

Usurped Cartouches of Merenptah at Karnak and Luxor

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It is an honor to dedicate this article to my late friend and mentor Bill Murnane. I have the fondest memories of hours we spent together at Karnak pouring over epigraphic conundrums on the walls of the Great Hypostyle Hall. I count myself highly fortunate to have been trained in the arcane art of epigraphy from a master of the craft. So too in the disciplines of Egyptian history and historiography I benefited immeasurably from his tutelage during countless hours of exposure to his vast knowledge and incisive reasoning skills both in formal class sessions and stimulating discussions outside the classroom as a student in Memphis and later during our work at Karnak. His death left a great void in my own life professionally and personally, and not a day passes when I do not think about him or speak about him to my colleagues and my own students.

Introduction: Usurped Cartouches in the New Kingdom

At Karnak and Luxor temples one often finds the cartouches of Seti II carved secondarily over the erased titulary of one of his Ramesside predecessors in wall reliefs, statuary and bandeau texts. The usurpation of royal inscriptions, especially in the Nineteenth Dynasty, is a common enough phenomenon in the New Kingdom, but one can often find vestiges of the earlier ruler's name as a palimpsest beneath the surcharger's. Although this is not always the case, especially with inscriptions carved in hard stone like granite,¹ enough traces usually remain to credit the original authors of whole series of usurped wall reliefs on limestone and sandstone monuments. Examples are numerous, including reliefs of Hatshepsut at Karnak and Deir el-Bahari, Tutankhamen's reliefs surcharged by Horemheb in the Colonnade Hall at Luxor,² Ramesses I's usurpations of Horemheb on the Second Pylon at Karnak,³ Ramesses II's replacements of his three immediate predecessors' cartouches on the Second Pylon⁴ and in the Karnak Great Hypostyle Hall,⁵ as well as Ramesses VI's appropriation of Ramesses IV's reliefs in the Hypostyle Hall⁶ and elsewhere at Karnak.⁷

¹P. J. Brand, "Methods used in Restoring Reliefs Vandalized during the Amarna Period," *GM* 170 (1999), pp. 37-48.

²E.g., Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions from Luxor Temple, Volume 1: The Festival Procession of Opet in the Colonnade Hall* (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1994), *passim*; idem, *The Facade, Portal, Upper Register Scenes, Columns, Marginalia, and Statuary in the Colonnade Hall* (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1998), *passim*.

³K. C. Seele, *The Coregency of Ramses II with Seti I and the Date of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940), pp. 7-8 and figs. 1-2.

⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 7-8; W. J. Murnane, "Ramesses I and the Building of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak Revisited," *VA* 10 (1995), pp. 163-168; W. J. Murnane† and P. J. Brand, "The Karnak Hypostyle Hall Project (1992-2002)," *ASAE* 78 (2004), pp. 100-101.

⁵W. J. Murnane, "The Earlier Reign of Ramesses II and his Coregency with Sety I," *JNES* 34 (1975), pp. 180-183; P. J. Brand, *The Monuments of Seti I: Epigraphic, Historical and Art Historical Analysis* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2000), pp. 193-196.

⁶Murnane† and Brand, *ASAE* 78 (2004), pp. 106-107 and figs. 12A-B.

Usurped Cartouches Naming Seti II at Karnak

Among the cartouches usurped by Seti II at Karnak, however, only rarely do any traces of the original author remain. In a few instances it is clear that Merenptah's name had occurred earlier, as with the war scenes on the west exterior wall of the *Cour de la Cachette* at Karnak and some blocks from its walls, where faint traces of Merenptah's titulary occasionally survive (figs. 1-2, 14-15). The original date of these surcharged reliefs on the west wall of the *Cachette* court— especially the war scenes— has been the subject of great controversy and some maintain that they were first authored by Ramesses II and usurped in turn by Merenptah, Amenmesse and finally Seti II.⁸ No sign of Ramesses II's titulary and no reliable trace of Amenmesse has ever been found in this court.⁹ Vestiges of Merenptah's monikers are occasionally found in some of the cartouches from the *Cachette* war scenes, but many betray no sign of their previous owner although it is obvious they have been recut. Unfortunately this is true of most of the cartouches inscribed secondarily for Seti II at Karnak. The telltale smooth depression where the primary name was erased, while clearly betraying that Seti's name is not original, was typically accomplished so well that the identity of the original author is often unrecoverable (figs. 3-4). Reliefs and marginal inscriptions of this type occur all over central Karnak, including on the Fourth Pylon¹⁰ and on a gateway south of the main axis between the Fifth and Sixth Pylons.¹¹

It has long been suspected that Amenmesse's hand lay beneath the cartouches surcharged by Seti II, either as their original author or as the usurper of Merenptah's titulary. It is all the more puzzling, therefore, that direct evidence of Amenmesse's presence on the monuments at Karnak and elsewhere has rarely been detected. A group of silicious sandstone statues from Karnak reinscribed for Seti II are probably to be assigned to Amenmesse based on historical and stylistic criteria, although the original monikers have been thoroughly erased leaving only a few indeterminate traces of the primary edition.¹² KV 10 can also be confidently assigned to Amenmesse. Although his reliefs were largely hacked out, his protocol is still legible in several

⁷E.g., the bandeau texts inside the *Cour de la Cachette* (*PM II*², p. 132 [490]; *KRI IV*, pp. 40-42) and on the obelisk of Thutmose I (*PM II*², p. 75 [D]; *KRI IV*, pp. 31-32). See K. A. Kitchen, "The Twentieth Dynasty Revisited," *JEA* 68 (1982), p. 122; A. J. Peden, *The Reign of Ramesses IV* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1994), p. 38.

⁸D. B. Redford, "The Ashkelon Relief at Karnak and the Israel Stela," *IEJ* 36 (1986), p. 193; H. Sourouzian, *Les monuments du roi Merenptah*, (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1989), p. 150; S. Iskander, "The Reign of Merenptah," (PhD dissertation, New York University, 2002), p. 318.

⁹So K. A. Kitchen, "Some New Light on the Asiatic Wars of Ramesses II," *JEA* 50 (1964), p. 68, n. 9; idem, *RITANC II*, pp. 72-73.

¹⁰*PM II*², pp. 78-79 (202).

¹¹*PM II*², p. 81 (210a); H. H. Nelson, *Key Plans Showing Locations of Theban Temple Decorations* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941), KC 34; C. Loeben, "La porte sud-est de la salle-*w3djt*," *Karnak 8* (Paris: ERC, 1987), pp. 207-223.

¹²F. J. Yurco, "Amenmesse: Six Statues at Karnak," *MMJ* 14 (1980), pp. 15-31. The fact that silicious sandstone, often called quartzite, is a hard stone and was left unpainted necessitated the thorough erasure of the original text prior to usurpation since paint and plaster could not have been used to mask the original inscription. See Brand, *GM* 170 (1999), pp. 37-48.

examples from the tomb.¹³

Amenmesse is often suspected to have been responsible for deleting Merenptah's names from the walls of Karnak and Luxor. It is generally assumed, too, that he simultaneously placed his name in their stead. Frank Yurco claimed to have found slight traces of Amenmesse's names in a couple of cartouches from the war scenes on the west wall of the *Cour de la Cachette*,¹⁴ but subsequent inspections have shown these to be phantoms (figs. 1-2).¹⁵ Elsewhere at Karnak, only a handful of Amenmesse's cartouches have ever been detected as palimpsests beneath usurpations by Seti II or even Ramesses III.¹⁶ In those cases where Amenmesse's name can be detected beneath Seti II's, it seems likely that Amenmesse was the original author of the inscription since in no case have traces of both Merenptah and Amenmesse been detected in cartouches usurped by Seti II. From a historical point of view, however, it seems less plausible that Seti II would have usurped cartouches of Merenptah left untouched by Amenmesse as Seti was Merenptah's son and legitimate heir. But what if Amenmesse, instead of usurping these cartouches, had merely erased them?

Of pharaonic chronology after Merenptah's death, we can only be certain that—in the Theban area at least—Amenmesse held sway before Seti II, regardless of whether Seti enjoyed some brief control over the region immediately after Merenptah's death. We shall not consider here the geographical range of Amenmesse's authority, his origins, the length of his tenure, nor his blood relationship with either Merenptah or Seti II, if any, all of which are being investigated

¹³E. L. Ertman, "A First Report on the Preliminary Survey of Unexcavated KV-10 (The Tomb of Amenmesse)," *KMT* 4.2 (1993), pp. 38-46; O. J. Schaden, "The Tomb of Amenmesse (KV-10): The First Season," *ASAE* 63 (1998), pp. 116-155; idem, "KV-10: Amenmesse 2000," *ASAE* 78 (2004), pp. 129-147; idem, "Some Observations on the Tomb of Amenmesse (KV -10)," in *Essays in Egyptology in Honor of Hans Goedicke*, eds. B. M. Bryan and D. Lorton (San Antonio, Texas: Van Siclen Books, 1994), pp. 243-254.

¹⁴F. J. Yurco, "Merenptah's Canaanite Campaign," *JARCE* 23 (1986), pp. 189-215.

¹⁵I have inspected these cartouches on three separate occasions in the past few years: in the company of Bill Murnane and Samah Iskander (February 2000), alone (March 2001) and with my graduate students Robert Griffin, Louise Cooper and Heather Sayre (December 2004). On each occasion, we all agreed that only the names of Merenptah and Seti II were visible amid chisel marks. No traces suited Ramesses II or Amenmesse. See Murnane† and Brand, *ASAE* 78 (2004), p. 104.

¹⁶A handful of usurped cartouches at Karnak have been attributed to Amenmesse. These include: a bandeau text from the eastern temple of Ramesses II (*PM II*², p. 211 [30-31]; P. Barguet, *Le Temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak*, [Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1962], p. 229, n. 2); on the gate of the Fourth Pylon (*PM II*², 79 [202c-d]; *ibid.*, Barguet, p. 90, n. 3); on a gate in the *Akhmenu* (*ibid.*, Barguet, p. 204); a gateway with adjoining wall space in central Karnak south and west of the Sixth Pylon (*PM II*², p. 95 [269-273]); and the south-east gateway of the so-called *w3dyt*-hall of Thutmose I and Hatshepsut (*PM II*², p. 81 [212d]; Barguet, p. 104, n. 5; Loeben, *Karnak* 8 [Paris: ERC, 1987], pp. 213 and 217). I was able to inspect most of these cartouches in 2004 and 2006. Of these, the bandeau text from the eastern temple I found no discernable traces of an earlier name, only chisel marks from where the surface was cut back. The palimpsest traces on the south-east gate of the *w3dyt*-hall clearly suit Amenmesse. On the facade of the Fourth Pylon, vertical lines in the palimpsest might correspond to elements of Amenmesse's nomen. I was unable to locate the text from the *Akhmenu* cited by Barguet. However, my doctoral student Mr. Roy Hopper, who is preparing a dissertation on Amenmesse and Seti II, has now confirmed that there are indeed traces of Amenmesse's titulary in some of these locations, including the gateway south and west of the Sixth Pylon and on one of the colossi at the entrance to the *Akhmenu* (*PM II*², p. 112 [343]).

in a new study of Seti II's and Amenmesse's reigns by my doctoral student Roy Hopper of the University of Memphis.¹⁷ Instead, the aims of this study are limited to investigating the alteration of Merenptah's reliefs at Karnak and Luxor by Amenmesse and Seti II.

The treatment of the cartouches reinscribed by Seti II is telling. Before his name was placed in them, the original titulary had been thoroughly erased by cutting back and carefully smoothing down the surface, a process, we have seen, that often left no sign of the original text (figs. 3-4). In every case we are dealing with sunk relief, but the most common practice in the Ramesside era when usurping a sunk relief cartouche was simply to plaster over the original name and incise the new text over it without shaving the original surface down.¹⁸ This method was applied, *inter alia*, to a cartouche of Merenptah usurped by Amenmesse from an isolated bandeau text at the Ramesseum (figs. 5-6).¹⁹ When the aim was *damnatio memoriae*, however, it was common practice simply to hack the name away as with reliefs vandalized by Akhenaten or many defacements of Hatshepsut's monuments.²⁰ Sometimes, however, a *damnatio memoriae* was perpetrated by carefully erasing a name while leaving the attendant surface of the monument otherwise unblemished, especially in the case of raised relief which could be sliced off. This process was also employed to usurp raised relief inscriptions, which were typically replaced by sunk relief in the Ramesside era. Slicing away raised relief cartouches generally left engraved traces behind caused by the method employed in carving raised relief. These traces have allowed the original authors of many usurped 18th Dynasty and early 19th Dynasty reliefs to be identified.²¹ The thorough erasure of earlier names that leave no trace whatsoever, however, is less common, especially with sunk relief. Even with proscriptions of Tutankhamen and Ay on the dismantled temple called the "Mansion of Nebkhepurure at Thebes," Horemheb erased raised and sunk relief cartouches of these kings, but not so completely that they cannot still be read,

¹⁷For recent scholarship on the reign, see most importantly: R. Krauss, "Untersuchungen zu König Amenmesse (1. Teil)," *SAK* 4 (1976), pp. 161-99; idem, "Untersuchungen zu König Amenmesse (2. Teil)," *SAK* 5 (1977), pp. 131-74; A. Dodson, "Amenmesse in Kent, Liverpool, and Thebes," *JEA* 81 (1995), pp. 115-28; C. Vandersleyen, *L'Égypte et la Vallée du Nil*, vol. 2, *De la fin de l'Ancien Empire à la fin du Nouvel Empire* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1995), pp. 575-81; A. J. Spalinger, "Review of *Die Elephantine-Steile des Sethnakht und ihr historischer Hintergrund*, by Rosemarie Drenkhahn," *BiOr* 39 (1982), pp. 272-88.

¹⁸Examples include reliefs of Horemheb on the facade of the Second Pylon usurped in turn by Ramesses I and II (Seele, *Coregency*, figs. 1-2; Murnane† and Brand, *ASAE* 78 [2004], fig. 54). Ramesses II used the same methods on the exterior walls of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak as did Ramesses VI in usurping Ramesses IV throughout Karnak. Traces of plaster masking can still be found in some instances. (*ibid.*, Murnane† and Brand, fig. 12A; P. J. Brand, "Veils, Votives, and Marginalia: The Use of Sacred Space at Karnak and Luxor," in *Sacred Space and Sacred Function in Ancient Thebes*, eds. P. F. Dorman and B. M. Bryan [Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2006], p. 53 and fig. 5.6).

¹⁹C. Leblanc *et al.*, *Le Ramesseum IX-1, Les piliers "osiriaques"* (Cairo: Organisation égyptienne des antiquités, 1980), pp. 45, 167, j. 20a and pl. 96.

²⁰For the various methods of defacement of Hatshepsut's monuments see A. M. Roth, "Erasing a Reign," in *Hatshepsut: From Queen to Pharaoh*, ed. Catharine H. Roehrig (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), pp. 277-281.

²¹Bill Murnane was responsible for some of these discoveries. See n. 4.

sometimes easily (figs. 7-9).²² By contrast, the care applied to erasures of cartouches secondarily inscribed for Seti II is remarkable and this is all the more frustrating for the epigraphist seeking a palimpsest. Fortunately, there are some revealing exceptions. A handful of altered inscriptions of Merenptah at Karnak and Luxor shed much light on the rest.

In a few places at Karnak and Luxor, Merenptah's name escaped erasure. Aside from some marginalia,²³ the most prominent survivors are in the Great Historical Inscription on the south half of the east wall inside the *Cour de la Cachette*.²⁴ In both the text and some accompanying triumphal scenes, Merenptah's titulary was never mutilated. Elsewhere in the court, we know that the war scenes on the west exterior wall had once been inscribed for him—originally or secondarily— as well as an isolated scene at the north end of the east interior wall of the *Cachette* court showing the king between the paws of a criosphinx (figs. 10-11).²⁵ On the west interior wall, the original royal names in a series of ritual scenes have been erased and replaced with those of Seti II (figs. 12-13).²⁶ Although they have been attributed to Ramesses II,²⁷ they are more likely the work of Merenptah.²⁸ Even more fierce is the debate concerning the initial author of the war scenes on the west exterior wall of the *Cour de la Cachette*. It has been claimed by Redford, Sourouzian, Iskander and Lurson that the cartouches in these war scenes were inscribed and reinscribed by as many as four kings, viz. Ramesses II - Merenptah - Amenmesse - Seti II,²⁹ while Yurco would eliminate only Ramesses II from this list.³⁰ Yet in

²²O. Schaden, "Report on the 1978 Season at Karnak," *NARCE* 127 (1984), pp. 44-64; idem, "Tutankhamun-Ay Shrine at Karnak and the Western Valley of the Kings Project: Report on the 1985-1986 Season," *NARCE* 138 (1987), pp. 10-15.

²³So in the negative space between the legs of some of the colossi in the Ramesside court at Luxor (*PM II*², pp. 311-312).

²⁴*PM II*², pp. 131-132 (486-488); C. Manassa, *The Great Karnak Inscription of Merenptah: Grand Strategy in the 13th Century BC* (New Haven: Yale Egyptological Seminar, 2003); F. Le Saout, "Reconstitution des murs de la cour de la cachette," *Karnak* 8 (Paris: ERC, 1982), pp. 213-258.

²⁵*PM II*², p. 131 (482) where it is wrongly attributed to Ramesses IX: Yurco, *JARCE* 23 (1986), p. 198, fig. 12; H. Sourouzian, *Les monuments du roi Merenptah*, pp. 149-150 and fig. 11.

²⁶*PM II*², p. 132 (490), which wrongly labels them "Sethos II usurped by Ramesses II"(!) The original names were so thoroughly erased here that, to date, no trace of any name prior to Seti II's has been discovered in this series ritual scenes.

²⁷Le Saout, *Karnak* 8 (Paris: ERC, 1987), p. 229 and n. 98; Sourouzian, *Les monuments du roi Merenptah*, pp. 143 and 150.

²⁸Yurco, *JARCE* 23 (1986), pp. 189-215.

²⁹Redford, *IEJ* 36 (1986), p. 193; Sourouzian, *Les monuments du roi Merenptah*, p. 150; S. Iskander, "The Reign of Merenptah," p. 318; B. Lurson, "Israël sous Merenptah ou le sort de l'ennemi dans l'Égypte Ancienne," in *Étrangers et exclus dans le Monde Biblique. Colloque International à l'Université Catholique de l'Ouest, Angers, les 20 et 21 février 2002 (Théolarge 3)*, (Angers: Université Catholique de l'Ouest, 2003), 45-62 .

³⁰Yurco, *JARCE* 23 (1986), pp. 197-198.

just a couple of the war scenes (figs. 1-2),³¹ and a small number of loose blocks stemming from this section of the wall (figs. 14-15),³² the only traces of an earlier name beneath Seti II's final edition belong to Merenptah alone.³³

Measurement of the depressions in which the final version of Seti II was carved shows that it is impossible for four or even three separate royal names to have been carved successively in any of them.³⁴ Are we to believe that three or four sets of sunk relief carvings were inserted in these confined spaces, yet aside from the final version of Seti II, in only a handful of the dozens of usurped cartouches do we find even a few traces of *any* earlier name and these always belonging to Merenptah? Moreover, since the usurped cartouches from the *Cour de la Cachette* have been shaved back to the same degree as other cartouches reinscribed by Seti II in various bandeau texts, marginal inscriptions and a gateway from the central part of Karnak, we would have to conclude that Merenptah had usurped these, too, from his father while ignoring many other reliefs of Ramesses II at Karnak. Finally, if Merenptah had started this orgy of usurpation by appropriating the war reliefs on the west wall of the *Cour de la Cachette* from Ramesses, why did he not annex the adjoining ones on the south wall of the Great Hypostyle Hall or the decorative titulary on the pilasters of the Hittite Peace Treaty stela?

It would seem that Merenptah did not engage in a large program of usurping Ramesses II's decoration on the west exterior wall of the *Cour de la Cachette* or elsewhere at Karnak where his own name itself was subsequently erased. Instead, Merenptah's original relief decoration at Karnak was subjected to erasure. Amenmesse would seem to be the most likely candidate responsible for this proscription, yet we find no trace of his name in these erased cartouches. Rather it is Seti II, Merenptah's rightful and eventual heir, who placed his names over his father's deleted ones. An examination of some erased inscriptions from Luxor temple

³¹*Ibid.*, pp. 196-201 and figs. 10-11, 13 and 15.

³²*Ibid.*, pp. 201-204 and figs. 17-20.

³³As noted above, traces of Amenmesse's name in some of these cartouches have proved illusory after repeated examination in the field. So *contra* Yurco, *ibid.*, pp. 196ff. and figs. 10, 13 and 15. His evidence for Amenmesse's name in these cartouches is very slim, consisting of a few scratches against very distinctive traces of Merenptah's titulary in his fig. 10. His figures 13 and 15 are somewhat misleading. Only the *mi*-sign in the text over the horses' backs is said to remain, but this is in a severely damaged part of the inscription, yet the "second version" is rendered without indicating that even he saw almost none of this phantom cartouche. So too the "possible second version" of Amenmesse's nomen in fig. 15 is likewise virtually impossible.

³⁴Measurements of cartouches from the battle scenes made in 2000 by the late William J. Murnane and the author, and augmented in 2001 and 2004 in a check of other usurped cartouches naming Seti II from the *Cour de la Cachette* and central Karnak, confirmed that the depressions in these cartouches were quite shallow. The depth to which the original surface was cut back varies from 0.7 to 1.5 cm. It is impossible that three successive sunk relief cartouches could have been carved and then erased inside these cartouches, leaving no trace behind when a fourth one was carved. The reading of palimpsests is taxing, but not impossible and we need not succumb to a council of ignorance and declare that it is too difficult to decipher such inscriptions and that "no one can tell whether the name of Merenptah is original, or whether it was carved secondarily in a blank cartouche" (Redford, *Israel Exploration Journal* 36 [1986], p. 193). Moreover, to posit that Ramesses II's name once existed here but has been obliterated by multiple subsequent usurpations constitutes an argument *ex silentio*. So *contra*: Redford, *ibid.*, p. 193; Sourouzian, *Les monuments du roi Merenptah*, p. 150; Iskander, "The Reign of Merenptah," p. 318.

and a second look at some of the Karnak examples resolves this conundrum.

*Erased Marginal Decoration of Merenptah at Luxor Temple*³⁵

At Luxor temple, bandeau texts and other marginal inscriptions from the later Nineteenth Dynasty can be found in the Ramesside forecourt,³⁶ the Colonnade Hall³⁷ and the solar court of Amenhotep III.³⁸ Despite the poor condition of the lower course of the eastern and western walls of the Ramesside and solar courts, we may confidently reconstruct this program of marginal texts as having encompassed most of the interior dados of all three structures. In addition, decorative friezes of cartouches and strings of titulary have been added to the columns in the Colonnade Hall.³⁹ All of this marginalia was subsequently altered in some fashion to eliminate the name of its original author, but the treatment of specific inscriptions varies throughout the temple.

Inside the Ramesside forecourt, a series of bandeau texts cut in sunk relief along the base of the interior walls has been deliberately, if not thoroughly, erased. The texts probably once encompassed the south, west and east interior walls of the court. The lower courses of the masonry are often so poorly preserved that only fragments of the western text remain and no such inscriptions— if they ever occurred— survive along the base of the eastern wall (fig. 16). Along the dado of the better preserved south wall, corresponding in part to the facade of the Colonnade Hall, substantial remains of these erased texts persist (figs. 17-18).⁴⁰ On both wings of the facade, Merenptah's texts were carved over the horizontal lines of a dado pattern. In each case, after the phrase *ḥr k3 nḥt*, the rest of the inscription and the earlier dado lines were deleted.⁴¹ Extensive traces of the suppressed text can still be made out, such as the phrase *s3 Rḥ nb ḥḥw* on both sides and *nsw-bity* on the western one. More exacting was the treatment applied to the cartouches. Even here, though, enough survives to peg Merenptah as the unfortunate victim of these efforts. On the east wing, his nomen *Mr-n-Pth-ḥtp-ḥr-M3ḥt* can be detected (figs. 19 and 21). A prenomen cartouche on the west wing is more damaged, although the *mr*-hoe, the head of the Re hieroglyph and the distinctive ram-glyph of *B3-n-Rḥ-Mr-Imn* leave no doubt as to Merenptah's authorship of the original text (fig. 20 and 21). On the west wall proper, a bandeau text below a procession of Ramesses II's daughters has been shaved down in a similar manner,

³⁵In the later stages of preparing this essay I chanced across a brief article where Bill Murnane had already reached the same conclusions about Amenmesse and the inscriptions of Merenptah at Luxor Temple which I discuss here. W. J. Murnane, "Les cartouches trompeurs du temple de Louqsor," in *Égypte: Louqsor temple du Ka royal, Dossiers histoire et archéologie* 101 (1986), pp. 48-49.

³⁶Located at *PM II*², pp. 307-309 (27-31) but omitted there. See Epigraphic Survey, *RILT 2*, pls. 143, 200 and 204.

³⁷*Ibid.*, Epigraphic Survey, pls. 155-159, 172-173, 194-195 and 224.

³⁸*PM II*², p. 317 (93-98, 101). Some are listed as "texts of Sethos II," the rest are omitted.

³⁹Epigraphic Survey, *RILT 2*, pls. 178, 194-195.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, pls. 143, 199-200.

⁴¹The Epigraphic Survey suggests that Seti II was responsible for the erasures and had originally intended to reuse these for a new series of inscriptions that were never carved. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7. This now seems unlikely, see below.

almost certainly to the detriment of Merenptah (fig. 16). It is clear that whoever altered these reliefs had no intention of usurping them, but rather he preferred instead to obliterate them. The only likely candidates are Amenmesse and Seti II. Votive inscriptions of the High Priest Pinudjem were later imposed over some of the erased texts on the east wing of the south wall.⁴²

In the Colonnade Hall, marginal texts of Merenptah were arrayed along the bottom of the east and west walls but were erased in a manner similar to those in the Ramesside forecourt. Ramesses IV later carved new bandeau texts in the same location, but he was certainly not responsible for deleting Merenptah's (fig. 22).⁴³ Merenptah also clad the shadow of the door inside the main entrance of the hall with masonry to which he added ritual scenes, replacing decoration of Ramesses II that his new masonry covered, and here, too, his cartouches were subsequently erased and replaced by Seti II's protocol.⁴⁴ Looking to the columns, the culprit might seem to be Seti II whose name has been inserted over erased cartouches of Merenptah (figs. 23-24).⁴⁵

In the solar court, Merenptah's dado texts once encompassed the entire east wall, the east wing of the north wall and southern portions of the west wall (fig. 25). The rest of the west wall and the west half of the north wall is missing today, but it is likely that his marginalia also included these areas. In every case, the bandeau inscriptions were wholly erased. Along the base of the eastern portico behind the double row of columns, the texts were never replaced. Elsewhere, on the east half of the north wall, and on both the east and west walls of the thicket of columns at the south end of the solar court, an entirely new set of bandeau texts was carved by Seti II. *Prima facie*, the treatment of Merenptah's marginal decoration at Luxor temple appears to be a "typical" case of Ramesside usurpation on the part of Seti II.⁴⁶ If so, Seti went to a great deal of trouble to remove his father's inscriptions, often without replacing them. In fact, the erasures at Luxor Temple have all the hallmarks of a *damnatio memoriae*. Evidence from Karnak and elsewhere indicates that Seti II himself was not responsible for Merenptah's proscription.

The Proscription of Crown Prince Seti at Karnak

Among a dozen or more blocks stemming from the war scenes on the west exterior wall of the *Cour de la Cachette* which now lie in the yard nearby is a unique representation of a prince riding in a chariot while enjoying the protection of a sunshade (fig. 26).⁴⁷ The figure of

⁴²*Ibid.*, pls. 199-200, 204.

⁴³*Ibid.*, pp. 25-26 and pls. 172-173, 224B.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, p. 16 and pls. 155-159. According to the Survey, the recesses in the thickness of the doorway were clad to erect a smaller doorway here. The cartouches of Merenptah on the cladding have been usurped, but marginal texts of Ramesses II on either side were left intact, indicating that Merenptah's purpose in covering his father's reliefs in the recesses was not antagonism towards his father.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, pls. 178 and 194. These traces were recorded by the Epigraphic Survey but not shown in their published drawings except for an erased marginal text on the base of column 2 (*ibid.*, pl. 195).

⁴⁶So Epigraphic Survey, *RILT* 2, pp. 6-7.

⁴⁷Le Saout, *Karnak* 8 (Paris: ERC, 1987), p. 232, 4c and pl. 9, 4c; Yurco, *JARCE* 23 (1986), pp. 204-205.

the prince is intact, but his name has been erased.⁴⁸ His titulary is *iry-p^t Swthy s3-nsw n ht.f* (fig. 27). Less affected is his title *iry-p^t* while the phrase *s3 nsw n ht.f* was left untouched.⁴⁹ Clearly, the intention was *damnatio memoriae*, not usurpation, despite the seemingly imperfect execution. Of course, incomplete erasures could have been disguised further with plaster and whitewash. The identity of the prince has been subject to debate.⁵⁰ He is most probably the Crown Prince and future king Seti II. As I have argued elsewhere in a study of the war scenes from the *Cour de la Cachette* and their relationship to those of Ramesses II on the south wall of the Hypostyle Hall, Yurco's identification is certainly right.⁵¹ At present, I would note that while the title *iry-p^t* need not always refer to the Crown Prince in the Ramesside age, it usually does.⁵² Moreover, the other named prince on the wall, the "king's son Khaemwaset," does not hold this title.⁵³ If Crown Prince Seti is not the future Seti II, then he would presumably be the ninth son of Ramesses II.⁵⁴ But it seems highly unlikely that this synonymous son of Ramesses, who died

⁴⁸This erasure is certainly not the result of a Late Period proscription of hieroglyphs of the god Seth. In all such cases in the Theban region, when the Seth-ideogram was removed from the protocols of kings and princes named Seti, it was hacked out, not erased. Further, only the offending ideogram was attacked, not the rest of the name. This is even true in cartouches of Seti II which themselves were inscribed in earlier cartouches usurped by that king. Cf. figs. 3, 13, 23, and 24. So *contra* Lurson in *Étrangers et exclus dans le Monde Biblique*, 57 who maintains that the prince's name was erased by iconoclasts in the Late Period offended by the Seth element.

⁴⁹Yurco, Sourouzian and Lurson have argued that the phrase *s3 nsw n ht.f* was the beginning of the titulary of another prince, the one pictured under the sun shade, and that the figure of the *iry-p^t* Seti was before him on an adjoining block with his name spilling over onto the present one. *Ibid.*, Yurco, p. 205; Sourouzian, *Les Monuments du roi Merenptah*, 14, n. 84; Lurson, in *Étrangers et exclus dans le Monde Biblique*, 57. Lurson even maintains that the arrangement of the prince's titulary requires *three* princes to have once been represented in these war scenes, viz. Khaemwaset, Seti and "Prince X."

I have challenged these observations elsewhere: "The Date of Battle Reliefs on the South Wall of the Great Hypostyle Hall and the West Wall of the Cour de la Cachette at Karnak and the History of the Later Nineteenth Dynasty," in *Ramesside Studies in Honour of K.A. Kitchen*, eds. M. Collier and S. Snape, (Bolton: Rutherford Press, forthcoming). Here I would only note that the title *iry-p^t* + personal name often precedes the phrase *s3 nsw n ht.f* and this usage is common with other inscriptions naming Crown Prince Seti (the future Seti II), in sources from the reign of Merenptah.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, Yurco, p. 205; Kitchen, *RITANC II*, p. 74; Iskander, "The Reign of Merenptah," pp. 57-58.

⁵¹Brand in *Ramesside Studies*.

⁵²M. M. Fisher, *The Sons of Ramesses II* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001), pp. 85 and 125.

⁵³Debate on the identity of this prince Khaemwaset in the war scenes has been more contentious than that over the Crown Prince Seti from the loose block. Yurco and Kitchen maintain that the name is a common enough Ramesside moniker that it could belong to an otherwise unattested son of Merenptah, especially as it belonged to his own illustrious elder brother (Yurco, *JARCE* 23 [1986], p. 206; Kitchen, *RITANC II*, pp. 73-74). Others would identify the prince from the Karnak war reliefs as Ramesses II's celebrated son Khaemwaset (Redford, *IEJ* 36 [1986], p. 196; Sourouzian, *Les monuments du roi Merenptah*, p. 150; Iskander, "The Reign of Merenptah," pp. 59-60).

⁵⁴Fisher, *The Sons of Ramesses II*, vol. 1, pp. 109-110; vol. 2, pp. 151-154; *KRI II*, p. 900; *RITANC II*, pp. 603-604. A prince Seti with the title *iry-p^t* is attested once on a column drum from Cairo (JE 36652; TN 16/2/25/8; SR 13959*) as *iry-p^t*. Both Kitchen and Fisher identify him as the son of Ramesses II and Fisher believes he may have served briefly as Crown Prince between the tenures of Khaemwaset and Merenptah (*ibid.*, Fisher, vol. 1, p. 110; vol. 2, p. 153, no. 9.14). The prince on this drum is shown standing before his father, a king whose cartouches

years before his father, would have ever been singled out as the target of persecution in the later Nineteenth Dynasty.⁵⁵ If, however, the *Cour de la Cachette* war scenes are the work of Merenptah and featured his eldest son Seti, then the latter's suppression alongside his father at the hands of the *Gegenkönig* Amenmesse accounts for the epigraphic data.⁵⁶

That Amenmesse suppressed the names and titles of Merenptah and his intended successor Seti II on monuments in Thebes seems hard to escape. Rather than hack them out or carve his own protocol in their stead, Amenmesse preferred to erase Merenptah's titulary. These deletions occasionally included whole bandeau texts. Nor did an isolated occurrence of Crown Prince Seti's name in his father's war scenes on the west wall of the *Cour de la Cachette* at Karnak escape proscription. It is not clear why Amenmesse never carved his name over Merenptah's, but to date no reliable evidence for the former usurping the latter has been found at Karnak or Luxor. In fact, it may be the case that Amenmesse never completed his program of erasures.

The Incomplete Damnatio Memoriae of Merenptah inside the Cour de la Cachette at Karnak

Among the handful of usurped cartouches bearing Seti II's name in the war scenes on the west exterior wall of the *Cour de la Cachette* at Karnak— including loose blocks stemming from them— by far the best preserved instance of Merenptah's titulary beneath that of Seti is from the northernmost scene (figs. 1-2). It was here, too, that Yurco thought he detected a phantom trace of Amenmesse.⁵⁷ Substantial vestiges of both Merenptah and Seti II are evident. Still, this cartouche is unlike the rest in other respects. There are some chisel marks inside the ring, but the background surface has not been cut back or smoothed down and is still largely intact despite

have been hacked out. Kitchen's hand copy records traces of a sun disk at the top of the prenomen cartouche and of an Amun-glyph and a Re-glyph at the top of the nomen, the rest of both monikers he placed in brackets. Without further direct observation of the piece in Cairo, it is not clear whether any of these traces are reliable, but Kitchen clearly expected to find Ramesses II in them.

But could these defaced cartouches have named Merenptah? Fisher's photograph shows the cartouches at a partially oblique angle, due to the curvature of the column, and it is impossible to tell from it anything other than the fact that they were clearly defaced. The king in this instance—but not his son Seti— was the target of a *damnatio memoriae* by a later king who did not seek to usurp the monument for himself. Why would this be Ramesses II? Are there any other examples of such deliberate violence to Ramesses' cartouches, as opposed to usurpation of them? A more likely scenario is that they belonged to Merenptah and were hacked out at the behest of Amenmesse whose agents were looking for Merenptah's titulary but overlooked the name of his Crown Prince, and their own lord's rival for the throne, the future Seti II. We do know that Merenptah was proscribed elsewhere. Until the column is carefully examined again, it need not be taken definitively as a monument of Ramesses II's like-named son and could just as likely belong to the future Seti II as Crown Prince of Merenptah. Under this scenario, the prince's name could have been overlooked by the chisel men who were mainly seeking Merenptah's cartouches which occurred much more frequently than the prince's titulary.

⁵⁵Kitchen, *RITANC* II, p. 74. The hacking out of the Seth-glyph in the name of Ramesses II's ninth son in inscriptions at Luxor Temple and the Ramesseum occurred in the Late Period, and is not germane to the question. Its defacement in instances of Prince Seti's name is consistent with removal of the Seth-glyph from the royal nomen cartouches of Seti I and II on Theban monuments. See n. 48.

⁵⁶Cf. Kitchen's similar conclusions in *RITANC* II, 74.

⁵⁷Location: *PM* II², p. 132 (491). Yurco, *JARCE* 23 (1986), p. 197.

light scoring with a chisel.⁵⁸ Seti II's names were cut over Merenptah's in a manner similar to many Ramesside usurpations but without the erasure of Merenptah's cartouches as in other cases on the west wall of the *Cachette* court and throughout Karnak. The conclusion to which these observations are leading is that these particular cartouches may have only been partly erased or perhaps not at all by Amenmesse and that they are unlike the others reinscribed for Seti II in the war reliefs because his father's names were still largely intact in this one instance. Since Merenptah's name had been systematically erased from the other scenes on this wall, Seti may not have felt remorse about appropriating what might have been the only instance where his father's name still survived there.

Yurco seems to have mistaken this pair of cartouches as being typical of the method used to surcharge Merenptah's cartouches elsewhere in the *Cachette* court. His reconstruction of the process was as follows. Merenptah's name was only partially removed with a chisel and the cartouche was plastered over. Amenmesse's titulary was inscribed over them, but much of it was cut into the plaster, not the stone. Next, Seti II removed this plaster, all but obliterating Amenmesse's protocol, and replaced it with his own. Supposedly, vestiges of Merenptah, (although partly erased), remained beneath the plaster and survived all this, while Amenmesse's monikers, (carved in stucco), did not. Yurco's understanding of the epigraphic sequence of these usurpations was based largely on the one aforementioned set of cartouches from the north end of the *Cachette* court. As we have seen, however, these are not like the rest. They lack the smooth depressions of the others and contain far more substantial traces of Merenptah than their fellows precisely because they *have not* been cut back!

It may be that Amenmesse's program of *damnatio memoriae* was never completed in the area of the *Cour de la Cachette*. Confirmation of this hypothesis can be found inside the court. As was noted earlier, Merenptah's ritual scenes on the west interior of the court were usurped *in toto* but his name often survives intact on the east side. While his monikers were untouched in the Great Historical Inscription and adjoining scenes at the south end of the wall,⁵⁹ the same cannot be said of an isolated tableau at the north end (fig. 10). Here Merenptah is depicted as a young king wearing the youthful side-lock and kneeling between the paws of a great ram-headed sphinx.⁶⁰ The relief is entirely intact and the wall surface smooth and even, except for the interior of the cartouches which show hacking. Despite this, the royal names are clearly legible and there is no indication that they were ever usurped or that they are not the original work of Merenptah (fig. 11). This strange case has long puzzled me, but I believe that a solution may now be offered. We have here a *damnatio memoriae* left unfinished. Examination of a loose block now in the south yard at Karnak stemming from the *Cour de la Cachette* also shows the deletion of Merenptah's cartouches *in media res* with some hacking prior to their final erasure (fig. 28).

Elsewhere Merenptah's cartouches were fully erased by smoothing down the surface. As

⁵⁸Yurco interprets light chisel marks inside the cartouche as keying for plaster used to usurp the cartouche. If this be the case, then this was done only once by Seti II and not also by Amenmesse as he suggests. *Ibid.*, p. 197. I suspect that this hacking stems from the incomplete deletion of Merenptah's cartouches by Amenmesse, see below.

⁵⁹Sourouzian, *Les monuments du roi Merenptah*, pl. 26b.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, pl. 27a.

they were all sunk relief, it was first necessary to chisel away the projecting background matrix around the sunk relief glyphs after which the scooped-out cartouches were polished smooth with a sandstone buffer. This process would leave few and very often no traces of the original name once completed. The few chisel marks persisting on the smooth surfaces of other erasures, like those at Luxor and inside the cartouches usurped by Seti II, show this to be the case. The criosphinx scene at the north end of the east interior wall of the *Cour de la Cachette* preserves the first stage of this process. The mason was in the midst of chipping away at the background surface of the cartouche and the incised hieroglyphs remained mostly untouched when the work was abandoned. Elsewhere, Amenmesse's erasures of Merenptah were largely complete and so thorough that Seti II was free to carve his own name in their place. Presumably, Amenmesse's agents completed their work on the west wall before moving on to the east. They had started with the criosphinx scene at the north end of the wall when the project came to an end, leaving Merenptah's cartouches in the Great Historical Inscription and attendant triumph and ritual scenes at the south end of the east interior wall still intact.

Conclusions: Programs of Marginal Decoration and Damnatio Memoriae in the Late Nineteenth Dynasty

The picture that emerges from all this is that neither the addition of marginal decoration and bandeau texts on Theban monuments by Merenptah nor their erasure and usurpation, respectively, at the hands of Amenmesse and Seti II were carried out in a piecemeal or episodic fashion. Instead, as with wall reliefs depicting rituals or battles, Ramesside pharaohs often took a systematic approach to their decoration of standing monuments, even when they were merely filling in the limited blank spaces such as the dados of walls or the gaps between earlier reliefs on columns.⁶¹

Amenmesse's *damnatio memoriae* against Merenptah at Karnak and Luxor was comprehensive if not exhaustive. At Luxor, some marginalia were overlooked.⁶² Merenptah's image was not targeted and his cartouches were rarely usurped by Amenmesse. Inside the *Cour de la Cachette* at Karnak, erasures of Merenptah's cartouches were underway when they finally ceased, perhaps abruptly, at the end of Amenmesse's brief reign. The complete obliteration of Merenptah's bandeau texts inside the Ramesside court at Luxor indicates that usurpation was not the motive for targeting his monuments. The deletion of the name of a Crown Prince Seti alongside that of his father confirms that Amenmesse was the author of this systematic *damnatio memoriae*.

Amenmesse himself may have been more concerned with removing his predecessor's titulary from the Theban temples than with adding his own name to them. Amenmesse's own

⁶¹See Brand in *Sacred Space and Sacred Function in Ancient Thebes*, pp. 52-58; By the end of the Ramesside era, Herihor was forced to employ the bases of the columns and the wall dados in the Karnak Hypostyle Hall as virtually all the available space had already been used by his predecessors. See A. M. Roth, "Some New Texts of Herihor and Ramesses IV in the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak," *JNES* 42 (1983), pp. 43-53.

⁶²E.g., inscriptions added by Merenptah to the negative space between the legs of some of the colossi of Ramesses II in the Luxor temple forecourt. These were overlooked by Kitchen and remain unpublished (*PM II*², pp. 311-312).

original inscriptions at Karnak and elsewhere would likewise be erased and usurped by Seti II, and determining the original author of many cartouches reascribed by Seti has been a complex and difficult problem.⁶³ Yet in no case have traces of both Merenptah and Amenmesse been detected in any cartouches reinscribed by Seti II. When Seti became the sole master of Egypt, he chose to bolster his own position by replacing his father's erased cartouches and inscriptions with his own while respecting Merenptah's texts where they had survived Amenmesse's purge.

⁶³See the special note by Kitchen in *KRI* IV, p. 194. Here he states that many inscriptions of Seti II may have been originally carved for Amenmesse or earlier kings.

Figures

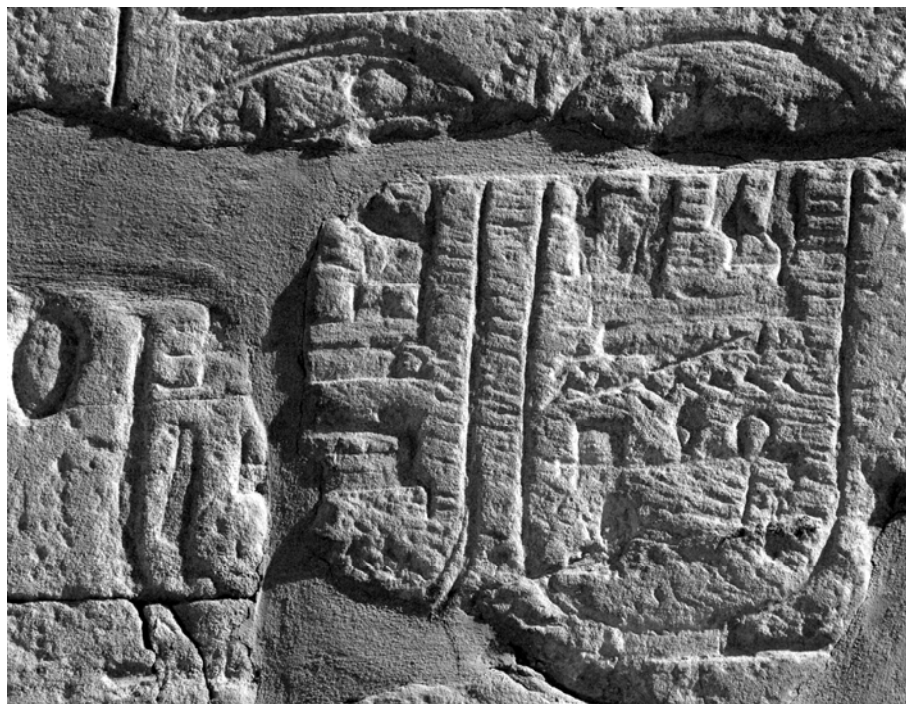


Fig. 1: Cartouches of Merenptah surcharged by Seti II from a war scene at the north end of the west exterior wall of the *Cour de la Cachette* at Karnak. The surface of the cartouche has not been cut back as have others on this wall.
Location: *PM II*², p. 132 (491).

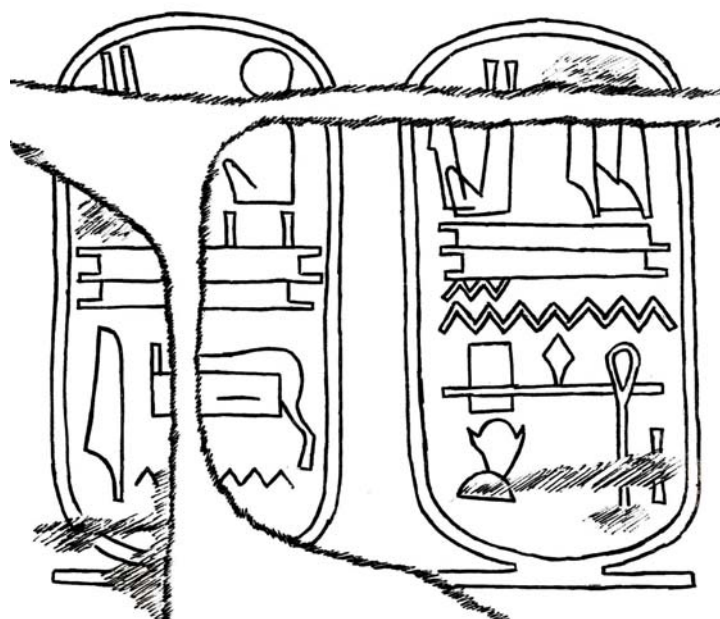


Fig. 2: Drawing of the same cartouche. No trace of Amenmesse's name as claimed by Yurco was found after repeated collations.



Fig. 3: Cartouches of Seti II carved over thoroughly erased originals from a gateway in central Karnak. Location: *PM II*², p. 95 (272). The original author in this case was Amenmesse based on traces from another cartouche in the same series identified by Roy Hopper.



Fig. 4: Bandeau text from central Karnak usurped by Seti II. No trace of the original name can be detected, although its original author is probably Merenptah. Location: *PM II*², p. 88 (237).



Fig. 5: Bandeau text of Merenptah usurped by Amenmesse from a pier in the second court of the Ramesseum. Location: *PM II*², p. 435, pillar E(b); Leblanc *et al.*, *Le Ramesseum IX-1*, pl. 9.



Fig. 6: Detail of figure 5: the prenomen cartouche usurped by Amenmesse. Traces of plaster used to cover Merenptah's titulary remain.



Fig. 7: Architrave fragment from the "Mansion of Nephkhepurure at Thebes" found at Karnak. The prenomen of Ay was carefully erased by Horemheb while that of Tutankhamen was left intact. O. Schaden, *NARCE* 127 (1984), p. 57, fig. 25-2.

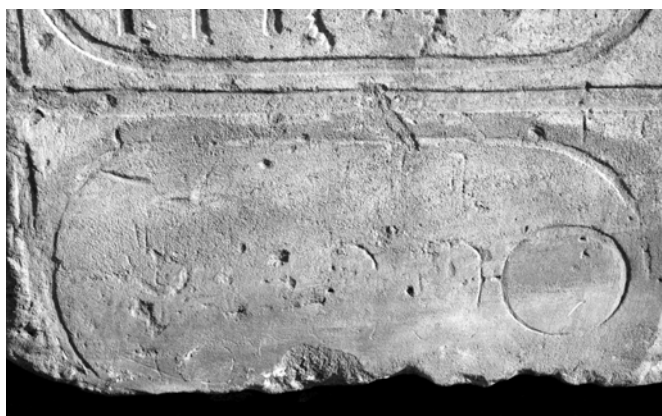


Fig. 8: Detail of figure 7: the erased cartouche of Ay. Distinct traces of his prenomen can still be made out.

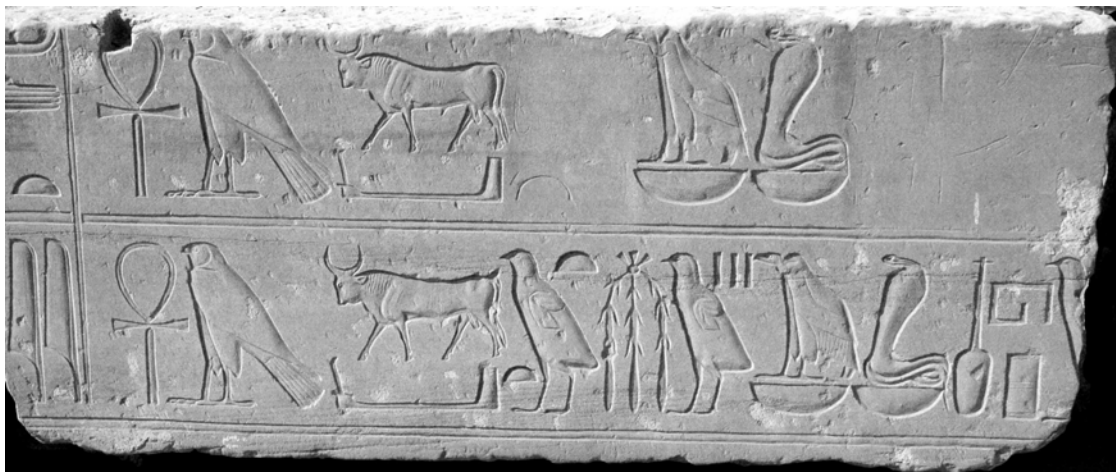


Fig. 9: Another architrave fragment from the “Mansion of Nebkhepurure at Thebes.” The distinctive epithets of Ay’s Horus and Two Ladies names have been erased though traces remain. O. Schaden, *NARCE* 127 (1984), p. 56, fig. 7-2.



Fig. 10: Scene of Merenptah kneeling between the paws of a criosphinx from the north end of the east interior wall of the *Cour de la Cachette* at Karnak. Location: *PM II*², p. 131 (482).



Fig. 11: Detail of figure 10. Merenptah's names have been subject to hacking, but the *damnatio memoriae* was never complete and no other royal names were carved in their stead.



Fig. 12: Seti II driving the four calves before Amen-Re in a scene from the west interior wall of the *Cour de la Cachette* at Karnak. Location: *PM II*², p. 132 (490, II.5).

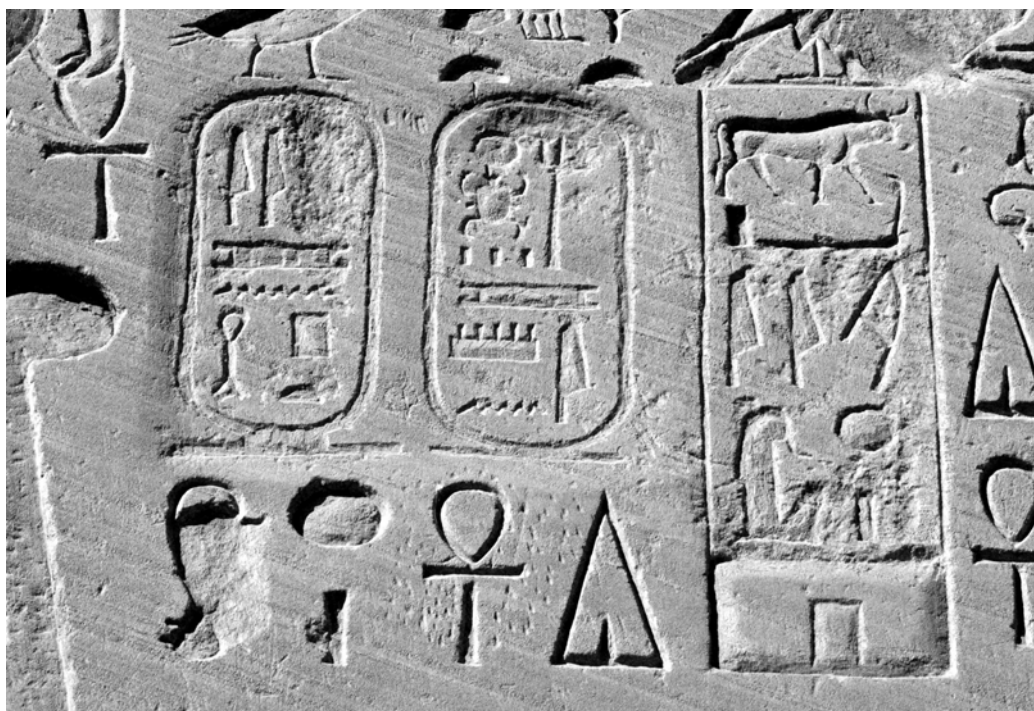


Fig. 13: Detail of figure 12: cartouches and Horus name of Seti II carved over erased originals on the west interior wall of the *Cour de la Cachette* at Karnak.



Fig. 14: Erased cartouche of Merenptah surcharged by Seti II on a loose block from the war scenes on the west exterior wall of the *Cour de la Cachette* at Karnak. Le Saout, *Karnak 8* (Paris: ERC, 1987), p. 231.

Fig. 15: Drawing of figure 14. My own collation did not find as many traces of Merenptah's premenen as Le Saout's did. Cf. Le Saout, *Karnak 8* (Paris: ERC, 1987), p. 231.



Fig. 16: Erased marginal inscription of Merenptah along the base of the west interior wall of the Ramesside forecourt at Luxor Temple beneath a procession of Ramesses II's daughters. Location: *PM II*², p. 308 (28).



Fig. 17: Erased marginal inscription of Merenptah along the base of the west half of the south wall of the Ramesside forecourt at Luxor Temple beneath a procession of Ramesses II's sons. A statue may have once stood in front of the un-erased segment in the middle of the photo. Location: *PM II*², p. 308 (30).



Fig. 18: Part of an erased marginal inscription of Merenptah below an intact one of Ramesses II from the west wing of the facade of the Colonnade Hall at Luxor. The phrase *s3 R^c nb h^cw* has been incompletely erased. More thorough was the treatment of the king's nomen cartouche on the right, although the *mr*-hoe and *M3^ct*-figure are discernable.
Location: *PM II*², p. 309 (31); Epigraphic Survey, *RILT 2*, pl. 143A.



Fig. 19: Erased nomen cartouche of Merenptah from the east wing of the facade of the Colonnade Hall at Luxor Temple. Cf. Epigraphic Survey, *RILT 2*, pl. 143B.



Fig. 20: Part of a damaged and erased prenomen cartouche of Merenptah from the west wing of the facade of the Colonnade Hall at Luxor Temple. Cf. Epigraphic Survey, *RILT* 2, pl. 143A.

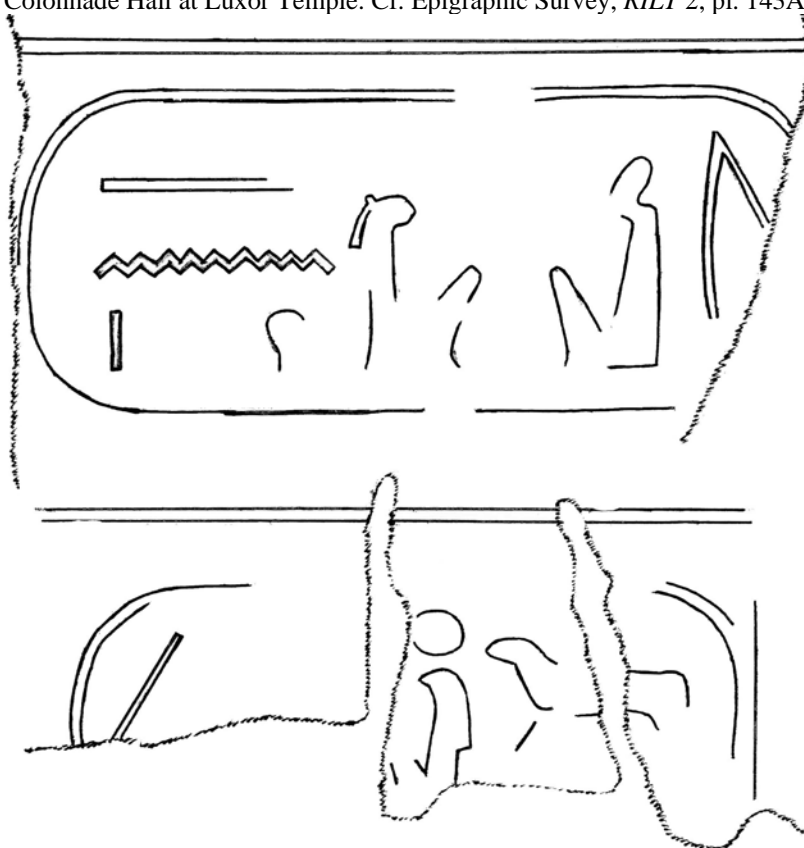


Fig. 21: Facimile drawings of erased cartouches of Merenptah on the facade of the Colonnade Hall at Luxor Temple, after Epigraphic Survey, *RILT* 2, pl. 143. Cf. fig.s 19-20.

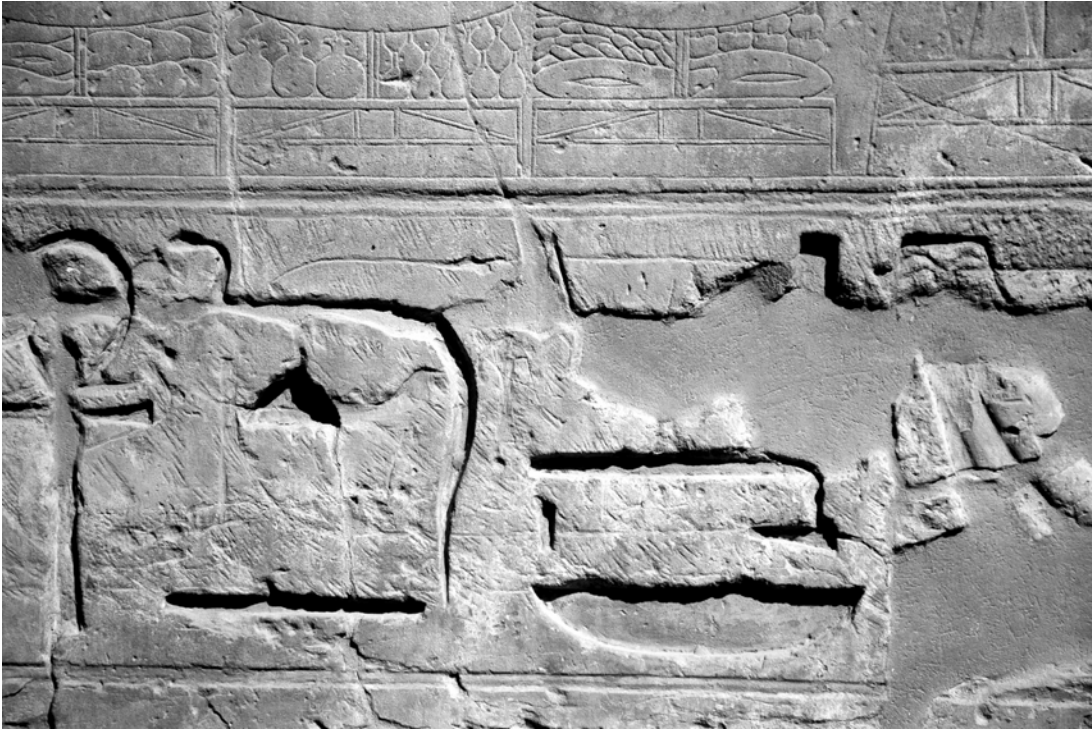


Fig. 22: Erased bandeau text of Merenptah from the dado of the west interior wall of the Colonnade Hall at Luxor Temple. Ramesses IV later carved another bandeau text in its place. The partially erased ram-glyph of Merenptah's prenomen is visible beneath the *d*-cobra at the left end of the photograph. Location: *PM II*², p. 314 (78); Epigraphic Survey, *RILT* 2, pl. 173.



Fig. 23: Large cartouches of Seti II surcharged over erased ones of Merenptah on a column in the Colonnade Hall at Luxor Temple. A *ḥtp*-sign is discernable beneath the group *Ptḥ* of Seti's nomen on the left. None of these traces are shown in the Epigraphic Survey's drawings of the columns. Cf. Epigraphic Survey, *RILT 2*, pl. 194.



Fig. 24: A nomen cartouche of Seti II surcharged over an erased cartouche of Merenptah from marginal decoration on a column in the Colonnade Hall at Luxor Temple. A diagonal line between the two reed leaves may stem from a squatting deity figure in Merenptah's nomen.



Fig. 25: An erased bandeau text of Merenptah from the base of the east interior wall of the solar court at Luxor Temple. Location: *PM II*², p. 317 (96).

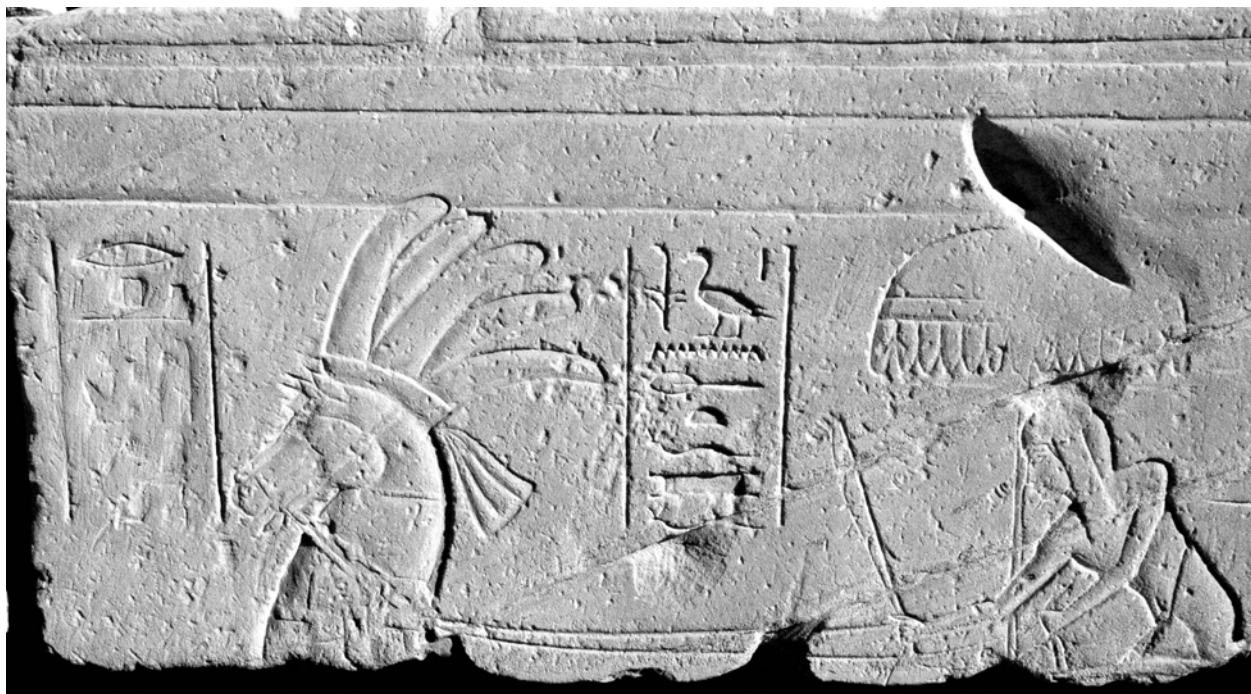


Fig. 26: Block from the war scenes on the west exterior wall of the *Cour de la Cachette* showing Crown Prince Seti riding in a chariot. The first part of the Prince's titulary has been erased. Le Saout, *Karnak 8* (Paris: ERC, 1987), p. 232.



Fig. 27: Detail of fig 26: The erased protocol of Crown Prince Seti, *iry-p^t Swthy*.

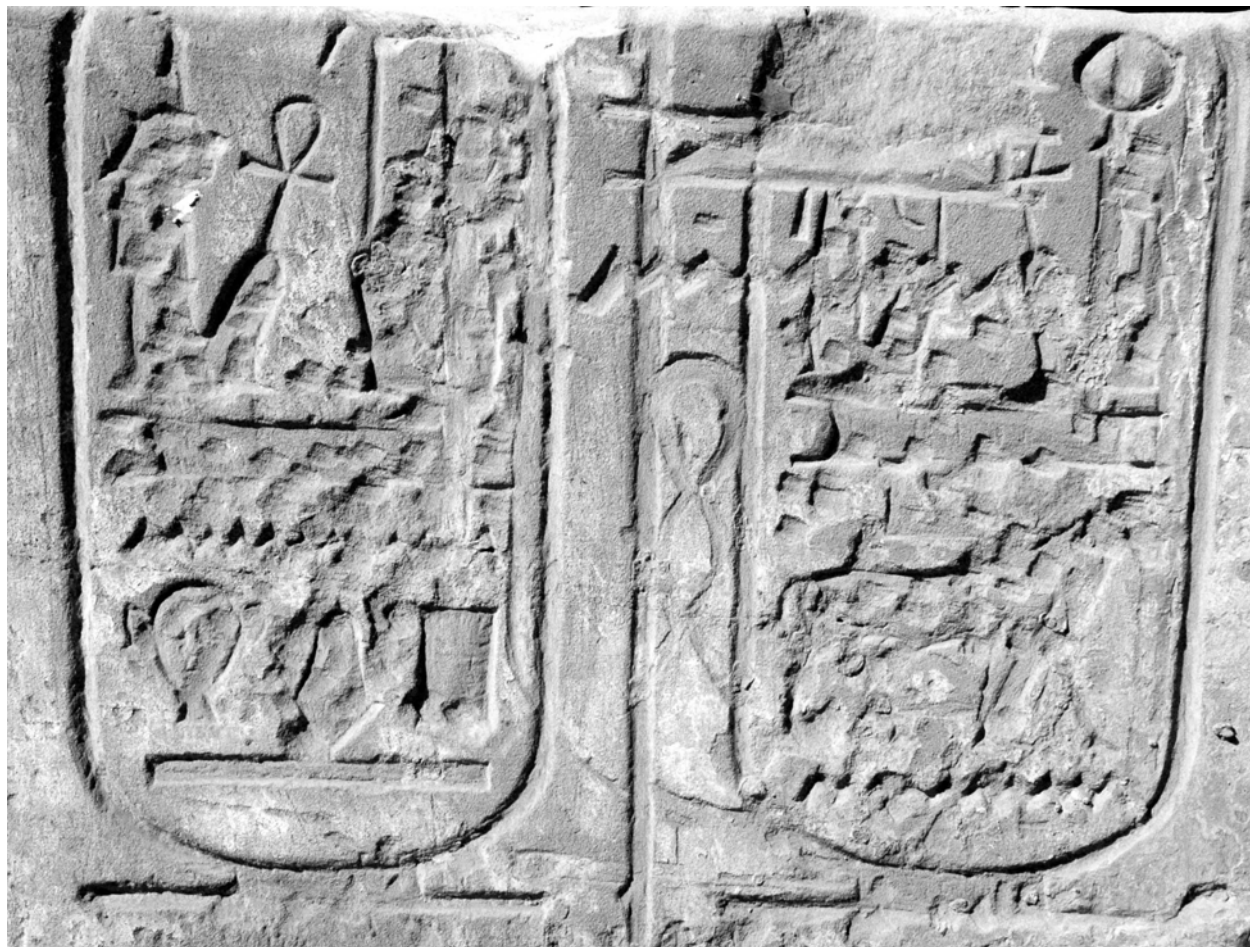


Fig. 28: partly hacked cartouches of Merenptah from a *Cour de la Cachette* block. The relief was later plastered over by Seti II who cut a new inscription over it. The pattern of hacking to Merenptah's cartouches is consistent with an uncompleted *damnatio memoriae* by Amenmesse rather than keying for plaster by Seti II prior to carving a new relief in its place. Cf. figs. 10-11.