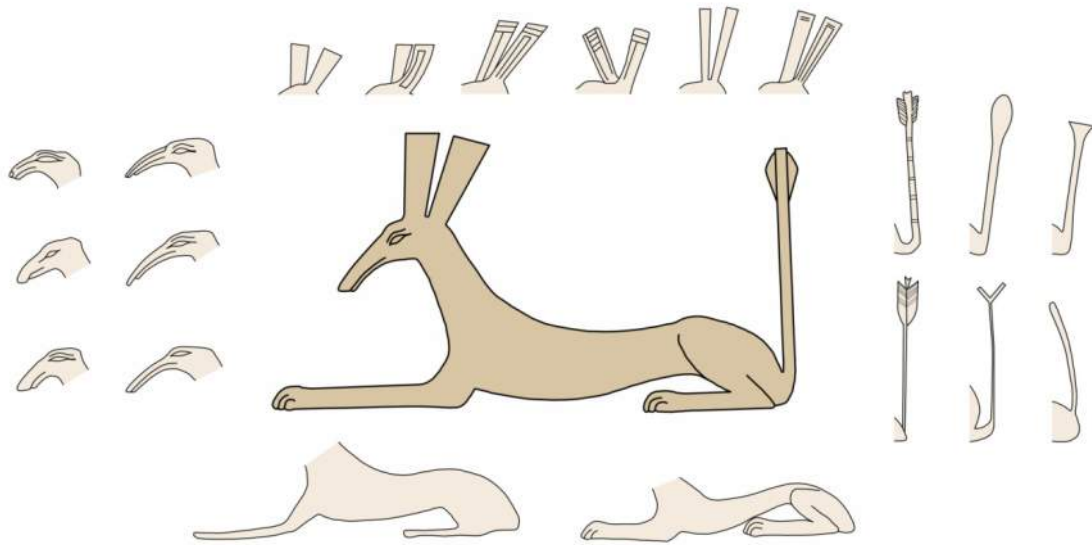


DECONSTRUCTING THE ICONOGRAPHY OF SETH

by

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A thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Classics, Ancient History and Archaeology
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Abstract

The god Seth was depicted in both zoomorphic and bimorphic form. In zoomorphic form he was depicted as a canine-like animal with a down curved muzzle, upright squared-off ears and an erect tail, whilst in bimorphic form he was portrayed as a human male with the head of the Seth animal. Although much has been written on the mythology of Seth and identification of the Seth animal, no in-depth research has been undertaken regarding the variations that occur in his images over the dynastic period of Egyptian history. This thesis looks at the variations in the images of Seth and how he was represented in temples, tombs, written texts and in personal adornment. A comparison of the variations of his component parts leads to a comprehensive understanding of the different forms employed and allows the questions to be answered of whether there was ever a fully defined standard representation or if each image was an individual interpretation of a loosely defined theoretical form. Additionally, the study of the use of the zoomorphic and bimorphic Seth images within the Nile Valley and Western Desert oases provides the further understanding of the form of the proscription against Seth.

Dedication.

For my father

Acknowledgements

When first committing myself to pursuing this research topic I was advised by my then MA tutor Professor (now emeritus Professor) John Tait at the Institute of Archaeology, University College, London, that it would be a long hard and rocky road, which has proved to be a very apt description. However, this passage has been eased by a number of people and institutions and it is to them I would like to offer my sincere thanks for their assistance provided to me during the research for this thesis.

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The Museum August Kestner, Hannover, Germany.

The Museum of Fine Art, Boston, USA.

The Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, Denmark.

The Oriental Institute, Chicago, USA.

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The Rosicrucian Egyptian Museum, San Jose, California, USA.

To Dr Gill Woods and Dr Pauline Norris for innumerable discussions, support and encouragement as well as being great uncomplaining travelling companions on my various research trips to Egypt.








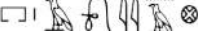





To Hagag Shallan and his family for their hospitality and providing me with accommodation on my various trips to Luxor.











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Deconstructing the Iconography of Seth
























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Chapter 1: Introduction and Methodology.

1.1 Introduction.

Seth, the '*Enfant Terrible*', of the ancient Egyptian pantheon was the noisy, disruptive and troublesome god and will always be remembered for one single incident, the act of regicide/fratricide against his elder brother Osiris, the king of Egypt. Nevertheless, there was much more to the character of Seth than this single act of sibling violence. The Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts, the oldest corpus of Egyptian religious writings, provide the first written reference to Seth in the 5th Dynasty pyramid of Unas at Saqqara (Allen 2005, 1, 19). However, as a deity Seth predated both these Old Kingdom texts and his brother Osiris (Bolshakov 1992, 203; Bolshakov 2001, 65), being reliably traced back into the Predynastic Period. Three identifiable representations currently exist, two on the Scorpion mace head, on which Seth is depicted as a cult image or totem on a pair of standards (Quibell 1900, pl. XXVIc, Te Velde 1967, 12) and as a rock carving at Gebel Tjauti (Darnell 2002, 21, pl. 12, 13a). Possible early depictions of the Seth animal are carved on eight labels recovered from the Dynasty 0 Tomb Uj at Abydos (Kahl, 2001, 55). Seth is also depicted on the serekh of two 2nd Dynasty pharaohs. The first was Peribsen, who replaced the Horus falcon on his serekh with a striding Seth animal, followed by Khasekhemwy who placed both the Horus falcon and Seth animal on top of his serekh (von Beckerath 1984, 44 N3, N9) (Figs. 1.1 and 1.2).



Fig. 1.1: Mud seal with the impression of the serekh of Peribsen surmounted with the Seth animal. 2nd Dynasty. British Museum BM EA 35595.



Fig. 1.2: Granite door frame carved with the serekh of Khasekhemwy surmounted with the Seth animal and Horus. 2nd Dynasty. Cairo Museum JE 33986.

Within Egyptian religious iconography, a number of gods were depicted in both zoomorphic and bimorphic forms. The animals used to represent these gods are easily identifiable within

their genus; however, in keeping with Seth's enigmatic nature, a definite identification of his animal is not possible (von Keimer 1950, 110; Te Velde 1967, 14; Quirke 1992, 54). Within the world of Egyptology, this has led to much speculation as to whether the animal is a representation of a real animal or is a composite creature.

Despite the number of articles discussing Seth's roles within Egyptian religion, mythology and the nature of the Seth animal, no in-depth research has been undertaken regarding the iconography of Seth. It is the intention of this work to fill this gap in Sethian studies by proposing and answering the following research questions:

1. Was there a standard form of the Seth image by period, context and type of material or location or was this at the discretion of the individual craftsman?
2. Was there a standard form of the Seth hieroglyph used in writing by period, context and type of material or location or was this at the discretion of the individual scribe?
3. What information do the changes in the Seth image reveal about the proscription of Seth?


This study will allow a greater understanding of the changes that occurred within the iconography of Seth and how it was used over the course of Egyptian history. It will also allow for a more holistic understanding of how these changes related to the political and religious fortunes of the god. The method of analysis of the Seth images undertaken in this work is the first time this technique has been employed in the analysis of an ancient Egyptian deity.

1.2 Methodology.

A glossary of Egyptology terms included in the work is included after the main body of text.

The imagery of Seth was never static but changed throughout the period of Egyptian culture. The Seth animal evolved from the chubby, squat-legged quadruped with horizontally-striped erect ears and trunk-like muzzle of the Predynastic period to the lithe canine-like animal with a downward curved muzzle of the Old, Middle and New Kingdoms. In the Late and Ptolemaic Periods representations of the Seth animal ceased to be used, instead he was portrayed as a number of animals including an ass, crocodile, hippopotamus and pig. From the Early Dynastic period Seth also began to be portrayed in bimorphic form as a male figure with the head of the Seth animal. He was also portrayed fully anthropomorphic male figure,

occasionally in foreign dress, in bimorphic form with a bull's head or, in more than one instance, the head of a hawk.

Within the representations of the Seth animal and the bimorphic Seth deity there were variations in form and detail: The body of the Seth animal underwent changes of proportions. The tail had a number of variations including its angle of inclination, length, location on and junction with the body and type of termination. The head of Seth animal and the bimorphic Seth deity also has a distinct number of variations in the curvature, length, and size of the muzzle as well as the angle, form, length, shape and markings of the ears. It would appear, therefore, that there was a level of artistic flexibility in the representation of Seth; all of the known images vary in one or more details. The analysis of the representations of Seth will concentrate on those in zoomorphic and biomorphic form with the Seth animal head arranged chronologically from the Pre-dynastic Period through to the Greco-Roman Period. It will undertake an empirical comparison of a number of contemporaneous images within each period. Also within each of the periods analysed, the geographical location of the images from Upper and Lower Egypt, its Eastern and Western borders and the Oases will also be considered, together with a comparison of any variations, differences or similarities between the images. These images will not only include monumental representations from buildings, such as temples but also those portrayed at a small scale as on stelae, personal objects such as amulets, and ostraca. Hieroglyphs, as being representative art as well as text, will also be included within the scope of this research. However, the use of the Seth headed deity C7  hieroglyph (Gardiner 1957, 449) in temple and tomb reliefs will be discussed but the form of the Seth head will not be analysed as the number of available examples would exceed the parameters set for this work. Although much rarer, the three-dimensional representations of Seth in the form of statues, statuettes and figurines will also be discussed. This study will take into consideration the medium in which the image was portrayed as well as the physical size of the image.

The biggest obstacle to this research was in obtaining suitable images to allow detailed assessment of the representations of Seth. Although many images of Seth had been published during the late 19th and 20th centuries, the quality of these printed images were not entirely suitable for a highly detailed analysis. To obtain the images necessary to create a workable database six research trips to Egypt, covering the length of the Nile valley as far as

Abu Simbel, the oases of the Western Desert, the Eastern Desert and the Eastern Delta were undertaken. In addition to these were field trips to a number of museums both in the UK and Europe. Through these trips a library of in excess of 3,000 digital photographs was compiled. In selecting suitable images for analyses where possible the author's photographs were used, however, these images were supplemented with those from published excavation reports. Due to the relatively small number of usable images of Seth and the range of the areas of study relating to him, it has been expedient to repeat a number of images in different chapters.

In addition many of the existing reliefs of Seth, in zoomorphic and bimorphic form, have varying levels of damage. Where the damage did not prevent a majority of the defining components from being analysed they were included. However, where the damage was excessive, destroying the detailed outline of the image to the extent of preventing it being reconstructed, or the image had been converted to another deity, the image was excluded from the analysis undertaken in Chapters 11 and 12 (Figs. 1.3 and 1.4).

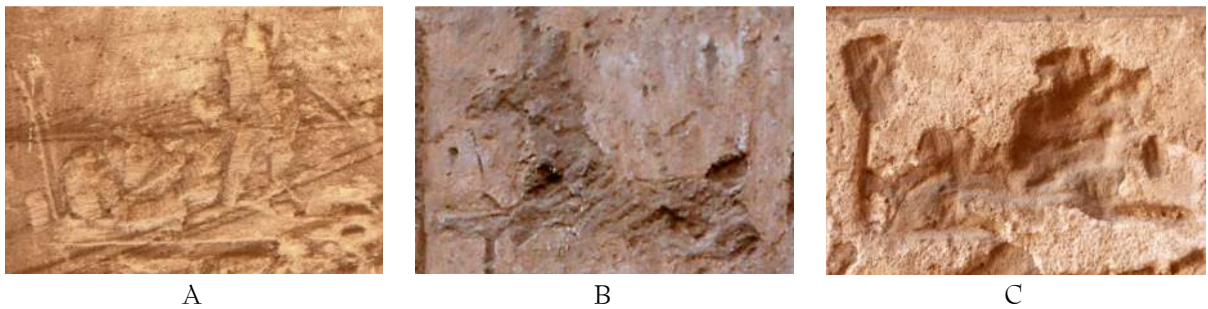


Fig. 1.3: Examples of damaged zoomorphic Seth reliefs. A – Luxor temple, Hypostyle Hall, east wall, lower register. 18th Dynasty. B – Karnak temple, Hypostyle Hall, north wall, east end, bottom register. 19th Dynasty. C – Medinat Habu Room 20, lower register, 20th Dynasty.

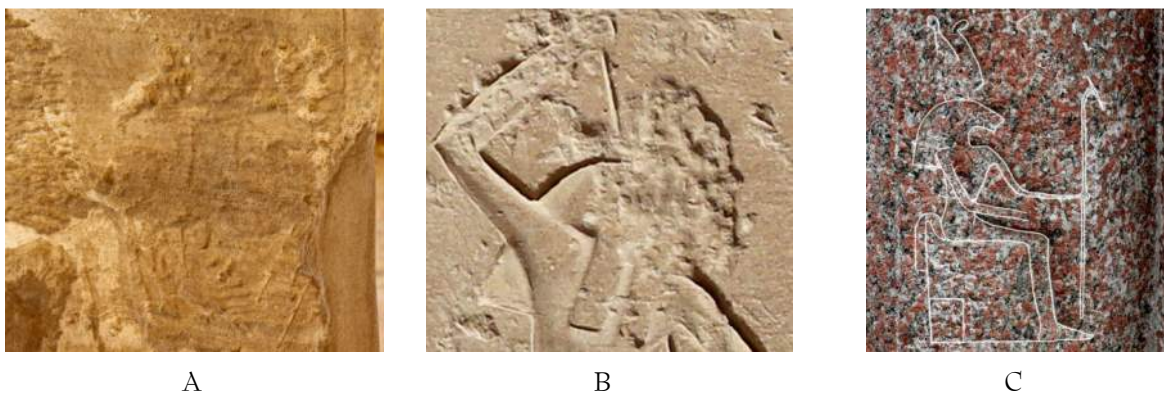


Fig. 1.4: Examples of damaged bimorphic Seth images: A – Seth with Thutmose III and Nephthys, Room XXII Festival of Hall of Thutmose III, Karnak Temple. 18th Dynasty. B – Seth on the solar barque killing Apep, Room 18, Medinet Habu. 20th Dynasty. C – 19th Seth altered to represent Mahes in 22nd Dynasty, Temple of Bubastis (Author's outlining of image).

In addition if the artistic style employed involved the image being cut with a single width chisel cut or drawn with a single brush stroke reducing it to stick figure (Fig. 1.5), these were also excluded from the analysis.



Fig. 1.5: Examples of zoomorphic Seth reliefs unsuitable for analysis due to artistic style. A – stela of Seti, 19th Dynasty, Antikenmuseum BSAe 1080. B – incense Burner, 18th Dynasty, Petrie Museum UC 15875. C – Bowl of Peribsen, 2nd Dynasty, British Museum BM EA 68689.






However, all the excluded images were recorded and included in the gazetteer in Appendix 3.

An additional by-product of this research was the evidence that many of the smaller images of Seth recorded in the epigraphic surveys of the late 19th and 20th century were suffering from decay and erosion and in one instance had been totally lost (Fig. 1.6).



Fig. 1.6: Photographs of the base of the south face of the south temenos of Edfu temple. The left hand photograph published in 1934 shows a Seth hieroglyph pierced with knives (author's highlighting). The right hand photograph taken in 2014 shows the complete block containing the Seth hieroglyph is now missing along with a section of the block above.

During the course of Egyptian history, Seth was referred to under a number of names including 'Setekh', 'Sutekh' and 'Set' (Te Velde 1967, 1-3) and these have all been employed in publications. However, in keeping with the current convention, the name as Seth will be employed in this work unless the one of the alternatives is required.

Where hieroglyphs or equivalent cursive scripts are referred to, for example E20  seated, E21  prone Seth animal and C7  seated Seth deity, are based on the sign list published in Gardiner's *Egyptian Grammar*, 1957 third edition reprinted 1994. Instances where a hieroglyph is not listed, such as the striding Seth animal  or the Ptolemaic prone ass ,

will be referenced as unclassified. During the Ptolemaic period the zoomorphic Seth animal was depicted with the head of a donkey or an ass, however, there is no hieroglyph in Gardener's sign list for a donkey so in this work it has been assumed to be an ass and the description 'ass' or 'asinine' will be employed.

The chronology used in this work is a combination of two chronologies. For the Egyptian Dynastic periods, the chronology used is that proposed by Hornung (Hornung *et al.* 2006, 92, 490-495) which outlines the Predynastic and Dynastic periods 1 to 30 only:

Predynastic	ca. 4,000 – 3600BC	Naqada I
	ca. 3,600 – 3350BC	Naqada II
	ca. 3,350 – 2,900BC	Naqada III
Early Dynastic	2,900 – 2,545BC	Dynasties 1 to 3
Old Kingdom	2,543 – 2120BC	Dynasties 4 to 8
1 st Intermediate Period	2,118 – 1,980BC	Dynasties 9 and 10
Middle Kingdom	1,980 – 1,760BC	Dynasties 11 and 12
2 nd Intermediate Period	1,759 – 1539BC	Dynasties 13 to 17
New Kingdom	1,539 – 1,077BC	Dynasties 18 to 20
3 rd Intermediate Period	1,076 – 723BC	Dynasties 21 to 24
Late Period	722 – 332BC	Dynasties 25 to 30

For the Greco-Roman periods, the chronology used is that proposed by Hölbl (Hölbl 2001, 318-353) which defines the Egypt's post dynastic periods as:

Ptolemaic Period	332 – 30BC
Roman Period	30BC – AD395

To avoid excessively long captions condensed details will be utilised in the illustrations included in the work. The list of illustrations in the index at the front of this thesis contains the full details and accreditations.

1.3 Structure of the Thesis.

In addition to the introduction and conclusion the body of the study will be broken down into 12 additional chapters. These chapters will deal with different aspects of Seth in Egyptian culture, cumulating with the analysis of the images Seth animal and the Seth animal headed bimorphic deity. The composition of these chapters will be as follows:



Chapter 2: Primary Literary Sources

The chapter investigates the differing interpretations of Seth as portrayed in academic literature.



Chapter 3 – Seth in the Pyramid Texts.

The first written appearance of Seth occurs in the Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts and this chapter discusses his role within these texts, his character and distribution of the relevant Seth related utterances in the 5th and 6th Dynasty pyramids. Seth's role as a deity, along with his relationship to Horus and Osiris, is also analysed.

Chapter 4 – Seth in the Coffin Texts.

This chapter discusses the development and distribution of the Coffin Texts and the role and form of writing the name of Seth within these texts, whether the E21  Seth animal, the C7  seated Seth deity, or phonetic hieroglyphs were employed. Also discussed is Seth in the texts applied to the exterior of the coffins.

Chapter 5 - Seth in the Book of the Dead.

This chapter discusses the development of the Book of the Dead from the Coffin Texts and Seth's inclusion in certain spells. The discussion also covers the name of Seth within these spells, whether the E21  Seth animal, the C7  seated Seth deity, or phonetic hieroglyphs were employed.

Chapter 6 – Seth in Hieratic and Demotic Cursive Scripts

This chapter discusses the writing of the name of Seth in cursive scripts in documents ranging from the secular, magic spells, prayers and a litany. It is not a lexicographical study or one that considers the role that Seth played in the writings but rather a chronological analysis of how the name of Seth was written by the scribes, whether as a Seth animal hieroglyph, a seated Seth deity hieroglyph or the name of Seth was spelt phonetically.

Chapter 7 – Seth in the Upper and Lower Egyptian Landscape

This chapter will be an investigation of the places associated with Seth along the course of the Nile in both Upper and Lower Egypt. The focus is on his cult centres, places associated with him due to an act performed there by him, and places where a festival was held in his honour.

Chapter 8 - Seth in the Egyptian Oases.

This chapter will be an investigation of Seth's association with the Egyptian desert and places associated with him in the oases of the Western Desert and desert routes.

Chapter 9 – Seth in Temple Reliefs and Inscriptions.

This chapter analyses the use of the images of Seth in the Egyptian temple and is considered chronologically commencing with the Predynastic Period.

Chapter 10 – Seth in Tomb Inscriptions.

This chapter analyses the use of the images of Seth in the Egyptian tombs and is considered chronologically, commencing with the Predynastic Period.

Chapter 11 – Seth and Personal Reverence

This chapter examines how Seth was perceived and worshiped at an individual and personal level. The investigation will include the use of names that employed the name of Seth, personal adornment, personal worship and public display of worship.

Chapter 12 – Seth and His Depiction in Zoomorphic Form.

This chapter analyses the physical images of Seth portrayed as the Seth animal. This analysis will be restricted to the fully developed depictions of Seth dating from the 2nd Dynasty of the Early Dynastic period through to the Late Period.

Chapter 13 – Seth and His Depiction in Bimorphic Form.

This chapter analyses the physical images of Seth, as portrayed in bimorphic form, that of a human male body with the head of the Seth animal. This analysis will be restricted to the fully developed depictions of Seth dating from the 3rd Dynasty of the Old Kingdom through to the Ptolemaic Period.

Chapter 14 – Conclusion.

This chapter will summarize the information and findings of the previous chapters and propose a conclusion to answer the three research questions set out in the introduction.

The following chapter will examine the differing interpretations of Seth as portrayed in academic literature.

Chapter 2: Primary Literature Overview.

Before commencing the analysis of the image of Seth it is worth considering at this juncture the accepted view of how he is portrayed in the academic press. The commonly perceived view of Seth, whose image first appears in the Predynastic Period, is the deity that represented the forces of disturbance being ill tempered, personifying anger, rage and violence, the darker side of creation and the antithesis of the harmony of *maat*. As the Lord of the northern sky, Seth was thought to be responsible for the destructive power of storms. He was associated with the desert and foreign lands. Born of the goddess Nut, Seth was the brother to Osiris, Isis and Nephthys as well as being the husband of Nephthys. Jealous of his brother Osiris, the king of Egypt, Seth murdered him and contested the kingship of Egypt with Osiris' son and heir, Horus. However, Seth's strength and violent nature is put to good use as the protector of the sun god Ra on his nightly journey through the underworld by defeating the giant snake Apep as it tried to devour the sun god (Hart 1986, 194-198; Watterson 1996, 100-110; Te Velde 2001, 269-271; Te Velde 2002, 331-334; Wilkinson 2003, 197-199; Hill 2007, 34-37; Schorsch *et al* 2009, 185-186, 199).

Although Seth is one of the oldest deities in the pantheon of Egyptian gods the extent of literature that deals with him is small and none of those deal specifically with the variations in the representation of Seth that occur throughout Egyptian history, instead they concentrate on his role within the pantheon of gods, focussing on the murder of Osiris and the defending of Ra from Apep. However, the following books and articles are considered for the reason that they provide alternative considerations of the history and character of Seth and are analysed thematically as follows:

- 1 The conflict between Horus and Seth is compared in the articles 'The Set Rebellion of the 2nd Dynasty' by Newberry (1922), 'The 'Golden Horus' Title' by Hornblower (1938) and the book *The Conflict of Horus and Seth from Egyptian and Classical Sources* by Griffiths (1960).
- 2 Alternative interpretations of the nature of Seth are compared in the articles 'Seth as a Fool' by Goedicke (1961), 'The Egyptian God Seth as a Trickster' by Te Velde (1967), and 'Seth ist im Recht, Osiris ist im Unrecht' by von Lieven (2006).

- 3 Seth as a deity, good and bad is compared in the book *Seth, the God of Confusion* by Te Velde (1967) and the articles ‘The Fate of Seth in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari’ by Ćwiek (2008), ‘Sth ʿ3 pḥty ‘Seth, God of Power and Might’ by Cruz-Uribe (2009) and ‘The Reign of Seth: Egyptian Perspectives from First Millennium BCE’ by Smith (2010).

2.1 The Conflict Between Horus and Seth.




The Pyramid Texts contain a number of spells that describe the conflict and later reconciliation between Horus and Seth (Mathieu 2011, 143). In ‘The Set Rebellion of the 2nd Dynasty’ Newberry proposed that the myth of the conflict of Horus and Seth in these texts was in fact based on a historical event. This premise was based on the study of the king list for the 1st to 3rd Dynasties, contemporary 2nd Dynasty artefacts including inscriptions on jars, a bowl, statuettes and stela fragments and the Ptolemaic inscription known as the Myth of Horus of Edfu from the temple at Edfu. Newberry considered this inscription to contain much historical truth that refers to the Seth rebellion of the 2nd Dynasty (Newberry 1922, 40-42). However, Fairman also proposes that the Myth of Horus from Edfu predated the building of the Ptolemaic temple at Edfu but possibly only dated back only to the Old Kingdom (Fairman 1974, 34). Newberry suggested that during the 2nd Dynasty Peribsen, who came from the area of the Nile valley between Gebelin and Rifeh, the Land of Seth, rebelled and took the throne of Egypt in the name of Seth. To show his allegiance to the god and that a follower of Seth ruled the kingdom, the traditional Horus falcon, the tutelary deity of the legitimate kings of Egypt, was replaced on the royal serekh with the Seth animal (Newberry 1922, 40-41). Khasekhem, who came from the land of Horus to the south of Gebelin, defeated the northern rebels and reclaimed the throne for the Horus faction. At this time he changed his name from Khasekhem to Khasekhemwy, ‘*The two powerful ones appear*’. To reconcile the two opposing factions he placed both the Horus falcon and the Seth animal on the royal serekh (Newberry 1922, 41-42).



This premise is feasible if Peribsen was the ruler directly preceding Khasekhemwy, but the ancient Egyptian priest and historian Manetho inserted three kings between Peribsen and Khasakhemwy, Sedji, Neterka and Keferkara, while von Beckerath names these kings as Neferkare, Nefersokar and Hudjefa (von Beckerath 1984, 44, 45, 283), although there is very little evidence and no archaeological remains that support their existence. In addition

Manetho's work is fragmentary and is not referred to by any of the great compilers from antiquity, Pliny, Diodorus Siculus or Strabo, resulting in no supporting evidence being presented for the existence of the three kings between the reigns Peribsen and Khasakhemwy. Manetho's work is only known from later secondary sources of Flavius Josephus and the later Christian chronographers Africanus, Eusebius and Syncellos, the latter being instrumental to the transmission of the work, so it may be inaccurate or at the worse a pseudepigraphic work (Hornung *et al.* 2006, 34-35). However, the Seth rebellion may have continued beyond the reign of Peribsen, and the Seth kings that followed him may have only ruled a section of the Nile valley simultaneously as the kings recorded by Manetho, only to be forgotten or expunged from Egyptian history after the final defeat of the Seth rebels by Khasekhemwy. Wilkinson and Kahl both propose that Khasakhemwy directly succeeded Peribsen (Wilkinson 2000a, 27, 90-92; Kahl 2006, 105-106). Frankfort disagreed with the paradigm; instead he proposed that rather than the conflict being based on a historical event, it was in fact a cosmological interpretation of a myth (Frankfort 1948, 212).

In Griffiths' *The Conflict of Horus and Seth from Egyptian and Classical Sources* his analysis of the historical sources relating to the myth of the conflict between Horus and Seth re-assessed the evidence of Horus and Seth within the Pyramid Texts. He also proposed that the conflict between the two deities had its roots in a historical event and that Osiris was a later addition (Griffiths 1960, 17, 20, 119), supporting the proposal of Newberry. To support his paradigm, Griffiths proposed that there were two distinct feuds within the Pyramid Texts, the first between Horus and Seth, and the second between Osiris and Seth. He states that where Seth is mentioned, he is found more frequently connected with Horus than with Osiris and this relationship is more frequent in the earlier pyramids of Unas and Teti than in the later pyramids of Pepi I, Merenre and Pepi II (Griffiths 1960, 17-19). However, Wente in his 1963 review of the book refutes this conclusion. He argues that the Pyramid Texts do not provide a coherent narrative and that this assessment based on the recorded presence or absence of Osiris from an utterance is not conclusive proof that the Horus and Seth conflict is not extracted from the Osiris myth. He also questions Griffiths' statistical analysis of the frequency of the utterances within the source pyramids. However, he does not deny the possibility of a historic connection but suggests further evidence is necessary to support Griffiths' proposal (Wente 1963, 273-274). In contrast to Wente, Faulkner, in his review,

found Griffiths' conclusion eminently reasonable (Faulkner 1962a, 172). The analysis of Seth in the Pyramid Texts undertaken for this work also confirmed Griffith's conclusions.

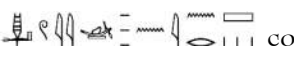
In his article Newberry referenced an article by Sethe (Sethe 1903, 19) that proposed a royal seal of the 3rd Dynasty king Djoser that shows his Horus name of Netjerikhet over the S12 hieroglyph for gold , could mean Netjerikhet had conquered Seth of Ombos . He suggested that this as further evidence for the Horus-Seth war occurring at the end of the 2nd Dynasty, and that a translation from the Rosetta Stone, which gives the meaning to the Golden Horus Name  as '*Victorious over his Enemies*', agreeing with Sethe's proposal (Newberry 1922, 43).

However, in 'The 'Golden Horus' Title' Hornblower proposed a new interpretation of  the Golden Horus name of the kings of Egypt. Rather than the interpretation of '*Horus has conquered the Ombite*' proposed by Sethe (Sethe 1903, 19) and Newberry (Newberry 1922, 43), it could in fact be Horus and Seth (the Ombite) as the two powers. This would refer to Horus and Seth in a combined sovereignty as indicated by the formal epithet of the 1st Dynasty queens of Egypt '*She who sees Horus and Seth*' (Hornblower 1938, 129) which refers to the Queen seeing the King as the personal embodiment of both Horus and Seth. However, Gardiner proposes that the title meant Horus of Gold until the Ptolemaic period when the meaning changed to '*superior to his foes*', symbolizing Horus being victorious over Seth, the Ombite  (Gardiner 1957, 73). This would fit with the Ptolemaic view of Seth of a proscribed deity. Griffiths, however, proposed that the title should be read as '*Horus and the Ombite are powerful or divine*' (Griffiths 1959, 86). Von Beckerath expands on Gardiner's proposals, by linking the gold in the title with the sun and sky, giving the meaning to the title as '*Hawk of Heaven*' or '*Hawk of the sun/sky*' (von Beckerath 1999, 17-21). Against this, Wilkinson proposed that the gold in the title is an expression of divinity as the gods' bodies were made of gold, and that title represented Horus defeating Seth, so expressing the role of the king as the champion of *maat* against the forces of chaos (Wilkinson 1999, 207). A contrary argument is presented by Kahl, who proposes that the title has no link with Horus but instead denotes the sun god Ra (Kahl, 2007, 43, 47). Leprohon, however, proposed an alternative meaning of the name, that it had a solar symbolism due to brilliance and immutability of gold while it was also the flesh of the gods, the Horus component of the name

representing the sun-filled daytime sky and symbolising the permanence of kingship (Leprohon 2013, 16).

The Golden Horus name is an enigmatic and difficult title to put a definite meaning to. It is also possible that the title's meaning did change during the course of Egyptian history but Hornblower's premise cannot be dismissed. The evidence presented in the works of Newberry and Griffiths would support the paradigm of a historic conflict and eventual reconciliation between the worshippers of Horus and Seth being assimilated into the developing religious beliefs of the ancient Egyptians. However, the Golden Horus name is too enigmatic to be definite evidence of the Horus and Seth conflict but it cannot be discounted.


2.2 Alternative Interpretations of the Nature of Seth.

As a rule the nature of Seth is defined as troublesome, violent and noisy, however there are instances where his character is portrayed in a different light. The Chester Beatty Papyrus 1 includes a version of the contending of Horus and Seth which has the tale of a boat race between Horus and Seth (Gardiner 1931, 23; Goedicke 1961, 154). In 'Seth as a Fool' Goedicke presents the idea that Seth was a gullible character who was tricked by Horus into losing the boat race between them. In describing the vessel to be used in the race the specific expression used by Seth,  could be interpreted as either a 'transport vessel for stone' or a 'transport vessel of stone'. Horus' interpretation of the first meaning leads him to construct a wooden vessel but to fool Seth into believing it was a 'vessel of stone' he then covered with it with plaster to replicate stone, while Seth takes the second meaning and constructs a stone vessel, which promptly sank, so losing him the race (Goedicke 1961, 154). The pun employed in the description of the vessel is used to demonstrate the intellect of Horus while portraying Seth as a fool. However, an alternative interpretation of the myth can be construed from the viewpoint of the supporters of Seth. It can be construed that Seth had meant the boats to be constructed of stone, or why did Horus having constructed a boat of cedar wood then feel the need to disguise it with plaster to look like stone? Rather than making Seth look a fool, it could be presenting Horus as devious and an individual who would resort to cheating to ensure he was victorious.

An alternative view of the nature of Seth was proposed by Te Velde in 'The Egyptian God Seth as a Trickster' where he presents a comparison of the character of Seth with that of the complex phenomenon of the Trickster deity that occurs in primitive cultures. He proposes,

that despite having five traits in common with the Trickster, namely: disorderly, uncivilised, a murderer, a homosexual and monster slayer, Seth is not exclusively a Trickster as he was worshipped as a god of a city or a nome. However, he concludes that no further comparisons can be made until a phenomenology of the Trickster is composed (Te Velde 1968, 39-40). What is questionable is Te Velde's assertion that a tale of a trickster can be perceived in the description of Seth's murder of Osiris in Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride* (Te Velde 1968, 38). Composed in the 2nd century AD, Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride* was written in Greek being intended for a Roman and Greek audience. Consequently the presentation of the narrative was influenced by the conventions of classical Greek myths (Quirke 1992, 58), which contain a number of Tricksters such as Dionysus, Heracles, Hermes and Prometheus (Kerényi 1956, 176, 178, 179, 180, 181, 187), and so would have, consciously or unconsciously, prejudiced Plutarch's interpretation of Seth's role in the murder of Osiris.

The motivation for the murder of his brother Osiris by Seth is normally considered to be one of jealousy of his kingship and a way of taking over the throne. However, there is an alternative reason. In 'Seth ist im Recht, Osiris ist im Unrecht' von Lieven proposes a paradigm on local Seth worship and the Seth worshipers' version of the Osiris myth. The title of the article can be construed in the legal sense as Seth is in the right, Osiris is in the wrong. This immediately sets the tone that unlike the usual Egyptian religious texts, Osiris is presented as the villain and perpetrator of a misdemeanour rather than the usual suspect, Seth.

Von Lieven presents her proposal in two parts. The first of these is the proposal that despite the vilification of Seth during the Late and Ptolemaic Periods, he continued to be worshiped throughout the Nile valley in the form of small local cults. In support of this, she cites reliefs within the Ptolemaic temple of Hathor at Dendara where in the Osiris chapel Seth is depicted as an ass bound and mistreated. However, on a door reveal in room E there are four fully anthropomorphic figures labelled as Seth from the Oases, Seth from the trees, Seth Unu or Unes and Seth of Sepermeru receiving offerings from an un-named Ptolemaic pharaoh. However, as in the inscriptions employed in the Western Desert Oases, the Seth animal is not depicted instead the name is written in phonetic hieroglyphs with a god determinative  (von Lieven 2006, 141-142).

The second part of the proposal is that at the locations of Seth worship there would have been employed a version of a mythology that emphasized the more positive aspects of Seth. This positive view of Seth would have included a different interpretation of the most aggressive of Seth's acts, the murder of Osiris. Von Lieven proposes that the attack on Osiris was in fact prompted by Osiris' act of adultery with Seth's wife, Nephthys. In the PT Spell P327 Seth claims that Osiris attacked him first (Faulkner 1968, 164; Allen 2005, 129). This attack could be construed as an attack on Seth's honour rather than a physical one. Seth's later statement that Osiris kicked him first can also be presented as the action of Osiris when confronted by Seth's accusations resulting in Seth killing him in self-defence. However, as the cuckolded husband and with the Egyptian's attitude that adultery was a capital crime, Seth would have had the legal right to punish Osiris up to the point of death (von Lieven 2006, 145-146). The violation of his brother's marriage by the act of adultery with Nephthys, and the deception of his own wife Isis, casts a more dubious light onto the model of integrity that Osiris endeavoured to project (von Lieven 2006, 146-148). This revision in the interpretation of the Osiris myth would present Seth as the wronged husband extracting his legally sanctioned revenge, while Osiris would be seen as a deceitful adulterer who receives the justice he deserves.


The works of Goedicke, Te Velde and Von Lieven, present three different interpretations as to the nature of Seth, the fool, the trickster and the wronged husband defending his honour. However, Goedicke's proposal of Seth as a fool can be interpreted by a follower of Seth that he was honourable in his intentions, if inaccurate in his instructions and Horus was a dishonourable cheat who took advantage of this inaccuracy. Te Velde's suggestion he was possibly a trickster god is not conclusive. Finally von Lieven's interpretation of the murder of Osiris as what can be classed as a '*honour killing*' as the result of Osiris's adultery with Seth's wife does present a logical argument that a follower of Seth could safely believe.




2.3 Seth the Deity, Good and Bad

Te Velde's *Seth, the God of Confusion* is the major study of the god Seth and despite its age is still considered to be the seminal work on the deity. However, there are new studies that address different aspects of the cult of Seth. Te Velde's work is presented in five sections, the name and animal of Seth; Seth the enemy and friend of Osiris; Seth the murderer of Osiris; Seth repelling Apep; and Seth the foreigner. In addition to these main chapters Te Velde

also includes a detailed index of Seth related texts, papyri and inscriptions that are referred to in the book. However, despite the extent of the detailed research undertaken, the work does contain sections that are debateable in their content. Te Velde discusses the meaning of the name of Seth, but presents etymologies initially from the 2nd century AD *Isis and Osiris* by Plutarch and then from the Late Period that are compatible with the theories of Plutarch but fails to propose or discuss any earlier etymologies. The chapter continues with a brief discussion of the Seth animal and a short discourse on the tail (Te Velde 1967, 8, 16) but does not discuss any of the variations that occur to the body or head of Seth. He also summarily dismisses the theories of both Emery and Zandee (Emery 1961, 120; Zandee 1963, 155) that Seth was a beneficial predynastic god of Upper Egypt (Te Velde 1967, 11-12). By doing so, he dismisses the notion that Seth was once worshipped as a major and important god and the consideration that he was once revered as a beneficent deity and his status at the start of the dynastic period was simply a denigration as the result of being on the losing side, history being written by the victors. The interpretation of the relationship between Horus and Seth proposed by Te Velde is the major section of the work, and is the one most open to question. His proposition that the homosexual incident between Horus and Seth, usually considered as a minor incident in the myth, is in fact the main theme. He postulates that the injury to the eye of Horus was not caused by a blow but instead by rape and the reciprocal seizing of Seth's testicles was a sexual act (Te Velde 1967, 37). The nature of the castration of Seth is presented as the removal of the semen from his testicles rather than their removal from Seth's groin (Te Velde 1967, 40). It can be argued that Te Velde has begun with too rigid an approach to this myth, and as a consequence he does not countenance the idea of any historical background to it. The overall premise that underlies the work is that Te Velde has proceeded from the outset to present Seth in a negative light, stressing his bad points while suppressing his good points, even the title '*God of Confusion*' ignores Seth's good side. Te Velde condensed this work into an article that was published in two separate books, *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* (Te Velde 2001, 269-271) and *The Ancient Gods Speak* (Te Velde 2002, 331-334). Although these are separated by 34 years from the original work, no new interpretation or research was incorporated into them.

Cruz-Urbe analysis Te Velde's work in his article 'Sḥw ꜥ pḥty 'Seth, God of Power and Might'' and is of the opinion that his interpretation of Seth's character is inadequate. Te

Velde's insistence on taking the word '*phity*'  as a reference to sexual potency in support of his premise that the main theme of the Horus and Seth conflict relates to the homosexual incidents between them, ignores the meaning of the the word '*strength*'. What is not explored is the word's link to Horus' and Seth's maintenance of order within Egypt. Seth did not rely on confusion to defeat his enemies but uses his natural attributes of his strength, his voice, his many different forms and his weapons. Confusion and disorder are not part of the storms evoked by Seth, which are those of power and strength. The final comments Cruz-Urbe makes are on the negative portrayal of Seth throughout the work, with interpretations from the denigration of later periods being retrospectively applied to Seth from the earliest periods. He proposes instead that at the start of the Osiris cult, the murder of Osiris was not considered an evil act, but was an action necessary to elucidate death. Instead of Seth being severally punished for his crime, he is judged and reconciled with Horus (Cruz-Urbe 2009, 202).

In addition to the analysis of Te Velde's work, Cruz-Urbe uses a catalogue of 50 images of Seth, some previously unpublished, to discuss Robins' proposal on the replacement the C7  Seth deity hieroglyph in the cartouche of Seti I with the C83  Osiris deity hieroglyph in his tomb and with the V39  Isis knot hieroglyph in his temple at Abydos. Robin's suggested that this was due to the tomb and temple were not places suitable for an image of Seth to be included (Robins 1997, 172-174). By analysing and re-interpreting a series of images from periods extending from the 1st Dynasty though to the 4th century AD, Cruz-Urbe questions Robins' proposition regarding this substitution of the Seth figure in the cartouche of Seti I in these locations. Cruz-Urbe's conclusion is inconclusive, agreeing that the tomb and temple substitution was undertaken to maintain a stable cosmic order but disagrees with Robin's suggestion this was indications of the first stage in an official denigration of Seth. However, he proposes that it is improbable that the 19th Dynasty pharaohs would denigrate Seth, a deity highly favoured by them. Instead, it was simply the substitution of deities as a way of dealing with the troublesome deity Seth (Cruz-Urbe 2009, 203-210).

In Smith's 'The Reign of Seth: Egyptian Perspectives from First Millennium BCE', he undertakes the analysis of the evidence for the domination of Egypt by Seth for the period between the murder of Osiris and reclaiming of the throne by his son Horus, a phase in the myth of Osiris, Seth and Horus that is omitted in the work of Te Velde. In this work the

author has focused his research on 12 texts from the first millennium BC, comprising ten papyri and two temple inscriptions:

The origins of both Seth and Horus were ancient, as were their connections with royalty, and their conflict. Seth was associated with kingship long before the earliest attestations to Osiris (Smith 2010, 397-400). With the blending of Osiris into the myth of Horus and Seth, a number of sources, including the New Kingdom Conflict of Horus and Seth and the 25th Dynasty Memphite theology, cite the two gods contesting the throne of Egypt after the death of Osiris. Although these texts do vary in some details, they concur in five central elements:

- a) The conflict takes place after Horus is of an age to confront Seth on equal terms.
- b) Seth is a member of a pantheon of deities, some of who are supportive to his claim.
- c) A judicial process was employed to award the throne.
- d) A higher authority than either Horus or Seth decides the award.
- e) Seth accepts the decision, despite it going against him and is reconciled with Horus.

However, the 12 texts referred to present an alternative description of events to the texts above, the variations being:

- a) The myth focuses on the early period of the conflict from the time of conception, birth and infancy of Horus.
- b) Seth is presented as an outcast from the community of deities, with no sympathisers or supporters within the community. Instead, Seth is aided and abetted by his followers or confederates.
- c) Seth is free to behave as he feels fit there being no judicial procedures or higher authority to resolve the conflict.
- d) The conflict is only resolved by the killing or expelling from Egypt of Seth and his followers (Smith 2010, 398-399).

Although the murder of Osiris is generally considered to be the one great crime perpetrated by Seth, to the ancient Egyptians he was a multiple offender and by the end of the first millennium BC his misdeeds were well-known. The corpus of texts present the crimes of Seth carried out during the years of his reign and consist of:

- a) Mistreatment and violence, which included rape and imprisonment, of Isis and Nephthys.
- b) The persecution of the infant Horus.

- c) Sacrileges against the other deities and their shrines and sanctuaries, which included defiling temples, chasing away priests, stealing cult implements and divine emblems, damaging or destroying temple property and destroying sacred trees (Smith 2010, 401-406).

The title of the paper is the Reign of Seth, and framed within the text is the question ‘did Seth occupy the throne as the legitimate king or did Seth take advantage of the power vacuum that resulted with the death of Osiris?’ Although Manetho’s king list and the classical authors Herodotus, Diodorus, Plutarch and Hellanicus of Lesbos make specific reference to the rule of Seth, the Egyptian sources quoted within the paper are more circumspect. Instead of a clear reference to the royal attributes, such as crowns, throne or a palace, they are alluded to in ambiguous terms that can be interpreted in more than one way, or by obliquely highlighting their loss or subsequent restoration to their rightful owner (Smith 2010, 408-410).

Although the corpus of texts had Seth portrayed as a malevolent ruler, the ancient Egyptians had a complex and occasionally ambivalent conception of him, but he had his adherents and supporters. The Pyramid Texts make references to ‘followers’ *imy.w-ht* while the Coffin Texts refer to ‘confederates’ *smꜣ.t* or *smꜣ.w*. In spite of this, there is no Egyptian record of whether Seth had any accomplices assisting him in the murder of Osiris. However, Plutarch credits Seth with 72 confederates who assisted with the killing (Babbitt, 1936, 35), while Diodorus records 26 confederates (Oldfather 1933, 65). Seth was worshiped at sites throughout the Nile valley including Ombus, Spermeru, Shashotep, Su and Unu, while in the desert his places of worship were the oases of Dakhla and Kharga. Presumably, it would have been from these locations that Seth’s followers originated. With the restoration of the line of Osiris, it was recorded that these centres of Seth worship suffered persecution. The texts are specific in the details of their destruction and the geographical lists just omit the nomes in question to mark of the abhorrence in which they were held (Smith 2010, 412-413).

The proscription of Seth is commonly perceived as a mixture of xenophobia by the Egyptians as a consequence of the loss of their empire and subsequent foreign invasions, and the rise in importance of the Osiris cult during the first millennium BC, the popularity for Seth decreasing in proportion to the growth of the prestige and popularity of Osiris. However, the paper argues that there was never a total proscription of Seth during the period discussed, but

there had been always been a degree of proscription that extended back to through history to the Old Kingdom. How Seth was portrayed was in fact determined by the nature of the source document. Those Osirian in context portrayed Seth in a negative role, while in other contexts he could be presented in a more favourable role. During the first millennium, as in previous periods, the portrayal of Seth in positive or negative terms was source dependent. However, the evidence suggests that a proscription against Seth was most prevalent in the post-Persian period and that it was cult specific (Smith 2010, 413-422). Smith's proposal shows that as a deity Seth was both complex and contradictory and the Egyptian's conception of him changed and evolved over time as their religion developed and social conditions changed.

'The Fate of Seth in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari' by Ćwiek undertakes a systematic study of the images of Seth within the 18th Dynasty temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Barhari and their subsequent fate. Seth appears in a variety of forms, and performing a number of rituals throughout the temple including the sanctuary of the Upper Courtyard, an area where Seth was usually excluded in the New Kingdom (Ćwiek 2008, 54-55). These representations include bimorphic form of a human with the head of the Seth animal, anthropomorphic form with a human head with the divine beard, while in the text registers as the Seth animal and as a falcon. The reliefs of Seth in his bimorphic form and paired with Horus, show the crowning of Hatshepsut, first with the white crown of Upper Egypt and then with the red crown of Lower Egypt, the baptism of Hatshepsut and finally the *sema-tawy*. The reliefs the Theban Ennead in the upper courtyard show Seth depicted in anthropomorphic form (Ćwiek 2008, 44-58).

Ćwiek discusses a variation in the representation of a particular item of royal clothing, the king's jacket (*Königsjacke*). This item of royal regalia dated back to the Old Kingdom, but fell out of use during the 11th Dynasty, only to be reinstated at the beginning of the 18th Dynasty. The reason for its revival was an attempt by the Thutmosids to link to the traditions of the past. The jacket comprised two falcons, one to each side of the body with their wings out stretched across the king's chest. The king's jacket depicted on both Hatshepsut and Thutmose III has one of the falcon heads replaced with the head of the Seth animal. These Seth heads were erased in a later period, possibly during a period of proscription. Ćwiek proposes that this variation of combining Horus and Seth in the king's jacket was purely the

invention of Hatshepsut (Ćwiek 2008, 38-44). In addition Ćwiek identified that the images of Seth had suffered two periods of erasure, the first during the Amarna period, followed by their restoration during the Ramesside period, at which time small figures and texts were sketched onto the walls in red ink as a guide for the restorers (Ćwiek 2008, 44-46). The second attack on the images occurred during the proscription of Seth, which Ćwiek proposes occurred during the 26th Dynasty. These erasures were haphazard in their application and although the depictions of the Seth animal in reliefs, text and in the Ramesside sketches were damaged, many were ignored and left intact, including the fully anthropomorphic Seth and where he was portrayed as a falcon. Ćwiek concludes the destruction of the Seth images was confined to where he was represented in his animal form, all other representations being ignored (Ćwiek 2008, 59-60). What Ćwiek fails to propose are any theories as to why Hatshepsut incorporated so many images that combined Horus and Seth together. It can be considered that it was an attempt by Hatshepsut to legitimise her usurpation of the throne of Egypt by linking the images of her coronation, baptism and the ritual of the *sema-tawy* with those represented on Middle Kingdom reliefs, and in the same way she reintroduced the king's jacket, as a link to the traditions of the past, in which Seth was an integral part and could not be ignored.

All the above literature highlight the ambivalent attitude taken towards Seth by the Egyptians and that his role within the pantheon of deities was not fixed but was expediently redefined and employed as the situation required regardless of whether his character was deemed good or bad.

2.4 Summary.

The works considered above all deal with Seth, but in keeping with the complexity of his character, are taken from different viewpoints, and propose alternative interpretations of his character, and myths. Although Te Velde's work is still the major study of Seth, he does not undertake an in-depth analysis of the images of Seth on which more light is being shed by new discoveries particularly in the oases of the Western Desert. Of the remainder only Cruz-Uribe presents the changes in the use of the images of Seth to support his arguments.

The start of the analysis of the representation of Seth will commence with the following chapter which deals with his character and distribution of the relevant spells in the Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts written in the 5th and 6th Dynasty pyramids.

Chapter 3: Seth in the Pyramid Texts

3.1 Seth in the Pyramid Texts

This chapter analyses the portrayal of Seth in the Pyramid Text. The spell notations as used in Allen 2005 have been employed with the spells written in pyramid order Unas (W), Teti (T) and Pepi I (P). The Pyramid Texts, a mixture of religious and funeral spells, were first inscribed on the walls of the inner chambers of the pyramids of the nine Old Kingdom kings and queens located in the Saqqara necropolis. These texts first appeared in the pyramid of Unas, the last king of the 5th Dynasty and continued to be utilised by the Kings and their queens throughout the 6th Dynasty (Faulkner 1968, v; Allen 2005, 1). Recognised as the oldest corpus of religious writings, the Pyramid Texts conspicuously contain a number of earlier and later themes, which are not recorded in any chronological or systematic order (Anthes 1959, 170). It is within them that the first textual references to the character of the god Seth are found. Breasted and Mercer both identified the following elements of composition within the Pyramid Texts:

- i) A funerary ritual and ritual making offerings at the tomb.
- ii) Magical charms.
- iii) Very ancient ritual of worship.
- iv) Ancient religious hymns.
- v) Fragments of old myths.
- vi) Prayers and petitions on behalf of the dead king.
- vii) Power and greatness of the deceased king in heaven (Mercer only).

As a whole the Pyramid Texts consist of three main mythical threads:

- i) The political unification of Upper and Lower Egypt.
- ii) Celestial religions including sun and star cults.
- iii) Religion including the cult of Osiris.

(Breasted 1912, 93; Mercer 1952, 3).

Although Seth appears in all three categories, the references to him display a number of contradictory ideas in both in his relationship to the other gods and the deceased king. These contradictions possibly reflect the different stages in the development of the myth of Seth, for he was not always a reviled deity but originally ranked equal among the other gods (Faulkner 1925, 6). Within the Pyramid Texts in the pyramid of Unas, Seth is always written as the



E21  hieroglyph prone Seth animal, with the single exception of Spell W97 in which his name is written phonetically with a E21 Seth animal determinative . In all the other pyramids, the Seth animal is omitted completely and the god's name written phonetically (Fig. 3.1), possibly as a preventative measure against any malign influences from Seth against the dead king as a result of the changing religious attitude towards him (Faulkner 1925, 5).



Fig. 3.1: Phonetic writing of the name of Seth in the burial chamber of the pyramid of Teti, Saqqara. 6th Dynasty.

Within the Pyramid Texts, those spells dealing with Seth can be separated into two categories. In the first category, Seth has a positive aspect, as in Spell W150, in which Horus and Seth lead the deceased by the hand into the nether world: in the second category, Seth has a negative aspect, as in Spell W211, in which Seth wants to kill the deceased. In comparing the Seth spells in the pyramids of Unas and Teti it is possible to discern a number of changes in how these texts are used. However, due to the damaged condition of Teti's pyramid and the spells having been reassembled from fragments, the analysis includes the pyramid of Pepi I to reduce chance of skewed data. Table 3.1 details the changes in the number of Seth related spells.

	Pyramid of Unas		Pyramid of Teti		Pyramid of Pepi I	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Spells Total	234	100	305	100	673	100
Spells Seth	48	20.51	59	19.34	170	25.26
Positive Seth	17	7.27	21	6.88	69	10.25
Negative Seth	31	13.25	38	12.46	101	15.01
Ratio Seth to total No	1:4.88		1:5.17		1:3.96	

Table 3.1: Number and percentage of Seth based spells in the pyramids of Unas, Teti and Pepi I.

The distribution of these spells within the chambers and corridors of the pyramids is detailed in Table 3.2. A full breakdown of the spells and location within each of the pyramids is detailed in Appendix 1.

It can be seen that although the number of the spells increase between the pyramid of Unas through to the pyramid of Pepi I, the number dealing with Seth is commensurate with the increase in the number of spells employed. It is also noticeable that the overall number of negative Seth references always exceeded those with a positive reference, so this can be eliminated as the reason for the change from using the Seth animal in the texts of Unas to the use of phonetic text in Teti and Pepi I. It is the author's proposal that the reason for the abandonment of the Seth animal was the result of the changes in the distribution or location of the texts within the pyramids of Teti and Pepi I, in contrast to those within Unas.

Pyramid of Unas						
Text Location	Number	%	No positive	%	No negative	%
Burial Chamber	39	81.25	11	22.92	28	58.33
Passage	1	2.08	1	2.08	0	0.00
Antechamber	8	16.67	5	10.42	3	6.25
Total	48	100	17	35.42	31	64.58
Ratio of positive to negative spells		1:1.83				

Pyramid of Teti						
Text Location	Number	%	No positive	%	No negative	%
Burial Chamber	48	69.49	12	20.34	29	49.15
Passage	1	2.38	0	0.00	1	2.38
Antechamber	15	25.42	7	11.86	8	13.56
Serdab Passage	2	3.39	2	35.59	0	0.00
Total	59	100	21	50.00	38	64.41
Ratio of positive to negative spells		1:1.81				

Pyramid of Pepi I						
Text Location	Number	%	No positive	%	No negative	%
Burial Chamber	104	61.18	34	20.00	70	41.18
Passage	2	1.18	2	1.18	0	0.00
Antechamber	22	12.94	11	6.47	11	6.47
Corridor	11	6.97	5	2.94	6	3.53
Vestibule	22	12.94	12	7.06	10	75.88
Ascending Corridor	9	5.29	5	2.94	4	2.35
Total	170	100	69	40.59	101	59.41
Ratio of positive to negative spells		1:1.47				

Table 3.2: Distribution of Seth related texts in the pyramids of Unas, Teti and Pepi I.

Spells containing references to Seth occur within three groups, those in which Horus appears, those in which Osiris appears and finally those where Seth acts independent of either Horus or Osiris. Although there is an overlap between texts where both Horus and Osiris are present, Horus appears in the greatest number of Spells in all three pyramids, followed by Osiris and Seth appearing in the least number. The solo texts in which Seth appears without either Horus or Osiris are detailed in Table 3.3.

Chamber	Pyramid of Unas		Pyramid of Teti		Pyramid of Pepi I	
	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative
Antechamber	1	1	1		1	1
Burial chamber	1	1	1		1	
Total	2	2	2		2	1

Table 3.3: Distribution of solo Seth texts in the pyramids of Unas, Teti and Pepi I.

The distribution of the Pyramid Texts within the chambers in the pyramids of Unas, Teti and Pepi I are detailed in Table 3.4.

Pyramid	Burial Chamber	Antechamber Passage	Antechamber	Surdab Passage	Corridor	Vestibule	Ascending Corridor
Unas	X	X	X		X		
Teti	X	X	X	X	X		
Pepi I	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

Table 3.4: Distribution of texts within the pyramids of Unas, Teti and Pepi I.

This expansion is due to the additional wall space required to accommodate the increase in the number of spells employed. The sarcophagus of Unas is un-inscribed, while that of Teti has six spells for Entering the Womb of Nut carved on the interior walls and lid. The sarcophagus of Pepi has no true spells but does have his royal titulary engraved on the east face (Allen 2005, 65, 67, 97, 100).

The spells dealing with Seth are distributed throughout the pyramid chambers listed above, with the exception of any of the sarcophagi and the corridor in the pyramid of Teti (Fig. 3.2). The majority of these are inscribed on the walls of the burial chambers of the pyramids, despite these chambers containing the body of the king. Unas has 39 (81.25%) of the 48 texts, Teti has 41 (69.49%) of the 59 texts and Pepi I has 104 (61.18%) of the 170 texts.

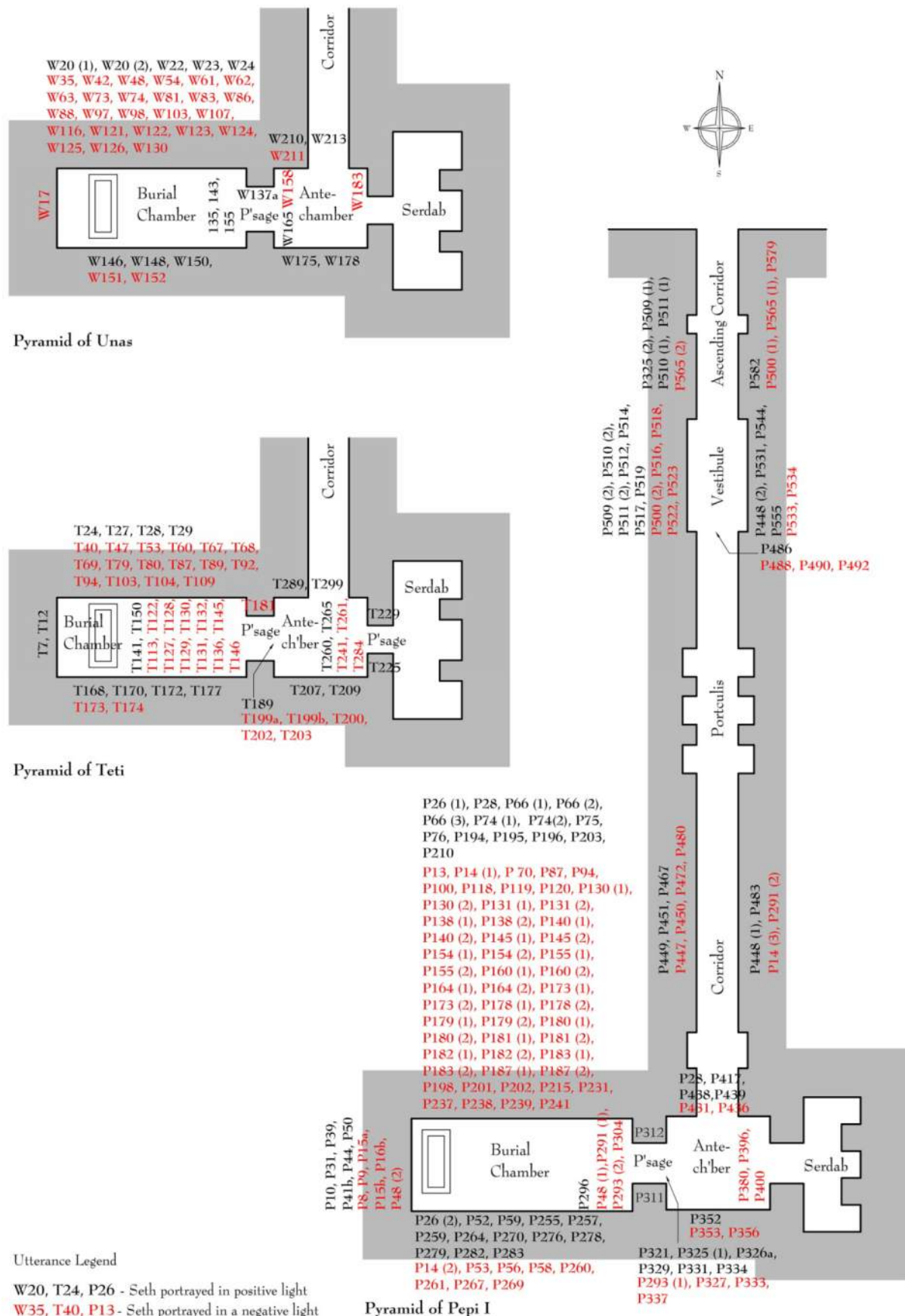







Fig. 3.2: Location of Pyramid Texts incorporating references to Seth in the Pyramids of Unas, Teti and Pepi I. Reference numbers of spells as Allen 2005.

Within the burial chambers, the texts are unevenly distributed across the four walls, but in all the pyramids the largest concentration is on the north wall (Table 3.5).

Burial Chamber	Pyramid of Unas		Pyramid of Teti		Pyramid of Pepi I	
	No positive	No negative	No positive	No negative	No negative	No negative
North Wall	5	25	4	16	14	52
East wall	3		2	11	1	4
South Wall	3	2	4	2	13	8
West Wall		1	2		6	6
Sub Total	11	28	12	29	34	70
Total	39		41		104	

Table 3.5: Distribution of Seth spells in the burial chambers in the pyramids of Unas, Teti and Pepi I.

Analysing the distribution of texts within the burial chambers, it can be discerned that Unas has positive texts on the north, east and south walls, and negative texts on the north, south and west walls, while Teti has positive texts on the north, east, south and west walls and negative texts on the north, east and south walls. Pepi I has positive texts on the north, east, south and west walls and negative texts on the north, east, south and west walls. The major change in the distribution of the texts between the burial chamber of Unas and the burial chambers of Teti and Pepi I is the appearance of negative spells on the east wall. In the pyramids of Teti and Pepi I the Seth animal could have been removed from these spells because it was thought he would have been a threat to the *ba* of the dead king when leaving the tomb or would interfere with deceased's contact with the rising sun in the East. With the 11 (37.93%) of the 29 negative texts on the east wall of the burial chamber of Teti, a decision was made to remove any threat possessed by the Seth animal. This was achieved by replacing it within the spells with the phonetic spelling of Seth's name, as opposed to rendering it harmless by either killing it by adding a knife to the hieroglyph  or by removing its erect tail . Once this idea was established in the pyramid of Teti it was repeated in the pyramid of Pepi I. Alternatively, it might be that it was for purely pragmatic reasons that the phonetic hieroglyphs were used in the pyramid of Teti. It would have been easier and quicker to carve the three simple phonetic hieroglyphs  than either the single but more complex hieroglyph of the killed Seth animal  or tailless Seth animal . Analysing the Seth spells in the pyramid of Unas they can be classed into three categories, positive spells incorporating the Seth hieroglyph, negative spells incorporating the Seth

hieroglyph and the negative spells without the Seth hieroglyph. The distribution of these spells are shown in Figs. 3.3 to 3.7

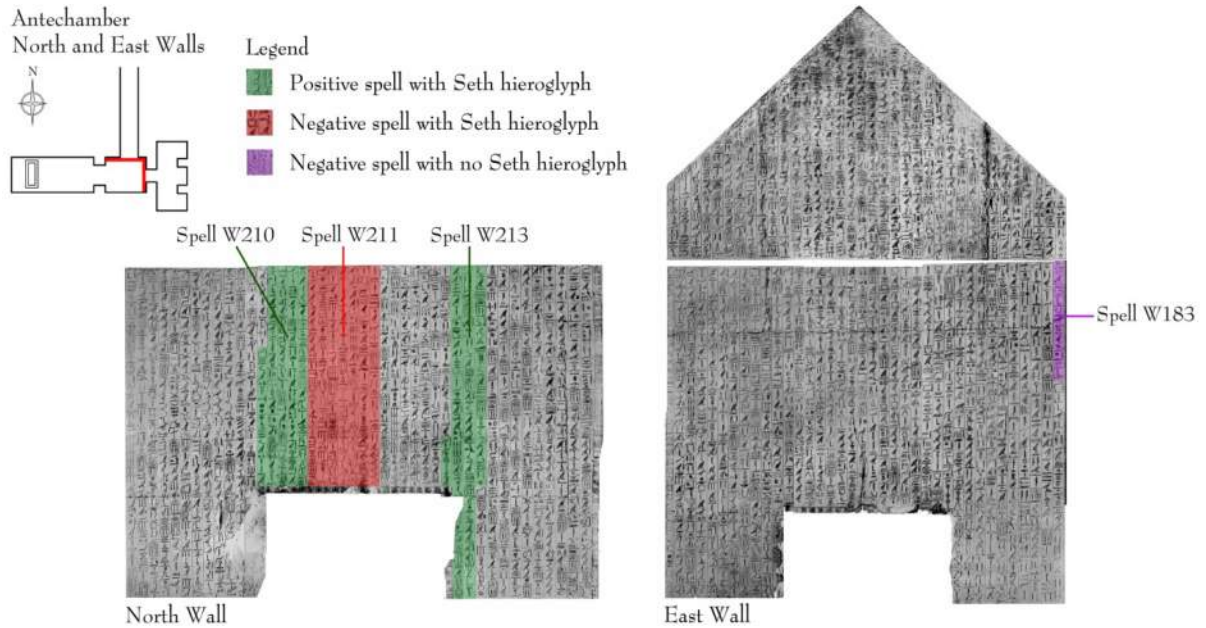


Fig. 3.3: Distribution of spells on the north and east walls of the Antechamber in the pyramid of Unas. Spell numbering as Allen 2005.

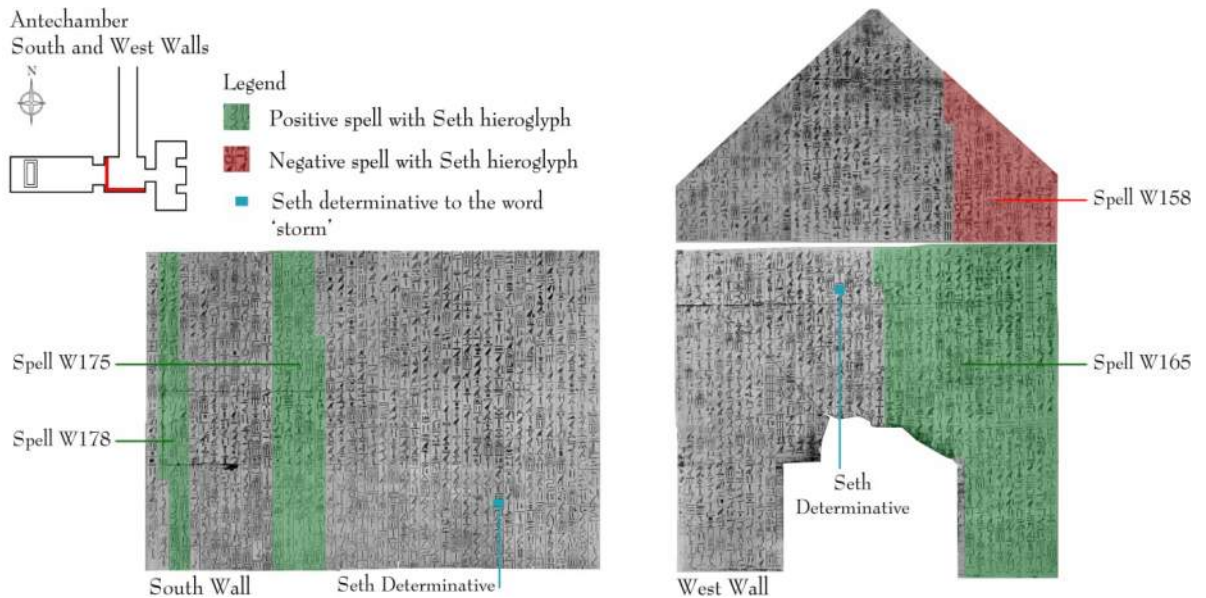


Fig. 3.4: Distribution of spells on the south and west walls of the Antechamber in the pyramid of Unas. Spell numbering as Allen 2005.

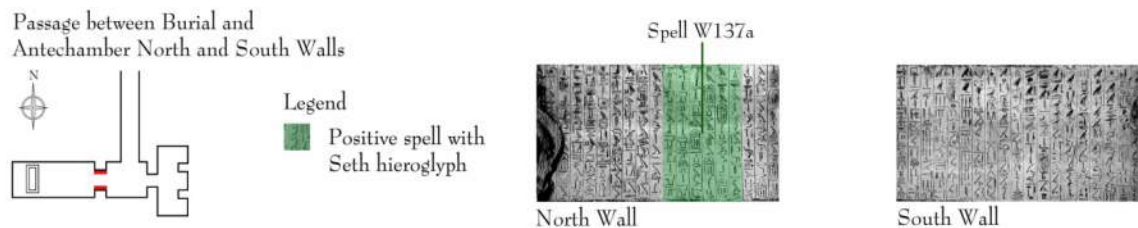


Fig. 3.5: Distribution of spells on the north and south walls of the Passage between Antechamber and Burial Chamber in the pyramid of Unas. Spell numbering as Allen 2005.

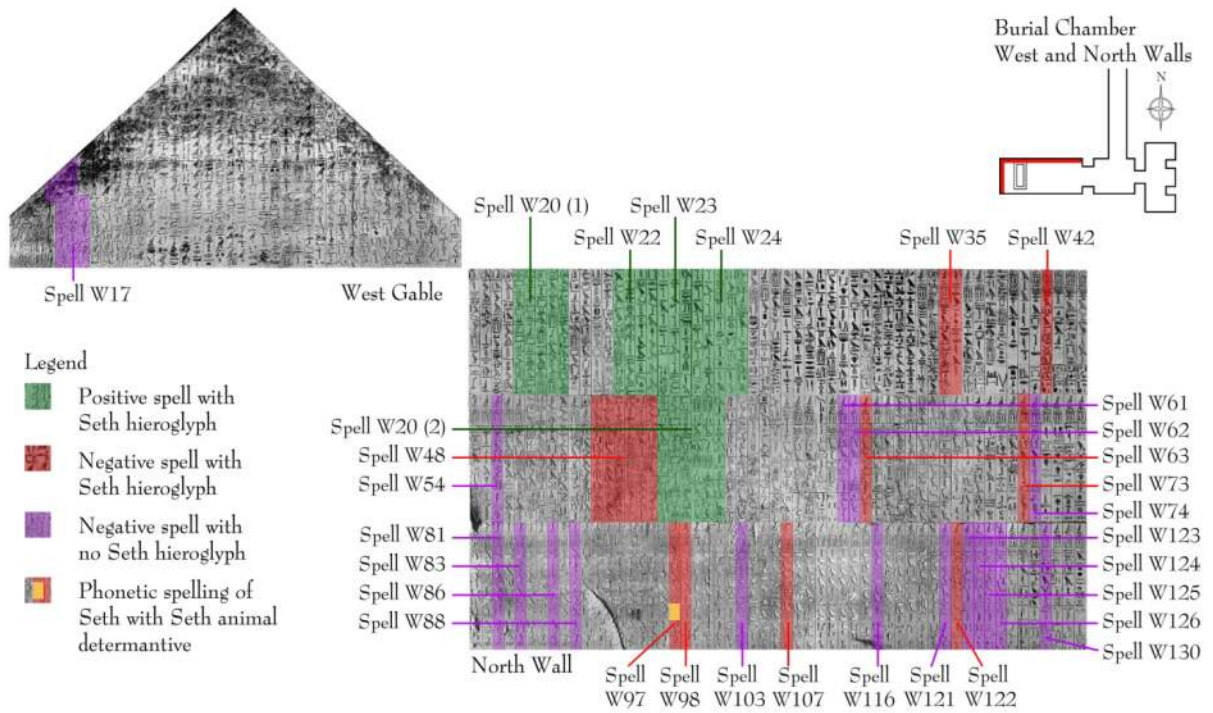


Fig. 3.6: Distribution of spells on the west and north walls of the Burial Chamber in the pyramid of Unas. Spell numbering as Allen 2005.

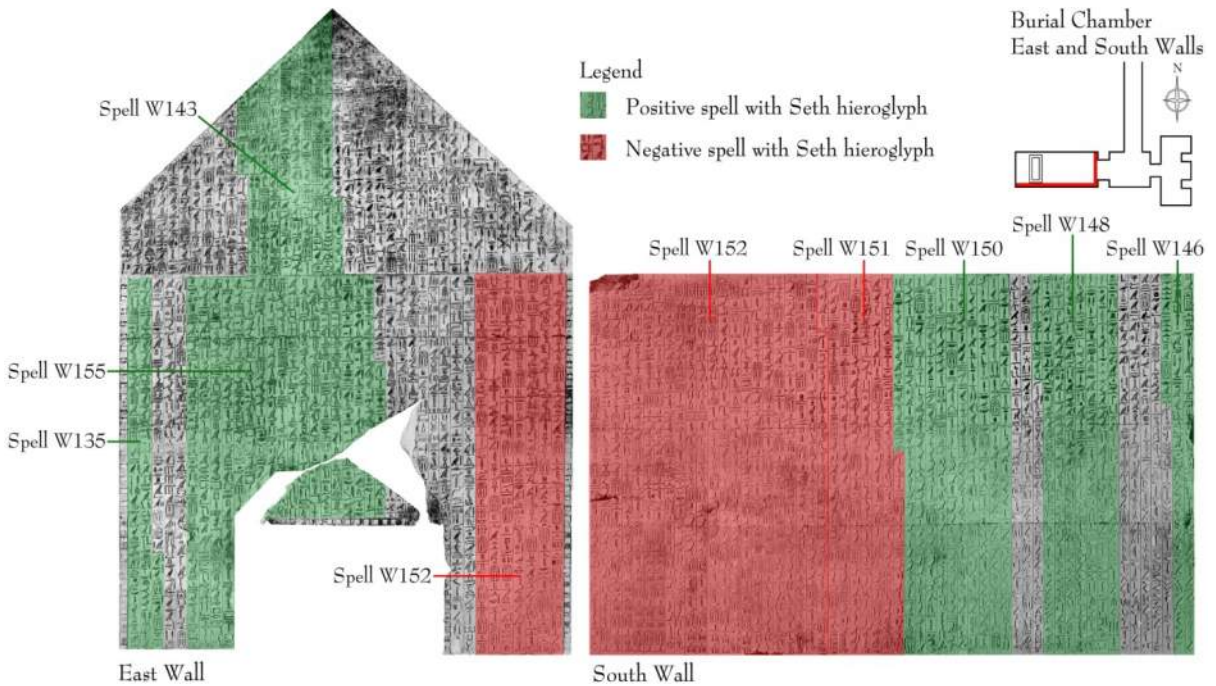


Fig. 3.7: Distribution of spells on the east and south walls of the Burial Chamber in the pyramid of Unas. Spell numbering as Allen 2005.

Of the 48 Seth spells, 17 are positive spells with a Seth animal hieroglyph, 13 are negative spells with a Seth animal hieroglyph and 18 negative spells with no Seth animal hieroglyph. There were 36 Seth hieroglyphs spread through the 30 relevant spells, 27 containing one hieroglyph and three spells, 148, 155 and 213 each having three hieroglyphs each (Piankoff 1969, Pls. 7 to 10, 39 to 42, 51 to 54).

3.2 Seth as a Deity.

Regarding the attributes of Seth as a deity, the Pyramid Texts are not very forthcoming, the little information that is provided suggests the notion he was to some extent the embodiment of the destructive power of nature. In Spell P516 Seth is linked to the destructive power of the sun's rays, while in Spell P70 he is connected with the power of the flood. In the Pyramid of Unas the word storm $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$ in Spell W166 and Spell W171 has the Seth animal as a determinative, while in Spell W158 Seth is called the 'Lord of the Storm' (Faulkner 1925, 6). In the pyramid of Teti in Spell T190 the Seth determinative is removed, while in the pyramid of Pepi I Spell P433 the word *kti* with a P5 determinative $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$ was used in place of *nšn* 𓆎 (Faulkner 1962b, 280, Leclant *et al* 2001, pl X; Allen 2005, 45, 47, 79 149, Carrier 2009, 298), again possibly linked to the removal of the threat of the Seth animal.

In the Early Dynastic period Seth was associated with Nubt (Ombos/Naqada) $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$; an inscription on a 2nd Dynasty bowl (BM EA 68689) and a section of relief from the 3rd Dynasty shrine of Djoser at Heliopolis (Vandier 1952, Fig. 627) each have the text 'Seth of Nubt' (Figs. 3.8 and 3.9).




Fig. 3.8: 2nd Dynasty bowl inscribed with Seth of Nubt. British Museum EA 68689.



Fig. 3.9: 3rd Dynasty shrine fragment with the relief Seth of Nubt. Museo delle Antichità Egizie, Turin.

Within the Pyramid Texts, Seth is again linked to the town of Nubt, being referred to as 'dwelling in Nubt' (Spell W155), 'Seth of Nubt' (Spell P449), 'Seth in Nubt' (Spell P582), 'him who possesses Nubt' (Spell W17) and 'he of Nubt' (Spell W175). Seth is also called 'Lord of the Land of the South' (Upper Egypt) $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$ (Spell W155). In addition there is reference to Seth being associated with the now lost town of *Hnhnt* $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆎}$ or *Hnt* $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$ where he is

spoken of as *'he who was in Hnhnt'* (Hyperselis?) (Spell T229) and *'O Seth who is in Hnt'* (Spell P276) (Faulkner 1925, 5; 1968, 136 N3, 275; Gauthier 1927, 31, 32).

Mercer proposed that, as Lord of Storms, Seth was the counterpart to Horus, the god of the bright sky (Mercer 1949, 51). Breasted also proposed that Seth was on equal terms with Horus but in his interpretation, Seth was the god of darkness (Breasted 1912, 40). However, Faulkner and Te Velde both proposed that although he was associated with Horus in the Pyramid Texts, this is a later association and should not be considered as his original character. From Predynastic times Seth was strongly associated with Nubt, *'the town of gold'*, which was an important settlement at the head of the Wadi Hammamat, the caravan route to the gold mines in the Eastern Desert and to the trading centres on the Red Sea coast (Faulkner 1925, 5; Te Velde 1967, 116; Baines and Málek 1994, 111). It is feasible that the Predynastic Egyptians traversing through the dangerous desert environment would seek to placate, by worshipping the deity of that dangerous land, to ensure their safe passage to and from the gold mines and the Red Sea coast. That god was not perceived as being one of the resident fauna of the Nile valley but a creature of their imagination that they believed inhabited the inhospitable desert, the Seth animal. As a dweller of the desert, the Red Land, it is feasible that he became associated with colour red. The Scorpion mace head depicts two standards topped with a Seth animal. It is possible that these are representing Seth in his role as the god of the Eastern and Western deserts. Later in the Middle Kingdom tombs of Baqt and Khety at Beni Hassan the Seth animal, labelled as *sa* , is depicted with other mythical desert creatures (Newberry 1893b, Pls. IV, XII), a possible cultural memory of the origin of Seth as a deity.

In the Pyramid Texts Spells W166, and P484 refer to *'Horus of Nekhen'* (Hierakonopolis), while Spells W155, W175, P449 and P585 refer to *'Seth of Nubt'*. Both these Predynastic kingdoms were situated in Upper Egypt, with Nubt being located on the west bank of the Nile 16 miles (26 kilometres) downstream of modern Luxor, while Nekhen, also located on the west bank of the Nile, is 50 miles (80.45 kilometres) upstream of Luxor. During the Predynastic Period Nekhen gained ascendancy over Nubt, resulting in it being absorbed into the kingdom of Nekhen.

This action is referred to in Pyramid Text Spells W14 and W180b that recounts the triumph of the white crown over the red crown (Lichtheim 1973a, 32; Wilkinson 2000b, 386;

Mathieu 2011, 142). If this interpretation is accepted then the red crown was originally associated with the kingdom of Nubt prior to its association with Lower Egypt. Mathieu offers evidence for this in the form of a granite doorframe from the reign of Khasekhemwy, recovered by Quibell at Hierakonpolis (Quibell 1900, Pl II). He proposes that the Seth animal on the serekh of Khasekhemwy is wearing the red crown. However, what has not been taken into account is the damage to the upper edge of the doorframe directly above the head of Seth (Fig. 3.10). This damage has removed the top section of the crown leaving only the curling insect-like proboscis to the front. This gives the impression that Seth is wearing the red crown as opposed to the combined red and white crown worn by Horus opposite. On the second serekh repeated below the damaged upper serekh, the crown is complete, with width of the projecting top section being comparable with the combined crown worn by Horus (Fig. 3.11).



Fig. 3.10: Door frame of Khasekhemwy top section of with the top of the combined crown of Upper and Lower Egypt missing. 2nd Dynasty. Cairo Museum JE 33896.



Fig. 3.11: Door frame of Khasekhemwy middle section with the combined crown of Upper and Lower Egypt complete. 2nd Dynasty. Cairo Museum JE 33896.

Also sections of carved serekhs and mud seals recovered from Abydos dating from the reign of Khasekhemwy show Horus and Seth both wearing the combined red and white crown (Figs. 3.12 and 3.13).



Fig. 3.12: Serekh of Khasekhemwy on a diorite bowl showing Seth wearing the combined crown. Petrie Museum UC 11753.



Fig. 3.13: Mud sealing of Khasekhemwy showing Seth wearing the combined crown. Petrie Museum UC 36854.

Despite this misinterpretation, there is evidence of Seth wearing the red crown. A roughly engraved serekh of Khasekhemwy, found at Byblos, shows Seth wearing the red crown (Fig. 3.14) while Horus wears a crown that could be the combined red and white crown (Montet 1928, Fig. 1). There is archaeological evidence for the red crown being linked to Nubt during the Predynastic period. A large sherd of black topped red pottery, dating to the Naqada I period, and recovered from the site of Nubt, has the applied decoration of the red crown in raised relief on the exterior surface, (Fig. 3.15).

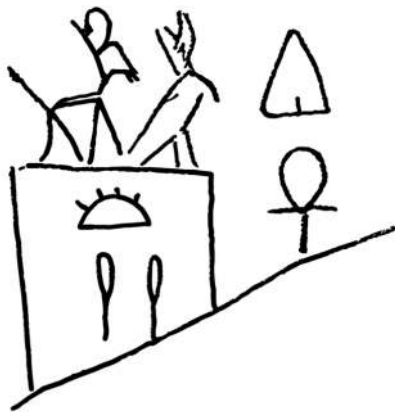


Fig. 3.14: Serekh of Khasekhemwy showing Seth wearing the red crown.




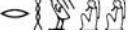

Fig. 3.15: Sherd of Naqada I pottery with raised decoration of the red crown. Ashmolean Museum AN1895.795.

The sherd was recovered from grave 1610 in cemetery B at Kom Belal (Petrie 1896, 23, Pl LII; Baumgartel 1970, LI) which had been looted sometime in antiquity. The raised relief is a planned and deliberate decoration being integral with the fabric of the body of the pot. This could only been applied to the vessel at the time of manufacture prior to the vitrification of

the raw clay by firing. The question is whether the pot was originally manufactured for local use or as a trade item for Lower Egypt. The red crown is traditionally associated with Lower Egypt, but as discussed by Cialowicz, contacts between Upper and Lower Egypt were rare during the Naqada I period. The reason being that Lower Egypt had not developed a suitably stratified society capable of manufacturing and supplying suitable reciprocal trade goods that would have been the basis of a direct commercial relationship with Upper Egypt (Cialowicz 2008, 502). This lack of trade would suggest that the pot was manufactured for local consumption and the red crown decoration was a local glyph understood by the populations as representing the headdress of the ruler of Nubt. Wilkinson postulated that the colour red was chosen for the crown as the colour traditionally associated with Seth, the local god of Nubt (Wilkinson 2000a, 192-193). If this scenario is correct, with the red crown originally being the royal headdress of Nubt, and the white crown the royal headdress of Nekhen, then the north-south relationship between the two crowns was first established prior to the unification of Upper and Lower Egypt. With the subjugation of Nubt, the red crown would have become associated with a conquered or assimilated northern kingdom and the white crown with the victorious southern kingdom. It was this association that was passed onto Lower Egypt along with the assigning of the red crown after the conquest by Upper Egypt. With the assimilation of the kingdom of Nubt by Nekhen, the rulers then had to consider how to deal with the local deity Seth. Unless the conquering kingdom was intent on genocide to clear the new territory of its all its occupants, the best way of achieving a peaceful occupation was by assimilating the local population. This could be easily undertaken by allowing them to retain their original way of life and religion, but with small and subtle adjustments to bring them in line with those of their new rulers. In terms of religion the local deity Seth had to be dealt with. The Pyramid Text Spell W17, in the pyramid of Unas, refers to '*the fire and light being extinguished in the house of the Ombite*'. This could refer to the historic disruption of Seth worship after the initial conquest of Nubt (Mathieu 2011, 142). Although there appears to have been a temporary break in Seth worship, he could not be just expunged from Nubt's religious history, which could have resulted in unrest within the local population. The practical solution was to assimilate him into the religion of Nekhen, keeping him as the primary god of Nubt but adding the role of a supporting deity to the over-ruling Nekhen god Horus. This may have resulted in a change of character or function for him. If he was a dangerous desert

deity, as suggested above, then his pairing with Horus as his opposite was a solution: earth and sky, aggressive and placid, desert and fertile land, Horus representing the light side of creation and Seth the dangerous but necessary dark side. Seth would have retained his function as a dangerous desert deity and local god, but would be the counterpart and second half of a duality with Horus. This pairing would be the beginning of a pantheon of major deities that would be expanded to suit developments in religious thinking during Egyptian history. The idea of reconciliation between two deities that had been in conflict would also fit into the above scenario.

3.3 Seth and Horus.

In the Pyramid Texts there are a number of spells that indicate a conflict and reconciliation between Horus and Seth that appear to predate the rise of the worship of Osiris. Mathieu labels the Predynastic Horus and Seth as Horus the Elder and Seth the Elder to differentiate them from the later incarnations of Horus and Seth in the Osiris texts (Mathieu 2011, 143). The Pyramid Texts dealing with the Predynastic relationship between Horus and Seth can be separated into two distinct themes: firstly, those recounting the conflict and reconciliation between the two deities; secondly those in which they operate as a duality. Both Faulkner and Mathieu include within the conflict texts those spells that explicitly deal with the mutilations Horus and Seth inflict upon each other. For example, Spell W42, in which the king receives the eye of Horus wrested from Seth, or Spell W148 in which the mutilations to Horus and Seth are healed (Faulkner 1925, 7-8, Mathieu 2011, 146-148). However, it should be considered that this group of spells is part of the Osiris myth included in the Pyramid Texts specifically to stress the aggressive and dangerous nature of Seth the Younger. Within the texts dealing with the Predynastic conflict of Horus the Elder and Seth the Elder, in Spell T284 they are referred to as the ‘two contestants’ , in Spells P431 as the ‘rivals’ and the ‘combatants’ . Unlike the earlier texts in the pyramid of Unas, these texts do not contain any details or embellishments that explain the mutilations, rivalry, or combat between the two gods, but rather they are distinctly cryptic suggesting the reader should already be aware of the intimate details. Spells W22, W213 and P279 proclaimed that Horus and Seth were ‘reconciled’ , and as like the conflict texts, they are cryptic, failing to

provide any details of the reconciliation. However, in Spell P279 they are referred to as the 'Two Lords' $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ which imply that the two gods were thought to be of equal standing.

The section of texts dealing with Horus and Seth working together as a duality is more problematic to isolate as the Predynastic themes have been assimilated into the later Old Kingdom Osiris texts. However, it is possible to discern three separate themes in which Horus and Seth operate as a duality. Although Osiris and the gods from the Heliopolitan Ennead are present, the underlying earlier Predynastic ideas can still be distinguished. The first of the themes deals with the purification of the two gods: in Spells W23 and W24 Horus and Seth are both purified with natron. In the second theme, they work together as a partnership. In Spell W178 Horus and Seth lead the deceased to the Duat, in Spell T7 the doors are opened for Horus and Seth and in Spell T260 they assist each other in dealing with the *sriw* snake, Horus fells it and Seth cuts it up. In Spell T265 they combine together to fight the *siw* snake and the deceased becomes the embodiment of Horus and Seth (Allen 2005, 96, note 39). This idea of the deceased representing both Horus and Seth is repeated in Spell W148. The third theme deals with the Mounds of Horus and the Mounds of Seth. In the Predynastic period these would have been references to Nekhen of Horus and Nubt of Seth. Mathieu, however, proposes these mounds were originally linked to the necropolises of the two cities Nekhen and Nubt (Mathieu 2011, 143). In Spell W146 the Mounds of Horus and Seth serve the deceased, in Spell W135 the deceased is given the Mounds of Horus and Seth, while in Spells W211 and T285 the Mounds of Horus and Seth worship the deceased and in Spell W213 the deceased hails Horus and Seth in their Mounds.

The Predynastic texts do not provide any information regarding the origins of either Horus or Seth. However, in Spell P279 Horus and Seth are referred to as 'brothers'. Throughout all the spells dealing with Seth the Elder, there is no vilification or condemnation of him, even when he is in conflict with Horus. Other than Horus always being referred to first, Seth is presented as an equal with Horus, and they work together for the benefit of the deceased king, who in turn becomes the embodiment of them.

A distinct change in the relationship between Horus and Seth occurs within the texts associated with Osiris. Unlike the Predynastic relationship between Horus the Elder and Seth the Elder discussed above, that of Horus the Younger and Seth the Younger had violent overtones, with the two deities suffering mutilation at each other's hands. Although the

Pyramid Texts do not give any detail of how or when the mutilations took place. Spells W183, T181, T261, and P509 refer to Horus losing his eye and Seth losing his testicles. Although there is no information given as to what Horus did with Seth's testicles, these spells express the aggressive nature of Seth in the indignations inflicted on the eye of Horus. In Spell W73 he trampled the eye of Horus, in Spell W97 Seth wears the eye of Horus on his forehead and in Spell W107 he eats the eye of Horus. Both the gods are healed of their mutilations; in Spells W148 and P14 Horus regained his eye and Seth his testicles. However, there was no reconciliation between them, with Horus being presented as good and Seth bad. Spell W54 states that the two lands bow down to Horus but are in fear of Seth.

3.4 Seth and Osiris.

With the developments of Osiris worship during the latter half of the 5th Dynasty (Griffiths 1980, 40, 44; Lorton 1985, 120; Bolshakov 1992, 203,210; Bolshakov 2001, 65), a major change in the portrayal of Seth occurs, resulting in the Predynastic Seth the Elder being replaced with what can be classified as Seth the Younger. Unlike his earlier incarnation, the Pyramid Texts place the later incarnation of Seth into the Heliopolitan Ennead, and trace his lineage back to the creator god Atum (Fig. 3.16).

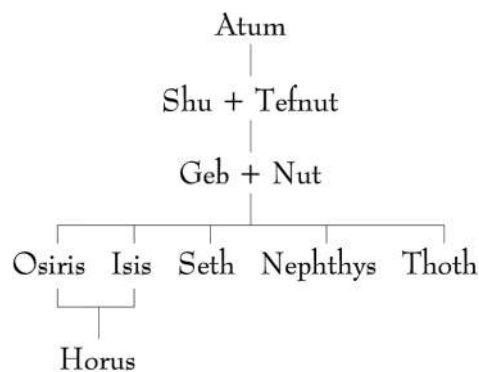


Fig. 3.16: Ennead as constructed from the Pyramid Texts

Spells M225 in the pyramid of Merenre represents Seth as one of the four children of Geb and Nut, along with his brother Osiris, sisters Isis and Nephthys, with Horus referred to as *'the son of Osiris'*, making Seth his uncle. While in Spells W150 and P219 the four children of Geb and Nut are paired together, Seth with his sister Nephthys, and Osiris with his sister Isis, who become the parents of Horus. There is no specific reference to the birth of Seth, instead in Spell W155 Seth is ejected, having burst forth violently - the first indications of the violent nature of the new Seth.

At this juncture it is necessary to consider Osiris and his incorporation into the Pyramid Texts before looking at the details of Seth the Younger. Gardiner stated that he considered the origins of Osiris were an insoluble mystery (Gardiner 1960, 104), while Griffiths proposed that the cult of Osiris originated just prior to, or at the beginning of, the 1st Dynasty and was connected to the royal burials at Abydos (Frankfort 1948, 191; Griffiths 1980, 44). The first physical evidence for Osiris is in the 5th Dynasty funeral text of King Niuserre (Kees 1952, 124; Baer 1965, 297; Griffiths 1980, 44, N24), while to date, the first representation of Osiris dates from the late 5th Dynasty (Fig. 3.12) from the mortuary temple of King Djedkare (Baer 1965, 297; Griffiths 1980, 44, Frontispiece; Lorton 1985, 122 N4; Eaton Krauss 1987, 233-234) (Fig. 3.17).



Fig. 3.17: Earliest known representation of Osiris, from the mortuary temple of King Djedkare, 5th Dynasty.

Within the Pyramid Texts there is an increase in the number of references to Osiris in the pyramid of Pepi I to the pyramid of Unas, indicating an increasing importance of Osiris from the end of the 5th Dynasty through to the middle of the 6th Dynasty (Table 3.6).

	Pyramid of Unas		Pyramid of Pepi I	
	Number	%	Number	%
Total Spells	234	100	673	100
Osiris Spells	119	50.85	353	52.45

Table 3.6: Distribution of Osiris spells in the burial chambers in the pyramids of Unas, Teti and Pepi I.

The original function of Osiris as a god is again an unknown. However, Griffiths proposed that his first function was that of the god of the dead, and with the rise of Osiris worship in the Old Kingdom he became associated with the deceased king. In doing so he displaced both Horus and Seth from their Predynastic roles and association with the deceased king. Horus

was recast in a new role, that of the living king and legitimate successor to the deceased king who was now identified as Osiris. This change in religious belief reinforced the political idea of the accession to the throne by the living heir of the deceased king. The newly deceased king and the crown prince reprise the roles of Osiris, the deceased royal father, and Horus, the living king and heir (Anthes 1959, 175-176, 205-206; Griffiths 1960, 21, 27; Lorton 1985, 120). Anthes proposed that the early dynastic lineage of Horus should be read from Horus to Atum rather than Atum to Horus (Fig. 3.18), the concept of the divine living king as Horus (Anthes 1959, 175-176).

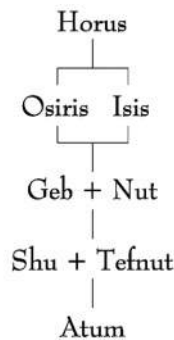


Fig. 3.18: Dynastic lineage as proposed by Anthes.

However, as the displaced Seth no longer had any role associated with either the deceased or living king, he was allocated a new function, that of the villain, the murder of Osiris and the enemy of Horus. In this role, although a despicable one, he was essential, for it produced the initial impetus to begin the cycle of uninterrupted inheritance of the throne by the deceased king's legitimate heir; *'the king is dead, long live the king'*. By this act of filial violence, Seth brings death into the world of the gods but rather than destroying Osiris, results instead in his temporary death and resurrection into an afterlife. The deceased king's association with Osiris sanctioned the transference of the resurrection and afterlife to the king, granting him eternal life. This would not have occurred without the initial violent action of Seth.

The Pyramid Texts do not describe the actual murder of Osiris but rather makes an inference to the act. Spell P329 refers to Seth throwing Osiris on his side at *Ghsty*, while in Spell P333 reference is made to Seth binding and smiting Osiris, while Spell P337 mentions Geb finding Osiris thrown on his side at *Ghsty*. In Spell P480 Seth was described as laying low Osiris at *Nedit*, while in Spell P518 Osiris was laid low by Seth. In the pyramid of Pepi II Spell N302 Horus finds his father Osiris on his side in *Ghsty*, while in Spell P552 refers to Isis and Nephthys seeing Osiris lying on his side. Nevertheless, there are group of spells that

do make a direct reference to the act of killing. Spells P490, P492 and P522 all refer to Seth killing Osiris but do not provide any details as to the *modus operandi* employed.

As to what actually caused the death of Osiris, the Pyramid Texts again provide contradictory information. A number of spells suggest Osiris was drowned, Spells: T26, T196 and P7 all refer to the place where Osiris drowned (Faulkner 1968, 7, 119, 140; Allen 2005, 70, 80, 101). Alternatively, Spells P53 and P522 describe Seth attacking Osiris in the form of a bull. While Spell P447 refers to Horus collecting the dismembered parts of Osiris, smiting Seth, and protecting Osiris, possibly a description of the dismemberment of Osiris by Seth, although Griffiths considers this to be a reference to mummification (Griffiths 1980, 56; Allen 2005, 226, n23). It is possible that what is recorded in these texts are two separate myths, the spells dealing with the drowning of Osiris being from an earlier mythology predating the Pyramid Texts, while the other spells are a product of the merging the myth of Horus and Seth with that of Osiris (Griffiths 1960, 6-7).

3.5 The Punishment of Seth.

What the Pyramid Texts fail to illuminate is the reason why Seth killed Osiris. Within them, it is an act that appears to be undertaken without any provocation or motive. There is no reference to jealousy, enmity or any reason for the attack occurring. However, it is possible that Seth was just the gullible pawn who carried out the attack instigated by Thoth to set in motion the divine drama of the death and resurrection of Osiris (Jacobsohn 1955, 193; Te Velde 1967, 82). Spell W151 states both Seth and Thoth failed to lament for Osiris and in Spell W152 Osiris is caused to live to punish both Seth and Thoth. However, Spell T199a recounts that Thoth seized and decapitated Seth along with his followers; this could be interpreted that having instigated the murder, Thoth becomes a turncoat, eliminating his co-conspirator to remove the only person who could incriminate him while winning favour with Horus and Osiris.

Regardless of who instigated the action the murder was committed by Seth and the Pyramid Texts record his punishments. In Spell P327 in the presence of Geb and the two Enneads the charge is laid against Seth that he attacked Osiris; this Seth denied claiming instead it was Osiris who attacked him first. No punishment was recorded against Seth, but Atum awarded Osiris the land of Egypt.

However, in other spells Seth does not escape so lightly, but instead receives a number of punishments. As stated above in Spell W152 Osiris is caused to live to punish Seth but no information to what punishment entailed was detailed. Further spells, however, do recount Seth receiving a number of punishments, ranging from him being placed beneath the feet of Osiris (Spell T199b), being placed beneath Osiris and forced to carry him (Spells P201, T145, T146, T202, T203, P480, P269, P447, and P304), being beaten (Spells T145, T146, T200, P333 and P488) and killed or sacrificed (Spells T197, T203, P53, P522 and P533). The punishments are not solely restricted to Seth, but are extended to his followers as well (Spells T197, P14), although no details of whom these followers were or if they played a part in the murder of Osiris. Considering the distribution of the punishment spells within the pyramids of Unas, Teti and Pepi I, there is an increase in the number and the severity of the punishments inflicted from those in Unas to those in Pepi I. These differences are detailed in Table 3.7.

Utterance lines detailing the punishment of Seth	Pyramid of Unas	Pyramid of Teti	Pyramid of Pepi I
Undisclosed punishment by Osiris	1	1	1
Body placed beneath the feet of Osiris		1	1
Geb puts his foot on Seth's head		1	1
Seth forced to carry Osiris		4	13
Seth beaten		3	5
Seth, killed, or sacrificed		3	5
Seth bound and thrown on his side by Geb			1
Followers of Seth punished		1	2
Total	1	14	29

Table 3.7: Punishments of Seth.

Within the texts in the pyramids of Unas to Pepi I the evolution of the relationship between Osiris and Seth is discernible with each pyramid providing additional details. This development the punishments inflicted upon Seth increase in number and severity, supporting the idea of the increase in popularity of Osiris during the 6th Dynasty and the beginning of the vilification of Seth.

Having analysed Seth's portrayal in the Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts the following chapter will consider the manner in which Seth was portrayed in the Middle Kingdom Coffin Texts which evolved from the Pyramid Texts.

Chapter 4: Seth in the Coffin Texts

4.1 The Coffin Texts.

Having considered the portrayal of Seth in the Pyramid Texts in the previous chapter, this chapter will focus on the depiction of Seth in the Coffin Texts, the analysis of which is based on the studies of the texts obtained from the surviving Middle Kingdom Coffins. With the development of the Coffin Texts from the late 6th Dynasty Pyramid Texts (Allen 1986, 1), it has been perceived that a democratization of the hereafter occurred (Breasted 1912, 256-257; Lesko 2001a, 287). This perception was that utterances of the Pyramid Texts were for use by the king only and it was by the adoption of the new spells of the Coffin Texts by non-royal individuals that allowed them access to the afterlife, a development that Kees described as the 'degradation of the Pyramid Texts (*Degradierung der Pyramidentexte*)' (Kees 1956, 171). However, there is opposition to the idea that this democratization actually occurred as high status non-royal individuals in the Old Kingdom also had access to the corpus of utterances for the afterlife that included the Pyramid Texts (Smith 2009, 2, 6, 8-9). Regardless of whether democratization actually occurred, the Coffin Texts were employed by the upper echelons of Egyptian society during the Middle Kingdom. The spells employed in the Coffin Texts were a mixture of edited utterances from the Pyramid Texts and new compositions (Sørensen 1987, 20-21; Silverman 1991a, 72-73; Quirke 1992, 158-159, Hornung 1999, 9; Allen 2006, xv), which may have been previously employed in an oral form.

Unlike the Pyramid Texts which were confined to Saqqara, the Coffin Texts have been found in a number of sites in both Lower and Upper Egypt, as well as in the Western Desert Oases (Fig. 4.1). To date they have been found at Kom el-Hisn, Abusir, Saqqara, Dashur, Rigga, Lisht, Sedment in Lower Egypt and Herakleopolis, Beni Hasan, el-Bershah, Meir, Asyut, Qau, Akhmim, Abydos, Dendara, Thebes, Gebelein, Aswan in Upper Egypt and at Balat in the Dakhla Oasis (Valloggia 1986, 74-78, Pls. 62-63; Lesko 2001a, 287; Allen 2006, ix-xi). As can be seen the known distribution is biased to Upper Egypt, but this may be due to the greater rate of survival at the Upper Egyptian desert located sites as opposed to alluvial Nile delta sites of Lower Egypt. Although the Coffin Texts usually decorated the interior of coffins, the spells also occurred on other funeral paraphernalia including biers, canopic chests, mummy masks, papyrus, statues, and stele as well as tomb walls (Lesko 2001a, 287).

Situated along the Nile valley were powerful religious centres at which the major deities, such as Amun, Ptah and Ra were worshiped. Each god had their own priesthood eager to elevate their patron god above the rest, so it would be logical to consider the possibility of regional theological differences within the Coffin Texts. However, as Hoffmeier ascertained, there is little evidence for this assumption (Hoffmeier 1996, 45, 46, 54).



Fig. 4.1: Distribution of the Coffin Texts along the Nile Valley and in the Western Desert oases.

To date the most comprehensive study of the Coffin Texts is the seven volumes of hieroglyphic texts by de Buck, 1935. *The Egyptian Coffin Texts. Volume I* 1935; *Volume II* 1938; *Volume III* 1947; *Volume IV* 1951; *Volume V* 1953; *Volume VI* 1956; *Volume VII* 1961; and supplementary volume by Allen *Volume VIII* 2006. The translations of the spells are from the three volumes by Faulkner *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts Volume I* 1973; *Volume II* 1977 and *Volume III* 1978. It is these works that are the basis of the present analysis of Seth within the Coffin Texts is based. Within the Coffin Texts, the spells in which Seth appears are distributed throughout the Nile Valley (Fig. 4.2) and have been found at Saqqara, Dahshur, Rigga, Lisht, in Lower Egypt and Beni Hasan, el-Bersha, Meir, Asyut, Akhmim, Abydos, Dendara, Thebes, Gebelein, and Aswan in Upper Egypt.

The content and number of the Coffin Text spells employed on the funeral paraphernalia varied in between pieces and sites within the Nile valley (Appendix 2). However, unlike the Pyramid Texts which were written in hieroglyphs, the Coffin Texts were written in either cursive hieroglyphs or hieratic.

4.2 Seth in the Coffin Texts.

Within this mix of the old and new spells, the character of Seth of the Pyramid Texts was brought into Coffin Texts; however, within the new spells he underwent further development. Although he was still primarily portrayed as the enemy of Osiris, a number of new spells that placed Seth on the solar barque with Ra were introduced. In Spell 160 Seth protects Ra and the solar barque from the netherworld demon Apep (de Buck 1938, 380-381; Faulkner 1973, 138-139). In this role as the protector of Ra, the aggressive nature of Seth is utilized to benefit the gods. In Spell 1128 Seth stands on the bow of the solar barque in the company of Isis and Horus (de Buck 1961, 458; Faulkner 1978, 166); this may be because in his new role as protector of Ra, Seth had been elevated to stand among the gods associated with Osiris. However, these two spells have only been found in Upper Egypt with eleven known instances, nine at el-Bersheh and two at Asyut. In addition, with Seth's inclusion with the celestial religion of Ra, in Spell 203 referred to Seth as the '*Lord of the northern sky*', while in Spell 408 he was called as the '*great longhorn living in the northern sky*' and in Spell 838 Seth is named as the '*bull of the sky*' (de Buck 1947, 138; 1954, 189; 1961, 40;

Faulkner 1973, 165; 1977, 60; 1978, 26). Like Spell 160, these three spells have only been found in Upper Egypt.



Fig. 4.2: Distribution of the Seth spells in the Coffin Texts along the Nile Valley.

In Spell 607 in the Lisht coffin L2Li Seth is set over foreign lands, while in Spells 631 in coffin Sq6C from Saqqara Seth is in the upper desert, and coffin Sq3C, also from Saqqara,

the deserts are under the fingers of Seth. Although there was a possible ancient connection of Seth with foreign lands (Te Velde 1967, 63, 110), these spells record the influence of Seth extended from the Egypt of Horus into the dangerous lands surrounding Egypt.

Within the Coffin Texts, unlike the Pyramid Texts of the 6th Dynasty, there was no prescription in the use of the Seth animal within the spells, despite the fact they were written on the inside of the coffin with the body of the deceased. Within the Coffin Texts the name of Seth was written in a variety of ways, including the Seth animal, as an epithet, and phonetic spelling (Table 4.1).

Seth Hieroglyph	Upper Egypt									Lower Egypt		Unknown Provenance	
	Abydos	Aswan	Asyut	Beni Hasan	Dendara	el-Bersheh	Gebelein	Meir	Thebes	Lisht	Saqqara	Coffin	Papyrus
		A1C	S1C S2C S3C S10C S14C S1Chass S2P S3P	BH3Ox		B2Bo B4Bo B5C B6C B12C B3L B4L B1P	G1T G2T	M1C M3C M4C M5C M6C M21C M22C M23C M35C M36C M46C	T2Be T3Be T1C T2C T3C T9C T3L		Sq1C Sq3C Sq4C Sq6C Sq7C Sq10C Sq7Sq		Papyrus Gardiner II Papyrus Gardiner III Papyrus Gardiner IV
			S10C										
						B16C			T9C				
				BH2C BH1Ox									
		A1C	S1C S2C				G1T		T9C				
						B5C B1P			T2L				
			S10C						T2L				
						B5C							
											Sq10C		
						B1Bo							
						B17C							
							G1T						
			S1C			B3C		M5C				Y1C	
								M39C					
						B9C							
						B5C B7C B7C							Papyrus Gardiner II
						B5C							
									T1Be				
						B9C							
											Sq1Sq		
											Sq7Sq		
											Sq1C		

Seth Hieroglyph	Upper Egypt									Lower Egypt		Unknown Provenance	
	Abydos	Aswan	Asyut	Beni Hasan	Dendara	el-Bersheh	Gebelein	Meir	Thebes	Lisht	Saqqara	Coffin	Papyrus
			S2C S10C S14C	BH1Ox BH2C		B1Be B2Be B1Bo B1C B3C B4C B9C B10C B11C B1L B2L B3L B4L B1P B2P	G1T	M4C			Sq10C	Y1C	
			S14C			B1Be B1Bo B2Bo B3Bo B4Bo B3C B4C B6C B9C B10C B15C B17C B2L B1P B1Y		M22C M2NY	T1Be T1C T1L T2L MC105	L1NY	Sq1Sq Sq2Sq		Papyrus Gardiner II Papyrus Gardiner III
						B3Bo B4Bo B4C B6C B9C B1L		M2C M57C	T3Be				
								M2C					
									T1L				
						B16C							
						B2Bo B4Bo							
									T1C				
				BH1Br		B1L		M1C M7C M8C M16C M2NY	T1Be T2Be	L2Li L3Li			
				BH1Br BH4C		B9C		M57C	T3Be				
						B1L							
						B1C B5C B6C B9C B1L B3L							
						B1Bo B1C B1Bo							
						B4Bo							
						B3C							
						B1C							
						B17C B5Bo			MC105	L1NY			
										L2Li			Papyrus Gardiner IV
						B3Bo							


Seth Hieroglyph	Upper Egypt									Lower Egypt		Unknown Provenance	
	Abydos	Aswan	Asyut	Beni Hasan	Dendara	el-Bersheh	Gebeltein	Meir	Thebes	Lisht	Saqqara	Coffin	Papyrus
						B10C				L3Li			
								M8C					
								M2NY					
						B4C							
								M1Ann					
Damaged spell	Ab1Ph		S2C			B6Bo B1C B4C B7C B10C B13C B20C B1P B1Y		M2Ann M1C M2C M3C M4C M6C M13C M21C M23C M23C M25C M46C M54C M57C M1NY M2NY	MC105 T2Be T3Be ThT240	L1NY	Sq1C Sq2Sq		Papyrus Gardiner II Papyrus Gardiner III Papyrus Gardiner IV

Table 4.1: Hieroglyphs for Seth employed in the Coffin Texts. (De Buck 1935; 1938; 1947; 1951; 1954; 1956; 1961).




The prone Seth E21 animal was employed throughout Upper and Lower Egypt in all types of spells including those in the Osiris cycle and those with a celestial theme. However, there are two notable variations within the drawing of the Seth animal. In coffin S10C from Asyut, in Spell 775 the scribe has drawn the reclining Seth animal which he has then neutralised by adding a knife in the head . The scribe has then added the Aa21 hieroglyph for ‘Outcast’ (Te Velde 1967, 5-6; Faulkner 1977, 304; Gardiner 1957, 542), an epithet of Seth behind the killed animal. Why this has been done is difficult to resolve as the coffin contains five other spells, Spell 9, Spell 12, Spell 13, Spell 16 and Spell 389 all of which contain a normal Seth E21 animal . It is possible that it was the scribe’s original intention to use Outcast instead of the Seth animal but drew the Seth animal in error. Having drawn the Seth animal, he could not simply erase it or cross it out, so had to neutralise it. At the next reference to Seth in Spell 775, the scribe used the Outcast epithet as originally intended.





The other variation to the reclining Seth animal occurs in Spell 50 in coffins B16C from el-Bersheh and Spell 338 in coffin T9C from Thebes.

In Spell 50 Seth threatens to cause the body of Osiris to fear, as Seth will inflict injury and kill him, while in Spell 838 Seth is kicked and smitten as well as being captured. In the two



coffins employing the spell the Seth animal is drawn without a tail , possibly the scribe considered that removing the erect tail, a symbol of Seth's aggression (Newberry 1928, 217; MacDonald *et al* 2000, 77; MacDonald 2002, 50; MacDonald 2007, 32), would render the Seth animal harmless within the spell.



Spell 50 in B16 is the only spell to employ the Seth animal, while in T9C Spell 338 has the tailless Seth animal employed twice despite there being 12 other spells within this coffin that contain the normal Seth animal.


The sitting Seth E20 animal  was also employed but is only attested in Upper Egypt where it was used in coffin A1C from Aswan, coffins S1C and S2C from Asyut, coffin G1T from Gebelein, and coffin T9C from Thebes. The spells in A1C, S1C, S2C and T9C belong to the Osiris cycle, while according to the two spells in G1T the deceased is protected and flourishes due to Seth. The striding Seth animal  was also restricted to Upper Egypt where it was employed in Spell 1143 in coffins B5C and B1P at el-Bersheh and in Spell 397 in coffin T9C at from Thebes. A variation on the striding Seth animal occurs in the Theban coffin T2L Spell 841, in which the Seth animal is shown striding on the top of a standard .


Within the representations of the Seth animal are five unusual variations, again restricted to Upper Egypt. Spell 353 relates how Seth had power over water. The spell is repeated in coffins B1Bo, B3Bo, B3C, B4C from el-Bersheh, BH3Ox from Beni Hasan, M5C, M39C from Meir, S1C, S2C from Asyut, Y1C from an unknown location and tomb/coffin T1C from Thebes. Within these repeats, there are three variations of how Seth was written. In the texts in B1Bo, B3Bo, B4C and T1C Seth is written phonetically, while in coffin S2C, the spell is illegible due to damage in antiquity. In the repeat of the spell in coffin B1Bo, the Seth animal is drawn as a prone leonine animal with a curved erect tail , while in coffin M39C he is drawn as an anthropomorphic figure with a leonine head seated on a throne . In coffin B5C, M5C and S1C, the Seth animal is drawn as a sitting feline with an erect and curved tail . If the typical Seth animal was revised to reflect the theme of the spell, Seth's power over water, the use of a lion or a cat is a very strange choice, a hippopotamus or a crocodile would have been more suitable. It is noticeable that the hieroglyph for the head of a hippopotamus F3  is leonine in appearance. It is possible that the scribe's intention was to put the hippopotamus head onto a Seth body, but due to the nature of the F3 sign, the resulting combination sign took on a distinctly leonine appearance. The use of the seated









feline is possibly a scribal error and is in fact a mis-drawn Seth animal, however, three repeated errors in three separate coffins in three different locations is too much of a coincidence. It is possible that these three renditions of Spell 353 were the work of a single scribe who moved between Asyut, el-Bershah and Meir. However, without an accurate temporal framework into which the manufacture of the three coffins can be placed this idea must remain supposition.


In coffin G1T from Gebelein, Spell 649 has Seth represented by another seated feline with an outward curving erect tail . The spell relates that Seth was about to sail the barque, which again has no feline connection, alternatively, any perceived relationship between Seth and the cat the ancient Egyptians had has been lost over the intervening millennia. The use of the feline could have been a copyist's error or the sign was misread in the initial transference of the text onto the coffin. Spell 50 in coffin B17 from el-Bersheh has the Seth animal replaced with a sign that has been transcribed as hieroglyph E9  a new born hartebeest. The spell recounts how Seth came in his own shape and threatened to cause the body of Osiris to fear, to inflict injury and kill him. The spell describes Seth as being in his own form, which suggests the anthropomorphic deity with the head of a Seth animal, as opposed to a bull or pig mentioned in other spells. The hartebeest, however, is not an animal associated with or interpreted as the Seth animal (Te Velde 1967, 13-14, McDonald *et al* 2000, 75-81) which suggests that this use of the hartebeest is another copyist's error.


Spell 86 refers to Horus and Seth as the two great ones; however, how Seth is represented differs between coffins BH2C and BH10x from Beni Hasan, and the coffin Sq10C from Saqqara. In both the Beni Hasan coffins, Seth is written as a prone Seth animal on the V30 *nb* sign , while in the Saqqara coffin Seth is drawn as the G7  hawk on a standard sign paralleling the representation of Horus employed in the spell, thus implying that the two gods were thought to be of equal standing.




Within the Coffin Text spells, Seth is written as a seated deity hieroglyph in two locations, el-Bersheh and Asyut, but is drawn in two different forms. In Spell 335 in coffin B5C from el-Bersheh, Seth is drawn as a seated deity with the Seth animal head from which a stream of what could be spittle is being projected from the mouth . The spell deals with Seth losing his testicles and has no reference to the spittle of Seth, so the representation employed has no logical connection within the spell. In Spell 772 in coffin S10C from Asyut, Seth is

represented as a stylised Seth animal head on the head of a sitting deity . The spell deals with the seven loaves of Horus and Seth, so like Spell 335 the representation of Seth has no tangible link to the spell's contents.

Among the epithets used for Seth is that of 'Ombite', he of Ombus, a town associated with Seth from Pre-Dynastic times (Faulkner 1925, 5; Te Velde 1967, 116; Baines and Málek 1994, 111). Within the Coffin Texts, this epithet was employed in coffins from el-Bersheh and Thebes in Upper Egypt, and Saqqara in Lower Egypt. It also occurs in Papyrus Gardiner II, which has no known provenance. At el-Bersheh the use of 'Ombite' occurs in three coffins, B5C, B7C and B9C, each of the coffins employs a different writing of the epithet. In coffin B5C 'Ombite' is written as a prone Seth animal on a S12 sign followed by a phonetic *bt* , while coffin B7C is written in the same manner as B5C but with the addition of the O49 sign, the determinative for a town or village . B5C and B7C are a pair of nested coffins (de Buck 1954, ix), which should be considered to have been manufactured and decorated at the same time, so the two copies of the spell may have been undertaken by two different scribes simultaneously. In B9C, the epithet is written without the Seth but just the S12 sign followed by a phonetic *t* and the O49 determinative . In the Theban coffin T1Be, Spell 397 contains the epithet written as the S12 sign followed by the phonetic *bt* and O49 determinative . Spell 397 is repeated in three coffins from Saqqara Sq1Sq and Sq7Sq contain different two spellings of the 'Ombite', while in Sq1C the text is partially damaged preventing the analysis of the spelling. In Coffin Sq1Sq, the epithet is written as the S12 sign followed by the U33 pestle *ti* and Seth written phonetically . Although usually translated as 'Ombite' (Faulkner 1977, 25, n340), it could be translated as 'the Ombite Seth' (Van der Molen 2000, 218). Alternatively, as Coffin Sq1Sq has no Seth animals within any of the coffin's spells, the scribe has resorted to the use of a phonetic spelling of what should have been a Seth animal determinative. In contrast Coffin Sq7Sq has 'Ombite' written with the S12 sign followed by a bird, possibly the G17 owl, U33 pestle and M17 reed and a Seth animal determinative . However, the use of the G17 owl hieroglyph  is suspect as the original hieratic bird is unclear (de Buck 1954, 117 n2). Unlike Sq1Sq, coffin Sq7Sq has other spells that contain the Seth animal, so the scribe has included the Seth animal as the determinative. Coffin S1C has only the S12 sign  definable, the rest of the text being lost. The spelling could have been a copy of those

used in Sq1Sq or Sq7Sq. However, as Sq1C has other spells that contain the Seth animal, the determinative would have most likely been the Seth animal. The Gardiner Papyrus II contains Spell 479 which refers to ‘Seth of Ombos’ and is written as a prone Seth animal over the S12 sign .

The most commonly used epithet for Seth in the Coffin Texts was ‘Outcast’ which was written as the Aa21 sign . The use of this epithet appears in the coffins from Asyut, Beni Hasan, el-Bershah, Gebelein and Meir in Upper Egypt, while in Lower Egypt it was used in Saqqara coffins. It was also employed in coffin Y1C which has no known provenance. Where the epithet was used in the Coffin Texts from Asyut, Beni Hasan, Gebelein, Meir, Saqqara and coffin Y1C, the hieroglyph was written in some spells as a replacement for the Seth animal. However, this substitution was not universal throughout these coffins as spells containing the Seth animal are also present. An exception to this Outcast/Seth animal relationship appears within the coffins of el-Bershah, for among the 14 coffins in which the hieroglyph was utilised; only four have spells that incorporate the Seth animal within their text. However, this number increases to seven if spells where the Seth animal appears as a determinative.

The most unusual replacement of the Seth animal with an alternative hieroglyph occurs in Spell 1143 in Coffin B1Be, also from el-Bershah, where the Seth animal is replaced with the F27 sign , a determinative for skin (Gardiner 1957, 484). The content of the spell refers to the four Seths, to which the F27 sign has no logical connection. However, B1Be does not contain any Seth animals in any of the spells but does employ the Aa21 sign . The two other coffins from el-Bersheh that contain the spell, B5C and B1P, both employ the striding Seth animal  in Spell 1143 and the prone Seth animal in other spells.

As an alternative to the use of the Seth animal in the Coffin Texts his name was also written in phonetic hieroglyphs and, as with the Seth animal, there were variations within the spelling of Seth’s name. The phonetic name was used in texts from Asyut, Beni Hasan, el-Bershah, Meir and Thebes in Upper Egypt and Lisht and Saqqara in Lower Egypt. The phonetic spelling was also employed in spells in Papyrus Gardiner II, III and IV. In the Coffin Texts from el-Bershah, Meir, Thebes and Saqqara the phonetic spellings used are not consistent throughout the spells written in the coffins, with up to four variations in the spelling of Seth

occurring in a single coffin. The variations in the spelling of Seth are detailed in Table 4.1 above.

The Seth animal, although primarily employed in the Coffin Text spells that included Seth, was also used as a determinative. These determinatives can be divided into two categories, the first being those associated with the phonetic writings of his name or associated with his epithets. The second is where the Seth animal is used to emphasis the violence, power or the terror of a word or idea. Like the Seth spells discussed above, the Seth determinative also had a number of variations of how it was drawn.
















Determinative Sign	Upper Egypt				Lower Egypt	Unknown Provenance
	Asyut	el-Bersheh	Meir	Thebes	Saqqara	Papyrus
	S1C S2C	B9C		T1C	Sq7Sq	Papyrus Gardiner II Papyrus Gardiner III
					S11C	
	S1C					
	S3C		M22C			
				T2L		
					Sq1Sq	
		B2Bo B4Bo B3C B6C				

Table 4.2: Seth determinatives employed to phonetic writing of Seth or his epithets.
















The first category of determinatives, detailed in Table 4.2, appear in the Coffin Texts at Asyut, el-Bersheh, Meir and Thebes in Upper Egypt, Saqqara in Lower Egypt, and in Papyrus Gardiner II and Gardiner III, which lack any known provenance.

The E21  Seth animal was employed in the nested coffins S1C and S2C from Asyut, B9C from el-Bersheh, Tomb and coffin T1C from Thebes and in Papyrus Gardiner II and III. However, a variation to the prone Seth animal occurs in Spell 255 in coffin S1C, which as well as having the prone Seth animal, also contains a prone Seth animal on the S12 sign . The sitting Seth animal  appears as a determinative in coffin S3C from Asyut and the coffin board M22C from Meir.

At el-Bersheh, coffins B2Bo, B4Bo B3C and B6C utilise the Aa21 sign , the epithet 'Outcast' employed for Seth instead of a Seth animal, although all these coffins do contain other spells that display the Seth animal.



Two Coffin Texts in Sq1Sq and Sq11C from Saqqara display two separate variations of the Seth determinative. The burial chamber Sq1Sq has a G7  hawk on a standard instead of the usual Seth animal. Coffin Sq11C has the E21 Seth animal on a N1 sky sign , a determinative in the Coffin Texts associated with the word rage or storm rather than the word ‘Ombus’ employed in this coffin. It is possible when writing the spell in the coffin, the copyist misread the S12 sign  used in Ombus as the N1 sign .



The second category of determinatives, detailed in Table 4.3 below, form the greatest number employed and occur in Coffin Texts from Asyut, Aswan, Beni Hasan, el-Bersheh, Gebelein, Meir and Thebes in Upper Egypt and Saqqara in Lower Egypt. As well as in coffin Y1C, Papyrus Gardiner II and Papyrus Gardiner III, all of which have no known provenance (De Buck 1956, xi, xii).





Determinative		Upper Egypt							Lower Egypt	Unknown Provenance	
		Aswan	Asyut	Beni Hasan	el-Bersheh	Gebelein	Meir	Thebes	Saqqara	Coffin	Papyrus
Word	Sign										
Storm <i>nšni</i>					B5C						
			S1C S2C S14C		B2Bo B5C B3L			T9C	Sq6C	Y1C	
					B4C B3L B4L	G2T	M5C M39C				
					B3C B5C						
					B2Bo B3Bo				Sq6C		
									Sq6C		
										Papyrus Gardiner III	
Storm <i>krr</i>					B3Bo						
					B4Bo						
Storm cloud <i>kry</i>					B3C						
										Papyrus Gardiner II Papyrus Gardiner III	
Storm cloud <i>krr</i>					B3Bo						
		A1C					G1T				
Thunder <i>hrwꜥkrr</i>			S1C S2C S6C S10C S11C		B3L B4L						
			S5C S12C		B2Bo B12C						

Determinative		Upper Egypt							Lower Egypt	Unknown Provenance	
		Aswan	Asyut	Beni Hasan	el-Bersahah	Gebeltein	Meir	Thebes	Saqqara	Coffin	Papyrus
Word	Sign										
Rage <i>nšni</i>									Sq7C		Papyrus Gardiner III
											Papyrus Gardiner II Papyrus Gardiner III
			S2C		B2Bo B4C B5C B6C B5C			T2Be	Sq1C		
							M4C	T1C	Sq4Sq Sq7C		
					B4Bo						
Rage <i>nšn.t(f)</i>									Sq1C Sq7C		
Wrath <i>nšni</i>					B3C						
Wrath <i>nšnw</i>									Sq7Sq		
Uproar <i>hnnw</i>								T2Be			
								T2L			
							M2NY				
Damage <i>nšnt</i>			S2C								
			S1C								
					B9C B4L						
			S2C								
Suffering <i>mnt</i>				BH3Cx	B6C B12C B3L B4L B1P B12C B3L						
Pain <i>mr</i>					B12C B3L						
Earth <i>škr</i>			S1C		B7C						
Robber <i>wšj</i>			S2C								
Powers <i>šmw</i>						G1T					
Foretold <i>wr</i>									Sq6C		
Pigs <i>š</i>			S1C								
					B1Bo				Sq6C		
					B7C						
<i>hrr</i>					B1P				Sq6C		
Damaged texts			S2C								
							M6C M23C M23C				

Table 4.3: Seth hieroglyphs employed as determinatives to words.

Throughout these determinatives, variations on the Seth animal were employed but notable exceptions occurred. The most unusual relate to the words uproar, storm and rage. Coffin M2NY from Meir apparently has the determinative to uproar also written phonetically , however, only the first character of the determinative is readable, the remainder being lost. In coffin B4Bo from el-Bersheh the word storm and rage both have the phonetic determinative . Within B4Bo the Seth animal only appears only once with the remainder of the spells having Seth written phonetically. B4Bo is the inner coffin of a nested pair, the outer coffin B3Bo also has Seth written phonetically, with the exception of four determinatives, three of which are linked to the word storm and one to the word storm cloud.

Coffin Sq1Sq also has an unusual substitution of the determinative to the word 'foretold' in spell 631, instead of an E27 sign for a giraffe , a Seth animal is used. MacDonald suggests this was the result of a scribe's confusion between the sign for Seth and the giraffe (MacDonald 2000, 76). The section of the spell in question refers to foretelling 'who is stronger' but not anything destructive or threatening that would necessitate a Seth animal determinative. Spell 36 in coffin B16C from el-Bersheh also has an alternative determinative to word 'foretell', instead of the E27 giraffe it has the E17 jackal  instead. The use of a striding canine similar to the striding Seth animal instead of the giraffe would seem to support MacDonald's proposition of sign confusion.

In coffins S1C from Asyut and B1Bo, B7C and B1P from el-Bersheh, the Seth animal was used as a determinative to the word pig, however, in each of these coffins a different Seth animal is employed. In S1C a prone Seth animal  is used while B1Bo has a striding Seth animal , B7C has a striding Seth animal but with a curved tail  and B1P has a tailless striding Seth animal . In the Coffin Text spell 157 Seth transforms himself into a black pig to inflict wounds on the eye of Horus, so the relationship between Seth and a pig had been established. Coffin S1C contains spell 157 so it is logical that Seth as a determinative to pig would be used. However, in the three el-Bersheh coffins this spell is not present but coffin B1P is the outer coffin of a nest pair with B2P in which Spell 157 was used.

4.3 The Pyramid Texts within the Coffin Texts.

Within the corpus of the Coffin Texts is contained a separate and distinct body of texts, the utterances from the Pyramid Texts (de Buck 1935, xi; Allen 2006, xiii). These Middle

Kingdom Pyramid Texts are found on coffins, canopic chests, mummy masks, sarcophagus, and in tombs throughout the Nile valley (Fig. 4.3) and have been found at Beni Hasan, el-Bersheh, Meir and Thebes in Upper Egypt, and at Lisht, Riqqa, Saqqara and Sedment in Lower Egypt (Appendix 2).

This distribution differs slightly from the Coffin Texts with an increase in the number of sites in Lower Egypt, concentrated near to the pyramids sites. In 1933 Breasted recorded that texts in coffin OIM 12072 (Sq1Ch) from Saqqara were only from the Pyramid Texts (Allen 2006, xiii). The seven volume study of the Coffin Texts by de Buck isolated those Pyramid Texts from the study, with the intention of publishing them as a separate volume (de Buck 1935, xi). By comparison of the funeral paraphernalia studied in de Buck volumes I to VII and that in Allen volume VIII, there are a number of funeral items from Asyut, Beni Hasan, el-Bersheh Meir, Thebes, Lisht and Saqqara that contain Pyramid Texts coinciding with Coffin Texts. However, there was a number of funeral paraphernalia from Beni Hasan, el-Bersheh, Meir and Thebes in Upper Egypt, and Abusir, Lisht, Riqqa, Saqqara and Sedment in Lower Egypt that are recorded as only containing the Pyramid Texts. The majority of these Pyramid Texts are concentrated in Lower Egypt, with the highest concentration being at Lisht.

As mentioned above, the lack of an accurate and detailed temporal framework prevents the relationship of the evolution of the Coffin Texts to the Pyramid Texts. Despite this, a level of debate exists whether the Coffin Texts were a direct linear development from the Pyramid Texts with their origins at the end of the Old Kingdom or 1st Intermediate Period (Willems 1988, 244; Jürgens 1995, 6-7) or were a separate evolution originating in the Middle Kingdom (Willems 2006, 140-142, 225-228; Smith 2009, 6). However, as mentioned by Smith, that within the contents of the Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts there were similarities, convergences and overlapping of content (Smith 2009, 6). These interwoven strands of religious ideas and the existence of funeral paraphernalia sequentially employing only the Pyramid Text utterances, then a mixture of Pyramid Text utterances and Coffin Text spells and finally only Coffin Text spells adds support to the paradigm of a direct linear development of Pyramid Texts to Coffin Texts.








Fig. 4.3: Distribution of the Seth spells in the Pyramid Texts within Coffin Texts along the Nile Valley.




As within the Coffin Texts, the name of Seth in the Middle Kingdom Pyramid Texts was written in a variety of ways, both in the form of the Seth animal, epithets and phonetic spellings (Table 4.4).

Seth Hieroglyph	Upper Egypt				Lower Egypt				
	Beni Hasan	el-Bersheh	Meir	Thebes	Abusir	Lisht	Riqqa	Saqqara	Sedment
		B2Bo B4Bo B16C	M1C M2C M5C M25C	T2Be T4Be T2C T8C T9C TT240	Ab1Le Ab2Le	L-A1 L-JMH1		Sq2Be Sq3Be Sq3C Sq4C Sq5C Sq6C Sq9C Sq10C Sq13C Sq1Ch Sq1Cop	Sed1Sed
						L-JMH1			
	BH5C				Ab1Le				
	BH1C BH3C BH6C BH1Ox BH2Ox	B6Bo B10C B17C B19C B1P							
		B19C							
	BH1C	B1Bo B4Bo B4C B6C B10C B11C B16C	M1NY	T1C T9C T1L T1NY TT319		L2Li L-A1 L-MH1A L-PW1A		Sq9C Sq1Sq	
				T9C					
								Sq9C	
		B3Bo B4Bo B9C				L1NY			
		B10C	M1NY	T1Be					
			M1NY						
						L3Li			
		B6C B9C B10C				L-HM			
		B6C B9C		T1NY				Sq1Cop	
		B6C B10C B10C							
		B10C							
			M7C						
	BH4C								
Damaged spell	BH2Ox	B3Bo B4C B9C B10C	M2C M5C M25C M1NY			L1Li L2Li L3Li L-A1 L-JMH1 L-KhPM2 L-PW1A	R1X	Sq3C Sq4C Sq5C Sq9C Sq13C	

Table 4.4: Hieroglyphs for Seth employed in the Pyramid Texts in the Coffin Texts. (Allen 2006).

There was no proscription on the use of the Seth animal within the utterances. The prone E21 Seth animal was employed in the utterances at el-Bersheh, Meir and Thebes in Upper Egypt and Abusir, Lisht, Saqqara and Sedment in Lower Egypt. However, tomb L-JMH1 at

Lisht has a version of the prone Seth animal with the erect tail being exceptionally long . At Beni Hasan coffin BH5C has the E21 Seth animal on the N1 sky sign  but is used in Spell 222 which refers to ‘*Seth of Nubt*’. The usual sign combination for ‘*Seth of Nubt*’ was the prone Seth animal on the S12 sign , it is possible the Middle Kingdom copyists mistaking the S12 sign  for the N1 sign . At Abusir coffin Ab2Le employs the same E21/N1 combination but neither of the two utterances that employ this combination has any sky connections.

Epithets for Seth were also employed as a replacement for the Seth animal within the utterances. The common epithet ‘*Outcast*’ using the Aa21 sign  was used at Beni Hasan and el-Bersheh, however, the canopic box B19C from el-Bersheh has an alternative, using instead an inverted O30 sign  with both signs occurring in the same utterance. The inverted O30 sign corresponds with the top section of the Aa21 sign, so it is possible that the use of the inverted O30 sign was due to the Middle Kingdom copyist’s accidental omission of the bottom section of the Aa21 sign .

Within the Middle Kingdom Pyramid Texts, the use of the phonetic spelling of Seth was employed throughout the Upper Egyptian sites and at Lisht and Saqqara in Lower Egypt. A variety of spellings were used and within coffins B4Bo from el-Bersheh, T9C from Thebes and Sq9C from Saqqara variations occur within single spells.








	Upper Egypt		Lower Egypt	
Seth Hieroglyph	Beni Hasan	el-Bersheh	Lisht	Saqqara
			L-JMH1	Sq9C
		B4Bo		
	BH1C			

Table 4.5: Determinatives for Seth employed in the Pyramid Texts within the Coffin Texts.

Three determinatives to the phonetic writing of Seth were employed in the Middle Kingdom Pyramid Texts. These were restricted in their use to Beni Hasan and el-Bersheh in Upper Egypt and Lisht and Saqqara in Lower Egypt, see Table 4.5 above. The prone Seth animal was used as a determinative in tomb L-JMH1 at Lisht and coffin Sq9C from Saqqara, while the Aa20 sign  was used in coffin B4Bo from el-Bersheh and the inverted O30  version was employed in coffin BH1C from Beni Hasan.

Within the Coffin Texts, and the Middle Kingdom Pyramid Texts that they encompass, the handling of the Seth animal in the spells was more flexible than in the Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts. The Seth animal, in both the Seth related spells and as a determinative, was used freely throughout the texts in both Upper and Lower Egypt. Unlike the Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts which were the product of a single site, the Coffin Texts were created in a large number of independent sites, 20 known to date producing 203 studied artefacts, distributed throughout the length of the Nile valley and the oases of the Western Desert. The production of the funeral paraphernalia in a number of separate sites, while following the general theme of the Coffin Texts, would allow the development of local variations in the representation of the Seth animal as the scribes producing the text employed their personal as well as local interpretations of how Seth should be drawn or substituted in the texts. Within these variations there is the perversity of human error such as misreading the base text or just making a mistake through lack of concentration. A classic example of this is the killed Seth  in coffin S10C, in which the Seth was drawn in error and had to be neutralised as the ancient Egyptian belief in the power of the word and the power of the image being inseparable (Pinch 2006, 69) prevented the image from simply being crossed out. The unusual representations of the Seth animal or non-standard spellings could also be a result of human error. The replication of the unusual Seth animal renditions may have been the result of movement of a scribe between centres of funeral paraphernalia production. Coffins S1C from Asyut, B3C from el-Bersheh, M5C from Meir and Y1C, which has no known provenance, have the representation of Seth as a seated cat , possibly the interpretation of a single scribe moving between production sites.

To decorate the coffin interior to the standard achieved could only be undertaken with the coffin in pieces. The coffin would have been 'dry assembly' to ensure the fit of the components. Once the joinery had been completed the coffin could have been separated into the component parts of head, foot, back, front and base for the interior decoration to be applied. As the Coffin Texts were applied to the head, foot and back of the coffin (Fig. 4.4) this would allow a number of scribes to work on a single coffin simultaneously. This would explain the variations of spelling of Seth and representations of the Seth animal in the same coffin.

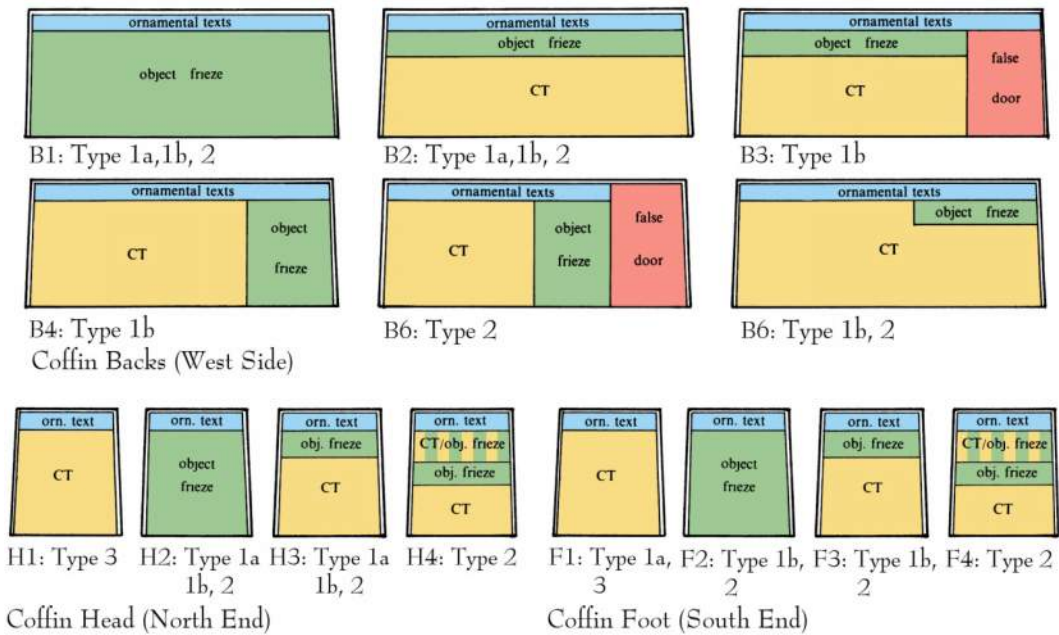


Fig. 4.4: Distribution of Coffin Texts within Middle Kingdom coffins.

Any concerns the ancient Egyptians had regarding the use of the Seth animal within the confines of the coffin seem to have been generally ignored. This may have been due to the new status of Seth as the protector of Ra and his inclusion in the crew of the solar barque or it may have been due to the layout of the interior and exterior decoration of the coffins.

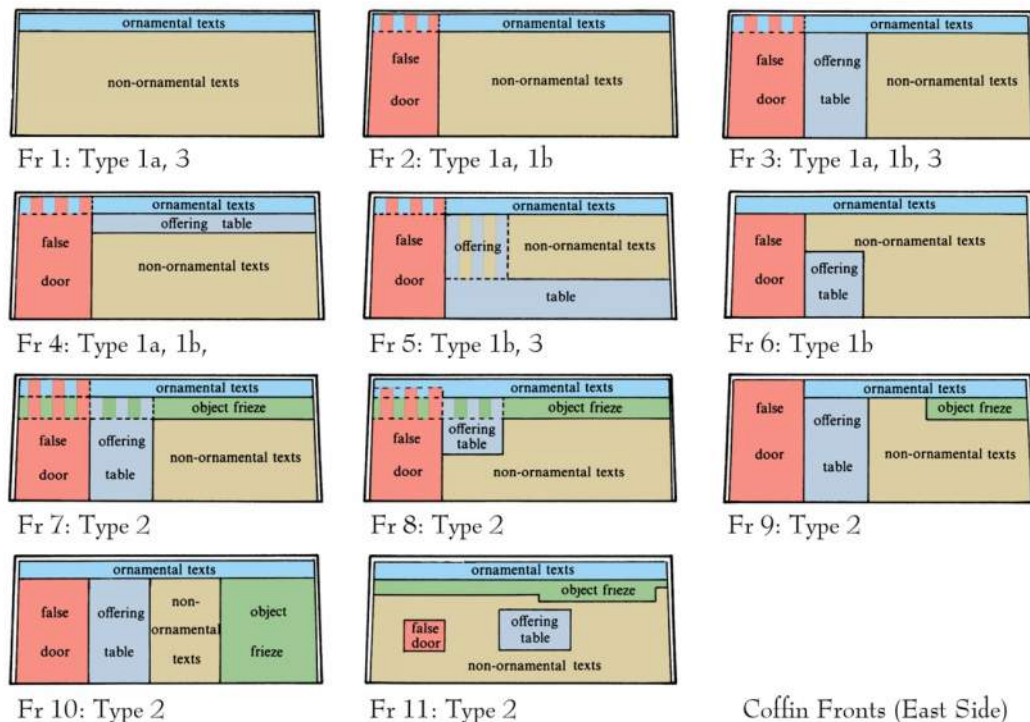



Fig. 4.5: Interior decoration to the front of Middle Kingdom Coffins.



Fig. 4.6: Exterior decoration to the front of Middle Kingdom Coffins.

At the head end of the front of the coffin, the interior and exterior were decorated with a pair of *Wadjet* eyes  which allowed the deceased to look out from the coffin to the sunrise in the east. Often associated with these eyes was a false door which allowed the *ba* of the deceased to leave the coffin and the tomb. Both the eyes and the false doors were clear of the coffin texts as none were written on the interior front of the coffin thus situated away from any malign influence from the Seth animal (Figs. 4.5 and 4.6).

4.4 Texts on the Coffin Exterior.

As well as the interior Coffin Texts, the Middle Kingdom coffins also had a series of applied external texts what is best described as ‘texts on the coffin’. During the Middle Kingdom the exterior of the coffin was decorated on the four vertical planes, front, head, back and foot and one the one horizontal plane, the lid. On the earliest coffins the text was limited to a horizontal register of text just beneath the top edge of the body of the coffin. During the progression of the 12th Dynasty new decorations were developed with supplementary vertical

registers of text below the horizontal register, the numbers of vertical registers increasing with time (Fig. 4.6). However, local variation to this layout existed on the coffins types from Asyut. These coffins, rather than having a single register of horizontal and vertical text, employed double or triple rows and columns of text (Ikram *et al* 1998, 197; Willems 1988, 119, 122). The direction of text within the registers runs from head to foot on the front and back faces, while the head and foot text runs from front to back. The vertical text runs from top to bottom (Fig. 4.7). By arranging the texts in this way they are legible from the view point of the deceased (Willems 1988, 119). The decoration of the lid remained consistent throughout the Middle Kingdom comprising a single band of text running from head to foot, except for the Asyut coffins, which had double or triple bands of text.

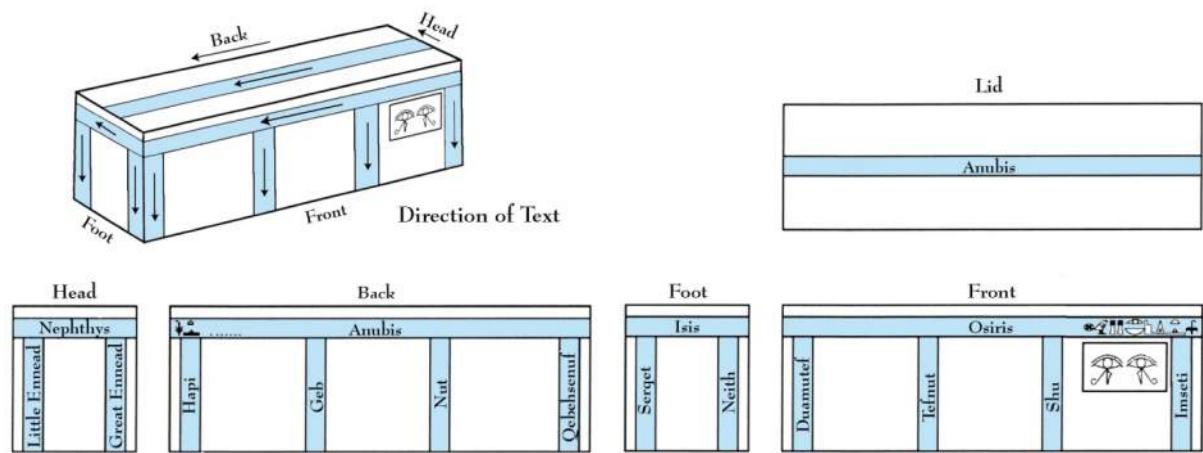


Fig. 4.7: Top right and bottom - Typical layout of deities invoked on a typical type IV coffins; however, there are variations in this arrangement which relate to geographical locations.

Top Left – Directions of text in horizontal and vertical text bands.

The contents of these text bands are comparatively consistent throughout the Middle Kingdom but again there are stylistic variations that develop throughout the period. The horizontal bands contained the standard offering formula for the deceased, the *hṭp di nsw* ḥtp di nsw formulae on the front, back and lid, initially the *prt hrw* prt hrw formula was on the head and foot, however, this was replaced with formulae invoking Nephthys and Isis or Osiris and Anubis respectively. The vertical columns contained the *imsh.y hr* imsh.y hr formulae with the deceased before various deities including the four sons of Horus, Geb, Nut, Shu, Tefnut, Serqet, Neith and the little and great Enneads. However, there are variations with the inclusion of other deities such as Sokar, Sokar-Ptah and Amun (Ikram *et al* 1998, 196-197; Willems 1988, 122-174). Seth was excluded from the list of gods, except on the coffins

from Asyut. These coffins had a different arrangement of the texts and included a series of texts making offerings to Atum-Ra, Osiris, Isis, Seth and Nephthys (Figs. 4.8 to 4.19)



Fig. 4.8: Coffin of Ankhef with Seth highlighted. British Museum BM EA 46631.



Fig. 4.9: Coffin of Khety with Seth highlighted. British Museum BM EA 29575.

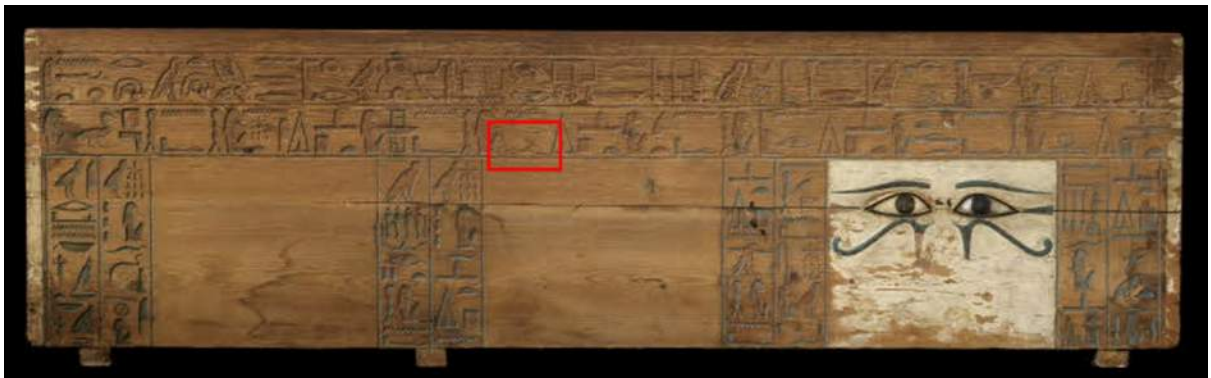


Fig. 4.10: Inner coffin of Nakhti with Seth highlighted. Louvre E11936.

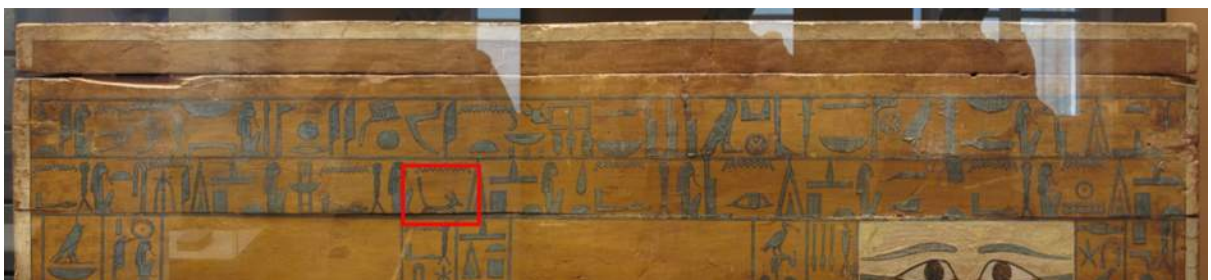


Fig. 4.11: Coffin of Henen with Seth highlighted. Louvre AF3757.



Fig. 4.12: Coffin of Mesehti with Seth highlighted. Rosicrucian Egyptian Museum, San Jose RC 2822.



Fig. 4.13: Coffin of Ankhef with Seth highlighted. Cairo Museum CG 28130.



Fig. 4.14: Coffin of Dag with Seth highlighted. Cairo Museum TR 21-11-16-24.



Fig. 4.15: Coffin of Nakht with Seth highlighted. Cairo Museum JE 36318.



Fig. 4.16: Coffin of Wepwawetmahat with Seth highlighted. Cairo Museum JE 45063.

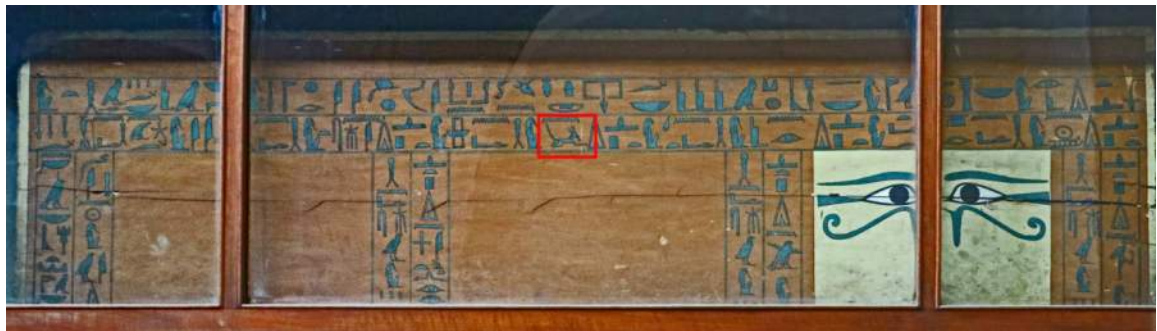


Fig. 4.17: Coffin unlabeled with Seth highlighted. Cairo Museum.



Fig. 4.18: Coffin of Mereru with Seth highlighted. Museo delle Antichità Egizie Turin.



Fig. 4.19: Coffin of Rehuerausen with Seth highlighted. Museo delle Antichità Egizie Turin.

As with the texts within the coffins, the Seth animal on the exterior was portrayed in a variety of forms, with variations in the style and location of the tail, the shape of the muzzle and the shape and angle of the ears. The coffin of Ankhef has painted decoration and the Seth

animal is portrayed in the prone position, with an inclined straight tail rising from the top of the rump. The head is that of an ass with swept back and diverging pointed ears all set upon a long angled neck (Fig. 4.20). The painted decoration of the coffin of Khety also includes a prone Seth animal with an ass's head with swept back and diverging pointed ears but positioned on a short thick tapering neck. There is a variation in a tail as well, with a short slightly curved and tapering tail rising from the top quarter of the rump (Fig. 4.21).

The coffin of Henen and the un-named coffin in the Cairo Museum both have painted decorations. They both have the prone animal with an ass's head with swept back and diverging square topped ears all set upon a long angled neck. The tails are both long and curved, rising from the top of the rump. It is with the termination that the variations occur. On the coffin of Henen the tail that terminates with a squared off egg shape with a series of fine parallel vertical lines, giving the impression of a tuft of hairs on the end of the tail (Fig. 4.22). Whereas on the un-named coffin in the Cairo Museum the tail of Seth terminates with pear shaped mace head (Fig. 4.23). It is in the neck that the major difference is apparent; with the Henen Seth has a short neck, while the Cairo coffin Seth has a long neck with a black mane.



Fig. 4.20: Coffin of Ankhef, painted Seth with a straight tail and ass's ears, head and mane. British Museum BM EA 46631.



Fig. 4.21: Coffin of Khety, painted Seth on the with a gently curving tail and ass's ears and head. British Museum BM EA 29575.



Fig. 4.22: Coffin of Henen, painted Seth with a gently curving tail with a bulbous termination, and ass's head with straight square topped swept back ears, Louvre AF 3757.



Fig. 4.23: Un-named coffin in the Cairo Museum, painted Seth with a gently curving tail with a pear shape mace head termination, and ass's head with straight square topped swept back ears and a mane.



Fig. 4.24: Inner coffin of Nakhti, inscribed Seth with a straight tail and a head with a straight muzzle and straight square topped swept back ears. Louvre E 11936.



Fig. 4.25: Coffin of Mesehti, Seth with a slight curving tail with a bulbous end, and a head with a straight muzzle and straight square topped swept back ears. Rosicrucian Egyptian Museum RC 2822.



Fig. 4.26: Coffin of Soker-hewent, painted Seth with a straight tapering tail with a axe head terminal and a head with a straight muzzle and straight square topped swept back ears. Louvre.



Fig. 4.27: Coffin of Nakht, painted Seth with tapering curved tail with arrow fletching terminal and a long shallow curved head long straight square topped swept back ears. Cairo Museum JE 36318.

The exterior decoration to the inner coffin of Nakhti, differs from all the rest of the examples as it is carved into the surface of the wood and then filled with a light blue filler, the majority of which has now been lost. The Seth animal is very lean with a long straight thin tail with no shaped termination rising at a steep angle from the bottom quarter of the rump. The head is triangular in shape with a long straight pointed muzzle and swept back diverging square topped ears, all set upon a long angled neck (Fig. 4.24). The straight shape of the muzzle and thinness of the tail may have been the result of carving the animal into the wood. The small size of the figure and the coarseness of the grain of the wood may have made it expedient for the artist to simplify the Seth animal to the most basic of shapes with the grain of the wood dictating the straightness of the muzzle.

The coffin of Mesehti, has painted decorations but the Seth animal lacks the detail of previous discussed images and has the stylised appearance similar to the inner coffin of Nakht. The Seth animal is very lean with a long thin curving tail with a pear shaped termination rising out from the bottom quarter of the rump. The head is triangular in shape with a long straight pointed muzzle and swept back diverging square topped ears, all set upon an almost

vertical neck. The lower ear and muzzle appear to have been painted as a single continuous line (Fig. 4.25). The reason for this simplification of the painted Seth may be due to the space the artist had left himself within the register with the large vertical signs above and below. The space was so restricted that the artist reduced the Seth animal to a minimum number of strokes and had to extend the tail past the base of the Λ sign above.

The coffin of Soker-hewent has a painted decoration, but lacks the finesse of the decoration on the coffins of Ankhef, Henen and the outer coffin of Nakhti. The Seth animal on Sokar-hewent coffin has a gently curving and tapering tail that rises from the mid-point of the rump and terminates with what could be a curved axe blade on the back edge. The head has a straight muzzle and swept up diverging square topped ears. The head is angled down and set upon a long neck with what appears to be a mane on the back edge (Fig. 4.26).

The Seth on the coffin of Nakht was also painted with the gently curving and tapering tail that rises from the mid-point of the rump and terminating with arrow fletchings and nock, while the head is gently curving angled down and set on a long neck. The back of the neck has a series projecting black lines suggesting an upstanding mane (Fig. 4.27).

Of the eight examples studied, there are six different representations and two that are similar but have variations in the details of the tail. Of the images used on these eight coffins the most interesting are those that represent him with an ass's head and ears, something that is usually associated with representations of the Late Period (Te Velde 1967, 14).

4.5 Summary of Seth and the Coffin Texts.

From the above analysis it can be ascertained that Seth was represented in the spells of the Coffin Texts and the incorporated Pyramid Texts both as the Seth animal and in phonetic hieroglyphs with examples of both forms of occurring in the same coffin. He was also represented by the use of his epithets, which also were used concurrent with the Seth animal and in phonetic hieroglyphs again occurring in the same coffin. Seth was drawn as the prone, sitting and striding forms along with seated deity, however, in three instances the Seth had been neutralized, one by stabbing him in the head and two by removing the erect tail.

In the use of the phonetic spelling of Seth a number of spellings were employed, with different spellings occurring in the same coffin. The use of both the Seth animal and phonetic spellings indicates an ambivalent attitude towards him with personal preference of the scribe

influencing which form is used. With the spells on the inside of the coffins requiring them to be completed before the coffin was assembled would allow for more than one scribe to work on the texts simultaneously each employing their own preferences when writing Seth.

With the texts on the exterior of the coffins it is only those from Asyut that have the Seth animal as part of that decoration, as a deity included within the Ennead or as a determinative. Continuing the analysis of Seth in funerary texts the next chapter will consider how he was depicted in the Book of the Dead which first appeared at the end of the 2nd Intermediate Period and superseded the Coffin Texts.

Chapter 5: Seth in the Book of the Dead.

5.1 Seth in the Book of the Dead.

This chapter will consider the portrayal of Seth in the Book of the Dead by the analysis of surviving examples from the New Kingdom through to the Roman Period. At Thebes in the beginning of the 17th Dynasty a new corpus of funerary spells developed from the Coffin Texts known by Egyptologists as the Book of the Dead and the Ancient Egyptians as *peret em heru* ‘coming forth by day’ (Munro 2010a, 55, Lucarelli 2010, 264). This corpus of spells continued to be used through the New Kingdom, the 3rd Intermediate Period, Late Period, Ptolemaic and Roman Periods, during which time it went through a series of changes that revised its format and length. With the replacement of the rectangular coffins in the New Kingdom by those in anthropoid form, there was a reduction in surface area on which to write the new corpus of spells. This necessitated a change in medium on which to inscribe these texts. The spells were usually written on papyrus but were also drawn on linen funeral shrouds and on leather, as well as tomb walls, stelae, shabti and funeral paraphernalia. Examples written on leather are extremely rare and were possibly master copies used by the scribes when composing a copy of the Book of the Dead (Allen 1974, 2-3; Andrews 1993, 11; Andrews 1994, 11; Hornung 1999, 13; Lesko 2001b, 193-194; Munro 2010a, 55).

The Book of the Dead was initially written in semi-cursive hieroglyphs known as Linear or Book of the Dead hieroglyphs and was composed in vertical registers to be read in an opposite or retrograde direction to normal texts (Andrews 1993, 15; Taylor 2010a, 33). From the 3rd Intermediate Period, examples exist in which the linear hieroglyphs had been replaced with hieratic script written in horizontal lines in wide columns often corresponding with the width of the individual papyrus sheets of the roll and referred to as pages (Andrews 1993, 15; Taylor 2010a, 33). However, examples exist in which both linear and cursive hieroglyphs were used. By the Greco-Roman period, the Book of the Dead was written in cursive hieroglyphs with the deceased’s name written in demotic (Andrews 1993, 15; Lucarelli 2010, 264). Included within the texts were a number of illustrative vignettes closely linked to the themes of their corresponding spells. These vignettes were usually small and located at the top of the papyrus; however, vignettes to the more important spells could extend to the full height of the papyrus. In the 3rd Intermediate Period, a number of copies of the Books of the Dead consisted of

nothing but vignettes. From the Late Period onwards the vignettes were frequently set amidst the horizontal sections of text (Andrews 1993, 12; Taylor 2010a, 33).

Prior to the 26th Dynasty there was little attempt to regularise the order in which the spells were written or variants of the same spell being used in different sections of the papyrus. This arbitrary ordering of spells is referred to as the Theban recension. During the 25th Dynasty research and investigation of religious texts resulted in the contents of the Book of the Dead being codified defining the range and order of the spells and vignettes. This newly codified version is referred to as the Saite recension. This codification established the consecutive numbering of the spells that continued to be employed in the papyri of the Late and Greco-Roman Periods (Andrews 1993, 13-15; Lesko 2001b, 194-195; Munro 2010a, 58). The majority of the papyri from the 26th Dynasty onwards derive from Thebes, leading Munro to suggest that the recension originated in Thebes (Munro 2010a, 58; Munro 2010b, 15). The full repertoire of spells employed in the Books of the Dead consists of 192 known spells plus insertions and include a number spells dating back to the Pyramid Texts and spells from the Coffin Texts (Allen 1974, 1-2). The spells of chapters in the Book of the Dead incorporate three different religious beliefs. The first and oldest was that of an astral afterlife among the circumpolar or imperishable stars that never set. The second set was the solar association with the sun god Ra, and finally the third set was that associated with Osiris (Andrews 1993, 11-12; Taylor 2010b, 238).

The content and length of any Book of the Dead was the result of a number of various factors including the wealth of the deceased and the quality of scribes employed to produce the papyrus. If the deceased was wealthy enough they could have a bespoke version with the spells and vignettes personally selected and prepared by a master scribe. The majority, however, had to make do with a prepared papyrus on which blank spaces had been left for the name of the deceased. Sometimes the name of the deceased was too long or too short for the space left resulting in the name being compressed or written in large text to fill the space. In some instances the name was missed out altogether leaving a gap in the spell as seen in the Ramesside Book of the Dead BM EA 9957 (Lucarelli 2010, 268-269). Despite being prepared for a future but unknown user, the selection of spells, vignettes and their arrangement employed by the scribes made each of these papyri unique. The composition and number of vignettes were drawn in a number of different styles (Andrews 1993, 11; Munro

2010a, 55-56). The papyrus could be the work of more than one scribe, often with one or more producing the text while leaving spaces for the vignettes to be completed by a different scribe or scribes (Munro 2006, 6-13; Lucarelli 2010, 268-269 286). With the utilisation of a team of scribes to work on a single papyrus, with each scribe drafting different section of text or vignette, mistakes did occur. Examples of these errors include spells being cut off in mid-spell due to the scribe running out of space, sections of text missed out, vignettes and rubrics not corresponding to the accompanying texts. Mistakes in the physical presentation also occurred including variations in pigments and uneven heights of border. Also examples of incorrectly copied signs, duplications, garbled words, text in the wrong order, unintelligible text, sections of missing text, erasures and corrections are found on some papyri (Andrew 1993, 14; Andrews 1994, 11; Lucarelli 2010, cat. nos. 153, 154). Of the 192 spells within the corpus of the Book of the Dead, 44 referred to Seth. As the inclusion of spells in Books of the Dead was on the basis of choice, the number of spells that refer to Seth varies between the examples studied.

5.2 Seth in New Kingdom and 3rd Intermediate Period Book of the Dead.



Examples of the writing of Seth the New Kingdom and 3rd Intermediate Period are detailed in Table 5.1.

Spell No	18 th Dynasty		19 th Dynasty		3 rd Intermediate Period	
	Papyrus of Nu (BM EA 10477)	Papyrus of Nebseni (BM EA 9900)	Papyrus of Ani (BM EA 10470)	Papyrus of Nachtamun (pBerlin P.3002)	Papyrus of Paennestitai (BM EA 10064)	Greenfield Papyrus (BM EA 10554)
8			No Seth in spell			
9						
17						
18						
23					Papyrus damaged	
28	Papyrus damaged					
32					Papyrus damaged	No Seth in spell
38A		Papyrus damaged				
39						

Spell No	18 th Dynasty		19 th Dynasty		3 rd Intermediate Period	
	Papyrus of Nu (BM EA 10477)	Papyrus of Nebseni (BM EA 9900)	Papyrus of Ani (BM EA 10470)	Papyrus of Nachtamun (pBerlin P.3002)	Papyrus of Paennestitaiui (BM EA 10064)	Greenfield Papyrus (BM EA 10554)
42					Papyrus damaged	
50						
54					Papyrus damaged	
62						
65		No Seth in spell				
78				No Seth in spell	Papyrus damaged	
80					Papyrus damaged	No Seth in spell
83						
86					Papyrus damaged	
90						No Seth in spell
96						
99					Papyrus damaged	No Seth in spell
108				No Seth in spell		
110						
111						
112						
113						
125A				No Seth in spell	No Seth in spell	
134		No Seth in spell				
137A				No Seth in spell		
137B						
145	No Seth in spell			Papyrus damaged		
149				No Seth in spell		
151						
153A						
173						
175						
178		No Seth in spell				
182						
189						

Table 5.1: Examples of the writing of Seth in the Book of the Dead New Kingdom and 3rd Intermediate Period. (18th Dyn. – Lapp 1997 BM EA 10477; Lapp 2004 BM EA 9900; 19th Dyn. – Faulkner 1994 BM EA 10470; Munro 1997 pBerlin P.3002; 3rd Intermediate Period – Munro 2001 BM EA 10064; British Museum EA 10554).

In the New Kingdom, the name of Seth was primarily written phonetically, usually with a following seated god determinative. Throughout the papyri variations in the spelling of Seth's name occurred and occasionally within a spell that contained more than one reference to him. The use of the Seth animal was rare and where it does occur it was in the seated form. Seth is completely omitted within a small number of spells but this is usually due to the spell being written in a shortened form.

During the 3rd Intermediate Period seated god A40  determinative was replaced with the Old Kingdom G7  determinative (Gardiner 1957, 468) to all the gods' names. Also there were changes to how Seth was written. As well as the use of the phonetic spellings, Seth was also as represented as a prone Seth animal or a seated deity with a Seth animal head with or without a following G7 determinative (Fig 5.1 E1 to E3). As in the New Kingdom, Seth was occasionally omitted completely from spells.

Examples of the different writing of Seth from the New Kingdom and 3rd Intermediate Period are shown in Fig. 5.1

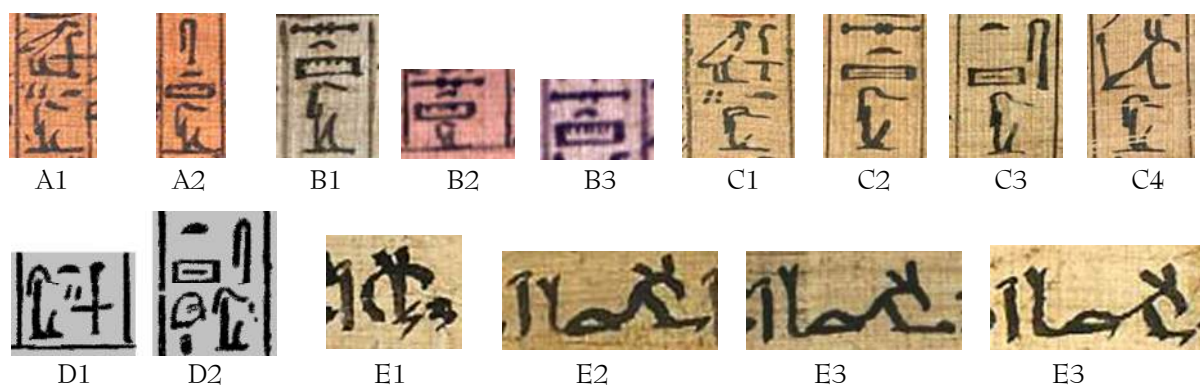


Fig 5.1: Examples of the different writing of Seth from the New Kingdom and 3rd Intermediate Period. New Kingdom. A - Papyrus of Nu: A1 Spell 108, A2 Spell 108. B – Papyrus of Nebseni: B1 Spell 137B, B2 Spell 149, B3 Spell 173. C – Papyrus of Ani: C1 Spell 17, C2 Spell 80, C3 Spell 83, C4 Spell 110. D - Papyrus of Nachtamun: D1 Spell 17, D2 Spell 137B. 3rd Intermediate Period. E – Greenfield Papyrus: E1 Spell 17, E2 Spell 17, E3 Spell 18, E4 Spell 113.

Despite the use of the Seth animal, there is evidence of a negative reaction to the Seth animal during the 25th Dynasty in papyrus of Tashepenkhonsu. The papyrus is very short comprising only 13 spells, numbers 2, 23, 30, 36, 44, 45, 47, 53, 56, 61, 72 and 89, of which only one, Spell 23, contains a reference to Seth. Within this spell, Seth is written phonetically with a Seth animal headed seated deity determinative. To this determinative the scribe had added two knives which cut through the head and the body effectively killing the determinative (Munro 2009, Photo 8) but leaving the phonetic spelling untouched (Fig. 5.2). This action

may be the result of the determinative being included in error and to kill it was easier than trying to erase it; alternatively it was a personal choice of the scribe or Tashepenkhonsu herself to remove the threat of the Seth animal.



Fig. 5.2: Killed Seth determinative in Spell 23 in the Papyrus of Tashepenkhonsu.

5.3 Seth in the Late Period and Ptolemaic Period Book of the Dead.

Examples of the writing of Seth in the Late and Ptolemaic Periods are detailed in Table 5.2.

Spell No	Late Period		Ptolemaic Period			
	Papyrus of Iahtesnacht (P. Colon. Aeg 10207)	Papyrus of Nespasefy (PKairo JE 95714 pAlbany 900.3.1 pKairo JE 95649)	Papyrus of Hor (pCologne Bodmer-Stiftung pCincinnati Art Museum 1947.369 pDenver Art Museum 1954.61)	Papyrus of Qeqa (pBerlin P3003)	Papyrus of Tanedjnet (pLouvre N 3085)	Papyrus of Monthemhat (pTübingen 2012)
8	Papyrus damaged			No Seth in spell		
9						
17						
18					No Seth in spell	No Seth in spell
19					No Seth in spell	No Seth in spell
23						
28						
32			Papyrus damaged			
39						
42	No Seth in spell					
50						
54					No Seth in spell	No Seth in spell
60			No Seth in spell			
62						

Spell No	Late Period		Ptolemaic Period			
	Papyrus of Iahthesnacht (P. Colon. Aeg 10207)	Papyrus of Nespasefy (PKairo JE 95714 pAlbany 900.3.1 pKairo JE 95649)	Papyrus of Hor (pCologne Bodmer-Stiftung pCincinnati Art Museum 1947.369 pDenver Art Museum 1954.61)	Papyrus of Qeqa (pBerlin P3003)	Papyrus of Tanedjnet (pLouvre N 3085)	Papyrus of Monthemhat (pTübingen 2012)
65	Alt Spell no Seth	Alt Spell no Seth				
78						
80			No Seth in spell		No Seth in spell	No Seth in spell
83						
86			No Seth in spell			
90						
96			No Seth in spell			
99			No Seth in spell			
108						
111						
112						
113				No Seth in spell		
125A			No Seth in spell			
134						
140						
145						
149	Papyrus damaged					
151		No Seth in spell	No Seth in spell			
153A		No Seth in spell				

Table 5.2: Examples of the writing of Seth in the Book of the Dead, Late and Ptolemaic Periods. (Late Period – Verhoeven 1993 P. Colon. Aeg. 10207; Verhoeven 1999 PKairo JE 95714, pAlbany 900.3.1, pKairo JE 95649; Ptolemaic Period – Munro 2006 pCologne Bodmer-Stiftung, pCincinnati Art Museum 1947.369, pDenver Art, Museum 1954.61; von Flack 2006 pBerlin P3003; Töpfer et al 2011 pLouvre N 3085 and pTübingen 2012).

From the data displayed in Table 5.2, Seth in the Late Period was written phonetically, using a variety of different spellings usually followed by a G7 determinative but this was occasionally omitted. As an alternative to a phonetic spelling, Seth was also drawn as an E21 animal or as a seated C7 deity. As in previous periods, Seth was omitted completely from some spells due to a truncated or alternative version of the spell being employed.

The Ptolemaic Period shows evidence of a change to in the attitude towards Seth. As in the earlier periods, Seth continued to be omitted from some spells. However, in the phonetic spelling of Seth's name, the god determinative was usually omitted although it was retained for the other deities, suggesting that Seth was no longer considered as being worthy of the status as a deity. In spells where either a prone Seth animal or a seated deity with a Seth animal head was employed in lieu of a phonetic spelling they have been symbolically killed by the addition of a knife stabbing the figure in the head (Fig. 5.3 B2, B3, B6 and B7). This symbolic killing of Seth has been taken one stage further in spell 108 in the Papyrus of Qeqa, where in the phonetic spelling of Seth's name the scribe has introduced a knife between the first and second hieroglyphs $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$ (Fig. 5.3 C4).

Examples of the different writing of Seth from the Late and Ptolemaic Periods are shown in Fig. 5.3

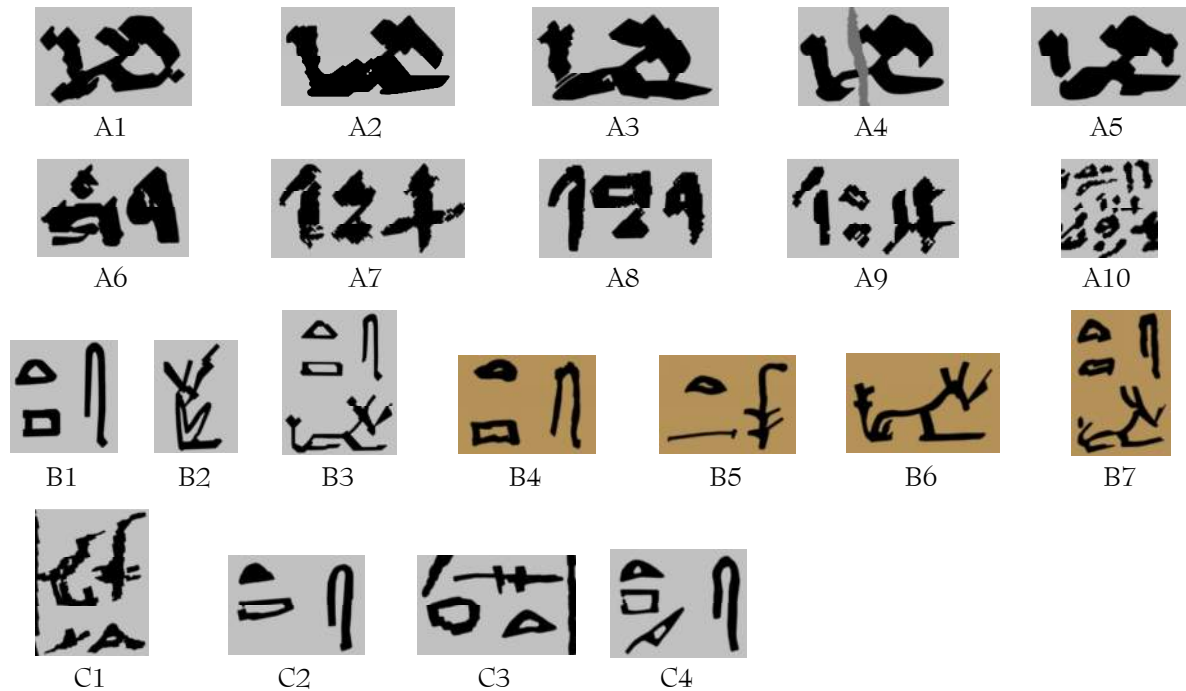


Fig 5.3: Examples of the different writing of Seth from the Late and the Ptolemaic Periods.

Late Period. A - Papyrus of Nespasfy: A1 to A4 Spell 17, A5 Spell 18, A6 Spell 23, A7 Spell 39, A8 Spell 50, A9 Spell 80, A10 Spell 90.

Ptolemaic Period. B - Papyrus of Hor: B1 and B2 Spell 42, B3 Spell 50, B4 Spell 86, B5 Spell 140, B6 Spell 145, B7 Spell 149. C - Papyrus of Qeqa: C1 Spell 9, C2 Spell 17, C3 Spell 18, C4 Spell 108.

5.4 Seth in the Roman Book of the Dead.

By early in the Roman Period, the Book of the Dead as a corpus of funerary literature had declined in use, being replaced instead with the Books of Breathing (Hornung 1999, 23; Lesko 2001b, 193; Munro 2010a, 59). Despite this replacement, examples of the Book of

the Dead from this period do exist. During the Roman period Seth functioned as the object of curses involving the immolation of his name or image, representing him bound and speared or reciting his destruction (Frankfurter 1998, 112). This negative image of Seth is reflected in the Book of the Dead where he is expunged from all the spells in which he had appeared in earlier periods, for example the Papyrus of Achmim (pBerlin 10477) where Seth was excluded from the eight spells in which he would normally appear (Lüscher 2000, Tafels 4 to 7, 9, to 15, 21 to 23).

5.5 Seth as a Determinative in the Book of the Dead.

As in the Coffin Texts discussed in the previous chapter, the Seth animal was also used as a determinative to words of violence or disruption within the Book of the Dead spells. These determinatives are detailed in Table 5.3.





















Spell No	Word	19 th Dyn	3rd IP		Late Period		Ptolemaic
		Papyrus of Ani	Papyrus of Paennestitai	Greenfield Papyrus	Papyrus of Iahtesnacht	Papyrus of Nespasefy	Papyrus of Hor
17	Storm cloud		No Seth determinative				
39	Storm		No Seth determinative				
50	Uproar	No Seth determinative			No Seth determinative	No Seth determinative	
93	Turmoil	No Seth determinative	No Seth determinative		No Seth determinative		No Seth determinative
125	Violent		No Seth determinative	No Seth determinative	No Seth determinative		No Seth determinative
146	Storms					Papyrus damaged	
182	Turmoil						

Table 5.3: Examples of Seth as a determinative in the Book of the Dead.

(19th Dyn. - Faulkner 1994 BM EA 10470; 3rd Intermediate Period – Munro 2001 BM EA 10064; British Museum EA 10554; Late Period – Verhoeven 1993 P. Colon. Aeg. 10207; Verhoeven 1999 PKairo JE 95714, pAlbany 900.3.1, pKairo JE 95649; Ptolemaic Period – Munro 2006 pCologny Bodmer-Stiftung, pCincinnati Art Museum 1947.369, pDenver Art, Museum 1954.61).




Where Seth was employed as a determinative, his image was constrained to three forms, the seated Seth C7  deity, E20  seated and E21  prone signs. Examples of Seth as a determinative are shown in Fig. 5.4. These representations followed the style of Seth employed in the body of spells written in the relevant Books of the Dead. This included the killed E21  Seth animal in the Ptolemaic papyrus of Hor. The research undertaken on the papyrus of Hor (Munro 2006, 6-7) revealed that the papyrus was the work of four scribes. Scribe 3 writing Spells 42, 149 that contained references to Seth and Spell 39 that included








a Seth animal determinative (Figs. 5.3 B2, B7, 5.4 E1), while scribe 4 was responsible for Spells 50 and 145, that contained the Seth animal, as well as Spell 146 with a Seth animal determinative (Figs. 5.3 B3, B6, 5.4 E2).





Fig. 5.4: Examples of the writing of Seth as a determinative, New Kingdom to Ptolemaic Period.
 New Kingdom. A - Papyrus of Ani: A1 Spell 17, A2 Spell 125.
 3rd Intermediate Period. B – Greenfield Papyrus: B1 Spell 17, B2 Spell 50, B3 Spell 93, B4 Spell 146.
 C – Papyrus of Paennestitai: C1 Spell 50.
 Late Period. D - Papyrus of Nespasefy: D1 Spell 17, D2 Spell 39, D3 Spell 93.
 Ptolemaic Period. E – Papyrus of Hor: E1 Spell 39, E2 Spell 146.

5.6 Summary of Seth in the Book of the Dead.

As discussed above a Book of the Dead was the result of the cumulative work of more than one scribe. This group working could account for the numerous variations in how the Seth was represented within the spells. Within the Ptolemaic Papyrus of Hor, Munro identified evidence that the papyrus was the collaboration of four scribes, with each scribe dealing with a number of complete spells (Munro 2006, 6-7). From Munro's analysis it can be ascertained that the third and fourth scribe drafted all the spells referring to Seth in which the E21  killed Seth animal or killed C7  headed deity were employed. Also the sole phonetic spelling of Seth was the work of scribe number one. When the scribes were copying material from a master copy of the Book of the Dead it was natural for errors in spelling as well as the omission of sections of text to occur, and these human errors occur in the Books of the Dead from all periods. In Spell 173 in the 18th Dynasty papyrus of Nebseni the scribe had to compress the phonetic writing of Seth the fit into the remaining space at the bottom of the register and rather than omit the A40  god determinative reduced it (Fig.5.1 B2). A scribe working on the 26th Dynasty Papyrus of Nespasefy accidentally omitted Seth from the Spell 90 and later inserted a phonetic spelling of Seth in small hieroglyphs between the relevant line of text and the one above (Fig. 5.3 A10). The papyrus also contains a number of unusual spelling errors in Spells 9, 28 and 50 (Fig. 5.3 A8). The Ptolemaic Papyrus of Hor has a

variation to the spelling of Seth, in Spell 140 instead of 'Suty'  the scribe has replaced the Z24 sign  with the N35 sign  changing the word to *nsu*, a variation on the title of 'King of Upper Egypt' (Gardiner 1957, 482) a title once held by Seth. This was possibly an attempt to avoid writing Seth's name (Fig. 5.3 B5). However, the omission of the G7  determinative does raise the question whether it was just a simple spelling error with the misreading of the Z24 hieroglyph, or if the omission was deliberate to conform with the omission of determinatives to all the writings of Seth. The 3rd Intermediate Period papyrus of Paennestitai and the Greenfield papyrus have an interesting variation to the contents of Spell 93. The standard spell refers to the eyes of Atum, however, in these two papyri the hieroglyphs for Atum have been replaced with the hieroglyphs for Seth, a seated deity with a Seth animal head followed by a G7 determinative  written in the papyrus of Paennestitai and a prone Seth animal  in the Greenfield papyrus. The common spelling of Atum using the U15 sledge, X1 bread and G17 horned owl  is not easily confused with either the seated Seth deity or the prone Seth animal. As the content of the spell has not been substantially changed there is no obvious explanation for this substitution other than it was a deliberate action by the scribes.


From the examples of the Book of the Dead studied, it can be seen that there was a change in the way Seth was written between dynasties. The use of phonetic spelling of the New Kingdom changed to the employment of the Seth animal and seated Seth animal headed deity in the 3rd Intermediate Period. With the start of the Late Period the writing of Seth reverted back to the phonetic spellings but with the use of the Old Kingdom G7  determinative rather replacing the A40  determinative employed in the New Kingdom. This change may have been the result of archaism, and utilising the earlier ways of writing Seth. The biggest change of attitude that can be seen in the way the Seth is written occurs in the Ptolemaic Period. Seth is omitted from many of the spells and where he is included he is usually written phonetically. Where the Seth animal or Seth animal headed deity was written, they were symbolically killed by the addition of a knife the piercing the head. Although examples of Seth being killed occur in earlier dynastic copies of the Book of the Dead, these are the exceptions rather than the rule. However, in the Ptolemaic Book of the Dead, this killing of the Seth animal is the rule.

This killing of the Seth animal does raise the idea of a proscription of Seth. However, this needs to be looked at in a wider context than just the Book of the Dead and is discussed further in Chapter 14. By the Roman Period, Seth is completely omitted from spells in which he was previously included.

Having studied the representation of Seth in the funerary texts from the Old Kingdom Pyramid texts in Chapter 3, the Middle Kingdom Coffin Texts in Chapter 4 and finally the Book of the Dead in the current chapter, the following chapter will analyse how Seth was depicted in non-funerary documents written in hieratic and demotic cursive texts.

Chapter 6: Seth in Hieratic and Demotic Cursive Scripts.

6.1 Seth in Hieratic and Demotic Cursive Scripts.

The preceding three chapters investigated the representation of Seth in the three main religious texts relating to the afterlife. In this chapter the analysis of how his name was written in other literary genres, whether secular, magic spells, prayers or a litany will be undertaken. This is not a lexicographical study or one that considers the role that Seth undertaken in these writings but rather a chronological analysis of how the name of Seth was written by the scribes, whether as a Seth animal glyph, a seated deity glyph or spelt phonetically. In the tables the glyphs are transliterated from the cursive forms used into their hieroglyph equivalents and those hatched  represents a damaged text.

6.2 1st Intermediate Period.

Despite the lack of suitable papyri texts containing Seth surviving from the Old Kingdom, examples dating to the 1st Intermediate Period exist in the form of letters to the dead. These examples detailed in Table 6.1 were not restricted to being only written on papyrus (Simpson 1966, 39-41) but included vitrified clay in the form of a bowl and a jar stand (Gardiner *et al* 1928, 3; Gardiner 1930, 19).







1 st IP	Letter to the Dead	Subject	Location	Seth	Determinative
7 th Dyn	The Qua Bowl (UC16163)	Letter Shepsi to his mother IY	Exterior line 3		Sore
9 th Dyn	Papyrus from tomb of Meru (N3737 Nag el-Deir)	Letter from servant Heni to his lord Meru	Recto line 3		Dream
11 th Dyn	Pot stand (OIC E13945)	Appeal from a son to his dead father	Exterior Kol 2		Afflicted
			Exterior Kol 5		Affliction
			Exterior Kol 6		Afflicted
					Affliction

Table 6.1: Seth as written in 1st Intermediate Period Letters to the Dead.


All the texts have Seth employed only as determinative and written with the hieratic equivalent to the C7  seated Seth deity (Fig. 6.1), with the specific function of emphasising the negative connotation of the associated word.



Fig. 6.1: Hieratic Seth from letters of the dead. A - the Qua bowl. B - papyrus from tomb of Meru. C to F - pot stand.

However, the scribe appears to have added a tail to the seated figure which is not mentioned in Gardiner's translation of the text (Gardiner 1930, 21).

These surviving examples all postdate the rise of the cult of Osiris (Griffith 1980, 40, 44; Lorton 1985, 120; Bolshakov 1992, 203, 210; Bolshakov 2001, 65) and are keeping with the idea of Seth having now being thought of as a troublesome and dangerous god. However, these texts only provide a single view of one particular representation of Seth. Without any literary texts that include Seth or Seth hieroglyphs against which the letters to the dead can be compared, a distorted view of how Seth was regarded is created.

6.3 Middle Kingdom.

The number of surviving papyri from 12th and 13th Dynasties of the Middle Kingdom that include the writing of Seth within them compared with the number available from the 1st Intermediate Period provides a bigger database for analysis and are shown in Table 6.2.

MK	Text	Subject	Location	Seth	Determinative
12 th Dyn	P. Kahun VI. 12 (UC 32158)	Version of the conflict of Horus and Seth	Recto line 28		
			Recto line 32		
	P. Kahun VI. 1 (UC 32057)	Medical Papyrus of women's ailments	Recto Kol 1 line 5		Ass
			Recto Kol 1 line 18		Ass
	P. Kahun LV.1 (UC 32157)	Hymn to Senwosret III	Recto Kol 2 line 19		Rages
	P. Lahun UC 32116A	Narrative of deities	Recto line 7		
	P. Lahun UC 32284	Literary fragment	Recto line 1		Storm
P. Petersburg 1115	Story of the shipwrecked sailor	Recto line 32		Storm	
		Recto line 57		Thunder	
		Recto line 98		Storm	
13 th Dyn	P. Ramesseum Dramatic B (BM EA 10610, 2, 5)	Funeral liturgy for ceremonies at a mastaba	Recto Kol. 32		
			Recto Kol. 33		
			Recto Kol. 37		
			Recto Kol. 38		
			Recto Kol. 44		
			Recto Kol. 51		
			Recto Kol. 52		
			Recto Kol. 108		
			Recto Kol. 109		
			Recto Kol. 119		
			Recto Kol. 126		
			Recto Kol. 127		
			Recto Kol. 128		
Recto Kol. 129					












MK	Text	Subject	Location	Seth	Determinative
13 th Dyn	P. Ramesseum Dramatic C (BM EA 10752, 4)	Spells against ghosts	Verso Line 10		
	P. Ramesseum Dramatic VI (BM EA 10759, 1)	Hymns to Sobek	Recto Kol. 11		
	P. Ramesseum Dramatic VII (BM EA 10760, 9, 8)	Mythological spells	Recto Frag C Kol 3		
			Recto Frag I Kol. 4	 	
	P. Ramesseum Dramatic IX (BM EA 10762, 1)	Rituals to protect the house from magic, ghosts and serpents	Recto Line 4		 Turmoil
			Recto Line 6		 Turmoil
	P. Ramesseum Dramatic X (BM EA 10763, 1, 2)	Spells to protect the limbs from serpents	Recto Frag 1 line7		
			Recto Frag 2 line 7		
	P. Ramesseum Dramatic XI (BM EA 10764, 2)	Love spells	Recto line 1		

Table 6.2: Seth as written in Middle Kingdom papyri.

(12th Dyn: Griffith 1898b, Pls. 2, 3, and 5; Collier *et al* 2004, 12, 136; Golenishchev 1913, Pls. 2 to 4.
13th Dyn: Gardiner 1955, Pls. 18, 24, 30, 41, 43 and 44).

In all the examples, Seth was written as the hieratic version of the E21  hieroglyph Seth animal (Fig. 6.2) both when representing the deity and a determinative to words to emphasize their disruptive or destructive nature.

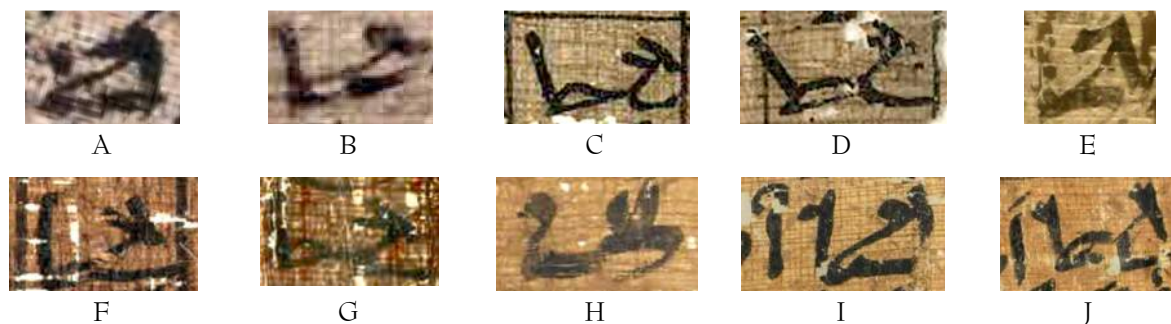




Fig. 6.2: Examples of Seth glyphs from Middle Kingdom papyri.

12th Dynasty. A – determinative from Papyrus Kahun VI.1 recto column 1 line 18. B - determinative from Papyrus Kahun LV.1 recto line 1.

13th Dynasty. C - Papyrus Ramasseum Dramatic B recto column 32. D - Papyrus Ramasseum Dramatic B recto column 51. E - Papyrus Ramasseum Dramatic C recto line 10. F – Papyrus Ramasseum Dramatic VI recto column 11. G - Papyrus Ramasseum Dramatic VII fragment C column 3. H – determinative from Papyrus Ramasseum Dramatic IX recto line 6. I - Papyrus Ramasseum Dramatic X fragment 2 recto line 7. J - Papyrus Ramasseum Dramatic XI.

The writing of the Seth glyph in the papyri texts were in the scribe's hand writing employing the minimum number of pen strokes rather than a formal detailed style of the a carved hieroglyph. The resulting figures display individual variations in their representations of Seth.

Despite these variations, all the glyphs contain the distinctive elements of the Seth image, the erect tail, erect ears and muzzle. With the long flat horizontal representing the foreleg would suggest all the Seths were representing him lying in the prone position. However, Griffith's transcription of the Papyrus Kahun VI. 1, the Seth determinative to the word ass (Fig. 6.2A) is shown as the E7  ass hieroglyph (Griffith 1898b, Pl. V hieroglyphs), whereas in the transcription of Ramesseum Dramatic Papyri C Gardiner interpreted the Seth figure in line 10 (Fig. 6.2E) as the E20  seated Seth animal (Gardiner 1955, Pl. XXXa).


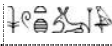










Compared with the 1st Intermediate Period texts, those of the Middle Kingdom provide a larger spread of texts that include Seth. These papyri cover a range of subjects, the 12th Dynasty falling into three categories, religious, medical and literary (Griffith 1898a, 1, 4, 5; Griffith 1898b, Pls. II, III, V; Collier and Quirke 2004, 12-13, 15-21, 57-59, 136-137). In comparison the 13th Dynasty papyri only comprise two categories, religious (liturgy and hymns) and magical spells (Geisen 2012, 5-6).

6.4 2nd Intermediate Period.

With no surviving papyrus from the 2nd Intermediate Period it is not possible to determine the development or variation in how Seth was written during this chaotic period.

6.5 New Kingdom.

The survival of the increased number of papyri from the New Kingdom compared with the Middle Kingdom provides a larger spread of data when analysing the writing of Seth's name within documents. The relevant surviving examples are shown in Table 6.3.

NK	Text	Subject	Location	Seth	Determinative
18 th Dyn	P. Anastasi 4 (BM EA 10249)	Administrative text	Recto Kol 6 Heading		
			Recto Kol 6 line 4		
	P. Ebers	Medical manuscript	Recto Kol 1 line 13		
			Recto Kol 2 line 4		
			Recto Kol 24 line 13		 Ass
			Recto Kol 25 line 15		 Ass
			Recto Kol 25 line 19		 Ass
			Recto Kol 47 line 14		 Ass
			Recto Kol 55 line 17		 Ass
			Recto Kol 56 line 6		 to be ill
Recto Kol 58 line 7		 to be ill			
Recto Kol 58 line 18		 Ass			

















NK	Text	Subject	Location	Seth	Determinative
18 th Dyn	P. Ebers	Medical manuscript	Recto Kol 58 line 22		Ass
			Recto Kol 63 line 15		Ass
			Recto Kol 65 line 21		Ass
			Recto Kol 66 line 5		Ass
			Recto Kol 66 line 20		Ass
			Recto Kol 80 line 11		Ass
			Recto Kol 85 line 11		Ass
			Recto Kol 87 line 7		Ass
			Recto Kol 92 line 6		Ass
			Hearst Medical Papyrus	Medical manuscript	Recto Kol 6 line 5
Recto Kol 6 line 8		to be ill			
Recto Kol 8 line 18		Ass			
Recto Kol 10 line 9		Ass			
Recto Kol 10 line 13		Ass			
Recto Kol 11 line 13	 				
P. Petersburg 1116A	Instructions from a king to his son	Recto line 28		Confusion	
		Recto line 44	 		
		Verso line 42		Storm	
		Verso line 57			
P. Petersburg 1116B	Prophetic manuscript	Recto line 19			
		Recto line 40		Confusion	
P. London Medical (BM EA 10059)	Medical manuscript	Recto Kol 1 line 3			
		Recto Kol 1 line 4			
		Recto Kol 4 line 12			
		Recto Kol 9 line 1			
		Recto Kol 9 line 4			
		Verso Kol 14 line 5			
		Verso Kol 18 line 3		 Harm/roar	
	Verso Kol 18 line 3		 Harm/roar		
19 th Dyn	P. Anastasi 1 (BM EA 10247)	Military reports	Recto Kol 15 line 2		Storm
			Recto Kol 27 line 9		 Confusion
	P. Anastasi 2 (BM EA 10243)	Eulogy to Ramesses II	Recto Kol 1 line 4		
	P. Berlin 3038	Medical manuscript	Recto Kol 6 line 4		Ass
Recto Kol 10 line 12				Ass	
Recto Kol 21 line 3					
P. Bologna 1094	Letter regarding taxation	Recto Kol 5 Heading			
		Recto Kol 5 line 8			
		Recto Kol 5 line 9			

NK	Text	Subject	Location	Seth	Determinative
19 th Dyn	P. Bologna 1094	Letter regarding taxation	Recto Kol 5 line 10		
			Recto Kol 6 Heading		
			Recto Kol 6 Line 10		
			Recto Kol 7 Heading		
			Recto Kol 7 Line 8		
		Letter	Recto Kol 8 Line 7		
	P. Chester Beatty 3 (BM EA 10683)	Dream book	Recto Kol 10 line 15		
			Recto Kol 11 line 2		
			Recto Kol 11 line 3		
			Recto Kol 11 line 7		Turmoil
Recto Kol 11 line 8					
Recto Kol 11 line 9				Confound	
Recto Kol 11 line 10				Brawler	
		Recto Kol 11 line 17		Disputes	
		Recto Kol 11 line 19			
	Battle of Kadesh	Verso Kol 2 line 10			
		Verso Kol 3 line 11			
P. Chester Beatty 5 (BM EA 10685)	Magical texts	Verso Kol 4 line 2			
		Verso Kol 4 line 8			
		Verso Kol 5 line 9			
		Verso Kol 6 line 3			
P. Chester Beatty 7 (BM EA 10687)	Magical spells	Recto Kol 3 line 8			
		Recto Kol 7 line 2			
		Recto Kol 8 line 4			
		Verso Kol 2 line 2			
		Verso Kol 4 line 4			
		Verso Kol 6 line 3			
P. Chester Beatty 8 (BM EA 10688)	Magico-religious text	Recto Kol 11 line 2			
P. Chester Beatty 9 (BM EA 10689)	The Ritual of Amenhotep I	Recto Kol 1 line 4			
		Recto Kol 3 line 8			
		Recto Kol 5 line 2			
		Recto Kol 5 line 12			
		Recto Kol 7 line 10			
		Recto Kol 8 line 14			
		Recto Kol 10 line 13			
		Recto Kol 11 line 2			
			Recto Kol 12 line 4		
	Book of invocations	Verso 1 line 4			
		Verso B6 line 6			
		Verso B8 line 7			
		Verso B8 line 8			
		Verso B8 line 9			

NK	Text	Subject	Location	Seth	Determinative
19 th Dyn	P. Chester Beatty 9 (BM EA 10689)	Book of invocations	Verso B8 line 10		
			Verso B8 line 11		
			Verso B8 line 12		
			Verso B8 line 13		
			Verso B9 line 1		
			Verso B9 line 2		
			Verso B9 line 3		
			Verso B9 line 4		
			Verso B9 line 12		
			Verso B11 line 3		
	Book of protection	Verso B14 line 6			
		Verso B17 line 4			
		Verso B18 line 2			Raging
P. Chester Beatty 10 (BM EA 10690)	Book of aphrodisiacs	Recto Kol 1 line 7 Recto Kol 1 line 9	 		
P. Chester Beatty 11(BM 10691)	Magical text Spells for safety on the river	Recto D line 7 Verso A line 4	 		
P. Chester Beatty 12 (BM EA 10692)	Magical text with mythological allusions	Recto Kol 1 line 2 Recto Kol 1 line 5	 		
P. Chester Beatty 15 (BM EA 10695)	Magico-medical text	Recto line 2 Recto line 3	 		
P. Magical Harris (BM EA 10042)	Magical text	Recto Kol 3 line 9 Recto Kol 5 line 8	 		
P. Magical Harris (Heidelberg)	Magical text	Recto Kol 8 line 6 Recto Kol 9 line 9 Recto Kol 9 line 11 Verso Kol 1 line 8	 		
P. Leiden I 348	Magical text	Recto Kol 3 line 1 Recto Kol 4 line 6 Recto Kol 6 line 7 Recto Kol 13 line 4 Recto Kol 13 line 9 Verso Kol 11 line 6	 	Suffer Tumult/Uproar	
P. Sallier 3 (BM EA 10181)	Literary text Battle of Kadesh	Recto Kol 3 line 8 Recto Kol 4 line 9 Recto Kol 4 line 10 Recto Kol 9 line 8	 	Baal Baal	
P. Sallier 4 (BM EA 10184)	Calendar of lucky and unlucky days	Recto Kol 2 line 5 Recto Kol 2 line 7 Recto Kol 3 line 1 Recto Kol 3 line 5 Recto Kol 3 line 7	 	 Tumult/Uproar	

NK	Text	Subject	Location	Seth	Determinative	
19/20 th Dyn	P. Leiden Magical I 343 + I 345	Magical text	Recto Kol 11 line 4			
			Recto Kol 11 line 12			
			Recto Kol 17 line x+1			
			Recto Kol 25 line 1			
			Recto Kol 25 line 1+x+3			
			Recto Kol 27 line 3			 Confusion
			Recto Kol 27 line 4			
			Recto Kol 27 line 12			
			Verso Kol 3 line 5			
			Verso Kol 3 line 6			
			Verso Kol 5 line 9			Raging
			Verso Kol 7 line 3			
			Verso Kol 7 line 5			Raging
						Baal Raging Storm
			Verso Kol 7 line 6			Roaring Baal
			Verso Kol 7 line 11			
Verso Kol 19 line 1						
Verso Kol 19 line 2						
Verso Kol 22 line 2						
Verso Kol 23 line 3						
20 th Dyn	P. Anastasi 6 (BM EA 10245)	Literary text	Recto Kol 1 line 2			
			Recto Kol 5 line 2			
	P. Chester Beatty 1	Contending of Horus and Seth	Recto Kol 1 line 1			
			Recto Kol 1 line 9			
			Recto Kol 1 line 12			
			Recto Kol 2 line 1			
			Recto Kol 3 line 4			
			Recto Kol 4 line 3			
			Recto Kol 4 line 4			
			Recto Kol 4 line 6			
			Recto Kol 4 line 8			
			Recto Kol 4 line 13			
			Recto Kol 5 line 1			
			Recto Kol 5 line 2			
			Recto Kol 6 line 3			
			Recto Kol 6 line 6			
			Recto Kol 6 line 12			
			Recto Kol 6 line 14			
			Recto Kol 7 line 2			
			Recto Kol 7 line 8			

NK	Text	Subject	Location	Seth	Determinative
20 th Dyn	P. Chester Beatty 1	Contending of Horus and Seth	Recto Kol 7 line 12		
			Recto Kol 8 line 5		
			Recto Kol 8 line 6		
			Recto Kol 8 line 9		
			Recto Kol 8 line 11		
			Recto Kol 8 line 13		
			Recto Kol 9 line 4		
			Recto Kol 9 line 5		
			Recto Kol 9 line 6		
			Recto Kol 10 line 3		
			Recto Kol 10 line 5		
			Recto Kol 10 line 10		
			Recto Kol 10 line 11		
			Recto Kol 10 line 12		
			Recto Kol 11 line 1		
			Recto Kol 11 line 3		
			Recto Kol 11 line 4		
			Recto Kol 11 line 5		
			Recto Kol 11 line 6		
			Recto Kol 11 line 9		
			Recto Kol 11 line 10		
			Recto Kol 11 line 11		
			Recto Kol 11 line 12		
			Recto Kol 12 line 2		
			Recto Kol 12 line 5		
			Recto Kol 12 line 7		
			Recto Kol 12 line 8		
			Recto Kol 12 line 12		
			Recto Kol 13 line 1		
			Recto Kol 13 line 2		
			Recto Kol 13 line 7		
			Recto Kol 13 line 9		
			Recto Kol 13 line 10		
			Recto Kol 13 line 12		
			Recto Kol 14 line 9		
			Recto Kol 15 line 10		
			Recto Kol 15 line 11		
			Recto Kol 15 line 12		
			Recto Kol 15 line 13		

NK	Text	Subject	Location	Seth	Determinative
20 th Dyn	P. Chester Beatty 1	Contending of Horus and Seth	Recto Kol 16 line 3 Recto Kol 16 line 4		
	P. Chester Beatty 8 (BM 10688)	Magico-religious text	Verso Kol 12 line 10		
	P. Chester Beatty 16 (BM 10696)	Magical text	Recto line 4 Recto line 5		
	P. Harris I (BM 9999)	List of temple endowments	Recto Kol 59 line 4		
			Recto Kol 59 line 5		
			Recto Kol 60 line 2		
			Recto Kol 60 line 3		
		Reign of Ramesses III	Recto Kol 61a line 7		
			Recto Kol 61b line 14		
			Recto Kol 61b line 17		
		Recto Kol 75 line 7			
		Recto Kol 75 line 8		 Raḡe	
P. Turin 1940+1941	Military campaign of Tuthmose III	Recto Page 2 line 4 Recto Page 2 line 5		 Baal	
P. Wilbour	Land tenure document	Recto A Kol 1 Line 4 Recto A Kol 15 Line 8 Recto A Kol 16 Line 18 Recto A Kol 16 Line 34 Recto A Kol 17 Line 38 Recto A Kol 18 Line 4 Recto A Kol 18 Line 19 Recto A Kol 21 Line 36 Recto A Kol 22 Line 25 Recto A Kol 22 Line 28 Recto A Kol 23 5No Recto A Kol 23 2No Recto A Kol 25 Line 8 Recto A Kol 26 9No Recto A Kol 26 Line 30 Recto A Kol 27 9No Recto A Kol 28 4No Recto A Kol 28 Line 19 Recto A Kol 29 Line 39 Recto A Kol 30 5No Recto A Kol 30 Line 28 Recto A Kol 31 6No Recto A Kol 32 5No Recto A Kol 32 Line 39 Recto A Kol 33 2No Recto A Kol 35 6No Recto A Kol 36 3No Recto A Kol 37 3No			

NK	Text	Subject	Location	Seth	Determinative
20 th Dyn	P. Wilbour	Land tenure document	Recto A Kol 37 Line 27		
			Recto A Kol 37 Line 27		
			Recto A Kol 38 6No		
			Recto A Kol 38 Line 40		
			Recto A Kol 39 2No		
			Recto A Kol 39 Line 8		
			Recto A Kol 40 2No		
			Recto A Kol 40 4No		
			Recto A Kol 41 5No		
			Recto A Kol 42 4No		
			Recto A Kol 42 Line 26		
			Recto A Kol 43 Line 19		
			Recto A Kol 44 9No		
			Recto A Kol 44 Line 29		
			Recto A Kol 45 5No		
			Recto A Kol 45 Line 11		
			Recto A Kol 46 6No		
			Recto A Kol 47 13No		
			Recto A Kol 48 11No		
			Recto A Kol 49 3No		
			Recto A Kol 50 Line 7		
			Recto A Kol 50 Line 33		
			Recto A Kol 52 10No		
			Recto A Kol 53 4No		
			Recto A Kol 54 7No		
			Recto A Kol 54 Line 23		
			Recto A Kol 55 4No		
			Recto A Kol 56 3No		
			Recto A Kol 56 Line 48		
			Recto A Kol 57 9No		
			Recto A Kol 57 Line 26		
			Recto A Kol 57 Line 31		
			Recto A Kol 58 5No		
			Recto A Kol 59 Line 19		
			Recto A Kol 59 3No		
			Recto A Kol 60 8No		
			Recto A Kol 61 10No		
			Recto A Kol 62 4No		
			Recto A Kol 62 Line 37		
			Recto A Kol 63 2No		
			Recto A Kol 63 Line 37		
			Recto A Kol 64 3No		
			Recto A Kol 64 Line 7		
			Recto A Kol 65 7No		
			Recto A Kol 66 7No		
			Recto A Kol 67 6No		
			Recto A Kol 67 2No		
			Recto A Kol 68 6No		

NK	Text	Subject	Location	Seth	Determinative
20 th Dyn	P. Wilbour	Land tenure document	Recto A Kol 68 Line 13		
			Recto A Kol 69 9No		
			Recto A Kol 70 Line 5		
			Recto A Kol 70 10No		
			Recto A Kol 71 9No		
			Recto A Kol 71 2No		
			Recto A Kol 72 2No		
			Recto A Kol 72 Line 24		
			Recto A Kol 74 3No		
			Recto A Kol 76 Line 50		
			Recto A Kol 77 2No		
			Verso A Kol 83 2No		
			Verso A Kol 84 Ln 20		
			Verso A Kol 85 Ln 10		
			Verso A Kol 89 Ln 27		
			Verso A Kol 90 3No		
			Verso A Kol 91 2No		
			Verso A Kol 92 2No		
			Verso A Kol 93 Ln 12		
			Verso A Kol 96 2No		
			Verso A Kol 100 Ln 23		
			Verso B3 Line 21		
			Verso B3 Line 26		
			Verso B13 Line 9		
			Verso B15 Line 7		
			Verso B17 Line 29		
			Verso B18 Line 19		
			Verso B19 Line 30		
			Verso B22 4No		
			Verso B23 Line 26		
			Verso B24 Line 29		
			Cairo Calendar 86637	Calendar of lucky and unlucky days	
Recto Kol 6 line 1					Tumult/uproar
Recto Kol 7 line 3					Partial
Recto Kol 7 line 5					
Recto Kol 7 line 10					
Recto Kol 7 line 11					
Recto Kol 8 line 3					
Recto Kol 10 line 2					
Recto Kol 13 line 12					
Recto Kol 14 line 10					Strife
Recto Kol 14 line 11					
Recto Kol 15 line 9					
Recto Kol 15 line 10					
Recto Kol 15 line 11					Uproar
Recto Kol 15 line 12					

NK	Text	Subject	Location	Seth	Determinative
20 th Dyn	Cairo Calendar 86637	Calendar of lucky and unlucky days	Recto Kol 16 line 4		Rage
			Recto Kol 17 line 11		
			Recto Kol 20 line 11		
			Recto Kol 23 line 7		
			Recto Kol 24 line 6		
			Recto Kol 24 line 8		
			Recto Kol 25 line 11		
			Recto Kol 26 line 10		
			Recto Kol 26 line 12		
			Recto Kol 27 line 5		
			Recto Kol 28 line 2		
			Recto Kol 28 line 13		
			Recto Kol 29 line 3		
			Recto Kol 29 line 11		
			Verso Kol 3 line 13		
			Verso Kol 4 line 6		
			Verso Kol 4 line 11		
			Verso Kol 6 line 6		
			Verso Kol 7 line 12		
			Verso Kol 8 line 4		
			Verso Kol 8 line 6		
			Verso Kol 9 line 6		
			Verso Kol 10 line 8 (x2)		
			Verso Kol 10 line 11		
			Verso Kol 12 line 10		
			Verso Kol 16 line 3		
Verso Kol 16 line 7 (x2)					
Verso Kol 24 line 14					

Table 6.3: Seth as written in New Kingdom papyri.


(18th Dyn: Gardiner 1937, 41; Ebers 1875, Pls. 1,2 24, 25, 47, 55, 56, 58, 63, 66, 80, 85, 87, 92; Reisner 1905; Pls. 6, 8, 10, 11, 13; Golenishev 1913, Pls. 9, 16,18, 23, 25; Leitz 1999, Pls. 26, 29, 34, 39, 43.

19th Dyn: Birch *et al* 1844, Pls. 49, 61, 63; Wreszinski 1909, Pls. 6, 10, 21; Gardiner 1937, 5, 7, 8; Gardiner 1935b, Pls. 7, 8, 9, 10, 28, 29, 33, 35 to 37, 43, 50 to 55, 56, 57 to 62, 66, 68 to 70; Leitz 1999, 14, 16, 19 to 21; Borghouts 1971, Pls. 3, 4, 6, 13, 15; Birch *et al* 1844, Pls. 49, 51, 53; Birch *et al* 1844, Pls. 126, 127, 132, 145, 146, 148, 149, 150, 161 to 165; Gasse 1993 Pls. 7, 8.

19th/20th Dyn: Massart 1954, 1 to 3, 6 to 12.

20th Dyn: Gardiner 1937, 72, 77; Birch *et al* 1844, Pls. 122, 124; Chester Beatty *et al* 1931, Pls. 1 to 16; Gardiner 1935b, Pl. 48, 71; Grandet 1994b, Pls. 60 to 62, 76; Botti 1955, Fig. 2; Gardiner 1941b, Pls. 2, 6 to 37, 40, 41, 43 to 45, 47, 49,50, 60, 62, 64 to 66, 69 to 71; Bakir 1966, Pls. 5 to 8, 10, 13 to 17, 20, 23 to 29, 33, 34, 36 to 40, 42, 46, 53).

As in the Middle Kingdom papyri, Seth was written with the E21 hieroglyph Seth animal with the addition of the C7 seated god hieroglyph (Figs. 6.3 to 6.5). However, there are a small number of variations to this. In the Papyrus Anastasi 2, Papyrus Anastasi

4, Papyrus Berlin 3038, Papyrus Bologna 1094, Papyrus Chester Beatty 3, Papyrus Chester Beatty 8, Papyrus Sallier 3 and Papyrus Turin 1940 + 1941, Seth is written phonetically, while in the Papyrus Chester Beatty 15 Seth is replaced with the hieratic equivalent of the Aa22 hieroglyph  'outcast', an epithet associated with him (Te Velde 1967, 6; Gardiner 1935a, 125). The Seth animal hieroglyph was used for both the deity and as a determinative to word to emphasise their disruptive and violent meanings. However, in this instance the New Kingdom papyri cover a range of subjects falling into seven categories; administrative, historical, instructive, literature, magical, medical and military texts.

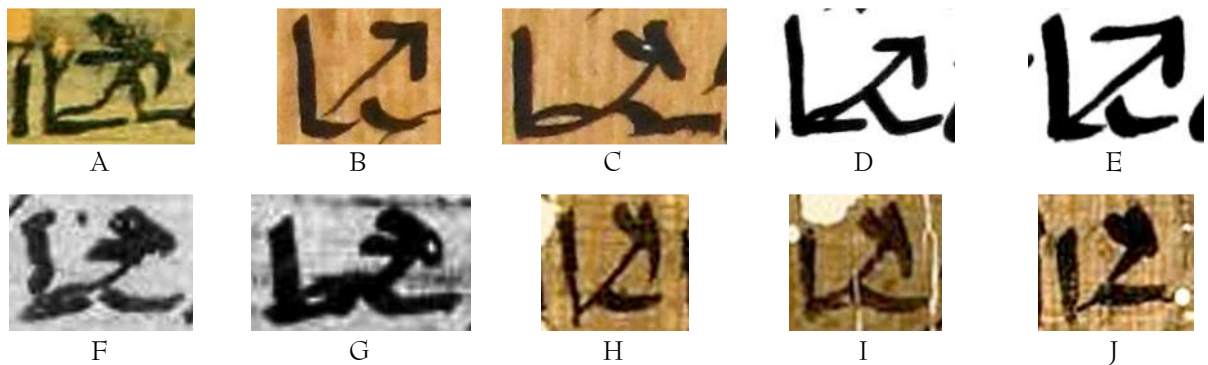


Fig. 6.3: Examples of Seth glyphs from 18th Dynasty papyri. A – Papyrus Anastasi 4 column 16 line 4. B – Papyrus Ebers column 1 line 13. C – Papyrus Ebers column 2 line 4. D - Papyrus Ebers determinative column 63 line 15. E – Papyrus Ebers determinative column 65 line 21. F - Hearst Medical papyrus determinative column 6 line 8. G - Hearst Medical papyrus determinative column 11 line 13. H – London Medical papyrus column 9 line 1. H – London Medical papyrus column 9 line 4. H – London Medical papyrus column 14 line 5.

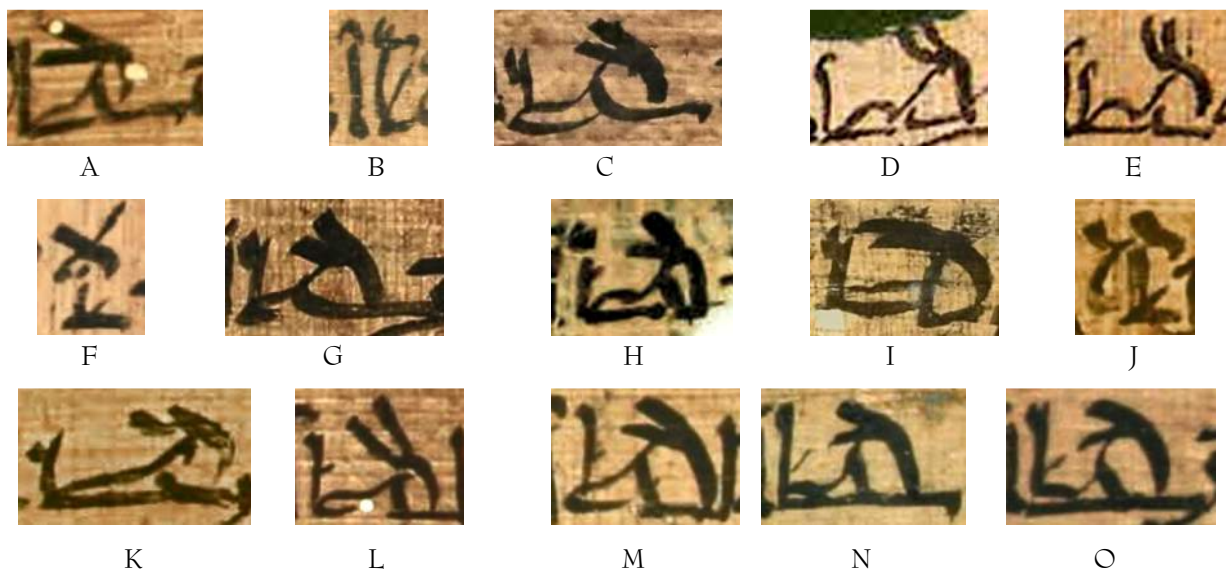


Fig. 6.4: Examples of Seth glyphs from 19th Dynasty papyri. A – Papyrus Anastasi 1 determinative column 15 line 2. B – Papyrus Anastasi 2 column 1 line 4. C – Papyrus Bologna 1094 column 8 line 7. D – Papyrus Chester Beatty 3 column 11 line 3. E – Papyrus Chester Beatty 3 column 11 line 19. F – Papyrus Chester Beatty 5 Verso column 5 line 9. G – Papyrus Chester Beatty 7 column 3 line 3. H – Papyrus Chester Beatty 11 Recto D line 7. I – Papyrus Chester Beatty 12 column 1 line 2. J – Papyrus Magical Harris column 3 line 9. K – Papyrus Magical Harris column 5 line 8. L – Papyrus Sallier 3 determinative column 3 line 8. M – Papyrus Sallier 3 column 4 line 10. N – Papyrus Sallier 4 column 2 line 5. O – Papyrus Sallier 4 column 3 line 5.

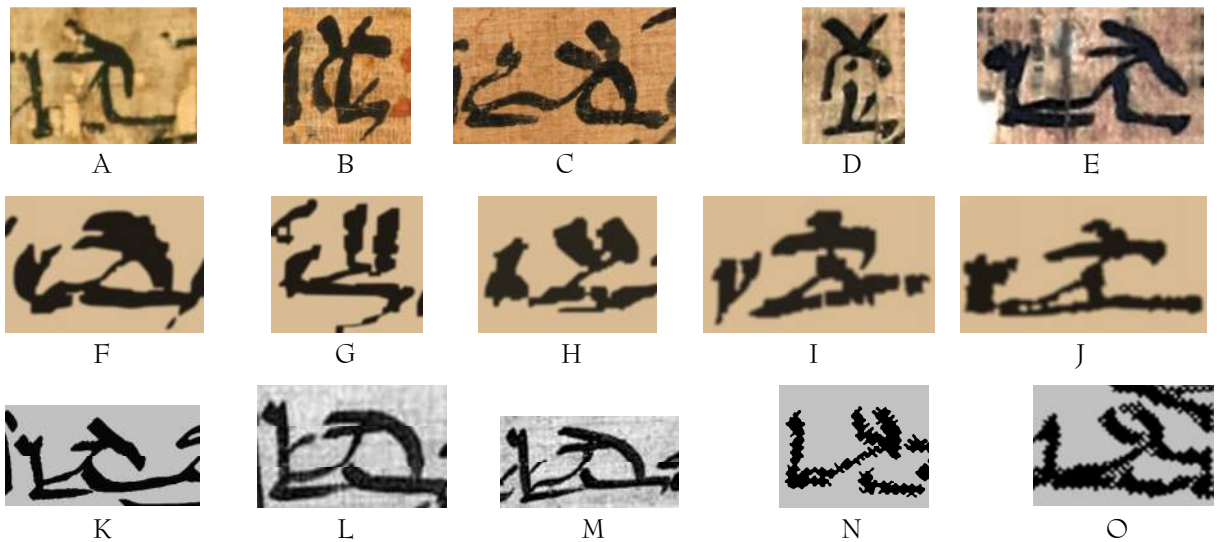
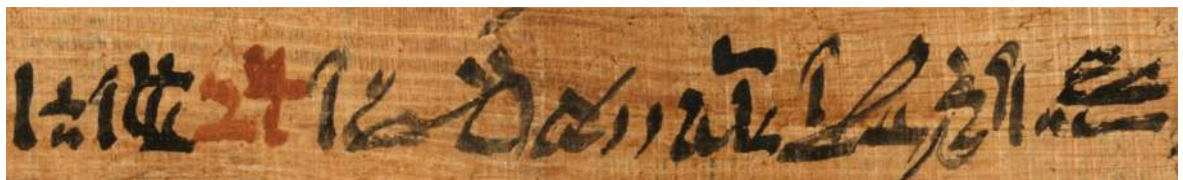


Fig. 6.5: Examples of Seth glyphs from 20th Dynasty papyri. A – Papyrus Anastasi 6 column 1 line 2. B – Papyrus Chester Beatty 13 column 1 line 4. C – Papyrus Chester Beatty 1 column 10 line 3. D – Papyrus Chester Beatty 10 line 10. E – Papyrus Chester Beatty 16 line 5. F – Papyrus Wilbour Recto A column 27 line 3. G – Papyrus Wilbour Verso A column 92 line 24. H – Papyrus Wilbour Verso A column 96 line 19. I – Papyrus Wilbour Verso B column 23 line 26. J – Papyrus Wilbour Verso B column 24 line 29. K – Papyrus Harris 1 column 59 line 4. L – Papyrus Harris 1 determinative 75 line 7. M – Papyrus Harris 1 determinative column 75 line 8. N – Cairo Calendar column 7 line 5. O – Cairo papyrus determinative column 26 line 10.

Of interest in papyrus Chester Beatty 1, is the writing of two of the nine Seth animals employed in the text. Whereas all of the Seth deities and seven of the Seth animal glyphs are written with a rush pen with a large charge of ink, those in recto column 10 line 12 and recto column 13 line 2 have been written with an almost empty pen producing a fainter glyph (Fig. 6.6). This would suggest that in those instances the scribe did not consider the Seth animal worthy of re-charging it with a fresh intake of ink unlike the other deity glyphs which are all written with a well loaded pen.



A



B

Fig. 6.6: A - Papyrus Chester Beatty 1, recto column 10 line 12. B – Papyrus Chester Beatty 1, recto column 13 line 2. Both Seth animal glyphs have been written with a pen running out of ink. The intensity of a fully charged pen can be seen in the preceding and following hieratic glyphs.

6.6 3rd Intermediate Period.

The texts written during the 3rd Intermediate Period continue to show the employment of the Seth animal hieroglyph and relevant examples are shown in Table 6.4.

3IP	Text	Subject	Location	Seth	Determinative
21 st Dyn	P. Sallier I (BM EA 10185)	Tale of Apophis and Seqenenra	Recto Kol 1 Line 3		
			Recto Kol 1 Line 4		
22 nd Dyn	P. Berlin 3048	Religious hymn	Recto Kol 12 Line 3		
	P. Berlin 3049	Hymn to Ptah	Recto Kol 8 Line 5		Rage
22 nd Dyn	P. Berlin 3055	Religious ritual	Recto Kol 8 Line 6		
			Recto Kol 3 line 8		
			Recto Kol 3 line 9		
			Verso Kol 29 line 6		
			Verso Kol 31 line 6		
			Verso Kol 32 line 1		
			Verso Kol 32 line 5		

Table 6.4: Seth as written in 3rd Intermediate Period papyri.

(Gardiner 1937, XV11; http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online BM EA 10185; Königliche Museen zu Berlin. Generalverwaltung 1905, 17, 46; Königliche Museen zu Berlin. Generalverwaltung 1901, 3, 29, 31 and 32).

During the 3rd Intermediate Period the writing of the name of Seth continued in the same vein as that of the New Kingdom with the use of the hieratic equivalent of the E21 Seth animal (Fig. 6.7). This hieroglyph was used for both the Seth deity and as a determinative. The number of surviving examples of papyri is less than those from the New Kingdom resulting in a smaller amount of analysable data; however, the suitable examples cover two different subject categories, historical and religious.



Fig. 6.7: Examples of Seth glyphs from 3rd Intermediate Period papyri

21st Dynasty: A – Papyrus Sallier 1 column 1 line 3.

22nd Dynasty: B – Papyrus Berlin 3048 column 12 line 3. C – Papyrus Berlin 3049 column 8 line 5. D – papyrus Berlin recto 3050 column 3 line 9. E - Berlin 3050 verso column 32 line 1.

6.7 The Late Period.

It is during the Late Period that the major change in the writing of Seth within texts occurs, and is shown in Table 6.5.

LP	Text	Subject	Location	Seth	Determinative
30 th Dyn	Brooklyn Snake Bite Papyrus	Medical text	Recto Kol 1 Line 21		
			Recto Kol 2 Line 8		
			Recto Kol 2 Line 9		
			Recto Kol 2 Line 11		
			Recto Kol 2 Line 22		
			Recto Kol 2 Line 24		
			Recto Kol 5 Line 3		
			Recto Kol 5 Line 6		
			Recto Kol 5 Line 24		Harm Harm

Table 6.5: Seth as written in Late Period.
(Sauneron 1989, Pls. 1, 2, 5).











The number of suitable papyri texts surviving from the Late Period is very small, the Brooklyn Snakebite Papyrus is dated to the Late Period 30th Dynasty to the start of the Ptolemaic Period (Sauneron 1989, XI) and displays the practice of replacing the Seth animal that represented Seth with a phonetic spelling. However, in this papyrus the name is spelt as ‘Setesh’ and the god determinative replaced with that of the A13 kneeling bound captive. In one instance this name is written in red ink, not as part of a Colophon or heading but within a sentence, emphasising the bad or negative side of Seth. Where a word required a Seth determinative, the E21 Seth animal was still employed but was written as being symbolically killed by the addition of a knife to the head (Fig. 6.8). The spelling of Seth phonetically, writing his name in red and the killing of the Seth animal determinative are very much in keeping with the practices of the following Ptolemaic Period which would reinforce Sauneron’s assessment that the papyrus was written at either the end of the 30th Dynasty or the start of the Ptolemaic Period. The text displayed on the examples falls into a single subject category, that of a medical text.




Fig. 6.8: Examples of Seth glyphs from Late Period papyri.
Brooklyn Snakebite Papyrus A - column 1 line 21. B - column 2 line 9, C - column 2 line 22, D - column 5 line 6. E column 5 line 6.

6.8 Ptolemaic and Roman Period.

From the Ptolemaic Period, the Seth animal is generally omitted from the writing of the name of Seth and instead was spelt phonetically; relevant examples are shown in Table 6.6.

Greco-Roman	Text	Subject	Location	Seth	Determinative
Ptolemaic	P. Bremner-Rhind (BM EA 10188)	Song of Isis and Nephthys	Recto Kol 2 line 10 Recto Kol 2 line 17 Recto Kol 2 line 19 Recto Kol 4 line 5 Recto Kol 5 line 2 Recto Kol 5 line 16 Recto Kol 6 line 21 Recto Kol 7 line 13 Recto Kol 13 line 23		 Tehba  Tehba  Strikes  Tehba  Hai
		Over throwing of Apep	Recto Kol 23 line 14 Recto Kol 23 line 15 Recto Kol 23 line 21 Recto Kol 23 line 22 Recto Kol 27 line 5 Recto Kol 29 line 5 Recto Kol 30 line 5 Recto Kol 30 line 10		 Storm  Thunder
	P. Jumilhac	Myth and rites of the 17 th and 18 th Nomes	Recto Page 1 Kol X+8 Recto Page 1 Kol 15 Recto Page 1 Kol 17 Recto Page 2 Kol 5 Recto Page 2 Kol 13 Recto Page 2 Kol 15 Recto Page 2 Kol 21 Recto Page 2 Kol 26 Recto Page 3 Kol 9 Recto Page 3 Kol 13 Recto Page 3 Kol 18 Recto Page 5 Kol 21 Recto Page 6 Kol 9 Recto Page 6 Kol 17 Recto Page 6 Kol 18 Recto Page 8 Kol 2 Recto Page 8 Kol 8 Recto Page 8 Kol 19 Recto Page 9 Kol 11 Recto Page 10 Kol 6 Recto Page 10 Kol 10 Recto Page 10 Kol 11 Recto Page 10 Kol 15 Recto Page 10 Kol 17 Recto Page 11 Kol 16 Recto Page 11 Kol 21 Recto Page 13 Kol 11 Recto Page 13 Kol 17		

Greco-Roman	Text	Subject	Location	Seth	Determinative
Ptolemaic	P. Jumilhac	Myth and rites of the 17 th and 18 th Nomes	Recto Page 13 Kol 24 Recto Page 14 Kol 1 Recto Page 14 Kol 2 Recto Page 14 Kol 24 Recto Page 15 Kol 2 Recto Page 16 Kol 5 Recto Page 16 Kol 23 Recto Page 16 Kol 24 Recto Page 16 Kol 25 Recto Page 17 Kol 1 Recto Page 17 Kol 3 Recto Page 17 Kol 6 Recto Page 17 Kol 10 Recto Page 18 Kol 13 Recto Page 19 Kol 3 Recto Page 20 Kol 1 Recto Page 20 Kol 7 Recto Page 20 Kol 12 Recto Page 20 Kol 14 Recto Page 20 Kol 15 Recto Page 20 Kol 18 Recto Page 21 Kol 15 Recto Page 21 Kol 19 Recto Page 21 Kol 24 Recto Page 22 Kol 7 Recto Page 22 Kol 15 Recto Page 22 Kol 20 Recto Page 23 Kol 3 Recto Page 23 Kol 4 Recto Page 23 Kol 13 Recto P10 Vignette Lower register Recto P10 Vignette Lower register Kol 3 Recto P10 Vignette Lower reg text Kol 3 Recto P10 Vignette Lower reg text Kol 6 Recto P11 Vignette Upper register Kol 4 Recto P11 Vignette Lower register Kol 4 Recto P11 Vignette Lower reg text Kol 5 Recto P11 Margin text Kol 2 Recto P17 Margin text Kol 2 Recto P20 Vignette 4 text		

Greco-Roman	Text	Subject	Location	Seth	Determinative
Ptolemaic	P. Salt 825 (BM EA 10051)	End of work ritual	Recto Kol 4 line 7 Recto Kol 5 line 2 Recto Kol 10 line 8 Recto Kol 10 Vignette line 2 Recto Kol 11 Vignette line 2 Recto Kol 12 Vignette line 2 Recto Kol 13 Vignette line 2		
Roman 3 rd C AD	Pap. London and Leiden Magic	Magical text	Recto Kol 19 line 37		

Table 6.6: Seth as written in Ptolemaic and Roman Period

(Faulkner 1933, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 13, 25, 47, 48, 61, 72, 77; Vandier 1962, Pls. 1 to 12; www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online BM EA 10051; Griffith *et al* 1905 75, Pl. 19).

The writing of the name of Seth during the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods displays a major diversion from that employed in the New Kingdom and the 3rd Intermediate Period. During the Ptolemaic Period the use of the Seth animal ceased to be used when writing the god's name, instead it was replaced with a phonetic spelling of Ⲛ or Ⲛ , both of which can be read as 'Setesh'. The only time a Seth animal appears in the text occurs in the Papyrus Jumilhac when he is associated with Horus in the title the 'two lords' (Vandier 1962, 117). The god determinative was not always employed but where a determinative was written the A13 kneeling bound captive was appended to the name. The single exception to this also occurs in the Papyrus Jumilhac where on page 21 in column 24 the phonetic name of Seth is followed by the Seth animal determinative, possibly a scribal error (Fig. 6.9).

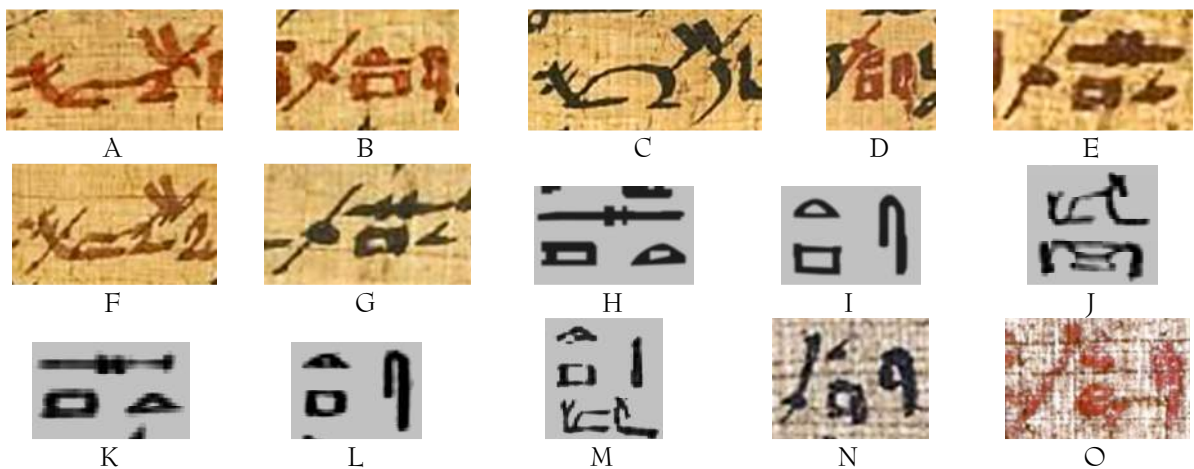


Fig. 6.9: Examples of Seth glyphs from Ptolemaic and Roman Period papyri. Papyrus Bremner-Rhind, A – column 2 line 17. B – column 4 line 5. C – column 5 line 2. D – column 5 line 16. E – column 6 line 21. F – column 7 line 13. G – column 27 line 5. Papyrus Jumilhac, H – page 2 column 2. I – page 3 column 9. J – page 5 column 21. K – page 8 column 8. L – page 11 column 16. M – page 21 column 24. Papyrus Salt 825, N – column 10 line 8. O – column 12 vignette line 2.




The Seth animal was still used as a determinative to words to emphasise their negative connotations or to certain names. However, when this occurs the animal is symbolically killed by the addition of knives to the head and tail. The choice of ink colour also included red for both the name and for the determinative, emphasising the perception of the bad or negative side of Seth.

The Roman Period Seth is written phonetically and reduced to the two hieroglyph phonetic 𓆎 'Set'. The subjects covered by the examples from the Greco-Roman Period are reduced in scope compared with New Kingdom and the Late Period being either religious or magic in their nature.

6.9 Summary of Seth in Hieratic and Demotic Cursive Scripts.

From the data assembled, it can be deduced that the use of the E21 Seth animal 𓆎 was predominately employed, both in the writing of his name and as a determinative from the Middle Kingdom to the start of the Late Period, while the C7 seated Seth deity 𓆎 was also used both in the name and as determinative from the 1st Intermediate Period to the end of the New Kingdom. The Seth glyphs analysed were individual in their representations of the Seth animal, their being a product of the hand writing of different scribes each with their own idiosyncrasies and personal flourishes. One particular flourish was the combining of the neck and body of the animal in a single line at an approximately 45° to the horizontal such as in Figs 6.2E, 6.3B, 6.3E, 6.3H and 6.5A. The initial impression is the glyph is portraying a seated Seth animal. However, further investigation reveals the line representing the foreleg rather than being a short angled stroke ending in-line with the bottom of the glyph as a straight supporting foreleg would do, actually continues with a longer horizontal sweep representing the lower portion of the foreleg lying flat on the ground signifying the representation the prone Seth animal.

It is with the end of the Late Period, the 30th Dynasty a noticeable change occurs. The Seth animal ceases to be used and replaced with the phonetic spelling and the Seth animal although retained as a determinative was symbolically killed by the addition of knives to the head and body. The spelling of the name also varied, the example associated to the oases of the Western Desert employed 'Sutekh' 𓆎 as opposed to the spelling employed in the Nile Valley where 'Setesh' 𓆎 or 𓆎 was used. Also at this time the determinative employed changed




from the C7 seated Seth deity  or the G7 hawk on a standard  to the A13 kneeling bound captive . All this confirms the idea of a proscription of Seth occurring sometime towards the end of the Late Period; however, although Seth was suffering from a vilification he was central to the worship of Osiris, without Seth there was no murder of Osiris. Therefore he could not be easily eradicated from the Egyptian's religion without a major re-writing of religious history. Which does propose the question what actual form did the proscription of Seth take and how complete was it?


Having examined how the name of Seth was written in both religious and secular texts, the following chapter will consider the distribution of sites associated with him in the Nile Valley and Delta.

Chapter 7: Seth in the Upper and Lower Egyptian Landscape.

7.1 Seth in the Nile Valley and Delta.

Having analysed Seth within the funerary and secular texts in the previous chapters, it is necessary, prior to looking at the representation of Seth in the temples and tombs, to consider the places that were associated with Seth within Egypt, with this chapter concentrating on the Nile Valley and the Delta. These places were either his cult centres where he was worshiped in a temple dedicated to him or an ancillary chapel within other deities' temples or a location that was linked to him due to an act performed there by him or in his honour. These locations are evidenced in either written texts or the archaeological record.

In conjunction with many archaic societies, the Egyptians believed in a co-habitation of deities and humans during a primordial period that had irretrievably vanished sometime in the past (Assmann 2001, 17). These deities having separated themselves from mankind removed themselves from the earth so they were no longer encountered or experienced in everyday life. Contact between the gods and humans were by way of the temple, the divine residence for a god and the cults that extended beyond the temple walls in the numerous festivals (Baines 1991, 173). The totality of the pantheon of the Egyptian gods embodied the political concept of Egypt while the local deity embodied the concept of a city to the extent that an Egyptian city was always the city of a deity. This is reflected in the language, the word 'local god' *niwty*  is derived from the word 'city' *niwt* . For the Egyptians the city was a concept that was first and foremost determined by religion (Silverman 1991b, 38). While Memphis was the city of Ptah, Thebes the city of Amun, the principal city of Seth was Nubt also known as Ombus. Seth was so linked to this city that he was often just referred to as the 'Ombite'  (Figs. 7.1 to 7.4) (Mercer 1949, 49; Baines and Málek 1994, 111).

Initially Seth was associated with Upper Egypt. In the 3rd Dynasty tomb of Sekerkhakau at Saqqara, the decoration records one of the deceased's titles as '*the speaker of incantations(?) of the temple of Seth*' (Murray 1905, Pl. 1; Sethe 1937, 11) (Fig. 7.5). In the inscription the hieroglyph employed for temple was O19 , the sign for the *per-wer* shrine of Upper Egypt, linking Seth to that region of the country (Gardiner 1957, 494). In the 5th Dynasty Pyramid Texts Spell W155, the judgement between Horus and Seth, the kingdom is divided between them, Lower Egypt being given to Horus while Seth was awarded Upper Egypt (Griffiths

1960, 143-144; Te Velde 1967, 61; Faulkner 1968, 50, 164; Allen 2005, 39-40). The reconciled gods were then represented in the ruling pharaoh as stated in the Pyramid of the queen was 'she who sees Horus and Seth' (Petrie 1901a, Pl. 27 128, 129, Pl 30 128, 129; Mercer 1949, 58; Griffiths 1960, 121; Faulkner 1968, 42, 144; Frankfort 1948, 27; Allen 2005, 31, 105).



Fig. 7.1: 2nd Dynasty bowl inscribed with Seth of Nubt. British Museum BM EA 68689.



Fig. 7.2 5th Dynasty relief Seth of Nubt, Funerary temple of Sahure at Abusir. Berlin Museum ÄM 21782.



Fig. 7.3: 12th Dynasty Seth of Nubt from lintel of Senwosret III, Nag el-Madamud, Cairo Museum JE 6189.




Fig. 7.4: 18th Dynasty Seth of Nubt on base of statue of Senneser. Petrie Museum UC 14639.



Fig. 7.5: Seth with the *per-wer* shrine of Upper Egypt. 3rd Dynasty mastaba of Sekerkhakau, Saqqara.



Fig. 7.6: The *sema-tawy* on the side of the throne of Khafre, 4th Dynasty.

With the reconciliation of Horus and Seth, the symbolic unification of the two lands of Upper and Lower Egypt, the *sema-tawy*, was feasible. From the Old Kingdom, unification was represented by the tying of the two heraldic plants of Egypt, the sedge of Upper Egypt and the papyrus of Lower Egypt around the F36  hieroglyph (Gardiner 1957, 465; Baines 1985, 69, 229) (Fig. 7.6).

The cache of ten Middle Kingdom seated statues of Senwosret I recovered in the excavations of his funeral temple of Lisht in 1894 were decorated with the *sema-tawy* on the side panels of the statues' thrones. Five of the thrones were decorated with the unification performed by two representations of the god Hapi, while the remaining five were decorated with the action performed by Horus and Seth. Although all the images depict the actions of unification, no two images are the same (Gautier and Jéquier 1902, 30-31, 36-37).



Fig. 7.7: Seth with the epithet of Nubt lord of the land of the south. Cairo Museum JE 31139.



Fig. 7.8: Seth with the epithet lord of Su. Cairo Museum JE 31141.

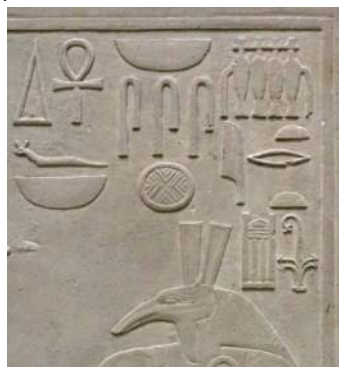


Fig. 7.9: Seth with the epithet lord of Su before the shrine of the south. Cairo Museum JE 31137.



Fig. 7.10: Hapi with the epithet Seth his places in the land of the south. Cairo Museum JE 31136.

Of the *sema-tawy* reliefs containing Hapi, the image of the god holding the heraldic plant of Lower Egypt was positioned so it was adjacent to the legs of the seated king. On those containing Horus and Seth, Upper Egypt was represented by Seth who was positioned adjacent to the legs of the seated king. Gautier and Jéquier suggested that the positioning of the deities within the funerary temple of Senwosret I was so that the statues with Lower

Egyptian Hapi adjacent to the leg were on the south side of the room with the king looking north, while the statues with Seth were positioned on the north side with the king looking south (Gautier *et al.* 1902, 38). The *sema-tawy* reliefs also included a short hieroglyph inscription which contained an identification of the deities and a reference to a site associated to them. Of the ten figures of Seth, five refer to Nubt, one to Nubt, lord of the land of the south, one to lord of the land of the south, one to Nubt, lord of Su, one to lord of Su and one to lord of Su before the shrine of the south. Of the ten figures of Hapi that represent Upper Egypt only one makes a reference to Seth and has the epithet ‘*Seth his place in the land of the south*’ (Figs. 7.7 to 7.10).

In the 20th Dynasty Papyrus Chester Beatty I, Seth and Horus are in conflict and are called to a tribunal at which Atum awards Horus the whole kingdom, while Ra takes Seth to live on the solar barque in the sky where he can thunder and men shall fear him (Gardiner 1931, 26). The 25th Dynasty Shabka stone records how Geb initially divided Egypt between Horus and Seth, with Horus being given Lower Egypt and Seth Upper Egypt. Geb then reconsiders his decision and awards the whole of Egypt to Horus (Breasted 1901, 42; Lichtheim 1973a, 53).

7.2 Places in Egypt associated with Seth.

Throughout both Upper and Lower Egypt, a number of settlements were associated with Seth and were distributed through the Nile Valley and into the Eastern Delta. The known sites are detailed in Table 7.1 and Fig. 7.11.

Upper Egypt	Lower Egypt	Lost Towns of Seth
Nubt/Ombus	Pihapy	Henti
Unu	Avaris	Wensi
N-shene-n-set	Piramesse	Setjeret
Tjebu	Sile	
Matmar		
Shashotep		
Pimedjed (Oxyrhyncus)		
Spermeru		
Piwayna		
Su		

Table 7.1: Sites in Upper and Lower Egypt associated with Seth.

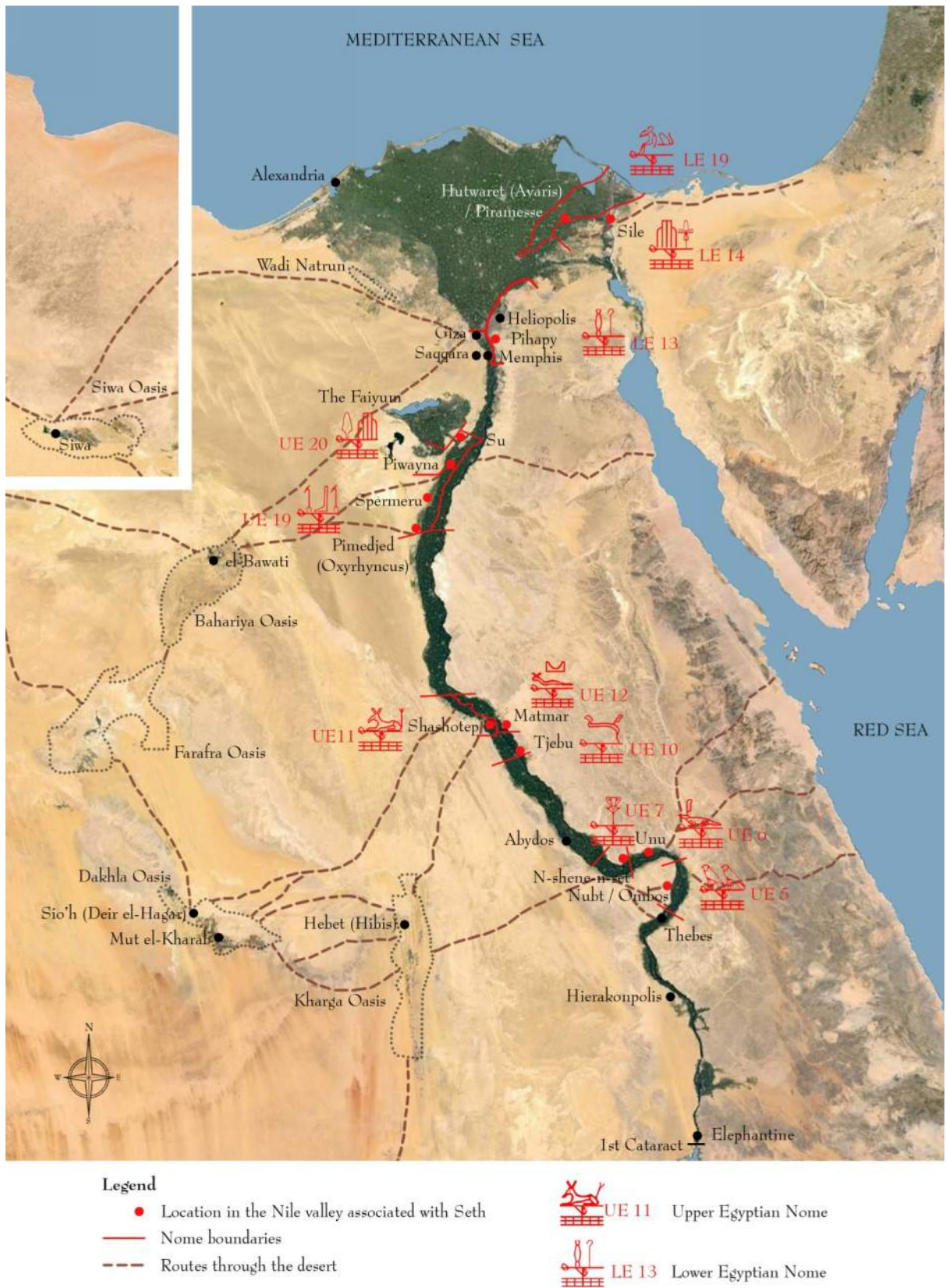



Fig. 7.11: Map showing the places in Upper and Lower Egypt associated with Seth.

Beginning in Upper Egypt and following the course of the Nile northwards from the 1st cataract at Aswan (Elephantine) through to Lower Egypt, sites associated with Seth are discussed below.

7.3 Seth in Upper Egypt.

7.3.1 Nubt or Ombus .

The town was located in the 5th Nome of Upper Egypt , where it was situated on the west bank of the Nile at the desert edge and was the place most closely associated with the worship of Seth in Egypt. Nubt, literally meaning the 'town of gold' was positioned opposite the western end of the Wadi Hammamat and the caravan route from the gold mines in the Eastern Desert. Although separated from the start of the Wadi by the Nile, it appears to have been the centre of the gold trade from the Eastern Desert (Petrie 1896, 67; Faulkner 1925, 5; Gauthier 1926, 84; Gardiner 1947b, 28*-29*; Te Velde 1967, 116; Baines *et al.* 1994, 111; Hassan 1999, 555). Although the epithet 'of Nubt' associated with Seth was known to be employed from the Early Dynastic 2nd Dynasty and was freely used during the Old and Middle Kingdoms, the temple of Seth excavated by Petrie in 1894-95 dated to the 18th Dynasty, being built by Thutmose I and Thutmose III. However, beneath the remains of this 18th Dynasty temple, Petrie uncovered the remnants of 4th Dynasty and 12th Dynasty mud brick walls (Petrie 1896, 68 Pl. LXXXV) (Fig. 7.12).

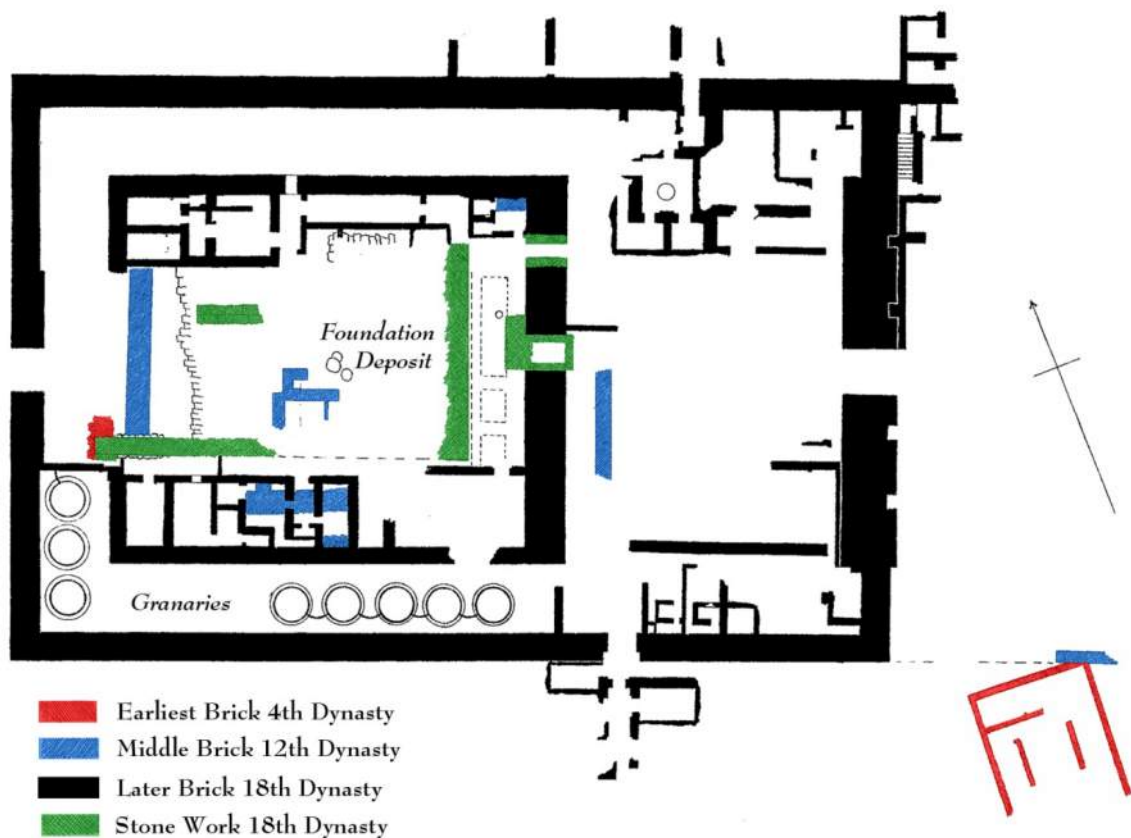



Fig. 7.12: Layout of New Kingdom temple of Seth at Nubt coloured to highlight the different phases of construction and materials used in the 4th, 12th and 18th Dynasties.

It is apparent that Petrie did not consider the possibility that the earlier walls could be the buried remnants of the Old Kingdom and Middle Kingdom temples that had been previously built on the site. Excavations at the temple of Satet at Elephantine and the temple at Madamud exposed the earlier 'Pre-formal' Old Kingdom and the 'Early Formal' Middle Kingdom temples that were buried beneath the later 'Mature Formal' New Kingdom temples (Kemp 1989, 65-74, Pl. 3, Fig. 22, 23). The 20th Dynasty Papyrus Harris I Recto column 59 lines 4 to 7 records how Ramesses III restored the temple of Seth at Nubt which had fallen into disrepair (Grandet 1994a, 306-307). Whether this was an actual record of a major rebuilding programme undertaken on the temple or was just a statement of self-aggrandisement that was actually a series of minor repairs with an associated usurpation of an earlier pharaoh's work is not known at the present time. The Late Period Papyrus of Pakharens Pawerem (Papyrus Salt 561-BM 10252) records that '*Seth had fallen on his side, robbed of all his lands, Ombus pulled down and Seth's temple destroyed*' (Schott 1929, 15 16 to 17 3; Te Velde 1967, 115). While the Ptolemaic Papyrus Salt 825 Recto V Lines 1 and 2 states that the '*land of Ombos was a place of Seth*' (Derchain 1965, 41, 138).

7.3.2 Unu .

The exact location of the town is currently lost but is thought to have been located between Dendara and Qasr wa'l-Saiyad on the northern part of the Qena bend, the major eastwards sweep in the Nile that occurs between the towns of Hiw in the north and Tod in the south (Gardiner 1947b, 23*). The town was possibly situated in the Upper Egyptian 6th Nome . However, very little is known about Unu other than it is recorded in the 20th Dynasty inscriptions at the Medinet Habu as the home of Seth and in the Ptolemaic inscriptions at Edfu and Dendara as one of the four cult centres of Seth (Figs. 7.13 and 7.14), (Brugsch 1879, 277; Chassinat 1897, 174; Chassinat 1918, 52; Gardiner 1947b, 31*; Cauville 2000, Pl. 47). The 4th century BC Papyrus of Pakharenhons Pawerem (Papyrus Salt 561-BM 10252) records how '*Unu mourns that Seth had fallen on his side, robbed of all his lands and his temple destroyed*' (Schott 1929, 15 16 to 17 3; Te Velde 1967, 115).

The assumed location of Unu places it close to the Eastern Desert wadis that connected the Nile Valley to the Red Sea coast, possibly allowing Unu to act as a centre of trade coming in via the Red Sea ports.




Fig. 7.13: Four cult centres of Seth in room F, temple of Edfu. From right to left, the Oases, N-shene-n-setekh, Unu and Spermeru.




Fig. 7.14: Four cult centres of Seth above the door to room E, temple of Dendara. From right to left, the Oases, N-shene-n-setekh, Unu and Spermeru.

7.3.3 N-shene-n-setekh .

The town was located in the 7th Nome of Upper Egypt , where it was situated on the east bank of the Nile close to Kasr es-Sayyad located the north-western end of the Qena bend of the Nile, the name of the town literally meaning ‘trees of Seth.’ Information about the site is very limited being only recorded in the 20th Dynasty inscriptions at Medinet Habu as ‘Seth of the trees’ and in the Ptolemaic inscriptions at Edfu and Dendara where it is recorded as one of the four cult centres of Seth (Figs. 8.15 and 8.16) (Brugsch 1879, 277; Chassinat 1897, 174; Chassinat 1918, 52; Gauthier 1926, 69; Gardiner 1947b, 23*, 31*; Cauville 2000, Pl. 47).

7.3.4 Tjebu .

The town was situated in the 10th Nome of Upper Egypt  and was located on the east bank of the Nile north of Abydos. The 20th Dynasty Amiens Papyrus and Griffiths fragments report the administrative function of a nome capital being undertaken by Tjebu (Gauthier 1929, 69; Gardiner 1941a, 42, 67; Gardiner 1947b, 49*). However, inscriptions from the 25th Dynasty and in the Ptolemaic temple of Dendara refer to the town as Dju-ka, while the Greek name for the town was Antaeopolis (Gardiner 1947b, 50*-51*). Both the Myth of Horus of Lower Egypt and Seth of Upper Egypt carved on the walls of the Ptolemaic temple of Edfu and 1st century BC writer Diodorus Siculus both record that Horus and Seth fought and were reconciled on the banks of the Nile at Antaeus (Oldfather 1933, 65, 67; Chassinat 1931, 220; Gardiner 1947b, 53*). The Late Period papyrus of Pakharenkhons Pawerem (Papyrus Salt 561-BM 10252) recounts that the 10th Nome was a desolate place

as the result of ‘Seth falling on his side, robbed of all his lands, and his temples destroyed’ (Schott 1929, 15 16 to 17 3; Te Velde 1967, 115).

The local god of Tjebu was not Seth but Antewy, an avian god, who was a fusion of the two reconciled gods Horus and Seth. Despite this, a number of inscriptions from different periods identify Antewy with Seth. An 18th Dynasty stela in Nakhet in the possession of the Oriental Institute Chicago 10510 shows a seated Antewy with the head of the Seth animal with the identifying text records the figure as ‘Antewy lord of Tjebu’, while the offering text at the bottom of the stela is to ‘Seth the victorious, lord of Tjebu’ (Fig. 7.15).

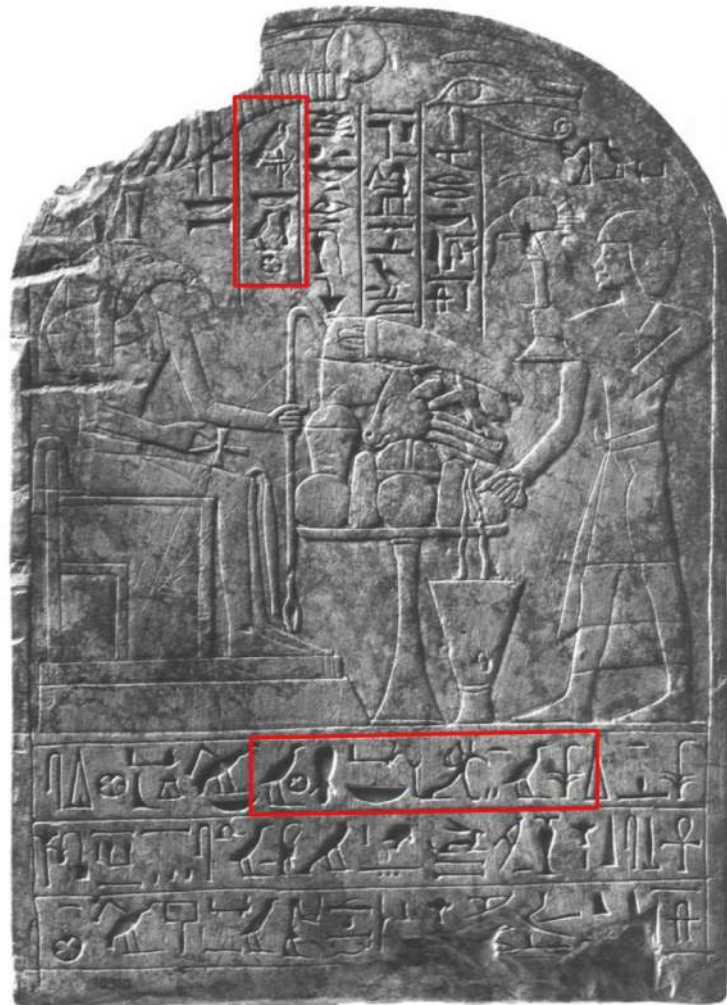



Fig. 7.15: Stela of Nakht with the god Antewy represented with the head of the Seth animal and noted as lord of Tjebu. The lower offering inscription is to Seth (Suty), lord of Tjebu.

A damaged New Kingdom stela uncovered by Brunton at Gau shows the mayor of Tjebu giving praise to a hippopotamus in a papyrus thicket. Although the text is very worn enough is legible to decipher ‘Seth the victorious, the hippopotamus [damage text], lord of Tjebu in the nome of Wadjet’ (Brunton 1930, Pl. 32; Gardiner 1947b, 52*-55*; Teeter 2003, 41). The

19th Dynasty Papyrus Chester Beatty IX Verso B1 to B11 contains a Book of Incantations within which the gods are listed with the locations associated with them. Verso B8 line 11 refers to ‘*Seth in Het-nebui*’, which is considered by Sethe as a variation on the name of Tjedu, while in Verso B9 line 1 Seth is in the nome of Wedjet, the 10th nome of Upper Egypt (Gardiner 1935a, 108, 109; Gardiner 1935b, Pl. 59). Further evidence of Antewy’s association with Seth occurs in three Late Period representations of him accompanied by Nephthys, the wife of Seth (Golenischeft 1892, 136-137, Pl. 3, Pl. 4; Golenischeft 1894, 1-2 Pl. 1).

7.3.5 Matmar.

A modern village situated in the 12th Nome of Upper Egypt , is located on the east bank of the Nile north of Tjebu almost directly opposite Shashotep on the west bank. Although the area had evidence of continual usage from the Predynastic period through to the Roman Period to date it has not been possible to identify any of the settlements. The remnants of a New Kingdom temple that once was dedicated to 18th Dynasty deity Aten and that had been replaced by Ramesses II with one dedicated to Seth was excavated at the site (Brunton 1948, 64). Unlike his previous excavations at the temple site at Badari where he uncovered successive stratigraphic archaeological layers of temple building dating to successive dynastic periods, Brunton’s excavation at Matmar did not discover any evidence of temple building earlier than the New Kingdom. It would appear from this that the Ramesside temple of Seth was a totally new development, with Seth displacing the Amarna period deity Aten who would have usurped the original local god. By the 22nd Dynasty the temple had been totally dismantled and between the 22nd and 25th Dynasties the site had been covered with houses (Brunton 1927, 18, Pl. XXIII; Brunton 1948, 4, 60, Pl. XLV). Obviously, the occupants of these houses had no fear about living on ground that was once dedicated to Seth. The body of the temple had been orientated east-west with a surrounding complex of mud brick buildings and granaries to the north, east and south sides inside the mud brick temenos walls. The temple was thoroughly destroyed in a focused and complete way; however, fragments of reused materials from the Aten temple and from the Ramesside Seth temple were recovered. Among these were a small stela made from the local limestone which depicted the seated

deities Seth and Ptah facing each other while a human headed goddess Tauret stands between them facing Seth, the principal deity (Fig. 7.16).

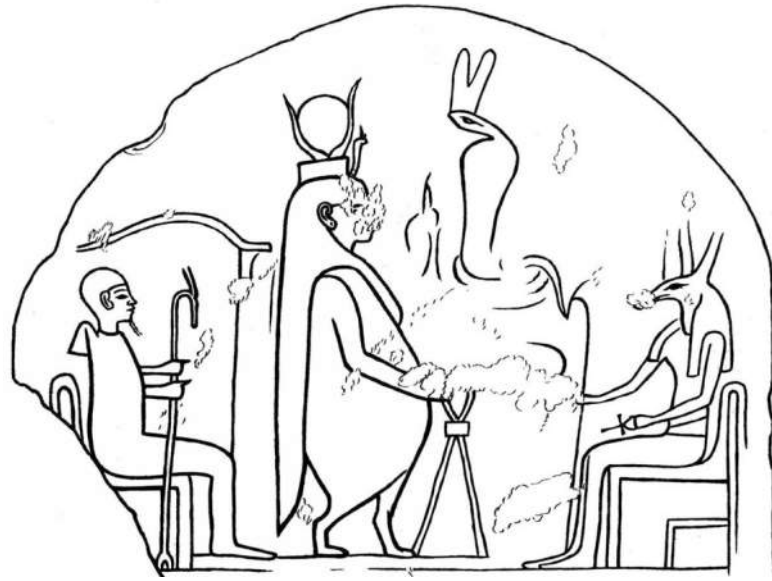


Fig. 7.16: 19th Dynasty stela of Seth, Ptah and Tauret. Temple of Matmar.

A fragment of a small limestone stela discovered displayed the torso and legs of a winged deity spearing a serpent and bore a very close resemblance to that on a Ramesside steatite stela, acquired at the Lower Egyptian site of Zigzag, which depicts Seth in the form of the western Semitic god Baal killing the serpent Apep (Brunton 1948, 61).

A sandstone lintel of Ramesses II was also recovered on which the epithets '*beloved of Seth, likeness of Seth*' followed the cartouches of the pharaoh (Fig. 7.17) (Griffith 1894, 89: Brunton 1948, 61-63, Fig. 2).



Fig. 7.17: Lintel of Ramesses II with the epithets of '*beloved of Seth, likeness of Seth.*' Temple of Matmar 19th Dynasty.




Fig. 7.18: Wooden statuette of Seth wearing the red and white crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt. Temple of Matmar.

A very rare small wooden statuette of a seated Seth animal wearing the red and white crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt was also recovered. The figure had originally been painted with the


red body and a yellow face (Fig. 7.18). The temenos wall around the Seth temple appeared to have been built during the Ramesside period as a number of the mud bricks from wall that bore the stamp ‘*Ramesses-Mery-Amen beloved of Seth*’ (Brunton 1948, 68). In addition to the Seth items from the temple, a number of small personal items representing Seth were recovered from the temple site houses. These included a plaque with an engraved seated Seth, a scarab with a standing Seth holding a papyrus sceptre and a plaque with Ra-Seti on one side and Ra-Khumn-Hor on the reverse side, possibly meant to be read as ‘*united are Horus and Seth everyday*’ (Brunton 1948, 69). What are interesting are the two images, Seth depicted as Baal and Seth with a papyrus sceptre, which are both have associations with Lower Egypt, the place of origin of the Ramesside dynasty (Kitchen 2001, 534-535).

7.3.6 Shashotep

The town was situated in the 11th Nome of Upper Egypt  and was located on the east bank of the Nile north of Tjebu and almost opposite Matmar on the west bank. It was the capital of the 11th Nome, also known as Hypsele, was thought to be the home of Seth. Pyramid Text Spell T219 refers to ‘*Seth who is in Hypsele*’. The Papyrus of Pakharekhons Pawerem (Papyrus Salt 581-BM 10252) recounts that the 11th Nome made complaint that its lord was not in his territory as the result of ‘*Seth falling on his side, robbed of all his lands, and his temples destroyed*’ (Schott 1929, 15 16 to 17 3; Te Velde 1967, 115).

The settlement was located at the start of a desert trail to the Kharga Oasis, suggesting a possible connection to Seth as a desert deity (Gauthier 1928, 107; Gardiner 1947a, 62; Gardiner 1947b, 67*; Mercer 1949, 49; Te Velde 1967, 23; Faulkner 1968, §734).


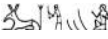

7.3.7 Pimedjed

The town was situated in the 19th Nome of Upper Egypt  being located on the Bahr Yusuf branch of the Nile that feeds Lake Moeris in the Fayum. It was sited at the beginning of a desert trail to the Bahariya Oasis. During the Dynastic Period it was the nome capital. During the Greco-Roman Period, the site was known as Oxyrhynchus and continued to function as the nome capital. Little is known about the pharaonic settlement as it is buried beneath the modern settlement of el-Bahnasa. The 19th Dynasty Papyrus Chester Beatty IX Verso B9, line 4 announces Seth as the ‘*Lord of the Oxrhynchite Nome*’ (Gardiner 1935a,


109), while the 20th or 21st Dynasty Onomastica of Amenope records the existence of Pimejed and the nome but omits any reference to Seth (Gardiner 1947a, 62; Baines and Málek 1994, 129). The papyrus of Pakharekhons Pawerem (Papyrus Salt 581 - BM 10252) records how ‘a lamentation goes around Oxyrhynchus that Seth had fallen on his side, robbed of all his lands and his temple destroyed’ (Schott 1929, 15 16 to 17 3; Te Velde 1967, 115). While the Ptolemaic Papyrus Salt 825 Recto V Lines 1 and 2 also links Seth to the land of Oxyrhynchus (Derchain 1965, 41, 138).

7.3.8 Spermeru

The town was also situated in the 19th Nome of Upper Egypt somewhere between the modern settlements of el-Qeis to the east of Per-medjed and Inhasya el-Medina in the 20th Nome to the north. The name of Spermeru, means ‘near to the desert’ and the Myth of Horus at Edfu temple refers to the ‘waters of Spermeru’, which implies that the settlement was located on the section of land between the Bahr Yusuf and the desert within the 19th Nome (Gauthier 1928, 28, 31; Chassinat 1931, 118; Gardiner 1947b, 110*-111*). The settlement was established in the Ramesside period and was the most important town in the region. The 20th Dynasty Papyrus Harris 1 Recto column 61b line 12 records both the region and Spermeru as being the domain of Seth (Grandet 1994a, 311). The 20th Dynasty Papyrus Wilbour is a record of 2,800 plots of land owned and administered by a wide range of secular and religious institutions in a section of the Nile Valley extending approximately 95 miles (140 kilometres) from Tihna near to the modern settlement of el-Minya in the south, close to the modern settlement of el-Wasta in the north (Gardiner 1948a, 9, Map II; Katary 1989, 1). Within the papyrus, Recto §92 column A38 line 40 records the ‘House of Seth, Lord of Spermeru’, while columns §94 A39 line 6 and §168 64 line 5 records the ‘House of Nephthys in the House of Seth’. A number of subsidiary shrines are also recorded, the ‘House of Seth, Powerful is His Mighty Arm’ in §119, A45 line 11, and the ‘House of Seth, Lord of Wealth and Power’ in §167 A64, line 1 (Gardiner 1948b, 40-41, 47, 67). Katary, in her work on Ramesside land tenure, proposes that the House of Seth, Lord of Wealth and Power was identified with House of Seth, Powerful is His Mighty Arm which was a shrine or chapel within the main temple of Seth at Spermeru (Katary 1989, 219). Also recorded in the papyrus are the names and occupations of the tenants of the land plots, which listed 240 personal names derived

from the Egyptian deities. Of these names 42, 39 male and 3 female, were associated to Seth (Faulkner 1952, 102-108). The occupations of the recorded tenants were diverse in their nature and extending through the layers of the social hierarchy from priests down to the peasants who actually worked the land. Those names recorded working the land related to Spermeru included three Seth based names used by 7 men and covering 6 different occupations. These names were Setkha , used by three men whose occupations were priest, cultivator and a Sherden (Gardiner 1947b, §92 38 43, §94 39 8, §118 44 24, §168 64 7), Setnakhte , used by two men whose occupations were scribe and cultivator (Gardiner 1947b, §92 38 45, §118 44 24, §118 44 26) and Setemhab , used by two men whose occupations were soldier and stable master (Gardiner 1947b, §118 44 25, §119 45 15). The Ptolemaic inscriptions at Edfu and Dendara record Spermeru as being one of the four cult centres of Seth (Figs. 8.15 and 8.16) (Brugsch 1879, 277; Chassinat 1897, 174; Chassinat 1918, 52; Gauthier 1928, 28; Gardiner 1947b, 110*; Mercer 1949, 49; Cauville 2000, Pl. 47).

7.3.9 Piwayna .

The town was situated in the 20th Nome of Upper Egypt . It was thought to have been located north of Spermeru on the west bank of the Nile, but between the river and the Bahr Yusuf canal. Nothing is known about the settlement other than a reference to it in the 20th Dynasty Papyrus Wilbour. Recto §99 Column A39 line 30 refers to the 'House of Seth, Lord of Piwayna' (Gardiner 1948b, 41; Katary 1989, 92-93).

The settlement was possibly sited at the start of two routes through the desert, the first to the east, leading from the Nile Valley through the Eastern Desert to the Red Sea coast. The second went to the west, through the Western Desert to the Bahariya Oasis.

7.3.10 Su .

The exact location of the town is now lost but is thought to be located in the Upper Egyptian 20th Nome, north of Per-wayna and on the east side of the Faiyum. The ancient Egyptians considered that the town was the birth place of Seth (Brugsch 1879, 752; Gauthier 1928, 61; Gardiner 1947b, 117*; Gardiner 1948a, Map II). Very little is known about the settlement, however, it is first mentioned in the Old Kingdom in the reliefs of the upper

mortuary temple of Unas at Saqqara (Labrousse *et al.* 1977, 97 N1). While in the Middle Kingdom, the decoration on three of the 12th Dynasty statues of Senwosret I found at Lisht, make reference to ‘*Seth Lord of Su*’ (Gautier *et al.* 1902, Figs. 34, 36, 37). The 20th Dynasty Temple of Medinet Habu records ‘*Seth Lord of Su*’ (Fig. 7.19) (The Epigraphic Survey 1964, Pl. 582). The 20th Dynasty Papyrus Wilbour Recto §52 B24, line 29 refers to the ‘*House of Seth, Lord of Su*’ (Gardiner 1948b, 132) while the 20th Dynasty Papyrus Harris I Recto column 61b line 15 records the ‘*temple of Seth, Lord of Su*’ (Grandet 1994a, 311). A 22nd Dynasty inscription from the reign of Sheshonq I recovered from the 20th Nome town of Herakleopolis records the existence of a priest of Seth, Lord of Su (Daressy 1913, 134; Tresson 1938, 822).

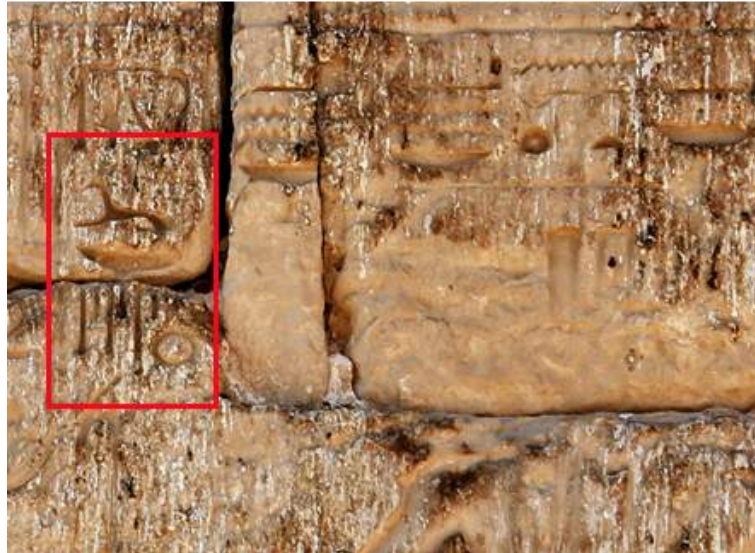




Fig. 7.19: Seth, Lord of Su (highlighted) on the external face of the north wall to 20th Dynasty temple of Medinet Habu. The seated figure of Seth is just visible to the bottom right of the photo.

The proposed location of Su on the edge of the oasis site of the Faiyum would also link Seth with a desert location and the epithet ‘*of the Oases*’ as recounted in the 19th Dynasty Papyrus Chester Beatty IX Verso B9, line 4 where Seth was the Lord of the Oases and in the Ptolemaic inscriptions at Edfu and Dendara which record that the oases as being one of the four cult centres of Seth (Gardiner 1935a, 109; Gardiner 1935b, Pl 59; Chassinat 1897, 174; Chassinat 1918, 52; Cauville 2000, Pl. 47). The Papyrus of Pakharekhons Pawerem (Papyrus Salt 561-BM 10252) records how ‘*Su laments that Seth had fallen on his side, robbed of all his lands and Seth’s temple destroyed*’ (Schott 1929, 15 line 16 to 17 line 3; Te Velde 1967, 115). While the Ptolemaic Papyrus Salt 825 Recto V Lines 1 and 2 states that Su was a place of Seth (Derchain 1965, 41, 138).


7.4 Seth in Lower Egypt.

The border between Upper and Lower Egypt was situated to the north of Su, where the Nile Valley widens out at the start of the Delta. Despite Seth being associated with Upper Egypt, the lands of the south, there were also settlements connected with him in Lower Egypt.

7.4.1 Pihapy .

The town was situated in the 13th Nome of Lower Egypt  on the east bank of the Nile. The settlement is closely associated the settlement of Kher-aha  that it is impossible to discuss one settlement without referring to the other one, suggesting they are one and the same (Gauthier 1925b, 110; Gardiner 1947a, 131*). Although Pihapy was not the location of Seth worship, the ancient Egyptian tradition had it that it was at the dividing line between Upper and Lower Egypt and the location where Horus and Seth fought. This belief is confirmed in certain texts; Pyramid Text spell P497 recounts Horus and Seth crawling at Kher-aha; the battle between Horus and Seth is recounted in the 19th Dynasty Papyrus Sallier IV Recto 2, line 8 and in the 20th Dynasty Papyrus Chester Beatty 1 Recto 8 line 9. Pyramid Text spell P472 tells how the king takes the eye of Horus from Seth at the place where they fought (Gardiner 1947a, 134*-136*; Faulkner 1968, 197, 212; Allan 2005, 163, 173).

7.4.2 Hutwaret .

Hutwaret or Avaris was located in the 19th Nome of Lower Egypt  on the Pelusaic branch of the Nile in the Eastern Delta close to the modern settlement of el Khata'na (Baines *et al.* 1994, 166-167, 175; Quirke 2001, 525). During the 2nd Intermediate Period, Avaris was the capital of the invading Hyksos and the 21st Dynasty Papyrus Sallier 1 recounts how the Hyksos king Apep took Seth as his god and built a temple to him there (Wente 1973, 70, N3). Whether the god chosen by Apep was actually the Egyptian deity Seth or an indigenous Hyksos deity that the Egyptians identified with Seth is impossible to determine but Te Velde suggests that the relief on the 400 year stela found at Tanis is celebrating Seth in the form of Baal and this images predates the invasion of the Hyksos dating to an earlier Egyptian tradition. Supporting evidence of Seth worship at Avaris predating the 2nd Intermediate Period occurs on a 12th dynasty statue of Amenemhat II usurped by Merneptah and

recovered by Petrie from Tanis which bore the inscription 'Seth, Lord of Avaris' (Petrie 1885, 5, Pl. II 5a; Gardiner 1918b, 255; Stadelmann 1965, 52; Te Velde 1967, 125-126). A recent discovery made during the archaeological works associated with the building of the new Suez canal was a stela of Ramesses I making an offering to Seth who bears the epithet of 'Seth lord of Hutwaret' (<http://egiptologia.prv.pl/>) (Fig. 7.20).

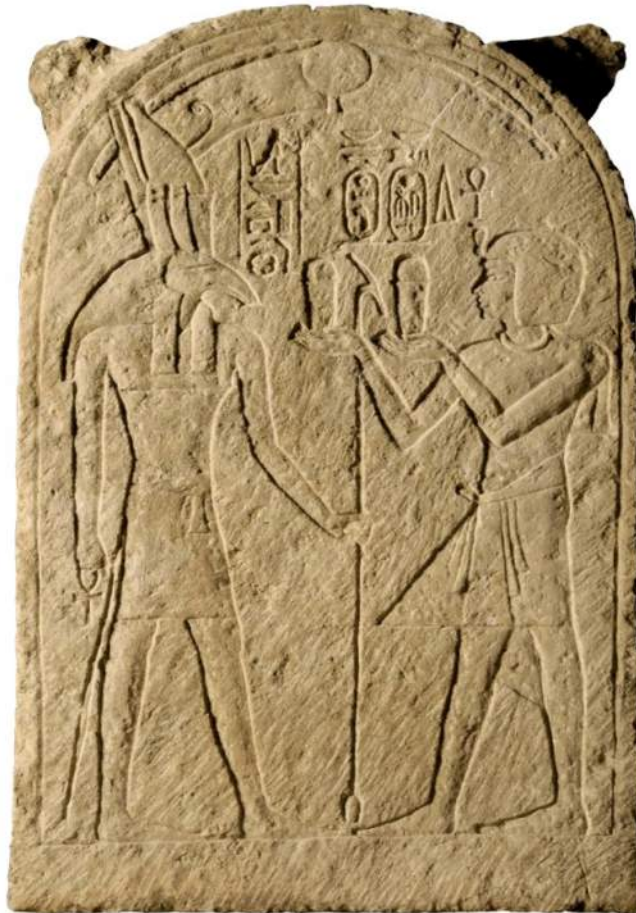


Fig. 7.20: Stela showing Ramesses I making an offering to Seth, lord of Hutwaret. 19th Dynasty.

7.4.3 Piramesse 𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏.

The town was also located in the 19th Nome of Lower Egypt on the Pelusaic branch of the Nile in the Eastern Delta close to the modern settlement of Qantir and to the north of the settlement of Avaris (Baines *et al.* 166-167, 175). The settlement was founded at the beginning of the 18th Dynasty and was the Delta residence of the Ramesside rulers from the 19th until its abandonment at the end of the 20th Dynasty (Pusch *et al.* 1999, 647). The 19th Dynasty Papyrus Anastasi IV Recto column 6 line 4 refers to the House of Seth being located in the southern section of the city (Gardiner 1918a 187; Uphill 1969, Fig. 4), while the 20th Dynasty Papyrus Harris I Recto column 60 lines 2 to 5 records the building works by

Ramesses III at the temple of Seth at Piramesse (Grandet 1994a 307-308). The worship of Seth at Piramesse would appear to be logical as the Ramesside Dynasty originated in the Eastern Delta and would have been exposed to the worship of Seth at Avaris, to the extent that Ramesses II's father and great grandfather were both called Seti '*man of Seth*' (Te Velde 1967, 125; Assmann 1996, 200; Kitchen 2001, 534-535). The location of Piramesse was adjacent to the north-eastern border of Egypt at the narrow land bridge that separates the Mediterranean and the Red Sea and links Africa with Eurasia and was a point of contact via the caravan routes with foreign lands along the eastern Mediterranean. Archaeological evidence has confirmed that Piramesse was the home to a large number of foreigners including a Hittite workman, as well as a number of foreign deities (Pusch *et al.* 1999, 648; Pusch 2001, 48-50). These foreign workmen could have possibly worshiped Seth in his form as Baal, as portrayed on the 400 year stela originally erected in Piramesse but later moved to Tanis, on which Seth is portrayed not as the usual Egyptian deity with the characteristic Seth animal head, but as the fully human foreign god Baal holding the Egyptian *ankh* and *was* sceptre (Fig. 7.21), reinforcing Seth's association to foreign lands.



Fig. 7.21: Seth on the 400 year stela portrayed as the foreign god Baal dressed in a non-Egyptian tasselled tunic and conical crown with a trailing long streamer with a tasselled termination, while holding the Egyptian *ankh* and *was* sceptre. Cairo Museum.

Ramesside Dynasty. The association with these sites was not continuous but changed as the fortunes of both Seth and the sites fluctuated during the course of dynastic history.

As well as being worshiped through the length of the Nile Valley and the Delta, Seth as the deity of the desert, was also strongly associated with the inhabited oases of the Western Desert. It is this association which is the subject of the following chapter by the analysis of the evidence obtained from the archaeological record and written texts.

Chapter 8: Seth in the Egyptian Oases.

8.1 Seth and the Egyptian Desert.

The previous chapter discussed the relationship of Seth to sites within the Nile Valley and Delta, however, Seth was also closely linked with the Egyptian desert. In this chapter, by utilising evidence from the archaeological record and written texts, Seth's association to the desert sites is analysed. The association of Seth with the desert, a place of chaos outside of the *maat* of Egypt, predated dynastic Egypt and, as discussed previously in Chapter 1, it is possible that in the Predynastic Period Seth was originally worshiped as a deity of the desert. In the Old Kingdom Pyramid Text Spells P329, P337 and N302 recount how Seth killed Osiris in the land of the Gazelles - *Ghsty*, the desert, the place suitable for the act of violence that brought death into the world of the gods (Gardiner 1947b, 9*; Faulkner 1968, 166, 172, 263; Allen 2005, 133, 262, 279).

The Seth animal was also linked to the desert. The decoration in the Middle Kingdom tombs of Baqt III and Khety at Beni Hasan depicts the Seth animal in desert hunting scenes, suggesting that the desert was its natural habitat (Figs. 8.1 and 8.2) and possibly represented a beast of bad luck for the hunter (Newberry 1893b, Pl. 4 and Pl. 13; Mercer 1949, 49; Te Velde 1967, 24, 111).

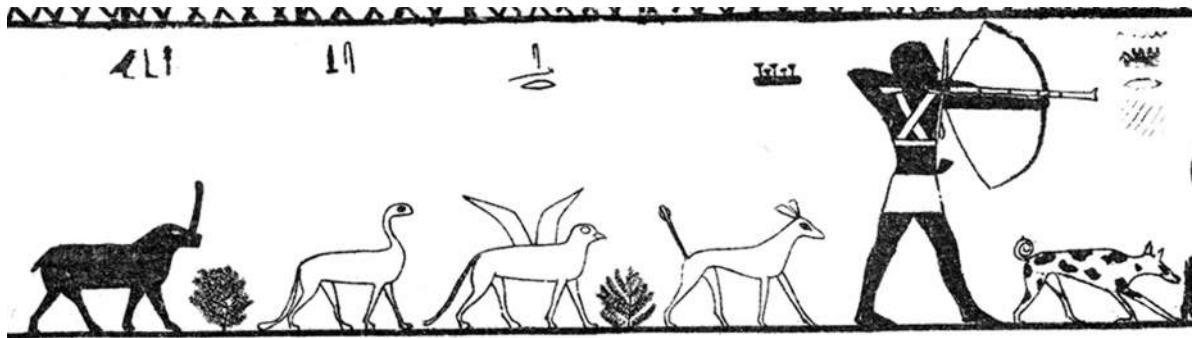


Fig. 8.1: Seth animal in the desert along with other mythological animals including a griffin and snake-headed quadruped. Tomb of Baqt III, No15 Beni Hasan, 11th Dynasty.

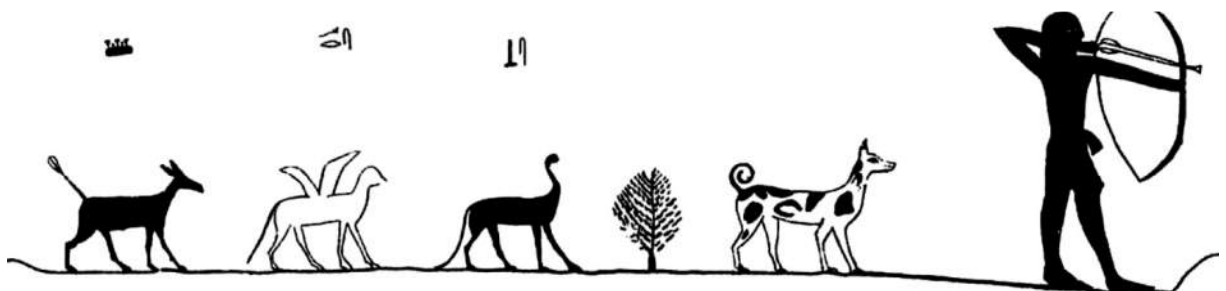




Fig. 8.2: Seth animal in the desert along with other mythological animals including a griffin and snake-headed quadruped. Tomb of Khety, No17 Beni Hasan, 11th Dynasty.

This association with the desert also linked Seth to the borders of Egypt and beyond to foreign lands, which initially were those lands adjacent to Egypt's borders and later to the countries that the expanding Egyptian empire came into contact with during the New Kingdom. It has been mooted that the reason for Peribsen's adoption of the Seth animal on his *serekh* in the 2nd Dynasty was that his power extended beyond the borders of Egypt as claimed by his epithet 'conqueror of Asia'. This association is possibly very ancient; evidence from the Old Kingdom presents the linking of Seth with Libya to the west. By the 4th Dynasty, a cult of Seth had been established in the Sinai (Kees 1955, 110), while the Middle Kingdom Coffin Text Spell 670 §220 describes Seth as the lord of foreign lands (Te Velde 1967, 110-113; Faulkner 1978, 195).

In Papyrus Chester Beatty III Recto 11, the section dealing with the characteristics of a man of Seth denotes him as being foreigner (Gardiner 1935b, 20). It is not too improbable to conceive the idea that the author of the text visualised the man of Seth as a foreigner and that foreigners were the followers of Seth. The interaction with foreign lands would have brought the Egyptians into contact with the local foreign gods who had characteristics that could be identified with those of Seth. These gods included to the east, Baal of the western Semites and Teshub of the Hittites and in the west, Ash of the Libyans. However, on the New Kingdom victory stela of Merneptah, the god of the Libyans is referred to as Seth (Speigelberg 1896, 3, 12; Lichthiem 1973b, 75). This may be due to the fact that the Libyans lost the battle as their god deserted them, aiding the Egyptians instead, something Seth as a true Egyptian deity would do.



Fig. 8.3: 2nd Dynasty sealing of Peribsen with the Libyan god Ash depicted as Seth wearing a white crown, carrying a *was* sceptre and an *ankh* positioned between the king's *serekhs*. Ash has a hieroglyphic label  above his head. British Museum BM EA 35515.

The 2nd Dynasty mud seals of Peribsen, recovered by Petrie from Abydos and now in the British Museum (EA 35595) and the Petrie Museum (UC 36827), show the Libyan god Ash with a hieroglyph label 𓆎  between the king's serekhs (Fig. 8.3). Ash is represented as a biomorphic Seth wearing the white crown of Upper Egypt and holding an *ankh* and a *was* sceptre, which raises the question of whether the image is actually the Egyptian's interpretation of Ash or is actually Seth representing Ash.

To the south of Egypt was Nubia but this country was Egyptianised to such a degree the Egyptians did not regard it as a foreign country therefore, there was no association of Seth with any of the local Nubian gods. The exact details of the gods of the invading Hyksos of the 2nd Intermediate Period are not known but the Papyrus Sallier I records how the Hyksos king Apep, took Seth as his god and built a temple to him at Avaris (Wente 1973, 70, N3). However, whether they actually worshiped Seth or they worshiped one of their own gods that the Egyptians identified with Seth it is not possible to determine.

8.2 Places in the desert associated with Seth.

Although the Western Desert was a dangerous and inhospitable environment, a number of settlements existed in the major oases that occurred there. Within these oases, a number of the sites were associated with Seth and his worship. These sites are detailed in Table 8.1, with those possibly associated with Seth being detailed in Table 8.2.

Kharga Oasis	Dakhla Oasis	Siwa Oasis
Hebet (Hibis)	Mut el-Kharab	Siwa – Umm Ubaydah
Hill of Seth	Sio'h (Deir el-Hagar)	
	Kellis (Ismant el-Kharab)	
	Ankh (el-Qasr)	
	Ain Birbiyeh	
	Tenida	

Table 8.1: Locations in the oases of the Western Desert associated with Seth.

Kharga Oasis	Dakhla Oasis	Siwa Oasis
Qasr el-Zaiyan		Siwa - Aghurmi

Table 8.2: Locations in the oases of the Western Desert possibly associated with Seth.

Beginning in the south of the Western Desert and following the series of natural depressions that were the locations of the oases northwards, the sites associated with Seth are discussed below.

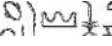
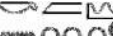
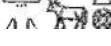

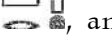
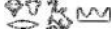
The 19th Dynasty papyrus Chester Beatty IX Verso B9, line 4 announces Seth as the ‘*Lord of the Oasis*’ (Gardiner 1935a, 109) and inscriptions in the Ptolemaic temples at Edfu and Dendera record the oases as one of the four cult centres of Seth (Chassinat 1897, 174; Chassinat 1918, 52; Cauville 2000, Pl 47) (Figs. 8.4 and 8.5). Despite these references to the oases no particular oasis or oases are actually named.



Fig. 8.4: Seth and his cult centre of the oases in room F, temple of Edfu. Ptolemaic Period.



Fig. 8.5: Seth and his cult centre of the oases in 2nd Hypostyle Hall, temple of Edfu. Ptolemaic Period.

There were six major oases within the Egyptian borders and these were all located within the Western Desert. Starting in the south these were Kharga , Dakhla , Farafra , Baharyia , Wadi Natrun , and Siwa . The first four oases Kharga, Dakhla, Farafra, and Baharyia extend in a rough south to north crescent parallel and close to the Nile Valley. These oases were important to Egypt both strategically, as they controlled the western approaches to the Nile Valley and economically on account of the various agricultural products, including dates, olives and wine, they produced and exported (Gauthier 1925a, 202-203; Gauthier 1928, 143; Winlock 1936, 58; Fakhry 1941, 842; Fakhry 1944, 21, 112, 143, 163; Fakhry 1971, 29 N 17; Giddy 1987, 140-152; Aufrère 2000, 79-127; Mills 2001a, 254; Mills 2001b, 499-500). The 18th Dynasty tombs of Puyemre (TT39) and Rekhmire (TT100) at Thebes record the produce of the oases being delivered to the temple of Amun at Karnak (Davis 1922, 79, 82, Pl. XXXI; Davis 1943a,

45; Davis 1943b, Pls. XLIX and L) (Figs 8.6 and 8.7) and the 18th Dynasty temple of Luxor records the stone exported from the oases (Müller 1910, 90-91 Figs 21-22).

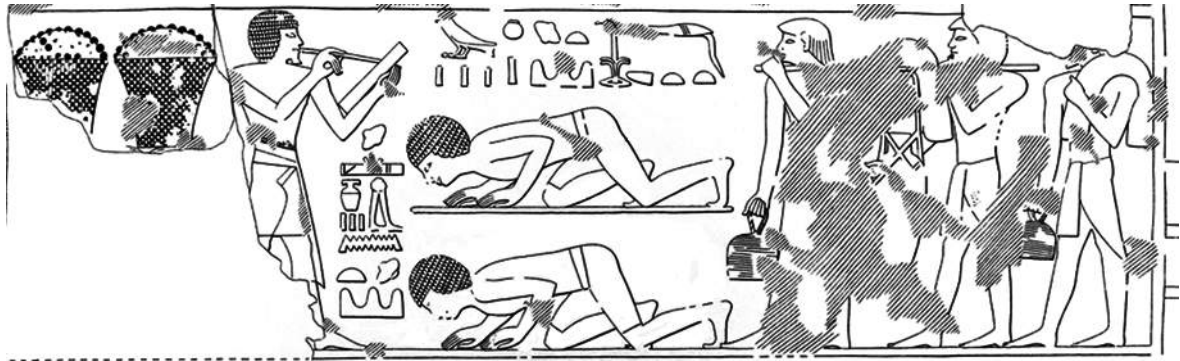


Fig. 8.6: Representatives from the southern oases (Dakhla(?) and Kharga) and the northern oases (Bahariya and Farafra(?)) delivering their tributes to Amun. 18th Dynasty tomb of Puyemre (TT39) at Thebes.

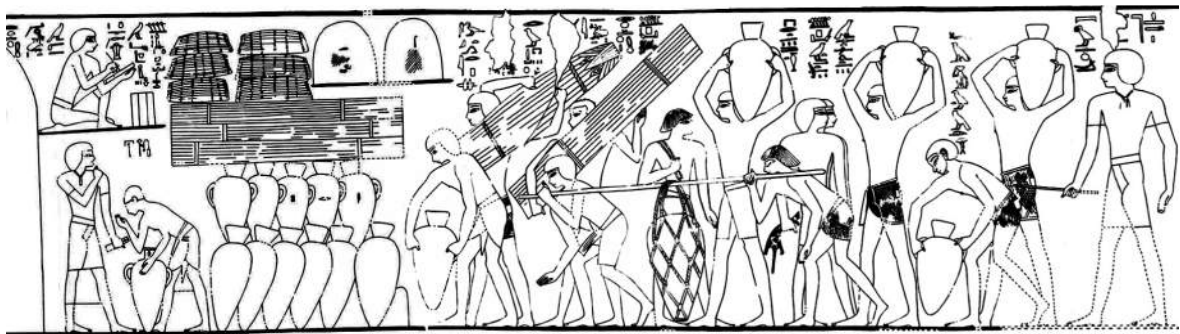


Fig. 8.7: Representatives from the oases delivering their tributes to Amun. 18th Dynasty tomb of Rekhmire (TT100) at Thebes.

The fifth oasis, Wadi Natrun, is located close to the western edge of the Nile Delta and was not a true oasis, but rather a series of salt lakes from which the Egyptians obtained natron and salt (Mills 2001a, 254).

The sixth oasis, that of Siwa, was the most northerly and westerly of the oases, being located near Egypt's western border with Libya and close to the Mediterranean coast which lay to the north. This geographic location would have possibly made the oasis more strongly linked to the Libyan tribes than to the Egyptians of the Nile Valley. Current archaeological evidence indicates that the Egyptianisation of Siwa did not occur until the 26th Dynasty during the reign of Amasis (Fakhry 1973, 77; Giddy 1987, 16-17; Kuhlmann 1998, 161-163; Mills 2001b, 500).

Again, beginning at the most southerly of the oases and travelling northwards, the individual oasis are discussed in their geographic sequence. The locations of the pertinent sites within the Kharga and Dakhla Oases are shown in Fig. 8.8.

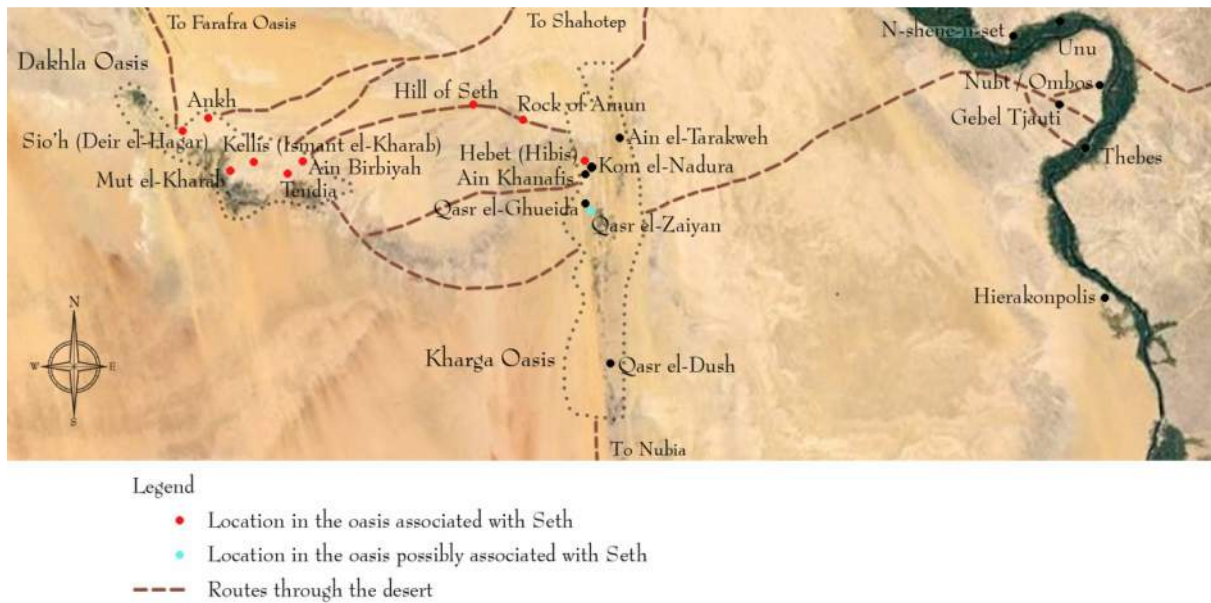


Fig. 8.8: Map detailing the places within the oases of Kharga and Dakhla associated with Seth.

8.3 Kharga Oasis $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$

The Kharga Oasis is the most southern and eastern of the four oases close to the Nile valley, being located 124 miles (200 km) to the west of Luxor. The oasis is orientated north-south with a length of 99 miles (160 km) and a maximum width of 15 miles (25 km) east-west. It is connected to the Nile Valley by two desert routes, the first going north to join the Nile Valley at Shashotep, while the second route went eastwards to join the Nile Valley opposite N-sheh-n-set. Two further trails link Kharga Oasis to Dakhla Oasis in the west (Gauthier 1925a, 203; Winlock 1941, 1; Giddy 1987, 6; Baines *et al.* 1994, 187). Within the confines of the oasis, seven temple sites are known to exist: Hebet, Qasr el-Ghueida, Kom el-Nadura, Qasr el-Zaiyan, Qasr el-Dush, Ain Khanafis and Ain el-Tarakweh. To date only the restored temple of Hebet has been fully recorded and published. However, of these Qasr el-Zaiyan is known to be dedicated to Amun, while Qasr el-Dush is dedicated to the triad of Isis, Serapis and Horus and Kom el-Nadura to Khonsu. Of the remaining three temples, Qasr el-Ghueida, Ain Khanafis and Ain el-Tarakweh, nothing is known of their dedications (Fakhry 1972, 215-216; Porter *et al.* 1995, 270; Arnold 1999, 92, 267, 308; Klotz 2012, 299-300). A range of archaeological evidence exists for an association between Amun and Seth within the temple and in personal worship (Vandier 1969, 190, 195; Hope *et al.* 2011, 227-228, 236). With this known connection, it is feasible that the temples of Amun within the oasis were in some way linked to the worship of Seth.

8.3.1 Hebet

Hebet, the modern settlement of Hibis, was located at the junction of the desert routes to the Nile Valley and the Dakhla Oasis. As well as being the ancient administrative capital of Kharga Oasis, Hebet was the site of the temple of Amun. The current sandstone temple, rooms A to M, was begun in the 26th Dynasty, during the reign of Psamtik II, with temple being ‘renewed’ and additional decoration added in the 27th Dynasty during the reign of Darius I and possibly Darius II (Cruz-Uribe 1987, 229-230). The temple was extended with addition of room N in the 29th Dynasty during the reign of Hakor, with further building works being undertaken in the 30th Dynasty during the reigns of Nectanebo I and Nectanebo II when the portico Q was constructed. The mud brick enclosure wall encircling the temple building was added during the reign of Ptolemy II (Fig. 8.9) (Winlock 1941, 57; Cruz-Uribe 1987, 229-230). Although archaeological evidence exists for an earlier temple, this had been systematically demolished and although some stone blocks had been reused in the new temple, no evidence of when the earlier temple was constructed or the identity of the original deity to which the temple was dedicated can be determined (Gauthier 1927, 5; Winlock 1941, 4-5).

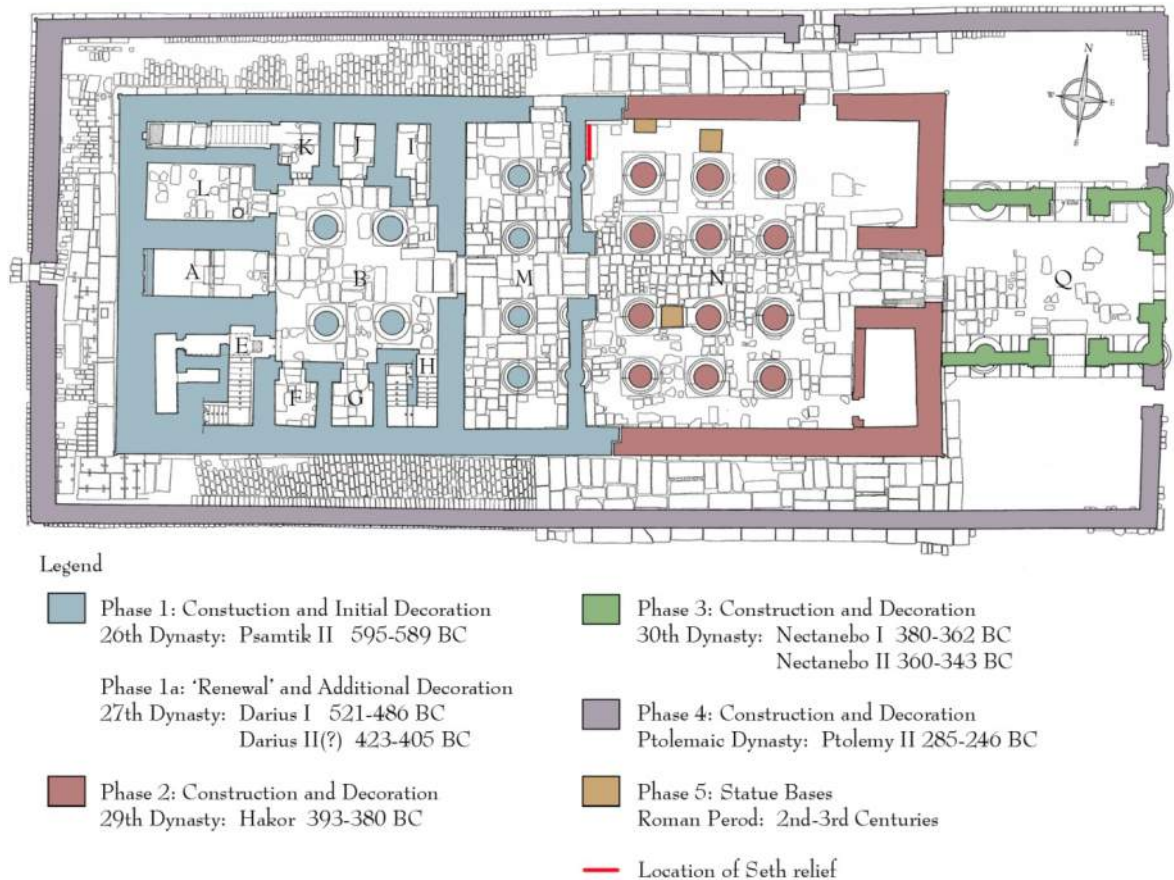


Fig. 8.9: Temple of Hibis showing the phases of construction and the location of the bas relief of Seth.

Although the temple was dedicated to Amun as its principal deity, there is evidence within it of the importance of Seth at Hebet. On the external face of the north end of the east wall of the Hypostyle Hall of the Phase 1 of the temple construction is the famous relief of a hawk-headed Seth spearing the serpent Apep (Fig. 8.10). Although this image is later re-carved in bas-relief replacing the original incised relief image, the original vertical registers of associated hieroglyphs remains intact (the re-carving of the image is discussed further in Chapter 9). The text proclaims 𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏 ‘*Setekh great of strength great god in the midst of Hebet*’ (Fig. 8.11) (Winlock 1941, Pl. XIII; Davis 1953, 27-28, Pl. 77b).



Fig 8.10: Bas-relief of Seth spearing the serpent Apep on the external face of the original 27th Dynasty hypostyle hall built in the reign of Darius I.



Fig 8.11: Incised hieroglyphs on the top right hand corner of the image of Seth in Fig 8.10 linking him to Hebet (Hibis).

This short piece of text announces that Seth was present in Hebet. Although he was not the principal god of the temple, he was a deity of the desert and with the evidence of a link between Amun and Seth (Vandier 1969, 190, 195; Ikram 2008, 31; Hope *et al.* 2011, 227-228), it would be feasible that a subsidiary chapel or shrine dedicated to him existed in the temple located at the hub of desert routes going to the Nile Valley and the Dakhla Oasis.

8.3.2 Qasr el-Zaiyan.

Qasr el-Zaiyan is situated south of Hebet and is the location of a small temple dedicated to Amun. Although according to an inscription on the entrance gate lintel that it was restored by the Roman emperor Antonius Pius (131-161 AD) in 151 AD, the temple was constructed during the Ptolemaic period (Fakhry 1972, 215; Baines *et al.* 1994, 187; Arnold 1999,

267). Although dedicated to Amun, with the link between Amun and Seth (Vandier 1969, 190, 195; Hope *et al.* 2011, 227-228, 236) it is possible that the temple may have been a site of Seth worship. However, this proposal can only be confirmed by further archaeological investigation.

8.3.3 Hill of Seth.

The Hill of Seth is a site on the desert trail Darb Ain Amur that traversed the desert between the northern end of the Kharga Oasis and the eastern end of the Dakhla Oasis. In 2006 the North Kharga Oasis Survey whilst recording the archaeology along route of the Darb Ain Amur discovered an outcrop of rock in which a recess had been enhanced and dedicated to Seth. The recess contained petroglyphs of the Seth animal (Fig. 8.12) as well as several brief inscriptions naming him. In addition, the rock was riddled with holes that may have been the dens of desert animals that would be have been sacred to Seth (Ikram 2006b, 22; Ikram *et al.* 2006).



Fig. 8.12: Seth animal petroglyphs from the Hill of Seth on the Darb Ain Amur desert trail between Kharga and Dakhla Oases.

In the petroglyphs, Seth is portrayed as a squatting Seth animal with a tripartite wig extending down the forelegs, an artistic style that can be traced to the New Kingdom, particularly the 19th Dynasty (see Chapter 11). This graphic style of the Seth carvings and the supporting evidence of the New Kingdom pottery sherds that littered the site (Ikram 2013 pers. comm.) would sustain the idea that this ‘vernacular shrine’ dated to the New Kingdom. The existence of a site dedicated to Seth on a desert route between oases was a logical

expression of Seth worship, a place where offerings could be made to the desert deity to ensure a safe journey through a dangerous land. In addition to the images of Seth, there are references to Amun (Ikram 2006a, Ikram 2006b, 22), a further example of a link between Seth and Amun.

8.3.4 Rock of Amun.

Discovered in 2008 by the North Kharga Oasis Survey, the Rock of Amun is located along the Darb Ain Amur between the Kharga and Dakhla Oases. The outcrop of rock is orientated north-south and is covered with graffiti dating from the Pharaonic and Roman Periods. In the east face of the outcrop a simple rectangular chamber has been carved, possibly a tomb. The graffiti carved around the entrance of this chamber show this site was a favoured stopping point along the desert trail and dates from the Pharaonic Period onwards. The focus of the graffiti's texts being the god Amun, however, there are also references to Seth, reminiscent to those discovered at Seth rock. Ikram proposed that this was another 'vernacular shrine' dedicated to the combination of Seth, the god of the desert, and Amun (Ikram 2008, 31).

8.4 Dakhla Oasis

The Oasis of Dakhla is located 73 miles (118 km) due west from the northern end of the Kharga Oasis and is orientated west-north-west to east-south-east. The oasis is 49 miles (80 km) in length with a maximum of width of 15 miles (24 km) (Giddy 1987, 16; Kaper *et al.* 2006, 1). The oasis is connected by desert routes to the Kharga Oasis and the Nile Valley to the east, and the Farafra Oasis to the north-west. Due to the work of the Dakhla Oasis Project there is a greater understanding of the role of Seth at Dakhla than at any of the other oases and a number of sites within the oasis have been revealed to be linked to Seth worship. Although titled '*Lord of the Oases*', Seth was only one of a number of deities who were worshiped throughout the four oases. To date only one confirmed temple dedicated to Seth has been located, this being at the Mut el-Kharab, the capital of the Dakhla Oasis.

8.4.1 Mut el-Kharab

Located centrally within the oasis but close to its southern edge Mut el-Kharab was at the junction of the desert routes to Kharga Oasis and the Nile Valley to the east and the Farafra Oasis to the north-west. Modern archaeological excavations have revealed the presence of a

temple dedicated Seth at this settlement. Although primarily the temple of Seth, other of the major Egyptian deities including Amun and Ra-Horakhty, were also worshiped within the temple (Kaper 2001, 72; Mills 2001b, 500; Hope 2003, 51; Kaper 2004, 136).

During the 2011 excavations within the temple site a gilded and decorated sandstone foundation block was recovered dating to the reign of Ramesses IX. Below the remains of the cartouche was the epithet '*beloved of Seth, Lord of Mit or Mitt*' (Fig. 8.13) providing evidence that the ancient name of Mut el-Kharab was either Mit or Mitt $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$. Also discovered were a number of ostraca dating to the 22nd or 23rd Dynasty, the texts of which often referred to deliveries of wine for Seth or for workers at his temple. One particularly unique ostrakon makes two references to Mit, further supporting evidence of the ancient name for the site (Hope 2012, 6, 7, 15).



Fig 8.13: Gilded foundation stone from the temple of Seth at Mut el-Kharab dated to the 20th Dynasty reign of Ramesses IX and inscribed with the epithet '*beloved of Seth, Lord of Mit or Mitt*'.

The earliest evidence for Seth worship at Mut el-Kharab is provided by a stela inscribed with a very rare hymn to Seth (Fig 8.14). Although there is no cartouche to provide a firm date, Hope and Kaper propose that from the style and layout of the stela, coupled with the genre of the hymn, that it is Ramesside in date (Hope *et al.* 2011, 234-236). Although the top register is severely damaged and the upper sections of the three gods are missing, from the basic fact that the stela is addressed to Seth, he must be one of the two male deities portrayed. Based on the work of Vandier, which highlighted the historic link between Amun and Seth (Vandier 1969, 190, 195), Hope and Kaper postulate that the second figure is Amun. This

idea is supported by the remains of blue paint on the second figure, the colour used for his flesh in the in the post-Amarna Period and the location of the figure on the stela that would allow for the tall feather headdress (Hope *et al.* 2011, 227-229). The female figure standing behind Seth would most likely be his sister/wife Nephthys.



Fig 8.14: Stela with prayer to Seth found at Mut el-Kharab. 19th or 20th Dynasty.

In 1894 Sir Henry Lyons purchased the Dakhla stela and the Smaller Dakhla stela at Mut el-Kharab. These stela were reportedly found at a mound formed by ruined ancient buildings (Speigelberg 1899, 12; Gardiner 1933, 19; Janssen 1968, 165). Although dated to 22nd Dynasty there is debate whether the Dakhla stela was created during the reign Sheshonq I or that of Sheshonq III (Leahy 2010, 45-47). The text on the stela makes references to Seth, the festival of Seth, and the priest of Seth of the Oasis. The top register contains an image of the shrine of Seth; unfortunately this is incomplete with the top of the shrine lost as the result of the damage to the top edge of the stela (Fig. 8.15). Collombert suggested that the lost section of the stela depicted the emblem of the 7th nome of Upper Egypt (Collombert 1997, 53). However, excavations of shrine IV at Kellis, the modern settlement of Ismant el-Kharab, in the Dakhla Oasis revealed a dipinto depicting the cult image of Seth with a hawk's head (Fig. 8.16). Although provisionally dated to the end of the 1st century AD, Kaper

proposes that this cult image was also the one depicted on the Dakhla stela (Kaper 2002, 209, 215-216, Whitehouse 2002, 4-5).



Fig. 8.15: Top register of the 22nd Dynasty Dakhla stela showing the cult image of Seth in the centre, as a garlanded pole situated within a stand similar to head of Osiris at Abydos. Unfortunately the top of the pole which would have contained the image of Seth has been lost. Location of Seth names highlighted.

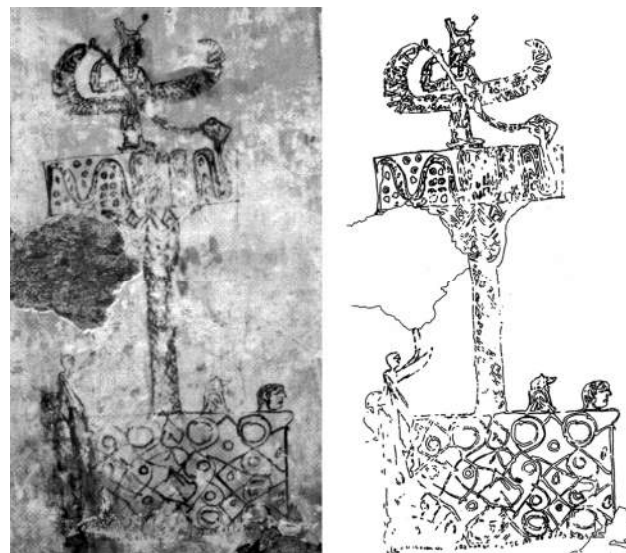


Fig. 8.16: The 1st century AD dipinto from Shrine IV at Kellis representing the cult image of Seth.

On the stela, the name of Seth is rendered phonetically with an E21 Seth animal determinative in the top register $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑}$, while in the body of the text it is written phonetically with a C7 Seth animal headed deity and G7 hawk on standard determinatives $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑}$, giving in both instances the pronunciation 'Sutekh'. This use of the Seth animal within the text does raise a question about the cult image that existed on the stela. The Seth animal is not contemporary with the hawk-headed Seth as suggested by Kaper. What is possible, however, is the figure on the cult image was of the same type as that portrayed in the dipinto, but with a

bimorphic Seth with the Seth animal head or alternatively a Seth in anthropomorphic form (Fig. 8.17).



Fig. 8.17: Author's reconstruction of the top register of the large Dakhla stela.

The smaller Dakhla stela shows a hawk-headed Seth with a sun disk on his head with the epithet of '*Sutekh great of strength*' (Fig. 8.18).



Fig. 8.18: Seth depicted with a hawk's head with a sun disk in the top register of the Late Period small Dakhla stela.

Janssen dated the stela between the late 22nd Dynasty and the early 25th Dynasty, while Parker and Kaper proposed the date of the early 25th Dynasty (Parker 1966, 114; Janssen 1968, 172, Kaper 2001, 74). On this stela, the use of the Seth animal in the writing of Seth has

been avoided with his name being written phonetically but spelt in two different ways. The epithet to the figure at the top of the stela was written $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$ 'Sutekh'. The body of text the name was written $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑}$ 'Setekh'. The use of the hawk-headed Seth and the avoidance of the Seth animal would support a later date after the proscription of Seth (Kaper 2004, 136). The excavations in 1980, at the mound where the two stelae were allegedly recovered, revealed the existence of a stone pharaonic temple and in 2001 a series of finds confirmed it was the temple of Seth of a similar date to the two stelae. Of particular interest was the a stone door architrave in which the original text of name of Seth with a Seth animal determinative and the epithet 'great of strength' had been in filled with plaster and re-carved with Seth being spelt phonetically and the epithet 'great god' (Fig 8.19) (Hope 2001, 55; Kaper 2001, 71, 74).



Fig. 8.19: Door architrave from the temple at Mut el-Kharab. A – original hieroglyphs with a Seth animal. B - original hieroglyphs in-filled and re-carved with the phonetic spelling of Seth and great god epithet. (Author's highlighting).

Also found within the temple enclosure was a fragment of a large faience *was* sceptre, possibly New Kingdom in date, a piece of a small stela with the words Seth [Lord] of the Oasis and a small bronze Seth animal, all possibly from the New Kingdom or the start of the 3rd Intermediate Period as well as an ostrakon written in hieratic that mentions Seth (Hope 2001, 55).

In 1928, a portion of a sandstone stela of Khai, a priest of Seth was discovered at Mut el-Kharab. Although incomplete, the stela is attributed to the 22nd or 23rd Dynasty (Gunn 1929, 94; Kaper *et al.* 2006, 24; Kaper 2009, 153). The top of the stela that contained a relief and the first lines of the text have been lost but a section of nine lines of text written in cursive hieroglyphs remain (Fig. 8.20).



Fig. 8.20: Stela of Khai, priest of Seth in the temple of Igai. 22nd-23rd Dynasty. Priest of Seth highlighted.

The text recounts how Khai was a priest of Seth in the House of Igai and was a servant of Seth. Kaper proposes that this reference to the House of Igai indicates a hitherto unknown temple of Igai (Kaper *et al.* 2006, 24). The discovery of a sandstone block dated to the Middle Kingdom and inscribed with the texts relating to the autobiography of the governor of the oasis Sa-Igai at the temple of Seth at Mut el-Kharab records how he undertook building works to the temple of Igai (Kaper 2008, 56). Whether this temple was actually within the precincts of the temple of Seth or close by cannot be ascertained at present. However, if there is a separate temple, then the presence of a priest of Seth in the temple of Igai would suggest the presence of a subsidiary chapel or shrine dedicated to Seth.

8.4.2 Sio'h .

Sio'h, the modern settlement of Deir el-Hagar is located approximately 16 miles (27 km) north-west of Mut el-Kharab and the temple there was constructed during the Roman Period, with the decoration being undertaken in the 1st century AD during the reigns of Nero (AD 54-68), Vespasian (AD 69-79), Titus (AD 79-81) and Domitian (AD 81-96) (Winlock 1936, 29-30). The reliefs in the portico and sanctuary depict a hawk-headed Seth accompanied with his sister/wife Nephthys (Figs. 8.21 and 8.22) (Winlock 1936, 31, Osing 1985, 230-231).



Fig. 8.21: 1st century AD reliefs from the reign of Titus in the portico of the temple at Deir el-Hagar with a hawk-headed Seth and Nephthys.



Fig. 8.22: 1st century AD reliefs from the reign of Vespasian in the sanctuary of the temple at Deir el-Hagar with a hawk-headed Seth and Nephthys.

The inscription in the portico refers to ‘*Seth, great of power, the great god, Lord of the Oasis*’, while those in the hypostyle hall are damaged the name of Seth is still legible. The inscription in the sanctuary records Seth stabbing Apep, while the text relating to Nephthys announces ‘*she resides in Sio’h*’. The name of Seth is written phonetically in two different ways with no determinative, however, the name would read as ‘*Sutekh*’. In the portico it is written $\text{𓆎}^{\text{𓆎}}$ with the use of the M17 reed 𓆎 instead of the M23 sedge 𓆎 while the sanctuary text the name is written $\text{𓆎}^{\text{𓆎}}$. All the inscriptions within the temple place Seth and Nephthys within the entourage of the god Amun-Ra (Winlock 1936, 31; Osing 1985, 230-231). Texts that accompany these images confirm the importance of the slaying of Apep by Seth (Kaper 1997a, 210).

During the clearing the temple of the centuries of accumulated fill between 1992 and 1995, a small votive statue of Nephthys with the hardened residue of libation offerings on it was found in the pronaos. The statue, which has been tentatively dated to the 21st Dynasty, was dedicated by Penbast the high priest of Seth at the temple at Mut el-Kharab. Kaper proposed that the statue was originally located in the Mut el-Kharab temple and was moved to temple at Deir el-Hagar as a necessary addition to the temples’ cultic itinerary (Kaper 1997b, 232-237). The rear dorsal pillar (Fig. 8.23) is inscribed with hieroglyphic text with the name of Seth written phonetically as ‘*Sutekh*’ with an E21 Seth animal determinative $\text{𓆎}^{\text{𓆎}}$ the same as the large Dakhla stela and as a seated C7 Seth headed deity 𓆎 (Kaper 1997b, 232, fig 2 and 3).



Fig. 8.23: Dorsal pillar of the statue of Nephthys found in the temple of Deir el-Hagar in the Dakhla Oasis.

Although the temple was dedicated to Amun-Ra, the evidence of Seth and Nephthys being in his entourage and the remains of libations on the Nephthys statue would suggest the existence of a subsidiary chapel dedicated to Seth and Nephthys within the temple similar to those in the temple at Spermeru recorded in Recto §94 A39 line 6 and §168 64 line 5 in the 20th Dynasty Papyrus Wilbour (Gardiner 1948b, 47, 67).

8.4.3 Kellis

Kellis, the modern settlement of Ismant el-Kharab, is located 12 miles (20 km), to the east of Mut el-Kharab. In 1992-94, the remains of a painted winged Seth were discovered on the vault of the Ptolemaic Shrine 1 of the temple of Kellis. The image, similar to that of the Seth in the temple at Hebet, was accompanied by an inscription containing the phrase '*He has slain Apep on the bow of the barque (of Ra)*', and as in the Hebet relief, Apep is shown below Seth. (Kaper 1997a, 210; Kaper 1999, 70-73). As seen in the temple at Sio'h, the slaying of Apep by Seth played an important part in the Egyptian beliefs (Kaper 1997a, 210). In 1996 excavations at Shrine IV in the temple revealed a series of 1st century AD dipinti, one of which showed the cult image of Seth (Fig 8.15) (Kaper 2002, 215). As in the Seth image in Shrine 1 and in the temple of Hebet in the Kharga Oasis, Seth was represented as a hawk headed man killing snake Apep that coiled below his feet (Fig. 8.24). The three

images in two different oases portraying the same scene give credence to the suggestion that Seth killing Apep played an important role of the religious beliefs in the oases.

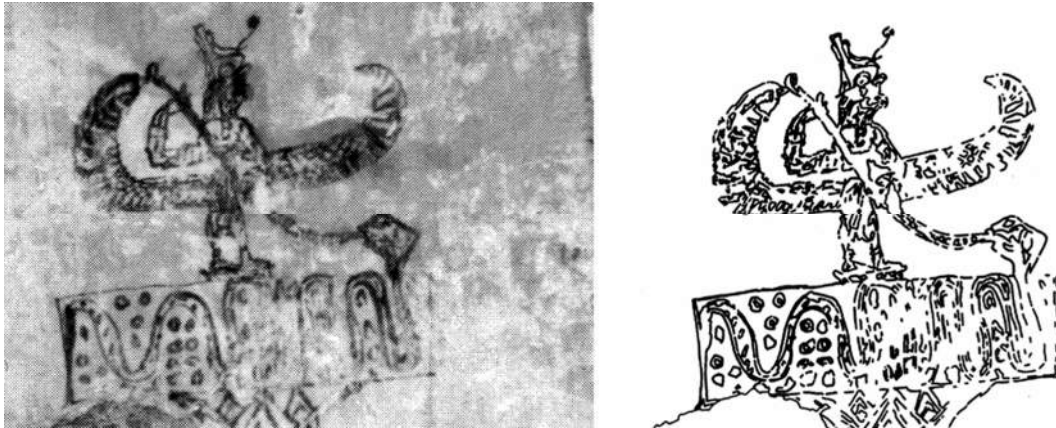


Fig 8.24: The representation of Seth killing Apep from the top of the cult image of Seth from the 1st century AD dipinto from Shrine IV in the temple of Kellis.

8.4.4 Ain Birbiyah.

Ain Birbiyah, 20miles (32 km) to the east of Mut el-Kharab, is the site of a previously unknown temple discovered in 1982 and which since has been fully excavated. The temple was constructed during the Ptolemaic Period with the addition of a pronaos and monumental gate during the Roman Period (Arnold 1999, 246; Kaper 2004, 136). The temple deity was an unknown god Amun-Nakht, a hawk deity that was an assimilation of Amun-Ra and Horus, which was created during the Ptolemaic Period with the intention of supplanting Seth as a god in the Dakhla Oasis. However, in the 2nd century AD a relief of Seth was added to the temple indicating the continuing worship of Seth in the oasis (Kaper 2004, 136-137).

8.4.5 Ankh \dagger ♀ ☉ .

The settlement of Ankh is only known from a reference on a door jamb from the temple of Thoth at el-Kasr and on the dorsal pillar of a small un-provenanced sandstone statue in private ownership and reportedly found at the town of Mut (Fakhry 1972, 219). However, Jacquet-Gordon has proposed that Ankh was located at el-Kasr (Jacquet-Gordon 1991, 174, 176-178). The statue, provisionally dated to the 22nd Dynasty, is a crude sculpture of a priest and although in a damaged condition sections of the hieroglyphic text are still legible. In the central register of texts on the dorsal pillar is an unusual version of the '*htp-di-nsw*' offering spell in which the king makes an offering to Seth Lord of Ankh. In this text Seth is written with an E20 seated Seth animal N but without a god determinative (Fig. 8.25).



Fig. 8.25: Statue found at Mut with the epithet on the dorsal pillar 'Seth Lord of Ankh' 22nd Dynasty.

This would suggest that it was carved prior to the proscription of Seth as after the 3rd Intermediate Period, Seth in the oases was represented with a hawk's head rather than that of the Seth animal (Kaper 2004, 136). The reference to Seth being the Lord of Ankh and a door jamb in the temple of Thoth referring to the settlement of Ankh poses the question: was the temple originally dedicated to Seth but his place was later usurped by Thoth during the proscription, the same way that Thoth replaced Seth in the images of the purification of the pharaoh? An alternative suggestion is that it always was a temple of Thoth but Seth had an ancillary chapel or shrine within the temple.

8.4.6 Tenida.

The modern settlement of Tenida is located to the eastern end of the Dakhla Oasis and is situated between the settlements of Balat to the north and Ain Biriya in the south. A number of petroglyphs exist being inscribed on a long low ridge and in a narrow ravine to the east of the settlement. Within a group labelled 19 are two images of a Seth animal (19c and 19d), a flag pole with streamers (19a) and two men (19b and 19d) the latter with his arms raised at the elbows and small bird. Giddy proposed that from the finer incisions in the rock and less weathering to the petroglyphs 19b and 19c that they were a later copy of 19d (Giddy 1987, 257). However, it is only possible to suggest that they were carved sometime during the Pharaonic Period (Giddy 256-257) (Fig. 8.26).

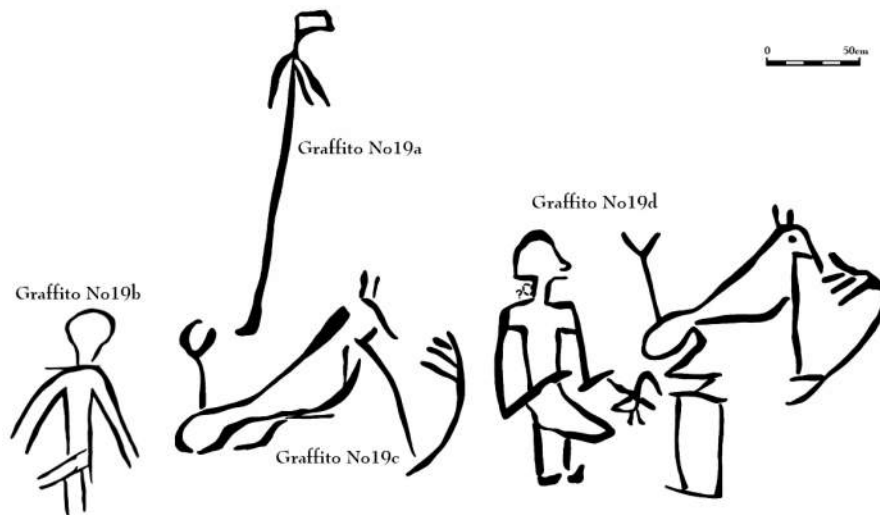


Fig. 8.26: Petroglyphs Group No19 at Tenida.

The earlier images 19a and 19d appear to show a pole with a flag reminiscent of the R8 hieroglyph $\overline{\text{R8}}$, the emblem of divinity, Seth or his statue holding possible lotus blossom and sitting on a socle or altar. Before this altar is a man with his arms raised in supplication as the A30 hieroglyph $\overline{\text{A30}}$ or alternatively was holding a knife and bird ready for sacrifice. These petroglyphs were located close to a route out of the oasis into the desert and what they appear to show is the worship of Seth at a suitable location, a ‘vernacular’ travellers’ shrine, to either ask for a safe journey before leaving the oasis or to give thanks for safe journey on arriving at the oasis.

8.5 Farafra Oasis $\overline{\text{A10}} \overline{\text{A11}} \overline{\text{A12}} \overline{\text{A13}}$.

Farafra Oasis, known as ‘Land of the Cows’ (Gauthier 1929, 4; Winlock 1936, 58; Fakhry 1974, 157) is located 74 miles (119 Km) north-west of Dakhla Oasis and today is the smallest of the five oases. Although mentioned in the ancient texts from the 5th Dynasty to the 19th Dynasty and recorded in the Ptolemaic temple of Edfu, no monuments or objects from the Pharaonic Period have been found to date. The monuments that do exist all date from the Roman Period, but are domestic in scale and nature (Fakhry 1972, 214-215; Fakhry 1974, 157-65).

8.6 Baharyia Oasis $\overline{\text{A14}} \overline{\text{A15}} \overline{\text{A16}}$.

Baharyia Oasis is last of the chain of the four oases closest to the Nile Valley, and is located 55 miles (89 km) north-east of the Farafra Oasis. It is orientated along a north-east to south-west axis, being 59 miles (95 km) in length and 20miles (32km) maximum width in

the north-west to south-east direction. At the northern end of the oasis it is connected to the Nile Valley and the Faiyum by eastward desert trails and to Siwa by a western desert trail. At the southern end a desert trail connects to the Farafra Oasis (Fakhry 1942, VII – IX; Giddy 1987, 15).

Remains of temples dating from the 26th dynasty to the Roman Period have been excavated; to date no image of Seth has been found. The only Seth image recorded is in the inner hall of the 26th Dynasty tomb of Thaty at el-Bawati. Seth is portrayed in a scene from the Book of the Dead and is drawn as bimorphic form stabbed with four knives and as an ass bearing the body of Osiris (Fig. 8.27). (Fakhry 1942, 143, 147; Te Velde 1967, 97). It would appear that although Seth was required in the scene, a decision was made to neutralise him by stabbing him with knives, not the action of a worshipper of Seth.



Fig. 8.27: Image of Seth stabbed with knives. Tomb of Thaty, 26th Dynasty.

8.7 Wadi Natrun

Wadi Natrun is located 40miles (64 km) to the west of the Nile Delta and is aligned diagonally north-west to south-east and roughly parallel to the western edge of the Delta. The Wadi is 25miles (40 km) in length and a maximum of width of 6 miles (9 km) south-west to north-east. Although recorded from the Old Kingdom through to the Ptolemaic Period and is included in the list of oases at Edfu, to date the only buildings of the Dynastic period have been found adjacent to the settlement Beni Salameh at the south-eastern end of the Wadi (Fakhry 1941, 837, 840-844). These remains include those of a 12th Dynasty temple severely damaged by illegal digging in 1933 (Fakhry 1941, 845-848). To date no excavation has been undertaken, so no details of the temple or its dedication are known.

8.8 Siwa Oasis

The last of the Western Desert oases, Siwa, is located between the Qattara Depression and the Egyptian western border with Libya. The oasis is orientated east-west being 51 miles (82 km) in length with a maximum width of 17 miles (28 km) north-south (Fig. 8.28).


Although a number of temple sites exist within the oasis and include Abu Shuruf, Bilad el-Rum, el-Zaytun and Qasr el-Ghashsham, the majority are not in a condition to provide any information about the principle and subsidiary deities worshiped there. It is only the two temples at the settlement of Siwa that are in a condition to provide details of the principle and subsidiary deities involved with the temple, these being the temple of the Oracle at Aghurmi and the temple of Umm Ubaydah.



Fig. 8.28: Map detailing the places within the Siwa Oasis associated with Seth.

8.8.1 Temple of the Oracle, Aghurmi.

Situated on a limestone outcrop of rock and sitting above the surrounding settlement, the temple of the Oracle was begun in the 26th Dynasty during the reign of Ahmose II and has later additions. Unfortunately the exact layout of the temple is not fully known due to the surrounding modern buildings adjoining it preventing its excavation (Fakhry 1944, 86; Arnold 2011, 90). The interior is decorated but has suffered considerable damage and, although Amun is still discernible, a number of the accompanying gods in his entourage are

no longer recognisable. The south-west wall of the room referred to by Fakhry as the ‘Cella’ is inscribed with the only reference to Seth in the form of the name of the governor of Siwa, Sutekh-irdes or Setekh-irdes. However, the name is written phonetically with no Seth animal  (Fakhry 1944, 91-92).

8.8.2 The Temple of Umm Ubaydah.

Located 345 yards (315 metres) to the south-south-east of the outcrop of Aghurmi with the temple of the Oracle and connected by a processional way is a further limestone outcrop on which the temple Umm Ubaydah is located. Built in the 30th Dynasty during the reign of Nectanbo II and also dedicated to Amun, it is possibly the second temple of Amun referred in the 1st century by Diodorus Siculus (Bradford Welles 1989, 263; Fakhry 1944, 97-99; Arnold 1999, 134). The temple, although surviving an earthquake in 1811, was blown up between 1893 and 1898 by the local governor to provide stone for a new police station at Qasr Hassunah and his own house. Today only a single wall of the sanctuary remains standing, which is decorated with reliefs which give some idea of the decoration of the lost sections of the temple (Fakhry 1944, 97; Fakhry 1973, 165; Arnold 1999, 134) (Fig. 8.29).

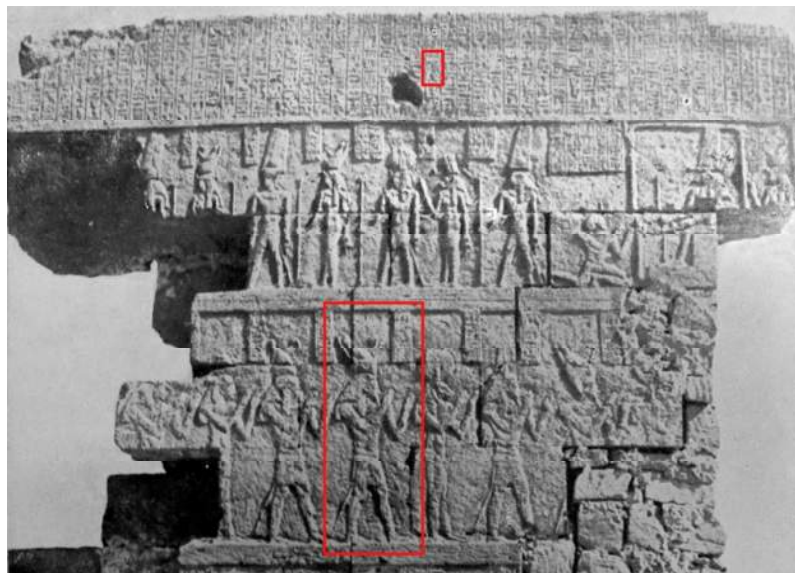






Fig. 8.29: Top portion of surviving section of sanctuary wall at the temple of Amun at Umm Ubaydah. The location of the Seth in the Book of Opening the Mouth and in the second register are highlighted in red.

The decoration of this surviving section of wall consists from the top down, a top register of 51 vertical columns of text from the beginning of the Book of Opening the Mouth (Fakhry 1944, 110). The 23rd column contains the purification of Seth, in which the name is written

phonetically $\overline{\text{D}}$ . It has an A14  man with blood streaming from his head as a determinative as opposed to the A40  seated god determinative written elsewhere in the text. Below these columns of text are three horizontal registers carved in bas relief portraying a number of deities identified with vertical register of text at their heads. The second register contains a row of eight deities, of which the fifth deity from the right is Seth portrayed in anthropomorphic form wearing the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt. Within his text label the name of Seth is written as a prone E21 Seth animal but with a knife in his head  (Fahkry 1944, 112).

In 1820 the temple was visited by a German explorer, von Minutoli, who recorded a section of a now destroyed wall of the sanctuary that stood opposite to the surviving wall (Fig. 8.30).

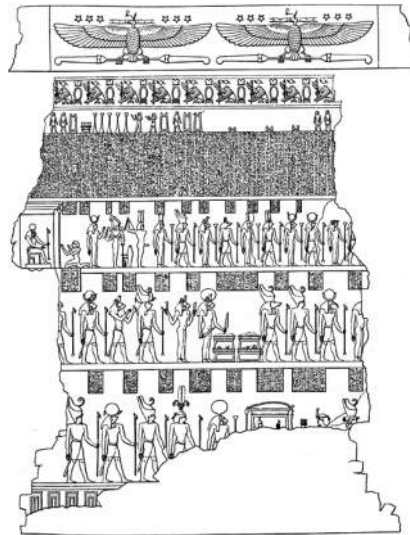


Fig. 8.30: The opposite chamber wall destroyed after 1893 as recorded by von Minutoli in 1820.

The decoration took the same form of a number of vertical columns of text above three horizontal registers each containing rows of deities with a vertical register of text at their heads. Unfortunately the drawing was created prior to the decipherment of hieroglyphs so although the images of the gods are portrayed accurately, the hieroglyphs were recorded as undecipherable sets of squiggles, making it impossible to identify all of the deities with any degree of certainty. This removes the possibility of recognising an image of Seth that might have been carved on the wall (von Minutoli 1824, Pl. IX; Fahkry 1974, 114, 118, Fig 14).

In 1819 a French explorer, Cailliaud, visited Siwa and although he did not draw any illustrations of the temple he did write a description of building which he records as belonging to Jupiter Ammon. He also states that laying near the main door and covered in rubble was a

block of stone 5 feet (1.5 m) in length on which images of Typhon, the Greek name for Seth, were carved on two faces. He was informed by the inhabitants that another similar block had been used in the building of a pond. Caillaiud proposed these two blocks were part of a structure possibly either side of an opening, either in the main temple or an ancillary building he called a Typhonium (Caillaiud 1826, 117-120; Fahkry 1944, 97-99). As discussed previously there was a connection between Amun and Seth. With the portrayal of Seth in the entourage of Amun and Caillaiud's description of one or two stones carved with images of Seth, it is feasible to consider that Seth was an important deity within the temple and the existence of an ancillary chapel dedicated to him.

The proximity of the temple to that of the temple of the Oracle and the fact that they were linked by a processional way would suggest that their ritual operation were comparable. The representation of the governor of Siwa named after Seth was portrayed in the temple of the Oracle, again would suggest that Seth was important within the temples and that there may have been a subsidiary chapel or shrine that was dedicated to Seth in this temple as well. However, without firm archaeological evidence this must remain as a hypothesis.

8.9 Seth and his Places.

From the evidence available, both in written texts and from architectural evidence, Seth was worshiped and associated to a number of sites within the inhabited oases of the Western Desert. Unlike those sites in the Nile Valley and Delta where the Seth's association fluctuated through time as the fortunes of both the sites and Seth rose and fell during the course of dynastic history, Seth's association with the oases sites remained consistent and extended beyond the Dynastic Period into the period of Roman rule of the 2nd Century AD and the Christian era. The oases were a fragile eco-system, existing in the harsh and dangerous desert environment, that could be easily be destroyed by a desert storm or the failure of its water supply, at which time the desert would reclaim the land. As the god of the desert, the continued worship of Seth would have been considered paramount in keeping the status quo and ensuring the survival of the oases.

The worship of Seth survived the period of proscription that occurred in the sites along the Nile; however, it would appear that this survival involved a major change in the iconography of Seth. As well as the obvious change in writing of the name of Seth, from the use of a Seth animal to a phonetic spelling, there was a change in how the image of a Seth as a deity was

portrayed. The head of the Seth animal ceased to be represented; instead Seth was shown with a hawk's head, or as in the Nile Valley, in fully human form. These changes raise a number of questions regarding the proscription of Seth, both within the Nile Valley and the oases. The killing of Apep by Seth appears to have been of importance in the religious beliefs of the oases, the image being replicated within two of the oases and being the cult image of Seth.

It is within the oases the evidence appears for informal sites of Seth worship as well as the formal temple locations. The existence of Seth petroglyphs carved in locations associated with, or on desert routes, suggests an informal or vernacular traveller's shrine; A place at which the traveller would give thanks at prior to or after travelling though the desert, and that images portrayed were scratched into the rocky outcrops by the travellers themselves. The Theban Desert Road Survey has found an early dynastic proto-image of Seth at Gebel Tjauti on a desert route that cuts across the Qena bend (Darnell 2002, 19-21) (Fig. 8.31).

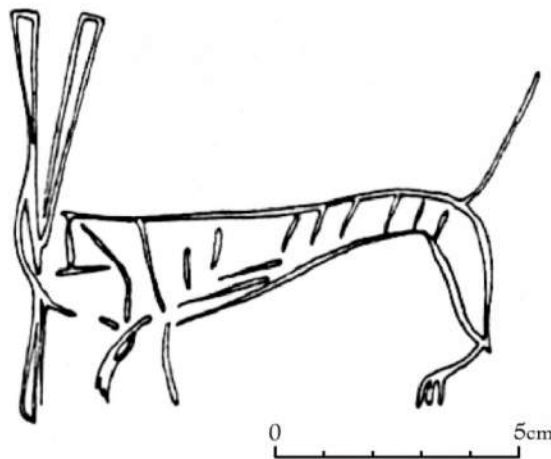


Fig. 8.31: Early dynastic Seth petroglyph from Gebel Tjauti.

Although not readily identifiably associated with a 'vernacular' traveller's shrine, it is located on a desert route close to Nubt/Ombus, so linking Seth to the desert and desert travel from an early date in Egyptian history. The discovery of the existence of comparable petroglyphs and 'vernacular' shrines in similar locations at the Nile end of the desert trails would help to develop the understanding of a traveller's wayside shrine and the informal worship of Seth.

Having discussed in the previous chapter the distribution of sites associated with Seth in the Nile Valley and Delta and in this chapter the Western Desert, the following chapter will analyse the manner of depiction of Seth in temples distributed through the Nile Valley, the Delta and the Western Desert oases.

Chapter 9: Seth in Temple Reliefs and Inscriptions.

9.1 Seth in the Temple.

In the preceding two chapters places associated with Seth throughout Egypt were discussed. In this chapter an analysis of his representations, along with the roles undertaken by him, in the temple will be considered utilising the chronological evidence from the archaeological record commencing with the Predynastic Period. The locations and dates of the sites discussed in the chapter are shown on the map in Fig. 9.1



Fig. 9.1: Location of sites in the Nile Valley and Western Desert oases with images of Seth in the temple.

9.2 Seth in the Predynastic Period.

Three examples of what could be classified as 'proto-Seth' images have survived from the Predynastic period. The first of these is a small three dimensional representation in the form of a prone animal discovered by Petrie in grave 721 at Naqada. Initially undated and attributed by Petrie to the 'New Race' the figure was described as a hippopotamus (Petrie 1896, 18, 26, 46, Pl. LX 13). However, with his development of sequence dating, Petrie revised the date of grave 721 to between SD44 and SD64 based on the decorated pottery also found in the grave (Petrie 1901b, 10). Baumgartel revised the identification of the animal to that of a possible representation of Seth and dated the grave to the Naqada II Period (Baumgartel 1970, 7, XXVIII). This identification as a possible and early Seth animal was supported by Crowfoot-Payne who included it in the catalogue of the Ashmolean Museum's Predynastic collection (Crowfoot-Payne 1993, 15 Fig. 4.16). However, with the revision to Petrie's Sequence Dating by Hendrickx, a new refined date of between Naqada IIC to II D2 was given to the grave and its contents (Hendrickx 1989, 342). This proto-Seth animal is carved from a fine pink limestone and portrays a prone canine-like animal with its folded front legs tucked underneath it and its rear legs drawn up to either side of the rump (Fig. 9.2).



Fig. 9.2: Pink limestone proto-Seth animal from grave 721, Naqada. Ashmolean Museum AN1895.137.

The front and rear legs both terminate in paws, each represented with three toes. The figurine lacks ears and tail, but holes in the top of the head and the rump suggest that separate ears and tail were once inserted. The eyes are indicated by deep circular recesses which once may have contained coloured mineral inserts. The head is domed and in profile tapers into a thin downturned muzzle, but with no mouth or nostrils replicated.

An analysis of the carving gives a number of indications of how it was displayed and its possible function. As currently displayed in the Ashmolean Museum the figure rests on all four legs at the bottom of the display case. When viewed from the side it can be seen that the full length of the legs do not rest on the flat surface but angle upwards with them resting on the high points of the knees lifting the paws clear of the surface. In addition the fore- and hind legs are not on the same horizontal plane, with the rear legs set higher than the forelegs (Fig. 9.3). The bottom of the legs does not have any indication of any form of fixing to a base or plinth, the obvious place for a plinth mounted figure. However, at the bottom of the body, just behind the forelegs and at the point of visual balance, is a round hole. This would suggest the figure was mounted on a standard possibly for in display in a temple or shrine (Fig. 9.4).



Fig. 9.3: The figure as currently displayed in the Ashmolean Museum. Note that the legs do not rest flat on the bottom of the display case, the legs are angled upwards but on different planes and the toes are curled over. Ashmolean Museum AN1895.137.



Fig. 9.4: Author's proposed reconstruction of the Seth totem, with ears and tail of gold or gilded wood, mineral insert eye and mounted on a gilded standard.

Initially Petrie identified the figure as a hippopotamus but other evidence would support the identification of an early representation of Seth. The carving of the figure is best described as bulky having a thick trunk and very wide head mounted on a thick powerful neck. Although the artist has achieved the effect of a thin down-curved muzzle in profile, he has been unsure of how to achieve this when viewed from the front without the head taking on a bird like visage, so left it wide like a hippopotamus head. Whether it was this lack understanding of how Seth would appear full face or whether the image was intended to be viewed in profile all or the majority of the time is a matter for conjecture. This failure to reduce thickness is also seen in the legs which from the side-view are thin and canine-like, but when viewed from the bottom and front are excessively wide like those of the hippopotamus or elephant, but with

paws like a canine. The existence of holes for applied ears and tail, the canine-like appearance in profile with the thin down-curved muzzle and a hole to take a supporting standard all add credence to the premise that the image is a pre-dynastic representation of Seth used in a temple or shrine. No evidence of the tail or ears, either complete or as broken stubs in the holes were found which suggests that they removed before or soon after the time of burial, possibly due to their monetary value or possibly to render Seth harmless.

The two other images that can be identified as proto-Seth animals both occur on the Scorpion mace head. The mace head was discovered in the main deposit at Hierakonpolis, the Greek name for the ancient settlement of Nekhen, and is dated to the reign of the 0 Dynasty king Scorpion (Quibell 1900, 9, Pl. XXVIc; Quibell *et al.* 1902, 41; Adams 1999, 371-372). The size of the mace head and the intricate raised relief decoration preclude its use as a weapon but suggest its function was ceremonial, to be displayed within a temple or in a ceremonial procession (Fig. 9.5). In a period when representational art in stone on the scale of the mace head was a recent development, it was intended to display the power and role of the king. The display went beyond the images recording the king's power; it was the physical evidence of the king's patronage that supported craftsmen allowing the mace head to be created (Hoffman 1979, 316-317).



Fig. 9.5: The Scorpion mace head. Dynasty 0. Ashmolean Museum AN1896-1908 E 3632.



Fig. 9.6: Standards and rekhyt birds in the top register of the Scorpion mace head. Ashmolean Museum AN1896-1908 E 3632.

The remaining portion of the mace head portrays a scene of irrigation in which the king was ceremonially digging a canal or irrigation ditch. Above his head runs a horizontal register in which a number of standards are shown (Fig. 9.6) and the surviving seven standards directly above the king are shown with rekhyt birds hung by the neck either representing conquered


peoples of Egypt (Quibell 1900, 9; Midant-Reynes 2000, 250) or possibly the ambivalent and dangerous power of the king towards his subjects (Wengrow 2006, 213). Of these five still complete standards, two display readily identifiable early images of the Seth animal (Figs. 9.7 and 9.8).



Fig. 9.7: Seth animal 1 on totem number 2. The rekhyt bird is suspended from the rope to the right of the standard pole.



Fig. 9.8: Seth animal 2 on totem number 4. The rekhyt bird is suspended from the rope to the right of the standard pole.

Quibell identified the figures on the standards going from right to left, as a jackal, Seth, Min with a feather, Seth and a hill sign (Quibell *et al.* 1902, 41) while Cialowicz identifies the standards as Wepwawet, Seth, the symbol of Min, Seth and the N25  hieroglyph for foreign lands (Cialowicz 2001, 256). Quibell defines the standards as representing various nomes (Quibell 1900, 9), however, the reign of King Scorpion is predynastic which predates the unification of Upper and Lower Egyptian kingdoms, so it is unlikely they represent any of the later dynastic administrative nomes. If the standards are representing religious centres why are there two standards of Seth? As suggested in Chapter 3, they could be representing Seth in his role as the god of the Eastern and Western Deserts rather than a specific religious centre.

Although positioned close together, the two Seth animals are not mirror images of each other, but contain small and subtle variations. These are most likely due to the artist's attempt at carving two small detailed images in a hard material with natural flaws rather than by deliberate artistic intent. Alternatively they are the work of two different artists and what is shown is the result of their individual styles of replicating the same image. Both images show a standing squat and powerful canine like animal with short squat legs terminating in paws. The head, mounted on the top of a very short thick neck, is domed with a vertical parallel sided square ended muzzle scored with horizontal banding, all very reminiscent of an

elephant's trunk. This illusion is further reinforced by the lower jaw which extends vertically downwards for half the length of the muzzle, giving the appearance of a straight elephant's tusk. Projecting from the crown of the head is a pair of erect square-topped ears also scored with horizontal banding the same as the muzzle. The tail, although straight is not fully erect but projects at an angle of approximately 45° from the base of the spine, terminating with a finial that has the appearance of arrow fletchings. Although these images are readily identifiable as the Seth animal, they are still in a transitional form that eventually evolved into the Seth animal of the Dynastic Period.

9.3 Seth in the Early Dynastic Period.

Very little archaeological evidence of Seth has survived the five millennia since the Early Dynastic Period and no standing temples have survived. However, fragments recovered from the archaeological record give an indication as to the use of the image of Seth.

9.3.1 2nd Dynasty.

Three carved images of the Seth animal have survived from the 2nd Dynasty. These are all from a granite door jamb frame recovered from the main temple site at Hierakonpolis (Quibell 1900, 6 Pl. II), the face of which depicted three serekhs of king Khasakhemwy vertically one above the other and carved in bas-relief (Fig. 9.9).



Fig. 9.9: Section of granite door jamb carved with three serekhs of Khasakhemwy from the temple at Hierakonpolis. 2nd Dynasty. Cairo Museum JE 33896.

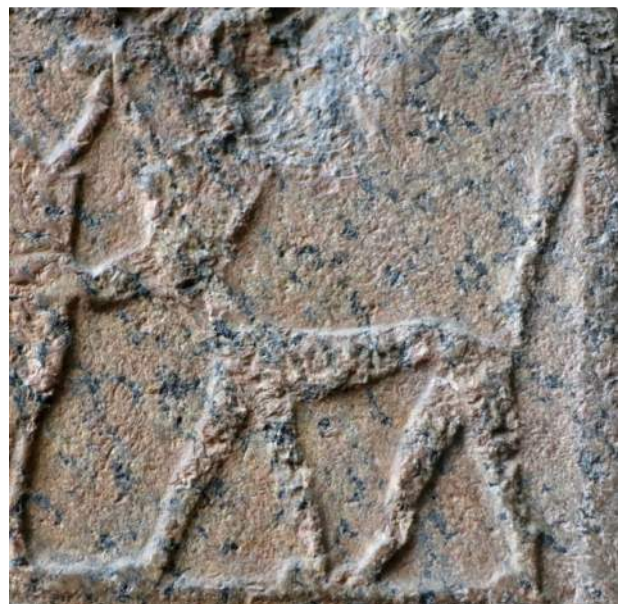


Fig. 9.10: Seth on the top of the serekh of Khasakhemwy on the door jamb from the temple at Hierakonpolis. 2nd Dynasty. Cairo Museum JE 33896.

Seth of Khasakhemwy was depicted as a long legged slim bodied canine like animal with a long slim neck supporting the head with a thick slightly down-curved muzzle and wearing the combined crown of Upper and Lower Egypt but has no ears depicted on the outside of the lower section of the crown. The almost vertical tail is long and thin and terminates in an elongated pear-shaped mace head (Fig. 9.10).

These images predate the rise of Osiris worship in the Old Kingdom (Kees 1952, 124; Griffiths 1980, 44, N24; Lorton 1985, 122 N4; Eaton-Krauss 1987, 233-234) therefore they are not tainted with the connotations associated with the death of a fellow god or Seth being the troublesome and dangerous deity.

9.4 Seth in the Old Kingdom.

With the exception of the 4th Dynasty undecorated valley temple of Khafre no standing temple has survived from the Old Kingdom, although fragments of reliefs from the mortuary temples of the 3rd, 5th and 6th Dynasties have survived. These will be discussed in the relevant dynastic sections.

9.4.1 3rd Dynasty.






Fragments of the wall reliefs from the 3rd Dynasty temple built by Djoser at Heliopolis provide evidence of the inclusion of Seth within the nine gods of the Heliopolitan Ennead attending Djoser's *Sed* festival (Vandier 1952, 594). On the limestone wall fragment, carved in bas relief, Seth is represented as a seated god in anthropomorphic form wearing a wig and a false beard with a curled end and identified by a slim prone Seth E21  name label above his head (Fig. 9.11).



Fig 9.11: Seth as a seated god in anthropomorphic form with a Seth animal name label. 3rd Dynasty Heliopolis. Museo delle Antichità Egizie Turin, S 2671.



Fig 9.12: Seth animal with the start of the hieroglyphs for Nubt. 3rd Dynasty Heliopolis. Museo delle Antichità Egizie Turin, S 2671.

A second fragment has a prone slim Seth E21  name label carved in raised relief and again wearing a banded collar. Behind the Seth animal are the S12  and D58  hieroglyphs, the start of the name Nubt  the town of Seth (Fig. 9.12).

9.4.2 5th Dynasty.


Seth in bimorphic form of a human body with a Seth animal head was used in the 5th Dynasty and in this way he was represented in the funerary complex of Sahure at Abusir, where in the company of Sopdu, he is depicted presenting bound captives to Sahure (Borchardt 1910, 11; Borchardt 1913a, 14 19 82; Borchardt 1913b Pl. 5). He is shown with an eight banded collar around his neck and wearing a tripartite wig and, although not named, his title Nubt  ‘*the Ombite*’ is carved above him (Fig. 9.13).



Fig. 9.13: Seth and Sopdu presenting captives to Sahure. Funerary complex Abusir, 5th Dynasty. Berlin Museum ÄM 21782.

The presence of Sopdu, the god of the Eastern Desert represented as a Bedouin warrior with the pointed beard, two tall plumed headdress and tasselled *shemset* girdle and is presenting the Asiatic captives, while Seth is presenting Libyan and captives from Punt (Borchardt 1913a, 19-20) suggests Seth’s role within the scene was as the god of foreign lands, which in this instance is the Western Desert.

In bimorphic form Seth was represented in the upper mortuary temple of the funerary complex of Unas at Saqqara (Fig. 9.14). In the company of Horus, the scene shows the pair of gods placing the twin crown of Egypt on the head of Unas (Cauville 2012, 257).



Fig. 9.14: Reconstruction of the scene of Horus and Seth with Unas. Upper mortuary temple Saqqara, 5th Dynasty.

Very little of the scene has survived intact, and of Seth only a portion of the lower jaw, neck and shoulder on one block and the top of the head and ears still exist. The image also includes the epithet 'Lord of the land of the south' $\overline{\text{S}}\text{D}$ and the earliest reference linking Seth to the settlement of Su SUS (Labrousse *et al.* 1977, 97 n1).

9.4.3 6th Dynasty

Although Teti and Pepi II did not employ the Seth animal in the Pyramid Text Spells in their tombs (Faulkner 1925, 5), there was no proscription against his images being employed within decoration of their funerary complexes.

In the funerary complex of Teti, a bimorphic Seth appears in the company of an anthropomorphic Nekhbet in a high level relief on the west wall of the east vestibule (Lauer *et al.* 1972, 60-62). Seth is depicted in a striding pose holding a *was* sceptre in one hand and an *ankh* in the other (Fig. 9.15). The top of the torso is missing but the remains of the S12 $\overline{\text{S}}\text{D}$ hieroglyph, the start of the name Nubt $\overline{\text{N}}\text{U}\text{B}\text{T}$ identify the figure as being Seth (Lauer *et al.* 1972, 61, Fig. 15b, Pl. XXII).

Further evidence of the image of Seth from the complex was recovered by Quibell in the 1906-1907 seasons in the form of a head and shoulders of a bimorphic Seth (Fig. 9.16). The fragment was recovered from the south-east section of the pyramid temple but Quibell failed to provide any further details of its exact site of its recovery (Quibell 1909, 19-20, Fig. 4, Pl. LIV 2). Although the face is complete the ears are missing; it has the remains of a tripartite wig as well as a banded collar around his neck. Despite the similarity of this relief to the missing segment from the Seth and Nekhbet relief recovered by Lauer and Leclant (Fig.

9.15) the size of the head recovered by Quibell precludes it from being the missing section of the relief (Lauer *et al.* 1972, 61 N1).

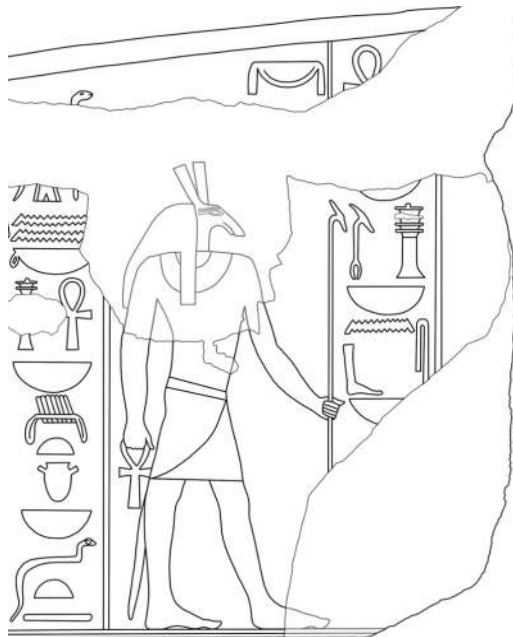


Fig. 9.15: Reconstruction of bimorphic Seth from the funerary complex of Teti, Saqqara. 6th Dynasty.

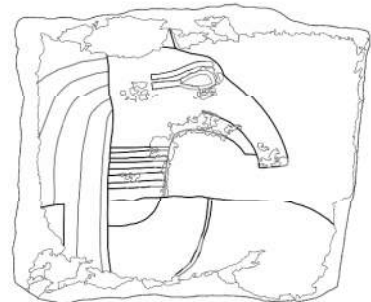


Fig. 9.16: Head of bimorphic Seth removed by Quibell from the pyramid temple of Teti, Saqqara. 6th Dynasty.

In the funerary complex of Pepi II at Saqqara the bimorphic Seth was included in the ennead of gods on the south, west and north walls of the antechamber within the mortuary temple (Figs. 9.17 and 9.18). Seth's pose repeats that in the funerary complex of Teti complete with the *was* sceptre and an *ankh*.

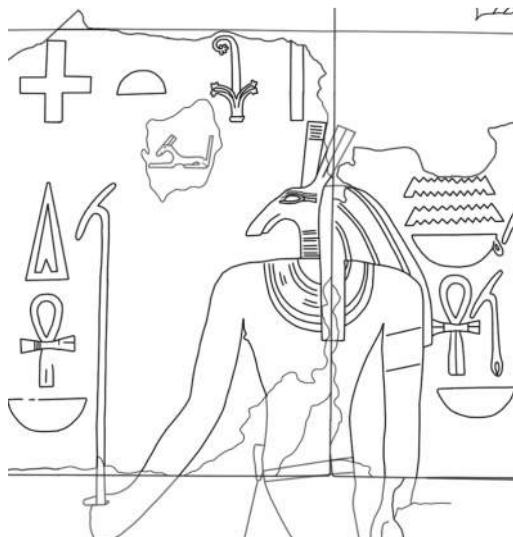


Fig. 9.17: Reconstruction of Seth from west wall, antechamber, funeral temple of Pepi II, Saqqara. 6th Dynasty. The Seth animal name is a reconstruction based on a similar configuration on the north wall.

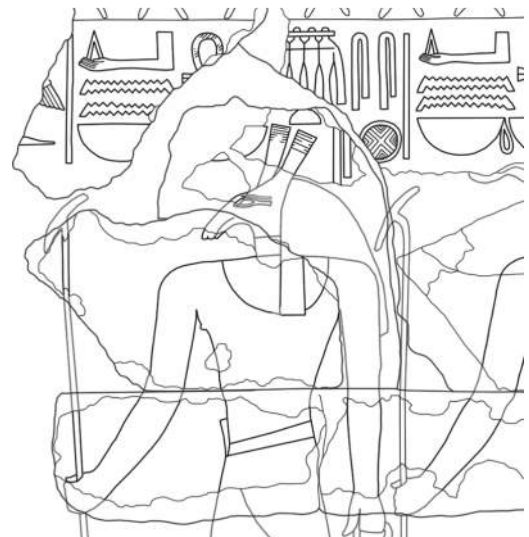




Fig. 9.18: Reconstruction of Seth from south wall, antechamber, funeral temple of Pepi II, Saqqara. 6th Dynasty. Seth is linked to the town of Su.

The heads are the same as the Teti head with a banded collar around the neck and a tripartite wig with a single lappet hanging down behind the line of the ears. On the north and west wall Seth is identified by the E21  hieroglyph before him, which is portrayed with the animal in the prone position with a thick almost straight muzzle and parallel swept back ears. The tail is straight and is just off of being vertical but it lacks any end terminal (Jéquier 1938, Pl. 46, Pl. 47, Pl. 50, Pl. 53, Pl. 54, Pl. 56). Also discovered in a magazine within the complex was a piece of a small coffer decorated with the scene of Horus and Seth placing the crown on the head of Pepi II (Jéquier 1928, 57, Pl. IV; Cauville 2012, 257). The figure of Seth is depicted in bimorphic form wearing a tripartite wig and is identified by the epithet Nubt  written above his head (Fig. 9.19).

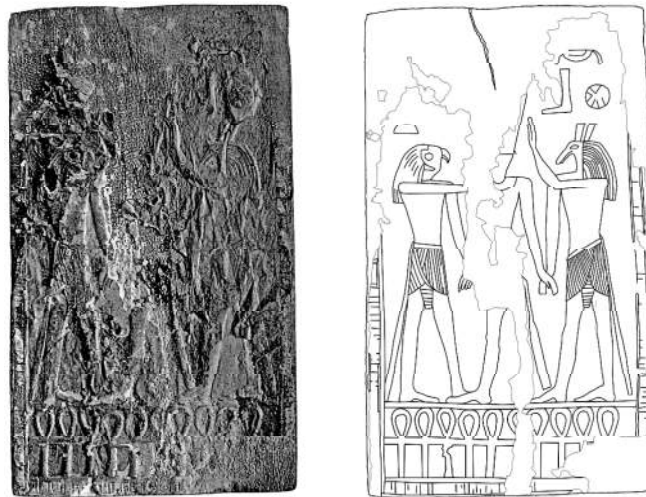


Fig 9.19: Horus and Seth placing the crown of Upper and Lower Egypt on the head of Pepi II. Seth identified as the by the epithet Nubt. Saqqara. 6th Dynasty.

The Old Kingdom shows a distinctive development in the representation of Seth in the temple with the representations beginning to show the deity in anthropomorphic and bimorphic forms with the head of the Seth animal. Seth is shown included in the local ennead as well accompanying Horus to perform beneficent actions to the deceased king. Both the funerary complexes of Teti and Pepi II contained images of Seth; however, what is missing is any reference to the developing Osirian myth.

9.5 Seth in the 1st Intermediate Period.

No images of Seth from the 1st Intermediate Period have survived to allow a study of any development or variation that may have occurred in this chaotic period. Despite this, Seth



must have continued to be worshiped for he appears in the Middle Kingdom as an important and established deity.

9.6 Seth in the Middle Kingdom.

A number of temple images of Seth from the 12th Dynasty have survived which allows the study of the variations in the depiction of Seth and the rituals he was involved in to be analysed.

9.6.1 12th Dynasty

The surviving images of Seth from the 12th Dynasty fall into two categories, the presentation of a *staff of a million years* to the reigning king, or the symbolic unification of the kingdoms of Upper and Lower Egypt in the *sema-tawy*.

A lintel of Amenemhat I recovered from his pyramid temple at Lisht together with one of Senwosret III from the temple of Montu at Madamud (Cottevienne-Gireudet 1933, 3-5, Pl. I) depict a zoomorphic Horus and Seth on the top of standards with arms presenting to the king as part of *Sed* festival. Seth, depicted as the E20  seated animal, on the lintel of Amenemhat I is making a presentation of a bundle of the *staff of a million years* to the king of Lower Egypt (Fig. 9.20), while on the lintel of Senwosret III he is presenting a single staff to the king of Upper Egypt and is identified by his epithet Nubt  above him (Fig. 9.21).

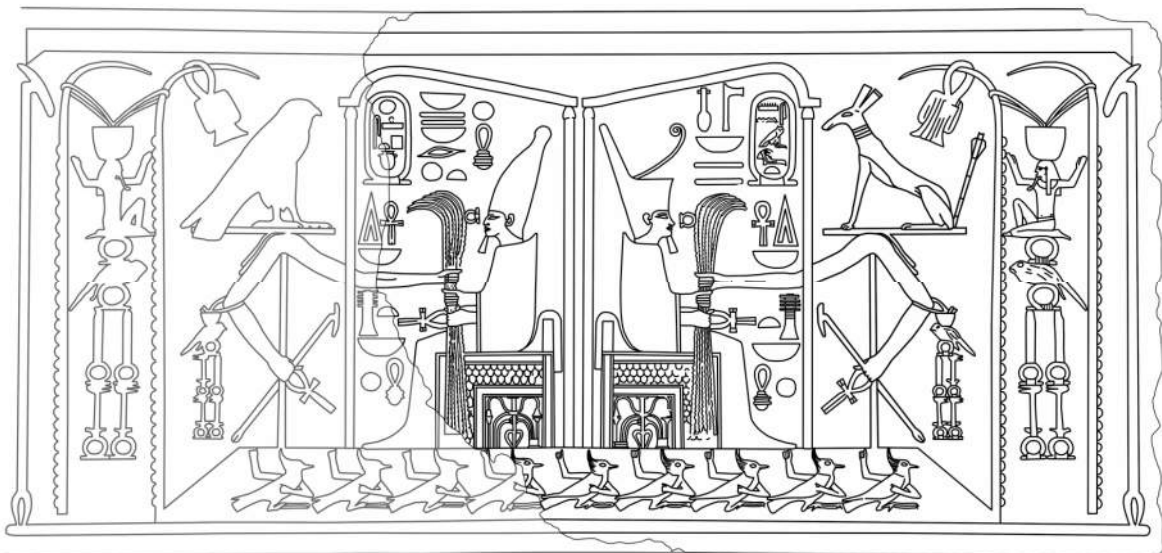


Fig. 9.20: Reconstruction of the lintel depicting the *Sed* festival of Amenemhat I depicted as the enthroned king of Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt receiving bundles of the *staff of a million years* from Horus and Seth. Pyramid temple, Lisht. 12th Dynasty.

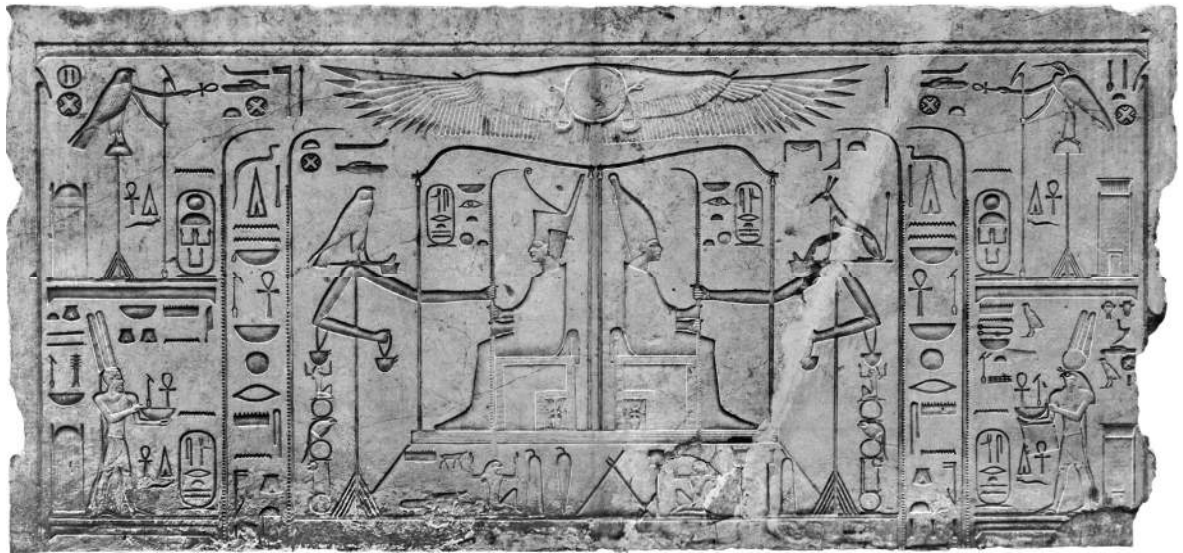


Fig. 9.21: The *Sed* festival of Senwosret III depicted as the enthroned kings of Lower and Upper Egypt receiving the *staff of a million years* from Horus and Seth. Temple of Montu, Madamud. 12th Dynasty. Cairo Museum JE 6189.

A variation of Seth presenting the *staff of a million years* was portrayed on the lintel of Senwosret I found at Karnak temple in Upper Egypt (Fig. 9.22). The scene on the lintel depicts Amun offering life to Senwosret I who is wearing the crown of Lower Egypt, while the gods Montu and Seth stand to the left and right respectively each holding a pair of the *staff of a million years* ready for presentation.



Fig. 9.22: Lintel of Senwosret I with Amun giving offering life to Senwosret I while Montu on the left and Seth on the right hold a pair of the *staff of a million years*. 12th Dynasty. Open Air Museum, Karnak.

The lintel is broken and the portion containing most of the image of Seth missing. However, enough remains to reconstruct the missing fragment of the Seth figure in the scene (Fig. 9.23). A bimorphic Seth is shown holding a notched palm frond *staff of a million years* vertically in the forward hand, with a second one carried at an angle over his rear shoulder. He also carries two *ankhs*, joined by a cord and draped over the crook of the arm. Above and

in front of his head is the remains of the S12 hieroglyph *nb* (𓏏), the start of the town name of Nubt (𓏏𓏏), an epithet of Seth.



Fig. 9.23: Damaged and reconstructed Seth image from the lintel of Senwosret I in which he is holding a pair of the *staff of a million years* and with a pair of *ankhs* draped over one arm. 12th Dynasty. Open Air Museum, Karnak.

Although most of Seth's head is missing, a slim gently curving muzzle back to the eyes has survived along with the rear portion of a tripartite wig. In the accompanying text the E21 (𓏏) hieroglyph is represented as a slim prone greyhound-like canine with a long thin neck wearing a four band collar. This text, although damaged, is a version of the text associated with the figure of Montu on the lintel and can be reconstructed as 𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏, 'Words spoken (I) have given to you the years belonging to Seth on the throne of Horus everlasting.' This section of text adds depth to the scene of Seth presenting years to Senwosret I as the king of Lower Egypt, the land usually associated with Horus. With the ancient Egyptian's love of dualities it would be feasible to consider that a companion scene was created at the same time but with Horus giving years to Senwosret I as the king of Upper Egypt, the land associated with Seth.

In the second category of image, the *sema-tawy*, the symbolic unification of the kingdoms of Upper and Lower Egypt, Seth was paired Horus. A wall relief recovered at Karnak of Senwosret I depicted the *sema-tawy* being performed by the two bimorphic deities beneath an enthroned Senwosret. The two gods face each other with Seth holding the sedge, the heraldic plant of Upper Egypt and Horus the papyrus, the heraldic plant of Lower Egypt. They are

tying the two plants together, symbolically unifying the two kingdoms of Upper and Lower Egypt. The text above the head of Seth identifies him as ‘*The Ombite, Lord of the land of the south*’ (Fig. 9.24).

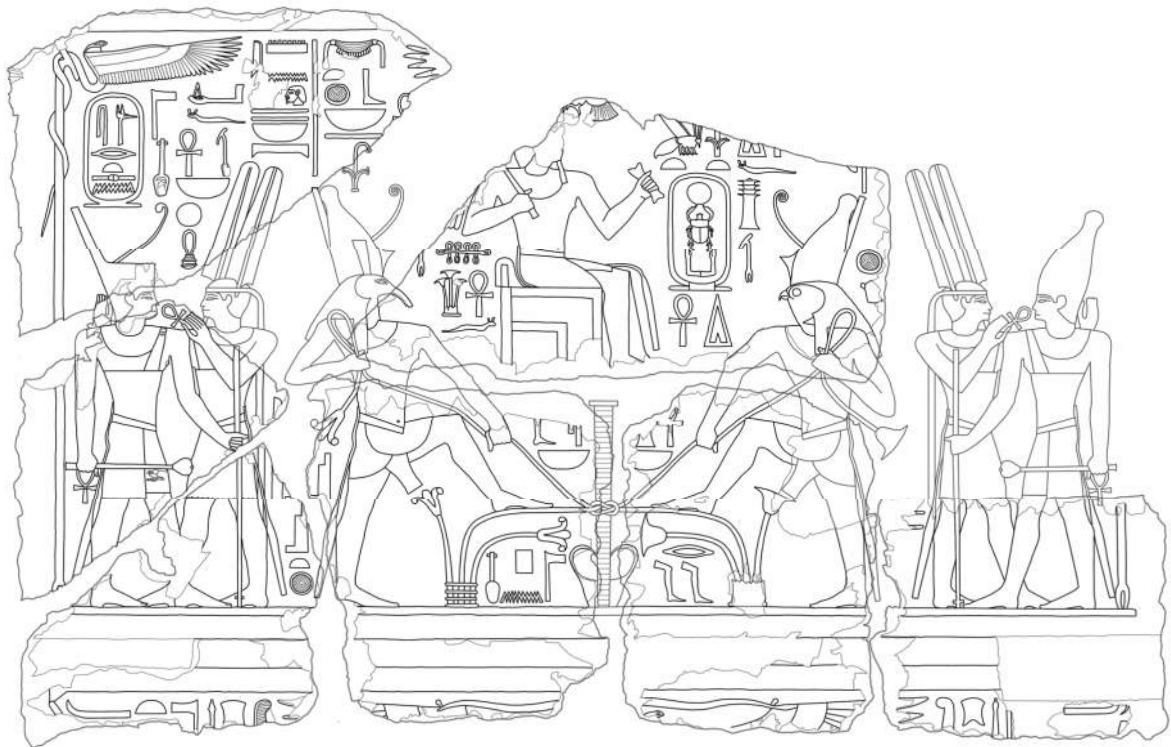


Fig. 9:24. Reconstruction of Seth holding the sedge plant of Upper Egypt and Horus holding the papyrus of Lower Egypt and perform the *sema-tawy* below an enthroned Senwosret I. 12th Dynasty. Open Air Museum, Karnak.

The majority of the head of Seth has been lost. However, enough remains to ascertain that the muzzle was long and thin with a distinct downward curve and that he was wearing a tripartite wig and the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt, the same as the figure of Horus opposite. This *sema-tawy* scene is the central focus of the relief and its symbolism is reinforced by the accompanying adjacent scenes. Behind Seth and facing in the same direction is Senwosret I wearing the crown of Lower Egypt, who is being give life by Amun. In this configuration the King of Lower Egypt is looking directly at Horus, the god associated with that kingdom. Although the relief behind Horus has been lost, enough of a relief remains to indicate a repeated scene. However, Senwosret I would have worn the crown of Upper Egypt and looked towards Seth, the deity associated with Upper Egypt.

This relationship of Seth looking towards Upper Egypt and Horus looking towards Lower Egypt is comparable with the *sema-tawy* scene that is repeated on five of the ten statues of Senwosret I recovered at the site of his funerary temple at Lisht (Fig. 9.25) and discussed in Chapter 7 (Gautier *et al* 1902, 30-31, 36-37). Gautier and Jéquier suggested that the

positioning of Seth was such that he was on the north side looking south to Upper Egypt and Horus on the south side looking north to Lower Egypt. Based on this paradigm and the images carved in raised relief the scene could have originally been on an internal east wall within the temple.



Fig. 9.25. *Sema-tawy* from the left and right side to the throne from a statue of Senwosret I recovered from the funerary temple at Lisht. The Seth figures are located in line with the knees of the seated figure of the king. Cairo Museum JE 31139.

Senwosret III constructed two mortuary complexes, one at Abydos in Upper Egypt and one at Dahshur in Lower Egypt. The excavations at the Abydos complex did not find any images of, or any association, with Seth (Wegner 2007, 187-188). Taking into consideration that the temple was located at the religious centre of the Osiris cult any omission of Seth is understandable and, as discussed later, was repeated in the New Kingdom in the temples of Seti I and Ramesses II. In comparison with the mortuary complex at Abydos, evidence of Seth images have been recovered from within the 'square' antechamber in the small East Temple of the mortuary temple at pyramid complex at Dahshur. Fragments of muzzles, ears and texts indicate the presence of seven individual images, one facing to the left and six facing to the right. These images of Seth were part of a procession of deities walking towards large standing images of Senwosret III (Arnold 2002, 139-140, Pl. 159e). Within the South Temple evidence of three large scale images of deities that were part of ritual scenes with Senwosret III have been recovered. Of these, two were of ram-headed gods and one of Seth (Arnold 2002, 142-143). The published Seth head fragment from the East Temple reliefs depicts him wearing a tripartite wig; this coupled with the vertical neck confirms the head belongs to a bimorphic figure (Fig. 9.26).





Fig. 9.26: Fragment of right facing head of head. East temple, Pyramid complex of Senwosret III, Dahshur, Lower Egypt. 12th Dynasty.

The Middle Kingdom shows a development in the function of Seth as a deity, with representations of him working with his associate and sometime nemesis, Horus, to give eternal life to the king and to unify the kingdom by the act of the *sema-tawy*. What is of particular interest are the earlier of the scenes of presenting the *staff of a million years* on the lintels of Amenemhat I and Senwosret III in which Seth, the Lord of the lands of the south, is presenting years to the king who is wearing the crown of the northern Lower Egypt. Is this an echo from the chaos of the 1st Intermediate Period when the country had been split into the separate warring factions of Upper and Lower Egypt? With these images of Seth presenting years to the king of Lower Egypt and Horus to the king of Upper Egypt was there an implied political statement of reconciliation and unification by representing the two deities giving the support to the kings of the respective lands in which they had been in opposition.

9.7 Seth in the 2nd Intermediate Period.

9.7.1 13th Dynasty

In the 13th dynasty a version of the *Sed* festival scene was carved on a lintel in the 12th Dynasty temple of Montu at Madamud in Upper Egypt (Cottevienne-Gireudet 1933, 7, Pl. V) and celebrates the *Sed* festival of Sobekhotep II.

This duplicated the duplicate format of that of Senwosret III from the same temple and but in this instance the scene depicts Horus and Seth presenting the *staff of a million years* to Sobekhotep II enthroned as the king of Lower and Upper Egypt respectively. In the scene, the zoomorphic Seth is represented in the form of a slim E20  seated animal but with the addition of a tripartite wig with the lappet projecting down in front of the leading leg and identified by the inscription Nubt  above his head (Fig. 9.27).

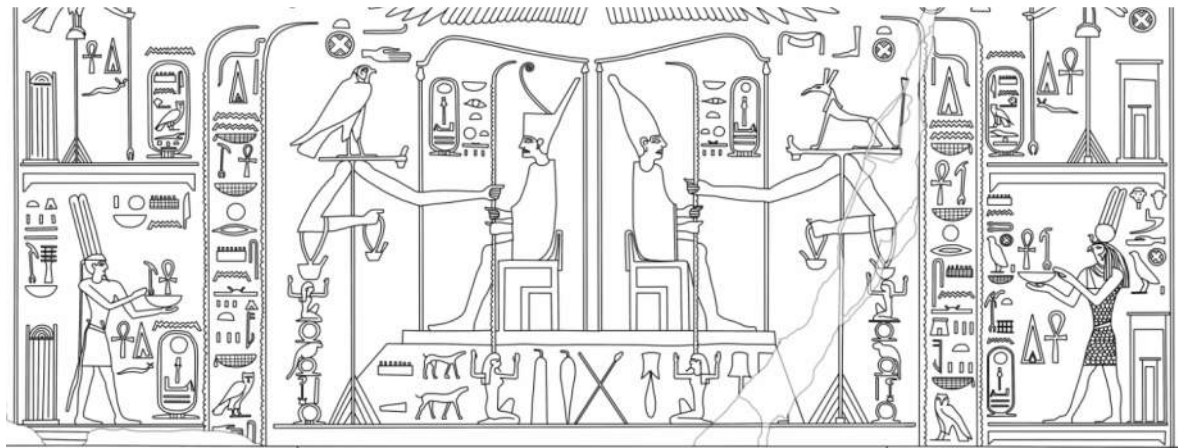


Fig. 9.27: Reconstruction of the *Sed* festival of Sobekhotep II depicted as the enthroned king of Lower and Upper Egypt receiving the *staff of a million years* from Horus and Seth. Temple of Montu, Madamud. 13th Dynasty.

9.7.2 15th Dynasty

Although there are no physical remains of any temples from this period within the eastern Delta, the 21st Dynasty Papyrus Sallier 1 recounts how the Hyksos king Apep took Seth as his god and built a temple for his worship at Avaris (Wente 1973, 70, N3). Discovered in Lower Egypt, was a black granite offering table from the reign of Apepi II (Fig. 9.28).

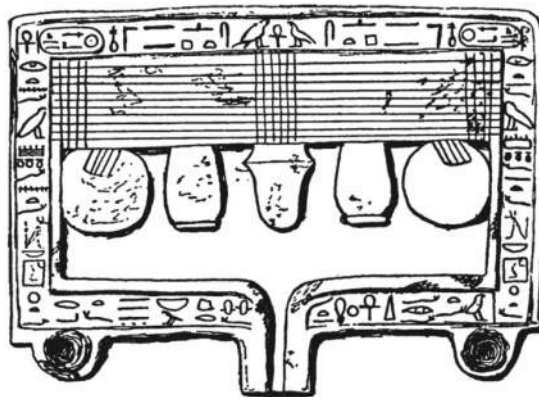


Fig. 9.28: Offering table of Apepi II dedicated to Seth of Hutwaret. 15th Dynasty. Lower Egypt.

The offering inscription running round the border of the table dedicates it to ‘*Seth Lord of Hutwaret*’ (Avaris), the capital of the Hyksos in the Eastern Delta in Lower Egypt (Petrie 1907, 243 Fig. 146). In the text Seth is depicted as a seated Seth animal with erect tail and ears.

9.8 Seth in the New Kingdom.

With the reunification of Egypt at the end of the 2nd Intermediate Period, Seth continued to be employed within religious reliefs, despite Seth’s association with the Hyksos invaders.

9.8.1 18th Dynasty.

In the 18th Dynasty, the temple reliefs depicted Seth undertaking a variety of beneficial functions to the reigning monarch. The offering of the *staff of a million years* was again repeated. The mortuary temple of Amenhotep I at Thebes contained a pair of reliefs that replicated the scene on the Middle Kingdom lintels of Amenemhat I, Senwosret III and Sobekhotep II. The zoomorphic Seth is depicted presenting the *staff of a million years* to Amenhotep I as the king of Upper Egypt as part of his *Sed* festival (Fig. 9.29). Winlock proposed that the two images would have mirrored each other, being on opposing east and west walls of a chamber with the scene orientated so that the gods of Upper and Lower Egypt conformed to their appropriate orientation, placing the Seth on the south end and Horus on the north end of the relief (Winlock 1917 13-15).

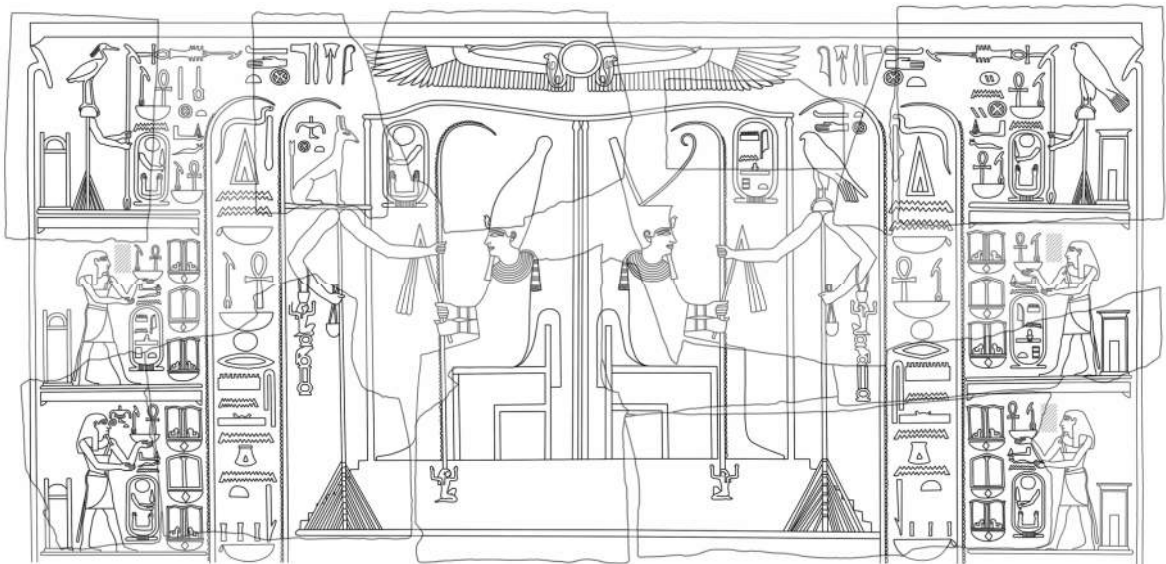



Fig. 9.29: The *Sed* festival of Amenhotep I depicted as the enthroned king of Lower and Upper Egypt receiving the *staff of a million years* from Horus and Seth. Mortuary Temple of Amenhotep I Thebes. 18^h Dynasty.

The relief repeats the formatting of the *Sed* festival scenes recorded from the reigns of Amenemhat I, Senwosret III and Sobekhotep II discussed above are from three different sites, which suggest the use of a pattern book within temple libraries.

Variations of the offering of the *staff of a million years* occur in the wall decoration of the *Akh-Menu* or Festival Hall of Thutmose III in the temple of Amun at Karnak. A scene in room XI depicts the *Sed* festival of Thutmose III with the king wearing the red crown of Lower Egypt running towards Aumn Ra and with a bimorphic Horus and Seth, both wearing tripartite wigs and holding a pair of *staff of a million years* and three *ankhs*, standing to the right and left of the scene respectively (Fig. 9.30).

Seth was identified by the accompanying text  '[Nubt] Lord of the land of the South, Lord of the sky, great of magic, son of Nut, great of strength, foremost of Su.'

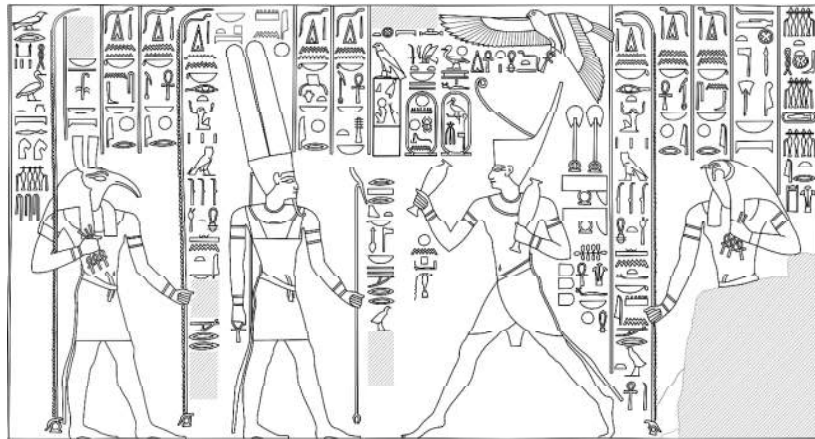


Fig. 9.30. Running Thutmose III with Amun-Ra while Horus and Seth hold a pair of the *staff of a million years* ready to present to the Pharaoh. Room XI, Festival Hall of Thutmose III, Karnak. 18th Dynasty.

An offering the *staff of a million years* not associated with the *Sed* festival occurs in room XXII. The scene depicts Seth accompanied by Nekhbet, the goddess of Upper Egypt and facing his mother Mut accompanied by Wadjet, the goddess of Lower Egypt, standing behind the king; facing Thutmose III is Mut and Wadjet. Each of the deities is holding a staff of a million years to present to the enthroned king, who wears the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt. The details of Seth have been lost due to the figure being erased in antiquity. However, the goddess Mut, Nekhbet and Wadjet were shown in anthropomorphic form which matched the size of the defacing scar in the stone work, therefore it is possible Seth was also represented in anthropomorphic form wearing a nemes headdress (Fig. 9.31). If Seth had been shown in bimorphic form and in proportion to the goddesses, the ears and tripartite wig would have extended beyond the area of erasure and be visible (Fig. 9.32).



Fig. 9.31: Hypothetical reconstruction of Seth in anthropomorphic form with Mut, Nekhbet and Wadjet presenting 'the staff of a million years'. The grey area represents the extent of the defaced stone with the removal of the Seth image. Room XXII Festival Hall of Thutmose III, Karnak. 18th Dynasty.

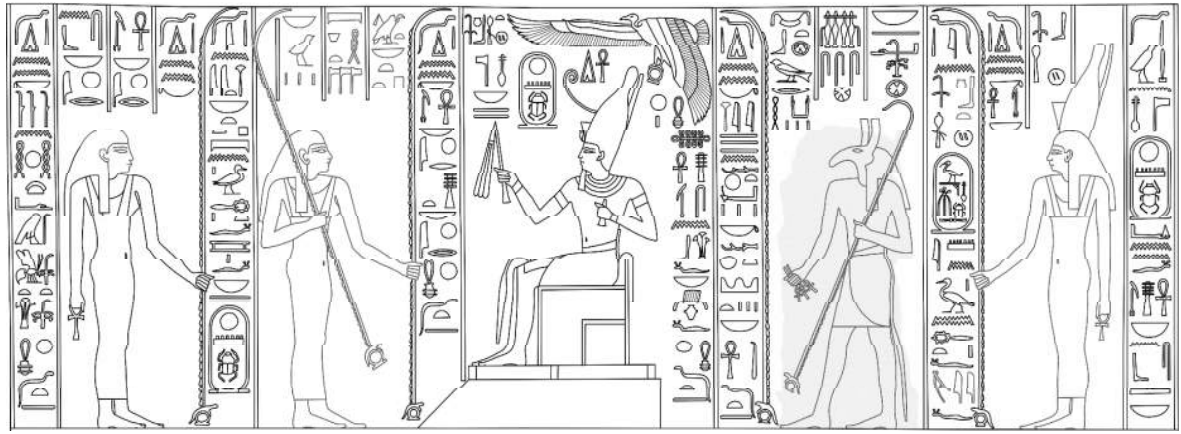


Fig. 9.32: Hypothetical reconstruction of Seth in bimorphic form. The grey area represents the extent of the defaced stone with the removal of the Seth image. In bimorphic form the ears and tripartite wig would have been visible beyond the damaged area. Room XXII, Festival Hall of Thutmose III, Karnak. 18th Dynasty.

In the 18th Dynasty, Seth was also portrayed as giving life and dominion to the pharaoh. Recovered at the temple of Seth at Nubt by Petrie (Petrie 1896, 67, Pl. LXXVII) was a lintel depicting two bimorphic images of Seth wearing a tripartite wig giving alternatively life, and life and dominion to Thutmose I represented by his serekh. The lintel relief was laid out symmetrically either side of the centrally located cartouche of Thutmose I flanked by the *nebtj*, with Nekhbet representing Upper Egypt on the left and Wadjet representing Lower Egypt on the right (Fig. 9.33).



Fig. 9.33: Lintel of Thutmose I showing Seth giving life and life and dominion the serekh of Thutmose I. Temple of Seth, Nubt. 18th Dynasty. Cairo Museum JE 31881.

A further representation of offering of life and dominion was recovered at the temple of Amun at Karnak dating to the reign of Queen Hatshepsut. Although the majority of the relief is missing enough remains to show a bimorphic Seth wearing a tripartite wig offering life and dominion to Hatshepsut, who was being embraced by Seth's wife/sister Nephthys (Fig. 9.34).



Fig. 9.34: Seth offering life and dominion to Hatshepsut while she is being embraced by Seth's sister/wife Nephthys. 18th Dynasty. Open Air Museum, Karnak.

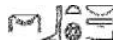
Seth and Thutmose III were also depicted together in the small 18th Dynasty Temple of Amun at Medinet Habu. In bimorphic form Seth, wearing a tripartite wig, is shown holding Thutmose III by the hand and placing three *ankhs* representing eternal life into a bowl held in Thutmose III's other hand. Seth is identified by the hieroglyphs  'Nubt, Lord of the land of the south, Lord of the sky' (Fig. 9.35).




Fig. 9.35: Seth holding Thutmose's III's hand and placing life into his other hand. Small Temple of Amun, Medinet Habu. 18th Dynasty.



Fig. 9.36: Reconstruction of the outline of Seth. The black lines indicate the Ramesside restoration and the red lines the earlier removed image. Small Temple of Amun, Medinet Habu. 18th - 19th Dynasty.

With the re-carving, the new image was not located in exactly the same position as indicated by the remains of the outline of an earlier tripartite wig, leg and two feet which do not align with the base line of the new image. Also the depth of the carving of Seth is shallower than that of adjacent image of Thutmose III (Fig. 9.36). The most likely scenario is that the image of Seth was defaced during the Amarna heresy, the same as those in the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri (Ćwiek 2008, 46) with the image being restored under the Ramessides, when it was re-carved in a slightly different pose to the original figure. The later defacement of the head of Seth and the part of the text relating to him occurred at the same time as the damage to Thutmose III's face, possibly during the later post-pagan Coptic Period. If this is what has occurred, then what is now visible is a Thutmosid scene overlaid with a Ramesside image of Seth.

The final example of a 18th Dynasty 'offering of life' scene is from the rock cut temple of Amun and Thoth at Abahuda opposite Abu Simbel. Horemheb is shown holding hands with bimorphic Horus and Seth while Horus offers him life (Fig. 9.37). Seth is identified by the hieroglyphs  'Seth (of) Nubt Lord of the land of the south' The bimorphic Seth wearing a tripartite wig is very reminiscent of the images of Seth in the pavilion of Thutmose III at Karnak. However, Breasted's 1905-1907 expedition photographs of the relief suggest the image of Seth had been subject to some damage (http://oi.uchicago.edu/gallery/gebel-adda/#I5C1_72dpi.png) making it difficult to validate the image drawn by Lepsius.

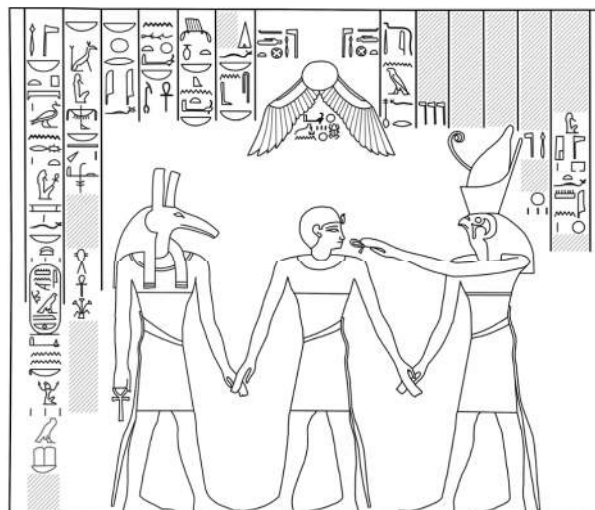


Fig. 9.37: Seth and Horus holding Horemheb's hands while offered life by Horus. Temple of Amun and Thoth, Abuhada. 18th Dynasty.

Further 18th Dynasty scenes containing a bimorphic Seth with his sister/wife Nephthys with the reigning monarch are carved on the columns in rooms XV and XXII of the Festival Hall



of Thutmose III. Located in room XV, the first scene depicts Seth wearing a tripartite wig and identified as  'Nubt, great god, Lord of the sky' and the text stated he bestows 'strength like Ra' to Thutmose III who was being embraced by Nephthys (Fig. 9.38). In the second scene in room XXII, Seth is again represented in bimorphic form with a tripartite wig and identified by the text 'Nubt, great god, Lord of the sky'. Both Seth and Nephthys embraced Thutmose III, while the text tells that Seth was bestowing 'all strength and dominion' (Fig. 9.39).

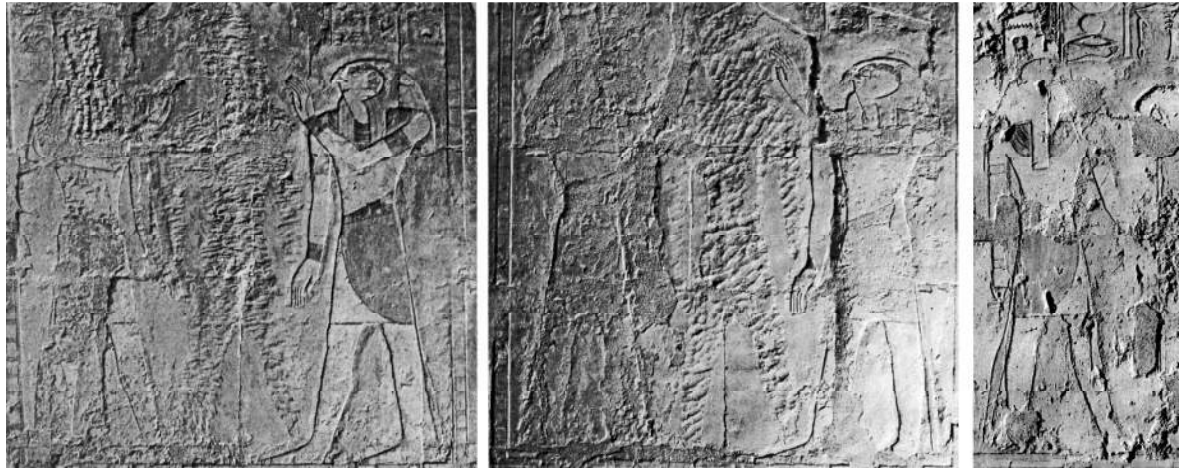


Fig. 9.38: Seth and Nephthys with Thutmose III. Seth is giving 'strength like Ra', while Nephthys embraces the king. Room XV, Festival Hall of Thutmose III, Karnak. 18th Dynasty.



Fig. 9.39: Seth and Nephthys with Thutmose III. Seth is giving all 'strength and dominion', while Nephthys embraces the king. Room XXII, Festival Hall of Thutmose III, Karnak. 18th Dynasty.

The 18th Dynasty was one of archaism (Khal 2010, 5) and in the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri there are two images of a bimorphic Seth in the company of Horus crowning Hatshepsut with the combined crown of Upper and Lower Egypt (Ćwiek 2008, Figs. 8, 9). These two images (Fig. 9.40 A and B) bear a striking resemblance to the scene portrayed on the fragment of the 6th Dynasty coffer of Pepi II discussed above (Fig. 9.19). Horus and Seth hold Hatshepsut's hands while placing the crown on her head. Seth was also depicted in anthropomorphic form (Ćwiek 2008, Fig. 13). In this form and as a member of the Theban Ennead, Seth is shown wearing a tripartite wig and false beard, in a striding pose while carrying a *was* sceptre and *ankh* (Fig. 9.40 C), reminiscent of his 6th Dynasty bimorphic images in the funeral complexes of Teti and Pepi II discussed above (Figs. 9.15, 9.17 and 9.18). In the Deir el-Bahri images Seth is identified by the E21  hieroglyph in the text above his head.



A

B

C

Fig. 9.40: A - Horus and Seth crowning Hatshepsut with the white crown of Upper Egypt. B - Horus and Seth crowning Hatshepsut with the red crown of Lower Egypt. C – Seth in human form. Mortuary temple of Hatshepsut, Deir el-Barhi. 18th Dynasty.

However, as identified by Ćwiek, these images of Hatshepsut were defaced by the agents of Thutmose III, while Horus and Seth were defaced during the Amarna period. Although Horus and Seth were restored under the Ramesside period, Seth's restoration and the restorer's guidance sketches drawn on the wall were later defaced (Ćwiek 2008, 46). Whether this was part of a deliberate attack on Seth or part of iconoclastic attack on pagan deities during the Coptic Period is a matter for conjecture.

Further examples of archaism at Deir el-Bahri occur in the images Thutmose III wearing the *Königsjacke*, a piece of clothing that consisted of two falcons one to each side of the trunk with their wings spread out across the wearer's chest.



A



B

Fig. 9.41: The *Königsjacke* on two mirrored reliefs of Thutmose III. A - Seth headed hawk on the left side. B - Seth headed hawk on the right side. Mortuary temple of Hatshepsut, Deir el-Bahri. 18th Dynasty.

This item of royal regalia dated back to the Old Kingdom, but fell out of use during the 11th Dynasty, only to be reinstated at the beginning of the 18th dynasty, by the Thutmosids (Ćwiek 2008, 38-44, Figs. 1-7). However, on these images the head of the rear hawk has been replaced by the head of the Seth animal, a sartorial pairing of Horus and Seth, ‘the two lords’ (Fig. 9.41).

The most unusual of the 18th Dynasty reliefs of Seth undertaking a beneficent action for the Pharaoh and one that is individual in its composition occurs in corridor VI of the Festival Hall at Karnak. The relief depicts Thutmose III being supervised in the practice of archery by Seth (Fig. 9.42).

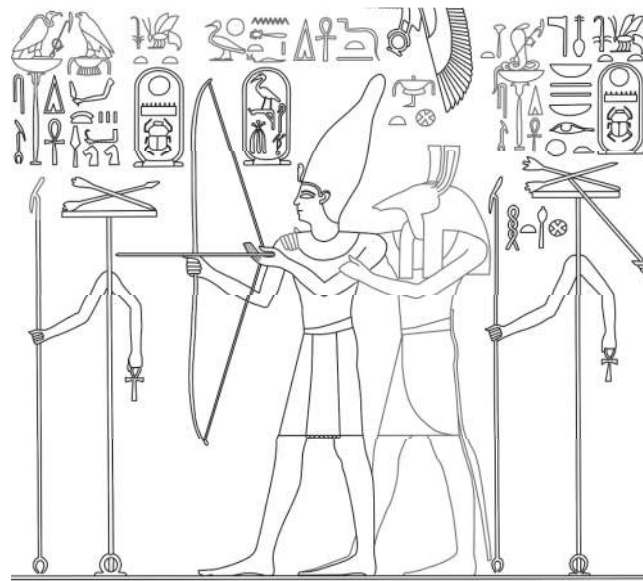





Fig. 9.42: Reconstruction of Seth instructing Thutmose III in the practice of archery. Corridor VI Pavilion of Thutmose III, Karnak. 18th Dynasty.

A bimorphic Seth, identified by the hieroglyphs   ‘Nubt’, stands behind Thutmose III who is holding a bow ready to draw the nocked arrow. The Festival Hall was begun in regnal year 23 (Blyth 2006, 70), the year of Thutmose III’s victory at the Battle of Megiddo (Lipinska 2001, 401; Gabriel 2009, 3). Thus the inclusion of an image portraying a military leader of Thutmose III’s standing embraced by the aggressive and violent god Seth while practicing a military art was appropriate.

In the rock cut chapel of Horemheb at Gebel el-Silsila in Upper Egypt an image of Seth was carved on both the north and south walls of the sanctuary. On the north wall Seth is portrayed in the ennead of deities wearing a tripartite wig and the red crown of Lower Egypt and holding *was* sceptre and an *ankh* (Fig. 9.43) and is identified in the accompanying text by the E21  hieroglyph.

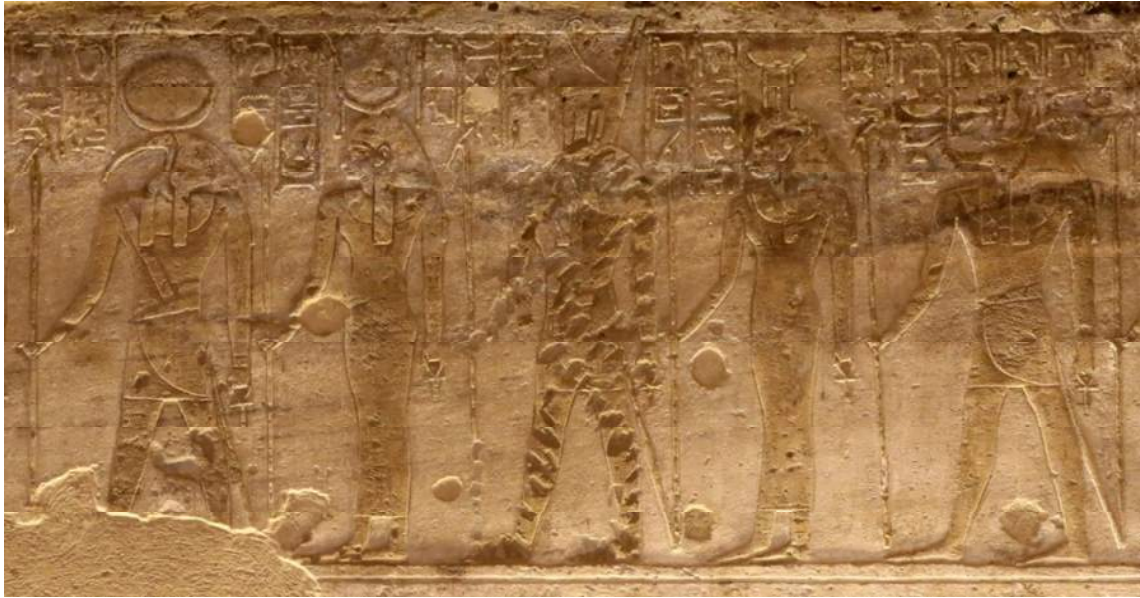


Fig. 9.43: Seth in the bimorphic form wearing a tripartite wig and the red crown of Lower Egypt as part of the ennead of Egyptian gods. Rock cut chapel of Horemheb, Gebel el-Silsila. 18th Dynasty.

On the south wall Seth was again portrayed as part of the ennead but as seated mummiform human accompanied by his sister/wife Nephthys (Fig. 9.44). In this instance he was identified by the text $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒}$ 'Nubt Lord of the land of the south'.



Fig. 9.44: Seth in seated mummified human form wearing a tripartite wig and part of the part of the ennead of Egyptian gods. Rock cut chapel of Horemheb, Gebel el-Silsila, Upper Egypt. 18th Dynasty.

9.8.2 19th Dynasty.

The 19th Dynasty saw the throne of Egypt occupied by the Ramesside dynasty that originated from Avaris in the Eastern Delta in Lower Egypt, the site of known Seth worship during the Hyksos period (Kitchen 2001, 534-535). Seth was depicted as part of the ennead in bimorphic and anthropomorphic form and was often represented accompanied by his sister/wife Nephthys. In the mortuary temple of Seti I at Western Thebes and in the Hypostyle Hall at the temple of Amun at Karnak, Seth was portrayed in seated mummiform holding a *was* sceptre, wearing a nemes head cloth and a false beard. In the Temple of Seti I,


as part of the Great Ennead, he is identified by the text  'Seth (of) Nubt Lord of the land of the south' (Fig. 9.45).



Fig. 9.45: Seth in seated mummiform as part of the Great Ennead. Mortuary temple of Seti I, Western Thebes. 19th Dynasty.


In the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak temple, as one of the Great Ennead being addressed by the god Iunmutef, Seth was depicted in the same manner (Nelson *et al* 1981, Pl. 52). The head of Seth and the identifying text have been deliberately damaged in antiquity but, by comparing Seth with Horus at the end of the register, it was most likely Seth was depicted wearing a *nemes* head cloth and was identified with a S13 hieroglyph  (Fig. 9.46).



Fig. 9.46: Mummiform seated Seth in the company of Isis, Nephthys and Horus as part of the Great Ennead. Hypostyle Hall, Temple of Amun, Karnak. 19th Dynasty.

In Karnak temple, multiple images depicted Seth in a striding anthropomorphic form wearing a *nemes* head cloth. The 19th Dynasty re-carving of the top register of the original 18th Dynasty images on the 8th pylon Seth, identified by a seated Seth animal and holding a *was* sceptre and an *ankh*, was shown as a member of the Great Ennead along with Nut, Osiris, Isis and Nephthys before Seti I (Fig. 9.47).




Fig. 9.47: Seth in the Great Ennead, between Isis and Nephthys, before Seti I. North face Pylon 8, Temple of Amun, 19th Dynasty re-carving of an 18th Dynasty relief. Karnak.

In the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, Seth was represented as one of the Great Ennead, accompanied by Ramesses II, offering adoration to the Theban triad of Amun-Ra, Mut and Khonsu (Fig. 9.48). Seth was shown in anthropomorphic form wearing a *nemes* head cloth and a false beard with his hands raised in the attitude of giving praise.



Fig. 9.48: Osiris, Isis, Seth and Nephthys as part of the Great Ennead giving adoration to the Theban triad. Hypostyle Hall, Temple of Amun, Karnak. 19th Dynasty.

The Hypostyle Hall also contained the depiction of Seth along with Nephthys receiving bread from Seti I (Fig. 9.49). In this instance Seth is identified within the accompanying text with an E20 seated Seth animal and the epithet  'great of strength'.

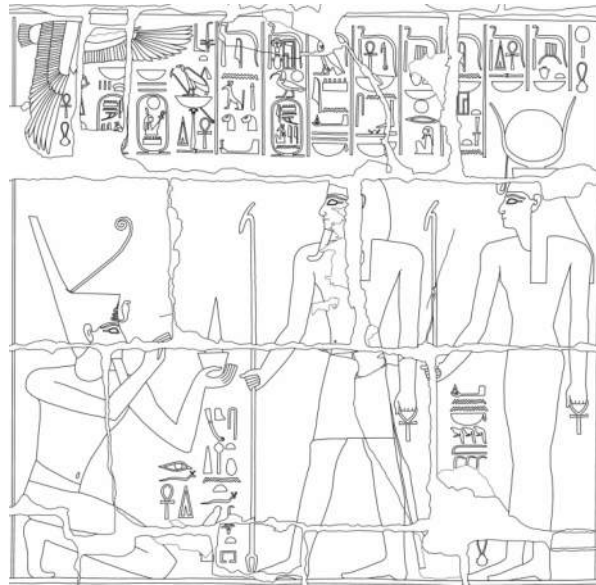
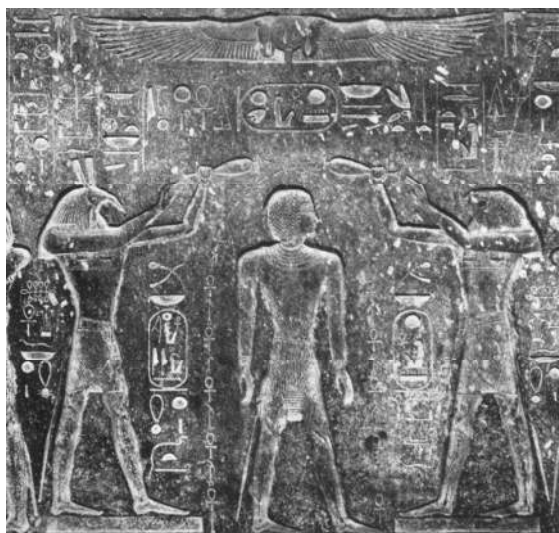


Fig. 9.49: Seth and Nephthys being offered bread by Seti I. Temple of Amun, Karnak. 19th Dynasty.

Images of Seth in the company of Horus were also utilised. The purification of the pharaoh, often incorrectly called the baptism of the pharaoh, depicted Horus and Seth, both in bimorphic form, pouring a stream of *ankhs* hieroglyphs over the standing pharaoh. This scene was thought to originate from Heliopolis (Gardiner 1950, 5, Pl. 1) and was formerly part of the collection of the Brussels Museum but it is now destroyed and in the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak (Fig. 9.50).



A



B

Fig. 9.50: Horus and Seth performing the ritual purification of Seth I. A – Heliopolis? B – Hypostyle Hall, Temple of Amun, Karnak. 19th Dynasty.

In Karnak, this relief is located on the west wall of the Hypostyle Hall, with Seth on the south and Horus to the north of Seti I, possibly located to represent the physical location of the kingdoms of Upper and Lower Egypt. The author's examination of Seth's head has found indications that there had been an element of re-carving to the eye, muzzle and leading ear. The earlier original line of the head was much more rounded, running smoothly into the tripartite wig, no eyebrow over the eye and a straighter front edge to the secondary ear. The curvature of the muzzle was revised to form a tighter curve with brow ridge over the eye, and top of the head adjusted to run straight into the base of the lead ear. A new eye was carved below the original eye which was changed into an eyebrow but part of the lower part of the eye was left *in-situ*. A nasal ridge was added to the muzzle following the new line of the muzzle. The front edge of the tripartite wig was adjusted to meet the new line of the head and finally the front edge of the leading ear was cut back to a shallow curve (Fig. 9.51).

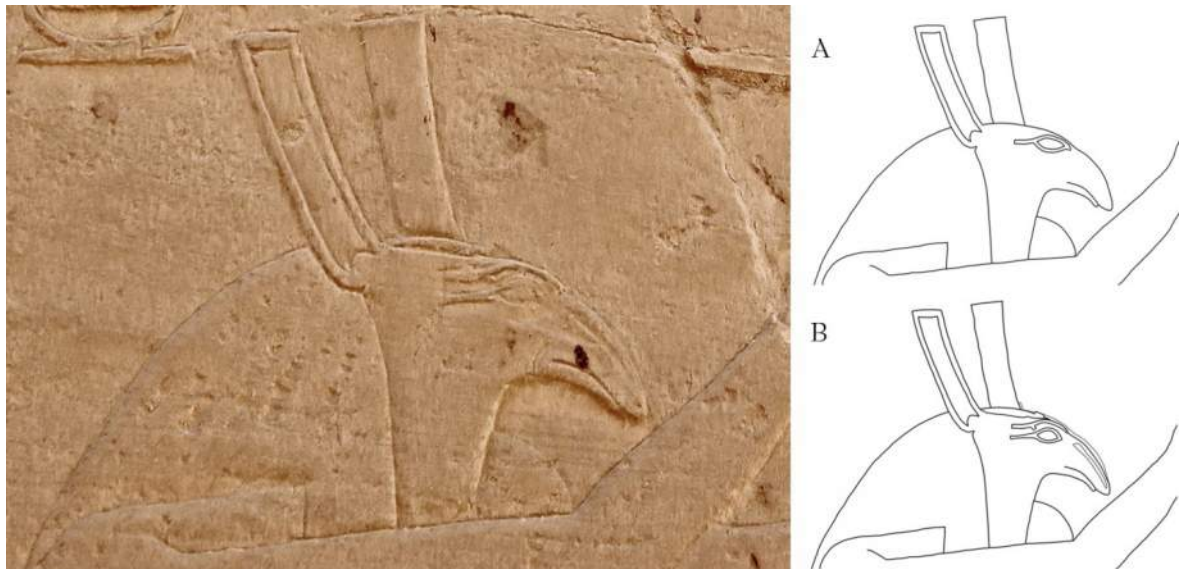


Fig. 9.51: Head of Seth from the scene of ritual purification of Seti I showing evidence of alterations to the eye, muzzle and secondary ear. A – suggested restored original shape of the head and ears. B – revised line of head, new eye added with old eye altered to be an eyebrow and lead ear shape changed to have a curved front edge.

Why and when this alteration took place is unknown, but it is most likely the revision that occurred during the life of Seti I or possibly early in the reign of Ramesses II during the completion of his father's works to the Hypostyle Hall. Whatever the reason for the change, what is significant is that the revisions were obviously approved and no further attempt at re-carving or repairs were made. To date the author has found no other comments or observations on this re-carving of Seth's features.

In the Small Temple at Abu Simbel of Ramesses II, an image that can be classed as a combination of the presentation of the *staff of a million years* with the crowning of the pharaoh

was portrayed. A biomorphic Horus and Seth were depicted standing on a raised podium on either side of Ramesses II, each deity holding a *staff of a million years* while placing the combined crown of Upper and Lower Egypt on his head. Seth is represented wearing a tripartite wig, unlike Horus, who is shown with both a tripartite wig and the combined red and white crown (Fig. 9.52).



Fig. 9.52: Ramesses II being crowned by Horus and Seth and being offered the *staff of a million years*. Small Temple, Abu Simbel. 19th Dynasty.

What is unusual in this scene is that Ramesses is facing Seth rather than Horus and both the *staff of a million years* held by the two gods have their curved tip turned away from Ramesses pointing instead towards the gods. This may have been a choice of the artist as the cartouche of Ramesses II in the text registers above Seth extends below the level of the staff held by Seth. If the staff had been orientated to Ramesses then it would have to be shortened in length to avoid the cartouche, not something acceptable when offering years of life to the Pharaoh. For reasons of symmetry the staff of Horus was also shown rotated away from Ramesses II. The relief is located on the western wall, which places Seth on the south, and Horus on the north side of Ramesses II, locating Seth and Horus in the same geographic relationship of the kingdoms of Upper and Lower Egypt. However, the temple was built in Nubia, which although was still in the Nile Valley and under Egyptian domination, was still a foreign land, consequently a land associated with Seth. It may be for this reason Ramesses II is looking towards Seth rather than Horus.

The south wall of the Great Pillared Hall in the Great Temple at Abu Simbel contains the Kadesh battle scenes in which Ramesses II is shown wearing the *Königsjacke* with two Seth heads, rather than the combination of Horus and Seth heads (Fig. 9.53) (Rosellini 1832, Pl. LXXXI; Siliotti 1994, 80-81; Ćwiek 2008, 44 N12).

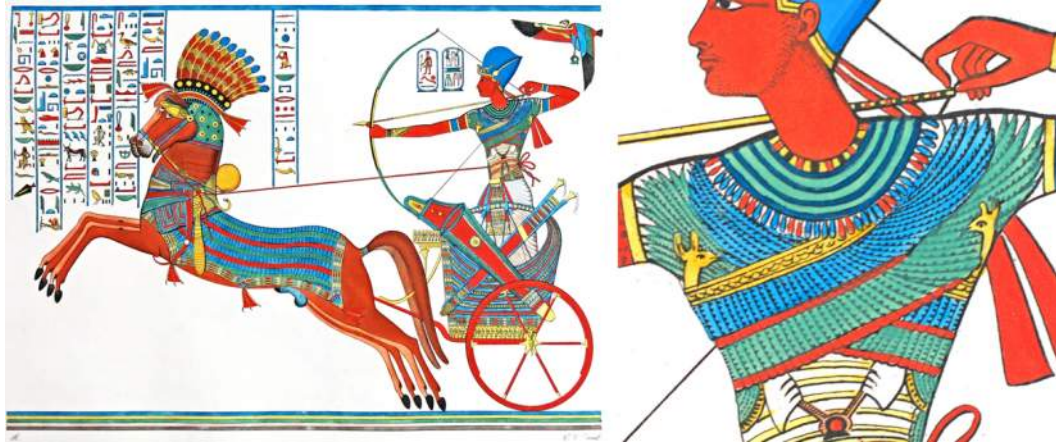



Fig. 9.53: Left - Ramesses II wearing *Königsjacke* in the Kadesh battle scenes. Right – detail of the two Seth heads on the *Königsjacke*. Great Pillared Hall, Great Temple, Abu Simbel. 19th Dynasty.

On the east wall of the Great Pillared Hall are the scenes of smiting the enemies of Egypt in which of Ramesses II is again depicted wearing the *Königsjacke*. The author's study of these reliefs observed that as in the Kadesh images the *Königsjacke* employed the two Seth heads. It is feasible that the reason for the two Seth heads on the *Königsjacke* was related to foreign lands. The battle of Kadesh took place in a foreign land and the smiting of the enemies is being depicted in a foreign land, thus within the reliefs Ramesses is honouring Seth as either the deity of foreign lands or strength against foreign lands.

A central portion of the lintel from the temple of Ptah at Memphis in Lower Egypt, constructed by Merenptah, Ramesses' successor, was carved with a scene depicting a seated Merenptah with a zoomorphic Horus and Seth (Petrie 1909, 13-14, Pl. XXI; Wilkinson 2000, 114) that was a combination of the presentation scenes previously employed in the Middle and New Kingdoms, that is the presentation of the *staff of a million years*, life, strength and dominion. The format of this relief is a repeat of that employed by Amenemhat I (Fig. 9.20), Senwosret III (Fig. 9.21) and Sobekhotep II (Fig. 9.27) and Amenhotep I (Fig. 9.29) discussed above. Centrally positioned in the relief are two addorsed images of the enthroned Merenptah on a raised dais beneath a baldachin representing Upper and Lower Egypt holding a *staff of a million years* and the W4 hieroglyph representing the *Sed* festival. Seth is positioned on the right hand side of the scene facing towards Merenptah representing Upper

Egypt, with Horus in the corresponding location to the left representing Lower Egypt; both offering the king life, strength and dominion for eternity. As stated above Seth and Horus are both depicted as in zoomorphic form, but in the form of a seated Sphinx wearing a tripartite wig with the combined crown of Upper and Lower Egypt. They are seated on a standard with arms holding a *staff of a million years* and the hieroglyphs representing the *Sed* festival. Seth is identified by the text above his head announcing  'Nubt, great god before the shrine of the south' (Fig. 9.54).

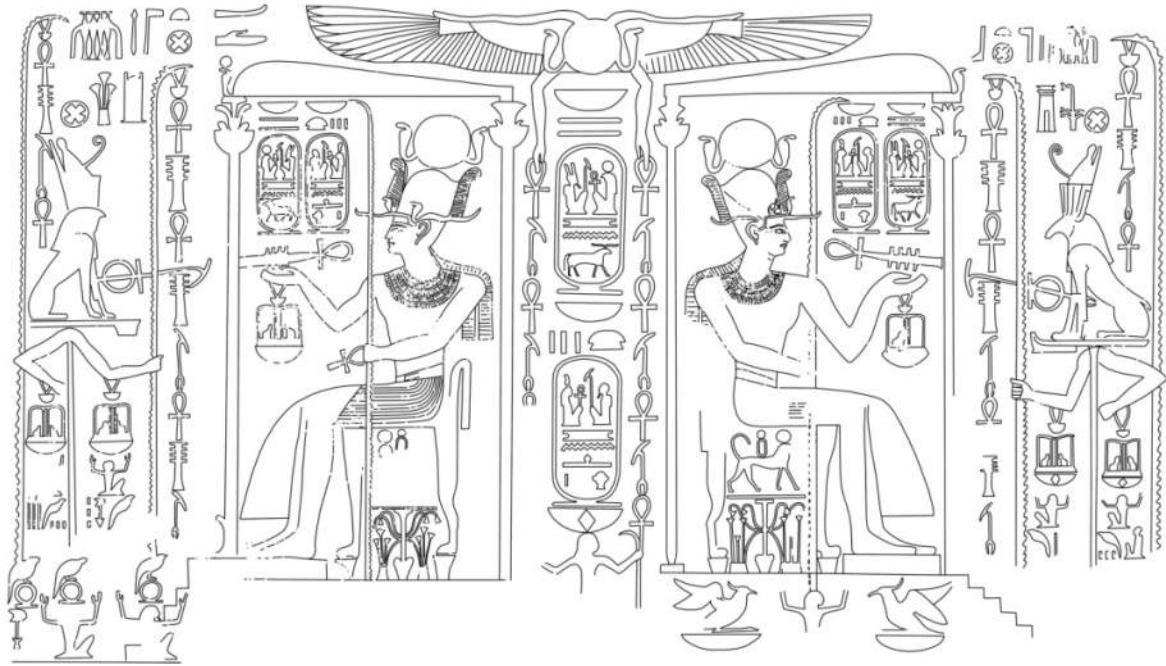
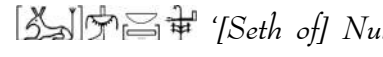


Fig. 9.54: Lintel of Merenptah showing the enthroned king receiving life, strength and dominion for eternity from Horus and Seth. Temple of Merenptah, Memphis. 19th Dynasty.

Merenptah is depicted with Seth in a different situation at the rock shrine at Gebel el-Silsila in Upper Egypt (Lepsius 1897, 200 Fig. e). The king is depicted standing with arms raised before Seth, Nephthys and Horus. Unfortunately due to damage in antiquity, it is not possible to ascertain whether the hands are raised in supplication or whether the king was making an offering. Seth is portrayed in standing form holding a *was* sceptre and an *ankh*. Although the body is human in form, ancient damage has removed any indication if Seth was portrayed in bimorphic or anthropomorphic form (Fig. 9.55). The text registers above Seth, although damaged, has the usual titles associated with him  '[Seth of] Nubt, Lord [of the land of the] south'. Unusually Seth is shown as the lead deity ahead of Horus. This could have been due to the location of the scene, a desert site in Upper Egypt, the two locations particularly associated with Seth.

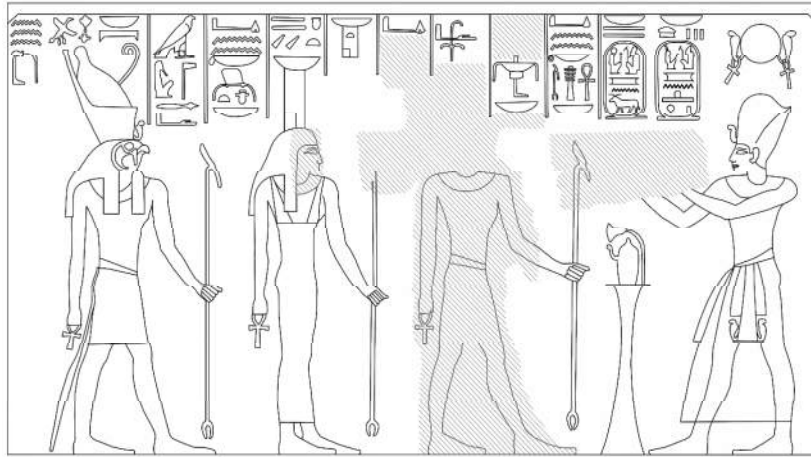


Fig. 9.55: Seth with Nephthys and Horus before Merenptah. Rock chapel of Merenptah, Gebel el-Silsila, Upper Egypt. 19th Dynasty.

Few of the works of Seti II, the son and crown prince of Merenptah, has survived intact. The triple barque shrine of the Theban Triad in the 1st court of Karnak that bears his cartouche has unfortunately suffered from defacement throughout the three shrines with any the erasure of any Seth images in antiquity.

During the reign of Siptah, the vizier Seti commissioned stela DB340 on the external north flank wall at the temple of Ramesses II at Abu Simbel (Exell 2009, 115, 176, Fig 5). The top register of the stela depicts Siptah offering incense to Amun, Mut, Ra-Harakhti, Seth and Satis. The bimorphic Seth was represented carrying a *was* sceptre and an *ankh* while wearing the combined crown of Upper and Lower Egypt. He is identified by the C7 deity hieroglyph in the accompanying text register (Fig. 9.56).



Fig. 9.56: Seth in the company of Amun, Mut, Ra-Harakhti and Satis being presented with incense by the pharaoh Siptah. Stela DB340, Temple of Abu Simbel. 19th Dynasty.

9.8.3 Seth in the Cartouches of the 19th and 20th Dynasties.

Before looking at the use of Seth images in the 20th Dynasty, it is worth considering the use of the Seth image in the 19th Dynasty cartouches of Seti I and Seti II and the early 20th Dynasty of cartouche Sethnakht.

Seti I, the second pharaoh of the dynasty, had the nomen *'he who belongs to the god Seth'* (Stadelman 2001, 272), a man of Seth. His cartouches containing a seated C7 deity were carved within temples and on statues, however, Seth images varied slightly in their muzzle and ear shape between cartouches (Figs. 9.57 to 9.60).



Fig. 9.57: Cartouches of Seti I. Rock cut chapel, Kanais. 19th Dynasty.



Fig. 9.58: Cartouches of Seti I. Hypostyle Hall, Karnak. 19th Dynasty.



Fig. 9.59: Cartouches of Seti I. Stone store, Karnak. 19th Dynasty.



Fig. 9.60: Cartouches of Seti I. Hypostyle Hall, Luxor. 19th Dynasty.


Although a Seth hieroglyph was employed in the cartouches in the mortuary temple of Seti I at Western Thebes (Fig. 9.61), variations exist in those cartouches added during the reign of his son Ramesses II. After the death of Seti I, the works to the temple continued in two phases, the first two years of Ramesses II's reign after which the work was abandoned until year 20 when the work was resumed (Brand 2000, 245). Cartouches carved during these periods of work omitted the Seth hieroglyph substituting it with the V39 *tyet*  hieroglyph, the girdle of Isis (Fig. 9.62) (Lurker 1974, 72; Griffiths 2001, 189-190).



Fig. 9.61: Cartouches of Seti I. Mortuary temple, Western Thebes employing the C7 Seth deity. 19th Dynasty.

Fig 9.62: Cartouches of Seti I employing the girdle of Isis. Mortuary temple, Western Thebes. 19th Dynasty.

Despite this change to the cartouche, none of the earlier cartouches were altered and the relief of Seth in the company of Great Ennead carved on the outer face of the wall to room VIII (Porter *et al.* 1972, 407, 413) was left intact (Fig. 9.45). In comparison, the author's study of the cartouches displayed in Seti I's temple of Osiris at Abydos, observed that Seth had also been omitted from the cartouche (Fig. 9.63).



Fig. 9.63: Cartouches of Seti I. Temple of Osiris, Abydos. 19th Dynasty.

The substitution of the girdle of Isis for Seth within the cartouches in these two locations associated with Osiris and his realm was an act best described as 'pragmatically erring on the side of caution'. The fact that the substitution occurs in two separate locations would suggest

it was an administrative instruction from the central government rather than a unilateral decision made by the priests/overseers of the building works.

Seti II, the fifth Pharaoh of the 19th Dynasty also contained the seated C7 deity. However, as stated above the cartouches throughout the triple barque shrine of the Theban Triad in the 1st court of Karnak had suffered from defacement in antiquity with the Seth images erased (Fig. 9.64).



Fig. 9.64: Defaced cartouches of Seti II. Lintel and door jamb to barque shrine of Amun, triple barque shrine of the Theban Triad, Temple of Amun, Karnak. 19th Dynasty.

Sethnakht, the first pharaoh of the 20th Dynasty was the third pharaoh to include the C7 deity hieroglyph in his cartouche (von Beckerath 1984, 164-165; Johnson *et al.* 2012, 54) (Fig. 9.65)



Fig. 9.65: Four cartouches of Sethnakht carved into the capital of a bundled papyrus column. Lower Egypt. 12th Dynasty column with 18th and 20th Dynasty inscriptions. British Museum EA 64.

9.8.4 20th Dynasty.

Within the mortuary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, Seth is also depicted in bimorphic form in the reliefs on the interior of the temple where he is displayed in the presence of the pharaoh and other gods. On the south face of the north wall of the second

court Seth is shown with a bimorphic Horus performing the ritual purification of Ramesses III in a similar style the purification of Seti I at Karnak temple (Fig. 9.66).



Fig. 9.66: Seth and Horus performing the ritual purification of Ramesses III. Second court, Medinet Habu, Thebes. 20th Dynasty.


Seth is identified by the text  'Nubty, Lord of the land of the south' (Fig. 9.67). Although the head and upper body of Seth had suffered from an iconoclastic attack in antiquity, the tripartite wig, the erect ears and curve of the top of the muzzle are still discernible, while his identifying text has remained untouched.



Fig. 9.67: Text associated with the images of Seth in Fig. 9.66. Second court, Medinet Habu, Thebes. 20th Dynasty.

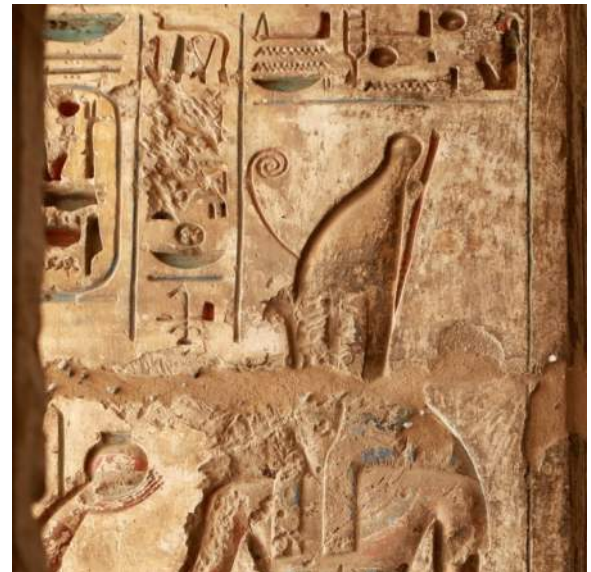




Fig. 9.68: Seth receiving an offering of wine from Ramesses III. Column 27, second court, Medinet Habu, Thebes. 20th Dynasty.

A further defaced Seth occurs on the north face of column 27 of the second court (Fig. 9.68). The relief depicts a bimorphic Seth wearing a tripartite wig and the combined crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt being presented two *nu* pots of wine from Ramesses III. As the Seth image in Fig. 9.66, the head of Seth has been defaced with the erasure of the muzzle and damage to the ears, but in addition there had been an attempt to remove the Seth animal and *Nubt* from the identifying text before the deity. Lepsius identified this damage as being an attempt to convert the image to one representing Horus (Lepsius 1859, 214 Fig d). However, this scene is one in a sequence of reliefs in which Ramesses III makes offerings to gods of the Great Ennead, and within these scenes Amonet, Amun-Ra, Anubis, Atum, Geb, Horus, Isis, Osiris, Mut, and Ramesses III had suffered similar defacement. In addition there had been no attempt to replace the indentifying text with one relating to Horus. This would suggest this attack was part of a later post-pagan period defacement of the discredited pagan images rather than a focussed attack on Seth alone.

A further scene of Ramesses III making an offering to Seth occurs on the exterior of the north girdle wall. Ramesses III is depicted kneeling and making an offering of incense and libation to an enthroned bimorphic Seth with Nephthys standing behind him (Fig. 9.69).



Fig 9.69: Ramesses III offering incense and libation to a seated bimorphic Seth and Nephthys. Seth is identified as the *Lord of Su*. Medinet Habu, Thebes. 20th Dynasty.

Seth is identified with an E21  hieroglyph and the title  'Lord of Su'. Although the figures of both Seth and Nephthys are untouched by any later defacement, the head and faces

have been lost through natural erosion of the stone so only the upper section of the Seth's ears and the lappets of the tripartite wig remain.

A further example of Seth being offered incense and libation occurs on the wall of the North tower of the Migdol gate. A relief depicts Ramesses III making offerings to a bimorphic Seth and Nut. The images of Seth have been completely hammered out along with his accompanying text removing any details. From the height and shape of the scarring of the stone, Seth was standing holding a *was* sceptre and an *ankh*, while wearing a tripartite wig and the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt. In the adjacent text Ramesses III is described as '*beloved of Seth, who has given kingship*' (The Epigraphic Survey 1970, 7, Pl. 605) (Fig. 9.70).



Fig, 9.70: Ramesses III offering incense and libation to Seth and Nut. Migdol gate, Medinet Habu, Thebes. 20th Dynasty.

On the north wall in room 18 accessed from the 2nd Hypostyle Hall is the earliest surviving temple relief of Seth protecting the solar barque of Ra (Fig. 9.71).





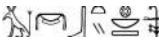


Fig 9.71: Seth spearing the serpent Apep from the prow of the solar barque of Amun. Room 18, Medinet Habu, Thebes. 20th Dynasty.

The wall relief depicts Ramesses III offering incense to the solar barque of Ra, in the prow of which is Seth standing and spearing the serpent Apep. The majority of the solar barque and the legs of the deities on board have been lost due to the stone being removed in antiquity, but the body of Seth, his lance and the coils of Apep have survived. Seth is shown wearing the tripartite wig, but the head and ears, along with the identifying Seth animal text, suffered deliberate damage in antiquity. This defacement is not restricted to Seth alone; contemporary damage is also displayed on the figures of Thoth and Maat behind Seth.

In addition to constructing Medinet Habu, Ramesses III also undertook work at the Temple of Seth at Nubt (Petrie 1896, 70, Pl. LXXIX). Recovered from the site was a lintel on which was carved a representation of the pairing of Seth and Amun (Fig. 9.72).



Fig 9.72: Lintel from the reign of Ramesses III showing a seated Seth and Amun receiving praise from the priest of Seth. Temple of Seth, Nubt. 20th Dynasty.

The lintel depicts Seth and Amun in the style of the C7  seated Seth and C12  seated Amun deity hieroglyphs sitting back to back on a pedestal around which is entwined a *sema-tawy*. Seth, wearing the twin crown of Upper and Lower Egypt, is positioned over the sedge plants representing Upper Egypt in the *sema-tawy*, and is identified in the first text register as  'Seth (of) Nubt, Lord of the land of the south'. In this text he is shown as a seated Seth E20  whereas in the three references within the text relating to Userhat, the priest of Seth, he is shown as the C7  seated Seth deity hieroglyph. As previously discussed in Chapter 8, Vandier proposed this lintel highlighted a historic link between Amun and Seth (Vandier 1969, 190, 195).


9.9 Seth in the 3rd Intermediate Period.

9.9.1 21st Dynasty.

The temple of Khonsu at Karnak, begun by Ramesses III, contains within the decorative reliefs two images of Seth with the pharaoh Herihor (The Epigraphic Survey 1979, 33, Pl. 57). The first image depicts the crowning of the pharaoh Herihor by Horus and Seth. The enthroned pharaoh is flanked by the seated two goddesses, Wadjet to the rear and Nekhbet to the front. Horus and Seth are positioned to the front and rear of Herihor, so Horus is looking at Wadjet, the goddess of Lower Egypt, while Seth is looking at Nekhbet, the goddess of Upper Egypt. Horus and Seth are placing the white and red crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt respectively on the head of Herihor. Horus is shown holding a small image of a combined crown in his free hand. Although the figure of Seth has lost the details of what was in his free hand it was most likely to have been the combined crown as well (Fig. 9.73).



Fig. 9.73: Enhanced relief of the Seth and Horus crowning Herihor. The small crown in Seth's hand is hypothetical. Temple of Khonsu, Karnak. 21st Dynasty relief.

Seth is identified as  'Nubty, Lord of the land of the south' in the text register above his head. Although the figure of Seth had been completely chiselled out, the heads of Herihor, Horus, Nekhbet and Wadjet have also suffered the same defacement suggesting that the removals were an iconoclastic attack against pagan imagery that occurred after the Pharaonic Period.

Within the Khonsu temple, Seth is also represented seated with his sister/wife Nephthys as part of the Ennead of Karnak before the god Iunmutef (The Epigraphic Survey 1979, 40, Pl 71). The body was shown as mummiform with both hands projecting from the wrappings and holding a *was* sceptre. Although the head is damaged, by comparison with other male deities in the scene it was probable he was originally shown wearing a *nemes* head cloth and a false beard (Fig. 9.74)



Fig. 9.74: Seth in mummiform with Nephthys as part of the Karnak Ennead. Temple of Khonsu, Karnak. 21st Dynasty relief.

Seth is identified by his name written phonetically as $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑} \text{Suty}$. The image of Seth had suffered defacement with the head and shoulders hammered out, along with all the deities within the horizontal register, suggesting this attack was not part of a proscription against Seth but a later attack against pagan gods.

9.9.2 22nd Dynasty.

For evidence of Seth within temples during the 22nd Dynasty it is necessary to consider the sites that were located in oases of the Western Desert. As discussed in chapter 8, Seth was an important god in the oases and his image was employed on temple walls and stelae within them. The large Dakhla stela, discussed in the previous chapter, recovered at the temple of Seth at Mut el-Karab in the Dakhla Oasis (Speigelberg 1899, 12; Gardiner 1933, 19) depicted a representation of the cult image of Seth (Figs 8.13 and 8.14) while within the text the name of Seth was written phonetically as *Sutekh* and employed the E21 Seth animal or C7 Seth deity hieroglyph as a determinative. However, two different spellings were employed $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑}$ and $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑}$.

In the Nile delta Osorkon I changed the dedication of the Ramesside temple at Bubastis from Amun, Ptah and Seth to the goddess Bastet (Naville 1891, 48, 49. Naville 1892, 7). During the reign of Osorkon II some of the images of Seth within the temple were re-carved to represent the god Mahes, the son of Bastet, by the alteration of the head of Seth to that of a lion (Naville 1891, 42, Pl. XLII G; Naville 1892, 7) (Fig. 9.75).



Fig. 9.75: Ramesside seated figure of Seth altered to represent the god Mahes. The grey area represents areas of re-carving. Temple of Bastet, Bubastis, 19th Dynasty altered in 22nd Dynasty.

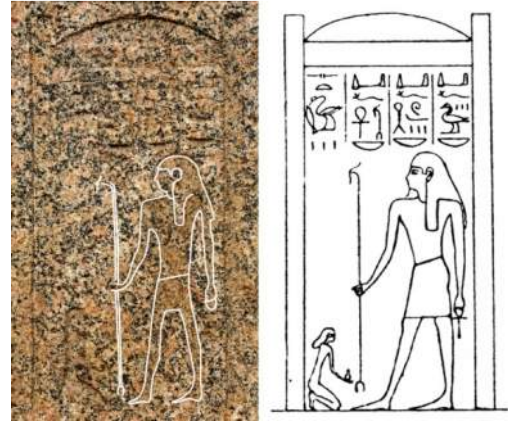


Fig. 9.76: Anthropomorphic Seth represented in a *Per-nu* shrine of Lower Egypt on the south wall. Festival Hall of Osorkon II, Temple of Bastet, Bubastis, 22nd Dynasty.

However, in the *Sed* festival scenes of the Festival Hall of Osorkon II, Seth was included within the pantheon of Egyptian gods, where he was represented in anthropomorphic form wearing a false beard, tripartite wig, carrying a *was* sceptre and an *ankh* while identified with his name written phonetically (Naville 1892, 22, 23, 25, Pl. VIII Fig. 26, Pl. X Fig. 3) (Fig. 9.76). On the south side of the west wall, Naville identified one anthropomorphic god in a *Per-wer* shrine of Upper Egypt as Sobek, but the author would suggest that this was in fact another image of Seth (Fig. 9.77), Naville's identification was based on the name of *Nubty* $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{b}}\overline{\text{t}}\overline{\text{y}}$ in the accompanying text (Naville 1892, 20). This epithet was applied to Sobek with reference to the Upper Egyptian temple at Kom Ombo (Fig. 9.78) as well as to Seth and his temple at Nubt. What Naville ignored was the second part of the epithet $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{b}}\overline{\text{t}}\overline{\text{y}}$ 'Lord of the land of the south' an epithet of Seth, but this epithet is only applied to Sobek in the Ptolemaic temple of Kom Ombo (de Morgan *et al* 1895, Fig. 307; de Morgan *et al.* 1902 Fig. 892; Leitz 2002, 773) constructed after the proscription of Seth. In addition other Sobek figures were portrayed in bimorphic form with a crocodile head or were identified by the text *Sobek* $\overline{\text{S}}\overline{\text{b}}\overline{\text{k}}$ (Naville 1892, Pl. VII, Pl. XII).



Fig. 9.77: Anthropomorphic god in *Per-wer* shrine with the epithet *Nubty Lord of the land of the south*. Epithets of Seth. Festival Hall of Osorkon II, Temple of Bastet, Bubastis. 22nd Dynasty.



Fig. 9.78: Sobek with the epithet of *Lord of Nubt*. Temple of Kom Ombo. Ptolemaic Period.



Fig. 9.79 Block with 19th Dynasty relief of Seth reused in the roof of the tomb of Orsorkon II at Tanis. 22nd Dynasty.

The tomb of Osorkon II at Tanis was constructed of reused stones from the Ramesside period, one of which displayed a bimorphic image of Seth wearing a tripartite wig and holding a *was* sceptre (Montet 1947, 52-53, Pls. XVII-XIX). The image was on the exterior face of the tomb wall and has suffered erosion since its excavation in 1946 and has consequently lost much of its detail (Fig. 9.79). Although the number of images of Seth is very small during the 3rd Intermediate Period, the evidence from those that have survived indicate that the Seth animal was still employed within temple texts while both bimorphic and anthropomorphic forms of Seth were utilised as one of the pantheon of Egyptian gods and was still referred to as the '*Lord of the land of the south*'.

9.10 Seth in the Late Period.

Unfortunately no temple images of Seth from this period have survived in the Nile Valley. However, due to Seth's importance within the oases of the Western Desert he continued to be worshiped with a small number of his images surviving.

9.10.1 27th Dynasty.

As discussed in Chapter 8 the temple of Amun at Hibis (ancient Hebet) in the Kharga Oasis contains a relief of a hawk headed bimorphic Seth spearing the serpent Apep below his feet (Fig. 9.80). However, this relief is totally different in its style of execution to the adjoining


reliefs and the author's on site study of this image confirms Davis' suggestion that it is not the one originally carved in the 27th Dynasty during the reign of Darius I or II (Davis 1953, 23). The accompanying hieroglyphic text, which is executed in a shallow incised relief, refers to  'Setekh great of strength great god in the midst of Hebet' and matches the style of the hieroglyphs in the cartouche of the pharaoh Darius (von Beckerath 1984, 220-221) and of the adjoining scenes (Fig. 9.81), so it can be safely considered that they are of a comparable date.



Fig. 9.80: Hawk-headed Seth spearing the serpent Apep. The image is executed in bas-relief while the accompanying hieroglyphic text is in shallow incised relief. Temple of Amun, Hibis, Kharga Oasis.

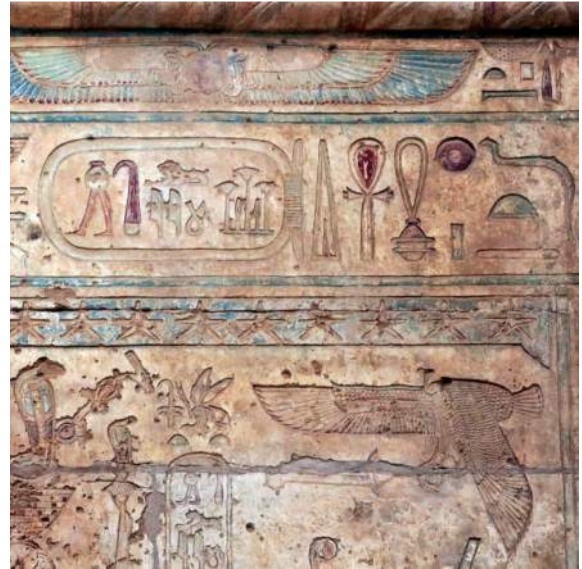


Fig. 9.81: Cartouche of Darius and wall decoration adjacent to Seth image in Fig 9.80. Both images and hieroglyphs are executed as shallow incised relief. Temple of Amun, Hibis, Kharga Oasis.

Looking in detail at the image of Seth, it is carved in a deep bas-relief with the background to the relief being cut back a minimum of 15mm from the surface of the wall while the bas-relief projects a maximum of 10mm from the back face, while the incised reliefs of the adjacent texts and images are carved 5mm deep into the face of the wall (Fig. 9.82).

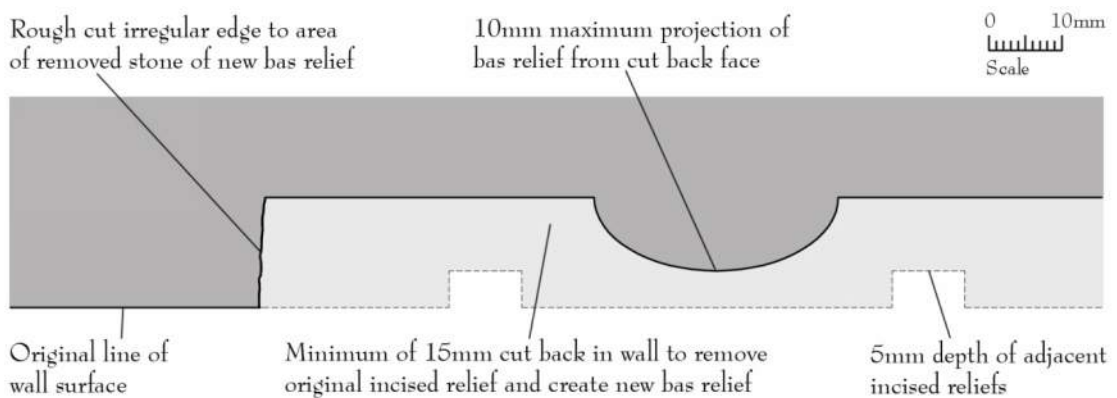


Fig 9.82: Sketch showing the extent of the removal of original incised relief and wall surface to re-carve the image of Seth in bas-relief.

In this way the carving of the bas-relief would remove all evidence of the earlier incised relief, with no stray remains of the incised cuts marring the high points of the later bas relief. It is worth noting that the vertical and horizontal cut edge of the bas relief was roughly cut with an irregular external arris with sections not projecting at right angles to the face of the wall but rather a few degrees beyond the right angle giving a battered edge sloping towards the back of the relief. Where the stone has been cut back along the base of the accompanying text there is no guide line as with the surround to outer edges of the relief which resulted in an irregular cut line, with the left hand end of the cut impinging into the last hieroglyph (Fig. 9.83). This roughly cut edge was also left as raw stone with no decoration (Fig. 9.84).



Fig. 9.83: Line of roughly cut back stone along the bottom of the accompanying hieroglyphs. Note the damage to bottom edge of the lowest hieroglyph left hand end and lack of decoration.



Fig. 9.84: Line of roughly cut back stone along the top edge and side of the bas-relief with the poor quality of the finish and lack of decoration.

These observations support the paradigm that an incised relief of Seth dating to the time of Darius I or II was re-carved in bas-relief at a later date, with only the identifying incised hieroglyphs remaining untouched.

A comparison of the representation of the body of the hawk headed bimorphic Seth relief with those of a hawk-headed bimorphic Horus carved on the adjacent wall in the temple and those from the Ptolemaic Period revealed that the Seth figure bore a considerable number of similarities to the Ptolemaic figures (Fig. 9.85). The modelling of the Seth figure with a more detailed rounded muscular appearance (Robins 1994, 257-258) was more in keeping with the Ptolemaic images and differed considerably from the slim gracile image of the temple Horus. In addition Seth was depicted wearing a kilt with vertical pleating with a convex curve on the line of the buttocks, as well as wearing bicep and wrist bracelets with horizontal and vertical decoration, the same as the Ptolemaic images as opposed to the straight radial kilt pleating and the lack of arm jewellery of the Horus from Hibis.

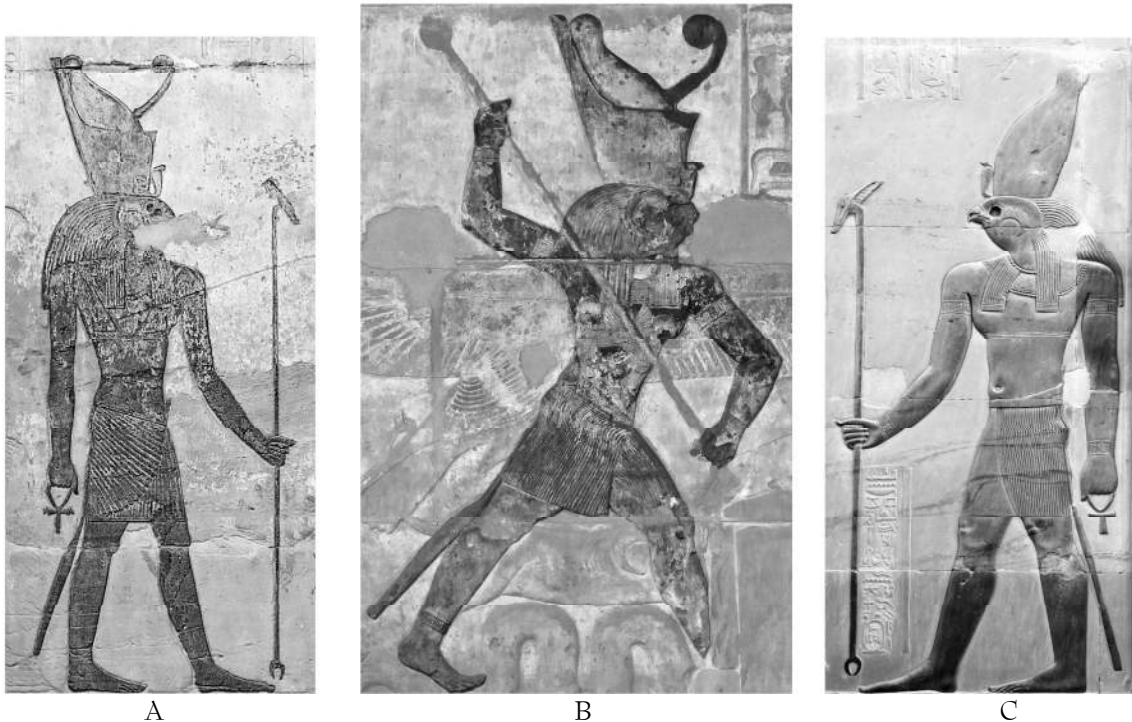


Fig. 9.85: A – incised relief of Horus adjacent to Seth relief from Hibis temple and attributed to reign of Darius. B – bas relief of Seth from Hibis temple (background hawk and lion greyed out to show Seth figure clearly). C – bas relief of Horus from the Ptolemaic Temple of Horus and Sobek at Kom Ombo.

The *Königsjacke* worn by Seth continued to be employed in reliefs through the Ptolemaic Period to the Roman Period (Borchardt 1933, 17) (Fig. 9.86) and of those figures in the Hibis reliefs Seth is the only one depicted wearing the *Königsjacke*.

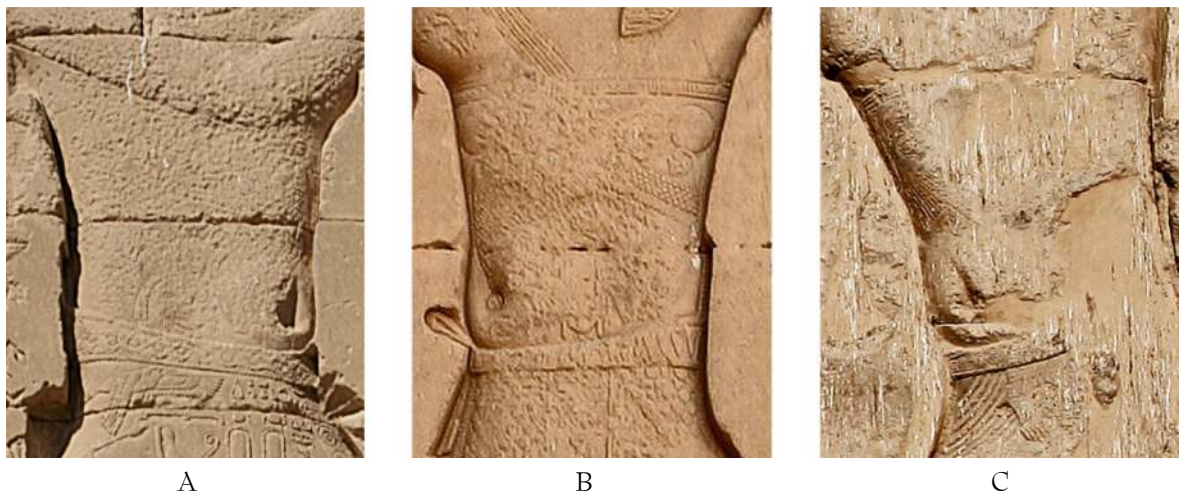


Fig. 9.86: Remains of the representation of the *Königsjacke* represented on the figures of – A - Caesarion, Temple of Hathor, Dendara. B - Augustus, Temple of Khnum, Esna. C- Caligula, Temple of Hathor, Dendara.

A small sandstone stela E21160, in the Louvre, is carved in bas-relief and depicts a standing anthropomorphic figure wearing an *atef* crown and a *nemes* head dress superimposed over the

body, tail and outspread pair of wings of a hawk, the style of composition is very similar to that employed on the Seth relief (Fig. 9.87).



Fig. 9.87: Ptolemaic stela E21160, Louvre.

Finally, a comparison of all the scenes on the west wall of the Hypostyle Hall N of the Hibis temple reveals the lack of harmony within the overall decoration induced by the Seth relief (Fig. 9.88).

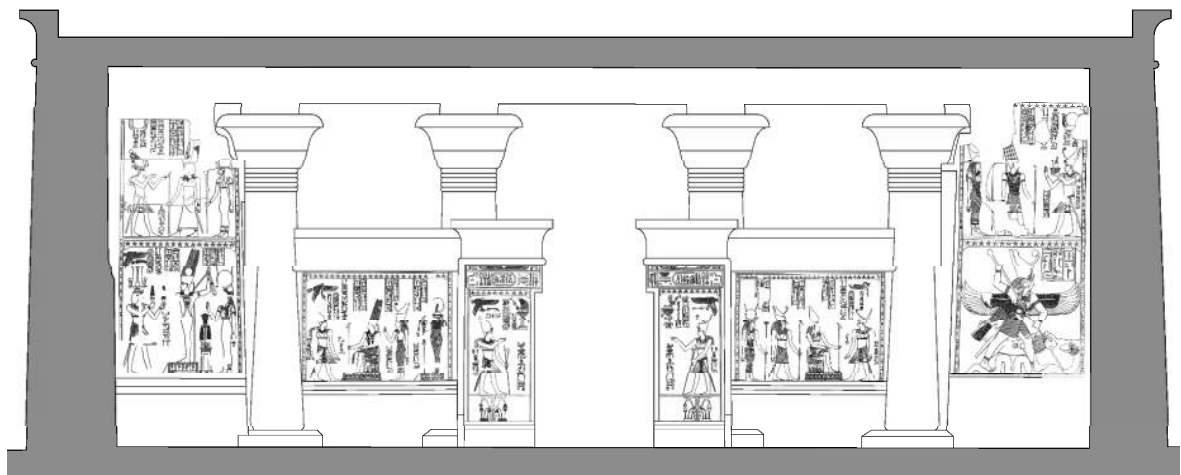


Fig. 9.88: Layout of the reliefs on the west wall of Hypostyle Hall N showing the disparity in size and layout between the relief of Seth and those of the adjacent panels. Temple of Amun, Hibis, Kharga Oasis.

The size, style, format and content of the Seth register is different to those on the rest of the wall and fails to depict the pharaoh or make reference to him, instead it contains only the figures of Seth and Apep. As previously discussed the representation of Seth killing Apep had considerable importance in the oases; it is the author's proposition that the panel did originally contain a similar scene but at a smaller scale in keeping with that at the opposite south end of the wall.

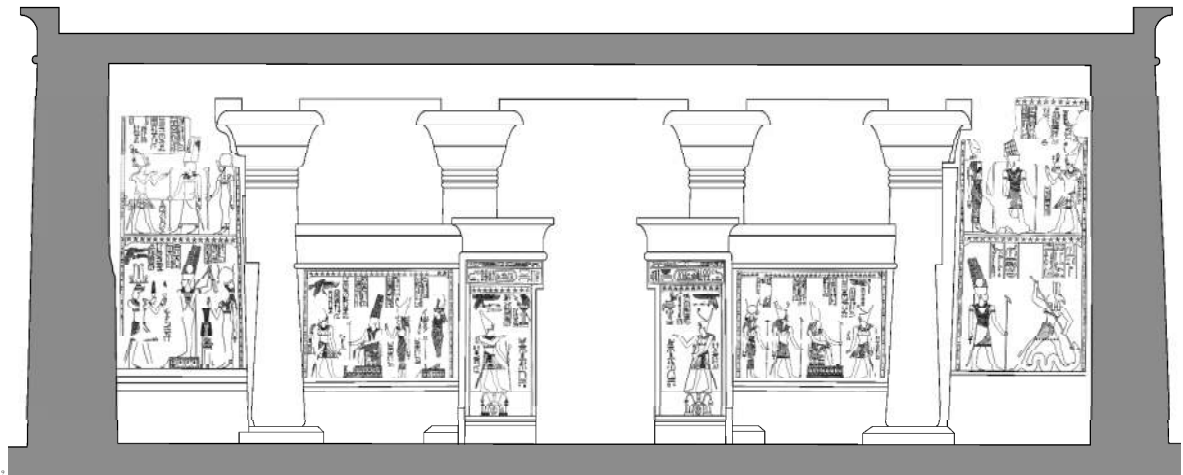



Fig 9:89: Hypothetical layout of the reliefs on the west wall of Hypostyle Hall N showing a possible image of Seth killing Apep before Amun-Ra with the gods in scale with those in the equivalent panel at the south end of the wall.


The Seth figure could have been depicted with head of the Seth animal and the text registers referred to spearing of Apep to protect Amun-Ra or the pharaoh. The direction and location of the surviving 27th Dynasty hieroglyphs would place Seth to the right of the scene and facing to the right. The size of the register would allow for a second figure either Amun-Ra or the pharaoh but the author would suggest it was Amun-Ra as the killing of Apep relates to the protection of this deity, the god to whom the temple was dedicated (Fig. 9.89).

With the change of the depiction of Seth within the oases, the image was totally re-carved during the Ptolemaic Period, possibly during the reign of Ptolemy II or his immediate successors, removing the additional figure and reducing the text registers to those only relating to Seth.

9.10.2 30th Dynasty

For images of Seth during the 30th Dynasty, the only evidence comes from the remains of the temple of Amun at Umm Ubaydah in the Siwa Oasis. Built during the reign of Nectanbo II it was almost totally destroyed in the late 19th century (Fahkry 1944, 97; Fahkry 1973, 165; Arnold 1999, 134), however, the surviving sanctuary wall contains a relief of Seth in fully anthropomorphic form wearing the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt as part of the Great Ennead (Fig. 8.27). Within his text label the name of Seth is written as a prone Seth animal but with a knife in his head  (Fahkry 1944, 112).

In the Late Period, the attitude towards Seth began to change but, despite any proscription against him he still had a role to play within Egyptian religion, whether in the negative role as

the killer of Osiris or in the positive one as the protector of the solar barque against the serpent Apep. As a result, although Egyptian religion lacked any dogma and was adaptable in its religious thinking, he could not be just expunged from religious history. In the oases Seth was particularly venerated so this proscription was circumvented by a change of image, the head of the Seth animal, which appears to have been the main focus of the proscription being replaced with that of a hawk. Whether, in order to legitimise their rule, this was a form of archaism by the non-Egyptian ruling dynasties looking back to the Old Kingdom epithet the two lords *nbtj*, Horus and Seth, being written with a pair of G7 hawks on a standard hieroglyphs  and one of these hawks that represented Seth became the revised image of Seth. Alternatively, whether it was the association of Seth with Horus resulted in Seth acquiring a hawk's head is open for consideration.

Seth also continued to be portrayed in fully human form without any desecrations, unlike the Seth animal which is supplanted with phonetic spellings, or in the instance at Umm Ubaydah where the Seth animal is utilised but symbolically killed by the addition of a knife penetrating the head.

9.11 Seth in the Ptolemaic Period and Roman Period.

By the end of the Late Period, although Seth was still venerated in the Western Desert oases, in the Nile Valley his role as the god of deserts and foreign lands led to him being thought of as the archetype supporter of the foreign invaders (Koeing 2007, 234). This attitude developed into him being considered as a negative god who was destroyer to be repelled resulting in his demonization and becoming the target for execration rituals by the Ptolemaic Period through to the Roman Period (Frankfurter 1998, 113-114; Lucarelli 2011, 117-118). This change in attitude to Seth was reflected in how his image was depicted on the walls of the Greco-Roman temples in the Nile Valley.

The Seth animal had fallen into disuse to be replaced with the ass, a demonic animal associated with him. This was portrayed as either a prone canine body with a ass's head or a prone ass with its legs tucked beneath its body. The majority of these images, but not all, were also shown being pierced in the head and or body with knives, a *khepesh* or harpoon in an attempt to symbolically kill it. The erect tail was retained but reduced in length sweeping out of the base of rump in a tight curve, and typically ended with a forked stick terminal.

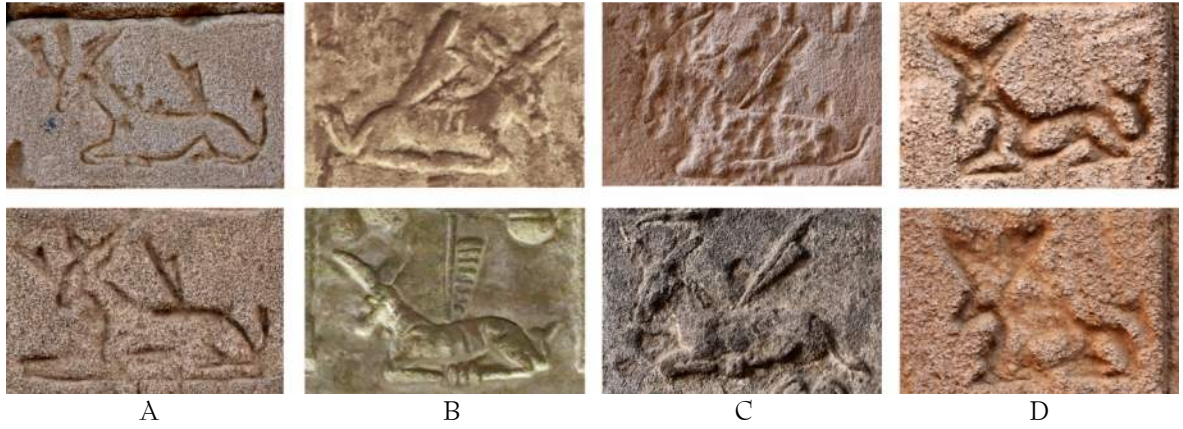


Fig. 9.90: Columns A to C - Seth as an ass symbolically killed with knives. Column D - Canine Seth with ass's head. Temple of Hathor, Dendara.

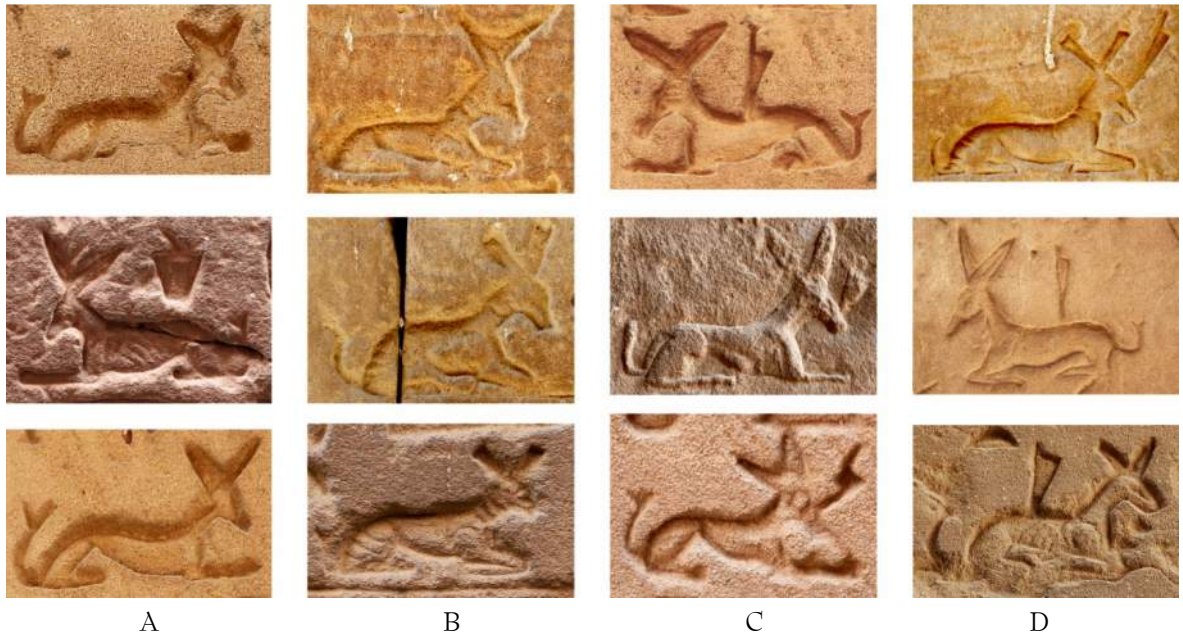


Fig. 9.91: Column A – Seth with a body of a prone canine with an ass's head. Column B – Seth as a prone ass with its legs tucked beneath it. Column C – Canine/ass Seth symbolically killed with knives and a *khepesh*. Column D – Seth as an ass symbolically killed with knives. Temple of Horus, Edfu. Ptolemaic Period.

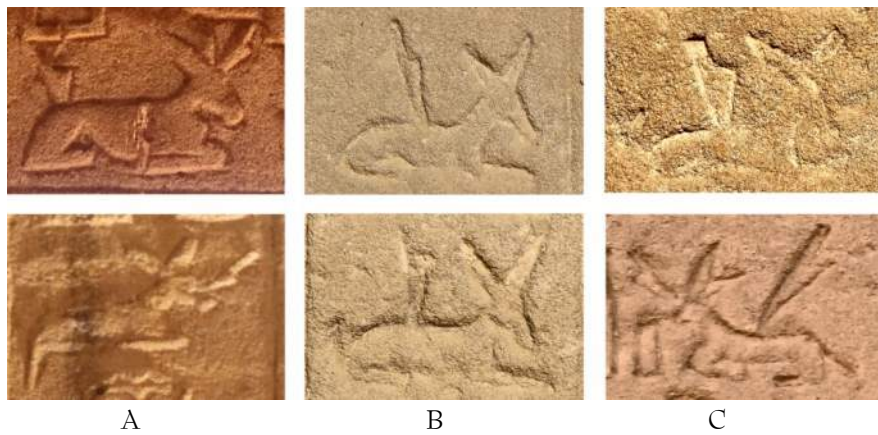


Fig. 9.92: Column A - Seth as an ass symbolically killed with knives, temple interior. Column B - Canine Seth with an ass's head symbolically killed with knives, temple exterior. Column C - Canine Seth with ass's head and as an ass symbolically killed with knives, temple exterior. Temple of Isis, Philae.

Surviving examples of these representations of Seth were carved on the internal and external faces of the walls in the temple of Hathor at Dendara (Fig. 9.90), the temple of Horus at Edfu (Fig. 9.91) and the temple of Isis at Philae (Fig. 9.92). In one instance in the temple of Edfu Seth was shown as a prone canine but the head shown in the style of the head of a *was* sceptre (Fig. 9.93).



Fig. 9.93: Seth hieroglyph with the head in the style of a *was* sceptre and a *was* sceptre. Temple of Horus, Edfu. Ptolemaic Period.

During the Greco-Roman Period the hippopotamus and turtle were thought of as evil enemies to be destroyed in order to annihilate the evil they represented (Derchain 1964, 20; Fischer 1968, 12) and along with the ass were represented on the temple walls being killed. The inner face of the western enclosure wall at the temple of Edfu is carved with the Triumph of Horus (Fairman 1935, 26; Fairman 1974, 14-17; Watterson 1998, 113-114), in which Seth is depicted as a hippopotamus harpooned by Horus (Fig. 9.94).



Fig. 9.94: Upper image - Relief 1st register 9th scene from the story of the triumph of Horus. Lower images - Seth as a hippopotamus being harpooned by Horus. West enclosure wall, Temple of Horus, Edfu. Ptolemaic Period.

Whilst at the temple of Khnum at Esna, the temple of Isis at Deir el Shelwit and the temple of Isis at Philae reliefs depict a turtle being harpooned by the Pharaoh (Fig. 9.95).



Fig. 9.95: Seth harpooned as a turtle. A - Pharaoh Titus , temple of Khnum, Esna. Roman Period. B - Pharaoh Otho, temple of Isis, Deir el-Shelwit. Roman Period.

Although Seth is not specifically named in these reliefs, it is feasible that the turtle is associated with to him as the result of being thought of as an evil creature that had to be destroyed. Stela 1935-200-445 in Hamburg Museum depicts a bound and chained ass-headed Seth in an enclosure placed above and in the company of the evil creatures, a lizard and a turtle (Fig. 9.96). Derchain describes the enclosure as a hut (Derchain 1964, 20) but the Ptolemaic Period Papyrus Jumilhac has a similar image of Seth in an enclosure (Fig. 9.98) which the text describes as a fishing basket (Vandier 1962, 149 Pl. 6), which is a more appropriate when associated with the lizard and turtle.



Fig. 9.96: Bound and chained Seth with a lizard and turtle. Stela Hamburg 1935-200-445. Late Period.



Fig. 9.97: Bound Seth in a fishing basket. Papyrus Jumilhac. Ptolemaic Period.

The temples of Hathor at Dendara, Horus at Edfu and Isis at Philae also contained further reliefs of the Pharaoh harpooning Seth but, in these images, he is depicted as a bound ass (Fig. 9.98).



Fig. 9.98: Seth as bound ass being harpooned by the pharaoh. A – Unnamed pharaoh, temple of Hathor, Dendara. Ptolemaic Period. B – Pharaoh Ptolemy VIII Euergentes, temple of Horus, Edfu. Ptolemaic Period. C – Pharaoh Augustus, temple of Isis, Philae. Roman Period.

Reliefs at Dendara and Philae show further images of Seth being killed, but in these images Seth is shown in bimorphic form with an ass's head, bound and restrained in the presence of the gods while being stabbed by knives and harpoon (Fig. 9.99).



Fig. 9.99: A bound and restrained bimorphic donkey headed Seth stabbed with knives and harpoon. A – temple of Dendara, Seth tied to a Y stick before Osiris, Horus and the four sons of Horus. B – temple of Philae, Seth restrained by Horus and Thoth. Ptolemaic Period.

The images depicting the stabbing or multiple stabbing of Seth were the merging of symbol and ritual in which the Seth image received multiple wounds as part of the regular temple cult (Ritner 1993, 165). However, despite these images of Seth being killed, there existed a certain ambivalent attitude towards him, and that despite suffering demonization, he was still

a god and could not simply be expunged from the religious beliefs. Within the temple reliefs at Edfu and Dendara, Seth was shown in both standing mummiform human and seated human forms in a group of four figures, each one representing one of the four cult centres of Seth within the Nile valley and the oases of the Western Desert (Figs. 9.100 and 9.101).



A



B

Fig. 9.100: Seth in mummified human form representing the four cult centres of Seth in Egypt. A – figures in the Hypostyle Hall, B – figures in Chamber F. Temple of Horus, Edfu. Ptolemaic Period.



Fig. 9.101: Seth in seated human form representing the four cult centres of Seth in Egypt. Chamber E, Temple of Hathor, Dendara. Ptolemaic Period.

The most surprising image, bearing in mind the prevailing attitude towards Seth, occurs in the temple of Edfu where he is portrayed in bimorphic form with the Seth animal head. He is represented twice, once holding the neck of a giant snake, possibly Apep, while the second stands on the back of the snake holding a large knife (Fig 9.102).



Fig 9.102: Seth portrayed twice in bimorphic form with the first Seth holding Apep, with the second standing on his back holding a knife. Chamber R. Temple of Horus, Edfu. Ptolemaic Period.

The horizontal text register refers to Seth as '*ka dasher*', the red bull. It is interesting that the Seth animal had been supplanted within the texts but the places of Seth worship are recorded and the killing of Apep by Seth was still considered essential to the extent to depicting him in bimorphic form with the Seth animal head. Again this does raise the question of what the form of the proscription of Seth took. If it was against Seth as a deity, why are there places of Seth worship being included in the temple reliefs and why is he shown with Apep? Or was the proscription directed at the Seth animal, hence its falling out of general use within texts and it being replaced with an ass or ass-headed canine.

What is apparent is the difference in which Seth was portrayed in this relief and other reliefs in Roman temples in the oases of the Western Desert. The temple of Deir el-Hagar in the Dakhla Oasis was constructed during the Roman Period, with the decoration being undertaken in the 1st century AD during the reigns of Nero (AD 54-68), Vespasian (AD 69-79), Titus (AD 79-81) and Domitian (AD 81-96) (Winlock 1936, 29-30). The reliefs in the portico and sanctuary depict a bimorphic Seth with hawk's head accompanied with his sister/wife Nephthys receiving offerings from the Emperor as the Pharaoh (Winlock 1936, 31, Osing 1985, 230-231). Seth in both images is depicted wearing a tripartite wig together with the red and white crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt combined with the *atef* crown and is identified phonemically in the hieroglyphic text by the name '*Sutekh*' (Figs. 9.103 and 9.104).



Fig. 9.103: 1st century AD reliefs from the reign of Titus in the portico of the temple at Deir el-Hagar depicting a hawk-headed Seth and Nephthys.









Fig. 9.104: 1st century AD reliefs from the reign of Vespasian in the sanctuary of the temple at Deir el-Hagar depicting a hawk-headed Seth and Nephthys.

The small Ptolemaic temple at Ain Birbiyah in the Dakhla Oasis was constructed for the god Amun-Nakht, a Ptolemaic Period assimilation of Amun-Ra and Horus, which was created with the intention of supplanting Seth as a god in the Dakhla Oasis. However, in the 2nd century AD, a relief of Seth was added to the temple indicating the continuation of his worship in the oasis (Arnold 1999, 246; Kaper 2004, 136-137). Unfortunately, during the author's visit to the temple in 2014, he was informed that due to the remote location and to protect it from antiquities theft, the Supreme Council for Antiquities had the temple dismantled and removed to a secure store, leaving only the foundation stones in place.

9.12 Summary.

From the Old Kingdom through to the 3rd Intermediate Period Seth was depicted in the temple reliefs performing beneficial actions to the ruling monarch, either paired with a second god, usually Horus, or on his own. In addition, he was also shown with Nephthys, his sister/wife, as members of the Great Ennead. The form in which he was represented included bimorphic, zoomorphic and anthropomorphic form, including mummiform. His bimorphic and anthropomorphic poses ranged through striding, running or enthroned, and the mummiform being confined to standing and enthroned. From the Late Period there was a schism in how Seth was represented and his position in Egyptian religion. In the Western Desert he continued to be venerated until the end of paganism in the 4th century AD, however

in the Late Period the representations of the zoomorphic Seth animal vanished and in bimorphic form the Seth animal head was replaced with that of a hawk.

In the temples of the Nile Valley the attitude towards Seth during the Ptolemaic Period revealed that they had totally differing attitude. The E20  and E21  Seth animal hieroglyph was supplanted with either an ass headed canine  or an ass  and was unusually depicted as being stabbed with knives   or a harpoon. Yet he continued to be depicted in both anthropomorphic form and mummiform, with his centres of worship recorded, signifying he was still a part of religious beliefs and part of the Great Ennead. Additionally he was shown in bimorphic form with Seth animal head while dealing with Apep. Yet he was also shown in bimorphic form with an ass's head bound and pierced with knives and harpoons. This shows a very contradictory attitude towards Seth although he had 'fallen from grace' resulting in demonization, he was still a god. He could not be expunged from religious beliefs as at times he played an essential role, one as the murderer of Osiris, the other as the protector of Ra.

Having discussed in this chapter the representation of Seth within the temple, the following chapter will consider his depiction within the tombs of the Nile Valley, Delta and Western Desert.

Chapter 10: Seth in the Tomb.

10.1 The Representation of Seth in the Tomb.

The preceding chapter discussed the representations of Seth in the temple. This chapter will consider chronologically, starting with the Early Dynastic period, the manner of his depiction in the tomb by analysing surviving decoration and items from the archaeological record. The locations and dates of the sites discussed in the chapter are shown on the map in Fig. 10.1.





Fig. 10.1: Location of sites in the Nile Valley and Western Desert oases with images of Seth in tombs.

10.2 Seth in the Early Dynastic Period.

Very little archaeological evidence of Seth has survived the five millennia since the Early Dynastic period. No standing temples have survived and the royal tombs have been thoroughly plundered in antiquity. Despite this some examples of how Seth was employed within a tomb still exist.

10.2.1 1st Dynasty.

Recovered from the peripheral burials of the 1st Dynasty royal tombs at Abydos, the small limestone grave stela 96 was initially attributed to the reign of Djer but later revised by Martin to the reign of Den (Petrie 1901a, 33 Pl. XXVII 96, Martin 2011, 82-83, Pl. 28).

The surface was decorated with a number of rough hieroglyphs in raised relief (Fig. 10.2). Reading the hieroglyphs vertically, Griffith initially translated the name as Ketka  (Griffith 1901, 54). However the revised reading of the text as horizontal registers the name has been revised to Seshetka  (Martin 2011, 82). Included in text is the god Seth represented as a recognisable hieroglyph of the Seth animal depicted in a standing stationary pose showing only the one leg at the front and rear. The legs are straight with no indication of any paws. The body is hump backed with the small down-turned triangular head attached directly to the shoulder with no discernible neck. The pair of diverging vertical ears with rounded tips are attached to the crown of the head and a short slightly curved vertical tail with a square cut end rises from the top of the rump.

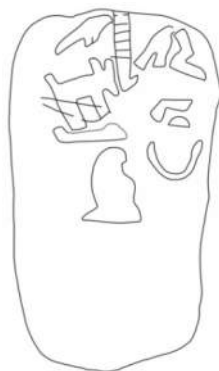
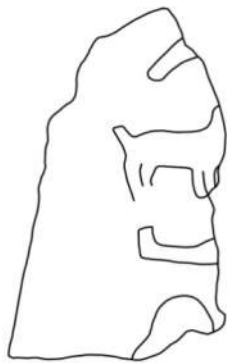


Fig. 10.2: Stela 96 attributed to the peripheral burials around the tomb of Den at Abydos. 1st Dynasty.

Also dating to the 1st Dynasty and found at Abydos by Petrie in the peripheral burials surrounding the tomb of Den were two further limestone grave stelae, numbered 128 and 129 (Petrie 1901a, 33 Pl. XXVII 128, 129 Pl. XXX 128, 129, Martin 100-101, Pl. 35).

Stela number 128 is in a very damaged condition with only the top left quarter remaining. The damage extends to the raised hieroglyphs, which have only partially survived the titles and the remains of a female determinative indicating the stela records a female burial (Martin 2011, 100). Included in the surviving text is the majority of the hieroglyph of the Seth animal. The head is missing but the body and legs are intact. As with stela 96, it is depicted in a stationary standing pose but with all four legs depicted. The body appears to be short and stocky with a thick short stubby tail rising at approximately 45° from the curve of the rump (Fig. 10.3).



Stela number 129, although suffering damage to the left hand side the text is complete and belonged to a female with the name of Wedpu $\overline{\text{W}}\overline{\text{M}}$ (Martin 2011, 100). As the previous two stelae the Seth animal is depicted in a stationary standing pose with all four legs, terminating in crude paws, being represented. The body is short and stocky with a short thick neck terminating with a down-turned triangular head. A pair of diverging vertical ears rise from the crown of the head. The tail, rising at approximately 45° from the curve of the rump is thick and short with a curve over its length (Fig. 10.4).



Fig. 10.3: Stela No.128 from the peripheral burials around the tomb of Den at Abydos. 1st Dynasty.

Fig. 10.4: Stela No.129 from the peripheral burials around the tomb of Den at Abydos. 1st Dynasty.

The three stela discussed above were grave markers for nobility buried close to a royal tomb with no concern that Seth was recorded on the funeral monument.

10.2.2 2nd Dynasty

Two carved images of the Seth animal have survived from the 2nd Dynasty. Two are from the pair stelae of the 2nd Dynasty king Peribsen recovered close to the entrance to his tomb at Abydos (Figs. 10.5 and 10.6). These granite stelae were carved with the king's serekh

surmounted by a striding Seth animal, which had been severely damaged in antiquity in an attempt to remove it (Petrie 1901a, 33).



Fig. 10.5: One of the stela from the tomb of Peribsen, Abydos. 2nd Dynasty. British Museum BM EA 35597.



Fig. 10.6: Damaged Seth animal on the serekh of Peribsen highlighted to enhance the outline of the erased figure. 2nd Dynasty. British Museum BM EA 35597.

Both the Seth animals were carved in raised relief and depicted in a striding pose; however, due to the attempt to remove the Seth animal from Peribsen's stela, any surface detail has been lost, just leaving the ghost of an outline. Despite this defacement, enough of the Seth animals have survived to ascertain their form, although remains of a concave curve between the face of the stela and the raised relief will have exaggerated the proportions of the animals' form. The Seth animals of Peribsen are very similar in form and style to those depicted on the 1st Dynasty stela discussed above (Fig. 10.2 to Fig. 10.4) with a short deep body, a short angled neck supporting a head with a slightly down-curved muzzle and a pair of divergent erect square-topped ears rising from the crown. The tail is of medium length terminating with a straight chamfered tip rising at approximately 60° from the horizontal.


From the examples of the images of the Seth animal dating to the Early Dynastic period there is a traceable development as to how he is represented, evolving from the short stocky quadruped to the beginnings of the lithe greyhound-like canine of the later dynasties with the major change occurring between the reigns of Peribsen and Khasekhemwy. All images predate the rise of Osiris worship in the Old Kingdom (Kees 1952, 124; Baer 1965, 297; Griffiths

1980, 44, N24; Lorton 1985, 122 N4; Eaton-Krauss 1987, 233-234) and therefore they are not tainted with the connotations associated with the death of a fellow god or Seth being the troublesome and dangerous deity. Images of Seth have been used on funeral stelae, both of royalty and elite as well as part of temple decoration.

10.3 Seth in the Old Kingdom.

Examples of the representation of Seth in the tombs of the 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th Dynasties have survived and are discussed in the relevant dynastic sections.

10.3.1 3rd Dynasty.

Archaeological evidence exists for the appearance of Seth in the tombs during the 3rd Dynasty. The false door from the tomb of Sekerkhabau at Saqqara displayed two copies of the deceased's titles; and these included '*shnw pr-wr sth*'  (Murray 1905, 42, Pl. I; Murray 1937, 4; Sethe 1937, 11) (Fig. 10.7).

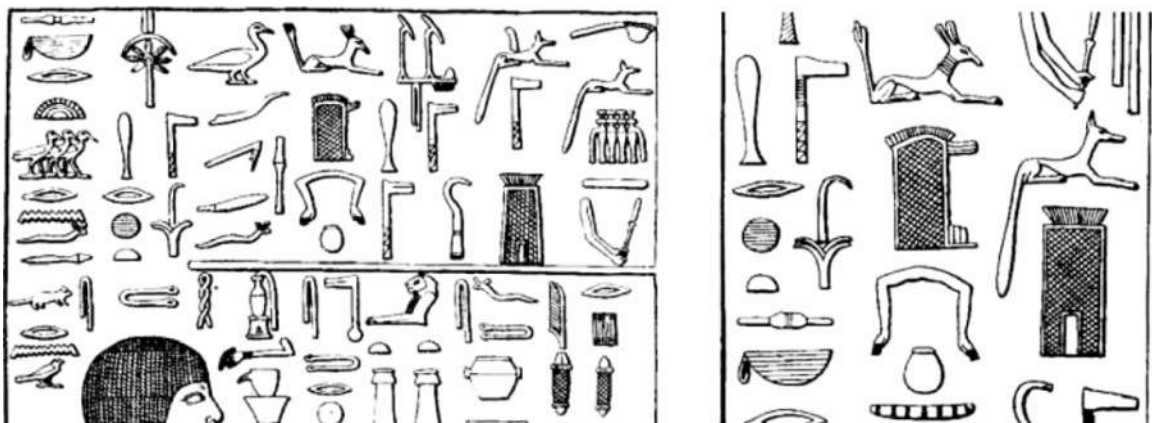




Fig. 10.7: Titles of Sekerkhabau from the false door from his tomb, announcing he was a chanter in the temple of Seth. 3rd Dynasty, Saqqara.

Jones translated the title as the '*shnw*' priest of the Upper Egyptian sanctuary(?) of Seth (Jones 2000b, 833), while Faulkner translates '*shnw*'  as a class of incantation (Faulkner 1962b, 242) signifying Sekerkhabau was involved with incantations in the Temple of Seth. The god Seth is represented as the E21  hieroglyph with a slim prone canine-like body that was very similar in form to the Anubis jackal in the preceding title. The same as the Seth from the Temple of Djoser at Heliopolis (Fig 9.12), the larger Seth animal is wearing a multi-banded collar that extends the full length of the neck, an affectation that appeared in the 3rd dynasty.

10.3.2 4th Dynasty.



Evidence for the representation of Seth in the 4th Dynasty can be found in the wall decoration of a number of royal and elite tombs at Giza. Seth, in the company of Horus, was represented in a number of royal tombs at Giza by the epithet  'She who beholds Horus and Seth' (Jones 2000a, 421-422) referring to the queen beholding the king as the embodiment of Horus, a god who was the perfect epitome of good and Seth, the violent god who protects Egypt from its enemies.



Fig. 10.8: Mother of Khafkhufu I with the epithet of 'She who beholds Horus and Seth' which is carved in front of her, bottom right of the image. Giza. 4th Dynasty.

The tomb of Khafkhufu I (G 7130-7140) employed the epithet on the west wall of the entrance to the inner chamber (Fig. 10.8) as part of a dedication to his mother (Simpson 1978, 11 Pl. XVIa). Although the name of the mother is missing, the epithet would suggest his mother was of royal blood, possibly Queen Henusten (Simpson 1978, 11). The single image of Seth was carved in raised relief as the prone E21  Seth animal.

The tomb of Queen Merysankh III (G 7530-7540) at Giza (Dunham *et al.* 1974, 7) contains 21 repetitions of the epithet distributed throughout the offering chapel and on the exterior of the stone sarcophagus. Within these epithets, Seth is shown as a slim Seth animal in the prone position, with a variety of muzzle shapes and ear configurations depicted but all with an erect tail. The alignment of the tail to the vertical varies and it has three different terminations; of the 19 in the chapel rooms, 11 have the pear-shaped mace head, 2 the disc-shaped mace head, 6 have arrow fletchings and 2 are damaged beyond recognition (Fig. 10.9).

Additionally five of the Seth animals had been drawn with banded neck collars of varying lengths (Dunham *et al* 1974, Fig 2, 3a, 3b, 4, 7, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14).

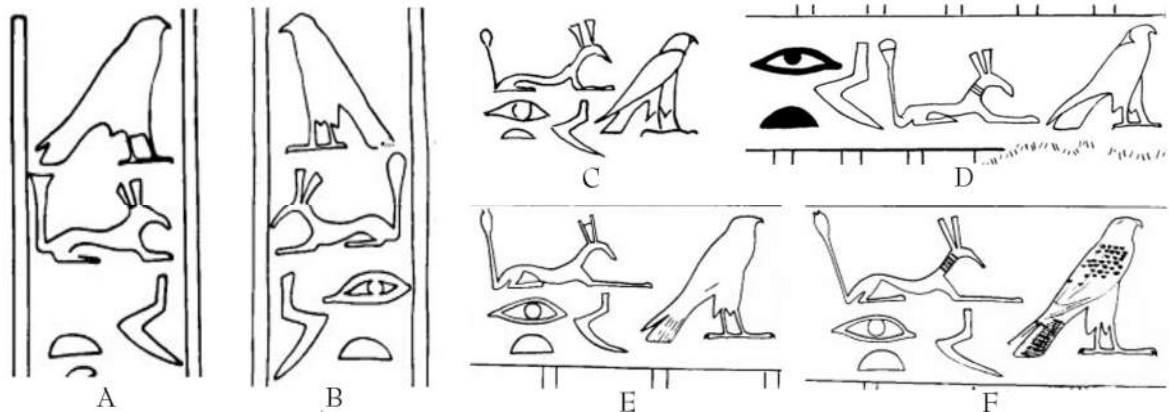


Fig. 10.9. Examples of the variations in the rendering of the Seth animal in the tomb of Queen Merysankh III, Giza, 4th Dynasty. A and B – North and South door jambs to entrance door. C – Lintel over entrance door. D – East lintel north wall main room. E and F – Frieze north end west wall main room.

The sarcophagus was originally made for Queen Hetepheres II, who gifted it to her daughter Queen Merysankh III, who in turn had it re-inscribed (Dunham *et al.* 1974, 7, 21). As the hieroglyphs for the name Hetepheres $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑}$ and associated epithets including $\text{𓆒} \text{𓆓} \text{𓆔} \text{𓆕}$ ‘She who beholds Horus and Seth’ have been retained around the top of, it would suggest that only the name of Merysankh and her epithets were added later down the north and south edges of the east and west faces. The Seth image was carved by an earlier workman who had a different interpretation of the Seth animal to those working on the tomb decoration

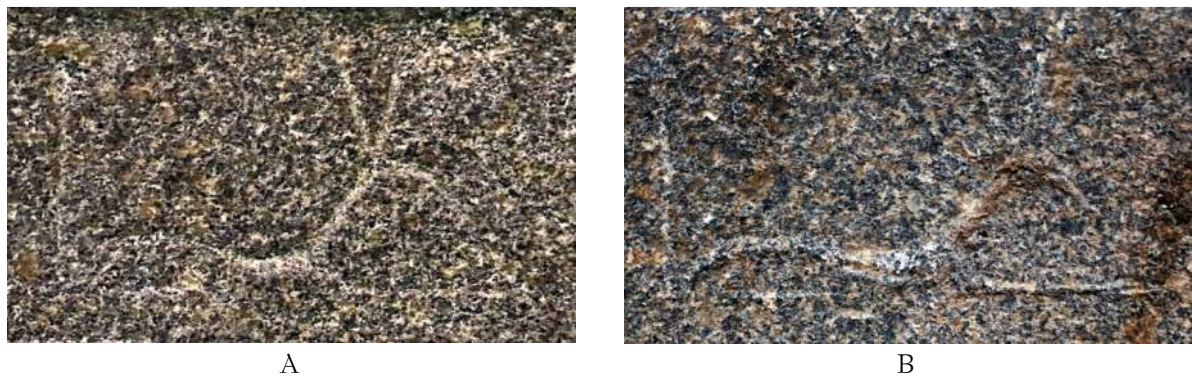


Fig. 10.10: Seth images included in the titles of Queen Hetepheres II on the sarcophagus of Merysankh III. A – East side of sarcophagus. B – West side of sarcophagus. Cairo Museum.

Although the images of Seth differed on the east and west sides of the coffin, both were carved in a thin liner style with a vertical tail with no terminal (Fig. 10.10). What initially appears to be an elongated pear shaped mace head in Fig. 10.10A is in fact an inclusion in the mineral matrix that makes up the granite of the sarcophagus, the carved tail stops below it.

In addition to the Seth animal in the tomb decoration, the epithet was also found inscribed on a double statuette of Queen Merysankh III and her mother Queen Hetepheres II as well as on a broken one of Queen Merysankh III found within the interior chapel (Dunham 1936, 3, 5). The double statuette had the Seth animal in the text; however, the text is too degraded to identify with any certainty the details of the zoomorphic Seth (Fig. 10.11), while on the broken statuette of Merysankh III the Seth animal also has an inclined erect tail with an arrow fletching tail terminal (Dunham *et al.* 1974, 23, Pl. XVIIe) (Fig. 10.12).

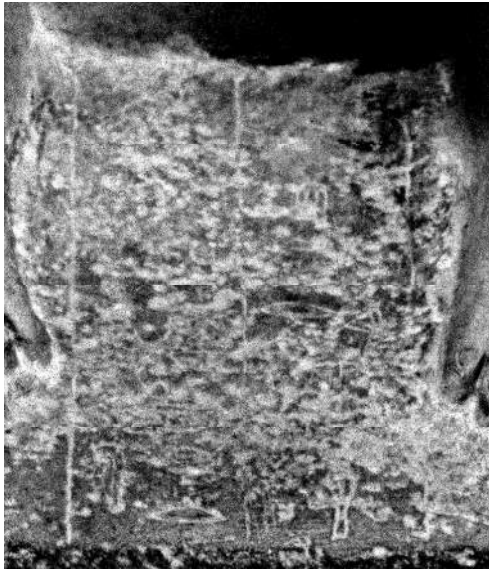



Fig. 10.11: Text to the base of statuette of Hetepheres II and Merysankh III. The Seth figure to top of left hand register is too degraded to analyse.



Fig. 10.12: Text on back pillar of statuette of Merysankh III. The zoomorphic Seth is in the bottom right of the top horizontal register.

The same epithet was also employed on a lintel from the tomb of Queen Khamerernebty II where it appears in the titles of both Queen Khamerernebty II and her mother Queen Khamerernebty I (Callender *et al.* 1997, 15, Fig 8, Pl 1). Carved in incised relief, in both titles, Seth again is represented as the E21  Seth animal (Fig. 10.13).

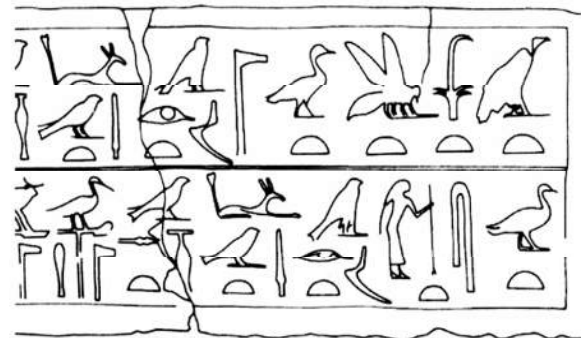




Fig. 10.13: Detail of lintel of Queen Khamerernebty II. The top register contains the start of the titles of the mother Queen Khamerernebty I, the bottom register the start of titles of the daughter Queen Khamerernebty II. Giza. 4th Dynasty.



10.3.3 5th Dynasty.


The tomb of Seshathetep (G 5150) at Giza is attributed to the reign of the 5th Dynasty King Sahure (Kanawati 2002, 16-18). Although there are no images of Seth within the mastaba, one occurs on the rear face of the back pillar of the double statue of Seshathetep and his wife Heti found in the serdab (Fig. 10.14).



Fig. 10.14: Striding Seth animal on rear face of back pillar of serdab statue of Seshathetep and Heti. Giza. 5th Dynasty.

Kanawati proposes that the political career of Seshathetep was in two phases; the first phase is recorded in the tomb, the second phase of his career occurred after the tomb decoration was completed so was documented in the five vertical registers on the serdab statue. Included within his titles was  'Priest of Horus and Seth' (Kanawati 2002, 11-12). In the text, Seth is written in inscribed hieroglyphs as a very slim striding Seth animal . Whether this text was recording a position of a priest at a combined temple of Horus and Seth, such as the later Ptolemaic temple of Horus and Sobek at Kom Ombo or a priest of Horus and a priest of Seth at separate temples is open to interpretation.

At the end of the 5th Dynasty, the first instance of the use of the Pyramid Texts was in the pyramid of Unas at Saqqara. As discussed in Chapter 3, this version of the Pyramid Texts was the only one to employ the Seth animal within the spells. In these locations, Seth appears as the E21  Seth animal hieroglyph in 36 of the utterances and twice as a determinative to the word storm . These hieroglyphs are unevenly distributed within the pyramid. Two Seth animals and a determinative were employed on the west and south walls of the Antechamber, while in the Passage between the Antechamber and Burial Chamber, one Seth animal was located on the north wall. In the burial chamber 14 Seth animals were carved on

the north wall, five on the east wall and seven on the south wall (Figs. 10.15 to 10.19). Within these spells although the E21  Seth animal hieroglyph portrayed him as a prone slim gracile animal, there were number however, of different configurations of muzzle, ears and tail, even between adjacent images.

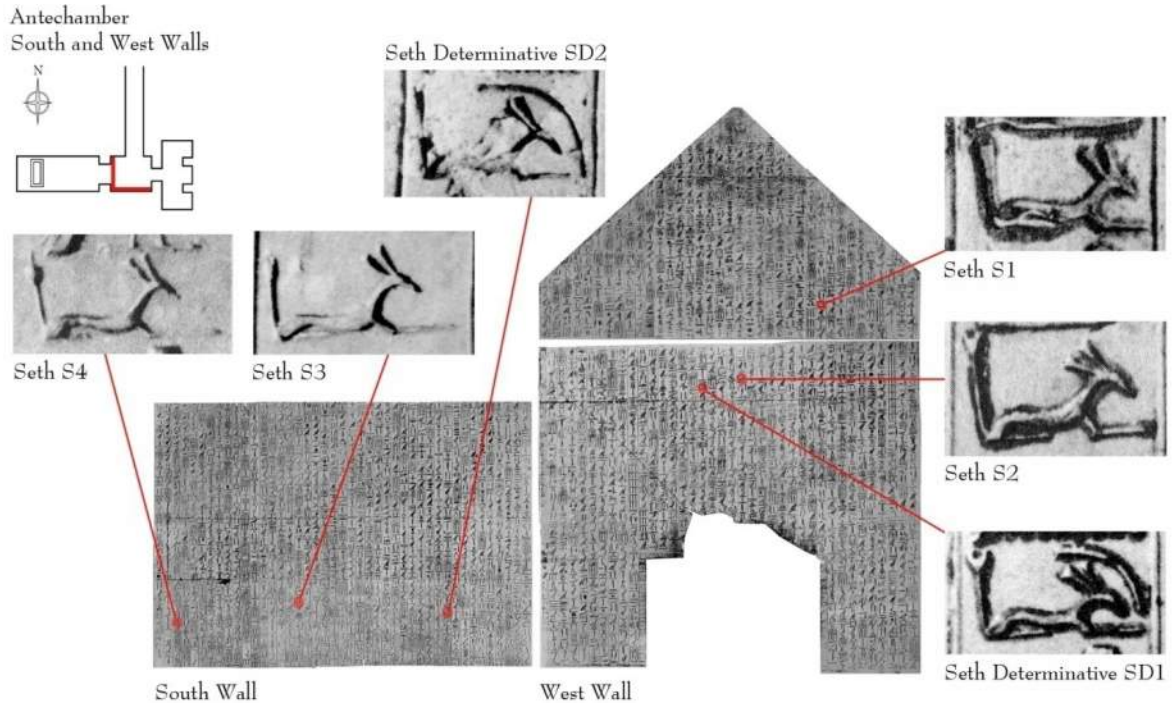


Fig. 10.15: The location of the Seth animal, in spell order, on the south and west wall of the Antechamber of the pyramid of Unas. Saqqara, 5th Dynasty.

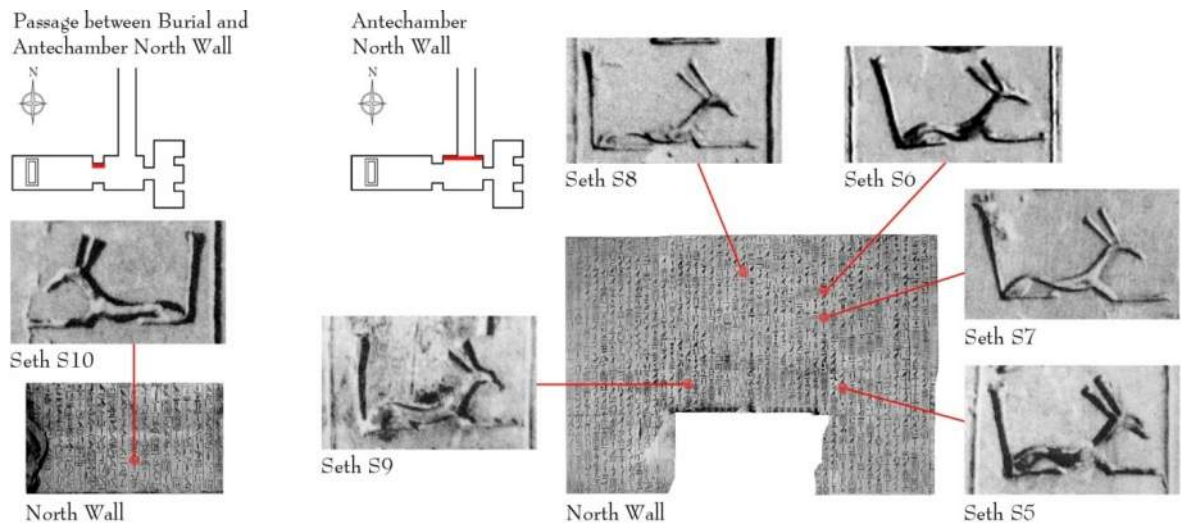


Fig. 10.16: The location of the Seth animal, in spell order, on the north wall of the Antechamber and Passage of the pyramid of Unas. Saqqara, 5th Dynasty.

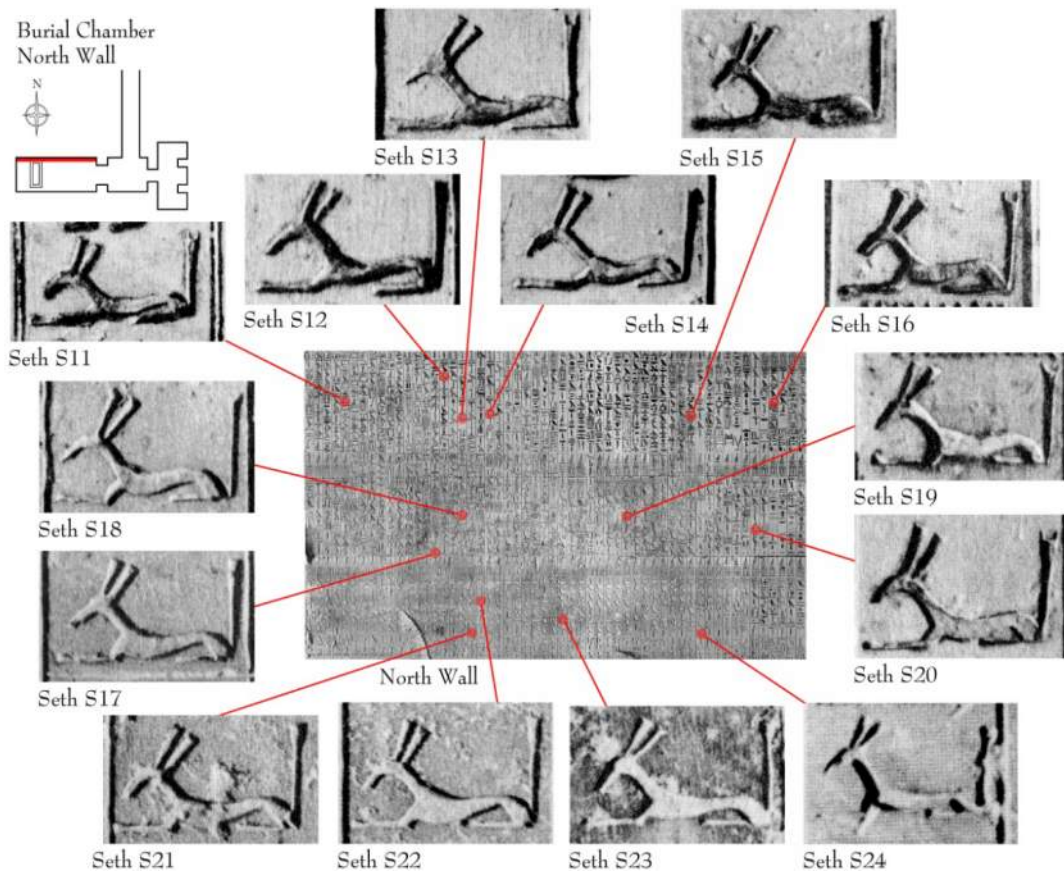


Fig. 10.17: The location of the Seth animal, in spell order, on the north wall of the Burial Chamber of the pyramid of Unas. Saqqara, 5th Dynasty.

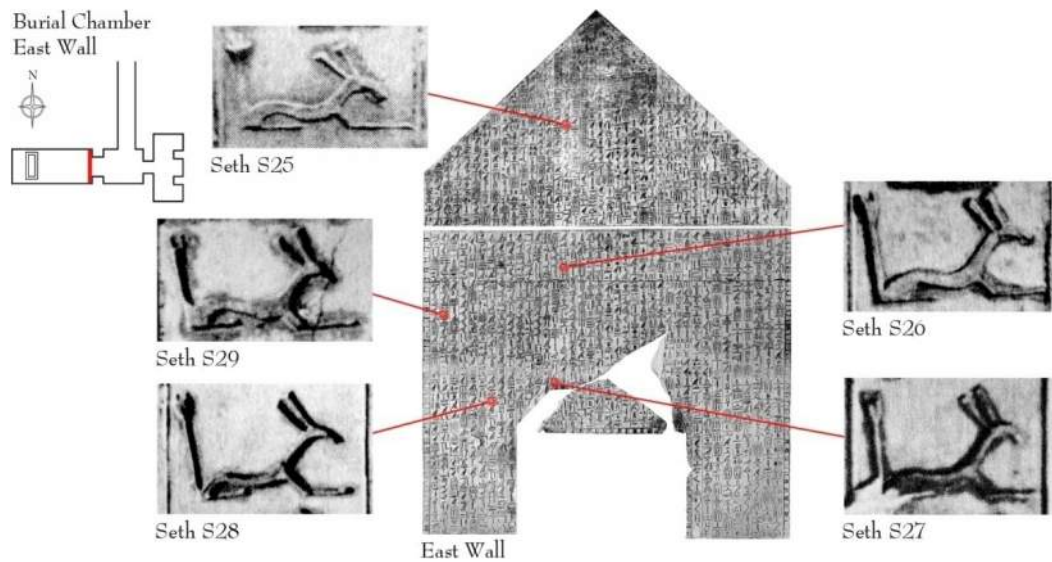


Fig. 10.18: The location of the Seth animal, in spell order, on the east wall of the Burial Chamber of the pyramid of Unas. Saqqara, 5th Dynasty.

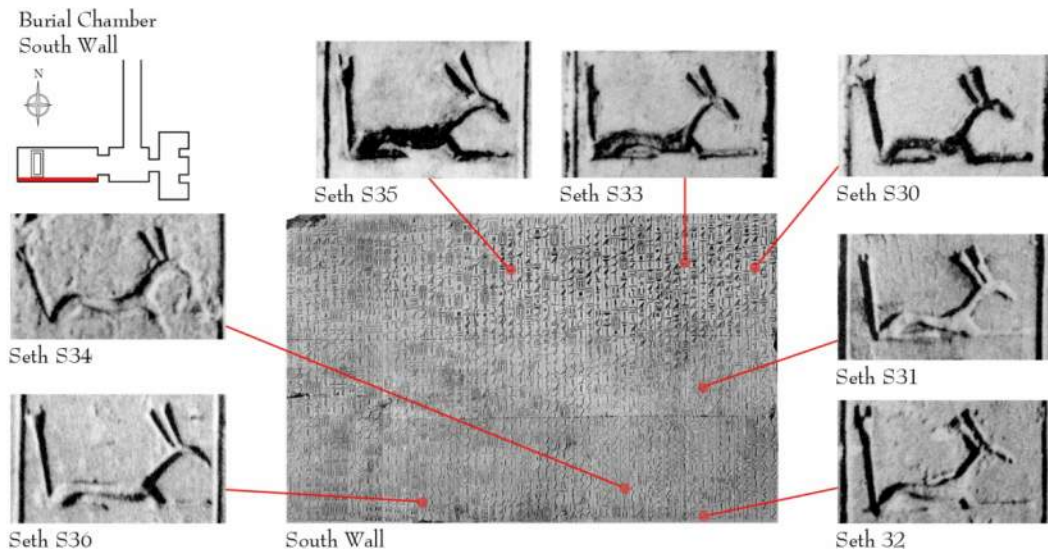



Fig. 10.19: The location of the Seth animal, in spell order, on the south wall of the Burial Chamber of the pyramid of Unas. Saqqara, 5th Dynasty.

As discussed in Chapter 3, the 6th Dynasty Pyramid Texts saw the E21  Seth animal being replaced with the phonetic spelling of his name.

The Old Kingdom shows that, although Seth was included in tombs, he was confined to use within hieroglyphic texts. However, with the growth of the cult of Osiris, the Seth animal ceased to be represented.

10.4 Seth in the 1st Intermediate Period.

No images of Seth from the 1st Intermediate period have survived to allow a study of any development or variation that may have occurred in this chaotic period. However, Seth must have continued to be worshiped for he appears in the Middle Kingdom as an important and established deity.

10.5 Seth in the Middle Kingdom.

Although examples of decoration from the high status tombs of the Middle Kingdom have survived, the only examples that include a representation of an image related to Seth occur in the 11th Dynasty.

10.5.1 11th Dynasty.

Surviving Middle Kingdom images relating to Seth occur in the wall decoration of the 11th Dynasty tombs of Baqt III (Tomb 15) and his son Khety (Tomb 17) at Beni Hasan

(Newberry 1893b, Pl 4 and Pl 13), where the animal associated with Seth is depicted. Both tombs display the Seth animal in a striding pose with erect tail and ears within a desert scene (Figs. 10.20 and 10.21). Although these two images were created temporally very close to each other, the Seth animals display major differences in their appearances. The image in the tomb of Baqt III has a slim canine with a thick neck and a projecting pointed muzzle rather than the usual downturned one. In comparison the image in the tomb of Khety depicts a thickset body, very similar to that of the Seth animal on the 2nd Dynasty serekh of Peribsen (Fig. 10.6). The thick body with its slim legs, the thin neck and the square ended slightly down turned muzzle give the animal a goat like rather than canine appearance.

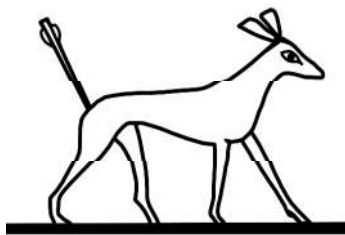


Fig. 10.20: Seth animal from the tomb of Baqt III. Tomb 15, Beni Hasan. 11th Dynasty.

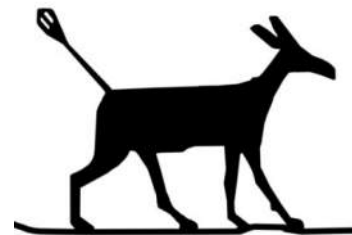


Fig. 10.21: Seth animal from the tomb of Khety. Tomb 17, Beni Hasan. 11th Dynasty.

With the exception of the images of Seth from Beni Hasan, evidence would purport that images of Seth were confined to the Coffin Texts and to the exterior of Asyut coffins as discussed in Chapter 4.


10.6 Seth in the 2nd Intermediate Period.

No images of Seth are known from the few known decorated tombs of the 2nd Intermediate Period but this does not preclude his inclusion in yet undiscovered ones.

10.7 Seth in the New Kingdom.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the New Kingdom was a period in which the image of Seth was frequently displayed. However, there was a certain amount of reticence in depicting his image in tombs.

10.7.1 18th Dynasty.

The most unusual images of Seth from the 18th Dynasty are those that occur in the Amduat employed as the decoration in the tombs of Thutmose III (KV 34) and his successor Amenhotep II (KV 35). Seth appears as the cursive text equivalent of the E21 




hieroglyph in the 1st, 5th and 6th hours of the sun god's night time journey through the netherworld (Hornung *et al* 2007, 18, 23, 169 and 190). However, three individual images of Seth are also deployed in the 2nd, 4th and 10th hours. In the 2nd hour, the head of Seth combined with the head of Horus is attached body of a striding man and is accompanied with the text  'His two faces' (Fig. 10.22). While in the 4th hour, Seth is portrayed in hybrid form wearing a tripartite wig whilst holding a *was* sceptre and an *ankh*. The figure is labelled  'Divider of the Netherworld' (Fig. 10.23). Finally in the 10th hour, the head of Seth is shown attached to the top of a crook with the label  'crook of Nehes (Seth)' (Fig. 10.24) (Hornung *et al.* 2007, 54, 122, 320).



Fig. 10.22: 2nd hour, Seth and Horus combined as 'His two faces'. Tomb of Thutmose III, KV34, Valley of Kings. 18th Dynasty.

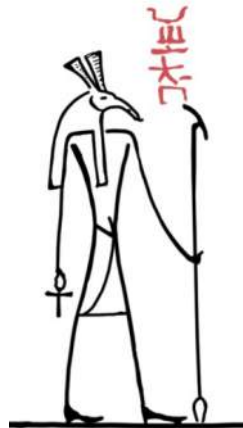


Fig. 10.23: 4th hour, Seth as 'Divider of the Netherworld'. Tomb of Thutmose III, KV34, Valley of Kings. 18th Dynasty.



Fig. 10.24: 10th hour, a crook with the head of Seth labelled 'Crook of Nehes (Seth)'. Tomb of Thutmose III, KV34, Valley of Kings. 18th Dynasty.

Although these representations of all the deities are drawn in an unusual pictorial style that could be best described as a cartoon, those of Seth still display the essential elements associated with his image, the down curved muzzle and the erect square topped ears. The most interesting of the images is 'his two faces' where Seth and Horus are combined together in a single body. This has the resonance of the Old Kingdom epithet '*She who beholds Horus and Seth*' referring to Seth and Horus being present within the King as discussed above, and Pyramid Text Spell W22, in which Horus and Seth are reconciled (Faulkner 1968, 7; Allen 2005, 19, 70, 111, 398).

Seth also was employed in non-royal tombs of the 18th Dynasty. The incomplete astronomical ceiling in the tomb of Senenmut (TT 353) displays a bimorphic Seth in a procession of deities is shown wearing a tripartite wig and posed ready for the addition of an *ankh* and a *was* sceptre (Fig. 10.25).

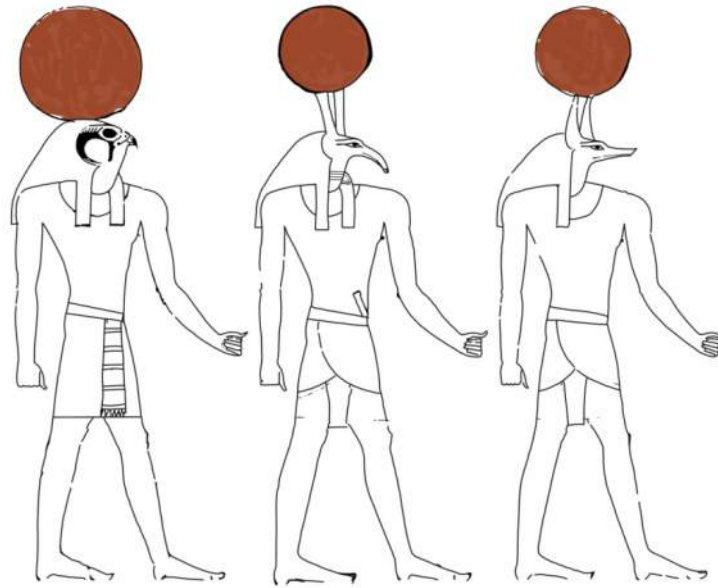






Fig. 10.25. Seth as a deity in the astronomical ceiling. Tomb of Senenmut (TT353) 18th Dynasty, Deir el-Bahari.

10.7.2 19th Dynasty

The second pharaoh of the Ramesside 19th Dynasty, which had its origins in the Seth worshipping Eastern Delta (Kitchen 2001, 534-535), was Seti I, a man of Seth (Stadelman 2001, 272). As discussed in Chapter 9, his cartouche normally contained a C7  Seth deity hieroglyph when carved in temples. However, in his tomb, KV17 in the Valley of Kings, the cartouches that decorated it followed the principle utilised in his temple at Abydos which is associated with Osiris and other gods and in the later works in his mortuary temple at Thebes undertaken by his son Ramesses II of using an alternative to the C7  Seth hieroglyph. In the tomb cartouches, the C7  Seth hieroglyph was replaced with the C83  Osiris hieroglyph (Fig. 10.26), an appropriate pragmatic course of action in a location associated with Osiris and his realm.

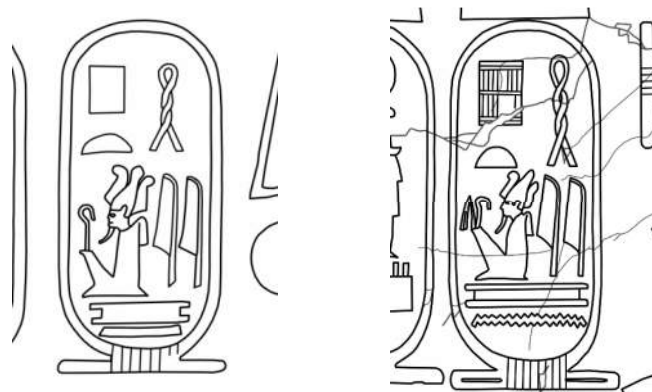


Fig. 10.26: Cartouche of Seti I containing the C83 Osiris deity hieroglyph, Tomb KV17 Valley of Kings, Thebes. 19th Dynasty.


This omission of representing Seth, either bimorphically or zoomorphically, was carried through into the complex tomb decoration. A section of the Amduat employed had the representations of Seth as depicted in the tombs of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II replaced (Hornung 1987, 111, 125). In the introduction to the 1st hour and in the representation of the 12 hours of the night personified by goddesses, the E21  Seth hieroglyph was supplanted with a god determinative (Fig. 10.27).



Fig. 10.27: 1st hour of the Amduat in the tomb of Seti I. In the highlighted sections of the spell the hieroglyph Seth animal usually employed has been replaced with a god determinative. Tomb KV17, Valley of Kings. 19th Dynasty.

In the 4th hour the hybrid Seth figure, ‘*Divider of the Netherworld*’, was replaced with an anthropomorphic figure with no reference to Seth (Fig. 10.28).



Fig. 10.28: 4th hour of the Amduat in the tomb of Seti I. Seth figure replaced with anthropomorphic figure. Tomb KV17, Valley of Kings. 19th Dynasty.

However, there were two instances in which the image of Seth had to be retained because of the epithets included in the textual inscriptions to the vignette. The first of these was the 2nd hour in which Horus and Seth were combined in to a single figure ‘*His two faces*’ (Fig.

10:29). The second was the 10th hour ‘*crook of Nehes (Seth)*’, in this instance the artist has represented the as the head of Seth wearing a tripartite wig in fine detail (Fig. 10.30).



Fig. 10.29: 2nd hour of the Amduat in the tomb of Seti I. Seth and Horus combined as *His two faces* retained in the hour. Tomb KV17, Valley of Kings. 19th Dynasty.

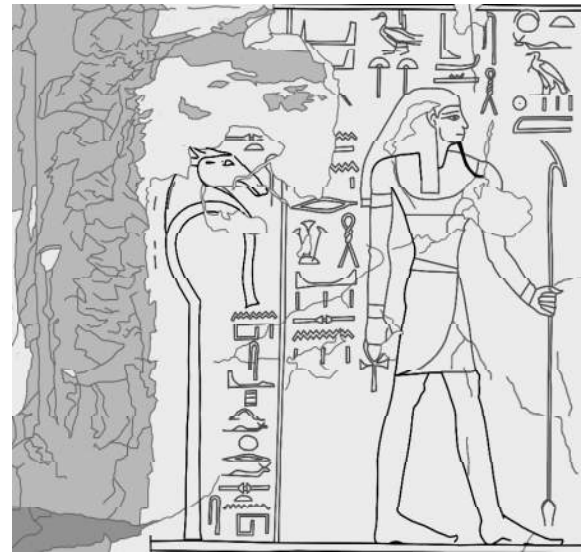


Fig. 10.30: 10th hour of the Amduat in the tomb of Seti I, a crook with the head of Seth labelled *Crook of Nehes (Seth)*. Tomb KV17, Valley of Kings. 19th Dynasty.

The other location where images of Seth were employed was on the astronomical ceiling of the Sarcophagus Hall where two images of Seth are included with the Ennead representing the decans, stars and constellations (Fig. 10.31).



A



B

Fig. 10.31: Astronomical ceiling of the Sarcophagus Hall. Tomb of Seti I. A – bimorphic Seth with an ass’s head and identified phonetically. B - two images of Seth among the Ennead identified phonetically. Tomb KV17, Valley of Kings. 19th Dynasty.

The location of this ceiling, decorated to represent the heavenly realm above the sarcophagus, would allow the *ba* of Seti I to ascend directly into the sky (Horning 1991, 25). Seth, identified by a phonetic spelling $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$ ‘*Setesh*’ above his head, is portrayed in two different

bimorphic forms. The first he is shown with an ass's head (Fig. 10.29A) and in the second his two images are represented with the head of the Seth animal Fig. 10.29B), both forms wearing a tripartite wig.

Although there was a reticence regarding the inclusion of Seth in the decoration of the tomb of Seti I some of the craftsman during the reign of Ramesses II had no dilemma in including images or references to Seth within their own tomb decoration. The tomb TT189 located in the South Asasif at Thebes was created for Nakht-Thuty, the servitor of sacred barques and golden portals. The decoration recounts his overseeing of the construction of the barque of Seth in which was written as the N E20 seated hieroglyph (Kitchen 1974, 169, Fig. 1).

The tomb TT217 located at Deir el-Medina belonged to the sculptor Ipuy and the decoration included a representation of his supervision of the restoration of historic temple or possibly tomb furniture of Amenhotep I (Davis 1927, 34, 63-64, Pl. XXXVII and Pl. XXXVIII). The first scene depicts workmen repairing a baldachin over a shrine on which was displayed Horus and Seth performing the *sema-tawy* while simultaneously crowning a kneeling Amenhotep I with the *atef* crown (Fig. 10.32).

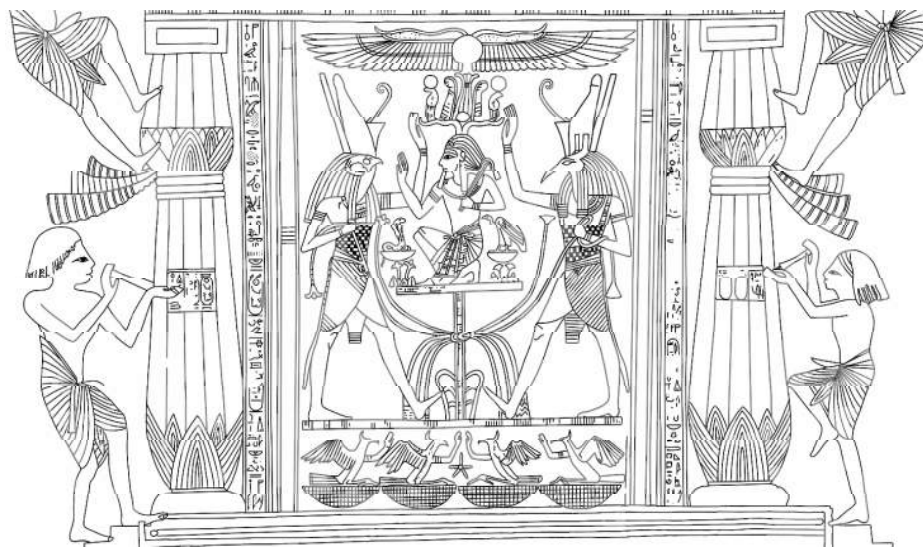


Fig. 10.32: Shrine of Amenhotep I being restored by workman under the supervision of Ipuy. Tomb TT217, Deir el Medina. 19th Dynasty.



The scene is on the north wall of the burial chamber, as a result the orientation of Seth on the right and Horus on the left bear no reference to the location of Upper and Lower Egypt. Seth is shown wearing a tripartite wig and the double crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt. Interestingly both ears are shown.

The second scene depicts the workman repairing an enigmatic structure, possibly a catafalque with three levels (Davis 1927, 66) on which Seth and Horus are depicted standing on either

side of a cartouche with the nomen of Amenhotep topped with the plumes and rams horns of the *atef* crown (Fig. 10.33). Both gods are holding a *staff of a million years* in one hand with the other raised in adoration. Both wear a tripartite wig with Seth shown with an *ankh* positioned vertically between the ears, while Horus wears a *djed* pillar; the complete scene representing the two gods offering longevity, life and strength to the pharaoh.



Fig. 10.33: Horus and Seth blessing the cartouche of Amenhotep. Tomb of Ipuw, TT217, Deir el Medina. 19th Dynasty.

As discussed in the previous chapter, very little has survived of the works of Seti II, the last pharaoh of the 19th Dynasty. However, his tomb, KV15 in the Valley of Kings, has survived and contains undamaged examples of his cartouche. As with the cartouches of Seti I in his tomb, the cartouches in the tomb of Seti II also had the C7  Seth deity hieroglyph normally employed replaced with the C83  Osiris hieroglyph (Fig. 10.34).

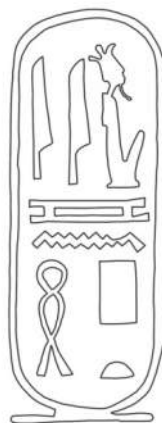





Fig. 10.34: Cartouche of Seti II containing the C83 Osiris deity hieroglyph. Tomb of Seti II. KV15, Valley of Kings, Thebes. 19th Dynasty.

The author's inspection of the tomb found the use of Osiris within the cartouche was consistent throughout tomb, including the portions of the tomb that were never finished and is decorated with the draughtsman's outline drawings.

10.7.3 20th Dynasty.

The first pharaoh of the 20th Dynasty, Sethnakht, usurped the tomb of Queen Tausret. The majority of the changes to the original decoration were restricted to the plastering over of Tausret's image and over painting the new plaster with large cartouches of Sethnakht (Altenmüller 2001, 230). Although the cartouche of Sethnakht normally contained the C7  seated Seth deity hieroglyph (von Beckerath 1984, 164-165; Johnson *et al.* 2012, 54) (Fig. 10.99) this was again replaced with the C83  seated deity Osiris hieroglyph. In addition, the author's inspection of the tomb noted that the cartouches carved on the sarcophagus also contained the C83  Osiris hieroglyph.

In contrast with mortuary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, the author failed to find any Seth images in his the tomb, KV 11 in the Valley of Kings.

Both the tombs of Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX, KV 9 and KV 6 respectively in the Valley of Kings, employed the images 'His two faces' in which Seth and Horus are combined into a single bimorphic figure within their decoration. In the tomb of Ramesses VI, the figure is employed twice in the Book of Gates, once in the 9th division with the 'Gods of the North and South' (Piankoff 1954a, 197, Fig 58; Piankoff 1954b, Pl. 55) where the figure stands on the back of a lion with a hawk's head and a human head on its rump (Fig. 10.35).



Fig. 10.35: Proposed reconstruction of Seth and Horus combined as *His two faces* in the 9th division of the Book of Gates, Tomb KV9, Valley of Kings. 20th Dynasty.

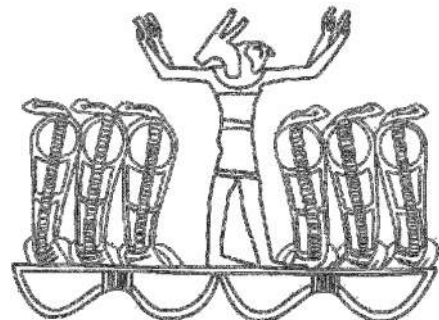


Fig. 10.36: Seth and Horus combined as *His two faces* in the 10th division of the Book of Gates, Tomb KV9, Valley of Kings. 20th Dynasty.

The second time is in the 10th division as 'His two faces in the mysteries' (Piankoff 1954b, 209, Fig 65; Piankoff 1954b, Pl. 59) in which the figure stands upon two bows between six

cobras (Fig. 10.36). The figure is depicted with two pairs of arms reinforcing the combination of the two deities of Horus and Seth into a single figure.

In the tomb of Ramesses IX the figure is employed in the 2nd Hour of Amduat (Guilmant 1907, Pl. LXV; Brock 2001, 267-268) (Fig. 10.37).



Fig. 10.37: Seth and Horus combined as '*His two faces*' in the 2nd hour of the Amduat, Tomb KV6, Valley of Kings. 20th Dynasty.

The depiction of Seth in the New Kingdom tombs can be summarised as a one employed with caution. Although employed within the Great Ennead on astronomical ceilings and initially within the Amduat in the 18th Dynasty, from the 19th Dynasty, the bimorphic and zoomorphic Seth were generally avoided. The exception to this being where Seth and Horus are combined into a single bimorphic figure '*His two faces*'.

10.8 3rd Intermediate Period.

The current archaeological record would support the paradigm that images of Seth were avoided in the decoration of the tombs of the 3rd Intermediate Period. This idea is supported by the tomb of Osorkon II, (NRT 1) at Tanis. The tomb, which was constructed of re-cycled stone removed from 19th Dynasty constructions, had one roof beam, possibly part of a door jamb, decorated with a part of the Ennead that included a bimorphic Seth. Even though this relief was not required and could have been plastered over or encapsulated within the roof joint with the adjoining beam, it had been laid so the images of Seth are on the external face of the tomb away from the body of the Pharaoh (Fig. 10.38).

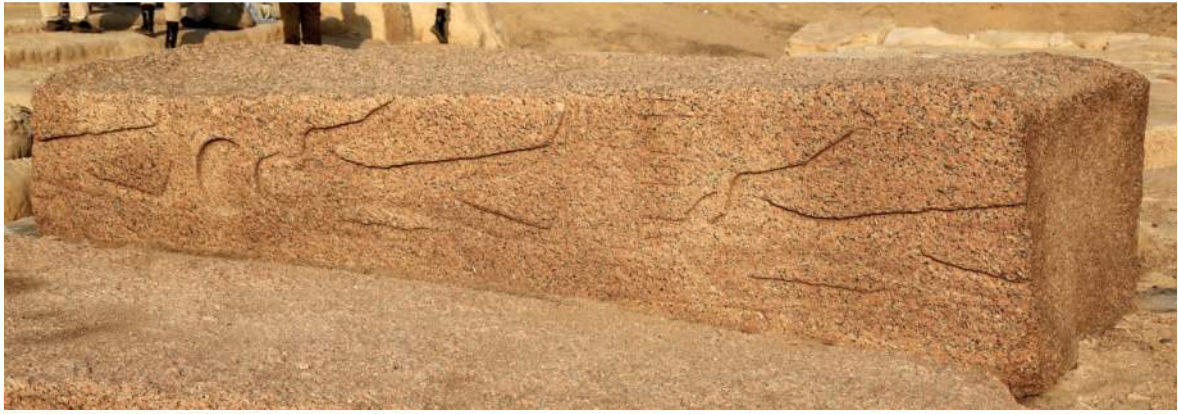



Fig. 10.38. Roof beam to the 22nd Dynasty tomb of Osorkon II (NRT 1), Tanis, with the exterior face carved with 19th Dynasty relief of part of the Ennead including Seth.

10.9 Late Period.

Unfortunately no images of Seth from this period exist in the current archaeological record in the Nile valley. The Late Period tombs of the elite of the Memphis region of Lower Egypt, located at Abusir, Giza, Heliopolis and Saqqara employed the sections of the Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts in their decoration (Stammers 2009, 171-182), however, no E21  Seth hieroglyph was employed.


In the 26th Dynasty tomb of Thety at el-Bawati in the Baharyia Oasis the image of a bimorphic Seth pierced with knives (Fig 8.25) as included as part of the tomb decoration (Fakhry 1942, 143, 147). It would appear that although Seth was required in the scene, a decision was made to neutralise him by stabbing him with knives.

10.10 Ptolemaic Period.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the zoomorphic and bimorphic forms incorporating the Seth animal had ceased to be used by the beginning of the Ptolemaic period and as a result no images of Seth have been discovered.

10.11 Summary.

From the images analysed, it can be deduced that up until the end of the 5th Dynasty the image of Seth was readily incorporated in tomb decoration and it is with the increase in popularity of the Osiris cult in the 6th Dynasty that Seth begins to be considered an unsuitable deity to be represented. The beginning of the New Kingdom saw Seth being utilised in the Books of the Afterlife that were included in the tomb decoration, however, from

the 19th Dynasty caution was once more applied to the incorporation of the Seth image. This was taken to the extreme by the omission of the C7  seated Seth deity from the cartouches of Seti I, Seti II and Sethnakht. From the 3rd Intermediate Period onwards, Seth was no longer used, a deity too dangerous to be included within the tomb, the realm of Osiris.

The tomb and temple depictions of Seth discussed in this chapter and the previous chapter respectively can be considered as the '*official state sanctioned*' representation. The following chapter moves away from this '*state*' view of him to analyse how he was perceived by the Egyptians at an individual and personal level.

Chapter 11: Seth and Personal Reverence.

11.1 Seth and Personal Reverence.

In the previous chapters the discussion focused on the perception and portrayal of Seth in the broader context of the Egyptian civilisation. In this chapter, the intention is to examine how he was perceived and worshiped at an individual and personal level by the analysis of jewellery, personal names, stelae, statues and written texts.

11.2 Names.

The most conspicuous example of personal attachment to Seth is in the name Seti $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑}$, 'man of Seth', a name associated with the second (Fig. 11.1) and fifth pharaohs of the 19th Dynasty.

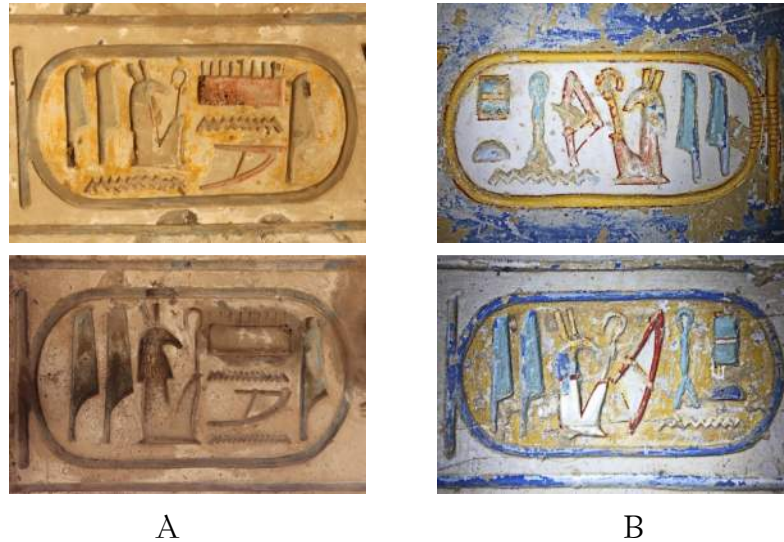


Fig. 11.1: Cartouches of Seti I. A – Temple of Amun, Karnak. B - Chapel of Amun-Ra, Kanais. 19th Dyansty.

The use of Seth as an element of a personal name is a significant indicator of the social standing of the god. The incorporation of his name by the general population, regardless of their social status, transcends social barriers and provides an insight to the feelings of the general population, who are absent from the texts and reliefs on the temple walls or in the tombs of the ruling classes. Examples of personal names associated with Seth have survived from the Middle Kingdom through to the Late Period. Hoffman's study of Old Kingdom and Middle Kingdom personal names failed to find any evidence of names incorporating that of Seth in the Old Kingdom (Hoffmann 1915, 74) which is reinforced by the lack names in Ranke's work, nevertheless, absence of evidence of not evidence of absence. As one of the oldest gods in the Egyptian pantheon and predating the rise of the Osirian beliefs with the

associated taint on his character, it is feasible Seth was employed within a number of personal names but the supporting evidence has been lost over the intervening millennia.

However, the situation is different in the Middle Kingdom, with eight examples of names datable to that period existing (Table 11.1).

Date		Name		Notes
MK		<i>ppy-sṯḥ</i>	? of Seth	Boreux 1932, C33; Ranke 1935, 132 12.
MK		<i>nḥt-nbwy</i>	Strong are the two lords	Hoffmann 1915, 7; Ranke 1935, 210 22.
MK		<i>rꜥ-sṯḥ</i>	Ra-Seth	Fitzwilliam Museum E.SS.37; Bourriau 1982, 51.
MK		<i>sꜣ-sṯḥ</i>	Son of Seth	Ranke 1935, 284 19.
MK		<i>sꜣ.t-sṯḥ</i>	Daughter of Seth	Wreszinski 1906 22, 35, 14; Ranke 1935, 294 1.
MK		<i>sḥk-sṯḥ</i>	Sobek-Seth	Ranke 1935, 305 13.
MK		<i>sṯḥ</i>	Seth	Fischer 1957, 225; Ranke 1935, 321, 29
MK		<i>sṯḥ-rꜥ</i>	Seth-Ra	Hoffmann 1915, 67; Ranke 1935, 322, 4

Table 11.1: Seth associated personal names in the Middle Kingdom.

Vittmann's study of personal names defined three basic groups of names, i - one word names, ii - compound names that do not constitute a complete sentence and iii – names constituting a complete sentence (Vittman 2013, 1). The names from the Middle Kingdom fall into both categories i and ii as well as the sub-category of theophanous names, which linked the name of the bearer or his parents with a deity (Vittman 2013, 3-4). The assimilation of Seth and Ra (Fig. 11.2) is possibly as the result of the development of the religious ideas with the inclusion of Seth on the prow of the solar barque to protect Ra from the attacks of Apep within the Coffin Texts (Faulkner 1977, 65, 222, 224).



Fig. 11.2: Ra-Seth son of Senbuy. Seth animal and head of Ra-Seth both have been defaced at some time. Middle Kingdom, Memphis. Fitzwilliam Museum Stela E.SS. 37.

Regarding the name including *nbwy* 'the Two Lords', it is possible that may have had its origins in the Old Kingdom as the association of Horus and Seth together extended back to the Early Dynastic in the name of the 2nd Dynasty king Khasakhemwy 'the two

powerful ones appear, a reference to Horus and Seth together, while in the Old Kingdom the epithet ‘*She who beholds Horus and Seth*’ was employed by the queens of the 4th Dynasty.

The majority of the existing evidence for Seth-associated names comes from the New Kingdom, extending from the 18th through to the 20th Dynasties (Table 11.2)

Date		Name		Notes
NK		<i>š(w)t(y)</i>	Suty is great	Ranke 1935, 416 22
NK		<i>šth</i>	Seth is great	Ranke 1935, 416 22
NK		<i>wsr-šth</i>	Powerful is Seth	Pellegrini 1898, 96, 30c; Ranke 1935, 86 11
NK		<i>b3k.t-n-šth</i>	The servant of Seth	Ranke 1935, 211 15
NK		<i>pth-šth.i</i>	Ptah man of Seth	Malek 1992, 68 Pl 7
NK		<i>n(y)-wy-šth(?)</i>	I belong to Seth(?)	Ranke 1952, 294 12
NK		<i>nh.t-šth</i>	Victorious is Seth or Strong is Seth	Ranke 1935, 211 15
NK		<i>rꜥ-mš-w-mry-šth</i>	Ramesses beloved of Seth	Ranke 1935, 219 2
NK		<i>š.t-šth</i>	Daughter of Seth	Wreszinski 1906 22, 35, 14; Ranke 1935, 294 1.
NK		<i>šth.i</i>	Man of Seth	Petrie 1890, Pl 19; Chabân 1901, 138; Legrain 1914, 31; Daressy 1919, 283; Ranke 1935, 322 7, 322 8
NK		<i>š(w)t(y)</i>	Suty	Chabân 1901, 137-139; Bouriant <i>et al</i> 1903 S.68; Ranke 1935, 321 17
NK		<i>š(w)t(y)-mš(w)</i>	Suty is born	Ranke 1935, 321 18
NK		<i>š(w)t(y)-m-hb</i>	Suty is in festival	Ranke 1935, 429 9
NK		<i>š(w)t(y)-nh.t.w</i>	Suty is strong	Ranke 1935, 321 19
NK		<i>š(w)t(y)ty</i>	Suty (behold?)	Ranke 1935, 321 20
NK		<i>šth</i>	Seth	Daressy 1919, 282-283; Ranke 1935, 321 29
NK		<i>šth-pš-hꜥpy</i>	Seth is Hapi	Ranke 1935, 429 10
NK		<i>šth-m-wi3</i>	Seth is in the Barque	Ranke 1935, 321 30
NK		<i>šth-m-hb</i>	Seth is in the festival	Ranke 1935, 321 31
NK		<i>šth.mšy(.w)</i>	Seth is born	Ranke 1935, 322 2
NK		<i>š(w)th.mšy(.w)</i>	Sutekh is born	Ranke 1935, 322 2
NK		<i>šth-hr-wnm.f</i>	Seth has his rights	Ranke 1935, 322 5
NK		<i>šth-hr-hpš.f</i>	Seth his strong arm	Spiegelberg 1894, 65; Ranke 1935, 322 6

18 th Dyn		<i>sḥt-m-ḥb.f</i>	Seth is in his festival	Ranke 1935, 322 1
19 th Dyn		<i>ḥpt-ḥty</i> or <i>pth-ḥty</i>	Translation in doubt	Dunham 1935, 148-149 N4; Ranke 1952, 305 6
20 th Dyn		<i>ʿ-ḥtḥ</i>	Seth is great	Gardiner 1941a, A15,8; A16,8, B16,19; Ranke 1952, 402 416-22
20 th Dyn		<i>ʿn-ḥri-ḥtḥ</i>	The beauty possessed by Seth	Gardiner 1941a, A26 22, A30 22; Ranke 1952, 270 11.
20 th Dyn		<i>ʿn-ḥtḥ</i>	Beautiful (or friendly) is Seth	Gardiner 1941a, A67 35. Ranke 1952, 270 12
20 th Dyn		<i>wsr-ḥtḥ</i>	Powerful is Seth	Gardiner 1941a, A68 29. Ranke 1952, 350 86-11
20 th Dyn		<i>bʿk-n-ḥtḥ</i>	The servant of Seth	Gardiner 1941a, A31 11, A26 49: A48 4. Ranke 1952, 351 91-14
20 th Dyn		<i>pʿbi-sb(t)y-ḥtḥ</i>	The ramparts of Seth	Gardiner 1941a, A52 2
20 th Dyn		<i>pʿ-n-ḥtḥ</i>	The one of Seth	Gardiner 1941a, A52 43. Ranke 1952, 281 4
20 th Dyn		<i>mry-ḥtḥ</i>	Beloved of Seth	Gardiner 1941a, A41 3; Ranke 1952, 291, 17 Gardiner 1941a, A48 22 Gardiner 1941a, A61 12
20 th Dyn		<i>nḥt-ḥtḥ</i>	Victorious is Seth or Strong is Seth	Gardiner 1941a, A58 16, A62 23. Gardiner 1941a, A52 15
20 th Dyn		<i>r(d)y-sw-ḥtḥ</i>	Seth has given him	Gardiner 1941a, A35 38
20 th Dyn		<i>ḥʿ-ḥtḥ</i>	Seth appears in glory	Gardiner 1941a, A25 32
20 th Dyn		<i>sḥt.....</i>	Damaged incomplete text	Gardiner 1941a, A33 28, A56 48, A56 49
20 th Dyn		<i>sḥt.i</i>	Man of Seth	Gardiner 1941a, A19 42, A26 16, A58 8, A58 27, B3 21, B15 7, B17 29, B19,30 Gardiner 1941a, A70 52
20 th Dyn		<i>sḥt-ʿb(w)</i>	Seth is desired	Gardiner 1941a, A25, 47. Ranke 1952, 317 11
20 th Dyn		<i>sḥt-ʿmn.f</i>	<i>Set(hi)wenmaf</i>	Gardiner 1941a, A17 39, A28 22, A28 26, A29 39, A36 4, A44 16, A48 42, A50 33, A55 27, A6140, A66 6, A71 22, A713 Gardiner 1941a, A17 38
20 th Dyn		<i>sḥt-m-.....</i>	Damaged incomplete text	Gardiner 1941a, A30 28
20 th Dyn		<i>sḥt-m-nʿm</i>	Seth is gracious	Gardiner 1941a, A70 51; Ranke 1952, 317 13 Gardiner 1941a, A47,31
20 th Dyn		<i>sḥt-m-wiʿ</i>	Seth is in the Barque	Gardiner 1941a, A38 35, A47 33, A66 26, A67 41
20 th Dyn		<i>sḥt-m-ḥb</i>	Seth is in the festival	Ranke 1935 321, 31
		<i>sḥt-m-ḥb</i>	Seth is in the festival	Gardiner 1941a, A23 31, A23, 25 A26 12, A27 35, A30 38, A32 47, A32 48, A35 14, A44 25, A45 20, A47 27, A49 9, A52 17, A52 54, A54 16, A59 45, A67 33, A70 36, A70,39 Gardiner 1941a, A18 4, A31 6, A32 39, A35 39, A37 28 Gardiner 1941a, A62 35

20 th Dyn		<i>sth-m-hk3</i>	Seth is the ruler	Gardiner 1941a, A68 16; Ranke 1952, 317 14
20 th Dyn		<i>sth-(m-)mn(.w)</i>	<i>Setmarynu</i>	Gardiner 1941a, A57 28; Ranke 1952, 317 15
20 th Dyn		<i>sth-mn-sdr</i>	<i>Setmenseder</i>	Gardiner 1941a, A71 31; Ranke 1952, 317 16
20 th Dyn		<i>sth.msy(.w)</i>	Seth is born	Gardiner 1941a, A26 29, A36 29, A38 4, A40 34, A42 33, A44 44, A48 32, A62 36, A66 35, A67 26, A71 32, A83 15 Gardiner 1941a, A72 33, A100 23
20 th Dyn		<i>sth-n'cm</i>	Seth is gracious	Gardiner 1941a, A70, 51; Ranke 1952, 317 17 Gardiner 1941a, A47,31
20 th Dyn		<i>sth.nht(.w)</i>	Seth is victorious or Seth is strong	Gardiner 1941a, A18 19, A28 19, A32 41, A35 21, A38 45, A38 47, A47 45, A66 3, A66 4, A69 4, A7 7, A71 23, A71 29
20 th Dyn		<i>sth-hr(.w)</i>	Seth is satisfied	Gardiner 1941a, A27 7, A28 36, A40 40; Ranke 1952, 317 18
20 th Dyn		<i>sth-hr-hps.f</i>	Seth his strong arm	Gardiner 1941a, A30 42, A31 21, A46 12, A46 22, A53 10, A60 34, A61 2, A61 20, A65 25, A69 21 Gardiner 1941a, A53 22 Gardiner 1941a, A56 19 Gardiner 1941a, A69 8 Gardiner 1941a, A69 22
20 th Dyn		<i>sth-(hr-)s'nh</i>	Seth causes to live	Gardiner 1941a, A30 35, A47 22, A57 18; Ranke 1952, 317 19 Gardiner 1941a, A68 24,
20 th Dyn		<i>sth-htp(.w)</i>	Seth is content	Gardiner 1941a, A26 21, A69 34, A71 31; Ranke 1952, 317 20
20 th Dyn		<i>sth-h'i(.w)</i>	Seth has appeared	Gardiner 1941a, A21 36, A21 38, A23 13, A23 26, A28 2, A31 51, A32 30, A37 17, A37 16, A39 8, A39 10, A41 17, A42 1, A44 19, A48 3, A56 15, A57 6, A57 7, A57 13, A57 26, A57 31, A58 24, A67 47, A64 9, A70 67, A70 44; Ranke 1952, 317 21 Gardiner 1941a, A36 43, A38 43, A44 19, A44 24, A54 23, A57 15, A57 16 Gardiner 1941a, A60 18, A60 42, A60 43, A61 45, A64 7, A65 16, A70 27, A70 28, A70 37, A70 44 Gardiner 1941a, A68 14 Gardiner 1941a, B3 26
20 th Dyn		<i>sth-sdi(.w)</i>	Seth saves	Gardiner 1941a, A22 25; Ranke 1952, 317 22
20 th Dyn		<i>sth-sdi-sw</i>	Seth saves him	Gardiner 1941a, A63 37, A66 14; Ranke 1952, 317 23 Gardiner 1941a, A71 6
20 th Dyn		<i>sdi(.w)-sth</i>	Seth saves	Gardiner 1941a, A52,52 Gardiner 1941a, A48 49; Ranke 1952, 319 21







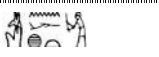


20 th Dyn		<i>kn-hpri-sḥt</i>	Strong is the nature of the Seth	Gardiner 1941a, A70 45 Gardiner 1941a, A72 3, Ranke 1952, 320 10
20 th Dyn		<i>knr(?)sḥt</i>	Seth is strong	Gardiner 1941a, A26 40; Ranke 1952, 320 14
20 th Dyn		<i>k3-sḥt</i>	Abundance of Seth	Gardiner 1941a, A52 28; Ranke 1952, 321 23 Gardiner 1941a, A57 24
20 th Dyn		<i>ḥ-idi(.t)-sḥt</i>	The one whom Seth has given	Gardiner 1941a, A41 19; Ranke 1952, 323 32
20 th Dyn		<i>dw3(?)sḥt</i>	the worshiper of Seth	Gardiner 1941a, A61,13; Ranke 1952, A61 13
20 th Dyn		<i>d... sḥt</i>	Damaged incomplete text	Gardiner 1941a, A38 32
20 th Dyn		<i>sḥt.nḥt(.w)</i>	Seth is victorious or Seth is strong	Newberry 1899, Pls 4 7, 7 4, 12 13; Ranke 1935, 322 3


Table 11.2: Seth associated personal names in the New Kingdom.

The names in the New Kingdom are more diverse in their meanings than those examples surviving from the Middle Kingdom, coming within Vittmann's categories ii - compound names that do not constitute a complete sentence and iii - names constituting a complete sentence (Vittman 2013, 1). They display a belief in the positive and benign attributes of Seth making no reference to conflicts with either Osiris or Horus. The 20th Dynasty Wilbour Papyrus records the land tenure of some 2,800 plots in the northern section of Upper Egypt, extending from Mui-Khant, modern Tihna, some 6.2 miles (10 km) north of Minya to el-Wasta some 3.1 miles (5 km) south of the pyramid site of Meidum (Gardiner 1948a, 9; Gardiner 1948b, Map II; Katary 1989, XXI). The papyrus provides important social data about this area of the Nile Valley and western section of the Faiyum which would not be recorded in temple inscriptions. It contains a number of names fashionable in the 20th Dynasty along with the occupations of the bearers, which extended across the layers of the social hierarchy from the peasants through to the priesthood. Examples of this social spread such as the name Sethikhopshef  which was used by a bee-keeper, herdsman, priest, and shield bearer to the Pharaoh, soldier and stable master (Faulkner 1952, 28). A further example is the name Setkha  that was employed by a charioteer, a cultivator, a groom, a herdsman, a priest, a sailor, a scribe, a standard bearer to a Sherden (Faulkner 1952, 28). Additionally a Sherden is known to have had the name Setkha. This is of particular interest as the Sherden originated from the eastern Mediterranean and were originally employed as mercenaries in the Egyptian army during the 19th and 20th Dynasties, which was recorded in reliefs on the temple walls of the New Kingdom (Fig. 11.3). They were

granted land in the Nile Valley where they settled (Partridge 2002, 14; Spalinger 2005, 14). Thus there is an example of a man whose family originated outside of Egypt and having settled in Egypt he either adopted or was given Seth based name at his birth.



Fig. 11.3: 19th Dynasty Ramesside relief of Sherden warriors wearing their distinctive horned helmets with a circular crest. Re-used block in Ptolemaic enclosure to Tuthmose III small temple. Medinet Habu.

In addition to the names that actually directly include Seth, the name Aapehty , 'great of strength', an epithet of Seth was also employed and was the recorded name of the son of Paneb, the troublesome foreman at Deir el-Medina in the 19th Dynasty (Černý 1929, 253-254; Romer 1984, 66). The number and extent of Seth-based names used indicates Seth was at the height of his popularity with the population in the Nile Valley. However, this image is only available due to the high survival rate of documentation from the Ramesside period, in particular the Wilbour papyrus, which could exaggerate the difference in number of Seth-based names between the Middle and New Kingdoms.

In contrast to the New Kingdom to date evidence has survived of only four names from the 3rd Intermediate Period, of which three are from the large Dakhla Stela discovered at Mut el-Kharab in the Dakhla Oasis in the Western Desert, and one Late Period name from the Oasis of Siwa (Table 11.3).

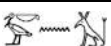
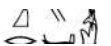
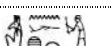






Date		Name		Notes
3IP		<i>b3k-n-s3th</i>	Servant of Sutekh	Wiedeman 1886, 92; Ranke 1935, 91 14
22 nd Dyn		<i>k3ri-s3th</i>	<i>Kersutekh</i>	Spiegelberg 1899, 16; Gardiner 1933, 22 Pl 7, Ranke 1935, 336 1
22 nd Dyn		<i>s3th.nht(.w)</i>	Sutekh is victorious or Sutekh is strong	Spiegelberg 1899, 15; Gardiner 1933, 22 Pl 6, Ranke 1935, 322 3
22 nd Dyn		<i>tnr-s3th</i>	Sutekh is strong	Spiegelberg 1899, 15; Gardiner 1933, 22 Pl 6, Ranke 1935, 381 22
LP		<i>s3th-irdes</i>	<i>Sutekhidres or Setekhides</i>	Fakhry 1944, 91

Table 11.3: Seth associated personal names in the 3rd Intermediate and Late Periods.

As discussed in Chapter 8, the name of Seth on the Large Dakhla stela was written as  or  'Sutekh', so it would be feasible that the three Seth associated names would be written the same way. Regarding the name  'Kersutekh', Te Velde mooted the idea whether the C7 Seth deity hieroglyph  should be translated or was just a determinative to the word (Te Velde 1967, 136 N a). The Late Period name is that of the Governor of the Siwa Oasis, a man of Libyan origin, a further example of a non-Egyptian taking the name of Seth.

The 3rd Intermediate Period and Late Period names fall into Vittman's category ii - compound names that do not constitute a complete sentence. This and the reduced number of names would suggest the popularity of Seth-based names in within the Nile Valley had waned. However, as discussed in Chapter 8, with the importance of Seth in the Western Desert oases it is possible that names associated with Seth continued to be employed during the 3rd Intermediate Period through to the end of the pagan worship in the 3rd century AD. Future exploration in the oases may produce the evidence to support this paradigm.

11.3 Personal Adornment.

A very public display of a personal affiliation to Seth was in the wearing of amulets or jewellery that represented him. These could be in precious metals, such as gold or in simple faience and depicted Seth in a variety of images. Dating from the Middle Kingdom 12th Dynasty, and thought to be from the reign of Senwosret II or Senwosret III, is an electrum and inlay pectoral depicting the Seth animal and Horus as a hawk headed sphinx flanking the representation of the head of the goddess Bat (Quirke 1999, 16) (Fig. 11.4).



Fig. 11.4: 12th Dynasty Pectoral from reign of Senwosret II or Senwosret III. A – Front with remains of semi-precious stone inlay. B – Rear with fine embossed detailing to the three deities of Bat, Horus and Seth and to the surrounding frame including the suspension loops. Middle Kingdom, Dahshur.

The front of the pectoral is designed to take an inlay of semi-precious stones, the majority of which have been lost. The rear face of the gold frame has been embossed with highly detailed representation of the three deities, which appears to the author's eye far more pleasing than the coloured inlaid front face. The question raised by the inclusion of this quality of detail to the rear of the pectoral is why? What was the reason that the craftsman invested what must have been a considerable amount of time in adding the fine detail to the face of the pectoral that is not visible when worn? Was it that the pectoral would hang over the heart, which the ancient Egyptians believed was the seat of intelligence, the originator of all actions and feelings in addition to storing memories (Andrews 1994, 72). Consequently the wearer deemed that it was essential that their heart was presented with an article of supreme quality to emphasise the wearer's affiliation to the three deities.

Examples of simpler amulets and statuettes owned by members of the general population during the New Kingdom through to the Ptolemaic Period have been recovered. The materials utilised in their manufacture include gold, gilded bronze, faience and wood, possibly reflecting the social status of the owner. The form of the amulets varied in their style and complexity; the most complex comprised small figurines of Seth depicted in standing or striding bimorphic form with a small suspension loop at the rear of the figure to allow them to be worn as a pendant. In addition each amulet had a small base plinth which allowed the figure to stand upright when not being worn, thus providing a facility that would show respect to the image of a deity and for it to function as a small votive statuette (Fig. 11.5).



Fig. 11.5: Seth amulets in the form of a standing or striding hybrid figure. A – gold standing figure, Louvre Museum E7660. B - gold standing figure. Louvre Museum E7715. C – gilded bronze striding figure wearing dual crown of Upper and Lower Egypt and tripartite wig, British Museum BM EA 22897. D - bronze striding figure wearing dual crown of Upper and Lower Egypt and tripartite wig, Ashmolean Museum. E - bronze striding figure wearing dual crown of Upper and Lower Egypt and tripartite wig, Berlin Museum 13186. Tribute to the New Kingdom.

The Late Period saw the introduction of a simpler amulet consisting of a small faience plaque bearing an image of Seth and pierced for a suspension cord allowing it to be worn as a pendant. These faience plaques have the indications of being mass produced items manufactured by pressing faience paste into a mould and then fired to create the vitrified amulet (Fig. 11.6).



Fig. 11.6: Faience amulets of Seth. A – Seth in a striding zoomorphic form, Petrie Museum UC79085. B – Seth in a striding bimorphic form. Ashmolean Museum. Late Period.

A different form of amulet occurs as a small cast bronze head of the Seth animal wearing the combined crown of Upper and Lower Egypt, a tripartite wig and a broad collar in the style of an aegis. The muzzle, ears, white crown, tripartite wig and collar are formed as recesses to take inlay of either glass paste or semi-precious stones (Fig. 11.7).

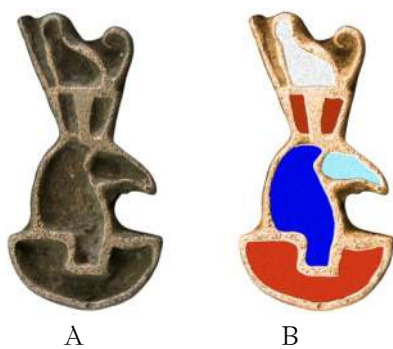


Fig. 11.7: Cast bronze Seth head amulet wearing combined crown of Upper and Lower Egypt, tripartite wig and broad collar. A – as presently displayed. B – Author's proposed reconstruction. 1.5 times full size. Petrie Museum UC 63715. New Kingdom.



Fig. 11.8: Examples of furniture inlay. Louvre N 874. 27th Dynasty.

Petrie initially described this amulet as a stamp or brand (Petrie 1917, 56-57). However, the Petrie Museum has now reclassified this item as furniture inlay (<http://petriecat.museums>).



ucl.ac.uk/detail.aspx). This classification is questionable; a close analysis of the casting reveals a different and bigger profile at the rear to that of the front. If this had been used as an inlay, the recess required to accommodate it would have been larger than the outer face and would have not followed its profile. Additionally this artefact differs from other surviving examples of furniture inlay, which consisted of individual elements that could be let into a recess cut into the furniture without requiring any carrier or additional metal fittings (Fig. 11.8). The rear of the casting has the remains of three small projecting pins indicative of it being fixed through a thin material, possibly cloth or leather and secured in place, possible with a backing plate, suggesting this was worn as a brooch or a badge. Another piece of jewellery publically displaying a personal allegiance to Seth occurs as a bronze signet ring dated to the 18th Dynasty (pers comm. Atkinson Museum). The top face of the ring is modelled in the form of a cartouche containing a seated Seth animal above the hieroglyph *nb*  all surmounted with a sun disk with a pair of pendent uraei (Fig. 11.9). Being manufactured in bronze would suggest that it was the property of a member of what could be described as the affluent middle class of Egyptian society.



Fig. 11.9: Bronze signet ring as a cartouche containing a seated Seth animal above the hieroglyph *nb* . Atkinson Museum Goodison 299. Attributed to the 18th Dynasty.

11.4 Personal Worship.

Further evidence of another form of personal adoration of Seth exists in the form of small wooden, faience or bronze statuettes dating from the New Kingdom and the Ptolemaic Period. Those from the New Kingdom vary in form and size and depict Seth as a seated Seth animal, a seated or standing bimorphic figure with the head of the Seth animal (Fig. 11.10, A to E). While a very usual statuette from the Ptolemaic period portrays Seth as a striding

bimorphic form but with the head of an ass (Fig. 11.10, F). This figure gives credence to the idea that Seth was still worshipped during the Ptolemaic period and does raise further questions as to the exact form of the proscription against Seth. The figure having the head of an ass suggests it was manufactured in the Nile Valley as images of Seth of this date from the Western Desert oases portray him with a head of a hawk rather than that of an ass, the prevalent image of Seth in the Nile valley.



Fig. 11.10: Seth statuettes: A – wooden seated Seth animal wearing tripartite wig and offering formula to Seth carved along base, British Museum BM EA 30460. B – seated Seth in bimorphic form wearing a tripartite wig on a wooden plinth with offering formula to Seth carved along sides, Leiden AH 213. C – wooden seated Seth animal wearing the twin crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt and tripartite wig. D – wooden seated Seth in bimorphic form wearing a tripartite wig, Egyptian Museum Cairo 38592. E - faience striding Seth in bimorphic form wearing a tripartite wig, Egyptian Museum Cairo 38591. F – bronze striding Seth in bimorphic form with the head of a ass wearing a tripartite wig, Egyptian Museum Cairo 36. A-E New Kingdom, F Ptolemaic.

The statuettes in Figs 11.10B to 11.10D both bear the remains of coloured painted decoration. The statuette in Fig 11.10B has black detailing to the tripartite wig and to the side of the throne, while Fig 11.10C, was recovered from the houses in the temple area at Matmar, had the face painted yellow and the body red (Brunton 1948, 72), while that in Fig.

11.10D was painted a light yellow with the details of the tripartite wig, corselet and kilt picked out in red and black (Daressy 1906, 154). The quality and small size of these statuettes would preclude them from being part of temple equipment but instead would appear to be domestic in quality suggesting their use in a small personal shrine kept in the home of the owner.





Other examples of small scale domestic worship of Seth during the New Kingdom occur in two small glazed faience stelae and a small faience head of Seth. The stelae are damaged with only the top portions of them surviving. The first stela is decorated in an incised relief showing Seth in bimorphic form with a Seth animal head, wearing a tripartite wig and holding a *was* sceptre and identified by the hieroglyphs *Seth (of) Nubt*  (Fig. 11.11), while the second is blue glazed with a black applied decoration showing Seth wearing a tripartite wig and the dual crown of Upper and Lower Egypt and by the hieroglyphs *Seth (of) Nubt*    (Fig. 11.12)



Fig. 11.11: Upper section of small green glazed faience stela depicting Seth in hybrid form. Petrie Museum UC45093. 18th Dynasty.



Fig. 11.12: Upper section of small blue glazed stela depicting Seth in hybrid form wearing the dual crown of Upper and Lower Egypt. Petrie Museum UC45220. New Kingdom.



Fig. 11.13: Pale blue glazed faience Seth head with black applied decoration. Possibly once part of a larger figure. Petrie Museum UC45218. 19th Dynasty.

The pale blue glazed faience head of Seth, modelled wearing a tripartite wig and a broad collar, has a hole in the base of the neck suggesting it was once part of a larger figure. The applied black decoration to the eyes, mouth and wig is crudely carried out (Fig. 11.13).

Both the small stelae and Seth head are all crudely manufactured and suggest they were mass produced for lower classes of Egyptian society for personal use, rather than being single bespoke items for the installation in a temple.

11.5 Public Display.

Examples of public display of the worship of Seth by individuals occur in the form of a number of stelae erected in offering chapels and temples. Stelae from the 18th and 19th dynasties (Fig. 11.14) all depict Seth to the left side of the stela, in bimorphic form with the exception of the stela of Panehmy which shows Seth as a hippopotamus (Fig. 11.14 F).



Fig. 11.14: Stela displaying a personal dedication to Seth. A – stela of Anhotep, Manchester Museum 4528. B – stela of Nakht, Oriental Institute Chicago OIM 10510. C – damaged stela showing Seth, Petrie Museum UC 14447. D – stela of Seti, Antikenmuseum Basel BSAe 1080. E - stela of Aapehty, British Museum BM EA 35630. F – stela of Panehmy, Oriental Institute Chicago OIM 12292. A-C 18th Dynasty, D-F 19th Dynasty.

Seth in bimorphic form has the head of the Seth animal and is wearing a tripartite wig. The stelae of Aapehty, Anhotep and UC 14447 still retain vestiges of painted decoration with Seth being red-brown in colour. In terms of layout all the stelae have Seth on the left hand

side of scene and facing to the right. On the 18th Dynasty stelae Seth is shown receiving offerings (Fig 11.14 A to C), while those of the 19th Dynasty (Fig 11.14 D-F) Seth is depicted as receiving praise. Both the 18th Dynasty stela of Nakht and the 19th Dynasty of Seti include a versions of the *htp-di-nsw* $\text{𓆎} \text{𓅓} \text{𓏏}$ formula but instead of being dedicated to Osiris or Anubis it is dedicated to Seth.

The only known stela from the Late Period which portrays Seth being worshiped is the Smaller Dakhla Stela discovered at Mut el-Kharab in Dakhla Oasis of the Western Desert (Speigelberg 1899, 12; Gardiner 1933, 19; Janssen 1968, 165). The top register shows Seth to the left hand side of the scene facing to the right and receiving offerings from the Libyan chief Esdhuti (Janssen 1968, 166). Seth is shown in bimorphic form but with the head of a hawk and identified with the hieroglyphs $\text{𓆎} \text{𓅓}$ 'Sutekh' (Fig. 11.15).



Fig 11.15: Top register of Smaller Dakhla stela showing a hawk-headed Seth receiving offerings from the Libyan chief Esdhuti. The name of Sutekh outlined.

There is a question of the date of the stela; Janssen dated it to between the late 22nd Dynasty and the early 25th Dynasty, while Parker and Kaper proposed the date of the early 25th Dynasty (Parker 1966, 114; Janssen 1968, 172, Kaper 2001, 74).

Dating to the 18th Dynasty; a different example of a public display of a personal belief in Seth occurs in the form of the offering prayers to him on funerary monuments. The stela of the *wab* priest Ameny accompanied by his wife Inethapy contains an offering prayer to a number of deities including Seth (Fig. 11.16).



Fig. 11.16: Stela of Ameny with an offering prayer to the gods which include Seth who is in the top horizontal register. 18th Dynasty. Thebes. MMA 12.182.2.



Fig. 11.17: Block statue of Sennefer with an offering prayer to Seth engraved on the front of the figure. 18th Dynasty. Nubt. Petrie Museum UC 14639.

A further example occurs with the block statue of Sennefer recovered from the temple of Seth at Nubt (Petrie 1896, 68, Pl. XXVIII). The front of the surviving lower portion of the statue is engraved with five horizontal registers of hieroglyphs that begin with a *ḥtp-di* $\text{ⲡ} \text{ⲛ}$, an offering formula dedicated to *Seth (of) Nubt* $\text{Ⲛ} \text{ⲛ} \text{ⲛ} \text{ⲛ}$ (Fig. 11.17). The New Kingdom idea of the placing the block statues within temple precincts was that they would passively partake in the offering prayers to the gods. Therefore, to have a statue engraved with an offering prayer to Seth shows a very strong personal devotion to him.

11.6 Summary.

From the few surviving examples, it is possible to construct a paradigm of the adoration of Seth in the general population of the Nile Valley and the Western Desert. The public display of attachment to him is reflected in a number of ways, including the names associated with Seth, the wearing of jewellery and amulets depicting his image, statuettes for domestic worship and funerary equipment displaying the deceased's association with Seth. The evidence for this adoration suggests that it was most prevalent in the New Kingdom, however, this may be due to the high survival rate of artefacts from the New Kingdom, but the evidence of Middle Kingdom Seth associated names, a votive statuette from the Ptolemaic period would suggest that it pre- and post-dated the New Kingdom. In addition, as previously discussed in Chapter 8, the worship of Seth in the oases continued until the end of the paganism in Egypt, so it is

within the bounds of reason that personal adoration of Seth continued also, and that future excavations will reveal evidence of this.

To conclude, a small item exists that does not fall into any of the other categories and is best described as a doodle or piece of graffiti. A limestone ostrakon from the 19th Dynasty (Brunner-Traut 1979, 57) displays a sketch of a seated Seth animal first outlined in red then overdrawn in black (Fig. 11.18). The tail is missing but the author's investigation of the image under a 10X microscope revealed within the depressions between the ooliths that make up the stone the remains of the ink from a tail with a forked terminal were visible. The bleeding of the ink at the base of the rump would suggest that the tail, once drawn was removed by rubbing it with a wet thumb or finger.



Fig. 11.18: Seth animal sketch on limestone ostrakon. A – As currently existing. B – Proposed restoration of the removed tail based on microscopic analysis of ostrakon. 19th Dynasty. Fitzwilliam Museum E.GA.4300.1943.

The question posed by this image is why was it drawn? The image drawn, although representing Seth, differs from the usual images of the New Kingdom regarding the shape of the muzzle, length of the neck, length and thickness of the body. The effect is that it makes the animal look like a rabbit rather than the intimidating Seth animal. Was the image drawn by a Seth worshipper in the form he imagined Seth should look as a personal act of piety? As for the tail being removed, was this carried out at a later date by a person unknown to neutralise what they considered a dangerous deity by removing a symbol of its aggression, the erect tail? It is feasible that this was exactly what happened.

Having discussed Seth's depiction in religious and secular text, temple decoration and tomb decoration in previous chapters and personal reverence to him in this chapter, the following chapter will analyse the variations in the image of Seth in zoomorphic form from the Early Dynastic Period to the Late Period.

Chapter 12: Seth and His Depiction in Zoomorphic Form.

12.1 Seth in Zoomorphic Form.

In the preceding chapters the portrayal of Seth in texts, both religious and secular, in temple and tomb decorations, in personal adornment, and within the Nile valley and the Western Desert oases has been discussed. Focusing on the differences in the depictions of the Seth in zoomorphic form, this chapter will analyse his physical image and its variations. This analysis will be restricted to the fully developed depictions of Seth dating from the 2nd Dynasty of the Early Dynastic period through to the Late Period. The proto-Seth images such as those on the Scorpion mace head, the statuette from grave 721 at Naqada and the 1st Dynasty grave markers from Abydos have been excluded. However, prior to this analysis, an overview of all the types of representations employed in a 'litany of Seth' will be undertaken including those that replaced the usual Seth animal attributes. All the examples employed are the author's drawings of authentic images shown in their original orientation.

Ancient Egyptian religion was polytheistic in its format, portraying the deities in more than one physical form which included zoomorphic, bimorphic, and anthropomorphic. In the zoomorphic form he was depicted as the enigmatic 'Seth' animal, which had a canine body with an erect tail and head with a down-curved muzzle and a pair of erect square-topped ears. This animal was shown in three different stances: prone, sitting, and striding (Fig. 12.1).

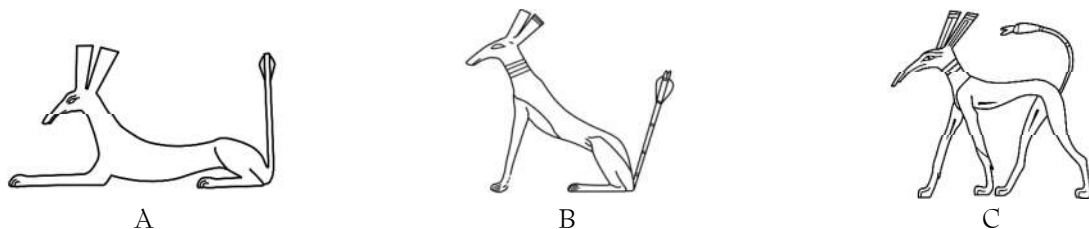


Fig. 12.1: Representations of the Seth animal. A – prone. B – sitting. C – striding.

The representations of Seth in zoomorphic form were not solely restricted to the Seth animal, with Seth being carved as a hippopotamus, an animal associated with him, and in leonine form as a prone sphinx with a Seth animal head (Fig. 12.2).

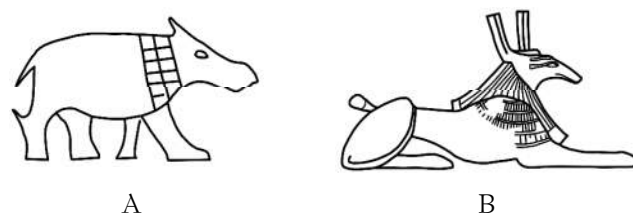


Fig. 12.2: Seth in alternative zoomorphic form.
A – Hippopotamus. B – Sphinx with Seth animal head.

With the proscription against the Seth animal during the Late Period the depiction of the Seth animal ceased to be used. In the oases of the Western Desert the reliefs of the Seth animal was replaced with the phonetic spelling of his name, while in the Nile valley, the Seth animal was replaced with the image of a donkey/ass. In zoomorphic form two different images were employed, a canine body in the prone position with the fore legs extended and the head of a donkey and as a donkey in the prone position with its legs tucked beneath the body front and rear hooves pointing to the centre of the body (Fig. 12.3).

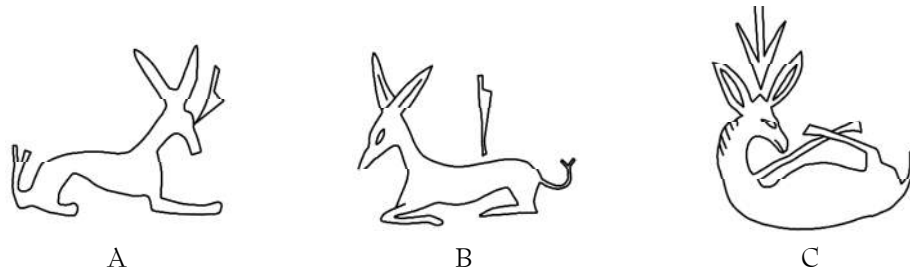


Fig. 12.3: Seth represented as an ass. A – prone Seth with a canine body and an ass's head. B – prone Seth as an ass. C – prone Seth as an ass on its back and with bound hooves.

12.2 Parameters in Analysing the Image of Seth.

The examination of the image of Seth in zoomorphic form of the deity will commence with the Seth animal before considering the other zoomorphic forms incorporating Seth animal head. All of the images obtained were different sizes so required adjusting to a consistent scale that was applicable to all images, regardless of the images original. To do this a measurement of '1 Unit' was created, that was the distance from the shoulder to junction of the primary ear with the top of the head. To allow for the different angles of the neck a radiused dimension from the base of the neck was employed. All the analysable components of the image were then measured as a proportion of this unit (Fig. 12.4).

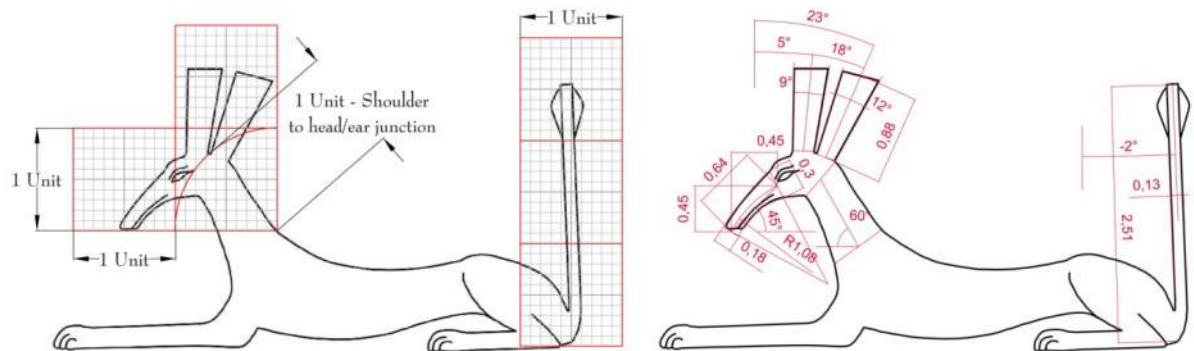


Fig. 12.4: Analysis scale grid and dimensional analysis for the zoomorphic Seth image.

The analysis was undertaken using hi-resolution digital images and drawings imported at this common proportional scale into 'AutoCAD[®] architectural computer aided design programme'

(www.autodesk.com/products/autocad/overview), in which the individual elements that form the Seth image were measured and correlated.

The resulting data was tabulated but due to the large spread of subtle variations within individual elements, it was necessary to group the results by use of a series of simple defining parameters, such as the range of lengths or angles, and creating simplified definitions such as 'lean', 'medium' and 'thick-set' or 'long', 'medium' and 'short'. In presenting the results and creating a catalogue of Seth, each image is categorized by a series of classifications from the data sets identifying the individual components and their sub-categories.

A database of suitable images has been assembled and where possible the author's own high resolution digital photographs have been utilised. However, where sites containing Seth images were not available due to the Egyptian Authorities withholding permission to photograph or to visit the site, published images of varying quality have been employed. Not all the images are suitable for analysis for reasons of being too small, lacking in suitable detail, too eroded or damaged, outside the parameters of incorporating the Seth animal or the head of the Seth animal. Nevertheless, all the images acquired are included in chronological order in Appendix 3 of the thesis.

12.3 The Seth Animal

The Seth animal is very distinctive in its form, but enigmatic, being variously identified as an aardvark, antelope, ass or donkey, camel, fennec fox, feral pig, greyhound, giraffe, hare, jackal, jerboa, long muzzled mouse, Nile mormyrid fish, okapi, oryx, and tapir (Newberry 1928, 217-218; Te Velde 1967, 13). However, Quirke considered the Seth animal as the portrayal of disorderliness by the assembling a series of body parts that do not quite occur in the Egyptian environment (Quirke 1992, 54), a construct rather than a real animal.

It can be said that the composition of the Seth animal is best described as the sum of its parts, and although all the representations of the animal contain all the parts they do not all add up to the same composition. In order to prove this statement it is necessary to analyse the form of the Seth animal by separating its image into its six individual components, namely: the body, the neck, the head including the muzzle, the ears, the tail and tail terminal (Fig. 12.5). In analysing and categorizing these components the author's subjective and quantitative criteria regarding sizes and lengths have been applied.

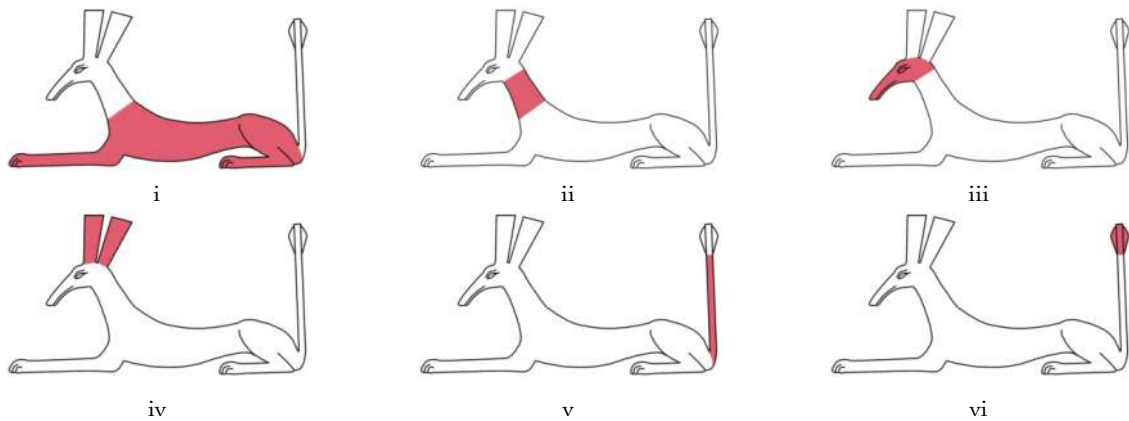


Fig. 12.5: Individual components that comprised the Seth animal. i – body. ii – neck. iii – head and muzzle. iv – ears. v – tail shaft. vi – tail terminal.

12.3.1 Body

The body of the Seth animal is canine in form with the legs terminating in paws. The shape of the body is reminiscent of that of a greyhound, being deep in the chest and narrow in the waist. Although this is the general form the proportions of the body varied between images, ranging from the very lean, almost anorexic to the medium and the thick set. For the purpose of analysis the body has been divided into three categories:

Body: Lean. Body: Medium: Bm. Body: Thick Set (Fig. 12.6).

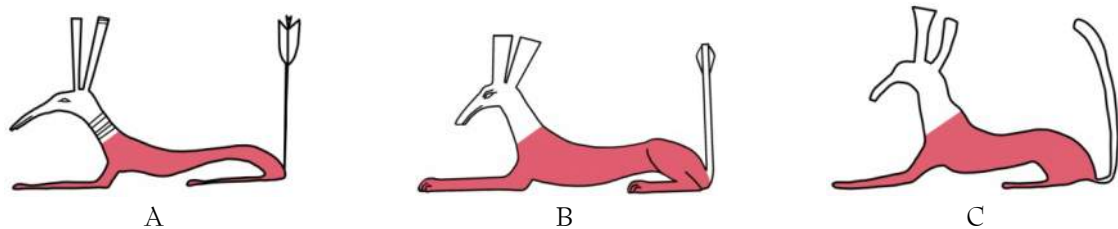


Fig. 12.6: Categories of body types employed on the Seth animal. A – lean body. B – medium body. C – thick set body.

In addition to the body proportions there are variations in the length of the legs so a sub-category of short, medium and long have been included and added as a part of the body type, an example description being Body: Medium, Leg: Medium (Fig. 12.7). All these body types are applicable to the prone, standing and striding depictions of Seth.

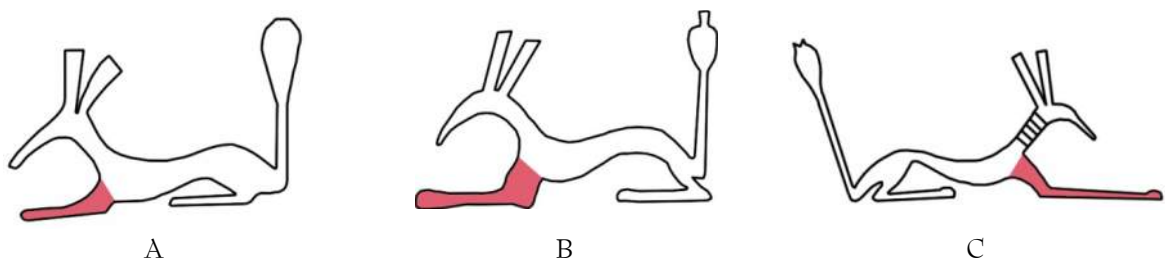


Fig. 12.7: Sub-categories of leg lengths employed on the Seth animal. A – leg short. B – leg medium. C – leg long.

12.3.2 Neck

The form of the neck can be sub-divided into two parameters: the angle to the horizontal and by decoration of a number of bands around the neck. The first one, the angle of the neck to the horizontal, is measured along its centre line (Fig. 12.8). In the examples studied the spread extended from 25° to 95° (5° beyond the vertical), an angular range of 71° . This angular spread encompasses all three forms of the Seth animal. The angular range has not been subdivided into classified groups of angles but instead each example will have its individual measured angle in its category description.

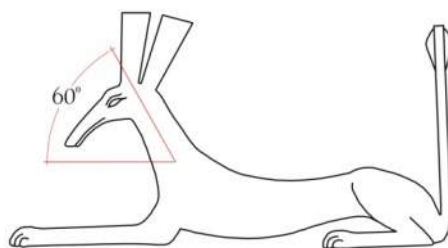


Fig. 12.8: Measurement of neck angle to the horizontal.

The second parameter relates to the multi-band collar worn on the neck some of the Seth animal in some images. This banding has been defined by the number of bands depicted, which ranged from one to seven (Fig. 12.09). This parameter is applicable to all three forms of the Seth animal, prone, sitting and walking.

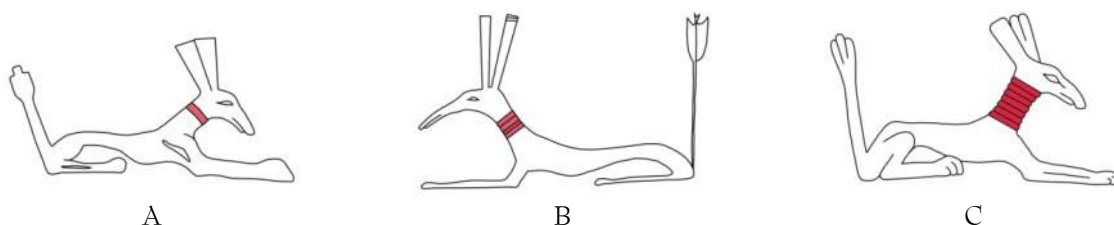


Fig. 12.9: Examples of sub-category of neck bands. A - One neck band. B - Four neck bands. C - Seven neck bands

12.3.3 Head and Muzzle

In identifying the image of Seth one of the most distinctive features is the head with its downturned muzzle. Across the images studied a considerable variation in the size, curvature radius and the undercut of the lower jaw of the muzzle was observed, along with the junction of the muzzle to the head in the form and extent of a brow ridge. All the dimensions in analysing the image are calculated against the defining '1 Unit', as Figure 12.4 above. Separating the muzzle into its individual and defining characteristics the muzzle has two primary forms, the most prevalent being down turned curve but it also existed as the less common straight muzzle, respectively identified as 'Curved' and 'Straight' in the cataloguing.

Both these shapes appeared in short (up to 0.5 units), medium (0.51 to 0.75 units) and long (0.76 units upward) forms measured along the centre line of the muzzle, these are identified as ‘Short’, ‘Medium’ and ‘Long’ respectively. In addition to the muzzle length is the muzzle thickness. This is obtained by dividing the muzzle length measured along the muzzle centre line by the average muzzle thickness obtained adding the muzzle thickness at the brow ridge to the thickness at tip of muzzle and dividing by two. The resulting figure defining one of three categories; slim (a ratio of 3.6 upwards), medium (a ratio between 2.0 to 3.5) and broad (a ratio of up to 1.9), and are identified as ‘Slim’, ‘Medium’ and ‘Broad’ respectively.

The angle of drop of the muzzle to the horizontal is calculated by measuring the angle of the line between the two ends the muzzle centre line to the horizontal and is identified as a figure in degrees. With the curved muzzle is the additional parameter of the sizes of the radius of the curvature measured along its centre line. The resulting dimension will be classified as ‘Tight’ (up to 0.99 units), ‘Medium’ (1.00 to 1.25 units) and ‘Shallow’ (1.26 units upwards) respectively.

The final parameter on the muzzle is the lower jaw. In some of the images created the under jaw does not extend to the tip of the muzzle, but instead stops short at various distances from the tip. This distance is measured by angle from the centre point of the muzzle curvature and the results are divided into 3 categories short (0.1° to 3.0°), medium (3.1° to 7.5°) and long (7.6° and above) defined by ‘Short’, ‘Medium’ and ‘Long’ respectively. Where no undercut is present the notation of ‘None’ is employed

The resulting curved muzzle with a length of 0.64 units, breadth ratio of 2.65, muzzle drop 45° radius of curve of 1.08 units and no undercut would be displayed as length: Medium. breadth: Medium. muzzle drop: 45° . curve: Medium. Undercut: None

Examples of the classification of muzzle types are detailed in Fig. 12.10.

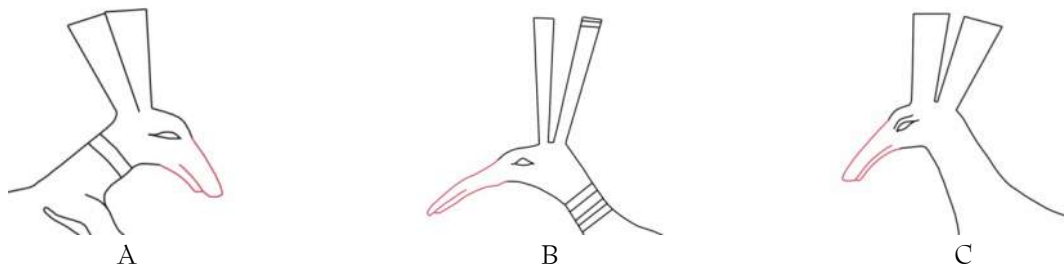


Fig. 12.10: Examples of muzzle types based on length, breadth, angle of drop, curvature and undercut of jaw. A - muzzle curved. short (length 0.46 units); broad (ratio of 1.70); drop 53° ; radius tight (0.83 units); Undercut medium (6°). B - muzzle curved; long (length 0.94 units); thin (ratio 5.37). drop 31° ; radius shallow (1.58 units); Undercut short (3°). C - muzzle curved; medium (length 0.64 units); medium (ratio 2.67); drop 45° ; radius medium (1.08 units); Undercut none.

The second definable feature of the head is a brow ridge that occurs above the eyes. This ridge begins at the end of the muzzle where it joins the head just forward of the eye, then curving up and over the eye and merging into the top of skull. This feature has only one definable point which is where it commences in front of the eye while the end of the ridge gently merges into the top of the head making it impossible to accurately define its termination. Having no accurately definable end point no consistent data regarding length and rise of the ridge can be reliably obtained. In the author's opinion this feature can only be defined subjectively in relation the muzzle and head, and can be placed into three categories simple categories: no brow ridge, subtle brow ridge and prominent brow ridge, catalogued as 'None', 'Subtle' and 'Prominent' (Fig. 12.11).

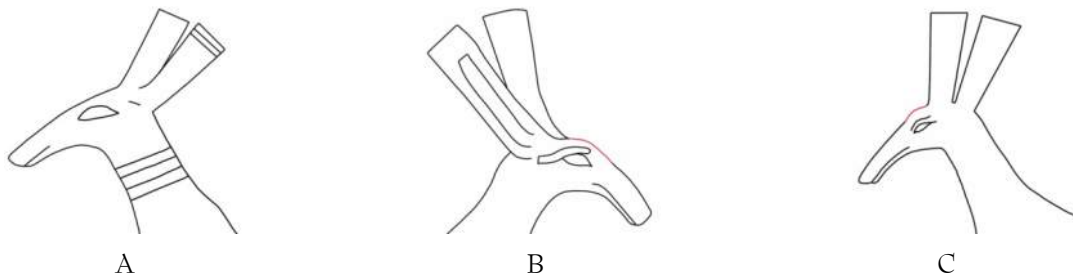


Fig. 12.11: Examples of the three categories of brow ridge on the Seth animal. A – no brow ridge. B – subtle brow ridge. C – prominent brow ridge.

12.3.4 Ears

Of all the defining features on the Seth animal it is the ears that display the greatest diversity in their representation. However, before discussing this diversity it is necessary to define which is the primary ear, i.e. the one that would be on the side of the head that is visible to the observer. As the surviving Seth animals studied are small scale hieroglyphs within text registers, many of them are in incised relief and do not display any detail that indicates which is the primary ear. Nevertheless, a few examples carved in bas relief display suitable detail that defines the primary ear as the rearmost of the two ears displayed (Fig. 12.12).



Fig. 12.12: Examples of the location of the primary ear. A – primary ear on image with no indication of the sweep of the top of the head. B – primary ear linked to the sweep of the top of the head.

Based on this data, it is proposed for this analysis of all the images studied for this work that the primary ear, identified as ‘Primary’, is the rearmost ear. The ear on the opposite side of the head to the observer will be referred to as the secondary ear and identified as ‘Secondary’. Images of the Seth animal with flat-tipped ears reveal that the shape of the ear not only varies between images but in some instances the primary and the secondary ear on the same image also differ. There were two principal shapes employed, tapering and parallel. The first of these has straight sides tapering from a wide flat tip to a narrower base at the junction with the head. The angle of taper differs between images ranging from wide at 31° to narrow at 2° . The second shape can be classed as parallel. In defining the parameters for an ear with parallel sides, the relative size of the image, the material into which it has been carved or painted has been taken into account. For this reason a tolerance on the angle of taper has been allowed, with parallel being defined as being a range of angles from 1.9° to -1.9° , the minus angle being where the tip is narrower than the base of the ear. The amount of taper has been defined as: Parallel: -1.9° to 1.9° . Narrow: 2.0° to 9.9° . Medium: 10° to 17.9° . Wide: 18° and over (Fig. 12.13).

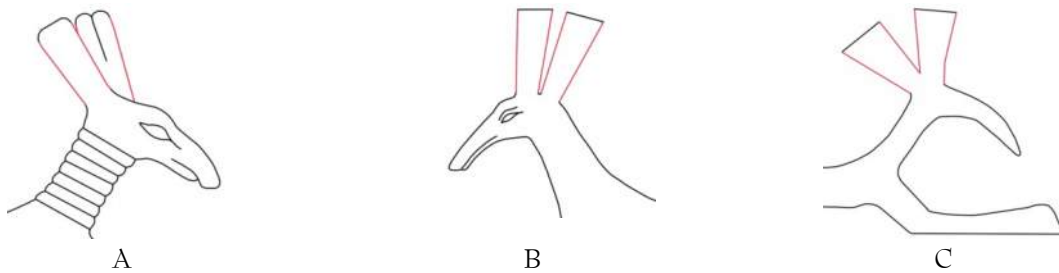


Fig. 12.13: Examples of different tapering to the ear. A – narrow taper both ears. B - primary ear medium taper, secondary ear narrow taper. C – primary ear wide taper, secondary ear medium taper.

To make the defining of the ear more complex, on a number of images the sides of the ear are not straight but follow a gentle curve from the tip to the line of the top of the head. Three forms are discernible, the first with curve concave in the leading edge and convex on the trailing edge of the ear. This form was applied to both tapered and parallel ear shapes. The second had both edges concave, while the third had a concave curve applied to the leading edge of the ear. The employment of a curved edge may be employed on one or both ears, and two different forms may be employed on the same image (Fig. 12.14). These variations in the shape of the ear can be classified as: Concave-Convex: Concave on leading edge and convex on trailing edge. Concave x 2: Concave on both leading and trailing edges. Concave-

Straight: Concave on leading edge and straight on trailing edge. Straight x 2: Straight on both leading and trailing edges.

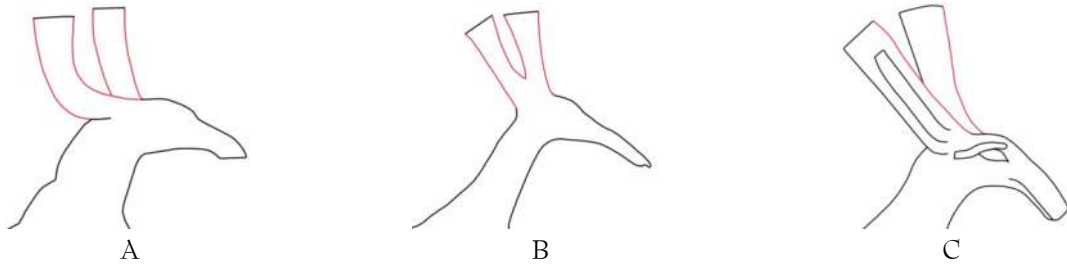


Fig. 12:14: A – concave leading edge and convex trailing edge to both primary and secondary ears. B – concave to both leading and trailing edges to the secondary ear, and concave curve to the leading edge of the primary ear. C – concave leading edge to the primary and secondary ears.

In addition to this taper there were variations in the length of the ear which could be short, medium and long. The defining of the ear length is based on a measurement of the primary ear along its centre line from the tip to line top the head (Fig. 12.15).

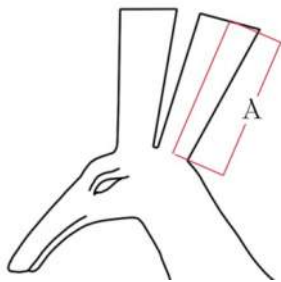


Fig. 12.15: Measurement of primary ear along centre line of ear.

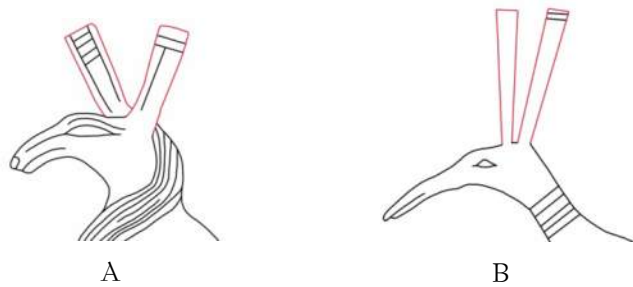


Fig. 12:16: Examples of ear length. A – medium length ear. B- long ears.

The resulting measurement is expressed as a proportion of the ‘1 Unit’ discussed above. The length of the ear is categorised as: ‘Short’: up to 0.6 units. ‘Medium’: 0.61 to 0.90 units. ‘Long’: 0.91units and above (Fig. 12:16).

In the representations of the Seth animal studied, the relationship of the primary and secondary ears to each other, along with their angle to a vertical datum differs between each individual image. The ears could be portrayed as parallel to each other, allowing for a tolerance of 0° to 1.9° in the angle between the two ears for the reasons discussed above, or at a divergent angle to each other creating a V shape with the point of the V at the top of the head. Both these ear forms are shown at a range of angles to a vertical datum line. The measurement of the angles is taken from the centre line of the ears and where an angle is inclined towards the muzzle, it has been designated as a negative angle (Fig. 12.17). Dealing with the divergent angles between the ears first, the range extended from 0° (parallel) to 52° . Although the ears can be described as erect, the majority of those represented were not vertical

but were shown at a multiplicity of angles away from the vertical, with the angle of the primary ear having range of -6° to 94° , the secondary ear having a range of -24° to 62° (Fig. 12.18).

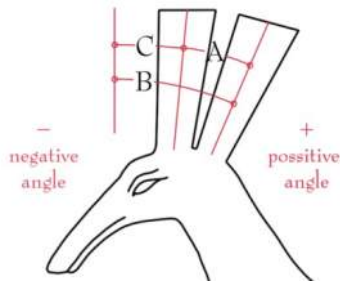


Fig. 12.17: Measurement of the angles of the primary and secondary ears. A – divergence angle. B – primary ear angle from vertical. C – secondary ear angle from vertical.

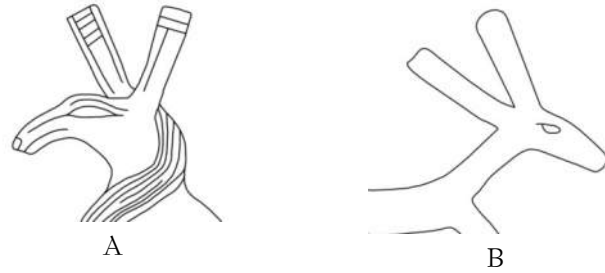


Fig. 12.18: Examples of range of divergent ear angles. A – divergence angle 45° , primary ear angle from vertical 21° , secondary ear angle from vertical -24° . B – divergence angle 30° , primary ear angle from vertical 55° , secondary ear angle from vertical 25° .

In the classification of the Seth image the angles of the ears will be expressed as three angular dimensions, the divergent angle, the angle of the primary ear and the angle of the secondary ear.

The configuration of the junction of the ear to the head was also depicted in different ways. The first form was with the ear arising sharply from the top of the head with an abrupt change of direction at the ear/head junction. The second form is where the ear is blended into the head with a curved junction, the radius of which varied in size ranging from small and tight to large and gentle. The size of radius could vary between the leading and trailing edges of the ear and between the primary and secondary ears on the same image. The angle of the ear to the vertical had no impact on the size of the radius. The third form of junction only applied to the primary ear. The base of the ear had curve of a suitable sized radius to rotate the leading and trailing edges at the bottom of the ear from the vertical to the horizontal, the ear then joined the head at the side of the skull behind the location of the eye and was expressed as a facial feature (Fig. 12.19). In the classification the junction will be expressed as: ‘Sharp’, ‘Radiused’ and ‘Swept Curve’ where curved lower section joined at the side of the head.

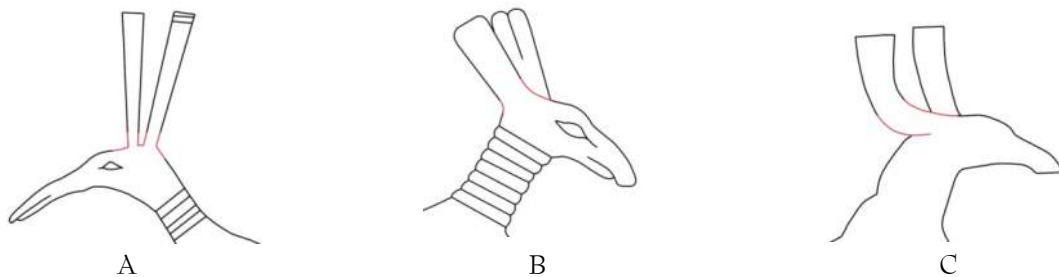


Fig. 12.19: Examples of differing junctions of the ear to the head. A – sharp. B – radiused junction. C – swept curve primary ear junction to the side of the head.

The final feature that was portrayed on a number of the ears was a series of different types of markings. These were applied to both the primary and secondary ears and the Seth images could have markings on both primary and secondary ears or just on one. In the situations where the markings were displayed on both ears, there was no constancy in their forms and different patterns were applied to each ear. The styles employed consisted of horizontal and vertical lines, either singularly or in groups. The horizontal lines were shown roughly parallel to the flat tip of the ear, while the vertical lines either followed the centre line of the ear or were roughly parallel to the adjacent leading or trailing edge. A pattern that only occurs on the primary ear was short horizontal line linked to the top of a pair of vertical lines that follow the leading and trailing edges down to the junction of the ear with the head. As this design was on the external face of the ear it was possibly intended to represent the *pinna*, the portion of an animal's ear that collects the sound and directs it into the inner ear (Fig. 12.20).

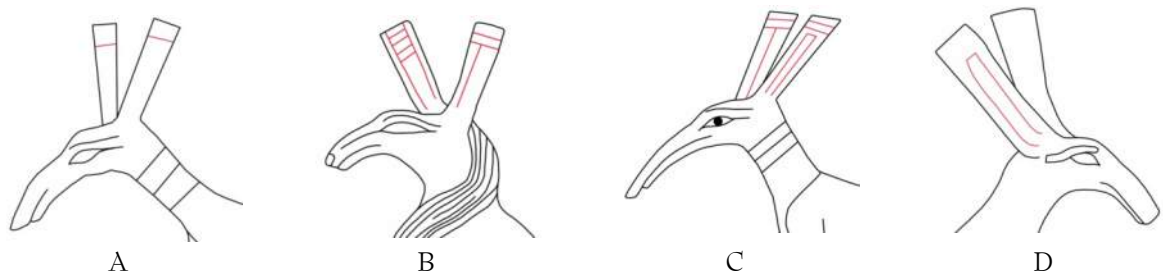


Fig. 12.20: Examples of markings to the ears. A – single horizontal line to tip of primary and secondary ears. B – Different markings to each ear, two horizontal lines at tip and single vertical line the primary ear, four horizontal at the tip and two vertical lines to the secondary ear. C – Different markings to each ear, two horizontal lines at the tip and three lines representing the *pinna* to the primary ear, two horizontal lines at tip and single vertical line the secondary ear. D – Markings on one ear only, *pinna* to primary ear.

As a consequence of the individuality in the decoration of the ear, it can only be categorised by defining if the ear has decoration and describing that decoration: ear location Primary, Secondary, number of horizontal lines, number of vertical lines or a *pinna*. Ear decoration to Fig. 12.20:C would be described as: Primary Horizontal 2, *pinna*. Secondary Horizontal 2, Vertical 1.

12.3.5 Tail Shaft

Like the ears, the shaft of the tail was portrayed as erect and, as in the representations of the ear, there were a number of variables. These included the angle of inclination to the vertical, length, thickness, taper, decoration, and junction with the body. Although the tail was shown erect, the shaft of the tail was not always straight with examples depicting the shaft with a

parabolic curve. Due to the obvious differences between the two shapes, it was not deemed necessary to create categories of curvature, so the tail's shaft will be simply classified as Straight or Curved (Fig. 12.21).

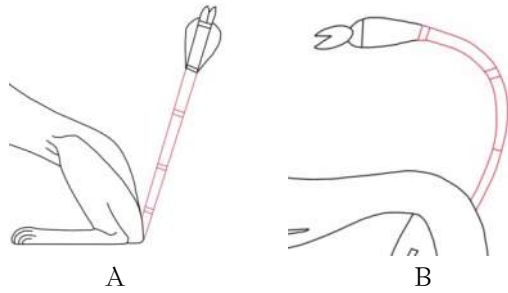


Fig. 12.21: Examples of tail shaft shape.
A - straight tail. B - curved tail.

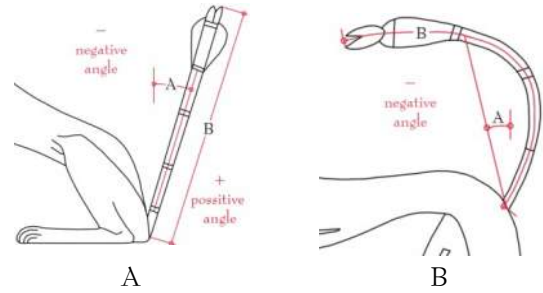


Fig. 12.22: Angle of tail measurement.
A - straight tail: A - angle to the vertical, B - tail length.
B - curved tail: A - angle to the vertical base of tail to start of terminal, B - tail length along centre line.

The angle of the tail to a vertical datum is measured along the centre line of the tail vertical on the straight shaft and on the curved shaft to a line from the junction with the body to the junction with the tail terminal or where no terminal is present to the tip of the tail. As with the ears an angle, where the tail inclines to the muzzle the angle has been designated as a negative angle (Fig. 12.22). The range of tail angles was 151° extending from -14° to 137° . Using the predefined unit discussed above, the length of the tail including the terminal, can be divided into three categories: 'Short' up to 1.99 unit, 'Medium' 2.00 to 2.75 units or 'Long' above 2.76 units, while the breadth can also be divided into three categories, 'Thin' up to 0.11 units, 'Medium' 0.12 to 0.19 units or 'Thick' above 0.20 units. The taper of the tail is defined as 'Parallel' or 'Tapered', taking into account the condition of the image, the relative size, and the material into which it has been carved (Fig. 12.23)

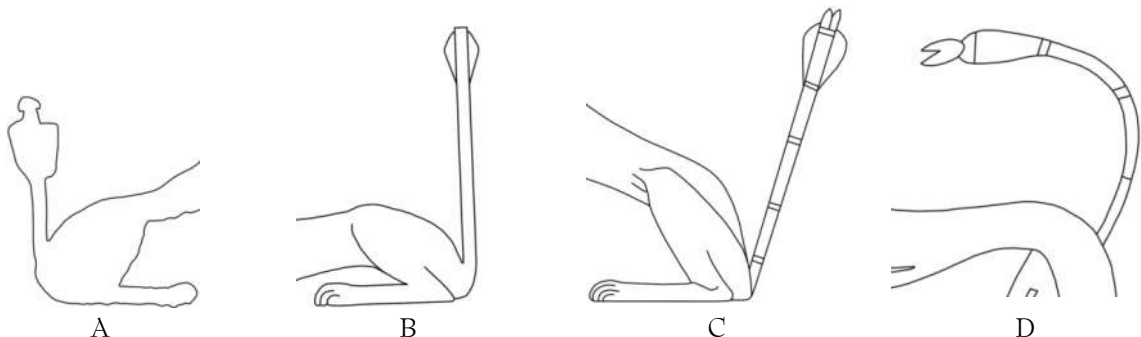


Fig. 12.23: Examples of different tail configurations (images not to scale): A - tail straight parallel length short, breadth thick, angle 4° . B - tail straight parallel, length medium, breadth medium, angle -2° . C - tail straight tapered, length long, breadth medium, angle 17° , horizontal banded markings. D - tail curved tapered, length long, breadth medium, angle -14° , horizontal banded markings.

Examples of tail shafts represented with horizontal banding, such as in Fig. 12.23 A and B, suggesting the representation of reed or cane, are included as category ‘Banded’ to the end of the tail description. This is discussed further in the analysis of the tail terminals below.

The last variable with the tail shaft is the actual junction with the body. This junction can be separated into three types, the first where the tail joined at the lower portion of the rump with the trailing edge of the tail smoothly growing out of the lower rump; and can be classed as a ‘Short Smooth’ transition. In the second type, the tail also extends from the base of the rump where the bottom of the tail was curved into the horizontal plane before joining the base of the rump, effectively pushing the shaft of the tail away from the body; which is classed as a ‘Long Smooth’ transition. The third type of junction, which can be categorised as an ‘Abrupt’ transition, a simple junction giving the impression of the tail simply being stuck into the body at any location extending from the base of the rump to a point approximately midway between the lower rump to the hips rather than being a natural appendage of the body (Fig. 12.24).

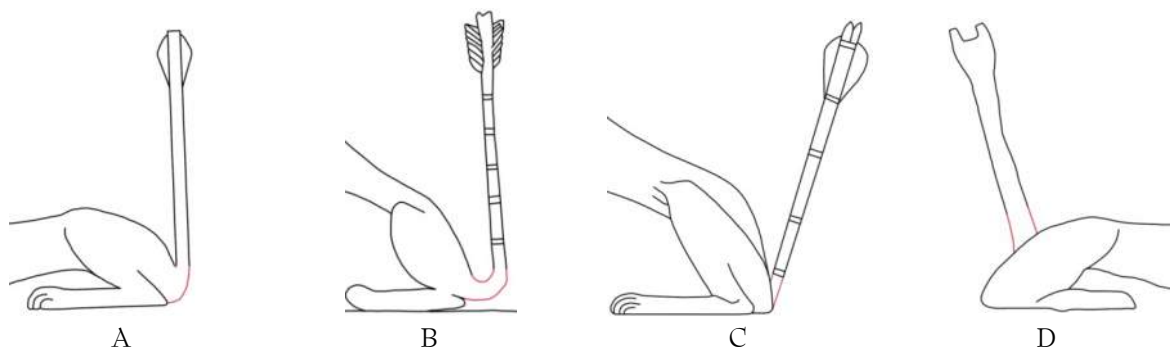


Fig. 12.24: Examples of junction of tail to the body. A – short smooth transition of tail to rump. B – long smooth transition of tail to rump. C – abrupt transition between rump and tail at bottom of rump. D – abrupt transition between rump and tail midway between hips and lower rump.

12.3.6 Tail Terminal

The tail of the Seth animal was capped off with a number of terminal types that were very distinctive in their character and did not occur naturally in the animal world. Contrary to Te Velde’s limited discussion on the nature of the tail of Seth which only considered the tail terminal as arrow fletchings and a plant (Te Velde 1966, 16-17), the range of terminals represented a number of weapons of warfare of the period, including the pear shaped mace head, the disk shaped mace head, axe head, arrow fletchings with the associated nocking point, and Y shaped stick. The following is an analysis of each type of terminal and their impact of the rest of the tail and commencing with the mace head. The analysis commences with the


mace head as the mace was one of oldest forms of Egyptian weapons. The mace head existed in two forms, the pear-shaped and disc-shaped (Partridge 2002, 32-33). The pear-shaped mace head, the Egyptian word *ḥd'* and written with the T3 sign  (Gardiner 1957, 510; Hoffmeier 2001, 407) and examples have survived both in the archaeological record, and as representations in Egyptian art including those displayed on pre-dynastic palettes, tomb decoration, and temple reliefs, (Fig. 12.25).



Fig. 12.25: Examples of representations of pear-shaped mace heads. A – smiting scene from Old Kingdom relief of Senfru, Cairo Museum JE 38568. B – warrior with mace from a wall painting Middle Kingdom Tomb 15, Beni Hassan. C – smiting scene from New Kingdom relief of Seti I, Karnak temple.

Surviving examples of pear-shaped mace heads were fashioned from hard stones, with a hole bored through their vertical axis to take a short haft. Differences in shape existed between individual mace heads, ranging from almost spherical to elliptical and this variation of form was reflected in the Seth animal tail terminals (Fig. 12.26).

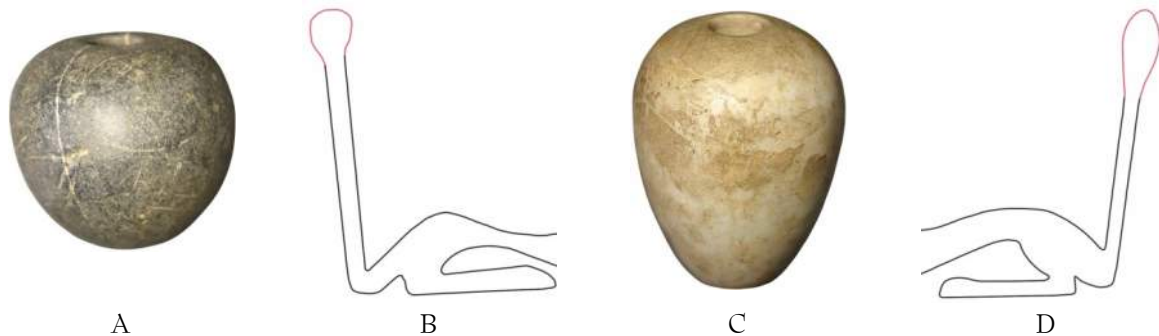


Fig. 12.26: Examples of pear shaped mace heads. A – stone pear shaped mace head in spherical form UC 73215. B –tail terminal in the form of spherical mace head. C – stone pear shaped mace head in elliptical form UC 73213. D - tail terminal in the form of elliptical mace head.



The second type of mace head was the disc-shaped form, the Egyptian word *mnw*, written with the T1 sign  (Gardiner 1957, 510; Hoffmeier 2001, 407). The form of the disc-shaped mace head was a flat horizontal disc tapering from a fine edge a projecting conical extension on the underside which was drilled to take the haft. This form of mace head was also employed as a tail terminal (Fig. 12.27).



Fig. 12.27: Example of disc shaped-mace head. A – top surface of disc-shaped mace head UC 4284. B – underside view disc-shaped mace head UC 4284. C – tail terminal in the form of a disc-shaped mace head.

The axe was one of the oldest Egyptian bladed weapons, with images of double bladed axes appearing on the Pre-dynastic Hunter's Palette. Originally manufactured from stone, like the mace heads but by the Old Kingdom had been superseded with those made of copper. This blade, with the lethally efficient convex cutting edge, was secured to a timber haft with raw hide thongs (Hoffmeier 2001, 407; Partridge 2002, 47). The word for axe, *mibt* in the Old Kingdom had the T7  determinative, a hieroglyph depicting an axe with a convex curved blade (Gardiner 1957, 511; Hoffmeier 2001, 407). In addition to images of axes with semi-circular blades being shown in tomb decoration, examples of the copper blades have survived in the archaeological record. It is this type of axe blade that was employed as a tail terminal (Fig. 12.28).

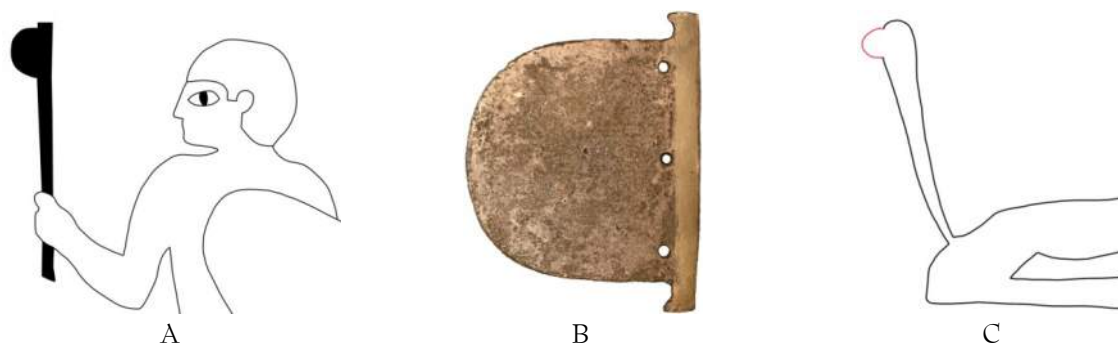


Fig. 12.28: Examples of semi-circular axe blades. A – warrior with semi-circular axe from a wall painting Middle Kingdom Tomb 15, Beni Hassan. B – semi-circular axe blade UC 40955. C – tail terminal in the form of a semi-circular axe blade.

The arrow employed both in hunting and in war, was the most effective of early projectile weapons. Images of hunters using bows and arrows appear on the Pre-dynastic Hunter's Palette as well as in hunting scenes in dynastic tombs. Images of its use in war appear on temple walls, such as the battle scenes of Seti I in Karnak temple, scenes of the Battle of Kadesh at Luxor temple and at Abu Simbel as well as those of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu. An arrow consists of three elements, the arrow head, the shaft and the fletchings. The arrow

head does not appear on any Seth image with an arrow tail so is not considered within this analysis. The shaft, to which the fletchings are attached, although discussed briefly in the tail shaft above must be considered again where it has the arrow tail terminal. The tail of the arrow had the fletchings attached for accuracy and in-flight stability and consisted of two, three or four trimmed feathers equally distributed around the circumference of the shaft (Hoffmeier 2001, 407; Partridge 2002, 42). Beyond the fletchings at the extreme end of the shaft was the nock, or arrow notch into which the bow string was fitted. The Egyptian words for arrow, *ḥꜣw* and *šsr* both employ the T11 $\leftarrow\rightarrow$ determinative of an arrow with fletchings and nock (Gardiner 1957, 512; Faulkner 1962b, 46, 272).



Fig. 12.29: Representations of fletchings and nocks. A – arrow making from Middle Kingdom tomb painting, Tomb 2, Beni Hassan. Arrows have deep parabolic fletchings and C shaped nocks. B – coloured copies of arrows from Middle Kingdom tomb painting, Tomb 2, Beni Hassan. Arrows have parabolic fletchings, C shaped nocks, and the shaft displays the natural taper, colour and growth bands of a hard reed. C – hunting scene from Tutankhamun’s painted box N21, displaying arrows with different shapes and sizes of fletchings, along with C shaped and parallel sided nocks. D – reed arrow with green painted nock and remnants of feather fletchings UC 63186 E – end of two reed arrows with nocks cut into the end of the reed and feather fletchings Cairo Museum 852 and 853.

The nock was represented in a number of ways, in the oldest images such as the Hunters palette, it is represented like a letter C fixed to the end of the shaft, while in the 11th Dynasty Tomb 2 at Beni Hassan arrows were also shown with C shaped nocks (Newberry 1893a Pl. XI; Griffith 1900 Pl. XXIV 3) while the 18th Dynasty hunting scene on Tutankhamun's box N1 the arrows are shown with different styles of nock, the C type and parallel sided U shaped nocks cut into to the reed shaft. Images of the arrows also display a number of different fletching shapes ranging from parabolic, irregular triangular and shield shaped, the parabolic form appears in Tomb 2, while box N1 display all three forms (Fig. 12.29).

Surviving examples arrow shafts, such as those from the tomb of Tutankhamun, were made of hard-stemmed reed, similar in appearance to bamboo. This reed was extremely light, naturally grew straight, and could be easily obtained (Partridge 2002, 41). The banding that occurred on the reed shafts was replicated on some of the arrow tails employed in the images of the Seth animal. The fletchings, some of which were marked to represent feathers, varied in shape from parabolic through to parallelogram and shield shaped. Likewise the nocks were also shown on the end of the tail terminal and these also varied between the earlier C-type, the parallel sided and V notches (Fig. 12.30).

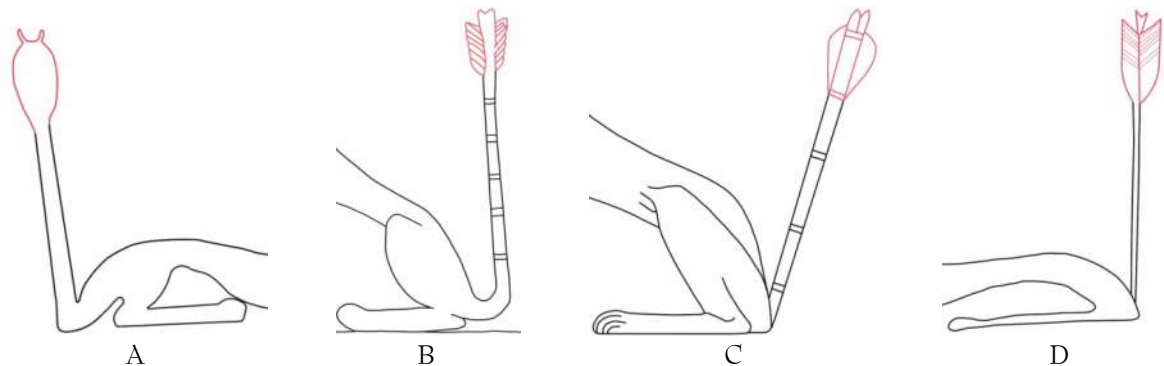


Fig. 12.30: Examples of arrow fletching and nock terminals. A – terminal consisting of parabolic fletchings and C shaped nock. B – terminal consisting of parallelogram fletchings and shallow V nock. C – terminal consisting of parabolic fletchings and parallel sided nock. D – terminal consisting of shield shaped fletchings and V nock.

The Y-shaped terminal is the most enigmatic of the Seth tails. Often described as a divided or forked terminal (Te Velde 1966, 16), the question is what does the forked terminal represent? The forked stick was represented as the hieroglyph O30 which could be written with the fork at the top Υ , as in the determinative to the word *shnt* $\text{O30} \Upsilon$ 'support', and inverted with the fork at the base λ , as in the determinative to the word *bt* $\text{O30} \lambda$ 'forked staff' (Gardiner 1957, 496, 518; Faulkner 1962b, 40). The O30 hieroglyph was used as an alternative form of the epithet 'Outcast' in the Middle Kingdom Coffin texts.

Examples of the forked stick have been recovered from the archaeological record and displayed in the Cairo Museum were fitted with a metal ferrule at the opposite end to the fork suggesting they were used with the fork at the top, possibly in the same way as a modern European thumb stick (Fig. 12.31).



Fig. 12.31: Pair of forked stick. Both sticks were fitted with a ferrule at the base (missing on the top stick) suggesting they were used with the fork at the top of the stick very much in the way of a European thumbs stick. Cairo Museum.

The inverted V shape at the base of the staff was used for snake control, so were used in the desert (Graham 2001, 166). This format was a suitable as a tail terminal for a deity associated with the desert. The earliest possible representation of the forked tail identified by the author is on the late 12th Dynasty stela of Senbuy (Bourriau 1982, 51) where it used on the Seth animal in the name of Ra-Seth. However, the size of the image and the use of a single chisel cutline, the terminal could be an attempt to replicate arrow fletchings and nock. If this is so then the Seth from the Red Chapel of Hatshepsut is the earliest image found (Fig. 12.32).



A



B

Fig. 12.32: A - the name of Ra-Seth on the stela of Senbuy with possible forked tail terminal. Late 12th Dynasty. Fitzwilliam Museum E.SS.37. B - Seth from the Red Chapel of Hatshepsut with forked tail terminal. 18th Dynasty. Open Air Museum, Karnak.

From the New Kingdom to the Ptolemaic period images detail the Y stick being used as an instrument of restraint, with a vertical Y shaped stick, which would have been stuck in the ground, to which prisoners with their arms forced behind their backs were tied to it at the

elbows (Fig. 12.33 A to C). This idea is supported by Seth animal reliefs with the forked tail from the New Kingdom which depicted the tail being shown vertical (Fig. 12.33 D).

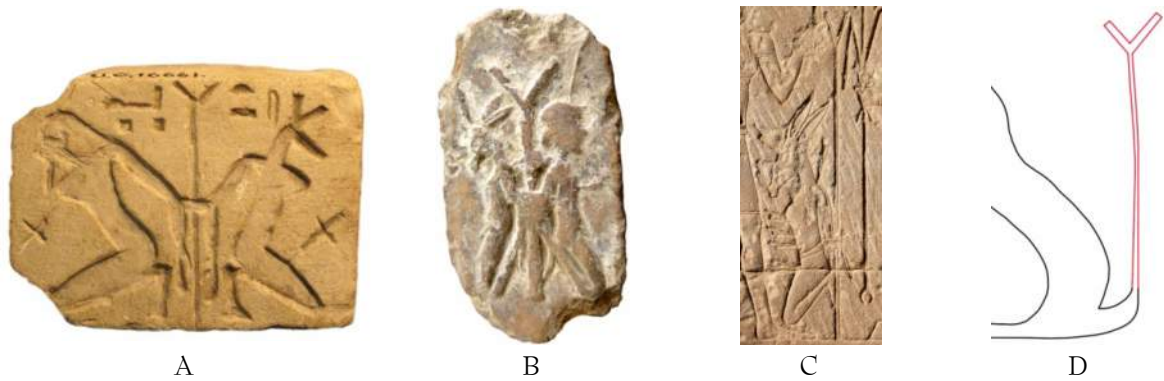


Fig. 12.33: Examples of Y stick used as an instrument of restraint. A – limestone plaque with incised relief of the Hyksos king Apepi and Seth bound to a Y stick. New Kingdom. UC 16661. B – pottery stamp/seal with Asiatic prisoner and a donkey headed Seth bound to a Y stick. Late Period. UC 59473. C – Donkey headed Seth bound to Y stick, East Osirian Chapel, Dendera. D – Seth animal with vertical Y tail. 20th Dynasty.

The final terminal type is actually a lack of any terminal. In these instances the whole tail must be considered as a weapon, a stick. In its crudest form a stick could be employed a club or as a missile weapon. The painted Tomb 100 at Hierakonpolis contains images of people carrying sticks (Case *et al* 1962, Plate 1a; Hoffmeier 2001, 406; Partridge 2002, 31). Scenes of the use of sticks for fighting occur within dynastic tomb decoration such as in the Middle Kingdom tombs 2, 14 and 15 at Beni Hassan (Newberry 1893a, Pls. XVI, XLVII; Newberry 1893b, Pls. IV, V, XV). The images show men carrying both short straight and curved sticks, both these are reflected in the tail shapes lacking a terminal (Fig. 12.34).

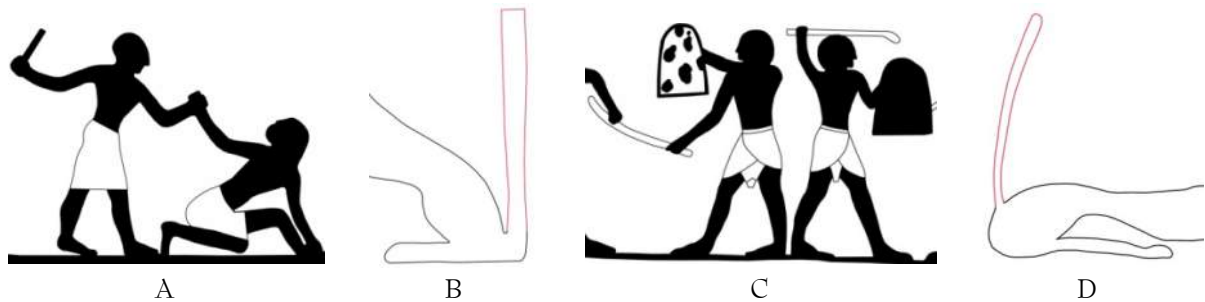


Fig. 12.34: Examples of the use of sticks as clubs and Seth tail's without a terminal. A – overseer beating a tax evader with short straight stick. Tomb 2 Beni Hassan. B - Seth animal with a straight tail with no terminal finial. 19th Dynasty. C – warriors fighting with clubs, the one on the left curved along its length, the one on the right a straight club with a curved end. Tomb 15, Beni Hassan. D - Seth animal with a curved tail with no terminal finial. 19th Dynasty.

It can be said that these terminals were the expression of the aggressive nature of the god Seth, moving the tail from the world of nature and placing it into a world of warfare and violence. However, in the tail terminals analysed there are two examples that cannot easily be defined; both of the Seth animals are from the 3rd false door of Sekerhabau, which have a tri-

lobed terminal, which could possibly be some form of elongated animal paw or alternatively some form of plant so will be classed as undefined (Fig. 12.35).

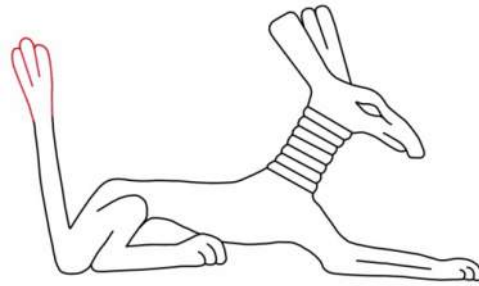


Fig. 12.35: 3rd Dynasty Seth animal with a tri-lobed tail terminal.

The classification of the terminal will be defined as: ‘Disc-shaped mace head’, ‘Pear-shaped mace head’, ‘Axe head’, ‘Arrow fletchings’, ‘Arrow fletchings withnock’ and ‘Forked finial’. Where no terminal is present, the tail is defined as a ‘Club’ and where the identification of the terminal is not possible, ‘Undefined’ is employed. ‘Damaged’ or ‘Missing’ is employed where the damage to the finial is so great that identification is not possible or the finial is missing.

12.3.7 Headdress

In addition to the variations in its component parts, the Seth animal was occasionally depicted wearing a headdress. The earliest image of the Seth animal with a headdress is on the 2nd Dynasty serekh of Khasakhemwy which portrays Seth wearing the combined crown of Upper and Lower Egypt. The Seth animal on 12th Dynasty pectoral of Senwosret III has a long mane tailing from behind the primary ear over the shoulder and down the front of the chest similar to a lappet of a tripartite wig. Images from the Middle Kingdom Asyut coffins also displayed Seth with a variety of mane types, both on the Seth animal and those with asinine heads. A full tripartite wig with the front lappets extending down to the bottom of the chest and rear fillet to the top of the back was shown on a 2nd Intermediate Period lintel of Sobekhotep II. The New Kingdom depictions of Seth wearing a tripartite wig were restricted to the 19th and 20th Dynasties, at which time the lappets had been made longer, extending down the front of the legs to the area of the knees, while the rear fillet was extended towards the middle of the back (Fig. 12.36).

In the images where a headdress is present it will be described as: ‘Combined Crown’, ‘Wig’, ‘Tripartite wig’ and ‘Mane’.

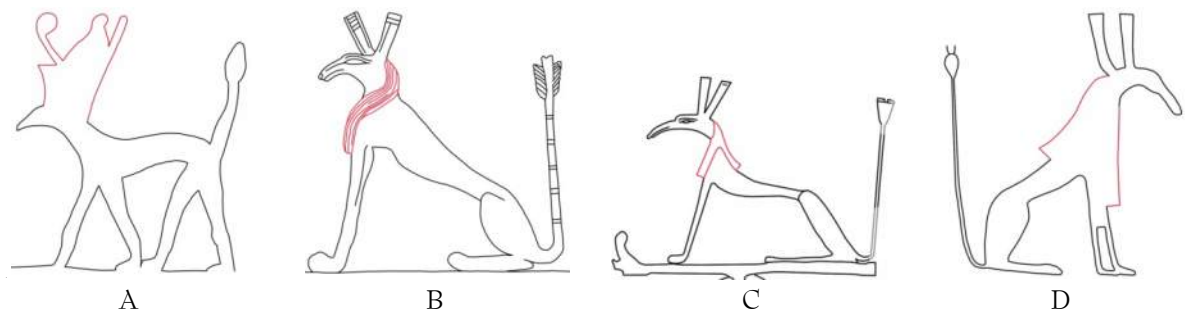


Fig. 12.36: Examples of the Seth animal depicted wearing a headdress. A – Seth wearing the combined crown of Upper and Lower Egypt. B – Seth with a mane dressed as a lappet over the shoulder and down the chest, 12th Dynasty pectoral of Senwosret I, Eton College ECM 1585. C – Seth with a tripartite wig, 13th Dynasty lintel of Sobekhotep II. D – Seth with tripartite wig, 19th Dynasty lintel, Tanis.

12.4 Seth in Different Forms

As discussed above, the head of the Seth animal was also represented attached to alternative bodies than the usual canine torso. These included the head of the Seth animal complete with tripartite wig attached to a lion's body to form a sphinx. Some of the 12th Dynasty coffins from Asyut depict Seth having a canine body with a weapons tail but the head and ears of the ass (Fig. 12.37). These variations will be included in the analysis table with the body of the sphinx and the curved wrapped around tail being classed as 'Leonine' while the ass's head will be 'Asinine' and ears being classed as 'Ass Ears'.



Fig. 12.37: Variations in the depiction of a zoomorphic Seth. A – Seth with a lion's body and tail with the head of the Seth animal wearing a tripartite wig. Stela of Ramesses II, 19th Dynasty, Louvre E 26017. B – Seth with a canine body and a arrow tail but the head and ears of an ass. Coffin of Ankhef, 12th Dynasty, British Museum, BM EA 46631.

12.5 Example of the Analysis of a Seth Animal

As discussed above, the analysis of the Seth animal requires images to be broken down into a number of closely defined individual components, which in turn were subdivided into a series of categories, which relate to the variations within the individual components. By breaking down the image into these separate components, each of the individual images can be compared utilising a set of common parameters. These categories and their sub-divisions are set out in Table 12.1. Where photographs of a suitable quality were not available the author's drawings have been used.

Body		
Body: Lean	Body: Medium	Body: Thick set
Leg length: Short	Leg length: Medium	Leg length: Long
Neck		
Angle to horizontal – x^0		
Banding: xNo	Banding: None	
Head and Muzzle - Muzzle		
Shape: Curved	Shape: Straight	Shape: Asinine
Length: Short	Length: Medium	Length: Long
Thickness: Thin	Thickness: Medium	Thickness Broad
Drop - x^0		
Curvature radius: Tight	Curvature radius: Medium	Curvature radius: Shallow
Jaw undercut: Short	Jaw undercut: Medium	Jaw undercut: Long
Jaw undercut: None		
Head and Muzzle - Head		
Brow ridge: None	Brow ridge: Subtle	Brow ridge: Prominent
Ears		
Primary	Secondary	
Profile no taper: Parallel	Profile taper: Narrow	Profile taper: Medium
Profile taper: Wide	Ass Ear	
Shape: Concave leading edge and convex trailing edge: Concave – Convex	Shape: Convex leading edge and concave trailing edge: Convex - Concave	Shape: Concave leading and trailing edges: Concave x 2
Shape: Concave leading edge and straight trailing edge: Concave – Straight	Shape: Convex leading edge and straight trailing edge: Convex - Straight	Shape: Straight leading edge and convex trailing edge: Straight - Convex
Shape: Convex leading and trailing edges: Convex x 2	Shape: Straight both leading and trailing edges: Straight x 2	Shape: Ass Ear
Ear length: Short	Ear length: Medium	Ear length: Long
Ear angle A. Divergent angle between primary and secondary ears: x^0	Ear angle B. Angle of the primary ear to the vertical: x^0	Ear angle B. Angle of the secondary ear to the vertical: x^0
Head junction: Sharp	Head junction: Radiused	Head junction side: Swept Curve
Markings Primary Horizontal: xNo	Markings Primary Vertical: xNo	Marking Primary: <i>pinna</i>
Markings Secondary Horizontal: xNo	Markings Secondary Vertical: xNo	Markings Secondary: <i>pinna</i>

Tail Shaft		
Tail shape: Straight	Tail shape: Curved	Tail shape: Leonine
Tail angle from vertical: x^0		
Length: Short	Length: Medium	Length: Long
Breadth: Thin	Breadth: Medium	Breadth: Thick
Taper (none): Parallel	Tapered: Tapered	
Body junction: Smooth	Body junction: Smooth Long	Body junction: Abrupt
Tail marking: None	Tail Markings: Banded	
Tail Terminal		
Pear shaped mace head	Disc shaped mace head	Axe head
Arrow fletching	Arrow fletching and nock	Forked stick
No terminal: Club	Not identifiable: Undefined	Damaged
Missing		
Headdress		
None	Mane	Tripartite wig
Crown: Crown of Upper and Lower Egypt	Tripartite wig and double crown	

Table 12.1: Table of analysis categories of components that comprise the Seth animal.

An example of an analysed Seth animal, in this instance one dated to the 18th Dynasty and at the time of photography located in the stone store of the Open Air Museum, Karnak Temple, is presented in Table 12.2.


	Body: Medium. Leg: Medium Neck Angle: 60^0 Banding: None Muzzle: Curved. Length: Medium Thickness: Medium. Drop: 45^0 Curvature: Medium. Undercut: None Brow ridge: Prominent Headdress: None Ear: Primary: Medium Ear: Secondary Narrow Ear Primary: Straight x 2.	Ear Secondary: Straight x 2 Length: Medium Angle P-S: 18^0 . P-V: 23^0 . S-V: 5^0 . Ear Junction: Sharp Ear markings: None Tail: Straight. Angle: -2^0 . Length: Long. Breadth: Medium. Taper: Parallel. Junction: Smooth Markings: None Terminal: Arrow fletchings
18 th Dynasty, Amenhotep III. , stone store, Open Air Museum Karnak Temple, Karnak.		

Table 12.2: Example of the analysis of New Kingdom Seth animal.

12.6 Analysis Data for the Seth Animal

The analysis data for the Seth animal from the Early Dynastic Period through to the Late Period are set out in chronological order in tables 12.3 to 12.9 below:





No	1	2	3	4
Image				
Details	2 nd Dynasty, Peribsen. British Museum BM EA 35597.	2 nd Dynasty, Khasekhemwy. Cairo Museum JE 33896	2 nd Dynasty, Khasekhemwy. Cairo Museum JE 33896	2 nd Dynasty, Khasekhemwy. Cairo Museum JE 33896
Body	Shape	Thick set	Lean	Lean
	Legs	Short	Medium	Medium
Neck	Angle	36°	55°	54°
	Banding	Damaged	None	Damaged
Muzzle and Head	Shape	Curved	Curved	Damaged
	Length	Short	Medium	“
	Thickness	Medium	Broad	“
	Drop	44°	22°	“
	Curvature	Tight	Shallow	“
	Jaw u'cut	None	None	“
	Brow ridge	“	None	“
Headdress	“	Crown of U&L Egypt	Crown of U&L Egypt	Crown of U&L Egypt
Ears	Prm profile	Medium	No ears	Damaged
	Sec profile	Narrow	“ “	“
	Prm shape	Straight x 2	“ “	“
	Sec shape	Straight x 2	“ “	“
	Length	Short	“ “	“
	Angle P-S	20°	“ “	“
	Angle P-V	2°	“ “	“
	Angle S-V	-18°	“ “	“
Head junc'	Sharp	“ “	“	“
Ear Markings	Primary H	Damaged	No ears	Damaged
	Primary V	“	“ “	“
	Prm <i>pinna</i>	“	“ “	“
	Sec H	“	“ “	“
	Sec V	“	“ “	“
	Sec <i>pinna</i>	“	“ “	“
Tails	Shape	Straight	Straight	Straight
	Angle	33°	16°	15°
	Length	Short	Medium	Long
	Breath	Thick	Thick	Thick
	Taper	Tapered	Tapered	Parallel
	Body junc	Abrupt	Abrupt	Abrupt
	Markings	Unknown defaced	None	None
	Terminal	Club	Pear shaped mace head	Pear shaped mace head

Table 12.3: Analysis of the Seth Animal Early - Dynastic Period (Sheet 1 of 2).



No		5	6
Image			
Details		2 nd Dynasty, Khasekhemwy. Petrie Museum UC 36854.	2 nd Dynasty, Khasekhemwy. Petrie Museum UC 30392.
Body	Shape	Lean	Medium
	Legs	Long	Medium
Neck	Angle	42 ^o	38 ^o
	Banding	None	None
Muzzle and Head	Shape	Curved	Straight
	Length	Medium	Medium
	Thickness	Medium	Broad
	Drop	42 ^o	11 ^o
	Curvature	Shallow	None
	Jaw u'cut	None	None
	Brow ridge	"	"
	Headdress	Crown of U&L Egypt	"
Ears	Prm profile	No ears	Narrow
	Sec profile	" "	Narrow
	Prm shape	" "	Straight x 2
	Sec shape	" "	Straight x 2
	Length	" "	Long
	Angle P-S	" "	7 ^o
	Angle P-V	" "	8 ^o
	Angle S-V	" "	1 ^o
	Head junc'	" "	Sharp
Ear Markings	Primary H	No ears	None
	Primary V	" "	"
	Prm <i>pinna</i>	" "	"
	Sec H	" "	"
	Sec V	" "	"
	Sec <i>pinna</i>	" "	"
Tails	Shape	Straight	Straight
	Angle	26 ^o	15 ^o
	Length	Medium	Long
	Breath	Medium	Thick
	Taper	Parallel	Tapered
	Body junc	Abrupt	Abrupt
	Markings	None	None
	Terminal	Pear shaped mace head	Pear shaped mace head

Table 12.3: Analysis of the Seth Animal - Early Dynastic Period (Sheet 2 of 2).




No		1	2	3	4
Image					
Details		3 rd Dynasty. Djoser Heliopolis Temple Turin Museum.	3 rd Dynasty. Djoser Shrine, Saqqara Turin Museum.	3 rd Dynasty. Tomb of Sekerhabau, false door Saqqara.	4 th Dynasty. Tomb of Khafkhefu I, entrance chamber. Giza.
Body	Shape	Lean	Lean	Medium	Lean
	Legs	Medium	Medium	Medium	Long
Neck	Angle	53°	38°	58°	47°
	Banding	None	1No	7No	5No
Muzzle and Head	Shape	Curved	Curved	Curved	Curved
	Length	Medium	Medium	Short	Short
	Thickness	Thin	Medium	Medium	Medium
	Drop	41°	53°	47°	51°
	Curvature	Shallow	Medium	Shallow	Tight
	Jaw u'cut	None	Medium	Medium	None
	Brow ridge	Prominent	Prominent	Prominent	Prominent
	Headdress	None	None	None	None
Ears	Prm profile	Parallel	Medium	Narrow	Medium
	Sec profile	Narrow	Medium	Narrow	Narrow
	Prm shape	Straight x 2	Straight x 2	Straight x 2	Straight-Concave
	Sec shape	Straight x 2	Straight x 2	Straight x 2	Concave-Straight
	Length	Long (damaged)	Long	Medium	Medium
	Angle P-S	2°	13°	14°	9°
	Angle P-V	32°	24°	33°	9°
	Angle S-V	30°	11°	19°	0°
Head junc'	Radiused	Sharp	Radiused	Radiused	
Ear Markings	Primary H	None	None	None	None
	Primary V	"	"	"	"
	Prm <i>pinna</i>	"	"	"	"
	Sec H	"	"	"	11
	Sec V	"	"	1	2
	Sec <i>pinna</i>	"	"	None	None
Tails	Shape	Straight	Straight	Curved	Curved
	Angle	18°	19°	9°	Damaged
	Length	Damaged	Medium	Medium	"
	Breath	Thick	Thick	Medium	"
	Taper	Tapered	Tapered	Tapered	"
	Body junc	Abrupt	Abrupt	Smooth	"
	Markings	None	None	None	"
	Terminal	Missing	Arrow fletching	Unidentified	Missing

Table 12.4: Analysis of the Seth Animal - Old Kingdom (Sheet 1 of 16).

No		5	6	7	8
Image					
Details		4 th Dynasty. Tomb of Meresankh III, entrance drum. Giza.	4 th Dynasty. Tomb of Meresankh III, entrance lintel. Giza.	4 th Dynasty. Tomb of Meresankh III, north door jamb. Giza.	4 th Dynasty. Tomb of Meresankh III, south door jamb. Giza.
Body	Shape	Lean	Lean	Thickset	Thickset
	Legs	Medium	Medium	Short	Short
Neck	Angle	53°	52°	47°	54°
	Banding	None	None	None	None
Muzzle and Head	Shape	Straight	Curved	Curved	Curved
	Length	Medium	Long	Long	Long
	Thickness	Medium	Thin	Medium	Thin
	Drop	43°	43°	35°	43°
	Curvature	None	Medium	Tight	Shallow
	Jaw u'cut	"	None	None	None
	Brow ridge	"	"	Subtle	"
	Headdress	"	"	None	"
Ears	Prm profile	Wide	Wide	Medium	Narrow
	Sec profile	Wide	Wide	Medium	Medium
	Prm shape	Straight-Concave	Straight x 2	Straight x 2	Straight x 2
	Sec shape	Straight-Concave	Straight x 2	Straight x 2	Convex-Concave
	Length	Long	Medium	Long	Long
	Angle P-S	15°	52°	22°	31°
	Angle P-V	23°	50°	31°	35°
	Angle S-V	8°	-2°	9°	4°
Head junc'	Sharp	Sharp	Sharp	Radiused	
Ear Markings	Primary H	None	None	None	None
	Primary V	"	"	"	"
	Prm <i>pinna</i>	"	"	"	"
	Sec H	"	"	"	"
	Sec V	"	"	"	"
	Sec <i>pinna</i>	"	"	"	"
Tails	Shape	Curved	Straight	Straight	Straight
	Angle	11°	18°	1°	0°
	Length	Long	Medium	Long	Long
	Breath	Thin	Thick	Thick	Thick
	Taper	Parallel	Tapered	Parallel	Tapered
	Body junc	Abrupt	Abrupt	Smooth Long	Smooth
	Markings	None	None	None	None
	Terminal	Pear shaped mace head	Pear shaped mace head	Disc shaped mace head	Pear shaped mace head

Table 12.4: Analysis of the Seth Animal - Old Kingdom (Sheet 2 of 16).


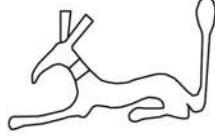

No	9	10	11	12	
Image					
Details	4 th Dynasty. Tomb of Meresankh III, Main room, E wall. Giza.	4 th Dynasty. Tomb of Meresankh III, Main room, N wall. Giza.	4 th Dynasty. Tomb of Meresankh III, Main room, N wall. Giza.	4 th Dynasty. Tomb of Meresankh III, Main room, W wall. Giza.	
Body	Shape	Thickset	Thickset	Medium	Lean
	Legs	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium
Neck	Angle	58°	52°	56°	56°
	Banding	3No	1No	2No	None
Muzzle and Head	Shape	Curved	Curved	Curved	Curved
	Length	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium
	Thickness	Broad	Thin	Medium	Medium
	Drop	51°	54°	41°	43°
	Curvature	Shallow	Tight	Medium	Tight
	Jaw u'cut	None	None	None	None
	Brow ridge	"	Subtle	Subtle	"
	Headdress	"	None	None	"
Ears	Prm profile	Narrow	Narrow	Narrow	Medium
	Sec profile	Narrow	Narrow	Medium	Medium
	Prm shape	Straight x 2	Straight x 2	Straight x 2	Straight x 2
	Sec shape	Straight x 2	Straight x 2	Straight x 2	Straight x 2
	Length	Long	Medium	Medium	Long
	Angle P-S	20°	36°	16°	19°
	Angle P-V	24°	39°	22°	29°
	Angle S-V	4°	3°	6°	10°
	Head junc'	Sharp	Radiused	Sharp	Sharp
Ear Markings	Primary H	None	None	None	None
	Primary V	"	"	"	"
	Prm <i>pinna</i>	"	"	"	"
	Sec H	"	"	"	"
	Sec V	"	"	"	"
	Sec <i>pinna</i>	"	"	"	"
Tails	Shape	Straight	Straight	Straight	Straight
	Angle	10°	3°	6°	6°
	Length	Long	Medium	Long	Long
	Breath	Thick	Medium	Medium	Thick
	Taper	Parallel	Tapered	Parallel	Parallel
	Body junc	Smooth	Smooth Long	Smooth	Smooth Long
	Markings	None	None	None	None
	Terminal	Pear shaped mace head	Pear shaped mace head	Pear shaped mace head	Pear shaped mace head

Table 12.4: Analysis of the Seth Animal - Old Kingdom (Sheet 3 of 16).

No	13	14	15	16	
Image					
Details	4 th Dynasty. Tomb of Meresankh III, Main room, W wall. Giza.	4 th Dynasty. Tomb of Meresankh III, Main room, W wall. Giza.	4 th Dynasty. Tomb of Meresankh III, Main room, W wall. Giza.	4 th Dynasty. Tomb of Meresankh III, Main room, W wall. Giza.	
Body	Shape	Medium	Medium	Lean	Medium
	Legs	Medium	Long	Long	Medium
Neck	Angle	51°	50°	51°	53°
	Banding	None	None	4No	None
Muzzle and Head	Shape	Curved	Curved	Straight	Curved
	Length	Medium	Short	Short	Long
	Thickness	Medium	Medium	Thin	Medium
	Drop	46°	52°	45°	48°
	Curvature	Shallow	Shallow	None	Medium
	Jaw u'cut	None	None	"	None
	Brow ridge	"	"	"	"
Headdress	"	"	"	"	
Ears	Prm profile	Medium	Parallel	Parallel	Parallel
	Sec profile	Medium	Parallel	Narrow	Narrow
	Prm shape	Straight x 2	Straight x 2	Straight x 2	Straight x 2
	Sec shape	Straight x 2	Straight x 2	Straight x 2	Straight x 2
	Length	Long	Long	Long	Long
	Angle P-S	21°	16°	18°	22°
	Angle P-V	32°	25°	26°	22°
	Angle S-V	11°	9°	8°	0°
Head junc'	Sharp	Sharp	Sharp	Sharp	
Ear Markings	Primary H	None	None	None	None
	Primary V	"	"	"	"
	Prm <i>pinna</i>	"	"	"	"
	Sec H	"	"	"	"
	Sec V	"	"	"	"
Sec <i>pinna</i>	"	"	"	"	
Tails	Shape	Straight	Straight	Straight	Straight
	Angle	7°	8°	18°	3°
	Length	Long	Long	Long	Long
	Breath	Medium	Thick	Medium	Thick
	Taper	Parallel	Tapered	Parallel	Tapered
	Body junc	Smooth	Smooth Long	Smooth Long	Smooth Long
	Markings	None	None	None	None
Terminal	Pear shaped mace head	Arrow fletching & nock	Arrow fletching & nock	Arrow fletching & nock	

Table 12.4: Analysis of the Seth Animal - Old Kingdom (Sheet 4 of 16).


No		17	18	19	20
Image					
Details		4 th Dynasty. Tomb of Meresankh III, Main room, W wall. Giza.	4 th Dynasty. Tomb of Meresankh III, N room, N wall. Giza.	4 th Dynasty. Tomb of Meresankh III, W room, E wall. Giza.	4 th Dynasty. Tomb of Meresankh III, W room, S wall. Giza.
Body	Shape	Medium	Lean	Lean	Medium
	Legs	Short	Medium	Medium	Short
Neck	Angle	45°	47°	48°	61°
	Banding	None	None	None	None
Muzzle and Head	Shape	Curved	Curved	Curved	Curved
	Length	Long	Short	Medium	Medium
	Thickness	Thin	Medium	Broad	Medium
	Drop	49°	53°	49°	50°
	Curvature	Shallow	Shallow	Medium	Shallow
	Jaw u'cut	None	None	None	None
	Brow ridge	"	"	"	"
Headdress	"	"	"	"	
Ears	Prm profile	Parallel	Medium	Parallel	Medium
	Sec profile	Parallel	Narrow	Parallel	Medium
	Prm shape	Straight x 2	Straight x 2	Straight x 2	Straight x 2
	Sec shape	Straight x 2	Straight-Concave	Straight x 2	Straight x 2
	Length	Long	Long	Medium	Long
	Angle P-S	15°	14°	16°	24°
	Angle P-V	30°	21°	24°	31°
	Angle S-V	15°	7°	8°	7°
Head junc'	Sharp	Sharp	Sharp	Sharp	
Ear Markings	Primary H	None	None	None	None
	Primary V	"	"	"	"
	Prm <i>pinna</i>	"	"	"	"
	Sec H	"	"	"	"
	Sec V	"	"	"	"
	Sec <i>pinna</i>	"	"	"	"
Tails	Shape	Straight	Straight	Straight	Straight
	Angle	3°	8°	2°	-1°
	Length	Long	Long	Long	Long
	Breath	Thick	Thick	Medium	Thick
	Taper	Tapered	Tapered	Tapered	Tapered
	Body junc	Smooth	Abrupt	Smooth	Smooth
	Markings	None	None	None	None
	Terminal	Arrow fletching	Disc shaped mace head	Pear shaped mace head	Pear shaped mace head

Table 12.4: Analysis of the Seth Animal - Old Kingdom (Sheet 5 of 16).


No		21	22	23	24
Image					
Details		4 th Dynasty. Tomb of Meresankh III, W room, W wall. Giza.	4 th Dynasty. Tomb of Khamerernebty II, Lintel. Giza	4 th Dynasty. Tomb of Khamerernebty II, Lintel. Giza	5 th Dynasty. Statue of Sehatetep and Heti. Giza.
Body	Shape	Damaged	Medium	Medium	Lean
	Legs	Long	Medium	Medium	Long
Neck	Angle	54°	51°	55°	59°
	Banding	None	None	None	None
Muzzle and Head	Shape	Curved	Curved	Curved	Curved
	Length	Short	Short	Medium	Short
	Thickness	Broad	Broad	Medium	Medium
	Drop	37°	43°	32°	49°
	Curvature	Tight	Tight	Tight	Medium
	Jaw u'cut	None	None	None	None
	Brow ridge	Prominent	"	Subtle	"
Headdress	None	"	None	"	
Ears	Prm profile	Narrow	Narrow	Parallel	Narrow
	Sec profile	Narrow	Narrow	Narrow	Narrow
	Prm shape	Straight x 2	Straight x 2	Convex-Concave	Straight x 2
	Sec shape	Straight x 2	Straight x 2	Convex-Straight	Straight x 2
	Length	Long	Medium	Long	Long
	Angle P-S	11°	30°	10°	14°
	Angle P-V	21°	41°	30°	12°
	Angle S-V	10°	11°	20°	-2°
Head junc'	Sharp	Sharp	Radiused	Sharp	
Ear Markings	Primary H	None	None	None	None
	Primary V	"	"	"	"
	Prm <i>pinna</i>	"	"	"	"
	Sec H	"	"	"	"
	Sec V	"	"	"	"
	Sec <i>pinna</i>	"	"	"	"
Tails	Shape	Straight	Curved	Curved	Curved
	Angle	1°	14°	12°	10°
	Length	Damaged	Long	Long	Long
	Breath	Medium	Thick	Thick	Thick
	Taper	Parallel	Tapered	Tapered	Tapered
	Body junc	Damaged	Smooth	Abrupt	Abrupt
	Markings	Damaged	None	None	None
	Terminal	Pear shaped mace head	Arrow fletching & nock	Arrow fletching	Arrow fletching

Table 12.4: Analysis of the Seth Animal - Old Kingdom (Sheet 6 of 16).


No		25	26	27	28
Image					
Details		5 th Dynasty. Pyramid of Unas, Antechamber, W wall.	5 th Dynasty. Pyramid of Unas, Antechamber, W wall.	5 th Dynasty. Pyramid of Unas, Antechamber, S wall.	5 th Dynasty. Pyramid of Unas, Antechamber, S wall.
Body	Shape	Medium	Medium	Lean	Lean
	Legs	Medium	Medium	Long	Long
Neck	Angle	48°	48°	54°	53°
	Banding	None	None	None	None
Muzzle and Head	Shape	Curved	Curved	Curved	Curved
	Length	Medium	Short	Short	Short
	Thickness	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium
	Drop	46°	51°	42°	42°
	Curvature	Shallow	Tight	Shallow	Shallow
	Jaw u'cut	None	None	None	None
	Brow ridge	Subtle	Subtle	"	"
	Headdress	None	None	"	"
Ears	Prm profile	Narrow	Medium	Medium	Narrow
	Sec profile	Narrow	Medium	Narrow	Narrow
	Prm shape	Straight x 2	Straight x 2	Straight x 2	Straight x 2
	Sec shape	Straight x 2	Straight x 2	Straight x 2	Straight x 2
	Length	Long	Medium	Medium	Medium
	Angle P-S	27°	28°	19°	18°
	Angle P-V	38°	71°	52°	44°
	Angle S-V	11°	43°	33°	26°
	Head junc'	Sharp	Sharp	Sharp	Sharp
Ear Markings	Primary H	None	None	None	None
	Primary V	"	"	"	"
	Prm <i>pinna</i>	"	"	"	"
	Sec H	"	"	"	"
	Sec V	"	"	"	"
	Sec <i>pinna</i>	"	"	"	"
Tails	Shape	Straight	Straight	Curved	Straight
	Angle	8°	7°	6°	10°
	Length	Medium	Medium	Short	Medium
	Breath	Thick	Thin	Thin	Thin
	Taper	Tapered	Parallel	Parallel	Parallel
	Body junc	Abrupt	Smooth Long	Abrupt	Abrupt
	Markings	None	None	None	None
	Terminal	Arrow fletching & nock	Arrow fletching & nock	Arrow fletching	Arrow fletching

Table 12.4: Analysis of the Seth Animal - Old Kingdom (Sheet 7 of 16).

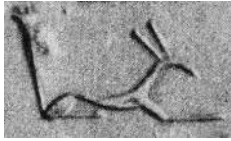

No	29	30	31	32
Image				
Details	5 th Dynasty. Pyramid of Unas, Antechamber, N wall.	5 th Dynasty. Pyramid of Unas, Antechamber, N wall.	5 th Dynasty. Pyramid of Unas, Antechamber, N wall.	5 th Dynasty. Pyramid of Unas, Antechamber, N wall.
Body	Shape	Medium	Lean	Lean
	Legs	Medium	Long	Long
Neck	Angle	51°	55°	51°
	Banding	None	None	None
Muzzle and Head	Shape	Curved	Curved	Curved
	Length	Short	Medium	Short
	Thickness	Medium	Thin	Medium
	Drop	41°	24°	36°
	Curvature	Shallow	Shallow	Tight
	Jaw u'cut	None	None	None
	Brow ridge	Subtle	"	"
	Headdress	None	"	"
Ears	Prm profile	Narrow	Narrow	Narrow
	Sec profile	Narrow	Parallel	Narrow
	Prm shape	Straight x 2	Concave-Convex	Straight x 2
	Sec shape	Straight x 2	Convex-Concave	Straight x 2
	Length	Long	Long	Long
	Angle P-S	12°	15°	16°
	Angle P-V	46°	47°	46°
	Angle S-V	34°	32°	30°
	Head junc'	Sharp	Sharp	Sharp
Ear Markings	Primary H	None	None	None
	Primary V	"	"	"
	Prm <i>pinna</i>	"	"	"
	Sec H	"	"	"
	Sec V	"	"	"
	Sec <i>pinna</i>	"	"	"
Tails	Shape	Straight	Straight	Straight
	Angle	9°	15°	10°
	Length	Medium	Medium	Long
	Breath	Thick	Thick	Medium
	Taper	Parallel	Parallel	Parallel
	Body junc	Abrupt	Smooth	Smooth
	Markings	None	None	None
	Terminal	Arrow fletching & nock	Arrow fletching & nock	Arrow fletching & nock

Table 12.4: Analysis of the Seth Animal - Old Kingdom (Sheet 8 of 16).





No	33	34	35	36
Image				
Details	5 th Dynasty. Pyramid of Unas, Antechamber, N wall.	5 th Dynasty. Pyramid of Unas, Passage, N wall.	5 th Dynasty. Pyramid of Unas, Burial chamber, N wall.	5 th Dynasty. Pyramid of Unas, Burial chamber, N wall.
Body	Shape	Medium	Medium	Medium
	Legs	Medium	Long	Medium
Neck	Angle	56°	51°	44°
	Banding	None	None	None
Muzzle and Head	Shape	Curved	Curved	Curved
	Length	Short	Medium	Short
	Thickness	Medium	Medium	Medium
	Drop	45°	40°	48°
	Curvature	Shallow	Shallow	Medium
	Jaw u'cut	None	None	None
	Brow ridge	Prominent	"	"
Headdress	None	"	"	
Ears	Prm profile	Narrow	Narrow	Narrow
	Sec profile	Wide	Narrow	Narrow
	Prm shape	Straight x 2	Straight x 2	Straight x 2
	Sec shape	Straight x 2	Straight x 2	Straight x 2
	Length	Medium	Long	Long
	Angle P-S	19°	6°	16°
	Angle P-V	48°	19°	34°
	Angle S-V	29°	13°	18°
Head junc'	Sharp	Sharp	Sharp	
Ear Markings	Primary H	None	None	None
	Primary V	"	"	"
	Prm <i>pinna</i>	"	"	"
	Sec H	"	"	"
	Sec V	"	"	"
	Sec <i>pinna</i>	"	"	"
Tails	Shape	Curved	Straight	Straight
	Angle	1°	4°	1°
	Length	Long	Medium	Medium
	Breath	Medium	Thick	Thick
	Taper	Parallel	Parallel	Parallel
	Body junc	Smooth	Smooth	Smooth
	Markings	None	None	None
	Terminal	Arrow fletching & nock	Arrow fletching & nock	Arrow fletching & nock
			Club	

Table 12.4: Analysis of the Seth Animal - Old Kingdom (Sheet 9 of 16).





No	37	38	39	40	
Image					
Details	5 th Dynasty. Pyramid of Unas, Burial chamber, N wall.	5 th Dynasty. Pyramid of Unas, Burial chamber, N wall.	5 th Dynasty. Pyramid of Unas, Burial chamber, N wall.	5 th Dynasty. Pyramid of Unas, Burial chamber, N wall.	
Body	Shape	Lean	Medium	Lean	Medium
	Legs	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium
Neck	Angle	48°	45°	48°	49°
	Banding	None	None	None	None
Muzzle and Head	Shape	Curved	Curved	Straight	Curved
	Length	Medium	Medium	Short	Medium
	Thickness	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium
	Drop	39°	51°	48°	50°
	Curvature	Shallow	Tight	None	Shallow
	Jaw u'cut	None	None	"	None
	Brow ridge	"	"	"	"
	Headdress	"	"	"	"
Ears	Prm profile	Narrow	Narrow	Narrow	Narrow
	Sec profile	Narrow	Narrow	Narrow	Narrow
	Prm shape	Straight x 2	Straight x 2	Straight x 2	Straight x 2
	Sec shape	Straight x 2	Straight x 2	Straight x 2	Straight x 2
	Length	Long	Long	Long	Long
	Angle P-S	11°	10°	13°	18°
	Angle P-V	45°	32°	36°	42°
	Angle S-V	34°	22°	23°	24°
	Head junc'	Sharp	Sharp	Sharp	Sharp
Ear Markings	Primary H	None	None	None	None
	Primary V	"	"	"	"
	Prm <i>pinna</i>	"	"	"	"
	Sec H	"	"	"	"
	Sec V	"	"	"	"
	Sec <i>pinna</i>	"	"	"	"
Tails	Shape	Straight	Straight	Straight	Curved
	Angle	0°	4°	1°	3°
	Length	Medium	Medium	Medium	Long
	Breath	Medium	Medium	Medium	Thick
	Taper	Parallel	Tapered	Parallel	Tapered
	Body junc	Abrupt	Smooth	Smooth	Smooth
	Markings	None	None	None	None
	Terminal	Arrow fletching & nock	Arrow fletching & nock	Arrow fletching & nock	Arrow fletching & nock

Table 12.4: Analysis of the Seth Animal - Old Kingdom (Sheet 10 of 16).

No	41	42	43	44
Image				
Details	5 th Dynasty. Pyramid of Unas, Burial chamber, N wall.	5 th Dynasty. Pyramid of Unas, Burial chamber, N wall.	5 th Dynasty. Pyramid of Unas, Burial chamber, N wall.	5 th Dynasty. Pyramid of Unas, Burial chamber, N wall.
Body	Shape	Lean	Medium	Medium
	Legs	Medium	Medium	Short
Neck	Angle	48°	52°	46°
	Banding	None	None	None
Muzzle and Head	Shape	Curved	Curved	Curved
	Length	Medium	Long	Medium
	Thickness	Medium	Thin	Medium
	Drop	37°	43°	53°
	Curvature	Shallow	Shallow	Shallow
	Jaw u'cut	None	None	None
	Brow ridge	Subtle	"	"
	Headdress	None	"	"
Ears	Prm profile	Narrow	Medium	Narrow
	Sec profile	Medium	Medium	Narrow
	Prm shape	Straight x 2	Straight x 2	Straight x 2
	Sec shape	Straight x 2	Straight x 2	Straight x 2
	Length	Long	Long	Long
	Angle P-S	13°	18°	20°
	Angle P-V	39°	42°	42°
	Angle S-V	26°	24°	22°
	Head junc'	Sharp	Sharp	Sharp
Ear Markings	Primary H	None	None	None
	Primary V	"	"	"
	Prm <i>pinna</i>	"	"	"
	Sec H	"	"	"
	Sec V	"	"	"
	Sec <i>pinna</i>	"	"	"
Tails	Shape	Straight	Straight	Straight
	Angle	1°	2°	3°
	Length	Medium	Long	Medium
	Breath	Medium	Medium	Medium
	Taper	Tapered	Parallel	Parallel
	Body junc	Smooth	Smooth Long	Smooth
	Markings	None	None	None
	Terminal	Club	Arrow fletching & nock	Arrow fletching & nock

Table 12.4: Analysis of the Seth Animal - Old Kingdom (Sheet 11 of 16).




No		45	46	47	48
Image					
Details		5 th Dynasty. Pyramid of Unas, Burial chamber, N wall. Determinative.	5 th Dynasty. Pyramid of Unas, Burial chamber, N wall.	5 th Dynasty. Pyramid of Unas, Burial chamber, N wall.	5 th Dynasty. Pyramid of Unas, Burial chamber, N wall.
Body	Shape	Lean	Medium	Lean	Lean
	Legs	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium
Neck	Angle	49°	48°	47°	56°
	Banding	None	None	None	None
Muzzle and Head	Shape	Curved	Curved	Curved	Curved
	Length	Medium	Medium	Medium	Short
	Thickness	Medium	Thin	Medium	Medium
	Drop	52°	45°	48°	40°
	Curvature	Shallow	Shallow	Shallow	Medium
	Jaw u'cut	None	None	None	None
	Brow ridge	"	Subtle	Prominent	Subtle
	Headdress	"	None	None	None
Ears	Prm profile	Narrow	Narrow	Narrow	Narrow
	Sec profile	Narrow	Narrow	Narrow	Narrow
	Prm shape	Convex-Concave	Concave-Convex	Straight x 2	Concave-Convex
	Sec shape	Convex-Concave	Concave-Convex	Straight x 2	Concave-Convex
	Length	Long	Long	Long	Medium
	Angle P-S	8°	10°	12°	18°
	Angle P-V	39°	29°	44°	43°
	Angle S-V	31°	19°	32°	25°
	Head junc'	Sharp	Sharp	Sharp	Sharp
Ear Markings	Primary H	None	None	None	None
	Primary V	"	"	"	"
	Prm <i>pinna</i>	"	"	"	"
	Sec H	"	"	"	"
	Sec V	"	"	"	"
	Sec <i>pinna</i>	"	"	"	"
Tails	Shape	Straight	Straight	Curved	Curved
	Angle	2°	2°	-1°	2°
	Length	Long	Long	Medium	Medium
	Breath	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium
	Taper	Parallel	Parallel	Parallel	Parallel
	Body junc	Smooth	Smooth	Abrupt	Smooth Long
	Markings	None	None	None	None
	Terminal	Arrow fletching	Arrow fletching & nock	Arrow fletching & nock	Arrow fletching & nock

Table 12.4: Analysis of the Seth Animal - Old Kingdom (Sheet 12 of 16).




No	49	50	51	52	
Image					
Details	5 th Dynasty. Pyramid of Unas, Burial chamber, E wall.	5 th Dynasty. Pyramid of Unas, Burial chamber, E wall.	5 th Dynasty. Pyramid of Unas, Burial chamber, E wall.	5 th Dynasty. Pyramid of Unas, Burial chamber, E wall.	
Body	Shape	Medium	Medium	Medium	Lean
	Legs	Short	Medium	Short	Medium
Neck	Angle	49°	55°	56°	47°
	Banding	None	None	None	None
Muzzle and Head	Shape	Curved	Curved	Curved	Curved
	Length	Short	Short	Short	Short
	Thickness	Broad	Broad	Medium	Medium
	Drop	48°	21°	50°	36°
	Curvature	Tight	Medium	Tight	Tight
	Jaw u'cut	None	None	None	None
	Brow ridge	"	"	"	"
Headdress	"	"	"	"	
Ears	Prm profile	Medium	Narrow	Narrow	Narrow
	Sec profile	Medium	Narrow	Narrow	Narrow
	Prm shape	Straight x 2	Straight x 2	Straight x 2	Straight x 2
	Sec shape	Straight x 2	Straight x 2	Straight x 2	Straight x 2
	Length	Long	Long	Long	Long
	Angle P-S	19°	13°	10°	7°
	Angle P-V	51°	43°	40°	45°
	Angle S-V	32°	30°	30°	36°
Head junc'	Sharp	Sharp	Sharp	Sharp	
Ear Markings	Primary H	None	None	None	None
	Primary V	"	"	"	"
	Prm <i>pinna</i>	"	"	"	"
	Sec H	"	"	"	"
	Sec V	"	"	"	"
	Sec <i>pinna</i>	"	"	"	"
Tails	Shape	Straight	Straight	Straight	Straight
	Angle	5°	9°	5°	11°
	Length	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium
	Breath	Medium	Medium	Medium	Thin
	Taper	Parallel	Parallel	Parallel	Parallel
	Body junc	Abrupt	Smooth	Abrupt	Abrupt
	Markings	None	None	None	None
	Terminal	Arrow fletching & nock	Arrow fletching & nock	Arrow fletching & nock	Arrow fletching & nock

Table 12.4: Analysis of the Seth Animal - Old Kingdom (Sheet 13 of 16).

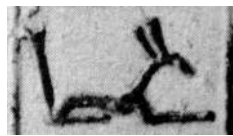


No	53	54	55	56
Image				
Details	5 th Dynasty. Pyramid of Unas, Burial chamber, E wall.	5 th Dynasty. Pyramid of Unas, Burial chamber, S wall.	5 th Dynasty. Pyramid of Unas, Burial chamber, S wall.	5 th Dynasty. Pyramid of Unas, Burial chamber, S wall.
Body	Shape	Medium	Medium	Lean
	Legs	Medium	Medium	Medium
Neck	Angle	49°	52°	50°
	Banding	None	None	None
Muzzle and Head	Shape	Curved	Curved	Curved
	Length	Short	Short	Medium
	Thickness	Thin	Medium	Medium
	Drop	46°	45°	43°
	Curvature	Tight	Tight	Medium
	Jaw u'cut	None	None	None
	Brow ridge	"	"	"
	Headdress	"	"	"
Ears	Prm profile	Medium	Narrow	Narrow
	Sec profile	Medium	Medium	Narrow
	Prm shape	Concave-Convex	Concave-Convex	Convex-Concave
	Sec shape	Concave-Convex	Concave-Convex	Convex-Concave
	Length	Long	Medium	Long
	Angle P-S	18°	13°	13°
	Angle P-V	44°	31°	38°
	Angle S-V	26°	18°	25°
	Head junc'	Sharp	Sharp	Sharp
Ear Markings	Primary H	None	None	None
	Primary V	"	"	"
	Prm <i>pinna</i>	"	"	"
	Sec H	"	"	"
	Sec V	"	"	"
	Sec <i>pinna</i>	"	"	"
Tails	Shape	Straight	Straight	Straight
	Angle	11°	10°	7°
	Length	Short	Medium	Medium
	Breath	Thick	Medium	Thick
	Taper	Parallel	Parallel	Tapered
	Body junc	Abrupt	Abrupt	Smooth
	Markings	None	None	None
	Terminal	Arrow fletching & nock	Arrow fletching & nock	Arrow fletching & nock

Table 12.4: Analysis of the Seth Animal - Old Kingdom (Sheet 14 of 16).

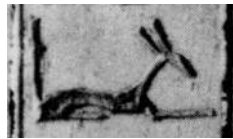



No	57	58	59	60	
Image					
Details	5 th Dynasty. Pyramid of Unas, Burial chamber, S wall.	5 th Dynasty. Pyramid of Unas, Burial chamber, S wall.	5 th Dynasty. Pyramid of Unas, Burial chamber, S wall.	5 th Dynasty. Pyramid of Unas, Burial chamber, S wall.	
Body	Shape	Medium	Lean	Medium	Lean
	Legs	Medium	Medium	Short	Short
Neck	Angle	49°	55°	36°	42°
	Banding	None	None	None	None
Muzzle and Head	Shape	Curved	Curved	Curved	Curved
	Length	Short	Short	Medium	Medium
	Thickness	Medium	Medium	Medium	Thin
	Drop	49°	42°	42°	49°
	Curvature	Shallow	Shallow	Medium	Medium
	Jaw u'cut	None	None	None	None
	Brow ridge	Subtle	Prominent	"	Subtle
Headdress	None	None	"	None	
Ears	Prm profile	Narrow	Narrow	Medium	Narrow
	Sec profile	Medium	Medium	Medium	Narrow
	Prm shape	Straight x 2	Concave-Convex	Straight x 2	Straight x 2
	Sec shape	Straight x 2	Concave-Convex	Straight x 2	Straight x 2
	Length	Medium	Medium	Long	Long
	Angle P-S	16°	19°	16°	11°
	Angle P-V	44°	32°	42°	35°
	Angle S-V	28°	13°	26°	24°
Head junc'	Sharp	Sharp	Sharp	Sharp	
Ear Markings	Primary H	None	None	None	None
	Primary V	"	"	"	"
	Prm <i>pinna</i>	"	"	"	"
	Sec H	"	"	"	"
	Sec V	"	"	"	"
	Sec <i>pinna</i>	"	"	"	"
Tails	Shape	Straight	Straight	Straight	Straight
	Angle	3°	20°	3°	10°
	Length	Medium	Short	Medium	Medium
	Breath	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium
	Taper	Parallel	Parallel	Parallel	Parallel
	Body junc	Abrupt	Smooth	Smooth	Abrupt
	Markings	None	None	None	None
	Terminal	Arrow fletching & nock	Arrow fletching & nock	Arrow fletching & nock	Arrow fletching & nock

Table 12.4: Analysis of the Seth Animal - Old Kingdom (Sheet 15 of 16).



No		61	62
Image			
Details		5 th Dynasty. Pyramid of Unas, Anti-chamber, W wall. Determinative.	5 th Dynasty. Pyramid of Unas, Anti-chamber, S wall. Determinative.
Body	Shape	Lean	Lean
	Legs	Medium	Medium
Neck	Angle	42 ^o	42 ^o
	Banding	None	None
Muzzle and Head	Shape	Curved	Curved
	Length	Medium	Medium
	Thickness	Broad	Medium
	Drop	43 ^o	51 ^o
	Curvature	Tight	Tight
	Jaw u'cut	None	None
	Brow ridge	Subtle	"
	Headdress	None	"
Ears	Prm profile	Medium	Medium
	Sec profile	Medium	Medium
	Prm shape	Convex-Concave	Straight x 2
	Sec shape	Convex-Concave	Straight x 2
	Length	Long	Long
	Angle P-S	15 ^o	11 ^o
	Angle P-V	53 ^o	45 ^o
	Angle S-V	38 ^o	34 ^o
	Head junc'	Sharp	Sharp
Ear Markings	Primary H	None	None
	Primary V	"	"
	Prm <i>pinna</i>	"	"
	Sec H	"	"
	Sec V	"	"
	Sec <i>pinna</i>	"	"
Tails	Shape	Curved	Straight
	Angle	6 ^o	6 ^o
	Length	Medium	Medium
	Breath	Thick	Thin
	Taper	Parallel	Parallel
	Body junc	Smooth	Abrupt
	Markings	None	None
	Terminal	Arrow fletching & nock	Arrow fletching & nock

Table 12.4: Analysis of the Seth Animal - Old Kingdom (Sheet 16 of 16).

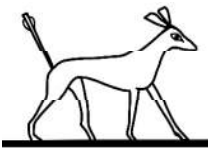
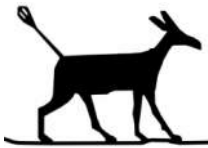


No	1	2	3	4
Image				
Details	11 th Dynasty, Tomb of Baqt III. Tomb 15, Beni Hassan.	11 th Dynasty, Tomb of Khety. Tomb 17, Beni Hassan.	12 th Dynasty, Lintel of Amenemhat I. Pyramid temple, Lisht.	12 th Dynasty, Lintel of Senwosret I. Open Air Museum. Karnak.
Body	Shape	Medium	Thick set	Medium
	Legs	Medium	Medium	Medium
Neck	Angle	46°	54°	61°
	Banding	None	None	3No
Muzzle and Head	Shape	Straight	Curved	Curved
	Length	Short	Medium	Medium
	Thickness	Broad	Medium	Medium
	Drop	23°	24°	33°
	Curvature	None	Shallow	Shallow
	Jaw u'cut	None	None	None
	Brow ridge	Subtle	Prominent	None
	Headdress	None	None	None
Ears	Prm profile	Medium	Narrow	Narrow
	Sec profile	Wide	Medium	Medium
	Prm shape	Convex – Convex	Convex – Straight	Concave – Convex
	Sec shape	Concave – Convex	Straight - Convex	Concave – Straight
	Length	Short	Medium	Medium
	Angle P-S	29°	19°	15°
	Angle P-V	59°	51°	45°
	Angle S-V	30°	32°	30°
Head junc'	Sharp	Sharp	Sharp	
Ear Markings	Primary H	None	None	2No
	Primary V	"	"	None
	Prm <i>pinna</i>	"	"	"
	Sec H	"	"	"
	Sec V	"	"	"
	Sec <i>pinna</i>	"	"	"
Tails	Shape	Straight	Straight	Straight
	Angle	26°	43°	17°
	Length	Short	Medium	Long
	Breath	Medium	Medium	Medium
	Taper	Tapered	Tapered	Tapered
	Body junc	Abrupt	Abrupt	Abrupt
	Markings	None	None	Banded
	Terminal	Arrow fletchings	Arrow fletchings	Arrow fletching & nock

Table 12.5: Analysis of the Seth Animal - Middle Kingdom (Sheet 1 of 7).

No	5	6	7	8
Image				
Details	12 th Dynasty, White chapel of Senwosret I. Karnak.	12 th Dynasty, Statue of Senwosret I. Cairo Museum JE 31136.	12 th Dynasty, Statue of Senwosret I. Cairo Museum JE 31137.	12 th Dynasty, Lintel of Senwosret III. Cairo Museum JE 6189.
Body	Shape	Medium	Lean	Lean
	Legs	Medium	Short	Long
Neck	Angle	61°	65°	66°
	Banding	None	None	None
Muzzle and Head	Shape	Curved	Curved	Curved
	Length	Medium	Medium	Medium
	Thickness	Thin	Medium	Medium
	Drop	31°	34°	49°
	Curvature	Shallow	Medium	Tight
	Jaw u'cut	Short	Short	Long
	Brow ridge	Prominent	Prominent	Prominent
	Headdress	None	None	None
Ears	Prm profile	Narrow	Narrow	Medium
	Sec profile	Medium	Medium	Medium
	Prm shape	Concave x 2	Straight x 2	Straight x 2
	Sec shape	Concave x 2	Concave - Convex	Straight x 2
	Length	Medium	Medium	Short
	Angle P-S	16°	13°	28°
	Angle P-V	30°	24°	33°
	Angle S-V	14°	11°	5°
Head junc'	Sharp	Swept Curve	Sharp	
Ear Markings	Primary H	None	None	None
	Primary V	"	"	"
	Prm <i>pinna</i>	"	Pinna	"
	Sec H	"	None	"
	Sec V	"	"	"
	Sec <i>pinna</i>	"	"	"
Tails	Shape	Straight	Straight	Straight
	Angle	12°	17°	14°
	Length	Medium	Medium	Medium
	Breath	Thin	Medium	Thick
	Taper	Tapered	Tapered	Tapered
	Body junc	Abrupt	Abrupt	Smooth
	Markings	None	None	None
	Terminal	Arrow fletching & nock	Arrow fletching damaged	Arrow fletching & nock

Table 12.5: Analysis of the Seth Animal - Middle Kingdom (Sheet 2 of 7).

No	9	10	11	12
Image				
Details	12 th Dynasty , Pectoral of Senwosret III. Eton College ECM 1585	12 th Dynasty, Wand. Museum of Scotland A.1921.893.	12 th Dynasty, Wand. RMAH Brussels. E.2673.	12 th Dynasty, Wand. RMAH Brussels. E.2673.
Body	Shape	Lean	Lean	Lean
	Legs	Long	Long	Long
Neck	Angle	83°	58°	44°
	Banding	1No	2No	2No
Muzzle and Head	Shape	Curved	Curved	Curved
	Length	Short	Long	Medium
	Thickness	Broad	Thin	Medium
	Drop	37°	45°	55°
	Curvature	Tight	Shallow	Tight
	Jaw u'cut	None	Medium	Medium
	Brow ridge	Prominent	Prominent	Prominent
Headdress	Mane	None	None	
Ears	Prm profile	Narrow	Narrow	Narrow
	Sec profile	Narrow	Narrow	Narrow
	Prm shape	Convex x 2	Straight x 2	Straight x 2
	Sec shape	Concave - Convex	Straight x 2	Straight x 2
	Length	Medium	Long	Long
	Angle P-S	43°	13°	25°
	Angle P-V	19°	37°	22°
	Angle S-V	-24°	24°	-3°
Head junc'	Radiused	Radiused	Radiused	
Ear Markings	Primary H	2No	2No	1No
	Primary V	1No	None	None
	Prm <i>pinna</i>	None	Pinna	"
	Sec H	4No	2No	1No
	Sec V	2No	1No	None
	Sec <i>pinna</i>	None	None	"
Tails	Shape	Straight	Curved	Straight
	Angle	-4°	-14°	31°
	Length	Long	Long	Long
	Breath	Medium	Medium	Medium
	Taper	Tapered	Tapered	Tapered
	Body junc	Smooth Long	Abrupt	Abrupt
	Markings	Banded	Banded	None
	Terminal	Arrow fletching & nock	Arrow fletching & nock	Arrow fletching
			Pear shaped mace head	

Table 12.5: Analysis of the Seth Animal - Middle Kingdom (Sheet 3 of 7).


No	13	14	15	16
Image				
Details	12 th Dynasty, Asyut coffin of Soker-hewent. Louvre Museum.	12 th Dynasty, Asyut coffin of Reheurauren. Turin Museum.	12 th Dynasty, Asyut coffin of Mereru. Turin Museum.	12 th Dynasty, Asyut coffin of Meshti. Rosicrucian Egyptian Museum. RC 2822.
Body	Shape	Medium	Lean	Lean
	Legs	Long	Long	Medium
Neck	Angle	42°	40°	45°
	Banding	None	None	None
Muzzle and Head	Shape	Straight	Curved	Asinine
	Length	Medium	Short	Medium
	Thickness	Medium	Broad	Broad
	Drop	53°	33°	31°
	Curvature	None	Shallow	None
	Jaw u'cut	None	None	None
	Brow ridge	None	None	Subtle
Headdress	Mane	None	None	
Ears	Prm profile	Parallel	Narrow	Medium
	Sec profile	Narrow	Narrow	Medium
	Prm shape	Convex - Straight	Straight x 2	Straight x 2
	Sec shape	Concave - Straight	Straight x 2	Straight x 2
	Length	Medium	Long	Long
	Angle P-S	20°	30°	25°
	Angle P-V	48°	54°	79°
	Angle S-V	28°	24°	54°
Head junc'	Sharp	Sharp	Sharp	
Ear Markings	Primary H	None	None	None
	Primary V	"	"	"
	Prm <i>pinna</i>	"	"	"
	Sec H	"	"	"
	Sec V	"	"	"
	Sec <i>pinna</i>	"	"	"
Tails	Shape	Straight	Straight	Curved
	Angle	14°	26°	26°
	Length	Medium	Medium	Long
	Breath	Thick	Thick	Thick
	Taper	Tapered	Parallel	Parallel
	Body junc	Abrupt	Smooth	Abrupt
	Markings	None	None	None
	Terminal	Axe head	Disc shaped mace head	Pear shaped mace head

Table 12.5: Analysis of the Seth Animal - Middle Kingdom (Sheet 4 of 7).





No	17	18	19	20	
Image					
Details	12 th Dynasty, Asyut coffin of Henen. Louvre Museum AF 9757	12 th Dynasty, Asyut coffin of Nakhti. Louvre Museum E 11936	12 th Dynasty, Asyut coffin of Ankhaf. British Museum BM EA 46631	12 th Dynasty, Asyut coffin of Ikhet. British Museum BM EA 29757	
Body	Shape	Lean	Lean	Medium	Medium
	Legs	Medium	Long	Short	Short
Neck	Angle	47°	50°	39°	38°
	Banding	None	None	None	None
Muzzle and Head	Shape	Asinine	Straight	Asinine	Asinine
	Length	Short	Medium	Short	Medium
	Thickness	Broad	Thin	Broad	Broad
	Drop	30°	15°	86°	58°
	Curvature	None	None	None	None
	Jaw u'cut	None	None	None	None
	Brow ridge	Subtle	None	None	Prominent
Headdress	None	None	Mane	None	
Ears	Prm profile	Narrow	Narrow	Ass Ear	Ass Ear
	Sec profile	Narrow	Narrow	Ass Ears	Ass Ears
	Prm shape	Straight x 2	Straight x 2	Ass Ear	Ass Ear
	Sec shape	Straight x 2	Straight x 2	Ass Ears	Ass Ears
	Length	Long	Long	Long	Long
	Angle P-S	27°	28°	21°	6°
	Angle P-V	57°	58°	79°	50°
	Angle S-V	30°	30°	58°	44°
Head junc'	Sharp	Sharp	Sharp	Sharp	
Ear Markings	Primary H	None	None	None	None
	Primary V	"	"	"	"
	Prm <i>pinna</i>	"	"	Pinna	"
	Sec H	"	"	None	"
	Sec V	"	"	"	"
	Sec <i>pinna</i>	"	"	Pinna	"
Tails	Shape	Curved	Straight	Straight	Curved
	Angle	18°	15°	14°	36°
	Length	Long	Long	Medium	Medium
	Breath	Thick	Thin	Medium	Thick
	Taper	Tapered	Parallel	Tapered	Tapered
	Body junc	Abrupt	Abrupt	Abrupt	Abrupt
	Markings	None	None	None	None
	Terminal	Undefined	Club	Arrow fletching	Club

Table 12.5: Analysis of the Seth Animal - Middle Kingdom (Sheet 5 of 7).





No	21	22	23	24	
Image					
Details	12 th Dynasty, Asyut coffin of Nakht. Cairo Museum JE 36318	12 th Dynasty, Asyut coffin of Ankhef. Cairo Museum CG 28130	12 th Dynasty, Asyut coffin of Dag. Cairo Museum TR 21-11-16-24	12 th Dynasty, Asyut coffin of Wepwawetmhat, Cairo Museum JE 45063	
Body	Shape	Lean	Lean	Lean	Medium
	Legs	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium
Neck	Angle	47 ⁰	31 ⁰	48 ⁰	39 ⁰
	Banding	None	None	None	None
Muzzle and Head	Shape	Curved	Curved	Asinine	Asinine
	Length	Long	Medium	Short	Medium
	Thickness	Broad	Broad	Broad	Broad
	Drop	35 ⁰	37 ⁰	46 ⁰	28 ⁰
	Curvature	Shallow	Shallow	None	None
	Jaw u'cut	None	None	None	None
	Brow ridge	None	None	None	None
Headdress	Mane	Mane	Mane	None	
Ears	Prm profile	Narrow	Narrow	Narrow	Narrow
	Sec profile	Narrow	Narrow	Narrow	Narrow
	Prm shape	Convex - Concave	Concave - Convex	Straight x 2	Concave - Convex
	Sec shape	Convex - Concave	Concave - Convex	Straight x 2	Concave - Convex
	Length	Long	Long	Long	Long
	Angle P-S	13 ⁰	32 ⁰	32 ⁰	13 ⁰
	Angle P-V	45 ⁰	55 ⁰	47 ⁰	76 ⁰
	Angle S-V	32 ⁰	23 ⁰	15 ⁰	62 ⁰
Head junc'	Sharp	Sharp	Sharp	Sharp	
Ear Markings	Primary H	None	None	None	None
	Primary V	"	"	"	"
	Prm <i>pinna</i>	"	"	"	"
	Sec H	"	"	"	"
	Sec V	"	"	"	"
	Sec <i>pinna</i>	"	"	"	"
Tails	Shape	Curved	Curved	Curved	Straight
	Angle	22 ⁰	25 ⁰	13 ⁰	21 ⁰
	Length	Long	Medium	Long	Medium
	Breath	Thick	Thick	Thick	Thick
	Taper	Tapered	Tapered	Parallel	Tapered
	Body junc	Abrupt	Abrupt	Abrupt	Abrupt
	Markings	None	None	None	None
	Terminal	Arrow fletching	Club	Arrow fletching	Club

Table 12.5: Analysis of the Seth Animal - Middle Kingdom (Sheet 6 of 7).


No		25
Image		
Details		12 th Dynasty, Asyut coffin. Cairo Museum.
Body	Shape	Lean
	Legs	Long
Neck	Angle	56°
	Banding	None
Muzzle and Head	Shape	Asinine
	Length	Medium
	Thickness	Broad
	Drop	71°
	Curvature	None
	Jaw u'cut	None
	Brow ridge	None
	Headdress	Mane
Ears	Prm profile	Narrow
	Sec profile	Narrow
	Prm shape	Straight - Convex
	Sec shape	Concave - Convex
	Length	Long
	Angle P-S	29°
	Angle P-V	51°
	Angle S-V	22°
Head junc'	Sharp	
Ear Markings	Primary H	None
	Primary V	"
	Prm <i>pinna</i>	"
	Sec H	"
	Sec V	"
	Sec <i>pinna</i>	"
Tails	Shape	Curved
	Angle	28°
	Length	Long
	Breath	Thick
	Taper	Tapered
	Body junc	Abrupt
	Markings	None
	Terminal	Pear shaped mace head

Table 12.5: Analysis of the Seth Animal - Middle Kingdom (Sheet 7 of 7).


No		1
Image		
Details		13 th Dynasty, Lintel of Sobekhotep II Cairo Museum.
Body	Shape	Lean
	Legs	Long
Neck	Angle	68°
	Banding	None
Muzzle and Head	Shape	Curved
	Length	Long
	Thickness	Thin
	Drop	27°
	Curvature	Medium
	Jaw u'cut	Medium
	Brow ridge	Prominent
	Headdress	Tripartite wig
Ears	Prm profile	Narrow
	Sec profile	Narrow
	Prm shape	Straight x 2
	Sec shape	Straight x 2
	Length	Long
	Angle P-S	21°
	Angle P-V	29°
	Angle S-V	8°
Head junc'	Sharp	
Ear Markings	Primary H	1No
	Primary V	None
	Prm <i>pinna</i>	"
	Sec H	"
	Sec V	"
	Sec <i>pinna</i>	"
Tails	Shape	Straight
	Angle	5°
	Length	Long
	Breath	Thin
	Taper	Parallel
	Body junc	Smooth Long
	Markings	None
	Terminal	Arrow fletching & nock

Table 12.6: Analysis of the Seth Animal - 2nd Intermediate Period (Sheet 1 of 1).



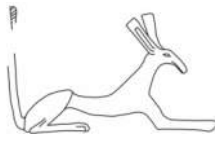

No	1	2	3	4	
Image					
Details	18 th Dynasty, Lintel of Amenhotep 1. Mortuary temple, Thebes	18 th Dynasty, Red chapel of Hatshepsut. Open Air Museum, Karnak	18 th Dynasty, Mortuary temple of Hatshepsut. Deir el-Bahri	18 th Dynasty, Door jamb of Thutmose III. Nubt. Petrie Museum UC 14420	
Body	Shape	Medium	Lean	Lean	Thick Set
	Legs	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium
Neck	Angle	79°	65°	61°	70°
	Banding	None	None	None	None
Muzzle and Head	Shape	Curved	Curved	Curved	Curved
	Length	Short	Medium	Short	Medium
	Thickness	Broad	Thin	Medium	Thin
	Drop	39°	36°	48°	47°
	Curvature	Medium	Shallow	Tight	Medium
	Jaw u'cut	None	None	None	None
	Brow ridge	Subtle	None	Subtle	Prominent
Headdress	None	None	None	None	
Ears	Prm profile	Narrow	Narrow	Narrow	Medium
	Sec profile	Narrow	Parallel	Narrow	Narrow
	Prm shape	Concave - Convex	Concave - Convex	Concave - Straight	Concave x 2
	Sec shape	Concave - Convex	Straight x 2	Concave - Straight	Concave - Convex
	Length	Short	Short	Medium	Long
	Angle P-S	3°	14°	24°	14°
	Angle P-V	5°	33°	40°	19°
	Angle S-V	8°	19°	16°	5°
Head junc'	Sharp	Sharp	Swept Curve	Sharp	
Ear Markings	Primary H	None	None	None	None
	Primary V	"	"	"	"
	Prm <i>pinna</i>	"	"	Pinna	"
	Sec H	"	"	None	"
	Sec V	"	"	"	"
	Sec <i>pinna</i>	"	"	"	"
Tails	Shape	Straight	Curved	Curved	Curved
	Angle	0°	-2°	6°	-12°
	Length	Short	Long	Long	Long
	Breath	Medium	Medium	Medium	Thick
	Taper	Parallel	Parallel	Parallel	Tapered
	Body junc	Abrupt	Smooth	Smooth	Smooth Long
	Markings	None	None	None	Damaged
	Terminal	Arrow fletching & nock	Forked Stick	Arrow fletching	Club

Table 12.7: Analysis of the Seth Animal - New Kingdom (Sheet 1 of 7).




No	5	6	7	8	
Image					
Details	18 th Dynasty, Stela of Nakht and Seth-Antewy. Oriental Institute Chicago 10510	18 th Dynasty, Statue of Sennefer. Petrie Museum UC 14639	18 th Dynasty, Amenhotep III. Stone store, Open Air Museum, Karnak	18 th Dynasty. Stela of Anhotep. Manchester Museum 4528	
Body	Shape	Lean	Lean	Medium	Lean
	Legs	Medium	Short	Medium	Medium
Neck	Angle	65°	58°	60°	72°
	Banding	None	None	None	None
Muzzle and Head	Shape	Curved	Curved	Curved	Curved
	Length	Medium	Medium	Medium	Short
	Thickness	Thin	Thin	Medium	Thin
	Drop	30°	35°	45°	33°
	Curvature	Tight	Tight	Medium	Medium
	Jaw u'cut	None	None	None	None
	Brow ridge	Subtle	Prominent	Prominent	None
Headdress	None	None	None	None	
Ears	Prm profile	Narrow	Parallel	Medium	Narrow
	Sec profile	Narrow	Parallel	Narrow	Narrow
	Prm shape	Concave - Convex	Straight x 2	Straight x 2	Straight x 2
	Sec shape	Concave - Convex	Straight x 2	Straight x 2	Straight x 2
	Length	Long	Medium	Medium	Long
	Angle P-S	18°	32°	18°	14°
	Angle P-V	19°	63°	23°	10°
	Angle S-V	1°	31°	5°	-4°
Head junc'	Sharp	Sharp	Sharp	Sharp	
Ear Markings	Primary H	None	None	None	None
	Primary V	"	"	"	"
	Prm <i>pinna</i>	"	"	"	"
	Sec H	"	"	"	"
	Sec V	"	"	"	"
	Sec <i>pinna</i>	"	"	"	"
Tails	Shape	Straight	Curved	Straight	Curved
	Angle	1°	-2°	-2°	14°
	Length	Medium	Long	Long	Long
	Breath	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium
	Taper	Parallel	Tapered	Parallel	Parallel
	Body junc	Smooth Long	Smooth	Smooth	Smooth
	Markings	None	None	None	None
	Terminal	Forked stick	Pear shaped mace head	Arrow fletching	Forked stick

Table 12.7: Analysis of the Seth Animal - New Kingdom (Sheet 2 of 7).





No	9	10	11	12	
Image					
Details	18 th Dynasty, Chapel of Horemheb, Gebel el-Silsila.	18 th Dynasty, 10 th hour Amduat, Crook of Nehes. Tomb of Thutmose III KV34	18 th Dynasty, 10 th hour Amduat, Crook of Nehes. Tomb of Amenhotep II KV35	19 th Dynasty, Obelisk of Seti I. Alexandria	
Body	Shape	Medium	None	None	Leonine
	Legs	Short	None	None	Long (arms)
Neck	Angle	81°	91°	83°	70°
	Banding	None	None	None	None
Muzzle and Head	Shape	Curved	Curved	Curved	Curved
	Length	Medium	Medium	Medium	Short
	Thickness	Medium	Thin	Thin	Medium
	Drop	27°	44°	57°	51°
	Curvature	Shallow	Tight	Shallow	Tight
	Jaw u'cut	None	None	Short	None
	Brow ridge	Subtle	Prominent	Subtle	Subtle
	Headdress	None	None	None	Tripartite wig
Ears	Prm profile	Medium	Medium	Medium	Narrow
	Sec profile	Medium	Wide	Medium	Narrow
	Prm shape	Concave - Convex	Concave x 2	Concave - Convex	Concave - Convex
	Sec shape	Concave - Convex	Concave x 2	Concave - Convex	Concave - Convex
	Length	Medium	Medium	Medium	Long
	Angle P-S	27°	14°	20°	14°
	Angle P-V	15°	22°	33°	11°
	Angle S-V	-12°	8°	13°	-3°
Head junc'	Swept Curve	Sharp	Sharp	Swept Curve	
Ear Markings	Primary H	None	12No	None	None
	Primary V	"	None	"	"
	Prm <i>pinna</i>	"	"	Pinna	"
	Sec H	"	12No	None	"
	Sec V	"	"	2No	"
	Sec <i>pinna</i>	"	"	None	"
Tails	Shape	Straight	No Tail	No Tail	Leonine curved
	Angle	-4°	"	"	Leonine
	Length	Medium	"	"	"
	Breath	Thick	"	"	"
	Taper	Tapered	"	"	"
	Body junc	Smooth Long	"	"	"
	Markings	None	"	"	None
	Terminal	Arrow fletching & nock	"	"	"

Table 12.7: Analysis of the Seth Animal - New Kingdom (Sheet 3 of 7).

No	13	14	15	16	
Image					
Details	19 th Dynasty, Battle reliefs of Seti I, Hypostyle Hall, Karnak	19 th Dynasty, Hypostyle Hall, Karnak	19 th Dynasty, Mortuary temple of Seti I. Hypostyle Hall	19 th Dynasty, Hypostyle Hall, Karnak	
Body	Shape	Lean	Medium	Medium	
	Legs	Short	Medium	Short	
Neck	Angle	65°	66°	66°	
	Banding	None	None	None	
Muzzle and Head	Shape	Curved	Curved	Curved	
	Length	Short	Short	Medium	
	Thickness	Medium	Broad	Medium	
	Drop	32°	31°	31°	33°
	Curvature	Tight	Tight	Shallow	Shallow
	Jaw u'cut	None	None	None	None
	Brow ridge	None	Prominent	None	Subtle
Headdress	None	None	None	None	
Ears	Prm profile	Narrow	Narrow	Narrow	
	Sec profile	Narrow	Medium	Narrow	
	Prm shape	Concave - Convex	Concave - Convex	Concave - Convex	Concave - Convex
	Sec shape	Concave - Convex	Concave - Convex	Concave - Convex	Concave - Convex
	Length	Long	Long	Medium	Medium
	Angle P-S	19°	0°	5°	22°
	Angle P-V	26°	11°	21°	30°
	Angle S-V	7°	11°	16°	8°
Head junc'	Sharp	Swept Curve	Sharp	Sharp	
Ear Markings	Primary H	None	None	None	
	Primary V	"	"	"	
	Prm <i>pinna</i>	"	"	"	
	Sec H	"	"	"	
	Sec V	"	"	"	
	Sec <i>pinna</i>	"	"	"	
Tails	Shape	Curved	Straight	Straight	Curved
	Angle	-11°	16°	16°	20°
	Length	Medium	Medium	Medium	Short
	Breath	Medium	Thick	Thick	Thick
	Taper	Tapered	Parallel	Tapered	Parallel
	Body junc	Abrupt	Abrupt	Abrupt	Abrupt
	Markings	None	None	None	None
	Terminal	Club	Arrow fletching & nock	Club	Pear shaped mace head

Table 12.7: Analysis of the Seth Animal - New Kingdom (Sheet 4 of 7).

No	17	18	19	20
Image				
Details	19 th Dynasty, Hypostyle Hall, Karnak	19 th Dynasty, Stela of Ramesses II. Louvre Museum E 26017	19 th Dynasty, Lintel of Ramesses II, Tanis.	19 th Dynasty. Sphinx of Ramesses II. Louvre Museum A 24.
Body	Shape	Medium	Leonine	Medium
	Legs	Short	Medium	Medium
Neck	Angle	76°	74°	68°
	Banding	None	None	None
Muzzle and Head	Shape	Curved	Curved	Curved
	Length	Short	Short	Medium
	Thickness	Broad	Broad	Thin
	Drop	19°	28°	51°
	Curvature	Shallow	Shallow	Tight
	Jaw u'cut	None	None	None
	Brow ridge	None	Subtle	None
Headdress	None	Tripartite wig	Tripartite wig	Tripartite wig
Ears	Prm profile	Narrow	Parallel	Narrow
	Sec profile	Narrow	Parallel	Narrow
	Prm shape	Concave - Convex	Concave - Convex	Straight x 2
	Sec shape	Concave - Convex	Concave - Convex	Straight x 2
	Length	Medium	Medium	Medium
	Angle P-S	13°	13°	6°
	Angle P-V	21°	17°	9°
	Angle S-V	8°	4°	3°
Head junc'	Sharp	Swept Curve	Swept Curve	Sharp
Ear Markings	Primary H	None	None	None
	Primary V	"	"	"
	Prm <i>pinna</i>	"	Pinna	"
	Sec H	"	None	"
	Sec V	"	"	"
Sec <i>pinna</i>	"	Pinna	"	"
Tails	Shape	Straight	Leonine curved	Curved
	Angle	2°	Leonine	6°
	Length	Short	"	Long
	Breath	Medium	"	Thick
	Taper	Tapered	"	Parallel
	Body junc	Smooth	"	Smooth
	Markings	None	None	None
Terminal	Club	"	Arrow fletching & nock	Pear shaped mace head

Table 12.7: Analysis of the Seth Animal - New Kingdom (Sheet 5 of 7).



No	21	22	23	24
Image				
Details	19 th Dynasty. Ostraca. Fitzwilliam Museum E.GA.4300.1943.	19 th Dynasty, 10 th hour Amduat, Crook of Nehes. Tomb of Seti I KV17.	19 th Dynasty. Relief mortuary temple of Merenptah, Memphis.	20 th Dynasty, Mortuary temple of Ramesses III, Medinet Habu.
Body	Shape	Thick Set	None	Thick Set
	Legs	Short	None	Medium
Neck	Angle	77°	90°	90°
	Banding	None	None	None
Muzzle and Head	Shape	Straight	Curved	Curved
	Length	Short	Medium	Short
	Thickness	Medium	Broad	Broad
	Drop	12°	42°	43°
	Curvature	None	Tight	Tight
	Jaw u'cut	None	None	None
	Brow ridge	None	Prominent	None
Headdress	None	Tripartite wig	Double crown and tripartite wig	Tripartite wig
Ears	Prm profile	Narrow	Destroyed	Narrow
	Sec profile	Narrow	"	Narrow
	Prm shape	Concave - Convex	"	Straight x 2
	Sec shape	Concave - Convex	"	Straight x 2
	Length	Medium	"	Long
	Angle P-S	13°	"	13°
	Angle P-V	3°	"	13°
	Angle S-V	-10°	"	0°
Head junc'	Sharp	"	Swept Curve	Swept Curve
Ear Markings	Primary H	None	Destroyed	1No
	Primary V	"	"	1No
	Prm <i>pinna</i>	"	"	None
	Sec H	"	"	1No
	Sec V	"	"	None
	Sec <i>pinna</i>	"	"	None
Tails	Shape	Destroyed	No Tail	Curved
	Angle	"	"	137°
	Length	"	"	Short
	Breath	"	"	Medium
	Taper	"	"	Parallel
	Body junc	Smooth Long	"	Abrupt
	Markings	Destroyed	"	None
	Terminal	Forked stick	"	No terminal

Table 12.7: Analysis of the Seth Animal - New Kingdom (Sheet 6 of 7).





No	25	26	27	28
Image				
Details	20 th Dynasty, Mortuary temple of Ramesses III, Medinet Habu.	20 th Dynasty, Mortuary temple of Ramesses III, Medinet Habu.	20 th Dynasty, Mortuary temple of Ramesses III, Medinet Habu.	New Kingdom Lintel. Cairo Museum JE 27974.
Body	Shape	Medium	Lean	Lean
	Legs	Long	Short	Long
Neck	Angle	56°	68°	51°
	Banding	None	None	None
Muzzle and Head	Shape	Curved	Curved	Curved
	Length	Medium	Medium	Short
	Thickness	Medium	Medium	Thin
	Drop	49°	33°	42°
	Curvature	Medium	Shallow	Tight
	Jaw u'cut	None	None	None
	Brow ridge	None	None	Damaged
	Headdress	Tripartite wig	None	Tripartite wig
Ears	Prm profile	Medium	Parallel	Damaged
	Sec profile	Damaged	Narrow	"
	Prm shape	Convex x 2	Concave – Convex	"
	Sec shape	Damaged	Concave – Convex	"
	Length	Medium	Long	Long
	Angle P-S	Damaged	8°	Damaged
	Angle P-V	16°	-2°	"
	Angle S-V	Damaged	6°	"
	Head junc'	Sharp	Swept Curve	"
Ear Markings	Primary H	None	None	Damaged
	Primary V	"	"	"
	Prm <i>pinna</i>	"	"	"
	Sec H	Damaged	"	"
	Sec V	"	"	"
	Sec <i>pinna</i>	"	"	"
Tails	Shape	Curved	Straight	Straight
	Angle	-5°	-6°	-1°
	Length	Long	Long	Long
	Breath	Medium	Thin	Thick
	Taper	Parallel	Parallel	Tapered
	Body junc	Smooth	Smooth	Smooth
	Markings	None	None	None
	Terminal	Forked stick	Forked stick	Forked stick
				Arrow fletching & nock

Table 12.7: Analysis of the Seth Animal - New Kingdom (Sheet 7 of 7).


No		1
Image		
Details		3 rd Intermediate Period. Temple of Seth, Mut el-Kharab, Dakhla Oasis.
Body	Shape	Thick set
	Legs	Short
Neck	Angle	35 ^o
	Banding	None
Muzzle and Head	Shape	Curved
	Length	Medium
	Thickness	Medium
	Drop	43 ^o
	Curvature	Tight
	Jaw u'cut	None
	Brow ridge	Subtle
	Headdress	None
Ears	Prm profile	Medium
	Sec profile	Medium
	Prm shape	Concave-Concave
	Sec shape	Concave-Concave
	Length	Medium
	Angle P-S	25 ^o
	Angle P-V	7 ^o
	Angle S-V	-18 ^o
Head junc'	Radiused	
Ear Markings	Primary H	None
	Primary V	"
	Prm <i>pinna</i>	"
	Sec H	"
	Sec V	"
	Sec <i>pinna</i>	"
Tails	Shape	Curved
	Angle	36 ^o
	Length	Short
	Breath	Medium
	Taper	Tapered
	Body junc	Smooth
	Markings	None
	Terminal	Club

Table 12.8: Analysis of the Seth Animal - 3rd Intermediate Period (Sheet 1 of 1).


No		1
Image		
Details		Late Period. Faience Seth amulet. Petrie Museum UC 79085.
Body	Shape	Lean
	Legs	Medium
Neck	Angle	25 ^o
	Banding	None
Muzzle and Head	Shape	Curved
	Length	Long
	Thickness	Thin
	Drop	57 ^o
	Curvature	Medium
	Jaw u'cut	None
	Brow ridge	Prominent
	Headdress	None
Ears	Prm profile	Medium
	Sec profile	Medium
	Prm shape	Straight-Concave
	Sec shape	Concave x 2
	Length	Medium
	Angle P-S	9 ^o
	Angle P-V	22 ^o
	Angle S-V	13 ^o
Head junc'	Sharp	
Ear Markings	Primary H	None
	Primary V	"
	Prm <i>pinna</i>	"
	Sec H	"
	Sec V	"
	Sec <i>pinna</i>	"
Tails	Shape	Straight
	Angle	26 ^o
	Length	Short
	Breath	Medium
	Taper	Tapered
	Body junc	Abrupt
	Markings	None
	Terminal	Club

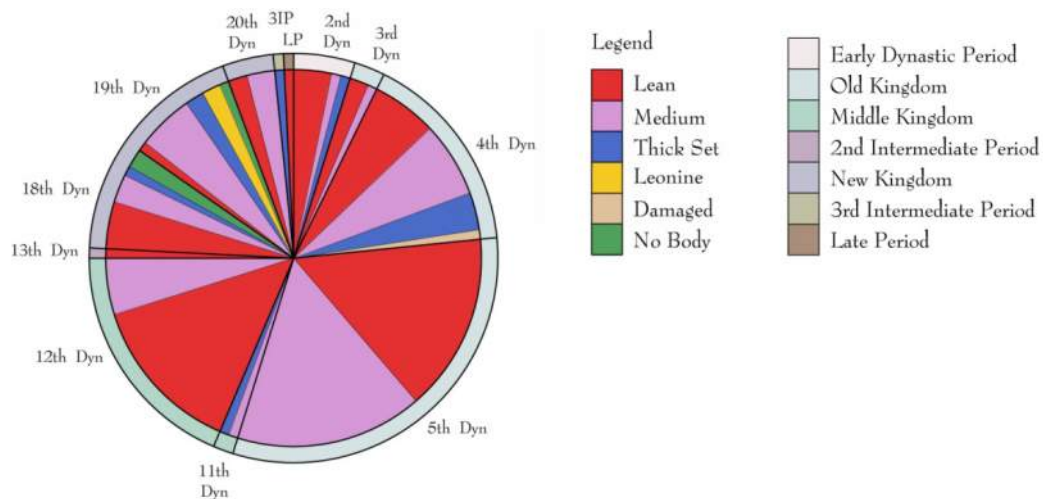
Table 12.9: Analysis of the Seth Animal - Late Period (Sheet 1 of 1).

12.7 Analysis of the Seth Animal Data

Using the categories of the individual elements of the Seth animal as defined in Table 12.1 a series of pie-charts were created detailing the variations within these elements across the 124 examples studied. The examples ranged from the Early Dynastic Period through to the Late Period. The data is biased towards the Old Kingdom due to the number of examples that had survived in the 4th Dynasty tomb of Mersyankh III and the 5th Dynasty Pyramid Texts in the pyramid of Unas. Where an example has been damaged and analysis of the element under consideration was not possible, the example is still included but labelled as damaged to maintain a consistent range of examples.

12.7.1 The Body

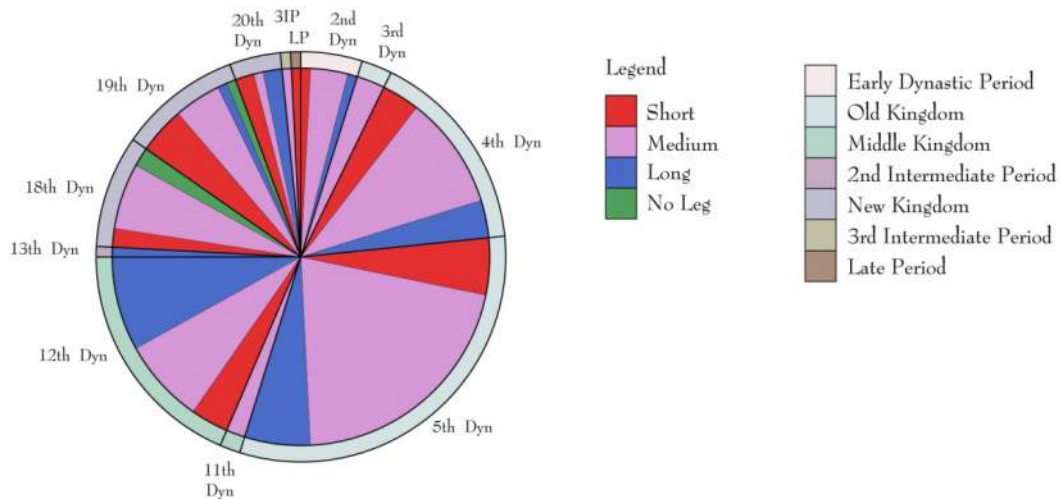
Variations in the body shape which are shown in Pie-chart 12.1.



Pie-chart 12.1: Analysis of the body shape of the Seth animal.

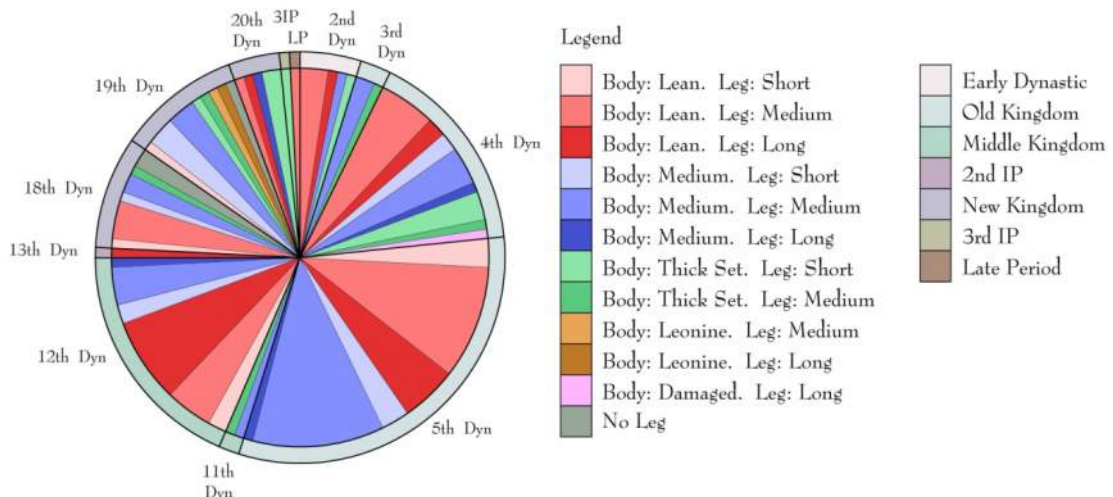
As Table 12.10 shows, the canine body shape was employed from the Early Dynastic to the Late Period with the predominant shape being lean at 49.5%, followed by medium at 39.5% of the data base, while the third main form, the thick set body type, being 4.8% of the sample. In the 4th and 5th Dynasties the balance between medium and lean are almost equal with 0.8% in favour of the medium form. However, during 12th and 18th Dynasties the balance swung in favour of the lean form. This changed in the 19th and 20th Dynasties when the medium form was the more prevalent. The thick set form occurs from the 2nd Dynasty and was employed intermittently to the Late Period but absent from the 3rd, 5th and 12th Dynasties. The most unusual body form, that of a lion employed on the Seth animal headed sphinx, was confined to the 19th Dynasty only.

A sub-category of the body is that of leg length and the variations are shown in Pie-chart 12.2.



Pie-chart 12.2: Analysis of variations in leg length.

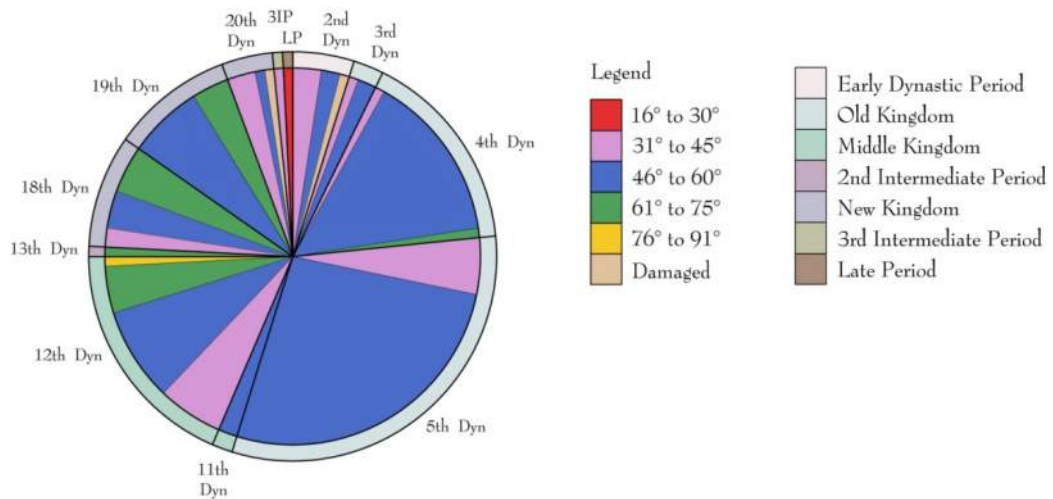
The variation in the length of the legs occurred throughout the periods studied, with the predominant form being medium length being 56.5% of the data set, with short and long being almost equal in number, 20% being short, 20.9% being long. However, in the 12th Dynasty the use of the long leg exceeds that of the short leg, 43.5% to 39.1% of the examples from this period. It is noticeable that leg length bears no relationship to the shape of the body, the 5th and 12th Dynasty both depicted Seth with lean and medium bodies with short, medium and long legs as shown in Pie-chart 12.3.



Pie-chart 12.3: Comparison of body shape in relation to leg length.

12.7.2 The Neck

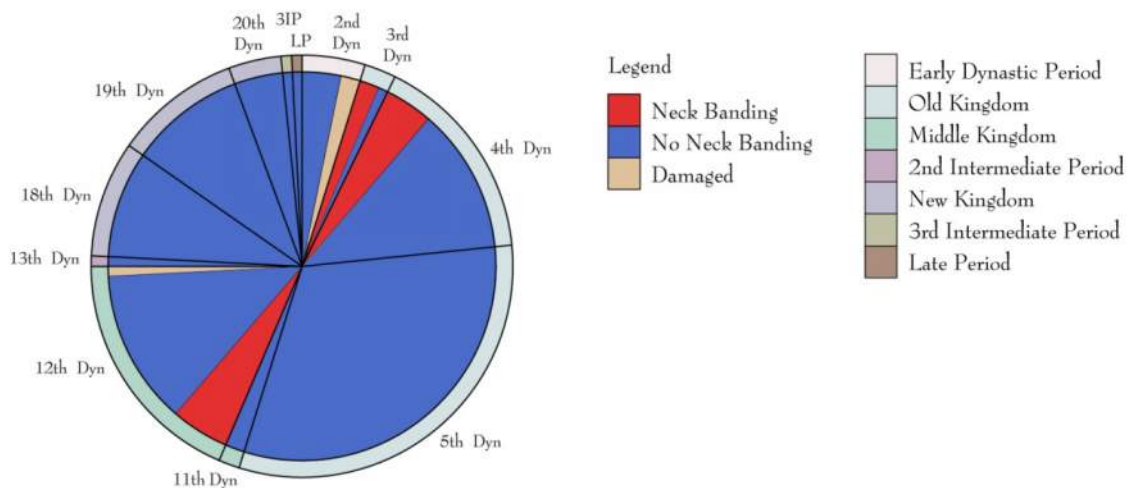
Variations in the angle of the neck measured to the horizontal are shown in Pie-chart 12.4. The neck angle is grouped into 15⁰ increments commencing at 16⁰.



Pie-chart 12.4: Variations in the angle of the neck to the horizontal.

The predominant range is 46° to 60° being 64.5% of the data set, with 31° to 45° being 19.4%, and 61° to 75° being 12.9%. This last group occurring predominately in 12th, 18th and 19th Dynasties.

A sub-category of the neck data are those depicted with banding, single and multiple, around to neck of the animal as shown in Pie-chart 12.5.



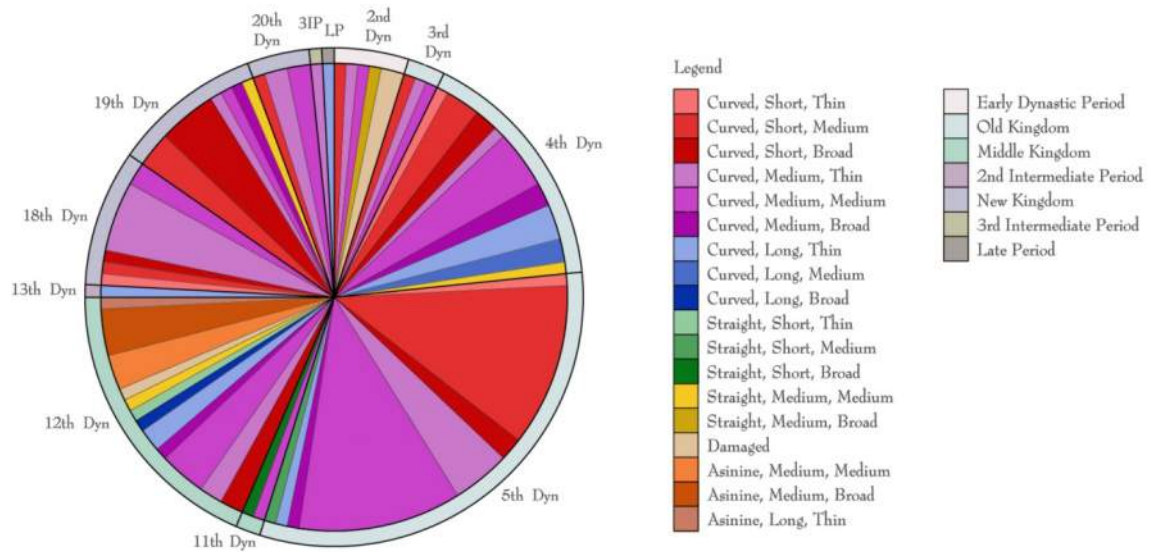
Pie-chart 12.5: Distribution of neck banding.

The depiction of banding to the neck of the animal are limited in their use, occurring only in the 3rd and 4th Dynasty of the Old Kingdom and in the 12th Dynasty of the Middle Kingdom. In total only 10.4% of the sample were shown with banding, with 5.6% occurring in the Old Kingdom and the remaining 4.8% in the Middle Kingdom.

12.7.3 The Head and Muzzle

The head and muzzle are the most distinctive features of the Seth animal and make it immediately identifiable. It is these features that display a considerable number of variations

in their depiction. Variations that occur the first parameter, the muzzle shapes, are detailed in Pie-chart 12.6.



Pie-chart 12.6. Variations in the muzzle shape, length and thickness.

Although the muzzle was depicted as either curved or straight, it is the curved muzzle that was the most prevalent, being 84.48% of the data set, while the straight muzzles only accounted for 5.6%. Both forms were employed in the Early Dynastic, Old, Middle and New Kingdoms. The most unusual muzzle is asinine, 6.45% of the data set; and is a type usually associated with the representation of Seth in the Ptolemaic period. However, in this instance it was confined to the 12th Dynasty, appearing only on the exterior of the Asyut coffins.

In addition to the variation in muzzle shape, there were also variations in both its length and breadth. The length covered short, medium and long, while the breadth covered thin, medium and broad. A muzzle could be a combination of any of the three parameters and those analysed followed no discernible pattern other than being employed in all the periods covered.

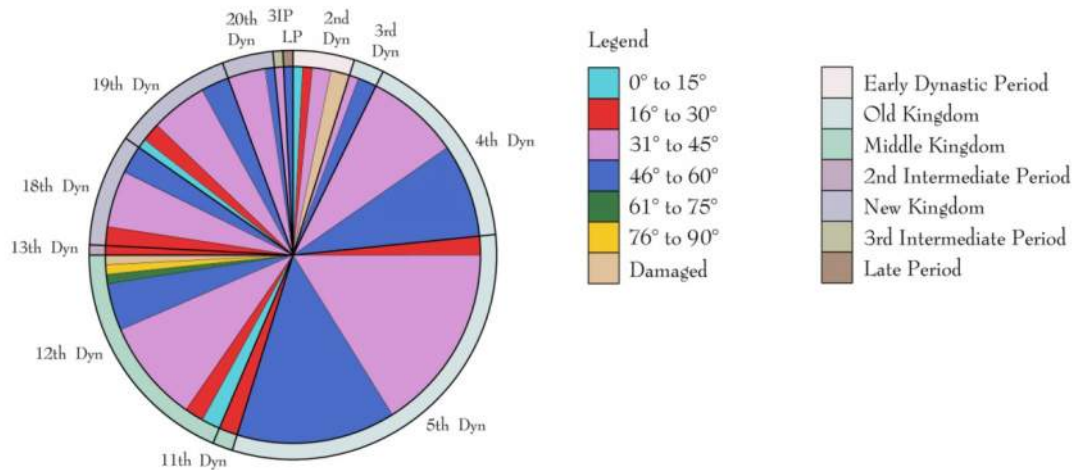
In the examples studied the curved muzzles subdivide into 32.3% short, 44.28% medium and 8.9% long, while the straight muzzles subdivide into 2.4% short and 3.6% medium. The subdivision of these muzzles into thin, medium and broad categories is shown in Table 12.10.

		Curved Muzzle Breadth			Straight Muzzle Breadth		
		Thin	Medium	Broad	Thin	Medium	Broad
Muzzle Length	Short	2.4%	20.28%	9.67%	0.81%	0.81%	0.81%
	Medium	16.12%	24.15%	4.0%	-	3.24%	0.81%
	Long	6.45%	1.62%	0.81%	-	-	-

Table 12.10: Percentage of different muzzle lengths to different muzzle breadth.

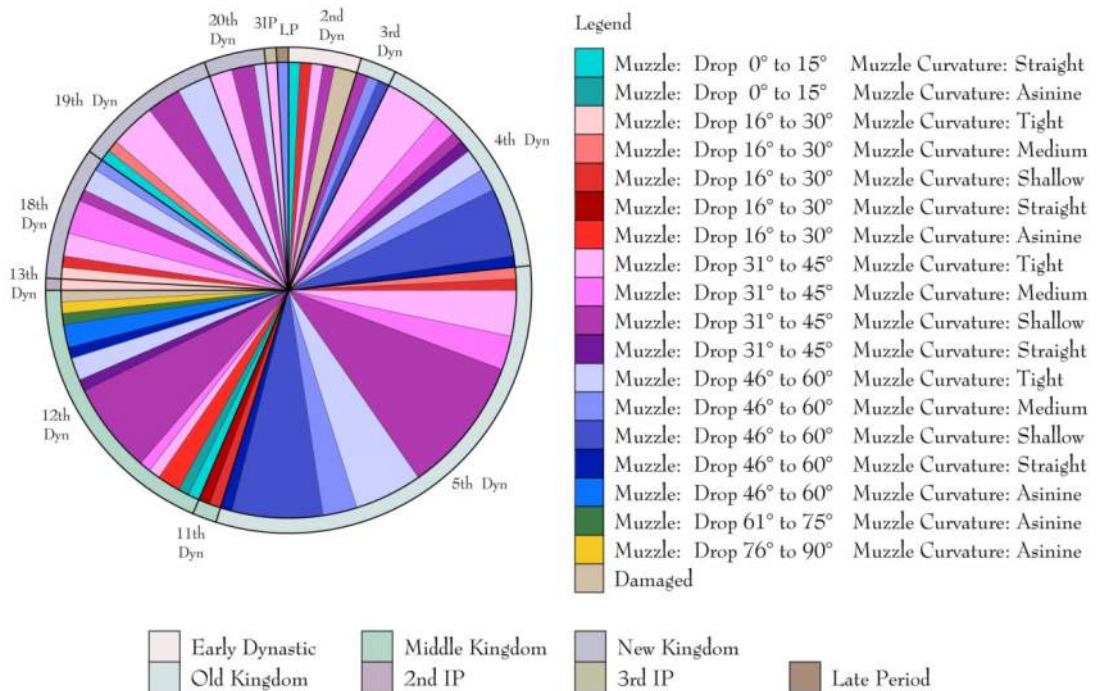
Of the entire muzzle shapes employed, the curved of medium length and breadth was the most prevalent shape, then followed by curved of short length, medium breadth and finally curved of medium length and thin breadth.

The further parameter crucial to the muzzle is the angle of drop from the horizontal and is shown in Pie-chart 12.7.



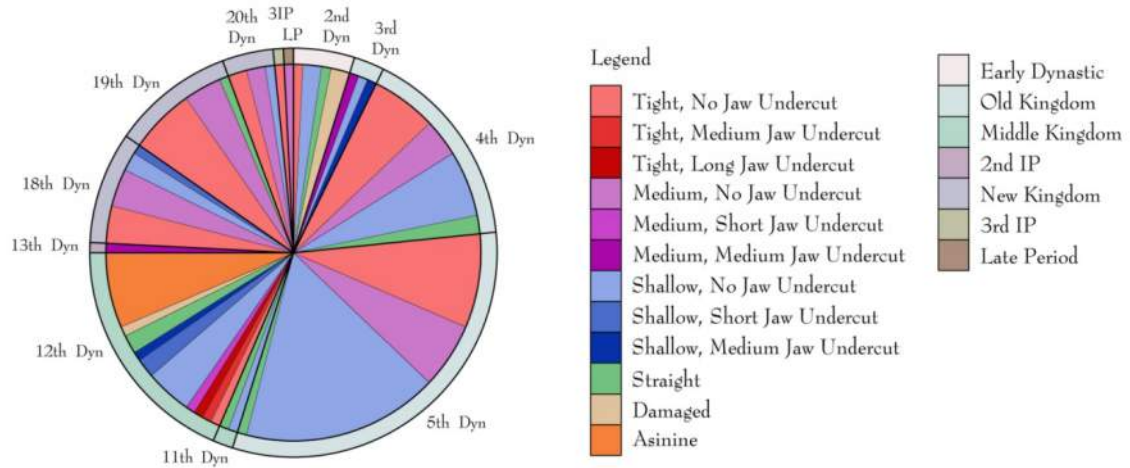
Pie-chart 12.7: Angle of muzzle drop from the horizontal.

The predominant range was 46° to 60° being 48.38% of the data set, followed by 31° to 45° at 35.48%, and 16° to 30° at 8.8%. These three angle groups were employed in the Old, Middle and New Kingdoms. Associated with the muzzle drop is the tightness of the curvature of the muzzle; by the addition of this parameter to the angle groupings in Pie-chart 12.7, a relationship between the two parameters can be ascertained and is detailed in Pie-chart 12.8.



Pie-chart 12.8: Relationship of muzzle drop to tightness of muzzle curvature.

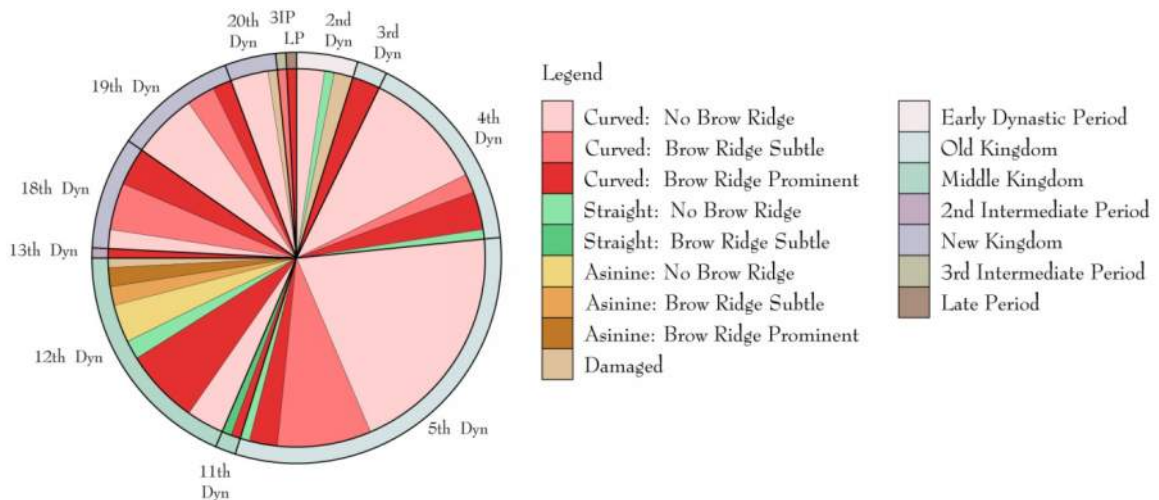
The tightness of the muzzle curvature bore no relationship to the angle of muzzle drop, however, the shallow curvature was the most prevalent form at 34.68% of the data sample. In certain instances the jaw along the underside of the muzzle was shown being undercut and stopping short of the muzzle tip. The distribution of this muzzle feature is detailed in Pie-chart 12.9.



Pie-chart 12.9: Distribution of undercut jaw in relationship to muzzle curvature.

This undercut was not common with it occurring on only 8.06% of the data sample, of these the temporal distribution was 1.62% in the Old Kingdom, 4.83% in the Middle Kingdom and 1.62% in the New Kingdom.

After the muzzle, the second defining feature on the head is that of the brow ridge, which only occurred in the three forms, none, subtle or prominent. The distribution of all three forms were employed is shown in Pie-chart 12.10.

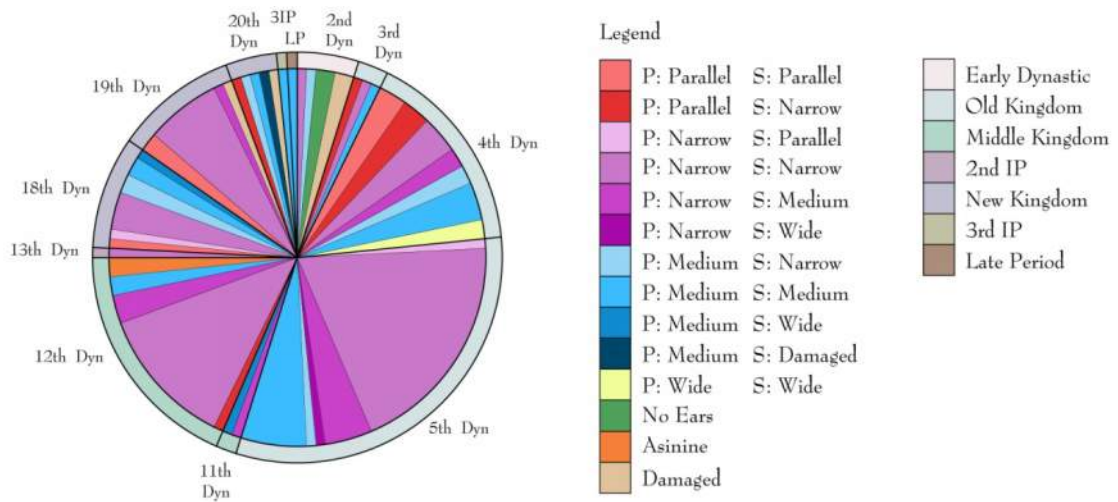


Pie-chart 12.10: Distribution of the brow ridge in relation to the muzzle shape.

Distribution across the three forms and was no brow ridge 54.03%, with subtle at 19.35% and prominent at 23.39%. These extended across muzzle forms and all the periods under analysis.

12.7.4 The Ears

The second distinctive feature of the Seth animal was in the representation of the ears and this feature had the greatest number of variables. There are six separate parameters in the depiction of the style of the ear and commencing with the first, the ear profile, Pie-chart 12.11 details the range of ear profiles and the primary and secondary relationship.



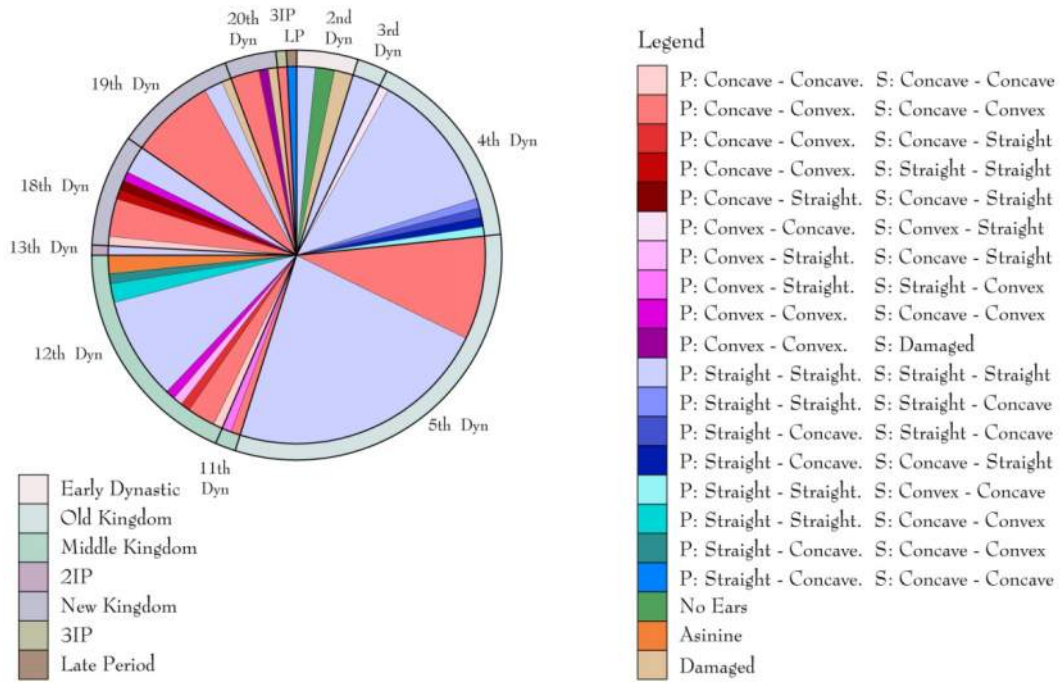
Pie-chart 12.11: Relationship between primary and secondary ear shapes and distribution.

Within the examples analysed, the most prevalent form had both primary and secondary ears being represent as narrow in shape and accounted for 46.77% of the data sample, this is followed by the both ears depicted in the medium shape at 15.32%. Table 12:11 outlines the total percentage distribution.

		Secondary Ear Shape						
		Parallel	Narrow	Medium	Wide	No Ears	Asinine	Damaged
Primary Ear Shape	Parallel	4.83%	4.83%					
	Narrow	1.62%	46.77%	9.67%	0.81%			
	Medium		5.64%	15.32%	1.62%			0.81%
	Wide				1.62%			
	No Ears					1.62%		
	Asinine						1.62%	
	Damaged							3.22%

Table 12.11: Percentage distribution of Primary to Secondary Ear shape.

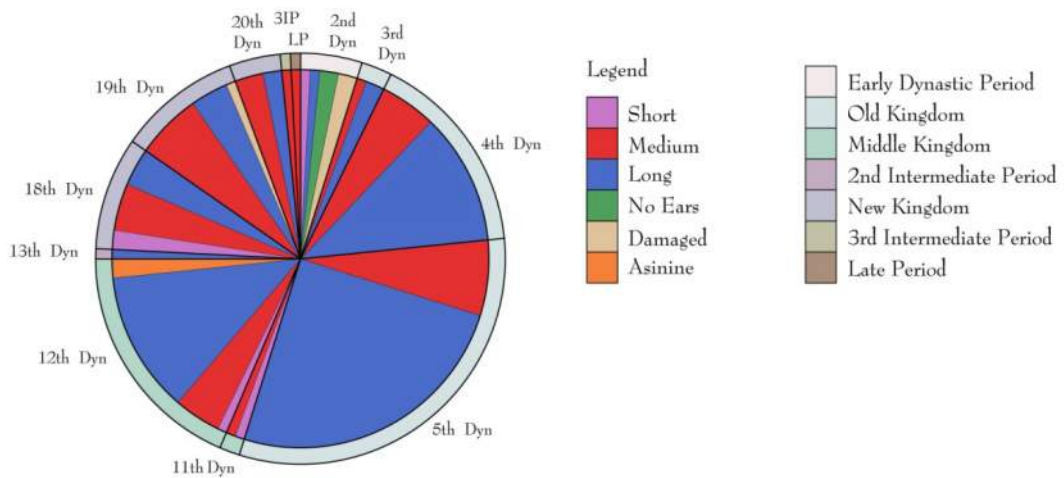
The second parameter in the ear analysis is that of the ear shape which is defined by the character of the leading and trailing edges of the primary and secondary ears and whether the same or different profiles were employed on the two ears. These variations are detailed in Pie-chart 12.12.



Pie-chart 12.12: Relationship between primary and secondary ear profiles and distribution.

The most frequent profile is straight edges to leading and trailing edges on both primary and secondary ears at 52.4% of the sample and employed in all periods. The second most frequent profile is concave leading edge and convex trailing edge at 25.81%. Although employed in the Old and Middle Kingdoms, and allowing for the data bias to the Old Kingdom, this profile was principally concentrated in the New Kingdom representations. The most unusual ear shape and profile is asinine, restricted to the Middle Kingdom and was employed with the asinine muzzles discussed above. However, only 25% of the asinine muzzles had asinine ears.

The third parameter was that of the length of the ear which is detailed in Pie-chart 12.13.

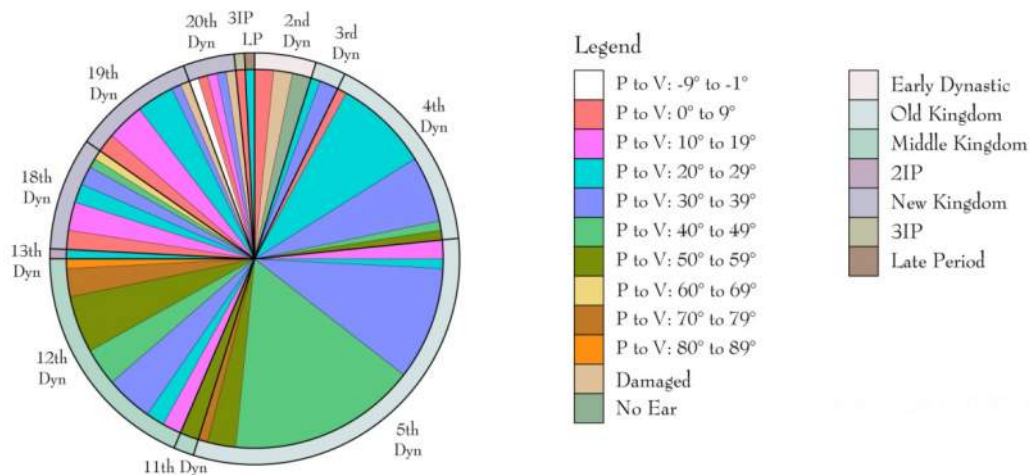


Pie-chart 12.13: Distribution of ear length.

The most prevalent ear length depicted was long with 58.06% of the data set, followed by the medium ear length at 32.25%. Although both lengths were employed throughout the time

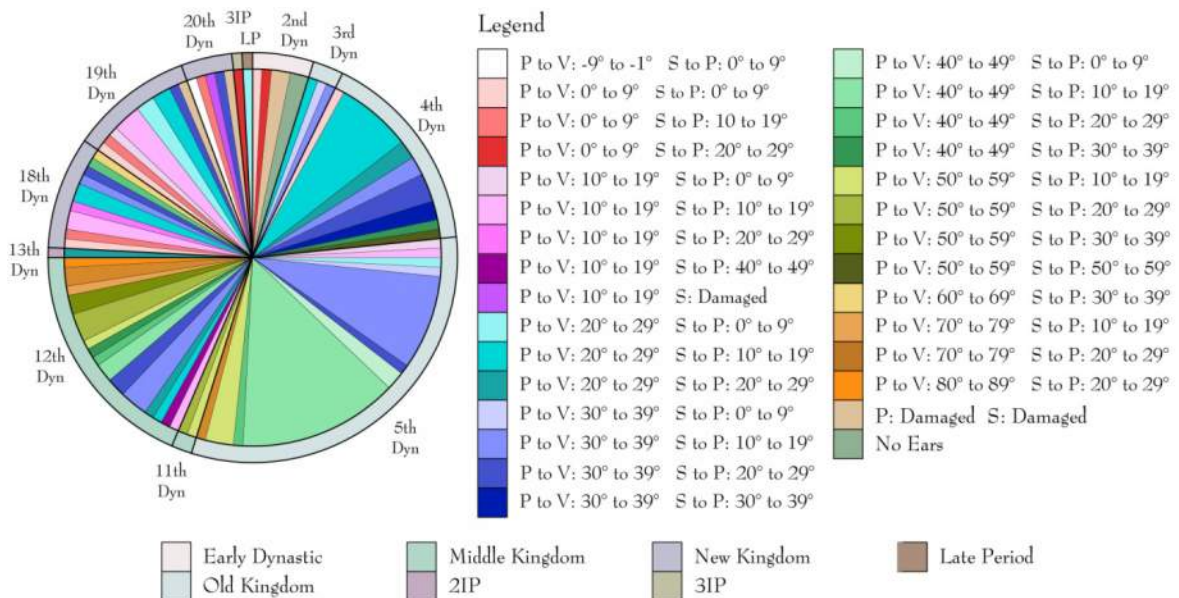
period the predominance of long ears in the Old and Middle Kingdoms was replaced with medium length in the New Kingdom.

The fourth parameter for the ear analysis is that of the relationship of the ears to the vertical. For this to be undertaken the data was separated into angle of the primary ear to the vertical, and then the relationship of the secondary ear to the primary ear. Firstly the relationship of the primary ear to the vertical is detailed in Pie-chart 12.14.



Pie-chart 12.14: Distribution of the angle of the primary ear to the vertical.

Although there was a considerable range of the primary ear to the vertical, within the data set the range is concentrated into three dominant angular ranges, first being 30° to 39° at 24.19%, secondly 40° to 49° at 20.97% and finally 20° to 29° at 17.74%.

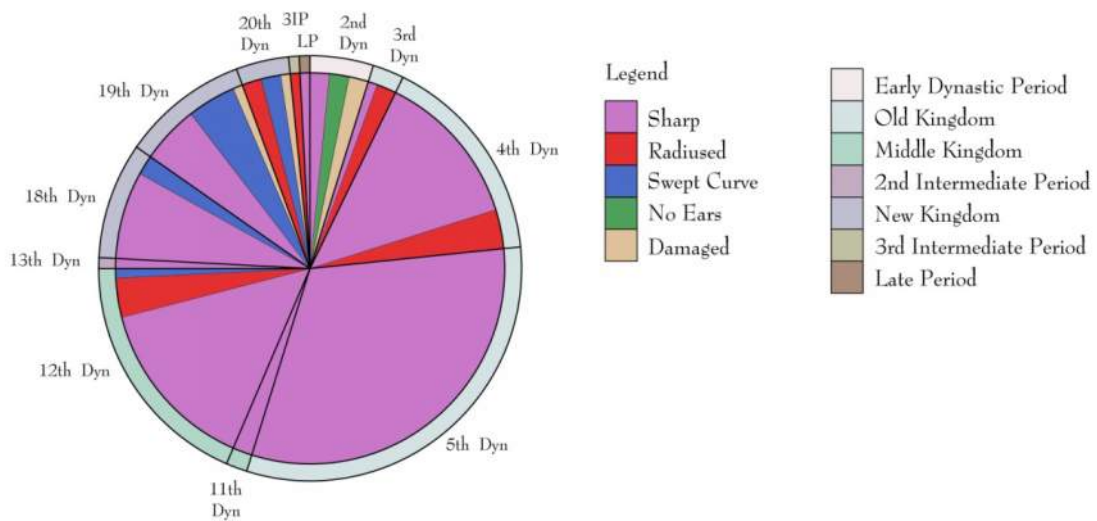


Pie-chart 12.15: Relationship of the angle of secondary ear to the primary ear.

Analysing the relationship the angle of the secondary ear to the primary ear, there is a variation in angle from 0°, which is parallel, to a divergent angle of 43°. These angular ranges extended across those of the primary ear and are shown in Pie-chart 12.15.

Within the distribution of the angle range of the secondary to primary ear the dominant angle range is 10° to 19° and is distributed through the three prevalent primary ear angle ranges outlined above, with 11.29% occurring in the 20° to 29°, 13.71% occurring in the 30° to 39° and 15.32% occurring in the 40° to 49° angle ranges. Of these, the prominent angle between the secondary and primary ears that occur in the primary ear range 20° to 29° and 30° to 39° were employed in the Old, Middle and New Kingdoms. Those in the primary ear range 40° to 49° were only employed in the Old and Middle Kingdoms.

The fifth parameter in defining the ear variations is that of the type of junction of the primary ear to the head and these are detailed in Pie-chart 12.16.

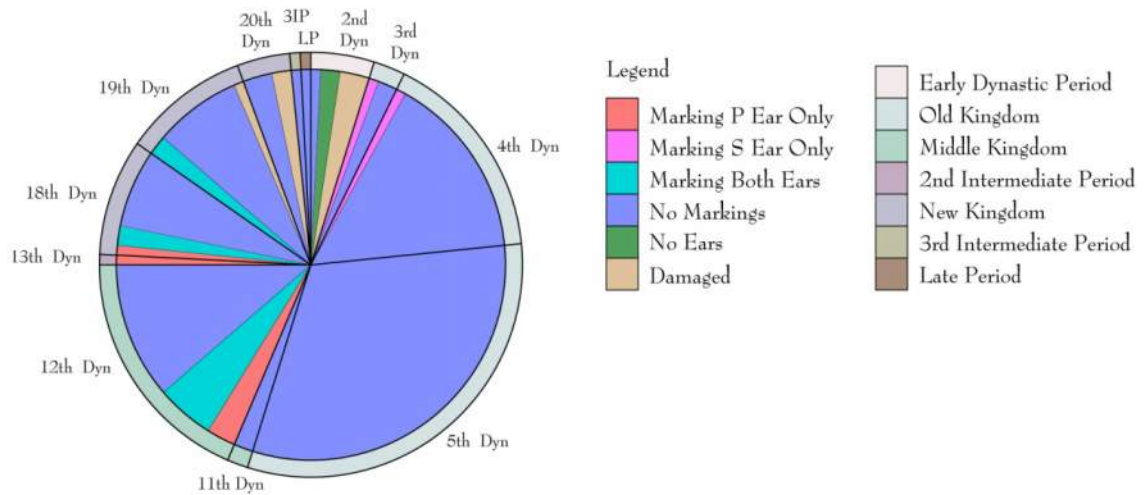


Pie-chart 12.16: Distribution of types of ear junction with the head.

Of the three types of ear junction, the most prevalent is that defined as sharp with it being employed on 76.61% of the data set, while the radiused was only utilised in 10.48% of the sample and the swept curve was only used in 8.06% of the images.

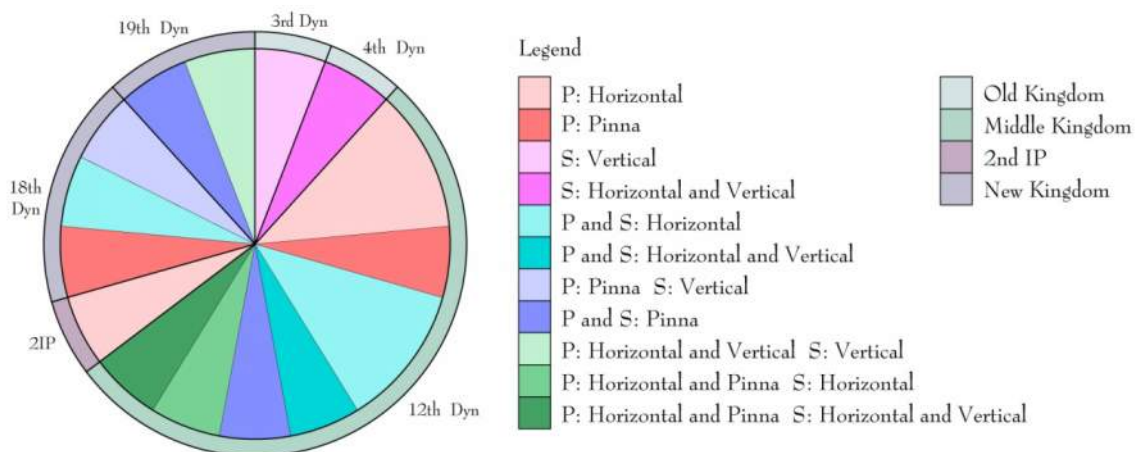
In temporal distribution the sharp junction occurred from the Early Dynastic to the Late Period, while the radiused form occurred from the Old Kingdom through to the 3rd Intermediate Period and the swept curve was only used in the Middle and New Kingdoms.

The sixth and final parameter in the defining of the ear of the Seth animal is that of the markings displayed on both the primary and secondary ears. The markings take four forms, those of vertical lines, horizontal lines, of a combination of horizontal lines and the depiction of a *pinna*. The distribution of the ear markings whether on a single ear, either ears or no markings at all are detailed in Pie-chart 12.17.



Pie-chart 12.17: Distribution of markings to primary and secondary ears.

Of the images studied 79.84% of the ears have no markings and extended from the Early Dynastic Period through to the Late Period. Of the remaining ears 8.06% had markings to both ears, 4.03% had markings to the primary ear only and 1.62% to the secondary ear only. The distribution of the ears with markings are displayed above are detailed on Pie-chart 12.18.



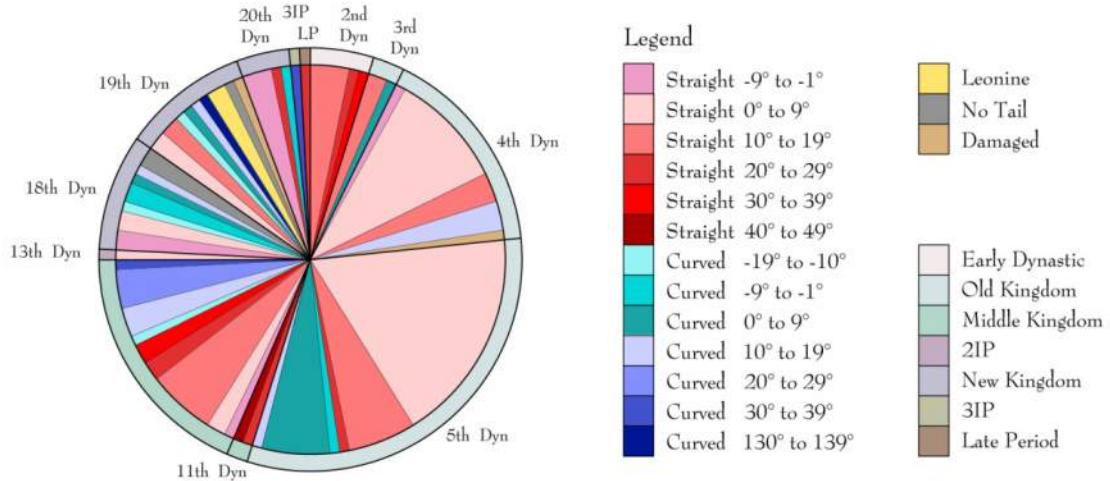
Pie-chart 12.18: Distribution of the range of ear markings on the primary and secondary ears.

Although only 13.71% or 17 of the data sample had markings on the ears, within the group were 11 variations to the configuration of ear markings analysed. Of these the four dominant combinations are, horizontal markings to the primary ear at 2.42% of the sample and horizontal markings to the primary and secondary ears at 2.42% of the sample, while the *pinna* to the primary ear and to both the primary and secondary ears are at 1.61%.

12.7.5 The Tail Shaft

The third distinctive feature of the Seth animal is the tail and seven of the parameters employed in the depiction of the tail are considered, commencing with shape and angle to the

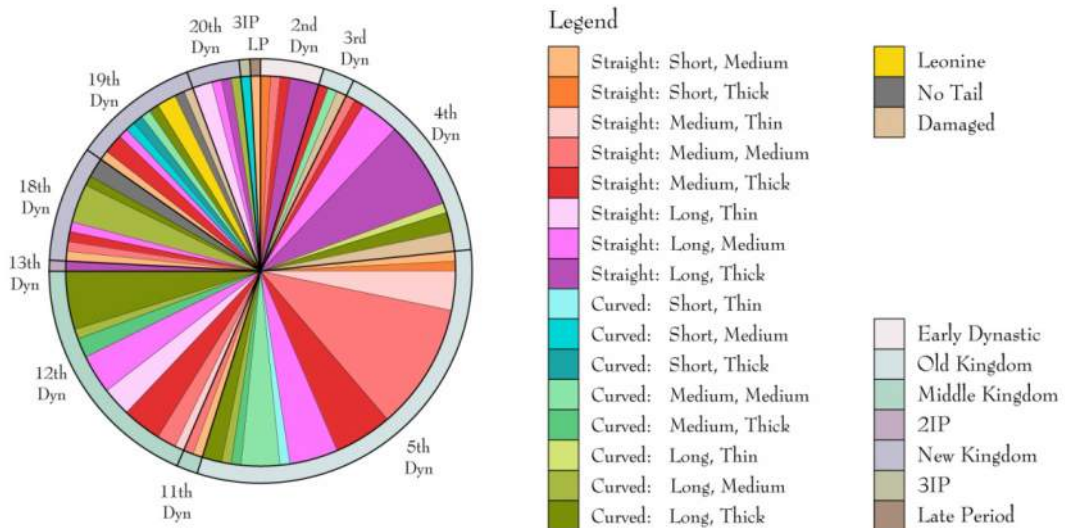
vertical as detailed in Pie-chart 12.19.



Pie-chart 12.19: Distribution of tail shape and angle to the vertical.

Analysis of the data on the tail discerned that the tail was not always depicted straight, with 67.74% of the sample being straight while 26.61% were curved. In addition although generally considered as erect, both tail shapes actually varied in angle from the vertical. With the straight tail the most prevalent angle range was from 0° to 9° at 33.06% of the sample, followed by the angle range of 10° to 19° at 20.16%. Of the curved tails the angle range of 0° to 9° was the most prevalent at 8.06% of the sample followed by 10° to 19° at 6.45%.

The third and fourth parameters for the tail was the length and thickness which is detailed in Pie-chart 12.20.

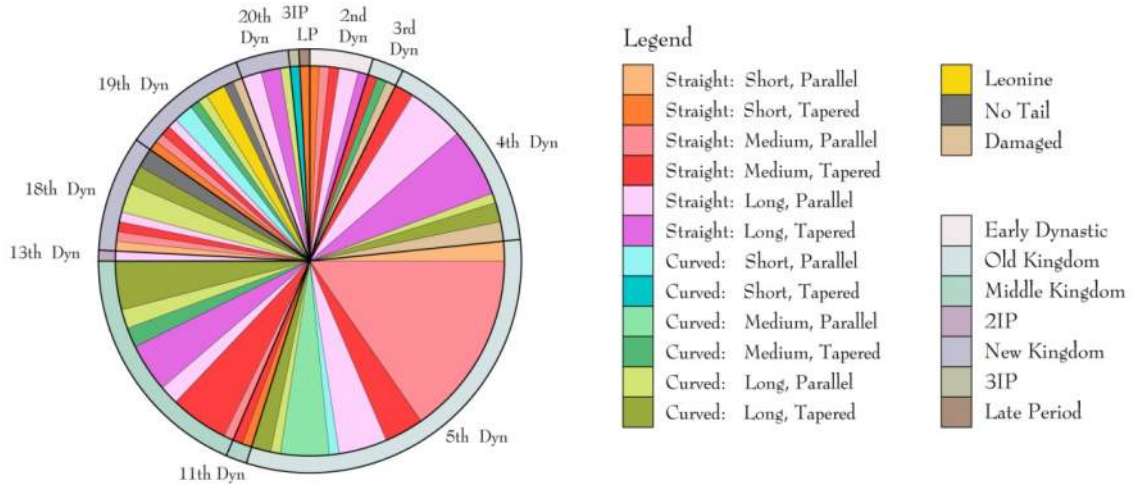


Pie-chart 12.20: Distribution of tail length and thickness in relation to tail shape.

The thickness and length of the tail bore no relationship to each other, of the straight tail the most common form was the medium length tail of medium thickness which occurred in 15.32% of the sample, while the thick tail of medium length and the long tail of medium thickness were both utilised at 12.9% each in the sample. The final major straight form, the

long thin tail, occupied 10.68% of the sample. The curved tails the most prevalent form of was the thick tail of long length 7.67%, followed by the long tail of medium thickness at 5.54% and the tail of medium length and thickness at 4.83%.

The fifth parameter is the taper of the tail, and is detailed in Pie-chart 12.21.



Pie-chart 12.21: Distribution of tail taper in relationship to shape and length.

The distribution of the taper of the tail breaks down into parallel at 66.12% and tapered 26.61% of the data sample. These can be further subdivided into straight and curved forms, with straight parallel being at 37.09%, straight tapered at 29.03%, curved parallel at 13.71% and curved tapered at 12.90%.

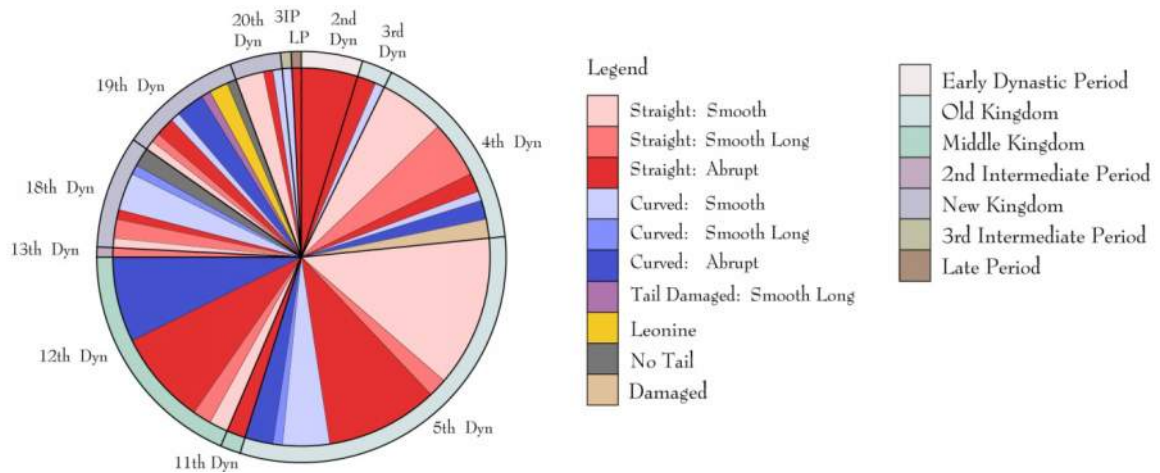
Table 12.33 details the percentage breakdown of the forms in relation the tail length and shape

	Straight		Curved	
	Parallel	Tapered	Parallel	Tapered
Short tail length	2.42%	3.22%	2.42%	0.81%
Medium tail length	18.55%	13.71%	4.03%	3.22%
Long tail length	16.12%	12.10%	7.26%	8.87%
Total	37.09%	29.03%	13.71%	12.90%

Table 12.12: Most prevalent forms of tail taper on straight and curved tails in relation to length.

From Table 12:12 it can be seen that the most commonly used form for the straight tail was the medium length parallel, followed by the long medium. With the curved tail, the most common form was the long length tapered followed by the long length parallel.

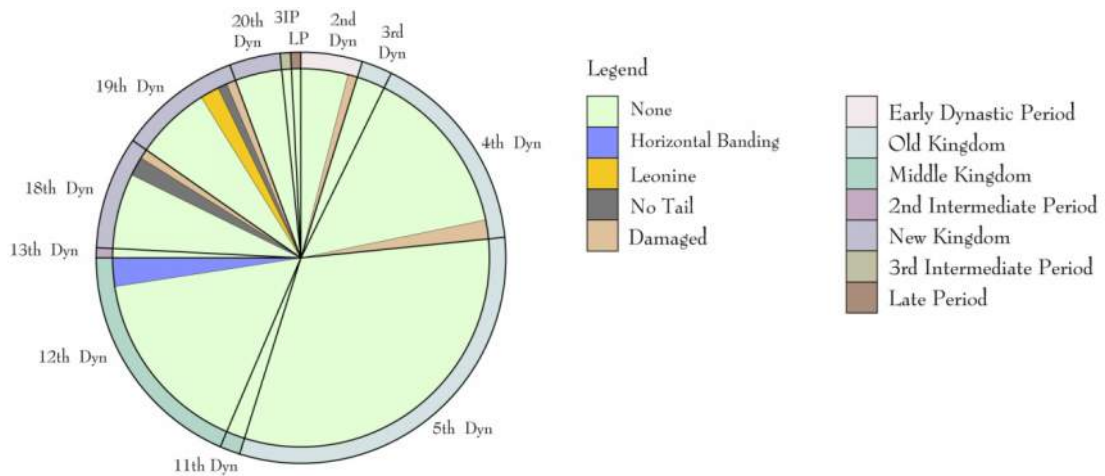
The sixth parameter of the tail shaft was that of the junction of the tail with the body and is detailed in Pie-chart 12.22.



Pie-chart 12.22: Distribution of tail to body junctions in relation to tail shape.

The distribution of the tail junction to the body can also be divided into those for the straight tail at 66.93% and the curved tail at 26.61% of the data sample. These can be further subdivided into the abrupt junction at a total of 45.26% of the sample (31.45% straight, 13.70% curved), followed by the smooth junction at 35.48% (24.19% straight, 11.29% curved) of the sample and finally the long smooth junction at 12.91% (11.29% straight, 1.62% curved).

The final parameter for the tail shaft is the markings on the tail and is detailed in Pie-chart 12.23.

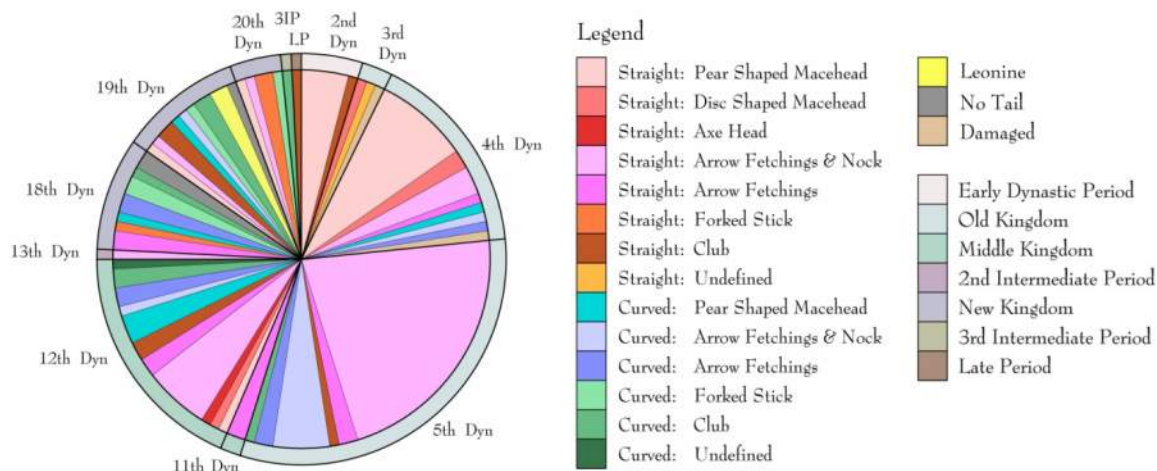


Pie-chart 12.23: Distribution of markings to tail shaft.

The majority of the tails shafts, 89.5% of the data sample have no markings on them. Those with markings only occur on the 2.43% of the tail shafts and are restricted to the 12th Dynasty. These markings only occur on those tails that were tapered with the arrow fletching andnock terminals. As discussed in 12.3.6 above these markings coupled with the taper and fletchings were for the tail to replicate a reed arrow.

12.7.6 The Tail Terminal

The different types and distribution of tail terminal forms are detailed in Pie-chart 12.24.

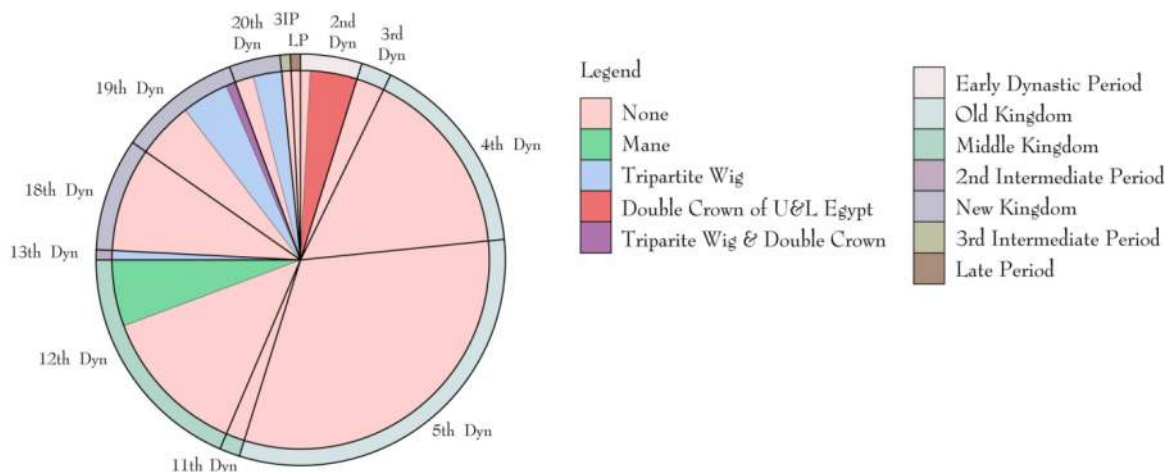


Pie-chart 12.24: Distribution of tail terminals.

The most used form of tail terminal was that of an arrow, depicted with fletchings and, on occasions, the nock as well. This terminal was utilised in 53.22% of the data sample, with 40.32% on straight tails and 12.90% on curved tail. The arrow was utilised in images from the 4th Dynasty through to the 20th Dynasty. The second most used terminal was the pear shaped mace head, which occurred in 19.35% of the sample, with 14.41% on straight tails and 4.84% on curved tails. Its employment extended from the 2nd Dynasty through to the 20th Dynasty. The forked tail terminal only occurs on 5.65% of the images, 2.42% on straight tails and 3.23% of the curved tails, and only used from the New Kingdom.

12.7.7 The Headdress

The Seth animal was occasionally depicted with a headdress and their distribution is detailed in Pie-chart 12.25.



Pie-chart 12.25: Distribution of headdress.

Of the headdress, the most frequently employed was the tripartite wig which was utilised on 7.26% of the images, appearing initially in the 13th Dynasty and continued to be employed in the 19th and 20th Dynasties. Not technically a headdress, but included in the classification, was the mane which was the second most utilised at 5.65% of the sample. Restricted to the 12th Dynasty, 4.84% were used on the image on the Asyut coffins. The double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt is constrained to the 2nd Dynasty occupying 4.03% of the images, however, a combined double crown and tripartite wig was utilised in the 20th Dynasty at 0.81% of the data set.

12.8 Analysis Results

From the data detailed in Pie-charts 12.1 to 12.25 it is possible to extract the most prevalent forms of the characteristic features of the Seth animal and from them create a schedule from which the representation of what should be typical zoomorphic Seth animal can be created. This schedule is shown in Table 12.13.

Parameter	Most prevalent	Parameter	Most prevalent	Parameter	Most prevalent
Body	Lean	Jaw u/cut	None	Tail Shape	Straight
Leg	Medium	Brow Ridge	None	Tail Angle	0 ^o to 9 ^o
Neck Angle	46 ^o to 60 ^o	Ear Profile	Narrow x 2	Tail Length	Medium
Banding	None	Ear Shape	Straight x 2	Tail Th'kness	Medium
Muzzle	Curved	Ear Length	Long	Tail Taper	Parallel
Length	Medium	Angle P to V	30 ^o to 39 ^o	Markings	None
Thickness	Medium	Angle P to S	10 ^o to 19 ^o	Body Junct'n	Abrupt
Drop	46 ^o to 60 ^o	Head Junct'n	Sharp	Terminal	Arrow F & N
Curvature	Shallow	Ear Marking	None	Headdress	None

Table 12.13: Distribution of major prevalent parameters of the zoomorphic Seth.

Utilising the above data a 'standard' Seth containing all of the most predominantly employed characteristics can be created and the author's interpretation is detailed in Fig 12.38.

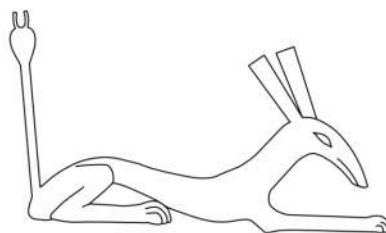
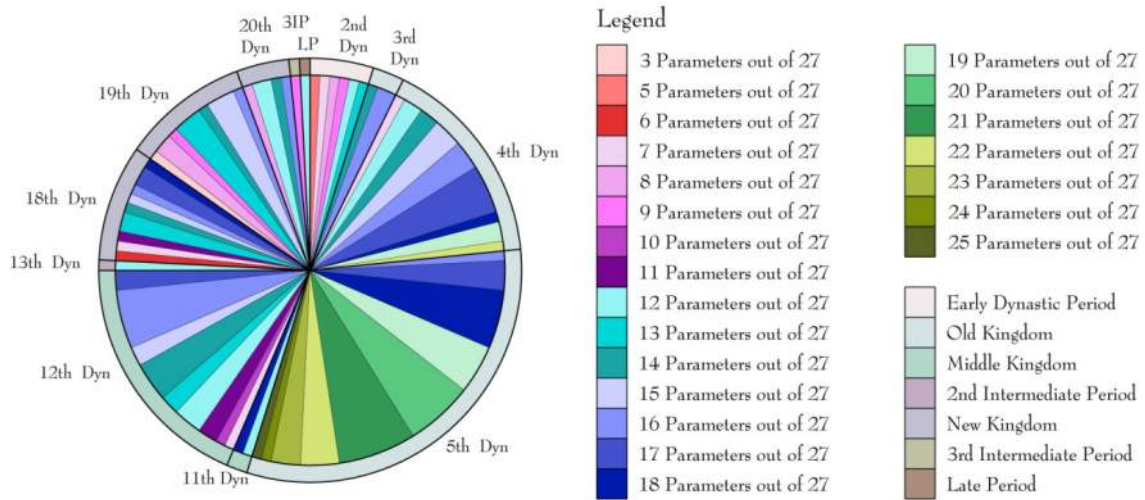


Fig 12.38: 'Standard' Seth created from most commonly employed characteristics from Pie-charts 12.1 to 12.25.

From the list of predominate characteristics 27 parameters can be extrapolated. By comparing these against the data on individual images in Pie-charts 12.1 to 12.25 a pattern of distribution of parameters can be ascertained and is detailed in Pie-chart 12.26.



Pie-chart 12.26: Distribution of predominate parameters on the zoomorphic Seth image.

No single image in the data set employed all 27 of the predominant characteristics but the most common number was 16 parameters per single image, occupying 12.1% of the data and was distributed from the Old to New Kingdom. However, in the 5th Dynasty a concentration images ranging from 16 to 25 parameters occupied 30.64% of the data set. All these images were from a single source, the Pyramid Texts carved on the walls of the internal chambers in the Pyramid of Unas. This concentration of images, created in the same place over a very small period of time, has created a unique collection of Seth reliefs that allows for the analysis to ascertain similarities or differences that occur in the images in relation to their proximity to each other. By grouping of the parameters into the major physical attributes, an analysis of the Seth images assembled by pyramid chamber and wall location, allowed the similarities and differences between closely associated images to be ascertained, this analysis is outlined in Appendix 4. The 38 images, 35 of Seth and three of Seth as a determinative, when dissected into their component parts produced a number of variables which are detailed in Table 12.14.

Variables	No	Variables	No	Variables	No
Body and Legs	6	Brow Ridge	3	Ear Markings	1
Neck	2	Headdress	1	Tail Shape and Angle	10
Muzzle Shape	8	Ear Shape and Profile	11	Tail Breadth Taper	10
Muzzle Drop and Curve	9	Ear Length, P and S Angles	15	Tail Markings	1
Jaw undercut	1	Ear Junction	1	Tail Terminals	1

Table 12.14. Number of variations in components in the zoomorphic Seth in the Pyramid of Unas.

When these variables are reassembled into the four major elements of body, head, ears and tails based on the Unas Seth images, 9 body, 26 head, 24 ear and 24 tail type were identified and their combinations in the images are detailed in Tables 12.15 to 12.17.

	Antechamber											Passage
	West Wall			South Wall			North Wall					N Wall
Image Ref	S1	S2	S37D	S3	S4	S38D	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10
Body Type	B4	B4	B7	B9	B9	B7	B4	B9	B9	B9	B4	B5
Head Type	H22	H8	H24	H4	H4	H20	H5	H13	H2	H19	H6	H18
Ear Type	E5	E21	E24	E19	E2	E22	E7	E1	E7	E7	E18	E3
Tail Type	T11	T3	T23	T18	T12	T8	T8	T14	T16	T15	T24	T10
Seth Type	ST20	ST13	ST24	ST36	ST36	ST25	ST11	ST37	ST34	ST38	ST12	ST22

Table 12.15: Seth type and body component employed on the Seth images on Antechamber and Passage walls in the Pyramid of Unas.

	Burial Chamber													
	North Wall													
	Top Register						Middle Register				Bottom Register			
Image Ref	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18	S19	S20	S21D	S22	S23	S24
Body Type	B3	B4	B8	B4	B8	B4	B8	B4	B2	B2	B8	B8	B8	B8
Head Type	H9	H14	H18	H20	H26	H21	H19	H25	H21	H25	H21	H15	H23	H3
Ear Type	E4	E11	E7	E4	E4	E7	E15	E22	E8	E17	E10	E9	E7	E13
Tail Type	T9	T21	T4	T7	T5	T11	T7	T17	T5	T21	T15	T15	T19	T22
Seth Type	ST6	ST16	ST29	ST18	ST33	ST19	ST30	ST21	ST4	ST5	ST31	ST28	ST32	ST27

Table 12.16: Seth type and body component employed on the Seth images on Burial Chamber north wall in the Pyramid of Unas.

	Burial Chamber											
	East Wall					South Wall						
Image Ref	S25	S26	S27	S28	S29	S30	S31	S32	S33	S34	S35	S36
Body Type	B2	B4	B2	B4	B4	B4	B4	B4	B4	B8	B1	B6
Head Type	H12	H11	H7	H2	H1	H2	H17	H4	H10	H6	H17	H16
Ear Type	E20	E7	E7	E6	E23	E16	E12	E7	E14	E16	E22	E4
Tail Type	T4	T5	T5	T12	T1	T13	T11	T5	T4	T2	T5	T13
Seth Type	ST3	ST15	ST2	ST8	ST7	ST9	ST17	ST10	ST14	ST26	ST1	ST23

Table 12.17: Seth type and body component employed on the Seth images on Burial Chamber east and south walls in the Pyramid of Unas.

Although the data analysis confirms that there were no two images 100% identical there were body configurations which were repeated in adjacent images on the same walls. These were supplemented with repeated head, ear and tail configurations. However, these arrangements were random both in their assembly and distribution within the pyramid chambers. For example, Burial Chamber north wall top register, image reference S13 to S16. S13 had body

type B8 and S16 had body type B4 but both had ear type E7, while S14 had body type B4 and S15 had body type B8, but both had ear type E4, these configurations only occurring in that location. The distribution of repeated components is detailed on Figs. 12.39 to 12.43.

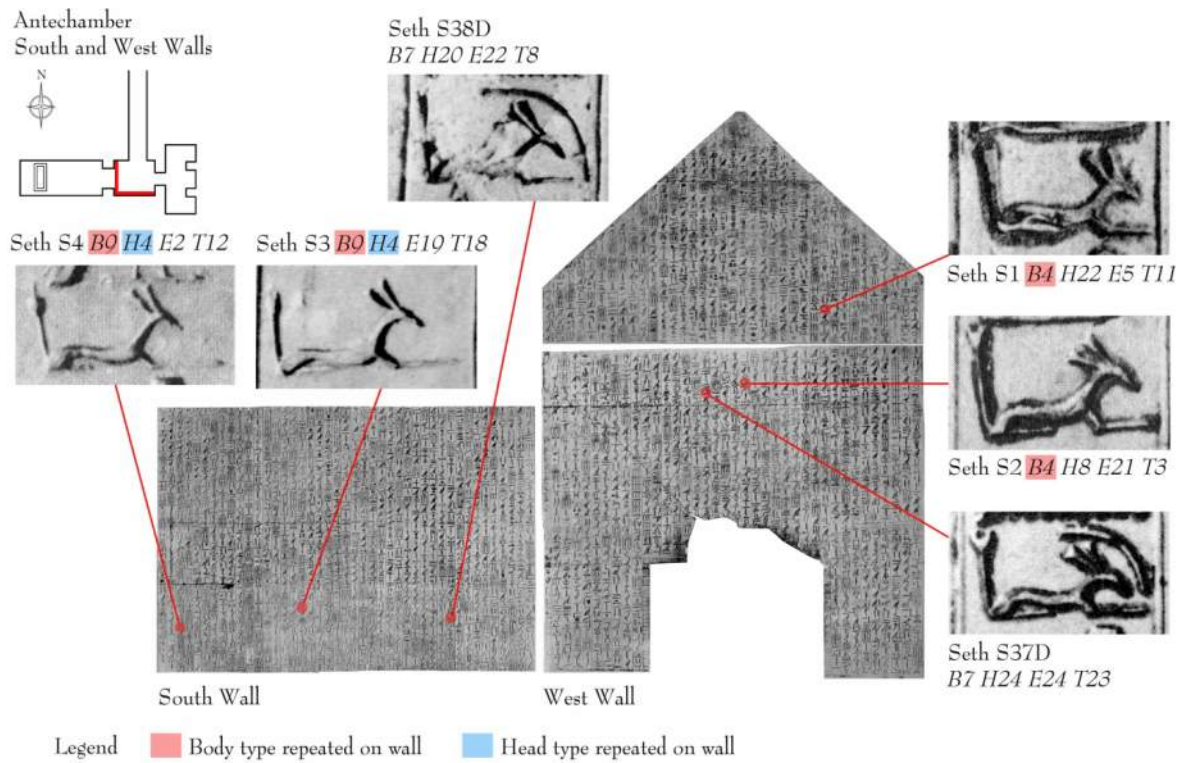


Fig. 12.39: Distribution of Seth images with repeated body and head configurations on the south and west walls, Antechamber, Pyramid of Unas.

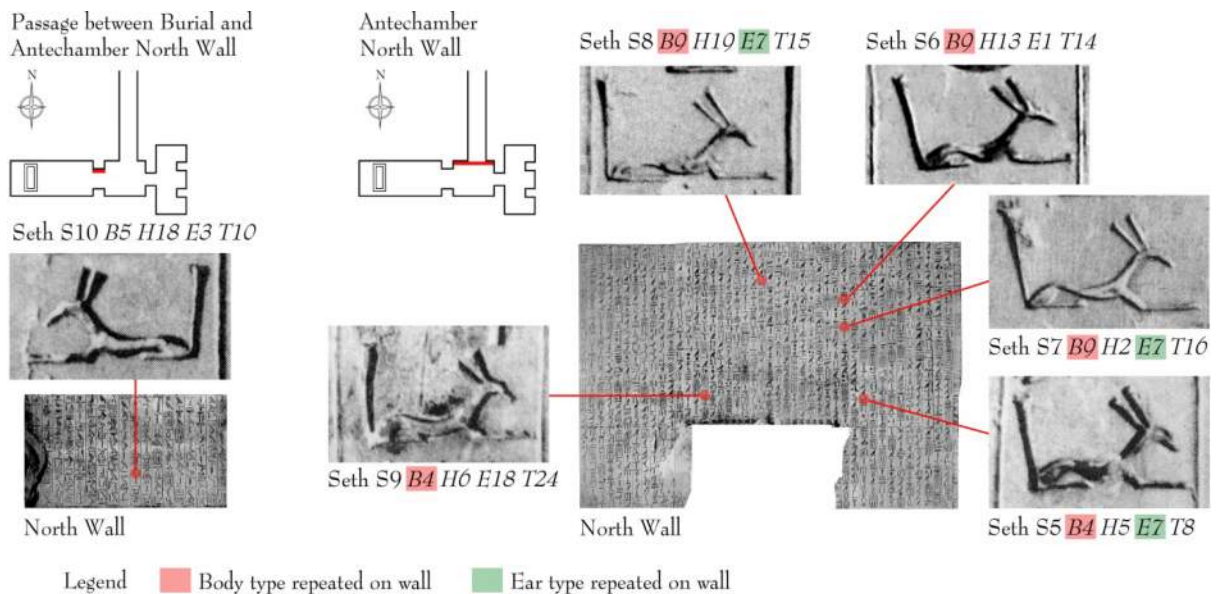


Fig. 12.40: Distribution of Seth images with repeated body and ear configurations on the north wall of the Antechamber and north wall of the Passage, Pyramid of Unas.

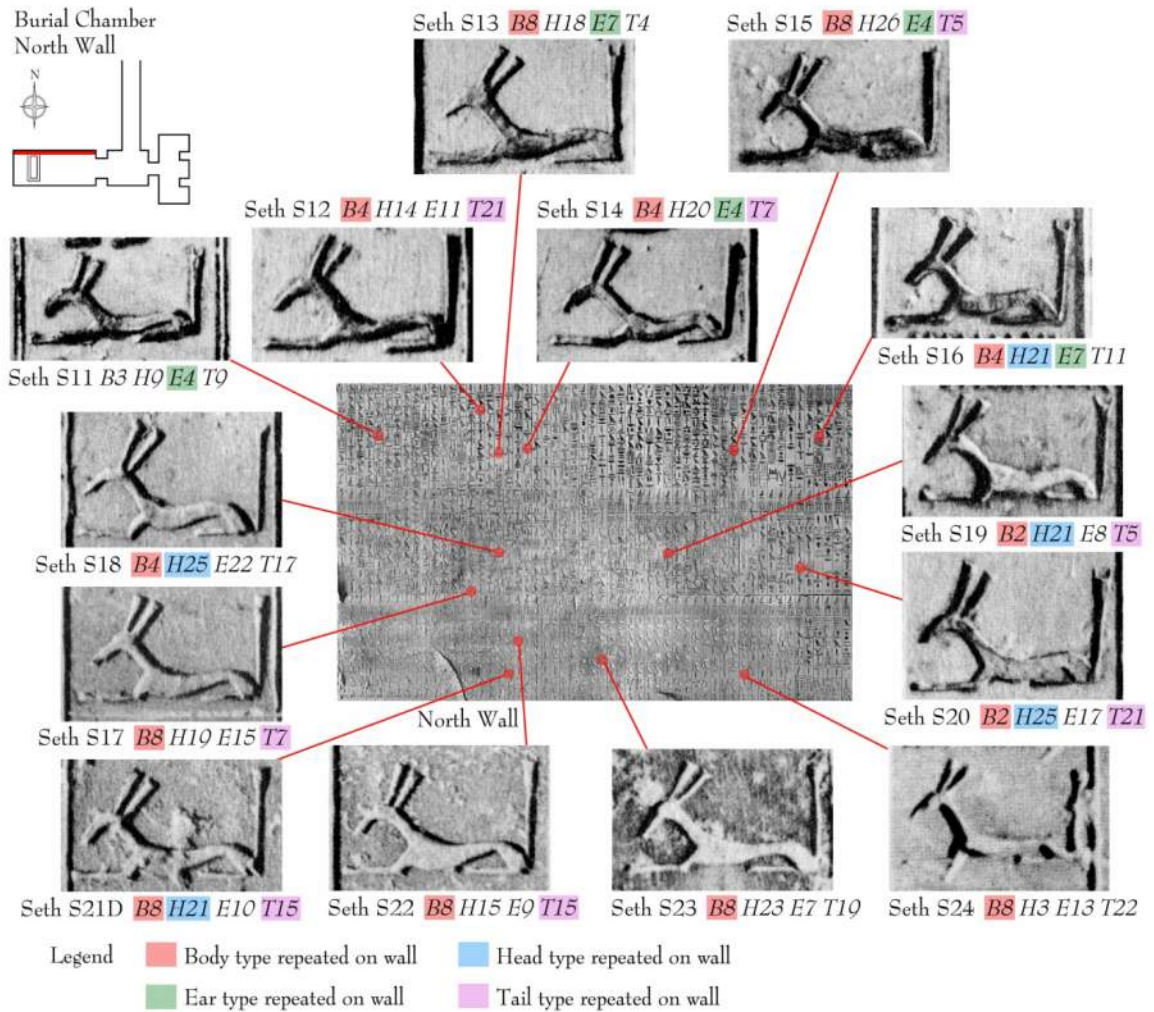


Fig. 12.41: Distribution of Seth images with repeated body, head, ear and tail configurations on the north wall of the Burial Chamber, Pyramid of Unas.

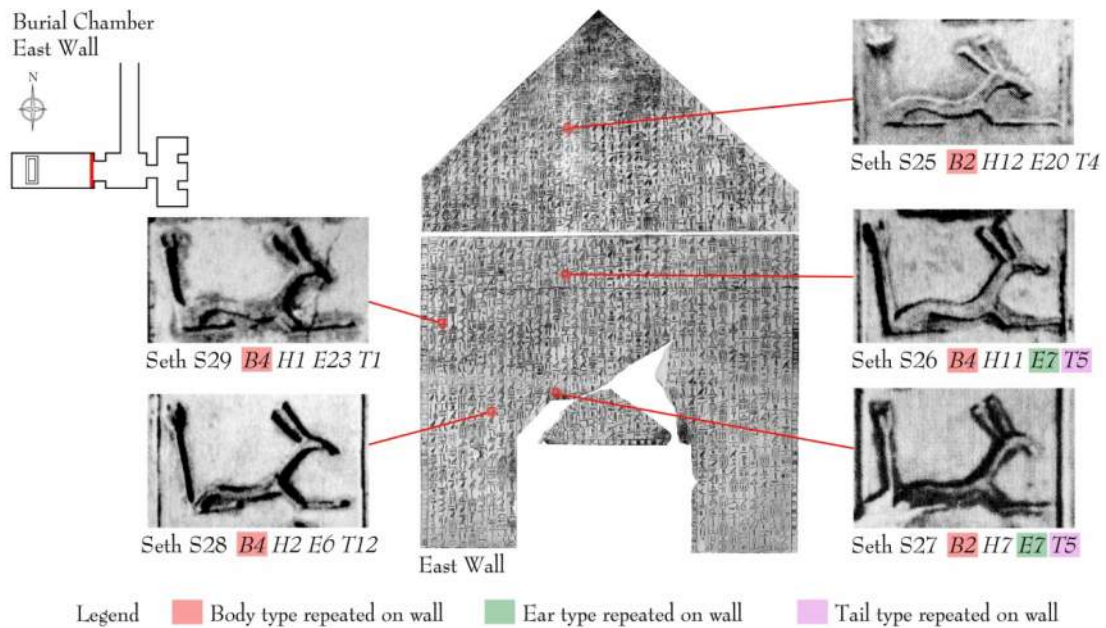


Fig. 12.42: Distribution of Seth images with repeated body, ear and tail configurations on the east wall of the Burial Chamber, Pyramid of Unas.

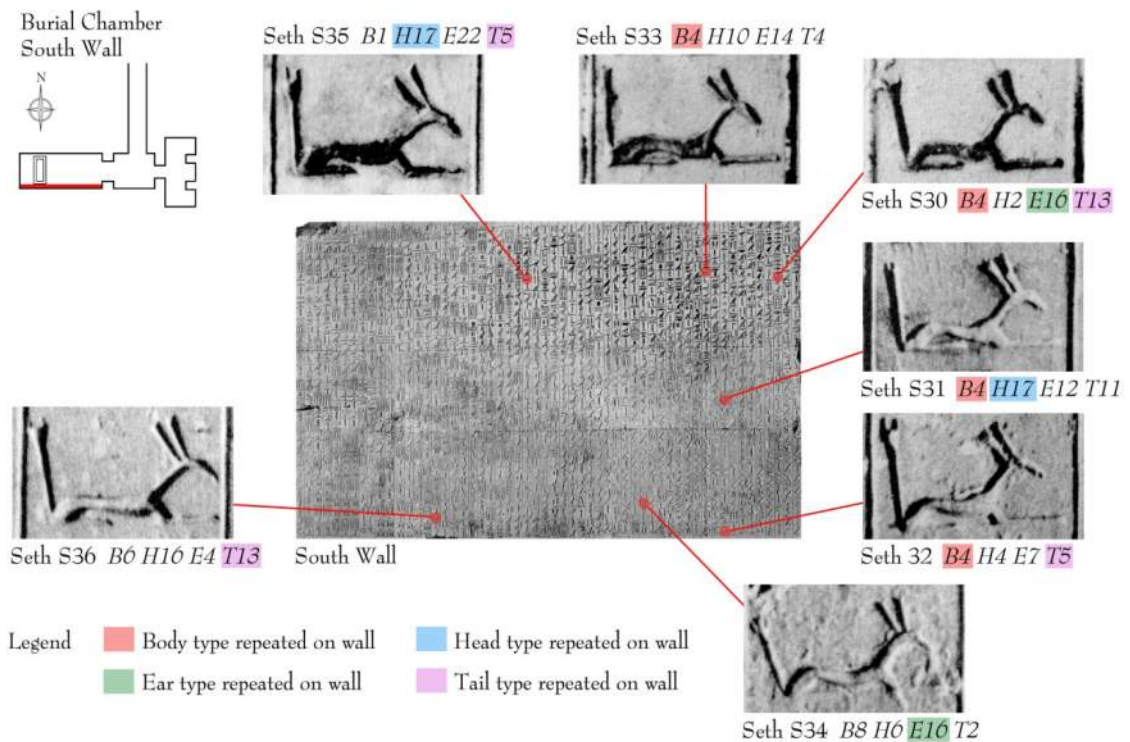


Fig. 12.43: Distribution of Seth images with repeated body, body, ear and tail configurations on the south wall of the Burial Chamber, Pyramid of Unas.

An examination of the distribution and style of the images within the chambers revealed that although a number of identical components were employed there was no consistency in utilizing them together in adjacent images, as seen in S12, S13 and S14 or S26 and S29. The above analysis further confirms that no two images are 100% compatible. It would advocate that these images were the work of a number of different craftsmen, and even when were working adjacent to each other, they retained their own interpretation of Seth's image with their idiosyncratic variations in its portrayal.

12.8.1 Analysis Summary

The above analysis would support the paradigm that throughout the period of its use there was never a ridged fully defined or standard form of the zoomorphic Seth. Even in a situation where a number of images were created in close proximity over a short period of time there were variations. It is apparent that within complying with artistically vague constraints of the canine body, curved muzzle, erect ears and tail, individual craftsman's interpretation of the Seth forms existed with the size, shape and angle of the component parts adjusted as required by expediency or just at the whim of the craftsman. Even within a single dynastic period there was no adherence to a standard set of defined Seth components but instead stylistically

individual images were created that produced different interpretations of how the deity should appear (Fig. 12.44).

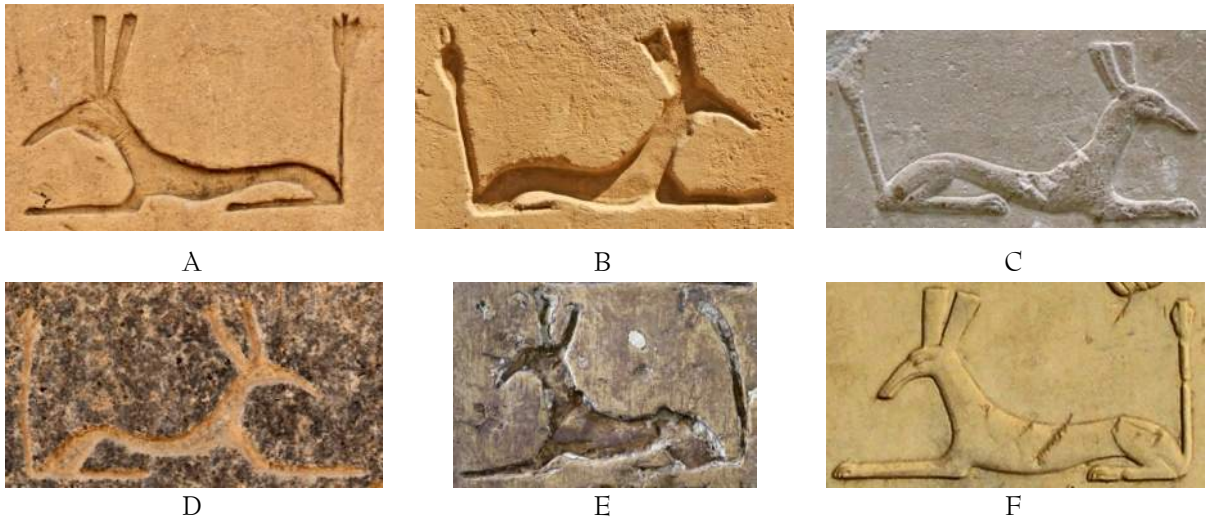


Fig. 12.44: Examples zoomorphic Seth images. A – Seth from the lintel of Senwosret I, Open Air Museum, Karnak. B – Seth from the White Chapel of Senwosret I, Open Air Museum, Karnak. C- Seth from statue of Senwosret I from Lisht. Cairo Museum JE 31136. A to C 12th Dynasty. D- Seth from Red Chapel of Hatshepsut, Open Air Museum, Karnak. E – Seth from Temple of Nubt Thutmose III, Petrie Museum UC 14420. F – Seth of Amenhotep III from stone store Open Air Museum, Karnak. D to F 18th Dynasty.

The image of the zoomorphic Seth never appeared on its own but always with other hieroglyphs which could affect how the image was represented. Examples exist where the craftsman had pragmatically adapted the form of Seth to fit the constraints of its location had imposed (Fig. 12.45).

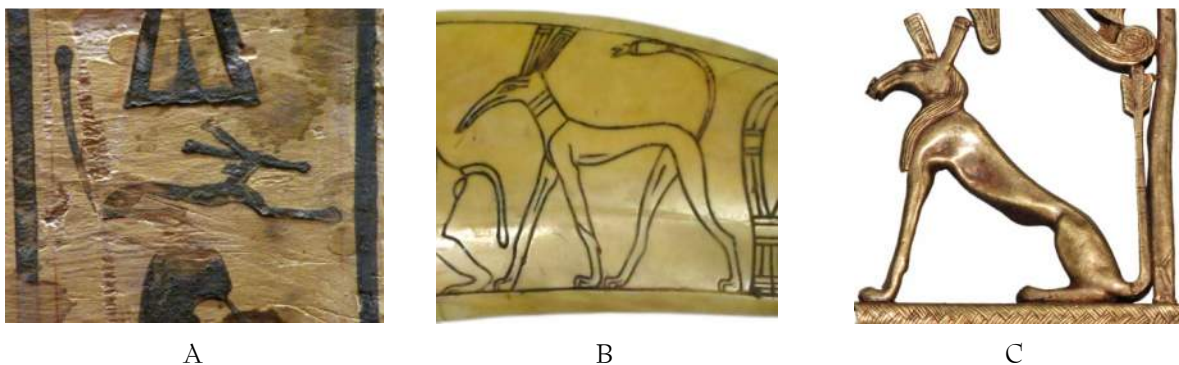


Fig. 12.45: 12th Dynasty examples adaption of the Seth image pragmatically adjusted to fit the constraints of its location. A – Seth on the coffin of Meshti, Rosicrucian Egyptian Museum RC 2822. B – Seth on magic wand, Museum of Scotland A.1921.893. C – Seth on pectoral of Senwosret III, Eaton College ECM 1585.

In Figure 12.45A the Seth figure is drawn in a small space between the hieroglyphs above and below, so the craftsman has positioned the head with the muzzle almost horizontal the the primary ear following the same line as the muzzle and the secondary ear at a shallow angle to the primary ear all to avoid the sign above. While the long tail was represented as gently curved and taken up to the gap between the vertical register and the sign above. While in

Figure 12.45B the long tail has been curved over the back of Seth to keep it within the top boundary of the register and avoid the image behind. Finally Figure 12.45C the tail has been angled towards the body to allow the fletchings of the terminal to be clear of the vertical frame of the pectoral.

At beginning of the chapter the statement was made that the composition of the Seth animal is best described as the sum of its parts, and from the analysis of these parts it can be said that the representations of the Seth animal contain all the parts; however they do not all add up to the same composition twice.

As discussed in section 12.1 deities were depicted in zoomorphic, bimorphic and anthropomorphic forms. This chapter has analysed the variations in the depiction of Seth in zoomorphic form, the following chapter will consider the variations in the representations of Seth in bimorphic form from the Old Kingdom through to the Ptolemaic Period.

Chapter 13: Seth and His Depiction in Bimorphic Form.

13.1 Seth in Bimorphic Form.

In the preceding chapter the portrayal of Seth in zoomorphic form was analysed, this chapter will analyse the image of the bimorphic Seth and its variations. This analysis will be restricted to the fully developed depictions of Seth with the head of the Seth animal dating from the 3rd Dynasty of the Old Kingdom through to the Ptolemaic Period. However, prior to this analysis an overview of all the types of representations employed in a 'litany of Seth' will be undertaken including those that replaced the usual Seth animal attributes. All the examples employed are the author's drawings of authentic images shown in their original orientation.

Ancient Egyptian religion was polytheistic in its format, portraying the deities in more than one physical form which included zoomorphic, bimorphic, and anthropomorphic. The bimorphic form Seth was represented as a man with the head of the Seth animal. The figure could be depicted as standing, striding or seated (Fig. 13.1).

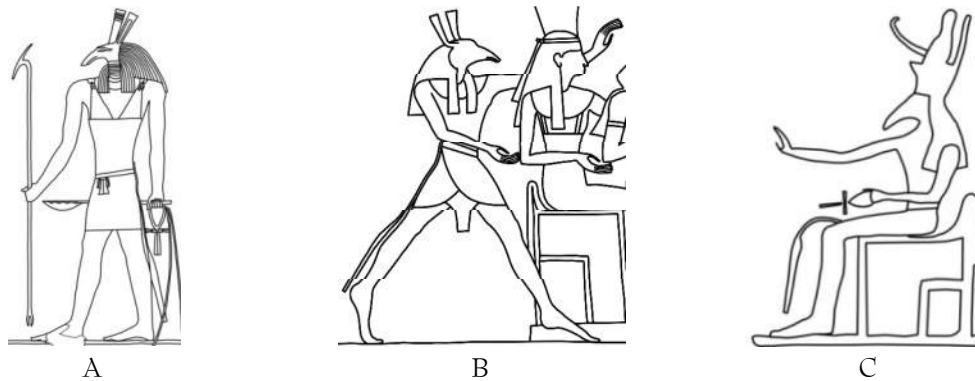


Fig. 13.1: Seth in bimorphic form. A – standing. B – striding. C – seated.

In anthropomorphic form he was depicted as a fully human male in either the standing or seated position (Fig. 13.2) or in mummiform, again either in the standing or seated pose (Fig. 13.3).

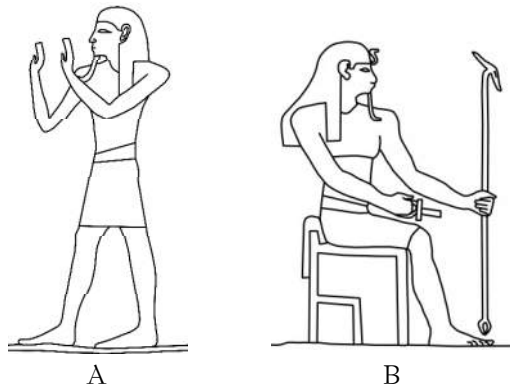


Fig. 13.2: Seth in anthropomorphic form. A – standing. B – seated.

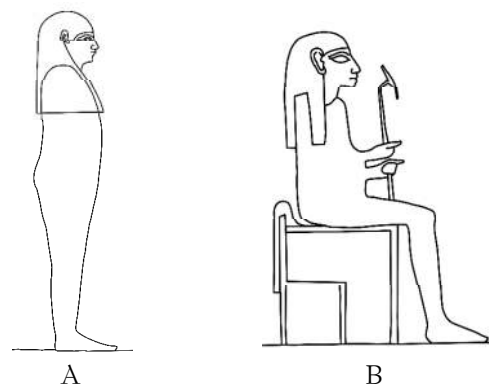


Fig. 13.3: Seth in mummiform. A – standing. B – seated.

In addition to the three forms above Seth, was also represented in hieroglyphic form in the style of a seated deity. Two styles of this form were employed; the C7 hieroglyph of the seated deity with the head of the Seth animal and the A40 hieroglyph of a seated male deity with a curved beard (Fig. 13.4).

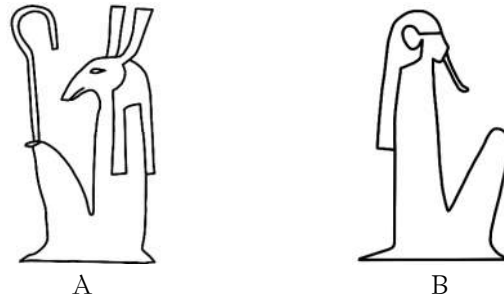


Fig. 13.4: Seth in seated deity hieroglyphic form. A - C7 Seth headed deity. B- A40 human headed male deity.

Variations to the depictions of Seth in bimorphic form were also produced. These alternative images included Seth and Horus combined to form '*His two faces*', a standing human figure with a bull's head and wings, and with the proscription against the Seth animal during the Late Period the depiction of the Seth animal ceased to be used. In the oases of the western desert the reliefs of Seth, the head of the Seth animal replaced with that of a hawk. In that hawk headed bimorphic form he depicted in both standing and seated positions (Fig. 13.5).

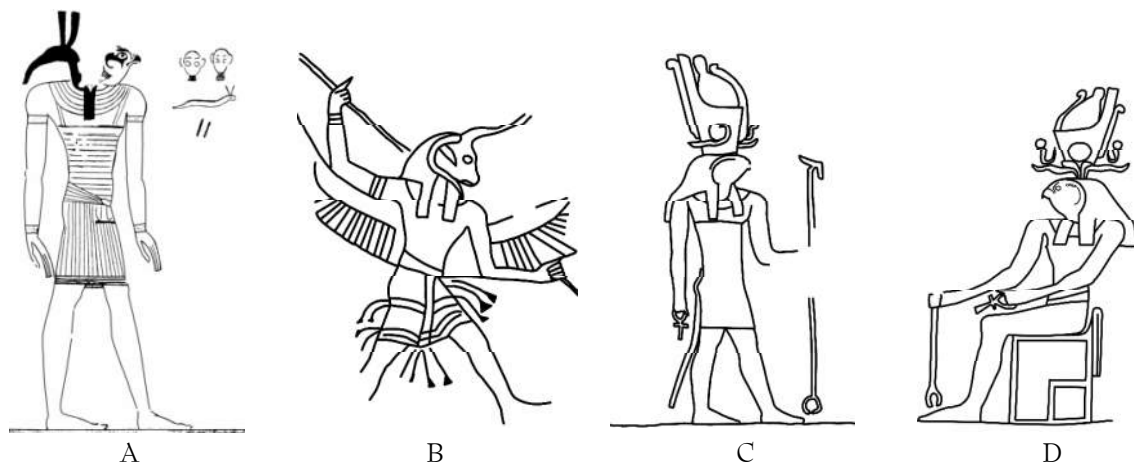


Fig. 13.5: Alternative representations of Seth in bimorphic form. A – Seth combined with Horus to form '*His two faces*'. B – standing Seth with a bull's head. B – standing Seth with a hawk's head. C – Sitting Seth with a hawk's head.

While in the Nile valley, the Seth animal was replaced with the image of an ass/donkey. In bimorphic form he was depicted as a human male with the head of a ass/donkey, often bound and pierced with knives (Fig. 13.6).

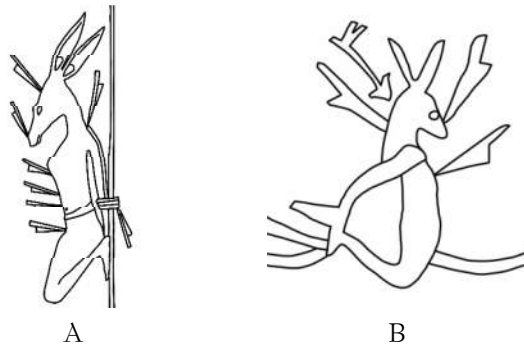


Fig. 13.6: Seth represented as an ass. A – bimorphic Seth with an ass’s head bound to a post and stabbed with knives. B - bimorphic Seth with an ass’s head bound and stabbed with knives and a harpoon.

13.2 Parameters in Analysing the Bimorphic Seth.

The examination of the image of Seth deity will commence with the bimorphic form before considering other forms that employed the head of the Seth animal. As with the zoomorphic Seth in Chapter 12, all of the images obtained were at different sizes so required adjusting to a consistent scale that was applicable to all images, regardless of the original size of the image. To do this a measurement of ‘1 Unit’ was created, that was the distance from the shoulder to junction of the lead ear with the top of the head. All the analysable components of the image were then measured as a proportion of this unit.

The analysis was undertaken using hi-resolution digital images and drawings imported at this common proportional scale into ‘AutoCAD[®] architectural computer aided design programme’ (www.autodesk.com/products/autocad/overview), in which the individual elements that form the Seth image were measured and correlated (Fig. 13.7).

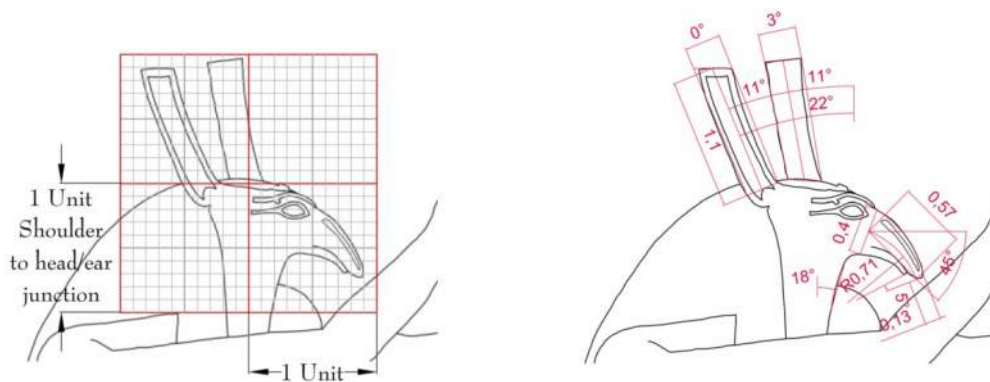


Fig. 13.7: Analysis grid for bimorphic Seth image.

The resulting data was tabulated, but due to the large spread of subtle variations within individual elements it was necessary to group the results by use of a series of simple defining parameters, such as the range of lengths or angles, and creating simplified definitions such as ‘lean’, ‘medium’ and ‘thick-set’ or ‘long’, ‘medium’ and ‘short’. In presenting the results and

creating a catalogue of Seth, each image is categorized by a series of classifications from the data sets identifying the individual components and their sub-categories.

A database of suitable images assembled, and where possible the author's own high resolution digital photographs have been employed. However, where sites containing Seth images were not available due permission to photograph or of access to the site being withheld by the Egyptian Authorities, published images of varying quality have been employed. Not all the images are suitable for analysis as some were lacking in suitable detail, too eroded or damaged, or outside the parameters of incorporating the Seth animal or the head of the Seth animal. Nevertheless, all the images acquired are included in chronological order in Appendix 3 of this thesis.

13.3 The Bimorphic Seth

The image of the Seth to be analysed is the bimorphic form, which had the head of the Seth animal attached to the body of a male human. The analysis of this form is less complex than that of the Seth animal as it is restricted to head and neck only, which reduces the number of components to four: the neck, the head including the muzzle, the ears and the headdress (Fig. 13.8). In analysing and categorizing these components the author's subjective and quantitative criteria used on the Seth animal have been applied. The body, being of a human male has been excluded from this analysis.

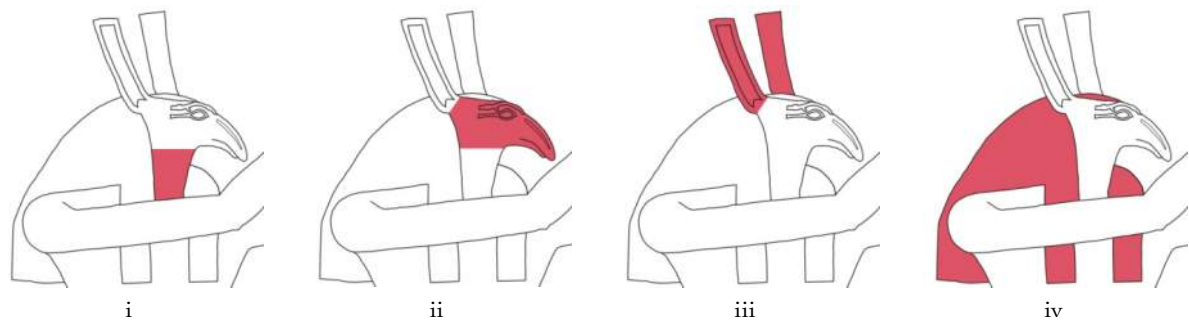


Fig. 13.8: Individual components that comprise the head of a bimorphic Seth. i – neck. ii – head and muzzle. iii – ears. iv – headdress.

13.3.1 Neck

The forms of the neck on the bimorphic representation of Seth differ in their parameters to those of the Seth animal. Firstly only the front portion of the neck is represented, the rear being concealed behind the lappet of the headdress. Secondly the neck must be considered as being vertical as the head was located squarely above shoulders with no forward lean.

However, there were variations in how the fronts of the neck were portrayed. For this analysis the section of the neck under consideration extends from the line of the shoulder to the start of the sweep of the lower jaw. The sweep of the lower neck defined by the broad collar is outside this analysis. The variations to the neck can be divided into three categories, 'Straight', 'Convex' and 'Concave' (Fig. 13.9).

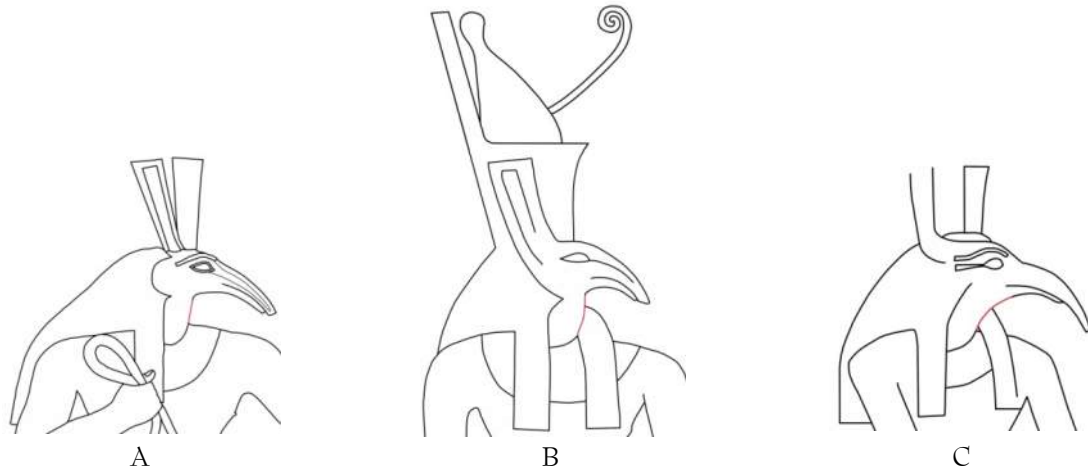


Fig. 13.9: Categories of front of neck employed on the bimorphic Seth representations. A – straight front to the neck. B – convex front to the neck. C – concave front to neck.

The second variation in the neck is the angle to the vertical, measured from the base of the neck at the level of the rear shoulder to where the neck meets the sweep of the lower jaw. Setting the vertical front of the neck as 0° , the range of angles extend through a maximum of $+41^{\circ}$ forward lean towards the muzzle to a maximum of -51° backward lean towards the rear shoulder, giving a total range of 92° (Fig. 13.10).

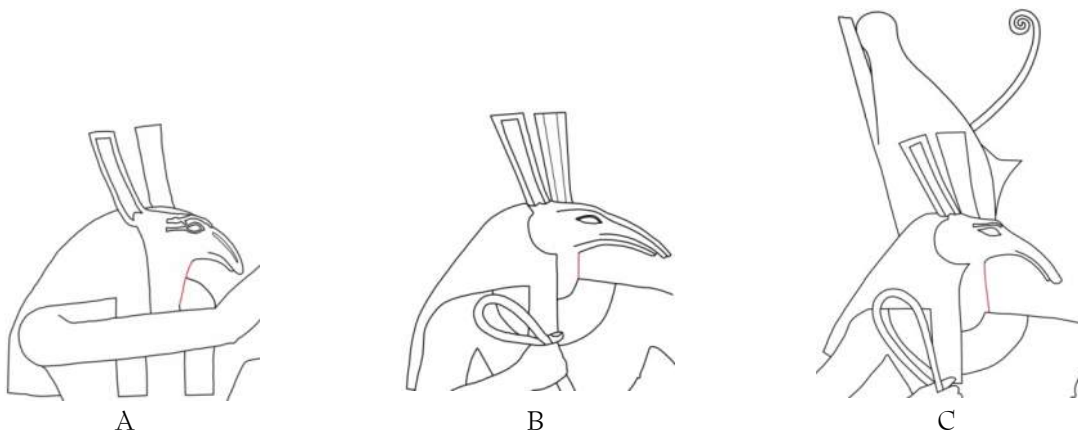


Fig. 13.10: Examples of angles to the front of the neck. A – front of neck with positive angle to the vertical. B – front of neck vertical. C – front of neck with a negative angle to the vertical.

The third variation is the neck which is depicted wearing a multi-banded collar, the number of bands ranging from one to a maximum of eight in number (Fig. 13.11).



Fig. 13.11: Examples of neck bands: A – 3 neck band. B – 8 neck bands.

13.3.2 Head and Muzzle

The parameters of the head and muzzle on the bimorphic Seth are to a certain extent similar to those on the Seth animal discussed in Chapter 12 but not identical. Considering the most distinctive feature first, the muzzle, comprises six parameters. Firstly the muzzle shape of ‘Curved’ and ‘Straight’. Secondly is the length, which applies to both these shapes identified and is measured along the centre line of the muzzle, being respectively classified as ‘Short’ (up to 0.5 units), ‘Medium’ (0.51 to 0.75 units) and ‘Long’ (0.76 units upward).

Thirdly is the muzzle thickness, obtained by dividing the muzzle length measured along the muzzle centre by the average muzzle thickness obtained adding the muzzle thickness at the brow ridge to the thickness at tip of muzzle and dividing by two. The resulting figure is divided into three categories respectively; ‘Slim’ (a ratio of 3.6 upwards), ‘Medium’ (a ratio between 2.0 to 3.5) and ‘Broad’ (a ratio of up to 1.9).

Fourthly is the angle of drop of the muzzle to the horizontal is calculated by measuring the angle of the line between the two ends the muzzle centre line to the horizontal, and is identified as a figure in degrees.

Fifthly with the curved muzzle is the radius of the curvature measured along its centre line. The resulting dimension being defined a ‘Tight’ (up to 0.99 units), ‘Medium’ (1.00 to 1.25 units) and ‘Shallow’ (1.26 units upwards) respectively.

The sixth and final parameter relates to the undercut of the lower jaw where it stops short of the end of the muzzle, the distance from the muzzle tip to the end of the jaw. Measured as an angle along the muzzle centreline with the results divided into 3 categories ‘Short’ (0.1° to 3.0°), ‘Medium’ (3.1° to 7.5°) and ‘Long’ (7.6° and above) defined by, and respectively. Where no undercut is present the notation of ‘None’ is employed.

Examples of classification of muzzle types are detailed in Fig. 13.12.

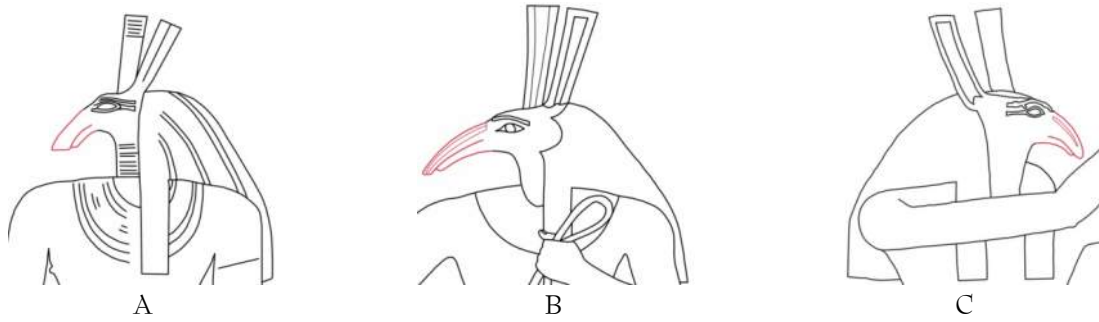


Fig. 13.12: Examples of muzzle types based on length, breadth, angle of muzzle drop, radius of curve and undercut of jaw. A - muzzle curved. medium (length 0.57 units); broad (ratio 1.93); drop 48° ; radius medium (1.053 units); undercut short (3°). B - muzzle curved; long (length 0.91 units); slim (ratio 3.64); drop 32° ; radius shallow (1.41 units); undercut medium (7°); C - muzzle curved; medium (length 0.52 units); broad (ratio 1.89); drop 45° ; radius tight (0.57 units); undercut medium (7°).



Fig. 13.13: Statues of Seth displaying the nasal ridge along the top of muzzle extending from the muzzle tip to the brow ridge. A - statue of Horus, Ramesses III and Seth. 20th Dyn. Cairo Museum JE 31628. B - statuette of Seth, converted to Amun. 19th-20th Dyn. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Copenhagen ÆIN 614.

With the bimorphic Seth two additional features were added to the muzzle, the nasal and jaw ridges. These respectively extended along the top of the muzzle from the tip to the brow ridge (Fig. 13.13), and along the underside of the jaw from the tip to the junction of the jaw with the neck.

The muzzle can be defined as having or not having either the nasal or jaw ridges (Fig. 13.14).

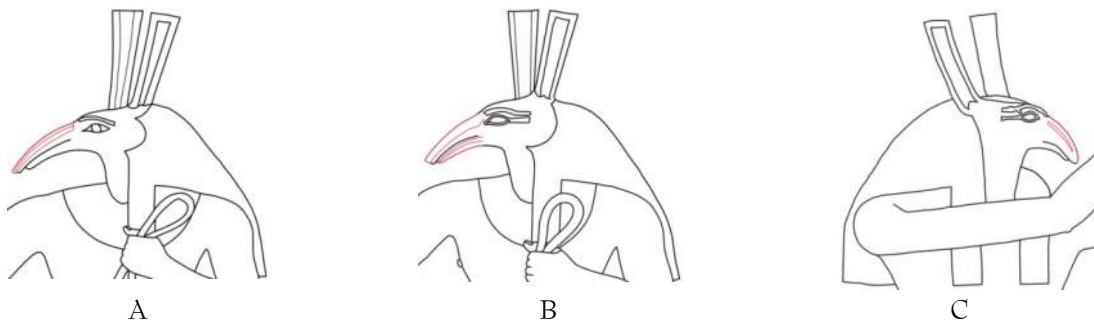


Fig. 13.14: Examples of nasal and jaw ridges. A - Seth with a slim muzzle with a nasal ridge. B - Seth with medium muzzle with a nasal and jaw ridge. C - Seth with a broad muzzle with a nasal ridge.

The definable feature of the head is a brow ridge that occurs above the eyes, a feature can only be defined subjectively in relation the muzzle and head, and can be placed into three categories simple categories 'None', 'Subtle' and 'Prominent' (Fig. 13.15).

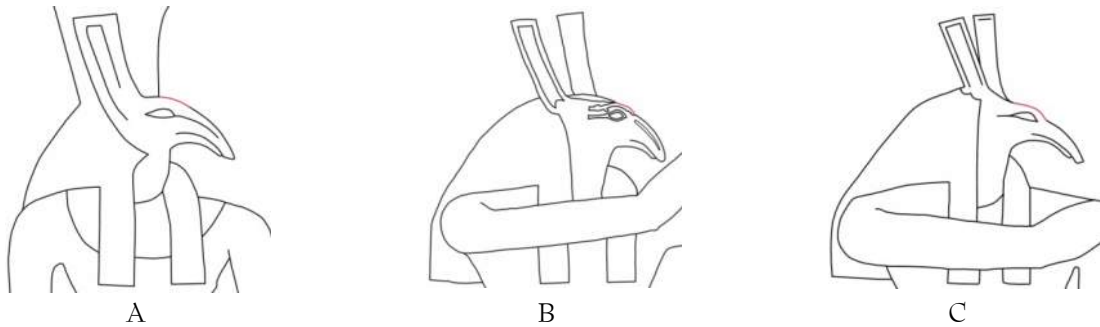


Fig. 13.15: Examples of three categories of brow ridge on the bimorphic Seth. A – no brow ridge. B – subtle brow ridge. C – prominent brow ridge.

13.3.3 Ears

The parameters defining the ears are the same as those of the zoomorphic Seth discussed in the previous chapter and like the animal, the resulting composition of the ear can differ between images as well as between the primary and secondary ear on the same image. The seven parameters that comprise the ear are firstly the designation of the primary and secondary ear, the primary ear being the one on the side of the head facing the viewer, which when two ears are visible is normally the rearmost ear, however, an example of the front ear being the primary ear does occur (Fig. 15.16).

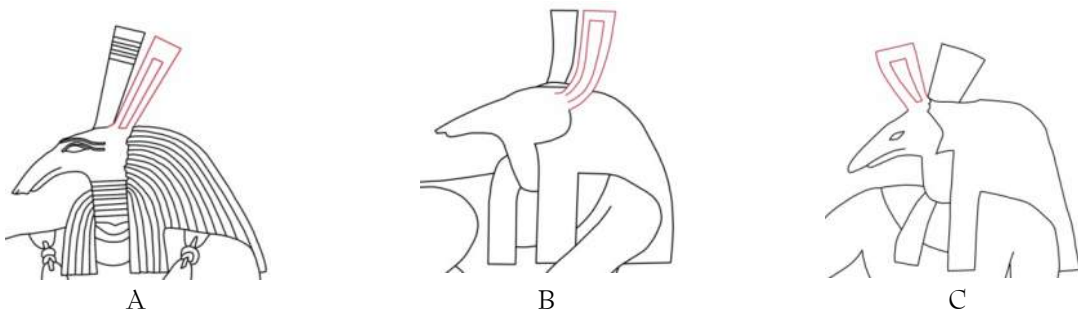


Fig. 13.16: Examples of primary ear: A - primary ear with sharp junction to the top of the head. B – primary ear with radiused junction to the side of the head. C – primary ear as the front of the two ears.

The second parameter is the profile of the ear, which can be parallel-sided with no taper, or tapering from a wide tip and to a narrower junction with the head. In defining the parallel ear a tolerance of -1.9° to 1.9° has been applied to any angle of taper that may have been created in the production of the image. With the tapered ears analysed the angles of taper ranged from 2° to 19° , with the ear profiles being defined as:

‘Parallel’: -1.9° to 1.9° , ‘Narrow’: 2.0° to 9.9° . ‘Medium’: 10° to 17.9° . ‘Wide’: 18° and over (Fig. 13.17).

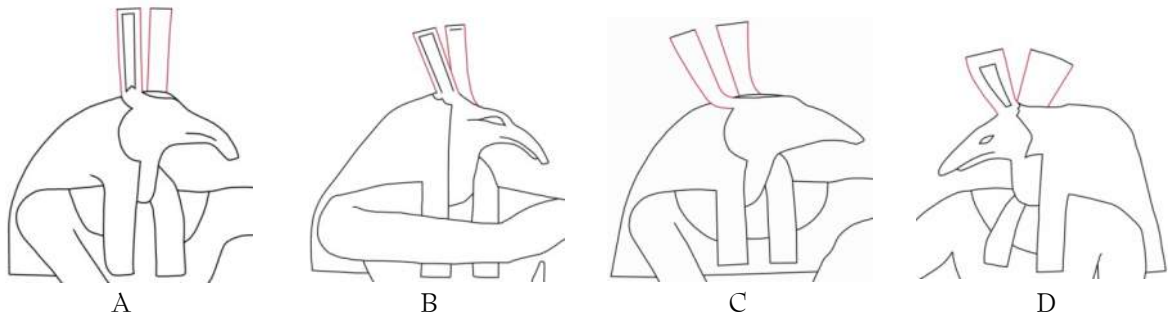


Fig. 13.17: Examples of different tapering to the ear: A – parallel sides no taper both ears. B – narrow taper both ears. C – narrow taper to primary ear, medium taper to secondary ear. D – medium taper the primary (front) ear, wide taper to secondary (rear) ear.

The third parameter is the shape of the long edges of the ears, which can be straight or a gentle concave or convex curve. The images studied identified six combinations of these shapes, i - straight to both edges, classified as Straight x 2; ii - concave to the leading edge with a straight trailing edge, classified as Concave-Straight; iii- concave to both leading and trailing edges, classified as Concave x 2; iv – concave to the leading edge and convex to the trailing edge, Concave-Convex; v - straight to the leading edge and convex to the trailing edge Straight-Convex; iv – convex leading edge and concave to the trailing edge, classified as Convex-Concave. One of the variations may be employed on both ears or the two ears might be shown with two different variations (Fig. 13.18).

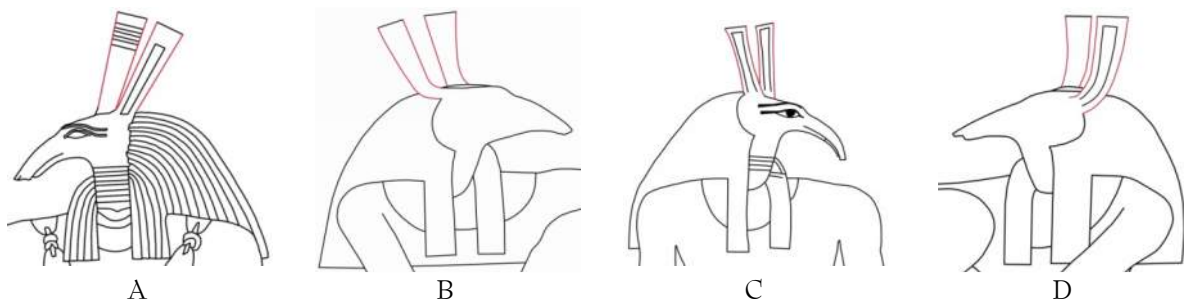


Fig. 13.18: Examples of different shape of ear long edges: A - straight edges to leading and trailing edges of both ears. B - straight leading edge and convex trailing edge to primary ear, concave leading edge and straight trailing edge to secondary ear. C - concave leading and trailing edges to both ears. D - convex to leading edge and convex to trailing edge to both ears.

The fourth parameter is the length of the ear defined by a measurement of the primary ear along its centre line from the tip to line of the top of the head (Fig 13.19). The length of the ear is categorised as:

‘Short’: up to 0.6 units. ‘Medium’: 0.61 to 0.90 units. ‘Long’: 0.91units and above (Fig. 13.19).

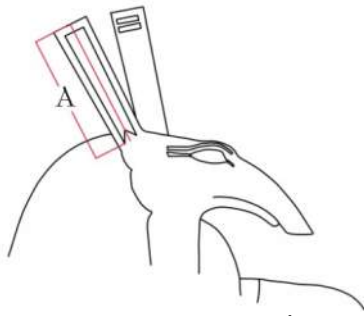


Fig. 13.19: Measurement of primary ear along centre line of ear

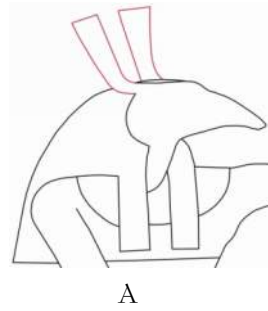
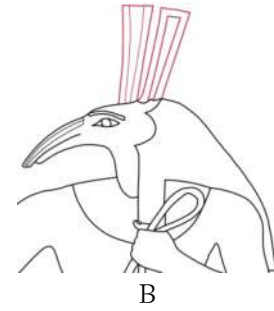


Fig 13.20: Examples of ear length. A – medium length ear. B – long ear.



The fifth parameter is the angular relationship between the primary and secondary ears, along with their angle to a vertical datum. The ears could be portrayed as parallel to each other or at a divergent angle to each other creating a V shape, with the point of the V at the top of the head. Both these ear forms are shown at a range of angles to a vertical datum. The measurement of the angles is taken from the centre line of the ears, and where an angle is inclined towards the muzzle it has been designated as a negative angle (Fig. 13.21). Dealing with the divergent angles between the ears first, the range extended from 0° (parallel) to 56° . The ears were represented at a multiplicity of angles away from the vertical, with the angle of the primary ear having range of -24° to 41° , and the secondary ear having a range of -44° to 24° (Fig. 13.22).

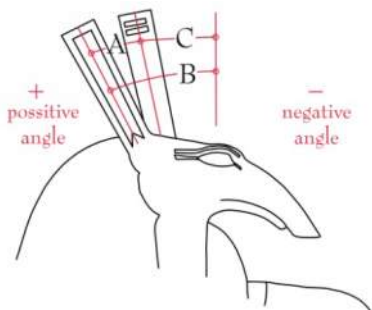


Fig. 13.21: Measurement of the angles of the primary and secondary ears. A - divergent angle. B - primary ear angle from vertical. C - secondary ear from vertical.

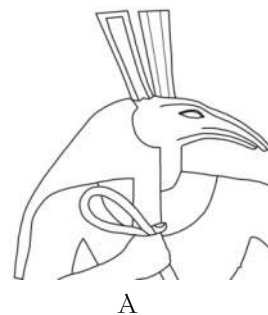
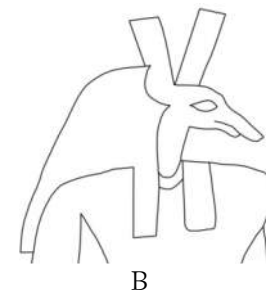


Fig. 13.22: Examples of range of divergent ear angles. A - divergent angle 3° , primary ear angle from vertical 20° , secondary ear angle from vertical 8° . B - divergence angle 36° , primary ear angle from vertical 17° , secondary ear angle from vertical -19° .



As with the analysis of the Seth animal images, the angles of the ears will be expressed as three angular dimensions, the divergent angle, the angle of the primary ear and the angle of the secondary ear.

The sixth parameter for the ears is the junction with the head was depicted in a verity of forms. The first form was the ear arising sharply from the top of the head with an abrupt change of direction at the ear/head junction classified as 'Sharp'. The second form is where

the ear is blended into the head with a curved junction, classified as ‘Radiused’, the radius of which varied in size from small and tight to large and gentle. The size of radius could vary between the leading and trailing edges of the ear and between the primary and secondary ears on the same image. The angle of the ear to the vertical had no impact on the size of the radius. The third form of junction only applied to the primary ear. The base of the ear had curve of a suitable sized radius to rotate the leading and trailing edges at the bottom of the ear from the vertical to the horizontal, the ear then joined the head at the side of the skull behind the location of the eye and was expressed as a facial feature classified as ‘Swept Curve’ (Fig. 13.23).

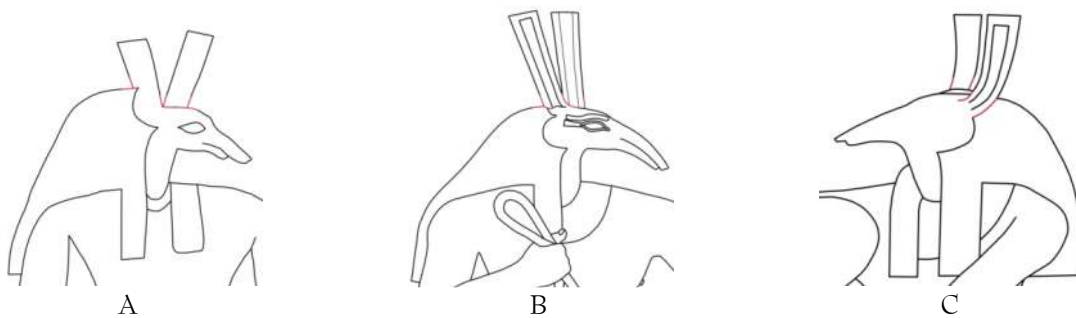


Fig. 13.23: Examples of differing junctions of the ear to the head. A – sharp to both primary and secondary ears. B – radiused junction to leading edge of primary ear, sharp to trailing edge of primary and leading edge of secondary ears. C – swept curve primary ear junction to the side of the head, sharp junction to secondary ear.

The seventh and final parameter is the series of different types of markings that were applied to the primary and secondary ears. In the situations where the markings were displayed on both ears, there was no constancy in their forms and different patterns were applied to each ear. The styles employed consisted of horizontal and vertical lines, either singularly or in groups. The horizontal lines were shown roughly parallel to the flat tip of the ear, while the vertical lines either followed the centre line of the ear or were roughly parallel to the adjacent leading or trailing edge. A pattern that primarily occurs on the primary ear was possibly intended to represent the portion of an animal’s ear that collects the sound and directs it into the inner ear, the *pinna* (Fig. 13.24).

As with the Seth animal, the individuality in the decoration of the ear can only be categorised by describing that decoration: ear location Primary, Secondary, number of horizontal lines, number of vertical lines or a *pinna*. Ear decoration to Fig. 13.24:A would be described as: Primary Horizontal 5. Secondary Vertical 1.

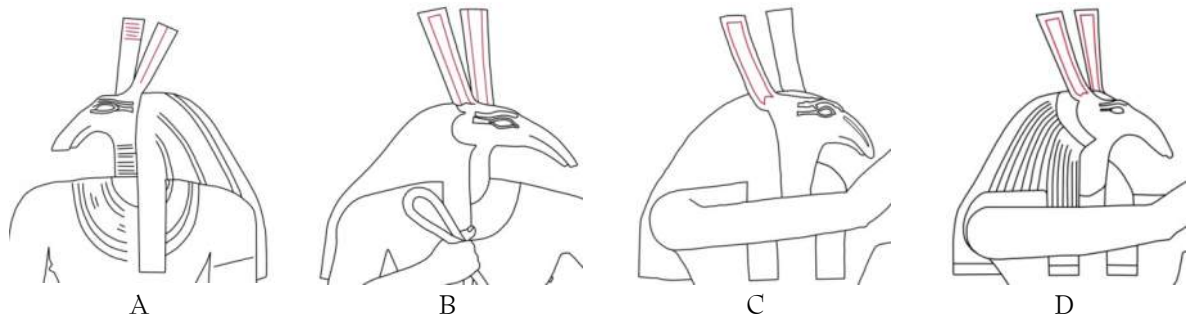


Fig. 13.24: Examples of markings to the ears. A – single vertical line to primary ear, five horizontal lines to tip of secondary ears. B – *pinna* to the primary ear, two vertical lines the secondary ear. C – *pinna* to primary ear, no markings to the secondary ears. D – *pinna* to the primary ear and secondary ear.

13.3.4 Headdress

While the Seth animal was occasionally depicted wearing a headdress, the bimorphic Seth was always depicted wearing a tripartite wig. The wig varied in how it was portrayed, with images depicted with a single lappet on the visible side of the head extending down the chest or with the second lappet from the non-visible side of the head dressed over the shoulder and taken the chest as well (Fig. 13.25).

Occasional images portray the figure wearing a crown, normally the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt in addition to the tripartite wig. Although wearing a crown both the primary and secondary ears are normally portrayed. However, there were exceptions to the type of crown and number of ears displayed, with Seth wearing the red crown of Lower Egypt only or having only the primary ear visible (Fig. 13.26).

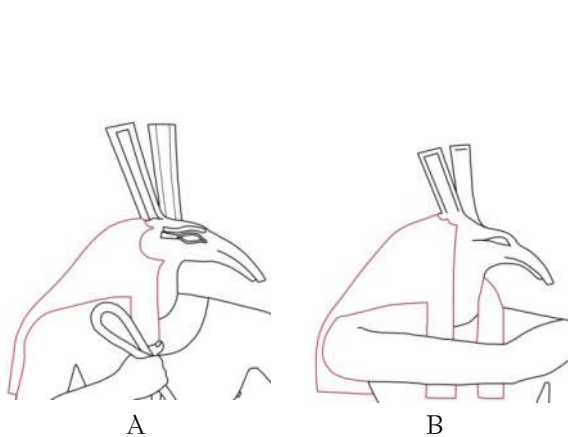


Fig. 13.25: Examples of the tripartite wig. A – single lappet dressed down the chest. B – double lappets with second lappet dressed over shoulder and down the chest.

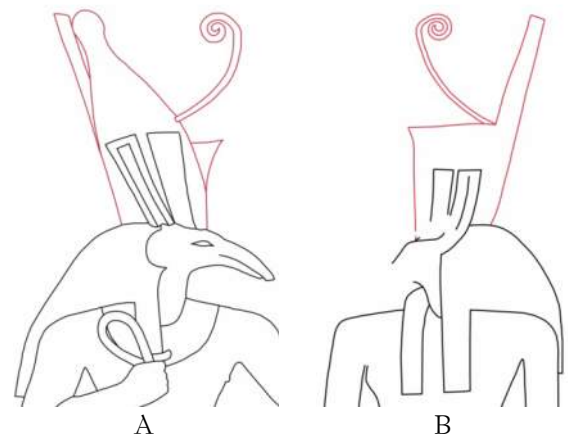


Fig. 13.26: Examples of crowns. A – double crown of Upper and Lower crown of Egypt with both ears visible. B – red crown of Lower Egypt with both ears visible.

In the images where the headdress is present it will be described as: ‘Tripartite wig one lappet’ ‘Tripartite wig two lappets’ and the crown a ‘Double crown’ or ‘Crown of Lower Egypt’.



Fig. 13.27: Examples of different reliefs of a bimorphic Seth. A – Seth from funeral complex of Sahure, Abusir, 5th Dynasty. Berlin Museum ÄM 21782. B – Seth from statue of Senwosret I, Lisht, 12th Dynasty. Cairo Museum JE 31139. Seth from crowning of Ramesses II, Small Temple, Abu Simbel, 19th Dynasty.


13.4 Seth in Different Forms

As discussed above, the head of the Seth animal was also represented attached to bodies that comprise the usual human torso. These included the head of the Seth animal being added as a second head to the figure of a bimorphic Horus, to form ‘*His two faces*’ (Fig. 13.28), the analysis of the head on ‘*His two faces*’ will be included with those of the bimorphic Seth in the following tables.



Fig. 13.28: A – Seth and Horus combined, 19th Dynasty tomb of Seti I. B – Seth and Horus combined, 20th Dynasty tomb of Ramesses IX.

13.5 Seth as Deity Hieroglyph

Although outside the scope of the analysis of the images of Seth, it is worth making reference the C7 hieroglyph  (Gardiner 1957, 449), depicting a seated deity with the head of the Seth animal wearing a tripartite wig. As discussed in Chapters 10 and 11 its use was primarily confined to 19th and 20th Dynasty names, where it represented in the cartouches of the 19th Dynasty pharaohs Seti I and Seti II along with the 20th Dynasty pharaoh Sethnakhte (Fig. 13.29).

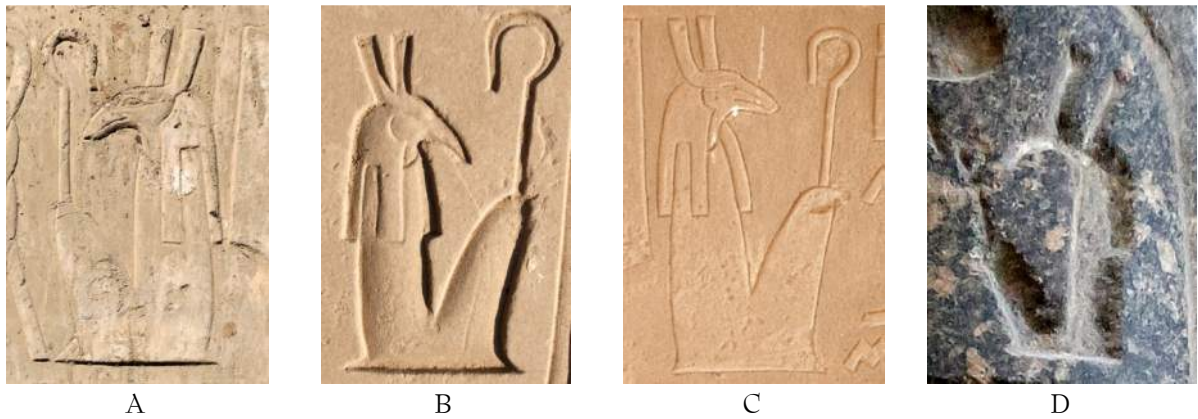


Fig. 13.29: Examples of Seth deity hieroglyph. A – 19th Dynasty Seth, cartouche of Seti I, column abacus Hypostyle Hall, Karnak carved in sandstone. B - 19th Dynasty Seth, cartouche of Seti I, stone store, Karnak carved in sandstone. C - 19th Dynasty Seth, cartouche of Seti I, stone store, Karnak carved in sandstone. D – 20th Dynasty Seth, cartouche of Sethnakhte, column capitol British Museum BM EA 86 carved in granite.

As with the heads of the Seth animal and the bimorphic Seth figures there are a number of variations in how the components of the head were represented. Excluding the skill of the craftsman creating the image, some of these variations were due to the size of the image, its location, the form of the carving, whether in raised or incised relief, and the hardness of the material in which the image was carved. For example two small images of the same size, one in soft sandstone carved in raised relief would result in a good image, whereas the other carved in incised relief in granite, a much harder stone, would produce a coarser image often lacking in fine detail. (Fig. 13.29 B and D). Although not included within the Seth analysis all the images of the Seth hieroglyph acquired are included in chronological order in Appendix 3 of the thesis.

13.6 Examples of the Analysis of a Bimorphic Seth

As discussed above, the analysis of the individual components that make up the image of a the bimorphic Seth has established series of categories, with their sub-divisions, which allow for each of the individual images to be compared utilising a set of common parameters. These categories and their sub-divisions are summarized in table 13.1 below:

Neck		
Angle to vertical: Vertical	Angle to vertical: x^0	Angle to vertical: $-x^0$
Throat: Straight	Throat: Convex	Throat: Concave
Banding: xNo	Banding: None	

Head and Muzzle - Muzzle		
Shape: Curved	Shape: Straight	
Length: Short	Length: Medium	Length: Long
Thickness: Thin	Thickness: Medium	Thickness broad
Drop - x^0		
Curvature radius: Tight	Curvature radius: Medium	Curvature radius: Shallow
Jaw undercut: Short	Jaw undercut: Medium	Jaw undercut: Long
Jaw undercut: None		
Nasal Ridge: None	Nasal Ridge: Subtle	Nasal Ridge: Prominent
Jaw Ridge: None	Jaw Ridge: Subtle	Jaw Ridge: Prominent
Head and Muzzle - Head		
Brow ridge: None	Brow ridge: Subtle	Brow ridge: Prominent
Ears		
Primary	Secondary	
Profile no taper: Parallel	Profile taper: Narrow	Profile taper: Medium
Profile taper: Wide		
Shape: Concave leading edge and convex trailing edge: Concave-Convex	Shape: Convex leading edge and concave trailing edge: Convex-Concave	Shape: Concave leading and trailing edges: Concave x 2
Shape: Concave leading edge and straight trailing edge: Concave – Straight	Shape: Convex leading edge and straight trailing edge: Convex - Straight	Shape: Straight leading edge and convex trailing edge: Straight- Convex
Shape: Convex leading and trailing edges: Convex x 2	Shape: Straight both leading and trailing edges: Straight x 2	
Ear length: Short	Ear length: Medium	Ear length: Long
Ear angle A. Divergent angle between primary and secondary ears: x^0	Ear angle B. Angle of the primary ear to the vertical: x^0	Ear angle B. Angle of the secondary ear to the vertical: x^0
Head junction: Sharp	Head junction: Radiused	Head junction side: Swept Curve
Markings Primary Horizontal: xNo	Markings Primary Vertical: xNo	Marking Primary: <i>pinna</i>
Markings Secondary Horizontal: xNo	Markings Secondary Vertical: xNo	Markings Secondary: <i>pinna</i>
Headdress		
None	Tripartite wig: 1 Lappet	Tripartite wig: 2 Lappets
Crown: None	Crown: Double Crown of Upper and Lower Egypt	Crown: Single Crown of Lower Egypt

Table 13.1: Table of analysis categories of components of the bimorphic Seth.

An analysed example of a bimorphic Seth, in this instance one dated the 12th Dynasty. The figure presented in table 13.4 below is located on the right hand face of the enthroned statue of Senwosret I JE 31141 located in Room 22 of the Cairo museum.


	12 th Dynasty, Senwosret I statue base, Funeral complex, Lisht. Cairo Museum JE 31141	Nasal Ridge: Prominent. Jaw Ridge: None Ear: Primary: Narrow Ear: Secondary Narrow Ear Primary: Straight x 2 Ear Secondary: Straight x 2 Length: Long Angle P-S: 15°. P-V: 18°. S-V: 3°. Ear Junction: Radiused Ear markings: Primary <i>pinna</i> Ear markings: Secondary none.
	Neck: Straight. Angle: 13° Muzzle: Curved. Length: long Thickness: Broad. Drop: 32° Curvature: Shallow. Undercut: Medium Headdress: Tripartite wig 1 lappet Crown: None. Brow ridge: Prominent	

Table 13.2: Example of the analysis of Middle Kingdom bimorphic Seth.



Fig. 13.30: Examples of bimorphic Seth figures: A – Seth from statue of Senwosret I from funeral complex at Lisht, 12th Dynasty, Cairo Museum JE 31145. B – Seth from the lintel of Thutmose I from temples of Seth at Nubt, Cairo Museum JE 31881. C - Seth purifying Seti I, Hypostyle Hall, Karnak.

13.7 Analysis Data for the Bimorphic Seth

The analysis data for the bimorphic image of Seth from the Old Kingdom through to the Ptolemaic Period are set out in chronological order in tables 13.3 to 13.7 below:


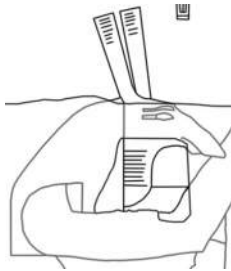
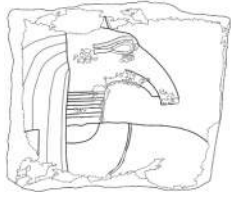
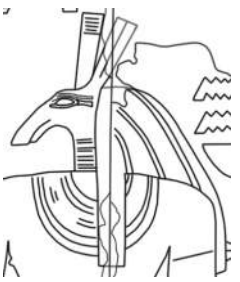
No		1	2	3	4
Image					
Details		5 th Dynasty. Funeral complex of Sahure, Abusir. Berlin Museum ÄM 21782.	5 th Dynasty. Upper mortuary temple of Unas, Saqqara.	6 th Dynasty. Pyramid temple of Teti, Saqqara.	6 th Dynasty. Mortuary temples of Pepi II. Saqqara.
Neck	Throat	Straight	Straight	Concave	Straight
	Angle	6°	0°	6°	3°
	Banding	6No	8No	7No	8No
Muzzle and Head	Shape	Curved	Curved	Curved	Curved
	Length	Medium	Damaged	Medium	Medium
	Thickness	Medium	"	Broad	Broad
	Drop	42°	"	49°	48°
	Curvature	Tight	"	Tight	Medium
	Jaw u'cut	Short	"	Long	Short
	Brow ridge	Subtle	"	Prominent	Subtle
	Nasal ridge	None	"	None	None
	Jaw ridge	None	"	None	None
	Headdress	Tripartite Wig	Tripartite Wig	Tripartite Wig	Tripartite Wig
	Lappets	2No	1No	1No	1No
	Crown	None	None	None	None
Ears	Prm profile	Narrow	Narrow	Damaged	Narrow
	Sec profile	Narrow	Narrow	"	Narrow
	Prm shape	Straight x 2	Straight x 2	"	Straight x 2
	Sec shape	Straight x 2	Straight x 2	"	Straight x 2
	Length	Long	Long	"	Long
	Angle P-S	13°	8°	"	17°
	Angle P-V	28°	17°	"	25°
	Angle S-V	15°	9°	"	8°
Head junc'	Radiused	Radiused	"	Radiused	
Ear Markings	Primary H	None	7No	Damaged	None
	Primary V	None	None	"	1No
	Prm pinna	Pinna	None	"	None
	Sec H	6No	6No	"	5No
	Sec V	None	None	"	None
	Sec pinna	None	None	"	None

Table 13.3: Analysis of the Bimorphic Seth Head - Old Kingdom (Sheet 1 of 2).

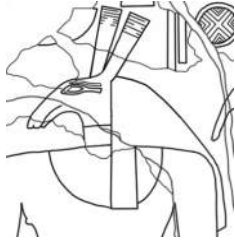

No		5	6
Image			
Details		6 th Dynasty. Mortuary temples of Pepi II. Saqqara.	6 th Dynasty. Box lid found in Mortuary temples of Pepi II. Saqqara.
Neck	Throat	Damaged	Concave
	Angle	"	8°
	Banding	"	None
Muzzle and Head	Shape	Curved	Curved
	Length	Medium	Medium
	Thickness	Damaged	Medium
	Drop	46°	50°
	Curvature	Tight	Shallow
	Jaw u'cut	Medium	Medium
	Brow ridge	Subtle	Prominent
	Nasal ridge	Damaged	None
	Jaw ridge	Damaged	None
	Headdress	Tripartite Wig	Tripartite Wig
	Lappets	1No	None
	Crown	None	None
Ears	Prm profile	Narrow	Narrow
	Sec profile	Narrow	Narrow
	Prm shape	Straight x 2	Straight x 2
	Sec shape	Straight x 2	Straight x 2
	Length	Long	Medium
	Angle P-S	14°	10°
	Angle P-V	27°	20°
	Angle S-V	13°	10°
	Head junc'	Damaged	Sharp
Ear Markings	Primary H	6No	None
	Primary V	None	"
	Prm pinna	None	"
	Sec H	6No	"
	Sec V	None	"
	Sec pinna	None	"

Table 13.3: Analysis of the Bimorphic Seth Head - Old Kingdom (Sheet 2 of 2).



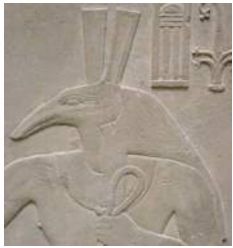

No	1	2	3	4	
Image					
Details	12 th Dynasty. Statue of Senwosret I, Funeral complex, Lisht. Cairo Museum JE 31139.	12 th Dynasty. Statue of Senwosret I, Funeral complex, Lisht. Cairo Museum JE 31139 .	12 th Dynasty. Statue of Senwosret I, Funeral complex, Lisht. Cairo Museum JE 31137.	12 th Dynasty. Statue of Senwosret I, Funeral complex, Lisht. Cairo Museum JE 31137.	
Neck	Throat	Straight	Straight	Straight	Straight
	Angle	9 ⁰	10 ⁰	12 ⁰	0 ⁰
	Banding	None	None	None	None
Muzzle and Head	Shape	Curved	Curved	Curved	Curved
	Length	Long	Long	Long	Long
	Thickness	Thin	Medium	Medium	Medium
	Drop	32 ⁰	36 ⁰	38 ⁰	34 ⁰
	Curvature	Shallow	Medium	Medium	Medium
	Jaw u'cut	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium
	Brow ridge	Subtle	Subtle	Subtle	Subtle
	Nasal ridge	Prominent	Subtle	Subtle	None
	Jaw ridge	Prominent	None	Prominent	None
	Headdress	Tripartite Wig	Tripartite Wig	Tripartite Wig	Tripartite Wig
	Lappets	1No	1No	1No	1No
	Crown	None	None	None	None
Ears	Prm profile	Narrow	Narrow	Narrow	Narrow
	Sec profile	Narrow	Narrow	Narrow	Narrow
	Prm shape	Concave - Straight	Concave - Straight	Straight x 2	Straight x 2
	Sec shape	Concave - Straight	Straight x 2	Straight x 2	Straight x 2
	Length	Long	Long	Long	Long
	Angle P-S	10 ⁰	17 ⁰	13 ⁰	13 ⁰
	Angle P-V	16 ⁰	17 ⁰	13 ⁰	19 ⁰
	Angle S-V	6 ⁰	0 ⁰	0 ⁰	6 ⁰
Head junc'	Radiused	Radiused	Radiused	Radiused	
Ear Markings	Primary H	None	None	None	None
	Primary V	None	None	None	None
	Prm pinna	Pinna	Pinna	Pinna	Pinna
	Sec H	None	None	None	None
	Sec V	2No	2No	2No	2No
	Sec pinna	None	None	None	None

Table 13.4: Analysis of the Bimorphic Seth Head - Middle Kingdom (Sheet 1 of 4).





No		5	6	7	8
Image					
Details		12 th Dynasty. Statue of Senwosret I, Funeral complex, Lisht. Cairo Museum JE 31145.	12 th Dynasty. Statue of Senwosret I, Funeral complex, Lisht. Cairo Museum JE 31145.	12 th Dynasty. Statue of Senwosret I, Funeral complex, Lisht. Cairo Museum JE 31141.	12 th Dynasty. Statue of Senwosret I, Funeral complex, Lisht. Cairo Museum JE 31141.
Neck	Throat	Straight	Straight	Concave	Straight
	Angle	6°	0°	11°	13°
	Banding	None	None	None	None
Muzzle and Head	Shape	Curved	Curved	Curved	Curved
	Length	Long	Long	Long	Long
	Thickness	Medium	Medium	Medium	Broad
	Drop	28°	25°	37°	32°
	Curvature	Shallow	Shallow	Tight	Shallow
	Jaw u'cut	Short	Medium	Long	Medium
	Brow ridge	Subtle	Subtle	Subtle	Prominent
	Nasal ridge	None	Prominent	Subtle	Prominent
	Jaw ridge	None	Prominent	Subtle	None
	Headdress	Tripartite Wig	Tripartite Wig	Tripartite Wig	Tripartite Wig
	Lappets	1No	1No	1No	1No
	Crown	None	None	None	None
Ears	Prm profile	Narrow	Narrow	Narrow	Narrow
	Sec profile	Narrow	Narrow	Narrow	Narrow
	Prm shape	Straight x 2	Concave x 2	Straight x 2	Straight x 2
	Sec shape	Straight x 2	Straight x 2	Straight x 2	Straight x 2
	Length	Long	Long	Long	Long
	Angle P-S	14°	12°	15°	15°
	Angle P-V	19°	20°	15°	18°
	Angle S-V	5°	8°	0°	3°
Head junc'	Sharp	Sharp	Sharp	Radiused	
Ear Markings	Primary H	None	None	None	None
	Primary V	None	None	None	None
	Prm pinna	Pinna	Pinna	Pinna	Pinna
	Sec H	None	None	None	None
	Sec V	2No	2No	2No	"
	Sec pinna	None	None	None	"

Table 13.4: Analysis of the Bimorphic Seth Head - Middle Kingdom (Sheet 2 of 4).



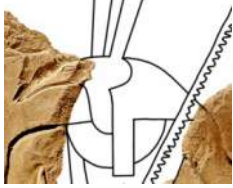

No		9	10	11	12
Image					
Details		12 th Dynasty. Statue of Senwosret I, Funeral complex, Lisht. Cairo Museum JE 31142.	12 th Dynasty. Statue of Senwosret I, Funeral complex, Lisht. Cairo Museum JE 31142.	12 th Dynasty. Lintel of Senwosret I, Open Air Museum, Karnak.	12 th Dynasty. Sema-Tawy relief of Senwosret I, Open Air Museum, Karnak.
Neck	Throat	Straight	Straight	Missing	Straight
	Angle	12°	4°	“	-6°
	Banding	None	None	“	None
Muzzle and Head	Shape	Curved	Curved	Curved	Curved
	Length	Long	Long	Medium	Medium
	Thickness	Medium	Medium	Thin	Thin
	Drop	33°	32°	33°	44°
	Curvature	Medium	Medium	Medium	Tight
	Jaw u'cut	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium
	Brow ridge	Subtle	Subtle	Prominent	Missing
	Nasal ridge	Subtle	None	Subtle	None
	Jaw ridge	Subtle	None	Subtle	None
	Headdress	Tripartite Wig	Tripartite Wig	Tripartite Wig	Tripartite Wig
	Lappets	1No	1No	Missing	1No
Crown	Crown of U&L Egypt	Crown of U&L Egypt	“	Missing	
Ears	Prm profile	Narrow	Narrow	Missing	Missing
	Sec profile	Narrow	Narrow	“	“
	Prm shape	Straight x 2	Concave - Straight	“	“
	Sec shape	Straight x 2	Concave - Straight	“	“
	Length	Long	Long	“	“
	Angle P-S	13°	13°	“	“
	Angle P-V	20°	26°	“	“
	Angle S-V	7°	13°	“	“
Head junc'	Sharp	Sharp	“	“	
Ear Markings	Primary H	None	None	Missing	Missing
	Primary V	None	None	“	“
	Prm pinna	Pinna	Pinna	“	“
	Sec H	None	None	“	“
	Sec V	“	“	“	“
	Sec pinna	“	“	“	“

Table 13.4: Analysis of the Bimorphic Seth - Head Middle Kingdom (Sheet 3 of 4).


No		13
Image		
Details		12 th Dynasty. Funeral complex of Senwosret III, Dahshur.
Neck	Throat	Straight
	Angle	12°
	Banding	None
Muzzle and Head	Shape	Curved
	Length	Medium
	Thickness	Medium
	Drop	48°
	Curvature	Tight
	Jaw u'cut	Long
	Brow ridge	Subtle
	Nasal ridge	None
	Jaw ridge	None
	Headdress	Tripartite Wig
	Lappets	2No
	Crown	None
Ears	Prm profile	Narrow
	Sec profile	Narrow
	Prm shape	Straight x 2
	Sec shape	Straight x 2
	Length	Missing
	Angle P-S	7°
	Angle P-V	15°
	Angle S-V	8°
Head junc'	Sharp	
Ear Markings	Primary H	None
	Primary V	None
	Prm <i>pinna</i>	Pinna
	Sec H	None
	Sec V	"
	Sec <i>pinna</i>	"

Table 13.4: Analysis of the Bimorphic Seth Head - Middle Kingdom (Sheet 4 of 4).

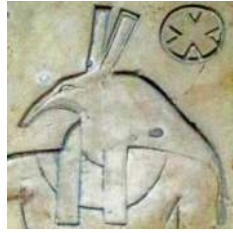

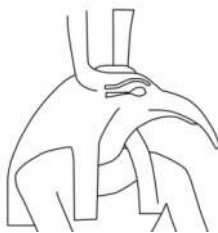

No		1	2	3	4
Image					
Details		18 th Dynasty. Lintel from Temple of Seth, Nubt. Cairo museum JE 31881.	18 th Dynasty. Lintel from Temple of Seth, Nubt. Cairo museum JE 31881.	18 th Dynasty. Stela of Nakht-Seth-Antwy. Oriental Institute Museum Chicago IOM 10510.	18 th Dynasty. Stela from Naqada, Petrie Museum UC 14447.
Neck	Throat	Straight	Straight	Concave	Straight
	Angle	3 ^o	7 ^o	41 ^o	17 ^o
	Banding	None	None	None	None
Muzzle and Head	Shape	Curved	Curved	Curved	Curved
	Length	Medium	Medium	Long	Missing
	Thickness	Medium	Medium	Thin	"
	Drop	40 ^o	42 ^o	39 ^o	"
	Curvature	Medium	Tight	Medium	"
	Jaw u'cut	None	Long	Long	"
	Brow ridge	Subtle	Prominent	Prominent	Subtle
	Nasal ridge	Prominent	Subtle	None	Missing
	Jaw ridge	None	None	None	Missing
	Headdress	Tripartite Wig	Tripartite Wig	Tripartite Wig	Tripartite Wig
	Lappets	2No	2No	2No	2No
	Crown	None	None	None	None
Ears	Prm profile	Narrow	Narrow	Narrow	Narrow
	Sec profile	Narrow	Narrow	Narrow	Narrow
	Prm shape	Concave - Straight	Straight x 2	Concave - Convex	Concave - Straight
	Sec shape	Straight x 2	Concave - Straight	Concave - Straight	Concave - Convex
	Length	Long	Long	Medium	Long
	Angle P-S	15 ^o	13 ^o	7 ^o	9 ^o
	Angle P-V	24 ^o	20 ^o	4 ^o	11 ^o
	Angle S-V	9 ^o	7 ^o	-3 ^o	2 ^o
Head junc'	Radiused	Radiused	Swept Curve	Swept Curve	
Ear Markings	Primary H	None	None	None	None
	Primary V	None	None	"	None
	Prm pinna	Pinna	Pinna	"	Pinna
	Sec H	None	1No	"	None
	Sec V	"	None	"	2No
	Sec pinna	"	None	"	"

Table 13.5: Analysis of the Bimorphic Seth Head - New Kingdom (Sheet 1 of 11).

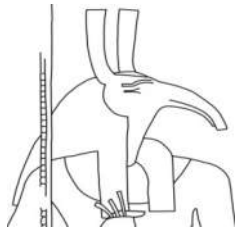

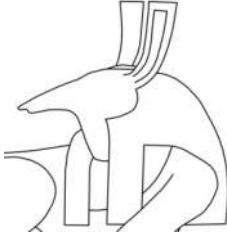
No		5	6	7	8
Image					
Details		18 th Dynasty. Festival Hall of Thutmose III, Karnak.	18 th Dynasty. Festival Hall of Thutmose III, Karnak.	18 th Dynasty. Festival Hall of Thutmose III, Karnak.	18 th Dynasty, Lintel of Hatshepsut. Stone store, Open Air Museum, Karnak.
Neck	Throat	Concave	Concave	Straight	Straight
	Angle	24 ^o	28 ^o	19 ^o	0 ^o
	Banding	None	None	None	None
Muzzle and Head	Shape	Curved	Curved	Curved	Curved
	Length	Long	Long	Long	Medium
	Thickness	Thin	Thin	Medium	Medium
	Drop	33 ^o	41 ^o	16 ^o	38 ^o
	Curvature	Tight	Tight	Shallow	Tight
	Jaw u'cut	None	None	Short	Long
	Brow ridge	Subtle	Subtle	Subtle	Prominent
	Nasal ridge	None	None	None	None
	Jaw ridge	None	None	None	None
	Headdress	Tripartite Wig	Tripartite Wig	Tripartite Wig	Tripartite Wig
	Lappets	2No	2No	2No	2No
	Crown	None	None	None	None
Ears	Prm profile	Narrow	Narrow	Narrow	Narrow
	Sec profile	Narrow	Narrow	Narrow	Narrow
	Prm shape	Concave – Convex	Concave – Convex	Concave – Convex	Straight x 2
	Sec shape	Concave – Convex	Concave – Convex	Concave – Convex	Straight x 2
	Length	Medium	Long	Long	Medium
	Angle P-S	9 ^o	1 ^o	1 ^o	15 ^o
	Angle P-V	7 ^o	9 ^o	7 ^o	28 ^o
	Angle S-V	-2 ^o	8 ^o	7 ^o	13 ^o
Head junc'	Swept Curve	Swept Curve	Swept Curve	Radiused	
Ear Markings	Primary H	None	None	None	None
	Primary V	"	"	None	None
	Prm pinna	"	"	Pinna	Pinna
	Sec H	"	"	None	2No
	Sec V	"	"	"	None
	Sec pinna	"	"	"	None

Table 13.5: Analysis of the Bimorphic Seth Head - New Kingdom (Sheet 2 of 11).





No		9	10	11	12
Image					
Details		18 th Dyn. Astro ceiling, Tomb of Senenmut TT353. Thebes.	18 th Dynasty. Chapel of Horemheb. Gebel el-Silsila.	18 th Dynasty, Stela of Seth and Hathor from Ballas. Cairo Museum JE 31179.	18 th Dynasty. Small temple of Thutmose III, Medinet Habu. Re-carved 19 th Dynasty.
Neck	Throat	Straight	Straight	Convex	Concave
	Angle	17 ^o	19 ^o	25 ^o	26 ^o
	Banding	3No	None	None	None
Muzzle and Head	Shape	Curved	Damaged	Curved	Curved
	Length	Medium	"	Long	Long
	Thickness	Thin	"	Thin	Thin
	Drop	38 ^o	"	35 ^o	33 ^o
	Curvature	Tight	"	Tight	Shallow
	Jaw u'cut	Medium	"	None	Short
	Brow ridge	Prominent	Prominent	Prominent	Subtle
	Nasal ridge	None	Damaged	None	Damaged
	Jaw ridge	None	Damaged	None	Damaged
	Headdress	Tripartite Wig	Tripartite Wig	Tripartite Wig	Tripartite Wig
	Lappets	2No	2No	2No	2No
	Crown	None	Crown Lower Egypt	None	None
Ears	Prm profile	Narrow	Narrow	Narrow	Narrow
	Sec profile	Narrow	Narrow	Narrow	Narrow
	Prm shape	Concave – Convex	Concave – Convex	Straight - Concave	Straight - Convex
	Sec shape	Concave – Convex	Concave – Straight	Straight x 2	Concave - Straight
	Length	Long	Long	Long	Long
	Angle P-S	11 ^o	9 ^o	16 ^o	8 ^o
	Angle P-V	14 ^o	15 ^o	27 ^o	14 ^o
	Angle S-V	3 ^o	6 ^o	11 ^o	6 ^o
Head junc'	Sharp	Sharp	Swept Curve	Damaged	
Ear Markings	Primary H	None	None	None	None
	Primary V	None	1No	"	None
	Prm pinna	Pinna	None	"	Pinna
	Sec H	None	"	"	None
	Sec V	None	"	"	"
	Sec pinna	Pinna	"	"	"

Table 13.5: Analysis of the Bimorphic Seth Head - New Kingdom (Sheet 3 of 11).





No		13	14	15	16
Image					
Details		18 th Dynasty. 4 th hour Amduat, Divider of the Netherworld. Tomb of Thutmose III KV34.	18 th Dynasty. 4 th hour Amduat, Divider of the Netherworld. Tomb of Amenhotep II KV35.	18 th Dynasty. 2 nd hour Amduat, His two faces. Tomb of Thutmose III KV34.	18 th Dynasty. Stela of Anhotep. Manchester museum 4528.
Neck	Throat	Straight	Straight	Straight	Convex
	Angle	-6 ^o	-4 ^o	29 ^o	10 ^o
	Banding	None	1No	None	None
Muzzle and Head	Shape	Curved	Curved	Straight	Curved
	Length	Long	Long	Medium	Medium
	Thickness	Thin	Thin	Thin	Broad
	Drop	36 ^o	34 ^o	59 ^o	42 ^o
	Curvature	Tight	Tight	None	Tight
	Jaw u'cut	None	None	"	Medium
	Brow ridge	"	Subtle	"	None
	Nasal ridge	"	None	"	Prominent
	Jaw ridge	"	None	"	None
	Headdress	Tripartite Wig	Tripartite Wig	"	Tripartite Wig
	Lappets	2No	2No	"	2No
	Crown	None	None	"	Crown of U&L Egypt
Ears	Prm profile	Medium	Medium	Medium	Parallel
	Sec profile	Medium	Medium	Narrow	No Ear
	Prm shape	Concave x 2	Concave – Convex	Concave x 2	Concave – Convex
	Sec shape	Concave x 2	Concave – Straight	Concave x 2	No Ear
	Length	Long	Long	Medium	Long
	Angle P-S	26 ^o	6 ^o	24 ^o	No Ear
	Angle P-V	41 ^o	4 ^o	52 ^o	17 ^o
	Angle S-V	15 ^o	-2 ^o	28 ^o	No Ear
Head junc'	Sharp	Sharp	Sharp	Swept Curve	
Ear Markings	Primary H	None	None	None	None
	Primary V	"	"	"	None
	Prm pinna	"	"	"	Pinna
	Sec H	"	"	"	No Ear
	Sec V	"	"	"	"
	Sec pinna	"	"	"	"

Table 13.5: Analysis of the Bimorphic Seth Head - New Kingdom (Sheet 4 of 11).




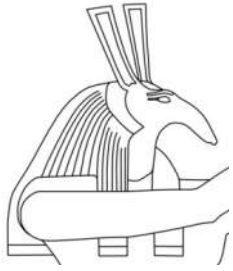
No		17	18	19	20
Image					
Details		18 th Dynasty. Seth stela. Petrie Museum UC 45093.	Early New Kingdom. Seth tablet. Petrie Museum UC 16661.	19 th Dynasty. Stela of Seth and Ramesses I. Eastern Delta.	19 th Dynasty. Lintel of Seti I, Baptism of the Pharaoh. Brussels Museum, Destroyed by fire in World War II.
Neck	Throat	Convex	Straight	Convex	Straight
	Angle	15°	0°	15°	7°
	Banding	None	None	None	None
Muzzle and Head	Shape	Curved	Straight	Curved	Curved
	Length	Long	Long	Medium	Medium
	Thickness	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium
	Drop	36°	23°	38°	42°
	Curvature	Shallow	None	Tight	Tight
	Jaw u'cut	None	"	None	Medium
	Brow ridge	"	"	Subtle	Subtle
	Nasal ridge	"	"	Subtle	None
	Jaw ridge	"	"	None	None
	Headdress	Tripartite Wig	"	Tripartite Wig	Tripartite Wig
	Lappets	2No	"	2No	2No
	Crown	None	"	Crown of U&L Egypt	None
Ears	Prm profile	Medium	Medium	Narrow	Narrow
	Sec profile	Narrow	Narrow	Narrow	Narrow
	Prm shape	Straight x 2	Straight x 2	Concave – Convex	Concave – Straight
	Sec shape	Straight x 2	Straight x 2	Concave – Convex	Concave – Straight
	Length	Long	Long	Long	Long
	Angle P-S	26°	55°	1°	13°
	Angle P-V	25°	11°	8°	21°
	Angle S-V	-1°	-44°	7°	8°
Head junc'	Sharp	Sharp	Sharp	Swept Curve	
Ear Markings	Primary H	None	None	2No	None
	Primary V	"	"	None	None
	Prm pinna	"	"	None	Pinna
	Sec H	"	"	2No	None
	Sec V	"	"	None	None
	Sec pinna	"	"	None	Pinna

Table 13.5: Analysis of the Bimorphic Seth Head - New Kingdom (Sheet 5 of 11).

No		21	22	23	24
Image					
Details		19 th Dynasty. Relief of Seti I, Baptism of the Pharaoh. Hypostyle Hall, Karnak.	19 th Dynasty. Tomb of Seti I, astronomical ceiling, KV17.	19 th Dynasty. Tomb of Seti I, astronomical ceiling, KV17.	19 th Dynasty. 2 nd hour Amduat, His two faces. Tomb of Seti I KV17.
Neck	Throat	Concave	Straight	Straight	Concave
	Angle	18 ^o	15 ^o	15 ^o	27 ^o
	Banding	None	None	None	None
Muzzle and Head	Shape	Curved	Curved	Curved	Curved
	Length	Medium	Long	Medium	Short
	Thickness	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium
	Drop	45 ^o	31 ^o	50 ^o	52 ^o
	Curvature	Tight	Shallow	Tight	Shallow
	Jaw u'cut	Medium	None	None	None
	Brow ridge	Subtle	Prominent	Subtle	Prominent
	Nasal ridge	Prominent	None	None	None
	Jaw ridge	None	None	None	"
	Headdress	Tripartite Wig	Tripartite Wig	Tripartite Wig	"
	Lappets	2No	2No	2No	"
	Crown	None	None	None	"
Ears	Prm profile	Parallel	Narrow	Narrow	Narrow
	Sec profile	Narrow	Narrow	Narrow	Narrow
	Prm shape	Concave - Convex	Concave - Convex	Concave - Convex	Concave - Convex
	Sec shape	Concave - Straight	Concave - Convex	Concave - Convex	Concave - Convex
	Length	Long	Long	Long	Short
	Angle P-S	11 ^o	10 ^o	4 ^o	-10 ^o
	Angle P-V	22 ^o	1 ^o	5 ^o	-18 ^o
	Angle S-V	11 ^o	-9 ^o	1 ^o	-28 ^o
Head junc'	Swept Curve	Swept Curve	Damaged	Swept Curve	
Ear Markings	Primary H	None	None	None	None
	Primary V	None	"	1No	"
	Prm pinna	Pinna	"	None	"
	Sec H	None	"	None	"
	Sec V	"	1No	1No	"
	Sec pinna	"	None	None	"

Table 13.5: Analysis of the Bimorphic Seth Head - New Kingdom (Sheet 6 of 11).





No		25	26	27	28
Image					
Details		19 th Dynasty. Relief of Ramesses II, Crowning of the Pharaoh. Hypostyle Hall, Small Temple, Abu Simbel.	19 th Dynasty. Ramesses II. Originally from Pi-Ramesses reused 26 th Dynasty tomb of Osorkon II, Tanis.	19 th Dynasty. Ramesses II from Bubastis. British Museum BM EA 1065.	19 th Dynasty. Ramesses II from Bubastis. British Museum BM EA 1065.
Neck	Throat	Straight	Straight	Concave	Straight
	Angle	8 ⁰	12 ⁰	51 ⁰	0 ⁰
	Banding	None	None	None	None
Muzzle and Head	Shape	Curved	Curved	Curved	Curved
	Length	Medium	Medium	Medium	Short
	Thickness	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium
	Drop	38 ⁰	46 ⁰	39 ⁰	39 ⁰
	Curvature	Tight	Tight	Medium	Shallow
	Jaw u'cut	None	None	None	None
	Brow ridge	Prominent	Subtle	"	"
	Nasal ridge	None	None	"	"
	Jaw ridge	None	None	"	"
	Headdress	Tripartite Wig	Tripartite Wig	Tripartite Wig	Tripartite Wig
	Lappets	2No	2No	1No	2No
Crown	None	None	Crown of U&L Egypt	Crown of U&L Egypt	
Ears	Prm profile	Parallel	Narrow	No Ears	Narrow
	Sec profile	Parallel	Narrow	" "	No Ear
	Prm shape	Straight x 2	Straight x 2	" "	Convex - Concave
	Sec shape	Straight x 2	Concave - Convex	" "	No Ear
	Length	Long	Long	" "	Medium
	Angle P-S	5 ⁰	11 ⁰	" "	No Ear
	Angle P-V	2 ⁰	13 ⁰	" "	13 ⁰
	Angle S-V	-3 ⁰	2 ⁰	" "	No Ear
Head junc'	Swept Curve	Sharp	" "	Sharp	
Ear Markings	Primary H	None	None	No Ears	None
	Primary V	None	"	" "	"
	Prm pinna	Pinna	"	" "	"
	Sec H	None	"	" "	No Ear
	Sec V	2No	"	" "	" "
	Sec pinna	None	"	" "	" "

Table 13.5: Analysis of the Bimorphic Seth Head - New Kingdom (Sheet 7 of 11).

No	29	30	31	32	
Image					
Details	19 th Dynasty. Stela of Aapehty. British Museum, BM EA 35630	19 th Dynasty. Stela of Seti. Antikenmuseum, Basel. BSAe 1080	19 th Dynasty. Stela of Seti, Stela BD 340, Abu Simbel.	19 th Dynasty Stela of Seth, Ptah and Tauret from Temple of Seth, Matmar.	
Neck	Throat	Concave	Straight	Straight	Convex
	Angle	24°	6°	6°	3°
	Banding	None	None	None	None
Muzzle and Head	Shape	Curved	Curved	Curved	Straight
	Length	Long	Medium	Short	Short
	Thickness	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium
	Drop	38°	27°	28°	37°
	Curvature	Tight	Tight	Shallow	None
	Jaw u'cut	None	None	None	Long
	Brow ridge	Prominent	Subtle	"	None
	Nasal ridge	None	None	"	"
	Jaw ridge	None	None	"	"
	Headdress	Tripartite Wig	Tripartite Wig	Tripartite Wig	Tripartite Wig
	Lappets	2No	1No	1No	2No
Crown	None	None	Crown of U&L Egypt	None	
Ears	Prm profile	Narrow	Parallel	Narrow	Narrow
	Sec profile	Medium	Medium	Medium	Narrow
	Prm shape	Concave - Convex	Concave - Convex	Concave - Convex	Concave - Convex
	Sec shape	Concave - Convex	Straight x 2	Straight - Convex	Concave - Convex
	Length	Long	Medium	Long	Damaged
	Angle P-S	18°	4°	16°	27°
	Angle P-V	19°	2°	21°	23°
	Angle S-V	1°	-2°	5°	-4°
Head junc'	Sharp	Swept Curve	Swept Curve	Radiused	
Ear Markings	Primary H	None	None	None	None
	Primary V	"	1No	"	"
	Prm pinna	"	None	"	"
	Sec H	"	"	"	"
	Sec V	"	"	"	"
	Sec pinna	"	"	"	"

Table 13.5: Analysis of the Bimorphic Seth Head - New Kingdom (Sheet 8 of 11).

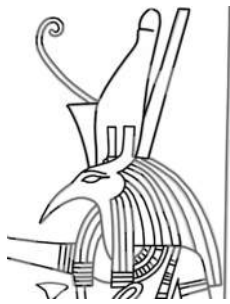



No		33	34	35	36
Image					
Details		19 th Dynasty. Tomb of Apy, TT217, Deir el-Medina	19 th Dynasty. Tomb of Apy, TT217, Deir el-Medina	19 th Dynasty. Ostraca from Deir el-Medina. Cairo Museum. JE 43659	20 th Dynasty. Ramesses III. Second Court, Medinet Habu
Neck	Throat	Straight	Straight	Straight	Concave
	Angle	7 ^o	0 ^o	20 ^o	21 ^o
	Banding	None	None	None	None
Muzzle and Head	Shape	Curved	Curved	Curved	Curved
	Length	Medium	Medium	Medium	Damaged
	Thickness	Thin	Thin	Broad	"
	Drop	44 ^o	43 ^o	13 ^o	"
	Curvature	Tight	Medium	Shallow	"
	Jaw u'cut	None	None	None	"
	Brow ridge	Subtle	"	Prominent	"
	Nasal ridge	None	"	None	"
	Jaw ridge	None	"	None	"
	Headdress	Tripartite Wig	Tripartite Wig	Tripartite Wig	Tripartite Wig
	Lappets	2No	2No	2No	2No
	Crown	Crown of U&L Egypt	Ankh	None	Crown of U&L Egypt
Ears	Prm profile	Parallel	Parallel	Narrow	Narrow
	Sec profile	Parallel	Parallel	Narrow	Narrow
	Prm shape	Concave – Straight	Concave - Convex	Concave - Straight	Concave - Convex
	Sec shape	Concave – Straight	Straight x 2	Concave - Straight	Concave - Convex
	Length	Short	Medium	Medium	Long
	Angle P-S	4 ^o	0 ^o	10 ^o	4 ^o
	Angle P-V	4 ^o	0 ^o	1 ^o	3 ^o
	Angle S-V	0 ^o	0 ^o	-9 ^o	-1 ^o
Head junc'	Radiused	Swept Curve	Swept Curve	Damaged	
Ear Markings	Primary H	None	None	None	None
	Primary V	"	1No	"	"
	Prm pinna	"	None	"	"
	Sec H	"	"	"	"
	Sec V	"	"	"	"
	Sec pinna	"	"	"	"

Table 13.5: Analysis of the Bimorphic Seth Head - New Kingdom (Sheet 9 of 11).


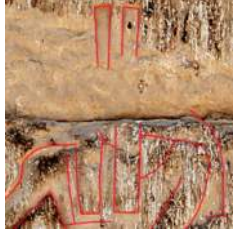


No		37	38	39	40
Image					
Details		20 th Dynasty. Ramesses III. Second Court, Medinet Habu.	20 th Dynasty. Ramesses III. Exterior north wall. Medinet Habu.	20 th Dynasty. 2 nd hour Amduat, His two faces. Tomb of Ramesses IV KV2.	20 th Dynasty. 2 nd hour Amduat, His two faces. Tomb of Ramesses IX KV6.
Neck	Throat	Damaged	Damaged	Concave	Straight
	Angle	"	"	28°	12°
	Banding	"	"	None	None
Muzzle and Head	Shape	Curved	"	Straight	Curved
	Length	Damaged	"	Short	Long
	Thickness	"	"	Broad	Thin
	Drop	"	"	46°	49°
	Curvature	"	"	None	Shallow
	Jaw u'cut	"	"	"	None
	Brow ridge	"	"	"	Prominent
	Nasal ridge	"	"	"	None
	Jaw ridge	"	"	"	"
	Headdress	Tripartite Wig	Tripartite Wig	"	"
	Lappets	Damaged	2No	"	"
	Crown	None	None	"	"
Ears	Prm profile	Narrow	Narrow	Narrow	Narrow
	Sec profile	Narrow	Narrow	Narrow	Narrow
	Prm shape	Concave - Straight	Straight x 2	Concave - Convex	Concave - Convex
	Sec shape	Concave - Straight	Straight x 2	Concave - Convex	Straight x 2
	Length	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium
	Angle P-S	3°	4°	12°	15°
	Angle P-V	6°	2°	46°	13°
	Angle S-V	3°	-2°	34°	-2°
Head junc'	Damaged	Damaged	Sharp	Sharp	
Ear Markings	Primary H	Damaged	None	None	None
	Primary V	"	"	"	"
	Prm pinna	"	"	"	"
	Sec H	"	"	"	"
	Sec V	"	"	"	"
	Sec pinna	"	"	"	"

Table 13.5: Analysis of the Bimorphic Seth Head - New Kingdom (Sheet 10 of 11).

No		41	42
Image			
Details		20th Dynasty. Stela from Palace of Apries.	New Kingdom. Blue glazed stela. Petrie Museum UC 45220.
Neck	Throat	Straight	Concave
	Angle	46°	29°
	Banding	None	None
Muzzle and Head	Shape	Curved	Curved
	Length	Long	Medium
	Thickness	Medium	Medium
	Drop	32°	20°
	Curvature	Shallow	Shallow
	Jaw u'cut	None	None
	Brow ridge	Subtle	Subtle
	Nasal ridge	None	None
	Jaw ridge	None	None
	Headdress	Tripartite Wig	Tripartite Wig
	Lappets	2No	1No
	Crown	None	Crown of U&L Egypt
Ears	Prm profile	Narrow	Medium
	Sec profile	Narrow	Narrow
	Prm shape	Concave - Convex	Concave - Convex
	Sec shape	Concave - Convex	Straight x 2
	Length	Long	Long
	Angle P-S	3°	2°
	Angle P-V	-7°	3°
	Angle S-V	-10°	1°
	Head junc'	Sharp	Swept Curve
Ear Markings	Primary H	None	None
	Primary V	"	"
	Prm pinna	"	"
	Sec H	"	"
	Sec V	"	"
	Sec pinna	"	"

Table 13.5: Analysis of the Bimorphic Seth Head - New Kingdom (Sheet 11 of 11).



No		1	2
Image			
Details		21 st Dynasty. Relief of Herihor, Temple of Khonsu, Karnak.	3 rd Intermediate Period. Pinkoff Mythical Papyrus.
Neck	Throat	Straight	Concave
	Angle	21 ^o	19 ^o
	Banding	None	None
Muzzle and Head	Shape	Curved	Curved
	Length	Medium	Medium
	Thickness	Medium	Medium
	Drop	17 ^o	23 ^o
	Curvature	Medium	Tight
	Jaw u'cut	None	None
	Brow ridge	Subtle	Prominent
	Nasal ridge	Damaged	None
	Jaw ridge	Damaged	None
	Headdress	Tripartite Wig	Tripartite Wig
	Lappets	2No	2No
	Crown	None	None
Ears	Prm profile	Narrow	Wide
	Sec profile	Medium	Narrow
	Prm shape	Straight - Convex	Straight x 2
	Sec shape	Concave - Convex	Concave - Straight
	Length	Long	Medium
	Angle P-S	11 ^o	16 ^o
	Angle P-V	27 ^o	6 ^o
	Angle S-V	16 ^o	-10 ^o
	Head junc'	Swept Curve	Swept Curve
Ear Markings	Primary H	Damaged	None
	Primary V	"	"
	Prm pinna	"	"
	Sec H	"	"
	Sec V	"	"
	Sec pinna	"	"

Table 13.6: Analysis of the Bimorphic Seth Head - 3rd Intermediate Period (Sheet 1 of 1).


No		1	2	3
Image				
Details		Ptolemaic Period. Hall of Offerings, Temple of Edfu.	Ptolemaic Period. Hall of Offerings, Temple of Edfu.	Ptolemaic Period. Brooklyn Museum 16.580.187.
Neck	Throat	Straight	Straight	Straight
	Angle	13°	3°	17°
	Banding	None	None	None
Muzzle and Head	Shape	Curved	Curved	Curved
	Length	Short	Short	Medium
	Thickness	Broad	Broad	Medium
	Drop	35°	37°	22°
	Curvature	Shallow	Shallow	Shallow
	Jaw u'cut	Medium	Medium	None
	Brow ridge	Prominent	Subtle	Prominent
	Nasal ridge	None	None	None
	Jaw ridge	None	None	None
	Headdress	Tripartite Wig	Tripartite Wig	Tripartite Wig
	Lappets	2No	2No	1No
	Crown	None	None	None
Ears	Prm profile	Narrow	Medium	Narrow
	Sec profile	Narrow	Wide	Narrow
	Prm shape	Straight x 2	Convex - Concave	Straight - Straight
	Sec shape	Straight x 2	Concave - Straight	Concave - Straight
	Length	Long	Medium	Medium
	Angle P-S	36°	48°	24°
	Angle P-V	17°	-24°	30°
	Angle S-V	-19°	24°	6°
	Head junc'	Sharp	Sharp	Sharp
Ear Markings	Primary H	None	None	None
	Primary V	"	None	"
	Prm <i>pinna</i>	"	Pinna	"
	Sec H	"	None	"
	Sec V	"	"	"
	Sec <i>pinna</i>	"	"	"

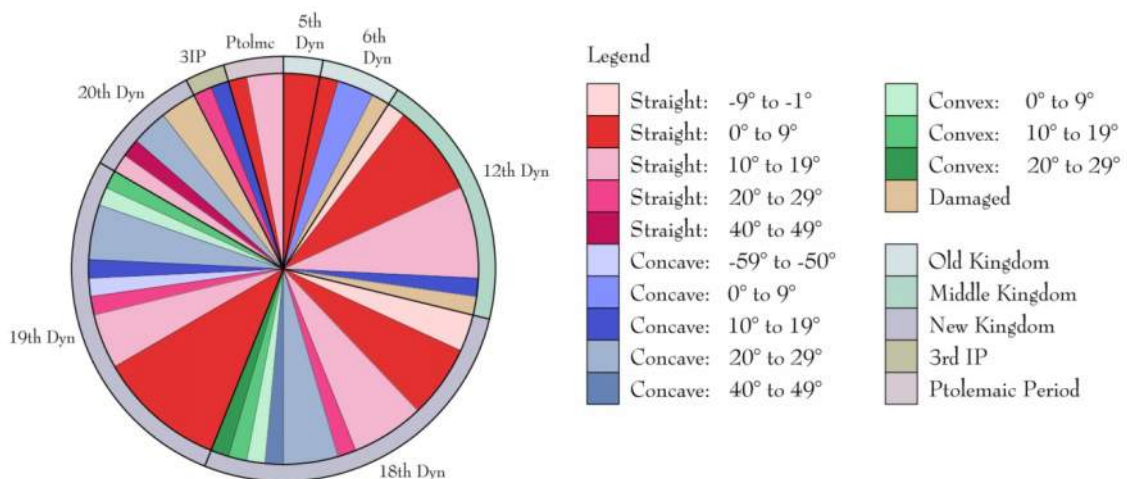
Table 13.7: Analysis of the Bimorphic Seth Head - Ptolemaic Period (Sheet 1 of 1).

13.8 Analysis of the Bimorphic Seth Data

Utilising the categories of the individual elements of the bimorphic Seth animal as defined in Table 13.1 a series of pie-charts were created detailing the variations in these elements across the 66 examples studied that extend over the previously defined periods. Where an example has been damaged and analysis of the element under consideration was not possible, the example is still included but labelled as damaged to maintain a consistent range of examples.

13.8.1 The Neck

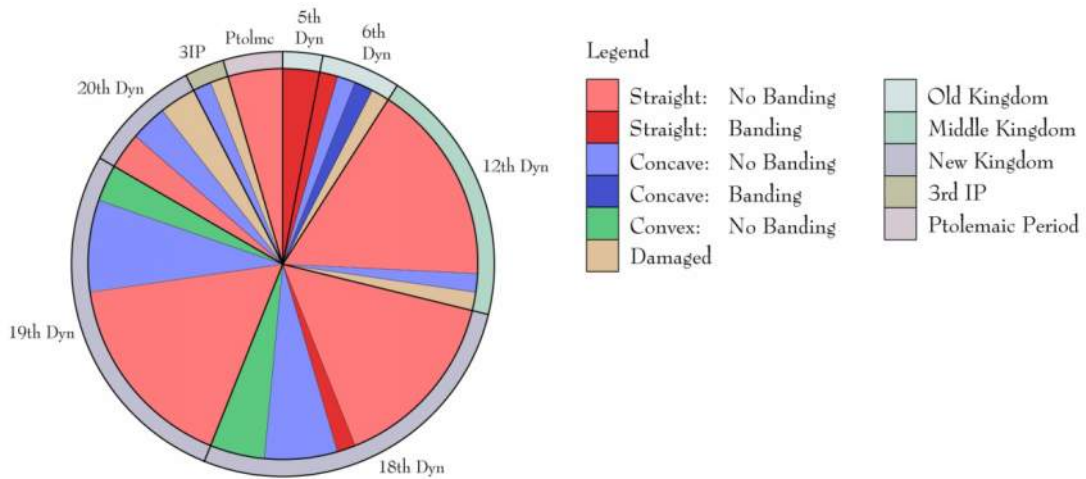
The neck was sub-divided into three categories and the first two, shape and angle, are detailed in Pie-Chart 13.1.



Pie-Chart 13.1: Analysis of the neck shape and angle to the vertical.

The shape of the neck was sub-divided into a straight, concave and convex throat. The most prevalent form was the straight throat at 63.64% and was the dominant shape in the 5th, 12th, 18th and 19th Dynasties and the Ptolemaic period. The inclination of the neck to the vertical the most prevalent angle range was 0° to 9° at 30.30% of the sample and covered the Old, Middle, New Kingdoms and the Ptolemaic Period. However, the angle range of 10° to 19° was also frequently used at 22.73% of the sample also being present in the Old, Middle, New Kingdoms and the Ptolemaic Period.

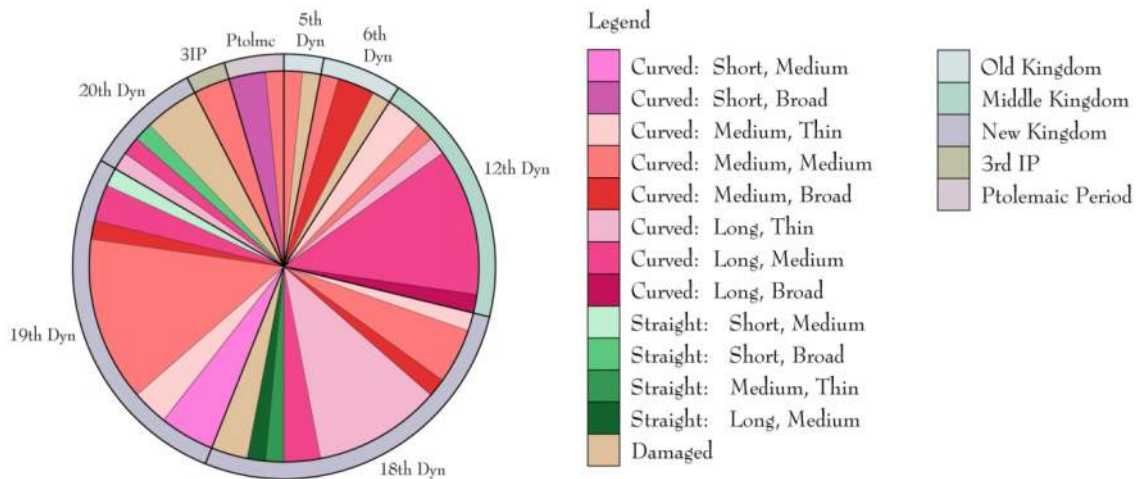
The third sub-category for the neck was the use of banding decoration around it. The distribution of the banding is detailed in Pie-Chart 13.2. The use of banding was rare with it only occurring in 7.58% of the sample, and was basically confined to the Old Kingdom with 6.06% of the sample but a sample of 1.51% occurred in the New Kingdom 18th Dynasty.



Pie-Chart 13.2: Distribution of neck bands in relation to neck shape.

13.8.2 The Head and Muzzle

As with the zoomorphic form, the muzzle of the bimorphic Seth displays a considerable number of variations in their depiction and comprises of eight separate parameters. The first three of these, shape, length and thickness are detailed in Pie-Chart 13.3.

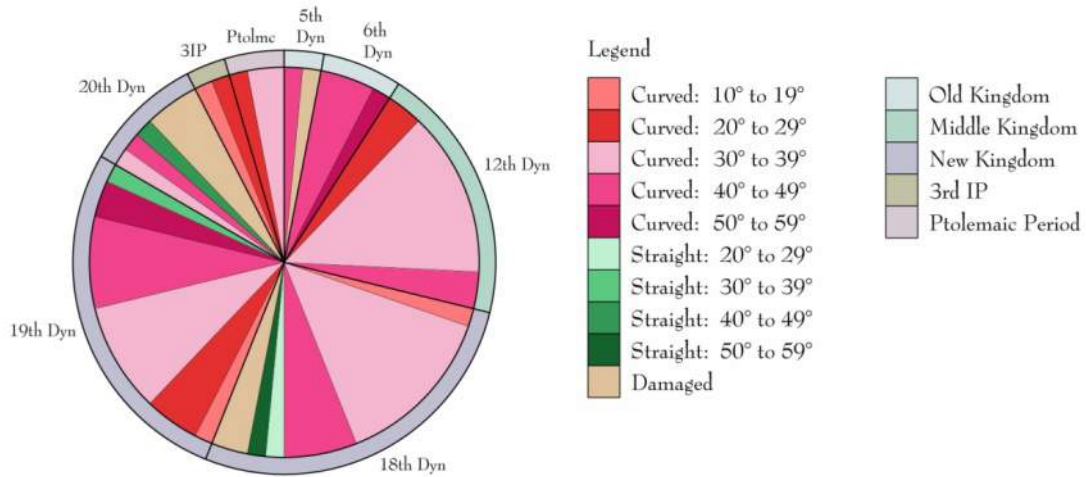


Pie-Chart 13.3: Distribution of muzzle forms, shape, length and thickness.

The most prominent of the muzzle shapes was curved at 83.33% of the sample, of these the most common length was medium which occurs in 40.91% of the sample; however, the long length was frequently used at 34.85%. In terms of thickness, medium was the most used form with the medium length and medium thickness occurring in 27.27% of the sample followed by long length and medium thickness at 19.7%. This combination of shape, length and thickness was not constant across the time period with the curved, medium, medium being concentrated in the 19th Dynasty at 13.64%, while the curved, long, medium was most

prevalent in the 12th Dynasty at 12.12%. A third combination curved, long, thin occurs in the 18th Dynasty where it occurs 10.61% of the data set.

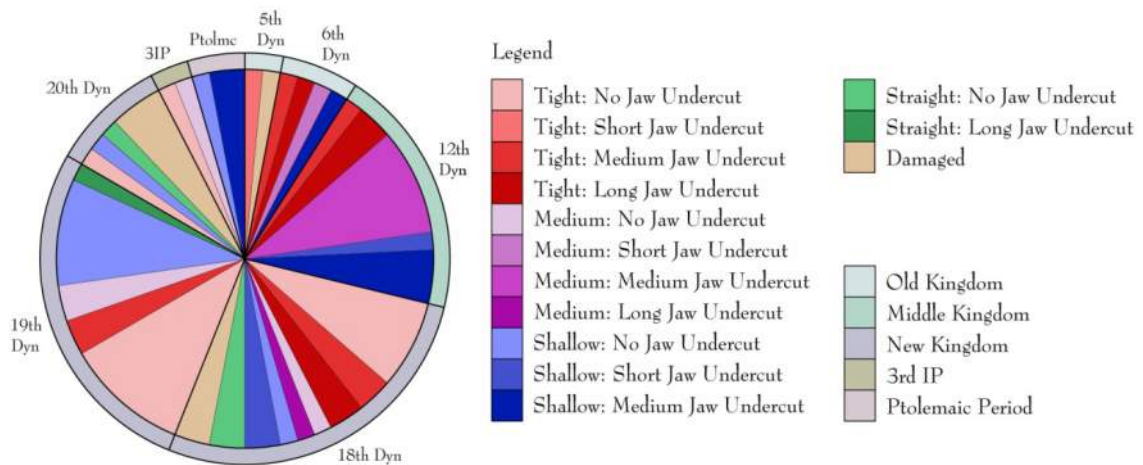
The fourth muzzle parameter was that of angle of the muzzle drop to the horizontal, which is detailed in Pie-Chart 13.4.



Pie-Chart 13.4: Distribution of muzzle drop in relationship to muzzle shape.

The predominant range was for the curved muzzle at 30° to 39° being 40.91% of the data set, however, this predominance is based on a concentration in the Middle and New Kingdom. The second largest angle range for the curved muzzle was 40° to 49° at 24.25% extending from the Old Kingdom to the New Kingdom.

The fifth and sixth parameter was that of the tightness of the curvature of the muzzle and the undercut of the jaw to the muzzle, which are detailed in Pie-Chart 13.5.

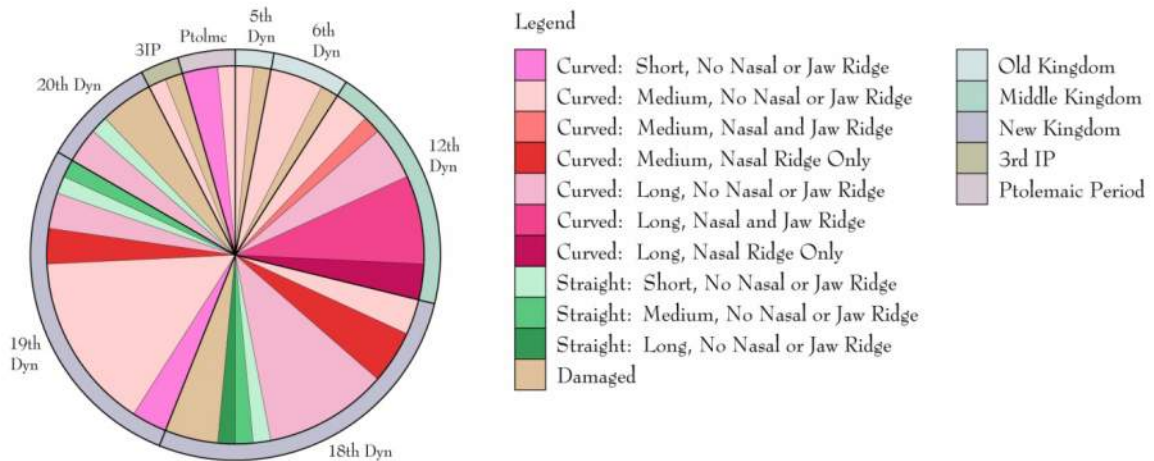


Pie-Chart 13.5: Distribution of tightness of muzzle curvature and jaw undercut.

The most prevalent of the tightness of the muzzle curvature was tight at 39.39% of the sample and extends from the Old Kingdom to the 3rd Intermediate Period being concentrated in the New Kingdom. The second form is the shallow curvature at 27.27% and extended from the late Old Kingdom through to the Ptolemaic period, also being concentrated in the

New Kingdom. The most frequent representations of the undercut of the jaw to the muzzle, was no undercut represented at 39.39% of the data, and distributed with 21.21% on the tight and 13.64% of the shallow curvatures. The lack of a jaw undercut commenced in the New Kingdom and extended through to the Ptolemaic period. The most prominent undercut was of medium length and occurred in 27.27% on the images, and was equally distributed at 9.09% between the tight, medium and shallow muzzle curvatures. The period of employment of this under cut was restricted to the Old and Middle Kingdoms except on the shallow curvature where it appeared in the Ptolemaic Period.

The seventh and eighth parameters are those of the depiction of a nasal ridge jaw ridge to the top and bottom of the muzzle, and are detailed in Pie-Chart 13.6.

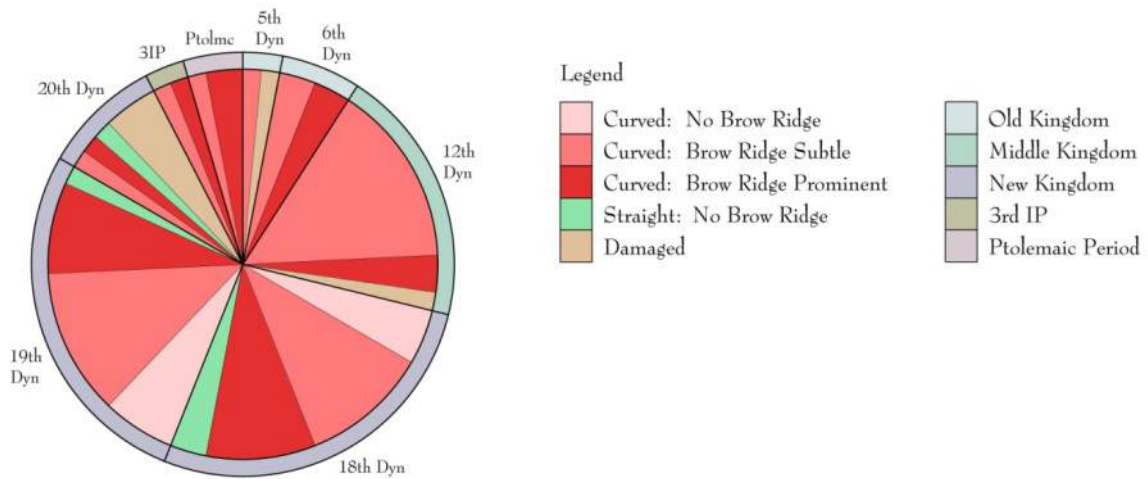


Pie-Chart 13.6: Distribution of nasal and jaw ridge in relation to muzzle type.

The distribution of these two ridges only occurred on curved muzzles appearing on 19.69% of the sample and was divided between nasal ridge only at 10.60% and nasal and jaw ridge at 9.09%. The nasal ridge was only used from the Middle Kingdom through to New Kingdom while the nasal and jaw ridge only was employed in the Middle Kingdom. No nasal or nasal and jaw ridges were employed on the straight muzzles.

After the muzzle the second defining feature on the head is that of the brow ridge, which only occurred in the three forms, none, subtle or prominent. The distribution of all forms were employed these is shown in Pie-Chart 13.7.

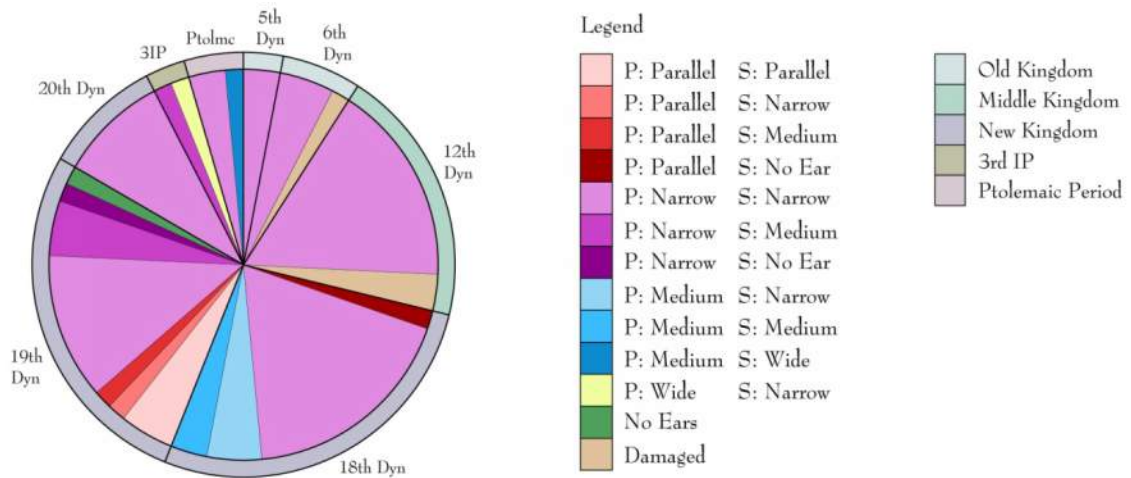
Distribution across the three forms was subtle at 47.97%, the prominent at 25.76% and no brow ridge 25.76%. The brow ridge only with the curved muzzle and its use extended throughout the dynasties under consideration.



Pie-Chart 13.7: Distribution of the brow ridge in relation to muzzle shape.

13.8.3 The Ears

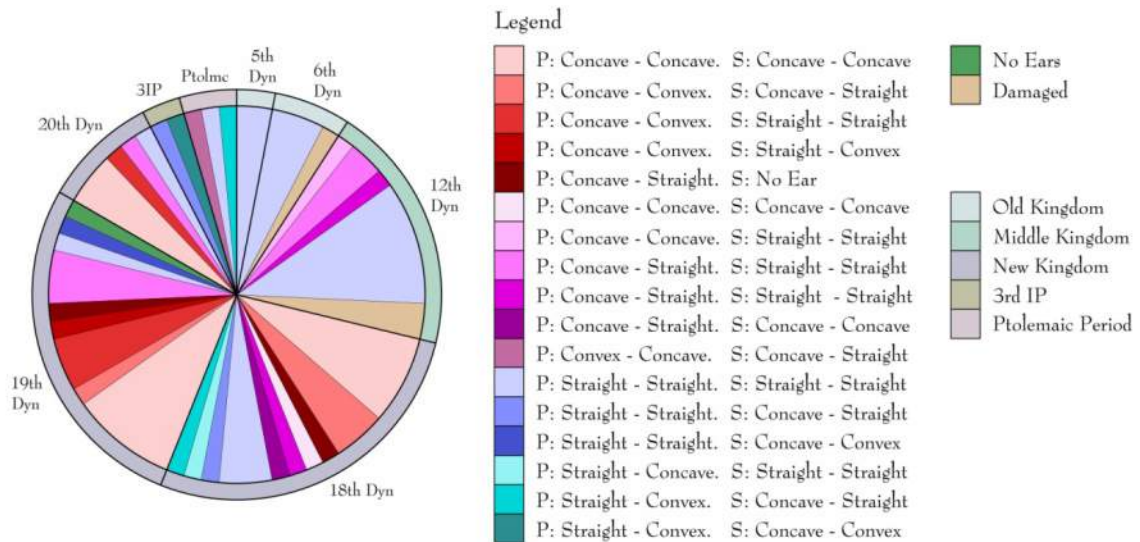
The second distinctive feature of the bimorphic Seth was the representation of the ears which displayed the greatest number of variables. There are six separate parameters in the depiction of the style of the ear and commencing with the first, the ear profile, the range of these and the relationship between the primary and secondary ear as detailed in Pie-Chart 13.8.



Pie-Chart 13.8: Relationship between primary and secondary ear shapes and distribution.

Within the examples analysed the most prevalent form had both primary and secondary ears being represented as narrow in shape at 66.66% of the data sample, followed by the primary ear being depicted as narrow and the secondary ear as medium, which only occurs in 6.06% of the images.

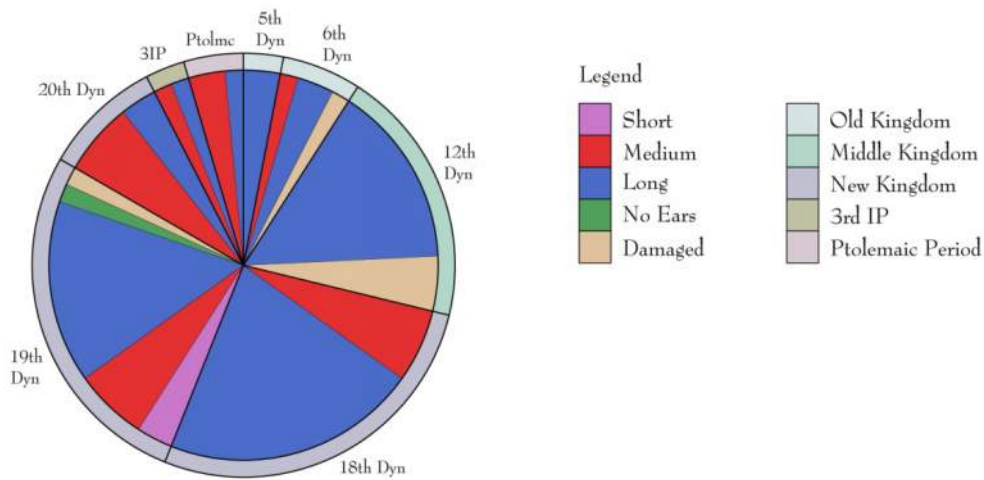
The second parameter in the ear analysis is that of the ear shape which is defined by the character of the leading and trailing edges of the primary and secondary ears and whether the same or different profiles were employed on the two ears. These variations are detailed in Pie-Chart 13.9.



Pie-Chart 13.9: Relationship between primary and secondary ear profiles and distribution.

The most frequent profile is that of both edges straight on leading and trailing edges on both primary and secondary ears at 27.27% of the images and extends through the whole time line considered. The second most frequent profile is concave leading edge and convex trailing edge at 21.21%. This profile was restricted to the New Kingdom only.

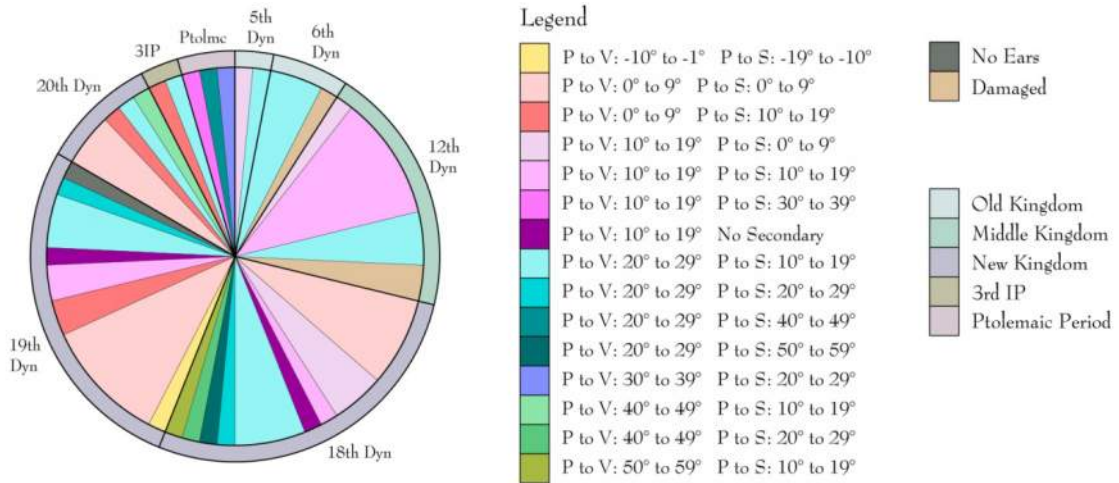
The third parameter was that of the ear length which is detailed in Pie-Chart 13.10.



Pie-Chart 13.10: Distribution of ear length.

The most prevalent ear length employed was long at 63.64% of the images, followed by the medium ear length at 24.24%. Although both lengths were employed throughout the time period the predominance of long ears was in the Middle and New Kingdoms.

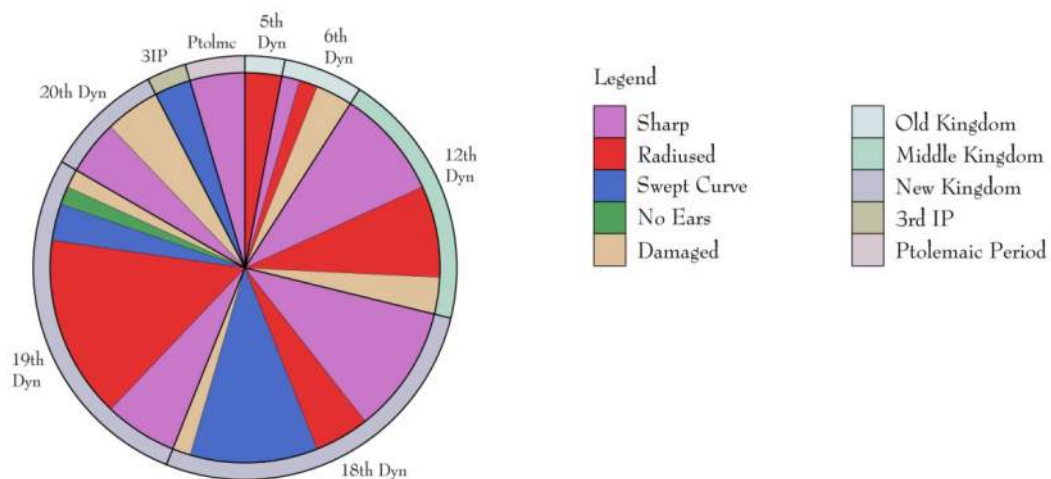
The fourth parameter for the ear analysis is that of the relationship of the ears to the vertical. For this to be undertaken, the data was separated into angle of the primary ear to the vertical, and then the relationship of the secondary ear to the primary ear. Firstly the relationship of the primary ear to the vertical is detailed in Pie-Chart 13.11.



Pie-Chart 13.11: Distribution of the angle of the primary ear to the vertical and to the secondary ear.

Although there was a considerable range of the primary ear to the vertical, within the data set the range is concentrated into three dominant angular ranges, first being 0° to 9° at 45.45%, secondly 20° to 29° at 30.30% and finally 10° to 19° at 27.27%. Analysing the relationship of the angle of the secondary ear to the primary ear there are three dominant angle groups, firstly the primary ear angle of 20° to 29° with the secondary ear angle of 10° to 19° to the primary ear which occurs in 24.24% of the images. Secondly, the primary ear at an angle of 0° to 9° with the secondary ear angle of 0° to 9° to the primary ear which occurs in 22.73% of the images and finally the primary ear at an angle of 10° to 19° with the secondary ear angle of 10° to 19° to the primary ear which occurs in 15.15% of the images.

The fifth parameter in defining the ear variations is that of the type of junction of the primary ear to the head and these are detailed in Pie-Chart 13.12.

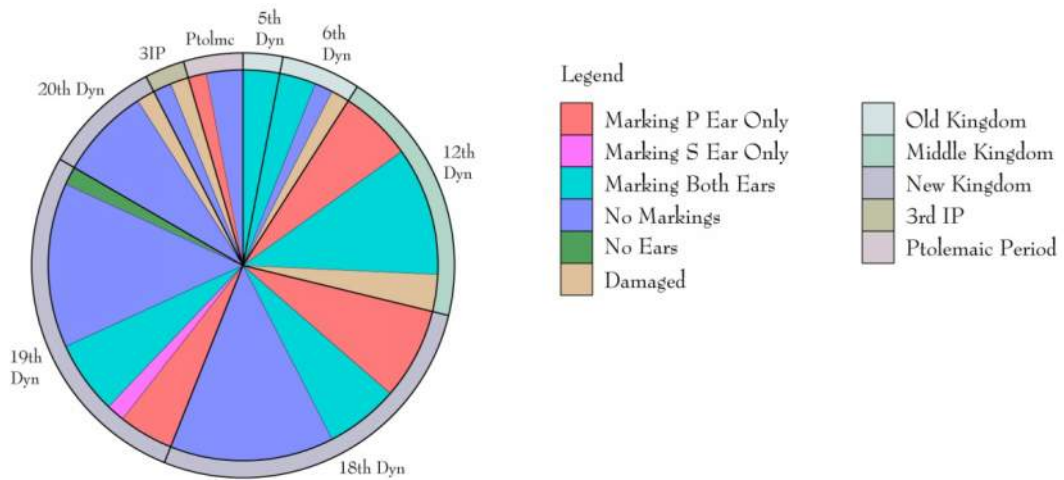


Pie-Chart 13.12: Distribution of types of ear junction with the head.

Of the three types of ear junction, the most prevalent is that defined as sharp with it being employed in 36.36% of the data set, while the radiused utilised in 31.82% of the sample and the swept curve was only used in 16.67% of the images.

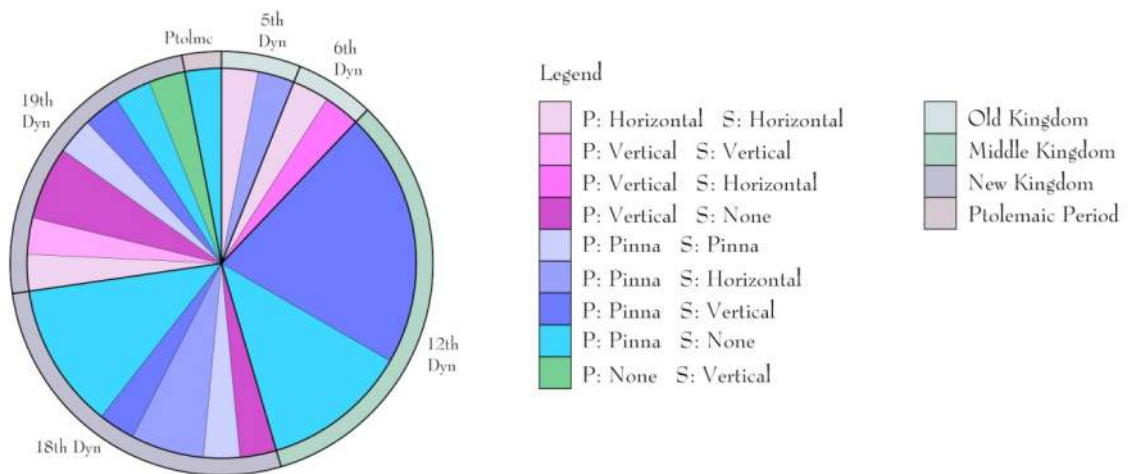
Over the period under study the sharp junction is employed from the Old Kingdom through to the Ptolemaic Period, while the radiused junction was employed from the Old Kingdom to the New Kingdom with its major employment in the Middle and New Kingdoms. The swept curve was only used in the New Kingdom and 3rd Intermediate Period.

The sixth and final parameter is that of the markings displayed on both the primary and secondary ears. The markings take four forms, those of vertical lines, horizontal lines, of a combination of horizontal lines and the depiction of a *pinna*. The distribution of the ear markings are detailed in Pie-Chart 13.13.



Pie-Chart 13.13: Distribution of markings to primary and secondary ears.

Of the data sample 40.91% of the ears have no markings and extended from the late Old Kingdom through to the Ptolemaic Period. Of the remaining ears 27.79% had markings to both ears, 19.69% had markings to the primary ear only and 1.52% to the secondary ear only. The distribution of the ear marking are displayed above are detailed in Pie-Chart 13.14.

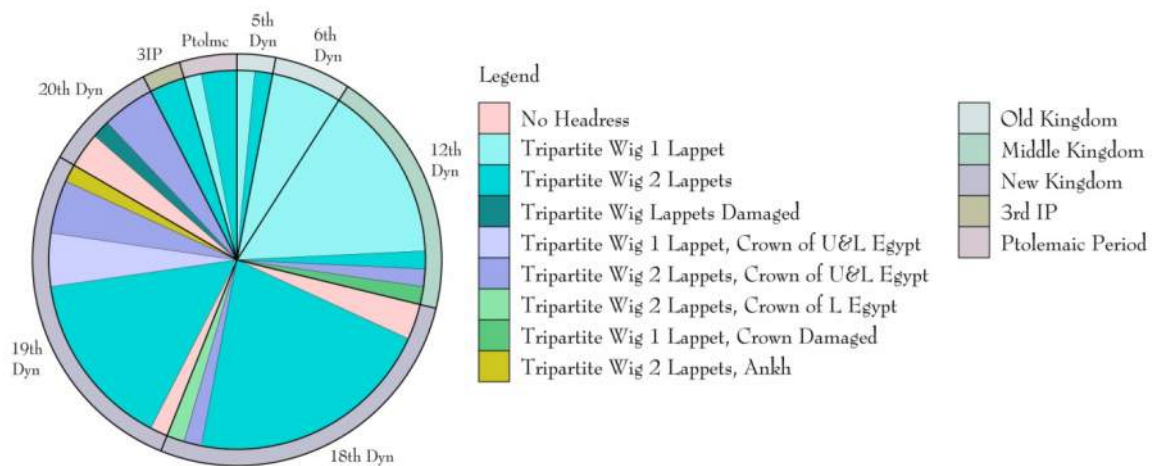


Pie-Chart 13.14: Distribution of the range of ear markings on the primary and secondary ears.

Although only 50% or 33 of the data sample had markings on the ears within this group, there were nine variations to the configuration of ear markings analysed. Of these the two dominant groups are a *pinna* to the primary ear only at 15.15% of the data set and was employed from the Middle Kingdom through to the Ptolemaic Period. A *pinna* to the primary ear and vertical markings on the secondary ear at 13.64%.and only occurred in the Middle and New Kingdoms.

13.8.4 The Headdress

The bimorphic Seth was normally depicted wearing a headdress; Pie-Chart 13.15 details the forms and distribution of these.



Pie-Chart 13.15: Distribution of headdress.

Although the tripartite wig was employed in 92.43% of the sample, 59.09% were shown with two lappets while 30.30% were depicted with a single lappet. A number of the tripartite wigs were supplemented with a crown, with 15.15% of the images were depicted with by the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt, while only 3.03% of the sample had the single crown of Lower Egypt. The depiction of the double crown was used in 12th, 19th and 20th Dynasties, while the crown of Lower Egypt was only represented in the 18th Dynasty.

13.9 Analysis Results

From the data detailed in Pie-Charts 13.1 to 13.15 it is possible to extract the most prevalent forms of the characteristic features of the bimorphic Seth and from these assemble a schedule from which the representation of what should be a typical bimorphic Seth could be created. This is shown in Table 13.8.

Parameter	Most prevalent	Parameter	Most prevalent	Parameter	Most prevalent
Throat	Straight	Curvature	Tight	Ear Length	Long
Neck Angle	0° to 9°	Jaw u/cut	None	Angle P to V	20° to 29°
Banding	None	Nasal Ridge	None	Angle P to S	10° to 19°
Muzzle	Curved	Jaw Ridge	None	Head Junct'n	Sharp
Length	Medium	Brow Ridge	Subtle	Ear Marking	None
Thickness	Medium	Ear Profile	Narrow x 2	Headdress	Tripartite Wig 2 Lappets
Drop	30° to 39°	Ear Shape	Straight x 2		

Table 13.8: Distribution of major prevalent parameters of the bimorphic Seth.

Based on the above data a 'standard' bimorphic Seth containing all of the most predominantly employed characteristics can be created and the author's interpretation is detailed in Fig. 13.31.

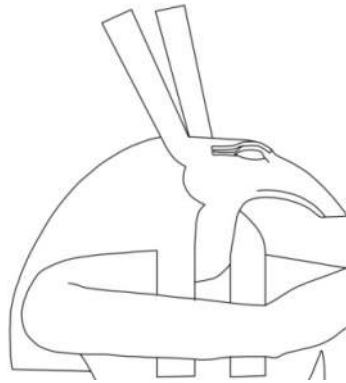
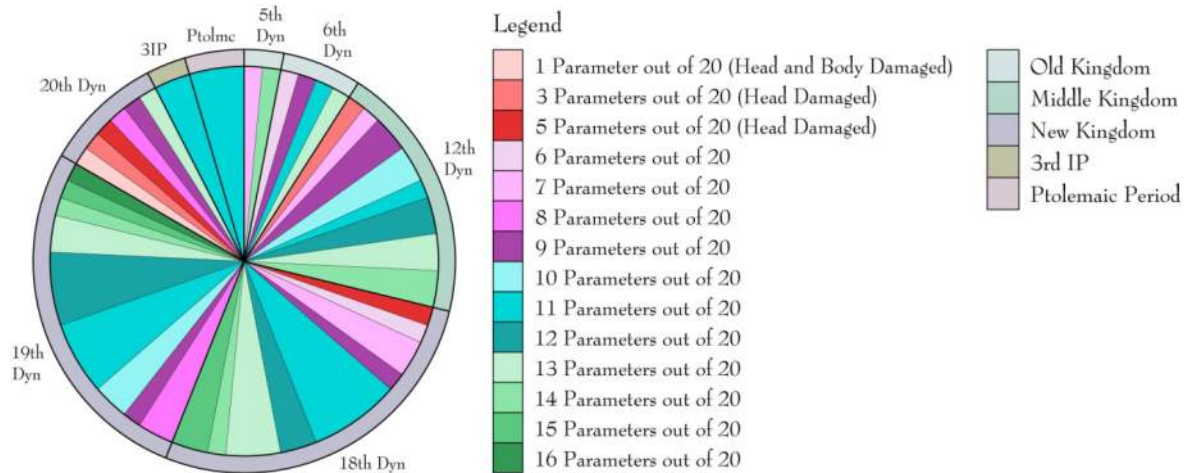


Fig. 13.31: 'Standard' bimorphic Seth created from most commonly employed characteristics compiled from Tables 13.10 to 13.22.

From the list of predominant characteristics 20 parameters can be extrapolated. By comparing these against the data on individual images in Tables 13.3 to 13.7 a pattern of distribution of parameters can be ascertained and is detailed in Pie-Chart 13.15.

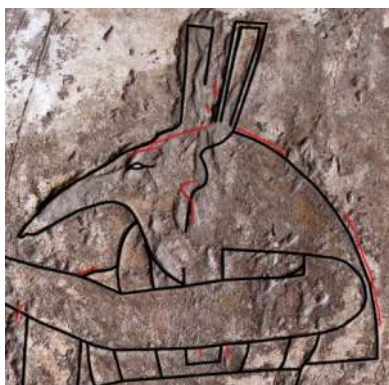


Pie-Chart 13.16: Distribution of predominate parameters on the bimorphic Seth image.

No single image in the data set employed all 20 of the predominant characteristics but the largest grouping of parameters on a single image was 11 in number, occupying 24.24% of the data and was distributed from the Old Kingdom to the Ptolemaic Period. However, in the images concerned the 11 parameters were distributed randomly among the defined 20 parameters. Similar to the zoomorphic Seth a small concentration of images exist but in this situating dating to the 12th Dynasty. Covering 15.15% of the data set the images have a distribution range of 9 to 14 parameters. All the images come from the statues of Senwosret I recovered at his funeral temple at Lisht, despite being from the same location and created over a short period of time no two images are 100% compatible despite sharing a number of the predominant parameters. On the 18th Dynasty lintel of Thutmose I the two Seth images depicted only have 12 compatible parameters out of 20 even though the images are close together and created at the same time.

13.9.1 Analysis Summary

As with the zoomorphic Seth discussed in Chapter 12, the above analysis would support the paradigm that throughout the period of its use there was never a rigidly fully defined or standard form of the bimorphic Seth. It is apparent that within the artistically vague constraints of the curved muzzle, and erect ears, individual artistic interpretation of their forms existed with the size, shape and angle of the component parts adjusted as required by expediency or just at the whim of the craftsman. Examples exist where images of Seth have been re-carved to a slightly different form either through defacement of the original image or a change in the craftsman's preference to how the image should look (Fig. 13.32).



A



B

Fig. 13.32: Examples of re-carved bimorphic Seth images. A - Seth from the small temple of Thutmose III Medinet Habu 19th Dynasty re-carving of an 18th Dynasty image . B - Seth from the purification of the Seti I, Hypostyle Hall, Karnak. 19th Dynasty re-carving of a 19th Dynasty image.





Figure 13.32A is an 18th Dynasty image that had been defaced possibly during the Amarna heresy and then re-carved during the 19th Dynasty. However, the form of the original Seth has not been fully adhered to. The red lines are the outline of the 18th Dynasty image and black lines those of the later re-carve. Figure 13.32B is a 19th Dynasty image that has had the profile of the muzzle and leading edge of the secondary ear reshaped, either during the initial carving or shortly after its completion. The original eye has had the lower section altered and the remaining upper section formed into an eyebrow. Both these examples indicate that the exact form of the bimorphic Seth, like the Seth animal, was not fixed but flexible, another example of the sum of the parts not always giving the same answer.

In this chapter the analysis of the variations in the depiction of Seth in bimorphic form was undertaken and is the final section regarding the different representations of Seth that were employed throughout Egyptian history. The following and final chapter will summarize the conclusions.

Chapter 14: Conclusion.

14.1 Research Objectives.

Throughout the period of Egyptian civilisation, the enigmatic god Seth was predominantly depicted either as a canine animal with the distinctive down curved muzzle, erect flat topped ears and erect tail, - the zoomorphic form, or as a human male body with the head of the Seth animal, - the bimorphic form. However, all these images contained a number of subtle differences in their compositions. The representation of the Seth animal head ceased to be used in the later periods, regularly being ascribed to the 25th Dynasty, as part of a proscription against him (Te Velde 1967, 144).

The purpose of this work was to analyse the iconography of Seth focusing on the variations in the portrayal of the Seth images, both in the zoomorphic and bimorphic forms, jointly in art and the written text, as this element of Sethian studies has been overlooked to date. Within this work the corpus of art includes those images that were employed on temple and tomb walls, stelae, amulets and jewellery, while the written text deals with the use of the Seth hieroglyphs C7 , E20 , E21  and the unclassified  as well as the phonetic renderings of his name in religious and secular works. Also considered is what the changes in the Seth image divulge about how he was perceived by the Egyptians, whether it was the consequence of a proscription against him, along with the date of its occurrence and if it was universal throughout Egypt. To this end the following three research questions were proposed.

Question 1: Was there a standard form of the Seth image by period, context and type of material or location or was this at the discretion of the individual craftsman?

Question 2: Was there a standard form of the Seth hieroglyph used in writing by period, context and type of material or location or was this at the discretion of the individual scribe?

Question 3: What information do the changes in the representation of Seth reveal about the proscription of Seth?

Each of the above questions will be discussed individually along with their conclusions, The final section of this chapter will comprise a summary of the overall findings.

14.2 Question 1: Was there a standard form of the Seth image by period, context and type of material or location or was this at the discretion of the individual craftsman?

In compiling a suitable data set to allow the analysis of the zoomorphic and bimorphic Seth images over the historic period during which they were employed, a database of suitable images was assembled. Although the zoomorphic and bimorphic images both represent Seth, there were differences in their component construction. While both have the head of the Seth animal, their different bodies resulted in divergent neck configuration and only the zoomorphic form had the tail. For these reasons, the data set was split between the two types of representation, comprising 124 zoomorphic images and 66 bimorphic, which were analysed separately.

In breaking down images of the zoomorphic and bimorphic Seth into a number of principle components that comprised the body, head and tail on the zoomorphic representation and the head of the bimorphic image, variations in the shape elements that form these principle components, for example the curved muzzle and erect ears of the head, all display a number of differences in how they were represented. The curved muzzle varied in its length, breadth, tightness of curvature and angle of drop to the horizontal. Under the simple parameters defined in the analysis of the muzzle, 62 combinations were possible on this element alone. While in the zoomorphic form the tail parameters also varied including the type of weapon the tail represented and coupled with the analysis definitions for its shape, length, breadth and taper, 288 combinations were possible. Across the full range of analytical parameters a virtually infinite number of combinations were possible. In utilising the predominant form of each of the parameters for the both the zoomorphic and bimorphic Seth images, it is possible to construct what could be considered as a standard Seth image (Fig. 14.1). However, these images do not actually exist within the current archaeological record.

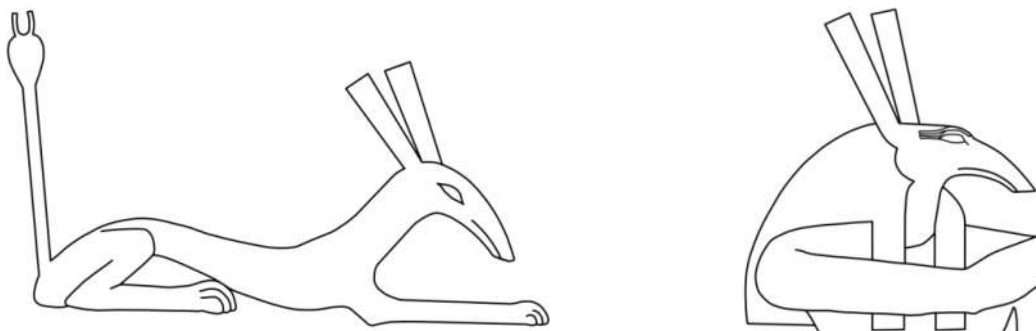


Fig14.1: Representations of a 'standard' zoomorphic and bimorphic Seth images created from the most predominant forms of each component within the data set studied.

Despite there being two separate analytical studies the results were compatible, both supporting the paradigm that throughout the period of its use there was never a rigid fully defined dogmatic or standard form of either the zoomorphic or bimorphic Seth. Of all the images studied no two images were 100% compatible. Even in instances where images came from the same dynastic period from the same location, such as 5th Dynasty images from the pyramid of Unas or the 12th Dynasty statues of Senwosret I from Lisht, there were distinct variations between each of the images in their group. Although images may have contained the same number of matching parameters, it is how they were combined with the non-matching parameters that created the variations between images.

From the detailed study of the images assembled, it is apparent within the constraints of having a curved muzzle, erect ears and where required an erect tail, the final assembly of the image was at the discretion of the craftsman who created it. Looking at the ten bimorphic Seth images on the five statues of Senwosret I, recovered from his mortuary temple at Lisht (Gautier and Jéquier 1902, 30-31, 36-37), there are a number of similarities in their representations but these are outweighed by the differences. The reason for the differences can be put down to a series of reasons; the first is that they were the product of different craftsmen who all created a Seth to his personal perceived mental image. Secondly the skill and experience of the craftsman actually undertook the carving also needs to be taken into consideration. Thirdly is the spatial relationship of the images which were in pairs but located on opposite sides of the king's throne, so were never seen together preventing any simultaneous visual comparison of the paired images. Of the ten images only a maximum of five could be seen together at any one time, each on a different statue and the work of another craftsman while possibly being at a different stage of production. Finally, half of the images are mirrored, five facing to the left and five facing to the right. Even using a grid system to set out an image, it is not possible to replicate 100% a mirrored copy of the original image. Looking at the drawing of the muzzle and considering medium on which the original image outline was drawn as well as the Egyptian artists' tools, it very difficult to draw freehand an anti-clockwise curve going from upper right to lower left exactly the same as a clockwise curve going upper left to lower right. When carving the image the differences, no matter how small, can be exaggerated expanding the visual differences between images. The 18th Dynasty lintel of Thutmose I in the Cairo Museum, JE 31881 (Fig. 14.2) has two images of the bimorphic

Seth standing either side of the pharaohs cartouche one facing to the right and the other to the left. Despite their proximity to each other, there are differences between their representations. However, the number of differences is small suggesting the images were drawn by one person but the problems of replicating a mirrored image prevented a 100% match.





Fig 14.2: Lintel of Thutmose I from the temple of Seth at Nubt. The two images of Seth although the heads are very similar they are not 100% compatible due to the difficulties in fully replicating a complex mirrored image. 18th Dynasty. Cairo Museum JE 31881.

Further evidence for there being no sacrosanct representation of Seth requiring strict adherence can be found in examples of the re-carving of his image. Examples of this occur in the 18th Dynasty image of Seth in the small temple of Thutmose III at Medinat Habu. As discussed by Ćwiek, images of Seth at Deir el-Bahri were damaged during the Amarna period and restored in the Ramesside period (Ćwiek 2008, 46). The author's study of the Thutmose III Seth would confirm that the same fate had befallen that image and in the restoration of it, although the outline of the 18th Dynasty figure still existed, a new revised image was carved ignoring the original outline (Fig 13.32A). A further example exists in the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak. The head of the bimorphic Seth from the purification of Seti I display evidence of being re-carved. A detailed study by the author has identified that the head had been revised by altering the shape of the muzzle, relocating the eye, the addition of a muzzle ridge and the changing the shape of leading edge of the secondary ear, creating a new profile to the muzzle and ear (Fig 13.32B). This alteration must have been carried out during the carving of the whole scene or not long after but possibly still in the reign of Seti I, in accordance with an approved change of representation in keeping with an individual craftsman's interpretation of what Seth should look like.

Many scholars, including Champollion, Rosellini, Lepsius, Borchardt, Roeder and Bénédite, considered that the Seth animal was not a real animal but an imaginary one (Newberry 1928, 223) while Quirke proposed that that the image of Seth was not a representation of a real animal but a construct, an assemblage of parts (Quirke 1992, 54). The results of the analysis of both the zoomorphic and bimorphic images would support this paradigm. In the beginning of Chapter 12 the statement ‘that the composition of the Seth animal is best described as being the sum of its parts’, was made, however, from the results of the data analysis of both the zoomorphic and bimorphic images collected this statement can be amended to; ‘that the composition of Seth is best described as being the sum of its parts, however, although all the representations of the Seth contain all the parts they do not all add up to the same image’.

14.3 Question 2: Was there a standard form of the Seth hieroglyph used in writing by period, context and type of material or location or was this at the discretion of the individual scribe?

To answer this question it is necessary to consider how the name of Seth was written in the different types of texts including religious, secular and temple reliefs, commencing with the religious texts. The first known appearance of the phonetic spelling of the name of Seth occurred in the 5th Dynasty Pyramid Texts. In the pyramid of Unas the E21 hieroglyph  was employed to name Seth except in one location in the burial chamber where the name was spelt phonemically as ‘Setesh’ followed with E21 hieroglyph determinative . The use of the phonetic spelling could have no other significance than a craftsman expanding the text to fully fill the register, in keeping with those adjoining, rather than leave an empty space as seen in Fig. 14.3.

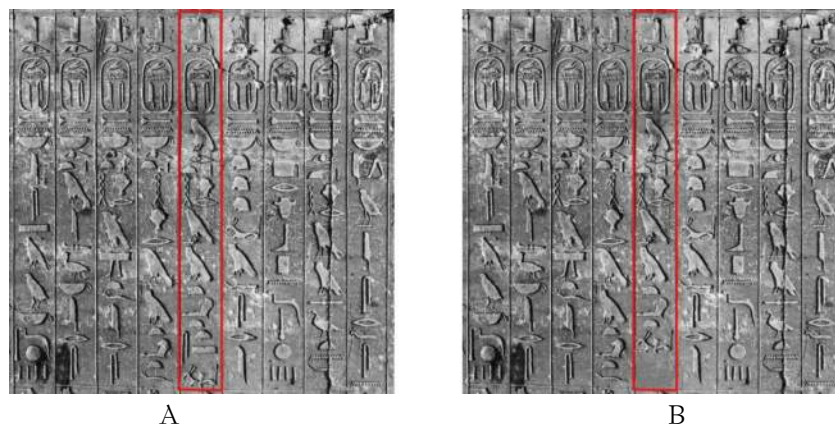


Fig 14.3: Phonetic writing of Seth in the pyramid of Unas: A – text as written to fill the register. B – text if phonetics were omitted and the hieroglyphs spacing maintained leaving an empty space at the bottom of the register. 5th Dynasty.

It was in the 6th Dynasty Pyramid Texts starting with those in Teti and Pepi I that the E21 Seth hieroglyph was omitted and replaced with the phonetic spelling 𓆎 but lacking any god determinative (Fig. 14.4).



Fig. 14.4: Phonetic writing of the name of Seth in the burial chamber of the pyramid of Teti, Saqqara. 6th Dynasty.

In the Pyramid Texts of the 6th Dynasty there was an increase in the number of spells involving the punishment of Seth as well as the severity of the punishments inflicted on him. This can be linked with the increase in the number of spells related to Osiris in the texts as well as the increase in his cult's popularity and the start of the vilification of Seth.



From the Coffin Texts of the Middle Kingdom through to the Book of the Dead of the Late Period, Seth was written both in the E20 𓆎 , E21 𓆎 , the striding 𓆎 and the C7 𓆎 deity cursive hieroglyphs as well as phonetically. The Phonetic spellings varied from 𓆎 or 𓆎 'Setesh', 𓆎 or 𓆎 'Setekh' and 𓆎 'Set' in the Middle Kingdom to 𓆎 or 𓆎 'Setesh' and 𓆎 or 𓆎 or 𓆎 'Suty' in the New Kingdom, Late and Ptolemaic Periods. The Coffin Texts also included the use of epithets 𓆎 'Ombite' and 𓆎 or 𓆎 'Outcast'. Although the Coffin Texts contain examples of Seth being killed with a T30 knife 𓆎 to the head 𓆎 , or being symbolically castrated by the erect tail being omitted 𓆎 , these were the exception. In the Book of the Dead, those of the New Kingdom primarily employed the phonetic spelling of Seth in preference to the Seth animal hieroglyphs. With the Ptolemaic Book of the Dead, the killing of the Seth animal cursive hieroglyph became the norm and even extended to the killing of the phonetic spelling 𓆎 .












In non-religious texts the writing of Seth's name followed a very similar path as those in the Coffin Texts and the Book of the Dead with the use of cursive hieroglyph forms of the E20 𓆎 , E21 𓆎 and the C7 𓆎 deity from the 1st Intermediate Period through to the end of the 3rd Intermediate Period. Where phonetic spellings occurred in the New Kingdom texts the






alternative spellings 'Suty' and 'Sutekh' were employed. During the 30th Dynasty at the end of the Late Period and the Ptolemaic Period, the writing of the name of Seth changed with the phonetic spelling or 'Setesh' being used, however, in a number of these the name was written with the cursive A13 kneeling bound man hieroglyph as a determinative and was written in both black and red ink , and , the colour red emphasising the perception of the bad or negative character of Seth. Where the cursive E21 hieroglyph was used as a determinative, this was killed by the addition of the T30 knife and in some instances by two knives. This too was also written in both black and red ink , and .


The texts in temples of the Nile Valley and Delta from the Old Kingdom through to the 22nd Dynasty the E20 and E21 hieroglyphs as well as the epithet 'Ombite' were readily employed. The Ptolemaic period saw the disappearance of the E21 hieroglyph, which was replaced with the unclassified hieroglyphs, a prone canine with an ass's head or a kneeling ass . Both these forms were written either unharmed by any weapon or as being stabbed with the T30 knife to the head or back or in both locations . Where the anthropomorphic or bimorphic image of Seth was depicted his name was written with phonetically as or 'Setekh'.

In the oases of the Western Desert, the writing of the name of Seth followed a slightly different path. The work of Hope and Kaper in the Dakhla Oasis has revealed the longevity and strength of Seth worship in the Western Desert and although the oases were principal centres of Seth worship, the writing of the name of Seth also varied over time. Evidence from the Middle Kingdom through to the New Kingdom shows the name as Seth written as the E20 sitting and E21 prone hieroglyphs. During the 3rd Intermediate Period in the 21st and 22nd Dynasties, Seth was represented phonetically as or 'Sutekh'; however, the Seth animal did not vanish as it was still employed as a determinative to his name either as a E21 hieroglyph or C7 deity with a G7 hawk on a standard hieroglyphs . By the Late Period 25th Dynasty, in the southern oasis of Dakhla, the use of the zoomorphic Seth hieroglyph had ceased to be used and the name was written phonetically with or without a god determinative. An example exists where an earlier E21 hieroglyph had been filled in with plaster and re-carved with the phonetic spelling of Seth's name (Hope 2001, 55; Kaper 2001, 71, 74). Two spellings were used 'Sutekh' or 'Setekh', while in the 27th


Dynasty and the Roman Period  'Setekh' was used. The oasis of Siwa, however, in the 30th Dynasty employed the phonetic spelling  'Setesh'.

Within the confines of the tombs, the style of writing Seth's name varied over dynastic history of Egypt. In the Old Kingdom, as well as in the 5th Dynasty Pyramid Texts, the E21  hieroglyph was used in a number of tombs at Saqqara and Giza during the 3rd 4th and 5th Dynasties. However, in the Middle Kingdom, although used in tombs at Beni Hassan, Seth was confined to the Coffin Texts and in the exterior decoration of some coffins as discussed above, while in the New Kingdom, although images of Seth were included in the tomb decoration, the use of the use of Seth hieroglyphs was not always avoided. The 18th Dynasty tomb of Aye (WV 23) contained an E20  hieroglyph in a section of the Book of the Dead texts painted on the burial chamber wall while the tomb of Nakhtdjehuty (TT 189), the text included a reference to the deceased overseeing the construction of the barque of Seth where the E20  hieroglyph was used to write the god's name (Kitchen 1974, 169, Fig. 1). However, where the E20 or E21 hieroglyphs were avoided they were either replaced with phonetic spellings or epithets. In the tomb of Seti I, the astronomical ceiling of the Sarcophagus Hall the bimorphic representation of Seth is identified with the phonetic  'Setesh'; even the C7  deity in the cartouches of Seti I were not sacrosanct against replacement with it being supplanted with that of the C83  Osiris deity. In the mortuary temple of Seti I, the later cartouches of Seti I carved under in the reign of Ramesses II the C7  deity was replaced with the V39  Isis knot hieroglyph. This substitution of the C83  Osiris deity and the V39  Isis knot hieroglyphs for the C7  Seth deity could be considered as an appropriately pragmatic course of action in a location associated with Osiris and his realm.

To conclude from the analysis of the writing of Seth's name in the varied locations of temples, tombs, religious and non-religious texts, it can be ascertained that a number of variations existed. Considering the temples in the Nile Valley, from the Old Kingdom through to the 3rd Intermediate Period, the Seth hieroglyphs E20  and E21  were freely employed, although the epithet 'Ombite'  was substituted for them on occasion. By the Ptolemaic Period, these hieroglyphs were replaced with the unclassified ass hieroglyphs  or , or where deity identification was required the name of Seth was written phonetically. However, this change may have occurred earlier but the gap in the

survival of temple architecture from the 3rd Intermediate Period to the Ptolemaic Period makes it impossible assign an exact date. In the oases of the Western Desert, the replacement of the E20 and E21 hieroglyphs appears to have begun in 22nd Dynasty when it was replaced with phonetic spelling but the E21 or C7 deity hieroglyphs continued to be written as a determinative. By the 25th Dynasty, the E21  hieroglyph ceased to be used to be replaced with phonetic spellings that continued to be used to the end of paganism in the 3rd century AD.

Within the tombs the writing of Seth was considered differently, although the E21 hieroglyph freely employed up until the end of the 5th Dynasty, it was with the growth of the cult of Osiris during the 6th Dynasty the reduction in the use of the E20 or E21 hieroglyphs begins to appear. By the New Kingdom, despite Seth's elevated status in the Ramesside period, they almost ceased to be used and again where a bimorphic Seth needed to be identified phonetic spelling was employed. This would suggest that there was reluctance to use the Seth animal in the realm of Osiris.

In the religious texts of the Coffin Texts and Book of the Dead from the 3rd Intermediate Period to the Late Period, the writing of Seth employed the E20, E21, C7 cursive hieroglyphs as well as the unclassified striding Seth animal  in addition to phonetic spellings of his name. However, in the New Kingdom Book of the Dead, the phonetic spelling of Seth predominated, which, considering Seth's revered status in the Ramesside period is worthy of further investigation. With the Ptolemaic Book of the Dead, Seth was written phonetically, however, where a E21 cursive hieroglyph was used it was symbolically killed.

In the non-religious texts analysed, the E21 and C7 cursive hieroglyphs were employed from the 1st Intermediate period through to the Late Period 22nd Dynasty, with phonetic spelling only being used intermittently in the 19th Dynasty. However, in the Late Period 30th Dynasty and the Ptolemaic Period, the E21 and C7 cursive hieroglyphs ceased to be used being replaced the phonetic spellings.

What is noticeable in the writing of Seth's name across all the mediums analysed is the number of variations in not only the name of the deity but the spellings used from the Old Kingdom to the Roman Period; these are detailed in Table 14.1. Although individual variations in the spelling of Seth's name occurred in the Coffin Texts and the Books of the

Dead, these are single occurrences that are not repeated across a number of copies so must be considered as a scribal error. These differences also vary between the Nile Valley and the oases of the Western Desert. In the Nile Valley, the most constantly written form was ‘Setesh’ 𓆎^{a} as it appeared in texts from the Old Kingdom to the Ptolemaic Period, while the spelling 𓆎^{a} only applied in the Middle and New Kingdom and the Ptolemaic Period. There were also variations on name and spelling that were dynasty specific, such as ‘Setekh’ only appears in the Middle Kingdom as 𓆎^{a} or 𓆎^{a} , while the spellings 𓆎^{a} or 𓆎^{a} were only employed in the Ptolemaic Period. ‘Sutekh’ with the single spelling of 𓆎^{a} only appears in the New Kingdom, also ‘Suty’ written as 𓆎^{a} was only used in the New Kingdom, while written as 𓆎^{a} was employed in the New Kingdom, Late and Ptolemaic Periods and the final form 𓆎^{a} only occurred in the Late Period. The name ‘Set’ written as 𓆎^{a} is restricted to the Middle Kingdom, as oppose to 𓆎^{a} which is confined to the Roman Period.









Name	Nile Valley							Western Desert Oases		
	OK	MK	NK	3IP	LP	Pt’c	Rmn	3IP	LP	Rmn
Setesh	𓆎^{a}	𓆎^{a}	𓆎^{a}	𓆎^{a}	𓆎^{a}	𓆎^{a}				
		𓆎^{a}	𓆎^{a}			𓆎^{a}			𓆎^{a}	
Setekh		𓆎^{a}				𓆎^{a}			𓆎^{a}	
		𓆎^{a}				𓆎^{a}				
Sutekh			𓆎^{a}					𓆎^{a}		
								𓆎^{a}	𓆎^{a}	𓆎^{a}
										𓆎^{a}
Suty			𓆎^{a}							
			𓆎^{a}		𓆎^{a}	𓆎^{a}				
					𓆎^{a}	𓆎^{a}				
Set		𓆎^{a}				𓆎^{a}				

Table 14.1: Distribution of the variations in the phonetic spelling of Seth by period and location.


In the Western Desert oases, the name ‘Sutekh’ was the most predominately employed with the spelling 𓆎^{a} used in the 3rd Intermediate, Late and Roman Periods, 𓆎^{a} in the 3rd Intermediate Period and the usual spelling of 𓆎^{a} in the Roman Period.


The variation in spelling of the same version of the name can be ascribed to the arrangement of the name in the text register or even that it was the favoured spelling of the workman concerned, which could explain the occurrence of the different spellings in the same pieces of text. What is of more interest is the differences in the actual name of Seth, and their

temporal distribution, which is worth further future investigation to try ascertain why this occurred.


Finally, the writing of the name of Seth utilising the E20 , E21 , the unclassified striding Seth animal  and the C7  deity in religious and the non religious texts provides further evidence towards a reconsideration of the form of the proscription undertaken against Seth and is analysed further in Question 3. What is also noticeable in the Ptolemaic Period is the difference between written texts and those carved on temple walls. Within the confines of the temples, both phonetic spellings and the unclassified ass hieroglyphs  or  were used, the phonetic spellings as identification labels to the Seth images and the hieroglyphs in the texts carved on the walls. However, in the cursive scripts employed in written texts only the phonetic spelling was employed, this may have been due to the fact the cursive hieroglyph for the Seth ass  was too close to the  E34 desert hare to be successfully used.



14.4. Question 3: What information do the changes in the representation of Seth reveal about the proscription of Seth?

The standard thinking is that the proscription against Seth occurred around the time of the 25th Dynasty (Te Velde 1967, 144) However, this premise is being eroded particularly by the work of Hope and Kaper in the Dakhla Oasis, discussed in Chapter 8, which has expanded the understanding of the worship of Seth in the oases and has demonstrated that such worship extended beyond the 25th Dynasty. From the information amassed during this work the date and form the proscription took is open to question. Although there is evidence of the existence Seth prior to the Old Kingdom, nothing definite is known about how Seth was perceived by the Ancient Egyptians of that date. Predating the cult of Osiris, the Pyramid Texts Spells W178, T209, P531 describe how Horus and Seth working as equals led the deceased king to the afterlife. An epithet employed by the queens of the Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom refers to the queen seeing Horus and Seth, that is the king who embodies both gods. It is with the growth of the cult of Osiris that the vilification of Seth begins, with his character being rewritten to make him villain of the cult, a stigma that remained until the end of the Egyptian civilisation and beyond. The development of this vilification is apparent in the increase in the number of spells in which Seth is portrayed in a negative light along with those spells describing the punishment of Seth and the increasing severity of his punishment in the Pyramid Texts of the 6th Dynasty. The replacement of the E21  Seth hieroglyph

used in 5th Dynasty pyramid of Unas with the phonetic spelling  in 6th Dynasty pyramids that followed was the first signs of the alienation of Seth within the ennead. It was in the Pyramid Texts of Pepi I the first direct reference is made to Seth attacking Osiris. Although excluded from the 6th Dynasty Pyramid Texts the image of Seth, both in zoomorphic and bimorphic form, appeared in the Old Kingdom funeral temple reliefs of Teti and Pepi II.







In the Middle Kingdom a reduction in the denigrating attitude to Seth occurred, for in the Coffin Texts the spell 160 380c-381a placed him on the solar barque to protect Ra from the nightly attacks of the snake Apep. Without Seth as his protector Ra along with the solar barque would have been devoured and the sun would have failed to be reborn the following morning. The representation of Seth killing Apep was used in the New Kingdom temple of Medinet Habu.

The pair bonding of Horus and Seth dates back to at least to the 2nd Dynasty reign of Khasakhemwy, where, besides putting the two gods in his serekh facing each other to show their equal status, they were included in his name as the two lords being written as a pair of G7 hawk on a standard facing each other . From the Old Kingdom through to the 3rd Intermediate Period, Horus and Seth paired together are represented performing a number of different ritual actions for the ruling king or pharaoh. These included the crowning the king, the offering of a *staff of a million years*, the purification of the pharaoh and the *sema-tawy*, the symbolic unification of the kingdoms of Upper and Lower Egypt. Seth also performed solo tasks such as giving life, giving strength and teaching archery. Seth also was represented as one of the Ennead where he was shown in both bimorphic and anthropomorphic forms in temples that were not dedicated to him throughout Egypt.

As discussed in chapters 7 and 8, Seth was associated with sites in the Nile Valley as well as the oases of the Western Desert and is worth considering how the attitudes to Seth changed in these two locations separately. In the Nile Valley, temples constructed between the 3rd Intermediate Period and the Ptolemaic Period are now lost, creating a gap in the catalogue of Seth images in this intervening period. By the Ptolemaic Period the representation of the zoomorphic and bimorphic Seth had ceased to be used, the zoomorphic hieroglyph being replaced with a hieroglyph of a prone canine body with an ass's head  or of a prone ass . Despite this Seth continued to be depicted within the temples of this period. In the temple of Horus at Edfu and the temple of Hathor at Dendara, Seth is portrayed in

mummiform and anthropomorphic forms respectively. He was depicted as a group of four figures which are identified as representing his four cult centres, three in the Nile Valley and one as the oases of the Western Desert. Also in the temple of Edfu is a small relief that contains two bimorphic Seth images, both with the head of the Seth animal, killing Apep.

In the oases of the Western Desert, the work of Hope and Kaper has revealed the worship of Seth continued uninterrupted until the end of paganism in the 3rd Century AD with possibly the last carving of a relief of Seth occurring in the 2nd century AD when it was added to a wall in the Ptolemaic temple at Ain Birbiyah in the Dakhla Oasis (Kaper 2004, 136-137). Despite this continued devotion to Seth, in the 26th Dynasty, his depiction was amended from the Seth animal-headed bimorphic to the hawk-headed bimorphic form. The 27th Dynasty temple of Hibis in the Kharga Oasis contains a relief of a hawk-headed Seth killing Apep, however, as discussed in Chapter 9, the Hibis relief is a Ptolemaic re-carving of a 27th Dynasty relief possibly to replace an animal-headed bimorphic Seth with a hawk-headed one. The Ptolemaic Shrine 1 in the temple at Kellis contains the remains of a painted winged Seth, similar to that at Hibis, accompanied by an inscription containing the phrase '*He has slain Apep on the bow of the barque (of Ra)*' (Kaper 1997a, 210; Kaper 1999, 70-73) while the 1st century AD Shrine IV contains a dipinto, showing the cult image of a winged hawk-headed Seth (Kaper 2002, 215), while the temple at Deir el-Hagar displays him twice in hawk-headed bimorphic form.

Within written texts, both religious and non-religious, the zoomorphic E20 sitting , E21 prone  and the C7  deity cursive hieroglyphs were employed into the Late Period and it is in the 30th Dynasty that the major change occurs with these being replaced with a phonetic spelling of Seth with A13 kneeling bound captive, . Where an E21 cursive hieroglyph was employed it was killed by the addition of the T30 knife . This killing of the cursive hieroglyph Seth, both when writing his name and used as a determinative, was continued in the Ptolemaic Period where the killing of Seth was even applied to the phonetic spelling of his name .

The worship of Seth was also displayed on a personal level, a significant indicator being the use of personal name associated with him. Known examples of Seth based names were used from the Middle Kingdom through to 22nd Dynasty, the majority occurring in the New Kingdom and occasionally later in the oasis of Siwa. Personal adoration could also be

displayed by the use of amulets, as well as small bimorphic figurines in gold, gilded bronze and bronze designed to be worn suspended on a cord existed in the New Kingdom. Moulded faience pendant amulets designed for mass production, depicting images of the zoomorphic and bimorphic Seth were manufactured in Late Period. Small bimorphic statuettes were employed, evidence pointing to domestic use, principally dated to the New Kingdom, however, an example of asinine bimorphic Seth statuette dated to the Ptolemaic Period exists. The use of the ass's head suggests it was manufactured in the Nile Valley rather than the oases of the Western Desert where the hawk-headed bimorphic Seth was used.

From the above evidence it is apparent that there was an ambivalent attitude towards Seth from the Old Kingdom, and although there are examples of the written name of Seth being killed or neutralised in the Middle Kingdom Coffin Texts and later the Book of the Dead these were the exception. It was from the 30th Dynasty and in Ptolemaic Period that written texts employing Seth animal fell into disuse and where it did occur the cursive hieroglyph was symbolically killed. In the Nile Valley and the Western Desert oases the worship of Seth did not cease at the end of the 25th Dynasty but carried on into the Roman Period, principally for two reasons. The first Seth was pivotal to the cult of Osiris for without Seth to commit the murder there could be no death and resurrection. Secondly, Seth protected Ra by the daily killing of Apep. For these two reasons he could not be simply expunged from Egyptian religion. The mummiform and anthropomorphic representations of Seth in the Ptolemaic temples Edfu and Dendara represented his four cult centres in the Nile Valley and the Western Desert oases and the relief depicting Apep being killed by two bimorphic Seths in Edfu temple all throw doubt on the extent and form of the proscription of Seth. Images of the Seth animal in personal mass-produced amulets exist from the Late Period. However, a Ptolemaic statuette of Seth with an ass's head, the normal representation of Seth in that period, are a pointer to the continuing worship of Seth into the Ptolemaic Period and beyond. It would appear that some time in the early Late Period, possibly in the 26th Dynasty, there was a proscription against Seth, not the deity but the Seth animal. Possibly due to Seth's association with the desert and hence foreign lands and the reuniting of Egypt under a native pharaoh, a proscription against him began occur. However, due to the need for him to kill Osiris and defeat Apep he could not be removed religious beliefs, the proscription was turned against his zoomorphic form, the desert animal. In that way it was the animal, not the deity

himself that suffered proscription and for this reason the Seth animal and his attributes vanish from reliefs being supplanted by the hawk-headed Seth in the oases and the ass-headed form in the Nile Valley. Why these forms? The 26th Dynasty was one of archaism, favouring the Old Kingdom, 12th and 18th Dynasties as the sources of its inspiration (Kahl 2010, 6) and there were historic precedents linking the two revised images of the zoomorphic Seth to two of these favoured periods. Seth was depicted as a hawk in the expression '*the two lords*' in the Old Kingdom as well as in the Middle Kingdom Coffin Texts. Seth was also represented as an ass-headed canine on the Middle Kingdom Asyut coffins, two links to Egypt's ancient past. However, in the Nile Valley, the vilification of the zoomorphic Seth did not end with the adoption of the ass-headed zoomorphic form, in the Ptolemaic Period the asinine form was often but not always depicted being pierced with knives or harpoons. This vilification went further with the ass-headed bimorphic Seth being depicted bound and stabbed. In contrast in the oases, a series of fragile fertile eco-systems in the desert that could easily be destroyed or damaged by desert storms, Seth the desert deity, continued to be treated with reverence. An attempt to usurp local devotion to him in the Ptolemaic Period was made by the construction of the temple of Amun-Nakht at Ain Birbiyah in the Dekhla Oasis, however, a relief of Seth was added to the temple walls demonstrating the strength of his worship.

The study of the surviving bimorphic and zoomorphic reliefs of Seth in temples, on stelae and on statues confirmed the majority of these had suffered damage at sometime. However, all these defacements cannot all be attributed to anti-Seth xenophobia by the Egyptians after the 26th Dynasty. It is likely a small percentage was due to the resentment against Seth induced by his proscription but a number of other factors could have induced damage to the image. These include the basic quality of the stone and if buried the ground conditions surrounding the stone or if exposed centuries of erosion due to windblown sand, demolition damage, location of the image across masonry joints, poor conservation techniques employed in the 19th and 20th centuries, finally and most likely, iconoclastic attacks initially by the early Christians followed later by adherents to Islam, both intent on removing what they considered as idolatrous images.

The evidence ascertained from the assembled data confirms that the Egyptian attitude to Seth was ambivalent from the 6th Dynasty and even during his popularity the 12th and 19th

Dynasties, there were individual actions taken against him. However, from the changes in the forms of writing his name, the use of personal amulets and changes of the zoomorphic and bimorphic Seth representations support the paradigm that the proscription against Seth did occur but it was against the Seth animal rather than the deity. From the early Late Period, possibly the 26th Dynasty, the Seth animal fell out of favour and general usage and was replaced with either phonetic spellings or a prone ass-headed canine or a kneeling ass. Where the Seth animal did occur in texts it was systemically and symbolically killed. Despite this proscription against the zoomorphic representation of Seth his worship continued, primarily in the oases of the Western Desert but also to a lesser extent in the Nile Valley, until the end of the pagan period in the 3rd Century AD.

14.5. Summary.

This thesis has investigated the iconography of Seth concentrating on the alternative depictions of the deity, both in the zoomorphic and bimorphic forms, jointly in art and the written text. From this investigation a revised paradigm for the proscription against Seth has been mooted.

The three research questions proposed have been answered:

Question 1: Within the constraints of having a curved muzzle, erect ears and an erect tail the zoomorphic representation of Seth there was never a ridged fully defined or standard form of the zoomorphic Seth in any dynastic period. Each image created was unique in its own right, the details of the final assemblage of the necessary components was at the discretion of the craftsman concerned. The final images would also be affected by the scale of the image and material on which it was written or carved, a soft sedimentary stone, such as limestone, producing a finer cleaner image than one carved into a coarse hard granular stone such as granite. The composition of the Seth animal as best described as being the sum of its parts, however, although all the representations of the animal contain all the parts they do not all add up to the same composition.


Question 2: As with the details of the Seth images discussed in question 1, Seth's name was also not fixed to a definitive form and displays a continued evolution. It could be written in a number of ways throughout the period of Egyptian history and by looking at the phonetic

spelling of the alternative names of Seth, along with the different spellings of the same name, the temporal and geographical distribution are apparent. The symbolic killing of the Seth animal hieroglyphs, the use of derogatory epithets or the writing of his name phonetically highlights the Egyptians' ambivalent attitude toward Seth. Although these actions occur throughout the period considered they are the exception and it is only at the end of the Late Period in the Ptolemaic period this become the principle rule giving credence to some form of proscription.

Question 3: The proscription of Seth did occur but it was not universal throughout Egypt and it was not the deity who was the recipient but the animal associated with him. Due to his pivotal role in the cult of Osiris and his role as the protector of Ra from Apep he could not be removed from his place among the Heliopolitan Ennead and forgotten. The Seth images in the Ptolemaic temples of Edfu and Dendara, the listing of his four cult centres, the Edfu relief of two Seths killing Apep, amulets of Seth made in the Late Period and a small votive statuette from the Ptolemaic period all point to his continuing worship in the Nile Valley. While in the oases of the Western Desert, images of Seth killing Apep were produced into the Roman Period, his image was used in the Ptolemaic and Roman temples evidencing the reverence which he was held in the Oases. What did disappear, possibly in the 26th Dynasty, was the Seth animal and his attributes to be replaced with the ass-headed zoomorphic and bimorphic forms in the Nile Valley and the hawk-headed bimorphic form in the oases. Despite Seth being revered in the oases, the ambivalent attitude towards him in the Nile Valley, which continued in the Ptolemaic Period with the vilification against both the zoomorphic and bimorphic asinine forms being apparent from the piercing of these images with knives or harpoons. However, this was not universal as texts could contain an untouched asinine Seth in an adjacent register to one being killed.

Outside of the recoding and analysing of any future images of Seth recovered from the archaeological record, in the preparation of this work, a number of avenues for possible further research have been identified and these are:

- 1 - A detailed and systematic study of the Middle Kingdom coffins from Asyut to understand form and use the zoomorphic Seth images included in their external decoration and distribution.

- 2 - An expanded study of the spells in the Book of the Dead that contain the reference to Seth to further understand how Seth was written in those texts over the period of its use.
- 3 - The study of the relationship between the unharmed and killed unclassified Seth ass hieroglyphs in Ptolemaic temple texts, including those hieroglyphs portrayed as a ass-headed canine and those portrayed as a prone ass.
- 4 - The study of the variations in the C7  deity hieroglyph in the cartouches of Seti I, Seti II and Sethnakhte.

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List of Abbreviations

AE	Ancient Egypt.
ASAE	Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte.
AT	Acta Tropica.
BACE	Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology.
BARCE	Bulletin of the American Research Center in Egypt.
BBf	Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde.
BIFAO	Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
BMFA	Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts.
BMSAES	British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan.
CdE	Chronique d'Égypte.
ENiM	Égypte nilotique et méditerranéenne.
ET	Etudes et Travaux.
GM	Göttinger Miszellen.
KÊMI	Revue de philologie et d'archéologie égyptienne et coptes.
JANER	Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions.
JARCE	Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt.
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies.
MDAIK	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo.
PBA	Proceedings of Biblical Archeology.
PSBA	Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.
RdE	Revue d'Égyptologie.
RT	Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes.
Urk	Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums.
VA	Varia Aegyptiaca.
ZÄS	Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde.

Glossary of Key Terms

Based on Nicholson and Shaw 1995 and Wilkinson 2005

*Cross referenced terms are followed by an **

Amun.

One of the most important gods of the Egyptian Pantheon, whose name probably means '*the hidden one*' and was one of the Theban Triad*. He was normally depicted in anthropomorphic form as a man wearing a crown topped with a pair of tall plumes. He was occasionally in bimorphic form with ram's head or in zoomorphic form as a ram.

Amun-Ra.

An amalgamation of Amun* and Ra* as the Theban manifestation of the sun god.

Amun-Nakht.

A god of the Ptolemaic period created by amalgamating Amun* and Horus* into a single entity represented in bimorphic form as a hawk headed man. The god was created with the purpose of replacing the god Seth* in oases of the Western Desert.

Ankh.

The hieroglyph for the word '*life*' and was represented with the S34 𓀀 hieroglyph. It was frequently included in temple scenes in which the king was offered the *ankh* symbols by the gods symbolizing the divine conferral of eternal life.

Apep.

A snake god of the underworld that represented the power of chaos and was the enemy of the sun god Ra*. He would attempt to devour the god during his nightly journey through the underworld journey, however, these attacks were defeated by Seth* the protector of Ra*. Despite these defeats Apep would resurrect to resume his assaults on the Ra* the following night.

Atef Crown.

A tall conical crown with a bulbous top, similar to the white crown of Lower Egypt, with the additions of a plume attached to both sides and a small disc terminal to the top,

Atum.


A creator god and the solar deity of Heliopolis, his name meaning '*all*', he was thought of as a protective deity particularly associated with kingship rituals. He was normally depicted in male anthropomorphic form, often wearing the double crown of Upper Egypt* and Lower Egypt*. He created the universe firstly with the primeval mound rising from the waters chaos of the Nun*, and then his family of nine descendent gods known as the Heliopolitan Ennead*

Bas Relief.

A sculpture technique in which the image projects proud of its background and is achieved by removing the material around the image to recess the surface of the background, the reverse of inscribed relief*. This style of relief was restricted to the interior surfaces of the buildings or elements to be displayed internally.


Book of the Dead.

A funerary text known to the Egyptians as '*coming forth by day*' and was introduced at the end of the 2nd Intermediate Period. It contained 192 spells or chapters of which a number were derived directly from the earlier Pyramid Texts* and Coffin Texts*.

C7  Seated Seth Deity.

See Hieroglyphs.

Cartouche.

An elliptical outline representing a length of rope folded and tied at one end, which surrounded the king's throne name (prenomen) and his birth name (nomen). The shape derives from the elongation of the V9  '*shen*'* hieroglyph. The name derives from Napoleon's soldiers likening its shape to that of their cartridges which in French is 'cartouche'.

Coffin Texts.

A funerary text introduced in the Middle Kingdom and comprised 1185 spells, a selection of which were written on the interior of the rectangular coffins of that period. A number of the spells were derived directly from the earlier Pyramid Texts*.

Demotic.

A cursive script that replaced hieratic* script from which it was derived.

Double Crown of Upper and Lower Egypt.

A combination of the white crown* of Upper Egypt* and the red crown* of Lower Egypt* symbolising the king's authority over both parts of his kingdom.

E20  Seated Seth animal.

See Hieroglyphs.

E21  Prone Seth animal

See Hieroglyphs.

Ennead.

A group of nine gods.

Geb.

God of the earth usually depicted as a man reclining on his side and was one of the nine gods of the Heliopolitan Ennead*. He was the son of Shu* and Tefnut* and brother/husband to his sister Nut* and father of Osiris*, Isis*, Seth* and Nephthys*.

Hapi.

The god of the Nile inundation. He was depicted as a pot bellied bearded man with pendulous breasts and wearing a head dress of aquatic plants, all attributes to stress his fertility and fecundity.




Hathor.

Bovine goddess and daughter of Ra* and depicted in three forms in anthropomorphic forms as a woman with the ears of a cow, as a woman wearing a headdress comprising a wig and a solar disk between cow horns, while in zoomorphic form she was portrayed as a cow.

Heliopolitan Ennead.

The Ennead of Heliopolis and also known as the Great Ennead of Heliopolis and consisted of Atum* and three generations of his descendents. His children Shu* and Tefnut*, his grand grandchildren Geb* and Nut* and his great grandchildren Osiris*, Isis*, Seth* and Nephthys*

Hieroglyphs.

A writing form which employed pictures as signs many being based on living creatures or objects. The signs, are in three basic types, phonetic of one, two or three consonants that convey the sound; logographic conveying meaning; and determinative that denotes the general concept or category of the word that precedes it. No vowels were recorded. Each hieroglyph is assigned an alpha-numeric designation with the letter indicating the group and the number the position of the hieroglyph in that group. For example three classified hieroglyphs representing Seth are included in the sign list compiled by Gardiner and published in 1957. These are the C7  seated deity with the head of the Seth animal, the C classifying the section for anthropomorphic deities and the seven the position in the deity list. The E20  seated Seth animal and the E21  prone Seth animal both are in the groupings for E classification for mammals.

Hieratic.

A cursive script that was based on hieroglyphs* and was suited to writing on papyrus. It was always written right to left. It eventually developed into demotic*.

Hypostyle Hall.

A large court in a temple filled with rows of columns that represented the reed swamp that grew at the edge of the primeval mound. The columns could be of different heights, the tallest along the main processional axis of the temples with the lower columns forming the side aisles.

Horus.

A hawk headed god of the sky and the embodiment of divine kingship as well as the protector of the ruling pharaoh. He was usually represented bimorphically as a man with a hawk's head or zoomorphically as a hawk. Son of Osiris* and Isis*.

Inscribed Relief.

Where an image is carved into the surface of a material so set it below the level of the background, the reverse of bas relief*. This style of relief was restricted to the exterior surfaces of the buildings or elements to be displayed externally.

Isis.

A goddess, one of the Heliopolitan Ennead being the daughter of Geb* and Nut*, sister/wife to Osiris*, sister to Seth* and Nephthys* and the mother of Horus*. She encapsulated the virtues of the archetypical Egyptian wife and mother. Depicted in anthropomorphic form as a woman wearing the hieroglyph sign Q1 𓄿 for a throne or a solar disk between cow horns.

Khonsu.

A lunar deity whose name means 'wanderer'. Normally represented anthropomorphically in mummified human form with partially or completely unrestrained arms and wearing a side lock of youth, frequently wearing a headdress comprising a horizontal crescent new moon surmounted by a full lunar disk. However, he is sometimes depicted in bimorphic form with a hawk's head and the new and full moon headdress. He was one of the Theban Triad*

Lower Egypt.

The northern half of the Two Lands* that comprised the kingdom of ancient Egypt and comprised the Nile Delta with the transition between Upper Egypt* and Lower Egypt* occurring at Memphis. In iconography it was represented by the red crown* and the papyrus plant.

Maat.

The ancient Egyptian concept of cosmic order, truth and justice that was the basis of their morality and religion. Maat was personified as a goddess depicted as a seated woman with an ostrich feather on her head or as the H6 𓄿 ostrich feather hieroglyph alone.


Manetho.

Egyptian priest and historian (*circa* 305-285 BC) whose major work was a history of Egypt called the *Aegyptiaca* in which he divided the rulers of Egypt into 30 dynasties which influenced the modern perceptions of the outline of Egyptian history. No copies of his history remained intact but survived as a series of fragments that often contradict or is ignored in the works of other later Roman and Christian historians.

Mut.

A mother goddess and queen of the gods who ruled Thebes. She was normally depicted in anthropomorphic form as a woman wearing a dress sometimes decorated to represent feathers and wearing a vulture headdress surmounted by the white crown* of Upper Egypt* or the double crown* of Upper* and Lower* Egypt. She was one of the deities in the Theban Triad*.

Nephthys.

A deity of the Heliopolitan Ennead* whose names means '*Lady of the House*'. She was normally depicted in anthropomorphic form as a woman with a head dress composed of the O9 hieroglyph  which means '*Lady of the House*'. She was the daughter of Geb* and Nut*, sister/wife to Seth* and sister to Osiris* and Isis*. She was normally associated with Isis* which freed her of any negative associations that resulted from being the wife of Seth*

Nome.

The forty two traditional provinces of Egypt. 22 in Upper Egypt* which each had their own symbol represented in the form of a standard. 20 in Lower Egypt* which each had their own as symbol but without the standard.

Nut.

The sky goddess from the Heliopolitan Ennead* and whose body represented the vault of the sky. She was the daughter of Shu* and Tefnut*, sister/wife of Geb* and mother of Osiris*, Isis*, Seth* and Nephthys*. She was usually depicted in anthropomorphic form as woman and rarely in zoomorphic form as a cow.

Osiris.

A deity principally associated with death, fertility and resurrection was one of the most important deities in ancient Egypt. Normally portrayed as anthropomorphic man, depicted as a mummy with his hands projecting through the wrappings and holding the royal insignia of the crook and flail, while wearing the atef* crown. He was one of the Heliopolitan Ennead* was the son of Geb* and Nut*, brother/husband of Isis and brother to Seth* and Nephthys*. He was murdered by Seth* and fathered Horus* with Isis* after his death.

Papyrus.

The reed *Cyperus papyrus* was the heraldic plant of Lower Egypt*. The stem of the reed was used to make a paper-like writing material. Writing was done on the front face, the recto. The reverse side is the verso which was normally left blank, however, examples exist where the verso has been used in conjunction with the recto.

Pharaoh

The term used from the 18th Dynasty to refer to the king. The word is derived via Greek from the ancient Egyptian word 'per aa' (great house, palace) which prior to the New Kingdom was applied to a royal residence.


Plutarch.

Greek writer of the Roman period (circa AD 46-126). His principle work of importance to Egyptologists was *De Iside et Osiride*, an account of the story Osiris*, Isis*, Seth* and Horus*. However, there is debate how accurate this is as it is possibly a very late version of the story.

Proscription of Seth.

The condemnation and vilification of Seth.

Pylon.

The ceremonial gateway to a temple and consisted of two massive tapering towers either side of the entrance doors and linked with a lower section spanning over the entrance, all topped with a cornice. The pylon replicated the N27 hieroglyph for horizon  which was a schematic depiction of the two hills which between the sun rose and set, so played a crucial role in the symbolism of the temple architecture.

Pyramid Texts.

The earliest of the Egyptian funerary texts being first carved in the pyramid of Unas at Saqqara in the 5th Dynasty. They comprised a total of 759 spells or utterances and were used through the Old Kingdom and the 1st Intermediate Period. A number of the spells continued to be used in the later Coffin Texts* and Book of the Dead*.

Ra.

A Heliopolitan sun god, possibly the most important of the Egyptian deities, who was usually depicted in bimorphic form as a man with a falcon's head and wearing a headdress of a sun disk encircled by a protective cobra. However, he sometime depicted with a ram's head or a scarab beetle as a head. In zoomorphic form he was represented as a falcon wearing the sun disk. As a creator god he created man and was brought together with Atum* to form Atum-Ra*

Red Crown.

The crown symbolising Lower Egypt*. Red in colour, it consisted of a low squarish cap with a tall back piece from which a coil projected. When combined with the white crown* of Upper Egypt* it formed the double crown* of Upper* and Lower Egypt*.

Sarcophagus.

A stone chest, from the Greek for *'flesh eater'*, in which one or more wooden coffins protecting the deceased's body was placed.

Sema-tawy.

The symbolic unification of Upper Egypt* and Lower Egypt* depicted by the tying of the water lily, the symbolic plant of Upper Egypt*, and the papyrus*, the symbolic plant of Lower Egypt* around the F36 hieroglyph 𓆎 for the word union. It was often carved on temple walls and sides of the thrones of the seated statues of the kings. The expression *'sema-tawy'* can be translated literary as *'unite the two lands'*.

Serekh.

A rectangular frame surmounted by the Horus* hawk and contained the king's Horus* name. The frame comprised a series of recessed panels which is described as *'palace facade'* decoration, which is thought to be modelled on the design of the earliest royal residences.

Seth.

Originally a desert deity who later came to represent disturbance and disorder on the world. Depicted in a number of forms, including anthropomorphic form as a man, in bimorphic form as a man with the head of the enigmatic Seth animal and in zoomorphic form as the enigmatic canine-like Seth animal. As one of the Heliopolitan Ennead* was the son of Geb* and Nut*, brother/husband of Nephthys* and brother to Osiris* and Isis*. He was the murderer of his brother Osiris*.

Shen

The ancient Egyptian word for *'eternity'* and depicted with the V9 𓆎 hieroglyph representing a circle of rope folded and tied at one end and.

Shu.

God of the air and sunlight whose name could mean *'emptiness'* or *'he who rises up'*. As one of the nine gods of the Heliopolitan Ennead* he was the son of Atum* and brother/husband to Tefnut* and the father of Geb* and Nut*. He was depicted in anthropomorphic form as a man wearing a plume on his head. Often depicted with his arms raised supporting Nut* from her husband Geb*. He was also associated with the eye of Ra* when he was depicted in zoomorphic form as a lion.

Sopdu.

A deity with two different aspects, as the god of Egypt's eastern border he is depicted in anthropomorphic form as Bedouin warrior with long hair and a pointed beard. He wears a tasselled or beaded girdle and a crown of two tall feathers. As a cosmic falcon similar to Horus* he is depicted in zoomorphic form as a falcon on a standard with two tall plumes on his head and a ritual flail held over his shoulder.

Stela.

An upright slab of stone or wood, usually with a curved top, decorated with inscriptions, reliefs or paintings. They were used for a variety of purposes including funerary, votive or commemorative.

Staff of a Million Years.

A staff comprising a notched palm branch, which represented year or time, terminating at the base with the I8 tadpole hieroglyph meaning 100,000 coupled with the V9 eternity hieroglyph or the A37 kneeling man with hands raised hieroglyph meaning 1,000,000 literally '*more than I can count*'. The staff was often displayed being presented by a deity to the king of Egypt indicating his being given a long reign of hundreds of thousands of years or for eternity.

Tefnut.

Goddess of moisture or damp air. As one of the nine gods of the Heliopolitan Ennead* he was the daughter of Atum* and sister/wife to Shu* and the mother of Geb* and Nut*. She was also associated with the eye of Ra* when she was depicted in zoomorphic form as a lioness.

Temenos.

An enclosure with a temple reserved for sacred purposes.

Theban Triad.

A triad was a group of three deities, formerly independent gods of an area linked together to representing a divine family consisting of father, mother and child. The triad associate with Thebes, modern day Luxor, in Upper Egypt, comprised Amun*, Mut* and Khonsu*.

Two Lands.

The two halves of the kingdom of ancient Egypt, comprising Upper Egypt* and Lower Egypt*. The term '*two lands*' is a literal translation of the ancient Egyptian word '*tawy*' used in the expression '*sema-tawy*'*

Upper Egypt.

The southern half of the Two Lands* that comprised the kingdom of ancient Egypt and comprised the Nile Valley from transition with Lower Egypt* at Memphis to the 1st cataract at Elephantine, modern day Aswan. In iconography it was represented by the white crown and the water lily.

Was Sceptre.

An emblem of authority and comprised a tall staff with the head of the enigmatic Seth animal at the top and the base terminating as a pair of curved prongs. Only the head is ever depicted with zoomorphic details and these are those associated with the Seth animal. As the S40 𓂏 hieroglyph it represents the word '*dominion*'.

White Crown.

The crown symbolising Upper Egypt*. White in colour, it was depicted as a tall conical crown with a bulbous top. When combined with the red crown* of Lower Egypt* it formed the double crown* of Upper* and Lower Egypt*.

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Appendix 1: Seth in the Pyramid Texts Spells

1.1: Location and Types of Seth Utterances in the Pyramid Texts of Unas, Teti and Pepi I

Notes

Seth +ve: Seth portrayed in a positive light within the utterance

Seth -ve: Seth portrayed in a negative light within the utterance

Spell: Spell 20 (1) Repeated Spell

Utterance No - Faulkner: Utt 277 §418. Allen: Spell 183. Garnot/Leclant: P A/N 33-34

1.1.1 Seth Spells in the Pyramid Texts: Pyramid of Unas

No	Spell	Seth +ve	Seth -ve	Location	Utterance No	Spell Group	Spell
1	183		X	Antechamber East Wall	Utt 277 §418	Spirits rebirth	Horus falls because of his eye Seth as a bull crawls off because of his testicles
2	210	X		Antechamber North Wall	Utt 305 §473	Leaving the Akhet	Ladder knotted before Osiris. Seth tells the Deceased to sit down.
3	211		X	Antechamber North Wall	Utt 306 §481	Leaving the Akhet	Reference to Seth wanting to kill or wanting the death of the deceased
4	213	X		Antechamber North Wall	Utt 308 §487 §488	Leaving the Akhet	Mounds of Horus and Seth The two (Horus and Seth) are reconciled
5	175	X		Antechamber South Wall	Utt 268 §371	Passing through the Akhet	The Ombite (Seth) elevated to the fore of the shrine
6	178	X		Antechamber South Wall	Utt 271 §390	Passing through the Akhet	Horus and Seth lead the deceased by his hand to the netherworld
7	158		X	Antechamber West Wall	Utt 247 §261	Emerging from the Duat	Seth, Lord of the storm, Slaving of Seth forbidden Seth bears the deceased

8	165	X		Antechamber West Wall	Utt 254 §294	Passing through the Akhet	Deceased's throne given by Shu in the presence of Seth
9	135	X		Burial Chamber East Wall	Utt 224 §218	Offering Ritual	Deceased given the mounds of Seth
10	143	X		Burial Chamber East Wall	Utt 210 §128	Response to the Offering Ritual	Seth rejects poison
11	155	X		Burial Chamber East Wall	Utt 222 §204 §205 §211	Resurrection Ritual	Seth of Nubt, Lord of Upper Egypt Seth ejected by Nut, Seth burst forth violently Seth conceived but not born like Osiris, irregular/violent birth
12	20 (1)	X		Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 25 §17	Offering Ritual	Seth goes with his <i>k3</i>
13	20 (2)	X		Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 25 §17	Offering Ritual	Seth goes with his <i>k3</i>
14	22	X		Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 34 §26	Offering Ritual	Horus and Seth reconciled by <i>zmin</i>
15	23	X		Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 35 §27	Offering Ritual	Purification Horus and Seth with natron
16	24	X		Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 36 §28	Offering Ritual	Purification Horus, Seth and Thoth with natron
17	35		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 47 §36	Offering Ritual	Eye of Horus wrested from Seth
18	42		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 54 §39	Offering Ritual	Eye of Horus wrested from Seth
19	48		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 74 §51	Offering Ritual	He (Seth) caused devastation to the eye of Horus
20	54		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 81 §57	Offering Ritual	The two lands in dread of Seth
21	61		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 88 §60	Offering Ritual	He (Seth) prevented from trampling the eye of Horus
22	62		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 90 §60	Offering Ritual	He (Seth) pulls out the eye of Horus
23	63		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 90 §61	Offering Ritual	Seth eats the eye of Horus
24	73		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 111 §73	Offering Ritual	Seth trampled the eye of Horus
25	74		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 112 §73	Offering Ritual	He (Seth) pulls out the eye of Horus

26	81		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 119 §76	Offering Ritual	He (Seth) carries off the eye of Horus
27	83		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 121 §77	Offering Ritual	He (Seth) pulls out the eye of Horus
28	86		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 124 §78	Offering Ritual	He (Seth) pulls out the eye of Horus
29	88		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 126 §79	Offering Ritual	He (Seth) stole the eye of Horus
30	97		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 135 §84	Offering Ritual	Eye of Horus in front of Seth
31	98		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 136 §84	Offering Ritual	Severed heads of the Followers of Seth
32	103		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 141 §86	Offering Ritual	He (Seth) pulls out the eye of Horus
33	107		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 145 §88	Offering Ritual	Seth eats the eye of Horus
34	116		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 154 §92	Offering Ritual	He (Seth) prevented from swallowing the eye of Horus
35	121		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 159 §95	Offering Ritual	He (Seth) has carries off the eye of Horus
36	122		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 160 §95	Offering Ritual	Eye of Horus rescued from Seth
37	123		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 161 §96	Offering Ritual	He (Seth) from wearing the white of eye of Horus
38	124		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 162 §96	Offering Ritual	He (Seth) from wearing the green of eye of Horus
39	125		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 163 §97	Offering Ritual	He (Seth) prevented from wrenching away the eye of Horus
40	126		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 164 §97	Offering Ritual	He (Seth) prevented from wrenching away the eye of Horus
41	130		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 168 §99	Offering Ritual	He (Seth) prevented from trapping the eye of Horus
42	146	X		Burial Chamber South Wall	Utt 213 §135	Resurrection Ritual	Mounds of Seth serve the deceased
43	148	X		Burial Chamber South Wall	Utt 215 §141	Resurrection Ritual	The deceased representing both Horus and Seth

43	148 Cont			Burial Chamber South Wall	§142 §144	Resurrection Ritual	Testicles of Seth restored to undo his mutilation Seth's disorderly entry to the world (word birth avoided)
44	150	X		Burial Chamber South Wall	Utt 217 §153	Resurrection Ritual	Seth and Nephthys announce the deceased's imperishable spirit to the gods of upper Egypt
45	151		X	Burial Chamber South Wall	Utt 218 §163	Resurrection Ritual	Thoth and Seth fail to lament for Osiris.
46	152		X	Burial Chamber South Wall	Utt 219 §173	Resurrection Ritual	Seth to be punished by restored Osiris
47	17		X	Burial Chamber West Wall	Utt 242 §242	Protection of the Mummy	No lamp in the house of the Ombite
48	137a	X		Passage between Burial Chamber and Antechamber North Wall	Utt 25 §17	Offering Ritual	Seth goes with his kA
	Total	17 35.42%	31 64.58%				

1.1.2 Seth Spells in the Pyramid Texts: Pyramid of Teti

No	Spell	Seth +ve	Seth -ve	Location	Utterance No	Spell Type	Spell
1	241		X	Antechamber East Wall	Utt 277 §418	Spirits rebirth	Horus falls because of his eye, Seth as a bull crawls off because of his testicles
2	260	X		Antechamber East Wall	Utt 385 §678	Spirits rebirth	Horus and Seth assist each other in dealing with the <i>sriw</i> snake. Horus fells it, Seth cuts it up
3	261		X	Antechamber East Wall	Utt 386 §679	Spirits rebirth	Seth suffers because of the loss of his testicles
4	265	X		Antechamber East Wall	Utt 390 §685	Spirits rebirth	Horus and Seth combine together to fight the <i>siw</i> snake
5	284		X	Antechamber East Wall	Utt 407 §712	Spirits rebirth	Reference to Horus and Seth as the two contestants
6	289	X		Antechamber North Wall	Utt 308 §488	Leaving the Akhet	The two (Horus and Seth) are reconciled
7	299	X		Antechamber North Wall	Utt 480 §994	Leaving the Akhet	Reference to the Mounds (places) of Seth
8	207	X		Antechamber South Wall	Utt 268 §371 §372	Passing through the Akhet	The Ombite (Seth) elevated to the fore of the shrine Horus will receive the deceased
9	209	X		Antechamber South Wall	Utt 271 §390	Passing through the Akhet	Horus and Seth lead the deceased by his hand to the netherworld
10	189	X		Antechamber West Wall	Utt 254 §294	Entering the Akhet	Deceased's throne given by Shu in the presence of Seth
11	199a		X	Antechamber West Wall	Utt 368 §635	Entering the Akhet	Seth and his followers decapitated by Thoth

12	199b		X	Antechamber West Wall	Utt 368 §637	Entering the Akhet	Reference to Horus not letting the deceased (Osiris) die and placing his foe (Seth) beneath him.
13	200		X	Antechamber West Wall	Utt 369 §643	Entering the Akhet	Seth (the foe) smitten by the sons of Horus, bloody beating, driven off, his smell is evil
14	202		X	Antechamber West Wall	Utt 371 §650	Entering the Akhet	Horus makes Seth bear the deceased Horus saves the deceased from Seth.
15	203		X	Antechamber West Wall	Utt 372 §651 §653	Entering the Akhet	Horus has Thoth get Seth for the deceased who he puts on Seth's back. Horus selects Seth's forelegs, cuts them up, banishes their <i>k3</i>
16	113		X	Burial Chamber East Wall	Utt 145 §88	Offering Ritual	Seth eats the eye of Horus
17	122		X	Burial Chamber East Wall	Utt 154 §92	Offering Ritual	Deceased prevents him (Seth) from swallowing the eye of Horus
18	127		X	Burial Chamber East Wall	Utt 159 §95	Offering Ritual	He (Seth) has carries off the eye of Horus
19	128		X	Burial Chamber East Wall	Utt 160 §95	Offering Ritual	Eye of Horus rescued from Seth
20	129		X	Burial Chamber East Wall	Utt 161 §96	Offering Ritual	Deceased prevents him (Seth) from wearing the white eye of Horus
21	130		X	Burial Chamber East Wall	Utt 162 §96	Offering Ritual	Deceased prevents him (Seth) from wearing the green eye of Horus
22	131		X	Burial Chamber East Wall	Utt 163 §97	Offering Ritual	Deceased accepts the eye of Horus and prevents him (Seth) from wrenching it away
23	132		X	Burial Chamber East Wall	Utt 164 §97	Offering Ritual	Deceased prevents him (Seth) from wrenching away the eye of Horus

24	136		X	Burial Chamber East Wall	Utt 168 §99	Offering Ritual	Deceased prevents him (Seth) from trapping the eye of Horus
25	141	X		Burial Chamber East Wall	Utt 224 §218	Insignia Ritual	Reference to the Mounds (places) of Seth
26	145		X	Burial Chamber East Wall Burial Chamber East Wall	Utt 356 §575 Utt 356 §576 §578 §581 §582	Insignia Ritual	Thoth drives back the followers of Seth Heart of Seth driven back, Seth made afraid Geb puts his sandal on Seth's head, who flinches from Osiris (the deceased) Horus seizes Seth and places him below Osiris (the deceased) where he quakes as the earthquakes. The deceased holier than Seth. Horus causes the innermost parts of Seth to be examined by the deceased
27	146		X	Burial Chamber East Wall	Utt 357 §587 §591 §592	Insignia Ritual	Horus smites the bound Seth, the Deceased as Osiris has control of the fate of Seth Horus wrests his eye back from Seth Horus makes good what Seth has done to Osiris (the deceased)
28	150	X		Burial Chamber East Wall	Utt 210 §128	Response to Offering Ritual	Seth rejects poison
29	24	X		Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 25 §17	Offering Ritual	Seth goes with his <i>k3</i>
30	27	X		Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 34 §26	Offering Ritual	Horus and Seth reconciled by zmin
31	28	X		Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 35 §27	Offering Ritual	Purification Horus and Seth with natron
32	29	X		Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 36 §28	Offering Ritual	Purification Horus, Seth and Thoth with natron
33	40		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 47 §36	Offering Ritual	Eye of Horus wrested from Seth
34	47		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 54 §39	Offering Ritual	Eye of Horus wrested from Seth
35	53		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 74 §51	Offering Ritual	He (Seth) caused devastation to the eye of Horus

36	60		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 81 §57	Offering Ritual	The two lands in dread of Seth
37	67		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 88 §60	Offering Ritual	Deceased prevents he (Seth) from trampling the eye of Horus
38	68		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 90 §60	Offering Ritual	He (Seth) pulled out the eye of Horus
39	69		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 90 §61	Offering Ritual	Seth eats the eye of Horus
40	79		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 111 §73	Offering Ritual	Seth trampled the eye of Horus
41	80		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 112 §73	Offering Ritual	He (Seth) pulled out the eye of Horus
42	87		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 119 §76	Offering Ritual	He (Seth) carried off the eye of Horus
43	89		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 121 §77	Offering Ritual	He (Seth) pulled out the eye of Horus
44	92		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 124 §78	Offering Ritual	He (Seth) pulled out the eye of Horus
45	94		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 126 §79	Offering Ritual	Deceased given him (Seth) who stole the eye of Horus
46	103		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 135 §84	Offering Ritual	Deceased accepts the eye of Horus from the forehead of Seth
47	104		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 136 §84	Offering Ritual	Deceased as Osiris severs the heads of the followers of Seth
48	109		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 141 §86	Offering Ritual	Deceased accepts the eye of Horus which he (Seth) pulled out
49	168	X		Burial Chamber South Wall	Utt 213 §135	Resurrection Ritual	Reference to the Mounds (places) of Seth
50	170	X		Burial Chamber South Wall	Utt 215 §141 §142	Resurrection Ritual	The deceased representing both Horus and Seth Testicles of Seth restored to undo his mutilation

50	170 Cont			Burial Chamber South Wall	§144	Resurrection Ritual	Seth's disorderly entry to the world (word birth avoided)
51	172	X		Burial Chamber South Wall	Utt 217 §153	Resurrection Ritual	Seth and Nephthys announce the deceased's imperishable spirit to the gods of upper Egypt
52	173		X	Burial Chamber South Wall	Utt 218 §163	Resurrection Ritual	Thoth and Seth fail to lament for Osiris.
53	174		X	Burial Chamber South Wall	Utt 219 §173	Resurrection Ritual	Seth to be punished by restored Osiris
54	177	X		Burial Chamber South Wall	Utt 222 §204 §205 §211	Resurrection Ritual	Seth of Nubt, Lord of Upper Egypt Seth ejected by Nut, Seth burst forth violently Seth conceived but not born like Osiris, irregular/violent birth
55	7	X		Burial Chamber West Wall	Utt 322 §518	Entering the Womb of Nut	The separation of Horus and Seth, Horus to the sky, Seth to the earth
56	12	X		Burial Chamber West Wall	Utt 327 §535	Entering the Womb of Nut	The deceased receives the testicles of Seth
57	181		X	Passage Burial Chamber - Antechamber North Wall	Utt 359 §594 §595 §596 §598 §601	Leaving the Duat	Horus wailed for his eye Seth wailed for his testicles Eye of Horus jumps the Winding Canal to avoid Seth Gods contends against Seth for the eye of Horus Deceased contends against Seth for the eye of Horus Mounds of Horus and Seth Right side of the deceased is Horus, left side of the deceased is Seth
58	229	X		Serdab Passage North Wall	Utt 413 §734	Morning Ritual	Seth who is in <i>hn̄nt</i> (Hypselis?)

59	225	X		Serdab Passage South Wall	Utt 419 §746	Morning Ritual	Seth annulled what he did to the deceased in the 8 days (of mummification)
	Total	21 35.59%	38 64.41%				

1.1.3 Seth Spells in the Pyramid Texts: Pyramid of Pepi I

No	Spell	Seth +ve	Seth -ve	Location	Faulkner Utt No	Spell Type	Spell
1	380		X	Antechamber East Wall	Utt 497 §1067	Spirits rebirth	Power of Seth over the dead, grasps their arms rendering them dumb and motionless
2	396		X	Antechamber East Wall	Utt 501	Spirits rebirth	Seth makes the sound like a stork because of his testicles. Horus transports semen in Seth's anus. Seth transports semen into Horus' anus
3	400		X	Antechamber East Wall	Utt 502	Spirits rebirth	Slaughtered one (Seth) whose testicles have been thrown away, deserts have been captured.
4	28	X		Antechamber North Wall	Utt 719 §2235	Entering the Womb of Nut	Seth ferries the deceased on the winding canal
5	417	X		Antechamber North Wall	Utt 437 §793 §798 §801	Proceeding to the end of the Akhet	The deceased to rise up against Seth The deceased referred to as being Horus and Seth Seth is brotherly to the deceased
6	431		X	Antechamber North Wall	Utt 669 §1963	Proceeding to the end of the Akhet	Horus and Seth referred to as the rivals, the combatants
7	436		X	Antechamber North Wall	Utt 696 §2166	Proceeding to the end of the Akhet	The eye of Horus runs against the fingers of Seth
8	438	X		Antechamber North Wall	Utt 305 §473	Proceeding to the end of the Akhet	Seth tells the deceased to sit down
9	439	X		Antechamber North Wall	Utt 308 §487 §489	Proceeding to the end of the Akhet	Reference to the Mounds (places) of Seth Seth looks at the two reconciled gods
10	352	X		Antechamber South Wall	P A/S 28-36	Passing through the Akhet	[...] Horus from Seth [...] (damaged text)

11	353		X	Antechamber South Wall	P A/S 39-43	Passing through the Akhet	Deceased not Seth who took the eye of Horus
12	356		X	Antechamber South Wall	P A/S 51-64	Passing through the Akhet	Followers of Seth
13	293 (1)		X	Antechamber West Wall	Utt 407 §712	Spirits rebirth	Reference to Horus and Seth as the two contestants
14	321	X		Antechamber West Wall	Utt 470 §915 §916	Entering the Akhet	Reference to the Mounds (places) of Seth
15	325 (1)	X		Antechamber West Wall	Utt 474 §943	Entering the Akhet	Reference to the Mounds (places) of Seth
16	326a	X		Antechamber West Wall	Utt 475 §946	Entering the Akhet	The ferryman brings Seth his testicles
17	327		X	Antechamber West Wall	Utt 477 §957 §958 §959 §960 §961	Entering the Akhet	Seth throws Osiris to the earth Seth denies throwing Osiris to the earth Seth claims Osiris attacked him first Seth hears the threat of the gods Reference to the Mounds (places) of Seth given to Osiris
18	329	X		Antechamber West Wall	Utt 478 §971, §974 §973 §980	Entering the Akhet	Horus and Seth assist Osiris (the Deceased) to ascend to the sky to escort Ra Seth casts his brother Osiris on his side at <i>Ghsty</i> Deceased appears as the uraeus on the forehead of Seth
19	331	X		Antechamber West Wall	Utt 480 §994a	Entering the Akhet	Reference to the Mounds (places) of Seth
20	333		X	Antechamber West Wall	Utt 482 §1007 §1008	Entering the Akhet	Horus hits, binds and places Seth under Osiris eldest daughter at <i>kdm</i>
21	334	X		Antechamber West Wall	Utt 483 §1016	Entering the Akhet	Reference to Seth being brotherly to the deceased

22	337		X	Antechamber West Wall Antechamber West Wall	Utt 485 Utt 485B §1034 Utt 485B §1035	Entering the Akhet Entering the Akhet	Judgement between Horus and Seth Geb protects Osiris from Seth Osiris protected from his brother Seth, Seth with bound arms and legs thrown on his side at <i>ḥ-rw</i>
23	500 (1)		X	Ascending Corridor East Wall	Utt 562 §1407	Daily life and protection	Eye of Horus not give over to the rage of Seth
24	565 (1)		X	Ascending Corridor East Wall	Utt 587 §1594 §1595	Emerging into the sky	Reference to every ill which Seth did
25	579		X	Ascending Corridor East Wall	Utt 698 §2177	Daily life and protection	Those in Seth's following
26	582	X		Ascending Corridor East Wall	Utt 601 §1667	Daily life and protection	Seth in Nubt
27	325 (2)	X		Ascending Corridor West Wall	Utt 474 §939 §943	Emerging into the sky	Deceased as Osiris Reference to the Mounds (places) of Seth
28	509 (1)	X		Ascending Corridor West Wall	Utt 570 §1453	Emerging into the sky	Seth escapes day, half months, months and year of death
29	510 (1)	X		Ascending Corridor West Wall	Utt 570 §1459 §1463 §1465	Emerging into the sky	The uraeus that went forth from Seth Before the testicles of Seth torn off Seth stands guard, so the deceased may rise like Ra in the east
30	511 (1)	X		Ascending Corridor West Wall	Utt 571 §1467	Emerging into the sky	Seth escapes his day of death
31	565 (2)		X	Ascending Corridor West Wall	Utt 587 §1594 §1595	Emerging into the sky	Reference to every ill which Seth did

32	48 (1)		X	Burial Chamber East Wall	Utt 356 §575 §576 §578 Utt 356 §581 §582	Leaving the Duat Leaving the Duat	Thoth drives back the followers of Seth Heart of Seth driven back, Seth made afraid Geb puts his sandal on Seth's head, who flinches from Osiris (the deceased) Horus seizes Seth and places him below Osiris (the deceased) where he quakes as the earthquakes. The deceased holier than Seth. Horus causes the innermost parts of Seth to be examined by the deceased
33	291 (1)		X	Burial Chamber East Wall	Utt 357 §587 Utt 357 §591 Utt 357 §592	Leaving the Duat	Horus smites the bound Seth, the Deceased as Osiris has control of the fate of Seth Horus wrests his eye back from Seth Horus makes good what Seth has done to Osiris (the deceased)
34	293 (2)		X	Burial Chamber East Wall	Utt 407 §712	Leaving the Duat	Reference to Horus and Seth as the two contestants
35	296	X		Burial Chamber East Wall	Utt 459 §865	Leaving the Duat	Ribs from the slaughter block of Seth
36	304		X	Burial Chamber East Wall	Utt 673 §1193	Leaving the Duat	Seth will never be free from bearing the burden of the deceased (Osiris)
37	13		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 369 §643	Entering the Womb of Nut	Seth (the foe) smitten by the sons of Horus, bloody beating, driven off, his smell is evil
38	14 (1)		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 535 §1285	Entering the Womb of Nut	Horus punishes the followers of Seth
39	26 (1)	X		Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 666A§1927	Entering the Womb of Nut	Thoth with the knife that came forth from Seth and plants an obstacle against Seth
40	28	X		Burial Chamber North Wall	No PT or CT No	Entering the Womb of Nut	Seth ferries the deceased on the Winding Canal
41	66 (1)	X		Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 25 §17	Offering Ritual	Seth goes with his <i>k3</i>

42	66 (2)	X		Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 25 §17	Offering Ritual	Seth goes with his <i>k3</i>
43	70		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 29 §20	Offering Ritual	Protection of deceased from the flood issuing from Seth
44	74 (1)	X		Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 34 §26	Offering Ritual	Horus and Seth reconciled by <i>zmin</i>
45	74 (2)	X		Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 34 §26	Offering Ritual	Horus and Seth reconciled by <i>zmin</i>
46	75	X		Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 35 §27	Offering Ritual	Purification Horus and Seth with natron
47	76	X		Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 36 §28	Offering Ritual	Purification Horus, Seth and Thoth with natron
48	87		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 47 §36	Offering Ritual	Eye of Horus wrested from Seth
49	94		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 54 §39	Offering Ritual	Eye of Horus wrested from Seth
50	100		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 74 §51	Offering Ritual	Deceased accepts the eye of Horus to which he (Seth) caused devastation
51	118		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 88 §60	Offering Ritual	Seth prevented from trampling the eye of Horus
52	119		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 89 §60	Offering Ritual	Seth pulls out the eye of Horus
53	120		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 90 §61	Offering Ritual	Seth eats the eye of Horus
54	130 (1)		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 111 §73	Offering Ritual	Seth trampled the eye of Horus
55	131 (1)		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 112 §73	Offering Ritual	Deceased accepts the eye of Horus which he (Seth) pulled out
56	138 (1)		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 119 §76	Offering Ritual	Deceased accepts the eye of Horus which he (Seth) carried off
57	140 (1)		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 121 §77	Offering Ritual	Deceased accepts the eye of Horus which he (Seth) pulled out

58	145 (1)		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 126 §79	Offering Ritual	Deceased given him (Seth) who stole the eye of Horus
59	154 (1)		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 135 §84	Offering Ritual	Eye of Horus in front of Seth
60	155 (1)		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 136 §84	Offering Ritual	Deceased as Osiris severs the heads of the followers of Seth
61	160 (1)		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 141 §86	Offering Ritual	Deceased accepts the eye of Horus which he (Seth) pulled out
62	164 (1)		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 145 §88	Offering Ritual	Seth eats the eye of Horus
63	173 (1)		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 154 §92	Offering Ritual	Deceased accepts the eye of Horus and prevents him (Seth) from swallowing it
64	178 (1)		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 159 §95	Offering Ritual	Deceased accepts the eye of Horus which he (Seth) has carried off
65	179 (1)		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 160 §95	Offering Ritual	Eye of Horus rescued from Seth
66	180 (1)		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 161 §96	Offering Ritual	Deceased accepts the white eye of Horus and prevents him (Seth) from wearing it.
67	181 (1)		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 162 §96	Offering Ritual	Deceased accepts the green eye of Horus and prevents him (Seth) from wearing it.
68	182 (1)		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 163 §97	Offering Ritual	Deceased accepts the eye of Horus and prevents him (Seth) from wrenching it away
69	183 (1)		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 164 §97	Offering Ritual	Deceased accepts the eye of Horus and prevents him (Seth) from wrenching it away
70	187 (1)		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 168 §99	Offering Ritual	Deceased accepts the eye of Horus and prevents him (Seth) from trapping it

71	66 (3)	X		Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 25 §17	Insignia Ritual	Seth goes with his <i>k3</i>
72	130 (2)		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 111 §73	Insignia Ritual	Seth trampled the eye of Horus
73	131 (2)		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 112 §73	Insignia Ritual	Deceased accepts the eye of Horus which he (Seth) pulled out
74	138 (2)		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 119 §76	Insignia Ritual	Deceased accepts the eye of Horus which he (Seth) carried off
75	140 (2)		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 121 §77	Insignia Ritual	Deceased accepts the eye of Horus which he (Seth) pulled out
76	145 (2)		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 126 §79	Insignia Ritual	Deceased given him (Seth) who stole the eye of Horus
77	154 (2)		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 135 §84	Insignia Ritual	Eye of Horus in front of Seth
78	155 (2)		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 136 §84	Insignia Ritual	Deceased as Osiris severs the heads of the followers of Seth
79	160 (2)		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 141 §86	Insignia Ritual	Deceased accepts the eye of Horus which he (Seth) pulled out
80	164 (2)		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 145 §88	Insignia Ritual	Seth eats the eye of Horus
81	173 (2)		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 154 §92	Insignia Ritual	Deceased accepts the eye of Horus and prevents him (Seth) from swallowing it
82	178 (2)		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 159 §95	Insignia Ritual	Deceased accepts the eye of Horus which he (Seth) has carried off
83	179 (2)		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 160 §95	Insignia Ritual	Eye of Horus rescued from Seth
84	180 (2)		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 161 §96	Insignia Ritual	Deceased accepts the white eye of Horus and prevents him (Seth) from wearing it.

85	181 (2)		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 162 §96	Insignia Ritual	Deceased accepts the green eye of Horus and prevents him (Seth) from wearing it.
86	182 (2)		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 163 §97	Insignia Ritual	Deceased accepts the eye of Horus and prevents him (Seth) from wrenching it away
87	183 (2)		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 164 §97	Insignia Ritual	Deceased accepts the eye of Horus and prevents him (Seth) from wrenching it away
88	187 (2)		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 168 §99	Insignia Ritual	Deceased accepts the eye of Horus and prevents him (Seth) from trapping it
89	194	X		Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 224 §218	Insignia Ritual	Deceased governs the mounds of Horus and Seth
90	195	X		Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 224 §218	Insignia Ritual	Deceased governs the mounds of Horus and Seth
91	196	X		Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 225 §218	Insignia Ritual	Deceased governs the mounds of Horus and Seth
92	198		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 658 §1857 §1859	Insignia Ritual	Horus seizes the enemy Seth and places him under Osiris so Seth will bear him away Horus rescues his eye from Seth
93	201		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 71H §48+9	Insignia Ritual	Horus seizes Seth and places him below Osiris
94	202		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	PT71C	Insignia Ritual	Horus seizes Seth and places him below Osiris
95	203	X		Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 57A-I §40+6 §40+7	Insignia Ritual	[...] Seth – a <i>pdt</i> -bow I give [...] the heart of Seth –[.....]
96	210	X		Burial Chamber North Wall	P F/Ne iv 62-72	Insignia Ritual	Seth and his great magic crown
97	215		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	No PT or CT No	Insignia Ritual	Horus places Seth below the deceased. Horus has Seth cut up
98	231		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 182 §105	Insignia Ritual	The eye of Horus that he (Seth) netted

99	237		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 188 §108	Insignia Ritual	The eye of Horus that he (Seth) carried off
100	238		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 189 §108	Insignia Ritual	The white eye of Horus that he (Seth) has worn
101	239		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 190 §108	Insignia Ritual	The green eye of Horus that he (Seth) has worn
102	241		X	Burial Chamber North Wall	Utt 192 §109	Insignia Ritual	The eye of Horus which he (Seth) from wrenched away
103	14 (2)		X	Burial Chamber South Wall	Utt 535 §1285	Entering the Womb of Nut	Horus punishes the followers of Seth
104	26 (2)	X		Burial Chamber South Wall	Utt 666A§1927	Entering the Womb of Nut	Thoth with the knife that came forth from Seth and plants an obstacle against Seth
105	52	X		Burial Chamber South Wall	Utt 327 §535	Entering the Womb of Nut	Seth fetches the deceased because he fetches Seth his testicles
106	53		X	Burial Chamber South Wall	Utt 670 §1977	Entering the Womb of Nut	Horus hits Seth as a bull, kills Seth as a bull, ties up Seth and puts Seth under the deceased's eldest daughter
107	56		X	Burial Chamber South Wall	Utt 630 §1788	Entering the Womb of Nut	The expectoration of Seth deflected from the deceased
108	58		X	Burial Chamber South Wall	Utt 81 §57	Entering the Womb of Nut	The two lands bow to Horus. The two lands in dread of Seth
109	59	X		Burial Chamber South Wall	Utt 268 §371	Entering the Womb of Nut	The Ombite (Seth) elevated to the fore of the shrine
110	255	X		Burial Chamber South Wall	Utt 213 §135	Resurrection Ritual	Reference to the Mounds (places) of Seth
111	257	X		Burial Chamber South Wall	Utt 215 §141 §142 §144	Resurrection Ritual	The deceased representing both Horus and Seth Testicles of Seth restored to undo his mutilation Seth's disorderly entry to the world (word birth avoided)

112	259	X		Burial Chamber South Wall	Utt 217 §153	Resurrection Ritual	Seth and Nephthys announce the deceased's imperishable spirit to the gods of upper Egypt.
113	260		X	Burial Chamber South Wall	Utt 218 §163	Resurrection Ritual	Thoth and Seth fail to lament for Osiris.
114	261		X	Burial Chamber South Wall	Utt 219 §173 §179	Resurrection Ritual	Seth to be punished by restored Osiris Osiris dismembered by Seth
115	264	X		Burial Chamber South Wall	Utt 222 §204 §205 §211	Resurrection Ritual	Seth of Nubt, Lord of Upper Egypt Seth ejected by Nut, Seth burst forth violently Seth conceived but not born like Osiris, irregular/violent birth
116	267		X	Burial Chamber South Wall	Utt 693 §2141	Resurrection Ritual	The bows of Seth laid down Inheritance recovered from Seth
117	269		X	Burial Chamber South Wall	Utt 593 §1628	Resurrection Ritual	Geb and Horus place Seth under Osiris, Seth forced to carry the burden of Osiris and prevented from spiting on Osiris
118	270	X		Burial Chamber South Wall	Utt 723 §2246	Resurrection Ritual	Breath from Seth's nostrils
119	276	X		Burial Chamber South Wall	Utt 665 §1904 §1906	Resurrection Ritual	Reference to the Mounds (places) and tombs of Seth Seth who is in <i>ḥnḥnt</i> (Hypselis?) Thoth comes with the knife that comes from Seth
120	278	X		Burial Chamber South Wall	Utt 667 §1935	Resurrection Ritual	Reference to the Deceased having the head of the Seth animal
121	279	X		Burial Chamber South Wall	Utt 667A §1944 - §1945	Resurrection Ritual	Brothers Horus and Seth cleansed of what they did to each other
122	282	X		Burial Chamber South Wall	Utt 690 §2099	Resurrection Ritual	Reference to the Mounds (places) of Seth
123	283	X		Burial Chamber South Wall	F.MAF No 1005	Resurrection Ritual	Stand up for Seth

124	8		X	Burial Chamber West Wall	Utt 371 §650	Entering the Womb of Nut	Horus makes Seth bear the deceased Horus saves the deceased from Seth.
125	9		X	Burial Chamber West Wall	Utt 372 §651 §653	Entering the Womb of Nut	Horus has Thoth get Seth for the deceased who he puts on Seth's back. Horus selects Seth's forelegs, cuts them up, banishes their <i>kꜣ</i>
126	10	X		Burial Chamber West Wall	Utt 424 §770	Entering the Womb of Nut	Reference to the Mounds (places) of Seth
127	15a		X	Burial Chamber West Wall	Utt 367 §635	Entering the Womb of Nut	Thoth seized and beheaded Seth and his followers
128	15b		X	Burial Chamber West Wall	Utt 368 §637	Entering the Womb of Nut	Reference to Horus not letting the deceased (Osiris) die and placing his foe (Seth) beneath him.
129	16b		X	Burial Chamber West Wall	Utt 427 §777	Entering the Womb of Nut	Nut conceals the body of Osiris to protect it from Seth
130	31	X		Burial Chamber West Wall	Utt 437 §793 §798 §801	Entering the Womb of Nut	The deceased to rise up against Seth The deceased referred to as being Horus and Seth Seth is brotherly to the deceased
131	39	X		Burial Chamber West Wall	Utt 443 §823	Entering the Womb of Nut	Nut carries off Horus and Seth and their greatly-magical
132	41b	X		Burial Chamber West Wall	Utt 447 §826	Entering the Womb of Nut	Seth goes to be with his <i>kꜣ</i>
133	44	X		Burial Chamber West Wall	Utt 450 §826	Entering the Womb of Nut	Seth goes to be with his <i>kꜣ</i>
134	48 (2)		X	Burial Chamber West Wall	Utt 356 §575 §576 §578 §581	Entering the Womb of Nut	Thoth drives back the followers of Seth Heart of Seth driven back, Seth made afraid Geb puts his sandal on Seth's head, who flinches from Osiris (the deceased) Horus seizes Seth and places him below Osiris (the deceased) where he quakes as the earthquakes. The deceased holier than Seth.

134	48 (2) Cont			Burial Chamber West Wall	§582	Entering the Womb of Nut	Horus causes the innermost parts of Seth to be examined by the deceased
135	50	X		Burial Chamber West Wall	Utt 455 §850	Entering the Womb of Nut	Evil of Horus and Seth (each other) cast out by act of the spittle <i>zmn</i>
136	14 (3)		X	Corridor East Wall	Utt 535 §1280 §1285	Passing from the Akhet to the sky	Isis and Nephthys search for Osiris Horus punishes the followers of Seth
137	291 (2)		X	Corridor East Wall	Utt 357 §587 §591 §592	Passing from the Akhet to the sky	Deceased as Osiris Horus smites the bound Seth, the Deceased as Osiris has control of the fate of Seth Horus wrests his eye back from Seth Horus makes good what Seth has done to Osiris (the deceased)
138	448 (1)	X		Corridor East Wall	F.MAF No 1058	Passing from the Akhet to the sky	Seth in the Ennead
139	483	X		Corridor East Wall	Utt 534 §1264 §1268	Passing from the Akhet to the sky	Horus and Seth work together to protect the tomb May Seth not to come with his evil coming
140	447		X	Corridor West Wall	Utt 606 §1699 §1699	Passing from the Akhet to the sky	Reference to ill done to Osiris by Seth Seth condemned to carry Seth for eternity
141	449	X		Corridor West Wall	Utt 510 §1145 §1148 §1148	Passing from the Akhet to the sky	Reference to the strength of Seth of Nubt Horus and Seth carry Osiris, Horus lifts up, Seth raises The deceased makes an offering to Horus and Seth, when they are content and when they are in conflict
142	450		X	Corridor West Wall	Utt 511 §1150	Passing from the Akhet to the sky	Reference to deceased roaring as Seth

143	451	X		Corridor West Wall	Utt 322 §518	Passing from the Akhet to the sky	Doors thrown open for Seth
144	467	X		Corridor West Wall	Utt 519 §1219	Passing from the Akhet to the sky	Reference to Horus son of Osiris, Seth brother of Osiris. Horus takes possession of his father's house from Seth
145	472		X	Corridor West Wall	Utt 524 §1233 §1236 §1242	Passing from the Akhet to the sky	Seth seizes the eye of Horus The roads of Seth are blocked The eye of Horus recovered from the head of Seth at the place where they fought
146	480		X	Corridor West Wall	Utt 532 §1256 §1258 §1259	Passing from the Akhet to the sky	Seth laid Osiris low at Nedit Seth will never be free from carrying Osiris Osiris to rise up against Seth
147	312	X		Passage between Burial - Antechamber North Wall	Utt 674 §1999	Proceeding to the Akhet	Thoth and the sharp knife come from Seth
148	311	X		Passage between Burial - Antechamber South Wall	P F-A/S 1-2	Proceeding to the Akhet	Seth speaks
149	448 (2)	X		Vestibule East Wall	F.MAF No 1058	Entering and leaving the tomb	Seth in the Ennead
150	531	X		Vestibule East Wall	Utt 271 §390	Entering and leaving the tomb	Horus and Seth lead the deceased by his hand to the netherworld
151	533		X	Vestibule East Wall	Utt 359 §601	Entering and leaving the tomb	Seth wailed for his testicles Deceased contends against Seth for the eye of Horus Mounds of Horus and Seth Left side of the deceased is Seth
152	534		X	Vestibule East Wall	Utt 535 §1280 §1285	Entering and leaving the tomb	Isis and Nephthys search for Osiris Horus punishes the followers of Seth

153	544	X		Vestibule East Wall	P V/E 40-45	Entering and leaving the tomb	Ladders of Horus and Seth stand up
154	555	X		Vestibule East Wall	Utt 612 §1735	Entering and leaving the tomb	Reference to the Mounds (places) of Seth
155	486	X		Vestibule South Wall	Utt 539 §1309	Opening the door to the sky	Shoulders and upper arms of the deceased are those of Seth
156	488		X	Vestibule South Wall	Utt 541 §1334	Opening the door to the sky	Four sons of Horus smite Seth and protect Osiris from Seth
157	490		X	Vestibule South Wall	Utt 543 §1337	Opening the door to the sky	Reference to he (Seth) who would kill you (Osiris)
158	492		X	Vestibule South Wall	Utt 545 §1339	Opening the door to the sky	Reference to he (Seth) who would kill you (Osiris)
159	500 (2)		X	Vestibule West Wall	Utt 562 §1407	Entering and leaving the tomb	Eye of Horus not give over to the rage of Seth
160	509 (2)	X		Vestibule West Wall	Utt 570 §1453	Entering and leaving the tomb	Seth escapes day, half months, months and year of death
161	510 (2)	X		Vestibule West Wall	Utt 570 §1459 §1463 §1465	Entering and leaving the tomb	The uraeus that went forth from Seth Before the testicles of Seth torn off Seth stands guard, so the deceased may rise like Ra in the east
162	511 (2)	X		Vestibule West Wall	Utt 571 §1467	Entering and leaving the tomb	Seth escapes his day of death
163	512	X		Vestibule West Wall	Utt 572 §1475	Entering and leaving the tomb	Reference to the Mounds (places) of Seth
164	514	X		Vestibule West Wall	Utt 359 §601	Entering and leaving the tomb	Horus and Seth stand to the right and left of the dead deceased
165	516		X	Vestibule West Wall	Utt 574 §1487	Entering and leaving the tomb	The tomb of Osiris repels the striking power of Seth

166	517	X		Vestibule West Wall	Utt 575 §1493	Entering and leaving the tomb	Seth causes (calls) the deceased king into the beyond
167	518		X	Vestibule West Wall	Utt 576 §1500	Entering and leaving the tomb	Osiris laid low by his brother Seth
168	519	X		Vestibule West Wall	Utt 577 §1521b	Entering and leaving the tomb	Seth and Neith are content
169	522		X	Vestibule West Wall	Utt 580 §1543 §1544 §1550	Entering and leaving the tomb	Reference to Seth killing Osiris Reference to Seth killing Osiris as a wild bull. Seth broken as a longhorn bull. Seth carries Osiris on his back Seth as a red ox, killed, dismembered and eaten by the gods
170	523		X	Vestibule West Wall	Utt 581 §1556	Entering and leaving the tomb	Seth is offered up (as a sacrificial bull)
Total		69 40.59%	101 59.41%				

1.2: Summary.

1.2.1 Pyramid Text Locations: Pyramid of Unas.

Room	Wall	Number of Spells	Spells Seth Positive	Spells Seth Negative
Antechamber	East	1 (2.08%)		1 (2.08%)
	North	3 (6.25%)	2 (4.17%)	1 (2.08%)
	South	2 (4.17%)	2 (4.17%)	
	West	2 (4.17%)	1 (2.08%)	1 (2.08%)
	Sub Total	8 (16.67%)	5 (10.42%)	3 (6.25%)
Passage Antechamber to Burial Chamber	North	1 (2.08%)	1 (2.08%)	
	Sub Total	1 (2.08%)	1 (2.08%)	
Burial Chamber	East	2 (4.17%)	2 (4.17%)	
	North	30 (62.50%)	5 (10.42%)	25 (52.08%)
	South	6 (12.50%)	4 (8.33%)	2 (4.17%)
	West	1 (2.08%)		1 (2.08%)
	Sub Total	39 (81.25%)	11 (22.92%)	28 (58.33%)
	Grand Total	48 (100%)	17 (35.42%)	31 (64.58%)

1.2.2 Distribution of Spell Subject: Pyramid of Unas.

Room	Wall	Spell Subject	Spell Seth Positive	Spell Seth Negative
Antechamber	East	Spirits Rebirth		183
	North	For leaving the Akhet	210, 213	211
	South	Passing through the Akhet	175, 178	
	West	Emerging from the Duat Passing through the Akhet	165	158
Passage Antechamber to Burial Chamber	North	Offering Ritual	137a	
Burial Chamber	East	Offering Ritual	135	
		Response to Offering Ritual	143	
	North	Offering Ritual	20(1), 20(2), 22, 23, 24	35, 42, 48, 54, 61, 62, 63, 73, 74, 81, 83, 86, 88, 97, 98, 103, 107, 116, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 130
	South	Resurrection Ritual	146, 148, 150, 155	151, 152
West	Protection of the mummy		17	

1.2.3 Spells Referring to Seth: Pyramid of Unas.

Spell	Number	Percentage	Seth positive		Seth negative	
			Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Total No. in pyramid	234	100				
No. referring to Seth	48	20.51	17	7.27	31	13.25
Single spell referring to Seth	47	20.08	16	6.84	31	13.25
Repeated spell referring to Seth	1	0.43	1	0.43	0	0.00

1.2.4 Pyramid Text Locations: Pyramid of Teti.

Room	Wall	Number of Spells	Spells Seth Positive	Spells Seth Negative
Antechamber	East	5 (8.48%)	2 (3.39%)	3 (5.08%)
	North	2 (3.39%)	2 (3.39%)	
	South	2 (3.39%)	2 (3.39%)	
	West	6 (10.17%)	1 (1.69%)	5 (8.48%)
	Sub Total	15 (25.42%)	7 (11.86%)	8 (13.56%)
Serdab Passage	North	1 (1.69%)	1 (1.69%)	
	South	1 (1.69%)	1 (1.69%)	
	Sub Total	2 (3.39%)	2 (3.39%)	
Passage Antechamber to Burial Chamber	North	1 (1.69%)		1 (1.69%)
	Sub Total	1 (2.38%)		1 (1.69%)
Burial Chamber	East	13 (22.03%)	2 (3.39%)	11 (18.64%)
	North	20 (33.90%)	4 (6.78%)	16 (27.19%)
	South	6 (10.17%)	4 (6.78%)	2 (3.39%)
	West	2 (3.39%)	2 (3.39%)	
	Sub Total	41 (69.49%)	12 (20.34%)	29 (49.15%)
	Grand Total	59 (100%)	21 (35.359%)	38 (64.41%)

1.2.5 Distribution of Spell Subject: Pyramid of Teti.

Room	Wall	Utterance Subject	Spell Seth Positive	Spell Seth Negative
Antechamber	East	Spirits Rebirth	260, 265	241, 261, 284,
	North	For leaving the Akhet	289, 299	
	South	Passing through the Akhet	207, 209	
	West	Entering the Akhet	189	199a, 199b, 200, 202, 203,
Serdab Passage	North	Morning Ritual	229	
	South	Morning Ritual	225	
Passage Antechamber to Burial Chamber	North	Leaving the Duat		181

Room	Wall	Utterance Subject	Spell Seth Positive	Spell Seth Negative
Burial Chamber	East	Offering Ritual		113, 122, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 136
		Insignia Ritual	141	145, 146
		Response to Offering Ritual	150	
	North	Offering Ritual	24, 27, 28, 29	40, 47, 53, 60, 67, 68, 69, 79, 80, 87, 89, 92, 94, 103, 104, 109,
	South	Resurrection Ritual	168, 170, 172, 177	173, 174
	West	Entering the Womb of Nut	7, 12	

1.2.6 Spells Referring to Seth: Pyramid of Teti.

Spell	Number	Percentage	Seth positive		Seth negative	
			Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Total No. in pyramid	305	100				
No. referring to Seth	59	19.34	21	6.88	38	12.46
Single spell referring to Seth	59	19.34	21	6.88	38	12.46
Repeated spell referring to Seth	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00

1.2.7 Pyramid Text Locations: Pyramid of Pepi.

Room	Wall	Number of Spells	Spells Seth Positive	Spell Seth Negative	Repeated Seth +ve	Repeated Seth -ve
Ascending Corridor	East	4 (2.35%)	1 (0.59%)	3 (1.76%)		2 (1.18%)
	West	5 (2.94%)	4 (2.35%)	1 (0.59%)	4 (2.35%)	
	Sub Total	9 (5.29%)	5 (2.94%)	4 (2.35%)	4 (2.35%)	2 (1.18%)
Vestibule	East	6 (3.53%)	4 (2.35%)	2 (1.18%)	1 (0.59%)	
	South	4 (2.35%)	1 (0.59%)	3 (1.76%)		
	West	12 (7.06%)	7 (4.18%)	5 (2.94%)		
	Sub Total	22 (12.94%)	12 (7.06%)	10 (5.88%)	1 (0.59%)	
Corridor	East	4 (2.35%)	2 (1.18%)	2 (1.18%)		2 (1.18%)
	West	7 (4.18%)	3 (1.76%)	4 (2.35%)		
	Sub Total	11 (6.47%)	5 (2.94%)	6 (3.53%)		2 (1.18%)
Antechamber	East	3 (1.76%)		3 (1.76%)		
	North	6 (3.53%)	4 (2.35%)	2 (1.18%)		
	South	3 (1.76%)	1 (0.59%)	2 (1.18%)		
	West	10 (5.88%)	6 (3.53%)	4 (2.35%)		1 (0.59%)
	Sub Total	22 (12.94%)	11 (6.47%)	11 (6.47%)		1 (0.59%)

Room	Wall	Number of Spells	Spells Seth Positive	Spell Seth Negative	Repeated Seth +ve	Repeated Seth -ve
Passage A'chamber to Burial Chamber	North	1 (0.59%)	1 (0.59%)			
	South	1 (0.59%)	1 (0.59%)			
	Sub Total	2 (1.18%)	2 (1.18%)			
Burial Chamber	East	5 (2.94%)	1 (0.59%)	4 (2.35%)		1 (0.59%)
	North	66 (38.82%)	14 (8.24%)	52 (30.59%)	3 (1.76%)	17 (10.00%)
	South	21 (12.35%)	13 (7.65%)	8 (4.71%)	1 (0.59%)	1 (0.59%)
	West	12 (7.06%)	6 (3.53%)	6 (3.53%)		
	Sub Total	104 (61.18%)	34 (20.00%)	70 (41.18%)	4 (2.35%)	19 (11.18%)
	Grand Total	170 (100%)	69 (40.59%)	101(59.41%)	9 (5.29%)	24 (14.12%)

1.2.8 Distribution of Spell Subject: Pyramid of Pepi.

Room	Wall	Utterance Subject	Spell Seth Positive	Spell Seth Negative
Ascending Corridor	East	Daily life and protection	582	500 (1), 565 (1), 579
	West	Emerging into the sky	325 (2), 509 (1), 510 (1) 511 (1)	565 (2)
Vestibule	East	Entering and leaving the tomb	448 (2), 531, 544, 555,	533, 534
	South	Opening the door to the sky	486,	488, 490, 492
	West	Entering and leaving the tomb	509 (2), 510 (2), 511 (2), 512, 514, 517, 519,	500 (2), 516, 518, 522, 523
Corridor	East	Passing from Akhet to the sky	448 (1), 483	14 (3), 291 (2),
	West	Passing from Akhet to the sky	449, 451, 467,	447, 450, 472, 480
Antechamber	East	Spirits Rebirth		380, 396, 400
	North	Proceeding to end of Akhet	28, 417, 438, 439	431, 436
	South	Passing through the Akhet	532	353, 356
	West	Entering the Akhet	321, 325 (1), 326a, 329, 331, 334	293 (1), 327, 333, 337
Passage Antechamber to Burial Chamber	North	Proceeding to the Akhet	312	
	South	Proceeding to the Akhet	311	

Room	Wall	Utterance Subject	Spell Seth Positive	Spell Seth Negative
Burial Chamber	East	Leaving the Duat	296	48 (1), 291 (1), 293 (2), 304
	North	Entering the Womb of Nut	26 (1), 28	13, 14 (1)
		Offering Ritual	66 (1). 66 (2), 74 (1), 74 (2), 75, 76	70, 87, 94, 100, 118, 119, 120, 130 (1), 131 (1), 138 (1), 140 (1), 145 (1), 150 (1), 154 (1). 155 (1) 160 (1), 164 (1), 173 (1), 178 (1), 179 (1), 180 (1), 181 (1), 182 (1), 183 (1), 187 (1)
		Insignia Ritual	66 (3), 194, 195, 196, 203, 210,	130 (2), 131 (2), 138 (2), 140 (2), 145 (2), 150 (2), 154 (2). 155 (2) 160 (2), 164 (2), 173 (2), 178 (2), 179 (2), 180 (2), 181 (2), 182 (2), 183 (2), 187 (2), 198, 201, 202, 215, 231, 237, 238, 239, 241
	South	Entering the Womb of Nut	26 (2), 52, 59,	14 (2), 53, 56, 58
		Resurrection Ritual	255, 257, 259, 264, 270, 276, 278, 279, 282, 283	260, 261, 267, 269
	West	Entering the Womb of Nut	10, 31, 39, 41b, 44, 50	8, 9, 15a, 15b, 16b, 48 (2),

1.2.9 Spells Referring to Seth: Pyramid of Pepi.

Spell	Number	Percentage	Seth positive		Seth negative	
			Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Total No. in pyramid	673	100				
No. referring to Seth	170	25.26	69	10.25	101	15.01
Single spell referring to Seth	137	20.36	60	8.91	77	11.44
Repeated spell referring to Seth	33	4.90	9	1.34	24	3.57

Appendix 2 Seth in the Coffin Texts Spells

2.1: Spells Including Seth in the Coffin Texts

Notes

Seth +ve: Seth portrayed in a positive light within the spell

Seth -ve: Seth portrayed in a negative light within the spell

O: Outer coffin of nested coffins

M: Middle coffin of nested coffins

I: Inner coffin of nested coffins

C: Single coffin

Sar: Sarcophagus

BC: Burial Chamber

T: Tomb













TC: Tomb and Coffin

B: Board












Can: Canopic Chest























Ma: Mask

















P: Papyrus














No	Coffin Text	Contents	Seth +ve	Seth -ve	Seth Hieroglyph	Seth Phonetic	Location	Designation
1	CT I Spell 7 19c	Conflict between Horus and Seth.		X		2 combatants	U E: el-Bersheh	O - B3Bo, B1P, B4C. I - B2Bo, B4Bo. C - B6C
						2 combatants	U E: Asyut	C - S10C
						2 combatants	U E: Thebes	C - T9C, T1L, T1N.Y, M.C.105,
2	CT I Spell 9 30b	Horus tearing off the testicles of Seth		X			U E: el-Bersheh	O -B4C. C - B6C
							U E: el-Bersheh	O - B3Bo. I - B4Bo
							U E: el-Bersheh	O - B1P. I - B2Bo
							U E: Asyut	C - S10C
							U E: Thebes	C - M.C.105
							U E: Thebes	C - T1L
							U E: Thebes	C - T9C
3	CT I Spell 12 39c	The gods overthrow Seth for Horus		X			U E: el-Bersheh	I - B2Bo, B4Bo
							U E: el-Bersheh	O - B1P, B6C, C - B15C
							U E: el-Bersheh	O - B3Bo
					Damaged spell		U E: el-Bersheh	O -B4C
							U E: Asyut	C - S10C
							U E: Thebes	Sar - T2C
					Damaged spell		U E: Thebes	C - M.C.105




















4	CT I Spell 13 43a	Horus vindicated over Seth		X			U E: el-Bersheh	O - B4C. C - B6C
							U E: el-Bersheh	O - B3Bo
							U E: el-Bersheh	I - B4Bo
							U E: el-Bersheh	O - B1P
							U E: el-Bersheh	I - B2Bo
							U E: Asyut	C - S10C
							U E: Thebes	C - M.C.105
5	CT I Spell 14 45a	Deceased advised to avoid the Wilful One (Seth) who will judged by Osiris		X		Wilful One	U E: el-Bersheh	O - B3Bo, B1P, B4C. I - B2Bo, B4Bo. C - B6C
						Wilful One	U E: Asyut	C - S10C
						Wilful One	UE: Thebes	Sar - T2C
					Damaged spell		UE: Thebes	C - M.C.105
6	CT I Spell 16 49a	The power of Seth aids Horus, son of Osiris	X			U E: el-Bersheh	C - B6C, B15C	
						U E: el-Bersheh	O - B3Bo	
						U E: el-Bersheh	O - B1P. I - B2Bo, B4Bo	
						U E: Asyut	C - S10C	
						U E: Thebes	C - M.C.105	
						U E: Thebes	Sar - T2C	
7	CT I Spell 30 82c-83c	Thundering of the gods				U E: el-Bersheh	O - B4L. I - B3L	
						U E: el-Bersheh	I - B2Bo, B12C	
				Damaged spell		U E: el-Bersheh	O - B13C	
						U E: Asyut	O - S2C. I - S1C. C - S6C, S10C, S11C	





















7	CT I Spell 30 82c-83c Cont	Thundering of the gods					U E: Asyut	C – S5C, S12C	
					Determinative	Damaged spell	U E: Meir	C – M24C, M25C	
8	CT I Spell 37 155c	The wounds inflicted on Osiris by Seth are hidden		X			U E: el-Bersheh	O – B3Bo	
							U E: el-Bersheh	O – B16C	
							U E: el-Bersheh	O – B4L. I – B2Bo, B12C	
					Damaged spell		U E: el-Bersheh	O – B13C. C – B20C	
	CT I Spell 37 155e	Seth disturbs the weariness of Osiris						U E: el-Bersheh	O – B3Bo
								U E: el-Bersheh	I – B2Bo
						Damaged spell		U E: el-Bersheh	O – B13C. C – B20C
CT I Spell 37 155f	Suffering					U E: el-Bersheh	O – B4L. I – B12C		
					Determinative	Damaged spell	U E: el-Bersheh	O – B13C. C – B20C	
9	CT I Spell 49 220d-e	Seth seized. The followers of Seth have sentenced carried out		X		Evil One	U E: el-Bersheh	O - B10C ^b , B10C ^c , B16C. I – B17C	
						Rebel	U E: el-Bersheh	I – B12C	
					Damaged spell		U E: el-Bersheh	O – B13C. C – B1Y	
	CT I Spell 49 221e	Osiris encouraged to execute sentence on Seth					Him	U E: el-Bersheh	O – B10C ^b , B10C ^c , B16C. I – B12C, B17C
						Damaged spell			O – B13C. C – B1Y
10	CT I Spell 50 227f	Seth in his own shape, boasts he will cause the god's (Osiris) bodies to fear, would inflict injury on him, will slaughter him		X			U E: el-Bersheh	I – B12C	
							U E: el-Bersheh	O – B16C	
							U E: el-Bersheh	I – B17C	
							U E: el-Bersheh	O - B10C ^b , B10C ^c	
					Damaged spell		U E: el-Bersheh	O – B13C	
	CT I Spell 50 230b	Thoth separates the contestants					2 Combatants	U E: el-Bersheh	O – B10C ^b , B10C ^c , B13C, B16C. I – B12C, B17C














11	CT I Spell 60 249f	Seth afraid and discards his strife making on Earth when he sees the deceased Osiris		X			U E: el-Bersheh	O – B10C ^b , B10C ^d , B4C. C - B1Y	
							UE: el-Bersheh	O – B10C ^c	
	CT I Spell 60 250f	Even those in the following of your brother Seth					U E: el-Bersheh	O – B10C ^d	
	CT I Spell 60 250f Cont	Even those in the following of your brother Seth				UE: el-Bersheh	O – B4C, B10C ^a , B10C ^c		
					Damaged spell		UE: el-Bersheh	C – B1Y	
12	CT I Spell 63 272g	Deceased's bonds loosed like Seth in <i>Hnt</i>	X				U E: el-Bersheh	O – B10C	
							U E: Thebes	C – T9C. Sar - T2C. TC – T1C	
							L E: Saqqara	C - Sq3C	
13	CT I Spell 65 277c	Seth is [lost text]	X				U E: el-Bersheh	O – B10C	
							U E: Thebes	C – T9C. Sar - T2C. TC – T1C	
							L E: Saqqara	C - Sq3C	
14	CT I Spell 67 289a	Seth of <i>Hnt</i> is bound or fettered		X			U E: el-Bersheh	O – B10C	
							U E: Thebes	C – T9C. Sar - T2C. TC – T1C	
							L E: Saqqara	C - Sq3C	
15	CT I Spell 73 305g	Seth condemned to carry Osiris forever (correlates with PT Utt 532 §1258c)		X		 Damaged	U E: el-Bersheh	O – B10C	
							U E: Thebes	C – T9C. Sar - T2C	
						Determinative		U E: Thebes	TC – T1C
							L E: Saqqara	C - Sq3C	
16	CT I Spell 74 308j-309b	Heart of Osiris may live so Seth may not exult over Osiris. Seth forced to carry Osiris on his back		X			U E: el-Bersheh	O – B10C	
							U E: Thebes	C – T9C	
17	CT I Spell 75 397b	My soul shall not be seized by Pigs					U E: el-Bersheh	O – B1Bo	
					Determinative			U E: el-Bersheh	C – B7C

















17	CT I Spell 75 397b Cont	My soul shall not be seized by Pigs			 Determinative		U E: el-Bersheh	O – B1P
					Damaged spell		U E: Meir	C – M23C
18	CT II Spell 80 30e Cont	The storm clouds of the sky			 Determinative		U E: Asyut	I – S1C
					Damaged spell		U E: Gebelein	I – G1T
18	CT II Spell 80 30e Cont	The storm clouds of the sky			 Determinative		U E: Aswan	C – A1C
19	CT II Spell 112 127b	Seth bright behind the great one	X		 Determinative		U E: Asyut	O – S2C. I – S1C
					 Determinative		U E: Gebelein	O – G2T
					 Determinative		U E: Meir	C – M23C
20	CT II Spell 113 130b	Seth turned back behind the Wretched one		X	 Determinative		U E: el-Bersheh	O – B2L. C – B1C
							U E: el-Bersheh	I – B9C
					Damaged spell		U E: el-Bersheh	O – B6Bo
	CT II Spell 113 131c	The gardens of Seth	 Determinative		U E: el-Bersheh	O – B2L. C – B1C		
					U E: el-Bersheh	I – B9C		
21	CT II Spell 115 135b	In the great storm			 Determinative		U E: Asyut	I – S1C
					Damaged spell		U E: Asyut	O – S2C ^a , S2C ^b
					 Determinative		U E: Gebelein	O – G2T
22	CT II Spell 118 142a	The path Seth could not go down after the fight	X		 Determinative		U E: Asyut	O – S2C. I – S1C
					 Determinative		U E: Gebelein	O – G2T
23	CT II Spell 119 143b-c	Seth protects the back of the deceased from attack	X		 Determinative		U E: Asyut	O – S2C. I – S1C
					 Determinative		U E: Gebelein	O – G2T

24	CT II Spell 131 151e	Friends and family of the deceased saved from the acts of Seth		X	Damaged spell		U E: Asyut	O – S2C		
							U E: Asyut	I – S1C		
							U E: Gebelein	O – G2T		
25	CT II Spell 148 213b	Horus states he will kill Seth the enemy of his father Osiris		X			U E: Asyut	O – S1P. I – S1C ^a , S1C ^b , S2P. C – S1Chass		
	CT II Sp 148 223e-224a				Seth referred to as the Contender and the enemy of Osiris		Damaged spell		U E: Asyut	O – S2C ^a , S2C ^b
							U E: Asyut	I - S1C ^a , S1C ^b , S2P. C – S1Chass		
					Damaged spell		U E: Asyut	O – S2C ^a , S2C ^b		
26	CT II Sp 157 340b	Damage to the eye		X			U E: el-Bersheh	O – B4L ^a , B4L ^b . I – B9C		
					Determinative		Damaged spell		U E: el-Bersheh	I – B1Y
							U E: Asyut	O – S2C		
					Determinative		Damaged spell		U E: Asyut	I – S1C
							U E: Asyut	O – S2C		
					Determinative		Damaged spell		U E: Asyut	C – S2P
	CT II Sp 157 341a	Seth(as a black pig) inflicts wounds on the eye of Horus					U E: el-Bersheh	O – B4L ^a , B4L ^b . I – B2Bo		
							U E: el-Bersheh	I – B17C		
							U E: el-Bersheh	I – B4Bo		
							U E: el-Bersheh	I – B9C		
							U E: el-Bersheh	I – B2P, B1L. C – B1C		
					Damaged spell		U E: el-Bersheh	C – B1Y		
							U E: Asyut	O – S2C. I – S1C, S2P. C – S3P		





















26	CT II Sp 157 342b	Seth transforms himself into a black pig					U E: el-Bersheh	O – B4L ^a . I - B2Bo
							U E: el-Bersheh	I – B17C
							U E: el-Bersheh	I – B4Bo
							U E: el-Bersheh	I – B9C
							U E: el-Bersheh	O - B4L ^b . I – B2P, B1L,
					Damaged spell		U E: el-Bersheh	C – B1Y
							U E: Asyut	O – S2C. I – S1C, S2P. C – S3P
27	CT II Sp 158 359f-360a	Seth complains Daamtuef and Kebhsnuf are with Horus		X			U E: el-Bersheh	O – B4L ^a . I - B2Bo
							U E: el-Bersheh	I – B4Bo
						 Damaged	U E: el-Bersheh	I – B17C
27	CT II Sp 158 359f-360a Cont	Seth complains Daamtuef and Kebhsnuf are with Horus		X			U E: el-Bersheh	I – B9C
							U E: el-Bersheh	O - B4L ^b . I – B2P, B1L. C – B1C, B1Y
							U E: Asyut	O – S2C. I – S2P
28	CT II Sp 160 380c-381a	Seth defends the solar barque and Ra from Apep		X			U E: el-Bersheh	O - B4L ^a , B4L ^b . I – B2Bo
							U E: el-Bersheh	I – B3C ^a , B9C, B17C
							U E: el-Bersheh	I – B4Bo
							U E: el-Bersheh	I – B1L
							U E: el-Bersheh	I – B1C, B2P
					Damaged spell		U E: el-Bersheh	C – B1Y
							U E: Asyut	O – S2C. I – S2P
			U E: Asyut	I - S2P				
	CT II Spell 160 387a-b	Seth referred to as the Lord of Life						

29	CT II Spell 162 394a	Deceased flourishes like Apis and Seth	X				U E: Beni Hasan	O – BH2C, BH10x
							U E: el-Bersheh	O – B1Bo
					 determinative		U E: el-Bersheh	I – B2Bo, B4Bo
					 determinative		U E: el-Bersheh	C – B6C
					 determinative		U E: Meir	B – M22C
					Damaged spell		U E: Meir	C – M23C
					Damaged spell		UE: Asyut	O – S2C
							U E: Thebes	C – T3C
							U E: Gebelein	I – G1T
		Unknown location	C - Y1C					
30	CT III Spell 181 75f	2 portions of bread in the House of Seth	X				U E: Asyut	C – S10C ^a , S10C ^b
31	CT III Spell 187 89e	1 portion of bread and beer for Seth	X				U E: el-Bersheh	O – B3Bo. I – B9C
32	CT III Spell 203 138b	Seth, Lord of the Northern Sky, treads seed (threshes) for the deceased	X				UE: Asyut	I – S1C
						 ? Damaged	U E: Thebes	M - T2Be
33	CT III Spell 220 202i	Emptiness of Horus and Seth	X				U E: el-Bersheh	I – B1L, B3L
34	CT III Spell 227 261a-c	Horus and Isis protect Osiris from Seth. They bind Seth putting cords on his arms and fetters on his thighs		X			L E: Saqqara	C – Sq3C
35	CT III Spell 228 276a-277a	Sore suffering of the god			 Determinative		U E: Beni Hasan	O – BH3Ox
					 Determinative		U E: el-Bersheh	O – B1P. I – B3L. C – B6C
					Damaged Spell		U E: el-Bersheh	O – B7C
36	CT III Spell 251 349e-f	Deceased protected from the power Seth had over them		X			U E: Asyut	O – S2C. I – S1C ^a , S1C ^b















37	CT III Spell 255 360b	Him from Nubt	X				U E: Asyut	O – S2C ^a . I – S1C ^b
					Determinative		U E: Asyut	I – S1C ^a , S1C ^c
							U E: Asyut	C – S3C
					Determinative	Damaged Spell	U E: Asyut	O – S2C ^b
38	CT III Spell 264 393g-h	Seth upon his wings, the same as Thoth, reference to plumbs and tails	X			U E: el-Bersheh	O – B1Bo	
39	CT IV Spell 268 1b-d	Chaos god, exhale by Seth within the secrets of Geb		X			U E: el-Bersheh	O – B1Bo
							U E: el-Bersheh	C – B2Be
							U E: Thebes	C – T1L
							L E: Saqqara	C – Sq6C
40	CT IV Spell 277 22a-c	Thoth executes judgement on Seth, reconciles Horus and Seth	X			Two rivals	U E: el-Bersheh	O – B1Bo. C – B2Be
						Two rivals	U E: Beni Hasan	O – BH2C
41	CT IV Spell 280 29c	2 adzes of Seth	X			L E: Saqqara	C – Sq3C, Sq6C	
42	CT IV Spell 288 40g	Storm					L E: Saqqara	C – Sq6C
					determinative		Unknown provenience	Papyrus Gardiner III (COI Museum)
							Damaged spell	Unknown provenience
43	CT IV Spell 303 56d-f	Horus tell Osiris he has smitten Seth, slayed his followers for their attack on Osiris		X			U E: el-Bersheh	O – B1P
							U E: el-Bersheh	I – B3L
44	CT IV Spell 310 66h-j	Thoth stands between Horus and Seth, intercedes ending the conflict	X			U E: Thebes	TC – T1C	

45	CT IV Sp 312 69g-70b	Deceased asks for protection from Seth in the afterlife, Osiris death wounds exposed		X		Him	U E: el-Bersheh	O – B6Bo. I – B2Bo. C – B6C
					Him	U E: Dendera	C – D1C	
					Him	U E: Thebes	TC – T1C	
	CT IV Spell 312 84i	Horn of Horus sharp against Seth				U E: el-Bersheh	C – B6C	
	CT IV Spell 312 85q	Heart of Seth cut out.				U E: el-Bersheh	C – B6C	
	CT IV Spell 312 86q	Osiris triumphant over Seth			U E: el-Bersheh	C – B6C		
46	CT IV Spell 315 97k	The deceased wards off Seth and spits on his followers		X			U E: el-Bersheh	O – B1P
47	CT IV Spell 316 105e	The fall of Seth and the destruction of his followers		X			U E: Asyut	I – S2P
							U E: Asyut	I – S1C
					Damaged spell		U E: Asyut	O – S2C
48	CT IV Spell 318 140c	Integration of Horus and Seth into single deity	X				U E: el-Bersheh	O – B1P, B2L
				Damaged spell		U E: el-Bersheh	O – B7C	
							U E: Asyut	O – S1P, S1Chass
				Damaged spell		U E: Asyut	O – S2C	
49	CT IV Spell 325 154d	Stronger than he				determinative	U E: Gebelein	I – G1T
50	CT IV Spell 331 176c	Damaged and incomplete text				determinative	U E: Asyut	O – S2C ^a . S2C ^b
51	CT IV Spell 335 234-235b	Conflict between Horus and Seth		X			U E: Beni Hasan	C – BH1Br
							U E: el-Bersheh	I – B9C ^a
							U E: el-Bersheh	O – B1P
					Damaged Spell		U E: el-Bersheh	I – B5C
							U E: Meir	I – M1C. C – M4C
							U E: Meir	C – M7C, M8C
		U E: Meir	C – M57C					

51

CT IV Spell 335 234-235b Cont	Conflict between Horus and Seth		Damaged Spell	U E: Meir	C – M54C
				U E: Thebes	C – T3Be
				U E: Thebes	TC – T1C ^b
				U E: Thebes	O – T1Be
				U E: Thebes	C – T3 Be
				L E: Saqqara	C – Sq1C, Sq7C
			 Damaged	L E: Lisht	C – L1NY
			 Damaged	L E: Lisht	O – L3Li
CT IV Spell 335 236a-327a	Horus eye is injured by Seth			U E: Beni Hasan	C – BH1Br
				U E: Meir	C – M4C
CT IV Spell 335 236b-327b	Seth loses his testicles			U E: Beni Hasan	C – BH1Br
				U E: el-Bersheh	I – B5C
				U E: el-Bersheh	I – B9C ^a
			Damaged Spell	U E: el-Bersheh	O – B1P
				U E: Meir	I – M1C. C – M4C
				U E: Meir	C - M7C,
			 Damaged	U E: Meir	C - M8C,
			Damaged Spell	U E: Meir	C – M54C, M57C
				U E: Thebes	O – T1Be
				U E: Thebes	C – T3Be
			Damaged Spell	U E: Thebes	M – T2Be
				L E: Saqqara	C – Sq1C, Sq7C
				L E: Lisht	C – L1NY
		L E: Lisht	O – L3Li		

51	CT IV Spell 335 238c-239c	Time of rage
	CT IV Spell 335 240a	Time of rage
	CT IV Spell 335 242a	Time of rage
	CT IV Spell 335 321b	Seth the god who seizes souls, laps up corruption, lives on purification, belongs to darkness

 determinative		U E: el-Bersheh	I – B5C
	Damaged spell	U E: el-Bersheh	C – B1Y
 determinative		U E: Meir	C – M4C
	Damaged spell	U E: Meir	C – M54C
 determinative		U E: Thebes	M – T2Be
 determinative		U E: Thebes	TC – T1C ^a , T1C ^b
 determinative		L E: Saqqara	C – Sq1C
 determinative		L E: Saqqara	C – Sq4Sq, Sq7C
 determinative		U E: el-Bersheh	I – B5C
 determinative		U E: Thebes	M – T2Be
 determinative		L E: Saqqara	C – Sq7C
 determinative		L E: Saqqara	C – Sq1C
	Damaged spell	L E: Lisht	C – L1NY
 determinative		L E: Saqqara	C – Sq1C
 determinative		L E: Saqqara	C – Sq7C
		U E: Thebes	M – T2Be
		U E: Thebes	O – T1Be. TC – T1C ^b

51	CT IV Spell 335 411 234b	Horus fought with Seth				L E: Saqqara	C – Sq7Sq
	CT IV Spell 335 411 238c	Time of wrath		 determinative		L E: Saqqara	C – Sq7Sq
	CT IV Spell 335 411 242a	Wroth with him		 determinative		L E: Saqqara	C – Sq7Sq
	CT IV Spell 335 411 276d	His twin souls				L E: Saqqara	C – Sq7Sq
52	CT IV Spell 349 384c	The slaving of Seth as the Lord of Storms is forbidden (correlates with PT Utt 247 §261)	X	 determinative		U E: el-Bersheh	I – B3C
					⸥	U E: el-Bersheh	I – B3C
					⸥	U E: el-Bersheh	O – B1C
					⸇	U E: el-Bersheh	O – B1Bo
				Damaged spell		U E: el-Bersheh	O – B6Bo
				Damaged spell		U E: Thebes	C – T3Be
53	CT IV Spell 353 396b – 397b	Seth having the power over water with which he kills Osiris.	X			U E: Beni Hasan	O- BH3Ox
						U E: el-Bersheh	I – B5C
						U E: el-Bersheh	I – B3C
						U E: el-Bersheh	O – B1Bo ^b
					⸇	U E: el-Bersheh	O – B1Bo ^a , B3Bo, B4C
						U E: Meir	C – M39C
						U E: Meir	C – M5C
				Damaged spell		U E: Asyut	O – S2C
						U E: Asyut	I – S1C
					⸇	U E: Thebes	TC – T1C ^a , T1C ^b

53	CT IV Spell 353 396b – 397b Cont	Seth having the power over water with which he kills Osiris.					Unknown location	C – Y1C
	CT IV Spell 353 396b – 397b	Great storm				Damaged spell	U E: Beni Hasan	O- BH3Ox
						determinative	U E: el-Bersheh	I – B5C
						determinative	U E: el-Bersheh	O – B3Bo
						determinative	U E: el-Bersheh	I – B2Bo
							U E: el-Bersheh	I – B4Bo
						determinative	U E: el-Bersheh	O – B4C
						Damaged spell	U E: el-Bersheh	O – B4C
						determinative	U E: Asyut	I – S1C
						determinative	U E: Asyut	O – S2C ^a , S2C ^b
						determinative	U E: Meir	C – M5C, M39C
						determinative	Unknown location	C – Y1C
54	CT IV Spell 354 402a	Purification of Seth	X				U E: el-Bersheh	O – B2L
							U E: el-Bersheh	I – B3C
55	CT V Spell 356 8e	Seth the rebellious		X			U E: el-Bersheh	O – B2L
							U E: el-Bersheh	C – B1C
56	CT V Spell 358 10d-e	Seth the rebellious on the day of the great storm over the Two Lands		X			U E: Thebes	C – T1L
57	CT V Spell 362 17g	Exalted in Ombus					L E: Saqqara	I – Sq11C
	CT V Spell 362 21f	Bonds of the Outcast		X			U E: Asyut	C – S10C

58	CT V Spell 366 27e	On earth as a liking god Seth	X				U E: el-Bersheh	O – B2L. I – B2P. C – B1C
59	CT V Spell 373 35f	The Outcast (Seth)		X			U E: el-Bersheh	O – B2L. I – B2P
	CT V Spell 373 35g	The Outcast (Seth)					U E: el-Bersheh	O – B2L. I – B2P
	CT V Spell 373 35h	The Outcast (Seth)					U E: el-Bersheh	O – B2L. I – B2P
60	CT V Spell 384 51a	Those who rage			determinative		U E: el-Bersheh	O – B6C. I – B2Bo
						determinative	U E: el-Bersheh	I – B4Bo
					Damaged spell		U E: el-Bersheh	O – B4C. C – B1Y
					Damaged spell		U E: Asyut	O – S2C
61	CT V Spell 389 59b	The deceased as Seth entering into the shambles of the god he abhors		X			U E: Asyut – 1xC	C – S10C
62	CT V Spell 396 73k	The ferryman bringing the Outcast (Seth) for his testicle	X				U E: el-Bersheh	I – B9C
	CT V Spell 396 74w	The bright hour of Seth					U E: el-Bersheh	I – B9C
63	CT V Spell 397 76b	Bring Seth to me for his testicles		X			U E: Meir	C – M2C
					Damaged spell		U E: Abydos	C – Ab1Ph
							U E: Thebes	C – T3L
							U E: Thebes	C – T2L
							U E: Thebes	O – T1Be
							U E: Thebes	TC – T1C
							L E: Saqqara	C – Sq1C, Sq7Sq
							L E: Saqqara	T – Sq1Sq, Sq2Sq
							U E: Meir	C – M2C
	CT V Spell 397 77a	The eye of Horus falling in the eastern side of the sky to protect itself from Seth			X			U E: Abydos
						U E: Thebes	C – T3L	






















63	CT V Spell 397 77a Cont	The eye of Horus falling in the eastern side of the sky to protect itself from Seth
	CT V Spell 397 94a	Which Horus and the Ombite kissed
	CT V Spell 397 117	Which Horus and the Ombite kissed
64	CT V Spell 398 120b	The testicles of Seth.

		U E: Thebes	C – T2L
		U E: Thebes	O – T1Be
		U E: Thebes	TC – T1C
		L E: Saqqara	C – Sq1C, Sq7Sq
		L E: Saqqara	T – Sq1Sq, Sq2Sq
		U E: Meir	C – M2C
Damaged spell		U E: Abydos	C – Ab1Ph
		U E: Thebes	O – T1Be
		U E: Thebes	TC – T1C
Damaged spell		U E: Thebes	M – T2Be
		L E: Saqqara	C – Sq7Sq
Damaged spell		L E: Saqqara	C – Sq1C
		L E: Saqqara	T – Sq1Sq, Sq2Sq
Damaged spell		U E: Meir	C – M2C
		U E: Thebes	O – T1Be
		L E: Saqqara	C – Sq1C
Damaged spell		L E: Saqqara	T – Sq2Sq
	Appended	L E: Saqqara	T – Sq1Sq
		L E: Saqqara	T – Sq7Sq
	with determinative		
		U E: Meir	C – M3C, M4C, M5C, M6C
		U E: Meir	O – M2NY
Damaged spell		U E: Meir	C – M21C





















64	CT V Spell 398 120b Cont	The testicles of Seth.
	CT V Spell 398 121b	Eye of Horus rescued from Seth
	CT V Spell 398 128a	Horus and Seth wrestling on the plains of Nebt
	CT V Spell 398 137a	The Ram who is with Horus and Seth

		U E: Thebes	C – T3L
		U E: Gebelein	O – G2T. I – G1T
		U E: Aswan	C – A1C
		U E: Meir	C – M3C, M4C, M5C, M21C, M46C
		U E: Meir	O – M2NY
Damaged spell		U E: Meir	C – M6C
		U E: Thebes	C – T3L
		U E: Gebelein	O – G2T
		U E: Gebelein	I – G1T
		U E: Aswan	C – A1C
		U E: Meir	C – M3C, M5C, M6C, M21C
		U E: Meir	O - M2NY
Damaged spell		U E: Meir	C – M4C, M13C, M46C
		U E: Gebelein	I – G1T
		U E: Aswan	C – A1C
		U E: Meir	C – M5C
	possible Seth animal damaged	U E: Meir	C – M21C
		U E: Meir	C – M4C
	Damaged	U E: Meir	O – M2NY
Damaged spell		U E: Meir	C – M3C, M6C, M13C, M46C
		U E: Gebelein	I – G1T
		U E: Aswan	C – A1C





















65	CT V Spell 400 172g	The deceased extends his arms over the arms of Horus and the sandals of Seth.	X				U E: Meir	C – M5C
							U E: Meir	O - M2NY
							U E: Asyut	I – S1C
66	CT V Spell 404 189g	The earth god	X				U E: el-Bersheh	O – B7C
	CT V Spell 404 191b	Seth referred to as the Ombite	X				U E: el-Bersheh	I – B5C
							U E: el-Bersheh	O – B7C
							U E: el-Bersheh	I – B9C
		Damaged spell		U E: el-Bersheh	O – B10C			
67	CT V Spell 405 205l	Seth referred to as the Ombite (very damaged text)		X	Damaged spell		U E: Meir	O – M1NY. I – M1C
	CT V Spell 405 210k	Felling of the Confederacy of Seth					U E: Meir	I – M1C
68	CT V Spell 407 214c	Reference to Seth the great longhorn (bull) living in the Northern sky	X				U E: el-Bersheh	I – B2Bo
							U E: el-Bersheh	O – B3Bo
							U E: el-Bersheh	O – B2L
							U E: el-Bersheh	C – B1C
							U E: Meir	B – M22C
					Damaged spell		U E: Meir	C – M6C, M23C
							U E: Asyut	I – S1C
							U E: Asyut	O – S2C
69	CT V Spell 408 225n	Reference to Seth the great longhorn (bull) living in the Northern sky	X				U E: Asyut	O - S2C
70	CT V Sp 424 267f	The deceased as Seth has trodden down Isis (when she pregnant by Osiris)		X			U E: el-Bersheh	I – B2Bo
							U E: el-Bersheh	O – B1Bo
							U E: el-Bersheh	I – B4Bo
					Damaged spell		U E: Meir	O – M2NY






















70	CT V Sp 424 267f Cont	The deceased as Seth has trodden down Isis (when she pregnant by Osiris)					U E: Asyut	C – S10C, S14C	
					Damaged spell		U E: Asyut	O – S2C	
71	CT V Spell 441 300a	Seth smitten and fettered by the deceased		X			U E: el-Bersheh	O – B3Bo	
							U E: Meir	B – M22C	
							U E: Asyut	C – S14C	
72	CT V Spell 444 311d	Seth smitten on the banks of <i>Gmtyw</i>		X			U E: el-Bersheh	O – B1Bo	
							U E: Asyut	C – S14C	
					Damaged spell		U E: Asyut	O – S2C ^a , S2C ^b	
73	CT V Spell 445 314o	Seth smitten on the banks of [?]		X			U E: Meir	B – M22C	
74	CT V Spell 446 316e	Seth smitten on the banks of ' <i>I-have-found-him-on-it</i> '		X			U E: el-Bersheh	O – B3Bo	
75	CT V Spell 453 322l	The will of Seth attempts to 'ill' remembrance in the mouth of Osiris		X			U E: el-Bersheh	I – B17C	
							U E: el-Bersheh	O – B2L	
76	CT V Spell 454 325g	The will of Seth attempts to 'ill' remembrance in the mouth of Osiris		X			U E: el-Bersheh	O – B2L. I - B17C	
					Damaged spell		U E: el-Bersheh	O – B4C	
77	CT V Spell 458 331x	Messengers of the Outcast		X			U E: el-Bersheh	I - B1L, B3L	
78	CT V Spell 464 336b	Falcon taken by Seth		X			U E: el-Bersheh	O – B1Bo	
							U E: el-Bersheh	I – B5C, B9C, B3L. C – B1C, B6C	
							U E: el-Bersheh	I – B1L	
							U E: el-Bersheh	O – B1Bo. C – B1C	
							U E: el-Bersheh	I – B5C, B9C, B1L. C – B6C	
	CT V Spell 464 337a	Falcon released from Seth						U E: el-Bersheh	I – B3L
								U E: el-Bersheh	I – B5C, B3L. C – B6C
								U E: el-Bersheh	O – B1Bo
CT V Spell 464 337d	Choking and stilling sky because of the anger of Seth at the air						U E: el-Bersheh	I – B9C, B1L. C – B1C	


















79	CT VI Spell 477 36l	Reference to Horus being the maternal brother of the Outcast (Seth)	X				U E: el-Bersheh	O – B1P	
80	CT VI Spell 479 39j	Rage			determinative		Unknown provenience	P - Papyrus Gardiner II (British Museum)	
81	CT VI Spell 479 40k	Contentious shooters of Seth of Ombos		X			Unknown provenience	P - Papyrus Gardiner II (British Museum)	
82	CT VI Spell 519 108j	The breath that comes from Seth's nostrils (Correlates with PT Utt 723 §2244d)	X				U E: el-Bersheh	O – B10C	
					determinative		U E: el-Bersheh	I – B9C	
83	CT VI Spell 524 116e	Horus going forth as Horus and Seth	X				U E: el-Bersheh	Can – B5Bo	
							U E: el-Bersheh	Can – B11C	
84	CT VI Spell 526 118n	Seth and his Great of Magic	X				U E: Asyut	O – S2C ^a , S2C ^b	
	CT VI Spell 526 119d	Seth and his Great of Magic			Damaged spell – traces of	U E: Asyut	O – S2C		
85	CT VI Spell 528 120c	Purification of Horus and Seth (Correlates with PT Utt 36 §28a)	X				U E: Asyut	O – S2C	
86	CT VI Spell 530 121f	Horus and Seth, the two Great Ones	X				U E: Beni Hasan	O – BH2C, BH10x	
							L E: Saqqara	O – Sq10C	
87	CT VI Spell 531 123h	Osiris hiding the death wounds inflicted by Seth		X			U E: Meir	Ma – M35C, M36C	
	CT VI Spell 531 125d	Smiting the followers of Seth					U E: Meir	Ma – M35C, M36C	
								U E: Meir	M - M16C
								U E: Meir	M – M1. Ann
						Damaged spell		U E: Meir	M – M2. Ann
88	CT VI Spell 532 126k	The injury inflicted by Seth		X			U E: Thebes	O – T1Be	
89	CT VI Spell 533 131b	Control [damaged text]			determinative		U E: Meir	C – M6C	
					determinative (damaged)		U E: Meir	C – M23C	

















90	CT VI Spell 548 144d	Uproar			Damaged spell		U E: Meir	O – M2NY
					 determinative		U E: Thebes	C – T2L
					 determinative		U E: Thebes	M – T2Be
91	CT VI Spell 555 156c	Rage			 determinative		U E: el-Bersheh	I – B4C
92	CT VI Spell 564 163g	The deceased as Seth among the gods	X				U E: el-Bersheh	O – B4C
							U E: Meir	O – M2NY
93	CT VI Spell 568 167e	Power of Seth brought to nought		X			U E: el-Bersheh	O – B1Bo
							U E: el-Bersheh	O – B4C
							U E: Asyut	C – S10C
94	CT VI Spell 571 172k	Seth with his w3s sceptre subdues the patricians for the deceased	X				U E: el-Bersheh	O – B1Bo
95	CT VI Spell 573 177c	Earth gods			 determinative		U E: Asyut	I – S1C
					Damaged spell		U E: Asyut	O – S2C
96	CT VI Spell 576 191c-d	The deceased identify with Babi and the Outcast (Seth) to ensure sexual potency in the afterlife	X				U E: el-Bersheh	C – B1Be
					Damaged spell		U E: el-Bersheh	C – B1C
97	CT VI Spell 581 196t-u	Seth dwelling in the Northern sky	X		 determinative		Unknown provenience	P - Papyrus Gardiner II (British Museum)
98	CT VI Spell 586 206c	Earth god			 determinative		U E: Asyut	I – S1C
					Damaged spell		U E: Asyut	O – S2C
99	CT VI Spell 587 208k	Seth detests the eye of Horus		X	 determinative		Unknown provenience	P - Papyrus Gardiner II (British Museum)
	CT VI Spell 587 208o	Seth detests the eye of Horus			 determinative		Unknown provenience	P - Papyrus Gardiner II (British Museum)
	CT VI Spell 587 209a	Seth will swallow the eye of Horus			 determinative		Unknown provenience	P - Papyrus Gardiner II (British Museum)























100	CT VI Spell 595 213i	The limiting of the confederacy of Seth		X			U E: Asyut	I – S2P
101	CT VI Spell 607 220a	Seth in his rage repelled and set over foreign lands		X		Damaged	L E: Lisht	I – L2Li
102	CT VI Spell 622 237h	Storm cloud			 determinative		U E: el-Bersheh	O – B3Bo
103	CT VI Spell 630 252e	Lone air in the Mansion of Seth					L E: Saqqara	O – Sq6C. I – Sq4C. C – Sq3C
	CT VI Spell 630 252h	Reference to air by the name of Seth	X				L E: Saqqara	O – Sq6C. I – Sq4C. C – Sq3C
104	CT VI Spell 631 253l	Storm in the upper sky	X		 determinative		U E: el-Bersheh	O – B3Bo
	CT VI Spell 631 253l	Seth in the upper desert					L E: Saqqara	O – Sq6C
104	CT VI Spell 631 254a	Foretold			 determinative		U E: el-Bersheh	O – B3Bo
					 determinative		L E: Saqqara	O – Sq6C
	CT VI Spell 631 254p	<i>khrr</i>			 determinative		L E: Saqqara	O – Sq6C
	CT VI Spell 631 254p	Storm			 determinative		L E: Saqqara	O – Sq6C
105	CT VI Spell 633 255l	Air in the deceased's nose like Seth,	X				L E: Saqqara	O – Sq6C. I – Sq3C
	CT VI Spell 633 255m	The deceased talks to Seth					L E: Saqqara	O – Sq6C. I – Sq3C
106	CT VI Spell 640 261f	Seth ties the knot behind the deceased	X				U E: Meir	O – M2NY
							U E: Thebes	M – T2Be
	CT VI Spell 640 261g	Uproar				Damaged determinative	U E: Meir	O – M2NY
					 determinative		U E: Thebes	M – T2Be
107	CT VI Spell 646 266e	Osiris might smite the Confederacy of Seth		X	Damaged spell		U E: Gebelein	I – G1T
108	CT VI Spell 647 269t	The deceased protected by Seth	X				U E: Gebelein	I – G1T

109	CT VI Spell 649 271d	Seth about to sail the barque	X				U E: Gebelein	I – G1T
110	CT VI Spell 660 281c	Osiris and Isis came into being before Seth and Nephthys	X				U E: el-Bersheh	O – B1Bo
111	CT VI Spell 665 291h	Seth is the one who provides shares when ever food is provided	X				U E: el-Bersheh	O – B1Bo
112	CT VI Spell 666 294l	Messengers of Seth who live by their theft		X			U E: el-Bersheh	O – B1Bo
113	CT VI Spell 681 306l	The deceased saved from the stroke of Seth in the great storm		X			U E: el-Bersheh	O – B1Bo
	CT VI Spell 681 306q	The deceased saved from the stroke of Seth at the shrine						
	CT VI Spell 681 307i	Thoth the brother of Horus and Seth				U E: el-Bersheh	O – B1Bo	
	CT VI Spell 681 307j	Thoth silences Seth						
114	CT VI Spell 686 316b	Path for the deceased cleared by Seth	X				U E: el-Bersheh	O – B1Bo
115	CT VI Spell 693 325m	The deceased makes fast the bonds of Seth		X			U E: el-Bersheh	C – B15C
116	CT VI Spell 694 327e	Horus and Seth among the gods	X				U E: el-Bersheh	O – B1P
117	CT VI Spell 720 348u	Storm			 determinative		U E: el-Bersheh	O – B3Bo
118	CT VI Spell 725 355l	Burial place of Seth who is in <i>Hnt</i>	X			 Damaged	U E: el-Bersheh	O – B3Bo
119	CT VI Spell 769 402j	Ladders of Horus and Seth (This line correlates with PT Utt 478a)	X				U E: Thebes	C – T1L
120	CT VI Spell 772 406j	Seven loaves with Horus and Seth	X				U E: Asyut	C – S10C
121	CT VI Spell 775 408i	Deceased in the suite of Horus and the suite of Seth	X		 		U E: Asyut	C – S10C
	CT VI Spell 775 408q	The Outcast (Seth)					U E: Asyut	C – S10C
122	CT VII Spell 790 2s	Deceased protects Osiris from Seth		X			L E: Lisht	I – L2Li
123	CT VII Spell 803 9s	Nut carries Horus and Seth and their great magic (Correlates with PT Utt 443 §823a-b)	X				L E: Lisht	I – L2Li

124	CT VII Spell 821 22f	Horus, Seth and Thoth have gone to their doubles (Correlates with PT Utt 25 §17a)	X			U E: Thebes	O – T1Be	
125	CT VII Spell 832 33f	The Mounds of Seth (Correlates with PT Utt 306 §480-§481)		X		U E: el-Bersheh	O – B10C	
						U E: Thebes	C – T9C	
					 determinative		U E: Thebes	TC – T1C
126	CT VII Spell 836 36G	The Storm of Her			 determinative	U E: Thebes	C – T9C	
127	CT VII Spell 837 37fe	The word of Geb, threats the gods made against Seth (Correlates with PT Utt 477)		X		U E: el-Bersheh	O – B10C	
						U E: Thebes	C – T9C	
	CT VII Spell 837 37i	Seth denies felling Osiris at <i>Nedit</i>				U E: el-Bersheh	O – B10C	
						U E: Thebes	C – T9C	
CT VII Spell 837 37k	Seth claims Osiris attacked him		U E: el-Bersheh	O – B10C				
127	CT VII Spell 837 37n	Seth claims Osiris kicked him		X		U E: el-Bersheh	O – B10C	
	CT VII Spell 837 38c	Mounds of Seth				U E: el-Bersheh	O – B10C	
128	CT VII Spell 838 40n	Seth of <i>Hnt</i> smote and kicked in his name of 'Bull of the Sky'.		X		U E: el-Bersheh	O – B10C	
						U E: Thebes	C – T9C	
128	CT VII Spell 838 40q	Horus captures Seth in order to raise the deceased's corpse				U E: el-Bersheh	O – B10C	
						U E: Thebes	C – T9C	
129	CT VII Spell 839 44b	Cords of Osiris hewn asunder as Seth of <i>Hnt</i>		X	Damaged spell		U E: el-Bersheh	O – B10C
							U E: Thebes	C – T9C
130	CT VII Spell 841 46e	Seth released from the bonds of [...]	X				U E: Thebes	C – T2L
	CT VII Spell 841 46f	Seth released from the eye of Horus					U E: Thebes	C – T2L




















131	CT VII Spell 843 48f	Confederacy of Horus and Seth	X				U E: Thebes	Sar – T2C
132	CT VII Spell 846 50b	Storm		X	 determinative		L E: Saqqara	O – Sq6C
		Messenger of Seth living on what you can steal					L E: Saqqara	O – Sq6C
133	CT VII Spell 854 57g	Š3 in the Field of the God			 determinative		L E: Saqqara	O – Sq6C
134	CT VII Spell 855 58e	Things that expand the heart of Seth	X				L E: Saqqara	O – Sq6C
135	CT VII Spell 856 58l	Seth acts against the eye of Horus		X			L E: Saqqara	C – Sq3C
	CT VII Spell 856 58m	½ the eye of Horus in the hand of Seth when Seth snatched it					L E: Saqqara	C – Sq3C
	CT VII Spell 856 58o	White eye of Horus rescued from Seth					L E: Saqqara	C – Sq3C
	CT VII Spell 856 59a	Seth steals some of the eye of Horus				He	L E: Saqqara	C – Sq3C
136	CT VII Spell 857 59i	The deceased the strength of Seth	X		Damaged spell		U E: Thebes	C – Th.T.240
							L E: Saqqara	O – Sq10C. C – Sq3C ^a , Sq3C ^b
136	CT VII Spell 857 59i Cont	The deceased the strength of Seth	X		 determinative		L E: Saqqara	BC – Sq1Sq
							L E: Saqqara	BC – Sq2Sq
	CT VII Spell 857 60e	Deserts under the fingers of Seth					L E: Saqqara	C – Sq3C
137	CT VII Spell 858 61i	Finger of Seth causes the white eye of Horus to see.	X				L E: Saqqara	C – Sq3C
	CT VII Spell 858 61k	The white eye of Horus illuminates the finger tip of Seth (Correlates with PT Utt 69 §48a - Utt 70 §49b)					L E: Saqqara	C – Sq3C
	CT VII Spell 858 61w	Deceased brings what expands the heart of Seth					L E: Saqqara	C – Sq3C
	CT VII Spell 858 61w	Deceased gives what expands the heart of Seth					L E: Saqqara	C – Sq3C




















138	CT VII Spell 866 72k	Robber god, namely he who rebelled			 determinative		U E: Asyut	O – S2C ^b
					Damaged spell		U E: Asyut	O – S2C ^a
	CT VII Spell 866 72k	Storm of the two lands			 determinative		U E: Asyut	O – S2C ^b
					Damaged spell		U E: Asyut	O – S2C ^a
139	CT VII Spell 875 84a	I set my rage			 determinative		U E: Asyut	O – S2C ^a
					Damaged spell		U E: Asyut	O – S2C ^b
140	CT VII Spell 876 87f	[Damaged text] Seth brother of [?]		X	Damaged spell		U E: Asyut	O – S2C ^a , S2C ^b
	CT VII Spell 876 88a	Horus smote Seth					U E: Asyut	O – S2C ^a , S2C ^b
141	CT VII Spell 882 93m	Rope of Seth secured by Horus	X				L E: Saqqara	C – Sq14C
142	CT VII Spell 885 96l	Storm			 determinative		U E: Asyut	C – S14C
143	CT VII Spell 889 100t	Confederacy of the Outcast (Seth) driven off		X			L E: Saqqara	C – Sq10C
144	CT VII Spell 900 107i	Seth and his confederacy		X			U E: Beni Hasan	C – BH4C
145	CT VII Spell 901 108r	Horus and Seth guided when the barque passes by	X				U E: Beni Hasan	C – BH4C
146	CT VII Spell 931 132b	[Damaged text]			 determinative		U E: Meir	C – M23C
147	CT VII Spell 935 136m	Seth eats the lesser eye of Horus		X			U E: Aswan	C – A1C
148	CT VII Spell 936 138p	Outcast		X			U E: Gebelein	I – G1T
	CT VII Spell 936 139f	Eye of Horus wrested from Seth					U E: Gebelein	I – G1T
	CT VII Spell 936 139n	The eye of Horus which he pulled out, [namely?] Seth					U E: Gebelein	I – G1T
148	CT VII Spell 936 139q	Eye of Horus which received heads from (?) Seth		X			U E: Gebelein	I – G1T
	CT VII Spell 936 140n	Eye of Horus on the brow of Seth					U E: Gebelein	I – G1T











148	CT VII Spell 936 141e	Little eye of Horus eaten by Seth					U E: Gebelein	I – G1T
	CT VII Spell 936 141h	Eye of Horus snatched from Seth					U E: Gebelein	I – G1T
	CT VII Spell 936 141j	The eye of Horus [which he rescued] from Seth					U E: Gebelein	I – G1T
	CT VII Spell 936 142b	Eye of Horus smites Seth					U E: Gebelein	I – G1T
	CT VII Spell 936 142c	Eye of Horus [?] Seth					U E: Gebelein	I – G1T
	CT VII Spell 936 142e	Eye of Horus torn from Seth					U E: Gebelein	I – G1T
	CT VII Spell 936 142g	Eye of Horus guarded and saved from Seth					U E: Gebelein	I – G1T
	CT VII Spell 936 142s	Seth goes with his double					U E: Gebelein	I – G1T
149	CT VII Spell 941 154t	Raging ones			 determinative		Unknown provenience	P - Papyrus Gardiner III (COI Museum)
	CT VII Spell 941 155d	The company of Seth is [?] for the deceased	X		 determinative		Unknown provenience	P - Papyrus Gardiner III (COI Museum)
150	CT VII Spell 942 155l	Seth turns the world upside down		X	 determinative		Unknown provenience	P - Papyrus Gardiner III (COI Museum)
	CT VII Spell 942 156i	Seth placed beneath her coils			 determinative		Unknown provenience	P - Papyrus Gardiner III (COI Museum)
					Damaged spell		Unknown provenience	P - Papyrus Gardiner IV (Louvre Museum)
151	CT VII Spell 945 161j	The deceased's strength is Seth	X		 determinative		Unknown provenience	P - Papyrus Gardiner III (COI Museum)
152	CT VII Spell 946 163a	Rage			 determinative		Unknown provenience	P - Papyrus Gardiner III (COI Museum)
153	CT VII Spell 956 171g	Deceased is hidden from Seth		X			Unknown provenience	P - Papyrus Gardiner III (COI Museum)
	CT VII Spell 956 171q	Powers of Seth are sealed off					Unknown provenience	P - Papyrus Gardiner III (COI Museum)
154	CT VII Spell 957 173n	Nekhet hides the deceased in her midst as the dislike of Seth seeing him when the deceased reappears		X	Damaged spell		Unknown provenience	P - Papyrus Gardiner III (COI Museum)
						 Damaged	Unknown provenience	P - Papyrus Gardiner IV (Louvre Museum)
	CT VII Spell 957 174m	Powers of Seth are sealed off					Unknown provenience	P - Papyrus Gardiner III (COI Museum)

154	CT VII Spell 957 174m Cont	Powers of Seth are sealed off					Unknown provenience	P - Papyrus Gardiner IV (Louvre Museum)
155	CT VII Spell 960 178k	Seth kicked		X			Unknown provenience	P - Papyrus Gardiner III (COI Museum)
156	CT VII Spell 989 197a	Storm cloud			determinative		Unknown provenience	P - Papyrus Gardiner II (British Museum)
					determinative		Unknown provenience	P - Papyrus Gardiner III (COI Museum)
157	CT VII Spell 993 205p	Isis bent Seth on account of her utterance		X	determinative		Unknown provenience	P - Papyrus Gardiner II (British Museum)
					Damaged spell		Unknown provenience	P - Papyrus Gardiner III (COI Museum)
158	CT VII Sp 996 212l	Dishevelled Seth permitted to breath,	X				Unknown provenience	P - Papyrus Gardiner II (British Museum)
							Unknown provenience	P - Papyrus Gardiner III (COI Museum)
	CT VII Sp 996 212m	Seth will come					Unknown provenience	P - Papyrus Gardiner II (British Museum)
							Unknown provenience	P - Papyrus Gardiner III (COI Museum)
159	CT VII Sp 1011 226l	2 portions in the House of Seth	X				Unknown provenience	P - Papyrus Gardiner II (British Museum)
160	CT VII Sp 1013 230l	Confederacy of Seth		X	determinative		Unknown provenience	P - Papyrus Gardiner II (British Museum)
	CT VII Sp 1013 230o	Horus made triumphant over Seth					Unknown provenience	P - Papyrus Gardiner II (British Museum)
161	CT VII Sp 1017 238t	Deceased digs in the company of Seth	X				Unknown provenience	P - Papyrus Gardiner II (British Museum)
162	CT VII Spell 1021 242m	Ra (?) stands on the bonds of Seth	X		determinative		Unknown provenience	P - Papyrus Gardiner II (British Museum)
163	CT VII Spell 1028 250p	Seth found in the house of the Watchers		X			Unknown provenience	P - Papyrus Gardiner II (British Museum)
	CT VII Spell 1028 251s	Throat of Seth brought to the deceased					Unknown provenience	P - Papyrus Gardiner II (British Museum)

Book of Two Ways

164	CT VII Spell 1033 263b	Storm			 determinative		U E: el-Bersheh	O – B4C
					 determinative		U E: el-Bersheh	I – B3C
					 determinative		U E: el-Bersheh	I – B2Bo
165	CT VII Spell 1069 332h	Storm			 determinative		U E: el-Bersheh	I – B3L
166	CT VII Spell 1076 347d	Seth driven off when angry		X			U E: el-Bersheh	I – B2Bo
							U E: el-Bersheh	I – B3C
							U E: el-Bersheh	I – B4Bo
							U E: el-Bersheh	C – B1C
167	CT VII Spell 1079 351c	Seth may not harm him		X			U E: el-Bersheh	I – B2Bo
							U E: el-Bersheh	I – B3C, B4Bo
							U E: el-Bersheh	C – B1C
168	CT VII Spell 1094 376b	Storm			 determinative		U E: el-Bersheh	I – B2Bo
169	CT VII Spell 1099 388b	Storm			 determinative		U E: el-Bersheh	I – B3L
169	CT VII Spell 1099 395c	Pain			 Determinative		U E: el-Bersheh	I – B3L, B12C
	CT VII Spell 1099 402a	Storm			 determinative		U E: el-Bersheh	I – B3L
170	CT VII Spell 1118 451b	Seth of the Land of Spirits	X		 determinative		U E: el-Bersheh	I – B3C
							U E: el-Bersheh	I – B9C
							U E: el-Bersheh	I – B1L, B3L. C – B1C



















171	CT VII Spell 1119 451e	Arms of Osiris drive off Seth		X			U E: el-Bersheh	I – B3C
							U E: el-Bersheh	I – B9C
							U E: el-Bersheh	I – B1L
						 Damaged	U E: el-Bersheh	O – B4C
							U E: el-Bersheh	I – B4L
172	CT VII Sp 1120 453g	Wrath		X	 determinative		U E: el-Bersheh	I – B3C
			Damaged spell		U E: el-Bersheh	O – B4C		
	CT VII Sp 1120 453g	Wrath of Seth				U E: el-Bersheh	I – B4L	
173	CT VII Spell 1122 454	Deceased does not know Seth because of Osiris		X			U E: el-Bersheh	I – B3C
							U E: el-Bersheh	I – B9C
							U E: el-Bersheh	I – B1L, B3L
174	CT VII Sp 1128 458g	Seth on the bow of the solar barque with Isis and Horus	X				U E: el-Bersheh	I – B3C
						U E: el-Bersheh	I – B9C	
						U E: el-Bersheh	I – B1L, B3L	
175	CT VII Sp 1135 479b	Rage			 determinative		U E: el-Bersheh	I – B5C
	CT VII Sp 1135 479b	Storm			 determinative		U E: el-Bersheh	I – B5C
176	CT VII Spell 1138 484a	Seth makes the Eye of Darkness pass by	X				U E: el-Bersheh	I – B5C
							U E: el-Bersheh	O – B1Be
					Damaged spell	U E: el-Bersheh	O – B1P	
177	CT VII Spell 1140 487c	Raged			 determinative		U E: el-Bersheh	I – B5C
178	CT VII Spell 1143 490d	Storms	X		 determinative		U E: el-Bersheh	I – B5C

178	CT VII Spell 1143 490q Cont	The 4 Seths			U E: el-Bersheh	O – B1P. I – B5C
					U E: el-Bersheh	C – B1Be
	CT VII Spell 1143 490r	The 4 Seths			U E: el-Bersheh	C – B1P. I – B5C
		The 4 Seths			U E: el-Bersheh	C – B1Be
	CT VII Spell 1143 490s	The 4 Seths			U E: el-Bersheh	O – B1P. I – B5C
					U E: el-Bersheh	C – B1Be
	CT VII Spell 1143 490t	The 4 Seths			U E: el-Bersheh	O – B1P. I – B5C
					U E: el-Bersheh	C – B1Be
179	CT VII Spell 1179 517c	Storm			U E: el-Bersheh	I – B5C
			determinative		U E: el-Bersheh	O – B4L
					U E: el-Bersheh	O – B4L
			determinative			




















2.2: Seth in Pyramid Text Utterances Employed in the Coffin Texts



















Notes: W20 Pyramid of Unas Spell; T145 Pyramid of Teti Spell; P10 Pyramid of Pepe I Spell; M50 Pyramid of Menenre Spell; N274 Pyramid of Pepi II Spell (Allen 2005)

No	Pyramid Text	Contents	Seth +ve	Seth -ve	Seth Hieroglyph	Seth Phonetic	Location	Designation
1	W20	Seth goes with his <i>k3</i>	X				U E: Beni Hasan	O – BH3C, BH1O _x ^a , BH1O _x ^b . I – BH1C, BH6C,
					Damaged spell		U E: Beni Hasan	I - BH2O _x
							U E: el-Bersheh	I – B2Bo ^a , B2Bo ^b
							U E: Thebes	M – T2Be
						U E: Thebes	C – T9C. TC – T1C	
2	P70	Protection of deceased from the flood issuing from Seth		X			L E: Lisht	C – L-PW1A
3	W22	Horus and Seth reconciled by <i>zmin</i>	X				U E: Beni Hasan	O – BH3C, BH1O _x
4	W23	Purification of Horus and Seth	X				L E: Saqqara	T – Sq1Sq
5	W24	Purification Horus, Seth and Thoth		X			U E: Beni Hasan	O – BH3C, BH1O _x
6	N274	Foreleg of Seth torn off by Horus	X	X			U E: el-Bersheh	O – B16C
7	N282	Finger of Seth	X				L E: Saqqara	I – Sq3C
8	N283	Finger of Seth	X				U E: el-Bersheh	O – B16C
							L E: Saqqara	I – Sq3C
							L E: Saqqara	T – Sq1Sq
9	W54	The two lands in dread of Seth		X			U E: Beni Hasan	O – BH4C
							U E: el-Bersheh	O – B1Bo
							U E: Thebes	Sar – T2C
							U E: Thebes	O – T1L. TC – T1C
							U E: Thebes	O – T1Be

9	W54 Cont	The two lands in dread of Seth			Damaged spell	L E: Lisht	C – L-PW1A
10	W63	Seth eats the eye of Horus		X		U E: el-Bersheh	I – B2Bo
11	P205	Spread out his (Seth's) heart		X		L E: Saqqara	T – Sq6C
12	W73	Seth trampled the eye of Horus		X		U E: el-Bersheh	I – B2Bo
							U E: Meir
13	W97	Eye of Horus in front of Seth		X		U E: el-Bersheh	I – B2Bo
							U E: Meir
14	W98	Osiris severs the heads of the followers of Seth		X		U E: el-Bersheh	I – B2Bo
						Damaged spell	U E: Meir
15	W107	Seth eats the eye of Horus		X		U E: el-Bersheh	I – B2Bo
							U E: Meir
16	W122	Eye of Horus rescued from Seth		X		U E: el-Bersheh	I – B2Bo
						Damaged spell	U E: Meir
17	W143	Seth rejects poison	X		Damaged spell	L E: Lisht	T – L-JMH1
18	W146 Cont	Mounds of Seth	X			U E: Beni Hasan	O – BH3C. I – BH1C, BH2Ox
						U E: el-Bersheh	O – B6Bo, B1P. Can – B19C
						U E: el-Bersheh	O – B10C ^b , B4Bo
					 Damaged	U E: el-Bersheh	O – B10C ^a
					Damaged spell	U E: el-Bersheh	O – B10C ^c
						U E: Meir	I – M1C. C – M2C, M5C
						U E: Thebes	C – T8C. Sar – T4Be. T – TT240
						U E: Thebes	O – T1L. C – T9C, T1NY. T – TT319
		L E: Abusir	O – Ab1Le ^a , Ab1Le ^b . I – Ab2Le ^a , Ab2Le ^b				

















	W146 Cont	Mounds of Seth				L E: Saqqara	O – Sq2Be. I - Sq1Cop
						L E: Saqqara	C – Sq9C
						L E: Lisht	T – L-JMH1
19	W148	Deceased representing both Horus and Seth	X			U E: Beni Hasan	O – BH3C
						U E: el-Bersheh	O – B6Bo, Can – B19C
						U E: el-Bersheh	O – B4C, B10C ^b . I – B4Bo. C – B6C
						U E: el-Bersheh	O – B10C ^a , B10C ^c
						U E: Meir	I – M1C. C – M2C, M5C, M25C
						U E: Thebes	C – T8C. T – TT240
						U E: Thebes	O – T1L. C – T9C, T1NY. T – TT319
						L E: Abusir	I – Ab2Le
						L E: Abusir	O – Ab1Le ^a , Ab1Le ^b
				Damaged spell		L E: Lisht	C – L-A1
						L E: Saqqara	C – Sq9C
		Testicles of Seth restored to undo his mutilation				U E: Beni Hasan	O – BH3C
						U E: el-Bersheh	O – B6Bo
						U E: el-Bersheh	Can – B19C
						U E: el-Bersheh	I – B4Bo
						U E: el-Bersheh	O – B10C ^b
						U E: el-Bersheh	C – B6C
				Damaged spell		U E: el-Bersheh	O – B4C, B10C ^c
						U E: el-Bersheh	O- B10C ^a



















19	W148 Cont	Testicles of Seth restored to undo his mutilation				U E: Meir	I – M1C. C – M5C, M25C
				Damaged spell		U E: Meir	C – M2C
						U E: Thebes	C – T8C. T – TT240
						U E: Thebes	O – T1L. C – T9C, T1NY. T – TT319
						L E: Abusir	O – Ab1Le ^b . I - Ab2Le
				Damaged spell		L E: el-Rigga	C – R1X
				 Determinative		L E: Saqqara	C – Sq9C
		Seth's disorderly entry to the world				U E: Beni Hasan	O – BH3C
						U E: el-Bersheh	Can – B19C
						U E: el-Bersheh	O – B4C
				 Damaged		U E: el-Bersheh	C – B6C
				 Damaged		U E: el-Bersheh	O – B10C ^b
						U E: Meir	I – M1C. C – M2C
				Damaged spell		U E: Meir	C – M5C
						U E: Thebes	C – T8C
						U E: Thebes	O – T1L. T – TT319
					 Damaged	U E: Thebes	C – T1NY
						L E: Abusir	I – Ab2Le
				Damaged spell		L E: el-Rigga	C – R1X
20	W150	Seth and Nephthys announce the deceased's imperishable spirit	X			U E: el-Bersheh	O – B6Bo
						U E: el-Bersheh	I – B4Bo. C – B6C
					 Damaged	U E: el-Bersheh	O – B10C ^a








20	W150 Cont	Seth and Nephthys announce the deceased's imperishable spirit			 Damaged	U E: el-Bersheh	O – B10C ^b	
					Damaged spell		U E: el-Bersheh	O – B4C, B10C ^c
							U E: Meir	I – M1C. C – M2C, M5C
					Damaged spell		U E: Meir	C – M25C
							U E: Thebes	C – T8C
							U E: Thebes	O – T1L. C – T9C
							L E: Abusir	I – Ab2Le
							L E: Abusir	O – Ab1Le
							L E: Lisht	I – L2Li
					Damaged spell		L E: Lisht	C – L-A1
21	W151	Thoth and Seth fail to lament for Osiris		X			U E: Beni Hasan	I – BH1C
					Determinative			
						 Damaged	U E: el-Bersheh	C – B6C
						 Damaged	U E: el-Bersheh	O – B10C ^a
							U E: el-Bersheh	O – B10C ^b
							U E: Meir	C – M2C, M5C
							U E: Thebes	O – T1L. T – TT319
		U E: Thebes	C – T9C					
22	W152	Seth to be punished by restored Osiris		X			U E: el-Bersheh	O – B10C ^a
							U E: el-Bersheh	O – B10C ^b
							U E: Thebes	O – T1L. T – TT319
					Damaged spell		L E: Lisht	I – L2Li

23	W155	Seth of Nubt, Lord of Upper Egypt	X				U E: Beni Hasan	C – BH5C
							U E: el-Bersheh	I – B2Bo, B4Bo
					Damaged spell		U E: el-Bersheh	O – B3Bo
23	W155 Cont	Seth ejected by Nut					U E: Thebes	Sar – T4Be
							L E: Sedment	O - Sed1Sed
					Damaged spell		L E: Lisht	I – L3Li
							L E: Saqqara	O – Sq2Be. I – Sq1Cop. C – Sq1Ch
					Damaged spell		L E: Saqqara	C – Sq9C
							U E: el-Bersheh	I – B2Bo
							U E: el-Bersheh	O – B6Bo, B10C ^b
							U E: el-Bersheh	I – B4Bo
					Damaged spell		U E: el-Bersheh	O – B3Bo, B10C ^a
							U E: Thebes	Sar – T4Be
							U E: Thebes	T – T1C
							L E: Lisht	C – L-A1
							L E: Lisht	C – L3Li
							L E: Lisht	C – L1NY
							L E: Saqqara	C – Sq1Ch
					Damaged spell		L E: Saqqara	C – Sq9C
							U E: el-Bersheh	I – B2Bo
							U E: el-Bersheh	O – B3Bo
							U E: el-Bersheh	I – B4Bo
						U E: el-Bersheh	O – B10C ^a	
Seth conceived but not born like Osiris								

23	W155 Cont	Seth conceived but not born like Osiris				ⲓⲉ	U E: Thebes	T – T1C	
					ⲛⲓ		L E: Lisht	C – L-A1	
					ⲛⲓ		L E: Saqqara	C – Sq1Ch	
24	W165	Deceased's throne given by Shu in the presence of Seth	X		ⲛⲓ		L E: Lisht	T – L-JMH1	
25	W171	Storm			ⲛⲓ Determinative		L E: Lisht	T – L-JMH1	
26	W178	Horus and Seth lead the deceased by his hand to the netherworld	X		Damaged spell		L E: Lisht	T – L-JMH1	
27	W211	Seth wanting to kill or wanting the death of the deceased		X	ⲛⲓ		L E: Lisht	T – L-JMH1	
28	W213	Mounds of Horus and Seth	X		ⲛⲓ		L E: Lisht	T – L-JMH1	
		Deceased looks upon Seth			ⲛⲓ		L E: Lisht	T – L-JMH1	
29	T145	Thoth drives back the followers of Seth		X		ⲓⲉ	U E: el-Bersheh	M – B9C	
					Damaged spell		U E: el-Bersheh	O – B10C	
						ⲓⲉ	U E: Thebes	T – T1C	
						ⲓⲉ	L E: Lisht	Sar – L-MH1A	
					Damaged spell		L E: Lisht	C – L3Li	
					ⲛⲓ		L E: Saqqara	I – Sq3C, Sq4C ^a . C – Sq13C	
		Damaged spell			L E: Saqqara	I – Sq4C ^b			
		Heart of Seth driven back			Damaged spell		U E: el-Bersheh	O – B10C. M – B9C	
					ⲓⲉ	U E: Thebes	T – T1C		
		ⲛⲓ				L E: Saqqara	I – Sq3C, Sq4C ^a		
		Damaged spell			L E: Saqqara	I – Sq13C			
		Deceased placed as a god to Seth				ⲓⲉ	U E: Thebes	T – T1C	
					ⲛⲓ		L E: Saqqara	I – Sq3C	
Seth placed below Osiris			ⲛⲓ		L E: Saqqara	I – Sq3C			

30	T146	Horus wrests his eye back from Seth	X		 Damaged	U E: el-Bersheh	O – B10C. M – B9C
				Damaged spell	L E: Saqqara	I – Sq4C. C - Sq13C	
		Horus makes good what Seth has done to Osiris			 Damaged	U E: el-Bersheh	O – B10C
				 Damaged	U E: el-Bersheh	M – B9C	
					L E: Saqqara	I – Sq4C	
				Damaged spell	L E: Saqqara	C - Sq13C	
31	P10	Mounds of Seth	X			U E: el-Bersheh	I – B9C
					Damaged spell	U E: el-Bersheh	O – B10C ^a
					 Damaged	U E: el-Bersheh	O – B10C ^b
31	P10 Cont	Nut conceals the body of Osiris to protect it from Seth	X			L E: Lisht	C – L-PW1A
						L E: Saqqara	O – Sq6C. I - Sq3C, Sq4C, Sq5C
32	P39	Nut carries off Horus and Seth and their greatly-magical	X			L E: Saqqara	O – Sq6C. I - Sq3C, Sq4C
					Damaged spell	L E: Saqqara	I - Sq5C
33	P41b	Seth goes to be with his <i>k3</i>	X			U E: Thebes	T – T1C ^a
						L E: Lisht	Sar – L-MH1A ^a , L-MH1A ^b
					Damaged spell	L E: Lisht	C – L3Li
						L E: Saqqara	I – Sq3C, Sq4C, Sq5C
					Damaged spell	L E: Saqqara	C – Sq13C
34	P44	Seth goes to be with his <i>k3</i>	X			U E: Thebes	O – T1Be
						U E: Thebes	T – T1C ^a
						L E: Lisht	C – L-PW1A
						L E: Saqqara	O – Sq6C. I - Sq3C, Sq4C
					Damaged spell	L E: Saqqara	I - Sq5C

35	P50	Ribs from the slaughter block of Seth	X				L E: Saqqara	I – Sq3C, Sq4C, Sq5C
		Seth is purified					L E: Saqqara	I – Sq3C, Sq4C, Sq5C
36	P480	Stand up against Seth		X			U E: el-Bersheh	O – B10C
							U E: Thebes	T – T9C
37	M50	Seth adorned himself with his <i>šzmt</i> apron		X			U E: Thebes	T – T1C
							L E: Lisht	C – L-PW1A
					Damaged spell		L E: Saqqara	I – Sq3C
38	P262	Seth put under Osiris		X			U E: el-Bersheh	O – B10C
					Damaged spell		U E: el-Bersheh	M – B9C
							L E: Abusir	O – Ab1Le ^a , Ab1Le ^b
					Damaged spell		L E: Lisht	O – L1Li
							L E: Saqqara	I – Sq3C. C - Sq3Be, Sq9C, Sq10C
38	P262 Cont	Seth put under Osiris		X		 Damaged	L E: Saqqara	I – Sq1C _{op}
		Horus brings Seth to Osiris			 Damaged	U E: el-Bersheh	O – B10C	
						U E: el-Bersheh	O – B9C	
		Damaged spell			L E: Lisht	O – L1Li		
		Damaged spell			L E: Saqqara	I – Sq4C. C – Sq9C		
39	N267	Eye of Horus rescued from Seth		X		 Damaged	U E: Meir	C – M7C
							L E: Saqqara	I – Sq3C
40	N270	Half of the eye of Horus in Seth's hand		X			U E: el-Bersheh	O – B16C
						L E: Saqqara	I – Sq3C	
		Ointment of Seth	X				U E: Thebes	C – T1L
		Seth has no rights over it					U E: Thebes	C – T1L

41	P282	Sethite mounds	X			U E: el-Bersheh	O – B16C
					Damaged spell	U E: el-Bersheh	O - B10C. M – B9C
		Seth sets the awnings for the deceased				U E: el-Bersheh	C – B10C. Can – B11C
						U E: el-Bersheh	M – B9C
						L E: Lisht	C – L-HM
						Damaged spell	L E: Lisht
42	Unattributed spell	[Damaged] Seth [Damaged]				L E: Abusir	O – Ab1Le
43	Unattributed spell	To be translated				U E: el-Bersheh	O – B16C
44	CT Temp 378A	To be translated				U E: el-Bersheh	I – B17C

2.3: Distribution of Seth Spells in Coffin Texts by Location.

Coffin Text Spell No	Upper Egypt									Lower Egypt		Unknown Provenance	
	Abydos	Aswan	Asyut	Beni Hasan	Dendera	el-Bersheh	Gebelein	Meir	Thebes	Lisht	Saqqara	Coffin	Papyrus
CT I Spell 7			S10C			B2Bo B3Bo B4Bo B4C B6C B1P			T9C T1L T1NY MC105				
CT I Spell 9			S10C			B2Bo B3Bo B4Bo B4C B6C B1P			T9C T1L MC105				
CT I Spell 12			S10C			B2Bo B3Bo B4Bo B4C B6C B15C B1P			T2C				
CT I Spell 13			S10C			B2Bo B3Bo B4Bo B4C B6C B1P			MC105				
CT I Spell 14			S10C			B2Bo B3Bo B4Bo B4C B6C B1P			T2C				
CT I Spell 16			S10C			B2Bo B3Bo B4Bo B6C B15C B1P			MC105				
CT I Spell 37						B2Bo B3Bo B12C B13C B20C B16C B4L							
CT I Spell 49						B10C B12C B13C B16C B17C B1Y							
CT I Spell 50						B10C B12C B13C B16C B17C							
CT I Spell 60						B4C B10C B1Y							
CT I Spell 63						B10C			T1C T2C T9C		Sq3C		
CT I Spell 65						B10C			T1C T2C T9C		Sq3C		
CT I Spell 67						B10C			T1C T2C T9C		Sq3C		

Coffin Text Spell No	Upper Egypt									Lower Egypt		Unknown Provenance	
	Abydos	Aswan	Asyut	Beni Hasan	Dendera	el-Bershad	Gebelein	Meir	Thebes	Lisht	Saqqara	Coffin	Papyrus
CT I Spell 73						B10C			T1C T2C T9C		Sq3C		
CT I Spell 74						B10C			T9C				
CT I Spell 112			S1C S2C				G2T	M23C					
CT I Spell 113						B6Bo B1C B9C B1L							
CT II Spell 118			S1C S2C				G2T						
CT II Spell 119			S1C S2C				G2T						
CT II Spell 131			S1C S2C				G2T						
CT II Spell 148			S1C S2C S1Chass S2P										
CT II Spell 157			S1C S2C S2P S2P			B2Bo B4Bo B1C B9C B17C B1L B4L B2P B1Y							
CT II Spell 158			S2C S2P			B2Bo B4Bo B1C B9C B17C B1L B4L B2P B1Y							
CT II Spell 160			S2C S2P			B2Bo B4Bo B1C B3C BPC B17C B1L B4L B2P B1L							
CT II Spell 162			S2C	BH2C BH10x		B1Bo B2Bo B4Bo B6C	G1T	M22C M23C	T3C			Y1C	
CT III Spell 181			S10C										
CT III Spell 187						B3Bo B9C							
CT III Spell 203			S1C						T2Be				
CT III Spell 220						B1L B3L							
CT III Spell 227											Sq3C		
CT III Spell 251			S1C S2C										
CT III Spell 255			S1C S2C S3C										
CT III Spell 264						B1Bo							
CT III Spell 268						B2Be B1Bo			T1L		Sq6C		
CT IV Spell 277				BH2C		B2Be B1Bo							

Coffin Text Spell No	Upper Egypt									Lower Egypt		Unknown Provenance	
	Abydos	Aswan	Asyut	Beni Hasan	Dendera	el-Bersah	Gebelein	Meir	Thebes	Lisht	Saqqara	Coffin	Papyrus
CT IV Spell 280											Sq3C Sq6C		
CT IV Spell 303						B3L B1P							
CT IV Spell 310									T1C				
CT IV Spell 312					D1C	B3Bo B6Bo B6C			T1C				
CT IV Spell 315						B1P							
CT IV Spell 316			S1C S2C S29										
CT IV Spell 318			S2C S1Chass S1P			B7C B2L B1P							
CT IV Spell 335				BH1Br		B5C B9C B1P		M1C M4C M7C M8C M54C M57C	T1Be T2Be T3Be T1C	L3Li L1NY	Sq1C Sq7C		
CT IV Spell 349						B1Bo B6Bo B1C B3C			T3Be				
CT IV Spell 353			S1C S2C	BH3Cx		B1Bo B3Bo B3C B4C B5C		M5C M39C	T1C			Y1C	
CT IV Spell 354						B3C B2L							
CT V Spell 356						B1C B2L							
CT V Spell 358									T1L				
CT V Spell 362			S10C								Sq11C		
CT V Spell 366						B1C B2L B2P							
CT V Spell 373						B2L B2P							
CT V Spell 389			S10C										
CT V Spell 396						B9C							
CT V Spell 397	Ah1Ph							M2C	T1Be T1C T2L T3L		Sq1C Sq1Sq Sq2Sq Sq7Sq		
CT V Spell 398		A1C					G1T G2T	M3C M4C M5C M6C M13C M21C M46C M2NY	T3L				
CT V Spell 400			S1C					M5C M2NY					
CT V Spell 404						B5C B7C B9C B10C							
CT V Spell 405								M1C M1NY					
CT V Spell 407			S1C S2C			B2Bo B3Bo B1C B2L		M6C M22C M23C					

Coffin Text Spell No	Upper Egypt									Lower Egypt		Unknown Provenance	
	Abydos	Aswan	Asyut	Beni Hasan	Dendera	el-Bersahh	Gebelein	Meir	Thebes	Lisht	Saqqara	Coffin	Papyrus
CT V Spell 408			S2C										
CT V Spell 424			S2C S10C S14C			B1Bo B2Bo B4Bo		M2NY					
CT V Spell 408			S2C										
CT V Spell 444			S2C S14C			B1Bo							
CT V Spell 445								M22C					
CT V Spell 446						B3Bo							
CT V Spell 453						B17C B2L							
CT V Spell 454						B4C B17C B2L							
CT V Spell 458						B1L B3L							
CT V Spell 464						B1Bo B1C B5C B6C B9C B1L B3L							
CT VI Spell 477						B1P							
CT VI Spell 479													Pap. Gardiner II
CT VI Spell 519						B9C B10C							
CT VI Spell 524						B5Bo B11C							
CT VI Spell 526			S2C										
CT VI Spell 528			S2C										
CT VI Spell 530				BH2C BH10x									
CT VI Spell 531								M1Ann M2Ann M16C M35C M36C					
CT VI Spell 532									T1Be				
CT VI Spell 564						B4C		M2NY					
CT VI Spell 568			S10C			B1Bo B4C							
CT VI Spell 571						B1Bo							
CT VI Spell 573			S1C S2C										
CT VI Spell 576						B1Be B1C							
CT VI Spell 581													Pap. Gardiner II
CT VI Spell 587													Pap. Gardiner II
CT VI Spell 595			S1P										
CT VI Spell 607										L2Li			
CT VI Spell 630											Sq3C Sq4C Sq6C		
CT VI Spell 631											Sq6C		
CT VI Spell 633											Sq3C Sq6C		
CT VI Spell 640								M2NY	T2Be				
CT VI Spell 646							G1T						
CT VI Spell 647							G1T						
CT VI Spell 649							G1T						
CT VI Spell 660						B1Bo							
CT VI Spell 665						B1Bo							
CT VI Spell 666						B1Bo							
CT VI Spell 681						B1Bo							
CT VI Spell 686						B1Bo							
CT VI Spell 693						B15C							
CT VI Spell 694						B1P							

Coffin Text Spell No	Upper Egypt									Lower Egypt		Unknown Provenance	
	Abydos	Aswan	Asyut	Beni Hasan	Dendera	el-Bershad	Gebelein	Meir	Thebes	Lisht	Saqqara	Coffin	Papyrus
CT VI Spell 725						B3Bo							
CT VI Spell 769									T1L				
CT VI Spell 772			S10C										
CT VI Spell 775			S10C										
CT VII Spell 790										L2Li			
CT VII Spell 803										L2Li			
CT VII Spell 821									T1Be				
CT VII Spell 832						B10C			T1C T9C				
CT VII Spell 837						B10C			T9C				
CT VII Spell 838						B10C			T9C				
CT VII Spell 839						B10C			T9C				
CT VII Spell 841									T2L				
CT VII Spell 843									T2C				
CT VII Spell 846										Sq6C			
CT VII Spell 855										Sq6C			
CT VII Spell 856										Sq3C			
CT VII Spell 857								Th.T240		Sq3C Sq10C Sq1Sq Sq2Sq Sq3C			
CT VII Spell 858										Sq3C			
CT VII Spell 866			S2C										
CT VII Spell 876			S2C										
CT VII Spell 882										Sq14C			
CT VII Spell 889										Sq10C			
CT VII Spell 900				BH4C									
CT VII Spell 901				BH4C									
CT VII Spell 935		A1C											
CT VII Spell 936							G1T						
CT VII Spell 941													P.Gardiner III
CT VII Spell 942													P.Gardiner III P.Gardiner IV
CT VII Spell 945													P.Gardiner III
CT VII Spell 946													P.Gardiner III
CT VII Spell 956													P.Gardiner III
CT VII Spell 957													P.Gardiner III P.Gardiner IV
CT VII Spell 960													P.Gardiner III
CT VII Spell 993													P.Gardiner II P.Gardiner III
CT VII Spell 996													P.Gardiner II P.Gardiner III
CT VII Sp 1011													P.Gardiner II
CT VII Sp 1013													P.Gardiner II
CT VII Sp 1017													P.Gardiner II
CT VII Sp 1021													P.Gardiner II
CT VII Sp 1028													P.Gardiner II

Coffin Text Spell No Book of Two Ways	Upper Egypt									Lower Egypt		Unknown Provenance	
	Abydos	Aswan	Asyut	Beni Hasan	Dendera	el-Bersheh	Gebelein	Meir	Thebes	Lisht	Saqqara	Coffin	Papyrus
CT VII Sp 1076						B2Bo B4Bo B1C B4C							
CT VII Sp 1079						B2Bo B4Bo B1C B3C							
CT VII Sp 1118						B1C B3C B9C B1L B3L							
CT VII Sp 1119						B3C B4C B9C B1L B4L							
CT VII Sp 1120						B4L							
CT VII Sp 1122						B3C B9C B1L B3L							
CT VII Sp 1128						B3C B9C B1L B3L							
CT VII Sp 1138						B1Bo B5C B1P							
CT VII Sp 1143						B1Bo B5C B1P							

Appendix 3 Gazetteer of Seth Images

3.1 Seth Images: Predynastic Period.

Fig. 3.1.1.
Pink limestone Proto-Seth animal from grave 721, Naqada II
Period. Ashmolean Museum AN1895.137.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.1.2.
Seth animal 1 on totem number 2 from Scorpion mace head.
Ashmolean Museum AN1896-1908 E 3632.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.1.3.
Seth animal 1 on totem number 2 from Scorpion mace head.
Ashmolean Museum AN1896-1908 E 3632.
Author's photograph



3.2 Seth Images: Early Dynastic Period.

Fig. 3.2.1.
Early dynastic Seth petroglyph from Gebel Tjauti.
Author's drawing after Darnell 2002 Plate 12b.

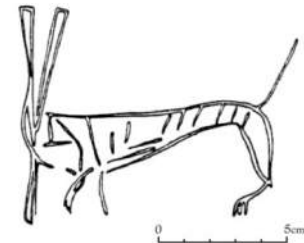


Fig. 3.2.2.
Stela 96 attributed the reign of Den, Abydos, 1st Dynasty.
Author's drawing after Martin 2011, 33.



Fig. 3.2.2.
Stela 128 attributed the reign of Den, Abydos, 1st Dynasty.
Author's drawing after Martin Martin 2011, 101.



Fig. 3.2.3.
Stela 129 attributed the reign of Den, Abydos, 1st Dynasty.
Author's drawing after Martin 2011, 101.



Fig. 3.2.4.
Bimorphic Seth, Bowl from reign of Peribsen, 2nd
Dynasty. British Museum BM EA 68689.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.2.5.
Mud seal with Seth topped serekhs of Peribsen, 2nd
Dynasty. British Museum BM EA 35595.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.2.6.
Seth topped serekh of Peribsen on granite stela recovered at
Abydos. , 2nd Dynasty. British Museum BM EA 35597.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.2.7.
Mud seal with serekh of Khasekhemwy topped with Horus and
Seth, 2nd Dynasty. Petrie Museum
UC 36854.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.2.8.
Mud seal with serekh of Khasekhemwy topped with Horus and
Seth, 2nd Dynasty. Petrie Museum
UC 30392.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.2.9.
Diorite bowl with serekh of Khasekhemwy topped with Horus and
Seth, 2nd Dynasty. Petrie Museum
UC 11753.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.2.10.
Serekh of Khasekhemwy showing Seth wearing the red crown.
Author's drawing after Montet 1928, Fig. 1.



Fig. 3.2.11.
Granite door frame with serekhs of Khasekhemwy topped with Horus and Seth, 2nd Dynasty. Cairo Museum JE 33896.
Author's Photograph



3.3 Seth Images: Old Kingdom.

Fig.3.3.1.
Zoomorphic Seth from false door in the tomb Sekerkhabau, Saqqara, 3rd Dynasty.
Author's drawing after Murray 1905, Plate I.

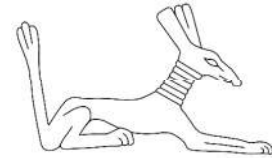


Fig. 3.3.2.
Zoomorphic Seth animal name label. Heliopolis, 3rd Dynasty.
Museo delle Antichità Egizie Turin.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.3.3.
Seth as a seated god in anthropomorphic form with a zoomorphic Seth name label. 3rd Dynasty Heliopolis. Museo delle Antichità Egizie Turin S 2671.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.3.4.
Zoomorphic Seth from tomb of Khafkhufu I (G 7130-7140), Giza, 4th Dynasty.
Author's drawing after Simpson 1978, Plate XVIa.



Fig. 3.3.5.
Zoomorphic Seth from tomb of Meresankh III (G 7530-7540), entrance drum. Giza, 4th Dynasty.
Author's drawing after Dunham and Simpson 1974, Fig. 2.

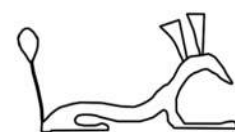


Fig. 3.3.6.
Zoomorphic Seth from tomb of Meresankh III (G 7530-7540),
entrance lintel. Giza, 4th Dynasty.
Author's drawing after Dunham and Simpson 1974, Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.3.7.
Zoomorphic Seth from tomb of Meresankh III (G 7530-7540),
entrance north door jamb. Giza, 4th Dynasty.
Author's drawing after Dunham and Simpson 1974,
Fig. 3A.

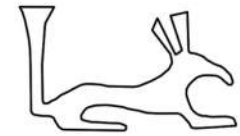


Fig. 3.3.8.
Zoomorphic Seth from tomb of Meresankh III (G 7530-7540),
entrance south door jamb. Giza, 4th Dynasty.
Author's drawing after Dunham and Simpson 1974,
Fig. 3B.

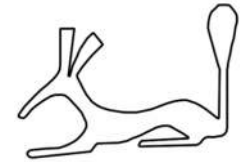


Fig. 3.3.9.
Zoomorphic Seth from tomb of Meresankh III (G 7530-7540),
main room, east wall. Giza, 4th Dynasty.
Author's drawing after Dunham and Simpson 1974,
Fig. 4.



Fig. 3.3.10.
Zoomorphic Seth from tomb of Meresankh III (G 7530-7540),
main room, north wall. Giza, 4th Dynasty.
Author's drawing after Dunham and Simpson 1974,
Fig. 6.

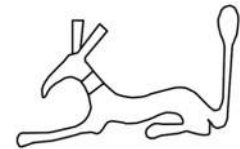


Fig. 3.3.11.
Zoomorphic Seth from tomb of Meresankh III (G 7530-7540),
main room, north wall. Giza, 4th Dynasty.
Author's drawing after Dunham and Simpson 1974,
Fig. 6.

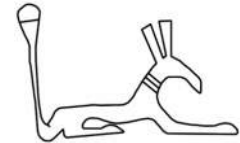


Fig. 3.3.12.
Zoomorphic Seth from tomb of Meresankh III (G 7530-7540),
main room, west wall. Giza, 4th Dynasty.
Author's drawing after Dunham and Simpson 1974, Fig. 7.

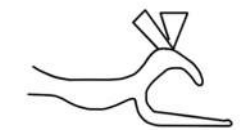


Fig. 3.3.13.
Zoomorphic Seth from tomb of Meresankh III (G 7530-7540),
main room, west wall. Giza, 4th Dynasty.
Author's drawing after Dunham and Simpson 1974, Fig. 7.



Fig. 3.3.14.
Zoomorphic Seth from tomb of Meresankh III (G 7530-7540),
main room, west wall, south jamb, middle door. Giza, 4th
Dynasty.
Author's drawing after Dunham and Simpson 1974, Fig. 7.



Fig. 3.3.15.
Zoomorphic Seth from tomb of Meresankh III (G 7530-7540),
main room, west wall, north jamb, middle door. Giza, 4th
Dynasty.
Author's drawing after Dunham and Simpson 1974, Fig. 7.

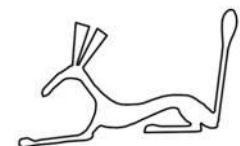


Fig. 3.3.16.
Zoomorphic Seth from tomb of Meresankh III (G 7530-7540),
main room, west wall, lintel north door. Giza, 4th Dynasty.
Author's drawing after Dunham and Simpson 1974, Fig. 7.

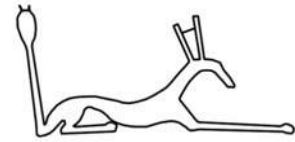


Fig. 3.3.17.
Zoomorphic Seth from tomb of Meresankh III (G 7530-7540),
main room, west wall, lintel north door. Giza, 4th Dynasty.
Author's drawing after Dunham and Simpson 1974, Fig. 7.

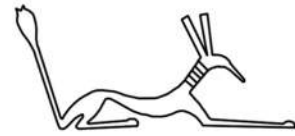


Fig. 3.3.18.
Zoomorphic Seth from tomb of Meresankh III (G 7530-7540),
main room, west wall, north jamb, north door. Giza, 4th
Dynasty.
Author's drawing after Dunham and Simpson 1974, Fig. 7.



Fig. 3.3.19
Zoomorphic Seth from tomb of Meresankh III (G 7530-7540),
main room, west wall. Giza, 4th Dynasty.
Author's drawing after Dunham and Simpson 1974, Fig. 7.

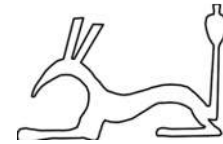


Fig. 3.3.20.
Zoomorphic Seth from tomb of Meresankh III (G 7530-7540),
west room, south wall. Giza, 4th Dynasty.
Author's drawing after Dunham and Simpson 1974, Fig. 9.



Fig. 3.3.21.
Zoomorphic Seth from tomb of Meresankh III (G 7530-7540),
west room, drum to false door. Giza, 4th Dynasty.
Author's drawing after Dunham and Simpson 1974, Fig. 10.



Fig. 3.3.22.
Zoomorphic Seth from tomb of Meresankh III (G 7530-7540),
west room, lintel over statue recess. Giza, 4th Dynasty.
Author's drawing after Dunham and Simpson 1974, Fig. 10.



Fig. 3.3.23.
Zoomorphic Seth from tomb of Meresankh III (G 7530-7540),
west room, pillar east wall. Giza, 4th Dynasty.
Author's drawing after Dunham and Simpson 1974, Fig. 12.

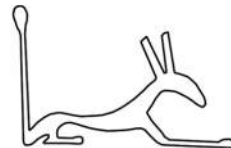


Fig. 3.3.24.
Zoomorphic Seth from tomb of Meresankh III (G 7530-7540),
north room, statue recess architrave. Giza, 4th Dynasty.
Author's drawing after Dunham and Simpson 1974, Fig. 13.



Fig. 3.3.25.
Seth included in the titles of Queen Hetepheres II on east side of
the sarcophagus of Merysankh III. 4th Dynasty. Cairo Museum.
Author's photograph.



Fig.3.3.26.
Seth included in the titles of Queen Hetepheres II on west side of
the sarcophagus of Merysankh III. 4th Dynasty. Cairo Museum.
Author's photograph.



Fig.3.3.27.
Seth included in the titles of Queen Khamerernebty I on lintel in tomb of Queen Khamerernebty II, Giza, 4th Dynasty.
Author's drawing after Callender and Jánosi, 1997, Plate 1.



Fig. 3.3.28.
Seth included in the titles of Queen Khamerernebty II on lintel in her tomb, Giza, 4th Dynasty.
Author's drawing after Callender and Jánosi, 1997, Plate 1.



Fig. 3.3.29.
Striding zoomorphic Seth from statue of Seshathetep and his wife Heti from his tomb (G5150), Giza, 5th Dynasty.
Author's drawing after Kanawati 2002, Plate 10b.

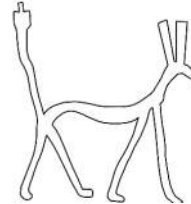


Fig. 3.3.30.
Zoomorphic Seth on the antechamber west wall, Pyramid of Unas, Saqqara, 5th Dynasty.
After Piankoff 1968, Plate 11.

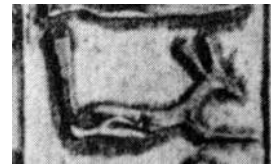


Fig. 3.3.31.
Zoomorphic Seth on the antechamber west wall, Pyramid of Unas, Saqqara, 5th Dynasty.
After Piankoff 1968, Plate 16.



Fig. 3.3.32.
Zoomorphic Seth on the antechamber west wall, Pyramid of Unas, Saqqara, 5th Dynasty.
After Piankoff 1968, Plate 16.



Fig. 3.3.33.
Zoomorphic Seth on the antechamber south wall, Pyramid of Unas, Saqqara, 5th Dynasty.
After Piankoff 1968, Plate 21.



Fig. 3.3.34.
Zoomorphic Seth on the antechamber south wall, Pyramid of Unas, Saqqara, 5th Dynasty.
After Piankoff 1968, Plate 25.



Fig. 3.3.35.
Zoomorphic Seth on the antechamber south wall, Pyramid of Unas, Saqqara, 5th Dynasty.
After Piankoff 1968, Plate 27.



Fig. 3.3.36.
Zoomorphic Seth on the antechamber north wall, Pyramid of Unas, Saqqara, 5th Dynasty.
After Piankoff 1968, Plate 10.



Fig. 3.3.37.
Zoomorphic Seth on the antechamber north wall, Pyramid of Unas, Saqqara, 5th Dynasty.
After Piankoff 1968, Plate 8.



Fig. 3.3.38.
Zoomorphic Seth on the antechamber north wall, Pyramid of Unas, Saqqara, 5th Dynasty.
After Piankoff 1968, Plate 8.

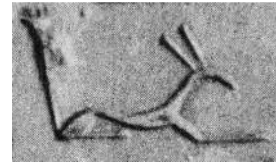


Fig. 3.3.39.
Zoomorphic Seth on the antechamber north wall, Pyramid of Unas, Saqqara, 5th Dynasty.
After Piankoff 1968, Plate 7.



Fig. 3.3.40.
Zoomorphic Seth on the antechamber north wall, Pyramid of Unas, Saqqara, 5th Dynasty.
After Piankoff 1968, Plate 6.



Fig. 3.3.41.
Zoomorphic Seth on the passage, north wall, Pyramid of Unas, Saqqara, 5th Dynasty.
After Piankoff 1968, Plate 38.



Fig. 3.3.42.
Zoomorphic Seth on the burial chamber north wall, Pyramid of Unas, Saqqara, 5th Dynasty.
After Piankoff 1968, Plate 58.



Fig. 3.3.43.
Zoomorphic Seth on the burial chamber north wall, Pyramid of Unas, Saqqara, 5th Dynasty.
After Piankoff 1968, Plate 59.



Fig. 3.3.44.
Zoomorphic Seth on the burial chamber north wall, Pyramid of Unas, Saqqara, 5th Dynasty.
After Piankoff 1968, Plate 59.



Fig. 3.3.45.
Zoomorphic Seth on the burial chamber north wall, Pyramid of Unas, Saqqara, 5th Dynasty.
After Piankoff 1968, Plate 59.



Fig. 3.3.46.
Zoomorphic Seth on the burial chamber north wall, Pyramid of Unas, Saqqara, 5th Dynasty.
After Piankoff 1968, Plate 61.



Fig. 3.3.47.
Zoomorphic Seth on the burial chamber north wall, Pyramid of Unas, Saqqara, 5th Dynasty.
After Piankoff 1968, Plate 62.



Fig. 3.3.48.
Zoomorphic Seth on the burial chamber north wall, Pyramid of Unas, Saqqara, 5th Dynasty.
After Piankoff 1968, Plate 64.

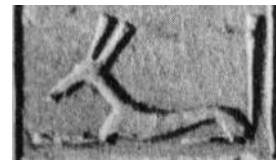


Fig. 3.3.49.
Zoomorphic Seth on the burial chamber north wall, Pyramid of
Unas, Saqqara, 5th Dynasty.
After Piankoff 1968, Plate 64.



Fig. 3.3.50.
Zoomorphic Seth on the burial chamber north wall, Pyramid of
Unas, Saqqara, 5th Dynasty.
After Piankoff 1968, Plate 66.



Fig. 3.3.51.
Zoomorphic Seth on the burial chamber north wall, Pyramid of
Unas, Saqqara, 5th Dynasty.
After Piankoff 1968, Plate 67.

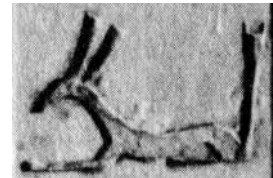


Fig. 3.3.52.
Zoomorphic Seth on the burial chamber north wall, Pyramid of
Unas, Saqqara, 5th Dynasty.
After Piankoff 1968, Plate 64.

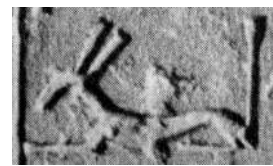


Fig. 3.3.53.
Zoomorphic Seth on the burial chamber north wall, Pyramid of
Unas, Saqqara, 5th Dynasty.
After Piankoff 1968, Plate 64.

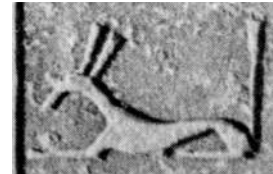


Fig. 3.3.54.
Zoomorphic Seth on the burial chamber north wall, Pyramid of
Unas, Saqqara, 5th Dynasty.
After Piankoff 1968, Plate 65.

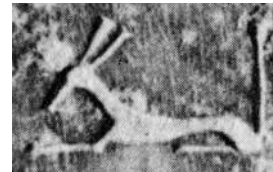


Fig. 3.3.55.
Zoomorphic Seth on the burial chamber north wall, Pyramid of
Unas, Saqqara, 5th Dynasty.
After Piankoff 1968, Plate 67.



Fig. 3.3.56.
Zoomorphic Seth on the burial chamber east wall, Pyramid of
Unas, Saqqara, 5th Dynasty.
After Piankoff 1968, Plate 56.



Fig. 3.3.57.
Zoomorphic Seth on the burial chamber east wall, Pyramid of
Unas, Saqqara, 5th Dynasty.
After Piankoff 1968, Plate 51.



Fig. 3.3.58.
Zoomorphic Seth on the burial chamber east wall, Pyramid of
Unas, Saqqara, 5th Dynasty.
After Piankoff 1968, Plate 51.



Fig. 3.3.59.
Zoomorphic Seth on the burial chamber east wall, Pyramid of Unas, Saqqara, 5th Dynasty.
After Piankoff 1968, Plate 54.



Fig. 3.3.60.
Zoomorphic Seth on the burial chamber east wall, Pyramid of Unas, Saqqara, 5th Dynasty.
After Piankoff 1968, Plate 53.



Fig. 3.3.61.
Zoomorphic Seth on the burial chamber south wall, Pyramid of Unas, Saqqara, 5th Dynasty.
After Piankoff 1968, Plate 40.



Fig. 3.3.62.
Zoomorphic Seth on the burial chamber south wall, Pyramid of Unas, Saqqara, 5th Dynasty.
After Piankoff 1968, Plate 42.



Fig. 3.3.63.
Zoomorphic Seth on the burial chamber south wall, Pyramid of Unas, Saqqara, 5th Dynasty.
After Piankoff 1968, Plate 42.

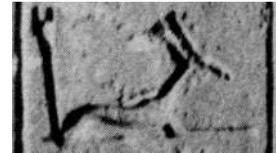


Fig. 3.3.64.
Zoomorphic Seth on the burial chamber south wall, Pyramid of Unas, Saqqara, 5th Dynasty.
After Piankoff 1968, Plate 40.



Fig. 3.3.65.
Zoomorphic Seth on the burial chamber south wall, Pyramid of Unas, Saqqara, 5th Dynasty.
After Piankoff 1968, Plate 42.



Fig. 3.3.66.
Zoomorphic Seth on the burial chamber south wall, Pyramid of Unas, Saqqara, 5th Dynasty.
After Piankoff 1968, Plate 44.



Fig. 3.3.67.
Zoomorphic Seth on the burial chamber south wall, Pyramid of Unas, Saqqara, 5th Dynasty.
After Piankoff 1968, Plate 46.



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Fig. 3.3.68.
Bimorphic Seth from the funerary complex of Sahure, Abusir, 5th Dynasty. Berlin Museum ÄM 21782.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.3.69.

Reconstruction of the scene of a bimorphic Horus and Seth crowning Unas, from upper mortuary temple, Saqqara, 5th Dynasty.

Author's drawing after Jéquier 1938 Plates 50 and 53.



Fig. 3.3.70.

Head of bimorphic Seth from the pyramid temple of Teti, Saqqara. 6th Dynasty.

Author's drawing after Quibell 1909 Plate LIV 2.

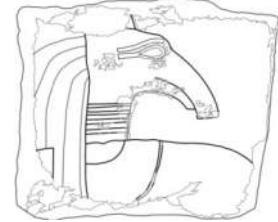


Fig. 3.3.71.

Reconstruction of bimorphic Seth from west wall, antechamber, funeral temple of Pepi II, Saqqara. 6th Dynasty.

Author's drawing after Jéquier 1938 Plates 46 and 56.

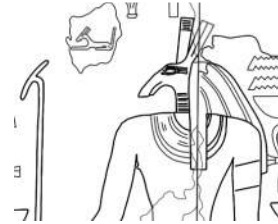


Fig. 3.3.72.

Reconstruction of bimorphic Seth from south wall, antechamber, funeral temple of Pepi II, Saqqara. 6th Dynasty.

Author's drawing after Jéquier 1938 Plates 47.



Fig. 3.3.73.

Bimorphic Seth crowning Pepi II from coffer found in magazine of the funeral temple of Pepi II, Saqqara. 6th Dynasty.

Author's drawing after Jéquier 1928 Plates IV.



3.4 Seth Images: Middle Kingdom.

Fig. 3.4.1.

Seth animal from the tomb of Baqt III, Tomb 15, Beni Hasan, 11th Dynasty.

Author's drawing after Newberry 1893b, Plate 4.

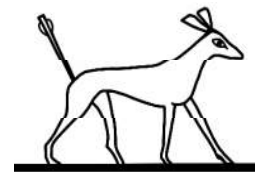


Fig. 3.4.2.

Seth animal from the tomb of Khety, Tomb 17, Beni Hasan, 11th Dynasty.

Author's drawing after Newberry 1893b, Plate 13.



Fig. 3.4.3.

Zoomorphic Seth from lintel of Amenemhat I from pyramid temple, Lisht. 12th Dynasty.

Author's drawing after Shafer 1997, Fig. 33.



Fig. 3.4.4.
Zoomorphic Seth from lintel of Senwosret I, 12th Dynasty. Open Air Museum, Karnak.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.4.5.
Zoomorphic Seth from White Chapel of Senwosret I, 12th Dynasty. Open Air Museum, Karnak.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.4.6.
Zoomorphic Seth from statue of Senwosret I, 12th Dynasty. Cairo Museum, JE 31136.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.4.7.
Zoomorphic Seth from statue of Senwosret I, 12th Dynasty. Cairo Museum, JE 31137.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.4.8.
Zoomorphic Seth from lintel of Senwosret III, 12th Dynasty. Cairo Museum. JE 6189.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.4.9.
Zoomorphic Seth from pectoral of Senwosret III, 12th Dynasty. Eton College ECM 1585. after photograph reproduced by permission of the Provost and Fellows of Eton College.



Fig. 3.4.10.
Zoomorphic Seth on magic wand, 12th Dynasty. Museum of Scotland A.1921.893.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.4.11.
Zoomorphic Seth on magic wand, 12th Dynasty. Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels, E2763 (Front).
After photograph courtesy of the RMAH.



Fig. 3.4.12.
Zoomorphic Seth on magic wand, 12th Dynasty. Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels, E2763 (Back).
After photograph courtesy of the RMAH.



Fig. 3.4.13.
Zoomorphic Seth with ass's ears and mane on magic wand, 12th Dynasty. Manchester Museum 1798.
After photograph courtesy of the Manchester Museum.



Fig. 3.4.14.
Zoomorphic Seth with ass's ears and mane on magic wand, 12th Dynasty. British Museum BM EA 24426.
After photograph courtesy of the British Museum.



Fig. 3.4.15.
Zoomorphic Seth as part of the name Ra-Seth, stela of Seneby, 12th Dynasty. Fitzwilliam Museum E.SS.37.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.4.16.
Zoomorphic Seth in exterior decoration on the Asyut coffin of Soker-hewent, 12th Dynasty. Louvre Museum.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.4.17.
Zoomorphic Seth in exterior decoration on the Asyut coffin of Rehuerausen, 12th Dynasty. Museo delle Antichità Egizie Turin.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.4.18.
Zoomorphic Seth in exterior decoration on the Asyut coffin of Mereru, 12th Dynasty. Museo delle Antichità Egizie Turin.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.4.19.
Zoomorphic Seth in exterior decoration on the Asyut coffin of Meshti, 12th Dynasty. Rosicrucian Egyptian Museum San Jose RC 2822.
After photograph courtesy of the Rosicrucian Egyptian Museum.



Fig. 3.4.20.
Zoomorphic Seth in exterior decoration on the Asyut coffin of Henen, 12th Dynasty. Louvre Museum AF 9757.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.4.21.
Zoomorphic Seth in exterior decoration on the Asyut coffin of Nakhti, 12th Dynasty. Louvre Museum E 11936.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.4.22.
Zoomorphic Seth in exterior decoration on the Asyut coffin of
Nakhti, 12th Dynasty. Louvre Museum.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.4.23.
Zoomorphic Seth in exterior decoration on the Asyut coffin of
Ankhaf, 12th Dynasty. British Museum BM EA 46631.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.4.24.
Zoomorphic Seth in exterior decoration on the Asyut coffin of
Ikhety, 12th Dynasty. British Museum BM EA 29757.
After photograph copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 3.4.25.
Zoomorphic Seth in exterior decoration on the Asyut coffin of
Nakht, 12th Dynasty. Cairo Museum JE 36318.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.4.26.
Zoomorphic Seth in exterior decoration on the Asyut coffin of
Ankhaf, 12th Dynasty. Cairo Museum CG 28130.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.4.27.
Zoomorphic Seth in exterior decoration on the Asyut coffin of
Dag, 12th Dynasty. Cairo Museum TR 21-11-16-24.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.4.28.
Zoomorphic Seth in exterior decoration on the Asyut coffin of
Wepwawetmahat, 12th Dynasty. Cairo Museum JE 45063.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.4.29.
Zoomorphic Seth in exterior decoration on an Asyut coffin, 12th
Dynasty. Cairo Museum.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.4.30.
Bimorphic Seth from statue of Senwosret I, 12th Dynasty. Cairo
Museum, JE 31139 (left side of throne viewed from front).
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.4.31.
Bimorphic Seth from statue of Senwosret I, 12th Dynasty. Cairo
Museum, JE 31139 (right side of throne viewed from front).
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.4.32.
Bimorphic Seth from statue of Senwosret I, 12th Dynasty. Cairo
Museum, JE 31137 (left side of throne viewed from front).
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.4.33.
Bimorphic Seth from statue of Senwosret I, 12th Dynasty. Cairo
Museum, JE 31137 (right side of throne viewed from front).
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.4.34.
Bimorphic Seth from statue of Senwosret I, 12th Dynasty. Cairo
Museum, JE 31145 (left side of throne viewed from front).
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.4.35.
Bimorphic Seth from statue of Senwosret I, 12th Dynasty. Cairo
Museum, JE 31145 (right side of throne viewed from front).
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.4.36.
Bimorphic Seth from statue of Senwosret I, 12th Dynasty. Cairo
Museum, JE 31141 (left side of throne viewed from front).
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.4.37.
Bimorphic Seth from statue of Senwosret I, 12th Dynasty. Cairo Museum, JE 31141 (right side of throne viewed from front).
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.4.38.
Bimorphic Seth from statue of Senwosret I, 12th Dynasty. Cairo Museum, JE 31142 (left side of throne viewed from front).
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.4.39.
Bimorphic Seth from statue of Senwosret I, 12th Dynasty. Cairo Museum, JE 31142 (right side of throne viewed from front).
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.4.40.
Reconstruction of bimorphic Seth on the lintel of Senwosret I, 12th Dynasty. Open Air Museum, Karnak.
Author's drawing after author's photograph.



Fig. 3.4.41.
Reconstruction of bimorphic Seth from the *sema-tawy* scene of Senwosret I, 12th Dynasty. Open Air Museum, Karnak.
Author's drawing after author's photograph.



Fig. 3.4.42.
Bimorphic Seth from funerary complex of Senwosret III,
Dahshur, 12th Dynasty. Metropolitan Museum of Art
After photograph copyright of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Fig. 3.4.43.
Bimorphic Seth on magic wand, 12th Dynasty. Petrie Museum
UC 16383.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.4.44.
Bimorphic Seth with ass's ears on magic wand, 12th Dynasty.
Louvre 26-7-1288A (On loan from MMA).
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.4.45.
Bimorphic Seth with ass's ears and mane on magic wand, 12th
Dynasty. Metropolitan Museum of Art MMA 15.3.197.
After photograph copyright of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.



3.5 Seth Images: 2nd Intermediate Period.

Fig. 3.5.1.
Zoomorphic Seth from lintel of Sobekhotep II, 13th Dynasty.
Cairo Museum.
Author's photograph.



3.6 Seth Images: New Kingdom.

Fig. 3.6.1.
Zoomorphic Seth from lintel of Amenhotep, 18th Dynasty.
Author's drawing after Winlock 1917, Plate IV.



Fig. 3.6.2.
Zoomorphic Seth from the Red Chapel of Hatshepsut, 18th
Dynasty. Open Air Museum, Karnak.
Authors photograph.

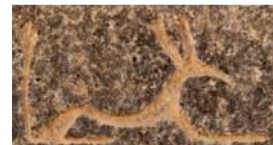


Fig. 3.6.3.
Zoomorphic Seth from the funerary temple of Hatshepsut, Deir
el-Bahri, 18th Dynasty.
Authors drawing after Ćwiek 2008, Fig. 17.



Fig. 3.6.4.
Zoomorphic Seth from the temple of Seth, Nubt, 18th Dynasty.
Petrie Museum UC 14420.
Authors photograph.



Fig. 3.6.5.
Zoomorphic Seth on door jamb, temple of Seth, Nubt, 18th Dynasty. Petrie Museum UC 14795.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.6.
Zoomorphic Seth on bronze model axe, foundation deposit, temple of Seth, Nubt, 18th Dynasty. Petrie Museum UC 15879.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.7.
Zoomorphic Seth on incense burner, foundation deposit, temple of Seth, Nubt, 18th Dynasty. Petrie Museum UC 15875.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.8.
Zoomorphic Seth on model shell, foundation deposit, temple of Seth, Nubt, 18th Dynasty. Petrie Museum UC 15876.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.9.
Zoomorphic Seth from stela of Nakht and Seth-Antewy, 18th Dynasty. Oriental Institute Chicago 10510.
After Teeter 2003 Fig. 16.



Fig. 3.6.10.
Zoomorphic Seth from statue of Sennefer, 18th Dynasty. Petrie Museum UC 14639.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.11.
Zoomorphic Seth, 18th Dynasty. Stone store, Open Air Museum, Karnak.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.12.
Zoomorphic Seth from stela of Anhotep, 18th Dynasty. Manchester Museum 4528.
Author's drawing after photograph courtesy of the Manchester Museum.

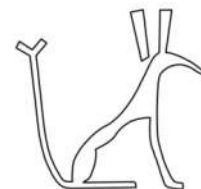


Fig. 3.6.13.
Zoomorphic Seth, defaced, south wall of first antechamber, Luxor Temple, 18th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.14.
Zoomorphic Seth from north wall of sanctuary, chapel of
Horemheb, Gebel el-Silsila, 18th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.15.
Zoomorphic Seth from south wall, tomb of Aye (WV23), 18th
Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.16.
Zoomorphic Seth from stela, 18th Dynasty. Petrie Museum
UC 14447.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.17.
Zoomorphic Seth head on the 'Crook of Nehes', tomb of
Thutmose III (KV34).
Author's drawing after Abt and Hornung 2003, 117.



Fig. 3.6.18.
Zoomorphic Seth head on the 'Crook of Nehes', tomb of
Amenhotep II (KV35).
Author's drawing after Hawass 2006, 108



Fig. 3.6.19.
Bimorphic Seth form lintel of Thutmose I, 18th Dynasty. Cairo
Museum JE 31881 (Seth left side).
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.20.
Bimorphic Seth from lintel of Thutmose I, 18th Dynasty. Cairo
Museum JE 31881 (Seth right side).
Author's photograph.

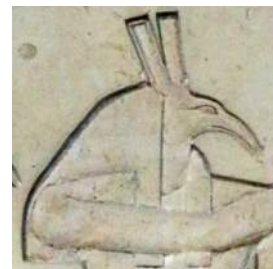


Fig. 3.6.21.
Bimorphic Seth with Hatshepsut, 18th Dynasty. Stone store,
Open Air Museum, Karnak.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.22.
 Bimorphic Seth from the funerary temple of Hatshepsut, 18th
 Dynasty. British Museum BM EA 169.
 After photograph courtesy of the British Museum.



Fig. 3.6.23.
 Erased bimorphic Seth from the funerary temple of Hatshepsut,
 Deir el-Bahri, 18th Dynasty.
 After Ćwiek 2008, Fig. 8.



Fig. 3.6.24.
 Erased bimorphic Seth from the funerary temple of Hatshepsut,
 Deir el-Bahri, 18th Dynasty.
 After Ćwiek 2008, Fig. 9.



Fig. 3.6.25.
 Bimorphic Seth from room XI, Festival Hall of Thutmose III,
 Karnak, 18th Dynasty.
 Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.26.
 Bimorphic Seth from room XV, Festival Hall of Thutmose III,
 Karnak, 18th Dynasty.
 Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.27.
 Anthropomorphic or bimorphic Seth, from Room XXII, Festival
 Hall of Thutmose III, Karnak, 18th Dynasty.
 Author's drawing after Lepsius 1897 Abth. III Band V Page 35
 Fig a.



Fig. 3.6.28.
Bimorphic Seth from room XXII, Festival Hall of Thutmose III,
Karnak, 18th Dynasty.
Author's drawing and author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.29.
Bimorphic Seth from corridor VI, Festival Hall of Thutmose III,
Karnak, 18th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.30. Seth from astronomic ceiling, Tomb of Senenmut
(TT353), 18th Dynasty.
Author's drawing after Hawass 2009, 111.



Fig. 3.6.31.
Bimorphic Seth from north wall of sanctuary, chapel of
Horemheb, Gebel el-Silsila, 18th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.32.
Bimorphic Seth from stela of Anhotep, 18th Dynasty.
Manchester Museum 4528.
Author's drawing after photograph courtesy of the Manchester
Museum.



Fig. 3.6.33.
Bimorphic Seth from stela of Nakht and Seth-Antewy, 18th
Dynasty. Oriental Institute Chicago 10510.
After photograph copyright Oriental Institute Chicago.



Fig. 3.6.34.
 Bimorphic Seth from stela, 18th Dynasty. Petrie Museum
 UC 14447.
 Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.35.
 Bimorphic Seth from stela of Seth and Hathor, 18th Dynasty.
 Cairo Museum JE 31179.
 Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.36.
 Bimorphic Seth on small faience stela, 18th Dynasty. Petrie
 Museum UC 45093.
 Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.37.
 Bimorphic Seth as the 'His two faces', tomb of Thutmose III
 (KV34).
 Author's drawing after Hornung and Abt 2007, 54.



Fig. 3.6.38.
 Bimorphic Seth as the 'Divider of the Netherworld', tomb of
 Thutmose III (KV34).
 Author's drawing after Hornung and Abt 2007, 122.



Fig. 3.6.39.
 Bimorphic Seth as 'His two faces', tomb of Amenhotep II
 (KV35).
 Author's drawing after Hawass 2006, 113.



Fig. 3.6.40.
 Bimorphic Seth as the 'Divider of the Netherworld', tomb of
 Amenhotep II (KV35).
 Author's drawing after Bucher 1932, Plate XXX.



Fig. 3.6.41.
Defaces zoomorphic Seth as a hawk on the *Königsjacke* of
Thutmose III from the funerary temple of Hatshepsut, Deir el-
Bahri, 18th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.42.
Defaces zoomorphic Seth as a hawk on the *Königsjacke* of
Thutmose III from the funerary temple of Hatshepsut, Deir el-
Bahri, 18th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.43.
Bimorphic Seth small temple of Thutmose III, Medinet Habu.
18th Dynasty re-carved in 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.44.
Bimorphic Seth on small tablet, early New Kingdom. Petrie
Museum UC 16661.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.45.
Zoomorphic Seth on fragment of a stela from Nubt, 19th
Dynasty. Petrie Museum UC 14448.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.46.
Zoomorphic Seth, battle reliefs of Seth I, Hypostyle Hall,
Karnak. 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.47.
Zoomorphic Seth, battle reliefs of Seth I, Hypostyle Hall,
Karnak. 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.48.
Zoomorphic Seth, Hypostyle Hall, Karnak. 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.49.
Zoomorphic Seth, Hypostyle Hall, Karnak. 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.50.
Zoomorphic Seth defaced, Hypostyle Hall, Karnak. 19th
Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.51.
Zoomorphic Seth, Hypostyle Hall, Karnak. 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.52.
Zoomorphic Seth, Hypostyle Hall, Karnak. 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.53.
Defaced zoomorphic Seth, north face pylon 8, Karnak. 19th
Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.54.
Zoomorphic Seth, Hypostyle Hall, mortuary temple of Seti I.
19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.55.
Zoomorphic Seth, lintel, Tanis. 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.56.
Zoomorphic Seth converted to Ra, column, Tanis. 19th
Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.57.
Zoomorphic Seth on reused door jamb in roof of the tomb of
Osorkon II (NRT I), Tanis, 19th Dynasty carving.
After Montet 1947 Plate XIX.



Fig. 3.6.58.
Zoomorphic Seth, lintel, Bubastis, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.59.
Zoomorphic Seth on sphinx statue, 19th Dynasty. Louvre A24
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.60.
Defaced zoomorphic Seth on sphinx statue, 19th Dynasty.
Louvre A24
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.61.
Zoomorphic Seth on lintel from temple of Matmar, 19th
Dynasty.
After Brunton 1948, Fig. 2 copyright Bernard Quaritch Ltd.



Fig. 3.6.62.
Zoomorphic Seth on lintel of Merenptah from the mortuary
temple of Merenptah, 19th Dynasty.
Author's drawing after Petrie 1909, Plate XXI.

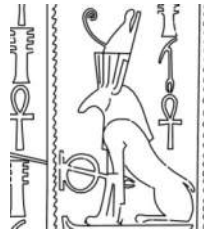


Fig. 3.6.63.
Zoomorphic Seth from stela of Seth and Ramesses I, 19th
Dynasty.
After photograph from <http://egyptologia.prv.pl/>.



Fig. 3.6.64.
Zoomorphic Seth from stela of Inheretkhau, 19th Dynasty.
Museo delle Antichità Egizie Turin C 7538.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.65.
Zoomorphic Seth from the stela of Amenmope, 19th Dynasty.
Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts Moscow I.1.a.5618.
After Hodjash and Berlev 1982, Plate 84.



Fig 3.6.66.
Zoomorphic Seth from the stela of Amenmope, 19th Dynasty.
Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts Moscow I.1.a.5618.
After Hodjash and Berlev 1982, Plate 84.



Fig 3.6.67.
Zoomorphic Seth from the stela of Seti, 19th Dynasty.
Antikenmuseum Basel BSAe 1080.
After photograph courtesy of Antikenmuseum Basel.



Fig 3.6.68.
Zoomorphic Seth from the stela of Seti, 19th Dynasty.
Antikenmuseum Basel BSAe 1080.
After photograph courtesy of Antikenmuseum Basel.



Fig 3.6.69.
Zoomorphic Seth from the stela of Aapehty, 19th Dynasty.
British Museum BM EA 35630.
After photograph courtesy of British Museum.



Fig 3.6.70.
Zoomorphic Seth from the 400 year stela, 19th Dynasty. Cairo
Museum.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.71.
Zoomorphic Seth from the 400 year stela, 19th Dynasty. Cairo
Museum.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.72.
Zoomorphic Seth from the 400 year stela, 19th Dynasty. Cairo
Museum.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.73.
Zoomorphic Seth stela of Ramesses II, 19th Dynasty. Louvre E
26017.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.74.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, battle reliefs of
Seti I, Hypostyle Hall, Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.75.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, battle reliefs of
Seti I, Hypostyle Hall, Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.76.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, Hypostyle Hall,
Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.77.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, Hypostyle Hall,
Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.78.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, Hypostyle Hall,
Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.79.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, Hypostyle Hall,
Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.80.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, Hypostyle Hall,
Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.81.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, Hypostyle Hall,
Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.82.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, Hypostyle Hall,
Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.83.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, Hypostyle Hall,
Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.84.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, Hypostyle Hall,
Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.85.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, Hypostyle Hall,
Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.86.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, Hypostyle Hall,
Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.87.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, Hypostyle Hall,
Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.88.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, Hypostyle Hall,
Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.89.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, Hypostyle Hall,
Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.90.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, Hypostyle Hall,
Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.91.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, Hypostyle Hall,
Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.92.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, Hypostyle Hall,
Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.93.
Defaced C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I,
Hypostyle Hall, Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.94.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, Hypostyle Hall,
Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.95.
Defaced C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I,
Hypostyle Hall, Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.96.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, Hypostyle Hall,
Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.97.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, Hypostyle Hall,
Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.98.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, Hypostyle Hall,
Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.99.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, Hypostyle Hall,
Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.100.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, column drum,
Hypostyle Hall, Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.101.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, column abacus,
Hypostyle Hall, Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.102.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, column abacus,
Hypostyle Hall, Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.103.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, column abacus,
Hypostyle Hall, Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.104.
Defaced C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, column
abacus, Hypostyle Hall, Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.105.
Defaced C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, column
abacus, Hypostyle Hall, Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.106.
Defaced C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, column
abacus, Hypostyle Hall, Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.107.
Defaced C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, column
abacus, Hypostyle Hall, Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.108.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, column abacus,
Hypostyle Hall, Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.109.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, side of lintel,
Hypostyle Hall, Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.110.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, side of lintel,
Hypostyle Hall, Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.111.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, soffit of lintel,
Hypostyle Hall, Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.112.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, soffit of lintel,
Hypostyle Hall, Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.113.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, soffit of lintel,
Hypostyle Hall, Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.114.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, soffit of lintel,
Hypostyle Hall, Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.115.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, soffit of lintel,
Hypostyle Hall, Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.116.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, soffit of lintel,
Hypostyle Hall, Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.117.
Defaced C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, stone
store, Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.118.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, stone store,
Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.119.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, stone store,
Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.120.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, stone store,
Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.121.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, stone store,
Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.122.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, stone store,
Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.123.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, stone store,
Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.124.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, stone store,
Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.125.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, stone store,
Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.126.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, stone store,
Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.127.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, stone store,
Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.128.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, stone store,
Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.129.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, stone store,
Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.130.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, stone store,
Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.131.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, stone store,
Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.132.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, stone store,
Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.133.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, stone store,
Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.134.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, stone store,
Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.135.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, stone store,
Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.136.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, stone store,
Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.137.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, stone store,
Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.138.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, stone store,
Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.139.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, Hypostyle Hall,
mortuary temple of Seti I, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.140.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, Hypostyle Hall,
mortuary temple of Seti I, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.141.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, Hypostyle Hall,
mortuary temple of Seti I, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.142.
Defaced C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I,
Hypostyle Hall, mortuary temple of Seti I, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.143.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, chapel of solar
cult, mortuary temple of Seti I, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.144.
Defaced C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, exterior
east wall, mortuary temple of Seti I, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.145.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, soffit of lintel,
mortuary temple of Seti I, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.146.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, soffit of lintel,
mortuary temple of Seti I, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.147.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, soffit of lintel,
mortuary temple of Seti I, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.148.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, soffit of lintel,
mortuary temple of Seti I, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.149.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, ceiling, chapel of
Seti I, Kanais, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.150.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, ceiling, chapel of
Seti I, Kanais, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.151.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, ceiling, chapel of
Seti I, Kanais, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.152.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, ceiling, chapel of
Seti I, Kanais, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.153.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, ceiling, chapel of
Seti I, Kanais, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.154.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, ceiling, chapel of
Seti I, Kanais, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.155.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, ceiling, chapel of
Seti I, Kanais, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.156.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, wall frieze,
chapel of Seti I, Kanais, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.157.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, wall frieze,
chapel of Seti I, Kanais, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.158.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, wall frieze,
chapel of Seti I, Kanais, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.159.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, wall frieze,
chapel of Seti I, Kanais, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.160.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, wall frieze,
chapel of Seti I, Kanais, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.161.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, wall frieze,
chapel of Seti I, Kanais, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.162.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, wall, chapel of
Seti I, Kanais, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.163.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, wall, chapel of
Seti I, Kanais, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.164.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, internal cavetto
cornice, chapel of Seti I, Kanais, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.165.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, internal cavetto
cornice, chapel of Seti I, Kanais, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.166.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, internal cavetto
cornice, chapel of Seti I, Kanais, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.167.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, internal cavetto
cornice, chapel of Seti I, Kanais, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.168.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, external wall,
chapel of Seti I, Kanais, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.169.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, external wall,
chapel of Seti I, Kanais, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.170.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, external wall,
chapel of Seti I, Kanais, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.171.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, external column
abacus, chapel of Seti I, Kanais, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.172.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, external column
abacus, chapel of Seti I, Kanais, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.173.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, side of external,
chapel of Seti I, Kanais, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.174.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, side of external
lintel, chapel of Seti I, Kanais, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.175.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, side of external
lintel, chapel of Seti I, Kanais, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.176.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, external cavetto
cornice, chapel of Seti I, Kanais, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.177.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, external cavetto
cornice, chapel of Seti I, Kanais, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.178.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, external cavetto
cornice, chapel of Seti I, Kanais, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.179.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, external cavetto
cornice, chapel of Seti I, Kanais, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.180.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, 19th Dynasty.
Museo delle Antichità Egizie Turin S6189+6193.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.181.
C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti I, obelisk socle,
Karnak , 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.182.
Defaced C7 Seth deity hieroglyph in cartouche of Seti II, triple
barque shrine, Karnak , 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.183.
Zoomorphic Seth head on the 'Crook of Nehes', tomb of Seti I
(KV17).
Author's drawing after Hornung 1991, Plate 87.



Fig 3.6.184.
Ostrakon of zoomorphic Seth, 19th Dynasty, Fitzwilliam
Museum E.GA.4300.1943.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.185.
Ostrakon of zoomorphic Seth, 19th Dynasty, Cairo Museum
JE 25087.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.186.
Ostrakon of bimorphic Seth, 19th Dynasty, Cairo Museum
JE 243659.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.187.
Bimorphic Seth from stela of Seth and Ramesses I, 19th
Dynasty.
After photograph from <http://egyptologia.prv.pl/>.



Fig. 3.6.188.
Bimorphic Seth performing the ritual purification of Seth I,
possibly from Heliopolis, 19th Dynasty. Brussels Museum 27
now lost.
After Gardiner 1950, Plate 1.



Fig. 3.6.189.
Bimorphic Seth performing the ritual purification of Seth I,
Hypostyle Hall, Karnak, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.190.
Bimorphic Seth crowning Ramesses II, Hypostyle Hall, small
temple, Abu Simbel, 19th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.191.
Bimorphic Seth from column found at Bubastis, 19th Dynasty.
British Museum BM EA 1065.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.192.
Bimorphic Seth from column found at Bubastis, 19th Dynasty.
British Museum BM EA 1065.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.193.
Bimorphic Seth on 19th Dynasty door jamb reused in the roof of
22nd Dynasty tomb of Osorkon II (NRT 1), Tanis.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.194.
Bimorphic Seth from the stela of Seti, 19th Dynasty.
Antikenmuseum Basel BSAe 1080.
After photograph courtesy of Antikenmuseum Basel.



Fig. 3.6.195.
Bimorphic Seth from the stela of Aapehty, 19th Dynasty. British
Museum BM EA 35630.
After photograph copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 3.6.196.
Bimorphic Seth from the stela of Seti (BD 340), 19th Dynasty.
Abu Simbel.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.197.
Bimorphic Seth from the stela of Amenmope, 19th Dynasty.
Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts Moscow I.1.a.5618.
After Hodjash and Berlev 1982 Plate 84.



Fig. 3.6.198.
Reconstructed bimorphic Seth from stela of Seth, Ptah and
Tauret from the temple of Seth, Matmar. 19th Dynasty.
Author's drawing after Brunton 1948 Plate L.



Fig. 3.6.199.
Bimorphic Seth from the astronomical ceiling in the tomb of
Seti (KV17), 19th Dynasty.
Author's drawing after Hawass 2006, 311.



Fig. 3.6.200.
Bimorphic Seth from the astronomical ceiling in the tomb of
Seti (KV17), 19th Dynasty.
Author's drawing after Hawass 2006, 311.



Fig. 3.6.201.
Bimorphic Seth with ass's head from the astronomical ceiling in
the tomb of Seti (KV17), 19th Dynasty.
After Hornung 1991, Plate 175.



Fig. 3.6.202.
Bimorphic Seth from tomb of Apy (TT217). 19th Dynasty.
Author's drawing after Davis 1927, Plate XXXVII.

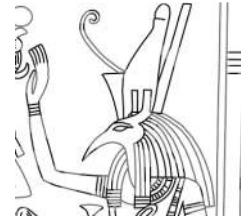


Fig. 3.6.203.
Bimorphic Seth from tomb of Apy (TT217). 19th Dynasty.
After Davis 1927, Plate XXXVIII.



Fig 3.6.204.
Bimorphic Seth as 'His two faces', tomb of Seti I (KV17). 19th Dynasty.
Author's drawing after Hawass 2009, 31.



Fig 3.6.205.
Zoomorphic Seth from lintel of Seth and Amun, temple of Seth,
Nubt. 20th Dynasty,
Author's drawing after Petrie 1896, Plate LXXXIX.



Fig 3.06.206.
Pair of zoomorphic Seth associate with a solar barque from a
lintel, end of 20th Dynasty. Cairo Museum JE 27974.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.207.
Zoomorphic Seth on the stela from Palace of Apries. 20th
Dynasty.
Author's drawing after Petrie 1909, Plate XX.

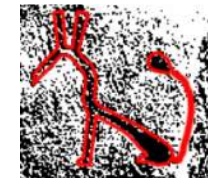


Fig 3.6.208.
Zoomorphic Seth, exterior south face pylon 1, temple of Medinet
Habu, 20th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.209.
Zoomorphic Seth, exterior south face pylon 1, temple of Medinet
Habu, 20th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.210.
Zoomorphic Seth, court 1 north wall, temple of Medinet Habu,
20th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.211.
Defaced zoomorphic Seth, room 20 north face south wall, temple
of Medinet Habu, 20th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.212.
Zoomorphic Seth, exterior face east wall, temple of Medinet Habu, 20th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.213.
Zoomorphic Seth, court 1 east wall, temple of Medinet Habu, 20th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.214.
Defaced zoomorphic Seth, court 2 portico column 27, temple of Medinet Habu, 20th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.215.
Defaced zoomorphic Seth, court 2 east wall, temple of Medinet Habu, 20th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.216.
Zoomorphic Seth, court 2 north face south wall, temple of Medinet Habu, 20th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.217.
Defaced zoomorphic Seth, court 1 north face pylon 1, temple of Medinet Habu, 20th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.218.
Defaced zoomorphic Seth, west face east wall Migdol Gate, temple of Medinet Habu, 20th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.219.
Zoomorphic Seth, exterior face east wall, temple of Medinet Habu, 20th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.220.
Zoomorphic Seth and Horus in the 'two lords', court 2 west wall, temple of Medinet Habu, 20th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.221.
Defaced zoomorphic Seth and Horus in the 'two lords', 1st Hypostyle Hall south wall, temple of Medinet Habu, 20th Dynasty.
Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.222.

Defaced zoomorphic Seth and Horus in the 'two lords', court 2 south colonnade column 39, temple of Medinet Habu, 20th Dynasty.

Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.223.

Zoomorphic Seth and Horus in the 'two lords', court 2 east wall, temple of Medinet Habu, 20th Dynasty.

Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.224.

Zoomorphic Seth from foundation stone of Ramesses IX, Mut el-Kharab, Dakhla Oasis. 20th Dynasty.

After Hope 2012, 41.



Fig 3.6.225.

C7 Seth deity hieroglyph, exterior west wall adjacent to window of appearances, temple of Medinet Habu, 20th Dynasty.

Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.226.

C7 Seth deity hieroglyph, court 1 east wall, temple of Medinet Habu, 20th Dynasty.

Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.227.

C7 Seth deity from 20th Dynasty cartouche of Sethnakhte carved into 12th Dynasty column. Lower Egypt. British Museum A 64.

Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.228.

C7 Seth deity from 20th Dynasty cartouche of Sethnakhte carved into 12th Dynasty column. Lower Egypt. British Museum A 64.

Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.229.

C7 Seth deity from 20th Dynasty cartouche of Sethnakhte carved into 12th Dynasty column. Lower Egypt. British Museum A 64.

Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.230.
 C7 Seth deity from 20th Dynasty cartouche of Sethnakhte
 carved into 12th Dynasty column. Lower Egypt. British Museum
 A 64.
 Author's photograph.



Fig 3.6.231.
 C7 Seth deity from lintel of Seth and Amun, temple of Seth,
 Nubt. 20th Dynasty,
 Author's drawing after Petrie 1896, Plate LXXXIX.



Fig 3.6.232.
 Defaced bimorphic Seth performing the ritual purification of
 Ramesses III, court 2 north wall, temple of Medinet Habu, 20th
 Dynasty.
 Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.233.
 Highly eroded bimorphic Seth, exterior face east wall, temple of
 Medinet Habu, 20th Dynasty.
 Author's photograph.

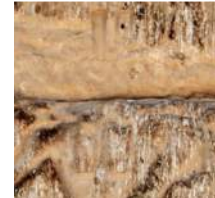


Fig. 3.6.234.
 Defaced bimorphic Seth, room 18 north wall, temple of Medinet
 Habu, 20th Dynasty.
 Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.235.
 Defaced bimorphic Seth, court 2 portico column 27, temple of
 Medinet Habu, 20th Dynasty.
 Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.236.
 Bimorphic Seth on the stela from Palace of Apries. 20th
 Dynasty.
 Author's drawing after Petrie 1909, Plate XX.



Fig. 3.6.237.
 Bimorphic Seth as 'His two faces', tomb of Ramesses VI (KV17).
 20th Dynasty.
 Author's reconstruction after Painkoff 1954, Fig. 58.



Fig. 3.6.238.
 Bimorphic Seth as 'His two faces', tomb of Ramesses VI (KV17).
 20th Dynasty.
 Author's drawing after Painkoff 1954, Fig. 65.



Fig. 3.6.239.
 Bimorphic Seth as 'His two faces', tomb of Ramesses IX (KV17).
 20th Dynasty.
 Author's drawing after Guilmant 1907, Plate LXV.



Fig. 3.6.240.
 Zoomorphic Seth as a sphinx. Obelisk socle of Seti I, 19th
 Dynasty. Kom el-Dikka, Alexandria.
 After photograph courtesy of Kay Holz.



Fig. 3.6.241.
 Zoomorphic Seth as a sphinx. Stela of Ramesses II, 19th
 Dynasty. Louvre E 26017.
 Author's photograph



Fig. 3.6.242.
 Zoomorphic Seth as a sphinx on small faience amulet, New
 Kingdom. Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg, 5810.
 After photograph courtesy of the Hermitage Museum.



Fig. 3.6.243.
 Zoomorphic Seth as a hippopotamus from stela of Panehmy.
 19th Dynasty. Oriental Institute Museum Chicago, OIM 12292.
 After photograph courtesy of Kay Holz.



Fig. 3.6.244.
 Zoomorphic Seth as a hippopotamus from stela of the mayor of
 Tjedu. New Kingdom.
 Author's drawing after Brunton 1999, Plate 32.

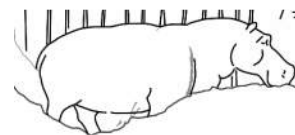


Fig. 3.6.245.
 Bimorphic Seth as with a bulls head from stela of the 'Bull of
 Ombus', New Kingdom. Ny Carlsburg Glyptotek ÆIN 726.
 After photograph courtesy of the Ny Carlsburg Glyptotek ,
 Copenhagen.



Fig. 3.6.246.
 Zoomorphic Seth from stela of the 'Bull of Ombus', New
 Kingdom. Ny Carlsburg Glyptotek ÆIN 726.
 After photograph courtesy of the Ny Carlsburg Glyptotek ,
 Copenhagen.



Fig. 3.6.247.
Zoomorphic Seth petroglyph from the Hill of Seth, on the Darb
Ain Amur desert trail between Dakhla and Kharga Oases. New
Kingdom.
After Ikram 2006 Seth Image.



Fig. 3.6.248.
Zoomorphic Seth petroglyph from the Hill of Seth, on the Darb
Ain Amur desert trail between Dakhla and Kharga Oases. New
Kingdom.
After Ikram 2006, Seth Image.



Fig. 3.6.249.
Bimorphic Seth in small faience stela. New Kingdom. Petrie
Museum UC 45220.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.250.
Bimorphic Seth in magic wand. New Kingdom. British Museum
BM EA 58794.
After photograph copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 3.6.251.
Bimorphic Seth gold amulet. New Kingdom. Louvre E 7660.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.252.
Bimorphic Seth gold amulet. New Kingdom. Louvre E 7715.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.253.
Bimorphic Seth gilded bronze amulet. New Kingdom. British
Museum BM EA 22897.
After photograph copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 3.6.254.
Bimorphic Seth bronze amulet. New Kingdom. Ashmolean
Museum.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.255.
Bimorphic Seth bronze amulet. New Kingdom. Berlin Museum
13186.
After photograph courtesy of the Berlin Museum.



Fig. 3.6.256.
Seth deity bronze figurine, New Kingdom. Petrie Museum
UC 79087.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.257.
Bimorphic Seth faience head. 19th Dynasty. Petrie Museum
UC 45218.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.258.
Zoomorphic Seth wooden statuette, 19th-20th Dynasty. British
Museum BM EA 30460.
After photograph copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 3.6.259.
Zoomorphic Seth wooden statuette, 19th-20th Dynasty, from
temple of Seth at Nubt.
After Brunton 1948, Fig. XLVIII 38 copyright Bernard
Quaritch Ltd.



Fig. 3.6.260.
Bimorphic Seth wooden statuette, New Kingdom. Rijksmuseum
van Oudheden, Leiden AH 213.
After photograph copyright of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden.



Fig. 3.6.261.
Bimorphic Seth wooden statuette, New Kingdom. Cairo
Museum JE 38592.
After Daressy 1905, Plate XXXII 39.592



Fig. 3.6.262.
 Bimorphic Seth faience statuette, New Kingdom. Cairo Museum
 JE 38591.
 After Daressy 1905, Plate XXXII 39.591



Fig. 3.5.263.
 Bimorphic Seth bronze statuette converted to Aumn. 19th-20th
 Dynasty, Ny Carlsburg Glyptotek ÆIN 726.
 After photograph copyright of the Ny Carlsburg Glyptotek ,
 Copenhagen.



Fig. 3.6.264.
 Bimorphic Seth head bronze broach or badge with recesses to take
 coloured inlay. New Kingdom. Petrie Museum UC 63715.
 Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.265.
 Zoomorphic Seth decoration to a bronze ring, 18th Dynasty.
 Atkinson Museum, Goodison 299.
 After photograph copyright the Atkinson Museum.



Fig. 3.6.266.
 Zoomorphic Seth limestone statue, 19th-20th Dynasty, Cairo
 Museum CG 42993.
 Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.267.
 Bimorphic Seth from statue of Seth and Nephthys. 19th
 Dynasty. Louvre E3374.
 Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.268.
 Bimorphic Seth from statue of Horus, Ramesses III and Seth.
 20th Dynasty. Cairo Museum.
 Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.269
 Bimorphic Seth 19th Dynasty re-carved as Mehes in 22nd
 Dynasty. Temple of Bastet, Bubastis.
 Author's drawing and author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.270.
 Anthropomorphic Seth from the funerary temple of Hatshepsut,
 Deir el-Bahri, 18th Dynasty.
 After Ćwiek 2008, Fig. 13.

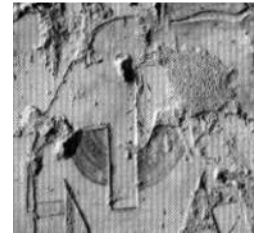


Fig. 3.6.271.
 Anthropomorphic Seth from the funerary temple of Hatshepsut,
 Deir el-Bahri, 18th Dynasty.
 After Ćwiek 2008, Fig. 25.

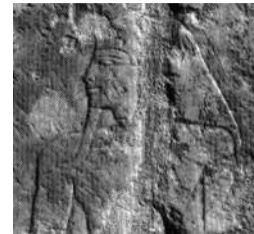


Fig. 3.6.272.
 Anthropomorphic mummiform Seth from south wall of
 sanctuary, chapel of Horemheb, Gebel el-Silsila, 18th Dynasty.
 Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.273.
 Anthropomorphic mummiform Seth from hypostyle hall,
 mortuary temple of Seti I. 19th Dynasty.
 Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.274.
 Anthropomorphic Seth, north face pylon 8, Karnak. 19th
 Dynasty.
 Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.275.
 Anthropomorphic Seth as the 'Divider of the Netherworld', tomb
 of Seti I (KV17). 19th Dynasty.
 Author's drawing after Hornung 1991, Plate 52.



Fig. 3.6.276.
 Anthropomorphic Seth, west wall, hypostyle hall, Karnak. 19th
 Dynasty.
 Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.277.
 Defaced anthropomorphic mummiform Seth, north wall,
 hypostyle hall, Karnak. 19th Dynasty.
 Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.278.
 Defaced anthropomorphic mummiform Seth, south wall,
 hypostyle hall, Karnak. 19th Dynasty.
 Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.6.279.
 Anthropomorphic Seth spearing Apep, stela of Taquina,
 Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden AP 60. New Kingdom.
 After photograph of copyright of Rijksmuseum van Oudheden.



Fig. 3.6.280.
 Zoomorphic Seth on the bottom of a stone seal. Birmingham
 Museum 38430. New Kingdom.
 Author's photograph.



3.7 Seth Images: 3rd Intermediate Period.

Fig. 3.7.1.
 Zoomorphic Seth from temple of Seth Mut el-Kharab, Dakhla
 Oasis.
 Author's drawing after Kaper 2001, Plate 22 Fig. 1b.

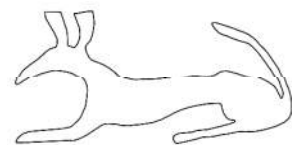


Fig.3.7.2.
 Zoomorphic Seth from the large Dakhla stela, 22nd Dynasty.
 Ashmolean Museum AN1894.107a.
 Author's photograph.

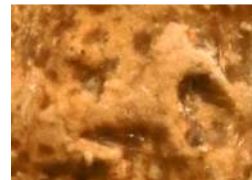


Fig.3.7.3.
 Hieratic C7 Seth from the main body of text large Dakhla stela,
 22nd Dynasty. Ashmolean Museum AN1894.107a.
 Author's photograph.



Fig.3.7.4.
 Hieratic C7 Seth from the main body of text large Dakhla stela,
 22nd Dynasty. Ashmolean Museum AN1894.107a.
 Author's photograph.



Fig.3.7.5.
 Hieratic C7 Seth from the main body of text large Dakhla stela,
 22nd Dynasty. Ashmolean Museum AN1894.107a.
 Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.7.6.
 Bimorphic Seth, east wall of court, temple of Khonsu, Karnak.
 21st Dynasty'
 Author's drawing and author's photograph.



Fig. 3.7.7.
 Bimorphic Seth on the prow of the solar barque spearing Apep
 from Papyrus of Her-Uben B. 21st Dynasty.
 Author's drawing after Piankoff and Rambova 1957, Plate 2.



Fig. 3.7.8.
 Defaced anthropomorphic mummiform Seth north wall of court,
 temple of Khonsu, Karnak. 21st Dynasty.
 Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.7.9.
 Anthropomorphic Seth, south wall festival hall of Osorkon II,
 temple of Bastet, Bubastis. 22nd Dynasty.
 Author's drawing and author's photograph.



Fig. 3.7.10.
 Anthropomorphic Seth, west wall festival hall of Osorkon II,
 temple of Bastet, Bubastis. 22nd Dynasty. Misidentified by
 Montet as Sobek.
 Author's drawing and author's photograph.



3.8 Seth Images: Late Period.

Fig. 3.8.1.
 Zoomorphic Seth from the Shabaka stone, 25th Dynasty. British
 Museum BM EA 498.
 Author's drawing and author's photograph.



Fig. 3.8.2.
Zoomorphic Seth faience amulet, Late Period. Petrie Museum
UC 79085.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.8.3.
Bimorphic Seth faience amulet, Late Period. Ashmolean
Musuem.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.8.4.
Bimorphic Seth with an ass's head, bound and chained from the
Magic Stela, Late Period. August Kestner Museum, Hanover,
1935-200-445.
After photograph copyright of the August Kestner Museum.



Fig. 3.8.5.
Bimorphic Seth with an ass's head, bound to Y stick, Late
Period. Petrie Museum UC 59473.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.8.6.
Bimorphic Seth pierced with knives, tomb of Thety, el-Bawati,
Baharyia Oases, 26th Dynasty.
Author's drawing after Fakhry 1942, Fig. 114.



Fig. 3.8.7.
Bimorphic Seth with a hawk's head, Smaller Dakhla stela. Late
Period. Ashmolean Museum AN1894.107.b
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.8.8.
Anthropomorphic Seth from temple of Amun, Umm Ubaydah,
Siwa Oasis. Late Period.
After Fakhry 1944, Plate IX.



3.9 Seth Images: Ptolemaic Period.

Fig. 3.9.1.
Zoomorphic Seth with canine body and ass's head pierced with a knife. Internal face enclosure wall. Temple of Horus, Edfu.
Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.2.
Zoomorphic Seth with canine body and ass's head pierced with a knife. Internal face enclosure wall. Temple of Horus, Edfu.
Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.3.
Zoomorphic Seth with canine body and ass's head pierced with a knife. Internal face enclosure wall. Temple of Horus, Edfu.
Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.4.
Zoomorphic Seth with canine body and ass's head pierced with a knife. Internal face enclosure wall. Temple of Horus, Edfu.
Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.5.
Zoomorphic Seth with canine body and ass's head pierced with a knife. Internal face enclosure wall. Temple of Horus, Edfu.
Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.6.
Zoomorphic Seth with canine body and ass's head pierced with a knife. External face sanctuary wall. Temple of Horus, Edfu.
Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.7.
Zoomorphic Seth with canine body and ass's head pierced with a knife. External face sanctuary wall. Temple of Horus, Edfu.
Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.8.
Zoomorphic Seth with canine body and ass's head pierced with a knife. External face sanctuary wall. Temple of Horus, Edfu.
Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.9.
Zoomorphic Seth with canine body and ass's head. Internal face enclosure wall. Temple of Horus, Edfu. Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.10.
Zoomorphic Seth with canine body and ass's head pierced with a khepesh. Internal face enclosure wall. Temple of Horus, Edfu. Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.11.
Eroded zoomorphic Seth with canine body and ass's head. Internal face enclosure wall. Temple of Horus, Edfu. Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.12.
Zoomorphic Seth with canine body and ass's head pierced with a knife. Internal face enclosure wall.. Temple of Horus, Edfu. Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.13.
Zoomorphic Seth with an ass's head and canine body pierced with a knife. Internal face enclosure wall.. Temple of Horus, Edfu. Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.14.
Zoomorphic Seth with canine body and ass's head pierced with a knife. Internal face enclosure wall.. Temple of Horus, Edfu. Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.15.
Zoomorphic Seth with canine body and ass's head partially lost through modern re-pointing. Internal face enclosure wall.. Temple of Horus, Edfu. Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.16.
Zoomorphic Seth with canine body and ass's head. Internal face enclosure wall.. Temple of Horus, Edfu. Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.17.
Zoomorphic Seth with an ass's head and canine body pierced with a knife. Internal face enclosure wall. Temple of Horus, Edfu. Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.18.
Zoomorphic Seth with canine body and ass's head. Internal face enclosure wall. Temple of Horus, Edfu. Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph



Fig. 3.9.19.

Zoomorphic Seth with an ass's head and canine body pierced with a knife. Internal face enclosure wall. Temple of Horus, Edfu. Ptolemaic Period. Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.20.

Defaced zoomorphic Seth with an ass's head and canine body pierced with a knife. Internal face enclosure wall. Temple of Horus, Edfu. Ptolemaic Period. Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.21.

Zoomorphic Seth with canine body and ass's head partially lost through modern re-pointing. Internal face enclosure wall. Temple of Horus, Edfu. Ptolemaic Period. Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.22.

Defaced zoomorphic Seth with an ass's head and canine body pierced with a knife. Internal face enclosure wall. Temple of Horus, Edfu. Ptolemaic Period. Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.23.

Zoomorphic Seth with canine body and ass's head pierced with a knife partially lost through modern re-pointing. Internal face enclosure wall. Temple of Horus, Edfu. Ptolemaic Period. Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.24.

Zoomorphic Seth with canine body and ass's head pierced with a knife. External face sanctuary wall. Temple of Horus, Edfu. Ptolemaic Period. Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.25.

Zoomorphic Seth with canine body and ass's head pierced with a knife. External face sanctuary wall. Temple of Horus, Edfu. Ptolemaic Period. Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.26.

Zoomorphic Seth with an ass's head and canine body pierced with a knife. External face sanctuary wall. Temple of Horus, Edfu. Ptolemaic Period. Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.27.

Zoomorphic Seth with an ass's head and canine body. External face sanctuary wall. Temple of Horus, Edfu. Ptolemaic Period. Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.28.
Zoomorphic Seth with an ass's head and canine body. External face of wall of hypostyle hall. Temple of Horus, Edfu. Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.29.
Zoomorphic Seth with an ass's head and canine body. External face of wall of hypostyle hall. Temple of Horus, Edfu. Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.29.
Zoomorphic Seth with canine body and ass's head pierced with a knife. Door jamb hypostyle hall. Temple of Horus, Edfu. Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.30.
Zoomorphic Seth as ass's head and canine body pierced with a knife. Internal face east wall of courtyard. Temple of Horus, Edfu. Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.31.
Zoomorphic Seth as ass's head and canine body pierced with a knife. External face east wall of sanctuary. Temple of Isis, Philae. Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.32.
Zoomorphic Seth as ass's head and canine body pierced with a knife. External face east wall of sanctuary. Temple of Isis, Philae. Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.33.
Zoomorphic Seth as ass's head and canine body pierced with a knife. External face east wall of sanctuary. Temple of Isis, Philae. Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.34.
Zoomorphic Seth as an ass's. External face enclosure wall. Temple of Horus, Edfu. Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.35.
Zoomorphic Seth as an ass. External face sanctuary wall. Temple of Horus, Edfu. Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.36.
Zoomorphic Seth as an ass. Internal face enclosure wall. Temple of Horus, Edfu. Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.37.
Zoomorphic Seth as an ass. Internal face enclosure wall. Temple of Horus, Edfu. Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.38.
Zoomorphic Seth as an ass with a knife piercing the head.
Internal face enclosure wall. Temple of Horus, Edfu. Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.39.
Zoomorphic Seth as an ass with a knife piercing the body.
Internal face enclosure wall. Temple of Horus, Edfu. Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.40.
Zoomorphic Seth as an ass with a harpoon piercing the head.
External face sanctuary wall. Temple of Horus, Edfu. Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.41.
Zoomorphic Seth as an ass with a harpoon piercing the body.
External face sanctuary wall. Temple of Horus, Edfu. Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.42.
Zoomorphic Seth as an ass with a knife piercing the body.
External face sanctuary wall. Temple of Horus, Edfu. Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.43.
Zoomorphic Seth as an ass with a harpoon piercing the body.
External face sanctuary wall. Temple of Horus, Edfu. Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.44.
Zoomorphic Seth as an ass with a harpoon piercing the body.
External face sanctuary wall. Temple of Horus, Edfu. Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.45.
Zoomorphic Seth as an ass with a knife piercing the body.
Internal face east wall of courtyard. Temple of Horus, Edfu.
Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.46.
Zoomorphic Seth as an ass with a knife piercing the body.
Internal face east wall of courtyard. Temple of Horus, Edfu.
Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.47.
Zoomorphic Seth as an ass with a knife piercing the body.
Internal face east wall of courtyard. Temple of Horus, Edfu.
Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.48.
Zoomorphic Seth as an ass with a knife piercing the body.
Internal face east wall of courtyard. Temple of Horus, Edfu.
Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.49.
Zoomorphic Seth as an ass with a knife piercing the body.
Internal face east wall of courtyard. Temple of Horus, Edfu.
Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.50.
Zoomorphic Seth as an ass with a knife piercing the head and
body. External face east wall of sanctuary. Temple of Hathor,
Dendera. Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.51.
Zoomorphic Seth as an ass with a knife piercing the head and
body. External face east wall of sanctuary. Temple of Hathor,
Dendera. Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.52.
Zoomorphic Seth as an ass with a knife piercing the head and
body. External face east wall of sanctuary. Temple of Hathor,
Dendera. Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.53.
Zoomorphic Seth as an ass with a knife piercing the head and
body. External face east wall of sanctuary. Temple of Hathor,
Dendera. Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.54.
Zoomorphic Seth as an ass with a knife piercing the head and body. External face east wall of sanctuary. Temple of Hathor, Dendera. Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.55.
Zoomorphic Seth as an ass with a knife piercing the body. Internal face east wall of Osiris chapel. Temple of Hathor, Dendera. Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.56.
Zoomorphic Seth as an ass. Internal face east wall of Osiris chapel. Temple of Hathor, Dendera. Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.57.
Zoomorphic Seth as an ass. Internal face east wall of Osiris chapel. Temple of Hathor, Dendera. Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.58.
Zoomorphic Seth as an ass being stabbed in the head with a harpoon. Internal face east wall of Osiris chapel. Temple of Hathor, Dendera. Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.59.
Defaced zoomorphic Seth as an ass with a knife piercing the body. Internal face door jamb of hypostyle hall. Temple of Hathor, Dendera. Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.Z zoomorphic Seth as an ass with a knife piercing the body. Hypostyle hall. Temple of Hathor, Dendera. Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.61.
Zoomorphic Seth as an ass with a knife piercing the body. Hypostyle hall. Temple of Hathor, Dendera. Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.62.
Zoomorphic Seth as an ass with a knife piercing the body. Transverse hall. Temple of Hathor, Dendera. Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.63.
Zoomorphic Seth as an ass with a knife piercing the body. Room S. Temple of Hathor, Dendera. Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.64.
Zoomorphic Seth as an ass with a knife piercing the body. Room U. Temple of Hathor, Dendera. Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.65.
Zoomorphic Seth as an ass with a knife piercing the head and body. External face west wall of sanctuary. Temple of Isis, Philae. Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.66.
Zoomorphic Seth as an ass with a knife piercing the head. Room 5. Temple of Isis, Philae. Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.67.
Damaged zoomorphic Seth as an ass with a knife piercing the head. Room 5. Temple of Isis, Philae. Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.68.
Zoomorphic Seth as an ass with a knife piercing the head and body. Roof beam to pronaos. Temple of Isis, Philae. Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.69.
Damaged zoomorphic Seth as an ass being stabbed in the head with a harpoon. External face west wall of sanctuary. Temple of Isis, Philae. Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.70.
Bimorphic Seth with an ass's head tied to a Y stick stabbed in the head and body with knives. East column in the Osiris chapel. Temple of Hathor, Dendera. Ptolemaic Period.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.71.
 Defaced bimorphic Seth with an ass's head bound and stabbed in
 the back with a harpoon. External face west wall of sanctuary.
 Temple of Isis, Philae. Ptolemaic Period.
 Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.72.
 Defaced bimorphic Seth with an ass's head bound and stabbed
 with knives and a harpoon. Stone store. Temple of Isis, Philae.
 Ptolemaic Period.
 Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.73.
 Bimorphic Seth with an ass's head. Sheet 10 Papyrus Jumilhac.
 Ptolemaic Period.
 After Vandier 1962 Fig. X.



Fig. 3.9.74.
 Bimorphic Seth. Hall of offerings. Temple of Horus, Edfu.
 Ptolemaic Period.
 Author's photograph and author's drawing.



Fig. 3.9.75.
 Bimorphic Seth. Hall of offerings. Temple of Horus, Edfu.
 Ptolemaic Period.
 Author's photograph and author's drawing.



Fig. 3.9.76.
 Bimorphic Seth. Stela Brooklyn Museum 16.580.187.
 Ptolemaic Period.
 After photograph copyright of the Brooklyn Museum.



Fig. 3.9.77.
 Bimorphic Seth. Papyrus Salt 825, British Museum BM EA
 10051, 5. Ptolemaic Period.
 After photograph copyright the Trustess of the British Museum.



Fig. 3.9.78.
 Bimorphic Seth. Papyrus Salt 825, British Museum BM EA
 10051, 5. Ptolemaic Period.
 After photograph copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 3.9.79.
 Bimorphic Seth. Papyrus Salt 825, British Museum BM EA
 10051, 5. Ptolemaic Period.
 After photograph copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 3.9.80.
 Bimorphic Seth. Papyrus Salt 825, British Museum BM EA
 10051, 5. Ptolemaic Period.
 After photograph copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 3.9.81.
 Bimorphic Seth with an hawk's head. Temple of Hibis, Kharga
 Oasis. Ptolemaic Period relief replacing 27th Dynasty Relief.
 Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.82.
 Anthropomorphic mummiform Seth, the four cult centres of
 Seth, the Oases, N-shene-n-setekh, Unu and Spermeru. South
 wall 2nd hypostyle hall. Temple of Horus, Edfu. Ptolemaic
 Period.
 Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.83.
 Anthropomorphic mummiform Seth, the four cult centres of
 Seth, the Oases, N-shene-n-setekh, Unu and Spermeru. North
 wall chamber F. Temple of Horus, Edfu. Ptolemaic Period.
 Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.84.

Anthropomorphic Seth, the four cult centres of Seth, the Oases, N-shene-n-setekh, Unu and Spermeru. External face of lintel to chamber E. Temple of Hathor, Dendera. Ptolemaic Period. Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.85.

Seth as a hippopotamus chained and stabbed with a harpoon. Internal face of west enclosure wall. Temple of Horus, Edfu. Ptolemaic Period. Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.86.

Seth as a hippopotamus stabbed with a harpoon. Internal face of west enclosure wall. Temple of Horus, Edfu. Ptolemaic Period. Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.87.

Seth as a hippopotamus stabbed with harpoons. Internal face of west enclosure wall. Temple of Horus, Edfu. Ptolemaic Period. Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.88.

Seth as a hippopotamus stabbed with a harpoon. Internal face of west enclosure wall. Temple of Horus, Edfu. Ptolemaic Period. Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.9.89.

Seth as a hippopotamus chained and stabbed with harpoons. Internal face of west enclosure wall. Temple of Horus, Edfu. Ptolemaic Period. Author's photograph.



3.10 Seth Images: Roman Period.

Fig. 3.10.1.

Bimorphic Seth with a hawk's head killing Apep, dipinto from Shrine IV, temple of Kellis, Dakhla Oasis. 1st Century AD. After Kaper 2002 Plate 5.



Fig. 3.10.2.

Bimorphic Seth with a hawk's head. Temple of Deir el-Hagar, Dakhla Oasis. 1st Century AD. Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.10.3.
Bimorphic Seth with a hawk's head. Temple of Deir el-Hagar,
Dakhla Oasis. 1st Century AD.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.10.4.
Bimorphic Seth with an ass's head. Demotic magic papyrus,
Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden I 384 A. 4th Century AD.
After photograph copyright the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden.



Fig. 3.10.5.
Seth as a turtle being harpooned. Temple of Khnum, Esna. 1st
Century AD.
Author's photograph.



Fig. 3.10.6.
Seth as a turtle being harpooned. Temple of Isis, Deir el-Shelwit.
1st Century AD.
Author's photograph.



Appendix 4 Seth images in the Pyramid of Unas.

4.1 Parameters employed on Seth images in the Pyramid of Unas

Parameter Groupings					
Body and Legs		Brow Ridge		Ear Junction	
Medium, Short	A1	No Brow Ridge	F1	Ear Junction Sharp	J1
Medium, Medium	A2	Subtle Brow Ridge	F2	Ear Markings	
Medium, Long	A3	Prominent Brow Ridge	F3	No Ear Markings	K1
Lean, Short	A4	Headdress		Tail Shape Angle and Length	
Lean, Medium	A5	No Headdress	G1	Straight, 10° to 19°, Short	L1
Lean Long	A6	Ear Shape and Profile		Straight, 20° to 29°, Short	L2
Neck Angle And Banding		Narrow-Parallel, Straight-Straight	H1	Straight, 0° to 9°, Medium	L3
31° to 45° No Banding	B1	Narrow-Parallel, Concave-Convex	H2	Straight, 10° to 19°, Medium	L4
46° to 60° No Banding	B2	Narrow-Narrow, Straight-Straight	H3	Straight, 0° to 9°, Long	L5
Muzzle Shape		Narrow-Narrow, Concave-Convex	H4	Straight, 10° to 19°, Long	L6
Curved, Short, Thin	C1	Narrow-Medium, Straight-Straight	H5	Curved, 0° to 9°, Short	L7
Curved, Short, Medium	C2	Narrow-Medium, Concave-Convex	H6	Curved, -9° to -1°, Medium	L8
Curved, Short, Broad	C3	Narrow-Wide, Straight-Straight	H7	Curved, 0° to 9°, Medium	L9
Curved, Medium, Thin	C4	Narrow-Wide, Concave-Convex	H8	Curved, 0° to 9°, Long	L10
Curved, Medium, Medium	C5	Medium-Narrow, Straight-Straight	H9	Tail Breadth Taper and Junction	
Curved, Medium, Broad	C6	Medium-Medium, Straight-Straight	H10	Thin, Parallel, Abrupt	M1
Curved, Long, Thin	C7	Medium-Medium, Concave-Convex	H11	Thin, Parallel, Smooth Long	M2
Straight, Short, Medium	C8	Ear Length and P and S Angles		Medium, Parallel, Abrupt	M3
Muzzle Drop and Curvature		Medium, P 30° to 39°, S 10° to 19°	I1	Medium, Parallel, Smooth	M4
16° to 30° Medium	D1	Medium, P 40° to 49°, S 0° to 9°	I2	Medium, Parallel, Smooth Long	M5
16° to 30° Shallow	D2	Medium, P 40° to 49°, S 10° to 19°	I3	Medium, Tapered, Smooth	M6
31° to 45° Tight	D3	Medium, P 40° to 49°, S 20° to 29°	I4	Thick, Parallel, Abrupt	M7
31° to 45° Medium	D4	Medium, P 50° to 59°, S 10° to 19°	I5	Thick, Parallel, Smooth	M8
31° to 45° Shallow	D5	Medium, P 70° to 79°, S 20° to 29°	I6	Thick, Tapered, Abrupt	M9
46° to 60° Tight	D6	Long P 10° to 19°, S 0° to 9°	I7	Thick, Tapered, Smooth	M10
46° to 60° Medium	D7	Long P 20° to 29°, S 10° to 19°	I8	Tail Markings	
46° to 60° Shallow	D8	Long P 30° to P 39°, S 0° to 9°	I9	No Tail Markings	N1
46° to 60° Straight	D9	Long P 30° to 39°, S 10° to 19°	I10	Tail Terminals	
Jaw Undercut		Long P 30° to 39°, S 20° to 29°	I11	Arrow Fletchings	O1
No Jaw Undercut	E1	Long P 40° to 49°, S 0° to 9°	I12	Club	O2
		Long P 40° to 49°, S 10° to 19°	I13		
		Long P 40° to 49°, S 20° to 29°	I14		
		Long P 50° to 59°, S 10° to 19°	I15		

4.2 Parameters employed on the Seth images, Antechamber and Passage walls.

	Antechamber											Passage
	W Wall			S Wall			N Wall					N Wall
	S1	S2	SD1	S3	S4	SD2	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10
A - Body and Legs	A2	A2	A5	A6	A6	A5	A2	A6	A6	A6	A2	A3
B - Neck Angle and Banding	B2	B2	B1	B2	B2	B1	B2	B2	B2	B2	B2	B2
C - Muzzle Shape	C5	C2	C6	C2	C2	C5	C2	C4	C2	C5	C2	C5
D - Muzzle Drop and Curvature	D8	D6	D3	D5	D5	D6	D5	D2	D3	D5	D5	D5
E - Jaw Undercut	E1	E1	E1	E1	E1	E1	E1	E1	E1	E1	E1	E1
F - Brow Ridge	F2	F2	F2	F1	F1	F1	F2	F1	F1	F2	F3	F1
G - Headdress	G1	G1	G1	G1	G1	G1	G1	G1	G1	G1	G1	G1
H - Ear Shape and Profile	H3	H10	H11	H9	H3	H10	H3	H2	H3	H3	H7	H3
I - Ear Length P and S Angles	I11	I6	I15	I5	I3	I13	I13	I13	I13	I13	I3	I7
J - Ear Junction	J1	J1	J1	J1	J1	J1	J1	J1	J1	J1	J1	J1
K - Ear Markings	K1	K1	K1	K1	K1	K1	K1	K1	K1	K1	K1	K1
L - Tail Shape Angle Length	L3	L3	L9	L7	L4	L3	L3	L4	L6	L5	L10	L3
M - Tail Breadth Taper Junction	M10	M2	M8	M1	M1	M7	M7	M8	M4	M4	M4	M9
N - Tail Markings	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1
O - Tail Terminals	O1	O1	O1	O1	O1	O1	O1	O1	O1	O1	O1	O1

4.3 Parameters employed on the Seth images, Burial Chamber north wall.

	Burial Chamber													
	N Wall													
	Top Register						Middle Register				Bottom Register			
	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18	S19	S20	S21	S22	S23	S24
A - Body and Legs	A2	A2	A5	A2	A5	A2	A5	A2	A1	A1	A5	A5	A5	A5
B - Neck Angle and	B1	B2	B2	B2	B2	B2	B2	B2	B2	B2	B2	B2	B2	B2
C - Muzzle Shape	C2	C4	C5	C5	C8	C5	C5	C7	C5	C7	C5	C4	C5	C2
D - Muzzle Drop and	D7	D5	D5	D6	D9	D8	D5	D5	D8	D5	D8	D5	D8	D4
E - Jaw Undercut	E1	E1	E1	E1	E1	E1	E1	E1	E1	E1	E1	E1	E1	E1
F - Brow Ridge	F1	F1	F1	F1	F1	F1	F2	F1	F1	F1	F1	F2	F3	F2
G - Headdress	G1	G1	G1	G1	G1	G1	G1	G1	G1	G1	G1	G1	G1	G1
H - Ear Shape and Profile	H3	H4	H3	H3	H3	H3	H5	H10	H3	H6	H4	H4	H3	H4
I - Ear Length P and S	I10	I10	I13	I10	I10	I13	I10	I13	I14	I10	I9	I8	I13	I13
J - Ear Junction	J1	J1	J1	J1	J1	J1	J1	J1	J1	J1	J1	J1	J1	J1
K - Ear Markings	K1	K1	K1	K1	K1	K1	K1	K1	K1	K1	K1	K1	K1	K1
L - Tail Shape Angle	L3	L9	L3	L3	L3	L3	L3	L6	L3	L9	L5	L5	L8	L9
M - Tail Breadth Taper	M8	M4	M3	M6	M4	M10	M6	M5	M4	M4	M4	M4	M3	M5
N - Tail Markings	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1
O - Tail Terminals	O1	O2	O1	O1	O1	O1	O2	O1	O1	O1	O1	O1	O1	O1

4.4 Parameters employed on the Seth images, Burial Chamber east and south walls.

	Burial Chamber											
	East Wall					South Wall						
	S25	S26	S27	S28	S29	S30	S31	S32	S33	S34	S35	S36
A - Body and Legs	A1	A2	A1	A2	A2	A2	A2	A2	A2	A5	A1	A4
B - Neck Angle and Banding	B2	B2	B2	B2	B2	B2	B2	B2	B2	B2	B1	B1
C - Muzzle Shape	C3	C3	C2	C2	C1	C2	C5	C2	C2	C2	C5	C4
D - Muzzle Drop and Curvature	D6	D1	D6	D3	D6	D3	D4	D5	D8	D5	D4	D7
E - Jaw Undercut	E1	E1	E1	E1	E1	E1	E1	E1	E1	E1	E1	E1
F - Brow Ridge	F1	F1	F1	F1	F1	F1	F1	F1	F2	F3	F1	F2
G - Headdress	G1	G1	G1	G1	G1	G1	G1	G1	G1	G1	G1	G1
H - Ear Shape and Profile	H9	H3	H3	H3	H11	H6	H4	H3	H5	H6	H10	H3
I - Ear Length P and S Angles	I15	I13	I13	I12	I14	I1	I11	I13	I3	I1	I13	I10
J - Ear Junction	J1	J1	J1	J1	J1	J1	J1	J1	J1	J1	J1	J1
K - Ear Markings	K1	K1	K1	K1	K1	K1	K1	K1	K1	K1	K1	K1
L - Tail Shape Angle Length	L3	L3	L3	L4	L1	L4	L3	L3	L3	L2	L3	L4
M - Tail Breadth Taper Junction	M3	M4	M3	M1	M7	M3	M10	M4	M3	M4	M4	M3
N - Tail Markings	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1
O - Tail Terminals	O1	O1	O1	O1	O1	O1	O1	O1	O1	O1	O1	O1

4.5 Composition of body, head, ear and tail types.

Body Component Type				
Body Type: Body, Legs, Neck Angle and Banding.				
Body Type B1 A1/B1	Body Type B2 A1/B2	Body Type B3 A2/B1	Body Type B4 A2/B2	Body Type B5 A3/B2
Body Type B6 A4/B1	Body Type B7 A5/B1	Body Type B8 A5/B2	Body Type B9 A6/B2	
Head Type: Muzzle Shape, Muzzle Drop and Curvature, Jaw Undercut, Brow Ridge, Headdress.				
Head Type H1 C1/C6/E1/F1/G1	Head Type H2 C2/D3/E1/F1/G1	Head Type H3 C2/D4/E1/F2/G1	Head Type H4 C2/D5/E1/F1/G1	Head Type H5 C2/D5/E1/F2/G1
Head Type H6 C2/D5/E1/F3/G1	Head Type H7 C2/D6/E1/F1/G1	Head Type H8 C2/D6/E1/F2/G1	Head Type H9 C2/D7/E1/F1/G1	Head Type H10 C2/D8/E1/F2/G1
Head Type H11 C3/D1/E1/F1/G1	Head Type H12 C3/D6/E1/F1/G1	Head Type H13 C4/D2/E1/F1/G1	Head Type H14 C4/D5/E1/F1/G1	Head Type H15 C4/D5/E1/F2/G1
Head Type H16 C4/D7/E1/F2/G1	Head Type H17 C5/D4/E1/F1/G1	Head Type H18 C5/D5/E1/F1/G1	Head Type H19 C5/D5/E1/F2/G1	Head Type H20 C5/D6/E1/F1/G1
Head Type H21 C5/D8/E1/F1/G1	Head Type H22 C5/D8/E1/F2/G1	Head Type H23 C5/D8/E1/F3/G1	Head Type H24 C6/D3/E1/F2/G1	Head Type H25 C7/D5/E1/F1/G1
Head Type H26 C8/D9/E1/F1/G1				
Ear Type: - Ear Shape, Profile, Length Primary and Secondary Angles, Junction and Markings				
Ear Type E1 H2/I13/J1/K1	Ear Type E2 H3/I3/J1/K1	Ear Type E3 H3/I7/J1/K1	Ear Type E4 H3/I10/J1/K1	Ear Type E5 H3/I11/J1/K1
Ear Type E6 H3/I12/J1/K1	Ear Type E7 H3/I13/J1/K1	Ear Type E8 H3/I14/J1/K1	Ear Type E9 H4/I8/J1/K1	Ear Type E10 H4/I9/J1/K1
Ear Type E11 H4/I10/J1/K1	Ear Type E12 H4/I11/J1/K1	Ear Type E13 H4/I13/J1/K1	Ear Type E14 H5/I3/J1/K1	Ear Type E15 H5/I10/J1/K1
Ear Type E16 H6/I1/J1/K1	Ear Type E17 H6/I10/J1/K1	Ear Type E18 H7/I3/J1/K1	Ear Type E19 H9/I5/J1/K1	Ear Type E20 H9/I15/J1/K1
Ear Type E21 H10/I6/J1/K1	Ear Type E22 H10/I13/J1/K1	Ear Type E23 H11/I14/J1/K1	Ear Type E24 H11/I15/J1/K1	
Tail Type: - Tail Shape, Angle, Length, Breadth, Taper, Markings and Terminals.				
Tail Type T1 L1/M7/N1/O1	Tail Type T2 L2/M4/N1/O1	Tail Type T3 L3/M2/N1/O1	Tail Type T4 L3/M3/N1/O1	Tail Type T5 L3/M4/N1/O1
Tail Type T6 L3/M6/N1/O1	Tail Type T7 L3/M6/N1/O2	Tail Type T8 L3/M7/N1/O1	Tail Type T9 L3/M8/N1/O1	Tail Type T10 L3/M9/N1/O1
Tail Type T11 L3/M10/N1/O1	Tail Type T12 L4/M1/N1/O1	Tail Type T13 L4/M3/N1/O1	Tail Type T14 L4/M8/N1/O1	Tail Type T15 L5/M4/N1/O1
Tail Type T16 L6/M4/N1/O1	Tail Type T17 L6/M5/N1/O1	Tail Type T18 L7/M1/N1/O1	Tail Type T19 L8/M3/N1/O1	Tail Type T20 L9/M4/N1/O1
Tail Type T21 L9/M4/N1/O2	Tail Type T22 L9/M5/N1/O1	Tail Type T23 L9/M8/N1/O1	Tail Type T24 L10/M4/N1/O1	