate of Seth," 48-49; Sethe, *Urkunden*, 232; Troy, "Religion and Cult," 128.

In this area of the Birth Portico is a scene showing Hapy and Yat presenting infant Hatshepsut to the gods. At the end of the scene is the text: *w^cb pr mswt hrw sth*:

Purification in the Birth House by Horus and Seth.⁸²

211. Wall Relief

Archaeological Site: South Wall, Upper Courtyard

Bibliography: Ćwiek, "Fate of Seth," 53-54; Pawlicki, *Temple*, 30 and 36.

To the right of the entrance to the chapels of Hatshepsut and Thutmose I is a scene of Horus and Seth purifying Hatshepsut beneath a winged sun disk. While the scene is heavily damaged, the identification of Seth is based on the surviving area of the nose and neck of the god on the viewer's left.

212. Wall Relief

Archaeological Site: Niche, West Wall, Upper Courtyard

Bibliography: Ćwiek, "Fate of Seth," 55-56.

⁸² Like with the Divine Birth sequence of Amenhotep III, this text may serve as a textual stand-in for a scene of the king being purified by Horus and Seth. See Ćwiek, "Fate of Seth," 48-49; Troy, "Religion and Cult," 128.

A relief of anthropomorphic Seth and Nephthys decorates one of the niches that run along the western wall. Seth is labeled as: *nbwty nb t3 šmꜥw nꜥr ꜥ3 nb pt*: The Ombite, Lord of the Land of Upper Egypt, the Great God, Lord of Heaven.

213. Wall Relief

Archaeological Site: Niche, West Wall, Upper Courtyard

Bibliography: Ćwiek, "Fate of Seth," 55-56.

Seth and Nephthys appear in a second niche which housed an Osiride statue of Hatshepsut. The text identifies anthropomorphic Seth as: *nbwty nb t3 šmꜥw*: The Ombite, Lord of the Land of Upper Egypt.

214. Wall Relief

Archaeological Site: Niche, West Wall, Upper Courtyard

Bibliography: Ćwiek, "Fate of Seth," 55-56.

Anthropomorphic Seth and Nephthys are represented in a niche which housed an Osiride statue of Hatshepsut. The text identifies Seth as: *nbwty nb t3 šmꜥw*: The Ombite, Lord of the Land of Upper Egypt.

215. Wall Relief

Archaeological Site: West Wall, Upper Courtyard

Bibliography: Ćwiek, "Fate of Seth," 38-44.

To the north of the entrance to the Main Sanctuary of Amun, Thutmose III is presented life by an enthroned Amun. The king wears the Blue Crown and the "king's jacket" which is here rendered as one falcon and one Seth-headed falcon with wings outstretched across the king's chest.

216. Wall Relief

Archaeological Site: West Wall, Upper Courtyard

Bibliography: Ćwiek, "Fate of Seth," 38-44.

To the south of the entrance of the Main Sanctuary of Amun is a second scene of Thutmose III wearing the Blue Crown and Horus-Seth "king's jacket" while receiving

ḥnh signs from Amun.

217. Wall Relief

Archaeological Site: North Half, East Wall, Upper Courtyard

Bibliography: Ćwiek, “Fate of Seth,” 38-44.

During the Beautiful Feast of the Valley, Thutmose III is shown wearing the Horus-Seth “king’s jacket” and the Blue Crown as he leaves the temple of Amun at Karnak.

218. Wall Relief

Archaeological Site: West Wall, Upper Portico

Bibliography: Ćwiek, “Fate of Seth.” 38-44.

Thutmose III wears the Horus-Seth “king’s jacket” during a coronation cycle.

219. Inscription

Archaeological Site: North Wall, Upper Portico

Bibliography: Ćwiek, “Fate of Seth,” 50.

Hatshepsut is shown running before Amun-Min, who promises the king: *rnpwt nbwy*: the years of the Two Lords.⁸³

220. Inscription

Archaeological Site: Vestibule, Royal Cult Complex

Bibliography: Ćwiek, “Fate of Seth,” 51 and 53.

A seated Seth animal and a Horus falcon on *nb*-signs (*nbwy*, The Two Lords) is inscribed on a loose block from the royal cult complex.

221. Wall Relief Fragment

Archaeological Site: Upper Register, South Wall, Royal Cult Complex

Bibliography: Ćwiek, “Fate of Seth,” 53.

Part of the head of Seth in his composite form remains on this block, which was originally part of a row of deities proceeding towards the offering chapel of Hatshepsut.

⁸³ The “Two Lords” is written with two falcons.

The text accompanying the image reads: *(di).f(ḥnh) nb dd(t) w3s nb (nb) t3 šmꜥw*: (Lord) of the Land of Upper Egypt, who (gives) all (life) and all stability and dominion.

222. Inscription

Archaeological Site: North Wall, Royal Cult Complex

Bibliography: Bialostocka, "Hatshepsut's Regeneration," 18; Ćwiek, "Fate of Seth," 50; Sethe, *Urkunden*, 251.

In a text referencing Hatshepsut's coronation, it is written: *hr stḥ smn.sn šhmty m tp.t*: Horus and Seth set the Double Crown on your head.

223. Lintel

Archaeological Site: Cult Chapel of Hatshepsut

Bibliography: Janusz Karkowski, "Pharaoh in the Heb-Sed Robe in Hatshepsut's Temple at Deir el-Bahari," *Études et Travaux* 19 (2001): 103-05; Bialostocka, "Hatshepsut's Regeneration," 16; Ćwiek, "Fate of Seth," 51.

Above the entrance to the cult chapel of Hatshepsut is a lintel showing a double shrine with enthroned figures of the king in a Sed Festival robe. The seated king on the viewer's left is Thutmose III, whose cartouche is partially preserved above the crook and flail he is holding. Thutmose III is presented with a *rnpt* sign from an anthropomorphized standard. The figure on top of the standard is lost, but the label reads: *nbwtj nb t3 [šmꜥw]*: The Ombite, Lord of the Land of [Upper Egypt]. The speech of Seth is recorded in front of the king: *dd [mdw di].n(.i) n.[k] rnpwt stḥ m nsw[ḥnw] nb(w) mi rꜥ dt*: [Words] Spoken: (I) have [given] to [you] the years of Seth as the king of all [the living] like Re forever.

On the right side of the lintel is a parallel scene with the god Horus labeled as: *[bh]dt(y)*: the [Beh]dite. The figure of the king and any royal names are lost, so it is unknown if Thutmose III or Hatshepsut was depicted.

224. Inscription

Bibliography: Ćwiek, "Fate of Seth," 50; Sethe, *Urkunden*, 244.

When Amun is speaking to a young Hatshepsut the god says: *di.n(.i) n.k psšt hr m ʕnh rnpwt sth hr w3s*: (I) have given to you the share of Horus in life and the years of Seth and Horus (in) dominion.

225. Inscription

Bibliography: Ćwiek, “Fate of Seth,” 50; Sethe, *Urkunden*, 249.

Atum says to Hatshepsut: *dd mdw di.n(.i) n.t rnpwt n hr nhh psšwt nbwy m ʕnh w3s*: Words spoken: (I) have given to you the years of Horus forever and the shares of the Two Lords in life and dominion.⁸⁴

226. Inscription

Bibliography: Ćwiek, “Fate of Seth,” 50; Sethe, *Urkunden*, 250.

Hatshepsut is told by Khnum: *di.n(.i) n.t rnpwt nbwy m 3wt-ib*: (I) have given to you the years of the Two Lords in joy.⁸⁵

227. Wall Relief Fragment

Bibliography: Ćwiek, “Fate of Seth,” 53.

A loose block from an unknown context shows the head of the Seth animal.

228. Wall Relief Fragment

Current Location: The British Museum, London (EA 169)

This fragment shows the lower half of Seth’s face and the upper portion of his torso.

229. Wall Relief

18th Dynasty, Reign of Thutmose III

Archaeological Site: Hypostyle Hall, Temple of Thutmose III

Bibliography: Monika Dolińska, “Temple of Tuthmosis III at Deir el-Bahari after 30 Years of Research,” in *8. Ägyptologischen Tempeltagung: Interconnections between Temples; Warschau, 22.-25. September 2008*, ed. Monika Dolińska (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010), 58; Jadwiga Lipińska, “Names and History of the Sanctuaries Built by Tuthmosis III at Deir el-Bahri,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 53 (1967): 30;

⁸⁴ The “Two Lords” is written with a Horus falcon and a seated Seth animal on top of two *nb* signs.

⁸⁵ The “Two Lords” are written with two Horus falcons on standards.

Jadwiga Lipińska, “The Temple of Thutmose III at Deir el-Bahri,” in *Hatshepsut, from Queen to Pharaoh*, ed. Catharine H. Roehrig et al. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2005), 287; Laskowski, “Monumental Architecture,” 217.

In the lower register of a wall in the hypostyle hall is a scene of Thutmose III holding a *m3ꜥt* sign and Sed Festival implements before Thoth. The king is accompanied by Horus and Seth who hold Sed Festival implements.

230. Stela

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

Current Location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 66570)

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 310-11; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* II, 149-50.

Within the stela’s main text, the king is said to be: *pḥty mi stḥ k3 m nbwty*: powerful like Seth, the Bull in Ombos.

Medinet Habu

231. Pillar

18th Dynasty, Reign of Thutmose III

Archaeological Site: Small Temple

Bibliography: Massimo Cozi, “Les interventions de la XVIII dynastie sur le ‘petit temple’ de Medinet Habu,” *Göttinger Miszellen* 163 (1998): 35-46; Arnold, *Die Tempel*, 148; Porter and Moss, II, 467.

In the northeast corner of the temple complex at Medinet Habu is a small temple built by Hatshepsut and Thutmose III dedicated to Amun Kamutef.⁸⁶ On one side of a pillar decorated by Thutmose III the king is shown on the viewer’s left facing Seth. The king clasps the god’s hand with his forward hand and his rear arm is bent accepting three *ꜥnh* signs from Seth. Thutmose III is identified in the text as: *nṯr nfr nb t3wy nb irt-ḥt mn-ḥpr-rꜥ ḥwi ḥk3w ḥ3swt pḥw swt di ꜥnh nb mi rꜥ*: The Perfect God, Lord of the Two Lands,

⁸⁶ For more on the temple in general see in addition Peter F. Dorman, “The Early Reign of Thutmose III: An Unorthodox Mantle of Coregency,” in *Thutmose III: A New Biography*, ed. Eric H. Cline and David B. O’Connor (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 56; Murnane, *United with Eternity*.

Lord of Cultic Action, Menkheperre, one who smites the rulers of foreign lands, finishes it, given all life like Re. Above this text is a vulture with outstretched wings. The text associated with the vulture is damaged, and only *nbt pt* (Mistress of Heaven) can be made out. Above Seth's head is the text: *di.f^cnh nb snb nb 3wt-ib nb mi r^c ...nbwt(y) nb t3 šm^cw nb pt*: He gives all life, all health, and all joy like Re ... The Ombite, Lord of the Land of Upper Egypt, Lord of Heaven.

232. Statue of Tuya

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 846; Porter and Moss, II, 192; Troy, *Queenship*, 168.

On this statue of Tuya, wife of Seti I and mother of Ramesses II, she is given the title: *m33t hr stš*: She Who Sees Horus and Seth.

233-268. Mortuary Temple of Ramesses III

20th Dynasty

Bibliography: William J. Murnane, "Medinet Habu," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, Vol. 2, ed. Donald B. Redford (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 356-58; Murnane, *United with Eternity*.

233. Wall Relief

Archaeological Site: North Wall, Passage

Bibliography: Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu VIII: The Eastern High Gate* (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1964), pl. 605; Lepsius, *Denkmaeler* III, 208; Porter and Moss, II, 484.

Here, Ramesses III offers incense and libations to Seth and Nut. The king wears the Blue Crown and is positioned underneath a sun disk adorned with two uraei. One uraeus wears the Red Crown, and the other wears the White Crown, and both have *šn* signs hanging from their necks. The text to the left of the sun disk identifies Ramesses III: *nb t3wy wsr-m3^ct-r^c mry-imm nb h^cw r^c-mss hk3-iwnw p3 mr(y) tw n sth di{t} nsyt*: The Lord of the Two Lands Usermaatre Meryamun, Lord of Appearances, Ramesses Ruler of Heliopolis, the Beloved One of Seth who gives kingship. A column of text to the right of

the sun disk reads: *s3 ʕnh dd(t) w3s h3.f nb mi rʕ rʕ nb*: All protection, life, stability, and dominion around him like Re every day.

The figure and speech of Seth are almost completely destroyed. He carries a *w3s* scepter in his forward hand and an *ʕnh* in his rear hand. Behind Seth is the goddess Nut wearing the Hathor headdress. In her forward hand she holds a grouping of hieroglyphs with an *ʕnh* in between two *w3s* scepters on a *nb* basket. Her rear hand is raised in adoration. Her speech is recorded in the line of text in front of her head: *dd mdw in nwt wrt ms(t) ntrw*: Said by Nut, the Great One who birthed the gods.

234. Wall Relief

Archaeological Site: Second Court

Bibliography: Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu IV: Festival Scenes of Ramses III* (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1940), pl. 234; Gardiner, "Baptism," 5; Murnane, *United with Eternity*, 26; Porter and Moss, II, 500.

In this relief, Ramesses III is being purified by Horus and Seth under the protection of Nekhbet. Nekhbet is identified in the text under her left wing: *nhbt hdt nhn nbt pt hnwt t3wy di.s ʕnh w3s nb 3wt ib nb*: Nekhbet the White One of Nekhen, Mistress of Heaven, Mistress of the Two Lands, who gives all life and dominion and all joy. This text is separated from the name of Ramesses III by a cobra wearing the Red Crown and holding a *w3s* scepter atop a group of three papyrus plants. Ramesses III is called: *nb t3wy wsr-m3ʕt-r mry-imn nb hʕw rʕ-mss hk3-iwnw tit rʕ hnty t3wy stp n imn ds.f r hk3 sn(nt) nb(t) itn*: Lord of the Two Lands Usermaatre Meryamun, Lord of Appearances, Ramesses Ruler of Heliopolis, The image of Re, Foremost of the Two Lands, Chosen One of Amun himself, to rule all the Aten encircles.

The text above Seth, who stands behind the king, records the god's speech: *dd mdw in nbwty nb t3 smʕw s3.i mry nb t3wy wrs-m3ʕt-rʕ mry-imn šwʕb.n(.i) tw m ʕnh w3s ʕbw.k ʕbw dhwtj ts phr sp-sn s3 rʕ nb hʕw rʕ-mss hk3-iwnw wʕb sp-sn mi rʕ*: Words spoken

by the Ombite, Lord of the Land of Upper Egypt: My beloved son, Lord of the Two Lands Usermaatre Meryamun. (I) have purified you with life and dominion, your purification is the purification of Thoth and vice versa, Son of Re, Lord of Appearances, Ramesses Ruler of Heliopolis purified twice like Re. Seth's speech continues in the text underneath his raised arms: *dd mdw sp 4 w^cb(.i) sp-sn s3 r^c r^c-mss [hk3-iwnw] hn^c tfnwt wsr nb t3wy hnty rhyt*: Words spoken, four times: (I) purify you twice, Son of Re Ramesses [Ruler of Heliopolis], together with the powerful Tefnut, Lord of the Two Lands, the foremost of mankind. A short text behind Seth reads: *s3 n^h nb h3.f [mi r^c]*: All protection and life around him [like Re].

Horus stands facing the king and says: *dd mdw in bhdt(y) nb pt s3.i mry.i nb t3wy wsr-m3^ct-r^c mry-imm sw^cb.n(.i) tw m n^h dd(t) w3s bw.k bw hrty ts phr bw s3 r^c nb h^cw r^c-mss hk3-iwnw w^cb sp-sn dt*: Words spoken by the Behdite, Lord of Heaven: My son, my beloved, Lord of the Two Lands Usermaatre Meryamun, (I) have purified you with life, stability, and dominion, your purification is the purification of Horus and vice versa, Son of Re, Lord of Appearances, Ramesses Ruler of Heliopolis purified twice forever. Horus's speech continues in the text underneath his arms: *dd mdw sp 4 w^cb(.i) sp-sn nswt r^c-mss hk3-iwnw ntry r^c ts phr dt sp-sn*: Words spoken, four times: (I) purify you twice as king Ramesses Ruler of Heliopolis, divine like Re and vice versa forever, twice. Behind Horus is the short text: *s3 n^h nb h3.f mi r^c*: All protection and life around him like Re.

235. Wall Relief

Archaeological Site: North Reveal, East Portal, Passage of Central Tower

Bibliography: Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu VIII*, pl. 619f; Porter and Moss, II, 485.

Ramesses III is shown here offering incense and libations to Seth. The king wears the Blue Crown while facing into the temple on the viewer's left. His figure is underneath a sun disk with two uraei that is identified as the Behdite (*bhdt(y)*). One

cobra wears the White Crown, the other wears the Red Crown, and both of them have ϵnh signs around their necks. Ramesses III's titulary is given to the left of the sun disk: $nb t3wy wsr-m3\epsilon t-r\epsilon$ [*mry-ilmn*] $nb h\epsilon w r\epsilon-mss$ [*hk3-iwnw*]: Lord of the Two Lands Usermaatre [Meryamun], Lord of Appearances Ramesses [Ruler of Heliopolis]. Ramesses III's ritual actions are described underneath his bent forward arm: $irt sntr kbh n it:f$: Censing and libating to his father.

The figure of Seth is completely lost, but the majority of his speech remains: $dd mdw in sth nbwty nb t3 sm\epsilon w\dots di \epsilon nh$: Words spoken by Seth the Ombite, Lord of the Land of Upper Egypt...given life. Seth's speech continues in front of his lost figure: $di.n(i) n.k [kn]t nb mi r\epsilon$: (I) have given to you all [valor] like Re.

236. Wall Relief

Archaeological Site: North Wall, Re Chapel

Bibliography: Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu VI: The Temple Proper Part II: The Re Chapel, The Royal Mortuary Complex and Adjacent Rooms with Miscellaneous Material from the Pylons, the Forecourts, and the First Hypostyle Hall* (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1963), pl. 421B; Porter and Moss, II, 509.

On the north wall of the Re Chapel, Ramesses III is shown offering incense before the solar bark. There are nine gods who accompany the young sun god. Among them is Seth (*sth*) in his composite form. Standing behind the sun god, Seth spears the serpent Apophis whose tail can be seen under the front of the boat.

237. Wall Relief

Archaeological Site: West Wall, Roof Terraces

Bibliography: Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu VII: The Temple Proper Part III: The Third Hypostyle Hall and All Rooms Accessible from it with Friezes of Scenes from the Roof Terraces and Exterior Walls of the Temple* (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1964), pl. 555a; Porter and Moss, II, 516.

Ramesses III wears the Red Crown and presents wine in his raised hands. His figure is underneath a sun disk identified as the Behdite (*bhdt(y)*). The two uraei on the

sun disk wear *šn* signs around their necks. To the left of the sun disk is the name of the king: *nb t3wy wsr-m3^ct-r^c mry-*imn* nb ḥ^cw r^c-mss ḥk3 iwnw*: Lord of the Two Lands Usermaatre Meryamun, Lord of Appearances, Ramesses Ruler of Heliopolis. The king's actions are described in the text underneath his forward arm: *ḥnk m irp n it.f*: Offering wine to his father. There is also a column of text behind the king: *s3 ḥ^cnh ḏd(t) w3s nb ḥ3.f mi r^c*: All protection, life, stability, and dominion around him like Re.

Seth's figure is almost completely lost, but there does not appear to be any remains of a Seth animal nose, suggesting the god may have been shown here in anthropomorphic form. He holds a *w3s* scepter in his forward hand, and some of his speech remains above his forward arm: *ḏd mdw in stḥ nḥ-šnw di.n(i) n.k ḥ^cw n r^c rnpwt...*: Words spoken by Seth of Neshenu: (I) have given to you the lifetime of Re and the years of.... There is also some text underneath his forward arm: *di.n(i) n.k...*: (I) have given to you...

238. Wall Relief

Archaeological Site: West Wall, Roof Terraces

Bibliography: Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu VII*, pl. 555b; Porter and Moss, II, 516.

Immediately to the left of the above scene Ramesses III offers to another manifestation of Seth. Unfortunately, the top half of the scene is completely lost. Remains of text can be seen behind the figure of the king: [*s3 ḥ^cnh ḏd w3s*] *nb ḥ3.f mi r^c*: All [protection, life, stability, and dominion] around him like Re. The king's actions are described in the text underneath his forward arm: *ḥnk m m3^ct n it.f stḥ nb wnw*: Offering Maat to his father, Seth Lord of Unu. The figure and speech of this form of Seth are almost completely lost. There is a fragment of Seth's speech in front of his forward leg: *di.n(i) n.k...*: (I) have given to you...

239. Wall Relief

Archaeological Site: Exterior South Wall

Bibliography: Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu VII*, pl. 572f; Porter and Moss, II, 517.

Amongst a series of scenes showing Ramesses III offering to several deities is one of the king before Seth. Ramesses III, wearing the *atef* crown, kneels with his arms raised. The text to the left of his crown gives his name: *nb t3wy [wsr-m3^ct]-r^c mry-*imn* nb h^cw r^c-mss h^k3-*iwnw**: Lord of the Two Lands [Usermaatre] Meryamun, Lord of Appearances, Ramesses Ruler of Heliopolis. Behind the king is the text: *s3 n^h nb h3.f mi r^c dt*: All protection and life around him like Re forever. The king's actions are described in the text underneath his forward arm: *hⁿk m irp n it.f*: Giving wine to his father.

Seth is seated on a block throne upon a dais shaped like the *m3^ct* hieroglyph. The god's figure is destroyed, so it is unclear what form he took. He holds a *w3s* scepter in his forward hand and wears the Double Crown. Seth's speech is recorded in the text to the right of his crown: *dd mdw in nbwty di.n(.i) n.k knt nb di.n(.i) n.k...*: Words spoken by the Ombite: (I) have given to you all valor. (I) have given to you...

240. Wall Relief

Archaeological Site: Exterior North Wall

Bibliography: Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu VII*, pl. 582e; Porter and Moss, II, 520.

At the top of the exterior north wall is a series of reliefs showing Ramesses III offering to various deities. In one of these scenes, the king offers incense and libations to Seth and Nephthys. Ramesses III wears the *nemes* headdress and faces to the viewer's right. He is positioned underneath a sun disk adorned with two uraei. The king's name is given above his outstretched hands: *wsr-m3^ct-r^c mry-*imn* r^c-mss h^k3-*iwnw**: Usermaatre Meryamun, Ramesses Ruler of Heliopolis. Behind the king is the text: *n^h nb h3.f mi r^c*:

All life around him like Re. The king's actions are described in the text underneath his forward arm: *irt sntr kbhw n it.f*: Censing and libating to his father.

Seth is seated on a block throne upon a *m3t* shaped dais. Although the scene is damaged, the remains of the Seth animal's ears can be seen. In his forward hand Seth holds a *w3s* scepter, and he holds an *nh* above his lap with his rear hand. His speech is recorded in the text above his figure: *dd mdw in sth nb sw di.n(i) n.k k[nt nb] di.n(i) n.k nht nb*: Words spoken by Seth, Lord of Sw: (I) have given to you [all valor]. (I) have given to you all strength. His speech continues behind his throne: *di.n(i) n.k knt nb dt*: (I) have given to you all valor forever. Behind Seth is the figure of Nephthys, who is shown wearing the Hathor headdress and holding an *nh* in her rear hand. The text in front of her crown reads: *dd mdw in nb-hwt*: Said by Nephthys.

241. Wall Relief

Archaeological Site: Exterior North Wall

Bibliography: Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu VII*, pl. 585f; Porter and Moss, II, 520.

In the same area as the above scene is a second relief of Ramesses III offering to Seth and Nephthys. The king is shown kneeling and wearing the *nemes* headdress. His figure is positioned underneath a sun disk with two uraei which is identified as the Behdite (*bhdt(y)*). Each cobra has an *nh* around its neck. The king's names are given above his outstretched arms: *wsr-m3t-r mry-immn r-mss hk3 iwnw*: Usermaatre Meryamun, Ramesses Ruler of Heliopolis. Behind the king is the text: *s3 nh nb h3.f*: All protection and life around him. Ramesses III's actions are described in the text below his arms: *[hnk] m irp n it.f*: [Offering] wine to his father.

Seth is shown here in his anthropomorphic form, seated upon a block throne, and holding a *w3s* scepter in his forward hand and an *nh* above his lap with his rear hand.

His speech is recorded in the text above his figure: *ḏd mdw in stḥ nbwty nb t3 [šmꜥw]*

di.n(i) n.k snb: Words spoken by Seth the Ombite, Lord of the Land of [Upper Egypt]:

(I) have given to you health. Behind Seth is Nephthys (*nbt-ḥwt*) wearing the Hathor headdress.

242. First Libyan War, First Series

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions V*, 10-15; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated V*, 10-15.

References to Seth can be found at two points within the account of the First Libyan War. The first occurs in the main text over the king in his chariot before he leaves for battle: *mnt(w) stḥ m s3.f ḥr wnmy.f i3by.f wp w3t r-ḥ3t.f ḥr sḏ n mṯnw di.w pḥty.f wsr ḥr.f mtw*: Montu and Seth are as his protection on his right side and his left side, opening the way before him, breaking open the roads. They cause his might to be powerful, and his heart stout.

The second mention of Seth is in the rhetorical text associated with the king as he and the army ride off to war. Ramesses III is called: *nḥt ꜥ mi s3 nwt*: strong armed like the Son of Nut.

243. First Libyan War, Second Series

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions V*, 16-17; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated V*, 15-16.

In the rhetorical text associated with the king while he is engaged in battle against the Libyans, Ramesses III is called: *nṯr nṯr m kni mntw wr pḥty mi s3 nwt*: The Perfect God in the form of Montu, mighty in strength like the Son of Nut.

Later, when the king is seated in his chariot while receiving trophies of victory, Ramesses III describes his actions in battle: *ib.i ḥr swḥ mi k3 ḥr b3wy mi stḥ ḥft nšni tw.f*: My heart was bellowing like a bull in the arena, like Seth at the time of his rage.

244. First Libyan War, Great Inscription of Year 5

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions V*, 20-27; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated V*, 18-24.

Seth is mentioned twice in this text. The first occurs in praise of the king, who is said to possess: *twt mi s3 nwt*: an appearance like the Son of Nut. Later in the text, the Libyans give a speech in which they say: *p3.sn nb mi sth mry r^c sdm.tw hmhmt.f mi 'hh*: Their Lord is like Seth, beloved of Re, his war-cry is heard like a griffon's.

245. Campaign against Sea Peoples

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions V*, 35-37; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated V*, 30-32.

Seth is first mentioned in this text during Amun's speech: *di.n(.i) n.k šfyt.k wrt phd.i n.k t3 nb m33.sn hm.k m nry mi s3.i sth m nšni.f*: (I) have given to you your great majesty. I made prostrate for you every land, and they look upon Your Majesty in fear like my son Seth in his rage. Later in the text, within a speech given by foreign captives, it is said to Ramesses III: *hps.k r dw n bi3w šfyt.k mi sth*: Your strong arm is greater than a mountain of iron, your majesty is like Seth's.

246. Campaign against Sea Peoples, Land Battle

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions V*, 27-30; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated V*, 24-26.

Seth is mentioned in the rhetorical text before the king in his chariot during the battle: *...p3 m3.f hft nšni sth hr dh sbi r-h3t msktt*:...the one who sees him, at the time of Seth's raging, defeating the Rebel Serpent before the Night Bark.

247. Campaign against Sea Peoples, Sea Battle

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions V*, 32-35; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated V*, 27-30.

In the text above the king shooting his bow during the naval battle, Ramesses III is said to be: *mi sth hr šhtm ddf^t dw*: like Seth destroying the Evil Serpent. The second

mention of Seth in this inscriptions occurs within the speech given by the captive chiefs of the Sea Peoples: *ḥpš.k r ḏw n bi3w šfyt.k mi stḥ*: Your strong arm is greater than a mountain of iron, your majesty is like Seth's.

248. Campaign against Sea Peoples, Great Inscription of Year 8
Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 37-54; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* V, 32-44.

Towards the beginning of the text is a section praising the virtues of Ramesses III: *ḥn sndm ḥr wts st mi itm šsp.n.f ḥkrw nbwy nbty šm̄.s mḥw.s iry.sn st.sn ḥr tp.f ḥf̄ ḥwy.f ḥk3t ḥr nḥ3ḥ3 ḥ3wty rh pḥty.f mi s3 nwt šfyt.k m ibw nw pḏt 9*: Handsome (when) seated upon the high throne like Atum, he received the insignia of the Two Lords.⁸⁷ The Two Ladies, She of the South and She of the North, they assume their place upon his head, and his hands grasp the crook and carry the flail. A warrior who knows his strength, like the Son of Nut, your majesty is in the hearts of the Nine Bows.

Later in the text, within a speech given by Ramesses III, the king says: *...i3t.i mi r̄ mi stḥ nšnw m-ḥ3t (m)sktt*: ...my office like Re, like Seth raging at the front of the Night Bark.

249. Second Libyan War, Prologue Text
Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 57-58; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* V, 46-47.

Seth is mentioned once in this text when Ramesses III is said to be: *k3 rnpy pḥty m sky mi stḥ ḥft nšni.f*: young bull, strong in battle like Seth at the time of his rage.

250. Second Libyan War, Great Inscription of Year 11
Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 58-66; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* V, 47-52.

⁸⁷ Here, the “Two Lords” is written with a seated Seth animal and a Horus falcon on *nb* signs.

The Great Inscription of Year 11 mentions Seth three times. The first occurs as the king is going to battle: *mntw sth r hn^c.f m sky nb*: Montu and Seth will be with him in every battle. Later, it is said of the defeated Libyans: *h3bw.st n.f mi sth hr.w phd iry.w hdy*: They bowed down to him like Seth, their faces cast down, (so that) they were flattened out. The third mention of Seth comes in a speech given by the Libyans in which they describe the Egyptian king as: *mnt(w) m hprw rmt p3 nty m-s3.n h3...f r b3kt iw.f m-s3.n mi sth hr m33 p3 sbi*: Montu in the form of a man, the one who followed after us, descending...to weariness. He followed after us like Seth upon seeing the Rebel Serpent.

251. Second Libyan War, Triumphal Poem of Year 11

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 67-71; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* V, 52-55.

When Egypt is described before the Second Libyan War, foreigners came to the king: *hr inw.sn hr b3kw sny n.f mi sth*: carrying their tribute, paying taxes, and paying homage to him like Seth.

252. Syrian War, First Series

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 78-82; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* V, 60-63.

Here, the first reference to Seth occurs in the rhetorical text associated with the king while he conducts military attacks on two Hittite towns: *hmhmt.f mi sth m t3 pt*: His war-cry is like Seth's in the sky. Later in the text describing the king's triumphant return to Egypt: *iw.f mi phty it.f mntw mi sth hr gmh hfty.f*: He is like the strength of his father Montu, like Seth upon catching sight of his enemy.

253. Syrian War, Second Series

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 82-86; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* V, 63-66.

In the rhetorical text associated with a scene of the king attacking the Amorite fortress it is said of Ramesses III: *hnhmt.f mi sth hr tp dww k3 rnpy nšnitw spd dbwy nht ʿ h3wt hr b3wy n knt mʿhr nb 3bt bnd m nbwy phty.w šfyt.w 3bh m hʿw.f*: His war-cry is like Seth’s upon the top of mountains, young bull, raging, sharp horned, strong of arm, charging down upon the arena of valor, warrior, lord of the mix, enfolded between the Two Lords, their strength and their majesty united in his body.⁸⁸

254. Inscription

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 31; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* V, 27.

The rhetorical text around the scene depicting Ramesses III in his chariot reads:

hnhmt.f rn.f mi sth: His war-cry and his name are like Seth’s.

255. Inscription

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 112; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* V, 87-88.

When Ramesses III inspects his horses, the text before him reads: *nsw hʿi mi mntw phty.f mi s3 nwt r m33 ssmwt shpr.n ʿwy.f n p3 ihw*: The King appearing like Montu, his strength like the Son of Nut, in order to see the horses which his hands have brought up in the stable.

256. Inscription

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 113; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* V, 88-89.

When the king is hunting desert game, Ramesses III is said to be: *nsw ʿn m ssw mi ki n sth*: The King handsome in the enclosure like the form of Seth.

257. North Rhetorical Stela of Year 12

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 75-77; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* V, 58-60.

⁸⁸ In this text, the “Two Lords” is written with a Hours falcon and seated Seth animal top *nbw* signs.

The main text of this stela records a speech given by Ramesses III to his officials and military leaders. In part of the speech he says: *šsp.n(.i) ḥkrw nbwy nbty ꜥwy.i ḥr nḥḥ ḥḳꜣt imss*: (I) received the insignia of the Two Lords and the Two Ladies.⁸⁹ My hands carry the flail, crook, and the *ames* scepter.

258. Inscription

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions V*, 92-96; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated V*, 71-74.

Within a speech of Amun welcoming the king back to Egypt, Seth is mentioned four times: *di.i n.k mntw stḥ r ḥnꜥ.k*: I give to you Montu and Seth to be with you; *di.n(.i) n.k nḥtw nbwy nsyt.w ḥtw.w psšw.sn*: (I) have given to you the victories of the Two Lords, their kingship, their property, and their portions;⁹⁰ *di.i mꜣꜣ.sn ḥm.k mi pḥty nbwy pḥd n.k psdt n šfyt.k*: I cause them to see Your Majesty as the strength of the Two Lords, so that the Bows are overthrown for you, through your majesty;⁹¹ *di.i mꜣꜣ.sn ḥm.k ḥr nḥtw mi stḥ ḥr smꜣ sbi m-ḥꜣt (m)sḳtt*: I cause them to see Your Majesty in victory like Seth upon destroying the Rebel Serpent at the front of the Night Bark.

259. Inscription

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions V*, 100-01; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated V*, 77-78.

In the rhetorical text on the west side of the Window of Appearances, the king is said to be: *nḥt ꜥ mi stḥ ḥbdw bꜣw.f ḥryt.f ib psdt*: strong of arm like Seth, the power and dread of him has overthrown the will of the Bows. The western base line text of the

⁸⁹ In this text, the “Two Lords” is written with a Horus falcon and a Seth animal seated atop *nbw* signs.

⁹⁰ The “Two Lords” is written with a seated Horus falcon and a seated Seth animal atop *nbw* signs.

⁹¹ The “Two Lords” is written with a seated Horus falcon and Seth animal atop *nbw* signs.

Window of Appearances calls the king: *ntr nfr tnr ḥpš.f pḥty mi stḥ s3 nwt*: The Perfect God, brave with his sword, strong like Seth, Son of Nut.

260. Inscription

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions V*, 103; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated V*, 79-80.

Amun says to the king: *di.n(.i) n.k šfyt.k wr tpḥd.i n.k t3 nb m33.sn ḥm.k m nry mi s3.i stḥ m nšni.f*: (I) have given to you your great majesty, I overthrow for you every land, so that they see you as the terrible one, like my son Seth in his rage.

261. Inscription

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions V*, 106; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated V*, 82.

Within the speech of Amun, the god says: *di.i m33.sn ḥm.k ḥr nḥtw mi stḥ ḥr sm3 sbi m-ḥ3t (m)sktt*: I cause them to see Your Majesty in victory, like Seth upon destroying the Rebel Serpent at the front of the Night Bark.

262. Inscription

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions V*, 192; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated V*, 161.

In the text accompanying a scene showing Ramesses III returning to the palace from the temple, the king is said to be: *sꜥ3w m ḥḏt dšrt mity nbwy pḥty.w šfyt 3bh m ḥꜥ.f*: magnificent in the White Crown and Red Crown like the Two Lords, their strength and majesty united in his body.⁹²

263. Inscription

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions V*, 209-10; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated V*, 177.

⁹² Here, the “Two Lords” is written with a Horus falcon and seated Seth animal atop *nbw* signs.

In the Invocation to Min, part of the text reads: *tm3 ḥdt tm3 dšrt ḥm ḥr ḥm stḥ m ḥtp*: Strong is the White Crown, Strong is the Red Crown. The Majesty of Horus and the Majesty of Seth are at peace.

264. Inscription

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions V*, 216-18; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated V*, 182-185.

Amun says to Ramesses III: *sm3.i n.k pḥty n nbwy*: I unite for you the strength of the Two Lords.⁹³

265. Inscription

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions V*, 301-02; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated V*, 253-54.

Of the king it is said: *hmhmt.f m ib(w).sn mi it.f stḥ*: his war-cry is in their hearts like his father Seth's.

266. Inscription

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions V*, 314; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated V*, 265.

A text praising Ramesses III begins: *ʿnh ntr nfr tinr ḥr ḥpš.f mi stḥ ḥft ḥ3-ḥr.f*: (Long) live the Perfect God, brave with his strong arm like Seth when he threatens.

267. Inscription

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions V*, 322; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated V*, 273-74.

In a scene of Ramesses III offering to Amun, the god says to the king: *di.n(.i) n.k ḥḥw m ḥbw-sd ḥfnw m rnpwt di.n(.i) n.k knt nb nḥtw nb mi s3 nwt*: (I) have given to you millions of Sed Festivals and hundreds of thousands of years. (I) have given to you all valor and all strength like the Son of Nut.

268. Inscription

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions V*, 326-29; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated V*, 278-80.

⁹³ The “Two Lords” is written with a Horus falcon and seated Seth animal atop *nbw* signs.

Part of a litany accompanying a scene of the king enshrined reads: [*sšp rn n nswt bity wsr-mꜣt*]-*rꜥ mry-ımn mi sšp rn n sth nbwt(y)*: [May the name of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermaat]re Meryamun [be bright], like the name of Seth the Ombite is bright.

Wadi Sannur

269. Stela

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

Current Location: Staatliche Sammlung für Ägyptische Kunst, Munich (G1.29)

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 308; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* II 145-46; Porter and Moss, VII, 339.

In the lunette of this stela Ramesses II slays an enemy in the presence of Seth.

The text associated with Seth reads: *di.n n.k sth ꜥnh wꜣs nb*: Seth has given to you all life and dominion. The god's speech is recorded in the main text of the stela: *dd mdw in sth ntr ꜥ sꜣ.i mry.i...ii.i n mrwt.k ꜥꜣ phty htp.k irt.n.k*: Words spoken by Seth, the Great God: My Son, my beloved...I come through love of you, Great of Strength, your offerings which you have made....

Nubia

Abahuda

270. Wall Relief

18th Dynasty, Reign of Horemheb

Archaeological Site: Temple of Amun-Re and Thoth

Bibliography: Dieter Arnold, *Wandrelief und Raumfunktion in ägyptischen Tempeln des neuen Reiches* (Berlin: B. Hessling, 1962), 29; Jaroslav Černý and Elmar Edel, *Abou-Oda: Textes Hiéroglyphiques* (Le Caire: Centre de documentation égyptologique, 1958), 5; Arnold, *Die Tempel*, 78; Hornung, "Seth," Abb. 2; Porter and Moss, VII, 119-21.

Horemheb is shown standing between Seth and Horus and underneath a winged sun disk labeled as: *bḥdt(y) ntr ꜥꜣ*: the Behdite, the Great God. The wings of the sun disk are protecting the king's throne name: *dsr-hprw-rꜥ stp-n-rꜥ*. The text associated with Seth

reads: ...*di.f* [*ʕnh*] *nb snb nb 3wt-ib nb ʕnt nb nht nb ʕnh w3s nb hr.i i(t).f {nb} sth nbwt(y)*
nb t3 šmʕw...s3 ʕnh ... ntr ʕ3 nb pt s3 n ht.i mr.f nb hʕw hr-m-hb mr imn di.n(i) n.k hhw m
hbw-sd: ... Seth, the Ombite, Lord of the Land of Upper Egypt, who gives all [life], all
 health, all joy, all valor, all strength, all life and dominion under me, his
 father...protection, life...the Great God, Lord of Heaven, son of my body, his beloved,
 Lord of Appearances, Horemheb, Beloved of Amun. (I) have given to you millions of
 Sed Festivals... The text associated with Horus, who wears the Double Crown, is
 extremely damaged: *dd mdw in m nfr...ntrwntr ʕ3...sw*.

Abu Simbel

271-273. The Great Temple 19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

271. Hittite Marriage Stela

Bibliography: Benedict G. Davies, *Egyptian Historical Inscriptions of the Nineteenth Dynasty* (Jonsered: Paul Åströms förlag, 1997), 117-43; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions II*, 233-56; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated II*, 86-96; Porter and Moss, VII, 98.

At the top of the stela, Ramesses II is shown wearing the *atef* crown while seated on a throne decorated with the *sm3-t3wy* motif. The king holds a flail in his rear hand and extends his forward hand towards Ptah Tatonen who has one arm raised while holding an *ʕnh* in his lap. Seated behind Ramesses II is Seth, shown in his anthropomorphic form wearing the White Crown and supporting the rear arm of the king. The beginning of Seth's speech is preserved: *dd mdw in swth ʕ3 phty*: Words spoken by Seth, Great of Strength.

Ramesses II, Seth, and Ptah Tatonen are seated in a kiosk surmounted by rearing cobras with sun disks on their heads. Approaching the kiosk from the viewer's right is a Hittite princess carrying *sistra* followed by the Hittite king who approaches with his arms

raised in adoration. The Hittite princess is identified in the text as: *hmt nsw wr m3^ct-hr-nfrw-r^c s3t p3 wr 3 n ht*: The Great Royal Wife Maathorneferura, daughter of the Great Ruler of Hatti. The speech of the Hittite king reads: *dd mdw in wr 3 n ht in.n.i hr.k...nfrw.k...h3swt ntk šri n swth m m3^ct wd.f n.k t3 n ht h3kw.n.i m ht(.i) nb s3t.i wr m-h3t.sn r ms.w n hr.k nfr wd.k n.n nbw tw.i hr rdwy.k r nhh dt hn^c t3 n ht r nb rf iw.k h^ci.tw hr nst r^c t3 nb hr rdwy.k dt*: Words spoken by the Great Ruler of Hatti: I have come to you...your beauty...foreign lands. You are the son of Seth in truth. He decrees for you the land of Hatti. I have carried off all (my) goods, with my eldest daughter in front of them, in order to present them to your face. Good is all that you command for us, I am under your feet for eternity and forever, along with the whole land of Hatti. You have appeared as one upon the throne of Re, every land is under your feet forever.

At nine points within the main text of the stela Seth is mentioned. Four of these come in texts praising Ramesses II: *hk3 rs nsw tnr s3 sth mry mntw*: Vigilant ruler, powerful king, Son of Seth, Beloved of Montu; *hkrw nbwy dmd h^cw.f nhtw.sn psšw.sn hr.f*: The panoply of the Two Lords is joined with his body, their strength and their shares are with him;⁹⁴ *s3 sth m^chr n^cti k3 nht mi sth nbwty hr ntr mry rmt*: The Son of Seth, Warrior of Anat, Strong Bull like Seth the Ombite, Divine Falcon, beloved of mankind; *imi n.f rn nhh mi s3.k sth nty m wi3 n hhw*; Give to him an everlasting name like your son Seth, who is in the Bark of Millions.

At two points within the narrative of the text, Seth is referenced in regards to Ramesses II: *iw.i rh.kwi wd n.i it.i swth nhtw r t3 nb snht.n.f hpš.i r k3i n pt r wsh n t3*: For I know my father Seth has decreed for me victory over every land. He strengthened my

⁹⁴ Here, the “Two Lords” is written with a Horus falcon and a seated Seth deity determinative atop *nb* signs.

powerful arm as high as the sky and as wide as the earth. ḥ^c.n w3w3.n ḥm.f šḥw ḥn^c ib.f m ḏd iw mi m^c nn h3b.n.i šmyw m wpwt r ḏ3h3 m n3w hrw n ḥwyt srḳw ḥprw m prt ḥ^c.n m3^cw.n.f biyt ʿ3t n it.f swth spr.n.f ḥr.f m ḏd pt ḥr ʿwy.k t3 ḥr rdwy.k wḏw.k pw ḥprwt nbt my tm.k irt ḥwyt ḳbw srḳw r spr n.i biyt wḏw.k n.i nswt bity wsir-m3^ct-r^c stp-n-r^c s3 r^c r^c-mssw mry-imm ḥ^c.n sdm.n it.f swth i ḏdw.t.f nbt wn ḥr pt ḥtpw hrw šmw ḥpr m prt i šmt mš^cw.f srw wnf ḥ^cw.sn pḏ ibw.sn m ršwt nswt bity wsir-m3^ct-r^c stp-n-r^c s3 r^c r^c-mssw mry-imm di ʿnh: And then, His Majesty considered the advice with his mind, saying: How will they manage, these whom I have sent out, who go on business to Djaha in the days of rain and snow which occur in the winter? And then, he presented a great marvel to his father Seth and he appealed to him, saying: The sky is in your hands, the earth is under your feet, and your commands are all that shall occur. Accordingly, may you not create rain, cold winds, or snow, until the marvel that you have commanded for me reaches me, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Usermaatre Setepenre, Son of Re Ramesses Meryamun. And then, his father Seth heard all that he had said. And so, the sky was peaceful and summer days occurred in the winter. So his army and officials set out with their bodies joyful and their hearts stretched with joy, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Usermaatre Setepenre, Son of Re Ramesses Meryamun given life.

Within the main narrative of the stela Seth is also referenced twice by the ruler of Hatti: ntk šri n swth m m3^ct wḏ.f n.k t3 n ḥt: You [Ramesses II] are the son of Seth in truth. He decrees for you the land of Hatti. Later, the ruler of Hatti mentions Seth in conversation with his army and officials: iw t3.n fh nb.n swth špwt m^c.n nn di.n pt mw m-ʿ(.n): Our land is destroyed, our lord Seth is angry with us; the sky does not give rain upon (us). Finally, Seth is mentioned by foreign chiefs: wnw m3^ct p^c ḏd.n ḥm.f mss...ḥm n swth: (It) is true, that which His Majesty said, created.... the majesty of Seth.

272. Stela

Archaeological Site: Forecourt

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 313-15; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* II, 153-55.

Seth is included in the king's Horus name: *ḥr k3 nḥt mry m3^ct mntw n nsyw k3 n ḥk3w wr pḥty mi it.f stḥ m nbwt*: Horus Strong Bull, Beloved of Maat, Montu of Kings, Bull of Rulers, Great of Strength like his father Seth in Ombos.

273. Stelae

Archaeological Site: South and North Recesses

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 315-21; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* II, 155-60.

Seth is mentioned three times in the texts of both stelae. The first occurs in the king's titulary: *ḥr k3 nḥt mry m3^ct mntw n nsyw k3 n ḥk3w wr pḥty mi it.f stḥ m nbwt*: Horus Strong Bull, Beloved of Maat, Montu of Kings, Bull of Rulers, Great of Strength like his father Seth in Ombos. The second occurs later in the main text: *wrw.sn ḥr isdd m33.sn sw wsrw.f pḥty.f mi mntw m^cb3t.f tpw.sn mi s3 nwt*: Their chiefs are trembling on account of them seeing him, his power and his strength are like Montu's (when) he harpoons their heads like the Son of Nut. Finally, the speech of Ramesses II references Seth towards the end of the main text: *rn.i sd3.n.f st mi nb nbwt*: my name, it makes them tremble like the Lord of Ombos.

274. Wall Relief

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

Archaeological Site: Small Temple

Bibliography: Christiane Desroches-Noblecourt, *Le petit temple d'Abou Simbel* (Le Caire: Centre de documentation et d'étude sur l'ancienne Égypte, 1968); T.G.H. James, *Ramesses II* (New York: Friedman/Fairfax, 2002), 227; William MacQuitty, *Abu Simbel* (New York: Putman, 1965), 136; Porter and Moss, VII, 113.

In this scene, the king is crowned with the Double Crown by Horus and Seth. Holding the crook and flail in his rear hand, the king stands between the two gods who

have their hands raised in a coronation gesture. A sun disk with two uraei is shown above Ramesses II's Double Crown. The King is identified by the text in front of the sun disk: *s3 r^c r^c-mss mry-*imn nb hps stp n r^c*: Son of Re Ramesses Meryamun, Lord of the Strong Arm, The Chosen of Re. Seth stands facing the king, and the text above him records his speech: *dd mdw in sth nbwty smn(.i) (n.)k hprš hr tp.k mi it(.k) imn*: Words spoken by Seth the Ombite: (I) establish (for) you the Blue Crown upon your head like (your) father Amun. Horus, who is shown wearing the Double Crown, stands behind Ramesses II. Horus's speech is recorded in front of and behind his crown: *dd mdw in hr nb m^ch3 di.n(.i) n.k ^ch^cw n r^c rnpwt m itm*: Words spoken by Horus Lord of Maha: (I) have given to you the lifetime of Re and the years of Atum.*

Aksha

275. Lintel

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

Archaeological Site: 1st Pylon, Temple of Amun, Re, and Deified Ramesses II

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions II*, 212; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated II*, 72.

A fragmentary inscription on this lintel says the king is: *3 hmhmt mi s3 nwt*: great of war-cry like the Son of Nut.

276. Inscription

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

Archaeological Site: Pylon, Temple of Amun, Re, and Deified Ramesses II

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions II*, 353-54; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated II*, 189-90.

Upon the birth of Ramesses II it is said that: *nbwy nhm m pt*: The Two Lords were rejoicing in heaven.⁹⁵

Amada

277. Nubian War Stela

⁹⁵ In this instance, the "Two Lords" is written with a Horus falcon and a Seth animal atop *nb* signs.

19th Dynasty, Reign of Merenptah

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* IV, 33-37; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* IV, 1-2.

Merenptah is given the epithet: *p3 šri tp n swth*: the first-born son of Seth.

Amarah West

278. Stela**19th Dynasty, Reign of Seti I**

Current Location: Brooklyn Museum, New York (39.424)

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* I, 102-04; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* I, 85-87.

The main text of this stela recounts the events of the Nubian war, and Seth is mentioned twice in the text: *n h3st ʿhʿ r h3t.f phty nty sn-nw.f mi it.f sth k3 nht nb mry kny*:

No foreign land can stand before him, strength without its equal like his father Seth,

Strong Bull, Lord of Will, the Strong One. The second occurrence is extremely

fragmentary: *sth pw sw ii...*: Seth is he....

Aswan

279. Stela**19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II**

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 344-45; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* II, 181-83; Porter and Moss, V, 245.

In praise of Ramesses II the text reads: *ʿnh ntr nfr mnt(w) n hḥ phty mi s3 nwt*:

(Long) live the Perfect God, Montu of millions, strong like the Son of Nut.

Beit el-Wali

280. Wall Relief**19th Dynasty, Reign of Seti I or Ramesses II**

Archaeological Site: Entrance Hall, Temple of Amun

Current Location: Unknown

Bibliography: François Chrétien Gau, *Antiquités de la Nubie ou monumens inédits des bords du Nil* (Paris: Stuttgart, 1822), pl. 13f; Brand, *Monuments*, 289; Porter and Moss, VII, 27.

This relief is known only from a hand copy by Gau. Seti I stands facing to the viewer's right underneath a stream of *ꜥnh* signs poured over him by Horus and Seth. A winged sun disk adorned with two uraei, identified in the text as the Behdite (*bḥdt(y)*), is situated above the king.

Horus stands in front of the king, and his speech is recorded in the text: *ḏḏ mdw in ḥr swꜥb.n(.i) tw m ꜥnh wꜥs ꜥḥ(w).k ꜥḥ(w) n rꜥ iri.k ḥbw-sd ꜥšꜥ...*: Words spoken by Horus: I have purified with life and dominion. Your lifetime is the lifetime of Re. May you have very many Sed Festivals.... Underneath the arms of Horus, the text reads: *wꜥb.k wꜥb.i wꜥb.i wꜥb.k nb tꜥwy mn-mꜥt-rꜥ*: Your purification is my purification, my purification is your purification, Lord of the Two Lands, Menmaatre.

Seth stands behind Seti I and is shown in his composite form. His speech reads: *ḏḏ mdw in nbwt(y) nb tꜥ šmꜥw sꜥ.i mr.i ḥkꜥ nb tꜥ mn-mꜥt-rꜥ*: Words spoken by the Ombite, the Lord of the Land of Upper Egypt, my son, my beloved, Lord of the Two Lands Menmaatre. Underneath Seth's arms, the text says: *wꜥb.i wꜥb.i wꜥb.k stḥy mry-imn*: My purification <is your purification>, my purification is your purification, Seti Meryamun.

281. Inscription

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

Archaeological Site: South Wall, Entrance Hall, Temple of Amun

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions II*, 198-99; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated II*, 61-62.

In a scene of Ramesses II subduing a Nubian village, the speech of a Nubian woman is given as: *bw rḥ.tw.n nšny pꜥ ḥkꜥ sw mi stḥ m pt*: We have never yet known (such) raging of the Ruler, he is like Seth in the sky.

Buhen

282. Inscription**18th Dynasty, Reign of Thutmose III**

Bibliography: Ricardo A. Caminos, *The New-Kingdom Temples of Buhen I* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1974), 49-51; Donald B. Redford, *The Wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 160; Porter and Moss, VII, 134; Sethe, *Urkunden*, 806-10.

Thutmose III recorded his battles against Megiddo and the Libyans at the temple of Buhen. A section of the text reads: *iti.n.f t3 pn hr hnty.f kbh sth hr st-hr.f htm.n.f sw hr mhty.f r-mn-m kbh hr*: He has taken this land upon its south. The Pool of Seth is under his supervision. He has sealed it at its north as far as the Pool of Horus.

283. Stela Fragment**19th Dynasty, Reign of Siptah**

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* IV, 349; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* IV, 252.

Among the stela fragments dating to the reign of Siptah at Buhen, there is at least one mention of the Son of Nut (*s3 nwt*) in the titulary of the king.

Derr

284-286. Temple of Re-Horakhty**19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II**

284. Lintel

Archaeological Site: East Side Chapel, Main Sanctuary

Bibliography: Aylward M. Blackman, *The Temple of Derr* (Le Caire: Impr. de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1913), 47-48 and pl.xxxv; Ullmann, *König für die Ewigkeit*, 387; Porter and Moss, VII, 89.

On this lintel is a scene of Osiris, Horus, Seth, Isis, and an unknown goddess who are all shown as mummiform figures.

285. Statue

Archaeological Site: First Pillared Hall

Bibliography: Blackman, *Derr*, 28; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 739; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* II, 488; Porter and Moss, VII, 86.

The king is said to be: *mi s3 nwt*: like the Son of Nut.

286. Inscription

Archaeological Site: Architrave, First Pillared Hall

Bibliography: Blackman, *Derr*, 40; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 740; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* II, 488; Porter and Moss, VII, 86.

Seth is included in Ramesses II's titulary: *nbty wrt phty mi s3 nwt ity nht psdt 9*:

Two Ladies, Great of Strength like the Son of Nut, sovereign who is victorious over the
Nine Bows.

Elephantine

287. Elephantine Stela of Sethnakht

20th Dynasty

Bibliography: Rosemarie Drenkhahn, *Die Elephantine-Stele des Sethnakht und ihr historischer Hintergrund* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1980); Hans Goedicke, "Comments on the Sethnakhte Stela," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 52 (1996): 1-5; Kenneth A. Kitchen, "Ramesses III and the Ramesside Period," in *Ramesses III: The Life and Times of Egypt's Last Hero*, ed. Eric H. Cline and David B. O'Connor (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2012), 2-3; Stephan Johannes Seidlmayer, "Epigraphische Bemerkungen zur Stele des Sethnakhte aus Elephantine," in *Stationen: Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Ägyptens*, ed. Rainer Stadelmann et al. (Mainz: von Zabern, 1998), 363-86; Grandet, *Ramsès III*, 42-43; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 671-72; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* V, 7-8.

In the main text of this stela Seth is mentioned once: *hm.f nḥ wd3 snb mi it.f swḥ pd rmny.fy r fdi kmt m th3 sw phty.f šnw m s3w*: His Majesty, life, prosperity, health, was like his father Seth who stretched out his arms in order to remove from Egypt those who led it astray, his strength surrounding (him) with protection.⁹⁶

⁹⁶ A section of the stela's main text covers the selection of Sethnakht by the gods to be king of Egypt. However, the name of the god who "extended his arm and chose His Majesty, life, prosperity, health, out of millions" is lost in a lacuna. It is often reconstructed as "the Great God". Some scholars see the Great God as Seth, but there is no way to know which god was meant in this context. For more see Pierre Grandet, "Twentieth Dynasty," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, Vol. 3, ed. Donald B. Redford (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 341; Drenkhahn, *Elephantine-Stele*, 69; Goedicke, "Comments," 160; Grandet, *Ramsès III*, 42; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* V, 8; Peden, *Historical Inscriptions*, 3.

Gebel Barkal

288. Ram Statue

18th Dynasty, Reign of Amenhotep III

Archaeological Site: Originally from Soleb

Current Location: Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin (7262)

Bibliography: Sethe, *Urkunden*, 1750.

One of the recumbent ram statues from the site has an 18th Dynasty inscription that mentions Seth: *rdi iti.f kbhw hr r mn kbhw sth*: One who causes him to seize from the Cool Place of Horus to the Cool Place of Seth.

Soleb

289-293. Temple of Amun and Amenhotep III

18th Dynasty, Reigns of Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV

Bibliography: Michela Schiff Giorgini, *Soleb V: Le temple bas-reliefs et inscriptions* (Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1998).

289. Wall Relief

Archaeological Site: Pylon

Bibliography: W. Raymond Johnson, "Monuments and Monumental Art under Amenhotep III: Evolution and Meaning," in *Amenhotep III: Perspectives on His Reign*, ed. David B. O'Connor and Eric H. Cline (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 80; Giorgini, *Soleb V*, 6-9; Cruz-Uribe, "Seth," 203; Porter and Moss, VII, 169.

Amenhotep III's son and successor, Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten finished the decoration of the pylon at Soleb which includes a relief of Amenhotep IV's coronation by Horus and Seth. Seth stands behind the king with his forward hand raised in a gesture of coronation while his rear hand holds an *ḥnh*. The text associated with Seth is badly damaged: *dd mdw in...[t3]wy nb... smn(.i) ḥḥ...m...di ḥnh...n... di.n(.i) n.k s[nb] nb...:*
Words spoken by [Seth]... [Lord of the] Two [Lands]...(I) establish [for you] appearances in glory...in...given life...to/of... (I) have given to you all health....

Amenhotep IV is shown at the center of the scene facing to the viewer's right in the same direction as Seth. The king wears the Double Crown and carries the crook and

flail in his bent rear arm. Directly above the king's crown is a vulture with outstretched wings. To the right of the vulture are the king's cartouches: *nswt bity [nb t3wy nfr-hprw-r^c w^c-n-r^c] s3 r^c mr[.f] imn-htp ntr-hk3-w3st/3h-n-itn di ^cnh mi r^c*: King of Upper and Lower Egypt, [Lord of the Two Lands, Neferkheperu Waenre], Son of Re, [His] Beloved, Amenhotep IV Divine Ruler of Thebes/Akhenaten, given life like Re. The text behind the king's rear leg reads: *s3 ^cnh dd(t) w3s [nb]...[^cnh] nb mi r^c*: [all] protection, life, stability, and dominion...all [life] like Re.

Facing the king is Horus who, like Seth, raises his front arm in a coronation gesture while holding an ^cnh in his rear hand. Horus's speech above his figure is almost completely lost: *dd mdw in... ...[di.n(i)] n.k.... ...hbw-sd....*: Words spoken by [Horus]... ...[(I) have given] to you... ...Sed Festivals.... There is a line of text preserved in front of Horus: *dd [mdw]...smn(i) n.k shmty nt pt tp.k...f...n.k....*: [Words] spoken: ...[(I) establish for you the Double Crown of Heaven (upon) your head...his...for you....

290. Wall Relief

Archaeological Site: Northern Front Wall, First Open Court

Bibliography: Giorgini, *Soleb V*, 47-48.

This scene shows three registers of deities, perhaps the Ennead, in their shrines. On the top register, second from the left, is an anthropomorphic depiction of Seth seated in his shrine between Nephthys and Isis. Within the same register, in the second shrine from the right, is another depiction of Seth in a shrine. Here he is shown standing in his composite form. On the bottom register of the scene is a depiction of the shrines of Upper and Lower Egypt flanked by the standards of Horus and Seth.

291. Wall Relief

Archaeological Site: Northern Front Wall, First Open Court

Bibliography: Giorgini, *Soleb V*, 55.

To the north of the above scene, on the same wall, is a second grouping of deities in their shrines. In the top register is Seth the Ombite in his composite form.

292. Wall Relief

Archaeological Site: Northern Rear Wall, First Open Court

Bibliography: Giorgini, *Soleb V*, 114.

In this scene Amenhotep III is shown wearing the Red Crown and the Sed Festival robe while carrying a staff. The king's cartouche reads: *ntr nfr nb-m3^ct-r^c*: The Perfect God, Nebmaatre. In front of the king are three registers of deities. On the bottom row, near the feet of Amenhotep III, is the god Seth followed by two goddesses and an anthropomorphized standard bearing the Horus name of the king. Seth is shown in his composite form carrying a *w3s* scepter in his forward hand and an *ḥnh* in his rear hand.

293. Wall Relief

Archaeological Context: Northern Rear Wall, First Open Court

Bibliography: Giorgini, *Soleb V*, 117.

There is an almost identical scene from the same area of the temple. Amenhotep III is again shown standing before three registers of deities while wearing the Red Crown and the Sed Festival robe carrying a long staff and flail. His cartouches are shown in front of his crown: *ntr nfr nb-m3^ct-r^c s3 r^c imn-ḥtp ḥk3 w3st*: The Perfect God Nebmaatre, Son of Re Amenhotep Ruler of Thebes. As in the scene above, Seth stands at the front of the bottom register of gods. He is shown in his anthropomorphic form carrying a *w3s* scepter.

Tomas

294. Inscription

18th Dynasty, Reign of Thutmose I

Bibliography: Hans Goedicke, "The Thutmose I Inscription near Tomâs," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 55 (1996): 161; Sethe, *Urkunden*, 82.

This inscription of Thutmose I commemorated a military victory in Nubia, and the king's accession to the throne is alluded to in the text: *ḥꜥt.f m ḥry-tp t3wy r ḥꜥ3 šnnwt itn šmꜥw mḥw psšwt nbwy sm3t t3wy*: His appearance as Chief of the Two Lands in order to rule what the sun disk encircles, Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt, the shares of the Two Lords, which united the Two Lands.⁹⁷

Wadi es-Sebua

295. Inscription

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

Archaeological Site: Pylon, Temple of Amun of Ramesses II

Bibliography: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions II*, 201; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated II*, 63.

On the north façade of the temple's pylon, Seth is referenced in a fragmentary speech made by Re-Horakhty where he is called the Ombite (*nbwty*).

Western Asia

Beth-Shan

296. Stela

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

Archaeological Site: Northern Temple

Current Location: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia (29.107.958)

Bibliography: Kenneth A. Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant: The Life and Times of Ramesses II King of Egypt* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips), 23; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions II*, 150-51; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated II*, 27-31; Porter and Moss, VII, 379.

In the lunette, Amun-Re says to Ramesses II: *di.n(.i) n.k nḥtw ḥr pḥty s3 nwt dt*:

(I) gave to you the victories of Horus and the strength of the Son of Nut forever.

In the main text of the stela, Seth is mentioned in the epithets of Ramesses II: *mry*

imn-rꜥ nsw nꜥrw rꜥ-ḥr3ḥty stḥ ꜥ3 pḥty w3dyt wp(t) t3wy mi rdi.n.sn n.f ꜥni nḥt r t3w nbw mi

⁹⁷ A Horus falcon and a seated Seth animal are used to write the "Two Lords".

r^c dt: Beloved of Amun-Re, King of the Gods, Re-Horakhty, Seth Great of Strength, and Wadjet Who Judges the Two Lands according as they have given to him valor and strength over all lands like Re forever. Twice in the main text of the stela Ramesses II is compared to Seth. First, the king is said to be: *sth ʕ3 phty hwi h3swt*: Seth, Great of Strength, who smote the foreign lands. In the second, Ramesses II pursues his enemies: *mi k3 nbwty*: like the bull of the Ombite.

Keswe

297. Stela

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

Archaeological Site: Found Reused in Roman Tomb

Bibliography: Jean Yoyotte, “La Stèle de Ramsès II à Keswé et sa signification Historique,” *Bulletin de la Société Française d’Égyptologie* 144 (1997), 44-58.

In the main text, the king is called: *ntr nfr s3 sth ...s3 r^c-hr-3hty...shpr.n itm r nb n t3 mi it.f sth ʕ3 phty mry r^c*: The Perfect God, the son of Seth...the son of Re-Horakhty...whom Atum has brought into being as the lord of the earth, like his father Seth, Great of Strength, Beloved of Re.

Konosso

298. Stela

18th Dynasty, Reign of Thutmose IV

Bibliography: Betsy Bryan, “Antecedents to Amenhotep III,” in *Amenhotep III: Perspectives on His Reign*, ed. David B. O’Connor and Eric H. Cline (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 54-56; Bryan, *Thutmose IV*, 333-34; Sethe, *Urkunden*, 1545-48; Shaw, *Royal Authority*, 110-11.

The events of a skirmish in the Eastern desert are recorded in the text of this stela. The text describes the actions of the king: *in prt ntr nfr mi mnṯw m hprw.f nbw ḏb3w m h^cw.f mw r-^c nht nšnw mi sth nbwty ist r^c hr-s3.f m ʕnh*: Then the Perfect God went forth like Montu in all his forms, adorned with his weapons of combat, raging like Seth the Ombite, while Re was behind him in life.

Qadesh

299. Stela

19th Dynasty, Reign of Seti I

Current Location: National Museum of Aleppo, Aleppo (384)

Bibliography: Grégoire Loukianoff, “Stèle du Pharaon Sèti Ier trouvée à Tell-Nebi-Mendu en Syrie,” *Ancient Egypt* 9 (1924), 101-08; James B. Pritchard, *The Ancient Near East: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958), 317; Bietak, “Herkunft des Seth,” 12; Bietak and Forstner-Müller “Topography,” 36; Brand, *Monuments*, 120-21; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* I, 25; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* I, 20; Porter and Moss, VII, 392; Vandier, “Nouvel Empire,” 188; te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, 130.

The upper portion of the lunette shows Amun-Re, Seth, Montu, and Hathor facing towards the viewer’s right.⁹⁸ The deities are adored by Seti I who faces towards the viewer’s left. Seth is depicted in his anthropomorphic form wearing the conical headdress with long streamers. The text identifies him as *sth ʿ3 phty*: Seth, Great of Strength.

Unprovenanced Monuments

300. St. Petersburg Papyrus

18th Dynasty, Reigns of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II

Bibliography: Donald B. Redford, *Pharaonic King-lists, Annals, and Day Books: A Contribution to the Study of the Egyptian Sense of History* (Mississauga: Benben, 1986), 112; Abd el Hamid Zayed, “Perou-nefer, port de guerre d’Amenophis II,” *Annales du Service des antiquités de l’Égypte* 66 (1987): 75.

The verso of the papyrus records the deliveries of food and supplies to officials and temples. Among the recipients is Seth in Perunefer (*sth m prw-nfr*).⁹⁹

301. Vase Fragment

18th Dynasty, Reign of Amenhotep III

Bibliography: Sethe, *Urkunden*, 1754.

In the inscription, Amenhotep III is said to possess: *nhtw sth*: the strength of Seth.

⁹⁸ This is as reconstructed by Kitchen. Pritchard labels the gods as Amun, Seth, Khonsu, and Mut.

⁹⁹ It is unclear what Perunefer refers to or where it was located. Perunefer may have been a port or military base at Memphis, or it may have been the military harbor at Avaris. See Bietak, “Aftermath,” 26; Bietak, “Herkunft des Seth,” 9; Zayed, “Perou-nefer,” 107.

302. Pair Statue of Horemheb and Mutnodjment

18th Dynasty, Reign of Horemheb

Bibliography: Jacobus van Dijk, “Horemheb and the Struggle for the Throne of Tutankhamun,” *The Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology* 7 (1996): 34; Gardiner, “Coronation,” 13 and 15; Sethe, *Urkunden*, 2117.

On the back of this statue is the same coronation inscription of Horemheb as found at Memphis: *psdt nbw pr ht ihhy n h^cf nhbt w3dyt nt 3st hr sth psdt*: The Whole Ennead of the “House of Fire” rejoiced at his appearance – Nekhbet, Wadjet, Neith, Isis, Horus, Seth, and the Ennead.

303. Bark Pedestal

19th Dynasty, Reign of Seti I

Current Location: Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (5106)

Bibliography: Labib Habachi, “Sethos I’s Devotion to Seth and Avaris,” *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 100 (1974): 95-102; Brand, *Monuments*, 132; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions I*, 232-34; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated I*, 200-01; Uphill, *Temples*, 129.

The two long sides of the pedestal are mirror images of each other. On the viewer’s left, two figures of the king stand facing two additional figures of the king on the viewer’s right. All four figures of the king face the center of the pedestal with their arms raised to support the *pt* hieroglyph above their heads. On the right hand side of the long faces are two parallel lines of text: *nh ntr nfr hk3 iwnw nb t3wy mn-m3^ct-r^c ir.n.f m mnw.f it.f sth nb hwt-w^crt irt.f st wrt m m3wt m inr n bi3wt ir n.f s3 r^c nb h^cw sty mry-n-pt^h nh dt nh^h*: (Long) live the Perfect God, Ruler of Heliopolis, Lord of the Two Lands, Menmaatre. He made as his monument (for) his father Seth, Lord of Avaris, the making for him of a bark stand anew in quartzite, which the Son of Re, Lord of Appearances, Seti Merenptah, living forever and ever made for him. There are two parallel lines of text along the left hand edge of the faces: *nh ntr nfr hk3 iwnw nb t3wy mn-m3^ct-r^c ir.n.f m mnw.f it.f sth nb hwt-w^crt irt.f st wrt m m3wt m inr n bi3wt ir n.f s3 r^c nb h^cw sty mry-n-pt^h*

di ʕnh dt: (Long) live the Perfect God, Ruler of Heliopolis, Lord of the Two Lands, Menmaatre. He made as his monument (for) his father Seth, Lord of Avaris, the making for him of a bark stand anew in stone of quartzite, which the Son of Re, Lord of Appearances, Seti Merenptah, given life forever made for him.

The text associated with the two figures of the king on the viewer's right reads: *nswt bity/nb t3wy mn-m3ʕt-rʕ di ʕnh mi rʕ dt s3 rʕ/nb hʕw sty mry-n-ptḥ di ʕnh mi rʕ dt s3 ʕnh nb h3.f mi rʕ*: King of Upper and Lower Egypt/Lord of the Two Lands Menmaatre, given life like Re forever, Son of Re/Lord of Appearances Seti Merenptah, given life like Re forever, all protection and life around him like Re. The text associated with the two figures of the king on the viewer's left reads: *nswt bity/nb t3wy mn-m3ʕt-rʕ di ʕnh dd(t) w3s mi rʕ dt s3 rʕ/nb hʕw sty mry-n-ptḥ di ʕnh mi rʕ dt s3 ʕnh nb h3.f mi rʕ dt*: King of Upper and Lower Egypt/Lord of the Two Lands Menmaatre, given life, stability, and dominion like Re, forever, Son of Re/Lord of Appearances Seti Merenptah, given life like Re forever, all protection and life around him like Re forever. The text in the center of the long faces reads: *dd mdw rmn mwt nwt hr it.f stḥ nb hwt-wʕrt*: Words spoken: The mother Nut is supported by his father, Seth, Lord of Avaris.

The two short sides of the pedestal are also mirror images of each other. Each short side shows two figures of Seti I facing each other in a *sm3 t3wy* scene. There is variation in the content of the text. On one short side, the bandeau text running on the viewer's left reads: *ʕnh hr k3 nḥt sʕnh t3wy nbty shm ʕ hprš pdt 9 hr nbw wsr pdwt m t3w nbw nswt bity mn-m3ʕt-rʕ mry stḥ nb hwt-wʕrt di ʕnh*: (Long) live the Horus Strong Bull, Causing the Two Lands to live, Two Ladies Powerful of Arm, Subduing the Nine Bows, Golden Horus Strong with troops in all lands, King of Upper and Lower Egypt Menmaatre, Beloved of Seth, Lord of Avaris, given life. The bandeau text on the right of

the side reads: *ḥnh ḥr k3 nḥt mry rḥ nbty mn mnw m ḥwt-ḥt m3ḥt ḥr nbw 3ḥ itw.f sk3 pr.sn s3 rḥ sty mry-n-ptḥ mry stḥ nb pt di ḥnh*: (Long) live the Horus Strong Bull, Beloved of Re, Two Ladies Enduring of monuments in the Great Temple of Truth, Golden Horus Benefitting his fathers, exalting their temples, Son of Re Seti Merenptah, Beloved of Seth, Lord of Heaven, given life.

On the other short side is the text containing the main dedications. The left hand section of the text reads: *ḥnh nṯr nfr nb t3wy mn-m3ḥt-rḥ ir.n.f m mnw.f it.f stḥ nb ḥwt-wḥrt irt n.f st wrt m3wt m inr n bi3wt ir n.f s3 rḥ nb ḥḥw sty mry-n-ptḥ ḥnh dt*: (Long) live the Perfect God, Lord of the Two Lands Menmaatre. He made as his monument (for) his father Seth, Lord of Avaris, the making for him of a bark stand anew in quartzite, which the Son of Re Lord of Appearances, Seti Merenptah, living forever made for him. The right hand section of the dedications text reads: *ḥnh nṯr nfr nb t3wy mn-m3ḥt-rḥ ir.n.f m mnw.f it.f stḥ nb ḥwt-wḥrt irt n.f st wrt m3wt m inr n bi3wt ir n.f s3 rḥ nb ḥḥw sty mry-n-ptḥ ḥnh dt*: (Long) live the Perfect God, Lord of the Two Lands Menmaatre. He made as his monument (for) his father Seth, Lord of Avaris, the making for him of a bark stand anew in quartzite, which the Son of Re Lord of Appearances, Seti Merenptah, living forever made for him.

The same text surrounds the figures of the king on the two short sides. The left center texts read: *nṯr nfr nb t3wy mn-m3ḥt-rḥ di ḥnh s3 ḥnh dd(t) w3s snb 3wt-ib nb ḥ3.f mi it.f rḥ nb*: The Perfect God, Lord of the Two Lands Menmaatre, given life, all protection, life, stability, dominion, health, and joy around him like his father Re every day. The right center texts read: *nṯr nfr nb ḥḥw sty mry-n-ptḥ di ḥnh s3 ḥnh dd(t) w3s snb 3wt-ib nb ḥ3.f mi it.f itm/rḥ m pt*: The Perfect God, Lord of Appearances, Seti Merenptah, given life, all protection, life, stability, dominion, health, and joy around him like his father

Atum/Re in heaven. The right outer texts read: *wnn ntr nfr nb t3wy nb irt-ht nb hpš mn-m3ct-rct hctw m nswt bity šmctw mhwt*: The Perfect God, Lord of the Two Lands Lord of Cultic Action, Possessor of a Strong Arm shall exist, Menmaatre, shall appear as King of Upper and Lower Egypt over the South and North. The left outer text reads: *wnn ntr nfr nb 3wt-ib nb t3wy nb hpš sty mry-n-pt/nn-m3ct-rct hctw hr nswt itm*: The Perfect God, Lord of Joy, Lord of the Two Lands, Possessor of a Strong Arm shall exist, Seti Merenptah/Menmaatre, shall appear upon the thrones of Atum.

304. Wall Relief

19th Dynasty, Reign of Seti I

Current Location: Alexandria National Museum, Alexandria (26290)

Bibliography: Karol Myśliwiec, “The Purification of Sethos I: A New Scene,” *Etudes et Travaux du Centre d’Archéologie Méditerranéenne de l’Académie Polonaise des Sciences* 8 (1975): 113-16; Brand, *Monuments*, 142.

Seti I stands underneath a winged sun disk adorned with uraei and is identified in the text above his head: *nswt bity mn-m3ct-rct di cnh nb t3wy nb ir-ht*: King of Upper and Lower Egypt Menmaatre, given life. Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Cultic Action. The king stands on a platform while he is purified by Horus and Seth. Horus is in front of the king and is identified by the text above his head: *bhdt(y) ntr c3 nb pt di.f [cni] dd(t) [w3s]*: The Behdite, the Great God, Lord of Heaven, who gives [life], stability, and [dominion]. The text in front of Horus identifies his actions: *ctw mn-m3ct-rct hnt k3.f*: Purifying Menmaatre together with his *ka*. Seth, who stands behind the king, is identified as: *nbwt(y) nb t3 [šmctw]*: The Ombite, Lord of the Land [of Upper Egypt]. The god’s actions are described in the text under his raised arms: *ctw.k ctw[.i]*: Your purification is [my] purification.

305. Lintel

19th Dynasty, Reign of Seti I

Current Location: Destroyed, formerly Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels (E 407)

Bibliography: Brand, *Monuments*, 140; Gardiner, “Baptism,” 5; Porter and Moss, IV, 64.

In the center of the lintel was a scene of Seti I being purified by Seth and Horus. The king was positioned underneath a winged sun disk. The text to the left of the disk labeled it as: *bḥdt(y) s3b šwt*: The Behdite, Variegated of Plumage, and the text to the right of the disk labeled it as: *bḥdt(y) nṯr ʕ3*: The Behdite, the Great God. Seti I was identified by the text above his head: *nswt bity nb t3wy mn-m3ʕt-rʕ di ʕnh mi rʕ*: The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands Menmaatre, given life like Re. Seti I faced towards the viewer’s right, towards Horus, who was labeled by the text above him as: *bḥdt(y) nṯr ʕ3 di.f ʕnh dd(t) w3s nb mi rʕ dt*: The Behdite, the Great God, who gives all life, stability, and dominion like Re forever. In front of Horus the text reads: *ʕbw.k mn-m3ʕt-rʕ hnʕ k3.f*: May you purify Menmaatre together with his *ka*. Seth stood behind the king, and the text above the god identified him as: *nbwt(y) nb t3 šmʕw di.f knt nḥt mi rʕ*: The Ombite, Lord of the Land of Upper Egypt, who gives bravery and strength like Re. The text in front of Seth read: *ʕbw.k sty mry-rʕ mi rʕ dt*: May you purify Seti Meryre, like Re forever.

306. Offering Table for Seth and Nephthys

19th Dynasty, Reign of Seti I

Current Location: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (22.2.22)

Bibliography: Brand, *Monuments*, 188-89; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* I, 234-35; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* I, 201-02; Vandier, “Nouvel Empire,” 193.

On the front of the offering table, to the viewer’s right, Seti I kneels with legs splayed and arms raised in adoration in front of an enthroned figure of Seth. The king is identified by the text above him: *nṯr nfr [nb] t3wy mn-m3ʕt-rʕ [nb hʕw] sty mry-n-ptḥ [di] ʕnh*: The Perfect God, [Lord] of the Two Lands Menmaatre, [Lord of Appearances], Seti

Merenptah, [given] life. In front of the king his actions are explained as: *dw3 ntr sp 4*: Adoring the God, Four times. Seth sits on a throne with a *w3s* scepter in his forward hand and an *ḥnh* sign in his lap. The text in front of the god identifies him: *di.f ḥnh dd(t) w3s* [*sth*] *nbwt(y) nb t3 šmḥw*: [Seth] the Ombite, Lord of the Land of Upper Egypt, who gives life, stability, and dominion.

On the left side of the offering table is a parallel scene showing Seti I in the same splayed position with arms raised presenting offerings, but this time he adores an enthroned figure of Nephthys. Seti I is identified as: *nswt bity nb t3wy mn-m3ḥt-rḥ sty mry-n-ptḥ di ḥnh dt*: King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands Menmaatre, Seti Merenptah, given life forever. The king's actions are described in the text before him: *r di sntr kbḥw*: offering incense and libations. The text associated with Nephthys reads: *di.s ḥnh nb nbt-ḥwt*: Nephthys, who gives all life.

The bandeau texts on the sides of the offering table give the full titulary of Seti I: *ḥnh ḥr k3 nḥt rḥ hr-ib m3ḥt nbty wr f3w m ib pḥt ḥr nbw hr-ib nḥt mry rḥ nswt bity mn-m3ḥt-rḥ s3 rḥ sty mry-n-ptḥ mry stḥ s3 nwt ḥnh dt*: (Long) live the Horus Strong Bull of Re, Contented with Truth, Two Ladies Great of splendor in the heart(s) of mankind, Golden Horus Contented with victory, Beloved of Re, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menmaatre, Son of Re Seti Merenptah, Beloved of Seth Son of Nut, living forever.

307. Stela

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

Current Location: Musée du Louvre, Paris (E.26017)

Bibliography: Orly Goldwasser, "On the Date of Seth from Qubeibeh," *Israel Exploration Journal* 42 (1992), 50; Hope and Kaper, "Oases," 234; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 779; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated* II, 514; Vandier, "Nouvel Empire," 193-95.

In the lunette, Seth is shown as a recumbent sphinx with the head of the Seth animal wearing a *wesekh* collar. The text associated with Seth says: *dd mdw in stḥ ntr 3*

nb pt mry rꜥ di.n(.i) n.k kni nḥt: Words spoken by Seth, the Great God, Lord of Heaven, Beloved of Re, (I) have given to you valor and victory.

Below the sphinx, Ramesses II censes and presents offerings to the goddess Astarte. In front of his Blue Crown and behind his body, Ramesses II is labeled as: *nṯr nfr nb t3wy wsr-m3ꜥt-rꜥ stp-n-rꜥ rꜥ-mss mry-immn s3 ꜥnh nb ḥ3.f mi rꜥ*: The Perfect God, Lord of the Two Lands Usermaatse Setepenre, Ramesses Meryamun, all protection and life around him like Re. Astarte is called: *ꜥstrt nbt pt ḥnwt t3wy di.n(.i) n.k....*: Astarte, Mistress of Heaven, Mistress of the Two Lands, (I) have given to you....

308. Plaquette

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

Current Location: Private Collection

Bibliography: Vandier, “Nouvel Empire,” 191.

One side of this plaquette is decorated with a bearded Seth slaying a serpent.

309. Statue

19th-20th Dynasties

Current Location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo (CG 42993)

Bibliography: Sourizion, “Seth,” 339.

Seth is depicted as a seated Seth animal wearing a tripartite wig. In between his front paws and directly under his chin, he is shown protecting a king wearing a *nemes* headdress and long kilt.

Chapter Four

Discussion

Sites Associated with Seth

When trying to reconstruct Seth's role within the context of New Kingdom royal ideology, the logical place to begin is with the cult sites dedicated to the god, as these temples were built by kings as part of the vital reciprocal relationship between the king and the gods of Egypt. According to the surviving evidence, Seth is associated with six Egyptian sites in the New Kingdom: Tjebu, the Oxyrhynchus Nome, Unu, Avaris, Sw, and Nagada.

Tjebu

Prior to the 20th Dynasty, the two main gods of Tjebu in Upper Egypt were Seth and Anty who could also be found combined into a single deity, Antywy.¹⁰⁰ Antywy's name was usually written with two falcon hieroglyphs, but in rare cases it is written with two Seth animals.¹⁰¹ The use of two falcons or two Seth animals as well as the fact that the name is grammatically dual suggests that the god Antywy is a representation of the Two Lords – the divine manifestation of the dual kingship of Horus and Seth in the body of the legitimate ruler of Egypt.¹⁰² Ramesses III's stela (Catalogue 108) represents a transitional period at the site, as it is the last known depiction of Seth at Tjebu, shown here in his composite form wearing the Double Crown, as well as the first appearance of

¹⁰⁰ Eric Welvaert, "The Fossils of Qau el Kebir and Their Role in the Mythology of the 10th Nome of Upper-Egypt," *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 129 (2002): 169 and 171; te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, 68; Shirun-Grumach, "Horus, Seth, Anubis," 253.

¹⁰¹ Welvaert, "Fossils," 169; Guy Brunton, *Matmar* (London: B. Quaritch, 1948), pl. XLIX.

¹⁰² See section below for discussion of Two Lords.

Nemty the falcon headed Lord of Tjebu.¹⁰³ Later in his history at the site, Nemty fulfills a similar function to Antywy, with Nemty signifying the Two Lords.¹⁰⁴ The full implication of the stela and the site in general is difficult to determine due to the poor state of preservation in the area.

The Oxyrhynchite Nome

Seth was the chief god of the Oxyrhynchite Nome, and Sepermeru, one of the major towns within the nome, was home to at least two Ramesside temples dedicated to the god. The larger of the two was called “House of Seth, Lord of Sepermeru”.¹⁰⁵ The 20th Dynasty Wilbour Papyrus also names a smaller shrine at the site referred to as “House of Seth, Powerful is His Mighty Arm”. This southern manifestation of Seth from Sepermeru was also found in the north, as seen on a monument of Merenptah (Catalogue 52) where the god is shown in his composite form wearing a solar disk while handing a weapon to the king. On this monument, Seth is found alongside other deities of a similar character: Sekhmet, Re-Horakhty, and Montu. The attitude of Seth found in the Merenptah relief coupled with the name of the smaller temple in the Oxyrhynchite Nome demonstrates that Seth of Sepermeru embodied the god’s associations with both the solar realm and the physical strength of the king.

Unu

Found referenced once in connection with Seth at Medinet Habu (Catalogue 238), Unu or *wnw* was another name for Khemenu (Greek Hermopolis) in the 15th Upper

¹⁰³ Welvaert, “Fossils,” 171.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 169 and 171.

¹⁰⁵ Sally L.D. Katary, *Land Tenure in the Ramesside Period* (New York: Kegan Paul International, 1989), 215; Richard H. Wilkinson, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2003), 86; te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, 118.

Egyptian nome. Unu was the main cult site of the god Thoth, but what specific connection Seth had with the site or what form Seth of Unu took is unknown. What is evident at Medinet Habu is that with Ramesses III “offering *maat* to his father, Seth Lord of Unu”, Seth is firmly placed within the ordered world, specifically within the mutually beneficial relationship which was customary between king and gods in ancient Egypt.

Avaris

Although the Delta site of Avaris was inhabited from at least the 12th Dynasty, Seth’s association with the site cannot be confirmed until the reign of the 14th Dynasty king Nehesy, who is the first ruler to be called “Beloved of Seth, Lord of Avaris” (Catalogue 34). During the succeeding Hyksos Period, Avaris grew to become one of the largest settlements in Egypt.¹⁰⁶ Around 1530 BCE, Ahmose took control of the site, but there is surprisingly little contemporary documentation or physical evidence related to the transition of Avaris from Hyksos stronghold to New Kingdom military installation.¹⁰⁷ Archaeological remains indicate Avaris was largely abandoned around this time, but no traces of destruction or looting have been identified.¹⁰⁸ There is also no obvious shift in material culture between the Second Intermediate Period and the beginning of the 18th Dynasty. For example, pottery forms, scarab typology, and weaponry found through the

¹⁰⁶ Bietak, *Avaris, The Capital*, 7.

¹⁰⁷ Manfred Bietak, “The Aftermath of the Hyksos in Avaris,” in *Culture Contacts and the Making of Cultures: Papers in Homage to Itamar Even-Zohar*, ed. Rakefet Sela-Sheffy and Gideon Toury (Tel Aviv: Unit of Culture Research, Tel Aviv University, 2011), 20.

¹⁰⁸ Bietak, “Aftermath,” 21-22; Bietak, *Avaris, The Capital*, 67.

first half of the 18th Dynasty continue to reflect the distinctive hybrid Canaanite-Egyptian culture which characterized Avaris during the Second Intermediate Period.¹⁰⁹

The Temple of Seth at Avaris echoes the same cultural continuity, as it remained in use during the transitional phase from the Hyksos control in the Delta to Ahmose's rule over a unified Egypt. Apart from some scattered finds, the only significant New Kingdom royal artifact from the temple is the lintel of Tutankhamun and Horemheb (Catalogue 37). 19th Dynasty texts indicate Seti I founded the Ramesside royal residence at Avaris, but there is no concrete archaeological evidence that he worked at the Temple of Seth. Even if the bark pedestal of Seti I (Catalogue 303) came from Avaris, this is not reflective of a large scale building project at the site. New Kingdom royal texts and monuments with secure provenance examined in the present study only produce references to Seth as Lord of Avaris three times. All three examples date to the reign of Merenptah (Catalogue 95, 97, and 102), and the king is referred to as "Beloved of Seth, Lord of Avaris". These inscriptions allow us to say very little about the god's character as Lord of Avaris apart from the fact that he was a guarantor and supporter of legitimate Egyptian kingship. No depictions of Seth of Avaris have been identified, so the form this manifestation of Seth took is unknown.

Determining an accurate picture of Seth at Avaris is hampered by two main problems. The first issue is that much of the ancient site lies under modern farmland, and the portions that have been excavated were previously subjected to agricultural leveling. The second issue complicating matters at Avaris is the fact that kings of the Third

¹⁰⁹ Bietak, "Aftermath," 32; Bietak, *Avaris, The Capital*, 67; Manfred Bietak, "The Center of Hyksos Rule: Avaris (Tell el-Dab'a)," in *The Hyksos: New Historical and Archaeological Perspectives*, ed. Eliezer D. Oren (Philadelphia: University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, 1997), 97-105.

Intermediate Period moved many of the site's major monuments to other Delta locations, including Tanis. The most significant find relating to Seth from Tanis is the 400 Year Stela of Ramesses II (Catalogue 63). In the lunette, Seth, labeled as Seth of Ramesses Meryamun, is shown in anthropomorphic form with foreign facial features and dress. Based on the surviving evidence, Seth of Ramesses Meryamun is a manifestation of the god found only in the Delta during the Ramesside Period. Several other gods, including Amun and Ptah, also display this royal association in the 19th and 20th Dynasties which served as reflections of the king's own divine nature. References to Seth of Ramesses Meryamun occur in seven other places at Tanis, but he is only found in royal epithets expressing that the king is beloved of the god.¹¹⁰ None of the monuments recovered at Tanis, including the 400 Year Stela, connect Seth of Ramesses Meryamun to the site of Avaris, so how or if Seth of Ramesses Meryamun relates to Avaris is unclear.

Sw

Sw, located just within the northern border of Upper Egypt, is first seen to be associated with Seth at Pepi II's mortuary temple at Saqqara (Catalogue 21 and 22). There are three 18th Dynasty references to Seth as Foremost of Sw, all originating from Karnak. In the Festival Court of Thutmose II, Seth in his composite form gives life, stability, and dominion to Hatshepsut (Catalogue 127). The text labels the god as "Foremost of Sw" as well as "the Ombite" and "Lord of the Land of Upper Egypt".¹¹¹ In this fragmentary scene, Seth was originally accompanied by a now lost figure of the Upper Egyptian goddess Nekhbet.

¹¹⁰ See Catalogue 81, 82, 84-87, 91, and 95.

¹¹¹ See below for a discussion on Seth as the Ombite.

Thutmose III included two depictions of Seth as the Foremost of Sw in the decoration of his Akh Menu temple at Karnak. In one scene (Catalogue 138) Seth in his composite form is shown standing behind an enthroned figure of the king. The god, who again carries the titles Foremost of Sw, the Ombite, and Lord of the Land of Upper Egypt, gives Thutmose III “the kingship of the Two Lands”. As in the relief of Hatshepsut discussed above, Seth is accompanied by the Upper Egyptian goddess Nekhbet.

In the second Akh Menu relief, Thutmose III is shown running before the god Amun while in the company of Horus and Seth (Catalogue 139). This scene is likely intended to represent part of the king’s Sed Festival, in which Seth “Lord of the Land of Upper Egypt and Foremost of Sw” “gives (the) achievement of millions of years” to the king.¹¹² Within this specific context of the Sed Festival, Seth is not accompanied by Nekhbet, but rather by Horus the Behdite with the two gods exhibiting their relationship as the Two Lords.

There is also one example within the current study associating Seth with the site of Sw located within Ramesses III’s mortuary complex at Medinet Habu (Catalogue 240), but it has a decidedly different character than those seen in the 18th Dynasty. At Medinet Habu, the king is shown offering to Seth, Lord of Sw and his sister-consort Nephthys. In exchange for the royal offerings of incense and libations, the god gives Ramesses III valor and strength.

It appears that in the 18th Dynasty, Seth as Foremost of Sw was intended to evoke the duality inherent in Egyptian kingship. When paired with Nekhbet, this manifestation

¹¹² See discussion below on the Sed Festival and the Two Lords.

of Seth highlighted the king's reign over Upper Egypt. When Seth Foremost of Sw was paired with Horus the Behdite, he still represented the king's reign over Upper Egypt, but did so within the perspective of the Two Lords. Seth, as the representative of the South and one half of the Two Lords, was also partly responsible for the king's ability to celebrate the Sed Festival, thus his appearance in the Festival Court of Thutmose II and the scene of Thutmose III running before Amun. In the Ramesside Period, Seth Foremost of Sw seems less responsible for millions of years ruling over a united Egypt, and more responsible for giving the king strength and valor.

Nagada

Arguably the most important cult site in Pharaonic Egypt dedicated to Seth was Nagada (Egyptian *Nbwt*, Greek Ombos) in Upper Egypt. References to Seth the Ombite occur on royal monuments as far back as the 3rd Dynasty (Catalogue 9, Catalogue 10), and remains from Seth's temple at Nagada date from at least the 4th Dynasty. In the royal material compiled for this study, Seth consistently retains his association with Nagada from the 3rd Dynasty through the reign of Ramesses III in the 20th Dynasty.

Unfortunately the site of Nagada is not well preserved nor has it been extensively excavated. What remains of the New Kingdom Temple of Seth at the site are some mud brick walls along with a small number of stone architectural and decorative elements. Originally a pylon stood at the front of the sacred precinct and opened onto a courtyard. Within the walled precinct were granaries and other storerooms. From the courtyard, a second pylon led into the temple proper. Archaeological evidence indicates that stone elements were regularly added to the temple by New Kingdom rulers from Thutmose I through Ramesses III. The most notable of these is the lintel of Thutmose I (Catalogue

114). Here, Seth appears twice in his composite form giving life to the Horus name of the king, once in the presence of the Upper Egyptian goddess Nekhbet and once in the presence of the Lower Egyptian goddess Wadjet. In this case, the Ombite highlighted Seth's role as supporter and guarantor of legitimate dual kingship.

The most extraordinary find from the Temple of Seth at Nagada is Amenhotep II's monumental faience *w3s* scepter whose animal head bears a striking resemblance to the Seth animal (Catalogue 122).¹¹³ The scepter is one of the largest faience objects known from ancient Egypt. The Egyptians referred to the faience material as *thnt*, a word which can also be translated as dazzling, shining, or gleaming and is often found in texts as a descriptor of the sun disk.¹¹⁴ Amenhotep II's *w3s* scepter is a blue-green color similar to that of turquoise, a material which the ancient Egyptians associated with the rising of the reborn sun at dawn.¹¹⁵ Although the exact purpose and use of the object is unknown, the monumental size of a scepter with clear solar overtones could very well have served, in part, to highlight the solar associations of Seth.¹¹⁶

The Ombite is one of Seth's most common epithets and could be used in lieu of the god's name. In the New Kingdom, depictions and textual references to the Ombite were found in Lower Egypt, Upper Egypt, Nubia, and Western Asia. As already

¹¹³ Several authors have suggested that the *w3s* scepter, in all contexts, is meant to have the head of a Seth animal. See Alan Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Egyptian Hieroglyphs* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 2005), 509; Geoffrey Graham, "Insignias," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, ed. Donald B. Redford (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 165; te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, 89.

¹¹⁴ Nicholson, *Egyptian Faience*, 11.

¹¹⁵ Gay Robins, "Color Symbolism," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, ed. Donald B. Redford (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 292.

¹¹⁶ Graham ("Insignias," 165) suggests that the scepter belonged to the god of Ombos, but what exactly the author means by the statement is unclear.

mentioned in the above discussion on Seth as Foremost of Sw (Catalogue 127, Catalogue 138), the Ombite in the 18th Dynasty is the representative par excellence for Upper Egypt and the duality inherent in Egyptian kingship. In the Ramesside Period, the role of the Ombite develops along a similar trajectory to the manifestation of Seth at Sw, wherein he becomes more heavily associated with the physical might of the king. For example, in an inscription of Ramesses III from Medinet Habu (Catalogue 176), Amun-Re says to the king “I cause your war-cry to pervade through every foreign land, the dread of you being in their bodies like the Ombite”. Unlike the Lord of Sw, the Ombite served as an embodiment of Seth’s role as one half of the Two Lords in both the 18th Dynasty and the Ramesside Period. For example, the Ombite and the Behdite support the legitimate king through kingship rituals like the Sed Festival during the reign of Thutmose III (Catalogue 140) as well as the reign of Merenptah (Catalogue 57).

Other Sites

Although not explicitly reflected in the royal texts and monuments compiled during the course of this study, there were New Kingdom era temples dedicated to Seth at Tell el-Yahudiyeh in the north east Delta, Mut el-Kharab in the Western Oases, and Matmar in Middle Egypt.¹¹⁷ Tell el-Yahudiyeh was one of the first permanent Hyksos settlements, and it went on to become a thriving New Kingdom town.¹¹⁸ While there are Ramesside finds from Tell el-Yahudiyeh in Chapter Three (Catalogue 104-106), they do

¹¹⁷ These temples, like all temples, were constructed and maintained through royal patronage. While New Kingdom material associated with the cult of Seth is known these sites, it was not included in the catalogue because it did not directly relate to the use of Seth in expressions of royal ideology. Likewise, the royal material from Tell el-Yahudiyeh and Matmar catalogued in Chapter Three have not been definitively linked to the temple of Seth.

¹¹⁸ Charlotte Booth, *The Hyksos Period in Egypt* (Buckinghamshire: Shire Publications Ltd., 2008), 20-23; Sourouzian, *Merenptah*, 60-67.

not by themselves indicate the presence of a Seth temple at the site. In the summer of 2013, the Ministry of State Antiquities in Egypt announced they had found the remains of a New Kingdom temple dedicated to Seth, but no further developments have been forthcoming.

The Temple of Seth at Mut el-Kharab in the Dakhleh Oasis is poorly preserved, but the cartouches of Thutmose III and Horemheb have been found on blocks from the temple precinct. Non-royal New Kingdom material from the site gives Seth the epithets Great of Strength and Son of Nut.¹¹⁹ Seth continued to be worshiped at Mut el-Kharab through the Roman Period.

Matmar was inhabited from the Predynastic Period through the 25th Dynasty, but there is no evidence of a Temple to Seth at the site before the reign of Ramesses II. Archaeological remains indicate that the Seth Temple was oriented on an east-west axis and was surrounded by brick storehouses.¹²⁰ Royal inscriptions from Matmar are not very informative, as they do not give the epithets of Seth from the site or any indication of his characteristics. However, representations of Seth have been found within the god's precinct at Matmar showing the god in his composite form. A striking stela fragment from the temple precinct shows Seth's red human body spearing a serpent.¹²¹ Unfortunately, the upper portion of the stela with the god's head is lost, so it is unknown

¹¹⁹ Colin A. Hope and Olaf E. Kaper, "Egyptian Interest in the Oases in the New Kingdom and a New Stela for Seth from Mut el-Kharab," in *Ramesside Studies in Honour of K.A. Kitchen*, ed. Mark Collier and Steven Snape (Bolton: Rutherford Press Limited, 2011), 320-21; Olaf E. Kaper, "Two Decorated Blocks from the Temple of Seth in Mut el-Kharab," *The Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology* 12 (2001): 71.

¹²⁰ Brunton, *Matmar*, 6.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 61, pl. XLIX, 13; Vandier, "Le dieu Seth," 191.

what precise form Seth takes while performing this action. It is clear however that he is winged and wears the fringed kilt characteristic of foreign deities.

Horus and Seth: The Two Lords and the Duality of Egyptian Kingship

Material from the cult sites dedicated to Seth reflect the two main aspects of the god which are featured in New Kingdom expressions of royal ideology: the duality inherent in Egyptian kingship and the shared physical strength of god and king. The pairing of Seth and Horus on royal monuments expresses the first of these principles – that Horus and Seth have come together to rule Egypt through the king and his divine office. This duality is succinctly expressed in the archaizing 18th and 19th Dynasty queen’s title “She Who Sees Horus and Seth”.¹²²

The 18th Dynasty

At the most basic level Horus represented the North, and Seth represented the South. Horus could further signify cultivated lands and Egypt as a whole, while Seth could denote deserts and foreign lands. The Two Lords gave the king the ability to rule over not only Upper and Lower Egypt, but Egypt as a whole, disparate physical landscapes, and all other countries as well. In the 18th Dynasty, the fact that the legitimate king was able to rule over physical expanses of land under the power of the Two Lords was particularly stressed on royal monuments erected outside the traditional boundaries of Egypt. For example, at the temple at Buhen, an inscription from the reign of Thutmose III (Catalogue 282) describes the king’s military activities: “He has taken this land upon its south. The Pool of Seth is under his supervision. He has sealed it at its north as far as the Pool of Horus.” A later inscription of Amenhotep III from Soleb

¹²² Catalogue 49, 181, 209, and 232.

(Catalogue 288) says the king is the one who has seized “the Cool Place of Horus and the Cool Place of Seth”. The ability of the king to rule over all the lands represented by Horus and Seth is perhaps most elegantly expressed in the inscription of Thutmose I from Tomas (Catalogue 294): “His appearance as Chief of the Two Lands in order to rule what is encircled by the sun disk, Upper and Lower Egypt, the shares of the Two Lords, which unite the Two Lands.”

The legitimate Egyptian king was seen to have dominion over all the complimentary concepts contained within the duality of the Two Lords, not just the physical lands under their control. Each god brought to the office a distinct set of attributes which could be summoned by the king in different contexts. For example, when the king needed to exercise physical strength he invoked Seth, while when he needed to wield political influence he invoked Horus.¹²³ Both components are distinct, but equally important to a successful reign. This ideology is most clearly stated on Hatshepsut’s obelisk from Karnak (Catalogue 129) where the king says: “The Two Lords shall unite their shares for me, so that I may rule this land like the Son of Isis and that I may be strong for myself like the Son of Nut”.

At Hatshepsut’s mortuary temple at Deir el Bahari are clear visual representations of the relationship between the Two Lords and the king of Egypt. On four different occasions at the site Thutmose III is shown wearing a “king’s jacket” which is represented as two falcons with their wings stretched out across his chest (Catalogue 215, Catalogue 216, Catalogue 217, Catalogue 218). One falcon has the head of a bird and

¹²³ Nicolas-Christophe Grimal, *Les termes de la propagande royale égyptienne: de la XIXe dynastie à la conquête d’Alexandre* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale Diffusion de Boccard, 1986), 78. Brunner, “Seth und Apophis,” 227; te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, 71.

one has the head of a Seth animal. The “king’s jacket” is visually indicating that the power of the Two Lords has come together within the body of the king.

In the specific case of Hatshepsut’s obelisk discussed above, the Son of Isis (Horus) and the Son of Nut (Seth) are individually mentioned, but the writing of the Two Lords utilizes two falcons on standards. In other texts, the Two Lords is written with a falcon hieroglyph paired with a recumbent Seth animal hieroglyph. For example, the Great and Small Sphinx Stele of Amenhotep II (Catalogue 46 and 47) use the two different animal hieroglyphs in the writing of the Two Lords when they discuss how the sun god gives the king “the shares of the Two Lords and the portions of the Two Ladies, their years in life and dominion”. The fluid iconography of the Two Lords is paralleled in the iconography of the Two Ladies, Nekhbet and Wadjet. While the Upper Egyptian goddess Nekhbet is often represented as a vulture and Wadjet the goddess of Lower Egypt is frequently found in the form of a rearing cobra, the Two Ladies could be shown as either two vultures or two rearing cobras.¹²⁴ What was important with the Two Lords and the Two Ladies was not how they were represented, but that the duality inherent in their relationship was present in expressions of royal ideology.

Since the pairing of Horus and Seth as the Two Lords was so deeply ingrained in 18th Dynasty royal ideology, it is reasonable to assume that whenever the two gods are paired in royal art and texts they are functioning within their roles as the Two Lords. If this is indeed the case, then the Two Lords are present at the two major kingship rituals of

¹²⁴ Sally B. Johnson, *The Cobra Goddess of Ancient Egypt: Predynastic, Early Dynastic, and Old Kingdom Periods* (New York: Kegan Paul International, 1990), 5; René Preys, “Nekhbet, l’oeil droit du dieu solaire,” *Revue d’Égyptologie* 61 (2010): 159; A. Radwan, “Nekhbet with Wadjet or Isis with Nephthys: The Lasting Concept of Two Goddesses in Ancient Egypt,” in *Hommages à Fayza Haikal*, ed. Nicolas-Christophe Grimal et al. (Le Caire: Institute français d’archéologie orientale, 2003), 218.

the 18th Dynasty: the king's coronation and the king's Sed Festival. At her mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahari, Hatshepsut is shown receiving the Double Crown (Catalogue 206), the White Crown (Catalogue 207), and the Red Crown (Catalogue 208) from Horus and Seth. Regardless of what type of crown the king is wearing, the Two Lords are always seen to rule Egypt through the office of the legitimate king who they have imbued with their property and power.

As already seen in the discussions of Seth's associations with the sites of Sw and Nagada, the Two Lords were responsible for the renewal and rejuvenation of the king during the Sed Festival. The Sed Festival was a royal ceremony which celebrated the reconfirmation of the king's power and the rebirth of his divine kingship.¹²⁵ Despite the frequency with which the Sed Festival appears in Egyptian art and texts, when, where, and how the rite was celebrated remains unclear. Ideally the Sed Festival would have taken place after a king ruled for 30 years.¹²⁶ While a number of kings, including Thutmose III and Amenhotep III, purport to have celebrated Sed Festivals in regnal year 30, other kings, like Amenhotep I, Amenhotep II, and Akhenaten, are depicted carrying out Sed Festivals activities despite ruling for less than 30 years.¹²⁷ If a king ruled longer than 30 years, Sed Festivals were commemorated at fairly regular intervals of three years

¹²⁵ Lawrence M. Berman, "Overview of Amenhotep III and His Reign," in Amenhotep III: Perspectives on His Reign, ed. David B. O'Connor and Eric H Cline (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 15; Jocelyn Gohary, *Akhenaten's Sed-festival at Karnak* (New York: Kegan Paul International, 1992), 1; Byron E. Shafer, "Temples, Priests, and Rituals: An Overview," in *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, ed. Byron E. Shafer (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997), 27; Bialostocka, "Hatshepsut's Regeneration," 17.

¹²⁶ Berman, "Overview," 16; Gohary, *Akhenaten's*, 3; Hornung and Staehelin, *Sedfest*, 9-10.; Berman Overview, 16.

¹²⁷ Gohary, *Akhenaten's*, 3-4; Hornung and Staehelin, *Sedfest*.

after the first celebration.¹²⁸ The archaeological evidence dealing with the Sed Festival does not provide much clarification. For example, Amenhotep I erected a Sed Festival chapel at Karnak, but there is no supporting physical evidence to suggest that the ceremony took place here. The lack of both archaeological evidence and coherent records of events has sometimes led to the conclusion that the Sed Festival represented a royal ideal and not an actual event. However, at Amenhotep III's palatial complex of Malqata, jar labels indicate the provisions collected at the site were intended for the celebration of the king's Sed Festival. Private tombs from Amenhotep III's reign also mention the preparations undertaken for the king's three Sed Festivals. Certainly some kings, like Amenhotep III, actually celebrated a festival to commemorate 30 years on the throne, but every occurrence of Sed Festival iconography does not necessarily indicate an actual event is being depicted or actually took place.

Amenhotep I (Catalogue 203, Catalogue 204) and Hatshepsut (Catalogue 223) included Sed Festival themed lintels at their mortuary temples which were based on Middle Kingdom examples. The lintels show dual images of the king seated back to back on thrones contained within Sed Festival pavilions. Both images of the kings wear traditional Sed Festival robes but the rulers wear the Red Crown on one half of the lintel and the White Crown on the other half. The images of the kings wearing the Red Crown accept years of rule from either an image or standard of Horus, while the kings wearing the White Crowns accept years of rule from a standard or image of Seth the Ombite. This scene type emphasizes the renewal of the king's rule over the physical properties controlled by the Two Lords.

¹²⁸ Gohary, *Akhenaten's*, 3-4.

Thutmose III included several Sed Festival scenes in the decoration of his Akh Menu temple at Karnak. In addition to the king running in the presence of Horus and Seth discussed above (Catalogue 139), Thutmose III is shown in a separate scene shooting arrows while accompanied by Horus and Seth the Ombite (Catalogue 140). These types of scenes highlight the king's renewed power to rule over the expanses of territory belonging to the Two Lords, but also add a physical component not seen in the lintels of Amenhotep I and Hatshepsut. By completing physical activities like running and archery, Thutmose III is reaffirming that the physical power of the Two Lords is within his body as legitimate king of Egypt.

19th – 20th Dynasties

Overall in the Ramesside Period, there are fewer references to the Two Lords in royal art and texts. Although less frequent, there are still references to the Ramesside kings ruling over the physical lands embodied by the Two Lords. For example, in the abridged version of the First Hittite Marriage Stela (Catalogue 166) it is said of Ramesses II: “(When) he came out from the womb, valor was decreed for him, he united the portions of the Two Lords”. At Medinet Habu, Amun says to Ramesses III (Catalogue 258): “(I) have given to you the victories of the Two Lords, their kingship, their property, and their portions”.¹²⁹

There are two inscriptions of Ramesses III (Catalogue 248 and 257) which reference the insignia of the Two Lords, which perhaps also refer to the geographic duality of the Two Lords. In Catalogue 248, the king is said to be “handsome (when) seated upon the high throne like Atum, he received the insignia of the Two Lords. The

¹²⁹ There are two other Ramesside texts (Catalogue 51 and 156) where Amun tells the king he has given the property or portions of the Two Lords to the king.

Two Ladies, She of the South and She of the North, they assume their place upon his head, and his hands grasp the crook and carry the flail.” The crook and flail, insignia carried only by kings, may further be a reference to the other duality associated with the Two Lords: ruling and physical action. The crook is also the hieroglyph for *ḥk3* which means “to rule”. The flail may be a fly-whisk which in ancient Egyptian could be translated as the verb “to protect” (*ḥwi*).

What does increase in the Ramesside references to the Two Lords is the emphasis on the king embodying the strength of the Two Lords. For example in an inscription on a statue of Seti I (Catalogue 160), the king is said to have “joined the strength of the Two Lords”.¹³⁰ At Medinet Habu, Amun says to Ramesses III (Catalogue 258): “I cause them [foreign enemies] to see Your Majesty as the strength of the Two Lords, so that bows are overthrown for you through your majesty”. At Karnak, Thoth is shown writing the annals of Ramesses III (Catalogue 177). He asks of other gods: “May you give to him eternity...great quantities of Sed Festivals forever, with valor and victory, the strength of the Two Lords, the throne of Geb, the strength of Shu and Tefnut”.

Listed in Appendix I is a possible depiction of Ramesses II during the Battle of Qadesh wearing the “king’s jacket” which is in the form of two Seth-headed falcons. Regardless of the accuracy of Rosellini’s drawing, the “king’s jacket” is still functioning as the visual manifestation of the power of the Two Lords ruling Egypt together through the body of the legitimate king. This idea is made clear in an inscription of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu (Catalogue 253), where it is said of the King: “His war cry is like Seth’s upon the top of the mountains, young bull, raging with sharp horns, strong of arm,

¹³⁰ Similar ideas are also found in Catalogue 154, 164, 179, and 264.

charging upon the arena of valor, warrior, Lord of the Mix, enfolded between the Two Lords, their majesty united in his body”.

Like the other references to the Two Lords, Horus and Seth’s presence at the major kingship rituals of coronation and the Sed Festival is also less prominent in the Ramesside Period as compared to the 18th Dynasty. In fact, there is only one Ramesside scene found in the course of this study (Catalogue 274) where Seth is shown crowing the king of Egypt. At the Small Temple at Abu Simbel, Ramesses II receives the Double Crown from Horus and Seth the Ombite. However, there are some textual references to the king’s coronation which invoke the Two Lords. For example, in Catalogue 262 Ramesses III is said to be “magnificent in the White Crown and the Red Crown like the Two Lords, their strength and majesty united in his body”. There are only two scenes showing Seth overseeing the king performing rituals associated with the Sed Festival (Catalogue 57, Catalogue 197). Both of the scenes are variations on the same lintel type of Amenhotep I and Hatshepsut discussed above which emphasize the renewal of the king’s rule over the physical properties of the Two Lords.

A related royal ritual which was popular during the Ramesside Period was the so-called purification of the king. The scene type appears to be an innovation of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III (Catalogue 211) and involved Horus and Seth the Ombite pouring water over the king before rituals, such as coronation, took place. There are four such scenes coming from the Ramesside Period (Catalogue 151, Catalogue 234, Catalogue 280, Catalogue 304). In the purification scene of Seti I from Karnak (Catalogue 151), for example, the king is purified by Horus and Seth before being crowned by Amun later in

the relief cycle. In each of their speeches, the Two Lords wish many Sed Festivals be celebrated by the king.

In his Theban mortuary temple, Seti I is shown being purified by Horus and Thoth (Catalogue 196). Thoth says within his speech to the king: “Your purification is the purification of Horus, and vice versa. Your purification is the purification of Seth, and vice versa. Your purification is the purification of Thoth, and vice versa.” The purification ritual, unlike the coronation rite, was not meant to highlight the duality of Egyptian kingship, and therefore deities other than Horus and Seth were involved. The trio of Horus, Seth, and Thoth were sometimes joined by a fourth god named Dwenawy.¹³¹ Since the Pyramid Texts, this grouping of four gods was considered to represent the four cardinal points. In purification scenes, the more common pairing of Horus and Thoth in artistic representation was meant to evoke broader connotations than Upper and Lower Egypt. The purification ritual was meant not only to ritually cleanse the king, but also transfer to him the power and shares of the divinities who wielded authority over the four quarters of the world.¹³²

Physical Strength of Seth and King

In addition to embodying the strength of the Two Lords, the king could be imbued with the physical power of other gods as well, including Seth. There are a handful of textual references comparing the king’s strength to that of Seth in the 18th Dynasty royal material catalogued in the previous chapter. Two of these monuments commemorate specific military excursions. On a stela of Amenhotep II from Memphis (Catalogue 54),

¹³¹ Gardiner, “Baptism,” 10-11.

¹³² Ibid., 12; Murnane, *United with Eternity*, 26.

the king is described during the capture of Shamash-Edom as being “powerful like Bastet, like Seth in his moment of rage”. The stela of Thutmose IV from Konosso (Catalogue 298), compares the king’s actions to Seth’s in relation to a skirmish in the Eastern desert: “Then the Perfect God went forth like Montu in all his forms, adorned with his weapons of combat, raging like Seth the Ombite, while Re was behind him in life”.

Other 18th Dynasty textual references to the shared strength of Seth and the king are found in royal inscriptions that do not record a specific military event. In these situations, dialogues on the physical abilities of the kings serve to legitimize their reigns, as the ability of the king to act when called upon was an important component of Egyptian royal ideology. On the Great Sphinx Stela of Amenhotep II (Catalogue 46) the young king is said to possess “the strength of Montu is in his limbs, his might is like the Son of Nut’s”. Likewise, on the Dream Stela of Thutmose IV (Catalogue 48) the king’s physical strength is said to be “like the Son of Nut...Sekhmet, foremost of foreign lands, Seth, Son of Heka”.

Seth along with other deities like Sekhmet, Bastet, and Montu represent the primal physical power that was inherent in the divine. This raw power is not uncontrollable. Rather, the gods are able to unleash their power at an appropriate moment when order needed to be protected and maintained. For example, Seth traveled on the prow of the solar bark each night in order to protect the sun god from Apophis, the embodiment of chaos. Seth’s physical action of killing Apophis ensured the sun god was able to be successfully reborn again each morning. The Egyptians recognized that chaos posed a constant threat to their ordered existence, and it was imperative that the king was

ready and able to physically act, emboldened with divine power, in order to protect Egypt. As legitimate ruler and the gods' representative on earth, the king must possess the raw strength of the divine at all times as well as the ability to determine when it is necessary to use it against chaotic forces.

As already seen in the discussions of the cult sites dedicated to Seth and the Two Lords, royal monuments of the 19th and 20th Dynasties placed an increased emphasis on the physical strength of both the god and the king. In the Ramesside Period, the fact that the divine strength of Seth could occupy the king's physical body is given a visual form. For example, on the column of Merenptah from Heliopolis (Catalogue 52) Anat, Sekhmet, Re-Horakhty, Montu, and Seth are shown offering weapons to the king.¹³³ Seth is shown here in his composite form with a sun disk between his ears, which may be a specific reference to his role as defender of the solar bark. On other monuments, Seth witnesses the results of the king's divinely inspired actions. For example, Ramesses II is shown leading a row of captives to Seth Great of Strength on a stela from Tanis (Catalogue 64). Another stela of Ramesses II from Wadi Sannur (Catalogue 269) shows the king killing an enemy in front of Seth.

In Ramesside texts, Seth is not only a source of divine physical power. The god, as one half of the Two Lords, is seen to create the circumstances needed for the king's foreign victories and his physical control over all lands. This idea is most clearly stated in Ramesses II's Hittite Marriage Stela (Catalogue 271). The Hittite king acknowledges in his speech that Seth, as the father of Ramesses II, decreed for the Egyptian king the land of Hatti. Within the main narrative of the stela, Ramesses II is concerned how his

¹³³ There is a similar, but heavily damaged, scene of Seth handing Ramesses II a weapon in Catalogue 103.

men will be able to get the Hittite bride and her dowry to Egypt due to the poor winter weather in the foreign lands. He calls upon his father Seth to not allow rain, cold wind, or snow to hamper the travels of the wedding party. Seth of course obliges Ramesses, and the diplomatic marriage that would aid in calming relations between Egypt and the Hittites was allowed to occur unimpeded.

Seth is responsible for not just creating favorable conditions for the Egyptian king, but also for producing unfavorable conditions for foreign lands. The ruler of Hatti says to his officials in the text of the Hittite Marriage Stela: “Our land is destroyed, our lord Seth is angry with us; the sky does not give rain upon (us)”. Elsewhere, in the main text of Merenptah’s Israel Stela (Catalogue 202), the Libyans and their allies are defeated by Egypt because “Seth has turned his back to their chief, plundered are their villages upon his word”. Seth ensured that Egyptian kings not only strengthened their own position, but simultaneously removed the hope of divine assistance from the foreign enemy he is rallying against.¹³⁴

Ramesses III made liberal use of Seth’s role as slayer of the chaotic serpent Apophis at his mortuary temple at Medinet Habu. In the rhetorical text before the king in his chariot during the land battle with the Sea Peoples (Catalogue 246), the king’s performance in battle is likened to “the time of Seth’s raging, defeating the Rebel Serpent before the Night Bark”. While the king shoots his bow during the naval battle with the Sea Peoples (Catalogue 247) Ramesses III is “like Seth destroying the Evil Serpent”. In the Great Inscription of the Second Libyan War (Catalogue 250), the foreigners themselves recognize that Ramesses III “followed after us like Seth seeing the Rebel

¹³⁴ Kemp, “Imperialism and Empire,” 12.

Serpent”. Catalogue 258 and 261 contain speeches to the king from Amun as the god welcomes Ramesses III home to Egypt after battle. Amun says in both cases: I cause them to see your majesty in victory like Seth upon destroying the Rebel Serpent at the front of the Night Bark”. In the Re Chapel at Medinet Habu, Ramesses III is depicted offering incense to the solar bark. At the prow of the bark (Catalogue 236) Seth is seen in his composite form in the act of spearing Apophis. Through the physical actions of Ramesses III, whether it is in battle or offering to the gods, the mortal king is ensuring the continuation of ordered existence, just as Seth is doing in the divine realm.

A Note on the Royal Titulary

For the kings of the New Kingdom, the five-fold royal titulary might have been utilized as an opportunity to express their own personal royal ideology in relationship to the social, economic, and historical context in which they ruled. This titulary was flexible and could change depending on when and where it was being written or inscribed. Of the rulers of the New Kingdom, Ramesses II appears to have incorporated Seth into his titulary most often. For example, in Catalogue 286 he has the Two Ladies Name of “Great of Strength like the Son of Nut, Sovereign Who is Victorious over the Nine Bows”. Seth is most frequently found in the Horus Names of Ramesses II. Catalogue 104 gives a shortened version of the king’s Horus Name as “Strong Bull, Beloved of Seth”.¹³⁵ Seth can be found in longer versions of Ramesses II’s Horus Name as well. In Catalogue 272 and 273, for example, the Horus Name of the king is given as “Strong Bull, Beloved of Maat, Montu of Kings, Bull of Rulers, Great of Strength like his

¹³⁵ This shorter Horus Name is also found in Catalogue 45, 71, and 73. A similar version (Horus Strong Bull Son of Seth) is found in Catalogue 50 and 51.

father Seth in Ombos”. Another variation is found in Catalogue 69: “Horus Strong Bull, Beloved of Re, Strong like Seth, Son of Nut, Stout Hearted in Battle, Trampling Foreign Lands”. It is obvious from the few examples above that whenever Seth is explicitly referenced in the titulary of Ramesses II, he does so within a larger ideological statement about the physical might of the king.

Although there are not many overt mentions of Seth within New Kingdom royal titularies, it is possible that Seth is found in all royals names through the Golden Horus Name. Of all the components of the king’s titulary, the symbolism behind the Golden Horus Name is the most ambiguous.¹³⁶ The 1st Dynasty king Anedjib created the short-lived royal title of *nbwy*, the Two Lords.¹³⁷ The Golden Horus Name enters the king’s titulary around the end of the 3rd Dynasty - beginning of the 4th Dynasty.¹³⁸ During this time, the title is sometimes written with two or three falcons on the hieroglyph for gold, hence the designation “The Golden Horus Name”.¹³⁹ The Golden Horus Name was largely abandoned in the Second Intermediate Period, but reappeared in the New Kingdom.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁶ Ronald J. Leprohon, *The Great Name: Ancient Egyptian Royal Titulary* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 15.

¹³⁷ Josep Cervelló-Autuori, “The Origins of Pharaonic Titulary: A Cultural Approach,” in *Das alte Ägypten und seine Nachbarn: Festschrift zum 65. Geburtstag von Helmut Satzinger*, ed. Helmut Satzinger et al. (Krems: Österreichisches Literaturforum, 2003) 51.

¹³⁸ Cervelló-Autuori, “Pharaonic Titulary,” 55.

¹³⁹ Leprohon, *The Great Name*, 16; Firmin Parent, “Seth dans l’Horus d’or des titres royaux,” in *Amosiadès: mélanges offerts au professeur Claude Vandersleyen par ses anciens étudiants*, ed. Claude Obsomer et al. (Louvain-la-Neuve: Université catholique de Louvain, Institut orientaliste, Collège Erasme, 1992), 348.

¹⁴⁰ Parent, “Seth,” 349.

As early as Émile Brugsch in 1849, scholars have speculated on a link between the Golden Horus Name and the dual kingship of Horus and Seth. The two main reasons for the proposed connection are the early writing of the title with two falcons, as is seen in some writings of the Two Lords, and the fact that the *nbw* hieroglyph used in the Golden Horus Name was also used to write the name of Nagada (*nbwt*), Seth's main cult site. A number of Golden Horus Names in the New Kingdom are comprised of statements about the king's physical strength or military victories, which is sometimes cited as further evidence of the connection between Seth and this part of the royal titulary.¹⁴¹ For example, Amenhotep II's Golden Horus Name is sometimes written as "Golden Horus Who Seizes by His Strength in All Lands". On the Dream Stela of Thutmose IV, the king is given the Golden Horus Name of "Strong of Sword Who Subdues the Nine Bows". In the 19th Dynasty, Seti I's Golden Horus Name is often written as "He Who Renews the Crowns, He Who Subjugates the Nine Bows in All Lands". However, not all Golden Horus names feature statements about the king's physical strength, nor is Seth found explicitly referenced in Golden Horus Names of the New Kingdom. Additionally, there are many other gods besides Seth who contributed to the king's physical strength and victories abroad. Certainly, it would have been an appropriate ideological association to have the Golden Horus Name refer to the Two Lords ruling Egypt together in the body of the king, but with the meaning of the components of the royal titulary having evolved and changed over time it is difficult to say for certain.

¹⁴¹ Leprohon, *The Great Name*, 16-17.

Conclusion

It is only natural to find Seth, who is both a part of divine ordered creation and a major member of the Egyptian pantheon, in New Kingdom expressions of royal ideology. Analyzing the primary evidence within this one specific context serves as an important step forward in understanding the true character of Seth as envisioned by the ancient Egyptians. Partnered with Horus, Seth represents the duality inherent in Egyptian kingship – the complimentary aspects of Lower and Upper Egypt, Egypt and foreign lands, governing and physical strength. As one of the Two Lords, Seth was a central supporter and guarantor of fundamental kingship rituals such as the king's coronation and Sed Festival. While the Two Lords could imbue the legitimate king of Egypt with the divine physical power needed to ensure the protection of order, Seth could additionally influence conditions in foreign lands to guarantee the Egyptian king's success abroad and his ability to rule all lands.

The characteristics of Seth as found in New Kingdom royal monuments do not fundamentally change from the 18th Dynasty to the Ramesside Period. What does shift during the course of the New Kingdom are the attributes of Seth which are emphasized in expressions of royal ideology. 18th Dynasty material uses Seth to underscore the duality of Egyptian kingship and the divine potency of Horus and Seth ruling Egypt through the body of the legitimate king. In the Ramesside Period, Seth's presence in royal art and texts give a divine source to the king's awesome physical prowess. Some authors have suggested that the rulers of the 19th and 20th Dynasties had an exceptional affinity for

Seth.¹⁴² However, based on surviving evidence, Hatshepsut and Thutmose III utilized Seth in more novel and significant ways than their Ramesside successors. For example, the purification scene-type was an innovation of the joint reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III as was the Two-Lords “king’s-jacket” worn by the latter at Deir el Bahari. The most extraordinary feature of Seth that is gleaned from New Kingdom expressions of royal ideology is just what an ordinary member of the pantheon he really was. While Seth was undoubtedly a major supporter of the legitimate king of Egypt, he was just one of several gods who could fulfill this role. Montu and Sekhmet could provide the king with divine physical power, Thoth and Horus could purify the ruler, and the Two Lords could be written with two falcon hieroglyphs. The interchangeable nature of the gods in New Kingdom expressions of royal ideology does not diminish the status of any one of the deities. Just as was the case with *The Destruction of Mankind* discussed in Chapter One, the role played by the divine actor is more important than their individual identity.

¹⁴² Deborah Schorsch and Mark T. Wypyski, “Seth – ‘Figure of Mystery’,” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 45 (2009): 184; Assman, *The Mind of Egypt*, 200; te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, 122ff.

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Appendix I

Hypothetical and Unconfirmed Reconstructions

Wall Relief

18th Dynasty, Reign of Amenhotep III

Archaeological Site: East Side, Interior North Wall, Luxor Temple, Thebes

Bibliography: Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple: With Translation of Texts, Commentary, and Glossary*, Vol. 2: *The Façade, Portals, Upper Register Scenes, Columns, Marginalia, and Statuary in the Colonnade Hall* (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1998), 21 and pl.169; Harold H. Nelson, "Certain Reliefs at Karnak and Medinet Habu and The Ritual of Amenophis I," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 8 (1949): 207 and pl.xxb; Porter and Moss, II, 328.

In this relief, Amenhotep III stands facing towards the viewer's right between two male deities. The top half of the scene is lost, but the Epigraphic Survey and Nelson posit that Horus is the god standing behind the figure of the king and that Seth was originally in front of Amenhotep III. This identification of Seth is based on the smooth chisel marks which remain from the act of erasing the figure, suggesting a methodical and official removal.

Wall Relief

19th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses II

Archaeological Site: Great Temple, Abu Simbel

Bibliography: Alberto Siliotti, *Egypt: Temples, Men and Gods* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2000), 80-81; Ćwiek, "Fate of Seth," 44 nt.12.

Ramesses II is shown shooting enemies from a chariot during the battle of Qadesh in this relief. Ippolito Rosellini completed a drawing of the scene in the 19th Century where Ramesses II wears the "king's jacket" made up of two Seth-headed falcons with their wings stretched across the king's chest.

Statue

20th Dynasty, Reign of Ramesses III

Archaeological Site: Mortuary Temple of Ramesses III, Medinet Habu

Current Location: The Egyptian Museum, Cairo (CG 629 and 1100)

Bibliography: Bojana Mojsov, "The Monuments of Ramesses III," in *Ramesses III: The Life and Times of Egypt's Last Hero*, ed. Eric H. Cline and David B. O'Connor (Ann

Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2012), 293; Christine Strauß-Seeber, "Amenophis III. In Medinet Habu," in *4. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung, Köln, 10.-12. Oktober 1996: Feste im Tempel*, ed. Rolf Grundlach and Matthias Rochholz (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998), 148-49; Grandet, *Ramsès III*, 51; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions V*, 296; Kitchen, *Translated and Annotated V*, 248; Porter and Moss, II, 526; Sourouzian, "Seth," 353.

This statue was found in fragments, and not all pieces of the sculpture have been recovered. In its current reconstructed state Ramesses III wears the White Crown while flanked by Horus and Seth who raise their hands in a gesture of coronation. While this layout is certainly possibly, the identities and forms of the gods are purely hypothetical reconstructions.