

The Sun Temple of King Niussere (Rathoris)

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Volume II The Small Festival Description

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and 5 Photo Engravings (Title Page, I and II, 8a and 8b)



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Translated (version 20171130) from German by: Stardust Doherty (with assistance from Bernhard Ruchti, Jean Daniel DEGREEF, and Christoph Hemmer). Translation comments appear in {curly brackets}. Translation uses Manuel de codage transliterations.

Note from Jean Daniel DEGREEF: The order of the rituals is the opposite of that adopted by Kees (the procession marks the beginning of the festival, not its end; the foundation occurs on the last day, see DEGREEF, 2009, on Academia.edu). This can be seen thanks to the great similarities with the New Year Festival on pBrooklyn 47.218.50 and by the numbering of the registers in the scenes at the temple of Soleb. None of these had been published when Kees wrote this book.

The latest versions of this and other translations appear at: <http://trueofvoice.com/translations>

Publications of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences in Munich:

Untersuchungen zu den Reliefs aus dem Re-Heiligtum des Rathures. I. {Investigations on the Reliefs from the Sun Temple of Rathures. I.} By Friedrich Wilhelm Freiherrn von Bissing with the collaboration of H. Kees. (Publication of the Bavarian Academy, Phil. Hist. Class, Volume 31, 3, published 1922.)

Publications of J.C. Hinrich's Bookstore in Leipzig:

Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-re (Rathures). {The Sun Temple of King Niuserre (Rathures)}. Edited by Friedrich Wilhelm von Bissing. Volume I: The Construction. By Ludwig Borchardt. (VII, 89 pp.) Folios with 62 illustrations, 5 black-and-white and 1 colored sheet. 1905. Bound BF 40.

From Friedrich Wilhelm von Bissing:

Der Bericht des Diodor über die Pyramiden. The Report of Diodorus on the Pyramids (Bibl. I, 63: 2–64). (40 pp.) Octavo size. 1901. BF 2.

Geschichte Ägyptens im Umriß von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Eroberung durch die Araber. {History of Egypt in Outline from the Earliest Times to the Conquest by the Arabs.} With a sketched map of the Nile Valley 2., unabridged edition. (VIII, 185 pp.) Octavo size. 1911. BF 3.

Ein Thebanischer Grabfund aus dem Anfang des Neuen Reichs. {A Theban Tombstone from the Beginning of the New Kingdom. (V, 27 pp.) Cross-Folio. With 13 partly colored plates. 1900. BF 75.

Die Mastaba des Gem-ni-kai. {The Mastaba of Gem-ni-kai.} Vols. I & II,1. Folio BF 70.

I: Published in association with A. E. P. Weigall. (VIII, 42 pp.) 33 plates. 1905. BF 35.

II,1: Published in conjunction with Max Bollacher and A. E. P. Weigall. (VIII, 43 pp.) With 44 plates. 1911. BF 35.

By Hermann Kees:

Der Opfertanz des ägyptischen Königs. {The Offering Dance of the Egyptian King.} (VII, 292 pp.) Octavo size. With 7 plates. 1912. BF 10.

Studien zur ägyptischen Provinzialkunst. {Studies on Egyptian Provincial Art.} (VIII, 32 pp.) Octavo size. With 9 plates. 1921. BF 2.7.


Horus und Seth als Götterpaar. {Horus and Seth as a Divine Couple.}. First part. (Mitteilungen der voerderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft, 1923, 1) (72 pp.) Octavo size. 1923.

Basic Figure (BF) times Key Figure gives the selling price. - For foreign countries in foreign currency.

1. Overview of the Depictions

Folio 1. Ceremonies at the Foundation of the Temple (Chapter I).

1a. The King inspects the construction of the Palace of the Sed festival; he is wearing a skirt with a tail and a headcloth. To the left of this was the counting of the cattle (see p.20); at the right, on 1b, the laying of the bricks (p.11), removing the sand (p.9), digging the soil (p.6), and making the bricks (p.10). The interpretation of the remnants obtained on the right-hand side has not been found (p.11).

2. The king, in the presence of the *imi-chent* {m xnt, , presents the foundation stone (p.6), and twice, with the goddess Seshat, stretches out the measuring knot for laying out the building site (p.4). The king is wearing a skirt with a tail in all the depictions. The remains left on the far right do not permit any interpretation.

Folio 2. Ceremonies at the Foundation of the Temple, Fragments (Chapter 1).


3. Digging the soil, removing the sand. 4. Stretching the knot. 5. Removing the sand. 6. Digging the soil (?)

Folio 3. Counting the Cattle and Beginning the Festival (Chapters I and II).


7a. Counting the cattle. It includes a narrow text (see 9–10), which may have shown Sem priests, lector priests, and temple guards receiving reports of account statements (p.22). Further, in all likelihood, a procession in which the King walked in the festival cloak, accompanied by numerous officials. The Great Ones of Upper and Lower Egypt (see Folio 9, 20) have prostrated themselves before the procession, in which are the litters of the Royal Princes and a Princess. The procession was presumably visiting the Heb-Sed Chapel.

7c clearly connects to 7a.

8. The King kneels in a sacred act (p.24) accompanied by numerous followers.



9, 10b. Livestock count. The king is represented by an official, the *h'ri idb* {Hr-idb, }. The cow goddess Secha't-Hor {Sechat-Hor} is present (p.20). The left part of 10b and 10a refers exclusively to the king's inspection of the construction work (p.17).

Folio 4. Offering Procession before the Throne Pavilion (Chapter IV).


11a. The king is enthroned in the double Sed festival pavilion, one half of which remains empty; he is wearing the festival cloak and the "flail" (flyswatter?). A procession is approaching, at the head of which is the "door keeper" {iri-wp-aAw, }, followed by the singers of Pe and Dep. Then the prophet of Sobek, accompanied by native reed bearers; followed by two men with libation boxes and three feather-wielding prophets. The procession lays down the gifts before the throne of the king. We find the king again on the throne at the far right: priests hurry through the courtyard with the gods chapels, in which the throne is set up toward the "east door" (the Apis Chapel) (p.65–69 see Supplement A).

Folio 5. Offering Procession. Fragments (Chapter IV).


12a, b. Procession of the prophet of Sobek, accompanied by reed bearers and priests (p.55).

12c. March of the priests; in the upper field, and also the door keeper {female, iri-t-wp-aAw, } (p.65), in the lower one, the prophet of Sobek, the singers of Pe and Dep, the Imiut {imi-w-t, , only top visible, perhaps a placenta standard, parallel depiction to 11a} (p.52, 65).

Folio 6. Presentation of the Sacrificial Animals to the King (Chapter IV).

13. On the throne, with its right half unoccupied (contrary to the drawing), a lector priest receives an evolving procession. The "Count" is portrayed frequently, from which it appears that there are several separate acts. In the lowest strip, where the Sem priest stands at the steps of the throne, the procession is departing. Standards of the gods, including the cow goddess, lead every time. The inscriptions "Offering", "One comes and sees", and the picture to the left concern the transfer of offerings to the king who, for his part, transfers them to the gods (p.70 ff.). Such presentations of offerings must also have also occurred in 14–16. Apparently the "Count" delivers the actual goods here, the inscriptions above the animals assign them to certain deities – Horus, Anubis, the Ment, Buto, the Duau, two unreadable (p.56) and the *ça'-šm`ei* or *ça'i-šm`ei* {TA-Sma, , written nearly the same as the Upper Egyptian Vizier (p.56 f.). The uppermost strip of 13 preserves the remains of a depiction of an offering dance (see Folio 13, 33b).

Folio 7. Gods and Sacrificial Animals (Chapter III).

17, 18. Fragments of gods' lists with sacrificial animals and priests. In 18 appear Seth (p.36), Anubis, Horus? (contrary to the drawing, we believe him to be read with certainty under Anubis); next Nekhbet, Mis? (or Smi) {probably *mizwt*, , a form of the White Crown}. In 17, the Libyan Neith, the eye of Neith, Seshat, the priests of the prophet Sais, a priest of the Duau (p.44, 47, 49, 72).


Folio 8a. Priests and Standards of the Gods (Chapters III, IV).



19a. At the top of the strip are sacrificial animals and priests; under the separating strip of stars, a lector priest stands with the inscription "Offering!" and opposite him two singers. In the next strip, the occurrence of the cow deity among the gods' standards probably indicates the delivery of the sacrificial animals. In the lowest strip, the "Count" (or the "Mouth of the God") with a club and a tight cloak (p.75). By comparison with Folio 6, 13, the throne of the ruler who receives the gifts must be to the left of the lector priest.

Folio 8b. Priests (Chapter IV).

19b. This piece immediately adjoins 19a. The strip with the inscription appears to contain a list of titles (the Vizier of Upper Egypt, officials of the Royal Castles, the Royal ...). Kees, however, is inclined to recognize "special gods" here (p.75 ff.) because of the arrangement which corresponds to Folio 7, 17 and 9, 20 and the recurrence of the first name in Folio 6, 13.

Folio 9. The List of the Gods and Washing the Feet of the King (Chapter IV).

20a, b, c. To the right side of the fragments, there is a list of gods and offerings (p.76, 78). The feet of the Egyptian king are washed, after which he retreats into the hall. At the door, the *iri-sma'* {iri-zmA, , possibly "in charge of the union" (of the king who unites heaven to earth when walking up the stairs of the podium)} awaits his master. Flail bearer and door-hinge bearer {or half-sky-sign bearer, which could mean that the king may pass through the celestial doors or that he rules over the two halves of the sky?}, a priest, and a singer represent the entourage. The Great Ones of Upper and Lower Egypt have prostrated themselves before the procession (p.76).





21, 22. The *ro-nçer* {r-nTr, } ("Mouth of the King") was depicted twice, and the throne (*tp rdui*, {tp-rd-rd, , p.86) was formerly shown on the right side of 22.

Folio 10. Throne Scenes. Fragments (Chapter IV).

23, 24. The king sits on the throne; before him stands the Sem priest, the lector priest, and "Man comes and sees." In 24 left, the Great Ones of Upper and Lower Egypt have thrown themselves to the ground


again (p.77). Fragment 26 is to be completed according to the others. 25 shows the departing procession; the inscription appears to mean "Withdraw, line up" (p.71 f.).

Folio 11. Homage Before the Throne Pavilion (Chapter IV).




27. On the left, the king of Upper Egypt sits on the throne, on whose steps the *chri-nu-s* {Xri-nws, , headcloth bearer} sat with fan and flail. In the entourage were a lector priest, the Khonsu standard, the *h'ri-idb* {Hr-idb, , a "friend" with sandals, and a bearer of the Amon symbol (p.54 f.). On the right is a long procession, in which the gods of the Horus dignitaries go along with them, towards the (broken-off) throne, on whose steps the Sem priest waits. Behind the Horus dignitaries march a man with an unexplained scepter-like symbol and the Heliopolitan {Atum}, with nobles squatting in front of the gods. In the lower strip, the Great Ones of Lower and Upper Egypt have prostrated themselves before Upuaut {Wepwawet} and his entourage (bow and *pez-'eh'e* {pD-aHa, meaning undefined, although it could be instead rs, , a quiver}), while at the end stands a shepherd (p.81, 46). From the left, two *iri-sma's* {iri-zmA, , possibly "in charge of the union" (of the king who unites heaven to earth when walking up the stairs of the podium)} come to the group and call "Back!". The Hermopolitan stands separately on the right. The inscription behind names a Sem priest and, for a second time, a Hermopolitan (it seems that his image was omitted), a priest from Lower Egyptian(?) Hermopolis (p.79). Based on the shepherd's gesture, the whole event seems to be a consecration scene. A lector priest crouches in the lowest strip, only a small part of which is preserved. The inscription "walking around" seems to refer to ceremonies in which the priests alternate their positions (p.81, 88).

In 28, the nobles are named again, likewise in 30 (with an inscription). In 29, the standards of Horus and Thoth are borne, and 31 contains a further mention of the Hermopolitan.

Folio 12. The Sem and Other Priests Before the Throne (Chapter IV).

32. In front of the King's throne, divine standards are erected on three strips. The Sem, the king's representative, loosens his {own} panther skin, then puts it down. The consecrations in which the prince of the king took part are over. In the lowest strip, where the Phennesis {Isis priest? more likely just a priest} (p.43) carries the Khonsu standard many people sit before the palace. The conclusion on the right depicts the *h'ri idb* {Hry-wDb, , Master of the King's Largess}. The inscription between him and a sandal carrier could be understood as "the descendants of the throne" and to refer to the king (p.84).


Folio 13. Visit to the Gods' Chapels and Offering Dance (Chapter V).

33a,b. On the far left, the king, in a festival cloak, stands in the chapel, for which the gods' picture is unfortunately lost. Then he goes out of the chapel in a great procession in which stand out, among other things, a priestess, a man with an Amun symbol, and a Minu(? or Su) {now clearly identifiable as mnw, , Min} priest. The pointed form of the otherwise club-shaped scepter of the *chri-nus* {Xri-nws, , headcloth bearer} is strange. "The god bearers make their way" to the sacred square, marked by irregular rectangles (p.85 f.). Next, the king, greeted by the *iri-sma'* {iri-zmA, , possibly "in charge of the union" (of the king who unites heaven to earth when walking up the stairs of the podium)}, walks to the throne. The offering dance is depicted in the lower part: in the festival cloak, the king leaves the chapel of the Upuaut {Wepwawet}, goes into the palace, where he is dressed to run; the king dances in a skirt with a tail, flail, and *mks* {container for imt-pr property deed, sign of being the rightful heir} in his hands; he runs the field four times, then changes his crown in the palace; the dance repeats and, finally, the king returns to the palace to change his clothes (p.87 ff.).

Folio 14. Offering Dance. Fragments (Chapter V).

34. As the division shows, both dances were depicted here; at the end of the first one is "hurry very quickly". A further inscription including "the gift of the field" returns in 36, and probably also 37, while 35 is a parallel to the conclusion of 33a (p.87, 89).

Folio 15. The Litter is Brought Before the King (Chapter VII).

38. In front of the (almost destroyed) throne, the lector priest stood with the inscription "Offering!", underneath which is the Sem priest, to whom comes a procession which is led by the "Companion of the King of Lower Egypt," Upuaut {Wepwawet}, in both strips, and which, by the way, both times (contrary to the drawing), has the uraeus over the cup. This features Lower Egypt, and this corresponds to the form of the litter, which is "placed on the ground at the throne", in order to receive the ruler (p.91 f.). Functioning as bearers are the "Count", the *chri-ue'* {Xri-mdw, , bearer of the staff}, and the Great Ones of Upper and Lower Egypt, who have thrown themselves to the ground on the far right (p.92). Whether the third strip from above, where the figures have a reverse direction, is the return of the procession from the throne into the district of the Great Ones, or how else this strip relates to the other is uncertain (p.92, where the inset is better painted in the line 20 from the top).

Folio 16. The King Leaves the Throne and Climbs into the Litter (Chapter VII).


39. The king descends from the throne to a waiting escort, who sings a song. Then he enters a building, in which he "puts on the Sed garment of royal four-threaded fabric". On the outside, according to the picture, it is quite similar to the usual festival cloak. At the ceremony, the ruler led a numerous entourage, which began singing the song "Here comes the King of Lower Egypt". We note the Phennesis {Isis priest? More likely just a priest} with the Khonsu standard, the two door-hinge bearers {or half-sky-sign bearers, which could mean that the king may pass through the celestial doors or that he rules over the two halves of the sky?}, the chief of Pe, whose goal appears to be the chapel of the Libyan Horus, whose prophet presents a giant scepter, accompanied by the Great Ones of Upper and Lower Egypt who crouch on the ground. Apparently, the throne was erected at this chapel, which the king had exchanged with the litter, upon which the Sem "sits". The explanation of the left end of 39 is given in Folio 17, 42 (p.94 ff.).

40 with the inscription "Sits on the {Spa'?'} litter by means of the Sem", and 41, are Upper Egyptian parallel depictions with slight deviations. The inscription "Sit down" probably refers to the litter (p.98).

Folio 17. The King Climbs into the Litter (Chapter VII).

42. The left end corresponds to the center of Folio 16, 39, while the right makes the left end of 39 understandable. In both cases the representation is Lower Egyptian. The king sits on the litter in front of the empty throne, on whose steps the reciting "Chief of Pe" stands. A man at the king's feet speaks with the Chief of Pe, a likely reconstruction of which is: "Recite four times: Silence! The right one is on the left side; the left one is on the right side." (p.99 ff.). 43 gives a parallel to the right side of 42. The divider between the priests should probably only separate the inscriptions.

Folio 18. Final Procession: Visit to Various Divine Chapels (Chapter VIII).


44a. The litter with the king is lifted, carried away by the *imiu-chent* {m xnt, , along with numerous escorts (including the door-hinge bearers {or half-sky-sign bearers, which could mean that the king may pass through the celestial doors or that he rules over the two halves of the sky?} and the scorpion bearer). Besides the crook and the flail, the king now holds the Ua' {wAs} scepter, which was handed over to him by the Libyan Horus. Before entering the sacred district, the white sandals are loosened, the feet washed by "friends" (see Folio 19, 45a, b). In 44b, c (see Folio 19, 55b), the lector

priest presents arrows and a bow to the Sem. These he presents in 44a, c, to the King, who now visits the chapel of Horus of Edfu. The event, which is clearer in Folio 19, 45b, repeats when he visits the chapel of the Seth of Ombos, in 44c. From both gods, the king receives defense and weapons. Then, supported by the guardians of Hierakonpolis {Nekhen}, the ruler left the sanctuary of Seth of Ombos, under the singing of the prophets "Life and power may give the souls of Hierakonpolis {Nekhen}." The king awaits the god Horus' dignitaries. In his name, the Sem says, "An offering which the king gives, for the Itrti {itrt, literally "row of chapels", shrines of Upper and Lower Egypt, forming a "national shrine"} in ointments, linen, food." The procession ends in the district of the Great Ones.

The king's children wait here in a litter in the procession, between two singers and the kneeling lector priest, facing the cupbearer who is about to pour out an offering from a bowl (p.107 ff.). The rest we learn from...

Folio 19. Final Procession: Upper Egyptian Half (Chapter VIII).

45b does not require any particular explanation (see above, p.107 ff.).

45a. The king's feet are washed once again (this was shown at the right end of Folio 18) and he now visits the Per-uer, the residence of the Horus dignitaries. The Great Ones of the barque (litter) carry him there. After a visit to the national shrine (see Folio 20, 46), the king, preceded by the Horus dignitaries, is carried by the *imiu-chent* {m xnt, 

Folio 20. Final Procession: Upper Egyptian Half. Fragments (Chapter VIII).

44–49. The explanation follows from the remark noted in Folios 18–19. The affiliation of 48 with the mention of the souls of Hierakonpolis is not assured (see Folio 18, 44d).

Folio 21. Final Procession: Lower Egyptian Half (Chapter VIII).


50a, b. The explanation follows from the remark noted in Folios 18–19. Instead of the two children of the king, three appear here – only the majority are represented (p.110). At the right end, a festival cart, the Upper Egyptian form of the litter, has been depicted, which the king has left to switch with the Lower Egyptian form. From this seems to emerge the temporal precedence of the Upper Egyptian procession before the Lower Egyptian. The chapel visits are missing here.

Folio 22. Final Procession, Fragments (Chapter VIII).

51–55. The explanation follows from the remark noted in Folios 18–19. New is only that the Great Ones of Upper and Lower Egypt have prostrated themselves in 51 during the washing of the feet and at the beginning of the procession. We see how incomplete the individual sequences are.


Folio 23. The King Directs the Offerings to the Priests (Chapter VI).

56a,b–59. As shown on p.90 ff., for example, these pictures, which show the ruler's visit to the recording of the offerings, belong right in the middle of the festival. Priests bowed and receive the offerings: in 56, oil and plants for incense; in 58, linen for their gods, under which the Ment appears. The interpretation of the inscriptions has mostly not been successful. In 56b, on the right, the

inscription remains: "Depositing heart and legs". The pieces 56a, b were already stored away in the warehouses of the Cairo Museum before the war, and the mocking attitude of the French colleagues toward every scientific point of view after the war, made it impossible to attempt a comparative, almost completely reliable drawing (p.90). The affiliation of 57 is only developed from a depiction of the chest. The play is important, because it shows that besides the Great Ones of Upper and Lower Egypt, the *imiu-chent* {m xnt, }; throw themselves to the ground. 59 comes from a chest.

Folio 24. Fragments.

60–78. In 60, we find a mention of the treasure house; in 61, Sais is named, see Folio 7, 17. In 62, {the} Upuaut {Wepwawet standard} is with the bow bearer behind a king's child, who has no canopy over him.

63 Arrows and Upuaut {Wepwawet} (the drawing is not quite accurate). 64 is a prayer and over a man "km" (a title?). For 65, see Folio 13, 33a. In 68, the "king's child" wears a beard (p.110). In the following fragments, a sloppy drawing of the King's legs was noted in 73, Imiut {imi-w-t, , perhaps a placenta standard} in 72, and the sign of Amon in 76. 75 contains all sorts of offerings.


Folio 25. Fragments.

Among all the fragments 79–101, of which several belong to lists of sacrificial animals, the only giving occasion for comments are: 86 has a diagonal depiction, 88 with the king's children, 90 with the bowing of the Great Ones of Upper and Lower Egypt, and 96 with the representation of the sacrificial table, 97 with a deviant form of the throne, 99 with the seated king, and 101 with the remarkable southern plant (as in the Chefren {Khafre or Khafra} statues of Giza).

Supplement A. Visit to the Apis Chapel (p.68 f.).

Z. 241 & Z. 975. (Here with drawings and text are the investigations of the reliefs of the "great festival depiction" from court and obelisk passages, which are not yet published, apart from a few samples.) On the far left, the head of the Apis bull, described in an inscriptions appears in his chapel. In accordance with the inscription "going out from the eastern door", it seems to be a newly enthroned Apis (p.69). The hurrying priests seem to catch up with him in his chapel, which is presumably among the Heb Sed palaces. In the lower strip, the Sobek priest and club-wielding prophets were depicted. Note the multiple corrections in the relief drawing.

Supplement B. Priests and Officials (p.71).

Berlin Inventory 14094. The lector priest who calls "Offering!" stands opposite the *iri-sma'* {iri-zmA, , possibly "in charge of the union" (of the king who unites heaven to earth when walking up the stairs of the podium)}, behind which the procession of the Horus dignitaries moves away. Between them is the inscription "One comes and sees", which perhaps refers to the people depicted in the lower strip. These have, as in Berlin Inventory 14095 reveals more clearly, a wolf's skin over their heads and are holding scepters crowned by a wolf head. They carry the title of temple guards. The guardian of Nekhen strides behind them (p.77). In 14094, the presence of the cow goddess, together with the inscriptions (which are more abbreviated than in 14095: "Come! Offering!") indicate the delivery of the offerings, and perhaps the right end of 14094 contains the beginning of a list of offerings (p.78).

In order to reproduce the artistic character of the reliefs, which is not fully expressed in Rexhausen's sketches, some of the reliefs preserved in Cairo have been watercolored, under my direction, by Mr. R. Fosse and reproduced by the firm of Obernetter. The title page is from Folio 9, 20. Table I corresponds to the middle of Folio 13, 33b and Table II to Folio 18, 44c. Compare also the Folios 8a, b, for which there are no Rexhausen drawings.

2. On the order of the picture series

A complete reconstruction of the series of pictures in the sacristy of the Sun Shrine is, unfortunately, out of the question due to the fragmentary state of the preserved reliefs. Anyhow, it had to be attempted to briefly summarize the reasons for this, for it is also theoretically important to see how an artist of the Old Empire seeks a solution to the task of depicting a continuous story in a series of pictures. The few pieces found *in situ*, the different heights of the individual strips, and the wall approaches preserved on individual relief panels, are indicative of this.

In situ pieces are found in three places: the large relief of the closing ceremony Folio 18, 44a–d, on the southern half of the front wall, Upper Egyptian, then the corresponding Egyptian piece, Folio 21, 50b, on the north half of the front wall, and in the same place, a long piece of the outer side of the front wall, which was also embossed with reliefs, but only with remnants of the figures on the lower strips, so that it is not easy to determine whether the depiction was either Upper Egyptian or Lower Egyptian¹; a little further from the north (right) half of the rear wall with the depiction of the king on the litter still standing on the ground (Folio 17, 43), is likewise at first uncertain whether Upper or Lower Egyptian. This yields first the heights of the lowest picture strip on the three walls; and they were²: the southern front wall, 63 cm; the northern front wall, 70–72 cm; and the rear wall, about 43.5 cm. The greatest difference is that the rear wall began with a far lower row because of the absence of the lowest strip which usually contains the entourage, that, for example, is also present in Folio 16, 39, and Folio 17, 42, in contrast to Folio 17, 43.

Already in the preliminary report, A.Z. 38, p.98, the excavation leaders stated: "These depictions seem to be... available in two copies. In one, the king appears with the crown of Upper Egypt and the other with that of Lower Egypt, and these two series, as can be seen from the three pieces found *in situ*, were correspondingly distributed to the north and south halves of the room."

After that, they already regarded that piece from Folio 17, 43, as Lower Egyptian, as now also confirmed by the shape of the litter (Untersuchungen {*Investigations*}, p.92), and likewise the remains of the depiction on the northern half of the outer front wall.

However, considerable difficulties are encountered in the attempt to divide.

Let us begin with the final procession from which most of the pieces are preserved³, three of which were found *in situ*.

In addition to the large reliefs found *in situ*, Folio 19, 45a–d, Upper Egyptian fragments are available: the two large pieces, Folio 19, 45a–b, are in opposite directions of each other as shown in Folio 18, 44a–d. 45b shows a terminating strip on the right, as in 44a (left), installed as a termination for the door jamb: the same must also be assumed here as well. 45a, on the other hand, shows a wall approach on the left. Both pieces have the same row height of 63.5 centimeters, and are undoubtedly connected, but the missing depiction is to be supplemented with the offering scene in front of the two national shrines in the center, according to Folio 18, 44d. Because of the terminating strips, this series should be placed on the outer side of the southern front wall, that is, in the back of the large relief block, Folio 18. Available there was a wall length of 3.80 (without posts): 45a has a length of 104 cm, supplemented by

1 The latter piece has not been included in the drawing, since it remained in place. The intended reproduction of all the relief blocks found *in situ*, according to existing photographs, was unfortunately forbidden due to time constraints.

2 All the data on the heights of the picture strips are calculated exclusively from the separate star friezes, which are about 6 cm in height each time.

3 The lowest row of plates, by their nature, escaped the grasp of the lime burners.

the last incomplete field, i.e. about 130 cm; 45b one such of 136 cm, supplemented to about 150 cm; both together about 2.80 m. Thus, 70 cm are available to fill with the missing field (offering in front of the two national shrines), which coincides almost exactly with the size of the relevant field, Folio 18, 44d (72 cm).

Thus, the allocation of Folio 19, 45a–b, to the lowest row of the outer side of the southern front wall can be regarded as almost certain.

In the same image direction ←, however, fragments of two other parallel depictions are still preserved: Folio 20, 46, and Folio 20, 47, in which, unfortunately, the full strip height can not be determined. It is also probable that Folio 20, 48, comes from a parallel depiction (with image direction →) of the offering before the national shrines (see Folio 18, 44d). Thus the scene was represented not only in the lowest row of the front wall, and so the question now is whether one of the higher rows contained the same depiction, or whether the pieces should be assigned to other walls, such as the back wall, immediately preceding the story line: the king climbs into the litter in front of the throne (Folio 17, 43).

In the parallel Lower Egyptian depictions of the final procession, the following can be observed: The beginning (Folio 21, 50b) is preserved *in situ* on the northern half of the front wall (inner side); the available wall length was only 2.80 m, since the door is not in the middle of the wall. The depiction could therefore not be as extensive as in the Upper Egyptian half of the wall, so the washing of the feet is absent; besides, here, for internal reasons, the two fields with the visit of the chapels of Horus and Seth could be omitted; the conclusion with the offerings to the national shrines was present, however, as shown in Folio 21, 50a. This piece almost certainly belongs in the same row as 50b, because it has the same row height: about 70–72 cm.

To verify the number and order of the fields on this Lower Egyptian half, we still have the remains of the lowest strips still *in situ* from the outer side of the same front wall.

A brief description has to serve in place of rendering an image, which is presently not possible based on the existing photographic records.

The plates are still preserved at a length of about 2.15 m; toward the door jamb, the terminating strip is probably missing, just as it is preserved on Folio 21, 50b; that is, about 20 cm, so that about 45 cm on the right at the edge of the wall are lost and must be supplemented. By comparison with Folio 21, 50b, the remains of the lowest strips of two picture frames could be determined from the preserved piece, each with 6 or 7 figures of the entourage. The "Mouth of the God" is at the top both times, but there is no separation between him and the last figure of the next field, the so-called door-hinge bearer {or half-sky-sign bearer, which could mean that the king may pass through the celestial doors or that he rules over the two halves of the sky?}, who must be assumed here in accordance with 50b.

There followed a piece, preserved only in very poor remains: I recognized there (from left to right) a kneeling priest with one hand on his chest, the other raised. The remnants of the inscription confirm a man who stands opposite him as the "Cupbearer of the God"; the same is also found in Folio 18, 44d, with the corresponding *fcht* {f xt = fAi ixt, bring a meal (probably morning meal)} inscription between them. The image field therefore corresponds to the fourth of the relief row, Folio 18.

Following again in the general → direction: a man with one hand on his breast while the other is hanging down, then a lector priest with hands hanging quietly; that is to say, according to what we see on the parallel section of the Lower Egyptian inner wall, Folio 21, 50a, where the image field of the offering scene is lost. The row of royal children in the litter, with the "feeding determinative" under them, now follows concordantly, except that on the outer wall there are four litters, as opposed to the three on the inside.

Furthermore, the leg remains of the two mutually opposing persons are preserved; in the latter, a sign of his inscription establishes that he is the "singer" (*chn* {*xnw*, musician}), the other must also, as on Folio 21, 50a, be a lector priest.

There are still remains preserved of the next and thus the fourth picture field, and indeed from the group of two people singing the hymn of the "Protection of the Earth", are easily recognizable in their characteristic position, then the block also breaks here, so that approximately 45 cm of supplementation are required.

Thus it is impossible that a continuation of the Offering Scene to the Souls still followed a set of three pictorial fields, as in the Upper Egyptian series (Folio 19, 45a, see also Folio 18, 44d). There is only room for the completion of the one image, of which the beginning is preserved. This was probably the Scene of the Entrance into the Palaces at the end of the walls.

The final Lower Egyptian procession of the lower row thus had only four pictures.

For the reconstruction of the inner front wall, it follows that piece 50a has to be so close to 50b that only the field begun on 50b can be completed; behind 50a, there followed only a field of the kind, as shown in Folio 22, 52, that is preserved from another parallel Lower Egyptian depiction.

Now we still have remnants of Lower Egyptian parallel depictions, Folio 22, 51 and 52. For 51, the height of the picture strip is about 70 cm; for 52, it can not be ascertained with certainty. The composition differed here: in 51, we have left the remnants of the Washing of the Feet Scene on the left for the Lower Egyptian series.

The expansion in length cannot be determined properly in this case; however, Folio 22, 52, shows a wall approach on the right.

If we complete the whole initial part of the procession on the left before 51, that is, up to and including the Offering Scene to the Souls, as shown in Folio 21, 50a–b, this considerably exceeds the extent of the Lower Egyptian half of the front wall (2.80 m). On pieces 51 and 52, the composition is expanded even further, so that the picture fields are wider than on the parallel Upper Egyptian depictions, Folio 19, 45a. Because of the wall approach to the right, 52 might perhaps originate from the back wall, but it should have had no lower strips, because on Folio 17, 43, we had given a height of 43–43.5 cm for the lowest row of the back wall. Then Folio 22, 51, would not belong here, a presumption which also becomes more likely that in the case of the parallel Upper Egyptian depiction Folio 19, 45, there is still only one field between the Washing of the Feet and the final image, whereas if one combines 51 and 52 on one row, two fields would have to be made.

We must also note that, apart from the picture strips, there are still two ← oriented parallel Upper Egyptian pieces on the outside and inside of the front wall (Folio 20, 46–47).

Folio 22, 51, among the secure pieces, therefore, is ruled out for the lowest image of the rear wall; it must be placed in a series with depictions with rows of about 67 cm in height. This is found again in Folio 17, 42, a parallel depiction in Folio 43, but again just as Folio 22, 51, with lower strips (*entourage*).

Of the smaller pieces remain Folio 22, 55, apparently from a → direction parallel scene from a field in the Offering to the Souls, possibly from a series with 51 or 52.

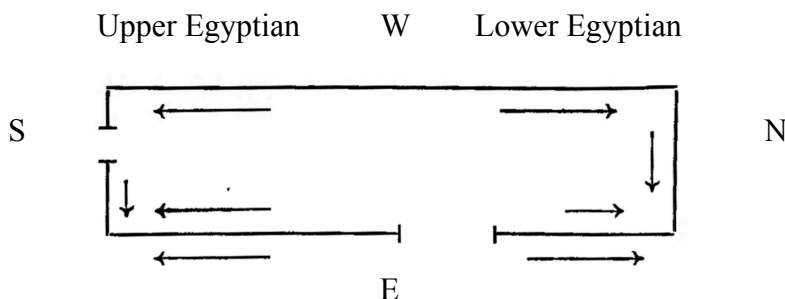
The place where Folio 17, 43, sat on the wall proves that the back wall was divided into an Upper Egyptian and a Lower Egyptian half, the left (southern) portion was Upper Egyptian, the right was Lower Egyptian, and the latter had → as the main direction of the action (see Folio 17, 42).

It is now necessary to look for the existence of any indications that the Upper Egyptian part of the wall, by contract, had the ← direction, that is, that the series of pictures ran here from the center of the wall.

Here the block in Folio 6,14, helps us first. Its classification is absolutely certain because of the terminating strips, which resemble those of the reliefs of the front wall adjacent to the door. However, there is only one such narrow wall, the short south wall from the corner to the door leading into the corridor, the size is exactly the same. The procession leads here → to the king, whose direction was thus ←, as opposed to that on the adjoining Upper Egyptian half of the front wall. It may be concluded that the general direction of the image does not change at every corner of the room; in fact, the depictions were divided in the middle of the back wall, the Upper Egyptian ran ← counterclockwise, the Lower Egyptian ran to the right side, and certainly also included the north wall of the room.

On the front wall, the depictions ran parallel to the back wall from the door to both sides to the next corner, where the direction transitions to that of the rear wall. From today's point of view, this seems to me to be the best artistic solution if one accepts the division into the Upper and Lower Egyptian halves as a given.

To clarify, the following serves as a site plan:



Thus we have obtained a fixed point for dividing the relief pieces: all the Upper Egyptian parts with the main direction → belong to the southern half of the inner side of the east wall, and all Lower Egyptian parts with the main direction ← to the northern half. The former concerns the most certain pieces: Folio 8a + 8b, Folio 9, 20, Folio 4, 11a–b, Folio 13, 33a–b.

The latter piece provides us with the only two complete rows with one over the other, both of which are "without lower strips", the lower one with a height of 46½ cm, the upper one with a height of about 45 cm. 46½ also has the piece Folio 4, 11a–b, which can't be placed alone in the same row with the Offering Dance relief (33b). Both together occupy at least 3.95 m, while only 3.80 m is available on the wall; it can, of course, be placed in a row with 33a; so we get three rows for the wall, all without lower strips, two with 46½, the next following with 45 cm height.

In addition, there is the great Block from Cairo, Folio 8a + 8b and Folio 9, 20. Both belong together in content, and undoubtedly in a picture strip, whose right end, Folio 9, 20, has been formed by the preserved wall approach. This row was about 54 cm in height.

On Folio 8a and 8b above, parts of one of the presentation scenes of sacrificial animals are preserved on the higher picture, which suggests that throne scenes were depicted here⁴, which again for reasons of space cannot belong to one of the previously deciphered rows.

We must therefore assume a fourth row without lower strips here.

⁴ Whether there were pieces of the fragments of throne scenes collected on Folio 10 cannot be decided, since none of the pieces contains an indication of whether it was Upper or Lower Egyptian.

It is possible, by utilizing the probability that the lower rows follow each other according to height that the picture strips are arranged approximately as follows:

Bottom row (in situ), Folio 18, 44: Closing procession. Height 63 cm.

2nd row, Folio 8a + 8b and Folio 9, 20 (end of right wall): Consecration of sacrificial animals, gods list, purification. Height about 54 cm.

3rd row, Folio 8a + 8b (top): Presentation of sacrificial animals before the throne. Height?

4th row, Folio 4, 11a–b: Throne scenes with priest processions. Height 46.5 cm.

5th row, Folio 13, 33b: Offering dance. Height 46.5 cm.

6th row, Folio 13, 33a: Visit to the gods' chapels. Height 45 cm.

This arrangement results in a minimum height of about 3.40 m for the decorated wall surface, with the inclusion of the separating star friezes, a perfectly credible measure.

In his reconstruction of the "chapel", Borchardt has assumed a clearance of 4.65 m, which is derived from the calculation of the height of the southern courtyard corridor.⁵ Since the wall baseboard, above which the relief panels are placed, does not have the same extraordinary height (1.65 m) in the sacristy as in the courtyard corridor, rather only a building block layer (about 80 cm)⁶ then, assuming his height calculation for the height of the upper relief panels (45-46 cm), space remains for the insertion of a picture strip or for a final edge border, as Borchardt assumes, due to fragments found for the courtyard corridor.⁷ Perhaps the work on the adjacent World Chamber {chamber next to that with the Heb Sed scenes, showing two of the three seasons} gives a more detailed account of this.

When the same procedure is followed for the lower Egyptian half of the front wall, the following picture is obtained. Reliable pieces can be considered:

Folio 15, 38, with a row height of 69.5 cm and Folio 6, 13, with one of 45 cm. Above the latter piece, there was surely a row "without lower stripes," because the remains of the feet in an offering dance are still preserved.

This occurs on Folio 16, 39, with a row height of 68.5 cm. The deviating dimensions of the lowest row (72 cm here as opposed to 63 cm on the other half of the wall) show that the arrangement was not the same as on the Upper Egyptian half of the wall.⁸

One could therefore arrange this half of the wall as follows:

Bottom row (in situ), Folio 21, 50a–b: Final procession. Height 70–72 cm.

2nd row, Folio 16, 39: Final act on the throne. Height 68.5 cm.

3rd row, Folio 15, 38: Bringing the litter. Height 69.5 cm.

4th row (without lower strip), Folio 6, 13: Throne scene. Height 45 cm.

5th row (cf.), Folio 6, 13: Offering dance. Height 45 cm?

Yet the lower stripes are at the top again. Perhaps there was one fewer row on this side than on the other half; for that, the lower three are slightly higher. Together these five rows are almost the same

⁵ Re-Heiligtum I, Fig. 20, 42, for the calculation see also p.31.

⁶ loc. cit., Fig. 40. More detailed information is currently not available.

⁷ loc. cit., p.31. Fringe of about 60 cm in height.

⁸ The height of the picture strip is probably due to practical considerations regarding the heights of the stone slabs.

height as the decorated wall surface of 3.40 m. This may still be valid as evidence for my reconstruction attempt.

The most important basis as a principle for the arrangement is: the end of the festivals was depicted everywhere in the lower rows. The lowest picture strip is reserved for the great conclusion of the procession⁹, which was probably followed, at least on the last discussed half of the wall, by the Closing Ceremony before the Throne, the Bringing of the Litter, and then the throne scenes, the Presentation of Sacrificial Animals, and the Allocation of Offerings.

Further, in accordance with what else can be shown in Egyptian temple decoration, the decoration of representational wall surfaces in both halves does not necessarily need to be uniform, but in a certain sense even complement the content. This shows up with perfect clarity, e.g., in the relief jewelry of the Osorkon II festival hall in Bubastis, but also returns in the picture series of the Foundation of the Temple (Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.4). The decorating artist was able to do as he pleased, and according to the constraints of available space. Parallel depictions, therefore, appear in the sacristy of the Sun Temple, scattered over all the walls of the room and, of course, retaining at least the general basic idea of the arrangement. This remedies the monotonous effect of numerous repetitions, although the temporal sequence of the individual scenes is somewhat disturbed.

Thus, e.g., according to our construction of the Upper Egyptian half of the front wall, the whole Closing Ceremony before the Throne, with the Bringing of the Litter and the like, were missing. There are also no remains that could be included. All the Upper Egyptian fragments of these (Folio 16, 40–41) belong, according to their main direction, to other parts of the wall (south wall, back wall or outer eastern wall). Others, e.g., the actual throne scenes with the Presentation of Sacrificial Animals, on the other hand, appear to be predominant in the Upper Egyptian half of the wall. In order to explain this, a more detailed knowledge of the arrangement of the attached walls would be necessary.

A division of the remaining pieces, however, cannot be carried out in this way. There are too many possibilities to choose among the various walls: for the left-directional Upper Egyptian pieces, the back wall and the Upper Egyptian half of the front outer wall are considered; for the right-directional Lower Egyptian pieces, the rear wall, the entire north wall, and the relevant half of the front wall. In the context of the content-inferred sequence of the last festivals, one can almost complete the bottom row of the back wall in the overall structure. There the Lower Egyptian piece, Folio 17, 43, was found *in situ* and yielded the lowest row without a lower strip with an image height of about 43.5 cm. Here one would gladly add a depiction of the Final Procession until the end of the wall since it comes particularly from appropriate fragments, Folio 22, 52: in fact, this piece to the right of the end of the wall and with its preserved height of about 43 cm, it fits very well here.

On the Upper Egyptian (left) parallel half, a similar depiction of the Final Procession may also be presupposed, which comes from the pieces, Folio 16, 41 and 42 (in both, however, no line height has been established) and the piece, Folio 20, 46, going up to the end of the wall with its row height of about 43.

Then the lowest row of the back wall would have treated the same theme as the lowest row of the front wall, and the upwards leading strips of the northern half of the front wall. Further one may not go. Notably many parallel depictions are still present from the counterpoint of the festival, the Ceremonies at the Foundation with subsequent Counting, also here certainly partly from rows with lower strips (Folio 1, 1a–b, ← ; Folio 3, 7a–b → ; row height about 67 cm); partly from those without the latter

⁹ This also applies to the Sed festival figures in the Temple of Soleb, see L.D. III, 86, and Text V, p.239, see also Untersuchungen {Investigations}, p.60. For the arrangement in the Bubastis hall, see Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.60, 88, 95, 105 f.

(Folio 1, 2 ← certainly not from the lowest row; but the remainder, which are certainly not even reliable in their explanation, on Folio 23, 56b, above; Folio 3, 10, → and maybe also Folio 3, 9 →), but nothing more can be established about the other fragments.

One may think of one of these groups on the back wall in the top row. Among these, perhaps, were pieces such as Folio 23, 56a-b, whose contents: Opening the Offering Store for the Delivery of the Festival Offerings also points to a place at the beginning of the festival.

There is nothing definite to be found in all the other works; except by conjecture based on the content of the depictions. Folio 7, 17, with its exceptionally large row heights of about 75 cm, one would like to move to one of the middle rows (3rd from the bottom?) of a Lower Egyptian half, where it belongs also in content, thus as counterpart to the Upper Egyptian piece Folio 6, 14 (southern wall), possibly on the north wall. At the upper end, that is to say, in the row above it (without a lower strip!), there appear to be remains of a depiction of the Offering Dance, which appears to be situated on the Upper Egyptian half of the inner front wall (Plate 13, 33b) in one of the uppermost rows (fifth from the bottom?), and depicted on the corresponding Lower Egyptian half, according to the notes on Folio 6, 13, perhaps even in the uppermost (5th) row. This is the positive evidence, on the basis of which it was only necessary here, in order to prove that the fundamental principles followed in the arrangement of the sheets and in the "Untersuchungen {Investigations}" are essentially exhausted.


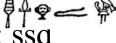










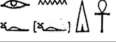








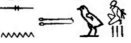

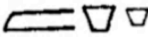
Epilogue

Here, as a second part of the "Sun Temple of King Rathure", we present the remains of the reliefs from the "Palace", the sacristy. They were drawn by Mr. Rexhausen 1910-13 under the supervision of Professor Schäfer and other gentlemen of the Egyptian Department of the Königliches Museum in Berlin and reproduced here on a scale of 1: 4. The arrangement of the drawings on the panels is essentially thanks to Kees. The first chapter, which gives a brief explanation of the individual tables, was written by v. Bissing, the second by Kees. Anyone wishing to read the grounds for the explanations given here is invited to obtain the "Investigations on the Reliefs from the Sun Temple of Rathures, Volume I, from v. Bissing with the collaboration of Hermann Kees", published in the Proceedings of the Royal Bavarian Academy of Sciences, Philological-Historical Class. Hopefully, the publication of Volume III of the Sun Temple with the parallel depictions to those presented here from the courtyard corridor, the ascension to the Obelisk, and also other parts (in the text cited with Z... , only the number of the drawings were known at the time of writing of the original manuscript) may be possible in a few years. A Part IV should then present the "World Chamber" and the smaller findings. We would like to thank Hinrich's Publishing Bookstore for the publication process.

Friedrich William Freiherr von Bissing

Hermann Kees

Corrections to the “Untersuchungen {Investigations}”

Page		Page	
5	Line 14 reads: šes	95	Line 7 reads: h'm instead of h'm-f
6	Line 3 from the bottom reads: 	96	Line 22 reads:  ssa
7	Line 13 f. from the bottom determinative for “to hoe”, “hoe”, and so on is the same: 	100	Line 4 reads: The  from Folio 17, 43, the belongs to the title of the Man on the right.
	Line 13 reads: 	101	Instead of  reads everywhere: 
9	Line 7 and 10 read: 		Line 6 reads: 
	Line 12 from the bottom reads:		Line 15 reads: 
11	Line 13 from the bottom reads: 		Line 5 from the bottom reads: in image 3 h'ri Pe m <u>cht</u>
16	Line 18 from the bottom reads: 	103	Line 23 reads: p <u>chr</u> h'a'
	Line 17 from the bottom reads: 	104	Text 1 and 3 read everywhere: 
21	Cairo 64 reads: 		Text 3 reads:  and  The translation reads: “He chopped (sic) him up!”
22	Line 16 instead of  reads: 		Text 2 and 4 read:  instead of 
37	Line 9 and 4 from the bottom read: <u>chn</u> t “fur”, <u>chn</u> “tent”		Text 2 at the end 
42	Line 8 and 10 read: <u>chr</u> d		Text 4 reads:  according to transcript Sethe
48	Middle reads: 	107	Line 13 from the bottom reads: Folio 19, 45b
51	Line 4 from the bottom reads: H't sbqt	108	Line 31 from the bottom reads: Folio 18, 44d
53	Line 8 from the bottom reads: Folio 13, 33a	111	Line 18 reads: u <u>ç</u> s litter
54	Line 11 from the bottom reads: <u>Chri</u> h'eb	112	Instead of Footnote 136 is 137
55	Lines 4 and 2 from the bottom read: Ba' <u>chu</u>	113	Line 11 reads: they say, the horizon, to me
56	Line 4 reads: <u>Cha</u> ' fish		Line 16 reads: 50b
	Line 16 the running of the Apis	115	Instead of Footnote 137 is 138

Page		Page	
57	Line 5 and 6 read: a'i and a		The inscription reads:  and {o
	Line 6 reads: Folio 8b.		Instead of Footnote 138 is 139
61	Line 3 reads: uza'	<i>Footnotes</i>	
66	Line 2 reads: 	p.3*	Footnote 13 reads: his arm
71	Line 19 and p.75 Line 20 reads: <u>S</u> cha't-Hor	p.8*	Footnote 62 reads: 
75	Line 7 reads: Folio 8a, 8b	p.13*	Footnote 97 instead of Gauthier reads: Montet
76	Line 15 from the bottom reads: <u>s</u> chm e'h'	p.16*	Footnote 117 reads: Sd festival
77 and 78	Reads: 		Footnote 118 reads: sdt e'a't
80	Middle reads: 	p.18*	Footnote 126 instead of “Amon doesn't speak” reads: “Amon doesn't retreat”
81	Line 16 from the bottom reads: Chapter VII		Footnote 127 reads: 
86	Line 21 reads: 	<i>Table</i>	
87	Line 9 reads: 	A.3	Inscription should be: Relief of Sabakon {Sabaka} (Medinet Habu), see also p.8

An addendum to page 52, last paragraph: Under the tomb deposits in Tutankhamun's cache, two symbols of the Imi-ut have now been found, of a form quite similar to the one found by the Americans in Lisht (Metropolitan Museum Bulletin, 1914 Egyptian Expedition, Fig. 16-19, see Ancient Egypt, 1915, p.150 f.), where the editors have described well the characteristics of the "Royal Necropolis".