

Epigraphic notes on the *aleph*-sign (Gardiner G1) in the second half of the Eighteenth Dynasty and beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty



Abstract: The paper considers the hieroglyphic writing of the *aleph*-sign (Gardiner G1) in royal monumental architecture as a dating criterion. A certain epigraphic feature of the sign appears to be particularly characteristic of the second half of the Eighteenth Dynasty and the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty. The characteristics of the sign are discussed mainly in reference to the renewal texts, concluding with some remarks on the chronology of the restorations of reliefs in the Hatshepsut temple at Deir el-Bahari.

Keywords: *aleph*-sign (Gardiner G1), renewal texts, ancient restorations, temple reliefs

THE *ALEPH*-SIGN

Peculiarities of Egyptian writing may date texts to given periods. Single signs can similarly be used as a dating criterion as demonstrated by J.H. Taylor for the Third-Intermediate-Period writing of the sign representing a wick of twisted flax (Gardiner V28) (Taylor 2006). The *aleph*-sign may actually be a diagnostic sign of this kind for royal monumental texts of the period from the end of the Eighteenth to the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty.

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I would like to express my gratitude to Mirosław Barwik for permission to reproduce an image from the south wall of the Vestibule of the Chapel of Tuthmosis I in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, courtesy of the Project documentation archives.

The alphabetic sign of the Egyptian vulture was often confused with the sign representing the buzzard (Gardiner G4) in hieroglyphic writing (e.g., Griffith 1898: 19; Gardiner 1994: 467). This confusion is not the subject of the present paper, but there is one feature that constitutes a point of departure for a discussion of the *aleph*-sign. It is the back of the bird's head which is apparently the only significant difference between the two signs: the buzzard's head is more rounded whereas that of the Egyptian vulture is flatter. This feature

of the *aleph*-sign is emphasized in Old Kingdom hieroglyphic writing where the feathers form a crest (as in the model sign adopted by Fischer for his calligraphy, Fischer 1988: 9) [Fig. 1]. However, the feature fails to be apparent in the Middle Kingdom [Fig. 2] and Eighteenth Dynasty [Fig. 3:a] examples: the Middle Kingdom signs from the kiosk of Sesostris I (Lacau and Chevrier 1956: 261; 1969: Pls VIII, IX), the temple of Mentuhotep at Deir el-Bahari (Arnold 1974: 47), the tomb of Djehutyhotep at el-Bersheh (Griffith 1898: Fig. 120), the Eighteenth Dynasty



Fig. 1. Aleph, Old Kingdom (After Fischer 1988: 9 | drawing E. Kopp)

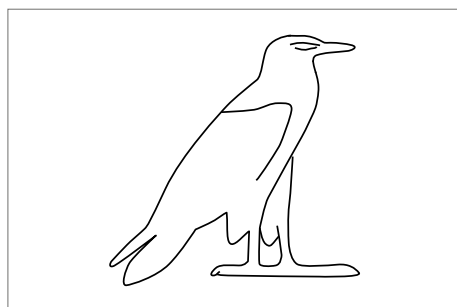


Fig. 2. Aleph, Middle Kingdom (After Lacau and Chevrier 1969: Pl. VIII 4 | drawing E. Kopp)

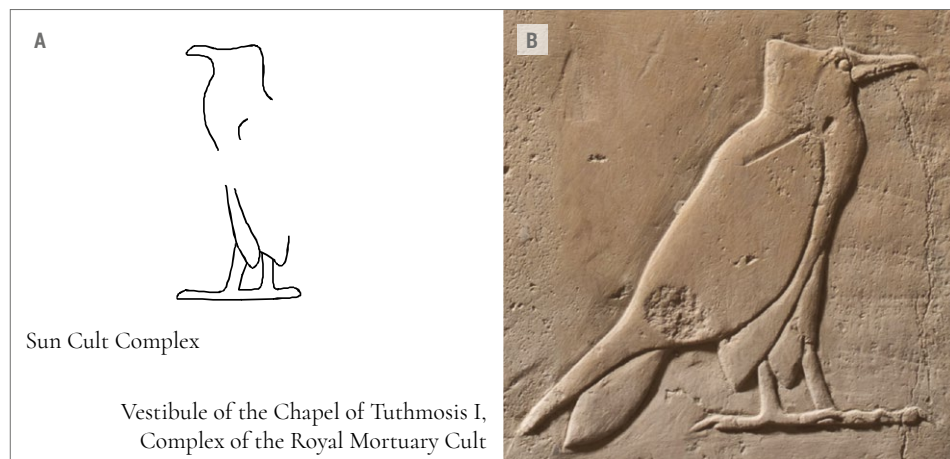


Fig. 3. Aleph, Eighteenth Dynasty, Temple of Hatshepsut, Deir el-Bahari (A – after Karkowski 2003: Pl. 38 | drawing E. Kopp; B – PCMA UW Temple of Hatshepsut Project | photo M. Jawornicki)

examples from the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari (Griffith 1898: Fig. 4; Karkowski 2003: Pl. 38) and the tomb of Paheri at el-Kab (Griffith 1898: Fig. 73). This last graphic rendering of the bird is actually treated as the conventional and classic form of the *aleph*-sign.

The feathers appear again on some late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Dynasty temple reliefs. A few additional ways of marking the back of the bird's head are observed in this period [Figs 3:b, 4–6]. A survey of royal monuments suggests that the *aleph*-sign was written differently in the reigns of different kings. No clear time frame can be placed on the use of the sign for a number of reasons. Patterns of text and scene transmission

in Egypt were complex, and recurring motifs from the past were a common feature in Egyptian culture. Moreover, the building, rebuilding, and restoration of the larger monuments, such as temples, by successive kings often obscures the different phases. Lastly, changes of rulers were not transposed directly into changes of artistic conventions.

A large number of standard temple ritual scenes of the New Kingdom do not include the *aleph*-signs. They appear more commonly in temple scenes of festivals and war representations. Moreover, during the New Kingdom, and especially during the Ramesside period, verbs such as *m33*, *km3*, *dw3* were usually written without the *aleph*-sign. Therefore, the present study is

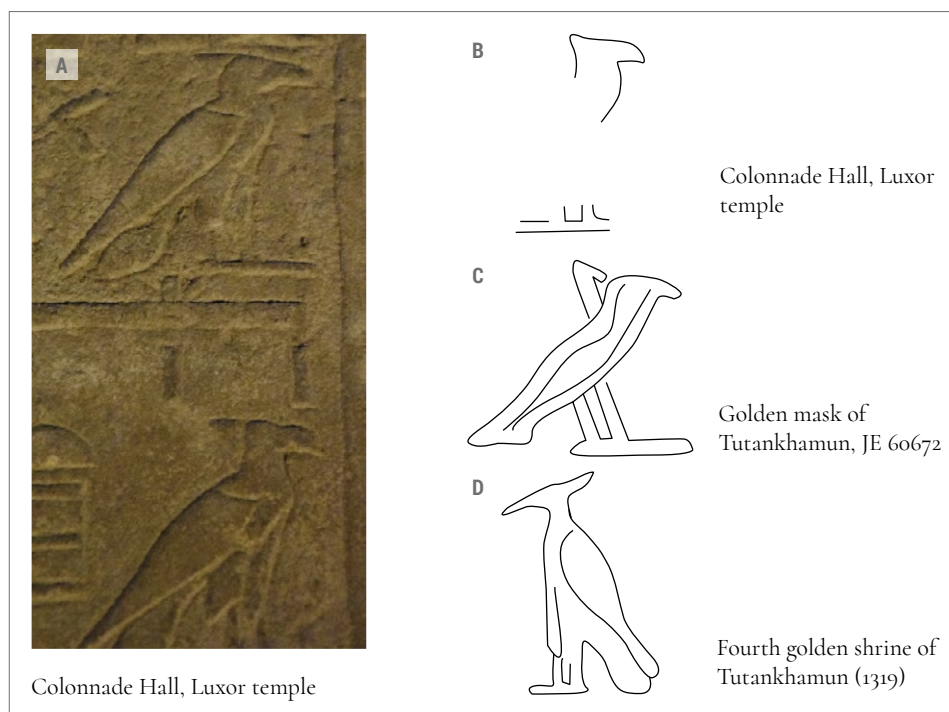


Fig. 4. Aleph, Tutankhamun (A – compare Epigraphic Survey 1994: Pl. 20; B – after Epigraphic Survey 1994: Pl. 119; C – after Schulz and Seidel 1997: 235, line 6; D – after Piankoff 1951: Pl. 20 | drawing and photo E. Kopp)

based on royal renewal texts, the inscriptions in which the sign appears with relative regularity. These texts are understood principally as texts that introduce, using the formula *sm3wy mnw* ‘the renewal of monuments’, the name of a restorer or beneficiary (such as the posthumous cult of a previous king) in the context of a restored relief.¹ Such inscriptions are the most typical for the post-Amarna restoration of reliefs (Grallert 2001: 71). Other sources, including ones on material other than stone, were called upon when these texts were insufficient, especially as the verb *sm3wy* is frequently not preserved or is written with the quail chick variant of the sign instead of the *aleph*.

The renewal texts were studied as a group (Grallert 2001), but also in the context of the reign of Seti I (Brand 2000). The restoration activities of this ruler, attested in these short texts, are outstanding compared to both earlier and later periods. There are some reasons for this state. Tutankhamun and Horemheb sporadically used renewal texts starting

with *sm3wy mnw* (Grallert 2001: 69) and Horemheb usurped the monument of his predecessors (Brand 1999: 114; 2000: 46–47, 117–118), replacing the cartouches of former restorers with his own. Tutankhamun, Ay and Horemheb merely completed older monuments or added specific parts to them (Brand 1999: 114). The presumed absence of standardizing formulae could be another explanation (Brand 1999: 114; 2000: 116). Instead, Late Eighteenth Dynasty formulae replaced the restorer’s name with that of the beneficiary, that is, the previous king.

Ramesside renewal texts attributed to Ramesses II, which are practically limited to the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari (Grallert 2001: 640–641), are infrequent, especially compared with the restoration activity of Seti I (Grallert 2001: 69, 619–623). Seti I is best known for his restorations; his *sm3wy mnw* inscriptions were always inserted in well visible places (along processional ways, in gateways, lunettes of stelae, facades of pylons), also in the temples outside the

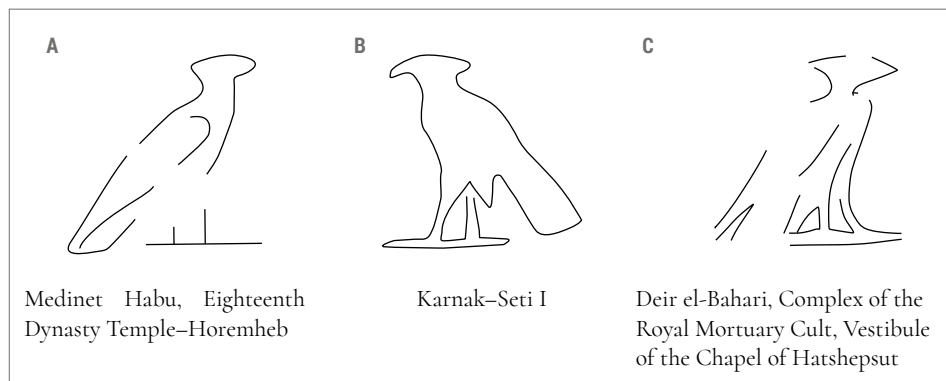


Fig. 5. Aleph, Horemheb–Seti I (A – after Epigraphic Survey 2009: Pl. 11:17; B – after KIU 4388; C – PCMA UW Temple of Hatshepsut Project | drawing E. Kopp)

1 Grallert (2001: 29–30, 67–73) distinguished two groups: *Widmungsvermerke* (*rWv*) for the posthumous cult of the king and the proper *Restaurierungsinschriften* (*Rv*) naming the royal restorer.

Theban area. It is thought, however, that the restorations were already completed (Brand 1999: 114; 2000: 116–118), hence the texts were unlikely to refer to the actual restoration. Nonetheless, this aspect of the renewal inscriptions is beyond the scope of the present paper.

Tutankhamun was responsible for the first post-Amarna restorations as stated on his stela (CG 34183). Of the four monumental renewal inscriptions (Grallert 2001: 615–616), two are found on blocks reused in the temple of Merenptah, originally part of the temple of Amenhotep III in Western Thebes (Bickel 1997: 103–104, 118–119, Pls 70 and 80). The beginning of one of these inscriptions is lost, while the other one contains a regular *aleph*; Seti I usurped the cartouches of Tutankhamun in both cases. Tutankhamun's cartouches in texts from the temples in Karnak and Luxor were

usurped by Horemheb. The two renewal inscriptions of Tutankhamun from the sixth pylon of Tuthmosis III in the temple of Karnak are different in style. A classical *aleph* appears in the southern part, while the sign in the text in the northern part has a head the back of which is more triangular than square (Brand 1999: 115–117, Fig. 1; KIU 3474 and 3478² respectively). Some back-head stylisation is noted also in the renewal text on the eastern section³ of the north wall of the Colonnade Hall at the Luxor temple (Epigraphic Survey 1994: Pl. 119) [see Fig 4:b]. Such atypical writing of the *aleph*-sign occurs in other parts of the Colonnade Hall as well [see Fig. 4:a]. The decoration sequence of this part of the temple is one of the most complicated ones because of the many stages of recarving. It was constructed by Amenhotep III, in whose time the decoration was commenced,



Fig. 6. *Aleph*, Ramesses II: A – Deir el-Bahari, Temple of Hatshepsut, Southern Lower Portico; B – Gurna, Temple of Seti I, facade (A – Compare Naville 1908: Pl. CLVII; B – photo E. Kopp)

- 2 Photos of KIU 3478 show two renewal texts in the northern part; similarities are noted in both cases.
- 3 The text in the western section is written by means of the group combining a quail chick and a sickle (Gardiner G 46).

but most of the interior reliefs were accomplished under Tutankhamun; only the southernmost part was carved in the times of Seti I based on Tutankhamun's cartoons (Epigraphic Survey 1994: xvii) and the facade was decorated by Ay (Epigraphic Survey 1998: xviii). Horemheb limited his input to the usurpation of the cartouches (Epigraphic Survey 1994: xvii). An *aleph*-sign with a triangular shape of the feathers at the back of the head [see Fig. 4:a–b] is clearly attested in the parts dated to the reigns of Tutankhamun (e.g., Epigraphic Survey 1994: Pl. 20) and Seti I (Epigraphic Survey 1998: Pls 196 and 197). Other monuments of Tutankhamun are not consistent in presenting this feature of the *aleph*-sign. The *alephs* are regular on the restoration stela (CG 34183) and on the golden shrines except for a variant with the feathers more raised at the back of the head (Piankoff 1951: Pl. 20). This is not a frequent variant at this time [see Fig. 4:d].⁴ One should also note the different writing of the *aleph* on ushebt figurines from the tomb of Tutankhamun (Piankoff 1955: Pls 62, 63). The bird's head with the feathers is treated there as a slightly wavy and narrow line [compare Fig. 6:a]. Such a form of writing is also used in inscriptions of Horemheb, Seti I and

Ramesses II, especially where the writing demonstrates the typical Ramesside manner of long and narrow signs. The narrow form [see Fig. 6:a] is encountered, e.g., on a decree of Horemheb (Kruchten 1981: Pls VIII–XII and KIU 5085), in renewal texts of Seti I on stelae (CG 34026 and CG 34025) and on an obelisk of Hatshepsut in Karnak (KIU 3333), in the Ramesseum (personal observation) and in inscriptions on the facade of the Gurna temple of Seti I [see Fig. 6:b].

A special form of writing is attested on the famous golden mask of Tutankhamun JE 60672, bearing the text of the Book of the Dead Spell 151 with the *Gliedervergottung* (Beinlich and Saleh 1989: 82–83) [see Fig. 4:c]. Such a wider drawing of the back of the bird's head is also known from the renewal texts of Horemheb and Seti I. In the case of the former ruler, there is one inscription (Epigraphic Survey 2009: 15–16, Pl. 11:17) with such a rendering of the sign [see Fig. 5:a].⁵ As for Seti I, some renewal texts from Karnak attest to this variant (KIU 4388,⁶ KIU 3347) [see Fig. 5:b] as do other texts, e.g., the record of the northern wars (KIU 1018). Seti's restoration program is generally dated to the early parts of his reign (Brand 2000: 117)⁷ and it is tempting

4 Although it appears in some reliefs of Seti I and in reliefs of the temple at Medinet Habu (Epigraphic Survey 1940: Pls 218:1, 219).

5 More texts from other parts of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple are to be published by the Epigraphic Survey. Two more texts have the renewal formulae written with the *aleph*, whereas the bulk of renewal texts used the composite group with the quail chick and the sickle (Gardiner G 46) (Grallert 2001: 365–366, 617–618).

6 Southern jamb of the doorway of Amenhotep II at Karnak; the beginning of the restoration text is illegible on the northern jamb. Compare also Loeben 1987: Pl. 3b.

7 The writing of the prenomen of Seti I on the architraves of the Colonnade Hall of the Luxor temple (Epigraphic Survey 1998: Pls 196 and 197) suggests an early date (Brand 2000: 92 and Note 134).

to date the wider sign [see *Fig. 5:a–c*] to the reigns of Tutankhamun, Horemheb and early Seti I.⁸ It is because it does not appear in any of the Ramesses II renewal texts, and if it does, it is the thin variant [see *Fig. 6:a*], as in the case of especially the southernmost Lower Portico (so-called Portico of Obelisks) of the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari (Neville 1908: Pls CLII, CLVII).⁹ In other porticos, including the northern lower one, if the renovation formula is preserved, a standard *aleph* is used without any modification at the back of the bird's head (compare, e.g., Martinez 2007: Pl. XXXVII; not all restoration texts have been published). Some additional observations support the impression that the narrow-head variant [see *Fig. 6:a,b*] could be considered as typical of the writing from the late Seti I–early Ramesses II reigns (perhaps the first two decades of the latter's reign). However, the broader time range of the attestations is notable. The sign is used in the decree of Horemheb. Such writing is present in the Ramesseum, which was decorated between the 5th and 21st year of Ramesses II (Lecuyot n.d.: 1). It appears also on the facade of the temple of Seti I at Gurna where the decoration was presumably executed after year 20 of the reign of Ramesses II

(Brand 2000: 245). A standard bird sign was used alongside the atypical variants also in the renewal texts of Seti I (e.g., the doorjamb of the east gate of the southern court of the sixth pylon in the temple at Karnak, see KIU 4723). As in many other cases, ancient Egyptians were never consistent in their (stylistic) choices, which were dependent on the circumstances (e.g., space, personal skills, untraceable circumstances). Other factors, such as individual training and craftsmanship, or type of monument, should also be taken into consideration.

It is striking that the renewal texts of Ramesses II in Deir el-Bahari (with the exception of the southern Lower Portico) generally use the classical form of the Middle Kingdom sign [see *Figs 2–3:a*]. In this case, the proposed dating of the restorations is the first 20 years of the reign of Ramesses II on the grounds of the writing of the cartouche names (e.g., Martinez 2007: 160). The nomen had been changed by year 21 from a shorter form *R^c-ms-s(w)* to the longer *R^c-ms-sw* (Kitchen 1979: 387; Spalinger 1980: 95–97). The prenomen also took a longer form, with the epithet *stp-n-R^c* by the end of year two and the relief was changed from raised to sunken before the end of year two (Brand 2000: 38; Brand,

8 The verb *km3* in the temple of Ptah at Karnak, dated to the reign of Ay, has such an *aleph*-sign (KIU 258).

9 See also the uppermost, left-side sample of the renovation text of Ramesses II (Martinez 2007: Pl. XXXVII), which corresponds to the renewal text on the south wall (Neville 1908: Pl. CLII). It seems unclear how accidental the back line of the *aleph*'s head is because the cut line seems to be destroyed. However, the *aleph* with a line was certainly carved on the west wall [see *Fig. 6:a*], contrary to the suggested ordinary writing by Neville (1908: Pl. CLVII). Additionally, it seems that the shorter nomen should be restored here. The *aleph*s of the upper registers (Neville 1908: Pl. CLIV) could have been of the ordinary kind, but it is difficult to judge the small and thin hieroglyphs carved on the destroyed surface.

Feleg, and Murnane 2018a: 18 and Note 123). The narrow bird's head variant dated to the reign of Ramesses II could have been an earlier tradition inherited from Horemheb and Seti I and abandoned during the following years. A change of this kind was noted in the temple iconography from year two of the reign of Ramesses II (Lurson 2005). The continuation of iconographical characteristics attributed to Seti I surely depended on the draftsmen and sculptors during the transition from the reigns of Seti I to Ramesses II (Brand, Feleg, and Murnane 2018a: 17–18). A representation with the *sm3-t3.wy* scene from the east wing of

the south wall of the Hypostyle Hall in the temple at Karnak (Brand, Feleg, and Murnane 2018b: Pl. 69) could be a case in point. The speeches of the gods start with the same verb *sm3*, but the *aleph* on the right side of the speech of Horus is carved in the style with a wider head [see Fig. 5], whereas that on the opposite side of the speech of Thot shows a standard *aleph* with a rounded back of the head. This part of the temple was executed in the first two years of Ramesses II (Brand, Feleg, and Murnane 2018a: 20, 123), but the decoration was initiated by Seti I, hence the noted stylistic influence of the latter in the royal figures.

ORIGIN OF THE ALEPH-SIGN VARIANT

Variants of the sign could have been a local (Theban) affair, but there are examples of a different writing of the *aleph*-sign in other parts of Egypt as well, e.g., stela of the first year of Seti I from Kom el-Lufi in Middle Egypt (Kessler 1983), temple of Seti I in Abydos (e.g., Calverley, Broome, and Gardiner 1933: Pl. 18). In the restoration texts of Seti I in the temple of Amada, classical *alephs* are used, whereas on Elephantine the beginning of the renewal text is lost.

The irregularities of the sign could suggest a different model of execution. Traditional forms may have been preferred, especially in standard religious texts and formulae, because they would have been taken from established pattern books. However, the issue of the transmission of texts to the final surface is widely debated and there are several different approaches to the subject. Handwriting (hieratic), cursive

hieroglyphic and hieroglyphic copies are all considered as having been used in the decoration process (e.g., Haring 2015; Lüscher 2015). One would agree with Haring's proposition that the model for the hieroglyphic text should also be hieroglyphic (Haring 2015: 79). Unfinished tombs, like the royal tomb of Horemheb, show hieroglyphic cartoons being used (Hornung 1971); the *alephs* have there a classical form of the back of their heads.

Cursive hieroglyphs are used in the text on the golden mask of Tutankhamun, where a new variant of the *aleph* [see Fig. 4:c] appears. Based on the appearance of the sign, its style should be classified as 3a, in use from the Twelfth Dynasty onwards (but the most common in the early Eighteenth Dynasty and the Amarna Period) in inscriptions with incised hieroglyphs on metal and wood (Fischer 1976: 41–42, Fig. 4). This raises the ques-

tion of how much the hieroglyphic texts were based on cursive hieroglyphs. Hieratic affinities for some signs, including the *aleph*, are clearly excluded (e.g., Graefe 2015: 123, Fig. 12). Generally, cursive hieroglyphs have their own distinct tradition of forms independent of the hieroglyphic and hieratic writings (Fischer 1976: 43). The intrusion of cursive hieroglyphs and hieratic on stone inscriptions from different periods is also noted, but not attested for the *aleph* (Fischer 1976: 43–44). The chronological uniqueness of this sign could perhaps be exemplified by Pap. N. York MMA 39.9.19, dated to the Nineteenth Dynasty,¹⁰ which exhibits features of cursive writing type 3a, although using the traditional shaped *aleph*-sign (Graefe 2015: Figs 8, 12). As a matter of fact, the proper palaeography of cursive signs if existing, would give the answer regarding the origin of the peculiar *aleph* sign in the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

Under such circumstances, the influence of cursive writing on the *aleph*-sign during the post-Amarna period seems possible. In the light of this conclusion, the case of the *aleph* from the south wall of the Vestibule of the Chapel of Tuthmosis I in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari is conspicuous (Barwik and Dziedzic forthcoming) [see Fig. 3:b]. A version close to the Tutankhamun variant was carved on the early Eighteenth Dynasty relief with personifications of the three seasons of the year. There are two possible explanations for such writing. Either the *aleph*-sign with a modeled back of the head was known and used

earlier or it was present there as a cartoon copy for the raised relief decoration and remained uncarved until the first restorations made by the post-Amarna rulers, i.e., Tutankhamun and others. In Egypt, the building and decoration processes were separate. Unfinished royal monuments (e.g., KV 57, the tomb of Horemheb) or monuments carved with reliefs by successors using painted outlines are well known, e.g., the Festival Colonnade Hall at the Luxor temple and the temple of Seti I at Abydos completed by Ramesses II and Merenptah (Brand 2000: 167–170). Polychrome cartoons are also thought to have played the role of temporary reliefs, as for instance in the temple of Seti I at Abydos and the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak (Brand, Feleg, and Murnane 2018a: 8). The latter instance could also be supported by the unfinished scene on the northern part of the east wall of the Chapel of Tuthmosis I (Barwik and Dziedzic forthcoming).

Individual artistic style should not be considered with regard to the origin of the sign. It is more probable that its further usage and dissemination could depend on scribal education and the itinerant craftsmen travelling from project to project. The use of the sign variant with narrow head [see Fig. 6:a,b] in other than royal context is certain, e.g., TT 19, the tomb of Imenmes (e.g., Karlshausen 2009: Pl. 24) dated to the first half of the reign of Ramesses II (Kampp 1996: 200). However, a private context for the origin of the discussed signs would require a separate study.

10 According to the dating in the database of the Totenbuch Projekt (<http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/>).

ANCIENT RESTORERS IN THE TEMPLE OF HATSHEPSUT AT DEIR EL-BAHARI

The special writing of the sign is also attested in a restored divine name in the procession of gods in the Vestibule of the Chapel of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari [see *Fig. 5:c*]. The last divine figure of the lowest register in the southern part of the west wall is identified by the name *Ḥw(.t)* (Leitz 2002: 100); a goddess is certainly intended judging by the female figure. The special writing in this case brings additional information on the ancient restoration works in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, especially on the Upper Terrace.

The restoration of texts and reliefs on the Upper Terrace differs from those in other parts of the temple by the total absence of any direct information about who completed the work. Other clues are needed in order to date these anepigraphic restorations. Iconographic features of the restored reliefs show that they are evidently early, namely from the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty, between the reign of Tutankhamun, and Horemheb or later under Seti I (Martinez 2007: 158–159). Moreover, the restoration technique is also distinctive: on plaster, it is at Horemheb's order, if sunk relief, then it is typical of Ramesside work (Karkowski 2003: 50). However, Seti I and Ramesses II used both types of relief, differing in style (Brand 2000: 27–28, 36–38; Brand, Feleg, and Murnane 2018a: 18). Restorations of Ramesses II on the Upper Terrace are attested by two fragments of restoration texts in the courtyard (Grallert 2001: 407). Res-

torations earlier than Ramesses II are indicated by only two texts attributed to Horemheb (Grallert 2001: 407, 617) and the restored scenes dated to his reign, representing barks in the sanctuary of Amun on the Upper Terrace (Karlshausen 2009: 43–45). Restorations by Tutankhamun are not supported by any direct evidence (Grallert 2001: 407; Martinez 2007: 158–159).

The special writing of the *aleph*-sing in the Vestibule of the Chapel of Hatshepsut should be viewed as evidence for restorations made by the rulers of the post-Amarna period, that is, between Tutankhamun and Seti I. Additionally, the recutting of restored divine figures with visible traces of the earlier outline, so-called secondary restorations, show that figures of gods could have been restored in a different scale than the original figures, smaller for Tutankhamun and larger for Horemheb (Brand 1999: 115–116). Such larger restorations are attested, among others, in the scenes of the procession of the gods in the Vestibule of the Chapel of Hatshepsut in the Royal Mortuary Cult Complex. The restored representations there are larger than the original traces and, in general, they are also of different height, suggesting that the restorations were done in stages. Restoration work extending beyond year 21 of the reign of Ramesses II is attested by recently published graffiti (Barwik 2013: 99–101), noting simply the names of workers from the fourth decade of the reign of Ramesses II who may have been

engaged in the restoration work. Consequently, the process of the restoration of the scenes and accompanying texts in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari could have been more drawn out, carried out in stages that can be traced thanks to a combination of iconographic and epigraphic features, rather than as the action of a single ruler as stated in the renewal texts of Ramesses II.

A scene at Deir el-Bahari would constitute evidence for a two(?) stage restoration. The temple at Karnak offers also a parallel in the decoration of the Hypostyle Hall, which shows the complexity of the restoration and decoration process, especially when considering a change from raised to sunk relief in the reign of Ramesses II (e.g., Brand, Feleg, and Murnane 2018a: 18). In light of the above, the Ennead scene on the south wall of the Middle Portico (Birth Portico)

(Naville 1896: Pl. XLVI; Martinez 2007: Pl. XXXVIA), restored in two techniques and bearing the renewal text of Ramesses II, could be a case in point. The partly preserved original raised relief was restored in raised relief in the part of the divine figures, but some divine names were restored in raised and sunk relief in a different style. However, an earlier restoration (sometime between Tutankhamun and Seti I) could be another explanation of the different types of restored relief but not figures. The longer version of the prenomen of Ramesses II in the renewal text would be in favor of the latter proposition. Otherwise, we would have to assume a less probable solution that the restoration started during the first year of the reign of Ramesses II when the raised relief technique was in use, and was continued in the following period changing the technique to sunken relief (Brand 2000: 38).

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