SOME NEW TEXTS OF HERIHOR AND RAMesses IV IN THE GREAT HYPOSTYLE HALL AT KARNAK

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In his introduction to the recently published scenes of Herihor from the Khonsu temple, E. Wente gives some evidence for believing that there is a special connection between Herihor and the great Hypostyle Hall of Karnak. The present article includes previously unpublished evidence from the Hypostyle Hall which supports this conclusion and suggests a more general connection between the Hypostyle Hall and the Khonsu temple itself.

THE TEXTS ON THE COLUMN BASES

Herihor

The points of connection noted in Wente's introduction are (1) a similar pattern of raised and sunk relief in the great Hypostyle Hall and the courtyard of the Khonsu temple decorated by Herihor; (2) the similarities of some of Herihor's scenes to those in the Hypostyle Hall; (3) the depiction of the second pylon, which is the entrance to the Hypostyle Hall, on one wall of Herihor's courtyard at Khonsu; and (4) a horizontal margin inscription of Herihor on the southern end of the east wall of the Hypostyle Hall, in which Herihor is given the same royal titles that he has in the Khonsu temple. After an initial break, this last text reads:

...[king of Upper and Lower Egypt], lord [of the two lands], lord [of the ritual] Hm-ntr-tpj-n-Jmn, son of Re^5, lord of diadems, S3-Jmn-Hrj-Hr, in the house of his father Amon-Re^5, king of the gods, that [he] may give life, stability, dominion, and health to the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Hm-ntr-[tpj-n-Jmn]...

To this list of connections may be added some very battered inscriptions on the column bases in the southern half of the Hypostyle Hall, similar in content to the...

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marginal inscription cited by Wente. Ten of the column bases in this half of the hall have preserved inscriptions: nos. 22, 32, 40, 42, 49, 51, 57, 60, 62, and 63. The texts are oriented towards the transverse aisle that divides this half of the hall into eastern and western quadrants. Facing this aisle, the inscriptions begin with a pair of vertical cartouches surmounted by disks, a feature preserved on three column bases. On columns 22 and 40 there are traces of the prenomen and nomen of Herihor in these cartouches, facing each other. A horizontal inscription begins on each side of these cartouches and wraps around the column bases away from the transverse aisle.

The preserved parts of these texts are quite uniform, varying only in the titles nb tĪwj, nb jrt ḫt, and nb ḫw, which apparently were inserted or omitted as space allowed. The section after the nomen survives only on column 42, and even there it is incomplete. But the similarity to the marginal inscription on the east wall of this half of the hall allows it to be restored partially and suggests that the ends of the inscriptions met and were joined by the elements which are to be read as the end of both texts. A composite version of these texts, with restorations made on the basis of the marginal inscription on the east wall, would read as follows:

A renewal of monuments which the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of two lands, lord of the ritual, Hm-ntr-tpj-n-jnm, son of Re[4], lord of diadems, S3-jnm-[hr-hr] made in the house of his father, Amon-Re[4], ruler of the gods, [that he might grant life, stability, and dominion].

The extent of the preservation of this text on the various bases is shown in figure 1. The lost beginning of the marginal inscription on the east wall can also be restored with some confidence on the grounds of its similarity to the column-base inscriptions.

Beyond the fact that they exist, these texts are quite uninteresting. The claim to have "renewed" the monuments of Amon-Re[4] need refer to nothing more than the inscription of the claim itself. The only notable linguistic feature, the redundant n in the sdm.n.f relative form of jr is attested in other short dedicatory passages during this period, although this is perhaps the earliest example.

The column bases are the most poorly preserved part of the hall, doubtless as a result of the centuries of annual inundations and the abrasive debris accompanying them. There are no traces of earlier inscriptions on the column bases, but the condition of the bases would make the survival of such traces very surprising if they

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3 I have used the numbering of the columns proposed by B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss in Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings, vol. 2, Theban Temples (Oxford, 1929). Their plan is given as fig. 2.

4 A later high priest, Pinedjem II, also reduplicates the n of jr. See M. G. Daressy, "Les Cercueils de prêtres d’Amon," Annales du service des antiquités de l’Egypte 8 (1907): 27, 31, 33 (two examples), and 37.
had existed. The only evidence for later attention to the bases is a square hole cut in column 63, directly over Herihor's personal name. Since this is the only example of such damage, the placement of the hole is almost certainly accidental, and it may be concluded that Herihor's assumption of royal titles was accepted here as it was in the marginal inscription and in the courtyard of the Khonsu temple.

Though only ten of the sixty-one columns in the southern half of the Hypostyle Hall bear any traces of the Herihor inscription, their random placement makes it probable that originally all the bases were inscribed (fig. 2 indicates the position of all the inscriptions in the hall). Of the fifty-one uninscribed column bases, forty-four have been completely rebuilt and the remaining seven are badly worn. Since most of the text is gone from the ten inscribed columns, it is not unreasonable to assume that the texts have been completely obliterated on the other seven original bases. The traces on column 62, however, are difficult to reconcile with the other inscriptions; this may be due to an earlier inscription which is unique to this column, or it might indicate that the inscriptions on the bases adjacent to the transverse aisle were of a different pattern.

Ramesses IV

The Herihor texts are not the only inscriptions on the column bases of the Hypostyle Hall. Christophe noted inscriptions which he attributed to Ramesses IV on column bases nos. 62, 75, 83, 84, and 86; all except no. 62 are located in the northern half of the hall. These texts and similar ones on the bases of the columns 79 and 87 (which contain no divine names and hence are not mentioned by Christophe) are shown in figure 3. These inscriptions are less regular than those of Herihor in both content and placement on the base. There may be traces of earlier inscriptions (column 87); and in some cases the text angles down into the pavement (this is especially noticeable on column 86), suggesting that the present floor was installed between the time of Ramesses IV and Herihor, since the latter's inscriptions are level with the floor. Only columns 75 and 87 clearly give the name of Ramesses IV, though the traces on columns 79, 83, and 84 do not contradict the assumption that he was responsible for all the inscriptions on the column bases in the northern half of the hall.

Like the Herihor texts, these inscriptions are oriented towards the transverse aisle, wrapping around both sides of the base away from it. The beginning of the text is nowhere preserved. It was followed by the prenomen and nomen in varying forms and with a variable group of titles, ending with mrj-Jmn-nsw-ntrw (or something similar) or mrj-Hnsw-nfr-htp. The pattern of these epithets, though they are preserved in only five texts, suggests that in the northeast quadrant mrj-Jmn was used on both sides of the base, while in the northwest quadrant mrj-Jmn was used on the north side and mrj-Hnsw on the south side of the column. The two inscriptions are separated on each column by a vertical line. Some of the traces on column 75 do not fit this pattern; this fact may be attributed to a variation in the pattern due to the proximity of the main aisle of the hall or to the presence of an unrelated text.

5 See p. 46 below.
7 Although this difference could perhaps be attributed to uneven settling or the effects of an earthquake.
Christophe also refers to a text of Ramesses IV in the southern half of the hall, on column 62. This is not one of the texts here attributed to Herihor (although there are traces of the Herihor text on this column as well), but a four-line vertical votive text on the flat area of the column base where it has been cut back for the transverse aisle (see fig. 1, column 62). The cartouches are not conclusively those of Ramesses IV, but the fact that they both begin with sun-disks points toward this identification: the other Ramesside kings favored the configuration of two seated gods facing each other, while Ramesses IV's cartouches commonly begin with sun-disks. The \( n \) that intersects the two cartouches seems clear and can only be explained as part of an earlier (or later) inscription. The placement of the Herihor text on this column may have been affected by this earlier monument, as mentioned above.

**Other Texts on the Bases**

There are two further column base texts, both on bases of the large central columns. On the west side of the base of column 6, the end of a cartouche and the phrase \([mr]\) \(jm[\text{n}] \text{ nb} \text{ nswt} [t\text{3wj}] \), "[beloved of] Amon lord of the thrones of the [two lands]" is visible through a break in the concrete repair that covers the rest of the column. Since any texts on the other columns would have been covered with concrete or destroyed (the first two pairs of bases have been completely rebuilt of large, rough-hewn stone, and the remaining pairs have been completely covered with concrete, excepting only this gap in column 6), and since it is unlikely that such a prominent inscription was applied to only one base, all twelve bases probably bore similar inscriptions. Without removing the concrete, however, it is impossible to determine which king was responsible for these texts.

One of the last ancient texts in the Hypostyle Hall is a demotic graffito of the Ptolemaic period on the base of column 2, which reads: ". . . King's scribe, Padiamenope(?)." It is unusual in its use of the title \( ss \) \( nsw \), which is rare as a title in demotic texts, with the exception of references to Amenhotep son of Hapu. The presence of this text on a rebuilt column base indicates that these bases were rebuilt in ancient times.

**Khonsu and the Hypostyle Hall**

The contents of the texts on the column bases of the Hypostyle Hall are less important than the fact that they were carved by the two kings most responsible for the decoration of the Khonsu temple. The texts of Ramesses IV and a number of other factors indicate that Herihor was not the link between the Hypostyle Hall and the court of the Khonsu temple but merely demonstrated a relationship between the two structures that had already been emphasized by his predecessors.

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8 This is the case in his marginal frieze in the Opet colonnade at Luxor temple as well as on the three ushabti bearing his name that were recently discovered in the tomb of Ramesses XI by the Theban Royal Tombs Project of the Brooklyn Museum.

Herihor is granted a royal titulary only in the forecourt of the Khonsu temple and the Hypostyle Hall.\textsuperscript{10} Even without royal titles, he is attested at Karnak only three times outside those monuments: on a statue showing him as a scribe from the Karnak cachette,\textsuperscript{11} on an unpublished statue base discovered just north of the Hypostyle Hall,\textsuperscript{12} and in a graffito on the eastern face of the east wall of the court between the eighth and ninth pylons.\textsuperscript{13} The fact that Herihor’s royal titulary is extensively used in the Khonsu temple and the Hypostyle Hall, while it is so scrupulously avoided elsewhere, suggests that whatever circumstance allowed him to claim royal status in the Khonsu temple also obtained in the Hypostyle Hall or at least the southern half of it.

Ramesses IV’s work at Karnak, though not so limited to the Hypostyle Hall and the Khonsu temple, seems to have focused there. His names and titles occur throughout the Karnak buildings, usually in a horizontal band along the base of the scenes of other kings, or on usurped statues. Only in the Khonsu temple and in the Hypostyle Hall did he contribute decorative scenes.

A connection with the Khonsu temple cannot, of course, be seen in the work of Seti I or Ramesses II, the most prominent contributors to the Hypostyle Hall, since the present Khonsu temple was not constructed until the reign of Ramesses III. But the Khonsu temple seems to have been constructed almost exclusively with blocks from earlier structures,\textsuperscript{14} and it seems likely that at least some of these formed part of an earlier temple of Khonsu on the same site, which could have been the object of Seti I’s and Ramesses II’s endeavors. Indeed, Ramesses II’s partiality to the god Khonsu is celebrated in the Bentresh stela,\textsuperscript{15} where he is said to have sent the traveling barque of Khonsu to the foreign land of Bekhtan in order to cure the sister of one of his Asiatic wives. This rather blatant propaganda has been taken to be a Ptolemaic composition in which Ramesses II is brought in to add dignity and a patina of age to Khonsu’s new prominence, but the question of the date of the text may be reopened in the light of a recently discovered and apparently parallel version now dispersed in blocks around the Luxor temple.\textsuperscript{16} Whether or not the story can be dated to the Ramesside period, it may refer to a special reverence for Khonsu on the part of Ramesses II that was remembered in later times.

The link between the Khonsu temple and the Hypostyle Hall is clearly a physical one. Just as modern tourists leave the main Karnak temple to visit the Khonsu temple to the south and the Ptah temple to the north by way of the transverse aisle of the Hypostyle Hall, so must these aisles have served as processional ways in ancient times: the column bases facing them have been cut back and the decoration on the columns as well as the column bases is oriented towards them.\textsuperscript{17} The objections that the

\textsuperscript{11} Catalogue general, Cairo, no. 42190.
\textsuperscript{12} This base was discovered and joined by members of the Oriental Institute Epigraphic Survey in 1974 during their work in this area. I am grateful to Frank Yurco for describing it to me.
\textsuperscript{13} Barguet, \textit{Le temple d’Amon-Rê}, p. 257.
\textsuperscript{15} Louvre C248; published by E. Legrain, \textit{Les Monuments égyptiens de la Bibliothèque Nationale} (Paris, 1879–81), pls. 36–44.
\textsuperscript{17} Except for the six central files of columns in the Hypostyle Hall, which were decorated on both the side facing the transverse aisle and the side facing the main aisle of the temple, Seti I and Ramesses II decorated each of the columns only on the side facing the transverse aisle. The remaining
Khonsu temple was not yet built when the Hypostyle Hall was decorated and that its orientation would make such a processional way awkwardly double back on itself are both explained by the assumption that there was a previous temple on the site, perhaps old enough that its orientation was completely independent of the larger complex of Amon northeast of it, to which it became attached only after that complex expanded.

Herihor apparently had special privileges in the temple of Khonsu (perhaps because he was also the "son of Amon")? He seems to have perceived the southern half of the Hypostyle Hall as almost an extension of that temple and perhaps even saw the second pylon as its entrance. For this reason, it is not surprising that his kingship was not limited to a marginal inscription in a dark corner but emblazoned on each column base in the southern half of the hall; nor is he without justice in his claim that he "made a renewal of monuments in the house of his father Amon-Re°," if he believed that the Khonsu temple was a part of the larger complex of Amon by virtue of its connection to that complex at the Hypostyle Hall.

scenes were added by Ramesses IV; Christophe, Les Divinités des colonnes, pls. 26, 27, and 28.

18 Herihor is called S³-Jmn in his nomen, and in one case in his non-royal titulary, as pointed out by Barguet, Le temple d'Amon Ré, p. 257, n. 2.
Fig. 1.—The inscriptions of Herihor on the column bases in the south half of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak (orientation of texts given relative to river north)
Fig. 2.—The placement of the texts of Ramesses IV and Herihor on the column bases of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak (location of Herihor’s marginal inscription also noted)
FIG. 3.—The texts on the column bases in the Northern half of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak (orientation of texts given relative to river north; spaces interrupted by ellipses not to scale).

FIG. 4.—The texts on the central column bases of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak.
FIG. 5.—Column base no. 22; vertical cartouches of Herihor and the beginning of the horizontal texts
FIG. 6.—Column base no. 87; the prenomen of Ramesses IV