

# ***The Sun Temple of King Niuserre (Rathures)***

*published by*

*Friedrich Wilhelm Freiherr von Bissing*

## ***Volume III The Large Festival Depiction***

*by Hermann Kees*

With 33 Folios



1928

Leipzig / J.C. Hinrichs' Bookstore

Original Title: DAS RE-HEILIGTUM DES KÖNIGS NE-WOSER-RE (RATHURES)  
BAND III: DIE GROSSE FESTDARSTELLUNG

Translated (version 20180722) from German by: Stardust Doherty with assistance from Jean Daniel DEGREEF, Greg Reeder, and Bernhard Ruchti. Special thanks to Joachim Quack and Alexandra von Lieven for interpretation of *TA Sma* (see pp.9, 63). Translation comments appear in {curly brackets}.

Translation uses Manuel de codage transliterations and the footnotes have sequential numbers throughout the document, rather than by page. The latest versions of this and other translations appear at: <http://trueofvoice.com/translations>







## Foreword

The subtitle “The Large Festival Depiction”, which the present volume of the entire publication of the Sun Temple bears, does not quite exhaust its contents for – with the exception of the World Chamber and the reliefs of the sacristy published in the second volume – it contains the entire pictorial decoration of the temple, together with the remains of the votive inscriptions from the valley gate.

The series of pictures in the courtyard corridor and the ascent to the obelisk, which are combined under the name “Large Festival Depiction”, constitute the main part of the material which, however, according to its state of preservation, could never have provided the basis or starting point for the explanation of the Sed festival. On the contrary, the understanding of the fragments is only possible on the basis of the findings obtained from the completely preserved cycle from the sacristy. The editor, having made known a few of our most important results in a preliminary report in the *Sitzungsberichten der Kgl. bayr. Akademie* {Proceedings of the Royal Bavarian Academy} (1914, 9th ed.), therefore, had deliberately decided to present some difficult basic problems in the “Untersuchungen zu den Reliefs aus dem Re-Heiligtum des Rathures I. Teil” {“Investigations of the Reliefs from the Sun Temple of King Niuserre Part I”} (*Abh. bayr. Akad.* {Treatises of the Bavarian Academy} XXXII, 1, 1922) in as much detail as possible so as to encourage discussion of them.

Unfortunately, this hope was not quite fulfilled since, with the exception of L. Borchardt's essay “Jubiläumsbilder” {“Jubilee Imagery”} in Volume 61 of the *Ä.Z.* {Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde (Journal of Egyptian Language and Archeology), Leipzig} no more thorough critical contributions or discussions on the subject have been made known to us; indeed, often refuted fantasies about the Sed festival have flourished extensively, particularly in some of the foreign literature. This may be due in part to the fact that the “Untersuchungen” {“Investigations”} had to come out separately from the corresponding tablets, which is not entirely fortunate. This undoubtedly could have deterred many a closer study of the matter, which was already difficult to grasp.

In order to give the reader of the new volume a clear overview of the results which can be regarded as a well-founded basis for understanding, the editor, following several suggestions, gave the review of the new material a summary of the basic ideas and sequence of the celebrations of the Sed festival which should clarify many things implied in the “Untersuchungen” {“Investigations”}. In order to make possible an arrangement and evaluation of the Large Festival Depiction, besides demonstrating parallels to depictions of the sacristy and other well-known Sed festival series, attempts were also made to gain clues about the local distribution of individual pieces, especially on the basis of the execution of the reliefs, painting, locality, etc. At the same time, it was made easier since the reliefs of the obelisk corridor, from which, understandably, a particularly large number of panels were preserved, were not only frequently marked by obliquely rising baselines, but also by a yellowish colored primer.

Nevertheless, a clear distinction of the obelisk remains from those of the corridors was not feasible, since a large number of the fragments were no longer accessible to the editor and, from the outset, they increased the existence of doubt.



Indeed, as far as the pieces in Germany were concerned, they were only relatively unimportant and poorly preserved blocks, whereas the parts of the Large Festival Depiction still remaining in the Cairo Museum were no longer to be found there in the winter of 1912/13 and are now probably lost.

As a closer examination revealed a substantive agreement between the topics dealt with in the southern courtyard corridors and in the obelisk, similar to the publication of the reliefs of the Sahure temple, the festival pictures were grouped according to topic and then, if possible, the groups of finds were compiled within individual sections. However, a separation by locale is maintained as the basis for the decoration of the other parts of the temple. In order to spare the user an unnecessary burden, a number of unproductive fragments have been eliminated, mostly from the lowest strip with the constantly recurring types of entourage.

For reasons of necessary economy, furthermore, the drawings, which had already been handed over to the editor at a scale of 1:4 for the larger portion and reduced to 1:6 for the smaller portion, has been uniformly brought to 1:6, deviating from the 1:4 of the Small Festival Depiction. For practical use, the individual fragments bear consecutive numbers (102-528), following those of the second volume (Nos. 1-101), so that the number printed on each is sufficient to make an unambiguous identification.

An overview of all the titles attested in the festival depictions (including Volume II), to which references to the most important parallel depictions and textual explanations are added, will hopefully facilitate the exploitation of this part of the material, which is particularly productive for the knowledge of the Egyptian ceremonies. The inclusion of figures, illustrating the artistic and technical execution of the reliefs, was not necessary. For that, the future publication of the World Chamber (Volume IV) will offer a better opportunity. There too, the at times quite interesting epigraphic phenomena, occasionally briefly referred to in the text, should be discussed. The publication of the material in such a dignified form was possible thanks, not only to the cooperative publisher, but also to the helpfulness of the *Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft* {Emergency Association of German Science}. It has granted a notable subsidy for the production of the text and the photo engravings, which, as in the case of Volume II, the *Kunstanstalt Frisch* {Frisch Art Institute} in Berlin handled with their usual conscientiousness. I would also like to say special thanks to you here.

Göttingen, end of September 1927.

Hermann Kees

Friedrich Wilhelm Freiherr von Bissing



# I. Basic Principles and Program of the Sed Festival

## *Evidence for Determining the Order of the Festival Activities*

It is a peculiar disaster that of the many, in some cases, quite detailed depictions of the Sed festival, which were immortalized in the temples from the time of the Sun Temple of Abu Gorab to the Bubastites, all of them came to us in badly damaged condition. The most detailed series besides that of the Sun Temple, from a temple gate of Osorkon II in Bubastis, came to light as an incoherent rubble heap and, at that time, could only be compiled according to the pictures of the Sed festival of Amenhotep III at the temple of Soleb. And of this, once again, seven rows remained one on top of the other in one place in the temple courtyard, and in another, four rows were preserved. But the first comparison had already shown that only a small portion of all of the scenes were saved; that entire groups, such as, for example, the “throne scenes” were completely absent; while others, such as the introductory festival ceremonies of Wall D twice, conversely, found no parallels in Bubastis. To make matters worse, Lepsius had not had everything available, but only the two lowest rows of the two walls mentioned.<sup>1</sup> In his publication of the Bubastis findings, Naville's attempt to decipher the content of the Sed festival, or at least to establish the principle elements of its sequence, ended rather inconclusively, and left the widest scope to the imagination of future commentators. The complete photographic record of the Temple of Soleb by Breasted remained unused, except for a preliminary report,<sup>2</sup> in which Breasted was concerned mainly with the explanation of the absence of initiation ceremonies in the Bubastis festival (Wall D twice by Lepsius). Similarly, the publication of Lepsius' diary pages followed in 1918, which at least gave an outline of the arrangement of the upper rows of the walls.<sup>3</sup>

The circumstances of the discovery in the Sun Temple initially seemed less auspicious for an overall completion. Only blocks with the lowest depiction strips were found in situ on the outside and inside of the temple sacristy, the former so-called “southern chapel”, which, however, immediately secured two important depiction groups for this site:<sup>4</sup>

1. the activities after leaving the throne when ascending the litter,<sup>5</sup>
2. the great procession on the litter, which ended after the visit to the sanctuaries in the “palace” (the “final procession”).<sup>6</sup>

The latter was also to be demonstrated in a parallel depiction from Soleb, and also in the lowest strip of the wall decoration,<sup>7</sup> and also present in Bubastis, but in fragments for which Naville had not been successful with a secure classification in the overall decoration.<sup>8</sup> After all, he had already seen correctly that it was hardly coincidental that in both Soleb and Bubastis the ceremonial inscription with the date

1 L.D. {Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien (Monuments from Egypt and Ethiopia), 6 vols., ed. K.R. Lepsius, 1849-1859, Berlin} III 86a-b, above 85b-c on wall F of the plan sketch, Text Volume V p.232. L.D. III 84a-b, above 83b-c on Wall D twice.

2 Second preliminary report; The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures 25, p.89f.

3 Lepsius Text V p.235 (Wall D twice) p.238/39 (Wall F).

4 Re-Heiligtum {Sun Temple} II Text p.8/15 “Zur Anordnung der Bilderreihen” {“Regarding the Arrangement of the Picture Series”}.

5 No. 43 (back wall, northern half).

6 No. 44, 50b.

7 L.D. {Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien (Monuments from Egypt and Ethiopia), 6 vols., ed. K.R. Lepsius, 1849-1859, Berlin} III 86.

8 Festival Hall. Folio 6. 4 twice compare to Folio 29.



was attached to this ceremony, so that it had to be of paramount importance to it. He made an incorrect conclusion about the beginning of the festival, however, misled by an old false theory of Maspero's about the arrangement of Egyptian strip decoration.<sup>9</sup>

The completely secure determination as the final procession and the proof of its connection with the preceding throne scenes was only found among the Sed festival depictions of Thutmose III in a three-part parallel portrayal in the festival temple of Karnak when I succeeded in working in Egypt with Freiherr von Bissing during the winter of 1912/13. In abbreviated form, it contained the most important elements of the Lower Egyptian procession (see Supplementary Folio A):<sup>10</sup>

- a) bringing the litter before the throne
- b) presenting the  $\uparrow$  {wAs} scepter at the chapel of the “Horus of Libya”
- c) final procession in the litter to the two imperial sanctuaries

With this, and taking advantage of the assistance of the large proportions chosen for the individual walls of the sacristy of the Sun Temple, the sequence of Folios 15-22 of the “Small Festival Depiction” could be perfectly determined.

The opposite pole to this group, so to speak, formed a series of pictures which, however, was only indirectly connected with the Sed festival, the depictions of the ceremonial foundation of the sanctuary, supplemented in the Sun Temple by scenes of the cattle census in the décor of the sanctuary and a subsequent procession of the king.<sup>11</sup> Between these two fixed points, it was now necessary to arrange the remaining mass. The existing parallel depictions of Soleb and Bubastis altogether failed for this. The Bubastis fragments were more varied than the remains in Soleb, so much less secure in context and more unreliable in the tradition of the inscriptions. Manifestly, the findings of the parallel pieces that belong together were scattered on different walls in the Sun Temple. In Soleb, every wall strip ended with the return of the king to a building called “palace” (*is.t* {ist,  $\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{C}}$ , palace workshop} or *’h* {aH,  $\overline{\text{H}}$ , palace}), so seemed to include a ceremony.<sup>12</sup> The pictures of the Sun Temple also showed entering into and exiting from a “palace,” but as temporary resting points; occasionally clearly for the purpose of changing regalia, such as before the offering dance or before ascending the litter for the final procession.<sup>13</sup> The fact that the palace was nothing but a temple wardrobe (sacristy), which later became like the dressing room of the royal palace “House of the Morning (Toilet),” resulted perfectly; in the same way, a description of the “prestige of the construction work on the palace of the Sed festival” close by the king, which was preserved after the founding scenes,<sup>14</sup> determined that this room of the Sun Temple which contained particularly rich wall decoration, was the “palace,” that is, the reception room of the king during breaks in the festival. In the larger proportions of the New Kingdom, it was then replaced by a proper residential palace at the forecourt of the temple, for example at the Ramesseum or Medinet Habu.

After the comparison between Soleb, Bubastis, and the Sun Temple showed that the excerpts from the festival activities had been chosen and presented differently, some singularly peculiar pictures, such as the king's escort through the great Wepwawet procession, appeared in various places and in different

9 Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.105.

10 In the Untersuchungen {Investigations}, unfortunately published very unclearly separated onto p.116 and p.20\*, therefore repeated here.


11 Untersuchungen {Investigations} Chap. I and II.

12 Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.61.

13 Nos. 33b and 39, 41 respectively; compare Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.96.

14 No. 1a, 10, Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.17.



contexts, for example, on the one hand in the escort of the king to the coronation throne and on the path of the god to the “courtyard” (*wšḥ.t* {*wsxt*, }), the actual festival grounds,<sup>15</sup> but also again after visiting chapels of the native gods gathered at the festival,<sup>16</sup> so it was necessary to find internal clues to lead through at least one general ordering.

Here, even in a purely external sense, two large groups of depictions were arranged, firstly the so-called throne scenes, that is, not only those pictures, as we know them from Bubastis, where the king is crowned by gods in the fourfold pavilion,<sup>17</sup> but where he sits in one half of the throne tent, drawn twice in the Sun Temple, corresponding to the Sed festival hieroglyph, and various assembled processions approaching him. Secondly, the processions of the king, occasionally accompanied by visits to the chapel, accompanied by the standards of the gods of those escorting Horus and numerous court officials of his entourage.

Throne scenes of this kind were also particularly popular in introducing schematically abbreviated depictions of the Sed festival, as it were, in the middle and at the climax, from the earliest times (Narmer macehead from Hierakonpolis {Nekhen}), which pertains to the conscious choice of the double throne pavilion as the sign of the Sed festival, up until the temples of the New Kingdom. There, another characteristic moment of the Sed festival is surely associated with it: the offering dance for the consecration of the “field,” the so-called “Sed festival run,”<sup>18</sup> of which a particularly important piece is preserved in the Sun Temple, which shows that the offering dance was again preceded by a visit to a chapel of the gods (the Wepwawet).<sup>19</sup> A parallel depiction,<sup>20</sup> fortunately preserved in the festival temple of Karnak from the circle of Sed festival pictures of Thutmose III, establishes here again a whole sequence of a special part of the festival, beginning with the “appearing from the palace”, on to the Lower Egyptian and Upper Egyptian offering dance, interrupted by a stop at the palace (to change regalia), and up until a throne scene as a resolution (tribute to the throne).

Another visit to the chapel, followed by a procession of the king under divine escort to the throne, included block No. 33a, associated with the picture strip above the offering dance. The depiction and royal inscription are particularly reminiscent of the great preliminary Wepwawet procession in Bubastis<sup>21</sup> which, apparently after the execution of offerings before the native gods gathered in the “courtyard”, is supposed to lead the king to the throne, so that all his subjects pay homage to him. A connection of the throne scene to a chapel visit was also found in a procession of the Sobek priest in front of the royal throne,<sup>22</sup> because after completion of the march one should go, according to the inscriptions, “to the courtyard of the Great Ones”,<sup>23</sup> certainly the part of the festival grounds where the chapels of the gods gathered to participate in the Sed festival – the inscriptions of the New Kingdom call them “the Sed festival houses”<sup>24</sup> – were erected. There the king had to make offerings and there he led solemnly, we see especially from the series of pictures from Soleb and Bubastis, the gods involved in the festival, in the New Kingdom chiefly Amon. In the great temple buildings of the New Kingdom,

15 Festival Hall, Folio 2, compare to Lepsius Text V p.238 Row II.

16 Festival Hall, Folio 8 and 12 compare to L.D. {Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien (Monuments from Egypt and Ethiopia), 6 vols., ed. K.R. Lepsius, 1849-1859, Berlin} III 85 among other things

17 Festival Hall, Folio 2.

18 Kees, *Opferanz* {Offering Dance}, p.161f. and Fig. 13.

19 No. 33b = Offering dance Fig. 11.

20 Kees, *Ä.Z.* {Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde (Journal of Egyptian Language and Ancient History), Leipzig} 52 p.69f. Folio 7/8.



21 Festival Hall, Folio 2.


22 No. 11, 12.

23 *Untersuchungen* {Investigations} p.68 compare to below p.31.

24 *Untersuchungen* {Investigations} p.15/16.



the forecourt of the temple in the festival grounds was undoubtedly the “festival courtyard” (*wšh.t ḥbj.t* {*wsxt Hbyt*, ) designated in the dedicatory inscriptions.<sup>25</sup> Incidentally, there are also festival pictures in Soleb. Aggregated in rows according to the order of the provinces as “Upper Egyptian and Lower Egyptian *itr.t* {probably *itrty*, , double row of shrines comprising Upper Egypt (*pr wr*) and Lower Egypt (*pr nzw*), forming a national shrine}”, the mass of chapels of the native gods of Egypt “at the head of the gods' houses of the Sed festival” is well preserved especially in Bubastis,<sup>26</sup> whereas in Soleb they are well preserved apparently in connection with the introductory group before the actual Sed festival, for the consecration of the chapels through all sorts of ceremonies (knocking on the gates, illuminating the lights). From this results an important conclusion for the overall determination:

1. Throne scenes and visits to chapels with processions alternate: In Soleb, where the throne scenes are completely missing, they were thus arranged on the lost wall surface on the right, Wall F according to Lepsius (in other words, preceding the preserved chapel visits). The vertical inscription “the king entering the palace when he returns from the throne” at the end requires it by necessity.
2. There is a large series of such, in which, due to religious-political shifts, the tribute staff changes as well as the gods preferred in the chapel visits. The Sun Temple is authoritative here as the oldest detailed series of depictions for the conception of the “Memphis” king's reign, with later shifts historically important. From the multiplicity of such similar individual activities of the Sed festival, for Soleb the qualification of the arrangement of the chapel visit in similar individual series always results in the conclusion “enter (*ḥtp* {*Htp*, , rest in}) the palace”.

In their basic meaning, all the surviving throne scenes and chapel visits in turn increase the large group of the so-called final procession from the throne to the chapels of the gods with withdrawal to the palace, except that the latter, as it were, by selecting the principally involved gods as the most important and last, highlights the climax of the festival. That's why the particularly festive form and the attachment of the main inscriptions and date to this picture in Soleb and Bubastis. This inscription matches the ending of the festival which, in the New Kingdom is at the end of the wall of the final procession, reads: “the king entering the palace, when he returns from doing all that is to be done at the Sed festival”.<sup>27</sup>

The beginning and end groups of the festival pictures are thus determined, the middle at least circumscribed in their basic theme, their sequence in detail still uncertain. For the duration of the Sed festival, for the time being only a dating of the apparently one full month of preparatory consecration rites for the first Sed festival of Amenhotep III is possible, which apparently gives a gap of 5 days between the “day before the Sed festival” and the great final procession (Payni 1).<sup>28</sup>

25 Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.16. To the proof given there and in the supplements (p.23\*) there are: pillars of a king Antef (Dyn. 13/17) from the temple of Abydos, Petrie, Abydos I, Folio 56, stele of Horemheb from the Ptah temple, Petrie, Memphis I Folio 6.

26 Festival Hall, Folio 4 twice, 7, 8, 12. Remains of it now also on the blocks of Amenhotep III found by Borchardt, built in the Khonsu temple at Karnak. No. 10, 36, 38.

27 Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.105.

28 Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.18/14 and p.21\*.




## ***The Festival Course According to the “Small Festival Depiction” (Sacristy)***

### ***1. Temple Founding, Estate of the Proceeds and Temple Consecration***<sup>29</sup>

The pictures from the Sun Temple have given us the oldest surviving cycle of depictions of laying the foundation stone. They begin by measuring the building site by setting the corner points by means of the so-called “tightening of the rope”. This first image, as Borchardt pointed out,<sup>30</sup> occupied the center of the wall of a strip of the back wall of the sacristy; and next to that on both sides the second scene of the offering in the foundation pit; third, the brickmaking; fourth, the hoeing of the earth; fifth, the pouring of the sand; followed perhaps by a sixth ceremony corresponding to the later setting of a brick; until the seventh “building the palace of the Sed festival” could be “viewed” by the king. What was new for us, besides the “viewing” of a popular type of tomb decoration, was the scene of the offering over the excavation pit, which was ruled out from the usually quite arbitrarily ordered series of pictures and combined with other pictures, by giving the tightening of the rope, for example, a corresponding ritual note about offering a libation and a beheaded goose.<sup>31</sup> Or you incorporate it into the hoeing of the earth by inscribing a fourfold offering of wine, milk, beer and water, which of course went into the foundation pit<sup>32</sup> as happened, for example, in a depiction of Shabaka at Medinet Habu. The vessels used in the process were then thrown in as well.

There is no doubt about the importance of sand pouring, given the ritual texts preserved in Ptolemaic temples and the finds of foundation pits in which the offerings lie on pure sand. This activity is the sacramental counterpart to the practical implementation of laying the foundation of the temples on sand and shards in damp subsoil. Hence the inscription in the Sun Temple: “do construction work”.

According to the recent findings of the American excavations in Lisht and the Mentuhotep temple of Der el-Bahari, making a brick four times is also connected with the foundation offering and the offering of small bricks of precious metal (gold, silver and faience) is first attested only from cycles of the Ptolemaic era. The precious plaques, which bore the name of the donor, and occasionally also of the building, were then, perhaps for security reasons, enclosed in ordinary mud bricks and thus laid into the pit. The fact that they are intended for the “four corners of the sanctuary” is explicitly stated in the late ritual texts. The combination of materials changes: in the old days, they were supposed to represent the main building materials next to the mud brick. Thus, in the Mentuhotep temple, four bricks were included: one without any filling, one with copper, one with alabaster, and one with a wooden inlay.<sup>33</sup> Here too, the close connection between sacred activity and technology is also emphasized by the offering of tool models. These are the equipment with which the king performs the symbolic construction work in which, according to the texts of all periods, the gods themselves should have supported him. Not without reason, the placement of a stone block for the “construction (*ḥws* {*xws*(*i*),  ) of the sanctuary” is missing at first and only verifiable later. Since the ritual dates back to the time

29 Untersuchungen {Investigations} Chap. I. II.

30 Ä.Z. {Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde (Journal of Egyptian Language and Ancient History), Leipzig} 61 p.33. It is by no means certain that it was the second row from below, as Borchardt assumes.


31 Attested since Thutmose III (Karnak), compare to Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.6. In addition, the findings for the Middle Kingdom ensure the consecration of a bull's head and other parts in the excavation pit, compare to a supplement to the Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.3\* footnote 12 evidence given in Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin Nov. 1921 (Part II) Fig. 10; Dec. 1922 (Part II) Fig. 19.







32 Untersuchungen {Investigations} Fig. 3. Remark previously cited p.8 “the donations were made during the festival” is misleading.

33 Metropolitan. Mus. of Art Bullet. Dec. 1922 Part II p.29, compare previously cited Nov. 1921 Part II p.16 (Fig. 11), 2 with copper, 2 with faience, 2 with limestone (Lisht Amenemhat I.). Copper, faience, alabaster and wood (?), also in foundation bricks, Senusret I in Abydos, Petrie, Abydos II p.20.



of the brick construction, it is represented by the scene of laying bricks. The bricks were cleaned and sanctified by the addition of incense, perhaps also wine.

The images of the purification of the finished building and the “handing over of the house to his Lord” in the schematic cycles of the foundation of the temple since the New Kingdom are already considered as components of the introduction to the Sed festival. However, depictions of it are preserved only in Soleb, while the interpretation of traces of it in the Sun Temple remain quite uncertain.<sup>34</sup> There are two activity groups, from Egyptian cult use, the so-called “illuminating” of the stepped throne (*ḥnt3.t* {*TnTAt*, , throne, dais}) and at the same time the native gods arriving at the festival at the adjoining chapel district – owing to the inscription in Soleb, expressly moved before the Sed festival and apparently calculated for a full month lasting “until the eve of the Sed festival”<sup>35</sup> – then perhaps as the conclusion of the act of consecration and already standing in the inner circle of the Sed festival, the king knocking on on the gates, thus probably the opening of the entire temple district as a prelude to the introduction of the festival gods and, in the case of a new consecration of an entire sanctuary, as in the case of the Sun Temple, and in many other cases, above all of the lord of the temple himself. From this it is understandable that we find that certain rites appearing in the Sun Temple within the Sed festival also attest to other temple dedication days, thus the awarding of powerful victory weapons (club, arrows, etc.) and the proclamation of power to the four regions of the world as a gift of gratitude from the gifted god to the royal estate.<sup>36</sup>

New to us was again the “census of cattle, goats and sheep”, in which, in the absence of the king, his representative,  {*hry wdb* {*Hry wDb*}, master of largess}, plays an important role as supreme inspector. Apparently, it happens separately for Upper and Lower Egypt. Here, in the case of the processions of the individual local and priesthood representatives before the throne, the herd animals are “accounted for”, which are consecrated to the festival gods by the king by means of the mouth of the  {*sm*, Sem priest}. It is not accidental that both take place under the symbol of the patron saint of the fertility of the cattle herd, the cow goddess *Ḥ3.t-Hr* {*sxAt-Hr*, , Sekhet-Hor, i.e. “she who remembers Horus”}, who comes from the marshes of the western delta,<sup>37</sup> but has already achieved common Egyptian importance. In her valuation, two Egyptian testimonies are mentioned: A nomarch of Siut of the Heracleopolitan period praises the rich offspring of young cattle with the words: “*Ḥ3.t-Hr* {*sxAt-Hr*, , Sekhet-Hor, i.e. “she who remembers Horus”} was friendly to me and said: That is the gain!”<sup>38</sup> {meaning offspring} Similarly, a rich owner of the Middle Kingdom calls himself “one to whom  {*sxA.t-HrkAw*, cows of Sekhet-Hor} were bestowed”.<sup>39</sup> At the conclusion of the census in the Small Festival Depiction, a procession of the king on foot followed, led by divine standards and a large entourage, probably the initial procession starting from the “palace”. It was natural to associate it with the great procession in Bubastis before the accession to the throne under the guidance of Wepwawet and his accompanying gods, the gods of Horus' entourage, to the chapels of the “deities” gathered at the “courtyard” (*wšh.t* {*wsxt*, ) for the purpose of bringing related special

34 A small remnant now also on the Karnak Block No. 18 of Amenhotep III.

35 Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.13/14.

36 Thutmose III and Amenirdis at their sanctuaries in Medinet Habu, see Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.103; also Tearkos at a small building in Karnak, Prisse, Monuments Folio 31-38.

37 Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.50. The previously cited p.51 after the Berl. Wb. {Berlin Wörterbuch (Berlin Dictionary)} cited relief of Cairo 1712 is, by the way, hardly Old Kingdom due to its spelling (Late Period?)!


38 Siût Grab {Siut Tomb} V line 13.

39 Griffith, Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology 18 p.195f. items 7/8.




offerings.<sup>40</sup> If this is true, then logically the central theme of the Sed festival is the interplay between processions to chapels and throne scenes; so these were to be connected here.<sup>41</sup>

## **2. Tributes to the Throne, Allocating Animal and Plant Offerings to the Festival Gods, Chapel Visits**

A special ceremony stands out from this whole group, which since ancient times (Dynasty I) was treated as a centerpiece of the Sed festival, the “offering dance” with two emblems of rule. In my first treatment, I had separated this ceremony too much from the accompanying vignette, the “giving of the field”, customary in the Late Period, of all foundations of the “land of god”.<sup>42</sup> It is only the finding of texts that designate the strange dovetail-like symbol of rule, undoubtedly on the basis of good tradition, that clarified the connecting lines as the “testament” by virtue of which the king, on the one hand, exercises rule and, on the other hand, has the power to transfer lands from the inventory to special temples.<sup>43</sup> In this way, apart from the minor figure of the god Thoth (in place of the earthly figure of a subject {of the king}, greeting with hymns in the Sun Temple) which incidentally already used a depiction in the mortuary temple of the Sahure,<sup>44</sup> above all, the figure of the the estate receiving *Mr.t* {*mrt*, , Meret, the musician goddess}, the “Mistress of the Gold House”,<sup>45</sup> now also attested from the Old Kingdom, became even more comprehensible. The king had to fill up the treasury of the temple for the festival!


The outstanding position of the offering dance of Wepwawet, the leader of the gods of Horus' entourage,<sup>46</sup> clearly indicates the age of the custom and its origin from the Upper Egyptian royal era. The king anointed his standard in a chapel before the four-fold circuit of the field, then he {presumably Wepwawet} accompanied the king, after he had changed clothes in the sacristy for a run, and notably removed his cloak, while running. The fact that the “servant of the souls of Nekhen” may bear his standard is the most striking proof of the close connection between the victorious wolf-god of Siut and the kingdom of Hierakonpolis {Nekhen} from the days of the unification of the empire, which has already been established by other appearances. Unfortunately, it cannot be ascertained whether the “servant of the souls of Pe” replaced him in the Lower Egyptian half, but it is to be assumed for the Old Kingdom.<sup>47</sup>

It is possible that another minor figure of the offering dance dates back to the Memphis period, the Apis bull in connection with the festival of the “Apis bull run” (*pḥrr Hpww* {*pHrr Hpww*, }), also recorded on the Palermo stone. While so far the bull seemed to be a companion of the running king

40 Festival Hall, Folio 1-2.

41 Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.23/24.


42 Opfertanz des ägypt. Königs {Offering Dance of the Egyptian King} Chapter IV.

43 Ä.Z. {Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde (Journal of Egyptian Language and Ancient History), Leipzig} 52 p.68, Spiegelberg, Ä.Z. {Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde (Journal of Egyptian Language and Ancient History), Leipzig} 53 p.101 compare to also Annal. du Serv. {Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte (Annals of the Antiquities Service of Egypt)} 18 p.220 “the *mks* {*mks*, } in his hand as a will”.

44 Grabdenkmal des Sahurê {Tomb Monument of Sahure} II Folio 25.

45 See Opfertanz {Offering Dance} p.103f. Ä.Z. {Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde (Journal of Egyptian Language and Ancient History), Leipzig} 52 p.62f.

46 The natural translation “servants of Horus” (= cult follower of the falcon god) could be misleading and better given up in this context: It is not expressed enough that it was originally the gods who led the Horus king to victory in Egypt.

47 For variants of the accompanying figure in the New Kingdom (, *imy hnt* {*imy xnt*}, chamberlain), compare Ä.Z. {Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde (Journal of Egyptian Language and Ancient History), Leipzig} 52 p.71 footnote 3 for a depiction of Amenhotep III in Luxor.



only since the Ramesses era,<sup>48</sup> the latest finds in Karnak have already secured him during a Sed festival run to Amon's chapel in the time of Hatshepsut.<sup>49</sup> There, along with the usual inscription  $\Rightarrow \text{𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏}$  {*dw sxt sp ifdw*, to offer a field four times}, the designation as  $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏} \text{ 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏} \text{ 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏}$  {*pHrr Hpww*, Apis bull run} is also found. The notion of the Apis as the trotting donor of all gifts,<sup>50</sup> known to us from more recent texts, suggests that his course has been linked to the idea of fertilizing the fields and their flocks from time immemorial. Although the bull figure in the Sun Temple is missing in the offering dance, the scenes with the visit to the Apis chapel for the purpose of bringing out the divine animal<sup>51</sup> establish a closer relationship to the festival. Apparently, two formerly separate ceremonies, the consecration of the land of god by the king and the local Memphis “Apis bull run”, have been linked together. Since the fertility of the herds is part of the prosperity of the temple, the attraction of the sacred bull is as understandable as the presence of the cow goddess in the census and delivery of the herds.

According to the Karnak reliefs of Thutmose III, the consecration of the field would again have been followed by a throne scene, perhaps even connected with the transfer of herd animals to the gods.<sup>52</sup> Whether the offering dance took place before the first seating on the throne or later cannot be determined. In any case, his theater was the courtyard space in front of the throne. We also see that in the picture strip above the surviving main scene of the Sed festival run in the Sun Temple, (that is, preceding according to the general arrangement) the visit of a chapel through the great festival procession of the king with offering before a god sign was represented, and the king afterwards, guided by the gods' standards (“To set out with the God”), processing away to ascend the throne under special ceremonies.<sup>53</sup> One of the main people in the entourage is undoubtedly a man of priestly rank, in front of whom a standard is borne, which, unfortunately, is just as inexplicable as his title  $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏}$  {*mnw*, a priest of Min?}. Probably his presence is related to the previous visit to the gods. We now encounter such figures in homage scenes in which ever-changing combinations of processions move in front of the king's throne to fetch the king for a new visit to the chapel.

The three most prominent personalities among them in the surviving images are: the “Prophet of Sobek”, “the Heliopolitans” and the “Hermopolitan”, apparently all from Lower Egypt. At least, this is supported by the Sobek priest's accompaniment by two representatives of the capital Buto {Pe and Dep → Per-Wadjet} ( $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏} \text{ 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏}$  {*HT p HT dp*, singers of Pe and Dep}); the combination of the Hermopolitan with the Heliopolitan proves that *Wnw* {*wnw*,  $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏}$ } did not mean Hermopolis magna Eshmunen but, as in the contemporary Pyramid Texts and later in the participants at the Osirian royal funeral,<sup>54</sup> the Isis city at Buto {Per-Wadjet}.<sup>55</sup> Most of them have, like the aforementioned  $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏}$  {*mnw*, a priest of Min?}, a special escort which bears herald-like standards related to their local cults to them, thus reed fans to

48 Kees, *Opfertanz* {Offering Dance}, p.100f.

49 Lacau, *Annal. du Serv.* {Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Egypte (Annals of the Antiquities Service of Egypt)} 26, p.131f. to Block No. 102 (Folio 4, B).

50 Erman, *Sitzungsber. Berl. Akad.* {Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Proceedings of the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences in Berlin} 1916 p.1149 and texts such as Kees, *Opfertanz* {Offering Dance}, p.96 No. 49 (referring to the “divine links” of Osiris, to which one compares depictions such as Lauzone, *Dizion. di mitol.* {Dizionario di mitologia egizia (Dictionary of Egyptian Mythology)}, Folio 204). On the fragment of a depiction of “running the Apis”, he, like the king, is greeted by the *Mr.t* {*mrt*,  $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏}$ , Meret} with the words  $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏}$  {*ii-ii-ii-ii*, come and bring} Folio 30, 3 (N. B.): Petrie, *Meydum and Memphis (III)* Folio 30, 3 (New Kingdom?).

51 See below p.29.


52 *Ä.Z.* {*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* (Journal of Egyptian Language and Ancient History), Leipzig} 52 p.71 Folio 8.

53 No. 33a.








54 Kees, *Totenglauben* {Mortuary Beliefs} p.198, 366.

55 *Different verdict von Bissing, Untersuchungen* {Investigations} p.79



the Sobek priest and the sign of the East and a  {*Sms*, execution device} to the Heliopolitan.<sup>56</sup> Setting aside the numerous side ceremonies on arrival at the throne and the greeting and the consecrations there, then at the departure, the guiding idea of these performances can be seen: the representatives of the main cult sites of the country are approaching. Their gathering at the festival highlights the images of the New Kingdom impressively; even individual testimonies like those about the excursion of Nekhbet from El Kab to the Sed festival of Ramesses III<sup>57</sup> are not missing. Objectively speaking, therefore, the synod of priests is held at the Sed festival.

Its composition, of course, looks much different in the 5th dynasty than in the New Kingdom; for individual gods apparently enjoy the privilege of certain special presentations before the king and of special offerings. Their choice, however, changes with the political situation. In the New Kingdom generally the imperial god Amon was honored, in Soleb also Khnum as lord of the cataract area, and Ptah-Tenen {Ptah-Tatenen} in the Ramesses era in Memphis, so here in the Memphis era especially the Lower Egyptian gods from the area of the former kingdom of Buto {Pe and Dep → Per-Wadjet}, which was preserved as allegedly the only legitimate one in historical times, propagated of course by Heliopolis and Memphis. To this belong above all Apis, but also Min and others. Opposite them remains the old coalition of the standard gods of “Horus' entourage”, brought from Upper Egypt, in their prerogatives as constant companions and escorts of the king, also of the Lower Egyptian king, but identified clearly as a decorative item that became conventional, which always permitted a timely supplementing of its members.<sup>58</sup>


The remainder of the assembly of the gods is summarily dismissed from the presently preferred one: purely illustratively, this shows in list form their assignments before the royal throne, which also finds its parallel in Bubastis: the presentation of the offering animals intended for these categories, mainly cattle, but also sheep and goats, as stated in the “census” preceding the Sed festival, apparently a prince wearing the festival cloak has been entrusted as the highest dignitary of the court of the  {*Haty-a*, governor or mayor}, accompanied by guards ( {*xrp a*, controller}) and police officers, preceded by the double falcon standard and that of the patroness of the livestock, the cow goddess already mentioned at the census.<sup>59</sup> In the inscriptions we find animals intended for Horus, Anubis, the lioness *Mn.t* {*mnt*, , the goddess Menet}, Seth, Nephthys, for the Lower Egyptian god of the “Morning Land” *Dw3w* {*dwAw*, , for the “Upper Egyptian male” ( {*TA Sma*, “Upper Egyptian male” or perhaps “Fledgling of Upper Egypt” as an epithet for a deity}),<sup>60</sup> probably a god of procreation, also for all sorts of fish deities, as well as completely unknown names, such as *šb.t* {*Sbt*, , water clock}, among other things. Here we note how sorry our knowledge of the old local deities is, thanks to the filtering activity of “official theology”. The fact that this also includes the “officials (*knb.t* {*qnbt*, , council}) of the royal offices”<sup>61</sup> is, to our senses, far more remote than the attitude of the Egyptian, who was accustomed to subject such offices to the care of particular deities.<sup>62</sup> The most

56 No. 11/12, 27.

57 See below p.28, compare also to the information about the participation of local priesthoods at the Sed festival of Amenemhat III below p.27.

58 For the composition, compare to Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.24f.

59 No. 13, 14, 19.

60 The translation “the Upper Egyptian vizier”, that von Bissing advocates in Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.57, 75, in my opinion is already excluded by No. 14. The previously cited p.57 quoted queen title ( {*TAy-zp=f* *Hm(t)-nTr*, priest(ess) of the god Tjaisepef (of the threshing floor?)) (Mariette, Mastabas p.183) is probably explained as “Priestess of the male (bull) of its kind”.

61 No. 19.

62 Different verdict von Bissing Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.57, 75.



important piece<sup>63</sup> of a perhaps topographically ordered Egyptian list of standard, god name, offering animal and the figure of the prostrated local priest contains the Saitic name of “Neith of Libya” (𓏏𓏏𓏏 {with the Gardiner 18 sign as a determinative 𓏏𓏏, *nt THnw*}),<sup>64</sup> then the “Eye of Neith” (𓏏𓏏𓏏 {*nt irt*}), which may mean the accompanying arrow symbol of Neith,<sup>65</sup> and the shrine of Šš3.t {*sSat*, 𓏏𓏏𓏏, Seshat}.

We see from pieces of the large festival depiction that the “shepherd” (of Nekhen) was also honored with a special reception as heirloom of the Upper Egyptian tradition.<sup>66</sup> We know from the title series of contemporaries that in the Old Kingdom this had in fact become an honorary title of the highest officials, above all the vizier, thus for example Ptahshepses holds the title as the son-in-law and vizier of Niuserre.<sup>67</sup> Perhaps the striking absence of the vizier in the festival pictures is related to this. In general, it is not the contemporary political officials who appear in these scenes, but rather the ranks of the oldest royal period, to which the vizier does not belong. On the other hand, groups of the ancient nobility, the “nobles” (š’h {*saH*, 𓏏𓏏𓏏}), the “Great Ones of Upper and Lower Egypt”, also the “king’s descendants” and the “royal children”<sup>68</sup> participate in the processions and tributes. The fact that offering substances are brought before the throne and consecrated in the individual processions is not striking. From a picture of the Sahure temple, we know that, for example, the offering animals in front of the king’s throne have their eyes made up.<sup>69</sup> Maybe this is related to the bag, which a representative of Buto {Per-Wadjet} extends to the king.<sup>70</sup> Intermediate breaks have certainly interrupted these ceremonies: thus, an entrance (*htp* {*Htp*, 𓏏𓏏, rest}) into the “(house) belonging to the god”, in other words, the palace or sacristy, is represented in the Sun Temple following the consecration of the offering animals. For that, the king’s feet are washed according to ritual rules as when entering the temple.<sup>71</sup>

### 3. Final Acts at the Throne and the Great Final Procession

As previously stated, the sequence of activities for this celebration of the festival in the final part is secured. First, the sacred activities and offerings before the throne of the king apparently end with an external sign when the 𓏏𓏏 {*sm*, Sem} priest who officiated before the throne in the king’s name “lays down the panther coat”, which is known to be the official attire of this king’s priest. The “descent [to the earth]” of the king from the throne is already mentioned in the staging note of the lowest strip.<sup>72</sup>

Now the prelude to the final procession follows: the litter is brought to the throne by the most distinguished representatives of the {king’s} subjects, first the 𓏏𓏏 {*HAty-a*, governor or mayor}, then

63 No. 17.

64 For this very ancient writing, see Sethe, Ä.Z. {Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde (Journal of Egyptian Language and Ancient History), Leipzig} 52 p.57.

65 Apart from the “Eye of Neith,” as Untersuchungen {Investigations} on p.47 explains, one could also think of the translation of “what Neith formed”; compare expressions such as 𓏏𓏏𓏏 {*irt Xnmw*} “the eye (?) of Khnum” (barque) Pyr. {Pyramidentexte?, Pyramid Texts?} 1227/28.

66 Nos. 228 and 229: see below p.34.

67 Weil, Vezire §8, One of the oldest bearers known to me is the 𓏏𓏏𓏏 {*HAty-a nxn*, mayor of Nekhen} of the archaic statue in Leiden, Holwerda-Boeser, Denkm. des A.R. {Monuments of the Old Kingdom} Folio 4.

68 See below p.35.


69 Grabdenkmal des Sahurê {Tomb Monument of Sahure} II Folio 47.

70 No. 11a; see Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.67. Other scenes of this kind: L.D. {Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien (Monuments from Egypt and Ethiopia), 6 vols., ed. K.R. Lepsius, 1849-1859, Berlin} III 36a (Thutmose III, Karnak). Festival Hall, Folio 23.













71 No. 20.




72 No. 32; Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.83/84.



the “Great Ones of Upper and Lower Egypt”. “The barque is coming”, that is, the litter, chants the priest. Wepwawet, as “Companion (*šmš* {*Sms*, ) of the Lower Egyptian King”, acts as the leader also on the Upper Egyptian half, which is the only one preserved. On a strip, already one can see the head of the procession moving to the “courtyard”, the “district of the Great Ones”, that is, the festival gods.<sup>73</sup> In the dogmatic arrangement of the same activity on the Karnak picture, from which all people are banished, Horus and Seth are seen bearing the litter as representatives of the two halves of the land (Supplementary Folio A, left panel). Now the king rises and “descends to the earth,”<sup>74</sup> while the entourage in the procession sings the song “Here Comes the King”; he first goes to the sacristy again to change in the facilities, which must be indicated by an inscription, as outwardly no change is apparent: “donning the Sed garment of four-thread linen of the king's variety” (*ntrj* {*nTri*}). Maybe it's the robe that gives the Sed festival its name.<sup>75</sup> Then he comes out.


From here on, the Lower Egyptian and Upper Egyptian half of the final procession are separated: both contain ceremonies that are missing in the other half; as we shall see for local cultic reasons.

Let's start with the scenes of the Lower Egyptian series, which immediately follow the departure from the throne and presumably preceded it in the festival ceremonies of that time; we are in the Memphis period, which prefers Lower Egyptian memories. In the next picture, the throne is empty, the litter is on the ground, the Sem priest solemnly sets the king on it; which here is the box-shaped *wts* {*wTs*, ) needed for the Lower Egyptian half. At the same time, however, a visit takes place to a chapel of the gods, which must be thought of as erected opposite the throne in the festival courtyard, it has the form  {*xm*, , Gardiner O20 sign, shrine} that was transferred from the Lower Egyptian imperial sanctuary to all the Lower Egyptian gods. Their lord is the  {*Hr-THnw*, Horus of Libya}, who on the one hand holds the priest's title of the Old Kingdom, on the other hand, the parallel picture of Thutmose III from Karnak (Supplementary Folio A, middle panel) is more accurately represented as  “Horus of Libya (*thnw* {*THnw*, Libya}), with raised arm” (*k3-* {*qA-a*}). The again very ancient spelling  for *thnw* {*THnw*, Libya} is secured by a variant in Bubastis ; in the Karnak picture it appears, perhaps already misunderstood, as . That this falcon god belongs to the western delta, perhaps to the 3rd Lower Egyptian nome, is attested by its classification (as ) in a Lower Egyptian list of gods of the mortuary temple of Niuserre<sup>76</sup> behind Sobek of  {*imAw?*}, a city at Kom el-Hisn, the capital of the 3rd Lower Egyptian nome, despite all the difficulties presented by the feminine form; and in the Synod of the Gods in Bubastis between Neith of Sais and the city goddess of Pe ( {*pyt*, epithet of the Peite}).<sup>77</sup> This “Horus of Libya” emerges here as a general representative of Lower Egypt. Through his priest, he gives the king the  {*wAs*} scepter, which grants him dominion over all the world. From now on until the final act, the king will keep it in his hand.

Now follows quite appropriately an announcement of the renewed coming of the king's reign to all four directions in the form of jubilee hymns, which in the dogmatic picture of Thutmose III the “souls of Pe” pronounce. In the Sun Temple, her human substitute, the  {*Hry p*, chief of Pe (Buto)}, appears as the spokesman of Pe,<sup>78</sup> in interplay with another man, whose name ( {*sXrt*, milkmaids} or  {*iri*

73 No. 38; compare Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.91/93.

74 No. 39, 41.


75 Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.97; compare Urk. {Urkunden (Documents)} Urk. {Urkunden (Documents)} I 97 (= Brugsch, Thesaurus p.1212) referred to as the  {four-thread linen} piece of fabric, crafted for King Pepi I (Cairo).


76 Grabdenkmal des Neuserre {Tomb Monument of Niuserre} p.98, Fig. 71.






77 Festival Hall, Folio 7, 20; compare below p.30.


78 A clarification from Borchardt Ä.Z. {Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde (Journal of Egyptian Language and Ancient History), Leipzig} 61 p.36 footnote 1 as a “throne attendant” is therefore finished. Factually, both are connected; the district of Pe is just called “the throne” as a residence.



*sXrt*, overseer of the milkmaids}) is inexplicable to me, but is represented by the  {*rpat* or *iri pat*, noble, heir} who performs the same rite at the temples in Medinet Habu by Thutmose III, perhaps with a deliberate reference to Heliopolis.<sup>79</sup> Due to the arbitrary arrangement of the characters, the staging notes were only understandable using the parallel depictions.

In addition to those already mentioned, there is another picture related to the temple dedication of Amenerdis, also from Medinet Habu. There gods take over the roles of the players again, and according to the inscriptions not as representatives of a western and eastern half, but as the historical south and north division of the country, Wepwawet and Anubis *imj-wt* {*imi wt*, , epithet of Anubis, he who is in the mummy wrappings}. For this purpose, the Lower Egyptian Wepwawet “enters on the west side,” the Upper Egyptian Wepwawet “enters on the east side.”<sup>80</sup>

Only Thutmose III had the process represented in four phases, two each with the Upper Egyptian crown of the King, and two each with the Lower Egyptian.<sup>81</sup> In all four, the  {*Hry p*, spokesperson or chief of Pe} bears the standard of the west or the 3rd Lower Egyptian nome  {*Iment* or *Ament*},<sup>82</sup> so he clearly wants to be considered the one who is entitled to stand on the privileged right side of the king. However, the director's notes assign him a change of location in order to enable the announcement together with his partner in all four directions. He has to “step behind” the king, his partner at the same time “before” him; while “right” and “left” was their normal lineup. In both positions the hymn they have to pronounce is different. One has to think of the process so that first the  speaks the announcement to the east; the  to the west; then the , stepping behind the king, to the north; his partner, standing in front of the king, to the south. The hymn of both partners seems to have been identical, at least the images in Medinet Habu give only one text for each phase. The doubling of the rite to the Lower and Upper Egyptian king appeared only came first under Thutmose III, probably as the result of the later trends in balancing the ritual.

The introductory words, the four-fold commandment to silence, which is already known from the Pyramid Texts at the announcement of divine decrees, have also been noted in the inscription in the Sun Temple.<sup>83</sup> However, the spells recorded in Medinet Habu are to be found in substantial parts in the Pyramid Texts, thus they also trace back to a ritual in use in Memphis. Even the reproduction of one of these texts – it is the one where the  should stand behind the king (Figs. 1 and 3, that is, the one spoken to the north and south) – clearly shows that allusion to the proclamation of power is hinted at all over the world:

“Silence and hear the voice of the king! This statue here, which is that of Horus NN. is and formed by Horus-NN., which he (the king) places in his (Amon) house of god; he (Amon) gives life to Horus NN., he pleases his heart and makes his (heart) agreeable; he settles on Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt, he hacks the city walls of Asia, he throws all rebellious subjects under his fingers”.<sup>84</sup> These promises of the god are the reward for the king's donation to the god, which deals with the second text pair (Figures

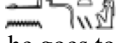
79 Kees, Horus und Seth {Horus and Seth} II p.68.

80 Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.100.


81 Previously cited p.100/104.


82 A drawing of the figure in Sethe. Expressions for right and left, Nachr. Gött. Ges. {News from the Royal Society of Sciences in Göttingen} 1922, 2 molded panel No. 2.

83 Pyr. {Pyramidentexte?, Pyramid Texts?} 868C, 1746a compare to ancient in the inherited divine decree Brugsch, Thesaurus p.1419.









84 The restricted words == Pyr. {Pyramidentexte?, Pyramid Texts?} 1836/37, a coronation text that plays with the contrast between West and East; compare 1833c/d “as Anubis, at the head of the western ... as *nd-tj* {*anDti*, , god of Busiris, epithet of Osiris} at the head of the eastern nomes”, 1835a “he appears with him in the east, he goes to rest with him in the west”. We understand these subtleties now!



2 and 4) of the exchange speech; their four-time “proclamation” refers to the fragment of such a depiction from the Ptah temple of Memphis matching the inscription from the picture of Amenerdis in Medinet Habu  {*mAT sp ifdw*, proclaim four times}.<sup>85</sup> The “statue” of the king, from which comes the speech, belongs to the donation, which at the same time is meant for the memory of the king.



According to these parallel depictions, we had previously proposed to make the staging in the Sun Temple: “it turns the right (in other words, the ) on the left side”, and in the opponent: “it puts the left on the right side”. In contrast, Sethe suggested to me verbally the solution, which now also Borchardt has followed:<sup>86</sup> “Standing on the west (right) side, (facing to) the east” or “standing on the east (left) side, (facing) to<sup>87</sup> the west”. For there is a beautiful parallel in the inscriptions of the fourfold coronation of the King at Bubastis:<sup>88</sup> “the first time on the southern throne stairs, facing south, the second time on the northern staircase, facing north,” etc. What appears to have been accomplished here by fourfold reseating of the king himself, that is to say on a throne standing free in the middle of the court, is indicated in earlier times by changes in position of the heralds. Consistent with this, the king takes possession of all the world, by virtue of the gift of god, be it a symbolic repetition of the coronation or awarding of the scepter of “power”.

It is very important that this whole scene, in which only typically Lower Egyptian representatives take part, lacks the Upper Egyptian half in the Sun Temple. Borchardt, taking advantage of the above account in Bubastis, very convincingly sought the Upper Egyptian replacement ceremony in a series of pictures which we could not classify,<sup>89</sup> and whose characteristic is the appearance of a bed-like piece of furniture with lion's head ornaments, similar to the bench on which the King sat at the coronation in Bubastis. If Borchardt is right in referring to an Upper Egyptian ceremony of “enthroning in the four quarters of heaven,”<sup>90</sup> then the religious-historical consequences that I drew elsewhere from the diversity of the Upper and Lower Egyptian final procession,<sup>91</sup> receive a new, extremely valuable support. But even without relying on the unconfirmed arrangement of these scenes in the lower strip of the Upper Egyptian half of the back wall, as Borchardt assumes in his reconstruction sketch, the following findings result from completely reliable measurements on the blocks found in situ:<sup>92</sup>

In place of the visit to the chapel of the Lower Egyptian Libyan Horus stands, in the Upper Egyptian cycle, the visit to two chapels for which another litter, the basket-like one called *sp3* {*spA*,    , litter, literally “centipede” because of the “many” bearers} is characteristic, both {chapels} already set apart from the chapel of the Lower Egyptian representative externally by their shape like that of the Upper Egyptian imperial shrine  {*sH*, shrine} and thereby characterized as representing Upper Egypt: first the visit to “Horus of Edfu” (*Bhdt* {*bHdt*, ) then to “Seth of Ombos”. Both gods hand the king the  {*wAs*} scepter by the hand of  {the Sem priest}, in addition to the victorious arrows,

85 Petrie-Engelbach, Riqqeh and Memphis (VI) Folios 56, 22; compare Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.100 and especially Urk. {Urkunden (Documents)} IV 261 as terminus of the name promulgation at the accession of the throne. With “granite” as construction material, the verb has nothing to do with it, as Borchardt said in Ä.Z. {Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde (Journal of Egyptian Language and Ancient History), Leipzig} 61 p.36.

86 Ä.Z. {Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde (Journal of Egyptian Language and Ancient History), Leipzig} 61 p.36.

87 Notably the , that is *hr r* {*Hr r*, face towards}, written on No. 43, does not belong to the title  {*iry sXrt*, overseer of the milkmaids}?

88 Festival Hall, Folio 2 = Fig. 1 in Borchardt.

89 No. 56-59. Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.90.

90 For more on this, see below p.37.


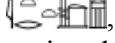
91 Horus und Seth {Horus and Seth} II p.63f.

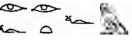
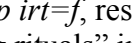
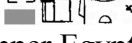
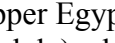
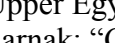
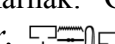
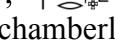
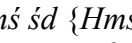
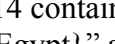
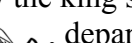
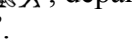

92 See: Re-Heiligtum {Sun Temple} II Text p.9f.



which he has to send to the four cardinal points to symbolically strike down all his enemies.<sup>93</sup>

Incidentally, then at Thutmose III's at Karnak, the scene of archery has also clearly been emphasized as an Upper Egyptian rite;<sup>94</sup> it also took place at Theban Min festival, after the sending of the four birds as messengers of the gods, and likewise at the festival of Horus of Edfu himself.<sup>95</sup>

The solemn investiture is now completed, the king moves in triumph, led by the gods of those escorted by Horus, who emerge here at the height of the victory celebration, to the "courtyard" and leaves there by the  {sm, Sem priest} before the assembled "Great Ones", the festival gods, to consecrate collective offerings to the two *itr.tj* {probably *itrty*, , double row of shrines comprising Upper Egypt (*pr wr*) and Lower Egypt (*pr nzt*), forming a national shrine}. Here too, the Lower Egyptian series is similar. Therefore, the "Souls of Nekhen" or the "Souls of Pe", here probably synonymous with the gods of those escorted by Horus, in other words, by the marching standards of the gods, promised him life and power through the priest's mouth.<sup>96</sup> Then comes the solemn return, in which, just as before the visit of the chapels of the gods, the white sandals are loosened on the litter and the feet are washed by friends {companions}:

"The king goes (*htp* {*Htp*, to rest}) into the palace, when he returns from doing all that he has to do, in the [Sed festival houses]," says Bubastis in the appropriate place.<sup>97</sup> This text, in connection with the inscription of a fragment from the Ptah temple of Memphis with the introduction of the king by the souls of Pe (and Nekhen) into the imperial sanctuary<sup>98</sup>  {*ir=f irt=f m pr [wr]*, that he may prepare himself in the national shrine of Upper Egypt}, can also tell us about the meaning of the short style  {*Htp irt=f*, rest and prepare himself} or  {*pr [wr] irt=f*, "preparing himself" or "performing rituals" in the national shrine of Upper Egypt} when visiting the chapel of Horus and Seth, or when visiting the Assemblies of the Upper Egyptian *itr.t* {Upper Egyptian side of *itrty*, , double row of shrines comprising Upper Egypt (*pr wr*) and Lower Egypt (*pr nzt*), forming a national shrine}<sup>99</sup> enlighten: "to go in (and do) what he has to do" or "(go to) *pr-wr* {*pr wr*, , national shrine of Upper Egypt} (and do) what he has to do". Thutmose III describes something more understandable in Karnak: "Getting in and out of *pr-wr* {*pr wr*, , national shrine of Upper Egypt} and *pr-nst* {*pr nst*, , national shrine of Lower Egypt}" (Supplementary Folio A, right). Borne on the litter by his chamberlains, the king now returns to the palace, where he again takes off the Sed festival garment he wore throughout the final part. This is reported by the last inscription at the end of the wall  {*Hms sd*, retire Sed garment}.<sup>100</sup> Also on two of the Karnak blocks discovered by Borchardt, parts of the final procession, namely from the visit to the imperial shrines, are recognizable: Block No. 14 contains the inscription "Going (*k* {*aq*}) into the *pr-nst* {*pr nst*, , national shrine of Lower Egypt}" and the presentation of the transfer of the so-called water clock (*sb.t* {*Sbt*, ) to Uto by the king sitting on the litter; Block No. 40 shows the inscription "To get started (*w3* {*wDA*, , depart}) doing all that is to be done in the *pr-wr* {*pr wr*, , national shrine of Upper Egypt}".

The determination of the difference between the Upper and Lower Egyptian final procession also

93 No. 44-45.

94 L.D. {Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien (Monuments from Egypt and Ethiopia), 6 vols., ed. K.R. Lepsius, 1849-1859, Berlin} III 36b.

95 Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.108/109. Kees, Horus und Seth {Horus and Seth} I, p.21.

96 No. 44 (Upper Egyptian). No. 50 (Lower Egyptian).



97 Festival Hall, Folio 4 twice, 15; see Soleb L.D. {Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien (Monuments from Egypt and Ethiopia), 6 vols., ed. K.R. Lepsius, 1849-1859, Berlin} III 86.

98 Petrie-Engelbach, Riqqeh and Memphis (VI) Folio 55.

99 No. 45; compare Nos. 46 and 49.

100 No. 45a, 52.



decides the much-discussed question of the view of Horus *Bhd.t* {*bHdt*, , of Edfu (in Upper Egypt)} in the Old Kingdom. He must share with Seth of Ombos in the depiction of Upper Egypt, but with priority over him,<sup>101</sup> a falcon god indeed appears as a representative of Lower Egypt, but this is another, the “Horus of Libya”, apparently from the 3rd Lower Egyptian nome, whose standard  has contained the falcon character since ancient times.

In Soleb and Bubastis all these things are blurred by the fact that the then imperial god Amon pressed himself to the decisive place in the final procession as master of both imperial sanctuaries: according to the inscription in Bubastis, “(the king) appears from the god's house of Amon, which is in the Sed festival house, and settles down on the litter”, on which he is borne home “to the palace”.<sup>102</sup>

With this triumphal procession, which resembles the great divine processions, the Sed festival concludes.

---

101 Through which sophistical interpretations he can sometimes be made a representative of Lower Egypt by the Egyptians, I have explained in detail in my work “Horus und Seth als Götterpaar” {“Horus and Seth as a Pair of Gods”}.

102 Festival Hall, Folio 6.



## II. The Rest of the “Large Festival Depiction”

According to the circumstances of the discovery, the series of depictions of the Sed festival were distributed over the southern courtyard corridor, as in the actual obelisk corridor, so that they were separated from each other by the differently decorated “World Chamber” and the group, apparently considered as a single unit, in the also architecturally separately treated foyer of the obelisk corridor. So much can be ascertained regarding the manner of decoration: that the depictions ran counter to the obelisk interior, thereby deviating from the division of the sacristy (Small Festival Depiction), the left side displayed the Lower Egyptian series (→) and the right side the Upper Egyptian series (←). Therefore, the Lower Egyptian pictures were situated in the southern corridor of the southern wall (outer wall)!

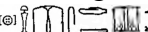
The pictures were over a base, which in the southern part was 1.65 m high, in several rows, probably of different heights, separated by the usual ribbon of stars in the heavens. Borchardt calculated a decorated area of 2.40 m for the picture strips of the southern courtyard corridor, at a reasonable corridor height of 4.65 m. Details of the classification can hardly be determined; the picture panels “with the lowest strips”, which are the largest in scale, probably originating from the courtyard corridor, from the blocks already brought by Reinhardt to Berlin (Folio 9), had a height of about 1.10 m, while other fragments also show that those without the lowest strips in the higher rows were thus situated lower. Accordingly, one could think of a decoration in three strips, of which the top of the narrow interior of the hall could hardly be seen. Therefore, the design is quite variable, unfinished in many places.

The masses of unconnected relief fragments found can be most conveniently divided into the two known large groups:

1. Depictions of the king's processions to visit the chapels of the festival gods
2. Processions in front of the king enthroned in the pavilion

Compared to the festival depiction of the sacristy, judging from what had been preserved, the first group in the corridors predominated; it was the given theme for long-drawn-out picture friezes. Unfortunately, only the lower parts of the panels escaped the grasp of the lime burner, which usually contained the entourage in the “lowest strip”, so that we often see nothing of the actual activity.

### 1. Initial Procession

The beginning is clearly formed by a picture which shows the festive exit of the king, his “appearance” from the palace preceded by the divine standards of those escorted by Horus (No. 102), in other words, ushering in at least one new festival section. Also included here is the typical caption of the Sed festival  {*[sp] tpy Hb sd ir=f aSA [nDs]*, first [occurrence of] the Sed festival, may he do [very] many}.

Since this is the only mention of the Sed festival within the actual celebration, aside from the scene of the construction of the “palace of the Sed festival” and various divine discourses in other parts of the temple, we have a certain right to call this scene the “initial procession.” On the basis of No. 7b, the picture should probably be completed by the king in the Sed festival cloak.<sup>103</sup>

<sup>103</sup> Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.22.





## 2. Regalia of the King







Unfortunately, the question of the king's regalia cannot be answered correctly. Apart from the pieces undoubtedly outside the Sed festival, to which the founding scenes also belong, we have a number of relief remains which represent the king "appearing" in other regalia and with other insignia, above all without the festival cloak. In addition, a special group of royal figures, which are found mainly west of the obelisk (in other words, in the western courtyard), could possibly be related to the preparatory sacred activities of the Sed festival,<sup>104</sup> and would undoubtedly be mentioned on piece No. 111 originating from the obelisk corridor. Then the king enters the palace (sacristy) and leaves it again, clothed with schendot {skirt} and tail (as for example in the offering dance), but equipped with the long staff, which he also bears, for example, like an official in “inspection of construction work”. Does the picture belong in a similar context to be connected to the foundation scenes attested in the obelisk corridor entrance?<sup>105</sup> The far younger cycles of the New Kingdom may only be used with reservations in order to decide these questions, since the ceremony may have undergone changes in such incidental matters and the depictions are demonstrably deviating in royal regalia. It is well known that even the cut of the festival cloak changes sporadically.<sup>106</sup> In Bubastis we at least see that the king does not yet wear the cloak while moving in the procession under the escort of Wepwawet to the “courtyard” before ascending to the throne and when he picks up Amon for the introduction into his festival chapel.<sup>107</sup> But in the further course there are still some activities in which the king appears in very similar regalia as in the pieces from the western courtyard.<sup>108</sup> By the way, it should be noted that after the ceremonies of the eighteenth dynasty the king did not appear to show himself in the festival cloak until after the ceremonial coronation with both crowns of Egypt, so to speak for the final procession, while he still wears the usual old royal attire with skirt and tail and the Upper Egyptian crown during the first procession under the escort of the divine standards.<sup>109</sup> On the other hand, at the proclamation of Hatshepsut to the king by Thutmose I, only the father is enthroned in the festival cloak, and additionally the headdress with uraeus, while the heir to the crown stands before him in a king's skirt.<sup>110</sup> Our knowledge of Egyptian rules is not sufficient to answer these individual questions.





The cloak itself we know as white from later reproductions, such as the well-known statue of King Mentuhotep,<sup>111</sup> thus in style, just as certain elite bearers wear it at the Osirian funeral. Here, too, at least in the old days, the case is not so simple: in the inscriptions of the final procession, we read of a change of cloak without seeing any difference in the pattern. In addition, the fragment of a royal figure (No. 173), in accordance with the ancient ivory figure of an Upper Egyptian king in the festival cloak of Abydos, shows that the cloak was patterned in green by intersecting lines, except for one edge. Even the ritual texts tell enough of colorful fabrics for cult use. That may be old-fashioned. For the green patterned material, one could be referring to the  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓} \text{𓆔} \text{𓆕} \text{𓆖} \text{𓆗} \text{𓆘} \text{𓆙} \text{𓆚} \text{𓆛} \text{𓆜} \text{𓆝} \text{𓆞} \text{𓆟} \text{𓆠} \text{𓆡} \text{𓆢} \text{𓆣} \text{𓆤} \text{𓆥} \text{𓆦} \text{𓆧} \text{𓆨} \text{𓆩} \text{𓆪} \text{𓆫} \text{𓆬} \text{𓆭} \text{𓆮} \text{𓆯} \text{𓆰} \text{𓆱} \text{𓆲} \text{𓆳} \text{𓆴} \text{𓆵} \text{𓆶} \text{𓆷} \text{𓆸} \text{𓆹} \text{𓆺} \text{𓆻} \text{𓆼} \text{𓆽} \text{𓆾} \text{𓆿} \text{𓇀} \text{𓇁} \text{𓇂} \text{𓇃} \text{𓇄} \text{𓇅} \text{𓇆} \text{𓇇} \text{𓇈} \text{𓇉} \text{𓇊} \text{𓇋} \text{𓇌} \text{𓇍} \text{𓇎} \text{𓇏} \text{𓇐} \text{𓇑} \text{𓇒} \text{𓇓} \text{𓇔} \text{𓇕} \text{𓇖} \text{𓇗} \text{𓇘} \text{𓇙} \text{𓇚} \text{𓇛} \text{𓇜} \text{𓇝} \text{𓇞} \text{𓇟} \text{𓇠} \text{𓇡} \text{𓇢} \text{𓇣} \text{𓇤} \text{𓇥} \text{𓇦} \text{𓇧} \text{𓇨} \text{𓇩} \text{𓇪} \text{𓇫} \text{𓇬} \text{𓇭} \text{𓇮} \text{𓇯} \text{𓇰} \text{𓇱} \text{𓇲} \text{𓇳} \text{𓇴} \text{𓇵} \text{𓇶} \text{𓇷} \text{𓇸} \text{𓇹} \text{𓇺} \text{𓇻} \text{𓇼} \text{𓇽} \text{𓇾} \text{𓇿} \text{𓈀} \text{𓈁} \text{𓈂} \text{𓈃} \text{𓈄} \text{𓈅} \text{𓈆} \text{𓈇} \text{𓈈} \text{𓈉} \text{𓈊} \text{𓈋} \text{𓈌} \text{𓈍} \text{𓈎} \text{𓈏} \text{𓈐} \text{𓈑} \text{𓈒} \text{𓈓} \text{𓈔} \text{𓈕} \text{𓈖} \text{𓈗} \text{𓈘} \text{𓈙} \text{𓈚} \text{𓈛} \text{𓈜} \text{𓈝} \text{𓈞} \text{𓈟} \text{𓈠} \text{𓈡} \text{𓈢} \text{𓈣} \text{𓈤} \text{𓈥} \text{𓈦} \text{𓈧} \text{𓈨} \text{𓈩} \text{𓈪} \text{𓈫} \text{𓈬} \text{𓈭} \text{𓈮} \text{𓈯} \text{𓈰} \text{𓈱} \text{𓈲} \text{𓈳} \text{𓈴} \text{𓈵} \text{𓈶} \text{𓈷} \text{𓈸} \text{𓈹} \text{𓈺} \text{𓈻} \text{𓈼} \text{𓈽} \text{𓈾} \text{𓈿} \text{𓉀} \text{𓉁} \text{𓉂} \text{𓉃} \text{𓉄} \text{𓉅} \text{𓉆} \text{𓉇} \text{𓉈} \text{𓉉} \text{𓉊} \text{𓉋} \text{𓉌} \text{𓉍} \text{𓉎} \text{𓉏} \text{𓉐} \text{𓉑} \text{𓉒} \text{𓉓} \text{𓉔} \text{𓉕} \text{𓉖} \text{𓉗} \text{𓉘} \text{𓉙} \text{𓉚} \text{𓉛} \text{𓉜} \text{𓉝} \text{𓉞} \text{𓉟} \text{𓉠} \text{𓉡} \text{𓉢} \text{𓉣} \text{𓉤} \text{𓉥} \text{𓉦} \text{𓉧} \text{𓉨} \text{𓉩} \text{𓉪} \text{𓉫} \text{𓉬} \text{𓉭} \text{𓉮} \text{𓉯} \text{𓉰} \text{𓉱} \text{𓉲} \text{𓉳} \text{𓉴} \text{𓉵} \text{𓉶} \text{𓉷} \text{𓉸} \text{𓉹} \text{𓉺} \text{𓉻} \text{𓉼} \text{𓉽} \text{𓉾} \text{𓉿} \text{𓊀} \text{𓊁} \text{𓊂} \text{𓊃} \text{𓊄} \text{𓊅} \text{𓊆} \text{𓊇} \text{𓊈} \text{𓊉} \text{𓊊} \text{𓊋} \text{𓊌} \text{𓊍} \text{𓊎} \text{𓊏} \text{𓊐} \text{𓊑} \text{𓊒} \text{𓊓} \text{𓊔} \text{𓊕} \text{𓊖} \text{𓊗} \text{𓊘} \text{𓊙} \text{𓊚} \text{𓊛} \text{𓊜} \text{𓊝} \text{𓊞} \text{𓊟} \text{𓊠} \text{𓊡} \text{𓊢} \text{𓊣} \text{𓊤} \text{𓊥} \text{𓊦} \text{𓊧} \text{𓊨} \text{𓊩} \text{𓊪} \text{𓊫} \text{𓊬} \text{𓊭} \text{𓊮} \text{𓊯} \text{𓊰} \text{𓊱} \text{𓊲} \text{𓊳} \text{𓊴} \text{𓊵} \text{𓊶} \text{𓊷} \text{𓊸} \text{𓊹} \text{𓊺} \text{𓊻} \text{𓊼} \text{𓊽} \text{𓊾} \text{𓊿} \text{𓋀} \text{𓋁} \text{𓋂} \text{𓋃} \text{𓋄} \text{𓋅} \text{𓋆} \text{𓋇} \text{𓋈} \text{𓋉} \text{𓋊} \text{𓋋} \text{𓋌} \text{𓋍} \text{𓋎} \text{𓋏} \text{𓋐} \text{𓋑} \text{𓋒} \text{𓋓} \text{𓋔} \text{𓋕} \text{𓋖} \text{𓋗} \text{𓋘} \text{𓋙} \text{𓋚} \text{𓋛} \text{𓋜} \text{𓋝} \text{𓋞} \text{𓋟} \text{𓋠} \text{𓋡} \text{𓋢} \text{𓋣} \text{𓋤} \text{𓋥} \text{𓋦} \text{𓋧} \text{𓋨} \text{𓋩} \text{𓋪} \text{𓋫} \text{𓋬} \text{𓋭} \text{𓋮} \text{𓋯} \text{𓋰} \text{𓋱} \text{𓋲} \text{𓋳} \text{𓋴} \text{𓋵} \text{𓋶} \text{𓋷} \text{𓋸} \text{𓋹} \text{𓋺} \text{𓋻} \text{𓋼} \text{𓋽} \text{𓋾} \text{𓋿} \text{𓌀} \text{𓌁} \text{𓌂} \text{𓌃} \text{𓌄} \text{𓌅} \text{𓌆} \text{𓌇} \text{𓌈} \text{𓌉} \text{𓌊} \text{𓌋} \text{𓌌} \text{𓌍} \text{𓌎} \text{𓌏} \text{𓌐} \text{𓌑} \text{𓌒} \text{𓌓} \text{𓌔} \text{𓌕} \text{𓌖} \text{𓌗} \text{𓌘} \text{𓌙} \text{𓌚} \text{𓌛} \text{𓌜} \text{𓌝} \text{𓌞} \text{𓌟} \text{𓌠} \text{𓌡} \text{𓌢} \text{𓌣} \text{𓌤} \text{𓌥} \text{𓌦} \text{𓌧} \text{𓌨} \text{𓌩} \text{𓌪} \text{𓌫} \text{𓌬} \text{𓌭} \text{𓌮} \text{𓌯} \text{𓌰} \text{𓌱} \text{𓌲} \text{𓌳} \text{𓌴} \text{𓌵} \text{𓌶} \text{𓌷} \text{𓌸} \text{𓌹} \text{𓌺} \text{𓌻} \text{𓌼} \text{𓌽} \text{𓌾} \text{𓌿} \text{𓍀} \text{𓍁} \text{𓍂} \text{𓍃} \text{𓍄} \text{𓍅} \text{𓍆} \text{𓍇} \text{𓍈} \text{𓍉} \text{𓍊} \text{𓍋} \text{𓍌} \text{𓍍} \text{𓍎} \text{𓍏} \text{𓍐} \text{𓍑} \text{𓍒} \text{𓍓} \text{𓍔} \text{𓍕} \text{𓍖} \text{𓍗} \text{𓍘} \text{𓍙} \text{𓍚} \text{𓍛} \text{𓍜} \text{𓍝} \text{𓍞} \text{𓍟} \text{𓍠} \text{𓍡} \text{𓍢} \text{𓍣} \text{𓍤} \text{𓍥} \text{𓍦} \text{𓍧} \text{𓍨} \text{𓍩} \text{𓍪} \text{𓍫} \text{𓍬} \text{𓍭} \text{𓍮} \text{𓍯} \text{𓍰} \text{𓍱} \text{𓍲} \text{𓍳} \text{𓍴} \text{𓍵} \text{𓍶} \text{𓍷} \text{𓍸} \text{𓍹} \text{𓍺} \text{𓍻} \text{𓍼} \text{𓍽} \text{𓍾} \text{𓍿} \text{𓎀} \text{𓎁} \text{𓎂} \text{𓎃} \text{𓎄} \text{𓎅} \text{𓎆} \text{𓎇} \text{𓎈} \text{𓎉} \text{𓎊} \text{𓎋} \text{𓎌} \text{𓎍} \text{𓎎} \text{𓎏} \text{𓎐} \text{𓎑} \text{𓎒} \text{𓎓} \text{𓎔} \text{𓎕} \text{𓎖} \text{𓎗} \text{𓎘} \text{𓎙} \text{𓎚} \text{𓎛} \text{𓎜} \text{𓎝} \text{𓎞} \text{𓎟} \text{𓎠} \text{𓎡} \text{𓎢} \text{𓎣} \text{𓎤} \text{𓎥} \text{𓎦} \text{𓎧} \text{𓎨} \text{𓎩} \text{𓎪} \text{𓎫} \text{𓎬} \text{𓎭} \text{𓎮} \text{𓎯} \text{𓎰} \text{𓎱} \text{𓎲} \text{𓎳} \text{𓎴} \text{𓎵} \text{𓎶} \text{𓎷} \text{𓎸} \text{𓎹} \text{𓎺} \text{𓎻} \text{𓎼} \text{𓎽} \text{𓎾} \text{𓎿} \text{𓏀} \text{𓏁} \text{𓏂} \text{𓏃} \text{𓏄} \text{𓏅} \text{𓏆} \text{𓏇} \text{𓏈} \text{𓏉} \text{𓏊} \text{𓏋} \text{𓏌} \text{𓏍} \text{𓏎} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏐} \text{𓏑} \text{𓏒} \text{𓏓} \text{𓏔} \text{𓏕} \text{𓏖} \text{𓏗} \text{𓏘} \text{𓏙} \text{𓏚} \text{𓏛} \text{𓏜} \text{𓏝} \text{𓏞} \text{𓏟} \text{𓏠} \text{𓏡} \text{𓏢} \text{𓏣} \text{𓏤} \text{𓏥} \text{𓏦} \text{𓏧} \text{𓏨} \text{𓏩} \text{𓏪} \text{𓏫} \text{𓏬} \text{𓏭} \text{𓏮} \text{𓏯} \text{𓏰} \text{𓏱} \text{𓏲} \text{𓏳} \text{𓏴} \text{𓏵} \text{𓏶} \text{𓏷} \text{𓏸} \text{𓏹} \text{𓏺} \text{𓏻} \text{𓏼} \text{𓏽} \text{𓏾} \text{𓏿} \text{𓐀} \text{𓐁} \text{𓐂} \text{𓐃} \text{𓐄} \text{𓐅} \text{𓐆} \text{𓐇} \text{𓐈} \text{𓐉} \text{𓐊} \text{𓐋} \text{𓐌} \text{𓐍} \text{𓐎} \text{𓐏} \text{𓐐} \text{𓐑} \text{𓐒} \text{𓐓} \text{𓐔} \text{𓐕} \text{𓐖} \text{𓐗} \text{𓐘} \text{𓐙} \text{𓐚} \text{𓐛} \text{𓐜} \text{𓐝} \text{𓐞} \text{𓐟} \text{𓐠} \text{𓐡} \text{𓐢} \text{𓐣} \text{𓐤} \text{𓐥} \text{𓐦} \text{𓐧} \text{𓐨} \text{𓐩} \text{𓐪} \text{𓐫} \text{𓐬} \text{𓐭} \text{𓐮} \text{𓐯} \text{𓐰} \text{𓐱} \text{𓐲} \text{𓐳} \text{𓐴} \text{𓐵} \text{𓐶} \text{𓐷} \text{𓐸} \text{𓐹} \text{𓐺} \text{𓐻} \text{𓐼} \text{𓐽} \text{𓐾} \text{𓐿} \text{𓑀} \text{𓑁} \text{𓑂} \text{𓑃} \text{𓑄} \text{𓑅} \text{𓑆} \text{𓑇} \text{𓑈} \text{𓑉} \text{𓑊} \text{𓑋} \text{𓑌} \text{𓑍} \text{𓑎} \text{𓑏} \text{𓑐} \text{𓑑} \text{𓑒} \text{𓑓} \text{𓑔} \text{𓑕} \text{𓑖} \text{𓑗} \text{𓑘} \text{𓑙} \text{𓑚} \text{𓑛} \text{𓑜} \text{𓑝} \text{𓑞} \text{𓑟} \text{𓑠} \text{𓑡} \text{𓑢} \text{𓑣} \text{𓑤} \text{𓑥} \text{𓑦} \text{𓑧} \text{𓑨} \text{𓑩} \text{𓑪} \text{𓑫} \text{𓑬} \text{𓑭} \text{𓑮} \text{𓑯} \text{𓑰} \text{𓑱} \text{𓑲} \text{𓑳} \text{𓑴} \text{𓑵} \text{𓑶} \text{𓑷} \text{𓑸} \text{𓑹} \text{𓑺} \text{𓑻} \text{𓑼} \text{𓑽} \text{𓑾} \text{𓑿} \text{𓒀} \text{𓒁} \text{𓒂} \text{𓒃} \text{𓒄} \text{𓒅} \text{𓒆} \text{𓒇} \text{𓒈} \text{𓒉} \text{𓒊} \text{𓒋} \text{𓒌} \text{𓒍} \text{𓒎} \text{𓒏} \text{𓒐} \text{𓒑} \text{𓒒} \text{𓒓} \text{𓒔} \text{𓒕} \text{𓒖} \text{𓒗} \text{𓒘} \text{𓒙} \text{𓒚} \text{𓒛} \text{𓒜} \text{𓒝} \text{𓒞} \text{𓒟} \text{𓒠} \text{𓒡} \text{𓒢} \text{𓒣} \text{𓒤} \text{𓒥} \text{𓒦} \text{𓒧} \text{𓒨} \text{𓒩} \text{𓒪} \text{𓒫} \text{𓒬} \text{𓒭} \text{𓒮} \text{𓒯} \text{𓒰} \text{𓒱} \text{𓒲} \text{𓒳} \text{𓒴} \text{𓒵} \text{𓒶} \text{𓒷} \text{𓒸} \text{𓒹} \text{𓒺} \text{𓒻} \text{𓒼} \text{𓒽} \text{𓒾} \text{𓒿} \text{𓓀} \text{𓓁} \text{𓓂} \text{𓓃} \text{𓓄} \text{𓓅} \text{𓓆} \text{𓓇} \text{𓓈} \text{𓓉} \text{𓓊} \text{𓓋} \text{𓓌} \text{𓓍} \text{𓓎} \text{𓓏} \text{𓓐} \text{𓓑} \text{𓓒} \text{𓓓} \text{𓓔} \text{𓓕} \text{𓓖} \text{𓓗} \text{𓓘} \text{𓓙} \text{𓓚} \text{𓓛} \text{𓓜} \text{𓓝} \text{𓓞} \text{𓓟} \text{𓓠} \text{𓓡} \text{𓓢} \text{𓓣} \text{𓓤} \text{𓓥} \text{𓓦} \text{𓓧} \text{𓓨} \text{𓓩} \text{𓓪} \text{𓓫} \text{𓓬} \text{𓓭} \text{𓓮} \text{𓓯} \text{𓓰} \text{𓓱} \text{𓓲} \text{𓓳} \text{𓓴} \text{𓓵} \text{𓓶} \text{𓓷} \text{𓓸} \text{𓓹} \text{𓓺} \text{𓓻} \text{𓓼} \text{𓓽} \text{𓓾} \text{𓓿} \text{𓔀} \text{𓔁} \text{𓔂} \text{𓔃} \text{𓔄} \text{𓔅} \text{𓔆} \text{𓔇} \text{𓔈} \text{𓔉} \text{𓔊} \text{𓔋} \text{𓔌} \text{𓔍} \text{𓔎} \text{𓔏} \text{𓔐} \text{𓔑} \text{𓔒} \text{𓔓} \text{𓔔} \text{𓔕} \text{𓔖} \text{𓔗} \text{𓔘} \text{𓔙} \text{𓔚} \text{𓔛} \text{𓔜} \text{𓔝} \text{𓔞} \text{𓔟} \text{𓔠} \text{𓔡} \text{𓔢} \text{𓔣} \text{𓔤} \text{𓔥} \text{𓔦} \text{𓔧} \text{𓔨} \text{𓔩} \text{𓔪} \text{𓔫} \text{𓔬} \text{𓔭} \text{𓔮} \text{𓔯} \text{𓔰} \text{𓔱} \text{𓔲} \text{𓔳} \text{𓔴} \text{𓔵} \text{𓔶} \text{𓔷} \text{𓔸} \text{𓔹} \text{𓔺} \text{𓔻} \text{𓔼} \text{𓔽} \text{𓔾} \text{𓔿} \text{𓕀} \text{𓕁} \text{𓕂} \text{𓕃} \text{𓕄} \text{𓕅} \text{𓕆} \text{𓕇} \text{𓕈} \text{𓕉} \text{𓕊} \text{𓕋} \text{𓕌} \text{𓕍} \text{𓕎} \text{𓕏} \text{𓕐} \text{𓕑} \text{𓕒} \text{𓕓} \text{𓕔} \text{𓕕} \text{𓕖} \text{𓕗} \text{𓕘} \text{𓕙} \text{𓕚} \text{𓕛} \text{𓕜} \text{𓕝} \text{𓕞} \text{𓕟} \text{𓕠} \text{𓕡} \text{𓕢} \text{𓕣} \text{𓕤} \text{𓕥} \text{𓕦} \text{𓕧} \text{𓕨} \text{𓕩} \text{𓕪} \text{𓕫} \text{𓕬} \text{𓕭} \text{𓕮} \text{𓕯} \text{𓕰} \text{𓕱} \text{𓕲} \text{𓕳} \text{𓕴} \text{𓕵} \text{𓕶} \text{𓕷} \text{𓕸} \text{𓕹} \text{𓕺} \text{𓕻} \text{𓕼} \text{𓕽} \text{𓕾} \text{𓕿} \text{𓖀} \text{𓖁} \text{𓖂} \text{𓖃} \text{𓖄} \text{𓖅} \text{𓖆} \text{𓖇} \text{𓖈} \text{𓖉} \text{𓖊} \text{𓖋} \text{𓖌} \text{𓖍} \text{𓖎} \text{𓖏} \text{𓖐} \text{𓖑} \text{𓖒} \text{𓖓} \text{𓖔} \text{𓖕} \text{𓖖} \text{𓖗} \text{𓖘} \text{𓖙} \text{𓖚} \text{𓖛} \text{𓖜} \text{𓖝} \text{𓖞} \text{𓖟} \text{𓖠} \text{𓖡} \text{𓖢} \text{𓖣} \text{𓖤} \text{𓖥} \text{𓖦} \text{𓖧} \text{𓖨} \text{𓖩} \text{𓖪} \text{𓖫} \text{𓖬} \text{𓖭} \text{𓖮} \text{𓖯} \text{𓖰} \text{𓖱} \text{𓖲} \text{𓖳} \text{𓖴} \text{𓖵} \text{𓖶} \text{𓖷} \text{𓖸} \text{𓖹} \text{𓖺} \text{𓖻} \text{𓖼} \text{𓖽} \text{𓖾} \text{𓖿} \text{𓗀} \text{𓗁} \text{𓗂} \text{𓗃} \text{𓗄} \text{𓗅} \text{𓗆} \text{𓗇} \text{𓗈} \text{𓗉} \text{𓗊} \text{𓗋} \text{𓗌} \text{𓗍} \text{𓗎} \text{𓗏} \text{𓗐} \text{𓗑} \text{𓗒} \text{𓗓} \text{𓗔} \text{𓗕} \text{𓗖} \text{𓗗} \text{𓗘} \text{𓗙} \text{𓗚} \text{𓗛} \text{𓗜} \text{𓗝} \text{𓗞} \text{𓗟} \text{𓗠} \text{𓗡} \text{𓗢} \text{𓗣} \text{𓗤} \text{𓗥} \text{𓗦} \text{𓗧} \text{𓗨} \text{𓗩} \text{𓗪} \text{𓗫} \text{𓗬} \text{𓗭} \text{𓗮} \text{𓗯} \text{𓗰} \text{𓗱} \text{𓗲} \text{𓗳} \text{𓗴} \text{𓗵} \text{𓗶} \text{𓗷} \text{𓗸} \text{𓗹} \text{𓗺} \text{𓗻} \text{𓗼} \text{𓗽} \text{𓗾} \text{𓗿} \text{𓘀} \text{𓘁} \text{𓘂} \text{𓘃} \text{𓘄} \text{𓘅} \text{𓘆} \text{𓘇} \text{𓘈} \text{𓘉} \text{𓘊} \text{𓘋} \text{𓘌} \text{𓘍} \text{𓘎} \text{𓘏} \text{𓘐} \text{𓘑} \text{𓘒} \text{𓘓} \text{𓘔} \text{𓘕} \text{𓘖} \text{𓘗} \text{𓘘} \text{𓘙} \text{𓘚} \text{𓘛} \text{𓘜} \text{𓘝} \text{𓘞} \text{𓘟} \text{𓘠} \text{𓘡} \text{𓘢} \text{𓘣} \text{𓘤} \text{𓘥} \text{𓘦} \text{𓘧} \text{𓘨} \text{𓘩} \text{𓘪} \text{𓘫} \text{𓘬} \text{𓘭} \text{𓘮} \text{𓘯} \text{𓘰} \text{𓘱} \text{𓘲} \text{𓘳} \text{𓘴} \text{𓘵} \text{𓘶} \text{𓘷} \text{𓘸} \text{𓘹} \text{𓘺} \text{𓘻} \text{𓘼} \text{𓘽} \text{𓘾} \text{𓘿} \text{𓙀} \text{𓙁} \text{𓙂} \text{𓙃} \text{𓙄} \text{𓙅} \text{𓙆} \text{𓙇} \text{𓙈} \text{𓙉} \text{𓙊} \text{𓙋} \text{𓙌} \text{𓙍} \text{𓙎} \text{𓙏} \text{𓙐} \text{𓙑} \text{𓙒} \text{𓙓} \text{𓙔} \text{𓙕} \text{𓙖} \text{𓙗} \text{𓙘} \text{𓙙} \text{𓙚} \text{𓙛} \text{𓙜} \text{𓙝} \text{𓙞} \text{𓙟} \text{𓙠} \text{𓙡} \text{𓙢} \text{𓙣} \text{𓙤} \text{𓙥} \text{𓙦} \text{𓙧} \text{𓙨} \text{𓙩} \text{𓙪} \text{𓙫} \text{𓙬} \text{𓙭} \text{𓙮} \text{𓙯} \text{𓙰} \text{𓙱} \text{𓙲} \text{𓙳} \text{𓙴} \text{𓙵} \text{𓙶} \text{𓙷} \text{𓙸} \text{𓙹} \text{𓙺} \text{𓙻} \text{𓙼} \text{𓙽} \text{𓙾} \text{𓙿} \text{𓚀} \text{𓚁} \text{𓚂} \text{𓚃} \text{𓚄} \text{𓚅} \text{𓚆} \text{𓚇} \text{𓚈} \text{𓚉} \text{𓚊} \text{𓚋} \text{𓚌} \text{𓚍} \text{𓚎} \text{𓚏} \text{𓚐} \text{𓚑} \text{𓚒} \text{𓚓} \text{𓚔} \text{𓚕} \text{𓚖} \text{𓚗} \text{𓚘} \text{𓚙} \text{𓚚} \text{𓚛} \text{𓚜} \text{𓚝} \text{𓚞} \text{𓚟} \text{𓚠} \text{𓚡} \text{𓚢} \text{𓚣} \text{𓚤} \text{𓚥} \text{𓚦} \text{𓚧} \text{𓚨} \text{𓚩} \text{𓚪} \text{𓚫} \text{𓚬} \text{𓚭} \text{𓚮} \text{𓚯} \text{𓚰} \text{𓚱} \text{𓚲} \text{𓚳} \text{𓚴} \text{𓚵} \text{𓚶} \text{𓚷} \text{𓚸} \text{𓚹} \text{𓚺} \text{𓚻} \text{𓚼} \text{𓚽} \text{𓚾} \text{𓚿} \text{𓛀} \text{𓛁} \text{𓛂} \text{𓛃} \text{𓛄} \text{𓛅} \text{𓛆} \text{𓛇} \text{𓛈} \text{𓛉} \text{𓛊} \text{𓛋} \text{𓛌} \text{𓛍} \text{𓛎} \text{𓛏} \text{𓛐} \text{𓛑} \text{𓛒} \text{𓛓} \text{𓛔} \text{𓛕} \text{𓛖} \text{𓛗} \text{𓛘} \text{𓛙} \text{𓛚} \text{𓛛} \text{𓛜} \text{𓛝} \text{𓛞} \text{𓛟} \text{𓛠} \text{𓛡} \text{𓛢} \text{𓛣} \text{𓛤} \text{𓛥} \text{𓛦} \text{𓛧} \text{𓛨} \text{𓛩} \text{𓛪} \text{𓛫} \text{𓛬} \text{𓛭} \text{𓛮} \text{𓛯} \text{𓛰} \text{𓛱} \text{𓛲} \text{𓛳} \text{𓛴} \text{𓛵} \text{𓛶} \text{𓛷} \text{𓛸} \text{𓛹} \text{𓛺} \text{𓛻} \text{𓛼} \text{𓛽} \text{𓛾} \text{𓛿} \text{𓜀} \text{𓜁} \text{𓜂} \text{𓜃} \text{𓜄} \text{𓜅} \text{𓜆} \text{𓜇} \text{𓜈} \text{𓜉} \text{𓜊} \text{𓜋} \text{𓜌} \text{𓜍} \text{𓜎} \text{𓜏} \text{𓜐} \text{𓜑} \text{𓜒} \text{𓜓} \text{𓜔} \text{𓜕} \text{𓜖} \text{𓜗} \text{𓜘} \text{𓜙} \text{𓜚} \text{𓜛} \text{𓜜} \text{𓜝} \text{𓜞} \text{𓜟} \text{𓜠} \text{𓜡} \text{𓜢} \text{𓜣} \$



 , red linen} variety.<sup>114</sup> Regarding the imperial insignia, the rule from the Small Festival Depiction is generally confirmed, the king only bears the flail while on the throne in the festival cloak, keeping a hand free, while adding the long shepherd's staff during all the processions. The mace and special scepters, such as the old *mkš* {𓄿} of the equipment friezes, only appear in indeterminate appearances of the king without a festival cloak for any sacred activities.<sup>115</sup> We already mentioned the long staff for schendot {skirt} with tail. Rarely associated with this is also the long  {wAs} scepter, which is given to the king during the final procession.<sup>116</sup>

### 3. Female Minor Figures, Singers, Musicians

For this we can start with the relief of the initial procession. Strikingly, the arrangement of the group separated from the royal figures by the “palace” could first appear on the left. It was likely chosen with regard to the length of the procession. They did not want to interrupt him with oppositely oriented figures who await the departure of the king. These are, first of all, the standards of Wepwawet and his companion gods, bow, arrows, and bow sheaths (?pḏ-ḥ') {pD-aHa,  or , ritual object} in rest position,<sup>117</sup> additionally a female figure with a welcoming gesture that goes with the explanatory  {iw nTr} (written in reverse) “the God is coming”. According to the sign remnants of her inscription, one wants to see her as a female counterpart to the two  {HT p HT dp, singers of Pe and Dep}, who greet the king and give presents at the procession of Sobek priests. Such a change was found already in two similar minor figures of the aforementioned scene, who speak the accompanying words, to be found between the  {iry wpw or iry wpi aAw, guardian of the doors} and the  {irt wpw or irt wpi aAw, guardian of the doors}.<sup>118</sup> The presentation of such hymns in song is especially the task of women in the cult.<sup>119</sup> The gestures that we see here – either with one hand on the chest, or with both closed hands raised – as the “choirmaster” {chironomist?} does, perhaps go along with the rhythm of the clapping.

Female figures of this type are preserved on several fragments. One greets the king when he goes “into his barque” ( {r wHa=f}), that is, his litter,<sup>120</sup> or moves as  {sxt, clapper?}, that is, perhaps a “chironomist”, with the procession behind the leading “choirmaster”,<sup>121</sup> another plays the string instrument<sup>122</sup> borne by a man, or chants at the bringing in of the slaughtered chunks {of cattle}.<sup>123</sup> Among the special titles,  {wr(t)-hz(wt), great of praises} belongs here. By analogy to Festival Hall Folio 19, 1, it refers to a singer in a similar position before the king.<sup>124</sup> After all, the role of the royal daughters in the royal procession was none other, and it is significant that the Egyptian personified the role of the musical and singing female cult member in the *Mr.t* {mrt, , Meret}, who greeted the approaching king with a vulture headdress on her head in schematic temple pictures since the Old

114 For example, Petrie, Medum Folio 17.

115 See below p.39.

116 No. 311, 313.

117 Compare the list of the divine standards when visiting imperial sanctuaries No. 44d, 50a. No. 103 may come from a similar scene.

118 Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.65.


119 The majority of local priestly titles are also indicated in this activity; See Blackman, Journal of Egyptian Archaeology VII p.8f.

120 No. 141/42. Barque = litter; see above p.10.



121 No. 193; compare No. 185 (only inscription).




122 No. 140.




123 No. 253.






124 According to the sign guideline, she stood at number 139 opposite the king; see also the usual titlature of the queen of Old Kingdom  {wrt-hzwt} “the very praised one” {in English, usually translated as “great of praises”}.



Kingdom, and thus becomes the standing assistant to the offering dance at the Sed festival.<sup>125</sup> Incidentally, the long text accompanying the final procession in the New Kingdom emphasizes the honor of the “harem of the Amon temple” at the Sed festival.<sup>126</sup> In general, in the more recent account, these female assistants, with the exception of the queen and the royal daughters, are more withdrawn, although the hymns of jubilation of the “singers” and “dancers” (*šm 'j.t* {*Smait*, , and *rwt.t* {*rwt*, , may not be missing at the crowning of the king<sup>127</sup> and now also the divine image of Wepwawet is regularly assigned to a priestess, the “God's Mother of Siut” {or “Divine Mother of Siut”, *mwt-nTr n sAty*}. On the other hand, in the Sun Temple, every introduction of the queen and the princesses by name is missing.<sup>128</sup>

Even among the male entourage in the processions of the king, people, whose movements are all accompanied by song or who recite short liturgy-like proverbs, take up a lot of space. Characteristic of this is the “choirmaster” (*hn* {*xn*, , perhaps from *dxn*, guardian of the beat, i.e. chironomist?}), well-known from the Small Festival Depiction, who marches at the front of the procession and claps the beat with “singing” raised hands like the aforementioned *Mr.t* {*mrt*, , Meret}. He must be at the boomerang dance of the men and greeting the king in front of the palace or in the chapel district.<sup>129</sup> Frequently he is followed by special figures with musical occupations, a singing woman (see above), or a group of two people who often, in the Small Festival Depiction, recite the royal marching song “The coming of the god  {*sA tA*, (seek the) protection of the ground?}”, which might rather mean “beware, earth” than “protection of the earth.” Since they otherwise have no title, but wear the knotted skirt of ordinary people, they probably represent the people.<sup>130</sup>

To a certain extent, the designation  {*iry tA*, guardian of activities on the ground?}, which belongs mainly to the Small Festival Depiction, is perhaps actually “the one belonging to the land”, that is, representatives of the people<sup>131</sup> meant to playfully hint at a “to the ground” activity. These so-named people have the task of greeting the king with a certain call, especially when he “descends to the earth”, from the throne or from the litter.<sup>132</sup> Perhaps not quite by chance we therefore find the inscription  {*iry tA*, guardian of activities on the ground?} in Bubastis as variant of  {*sA tA*, (seek the) protection of the ground?}.<sup>133</sup> They rarely appear in the entourage of the king in processions (No.153).

Still other festival participants, undoubtedly played by more distinguished people, assume similar tasks, thus the  {*iry smA*, guardian of the community (in charge of uniting people for the festival)}, well known from the Small Festival Depiction, who will be mentioned at the chapel visits, and especially his Lower Egyptian complement, the  {*Hry p*} “chief of Pe,” which one could also translate as “the face of Pe”, according to a statement from Seth about the explanation of the title  {*Hry wDb*, master of largess}. This dignity is attested only in Lower Egyptian depictions, in contrast to the  {*HT p*, singer of Pe} and  {*HT dp*, singer of Dep} designated representatives of the two parts of the ancient capital of the western Delta empire. Not only does he have the important task of raising the great proclamation of rule as he climbs the litter in the final procession,<sup>134</sup> but he also happens to march

<sup>125</sup> See above p.7.

<sup>126</sup> Festival Hall, Folio 6; compare L.D. {Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien (Monuments from Egypt and Ethiopia), 6 vols., ed. K.R. Lepsius, 1849-1859, Berlin} III 86.

<sup>127</sup> Festival Hall, Folio 14, 15, 25, 6.

<sup>128</sup> See below p.36 to the “royal children”.

<sup>129</sup> No. 274. No. 20, 44d.

<sup>130</sup> Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.13, 112f.; compare here No. 122/127.



<sup>131</sup> Kees, Opfertanz {Offering Dance}, p.232.

<sup>132</sup> No. 38, 39, 52.

<sup>133</sup> Festival Hall, Folio 1/3.11; compare Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.113.

<sup>134</sup> See above p.11.







at the head of the Lower Egyptian procession where, in a familiar hymn gesture with both hands clenched to his chest, he chants “The King of Lower Egypt is coming.”<sup>135</sup> At the processions in front of the king's throne pavilion, he rushes in with other groups of people.<sup>136</sup> Also with the  {*Hry p*, chief of Pe}, it must be stated that he lacks contemporary titles and therefore probably also represents a rudiment of an older age unlike, for example, the title of  {*iry p nb*, guardian of the Peites} which is well-attested in the Old Kingdom.

Some musicians who participate in the royal procession are historically and culturally important because they play instruments of types previously unknown in the Old Kingdom: this includes, first of all, the already mentioned group of a man who bears a seemingly loud string instrument, which also appears in the Small Festival Depiction,<sup>137</sup> but there played with both hands by the bearer alone, while here a woman reaches into it from behind. It may also appear on fragment No. 262 in the hands of a priest in the entourage of the “shepherd”.<sup>138</sup> Although only the outer contour of the instrument is given, its interpretation is hardly doubtful. It is perhaps more interesting that another fragment from a Lower Egyptian procession (No. 118) secures a type of instrument for the Old Kingdom that was only attested to from Bubastis: the large percussion drum borne on the shoulder, which a second man “beats” working from behind with one hand, as the inscription says, the determinative of the Old Kingdom even representing the “drummer” with two short sticks.<sup>139</sup> Even Sachs had attributed the seemingly relatively late introduction of this frame drum to Asian influences in his investigations of Egyptian musical instruments.<sup>140</sup> Now, on the contrary, in this picture it also turns out to be an old original. I was able to demonstrate a much smaller frame drum earlier on a depiction of the Nile journey in an Old Kingdom tomb near Hemamieh.<sup>141</sup>

#### 4. Entourage of Personal Service

Of course, the long corridor walls provided an opportunity to portray in greater detail the entourage of the king's procession than was possible in the restricted space of the sacristy. There usually a sample had to represent the entourage. The figures that appear are of course types, but types of a time long past in which, for example, the vizier was not yet known, while other court officials emerged which had either already been taken or were almost meaningless at the height of the Old Kingdom. We know that by the time of Niuserre the courtiers and civil servants had long since gained a swelled title which usually exaggerated by far their actual position. We would like to know which of the contemporaries of the king were allowed to take part in the individual sites, but while the mortuary temple of Sahure has handed down a number of names of the Great Ones to us, the corresponding pictures in the mortuary temple of Niuserre have come to us so destroyed that only a few names could be ascertained.<sup>142</sup>


First, some officials in the personal service of the king are mentioned, who play no prominent role in the festival activities. Already by their titles, the  {*xrp aH*} “leader of the palace” and the  {*imy is*, councillor} “located in the palace” are close to each other as chamberlains. According to their order of rank, they correspond approximately to the  {*imy xnt*, chamberlain} and  {*smr pr*, friend of

135 No. 111; compare No. 39.

136 No. 263.

137 No. 140; compare 33a.

138 Compare Festival Hall, Folio 11.










139 Compare Festival Hall, Folio 11, 16  {*sq(r) m sr*, strike the drum}.





140 Sachs, *Altägypt. Musikinstrumente* {Ancient Egyptian Musical Instruments} (A.O. {der alte Orient} 21, 3-4) p.6.


141 *Studien zur ägyptischen Provinzialkunst* {Studies on Egyptian Provincial Art} p.21 Folio 4 (probably beginning of 5th dynasty).



142 Borchardt, *Grabdenkmal des Neuserre* {Tomb Monument of Niuserre} p.71/74.




king, royal companion}, but without having such special duties in the festival service. As insignia, they usually bear the fan (“flail”) which, however, is occasionally also omitted (for brevity?).<sup>143</sup> Analogously, the  {imy is, councillor} awaits the king at the “palace” entrance, where his feet are cleansed. In the ranks of Old Kingdom titles,  {imy is, councillor} predominantly occurs in its full form ; which may correspond to its origin.<sup>144</sup> There is no doubt about its meaning; the use as a “priestly title” of the mortuary cult since the Middle Kingdom, with contemporaneous orthographic mixing of *is.t* {ist, , palace workshop} “palace” with *is* {is, } “tomb, workshop”,<sup>145</sup> finds its meaning when the Great Ones imitate the royal funeral, as is often the case. In more recent Sed festival accounts, we meet two  {xrp aH, leader of the palace} in the entourage of the king.<sup>146</sup> In general, the “controller of the palace” seems to have the rank of “friend” {companion}; for example, in the Sahure temple, according to Mariette's account, the  {smr xrp aH nn-xft-ka, the royal companion and leader of the palace, Nenkheftka (“My ka has no enemy”)}, is immortalized as the occupant of the mastaba tomb D47.<sup>147</sup> The inscriptions of this tomb tell us also the real basis of his honorary title: the man is “head of the royal linen and head of the bathroom”, and as such also “privy councillor of the dressing room (morning house)”! On the other hand, we know several courtiers of Niuserre who have risen as the “controller of the palace” to the “only friend” {sole companion}, thus the next “privy councillor of the morning house” and  {imy is, councillor},<sup>148</sup> or  {ka-m-zw, “Ka among the people”, a person's name?}, who in turn is also “privy councillor of the morning house.”<sup>149</sup>

With rather noticeable insignia, the  {smr wat(y) xrp aH, the sole companion and leader of the palace} appears on archaic Memphis reliefs in the king's entourage,<sup>150</sup> with a long staff, official scepter, chest binding, and Hathor ornament, while the  {imy xnt, chamberlain} in the old way bears merely the flail. Models for this were pictures such as “the only friend {sole companion}, the first Nekhbit, privy councillor of the morning house, head of the garments of the king, etc.” *Hnw* {xnw, , bearer of gifts}, or “the only friend {sole companion}, diadem keeper, the first Nekhbit, leader of the palace, privy counselor of the morning house, leader of the royal hair dressers, etc.” *Tj* {Ty, } in their Memphis tombs, which join people like the nomarch Thothotep of the Hermopolitans in the Middle Kingdom.<sup>151</sup>

“The friend” {“The companion”} still appears in the Sun Temple as a special category, occasionally however differentiated from the  {smr pr, friend of king, royal companion} “house friend” {house companion}; the “only friend” {the sole companion}, on the other hand, did not belong to the ancient historical categories. The special office of the “house friend” {house companion} seems to be to bear the sandals of the king, which he stores on holy ground.<sup>152</sup> In ancient times, this was once a very high

143 For  {imy is, councillor} No. 178; for  {xrp aH, leader of the palace} No. 292.


144 Therefore also surely together with the title of  {mniw nxn(y), herdsman of Nekhen, or *iry nxn*, guardian of Nekhen, the southern border} “Shepherd of Nekhen”.

145 Compare Erman-Grapow, Wörterbuch {Dictionary} I p.127 and my remarks Gött. gel. Anz. {Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen (Göttingen Scholars Report), Göttingen} 1927 p.146.

146 Karnak block of Amenhotep III No. 14. Festival Hall, Folio 27.

147 Borchardt, Grabdenkmal des Sahurê {Tomb Monument of Sahure} II p.91, 120, 124; see also the titulature Mariette, Mastabas D49.

148 Borchardt, Grabdenkmal des Neuserre {Tomb Monument of Niuserre} p.120f. Maybe under Sahure also “friend” {companion}; Grabdenkmal des Neuserre {Tomb Monument of Niuserre} II p.119.




149 Mariette, Mastabas D2 = Mogensen, Le mastaba égyptien de la Glyptothèque {The Egyptian Mastaba of the Glyptothek} Ny Carlsberg. Similar to *Tj* {Ty, }; see below.




150 Petrie, Palace of Apries {Wahibre Haaibre} (Memphis II) Folios 2,3 and others. For dating compare to Kees, Opfertanz {Offering Dance}, p.197f.

151 Mariette, Mastabas p.466 (D6). Steindorff, Grab des Ti {Tomb of Ti} Folio 26/27. El Bersheh I Folio 33.

152 Rarely inaccurately only referred to as “friend” {companion} No. 27, 111.



prerogative, because on the Narmer pallet from Hierakonpolis {Nekhen} the sandal wearer is the person second closest to the king. In the later Old Kingdom, the learned doctors apparently like bearing this title, but it devolved also to the “chief of the hairdressers of the Pharaoh”  {*xa bAw ptH*, Khabawptah} from the era of Niuserre.<sup>153</sup> In the processions of the Sun Temple, one often sees the “house friend” {house companion} at the end of the last group of the closer entourage, but occasionally even before an ordinary “friend” {companion}.<sup>154</sup> On the Narmer palette, the sandal bearer also holds a small vessel in which, according to the pictures from the Sun Temple, one can certainly recognize the “foot washing vessel of the king” which is known from the friezes of the tombs of the early Middle Kingdom. Unfortunately, in the Sun Temple, the title is always lost on the figure of its bearer.<sup>155</sup> An interesting biography on a Middle Kingdom stela now has received the news of the first youthful office of a man who then also participates at the Sed festival of Amenemhat III:<sup>156</sup> “I made a friend {I took on the role of the companion} who bears the king's foot washing vessel (*b3j* {*bAy*, , foot ewer}) at the festival of the years”. We may well presuppose similar conditions for the Old Kingdom and think of the “*wab* {*wAb*} priests of the king”, in which position the sons of privileged parents were already dressed in their childhood. It is worth remembering the well-known naked figure of the hall elder, *wab* {*wAb*} priest of the king” in Cairo,<sup>157</sup> who does not represent a “noble youth at the height of life”, but a child, just like the naked son with a youth's bell on a stela of the Middle Kingdom, which is also “*wab* {*wAb*} priest of the king” at a pyramid.<sup>158</sup> The fact that the same conditions exist in the cult of the gods is shown, for example, by the narrative of Sebeknakht (13 Dyn.) in his tomb at El Kab, that he was in the office of a “prophet of Nekhbet” “in his childhood” and was allowed to dispense water.<sup>159</sup> Actually we see in the Sun Temple on two occasions, two friends {companions} wash the feet of the king with the help of the specially cast vessel, which bears the name  {*bAy*, foot ewer}.<sup>160</sup> In more recent Sed festival depictions, we come across sandal and washing pot bearers in one person.<sup>161</sup> There, “friends” {companions} in the entourage of the king may also bear the fans and the two door hinges behind him, but not the symbol of Serket, which is reserved for a priest.<sup>162</sup> In the Old Kingdom this will also have been among the duties of the friend {companion}, although the figures in question in the Sun Temple are unmarked. In any case, “friends” {companions} always appear in front of the door hinge bearers or on both sides of them.<sup>163</sup>

Among the offices, which in the early era were taken as a priest's title from court service in the court of the god – which here of course means the living Horus, the king – is the not yet deciphered  {*smA*, stolist, priest who clothed the god} or  {*smA Hr*, stolist, priest who clothed the god Horus}. According to the evidence from the well-known Abydos stelas,<sup>164</sup> the service of the  {*smA*, stolist, priest who clothed the god} consists of the same duties as that of a “privy councillor” and chamberlain,

153 Mariette, Mastabas D42. Apparently he does not yet have this rank under Sahure: Borchardt, Grabdenkmal des Sahurè {Tomb Monument of Sahure} II p.124.

154 So for example No. 7a, 50b.

155 No. 148, 181, 182.

156 British Museum Stelae II Folio 2 (No. 101).

157 Cairo Catal. gene. {Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire (General Catalog of Egyptian Antiquities at the Cairo Museum)} No. 23 = von Bissing, Denkmäler ägypt. Skulptur {Monuments of Egyptian Sculpture} Folio 12a.

158 British Museum Stelae II Folio 7 (No. 839).

159 Compare the biography of the stela Leiden V 4 (at the time of Senusret I), Sethe, Lesestücke {Reading Passages} p.72.

160 Blackman, Journal of Egyptian Archaeology V p.119. Illustration: Lacau, Sarcophagus Folio 34 Fig. 88.

161 Karnak block of Amenhotep III No. 24; so also here No. 184?

162 Karnak block of Amenhotep III No. 18, Festival Hall, Folio 2 (compare 12).

163 No. 39, 42, 44a, and 45b.

164 Cairo 20538. Berlin 1204.



namely to clothe and adorn the god, that is, what is attributed to the stolist in the Late Period. The service to the god is the same here as to the king. In the Sun Temple, the  $\text{𓂏}$  {*smA*, stolist, priest who clothed the god} bears the often mentioned insignia of his group, the flail, and appears in the entourage at the appropriate place.<sup>165</sup> Once we seem to see him on a special mission: he awaits the king in front of the palace,<sup>166</sup> just like the  $\text{𓂏}$  {*iry smA*, guardian of the community (in charge of uniting people for the festival)}, and holds the long staff of officials like the  $\text{𓂏}$  {*Hry wDb*, master of largess}, the  $\text{𓂏}$  {*HAty a*, governor or mayor}, and in rare cases also priests.<sup>167</sup> The fact that his activity was connected with priestly functions for the king is, according to the titles of the Old Kingdom, beyond doubt. In Bubastis, the  $\text{𓂏}$  {*smAty*, stolist, priest who clothed the god} appears, dressed as a priest, behind the high priest of Heliopolis, among the most respected religious dignitaries involved in the Sed festival.<sup>168</sup>

The most frequently used court office is the  $\text{𓂏}$  {*imy xnt*, chamberlain}, or better the category of  $\text{𓂏}$  {*imy xnt*, chamberlain}. This title has recently been treated as a priest's title, although depictions such as inscriptional evidence best describe its task as that of a “chamberlain.” He also usually bears the “flail” as an insignia of his rank,<sup>169</sup> and in the processions he is always found in a group with the  $\text{𓂏}$  {*imy is*, councillor} and  $\text{𓂏}$  {*smr*, friend (of king), royal companion}. Already here, the plural (two to four) occasionally appears. His relationship with the king may be even closer, and his position more elevated than that of the other court offices. Above all, four  $\text{𓂏}$  {*imy xnt*, chamberlain} bear the king in the litter to visit the chapels of Horus and Seth, alternating with the “guardians (*wršw* {*wršw*,  $\text{𓂏}$ , Wereshu, “those who bring the day”, that is, those who stay and wake the king}) of Nekhen”,<sup>170</sup> thus they are allowed to do the same thing as the ideology of the divine kingship usually assigns to the children of Horus or the souls of Nekhen and Pe.<sup>171</sup> Then two are allowed to walk in front of the first Great Ones bearing the litter before the throne, along with the insignia bearer ( $\text{𓂏}$  {*Xry nws*, regalia bearer}) and the king's priest, and pay homage to the king much like the “Great Ones” and “nobles” of the land.<sup>172</sup> But also someone attends the consecration of the royal offering to the gods by the king's priest and he accompanies the escorting of images of the gods behind the priestly bearer.<sup>173</sup>

Historical inscriptions of all times explicitly state that the  $\text{𓂏}$  {*imy xnt*, chamberlain} has to dress the king<sup>174</sup> and especially has to adorn with the crown insignia, besides which they apparently also had to watch over the fabrication and storage of the royal jewelry as “privy councillors of the royal jewelry”. But for such a man to be able to touch these sacred symbols, the seat of power and divinity, even with pure hands, he must be consecrated at the same time as priests of the two crowns in their palace halves, according to the rules of the divine kingship in Egypt.<sup>175</sup> On the other hand, it is explained by his duty of supervision over the crown treasure, that, according to the accounting book of the Theban court under the 13th dynasty, the craftsmen belong to the household of the  $\text{𓂏}$  {*imy xnt*, chamberlain}.<sup>176</sup> Conditions were still generally similar in the New Kingdom. During the eighteenth

165 No. 1b, 111, 112, 120.

166 No. 159; compare also the man with lost designation No. 142.

167 The  $\text{𓂏}$  {*sm*, Sem} at the “census”; for the  $\text{𓂏}$  {*Hm st*, attendant of the thrones} see below p.25.

168 Festival Hall, Folio 1, 12.

169 I have already referred to Opfertanz {Offering Dance} p.243 (footnote 10).

170 No. 44-45.

171 See Supplemental Folio A. Mariette, Abydos I 31b. Sethe, Beiträge zur alt. Geschichte {Contributions to Ancient History} p.16f.

172 Festival Hall, Folio 14, 25; see No. 57.









173 Nos. 359 and 210.



174 Compare already Pyr. {Pyramidentexte?, Pyramid Texts?} 726a.

175 For example, British Museum Stelae II Folio 8/9 (No. 574) = Sethe, Lesestücke {Reading Pieces}, p.75.

176 Scharff, Ä.Z. {Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde (Journal of Egyptian Language and Ancient History), Leipzig} 57 p.60.



dynasty, a  {imy xnt, chamberlain} is called Amenhotep  {sXkr nsw tn m pr [wr?] sHb nb tAy m pr nzw}, who adorns this king in the national shrine [of Upper Egypt] and makes festive the lord of the two lands in the national shrine of Lower Egypt}, “who adorns the king in the Upper Egyptian palace and makes the Lord of the two lands festive in the Lower Egyptian palace.”<sup>177</sup> The viziers of the nineteenth dynasty expressly refer to themselves as the superiors of chamberlains with titles like  {Hm nTr tpy n [w?]r HkAw imy rA imiw [xnt?] n nb tAwy, high priest of great of magic, overseer of the chamberlains of the lord of the two lands} or  {imy rA imiw xnt aA n nb-tAwy m sHwt Hbw, great overseer of the chamberlains of the lord of the two lands in the festival chapels}.<sup>179</sup> The same is expressed by an older colleague Hapuseneb in the eighteenth dynasty with the titles  {Hry sStAw n(w) wADty sSmw iAtw xntt, master of the secrets of the double uraeus (the two great crowns), leader of the standards of the ceremonial hall}.<sup>180</sup> If we read about this in the description of the nomination of Ramesses II as heir to the throne:<sup>181</sup> “Then he called on the  {imiw xnt, chamberlains} to secure the crowns on his head”, their position is quite clear. Their name is similar to that of the  {imy is, councillor} and related to the audience hall of the palace called *hnt* {xnty, , outer chamber, ceremonial hall, foyer}. In any case, they are innately not “festival priests”<sup>182</sup> or even “harem officials”.<sup>183</sup> The figure of the “chamberlain” returned to the mortuary service of the general public after the Old Kingdom, as well as appearing in the entourage of the cult of the gods.<sup>184</sup> In recent Sed festival depictions, underlining his priestly dignity, the emphasis of which is particularly peculiar to the Late Period, the chamberlain is required to wear sacred vestments (fur garments) when he, together with the five most distinguished priests, undertakes the purification of the king.<sup>185</sup>

The king's close entourage also includes the  {Xry nws, regalia bearer}. Although we cannot say anything certain about his designation – and it is also missing in the contemporary biographies<sup>186</sup> – he can be recognized as a bearer of royal symbols by his accoutrements with a shepherd's staff, an  {mks}-shaped scepter, fan, and whisk (flail).<sup>187</sup> The scepter is the one that was named *mks* {mks} according to old determinatives and the equipment friezes of the coffins.<sup>188</sup> The king bears it, usually together with the mace, in certain acts of consecration. His office seems to be perceived as even more spiritual than that of the “chamberlain,” for he appears, if not regularly, clothed in a fur garment like

177 Piehl, Inscr. hiérog. {Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques recueillies en Europe et en Égypte (Hieroglyphic Inscriptions Collected in Europe and Egypt)} I Folio 107 = Mém. Mission franç. {Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire (Memoirs Published by Members of the French Archaeological Mission in Cairo)} I p.27.

178 Paser Cairo Cat. gén. {Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire (General Catalog of Egyptian Antiquities at the Cairo Museum)} No. 630.


179 Rahotep Brugsch, Thesaurus p.950 (stela in Cairo).

180 Urk. {Urkunden (Documents)} IV 483.



181 Inscript. dédicat. lines 46.

182 Sethe at Borchardt, Grabdenkmal des Sahurê {Tomb Monument of Sahurê} II p.96.

183 Von Bissing, Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.76.

184 One  {imy xnt aA, great chamberlain} as High Priest in Abydos Leiden V 4. München {Munich} Glyptothek No. 27 = Sethe, Lesestücke {Reading Passages} No. 15.




185 Festival Hall, Folio 11.













186 For a reading compare to Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.78. As title only Firth-Gunn, Teti Pyr. {Pyramidentexte?, Pyramid Texts?} Cemet. I p.134 (vizier *Mrrw-k3* {mrrw-kA, , Mereruka})  {Xry nws n wADt, regalia bearer of the crown of Lower Egypt}.

187 Occasionally, only shepherd's staff and flail are given: No. 50b. The drawing of No. 242 seems misleading; the right hand also holds herdsman's staff and scepter.

188 Pyr. {Pyramidentexte?, Pyramid Texts?} 134c. Jéquier, Les frises d'objets {Friezes of Objects} p.174.



the king's priest.<sup>189</sup> In the festival procession, he walks in the immediate vicinity of the King, usually separated from him only by the king's priest  {*sm*, Sem}, between him and the lector priest,<sup>190</sup> a position which of course can also be taken by a “chamberlain”, or also, for example, in front of the chamberlain and the  {*sm*, Sem} in the procession to the throne.<sup>191</sup> If the King is enthroned to receive the delegations, the  {*Xry nws*, regalia bearer} has his place on top of the throne steps, crouching at the feet of the king.<sup>192</sup> His position can be compared, for example, with that of the “fan bearer at the right hand of the king” of the New Kingdom.


I mention incidentally that even high officials, such as the  {*Hry wDb*, master of largess} – that high official of the royal estate's administration, the title of which, as I am so well informed by Sethe, is explained in a passage of the Dramatic Ramesseum Papyrus (line 125) as the “face turned towards”  {*Hry wDb*, master of largess} – occasionally marched in the royal procession, equipped with the long staff of officials.<sup>193</sup> In the Small Festival Depiction, we also meet him in some throne scenes under the entourage, always behind an  {*Hm st*, attendant of the thrones} “servant of Isis”<sup>194</sup> with his standard. Whether there is an internal correlation, we do not know. In any case, there is a correspondence between the two in that even the  {*Hm st*, attendant of the thrones}, where they appear in the royal procession, seemingly always in pairs, bear the long staff, but no spiritual insignia! The two  {*Hm st*, attendant of the thrones} appear in both the Lower Egyptian and the Upper Egyptian half; but they seem to be missing in the recent Sed festival presentations. Thus their position, which is already unclear by the uncertainty about the meaning of the gods standard (“Khonsu”),<sup>195</sup> becomes even more opaque. To complete the previously verified material, reference is made to a false door of a member of the royal household of queen  {*wDbm*, Udjebten or Wedjebten} of the 6th Dynasty,<sup>196</sup> recently brought to Cairo, on which appears a title of  {*swD Hm-nTr Hm st xtm*, priest assigned as attendant of the throne and keeper of the seal} or  {*swD Hm-nTr Hry-xt-nTr Hm xtm*, priest assigned as master of the king's property, attendant of the throne, and keeper of the seal}. The last symbol, similar to the god *Dw3w* {*dwAw*, }, whose exact shape I received from a drawing (Fig. 1) supplied by my friend Dr. W. Wolf, but has nothing to do with the alleged “Khonsu” standard, but belongs to an immediately following special title  {*Hm xtm*, keeper of the seal}, also in Mariette, Mastabas D3, for which a variant of the title frequent in the Old Kingdom, “Prophet of Horus and Anubis at the head of *pr-šmšw.t* {*pr Smswt*, ?, temple of Shemsut, an epithet of Horus-Anubis?}”, suggests the reading *hm šmšw.t* {*Hm Smswt*, ?, priest of Shemsut, an epithet of Horus-Anubis?}.<sup>197</sup>








189 No. 118; see Festival Hall, Folio 19.

190 No. 118, 119; compare No. 7b, 45a, 47, 50b, 51, 52.

191 No. 33a; compare Festival Hall, Folio 23.

192 No. 27, 242. Festival Hall, Folio 1, 24.

193 In Bubastis there is also the “chief official” (*mr pr wr* { , beloved of the national shrine of Upper Egypt}), Festival Hall, Folio 1.

194 The usual precedence of  {*Hm*} also has graphical reasons, such as, for example, at  {*Hm bity*, servant of the king of Lower Egypt}. Incidentally, No. 146, in accordance with the spelling  {*st Hm* → *Hm st*, attendant of the throne} of Mariette, Mastabas D3, had the sequence  {*st Hm* → *Hm st*, attendant of the throne}. The vertical sequence on No. 39 of  {*Hm*, possibly *Hmy*?} above  {*st*} is just as unproven as the incredible secondary character movement  {*[?]s[?]sm*, probably *sm wdj* (?) *Hr wTz*, “to place on the palanquin” (Lower Egyptian variety)} on the same piece.

195 Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.37f.

196 Annal. du Serv. {Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Egypte (Annals of the Antiquities Service of Egypt)} 26 p.54.

197 Mariette, Mastabas D38 (here are the determinatives with readings!), D47, D49. Steindorff's Grab des Ti {Tomb of Ti}. Folio 27, 109. Daressy, Mastaba de Mera p.569 among other things.





Fig. 1.

Incidentally, one of the rather rare cases where the title  $\text{𓅓}$  {*Hm st*, attendant of the thrones} appears in the Old Kingdom leads us to a contemporary of Niuserre,  $\text{𓅓}$   $\text{𓅓}$  {*tp m anx*, Tepemankh} the already mentioned owner of a mastaba discovered by Borchardt at the king's mortuary temple, who calls himself the “privy councillor of the morning house”  $\text{𓅓}$   $\text{𓅓}$  {*xrp aH Hm st*, leader of the palace, attendant of the thrones}, but also was  $\text{𓅓}$   $\text{𓅓}$  {*Hry wDb m pr anx*, master of largess in the house of life (temple scriptorium, school)} and was also dressed in the rank of “one and only friend” {companion}.<sup>198</sup> According to the location of his tomb, he must have been one of the first favorites of the court.

Similarly connected here is the occasional occurrence of a man titled  $\text{𓅓}$  {*Hm bit*, servant of the king of Lower Egypt}, marching behind the drummer in the Lower Egyptian procession and, according to his position with turned head and raised arm, belonged to a group similar to that of the people titled  $\text{𓅓}$  {*sA tA*, (seek the) protection of the ground?}. As a more recent analogy one could think of a inscription  $\text{𓅓}$  {*sA bit*, protector of the king of Lower Egypt} for people from the group of the “senior magicians” and the “scribal college of the house of life” (*ts.t nt pr 'nh*) {*Tst nt pr anx*,  $\text{𓅓}$ , troop of the house of life (temple scriptorium, school)} in the entourage of the king,<sup>199</sup> whose task would have been the recitation of the “protective hymns” for the journey of the king. The explanation of men with large maces in their hands is uncertain; they could be “prophets,” who also occasionally appear as a group in the king's procession, and raise the maces at certain activities on the throne.<sup>200</sup>

### 5. Intermediate Activities in the Processions

We have established that the main purpose of the processions was chapel visits and offerings. Of course, upon arrival and departure of the procession many rites took place, from which individual fragments were preserved. In front of the approaching king, the people waiting for him throw themselves down and “kiss the earth”, as the inscription on No. 137 says. In the Sun Temple, they are generally presented to us as the “Great Ones of Upper and Lower Egypt,”<sup>201</sup> while in more recent cycles this also reverts to the “chamberlain, elders, friends {companions}, and nobles of the king,”<sup>202</sup> and henceforth also the “troglodytes and nomads” appear involved in the great homage.<sup>203</sup> In both cases is meant, symbolically, the festival crowd, still aristocratic in the Old Kingdom, that has streamed out of the whole country. Incidentally, the biography of a courtier of the Middle Kingdom, to whom we owe the interesting information about the duties of the “friend” {companion}, bearing the foot washing equipment of the king,<sup>204</sup> contains an important clue to the assembly of the Great Ones and priesthoods of the country for the Sed festival and their participation: this “diadem guardian” ( $\text{𓅓}$   $\text{𓅓}$  {*iry nfr HAt*, guardian of the diadem}) and “pharaoh's follower” relates: “I took on the role of one of the Great Ones

198 See above p.21. Even the Great Ones  $\text{𓅓}$   $\text{𓅓}$   $\text{𓅓}$  {*kA-m*-[...], perhaps *kA-m-zw*?, Ka among the people, a person's name?} from the time of Niuserre and the well-known  $\text{𓅓}$  {*Ty*,  $\text{𓅓}$ }, who have already been referred to as the “Heads of the Palace”, hold the title of  $\text{𓅓}$   $\text{𓅓}$  {*Hry wDb m Hwt anx*, master of largess in the mansion of life, the palace}.

199 Festival Hall, Folio 8.

200 No. 111 (lowest strip, only inscription preserved). No. 12c, 39, 251. Festival Hall, Folio 25, 4; compare Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.66.



201 No. 20, 27, 38.


202 Festival Hall, Folio 2, 14.











203 Previously cited Folio 15.


204 British Museum Stelae II Folio 2 (No. 101).



out of 10 from Upper Egypt and  {*Hm nTr dwAw*, priest of the morning god} at the Sed festival under the majesty of King Lamarre (Amenemhat III), the everlasting. This ‘controller of the palace’<sup>205</sup> drove upstream under the guidance ( {*m a*}) of the lector priest Ibi, when the temporary priesthood of the temple<sup>206</sup> arrived to see the king at his beautiful eternal festival.”

Here we see an example of how roles of ancient historical offices are distributed at the Sed festival as a special boon to the Great Ones of the empire, so that “all subjects see” him {the king?}, as named in the dedicatory inscription of the “festival hall” (*wšh.t hbj.t* {*wsxt Hbyt*, , festival courtyard}) of Thutmose III for the Khnum temple of Elephantine.<sup>207</sup> As we know from the sacristy pictures, the king's feet are washed before entering a chapel and on return to the “palace” by two friends {companions}, one holding the foot of the king, the other pouring water out of the pot discussed above.<sup>208</sup> The lector priest stands and recites the purification texts. Unlike the final procession, where the washing is done on a litter, here the activity takes place on the ground. A very poorly executed relief piece from a similar scene (No. 164) seems to assume the king's foot is standing on a pedestal. Accordingly, such foot washing basins, several of which have been preserved, were meant to be stepped on.<sup>209</sup>

Even when all kinds of pieces of offering ceremonies are available, nevertheless, their location is not apparent. A standing ministrant pours a water dispensation from a  {*Hs*, water jar/vase} bottle for a kneeling person, similar to what happened in the introductory purification ceremonies of the Opening the Mouth ritual.<sup>210</sup> The inscription was apparently  {(*r*)*di a*, to place upon, to help} “laying down the arm” or “laying hands”, as often happens in the case of delivery ceremonies.<sup>211</sup> Or a servant stands in front of the king with a vessel that may have contained some ointment according to the remaining inscription  {*t xAst*, partial feminine word with desert determinative, or just *xAst*, (hilly) foreign land} (No. 167). Another piece from the Lower Egyptian side of the corridor depicts the king and opposite him a priest or chamberlain,<sup>212</sup> apparently at the delivery of food offerings (*df3w* {*DfAw*, , provisions}) given by the king ( {(*r*)*di*, give}), his counterpart on the offering table  {*f(A)t*[?] *a D*[*f*](*Aw*)...} “raises the arm (with the) food”. This is reminiscent of a scene with the offering to the *itr-tj* {*itrty*, , double row of shrines comprising Upper Egypt (*pr wr*) and Lower Egypt (*pr nwr*), forming a national shrine} in the final procession, in which a “cupbearer of the god” raises a food cup,<sup>213</sup> for which the inscription says:  {*ft*} in other words, *f(3t) iht* {*f(At) ixt*, serve food} “to serve food”, a notable shorthand<sup>214</sup> for this expression, which is well documented in later temple pictures and offering rituals. On another, unfortunately, completely ruined piece, the king received a gift<sup>215</sup> from the prophet of a deity (the sign on the divinity standard is hopelessly destroyed), similar to the arrows or the scepter of power of Libyan Horus at the final procession. That still reveals the remnant of the inscription  {*Ssp a*, to receive} “to take the hand”, that is, to receive something, the counterpart to  {(*r*)*di a*, to give, place upon}.<sup>216</sup>

205 The publication probably meant  {*xrp aH* (with Gardiner O11)}.

206 It may only mean Abydos, where the stele is found.



207 Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.16.

208 No. 194; compare No. 20.

209 Blackman, Journal of Egyptian Archaeology V p.121f.

210 No. 161/160, similar to perhaps No. 165 and 162.

211 No. 39, 44, 45, 373.

212 No. 314  {*sm*, Sem} or  {*imy xnt*, chamberlain}.

213 No. 44d.


214 Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.111 incorrectly *fh*t {*ft*, in other words, *f(At) ixt*, serve food}} “refuse”.




215 No. 316, found in the obelisk corridor.

216 So also on No. 39, 44, 45.



## 6. Divine Chapels and Festival Gods

One of the biggest relief pieces already brought at that time to Berlin by Dr. Reinhardt, which had probably once sat in the southern courtyard corridor, represents the royal procession after visiting a divine barque,<sup>217</sup> unfortunately without any possibility of naming the divine owner. There is no hint of a chapel, the boat itself seems to be on the water. It may be one of the two sun barques whose pictures, as we know from the Palermo stone,<sup>218</sup> were also consecrated to the fifth dynasty sun sanctuaries, apart from the one big brick ship outside. Piye saw them as he entered the holy of holies of the Ra temple in Heliopolis. Days of the “rowing voyage of Ra” (processions with his divine barque) were recorded several times in the valley gate's festival calendar.<sup>219</sup> In addition there is a fragment with the ornate bow of a barque and another from the Upper Egyptian (right) wall of the obelisk corridor with the remnant of a water strip.<sup>220</sup> Since the local inscription  {HA *inb*, behind wall} “behind the wall”, that is, “outside the wall” (of Memphis), which we know as the Memphis district from topographical lists of gods preserved in the Seti temple of Abydos,<sup>221</sup> is in the corresponding lowest strip, here too, events must have been at a Memphis temple.

A row of fragments belonging to the obelisk corridor are also involved with ceremonies that take place on sacred barques.<sup>222</sup> A man with the title  {*rx nsw*, acquaintance of the king} “king's descendent”<sup>223</sup> took the front rope (remainder of inscription  {HA[t]t, bow warp (of ship)}) once, while on another correspondingly took the back rope. We must remember the rules of the ritual that, for example, on the arrival of the barque of Nekhbet from El Kab at the Sed festival of Ramesses III, it was the duty of the king himself to receive the front rope ( {HA[t]t, bow warp (of ship)}) of the divine barque when he landed.<sup>224</sup> Similarly, in Edfu's festival calendar for the departure of Horus of Edfu on Epip's new moon day, it is decided that the Count of Nekhen has to seize the front rope and the Count of Komir has to seize the back rope of the ship to assist in landing at the temple.<sup>225</sup> They are therefore representatives of the king, who was theoretically charged with performing the “rowing voyage” of every god,<sup>226</sup> as were his descendants in the Sun Temple. Obtaining guest gods to participate in the Sed festival is an obvious explanation to think of here. Another piece that could not be more accurately interpreted could have been the king himself as a participant in a rowing voyage.<sup>227</sup>

Among other pieces, the obelisk corridor panels with the Apis chapel visit, already discussed in the context of the Small Festival Depiction, are the most complete,<sup>228</sup> also instructive in that the completion of the procession from the throne pavilion is clearly visible on them, in fact, following the procession

217 No. 193.


218 Row 5, No. 2, for an explanation Sethe, *Ä.Z.* {Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde (Journal of Egyptian Language and Ancient History), Leipzig} 53, p.53.

219 See below p.53.

220 No. 204, found on the “south side”; No. 166.

221 Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.86. Festival Hall, Folio 23, is apparently depicting the king when “going out” from this district. The occupants according to the Abydos list, see Rec. de trav. {Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes (Collection of Works Relating to Egyptian and Assyrian Philology and Archeology)} 37, p.69f.

222 No. 202/3.

223 Apparently faulty  {*nsw*, king (of Upper Egypt)} on No. 202.

224 Gardiner, *Ä.Z.* {Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde (Journal of Egyptian Language and Ancient History), Leipzig} 48, p.49.

225 Brugsch, *Drei Festkalender* {Three Festival Calendars}, IV lines 22/3.

226 Kees, *Opfertanz* {Offering Dance}, p.84f.

227 No. 198 (found in the obelisk corridor).

228 No. 251/2.



of the “Prophet of Sobek” before the king.<sup>229</sup> To collect the Apis {bull}, forerunners hurried ahead of the king, ahead of the master of ceremonies, the  $\text{𓂏}$  {*iry smA*, guardian of the community (in charge of uniting people for the festival)}, who directs the greetings everywhere,<sup>230</sup> followed by people with the “speaking” title  $\text{𓂏}$  {*iry tA*, guardian of activities on the ground?}.<sup>231</sup> The fact that Apis {bull} is really brought out is clear from the inscription  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$  {*pr aA iAby*, come forth from eastern door} “going out of the eastern door”. From this, after the ritual, the newly enthroned Apis was also brought out.<sup>232</sup> The fact that the following “Running the Apis (*phrr Hpww*) {*pHrr Hpww*,  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ , Apis bull run}” was given a special character by its idealistic connection with the consecration of the *ἱερά γῆ* {*ierá gí*, holy ground} has already been mentioned. Even the “servants of Apis” may have participated, but an inscription of a pair of them is preserved only on one piece of the same wall of the obelisk corridor.<sup>233</sup>

In terms of cult history, a depiction of the god Min<sup>234</sup> is important for us, undoubtedly also from a visit to the chapel of a festival god, presumably out of the series of prominent gods who receive special offerings and who have been singled out of the assembly of the gods which has been adorned summarily with offerings also in Soleb and Bubastis.<sup>235</sup> As often emphasized, their selection changes with the dogma of the imperial religion. But since the Ramesses era, only the Memphis cults have strongly prevailed again alongside Amon, as expressed in Bubastis compared to Soleb. We know that Min plays an important role early on in Memphis; it seems based on a special kingship<sup>236</sup> connection and can be understood first from later Thinite era traditions. “Going Out of Min” is a public holiday of the Memphis festival calendar and was named as such on the offering calendar of the valley gate.<sup>237</sup>

What we were otherwise able to gather at chapels, depictions of gods and symbols on Folio 10 is not very productive: a fragment with the remains of a falcon image perched on a throne (Horakhty?), perhaps the same god whose image is transferred to the temple,<sup>238</sup> remnants of shrines, including one apparently with several occupants reminiscent of depictions in Soleb, among other things. Among individual god's symbols, we see the standard of the god of the land of the west: *H3* {*HA*,  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ , the desert god}, the personification of the Libyan desert.<sup>239</sup> We know that his titular priest “*H3* follower” (*imj-ht H3*) {*imy xt HA*,  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ , follower of the desert god}, known at the Memphis court, who apparently lived in This, occupies a particularly prestigious place among the spiritual dignitaries at the Sed festival of Osorkon II in Bubastis.<sup>240</sup> A small fragment shows a scepter symbol adorned with

229 Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.68f.

230 His activity is strongly reminiscent of the role of  $\text{𓂏}$  {*rpat* or *iry pat*, noble/heir} the well-known wise Amenhotep plays at the first Sed festival of Amenhotep III, according to the Soleb pictures.

231 In fact, the king has to ascend “to the earth” just as much as to sit down on the litter in front of the throne where these people appear; see above p.19.

232 Spiegelberg, Ä.Z. {Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde (Journal of Egyptian Language and Ancient History), Leipzig} 56 p.19. The drawing  $\text{𓂏}$  {*iAby*, eastern} over  $\text{𓂏}$  {*aA*, door}, No. 252, is another example of the secondary sign displacements mentioned above, p.25, footnote 7, as dealt with by Sethe, Pyramid Texts, Vol. IV, §15, not a conversion of “words” as Untersuchungen {Investigations} on p.69 can be read.

233 No. 255. In the row above, the “courtyard” (*wšh.t*) {*wsxt*,  $\text{𓂏}$ , hall/court} was again the speech!

234 No. 197; likewise from the obelisk.

235 Festival Hall, Folio 8 (bottom row Nefertem), 9 (Heliopolitan fetishes and Wepwawet), 10 (Heliopolitan Ennead), 11, 12 (Khonsu).

236 Kees, Ä.Z. {Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde (Journal of Egyptian Language and Ancient History), Leipzig} 57 p.131f.



237 No. 482. Incidentally, the depiction of the figure of the gods is more ancient than on No. 197.

238 See below p.31.

239 No. 207; see Gardiner, Art. Personification (Egyptian) in Hastings, Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics p.792. As western native god and purifier of the king Kees, Horus und Seth {Horus and Seth} I p.24.

240 Festival Hall, Folio 11/12.



feather as a god sign,<sup>241</sup> which the ancient texts call *ig3j* {*igAi*, , *Igai*, god of the oasis} or *ist.t* {*iAtt*, , *Jatet*, milk goddess?},<sup>242</sup> it may be at the beginning of the inscription of the last named milk drink on the old offering list,<sup>243</sup> thus belonging to a offering scene.









The eye-catching image of a hippopotamus with a destroyed sign  {*HD*} and the presence of a  {*rx nsw*, acquaintance of the king}, as attested by the inscription, can be explained by more recent accounts. The same group of signs appears on reliefs that have been created based on ancient examples, which Petrie found in Memphis.<sup>244</sup> In addition, there is a complete picture from the festival depictions of Thutmose III in Karnak, which was sketched by Prisse d'Avennes,<sup>245</sup> but which seems to have been lost today (Fig. 2), that Petrie mistakenly added the fragment to Folio 4 on the left and therefore misunderstood the whole; it belongs to Folio 7 on the right. The pictures have in common the appearance of the king as a hunter in the Lower Egyptian crown, just as the gold images of Usaphais {first dynasty King Den}, which are known from seal impressions, showed him to be the “harpooner”



Fig. 2

of the hippopotamus.<sup>246</sup> According to later reports, the Delta is still their main fishing ground,<sup>247</sup> and in Papremis nome, whose god the Greeks know as Ares (well then Anhur {Onuris}), the hippopotamus was still sacred in Herodotus' time, despite advancing condemnation elsewhere.<sup>248</sup> Involved with his hunting role is a long strip of cloth hung loosely over his front shoulder, certainly also equipped with maces. Also common to the depiction is the participation of two men dancing and singing to one another as representatives of different cities. Of course, there is no unambiguous determination between them. Elsewhere, although I have equated  {*imAw*?} with the capital of the 3rd Lower Egyptian nome,<sup>249</sup> first since the same place can be verified as a place of Sobek worship from a Lower Egyptian series of gods of the mortuary temple of Niuserre in which the already discussed “Libyan Horus” follows,<sup>250</sup> and additionally since late mythological texts, based certainly on ancient memories, describe and depict the Horus god of this nome and its capital  {*imAw*, Imau} = Kom el-Hisn as a crocodile.<sup>251</sup> On the other hand, Sethe points out to me the difficulty that so far the earliest mentions of the name consistently show the masculine form *im3mw* (   {*imAw*, Imau}, and the like).<sup>252</sup> That  {*imAw*?} must be a place in the western half of the Libyan Delta nevertheless remains acceptable.

241 No. 205.

242 Ägypt. Wb. {Egyptian Dictionary} I p.140 and I p.27. Palermstein {Palermo Stone} Vol.2 No.8 “educated”.

243 Pyr. {Pyramidentexte?, Pyramid Texts?} 89b.

244 Petrie, Palace of Apries {Wahibre Haaibre} (Memphis II) Folio 4.

245 Monuments Folio 16, 2 afterwards repeated here. The Folio has the wrong number XVII in publication.




246 Borchardt, Die Annalen und die zeitliche Festlegung des alten Reiches der ägyptischen Geschichte {The Annals and Chronology of the Old Kingdom of Egyptian History, Berlin, 1917} p.36. Sethe, Ä.Z. {Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde (Journal of Egyptian Language and Ancient History), Leipzig} 57 p.138.

247 Pliny notably XXVIII 121 (nome of Sais).

248 Herodot {Herodotus} II 63, 71.

249 Horus und Seth {Horus and Seth} II p.64 Footnote 6; p.80. Art. Suchos {Sobek} II 4 in Pauly-Wissowa.

250 See above p.11.

251 Especially in the Dendera text about the Khoiak festival lines 90-91 (Horus) “in his name    {*sbk nb imAw*, Sobek, lord of Imau}”, and in addition Junker, Götterdekret über das Abaton {Divine Decree on Abatos} p.41-43.

252 Tombs of Middle Kingdom, Edgar, Musée égypt {Egypt Museum, perhaps referring to Catalogue général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du musée du Caire} III p.54f.; compare to the older Hs. des N.R. {Handschriften des Neuen Reiches, Manuscripts of the New Kingdom}, Book of the Dead chapter 125, see line 25.



On the other hand, legitimate doubts can be had about whether  $\text{𓏏} \{wTst, \text{Edfu (the seat)}\}$  is the nome name of Edfu  $wTs.t Hr \{wTst Hr, \text{Seat of Horus (Edfu)}\}$ . One definitely expects two Lower Egyptian places; the parallel depiction from Memphis had a different name, which is unfortunately incomprehensible and perhaps incomplete in the preserved form  $\text{𓏏} \{w?\}$ .<sup>253</sup>

The name of the event is fixed as  $\text{𓏏} \{Hb HDt, \text{festival of the white one (hippopotamus)}\}$ . One will think first of the “whiteness” of Nekhen,<sup>254</sup> but the writing on the Memphis piece also shows that  $\text{𓏏} \{HDt, \text{the white one}\}$  is to be associated with the hippopotamus depicted (as a determinative). Such a designation of “the white one” for the hippopotamus (female) offers variants of the description of the field of reeds, to which Sethe calls my attention, in Book of the Dead chapter 110, where a part named  $\text{𓏏} \{rn HDt, \text{the name of the white one}\}$  is given, in which there are no fish and snakes.<sup>255</sup> The name then reappears as  $\text{𓏏} \{HDt nb(t) [w?]rrt, \text{the white one, lady of the Upper Egyptian crown}\}$ , even with obvious alignment to the goddess of El Kab, in the inscription to a hippopotamus, verified by Borchardt, of a Saite pedestal.<sup>256</sup> Is it to be killed by the king symbolically, or as the hunter Anhur {Onuris} did with the wild lioness bring it home to be tamed and soothed? The joyful dance of the inhabitants would fit well with that. If one thinks of a ritual of hippopotamus hunting, one can point out that an old hunting song, which has been handed down to us in the tomb of Amenemhat in Thebes, describes Horus in the Delta hunting with the help of the weapon expert Neith from Sais.<sup>257</sup> It fits into the role of Horus as “harpooner” ( $mśn$ ) {msnw,  $\text{𓏏}$ }, which is later propagated by Edfu especially, but certainly originates from the Delta.<sup>258</sup> Furthermore, it can also be recalled that, according to the Edfu temple, the eponymous deity of the 6th and 7th month of the year has a god's standard with a hippopotamus.<sup>259</sup> It seems therefore to be related to the main festival of these months, the “large” and the “small” fire ( $rkH$ ) {rkH,  $\text{𓏏}$ }, festival (of burning, 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> months)}. For the time being, more cannot be identified. Certainly, the increasing prohibition of the hippopotamus as a “typhonian” {related to Set} animal has made many details of the hippopotamus cult and its myths disappear.

Here is the same group of connected activities, which took place there after the recurrent mention of the “courtyard” (including the vestibule)  $wśh.t \{wsxt, \text{𓏏}, \text{hall/court}\}$  where the “Sed festival houses” of the gods' guests stood. The “courtyard of the district of the Great Ones” appeared in the Small Festival Depiction as the goal of the procession after the appearance of Sobek priests in the final procession, also otherwise, where one goes “with the god on the way”.<sup>260</sup> The pieces belonging here are partly due to careful work and well-preserved painting;<sup>261</sup> several were found on the northern half of the courtyard, others come apparently from the southern corridor,<sup>262</sup> perhaps also from the part of the corridor running on the east side. The most interesting are two excerpts of a series of pictures whose subject is the transfer of precious images of the gods. At the top, a “prophet” cares for the image of a falcon god of the well-known archaic squatting form with a double crown, as borne by Horakhty in the

253 Was  $S3w \{sAw\}$  = Sais meant?

254 So already Horus und Seth {Horus and Seth} II p.80.

255 Ed. Naville II p.258 Ad. {Addendum?} Subsequently, Sethe documents the word in Lanzone, Pap. Lac Moeris Folio 5 (middle row) and Petrie, Hawara Folio 2.

256 Ä.Z. {Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde (Journal of Egyptian Language and Ancient History), Leipzig} 41 p.86.

257 Gardiner-Davies, Tomb of Amenemhat p.29.

258 Kees, Horus und Seth {Horus and Seth} II p.79f.

259 Brugsch, Thesaurus 8, 472/73.




260 No. 11, 44d; compare above p.3. No. 216 is probably from a similar piece (obelisk corridor?).



261 Especially No. 210, 215.

262 No. 209, 217.



Sun Temple.<sup>263</sup> The god proceeds, as in the list-like enumeration of the festival gods, his standard ahead. Unfortunately, she is just as lost as the name of the wearer, probably also a “prophet”.

I cannot explain an inscription that must have pertained to a god himself. The god image follows a chamberlain ( {imy xnt, chamberlain}), in his capacity as a “privy councillor of royal jewelry” and supervisor of the goldsmith, and the lector priest. The inscription read  {[i]t Hwt nTr aHa m wsxt, come to the god's house, stand in the court} “Come (to) the house of God; set up in the courtyard”. The bringing of jewelry is only indicated in writing: “collar (wsḥ) {wsx, }, electrum, silver, chains, many”. After that we have to deal with estates of the king for the festival, the way they are enumerated in the dedicatory inscription in the valley gate.<sup>264</sup> Hints of such gifts also appear in Sed festival pictures in Karnak and Bubastis, but these are more precious vessels,<sup>265</sup> such as those depicted in the warehouses of the Sun Temple. The smaller fragment (No. 209) with the two barque-like formations I have published earlier as “the child pair of the King of Lower Egypt”, that is, Shu and Tefnut, who can be explained according to determinatives of the Pyramid Texts as children of Atum-Ra of Heliopolis.<sup>266</sup> That their symbols, originally probably nests, were “constructed” in this form, has been handed down on the Palermo stone since the days of the First Dynasty.<sup>267</sup> In the Sun Temple, of course, they are naturally in the right place, since on the basis of theological speculations, they could be equated with the heavenly god: the “right eye” = evening barque, the “left eye” = morning barque.

The other fragments originate from activities which the festival courtyard is also the scene, but where the king participates. Further details are withheld from us. We see on No. 211 that the king wears the cloak, thus unlike the consecrations that precede the illumination of the festival strongholds, the main festival according to the cycles of the New Kingdom, which, according to the text, lasted a full month until the eve of the Sed festival<sup>268</sup> and the king “knocking” with a mace on the gates of the chapel courtyard.<sup>269</sup> Nevertheless, I do not consider it out of the question, that a number of pieces<sup>270</sup> from the Sun Temple, on which certain structures, similar to the hieroglyph  {wsxt, hall, court}, of a brick wall with niche ornamentation surrounded by buildings, can be brought together with the last-mentioned scenes, which we know so far in detail only from Soleb. I have deliberately avoided that the royal regalia can only be observed here from the appearance of the king, according to pieces possibly coming in question solely on the basis of this mark. The latter were left in the uncertain material.<sup>271</sup> From the circle of the Small Festival Depiction we have no parallel pieces, but Borchardt has found also remains with indication of such wall pieces in niche construction work on blocks of Amenhotep III in the Khonsu temple.<sup>272</sup> The preserved keyword  {sqr sp 4, strike four times} “four times knocked” seems to secure the explanation as a parallel to the pictures from Soleb. Now to the remains of the Sun Temple:<sup>273</sup> Apart from the lector priest with the inscription “Stand up in the courtyard,” we

263 See below p.41.

264 See below p.50f.

265 L.D. {Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien (Monuments from Egypt and Ethiopia), 6 vols., ed. K.R. Lepsius, 1849-1859, Berlin} III 36a. Festival Hall, Folio 14,3; 15,4.

266 Ä.Z. {Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde (Journal of Egyptian Language and Ancient History), Leipzig} 57 p.109.

267 Front side line 2 No. 5.

268 Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.13, 21\*.

269 Breasted, American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures 25 p.89f. Compare also Borchardt, Ä.Z. {Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde (Journal of Egyptian Language and Ancient History), Leipzig} 61 p.49 footnote 7.




270 According to my notes, the pieces No. 211/212 are very similar in execution to No. 209/210.

271 Folio 19.









272 Block No. 18 (two such rows on top of each other).









273 No. 211, 212, 215, 217, 218.



meet him once again standing within the district, then the insignia bearer  {*Xry nws*, regalia bearer} in front of a building with an inscription, which is called “ {*wr p*} the Great One (or the Great Ones) of Pe”. The presence of the insignia bearer indicates that, as usual, the king should be added behind with the  {*sm*, Sem priest}. The two “people” squatting on the ground, which are already characterized by their scale as minor figures, should probably indicate the masses present.

### 7. Remains of Throne Scenes and the Final Procession

The important act of the offering dance (“Sed festival run”) standing in close connection with the appearance on the throne is attested only by small fragments, apparently from the southern corridor: No. 239 recognizable by the typical, unfortunately still not completely understandable inscription<sup>274</sup> [   ] {perhaps [*wdj m*] *sxt* [*s?*] *wr(H)?*, “anoint?”} and on No. 238 a remainder of the welcoming words “come and bring”, compare to    {*Dd mdw ini mi sp 4*, words to be spoken: bring and offer four times} No. 33b. In No. 240, the characteristic symbol of reign, the “testament” later equated to the *mkš* {*mks*, } scepter, returns in the king's hand again, but the composition deviates slightly from the Small Festival Depiction in the person of the lector priest standing opposite.<sup>275</sup>

A half-completed picture of the throne scene is not preserved; even in the fragments of depictions of the king in the pavilion, who here, as always in this act, holds only the so-called flail in his hand, the inscriptions are lost up to insignificant remnants such as  {*Hr st*} “on the throne” (No. 221) or   {*[x]ft bity*, in front of the king of Lower Egypt} “facing the king” (No. 222). For the most part, the pieces seem to belong to the obelisk corridor, in the beginning part of which the Upper Egyptian relief No. 223, originating from the right side wall and still bearing the prefixed square, was found with well-preserved colors.<sup>276</sup> Here too, as in the Small Festival Depiction, processions of the king, accompanied by divine standards alternating with the throne, show the remains of a standard bearer before the throne, not only on No. 227,<sup>277</sup> but above all the usual procession inscription “getting on the path with the god” in No. 226, in other words, here probably returning to the throne from a visit to the chapel as in No. 33a. It should also be emphasized that some of the remnants of Folio 12 may also belong to depictions of offering consecrations before the royal throne, as in No. 340 and the accompanying pieces.<sup>278</sup> Piece No. 242 is revealing for the court offices which, in close parallel to pictures in Bubastis,<sup>279</sup> shows the insignia bearer  {*Xry nws*, regalia bearer} with crook, scepter, and fan sitting at the feet of the king on top of the throne, and No. 245, which is also completed and explained<sup>280</sup> by a depiction in Bubastis:<sup>281</sup> It belonged to the description of the closing ceremonies at the throne. There, the chamberlains or friends {companions} bearing the fans ascend the steps to the throne to step behind the king as he “descends to the earth” (*h3 r t3*) {dotted *h*, *HA r tA*,  }, around toward the ground}. This inscription, also known from the Small Festival Depiction (No. 32, 39), is preserved on a fragment of uncertain origin (No. 244), which is to be completed by  .<sup>282</sup> This is followed immediately by

274 Kees, *Opfertanz* {Offering Dance}, p.192f.

275 Compare, however, the position of Thoth during the Heb festival run of Thutmose III in Karnak Ä.Z. {*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* (Journal of Egyptian Language and Ancient History), Leipzig} 52 Folio 7 and the fragment Grabdenkmal des Sahurê {Tomb Monument of Sahurê} II Folio 25.

276 Above 1 of the Find Journal.

277 Incidentally, the piece is conspicuous due to its Lower Egyptian ← change of direction!

278 See below p.41.

279 Festival Hall, Folio, 1, 1; 24, 10.






280 The piece found at the southern corridor 23 meters from the southeast is, by the way, notable for its remarkably slapdash work (crooked position of the fan bearers).





281 Festival Hall, Folio 21.

282 See above p.10.




the great final procession, numerous fragments of which are found in the obelisk corridor.

Before that, however, we must briefly review the accessible inventory of tribute processions before the throne. The two best pieces from the Berlin Museum, apparently originating from the right, Upper Egyptian wall of the southern courtyard corridor, have already been portrayed and explained as an essential complement to the Small Festival Depiction.<sup>283</sup> The main figure – introduced by two precursors (from Sais) called  {*xrp a*, controller} in Egyptian<sup>284</sup> – is a man with a smooth staff of office, whose inscription  {*mniw*, herdsman} “shepherd (guardian)”<sup>285</sup> is obviously complemented by the special insignia of his guards, a jackal head staff with a jackal bladder on the top. They are to make him known as the “shepherd of Nekhen”, well-known from old court titles. He appears as a representative of the ancient historical Upper Egyptian capital.<sup>286</sup> Raising the role of the “servant of the souls of Nekhen” as the bearer of the Wepwawet standard in the offering dance is a new example of the historical connection to the link, evolved in early times, of the wolf god of Siut with the Upper Egyptian falcon town. The shepherd is introduced by the  {*iry smA*, guardian of the community (in charge of uniting people for the festival)}.<sup>287</sup> The lector priest appears to address him in the king's name, lacking a Sem priest. The inscription  {*di a*, to give, place upon} expresses his request to “lend a hand”.<sup>288</sup> Again, as is customary in these snippets of activity, one has tried to capture several moments in a picture divided into strips: approach, activity (by the inscription), and departure. That it is there, as in the case of the procession of  {*HAty a*, governor or mayor}, the transfer of animal and plant estates, chiefly herds, by the king, can be seen from the leader role of the cow goddess, who was already supervising the “census” of cattle. It becomes even clearer, when one realizes that, according to the traces on the right of No. 228, there is a list of gods and a list of offerings connected in the manner in which we find them more completely in the Small Festival Depiction.

Unfortunately, only a single, difficult-to-explain name of the gods remains.<sup>289</sup> With better preservation, valuable information about local Upper Egyptian cults would have been expected here. From the presentation and assignment of the herd animals themselves only meager remains are visible.<sup>290</sup> From a distribution list appears the compilation<sup>291</sup>  {*dwAw* [Gardiner R60?] *wAD*}, that is  {*wAD*}, known to us from the Small Festival Depiction, and the Lower Egyptian god of the “Morning Land”, to which belongs the title  {*dwAw aA*} “Door of the *Dw3w*”, also attested from the lists of the sacristy and tombs of the Old Kingdom.<sup>292</sup> Then come several fragments with cattle, also one with the associated cattle drover armed with a staff,<sup>293</sup> once a title  {*HbA ir*}, which, according to the other lists, must designate the receiving deity. It is telling that the name is again a mythological novelty!

283 No. 228/229; compare Re-Heiligtum {Sun Temple} II Supplement B. Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.77.

284 The same applies to  {[...]a looks more like *HAty a*, governor or mayor, in the case of No. 14} No. 13/14.

285 Striking and inexplicable to me is the apparent plurality (inscription) No. 233.

286 See above p.10.


287 Compare its role in visiting the Apis chapel: above p.29.

288 See above p.27-28.

289 Same as in No. 20a, to which a sheep is assigned?







290 No. 266 may be from the southern courtyard corridor. No. 264, 265, 267, 268 from the obelisk.



291 No. 14, there with goats considered.

292 Compare No. 17 last field. On the reading, Kees, Ä.Z. {Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde (Journal of Egyptian Language and Ancient History), Leipzig} 57 p.127. Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.44 incorrectly: “door protecting the Dua” in connection with the often succeeding title  {*xwi*, the protector} “the special”.

293 Compare No. 13 on the left.





Also the procession known from the Small Festival Depiction of  {*HAty a*, governor or mayor} was repeated here, including small fragments of his own figure<sup>294</sup> or of his two guards<sup>295</sup>  {*xrp a*, controller}. Its appearance in this emphasized form is still weighted by the fact that in the Sun Temple, in contrast to more recent depictions, neither the vizier nor the  {*rpat* or *iri pat*, noble/heir} can be verified, while on the other hand the  {*HAty a*, governor or mayor} as well as the “shepherd” of Nekhen are absent! His clothing in a festival cloak, similar to that of the king, means less. He shares this privilege not only with the  {*nTry*, divine / sacred} “mouth of the god” entering the final procession, but also with the “king's sons” led to the king on their litters, perhaps also with the “nobles” (*ś'h*) {*saH*, , noble / dignitary}; because their squatting figures also require cloak attire. On the basis of parallels to the Small Festival Depiction,<sup>296</sup> we can verify the “nobles” also for the Large Festival Depiction: they wear a short goatee, as lector priests usually do.<sup>297</sup>

Whether the circle of court offices appearing in the festival cloak before the king can be extended to the  {*smA*, priest (who clothed the god), stolist} according to an unclear fragment<sup>298</sup> must remain undecided; even less can be said about affiliation and explanation of the mantle figure with a vessel in hand on No. 275. Provisionally, I have also produced here the very uncertain fragments Nos. 248 and 250,<sup>299</sup> both of which could come from processions of gods with their symbols. For No. 248, it is natural to refer, for example, to the procession of the “Heliopolitan” with his guards,<sup>300</sup> and no doubt a standard bearer preceded the bearer of the strangely shaped walking staff. For No. 250, a completion  {*iAr*, or possibly a completion of *sxt iArw*, the Field of Reeds (near Bubastis or in the Netherworld)} would be considered. In any case, we must reckon with the fact that the circle of the local representatives named in the inscription is to be extended considerably over the limited circle of the figures attested from the Small Festival Depiction.

One of the panels, which had already arrived in Berlin before the excavation began,<sup>301</sup> apparently again from the southern corridor, and indeed from the bottom row, preserved the procession of an important group from the royal throne, “the king's children,” whose litter we meet again in the royal entourage of the final procession, just as in the initial procession. Moreover, their role, which is expressly stated to be wild fantasies,<sup>302</sup> especially of the daughters, is hardly particularly active in the Sed festival. This can still be seen in Bubastis: there, the king's children (daughters) stand at the head of the entourage before the throne at the coronation and make music with their sistrums, then they accompany the royal procession<sup>303</sup> and assist with singers and musicians at the offering acts of the king.<sup>304</sup> The fact that in Bubastis the daughters of the king, in addition to the queen, come forth, is temporary: it goes back to the epoch of Amenhotep III, in which the queen also first gains her official position in public. In the

294 No. 272, 273.

295 No. 235/236; the inscription on the former is  {*Dd mdw Xry Hbt*, recitation by lector priest} and maybe add  {*Hry wrw*, one of great standing}.

296 No. 27-30.

297 No. 237.


298 No. 152.

299 Find locations: No. 248 Obel. {isk} 10, No. 250 at the southern corridor 22 meters from the southeast.

300 No. 27.

301 No. 246 = preliminary report Ä.Z. {Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde (Journal of Egyptian Language and Ancient History), Leipzig} 37 Folio I, 3.









302 For example, Petrie, Researches in Sinai p.184. Palace of Apries {Wahibre Haaibre} (Memphis II) p.8/9. Newberry, Ägypten als Feld für anthropologische Forschung {Egypt as a Field for Anthropological Research} (A.O. {der alte Orient} 27, 1) p.21f.

303 Also on the Karnak Block No. 26 of Amenhotep III there is an inscription “The king's children who accompany S.M. {Seine Majestät → his majesty} (*śms*) {*Sms*, , accompany} at the...”

304 Festival Hall, Folio 2, 4, 14, 16.




Old Kingdom, however, the “royal children” in the litter are probably only the princes,<sup>305</sup> for example, who are also immortalized alone in the mortuary temple of Sahure. At that time, princesses and queens still disappeared among the cult assistants<sup>306</sup> who were assigned occupation names, so are considered to be negligible.

The picture in the Sun Temple again unites different stages of activity according to a known compositional style: From the right the litters move up with the king's children, accompanied by an unusually large array of divine standards (at least 8!), whose pictures are, without exception, unfortunately lost. The royal throne is thought to be on the left, therefore, the panel belonged to the main direction (→) of them on the Lower Egyptian (southern) corridor wall. The picture depicts it as if it were not single litters, but a litter construction in the style of our twin cars (next to each other?).<sup>307</sup> The first part of the inscription  {*aHa Hr iAby xft tp rdw*, to stand at the left, in front of the stepped podium throne} “To set up to the left opposite the throne”<sup>308</sup> pertains to the procession. We already know from the Small Festival Depiction that, for the ceremonies on leaving the throne, the Egyptian festival ceremonies had fixed rules for the line-up on the various sides in front of or next to the throne. The festival pictures in Bubastis also provide some details. Already in the “Untersuchungen” {“Investigations”} attention was drawn to the very similar directive inscriptions of the Festival Hall, Folio 24,<sup>309</sup> where it is about “sitting down” (in other words, “kneeling”) before the throne “on the north (side)” ( {*Hr mHt*, facing north}) and obviously continues to a change of location:  {*pXr Hr mHt (Hr) nsw*, tour to the north and the south}. Also on the relief panel of the sacristy with Heliopolitans and Hermopolitans,<sup>310</sup> “sitting (kneeling)” ( {*Hms*, sit down}) and the “procession” ( {*pXr HA*, procession around}) in front of the enthroned king have ceremonial significance. A small fragment from Bubastis, belonging to a similar scene, also preserved the line-up  {*aHa m iAby n st=f*, to stand on the left side of his throne} “To set up (on) the eastern (left) side of his throne” corresponding to the arrangement of the royal children.<sup>311</sup> Why the prince in the Sun Temple is directed to a lesser place to the left of the royal seat is not easy to decide in the fragmented state of the whole. Possibly because the gods standards belong in the place “to the right”. The information in Festival Hall, Folio 14, could speak to that. Similarly to the panel with the procession of the Sobek priests, the departure of the princes – in other words, the final phase – is indicated in the picture by the reversal of the depiction (procession to the right)<sup>312</sup> in the same strip, clarified as far as possible by the directive mark:  {*swA irt st sn*, to be on (their) way and take their seat} “to move away and take their place (again)”,<sup>313</sup> that is, the royal children return to their resting position from whence they came. Also in Bubastis, the departure of the “king's children” after the coronation homage was explained with similar words:<sup>314</sup>  {*swA irt st*, to be on (their) way and take their seat}. Thus, the whole activity clearly represents a kind of performance with reverence before the throne, similar to that of the dignitaries; only the appearance of the princes, unlike those, is not associated with any special action or consecration. Incidentally, it should be remembered that even the

305 See No. 7b, where apparently the daughters walk! For Newberry, the previously cited p.22 confused a quite clear harem visit of the king with a Sed festival, it is just the king's daughters!

306 See above p.19.

307 See also No. 50a.


308 For *tp-rdw* {*tp rdw*,  throne} “throne” (on top of the steps), compare No. 11a, 33a. 38th Festival Hall passim.

309 Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.102f.

310 No. 27.

311 Festival Hall, Folio 25 No. II.






312 No. 11- 12 (upper strip) among other things. To the composition, see Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.68.

313  {*swA r tp rdw*, to pass towards the throne} on withdrawal from the Throne Festival Hall, Folio 21.


314 Festival Hall, Folio 14.



Narmer macehead from Hierakonpolis {Nekhen} employs the litter of a prince (perhaps the heir to the throne) as an essential figure in front of the king celebrating the victory celebrations.<sup>315</sup>

In connection to individual fragments, it should be pointed out that walking people with various titles are shown, also from throne scenes, that is, in a style similar to the previously explained figures at the procession of the Sobek priests and the march to visit the Apis chapel. According to their predominant location in the obelisk corridor, they seem to have come from there.<sup>316</sup> As parallels and as a clue to completion, let us refer to the series of pictures in Bubastis Folios 19/20, 23/24. Among these walking people, too, the “prostrator” is opposite the throne (No. 263), and the “shepherd” (*b3tj*) {*bAti*,  or , shepherd to the lands of god Bata} seems to be involved (No. 262), who, from the Small Festival Depiction and Bubastis, comes to us from the circle of representatives and “nobles” paying homage as a characteristic figure known from the primitive era of Egypt.<sup>317</sup> Even now echoes the ceremonial  {*[H]A.k*, back} “back!”<sup>318</sup> offered to those nearby, which forces the subjects down to “kiss the earth” (No. 263). Here, as in Bubastis,<sup>319</sup> we find the  {*Hry p*, chief of Pe} as the representative of Pe in this circle, albeit, as stated earlier, only on the relevant Lower Egyptian half of the corridor, where he occupies the leading position exercised by the  {*iry smA*, guardian of the community (in charge of uniting people for the festival)} on the Upper Egyptian pieces.<sup>320</sup> Like during the “offering dance” of the king, three strange characters appear in the circuit in front of the throne seat, which must somehow indicate the demarcation (start) of the place (court?).<sup>321</sup>

For a review of the material of the “Large” Festival Depiction, an overview is still missing for the remains from the various phases of the final procession after leaving the audience throne in the courtyard. First of all, it must be stated that, according to Lower Egyptian rules, there are no parallel pieces to the proclamation of ascension to the litter but, on the other hand, three unquestionable parts to the pieces are present, interpreted by Borchardt as corresponding Upper Egyptian ceremonies (“Thrones in the Four World Regions”), although more from the southern corridor than from the obelisk,<sup>322</sup> from whence comes the majority of the fragments of the final procession. They are easily recognizable by the recurrence of the strange lion-headed furniture. Surprisingly, an original has quite recently been found in the buildings of the Zoser, in his pyramid, the significance of which Borchardt has recognized.<sup>323</sup>

Accordingly, it must actually be an old-fashioned type of throne seat. The new pieces contribute little to clarify the plot, unfortunately, especially since they do not eliminate the main difficulties of Borchardt's interpretation. The names of the substances return, on one piece there is the remainder of a  {*nTr*} sign, which in this context may have belonged only to a substance name (“god's linen”

315 Newberry, previously cited p.23, makes of it the hereditary princess, the vanquished land, whom the victor marries!

316 Folio 15.

317 No. 27. Festival Hall, Folio 11; compare Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.81f.

318 To be completed with certainty in accordance with No. 27; compare Festival Hall, Folio 11.

319 Festival Hall, Folio 23.



320 See for comparison the Upper Egyptian pieces No. 11, 27 among other things.


321 Kees, Opfertanz {Offering Dance}, p.230. Rec. de trav. {Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes (Collection of Works Relating to Egyptian and Assyrian Philology and Archeology)} 37 p.65; compare Ä.Z. {Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde (Journal of Egyptian Language and Ancient History), Leipzig} 52, p.70 and Folio 7.




322 Find locations: No. 277/278 at the southern corridor, 60 meters from the southeast, No. 276 south side. That they were sitting on the Upper Egyptian (right) side of the corridor would fit well with Borchardt's explanation.

323 A preliminary sketch in the report of Firth, Annal. du Serv. {Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte (Annals of the Antiquities Service of Egypt)} 26 p.100.






{*idmi nTr*}?)<sup>324</sup> and beside it the remark  {*spw mDw*} “10th time”. Apparently, there were more numbers before that.<sup>325</sup> Together with the reference to a preceding battle scene in No. 56b (“to the earth lay heart and thigh”) and the priest approaching the king with devotion, all this fits in very little with the “four-time” throning in Bubastis. It could only be a ceremonial preparation, using the gifts – the incense, royal linen, ointments – in the hands of the priests present. It is noteworthy that the inscription  {*irt [wab?] spw 4*, make [pure?] 4 times} occurs on the mentioned block of Amenhotep III. Accordingly, ritual purification of the king should be considered. In fact, it is only according to Borchardt's completion of the last image field (Nos. 57 and 58) that the (first?) real enthroning of the king in the royal seat is shown. It does not seem to occur inside the closed space in which, according to the drawings, the preceding activities took place.

The Lower Egyptian picture series from the sacristy also showed that the king donned the actual Sed garment, which probably gave its name to the festival, only here toward the end of the festival at its peak and thus clad made his great procession. It remains uncertain, of course, how the scene where he receives the “Sed garment of divine four-thread linen”, which the incomplete Upper Egyptian parallel corridor No. 41 presupposes for the moment after leaving the sacristy, is to be combined with the ceremonies just discussed. It is essential to note that the above-mentioned relief already differs markedly from the Lower Egyptian parallel piece No. 39 with the barely readable inscription  {*Htp*, rest in} “entry”, and that, in the upper Egyptian half of the wall, the stop at the sanctuary of “Horus of Libya” with the following proclamation of power was missing. So maybe in No. 41 we have the introduction to the Upper Egyptian coronation ceremonies in the special coronation chair. The piece would then have to be inserted in Borchardt's construction (Ä.Z. {Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde (Journal of Egyptian Language and Ancient History), Leipzig} 61 Folio IIa) into the (first) released field on the left center of the wall of the back of the sacristy. In any case, Borchardt's discovery has brought us a bit further in the explanation. The essential points at which the Upper and Lower Egyptian ceremonies deviate at the climax of the festival during the 5th dynasty have certainly become indisputable. We must now demand recognition for the cultural-historical consequences.

Compared to the completely preserved scenes from the sacristy, the remaining fragments of the final procession, apparently from the obelisk corridor, are unproductive: remnants of the previously discussed inscription  {*pr wr irt=f*, “preparing himself in the shrine” or “performing rituals in the shrine”}<sup>326</sup> and mention of the two *itr.tj* {*itrty*,  double row of shrines comprising Upper Egypt (*pr wr*) and Lower Egypt (*pr nzw*), forming a national shrine} and the offerings beforehand. In addition, I have put the fragment with the inscription “a royal offering to the souls of the Upper Egyptian *itr.t* {Upper Egyptian side of *itrty*,  double row of shrines comprising Upper Egypt (*pr wr*) and Lower Egypt (*pr nzw*), forming a national shrine}” (No. 289).<sup>327</sup> It stands out from the ordinary design of the obelisk reliefs due to its well-preserved rich painting.<sup>328</sup> Perhaps it belongs near the upper exit, which deals with the common theme “king with gods”, where a pair of particularly beautiful and colored reliefs could be accommodated. Therefore, they should be discussed separately from the actual festival depiction. The small piece No. 284 is still noteworthy as the only eponymous performance of the “servant of the souls of Pe”.

324 Compare No. 58.

325 Compare No. 56b, the sequence of numbers 2-3-4-5! and the footnote on the Karnak block of Amenhotep III No. 29 in “Offering Piles”  {*spw 2 tp mH(ty?)*, second time facing north} and  {*spw 9*, 9th time}; this is reminiscent of the term  {*mH 2 tp*} “second quality”, which is known from late Kyphi recipes.

326 See above p.14. On No. 279, the Lower Egyptian imperial sanctuary was also named.

327 As a parallel compare to Grabdenkmal des Sahurê {Tomb Monument of Sahurê} II Folio 19 (offerings of the deities of the Lower Egyptian half of the empire).

328 Found on the north side of the courtyard.



### III. Depictions of General Content

#### 1. Temple Founding, Offering Practices, Slaughter of the Animal Offerings

The transition to the depictions of the temple rooms of the Sun Temple, which are not confined to the circle of the Sed festival, but correspond to the canonical images of other temples are, in a sense, the remnants of the founding ceremonies, which made the sacristy known as a festival introduction in fairly complete preservation. According to the circumstances of the find, a parallel group of the larger format appears to have been placed in the entrance to the obelisk corridor, that is, in the also architecturally separate part of the room, which joined the World Chamber.<sup>329</sup> There, from the Upper Egyptian right wall, there are the fragments of brickmaking and of earth hoeing and sand bearing.<sup>330</sup>

Not necessarily certain is the determination of the two other panels also found there,<sup>331</sup> of which one, No. 292, appears to have sat on the right after the end strip, right next to the corridor to the World Chamber, thus opening the series of pictures.<sup>332</sup>

Unlike the sacristy figures, the king did not wear a headdress here, but a short hairstyle with band diadem as with the usual offering. But in the regalia the detailed determinatives from the inscriptions of the valley gate also show deviations: there the king bears the Atef crown at the founding ceremonies.<sup>333</sup> After all, the kneeling king does not necessarily have to come from a foundation stone offering, because otherwise depictions of this kind from offering scenes are not uncommon. Related pieces of various origins are combined on Folio 18. One usually notices the two known spherical vessels  $\overline{\text{O}}$  {nw} (for wine or water donations) in the hands of the king.<sup>334</sup>

By the way, there is also a fragment of a list of offerings which belong in the obelisk entrance with the enumeration: wine, beer, .... water, strongly reminiscent of the well-known rules for the dispensation into the excavation pit after hoeing the earth.<sup>335</sup>

Of the fragments which cannot be securely negotiated, a group of royal figures is noticed, which does not show the regalia customary at the Sed festival,<sup>336</sup> which is not to say that the king did not also appear that way in certain activities of the Sed festival.

We see on it the royal skirt with richly decorated overhang, the details of which, trimmed by beads, we know from detailed pictures of various times. This includes the animal tail. The upper body is half covered by a garment nestled into place on his left shoulder.<sup>337</sup> This is festival attire, already attested from the early monuments of the Scorpion King and Narmer from Hierakonpolis {Nekhen}. As insignia, the old ceremonial mace appears, with which the ruler “beats” the consecrations, in addition, sometimes scepters of a different kind; for example, the old *mkš* {mks,  $\overline{\text{Q}}$ }.<sup>338</sup>

329 Re-Heiligtum {Sun Temple} I p.33.

330 No. 297, 298.

331 No. 291, 292.

332 Incidentally, it does not yet show the characteristic yellow color coating of the obelisk corridor: the reliefs here at the beginning are better executed or finished.

333 No. 427, 430. King in the headdress compare to No. 425.

334 No. 293-295.


335 No. 304; see above p.5

336 No. 306-308, 310-313.

337 Good depictions, for example, B. Naville, XIth dyn. temple Deir el Bahari II Folio 5, c., 6, b.

338 No. 312; see above p.25.




Another piece (No. 313) gives him the pointed skirt with front end, no tail, and as insignia the mace, the long staff, and even the  $\uparrow$  {wAs} scepter. Most of the time, it seems to be pictures that showed the king appearing from the palace; on No. 312, from the remainder of the inscription, the determinative of the gate is recognizable; on No. 311, under the Horus name, the notation  $\overline{tph.t}$  {TpHt, , cavern-chapel}.<sup>339</sup>





For the arrangement in the festival activities, a picture mentioned earlier in Bubastis comes into question as a parallel,<sup>340</sup> then notably the large group in Soleb, the procession to knock on the gates as an act of consecration of the chapel courtyard for the assembly of gods prepared for the festival. It should be remembered that regalia and insignia of the king occasionally come close to our depictions, even in the schematic pictures of the consecration of the temples in the scene of the “handing over of the house to his lord”.<sup>341</sup> But other things are also conceivable, such as the king as a hippopotamus hunter, already discussed.

The majority of the fragments are found in the western courtyard,<sup>342</sup> others in the obelisk corridor<sup>343</sup> and in the sacristy.<sup>344</sup>

One could think well of such consecration ceremonies after the foundation of the temple. But in the obelisk itself, general offering activities must have been depicted at a certain place, of course located separately from the Sed festival series.

A larger number of panels have been found scattered throughout the tomb area, which are distinguished from the ordinary design of the corridor reliefs by careful execution and rich, boldly colored decoration, but have the yellow undertone in common with them.

One of the pieces which deals with the offering to the souls of Upper Egyptian  $\overline{itr.t}$  {Upper Egyptian side of  $\overline{itrty}$ , , double row of shrines comprising Upper Egypt ( $\overline{pr wr}$ ) and Lower Egypt ( $\overline{pr nzt}$ ), forming a national shrine} has already been discussed.<sup>345</sup> To be briefly mentioned below for the purpose of delimiting the contents, the reliefs match with its technique; but they no longer have the steep inclination of the decoration calculated for ascending corridor walls.

First there are the offerings, for example,<sup>346</sup> in several strips, one above the other, which are also known from the contemporaneous royal funeral temples, then depictions of the king, enthroned or making offerings in ordinary regalia, with the Atef crown and band diadem, surrounded by gods who utter the customary promises of eternal kingship,<sup>347</sup> furthermore, a piece of offering inscription for the overflowing offering table “put all the food together”<sup>348</sup> ( $\overline{ts ih.t nb.t}$ ) {Ts ixt nbt, , to secure all the food} and finally the richest in content: the consecration of a royal offering by the king's priests to Horakhty, connected to which would be the remnants of the inscription    {aq Xnw, enter the

339 See below Chap. IV at No. 456.

340 Festival Hall, Folio 19.

341 Examples of Ptolemaic type at Moret, Du caractère rel. de la royauté pharaon {The Religious Character of Pharaonic Royalty} p.137 Fig. 31. Dümichen, Baugeschichte des Denderatempels {History of the Dendera Temple} Folio 48/49, 54/55. For evidence for the New Kingdom, see also p.12.

342 No. 310-313.

343 No. 307 (above 2); 308 (above 12).

344 No. 306.




345 No. 289.

346 No. 322, 336.


347 No. 349-352, 356, 357, 360. On No. 357 is also the mention of the “first time of the Sed festival”.


348 No. 355.



361 Compare No. 526  $\odot$     {*ra HrAxtv nb*...., Ra-Horakhty, lord....}.



The remnants  {*nTrw nb pt*, “all the gods of the sky”, or “the gods, lords of the sky”} “[at the head of the] gods, lord of the sky” on No. 407 also probably derive from such a nickname of the god. Atum “the Heliopolitan” is usually called “lord of the two lands”. The sun god of the Ra sanctuary is thus the morning god, who comes from the east, and at the same time the Heliopolitan king and god of the gods. There we clearly have the Heliopolitan tendency. Apart from divine primacy, he does not require exclusivity regarding the festival ritual in his temple area, as seen most clearly from the information given in foundation inscriptions in the valley gate on the festival year and its offerings.


We can point out, however, that other gods appeared in the temple pictures, not only the ancient goddesses of the diadems Nekhbet and Uto, but also, for example also the ibis of Thoth.<sup>362</sup> The tendency is to collection and classification, not to suppression and substitution. Such a broad conception of the “imperial god” is also manifest in the colorful composition of the divine world at the entrance to the temple.<sup>363</sup> The designation of the king on the large fragment No. 399 as  {*mry nTrw*, loved by the gods} “loved by the gods” is especially highlighted.


Unfortunately, it is not certain who is the goddess mentioned on No. 358 as “to guests in...”: could it be the Heliopolitan Hathor? We know, at least for the Sun Temples of Sahure and Neferirkare, that an ancestral cult of Hathor was officially established there,<sup>364</sup> and we shall later find indications that this is also true of the sanctuary of Niuserre.<sup>365</sup>

While most of the fragments have lost their significance as a result of the discovery of far better preserved reliefs, especially from the mortuary temple of Sahure, a piece at least, No. 359, still requires a few explanatory words in terms of content.

There we read about the figure of Horakhty, but reaching far beyond them backwards:



Above that has probably just been an inscription line. How to fill the space behind the figure of Horakhty, whether with another deity (Hathor?) or with a chapel in the manner of related panels from the Sahure temple,<sup>366</sup> remains to be seen. We have encountered the term *tp̄h.t* {*TpHt*, , cavern-chapel} already, unfortunately in an unclear context, as an inscription on the appearance of the king, who was apparently also mentioned in the dedicatory inscriptions of the valley gate.<sup>367</sup>

The arrangement in divided lines does not look like a surname of the god Harakhty. But it could be a fourfold consecration “[for the gods] of the southern, northern, western and eastern *tp̄h.t* {*TpHt*, .

<sup>362</sup> No. 357.

<sup>363</sup> See below p.44.


<sup>364</sup> Palermostein {Palermo stone} R.Z. {Bernhard Grdseloff, Das ägyptische Reinigungszelt (The Egyptian Purification Tent) (Etudes égyptiennes (Egyptian Studies), I. Facs.), Le Caire 1941} 3, 1 and Sethe Ä.Z. {Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde (Journal of Egyptian Language and Ancient History), Leipzig} 27 p.114.


<sup>365</sup> See below p.54.





<sup>366</sup> Grabdenkmal des Sahuré {Tomb Monument of Sahure} II Folio 19/20.




<sup>367</sup> No. 456.


















cavern-chapel}” at the top of which stands Harakhty. *tp̄h.t* {*TpHt*, , cavern-chapel} then really should mean something like “area” (actually: “door hinge”).<sup>368</sup>


As already noted, slaughter scenes are connected on the left. Of these there are many fragments, which are united here on Folio 23. Their allocation is quite uncertain except for the two carefully executed pieces, Nos. 372 and 373, found in the western courtyard. These probably belong, as the excavators already suspected, to the World Chamber; here they are exceptionally added as a supplement. From the decoration of contemporaneous private tombs, also from larger reliefs of the Sahure mortuary temple, we know that slaughter scenes often are depictions accompanying offering activities to offering table scenes or rows of gods, that is, in the lowest strips in processions of gift bearers. Appearing most often among our fragments is apparently the important moment when the butcher  {*imnH*, butcher} cut off the front leg. This is in particular the “cut up” offering (*stp̄.t*) {*stpt*, choice, select, or cutting}, which is afterwards taken away by the lector priest (see No. 368) or a prophet (see No. 364 and 372).

We read an inscription  {*stpt*, choice, select, or cutting} or  {*stp̄*, to cut up (animal), to butcher}<sup>369</sup> and the notation  {(*r*)*dit a*, helping} “lend a hand” by the encouraging  {*imy is*, councillor}, who is standing before the lector priest supervising the ritual.<sup>370</sup>

Maybe he should first take delivery of the thigh. For the unusual, unverifiable inscription, at least from the well-known parallel depictions of the temples and tombs of the Old Kingdom, Sethe kindly points out to me the occurrence of the same formula in the Ramesseum Dramatic Papyrus; for example, in the form  {*stp Ssr nsw TAi*, a male sacrificial bull was carved} (line 8). *ššr* {*Ssr*, , sacrificial bull?}, as after a passage of the slaughter ritual Pyr. {Pyramidentexte?, Pyramid Texts?} 1545a must therefore be a special technical term of slaughtering next to the *stp̄* {*stp̄*, , to cut up (animal), to butcher} “cut”, which is then also applied to the offering itself.

Incidentally, the spelling  {(*r*)*dit a*, helping} shows that in inscriptions the  {*t*} of the feminine infinitive was written only where it was particularly advantageous for character distribution, so here  {(*r*)*dit a*, helping}, as opposed to the predominant plural of the  {(*r*)*di a*, help}, also in the double group  {*di(t?) Ssp(t?)*, receive?},<sup>371</sup> or here  {*sSdt*, binding} and  {*sxpt*, bringing (the loosened thigh)} compared to the usual infinitives  {*pr*, to come forth},  {*iri*, to create, beget, make, construct, do, act} among other things, in activity inscriptions; similarly,  {*f*} changes to  {*ft*[?]}, as in raising the arm with food of p.27!<sup>372</sup> The removal is designated by the inscription  {*aq Xnw*, enter the Residence or inner sanctum} “entering the inside”<sup>373</sup> or  {*sxpt stpt*, bringing select (offerings) or bringing and cutting},<sup>374</sup> maybe the  {*in Xry Hb*, by the lector priest} of No. 371 also belongs here. Another phrase  {*sSdt ib iAmt*, binding the heart} on No. 361 suggests the scene of the cutting out of the heart following the cutting of the front haunch.<sup>375</sup> The heart is then also delivered. “Laying down the heart and thighs” (by the lector priest) is also required by the first of the offering ceremonies before the lion throne of the Upper Egyptian king.<sup>376</sup>

368 On the determinatives of the Pyr. {Pyramidentexte?, Pyramid Texts?} compare Kees, *Opfertanz* {Offering Dance}, p.130.

369 Grabdenkmal des Sahurê {Tomb Monument of Sahure} II Folio 28 only  {*stpt*, choice, select, or cutting}.

370 Gardiner, *Tomb of Amenemhat* p.54.

371 Compare No. 13, 19, 38, 45b, 228, 229.

372 See above p.27.

373 No. 359, 364, 365, 366, 372.

374 No. 369, 370; compare Sahure II Folio 28, 31.

375 Compare Sahure II Folio 19, 28. Klebs, *Reliefs des A. R.* {Reliefs of the Old Kingdom} p.126.

376 No. 56b; similar to the so-called Opening the Mouth ritual Budge, *Book of Opening the Mouth* I p.165 (Seti I) II p.36,



Also, the  $\text{𓂏} \text{ } i3m$  {*iAm*, correct determinative for to bind (sacrifice)?} mentioned in the above-mentioned text next to the “taking out” (of the heart) seems, as Sethe shows me, to be a technical term of slaughter. It is also in the Dramatic Ramesseum Papyrus next to the  $\text{𓂏}$  {*stp*, to cut up (animal), to butcher} of the slaughtered animal, but written purely ideographically as  $\text{𓂏}$  {*bdt* or *bti*, emmer} (line 9), and will be the same word that is attested in the slaughter scenes of the so-called Book of Opening the Mouth, which goes back to very old rituals ending as  $\text{𓂏} \text{ } iA[m]$ , to bind the sacrifice} (Seti I) or  $\text{𓂏} \text{ } Amm$ , to seize} (Pediamenopet).<sup>377</sup>

An activity involving a prophet and butcher was still depicted under the cutting of the front haunch on No. 372. The latter holds a censer over the slaughtered animal. One may well think of a purification of the offering animal, in which the priest participates.<sup>378</sup> According to the present type lists, it is unusual.

## 2. Pictorial Decoration From the Temple Entrance, the Eastern Courtyard Corridor, and the Warehouses

If only ruins are preserved of the rich relief decoration, then at least the basic features of the decoration themes in the various parts of the temple can be deduced from these.

A series of larger-than-life royal pictures apparently belong in the doorway, which is distinguished from the corridors by a more elaborate granite base, worked in much higher relief than the usual corridor reliefs. According to the well-preserved depictions in the mortuary temple of Sahure, they may be roughly completed: we have remnants of the king's hairstyle with band diadem (No. 374), of the skirt with point projecting and folds pressed strongly (No. 382),<sup>379</sup> also of the one with an overhang of beads in a richer or somewhat simpler design (No. 378/79, 381).<sup>380</sup> Piece No. 375 is perhaps a throne figure, probably as well because of its large scale here.

As in the decorative pictures of the Sahure temple, the king would have faced gods here; the technique of special insertion of the eyes corresponds to the great reliefs of contemporaneous mortuary temples.

From these groups two pieces have been preserved, which were already mentioned as important in the excavation reports: one (No. 387) shows the king greeting a god, in a scheme somewhat like the well-known pillar reliefs of Senusret I from Karnak. The god's head, with its sharp nose, full beard and floral hair ornament, was new and unusual at the time of its discovery. A full depiction from the Sahure temple<sup>381</sup> has verified him as “Sopdu, lord of the foreigners”, who bears Semitic insignia as a god of the eastern border of the delta and the eastern land. His picture is then to be completed with a double-feathered diadem and the  $\text{𓂏} \text{ } sm.t$  {*Ssmt*,  $\text{𓂏}$ , sacred girdle (of malachite?)} skirt studded with precious stones of the Easterners.<sup>382</sup> His emergence in the Memphis region is explained by his position as protector of the Egyptian mark of the east.<sup>383</sup> That is why Heliopolis also associated him early on to

134, 174.

377 Budge previously cited I p.164. II p.36, 132, 172; compare that according to Erman-Grapow, *Agypt. Wb.* {Egyptian Dictionary} I p.31 only attested in Beni Hasan I 35  $\text{𓂏} \text{ } iAm$ , to bind the sacrifice} “bind (the slaughter cattle)” and  $\text{𓂏} \text{ } Amm$ , to seize} from the fetters of the “Upper Egyptian bull” captured by the lasso, Capart, *Temple de Sétî Ier* {Temple of Seti I} Folio 48.

378 For the assessment of the slaughter offering by the prophet, see Erman, *Reden, Rufe und Lieder* {Speeches, Calls, and Songs} p.13.

379 Compare Grabdenkmal des Sahurè {Tomb Monument of Sahure} II Folio 33f.


380 Compare to the fragments of Tomb Monument of Niuserre Fig. 18; there from the valley gate.

381 Grabdenkmal des Sahurè {Tomb Monument of Sahure} Folio 5 p.82.


382 Also, the god, not recognized for the time being by Borchardt, behind Anubis in a series of gods of the mortuary temple of Niuserre (Fig. 71) is Sopdu, despite the ordinary gods head.

383 Compare to the Memphis Nefertem hymn *Ä.Z.* {Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde (Journal of



his circle of gods and included him in the circle of solar Horus forms as “Eastern Horus”, “Eastern Soul”, or “Horus of the *Šsm.t* {*Ssmt*, 384 so he was regarded as a form of Horakhty himself. Later he is fused with Shu.<sup>385</sup> His appearance in a sanctuary of the imperial solar cult is therefore not conspicuous. The second image of the gods (No. 388), “the great ox” of the preliminary report, on the other hand, according to the findings of the festival depictions, would be the Memphis Apis rather than the Heliopolitan Mnevis {Mer-wer or Nem-wer}, as it was thought to be at its discovery.

We cannot name any of the other remnants of deities who promise the king all the gifts of the earth in the usual way.<sup>386</sup> As in the Sahure temple, there could also be personifications among them. It is possible that such images have extended beyond the actual gate area to the eastern courtyard corridor; manifold remains of this kind, of divine discourses or inscriptions of the goddesses of protection Nekhbet and Uto,<sup>387</sup> hardly offer anything special.

Mention should be made of the remains of a falcon god, also differentiated from the corridor reliefs by its high relief. He seems different from the other pictures of Horakhty in the temple; he certainly does not bear the sun disc, nor the double crown of the sovereign, but rather the double feather. Nevertheless, the Heliopolitan god is apparently intended, because the half-preserved sign in front of it can only be  {*iwnw*, Heliopolis}.<sup>388</sup>

Otherwise, only a few fragments of valuable alabaster reliefs, which were picked up near the altar in front of the obelisk, were pointed out,<sup>389</sup> which probably showed divine figures and rows of gift bearers,<sup>390</sup> as they are characteristic of offering table decoration. On No. 403 we can still recognize the remains of the king's dedication to “Ra in the [sanctuary *šspw-ib-R*’ {*Sspw-ib-ra*, what pleases Ra}].”<sup>391</sup> According to the entries in the find inventories, apart from the few pieces pictured, a large number of insignificant fragments have been found with signs of inscriptions in vertical lines, but there are no drawings of them. Probably it all comes from the enclosure of the great alabaster altar.<sup>392</sup>

We do not have any clues as to the nature of the pictorial decoration of the courtyard corridors on the east side.

One can only expect from general considerations that the northern half, leading to the warehouses, certainly did not contain any special festival depictions, but rather would have passed to decorating the corridor in front of the warehouses themselves with general offering images, and perhaps also reserving the southern half up to the southeast corner for more general topics. There, a small piece, still in place in 1913, was found in the middle of the outer corridor wall, reminiscent of the fragment No. 198 found in the obelisk entrance: one sees, according to my records, a strip of water and small remnants of a boat. It may perhaps be remembered that pictures, as we are used to from the private tombs of the Old Kingdom, which have been taken of bird catching with the clap net, of hunting and the like, are now

Egyptian Language and Ancient History), Leipzig} 57 p.99.

384 Gardiner, Rec. de trav. {Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes (Collection of Works Relating to Egyptian and Assyrian Philology and Archeology)} 33 p.229 (Sinuhe); Journal of Egyptian Archaeology V p.222 among other things.

385 Brugsch, Religion and Mythology p.566f.

386 No. 392, 396/98.

387 No. 389/91.

388 Compare Davies, Ptahhetép {Ptahhotep} I No. 233.

389 No. 402/403.


390 Personifications of the royal domains mentioned in the valley gate inscription?

391 Compare No. 347, 406.

392 Re-Heiligtum {Sun Temple} I p.46.










also secured for the royal mortuary temples<sup>393</sup> and, as the World Chamber proves, fit quite well in a Sun Temple. For this reason, relief No. 426, found on the north side of the courtyard and otherwise difficult to accommodate, I have experimentally placed in the decoration of the front sections of the corridor.

The people known as “all subjects” who, hurrying, holding a hand in greeting, pull on a rope, fit best with a depiction of a fishing or bird-catching expedition. Even the temples of the New Kingdom and the Late Period know a depiction – in that case transferred into the divine realm – where the king in the company of gods, such as Khnum among others, are reeling in a clap net. As confirmation, one could cite a fragment from the Bubastis festival pictures, which contains people pulling on a rope, designated as  {aD, Gardiner V27}.<sup>394</sup> There it might well be related to the large list of fish and fowl offerings to the gods of the Osiris circle.<sup>395</sup>

From the corridor in front of the warehouses, or rather from the northern half of the east corridor, come Nos. 424 and 425, related by their style (rather high, well-executed relief) and their find location;<sup>396</sup> apparently of offering depictions, although piece 425 would otherwise be set for the founding ceremonies (brickmaking) because of the king's headdress and arm position. Of course, the falcon god with the sun disc is again Horakhty, to whom the offerings from the nearby warehouses belong.

The warehouse rooms of the north side were completely undecorated, according to the excavators; only the sandstone door jambs bore the king's name on the outside.<sup>397</sup> The corridor leading up to them, on the other hand, was certainly decorated, albeit in a simple way, much as we know from corresponding rooms of contemporaneous mortuary temples.<sup>398</sup> Here too, by the way, execution of the wall decoration was not finished, or only hastily finished: the sketch is not executed in relief, but simply painted.<sup>399</sup>

Here a larger piece of decoration of the inner corridor wall still stood upright: above the usual base strip we see – in several rows one above the other – low simple tables bearing storage vessels with ointments, oils and the like for the festival offering, then also vessels of precious material. The  {sTy Hb, festival scent} (No. 411) is preserved on inscriptions, from the names of the known 7 holy oils of the ritual; but probably also the two pieces found nearby belong with  “best *ibr* ointment”<sup>400</sup> {[?]ib, No. 421 and No. 422 show a standing goat determinative (Gardiner E8), rather than a jumping goat (Gardiner E8A) shown here in the text; besides the possible  translated as “fine ointment oil”, if  the translation could be “laudanum ointment”, but if  the translation could be “part of a bird net”, a variety that does not yet appear in the offering ritual of the Old Kingdom, but does occur in the offering table paintings of this time.<sup>401</sup>

Whatever else stood here with golden ( {nbw, gold} No. 416, 418,  {Dam, fine gold / electrum} twice on No. 419) and silver (No. 416) vessels is unfortunately lost; for example, there are silver dispensing pots (see No. 413) and a golden washstand in the Sahure temple.

393 Compare the remains of the Grabdenkmal des Sahurê {Tomb Monument of Sahure} II Folio 15f. Neuserrê {Niuserre} Fig. 15/16.

394 Festival Hall, Folio 27 No. IV.

395 Previously cited Folio 18, 22.

396 22 or 30 meters from the northeastern corner.

397 Ä.Z. {Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde (Journal of Egyptian Language and Ancient History), Leipzig} 37 p.4.

398 See especially Grabdenkmal des Sahurê {Tomb Monument of Sahure} II Folio 61/62.

399 Re-Heiligtum {Sun Temple} I p.41.

400 No. 421/422.

401 For the divine rituals of New Kingdom, compare to Amonsrit. 32, 1 among other things.



## IV. Dedicatory Inscriptions on the Valley Gate

Official inscriptions of the Old Kingdom have been so seldom preserved that the fragments of inscriptions found in the valley gate of the Sun Temple deserve the utmost attention, not only because of their importance for the history of the sanctuary itself, but also as comparative material to those recorded in the annals of the Palermo Stone estates of the kings of the 5th dynasty. As might be expected, our texts show great similarities with those details, both epigraphically and in terms of content; for example, already outwardly in the application of line splitting and the change between horizontal and vertical direction, which should make a certain structure obvious.<sup>402</sup>

The same process is familiar to us from the official documents of the Old Kingdom, both royal and private, carved in stone. Here, however, it is not done systematically. It is hard to see why, for example, in the middle part of No. 458, the uniform vertical writing only begins in the lower part, although the attempt to produce longer horizontal pieces obviously causes difficulties in the order of characters. – The text extended to both side surfaces, to close after repetitions, on various inscriptions, which were distributed on the corridors of the valley gate structure. According to scanty remnants, similar texts must also have been situated in a similar place at the Sahure mortuary temple.<sup>403</sup>


Unfortunately, all attempts to produce parts of the inscription connected from the numerous fragments were quite fruitless; only a very small number could be combined directly.<sup>404</sup> Here, too, only a groupwise consideration of the meaning remains; from this point of view, the arrangement of the panels is also made after several attempts. The texts, which are probably quite similar on all wall surfaces, contained, according to the larger pieces:

1. A report by the king on the construction of the sanctuary and the condition in which he found the site.
2. Following this, a list of royal estates for the sanctuary with an associated calendar. Among the estates come various kinds; first, probably the most important, the landed property, represented by the listing of the royal estates, then temple equipment and pieces of equipment from valuable material, finally the offerings in the proper sense, namely the related products, which serve for the upkeep of the priests and the festival participants. In the holiday calendar, the calendar days can be distinguished from the festivals named after certain events (“the day of ...”).

Logically we would expect an order with the building text at the beginning for the sequence of the text; the line sequence on the large fragment No. 427 could also speak in favor of this. On the other hand, we also find narrative information of this kind in No. 440 behind remnants of the festival calendar, elsewhere apparently even in an isolated line in the middle of the festival and offering calendar.<sup>405</sup>

Nevertheless, one can, with some justification, think of the two large pieces, Nos. 427 and 432, arranged in such a way that the continuation of the list of goods begun in the last line of No. 427, followed by the festival calendar, is on the latter.

### 1. {Building Text}

We start with the building text. Obviously, the king described the course of the temple foundation after the ritual. The brickmaking (*šht db3.t*) {*sxt Db(A)t*, , to make/mould bricks} and earth




402 No. 458; also still recognizable on No. 462.





403 Grabdenkmal des Sahurê {Tomb Monument of Sahurê} II Folio 72 p.131.



404 No. 440a,b,c, 462a,b, 474a,b, 482 a,b, 528a,b,c.


405 No. 442, 446.










hoeing (*b3 t3*) {*bA tA*, , to hoe earth} was undoubtedly named in this sequence, which corresponds with the series of images of the sacrists; apparently even in different places, because it is repeated at least twice in pieces of the same wall.<sup>406</sup> The finely executed determinative for brickmaking certainly also makes us complete with certainty the half-destroyed depiction type on the image series in the sacrists;<sup>407</sup> with one difference from it that, in the character sign the king wears the Atef crown, and there the headdress! The earth hoeing was followed by an activity beginning with  {*DbA*, pad?}. One involuntarily thinks of the typical turn of the later ritual texts to sand distributing, which follows earth hoeing, *db3 3ntj m s'* {actually *DbA snnt m Say*,  pad the foundation with sand} “provide the foundation plan with sand”.<sup>408</sup>

The illustration of bearing sand to this ceremony continues to the inscription  {*irw kAt*} “do construction work”. They are reminiscent of the remnants of the second line on No. 442: one would like to complete  {*kAt*} *m* [*aH*], [construction] in [the palace]} or the like. Seemingly without any connection, we find  {*xwzi*} “build” (especially from stone!) and  {*Hr iAtw*} “on the sites”.<sup>409</sup>

Information about the material of individual building components<sup>410</sup> can furthermore be attributed to the construction text; they are of course special treasures, thus the  {*Dam*, fine gold / electrum} gold listed in multiple places:<sup>411</sup> “this... from gold” or “[studded] with gold”. Behind it, on No. 445,  {*sb*[*A?*], gate}, one would like to complete “[his] doors [from?...]”.

 {*mA*T} “granite” is on No. 447. The door frames in the Sun Temple, in particular, were made from granite, but also the wall base in the upper gate.


Out of individual building possibilities or building parts, No. 453  {*Hwt tn n[t]*, this enclosure of [...]},<sup>412</sup> No. 455 may be called doors(?) of the “palace” ( {*aH*}).

Finally, fragment No. 454, to be completed not otherwise than  {*[n]h[t](w)*, 4 [syc]o[more] trees}, attests to the planting of four(?) sycamores at the sanctuary; a measure which we know from the Late Period in the construction of pyramids and mortuary temples.<sup>413</sup> Also the mention of a *tpħ.t* {*TpHt*,  cavern-chapel} might belong here.<sup>414</sup> In addition, the building inscription even contained exact measurements, unfortunately so fragmentary that I was unable to connect them to individual building parts. The only one where a guess could be made is No. 451, with a length of 20 cubits, a width of 20 cubits, and an unfortunately lost height ( {*aHaw*, height}. This construction with 10.50 m in the  {Gardiner Z26?} could well be the actual obelisk. The remaining dimensions are all strikingly large; No. 447 contains a length of 7 or 8,000 (+ x) cubits! No. 450 gives a width which may have been 302, 212, or 122 cubits, to a height of 22 cubits, apparently related to a particular side ( {*Hr gs* [?], beside [?]}).

406 Right-directional inscription: No. 427, 430, 446; left-directional: No. 431, 443, 445.


407 No. 1b; compare Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.10.

408 Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.9.

409 No. 449, 457. Compare to the typical inscription from a Ptolemaic picture of setting a stone block at the temple foundation: *hws ht-ntr* {probably  *xws Hwt-nTr*, construct a temple}.

410 Compare to the remainder of a consecration inscription from a lintel Re-Heiligtum {Sun Temple} I p.54.

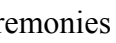


411 No. 444, 445.

412 Compare *ht tn nt nswt-bjtj N-wsr-R'* { *Hwt tn nt nswt-biti n-wsr-ra*, this enclosure (perhaps temple) of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Niuserre} on {King Djedkare} Isesi's renewal inscription of Re-Heiligtum {Sun Temple} I p.73.

413 Mortuary temple of Der el-Bahari; Pyramid of Senusret II at Illahun {El Lahun} Petrie, Lahun II p.11 Folio 8.

414 No. 456; see above p.42.

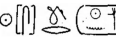








Details of what King Niuserre found in its location when he began building in stone are important for the history of the Sun Temple. Already Borchardt had assumed an “older brick temple” from brick structures under the courtyard pavement.<sup>415</sup> Now we read here after the description of the founding ceremonies  {sk gm.n Hm=f, which His Majesty has found} “His Majesty had found”, then on No. 440b  {qd m} “built from” and on No. 440c the complementary  {Db[t]} “brick”. One will be allowed to read the proof that the Sun Temple, as well as parts of its neighbors and predecessors, was originally made of bricks.<sup>416</sup> Niuserre has accordingly rebuilt the entire sanctuary, not just added the obelisk, as part of his first Sed festival, as has already been inferred from the sacral images of the “inspection of the construction work on the palace of Sed festival”.<sup>417</sup>

Hence the hasty and in many places unfinished execution of the pictorial decoration, whose uneven quality we can ascertain even more clearly in the corridors than in the sacristy, the royal room, which was prioritized and therefore among the best executed.

## 2. Estates

The royal domains made subject to the sanctuary belong, above all, to a unique land estate. Their names complete the inventory taken from his mortuary temple at the time of Niuserre {below abbreviated as N.}.<sup>418</sup> They are all formed with the name of the owner, but show in their combinations many new, in addition to already known forms. The following names have been preserved:

1.  “Ra lets N. be fixed”<sup>419</sup> {or rather *ra [s]rwD n-wsr-ra*, Ra makes N. flourish} (No. 432).
2.  “Ra loves what N. does” {*ra mri irt [n-wsr-ra]*} (No. 432).
3.  “The valley of N. belongs to Ra”<sup>420</sup> {*ra int nTr Hr nbw n*, the valley of the golden god Horus belongs to Ra} (No. 432).
4.  “Ra is benevolent to N.” {*ra smn[x] n-wsr-ra*, Ra makes N. perfect} (No. 432).
5.  “Ra is merciful to N.” {*[ra] Htp n n-wsr-ra*, [Ra] is pleased with N.} (No. 427, 428).
6.  “Ra supplies N.”<sup>421</sup> {*ra [s]anx n-wsr-ra*, Ra revives N.} (No. 433 and 434).
7. Incomplete....  “[Ra ...] the *Nbtj ist-ib*” {*nb[ty] st ib*, Ra... the affection of the Two Ladies (Nekhet and Wadjet)} (No. 432).

All of the hamlets designated with sanctuaries have thus, probably only on this occasion, been endowed with dogmatic Ra names. The only trace of a geographical destination of a land estate after the nome, which is for example also found in the Sahure temple, could be present on No. 433 in conjunction with


415 Re-Heiligtum {Sun Temple} I p.66f.

416 Regarding the Sun Temple of Userkaf, compare to Borchardt, Grabdenkmal des Sahurê {Tomb Monument of Sahure} I p.149.

417 Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.20.


418 Borchardt, Grabdenkmal des Neuserre {Tomb Monument of Niuserre} p.78/79. Other attestations from his time are not yet known.

419 Compare the name of the endowment village often mentioned in the Koptos decree of Pepi II: Weill, Décrets royaux {de l’ancien empire égyptien trouvés à Koptos en 1910 (The Royal Decrees of the Ancient Egyptian Empire Found in Koptos in 1910)} Folio 3, 2, Mariette, Mastabas p.508.



420 Forms with  {int, valley} are popular: compare to Davies, Ptahhotep II Folio 16; Mariette, Mastabas p.186, 300, 305, 353; Gauthier, Dict. géogr. {Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques (Dictionary of Geographical Names Contained in Hieroglyphic Texts)} I p.88 (incomplete!).




421 Compare Davies, Ptahhotep II Folio 15/16; Mariette, Mastabas p.512.








the place name mentioned above under No. 6. There a preceding nome  {*inb HD* with nome determinative Gardiner N24, Memphis nome} would come in question. The fact that the offerings came from “Lower Egypt and Upper Egypt” was also indicated by the end of a line on No. 528.

For the transfer of land ownership may also include a very incomplete indication of about “30 arouras (acres) and... cubits” (No. 437).

The provision of the necessary bonded laborers could be in the rest of  {*Tz*, to levy (troops)} on No. 459, stuck listed after a honey donation, because it can't be an animal or plant delivery. On the other hand, analogous to a record of the Palermo stone, that for an estate of Neferirkare to Ra and Hathor in his first year of rule,<sup>422</sup> there is a “working house” (*pr-šn*) {*pr-Sna*, workhouse} set up and  {*Tz mrt*[?] *r s*?} “serfs will dig for it”.<sup>423</sup>


From the list of temple instruments, a larger piece has been preserved at No. 427: first, various vessels come from a material that has not been preserved, namely, 107 and 36, respectively; then from  *hsmn* {*Hsmn*} “bronze”<sup>424</sup> 7 offering tables; lastly cult vessels (*krh.t*) {*qrHt*, } in various forms from  {*Hmtw STt*, using Gardiner N34A as first sign, Asiatic copper} “Asiatic copper”.

The fragment with the remnant  {*msi wpt r m Hwt-nb*, create the opening of the mouth in the enclosure of gold (sculptors' workshop where rituals animate statue)} belongs to a unique consecration. This still unexplained expression,<sup>425</sup> regularly occurs in connection with estates from images of precious material.<sup>426</sup> It must be about the so-called “Opening the Mouth images”, which the king “directed” (*šmš*) {*Sms*, follower} to the temple. Such information could include the  {*Sm[s]*, follower} or  {*Sms Hm=f*, follower of His Majesty} remnants found several times in the festival calendar.<sup>427</sup> One involuntarily thinks of the introduction of images of gods and treasures to the sanctuary, including the crowned falcon god (Horakhty) and the symbols of the children of Atum-Ra.<sup>428</sup>


Mention of precious objects for the cult of the temple can be assumed in a number of groups of characters which, however, are very questionable due to completely uncertain connections: thus, the remains of  {*m wADw*, powder from green stone (malachite, emerald)} could mean “[formed] from greenstone”, if not (a pouch filled) “with green eyeshadow”.<sup>429</sup> On the other hand, No. 501 can probably be completed only with “10 *wh* {*wx*, , fetish of Kos}”, which is the familiar sistrum-like device of Hathor's cult of Kos {Kusai, Cusae, ancient Egyptian Qis or Kis}, which then also enjoys

422 R.Z. {Bernhard Grdseloff, Das ägyptische Reinigungszelt (The Egyptian Purification Tent) (Etudes égyptiennes (Egyptian Studies), I. Facs.), Le Caire 1941} 4, 3.

423 For the recruitment of serfs for the working house of an estate in Koptos compare to Weill, Décrets royaux {de l'ancien empire égyptien trouvés à Koptos en 1910 (The Royal Decrees of the Ancient Egyptian Empire Found in Koptos in 1910)} Folio 4, 2 (11) line 6. = Sethe, Gött. gel. Anz. {Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen (Göttingen Scholars Report), Göttingen} 1912 p.715.

424 Concerning the conspicuous character position in *hsmn* {*Hsmn*, bronze}, which is exactly the same as that of Palermostein {Palermo Stone} R.Z. {Bernhard Grdseloff, Das ägyptische Reinigungszelt (The Egyptian Purification Tent) (Etudes égyptiennes (Egyptian Studies), I. Facs.), Le Caire 1941} 5, 1, compare to Sethe, Pyramidentexte {Pyramid Texts} Volume IV §18 and the writing  for *thn.t* {*Thnt*, glaze, faience, jewel} on p.51.

425 For the material, see Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.63f.


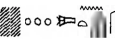
426 Palermostein {Palermo Stone} R.Z. {Bernhard Grdseloff, Das ägyptische Reinigungszelt (The Egyptian Purification Tent) (Etudes égyptiennes (Egyptian Studies), I. Facs.), Le Caire 1941} 4, 3 (Neferirkare) and line 5, 1 (royal statue from  {*zHm*, crush / pound}). Urk. {Urkunden (Documents)} I 114 (golden group for the 1st Sed festival of Pepi II for a Sun Temple). Petrie, Memphis I Folio 5 (12th dynasty).





427 No. 464/65, 471.

428 See above p.31f.

429 No. 505.











independent divine standing and therefore bears the double feather.<sup>430</sup> Its presence here could also speak for a Hathor cult in the Sun Temple.<sup>431</sup> The 10 specimens were made of precious material.<sup>432</sup> The 5 (completed here as)  {Gardiner S105, armband or anklet}, mentioned on No. 432, line 6, are probably the well-known elongated middle beads of precious stones for necklaces. In addition there is the standing group  {[?] *mrHt THnt Hb*} on number 458 in the festival calendar, which is incomprehensible as a total description.

The middle most conspicuous signs may be read *thn.t* {*THnt*, jewelry} according to Pyr. {Pyramidentexte, Pyramid Texts} 509b. This was a trinket of colorful beads, according to the determinative.<sup>433</sup> But since at the beginning, as the determinative  {substance determinative Gardiner N33A} shows, a material designation was recorded, *thn.t* {*THnt*, jewelry} will also be allowed to be interpreted in the meaning = “faience”,<sup>434</sup> already attested from the Old Kingdom, and despite the numerical value given only once, divide the whole group: “(1) ointment jar...; 1  {*Hbyt*, festival offering} of faience”. What the  {*Hbyt*} introduces, however, is unknown to me. Also  {*[xsb]D*} “lapis lazuli” seems to have been represented as material under the royal gifts.<sup>435</sup>

### 3. Festival Calendar


First of all, the daily data are listed.





The beginning of the year  {*wpt rnpt*, New Year's Day (and its festival)}, designates as the Egyptian “opener of the year (day) 1”, here in the spelling known from all ancient dating<sup>436</sup> returns with the horizontally placed numeral 1 twice in text remnants of the same page;<sup>437</sup> both times followed by the indication of ordinary offering rations, either *psn* { *Psēn*} bread or the general group  {*t Hnqt pAt*, bread, beer, and loaf offering} in the largest number.<sup>438</sup> In addition, there is the separate name of the 1st anniversary  {*[hrw] n tpy [rnpt]*, [day] of the beginning of the year} No. 474a, which is in the festival census of the private tombs of the Old Kingdom.


Also mentioned are the 5 epagomenal days  {*ra 5 rnpt Hryw*} outside the festival year, the birthdays of the 5 children of the Nut (No. 432). The periodic festival days are:  {*tp tA* or *tp tr* (with determinative Gardiner W3), beginning of the season festival} “each beginning of the periods” (No. 484), then  {*hrw n Abd sAD*, day of the month of *sAD* festival} “the day of the month (2nd day of the month) and the *š3d* {*sAD*}”.<sup>439</sup> The festival list of a tomb of the 12th dynasty from Beni-Hasan confirms that *š3d* {*sAD*} belongs to the festivals of the lunar month, in which the  {*s[?]Ad 12*} “12 *š3d* {*sAD*} festival days” are listed after the “12 half-month feasts”.<sup>440</sup> They are also named in Khnumhotep's tomb in Beni Hasan.<sup>441</sup> Brugsch presumably relocates the day to the

430 Blackman, *Rock Tombs of Meir* I p.2f. Coffin text from Meir: Kees, *Totenglauben* {Mortuary Beliefs} p.409.

431 See above p.42 and p.54.

432 Only the determinative  {substance determinative Gardiner N33A} preserved.

433 Compare  {*THnt*, faience} to  {*HmAgt*, carnelian / garnet},  {*mnit*, necklace (sacred to Hathor)}, and  {*xtmw*, keeper of the seal} *Annal. du Serv.* {Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Egypte (Annals of the Antiquities Service of Egypt)} IV, p.102 (M.R. {Middle Kingdom}).

434  {*THnt*, faience} Mariette, *Mastabas* p.113 “Head of the faience house” (C1).

435 No. 502.

436 Sethe, *Zeitrechnung der alten Ägypter* I. *Das Jahr. Nachr. Gött. Ges.* {The Chronology of the Ancient Egyptians I., News from the Royal Society of Sciences in Göttingen: Philological-Historical Class} 1919 p.303 footnote 4.

437 No. 461, 462.

438 See below p.54.

439 No. 432, 462.

440 Garstang, *Burial Customs Folio 9* (tomb No. 500).

441 Newberry, *Beni Hasan I Folio 24* = Brugsch, *Thesaurus* p.232.



time of the waning moon on the 17th day of the month. To explain its name, one may probably refer to the causative of *w3d* {*wAD*, 𓂏, to thrive}<sup>442</sup> written in the Old Kingdom as 𓂏𓂏𓂏 {*sAD*}, a spelling which more recent times would then have had to conservatively continue or no longer understand. It would then be a holiday on which one, as it is called in a well-known ritual text, “refreshes the offering table (*šw3d*) {*swAD*}”.<sup>443</sup>

Also the 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 {*hrw n dit tp mDw n Hb wr*, day of giving the beginning of the decan (ten-day period) of the great festival} (No. 458) is best connected here. The “great festival” has been witnessed since ancient times, without knowing more about its time,<sup>444</sup> the connection with the decan offering is completely new to us. The “day of giving the beginning of the decan”, however, is hardly to be understood as different than the offering at the beginning of the decan witnessed since the Old Kingdom.<sup>445</sup>

Apart from these, essentially, after certain celebrations of the month or its subdivisions, unfortunately not a single date is completely preserved by season, month and day.

The information is therefore collected here according to the usual seasonal sequence – it being noted that apparently it is not typical for an Egyptian to arrange the texts in calendar sequence – but that the whole program was distributed on several complementary inscriptions. So, for example, on No. 466, we see the summer season (*šmw*) {*Smw*, 𓂏𓂏𓂏, summer} before the inundation (*3h.t*) {*Axt*, 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏, inundation season}; on No. 461, *šmw* {*Smw*, 𓂏𓂏𓂏, summer} dates precede New Year's Day, etc.

Information from the 𓂏𓂏𓂏 {*Axt*, inundation season} season is available: from the second month (No. 466) and from the fourth month (No. 442, probably also No. 467); No. 433 uncertain. Incomprehensible to me is the date without appointment 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 {*Axt* [*hrw*] 5, inundation season day 5 (of the first month)} on No. 458.

Information from the 𓂏𓂏𓂏 {*prr*, Peret (winter)} season: only from the 3rd month (No. 440).

The 𓂏𓂏𓂏 {*Smw*, summer} season is most represented: from the first month 𓂏𓂏 {*Abd tpy*, first month} No. 470; from the second month No. 469, 471.

In addition there are remnants of daily dating: the 29th day of a month of this season on No. 472, the 20th day on No. 442 (with the assignment of ordinary offering rations 𓂏𓂏𓂏 {*t Hnqt pAt*, bread, beer, and loaf offering}), of the 20 + xth day on No. 461.

Among the specially designated festival days, we see those of general importance and those related to the Ra cult. I start with the former:

According to the Kahun papyri at the time of the 12th Dynasty, the 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 {*hrw n mn[xt?]*} “day of clothing” occurring on No. 440a fell on the 8th day of the 2nd month of the inundation season.<sup>446</sup> Apparently there were various such festivals in the country where the images of the gods were adorned.<sup>447</sup>

442 For example Pyr. {Pyramidentexte?, Pyramid Texts?} 565.

443 See Ä.Z. {Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde (Journal of Egyptian Language and Ancient History), Leipzig} 57 p.120.

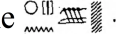
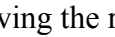
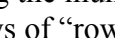

444 Examples in Brugsch, Thesaurus p.231f. The determination on the 4th of Mechir according to evidence from Dendera and Edfu, previously cited p.503, is quite uncertain.

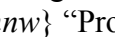
445 See Pyr. {Pyramidentexte?, Pyramid Texts?} 1067c.


446 Griffith, Pap. Kahun Folio 25.


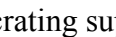
447 Brugsch, Thesaurus p.240, 479 (Dendera), 509 (Dendera: l.Thoth).


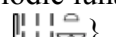
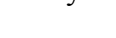


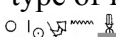


The  . . . {*hrq n Ssp* [...], day of festival [...]} in No. 485 could be the festival *šsp.t itrw* {*Sspt itrw*,  , a festival (receiving the river)} witnessed so far since the Middle Kingdom.<sup>448</sup> But I do not mean to interpret it with Brugsch as “receiving the inundation of the Nile”,<sup>449</sup> but rather referring to an outing on the Nile (Periplus), similar to the days of “rowing” (*hn.t*) {*xnt*,  , sail upstream / travel southward} to be discussed shortly. Anyway, in Beni Hasan, this arrangement is popular: rowing, *šsp.t itrw* {*Sspt itrw*,  , a festival (receiving the river)}, and Sopdet rising.<sup>450</sup>

In the Memphis region, homage to the worship of the Upper Egyptian god Min has also become his festival, the  {*[prt] mnw*} “Procession of the Min” (No. 482). It appears, as a matter of fact, to count toward the festivals celebrated throughout the land since the Old Kingdom. There is no reason to rank it among the periodic monthly festivals (30th day of the month) like Brugsch occasionally does.<sup>451</sup> Perhaps it is the same great harvest festival that was celebrated in the New Kingdom in Thebes in the month of Pachons (first month of summer). In any case, it can be seen that, just as Min appeared in the festival pictures of the Sun Temple,<sup>452</sup> he was also provided for his festival day by the bequest of offering rations in the circle of the solar imperial cult.


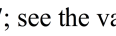
Unclear is the  . . . {*hrw n mA g ?* [...], day of seeing ? [...]} recorded on No. 474.

The generally held designation on No. 458:  {*hrw n sqt wDbw n [aAbt?]* *aAt=f*, day of consecrating supplies (by “beating” them with a mace or wand) for his great offering} “on the day of the *škr wdb.w(?)* {*sqr wDbw*,  , consecrating supplies}<sup>453</sup> for his (in other words, Ra's) festival offering: 1 ox” leads to the special festival days of the temple owner Ra.

Religious texts from Heliopolitan circles like to mention certain days when one in Heliopolis offers a hecatomb (*ʿzb.t*) {*aAbt*,  , offerings} to Ra: apparently this is a technical term for the characteristic animal and plant offerings on the freestanding altar. Strangely enough, it is precisely the periodic lunar month holidays that are named, especially the days of the first quarter: the 6th (*šnw.t*) {*snwt*,  } and the 7th (*dnj.t*) {*Dnit*,  } days.<sup>454</sup>

Otherwise, we find another type of festival, which is common to all the gods of Egypt, the “rowing voyage” (Periplus), named  {*hrw n Xnt ra*, day of the rowing voyage of Ra}. Once there is still preserved the remnant of a local name behind it:  . . . {*m ra* [?]. . . [?]}. One can probably add  {*Sspw-ib-ra*, what pleases Ra} to the name of the Sun Temple.<sup>455</sup> According to the numerous remains, there have been a number of such excursions of the god; it is the usual type of his processions. The big model of the sun ship would undoubtedly have played an important role.

Let me briefly touch on the explanations that have hitherto been given for the existence of only one large boat at the temple, in contrast to the attested dedications of small copper models of both boats in the sanctuary itself. The fact that the limitation must have its reason in the character of the god must be


448 Perhaps the remainder  belongs to No. 477; see the variant  {*Sspt aAt*, festival (receiving the river?)} on the already mentioned coffin from tomb No. 500 in Beni-Hasan, Garstang, Burial Customs Folio 9 lines 8/9.

449 Thesaurus p.233f., 493.

450 Besides the coffin mentioned in footnote 448 also in Khnumhotep's tomb.

451 Thesaurus p.300f.

452 See above p.29.


453 See the common expression *škr wdn.t* {*sqr wdnt*,  , presenting offering} in the Pyr. {Pyramidentexte?, Pyramid Texts?} for the consecration of the offerings.


454 Compare Lacau, Textes religieux égyptiens No. 77 “I own the (offering) of the 6th day, the festival offering of the 7th day (*ʿzb.t dnj.t*) {*aAbt Dnit*} is offered to me in Heliopolis {Iunu}”. Book of the Dead chapter 1 (the same days). Piye, Urk. {Urkunden (Documents)} III 38 among other things.

455 No. 432; but compare to No. 436 and 438!



considered as established, because even Neferirkare had apparently only built one boat south of his sanctuary.<sup>456</sup>



Strangely enough, however, both Maspero and Sethe have independently chosen the explanation as the evening barque,<sup>457</sup> because the morning barque belonged to the eastern bank. That seems too logical to me for Egyptian thinking. The cult in the Sun Temple explicitly served Ra as Horakhty, the god of the morning sun, although it is due to local necessity at the residence on the west bank.<sup>458</sup> But the morning barque, the *m'nd.t* {*manDt*, , day barque}, belongs to the god, who returns in the morning in a healthy and victorious way. In my opinion, only they can be meant!

Unfortunately, calendar information can only indirectly be linked with the “excursions” of Ra, and that, if it is correct, an indication  {*tp wiA*}<sup>459</sup> designates a particular type of excursion, such as the “start of the excursion”.

This expression once stood on No. 442, perhaps behind a monthly date of the summer season, in other words, instead of a daily dating. Both have linguistic and epigraphic difficulties, so that the whole spot remains rather disregarded.

It should be emphasized that the determinative of the “rowing voyage of Ra” is always depicted as a barque with the fetish of Memphis Nefertem, a papyrus with double feather.<sup>460</sup>

Here, therefore, the Memphite local tradition seems to have a syncretistic effect. We must also note this as indicative of the nature of the solar imperial cult of the Fifth Dynasty!

The fragmented mention No. 482  {*ra im*} of a “[day], in which Ra...” is connected with a festival day of the Ra cult; apparently  {*wdn.t* {*wdnt* [*t Hnqt pAt*], offerings [bread, beer, and cake]} offerings were made. Finally, on No. 481, the unmistakable image of Ra-Horakhty with the sun disc appears as a determinative and behind it a goddess missing a headdress. One must probably think of the syncretistic “Hathor,” which is closely connected with the Ra cult, his female complement, which was added to him on the model of the Atum. Then their ancestral worship would also be official in the Sun Temple of Niuserre, though it does not stand out as it does in some of the sanctuaries of his predecessors. Borchardt had already concluded that there was an ancillary cult of Hathor from the presence of a second smaller slaughterhouse in the northern courtyard.<sup>461</sup> Despite von Bissing's objection to inadmissible generalization in this regard,<sup>462</sup> I do not want to reject the idea without further ado: the Hathor service, in addition to that of Ra-Horakhty, seems to have a certain canonical reputation in the imperial religion of the Fifth Dynasty.

456 Palermostein {Palermo Stone} R.Z. {Bernhard Grdseloff, Das ägyptische Reinigungszelt (The Egyptian Purification Tent) (Etudes égyptiennes (Egyptian Studies), I. Facs.), Le Caire 1941} 5, 2; compare Sethe, Ä.Z. {Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde (Journal of Egyptian Language and Ancient History), Leipzig} 53 p.54 for reading.

457 Maspero, Causeries d'Egypte {Lectures on Egypt} p.331. Sethe, Ä.Z. {Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde (Journal of Egyptian Language and Ancient History), Leipzig} 53 p.53.

458 Significantly, Maspero has been led to the wrong conclusion: “Il en résulte, je pense, que le temple était consacré plus particulièrement au soleil couchant”. {“As a result, I think that the temple was dedicated more particularly to the setting sun.”}

459 No. 442 (uncertain), 466.

460 About Nefertem in the solar barque compare to Ä.Z. {Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde (Journal of Egyptian Language and Ancient History), Leipzig} 57 p.117.

461 Re-Heiligtum {Sun Temple} I p.51f.


462 Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.94.




#### 4. Contributions of Animals and Plants for Festival Offerings

One would like to know something about the calculation of the grants for the individual festivals; unfortunately, the correlations fail in most cases.




Particularly well-regarded holidays are concerned with rather substantial offerings. Among these are ascertainable:

Cattle, in spite of similar determinatives, of two different species. The one is occasionally designated as *iw3* {*iwA*, , ox / long-horned cattle} by a reference to the distinction.<sup>463</sup>



Oryx antelope (*m3-hd*) {*mA-HD*, , oryx} only with cattle.<sup>464</sup>


Goats, apparently rare.<sup>465</sup>

Geese, in large quantities.


As a rule, these rations of meat appear to be added to the usual rations of “bread, beer and cake” (  , *t Hnqt pAt*) required as the staple food of the priesthood and the festival participants in masses.<sup>466</sup>

The largest contributions are listed in No. 458:


“10 *iw3* {*iwA*, , ox / long-horned cattle} cattle, 1 cattle, 1 oryx” and “2 [*iw3* {*iwA*, , ox / long-horned cattle} cattle?], 100 cattle, 2 oryx”.


The ratio of usual rations can be developed only from one place, where for every 1,300   , there is only 1 cow.<sup>467</sup>

For geese, the maximum is 1,000,<sup>468</sup> but on days when there is at least one cow, only 10 geese are offered.<sup>469</sup>

Ordinary rations are encountered in strikingly high numbers. The peak performance probably represents, as in later times, the New Year celebrations with its 100,600 + x rations,<sup>470</sup> then follows the round number  {*pXr t Hnqt [pAt] DbA DbA [DbA]*, 30,000 bread, beer, cake offerings} exactly 30,000.<sup>471</sup>

We read a number 7,700 (+?) on another piece,<sup>472</sup> information between 1,000 and 2,000 rations once in awhile: so for example 1,300 on No. 432, others on No. 461, 503, 504, 505, 507. This appears thus as an average rate of festival requirements; in any case, lower numbers cannot be guaranteed.

Anyone who wants to draw conclusions about the history of economics, for example, about the extent of the circle of beneficiaries, must first and foremost compare the information given by the Palermo stone on royal estates of this period: for example, that Userkaf places 2 cattle and 2 geese daily for the gods of his Sun Temple  {*nxn ra*},<sup>473</sup> or the daily offering rations which Sahure donates, including 4

463 No. 458, 470, 488, compare to 269. One always writes only  {wA} as a phonetic complement.

464 No. 458, 491.

465 No. 494 (monthly festival?).

466 Compare No. 432, 446, 505.

467 No. 432 line 4.

468 No. 528, before that comes the number 1,002 (also fowl?).

469 No. 432 line 3.

470 No. 461.












































471 No. 446; the following number of cattle is unfortunately lost.

472 No. 459.

473 R.Z. {Bernhard Grdseloff, Das ägyptische Reinigungszelt (The Egyptian Purification Tent) (Etudes égyptiennes (Egyptian Studies), I. Facs.), Le Caire 1941} 2 No. 2.




rations as a minimum for the Hathor service of his Sun Temple.<sup>474</sup> The data of the Late Period are also considered, such as from the account book of the imperial household of the 13th Dynasty or the festival calendars of the New Kingdom. On the whole, the royal estate evidently represented a very considerable fortune.

Among other ancillary contributions, No. 432 contains the following at the end of the list of cattle and geese:                                             





## Overview of People Appearing in the Festival Depictions

### 1. Priestly Titles

 {*dAwAw [a]A*} “Door of the *Dw3w*”

Priest of a god of the eastern delta, receiving offerings in front of the throne No. 17.



Compare: Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.45, Volume III p.34.

 {*Hm st*, attendant of the thrones} (variant  No. 146) “Servant of Isis”

apparently always multiple (2), insignia: long staff of office, in the entourage of the king: No. 145, 146 (Upper Egyptian), 193 (Lower Egyptian).

Bearer of the so-called “Khonsu” standard: No. 32, 39.

Compare: Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.43f., Vol. III p.25.

 {*bAw p Hm*} (variant  {*bAw Hm p*}) “Servant of the Souls of Pe”

provided in the form of “prophets” as spokesperson of the souls of Pe (Lower Egyptian half of final procession): No. 50a.

Inscription: No. 284.


Compare: Festival Hall, Folio 4 twice. Volume III p.38.

 {*bAw nxn Hm*} “Servant of the Souls of Nekhen”

provided in the form of “prophets” as spokesperson of the souls of Nekhen (Upper Egyptian half of final procession): No. 44d.

As a priest in a fur garment, bearing the standard of Wepwawet (anointing and offering dance): No. 33b, 37.

Compare: Festival Hall, Folio 4 twice. Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.87, 110, Vol. III p.7.

 {*Hm bity*} “Servant of the King of Lower Egypt”

in the procession of the Lower Egyptian King, behind a drummer: No. 118.


Compare: Festival Hall, Folio 8? Vol. III p.25.

 {*Hm Hpww*} “Servant of Apis” (2)


only the inscription No. 255.




Compare: Volume III p.29.

 {*Hr THnw Hm*} “Servant of Horus of Libya”


delivering the  scepter to the Lower Egyptian King as representative of his god: No. 39 (42).

Compare: Karnak, Thutmose III, Vol. III Supplementary Folio A and p.11.

 {*Hmw sAw*} “Servants of Sais”


two priests of Saitic gods receiving offering animals in front of the throne: a)  {*nt irt*, Eye of Neith}, accompanied by the arrow standard b)  {*sSat*, , Seshat}, accompanied by their star-like standard: No. 17 (61).

Compare: Vol. III p.10.

 {*Hm [...]*} “Servant...”


Lower Egyptian, did the king have a gift? No. 316.

Compare: Vol. III p.27.

 {*Hm nTr*} “Prophet”

involved in the slaughtering, bringing a front leg as an offering No. 364, 372; bearing image of the god: No. 210.

Compare: Festival Hall, Folio 1, 2, 9 (bearer of the gods' standards). Amenhotep III Karnak Block No. 15 (bearer of the Serket symbol). No. 18, 24 (gods' standards). Vol. III p.24, 31, 43, 44.

 {*Hmw nTr*} “Prophets”

in place of the servant of the souls of Pe and Nekhen, No. 44d, 50a, quod vide

assisting with the procession of the Sobek priest, ostrich feathers or maces in his hand: Nos. 11b, 12c, 252.

Compare: Festival Hall, Folio 20, 25.

the same (?) with staffs and maces: No. 39.


Compare: Festival Hall, Folio 23 (without inscription!).


in the entourage of the king: No. 111.

Compare: Festival Hall, Folio 18.


uncertain (musical instrument?): No. 262.

Compare: Festival Hall, Folio 11.

 {*[Hm]-nTr nt*} “Prophet of Neith”

especially the  {*nt THnw*}, “Neith of Libya”, accompanied by her arrow standard, receiving offering animals in front of the throne No. 17.


Compare: Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.47f. Vol. III p.10.


 {*sbk Hm nTr*} “Prophet of Sobek”

apparently from the delta, accompanied by two reed-waving bearers, moving toward the throne: No. 11b, 12a/c, 252.

Compare: Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.55, vol. III p.8, 29.





 {could be “controller of the vase”, but what vase?} unexplained, apparently priestly title, at the consecration of spices (Upper Egyptian) No. 56a.


 {mnt xtw, follower of the goddess Menet} “Follower of Mn.t” {mnt, the goddess Menet}



at the consecration of spices (Upper Egyptian): No. 56a.


Compare: Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.51.

 {Xry Hb} “Lector Priest”


especially skirt with knot, chest band, mostly short goatee, hair like the  {sm, Sem priest}, present at all activities.

in the processions surely at the beginning of the entourage before the king, often near the singer and marching companion ( {sA tA, (seek the) protection of the ground?}):

No. 7, 33a (35), 39, 44a, 45a/b, at the escorting of images of the gods: No. 210, also No. 211, 215, attending sacred activities in a quiet attitude: foot washing of the king No. 20, 45a/b, 194. offering dance?: No. 240, founding ceremonies: No. 1a/b, census: No. 7c, 9, royal offering: No. 359, bringing the litter to the throne: No. 38, delivering the  {wAs} scepter: No. 39, 42, chanted at slaughter: No. 373, reads the list of offerings: No. 347, in speech gestures with offering activities: No. 44d, 50a, and in throne scenes calling for activity before the throne ( {r)di a, help}): No. 13, 19, 28, No. 228/229.


presenting to the  {sm, Sem priest} the arrows of Horus of Edfu and Seth of Ombos: No. 44b/c, 45b, bearing the bull's thigh to the offering No. 368 or heart and thigh No. 56b.

Compare: all preserved image sequences passim (New Kingdom: “supreme lector priest”). Vol. III p.25 among other things

 {mnw, a priest of Min?} unexplained, apparently priest

between two god signs, leading the Upper Egyptian king to the throne: No. 33a.

Compare: Volume III p.8.

 {[s?]m, sem} “King's Priest”


fur garment, arranged over the shoulder (exception: No. 359 usually skirt), long hair, insignia: none, staff of office only in special case (census): No. 7a, 9, anywhere in close proximity to the king.

Processions: No. 7b, 33a, 46, 47, 50b, 51, 52, 118, 119, 193, 194.

also within the entourage: founding scenes: No. 1a/b, descending from the throne: No. 39, final procession: No. 44a, 45b, insignificant: No. 8, 116, 141, 150.

in the throne scenes at the throne steps: No. 13, 23, 24 (27).

before “going down to earth” he loosens the panther skin and lays it down: No. 82.

placing the king on the litter and handing him the  {wAs} scepter (Lower Egyptian): No. 39, 40, 42, handing him the arrows of Horus of Edfu and Seth of Ombos (Upper Egyptian): No. 44b/c, 45b.


at the count with the staff of office: No. 7a, 9.

at the offering: speaking the offering prayer No. 359 (289). No. 44d, 50a (55).

at the delivery of the royal linen beside king: No. 58.

See especially Festival Hall, Folio 3, 10, 11, 12, 16, 19, 21, 23, 24.

Untersuchungen {Investigations}: especially p.67, 83f., 98, Volume III p.6, 10, 13f. 25, 40{?}.



 {rwD[w?], agent, emissary} unexplained, priest of a Lower Egyptian deity, receiving offering animals before the throne No. 17.


## 2. Courtiers and Officials

 {iwnw} “The Heliopolitan”


local representative in a long garment, arranged over the shoulder, following the standards of “those escorting Horus” to the throne: No. 27.

Compare: Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.79, Volume III p.8, 35.



 {imy [?]} and  {imy is, councillor} “the one in the palace”

Clothing and posture similar to the  {imy xnt, chamberlain} mostly with him.

in the entourage of the king: No. 111, 114, 116 (132), 178 (without flail).


awaiting the king at the entrance to the palace: No. 20, assisting with the slaughter with a request “to lend a hand” ( {r)dit a, helping}) No. 373.


Compare: Festival Hall, Folio 20, Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.76, Volume III p.21, 43.

 {imy xnt, chamberlain} (in vertical writing  , imy xnt [?]) {“in the vestibule (of the palace)”

Chamberlain of personal service, surely in the plural (2-4), mostly fan (“flail”) in the hand (exception: No. 210, 359), the others clenched in front of the chest.



In the processions among the entourage, with the exception of the  {sm, Sem priest}, next to the king: No. 33a (passage to the throne), No. 39 (descending from the throne), No. 47 (in front of the litter).

like together with  {imy is, councillor} No. 111, 116.

insignificant: No. 8, 93, 112, 143, 177, 178.

Compare: Festival Hall Folio 1, 12, 19, 23.

Amenhotep III Karnak Block No. 14, 40.

prostrating before the king: No. 57.

Compare: Festival Hall, Folio 2, 14, 25.

at the escorting of images of the gods: No. 210.

at the royal offering: No. 359.

assisting in founding ceremonies: No. 1b (2, 50b).



special personal services to the King: No. 73, 165 (314?).


Compare: Festival Hall, Folio 11 (Purification of the King).



bears fans behind the king: No. 45a/b.

4 bear the Upper Egyptian King to the chapel of Horus of Edfu and Seth of Ombos: No. 44a/e, 45a/b, 46.


Compare: Festival Hall, Folio 6 (to the palace). Volume III p.21f., 32.


  {iry wpw, or iry wpi aAw, guardian of the doors} “associated with the opening of the door panels”

Activity title ( {Dd mdw, words spoken by}) of a man with a salutation gesture before the royal throne: No. 11a, alternates with corresponding women's title

  {irt wpw or irt wpi aAw, guardian of the doors} “associated with the opening of the door panels”: No. 12c.

Compare: Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.65, Volume III p.18.

 {iry smA?, guardian of the community?} unexplained.

insignia: crook and short  {xrp} scepter, predominantly (exclusively?) in the Upper Egyptian depiction series.

receiving the approaching royal procession: No. 177, the King at the excursion from the palace to the offering dance: No. 33b, and at the foot washing before the entrance: No. 20.

as well with the final Upper Egyptian procession to the chapels of Horus of Edfu and Seth of Ombos, to whom he knocks; at the district of the festival gods: No. 44c/d, 45b; finally on the return to the palace: No. 45a.



in throne scenes, he leads processions to tributes and marches to chapel visits: No. 11a/b, 12a/c, 229, 251, 252; facing the throne: No. 228;


receiving the king with raised scepter on his ascension to the throne; commanding “Back” to the prostrated “Great Ones” No. 33a, 27.

going with the entourage: No. 54.


Fragments: No. 74, 99.

Compare: Festival Hall, Folio 2 (coronation). Kees, Opfertanz {Offering Dance}, p.232. Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.65, 68f. Volume III p.19, 29, 34, 37.


In Soleb perhaps represented by the   {iry pat (or rpat) nsw [m?] imn htp, regent [of?] Amenhotep} L.D. {Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien (Monuments from Egypt and Ethiopia), 6 vols., ed. K.R. Lepsius, 1849-1859, Berlin} III 83.


 {iry tA, guardian of activities on the ground?} perhaps at the same time a “speaking” title?

without special insignia, like in the plural (2 to 3).





as a companion of the  {iry smA, guardian of the community (in charge of uniting people for the festival)} in throne scenes: No. 11b, 12c., 252.

Compare: Festival Hall, Folio 23.

while lowering the litter before the throne: No. 38; greeting the king as he descends from the throne (No. 39) and the Lower Egyptian king at the final procession at the entrance to the palace ( {Dd mdw iry tA, words spoken by the guardian of activities on the ground?}) No. 52.

Compare: Festival Hall, Folio 24; 18, 21 (faulty  {r n? or iry n?}) in the royal procession: No. 153.

Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.68, 92, Vol. III p.19.




  {[wn?]w[...],  Hermopolis} “The Hermopolitan” reciting as a local representative before the throne ( {Dd mdw, words spoken by}), both hands on chest: No. 27 (31).









Compare: Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.79, Volume III p.8.


  {wr p} “The Great One of Pe”

only inscription preserved: No. 217.

Compare: Volume III p.33.

  {wr(w) wiA.n, the great one(s) of our sacred barque (litter)} “The Great Ones of the Barque (Litter)” plural, alternating as litter bearers of the Upper Egyptian King with the  {imy xnt, chamberlain}: No. 45a, 46.



  {[wrw?] Smaw tA mHw, [the great ones?] of Upper and Lower Egypt} variant   {Smaw wr(w) tA mHw [wrw?]},   {Smaw tA mHw wr(w)},   {wrw Smaw tA mHw} “The Great Ones of Upper and Lower Egypt”

always plural (3 only in special case 2: No. 38); moving with the royal entourage: No. 7b, prostrating themselves before the king at the entrance of the palace: No. 20; also before the king's throne: No. 27, 38, and at the final procession: No. 51 (90), crouching with a speech gesture during the presentation of the  {wAs} scepter: No. 39.





2 bearing the back ends of the litter poles: No. 38.

Compare: Festival Hall, Folio 2, 14, Volume III p.10, 23, 26.


 {wrSw, guard or Wereshu} “Guardians of Nekhen”, plural (4), alternating as litter bearers of the Upper Egyptian king with the  {imy xnt, chamberlain}: No. 44d.


Compare: Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.109, Volume III p.23.

 {wdpw-nTr} “Cupbearer of the God”

bearing a dish ( {fxt, in other words, f(3t) iht {f(At) ixt, serve food}), only in the final procession: No. 44d.

Compare: Volume II p.10; III p.27.

 {bA?}t(i)} “Shepherd”

holding in his raised hand a  {Ss, rope, or figuratively alabaster or sSw, linen}, at the procession of the “Heliopolitan” and of the “Hermopolitan” in front of the throne: No. 27.


Fragment (inscription): No. 262.

Compare: Festival Hall, Folio 11. Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.81, Volume III p.21, 37.

 {msw nsw, royal children} “King's Children”

the sons, wrapped in long cloaks, seated in litters, going before the king's throne: No. 246, awaiting the king at the final procession: No. 44d, 50a, accompanying the initial procession: No. 7b. Fragment: No. 88.


Compare: Festival Hall Folio 14, 16, 23 (only daughters!). Amenhotep III Karnak Block No. 26, Vol. III p.19, 35f.

 {nTry, divine/sacred} “Mouth of the God”

in white, knee-free cloak, bearing mace or staff with handle. in the final procession just behind the choirmaster: No. 45a, 50b, 53.

uncertain: 22.

Compare: Festival Hall, Folio. 1, 3, 18, Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.112, Volume II p.10, III p.35.


 {rx nsw, acquaintance of the king, grandchild} “King's Offspring”

grasping the front rope of a barque: No. 202.


at delivery of offerings in connection with the so-called “House of Books”: No. 373.



Inscription: No. 206.

Compare: Festival Hall, Folio 18, Volume III p.28, 30.

 {rxyt nb, all the populace} “All Subjects” helping to catch fish or birds? No. 426.

Compare: Festival Hall, Folio 27, IV. Vol. III p.46.



 {[HAty?] a, governor or mayor} “Count”

in white, knee-free cloak with protruding part, with long staff of office (exception: mace as usual  {nTry, divine / sacred} No. 19), only as litter bearer in ordinary attire (No. 38), procession as leader of the animal and plant offerings in front of the throne, led by two forerunners ( {xrp a,

controller}, followed by two police officers with short staffs: No. 13, 14, 19.



bearing front poles of the Lower Egyptian litter: No. 38. Fragments: No. 272, 273.

Compare: Festival Hall, Folio 20? Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.71f., Vol. III p.9, 10, 35.

 {Hry [?] [?...?]} maybe  {Hry wrw, one of great standing} “Supreme of the Great Ones”

only inscription preserved in the procession of the Count: No. 235.

Compare: Soleb L.D. {Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien (Monuments from Egypt and Ethiopia), 6 vols., ed. K.R. Lepsius, 1849-1859, Berlin} III 84b., Volume III p.35, footnote 2.

 {Hry wDb, master of largess} variant  {Hry wDb, master of largess} maybe “facing the face”



bearing the long staff of office; high supervisory official of the royal asset management.

representative of king for the census report: No. 1a, 9, 10b.

in the entourage of the king: No. 27, 32, 190.


uncertain: No. 154.


Compare: Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.20f., Vol. III p.6, 23, 25f.

 {Hr p, chief of Pe} “Supreme of Pe” (or “Face of Pe”?) only in Lower Egyptian depictions; leadership role similar to  {iry smA, guardian of the community (in charge of uniting people for the festival)}, but without special insignia. at the front of the Lower Egyptian Procession reciting the marching song, as well as walking from the throne to the litter: No. 39, 111.

reciting a hymn on the litter by the throne, standing on the western side: No. 42, 43.


running in a throne scene: No. 263.

Compare: Festival Hall, Folio 19 (receiving bow), 23 (running), 27 (Hymn: “Ha, terrible”); perhaps also Soleb L.D. {Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien (Monuments from Egypt and Ethiopia), ed. K.R. Lepsius, 1849-1859, Berlin} III 85 (prescribed in  {Dd mdw Hry p, words to be spoken by the one in charge of the throne}) Volume III p.11f., 20, 37.


 {Hry} HkA, magician} “Senior Magician”

apparently in front of the Upper Egyptian King: No. 57.

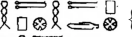
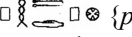

























Compare: Festival Hall, Folio 3, 8, 9, 13. Soleb L.D. {Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien (Monuments from Egypt and Ethiopia), 6 vols., ed. K.R. Lepsius, 1849-1859, Berlin} III 84b, Volume III p.26.

 {wrt Hswt, queen's title, “great of praise”} only an inscription opposite the king, if a female title?: No. 139.

Compare: Festival Hall, Folio 19 (woman). Vol. III p.18.


 {a, (singer of) the chorus} “singing” as an activity description for two people at the offering dance: No. 34.






<p> {HT p HT dp, singers of Pe and Dep} variant   {p HT dp} Explanation uncertain; usually a pair of men, takes part in the procession of the Sobek priest: No. 11a/b, 12c; also reciting hymns before the throne: No. 254; likewise as a woman at the appearance of the Lower Egyptian King at the palace: No. 102a.</p> <p>Compare: Festival Hall, Folio 8, 12, 15. Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.65f. Volume III p.8, 18, 19.</p> <p> {x n, perhaps from d x n, guardian of the beat, i.e. chironomist?} “Choirmaster”</p> <p>always raising his arms to indicate the beat in a hymnal gesture.</p> <p>especially with all the processions of the king at the head of the entourage, surely together with the group that speaks the march song ( {Dd mdw sA tA, words to be spoken: (seek the) protection of the ground?}): No. 194, or a singing woman: No. 193; also at the entrance of the king into the palace: No. 20, in the final procession (followed by the  {n Try, divine / sacred}), and on arrival at the imperial sanctuaries (antiphonal song) No. 45a, 44d; accompanies also the men's dance: No. 274.</p> <p>insignificant: No. 114, 117.</p> <p>Compare: Festival Hall, Folio 1, 11, 13, 16 ( {d x n, guardian of the beat, i.e. chironomist} and the like) Vol. III p.19f.</p> <p> {xrp aH, leader of the palace} “Controller of the Palace”</p> <p>without special insignia, usually hand on chest, accompanies the procession of the king: No. 194, 292.</p> <p>Compare: Festival Hall, Folio 27 (2 with flail). Amenhotep III, Karnak Block No. 14 (2). Vol. III p.20f.</p> <p> {xrp [a?], controller} variant  {[xrp?]a, controller} unexplained</p> <p>Guards (Saïs {Sau}) high dignitaries in the procession before the throne, usually in pairs: in the procession of the  {[...]a} with long staffs of office: No. 13, 14, 235, 236; in the procession of the “Shepherd (of Nekhen)” with wolfskins on their heads and  {wsr} staffs: No. 228, 229, 232.</p> <p>uncertain: No. 7a, 74.</p> <p>Compare: Festival Hall, Folio 24, 9? Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.71, 77, Vol. III p.9, 34, 35.</p> <p> {Xry wa, bearer of the unique object, or Xry waty, sole bearer?} unexplained</p> <p>next to the  {[HAty?] a} bearer of the front poles of the royal litter (Lower Egyptian) No. 38.</p> <p>Compare: Festival Hall Folio 19, 20, 24, 25, 2 ( {Xry, bearer}).</p> <p> variant  unexplained (<i>hrj nws</i>) {Xry nws, regalia bearer}</p>	<p>Bearer of the royal insignia (crook,  {xrp} scepter, fan, and flail), occasionally wears fur garments like the  {sm, Sem priest}: No. 118; compare to No. 51/52 or particularly skirt shape: No. 45a, 47.</p> <p>always in the immediate vicinity of the king, before the  {sm, Sem priest}: No. 7b, 45a, 46, 47, 50b, 51, 52, more rarely also before the  {imy xnt, chamberlain}: No. 33a (35).</p> <p>Compare: Festival Hall Folio 19, 21, 23, 27. Amenhotep III, Karnak Block No. 25.</p> <p>sits on the steps of the throne at the king's feet: No. 27, 242.</p> <p>Compare: Festival Hall, Folio 1, 24.</p> <p>unclear: No. 217.</p> <p>Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.78, Volume III p.23, 24f., 33.</p> <p> {mniw} “Shepherd” (from Nekhen)</p> <p>insignia: long staff of office, accompanied to the throne by two guards ( {xrp [...]}) with wolfskins on their heads and  {wsr} staffs: No. 229, 232.</p> <p>uncertain: No. 233 (multiple?), 234.</p> <p>Compare: Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.77f. Vol. III p.10, 34.</p> <p> {sS,  scribe} “Scribe”</p> <p>when making offerings: No. 345.</p> <p> {saH, noble} “Nobles”</p> <p>always in the plural, wrapped in cloaks, with short goatee, crouching opposite the throne: Nos. 27-30, 237.</p> <p>Compare: Festival Hall, Folio 14, 25. Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.79, Volume III p.10, 23, 35.</p> <p> {smr, friend (of king), royal companion} “Friend” {companion}</p> <p>low rank in the personal service of the king; often in the plural; in the royal processions, often in the last place of the entourage: No. 7a/b, 45a; like in addition to the door-hinge bearers: No. 39, 42, 45b, 50a.</p> <p>Compare: Festival Hall, Folio 2 (2 as fan bearers, 2 as door-hinge bearers). 8, 19, Amenhotep III Karnak Block No. 18 (2 as door-hinge bearers), 24.</p> <p>as minor figures in the offering dance: No. 33b.</p> <p>Compare: Festival Hall, Folio 2, 14 (prostrated before the throne),</p> <p>take on the foot washing of the king as a pair: No. 20, 45a/b, 194.</p> <p>uncertain: Bearer of the royal foot washing equipment No. 148, 181, 182; or also of sandals and foot washing equipment: No. 184.</p>
---	--





Compare: Amenhotep III Karnak Block No. 24, 43.  
 Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.76, 107, Volume III  
 p.20f., 26f.

 {*smr pr*, friend (of king), royal companion} “Friend of the house” {companion of the house}


occasionally just  {*smr*, friend (of king), royal companion} No. 27 (42), 111; in the royal entourage, often in the last place, but before the ordinary  {*smr*, friend (of king), royal companion}, bears the sandals of the king: No. 27, 32, 39, 50b (66), 111, 115, 147, 184; or without them with hand on chest: No. 7a, 194, 292.

Compare: Festival Hall, Folio 1, 10, 27; see also under  {*smr*, friend (of king), royal companion}. Vol. III p.21f.



 {*sxt*, clapper?} unexplained

Woman in hymn gesture ( {*Dd mdw*, words to be spoken}), in the procession of the king behind the “singer”: No. 185.

Compare: Volume III p.18.



 {*THnw*, Libya} “the Libyan”

in hymn gesture, kneeling, minor character in the offering dance (Exclamation: “It comes, who brings”) No. 33b, 34.

 {*d*} Occupation inscription of a singer (opposite  {*xn*, together *dxn*, guardian of the beat, i.e. chironomist?}): No. 44d.



Compare: Festival Hall, Folio 1, 11, 16. Kees, Opfertanz {Offering Dance}, p.226.




Further unexplained:


 {*smA*, priest (who clothed the god)} or  {*smA*, priest (who clothed the god)} (No. 159)





belongs in bearing and insignia (“flail”) to the chamberlains of the palace: No. 111; in royal entourage: No. 1b, 111, 120, 291 (112); awaits the king at the palace, long staff in his hand: No. 159.

unclear: No. 152, 169.

Compare: Festival Hall, Folio 1, 12 ( {*smAty*, stolist} as a priest together with the  {*wr mAw*, greatest of seers, high priest of Ra}). Vol. III p.23.

 {*igrti*?, priest of the necropolis?} or  {this second possibility seems precluded per footnote 87} opposite the  {*Hr p*, chief of Pe} at the proclamation of governance to the four corners of the world (Lower Egyptian); No. 43.


Compare: Temple dedication of Thutmose III in Medinet Habu:  {*rpat* or *iri pat*, noble/heir}. Untersuchungen {Investigations} p.100f., Vol. III p.12.


 ...   {[....]*sH(w?)*} only an inscription to several people of the entourage No. 111, if *hrp-sh* {*xrp-sH*,  } “Head of the (eating) hall”?

Compare: Festival Hall, Folio 25 No. I (incomplete).



## Verification of the Gods' Names


*Imj wt* {*imi wt*, , epithet of Anubis, he who is in the mummy wrappings} compare to Anubis p.12.


*Imn* {*imn*, , God Amon {or Amun} of Thebes {Waset} p.3, 9, 15, 17.

*Inpw* {*inpw*, , Anubis p.9, 12, 25.


*Is.t* {actually *Ast*, , Isis, her priest p.25.


*Itm* {*itm*, , God Atum “the Heliopolitan” p.41.

*W3d* {*wAD*, , Lower Egyptian God (papyrus) p.34.


*W3d.t* {*wADt*, , The uraeus goddess Uto {Wadjet} of Buto {Dep} p.24, 45.



*Wp w3w.t* {*wp wAWt*, , Wepwawet} His standard as leader of those escorted by Horus p.3, 7, 11, 17, 18.


*Wrw* {*wrw*, , “The Great Ones” = the gathering of the festival gods p.3, 10, 31.


*Wr.t hk3w* {*wrt HkAw*, , Werethekau, crown goddess} “The Magic Realms” (Crown) p.24.


*Wh* {*wx*, , fetish of Kos} Deity from Kusae, equipment in Hathor cult p.50.

*B3w itr.t šm'* {actually *bAw itrt Sma*, , the souls of the shrines of Upper Egypt} The gods of the upper Egyptian half of the country p.38.


*B3w P* {*bAw p*, , souls of Pe} or *Nhn* {*nxn*, , Nekhen} The “souls” (gods) of Buto {Per-Wadjet} and Hierakonpolis p.7, 14, 23, 34, 38.


*Pth-Tnn* {*ptH-Tnnt*, , Ptah of the *Tnnt* sanctuary at Memphis} Lord of the Ramesses Sed Festival p.9.


*Mn* {*mnw*, , Min} God Min p.9; “Procession of the Min” Festival p.53.


*Mn.t* {*mnt*, , the goddess Menet} Lion goddess p.9.


*Mr.t* {*mrt*, , Meret} Music goddess p.7, 19.

*N.t Thnw* {*nt Thnw*, , Neith of Libya} Goddess Neith “of Libya” p.9; “Eye of Neith” p.10.


*Nb.t h.t* {*nbt Hwt*, , Goddess Nephthys p.10.


*Nfr tm* {*nfr tm*, , Nefertum} His fetish (papyrus) in the sun barque p.54.

*Nhbj.t* {*nxbit*, , Nekhbet} Goddess of El Kab p.9, 22, 45; her excursion to the Sed festival p.28.

*R'* {*ra*, , God Ra, in dedicatory inscriptions of the Sun Temple p.41, 45, 53; in the name of estate goods p.49; “Rowing Voyage of Ra” Festivals p.28, 53.


*R'-Hr 3h.tj* {*ra-Hr Axti*, , Ra Horakhty} Lord of the Sun Temple see *Hr 3h.tj* {*Hr Axti*, , Horakhty}



*H3* {*HA*, , desert god} Personification of the Libyan Desert p.29.

*H.t Hr* {*H(w)t Hr*, , Goddess Hathor, ancillary cult in the Sun Temple p.42, 44{?}, 54f.



*Hpw* {*Hpw*, , God Apis of Memphis p.7, 45; “Running of Apis” Festival p.29.


*Hr* {*Hr*, , God Horus p.9, 26.


*Hr 3h.tj* {*Hr Axti*, , Horakhty} God of the morning sun, as a hawk p.29, 31, 40, 41f., 45, 50, 54f.


*Hr izb.tj* {*Hr iAbti*, , “the eastern Horus” = *Špdw* {*spdw*, , p.45.


*Hr Bh.d.tj* {*Hr bHdti*, , Horus of Edfu, representative of Upper Egypt p.13f.


*Hr Šsm.tj* {*Hr Ssmti*, , Horus of the desert land east of the Delta} = *Špdw* {*spdw*, , p.45.


*Hr Thnw k3-* {*Hr THnw qA a*, , “Horus of Libya, with raised arm”, representative of Lower Egypt p.2, 11, 38.


*Hd.t* {*HDt*, , “The white one”, name of the female hippopotamus p.31f.


*Hnmw* {*Xnmw*, , The cataract god Khnum p.9, 46.

*S3.tj bjtj* {*sAty bity*, , the royal twins} Shu and Tefnut, the children of Atum p.32, 50.


*Šbk* {*sbk*, , Crocodile god Suchos {Sobek} p.8, 11; God of Kom el-Hisn p.30.


*Špdw* {*spdw*, , Sopdu} Protector of eastern border of the Delta p.44.


*Šh3.t Hr* {*sxAt-Hr*, , Sekhet-Hor, i.e. “she who remembers Horus”} Cow Goddess, patroness of cattle p.6, 9, 34.


*Šš3.t* {*sSAt*, , Seshat} Saite goddess p.10.


*Šth* {*stX*, , God Seth p.9.


*Nbtj* {*nbty*, , “from Ombos”, representative of Upper Egypt p.13.


*Šb.t* {*Sbt*, , water clock} God's name? p.9.

*Šmšw Hr* {*Smsw Hr*, , actually servants/escort of Horus (the king)} Gods of “those escorted by Horus” p.9, 14f.

*Šmšw.t* {*Smswt*, , Shemsut, an epithet of Horus-Anubis} divine symbol p.25f.; “House of *Šmšw.t* {*Smswt*”} p.26.

*Knb.t* {actually *qnbty*, , councillor} “Officials (of the royal offices)” as deity? p.9.

*I3 šm'j* {*TA Sma*, , “Upper Egyptian male” or perhaps “Fledgling of Upper Egypt” as an epithet for a deity} “the Upper Egyptian male” p.9.

*Dw3w* {*dwAw*, , morning} (Lower Egyptian) God of the Morning Land {Underworld} p.9, 34.

*Dhw.tj* {*DHwty*, , God Thoth p.33, 42.



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Pages
Foreword .....	III-IV
I. Basic Principles and Program of the Sed Festival .....	1-15
Evidence for Determining the Order of the Festival Activities .....	1- 4
The Festival Course According to the “Small Festival Depiction” (Sacristy) .....	5-15
1. Temple Founding, Estate of the Proceeds and Temple Consecration .....	5-7
2. Tributes to the Throne, Allocating Animal and Plant Offerings to the Festival Gods, Chapel Visits .....	7-10
3. Final Acts at the Throne and the Great Final Procession .....	10-15
II. The Rest of the “Large Festival Depiction” .....	16-38
1. Initial Procession .....	16
2. Regalia of the King .....	17-18
3. Female Minor Figures, Singers, Musicians .....	18-20
4. Entourage of Personal Service .....	20-26
5. Intermediate Activities in the Processions .....	26-27
6. Divine Chapels and Festival Gods .....	28-33
7. Remains of Throne Scenes and the Final Procession .....	33-38
III. Depictions of General Content .....	39-46
1. Temple Founding, Offering Practices, Slaughter of the Animal Offerings .....	39-44
2. Pictorial Decoration From the Temple Entrance, the Eastern Courtyard Corridor, and the Warehouses .....	44-46
IV. Dedicatory Inscriptions on the Valley Gate .....	47-55
1. Building Text .....	48-49
2. Estates .....	49-51
3. Festival Calendar .....	51-54
4. Contributions of Animals and Plants for Festival Offerings .....	55-56
Overview of People Appearing in the Festival Depictions .....	57-62
Verification of the Gods' Names .....	63