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ANCIENT EGYPTIAN RITUAL PRACTICE:

ỉr-ḫt AND *nt-ˁ*

by

Carolyn Diane Routledge

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements

for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Graduate Department of Near and Middle Eastern Civilizations

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ABSTRACT: ANCIENT EGYPTIAN RITUAL PRACTICE: ir-ḫt AND nt-ˁ

PH.D. DISSERTATION 2001

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The ancient Egyptian terms ir-ḫt and nt-ˁ commonly are understood as being technical terms pertaining to the performance of cultic rituals. In using these terms to study ritual in ancient Egypt, a problem arises in that these terms are not always translated as ritual when the context of their use is not cultic. A similar pattern is observed in the translation of the royal title nb irt-ḫt, which is derived from the term ir-ḫt. Consequently, this thesis conducts a survey of the uses and contexts of the terms ir-ḫt, nb irt-ḫt, and nt-ˁ in order to map the semantic field of these words.

From this survey, it is possible to conclude that ir-ḫt and nt-ˁ were technical terms in ancient Egyptian language. They referred to a distinct group of activities within ancient Egyptian cultural practice that included cultic rites, funerary rites, aggressive actions, the performance of career duties, and customary behaviours. These activities had specific characteristics such as physical performance, formality, traditionalism, rule governance, and sacral symbolism. Additionally, it was found that there was an intimate connection between the performance of these activities and the Egyptian concept of ma`at, especially in relation to the preservation of order.

In making conclusions concerning the meaning of these technical terms, it is proposed that they did indeed refer to ritual and the semantic fields of these words could be used to reconstruct the ancient Egyptian cognitive category "ritual." In testing this theory, the academic analysis of ritual across cultures was examined. It was found that the activities and their characteristics, which were outlined based on the analysis of ir-ḫt and nt-ˁ, were consistent with the kinds of activities and characteristics that other cultures understood as ritual.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation was completed over a relatively long period of time and saw a couple of radical shifts in topic. Consequently, I am indebted to a number of people spread over time and distance who might not recognize the finished product. While I hope to leave no one unacknowledged, I would like everyone who helped along the way to know I appreciated your contributions.

First, I would like to acknowledge my thesis committee. Professor Ronald Leprohon, my Ph.D. adviser, saw me through the entire project with continuous support, patience, and sage advice. I would like to thank Professor Timothy Harrison and Professor Mary Ann Pouls-Wegner for their careful reading of the dissertation and for their many insightful comments. In addition, I would like to thank the external reader, Professor David O'Connor, for his time and effort in the face of shifting deadlines.

Second, I would like to thank those who arranged access to various research facilities for me: Dr. Michel Fortin and Dr. Paul-Hubert Poirier of the Université Laval; Drs. Pierre and Patricia Bikai and the staff of ACOR; and Dr. David Silverman and Dr. Richard Zettler of the University of Pennsylvania.

Funding for the support of this project came from a variety of sources including the University of Toronto Open Fellowship, the Social Sciences and

Humanities Research Council of Canada Doctoral Fellowship, and the Frank M. Waddell Fellowship.

During my research, I was supplied with substantial assistance and moral support from a variety of friends and colleagues. I want to recognise my colleagues at Richard Stockton College. In particular, I would like to thank the members of the history program: Dr. Robert Gregg, Dr. Michael Hayse, Dr. William Lubenow, Dr. Paul Lyons, Dr. Robert Nichols, and Dr. Lisa Rosner. My friends from Philadelphia provided both scholarly critique and needed social relaxation -- thanks especially to Denise Doxey, Ellen Morris, Jennifer Houser-Wegner, and Josef Wegner.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge the unfailing support of my family. Thanks to: my parents, Tom and Judy Norman; my in-laws, Harland and Helen Routledge; my siblings, Susan Clement and Tom Norman; and my Grandmother, Frances Norman. I owe my husband Bruce a debt of gratitude that is difficult to express. Thank you for always being there and giving me the time and support to complete this Ph.D. Your willingness to discuss my writing blocks and "great ideas" made it possible. Lastly, I want to recognise the contribution of my daughter Isobel and dedicate this work to her. She has never known a time when one of her parents was not writing a thesis. I hope the completion of this project makes a difference and that you and I can be more "sparky" together.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter One – RITUAL IN ANCIENT EGYPT: A WORD STUDY 1

1a The Word Study 2
1b Ancient Egyptian Terms Meaning "Ritual" 4
1b.1 – ir-ḫt 5
1b.2 – nt-ˁ 6
1c Research Design 7

Chapter Two– THEORIES OF RITUAL 13

2a Egyptology and Ritual 14
2b Cross-Cultural Ritual Studies 18

Chapter Three– ANALYSIS OF ỉr-ḫt 28

3a The Verb ỉr 28
3a.1 – physical performance 30
3a.2 – work-related activity 32
3a.3 – aggressive behaviour 33
3a.4 – religious and ceremonial activities 34
3a.5 – ỉr + ỉr 36
3a.6 – interpretation 39
Chart #1 (ỉr) 42
3b ḫt 53
3b.1 – property 53
3b.2 – offerings 58
3b.3 – cultic rites 60
3b.4 – concepts 63
3b.5 – interpretation 66
3b.6 – ḫt in compounds 68
Chart #2 (ḫt) 71
3c ỉr-ḫt 95
3c.1 – cultic rites 95
3c.2 – funerary rites 101
3c.3 – aggressive rites 110
3c.4 – work 120
3c.5 – interpretation 127
3c.6 – chronological analysis 132
Conclusion 133
Chart #3 (ỉr(t)-ḫt) 137

Chapter Four – ANALYSIS OF THE ROYAL TITLE Nb Irt-ḫt 162
4a The Nature of the Title 163
4b The Uses of Nb Irt-ḫt 168
4b.1 – the writing and form of the title nb irt-ḫt 169
4b.2 – chart #4 171
4b.3 – types of sources 173
4b.4 – position of the title in relation to the titulary ... 177
4b.5 – the character of the context 182
4b.6 – use of the title in royal programs 184
Tutankhamun's tomb 185
Medinet Habu 193
4c Analysis and Conclusions 195
4c.1 – analysis 196
4c.2 – conclusions 213
Chart #4 (nb irt-ḫt) 222
Chart #5 (Tutankhamun's tomb) 301
Chart #6 (Medinet Habu) 304

Chapter Five – ANALYSIS OF Nt-ᶜ 306
5a The Composition of the Word Nt-ᶜ 307
5a.1 – the word ᶜ 308
5a.2 – original meaning of nt-ᶜ 311
5b Uses of Nt-ᶜ 312
5b.1 – cultic ritual 312
5b.2 – funerary and aggressive rituals 316
5b.3 – work as ritual 321
5b.4 – custom as ritual 327
5c Analysis and Conclusions 333
5c.1 – analysis of the uses of nt-ᶜ 334
5c.2 – comparision of nt-ᶜ, ir-ḫt, and nb irt-ḫt 339
5c.3 – chronological analysis 348
5c.4 – conclusions 350
Chart #7 (nt-ᶜ) 355

Chapter Six -- CONCLUSION: ANCIENT EGYPTIAN RITUAL 367
6a The Nature of Ancient Egyptian Ritual 368
6b Issues of Translation 377
6c Conclusion 379

BIBLIOGRAPHY 381

ABBREVIATIONS 407

CHAPTER ONE

Ritual in Ancient Egypt: A Word Study

> – "When *I* use a word," Humpty Dumpty said, in rather a scornful tone, "it means just what I choose it to mean–neither more nor less."
>
> "The question is," said Alice, "whether you *can* make words mean so many different things."
>
> "The question is," said Humpty Dumpty, "which is to be master–– that's all."
>
> Lewis Carroll: *Through the Looking Glass.*

This thesis represents an attempt to reconstruct the ancient Egyptian cognitive category, "ritual" during the classical period of ancient Egyptian culture – from the Old through to the end of the New Kingdom. When initiating such a study, it is difficult to know what is the best scholarly approach to the study of the beliefs and activities of another culture as far separated in time and place from us as ancient Egypt. This is particularly true for ritual, which academics in other disciplines most commonly study through ethnographic accounts, participation, and active observation (e.g., Grimes 1995: 5-6, 24-39). These are methods that can be difficult to adapt to the evidence available to Egyptologists. Additionally, the term ritual has come to be applied to a large number of human activities from religious

practices to daily habit within the academic study of specific human and animal activities (e.g., Huxley 1966; Moore & Myerhoff 1977; Zuesse 1987). What range of these activities were within the ancient Egyptian concept of ritual remains to be understood. An initial strategy that could help scholars reconstruct the ancient Egyptian cognitive category ritual, which currently is employed by a number of scholars of ritual and familiar to Egyptologists, is the investigation of indigenous terminology.[1] As of yet this approach has not been applied by Egyptologists to abstract terms for ritual.

1a **The Word Study**

The term ritual is an abstraction and thus presents a number of difficulties for any study of ancient Egyptian words for ritual. First, in all cultures, ancient and modern, abstract terms like ritual are used infrequently in comparison to concrete terms. In addition, abstract terms tend to occur in limited contexts. An examination of the temple wall reliefs and textual descriptions of activities related to the temple reveals a preoccupation with concrete terms and formulaic scenes of rites.[2] While such scenes might provide scholars with a detailed description of behaviours that took place in a temple, the lack of abstract textual material does not allow for an understanding of which behaviours the ancient Egyptians thought were ritual. As a result, it should be expected that a limited number of examples of any word or expression that might mean ritual in ancient Egyptian can be

found and that these words would appear in a limited variety of contexts. On the one hand, a limited sample size is not ideal and could negatively affect any attempt to develop an understanding of an ancient Egyptian concept of ritual. On the other hand, the nature of the context and the relative rarity of the word might help to establish a positive identification.

Second, the meaning of abstract terms can be modified through time. Given the length of time covered by this study, specifically the Old Kingdom through to the end of the New Kingdom, minor shifts in meaning and usage should be expected. What is most important for this study is the broad category, ritual; therefore, minor shifts in meaning over time can be ignored if the general meaning can be shown to remain constant over the documented use of any specific term. Consequently, the focus of this word study will be on the characteristics of the contexts and uses that the words have in common rather than tracking the individual nuances of meaning for each occurrence.

Third, concerns of modern cultural determinism must be taken into account. There are concerns that abstractions like ritual may not have been part of ancient Egyptian thought and are valid only as academic tools used to understand other cultures by modern, western academics. For example, Goody (1986: 4) certainly suggests that this might be the case when he states:

> But in African languages I find no equivalent for the western word `religion' (or indeed `ritual'), and more importantly the actors do not appear to look upon religious beliefs and practices in the same way that we, whether Muslim, Jew, Hindu, Buddhist, Christian or atheist, do -- that is, as a distinct set.

Thomas (1991:3), however, suggests that this kind of approach to other cultures can obscure interpretation because the investigators expect that the other cultures must be vastly different from their own:

> There is thus scope for slippage between the idea that others' names for beliefs and practices may be different and the discursive strategy which specifies that they must be different.

Given these observations, it is necessary not only to examine words in contexts that fit the concept of ritual current within Egyptology, but also to consider the entire semantic field of words that, in specific situations, are translated as ritual. The original cognitive category of ritual should correspond to the semantic field of such words, and thus the problem of modern categories influencing our understanding of the ancient category should be avoided.

1b **Ancient Egyptian Terms Meaning "Ritual"**

At the present time, there is no single word or expression that is exclusively or consistently translated as "ritual" from ancient Egyptian into modern languages. Expressions or terms that cannot be considered as meaning ritual are words that describe ways of acting that can be part of a ritual corresponding to English words like worship, praise, offer, or pray. These words describe concrete actions that lack the abstract and general quality that is necessary in a term that would mean ritual. Therefore, ancient

Egyptian words that were not considered as being expressions meaning ritual, although occasionally translated as such,[3] include words like: ḥsi – "to praise" (*Wb* III. 154-5); wdn – "to offer" (*Wb* I. 391-2); and dwꜣ – "to worship" (*Wb* V.426-8). For the purposes of this study, two terms that frequently are translated as ritual and are more abstract and general were selected – ỉr-ḫt and nt-ˁ. It is fortunate that there are two terms that fit the criteria for selection. This fact allows for a test of the integrity of the results derived from the study of the first term through comparing its semantic field with the semantic field of the second term.

1b.1 ỉr-ḫt

The first expression that was selected as an object for the study of the cognitive category of ritual is ỉr-ḫt, which literally means "doing things" (*Wb* I: 124). Because the constituent words of this expression are exceedingly common, ỉr-ḫt has not been treated as having a single, specific meaning. As a result, dictionaries provide a range of definitions from the general, "to do something" to the specific, "to read the offering list."[4] For the same reason, there has not been a comprehensive study of ỉr-ḫt, but instead individual cases or specific kinds of contexts are discussed, often in the footnotes of a wider study.[5] There has been a tendency to translate ỉr-ḫt based on its immediate context rather than on the semantic field of this expression. This

situation is most apparent in the case of the use of ir-ḫt in the royal title nb irt-ḫt. In military contexts, nb irt-ḫt often is translated, "Lord of Action," while in religious contexts, the preference is for "Lord of Cultic Rites" (see Chapter 4, section 4a).

One issue in the analysis of ir-ḫt then, is whether the expression was used with enough specificity to indicate ritual rather than its being an expression that was so general as to designate an undefined concept. The result of the delineation of the semantic field of ir-ḫt, as discussed in Chapter 3, demonstrates that ir-ḫt does have a defined reference. Consequently, it is possible to compare its defined semantic field with cross-cultural analysis of ritual (Chapter 2). It is assumed in this work that the semantic field of ir-ḫt will represent a picture of the ancient Egyptian cognitive category "ritual" if: the range of meaning of ir-ḫt is defined; the activities include behaviour that clearly is ritual by modern scholarly understanding; and on the whole it does not contradict scholarly analysis of what constitutes ritual.

1b.2 nt-ˁ

The second term that was selected for analysis, which often is translated as ritual, is nt-ˁ. Unlike ir-ḫt, nt-ˁ usually is considered to be a defined term, albeit somewhat difficult to translate (cf. Kruchten 1986: 143-144). While widely understood to have a literal meaning of "from the

document," translations vary based on context including, regulation, custom, treaty, to organise, and ritual.[6] Studies of nt-ᶜ have more depth than in the case of ir-ḫt, however, they still tend to be related to specific contexts rather than the consideration of the larger semantic field of nt-ᶜ.[7] Such an extended study may have been planned by Schott, but never finished. Many of the known occurrences of nt-ᶜ were collected by Schott (1990: 117-126) and published posthumously as part of a corpus of words related to books and libraries.

The combination of the previous studies and the stronger definitive nature of nt-ᶜ make it an excellent term to compare to ir-ḫt. If the semantic field of nt-ᶜ and ir-ḫt are compared and they overlap considerably, it can be concluded that the cognitive category for ritual in ancient Egypt can be described based on the major categories of use of these two terms.

1c **Research Design**

In the chapters that follow, what constituted ritual to the ancient Egyptians from the Old through New Kingdoms will be reconstructed through the analysis of the terms ir-ḫt and nt-ᶜ. Before the presentation of the results of this analysis, it is necessary to survey briefly Egyptological approaches to ritual. Most research of ancient Egyptian ritual has focused on cultic and funerary practice. This focus explains, to a large degree, difficulties

in the translation of the terms ir-ḫt, nb irt-ḫt, and nt-ˁ, which refer to activities beyond cultic and funerary rites. Thus, such a review is foundational to an analysis of these terms. This survey forms the first part of Chapter 2. It will be followed in the second part of Chapter 2 by a brief discussion of cross-cultural approaches to ritual. This discussion accomplishes two primary purposes. First, a theoretical view of ritual provides a broader interpretation of the idea of ritual. This broader interpretation can be used to test that the semantic field of Egyptian terms are within the accepted idea of ritual without imposing a too restrictive culturally specific interpretation. This cross-cultural method of analysis should provide a balance between the concerns expressed by Goody, that we impose our view on another, different culture, and the concern of Thomas, that we assume that another culture must be radically different. Second, a review of the work of scholars of ritual studies provides a methodological framework for an approach to the ancient Egyptian material. In particular, the work of Catherine Bell (1992, 1997), suggests a way of approaching the subject that is suitable to a word study of ancient Egyptian terms for ritual and avoids methods related to observation or participation. Bell suggests that there is a clustering of ways of acting that can be ritual and what constitutes ritual from among these choices is culturally specific (e.g., Bell 1992: 220-222; 1997: 251-252). This suggestion turns the attention of the investigator to looking at what the ancient Egyptians might have defined as ritual and why.

Chapter 3 begins the investigation into an Egyptian definition of ritual through the study of the term ir-ḫt. This chapter demonstrates, through the analysis of the words that form this expression and the specialised use of the term, that it does conform to the basic constituents of ritual within an ancient Egyptian cultural context.

Throughout this work, ir-ḫt will be translated as "performing rites." This is to distinguish ir-ḫt from nt-ᶜ, which will be translated as "ritual." These differences in translation are solely for the purpose of allowing the reader to determine which term was used in the original text and thus does not indicate any underlying difference in meaning.[8] Additionally, it should be noted that ir-ḫt will be translated rather mechanically throughout as "performing rites," regardless of the resulting lack of artistry in the final translation. This method was followed in order to reflect the underlying unity of meaning for this term. The issue of translation in individual cases will be addressed in Chapter 6.

All occurrences of the constituent words (ir and ḫt) and the term ir-ḫt that were analysed in this study are presented in charts at the end of the relevant sections of Chapter 3. These charts present the corpus in chronological order by dynasty (noted in the final column). Each entry in the chart has a reference number (column 1) that is composed of a letter (for the chart) and an ordinal number based on its chronological position in the corpus. The source for each occurrence is given in column 2, using the author

date system except in the case of well known collected works such as the Urkunden (*Urk* – Steindorff 1906-) and Ramesside Inscriptions (*KRI*—Kitchen 1975-) series, which are indicated by widely used abbreviations. In column 3, the text containing the word or term is transliterated providing enough text to indicate the immediate context needed for understanding. This text is then translated in column 4. Finally, if needed, a column noting meaning or category of usage is included.

Chapter 4 investigates the royal title nb irt-ḫt in light of the uses of ir-ḫt presented in Chapter 3. In this chapter it is considered that the context of the title – namely, the titles used in conjunction with nb irt-ḫt, the accompanying images, and the identity and purpose of the object carrying the title -- can indicate the meaning this title held for the ancient Egyptians. It was found that the title nb irt-ḫt parallels the use of ir-ḫt, but contains some specific royal references. Consequently, the study of this title not only supports the overall findings of Chapter 3, but it also provides an indication of the king's relationship to ritual during the pharaonic period. The corpus of occurrences of the title nb irt-ḫt were presented in chart form at the end of the chapter. These charts differ from the other charts in this study, therefore, their specific design is discussed within Chapter 4.

Chapter 5 presents the analysis of the ancient Egyptian term nt-^{ḥ} as a test of the results of the analysis of ir-ḫt as an expression meaning ritual. As

in the case of ir-ḫt, the origins of the word were explored and the major categories of use were examined. In general, the two terms were found to have substantially overlapping semantic fields. As in the presentation of the occurrences of the term ir-ḫt, the translation of nt-ᶜ as "ritual" was followed consistently to indicate the underlying integrity of the meaning of this term. Additionally, the occurrences of nt-ᶜ were presented in a chart at the end of the chapter following the same design as the charts for ir-ḫt.

Since the semantic fields of ir-ḫt and nt-ᶜ overlap to a large degree and conform to the basic understanding of ritual, it was possible to propose an ancient Egyptian concept of ritual. The ancient Egyptian cognitive category of ritual is outlined in Chapter 6 along with an evaluation of how ritual as a concept is integrated into ancient Egyptian society and worldview. In addition, a discussion of how these words might be translated in the future is presented.

---

[1] For ritual studies using investigation stressing indigenous terms and interpretation see for example, Lewis 1980: 2-4, ch. 3; Lane 1981: 15; Bell 1997: 147. For Egyptological studies of terminology see for example, Hoffmeier 1985 -- ḏsr (holy) and Ritner 1995 -- ḥkꜣ (magic).

[2] For example, see ritual scenes in the second court at Medinet Habu where each scene is captioned with the particular rite being performed rather than a general statement concerning the performance of ritual -- Medinet Habu V: pl. 262-290. E.g., "elevating things to his father" (pl. 262A), " presenting Ma`at to his father" (pl. 262B), "presenting wine to his father" (pl. 264A), "performing censing and libating to his father" (pl. 265A), performing anointing to his father" (pl. 268A).

[3] For ḥsi translated as ritual see Faulkner 1981a: 177.

[4] For example, The *Wörterbuch* translates the phrase irt-ḫt as "to do something, to work, to offer" (*Wb* I: 124) with the related form irt-ḫt nṯr as "to perform ritual" (*Wb* I: 125). Faulkner, for Middle Egyptian, provides the translation of ir-ḫt as "do things" (Faulkner 1981a: 182). Lesko, for Late Egyptian, translates irt-ḫt as "action, ritual, offering" (Lesko I: 45). Finally, Hannig gives iri ḫt as "to read the offering list" (Hannig 1995: 98), and irrw ḫt as "those who perform the rites" (Hannig 1995: 98).

[5] For examples of such studies see: Schott 1963: 103; Caminos 1964: 74, 77; Goedicke 1967b: 27 (8), 74 (44); Bakry 1970: 339; Redford 1973: 84 n. 32; Barta 1975: 16 n.5; Kaplony 1977: 75 n.151; Vernus 1978: 125 n. (a)); Ritner 1995: 217 n.1011, 230.

[6] For example, see: *Wörterbuch* (*Wb* I: 156, II: 197); Redford 1970: 43, n.1; 1986: 219, n. 61; Schmidt 1973: 124-125, #5; Smith 1977: 133, n. b); Spalinger 1981: 303, 322; Kruchten 1981: 166-168; 1986: 143-144; Harari 1990: 423; Goelet and Levine 1998: 263-264.

[7] For recent, extended studies see: Redford 1986: 219; Lorton 1974: 114-115, 162-163; Kruchten 1981: 111, 166-168, 177, 183, 190; 1986: 143-144; Harari 1990: 422-428; Goelet and Levine 1998: 262-265.

[8] This method is used to address the issues raised by Sollberger (1973: 159-160) of being sure that the reader knows which word was used in the original ancient Egyptian text. This does not address the gap between the semantic field of these expressions in Egyptian and the semantic field of the English term ritual. The other issue he raises in terms of translation, the problem of penetrating the modes of thinking of an alien and dead culture (1973: 158) and then translating it into our language and mode of thinking, is the main focus of this work.

CHAPTER TWO

Theories of Ritual

> "No time to play today," said Amah, opening the lined jacket. "Your mother has made you new tiger clothes for the Moon Festival...." She lifted me into the pants. "Very important day, and now you are a big girl, so you can go to the ceremony."
>
> "What is a ceremony?" I asked as Amah slipped the jacket over my cotton undergarments.
>
> "It is a proper way to behave. You do this and that, so the gods do not punish you," said Amah as she fastened my frog clasps.
>
> "What kind of punishment?" I asked boldly.
>
> "Too many questions?" cried Amah. "You do not need to understand. Just behave, follow your mother's example. Light the incense, make an offering to the moon, bow your head. Do not shame me, Ying-ying."
>
> Amy Tan: *The Joy Luck Club*. "The Moon Lady"

Ritual is not a new study within Egyptology or the wider world of the modern academic disciplines of humanities or social science. Within Egyptology one thinks of Moret's 1902 work, *Le Rituel du culte divin journalier en Égypte* as an early example, while Robertson Smith's 1889 work, *The Religion of the Semites,* is considered a significant early contribution to disciplines such as Religious Studies, Anthropology, and Near Eastern Studies (cf. Bell 1997: 4-5). This having been said, there is a feeling among those who study ritual that there has been a significant reorientation in the study of ritual in recent times. Not to over simplify a complex issue, this reorientation tends to focus on seeing ritual not simply as a subset of religion, but as an human activity with wide application across society (see for

example, Podemann Sørensen 1993: 16-24; Grimes 1987: 422-423). Given this attention to change in the discipline, it is important for this study to review briefly the current state of ritual studies within Egyptology in order to understand both its relationship to the primary data and to theoretical approaches from the wider field of ritual studies.

2a **Egyptology and Ritual**

Ritual has been an important object of study within Egyptology in recent years. There are several characteristics of the research that stand out when this body of work is examined. In general, the study of ritual by Egyptologists can be said to be pragmatic rather than theoretical. While exceptions to this statement exist (e.g., Podemann Sørensen 1993[1]), the majority of works examining ritual centre on specific examples of ritual in ancient Egyptian history rather than the theoretical construct of ritual itself.[2] Additionally, temple ritual predominates among research subjects (e.g. David 1973),[3] followed by funerary ritual (e.g., Altenmüller 1972), with some attention given to religious rituals involving the king (e.g., Barta 1975).

Helck (1984) wrote an excellent review of ancient Egyptian ritual for the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*. This article provides a snapshot of areas of current research interest and thus can be seen as an appropriate gauge of current approaches to ritual within the field. Helck (1984: 271) emphasizes the role ritual had in ancient Egyptian thought – it connected the present with

primeval times. He also points to three functions for ritual in ancient Egypt: it intensifies significant actions, especially when carried out by someone in a position of power; it helps reduce concern over the world becoming chaotic, often with particular reference to the leader fighting the forces of chaos; and it participates in the separation of humans from the animal world (1984: 271). Helck's article shows a strong concern for tracing the origins of rituals in general and for specific rituals. He suggests that rituals began as a set of vignettes recorded first visually and then in writing (1984: 271-272). From this recording of ritual in writing came combinations of actions with spells and then the spells became myths that supported the rituals. Helck (1984: 272) is careful to point out that while myth and action reinforce each other, they were not permanently bound together. Myth and action could be reinterpreted and recombined over time.

In the second half of Helck's article, he lists a selection of rituals in order to provide an impression of the range of ritual in ancient Egypt (1984: 273-282). While it is not important to list these rituals here, it is relevant to consider the major types and characteristics of rituals that Helck catalogues. First, rituals were performed in relation to the temple cult (e.g., manufacture of cult statues and their daily care – 1984: 273, 281). Second, rituals were performed in relation to the funerary cult, both private and royal (e.g., opening of the mouth and transport of the sarcophagus rituals – 1984: 273, 278). Third, rituals were performed in relation to the natural world, for both

wild and domesticated plants and animals (e.g., preparing the land for planting and harvesting and the sporting activities of fishing and fowling – 1984: 276-277, 280). These activities were related closely to the preparation of offerings to the gods and funerary offerings and thus often were portrayed as being performed by the king. Finally, there were rituals performed in relation to the king (e.g., the Sed festival and the coronation rituals – 1984: 274, 279-280).

There are several characteristics that unite these types of rituals that are mentioned repeatedly in Helck's descriptions of the various rituals. While the rituals were performed in the world of the present on earth, the myths connected to the rituals often referred to the events and personalities of the divine world (e.g., animals slaughtered for offerings could be connected with the slaughter of enemies of Osiris – 1984: 273-274). Also, there is a tendency for rituals to unite the major groupings through their various references outside myths. For example, Helck often describes rituals as incorporating royal activity, divine activity, and the natural world. This connection is evident in the rituals surrounding the Apis bull where the bull (natural world) is connected to divinity (special selection and appearance signifies the divine status) and the king participated in the rituals related to the bull (1984: 274-275). Finally, in Helck's description there is an emphasis on the performative quality of ritual, evident in references to actions, ritual plays, processions, and destructive rituals (1984: 273, 275, 277).

In reviewing the major elements in Helck's article, several conclusions can be drawn concerning modern impressions of ancient Egyptian ritual. First, ritual was a performance that incorporated actions with words often having a strong mythic base. Second, ritual had a strong reference to primordial times, especially in relation to the repulsing of chaos. Third, ritual was related intimately to the leader of society, in most cases the king. Fourth, rituals tended to be performed in cultic, funerary, or royal contexts. Finally, ritual had a function in incorporating different levels of the organisation of the world (i.e., divine, human, natural).

While this summary based on Helck's article represents a general overview of a complex area of academic inquiry, it does conform to subsequent discussions of ancient Egyptian ritual (for example, cf. Troy 1986: 91-102; Frandsen 1989: 98-105; Podemann Sφrensen 1989: 42-53; Tobin 1989: 27-31; Assmann 1990: 218-222; Hornung 1992: 156-164; Teeter 1997a: 82-90, 1997b: 148-165). Consequently, it should be concluded that any expression that designated ritual in ancient Egyptian generally would have to conform to these ideas. Additionally, it is now possible to relate this information to similar generalisations of ritual from a cross-cultural perspective. Such a comparison should suggest further avenues for study and provide a broader context in which to situate ancient Egyptian ritual.

2b Cross-Cultural Ritual Studies

The fact that much of the Egyptological study of ritual is pragmatic rather than theoretical suggests that new avenues of research concerning ancient Egyptian ritual could come from the findings of theoretical studies of ritual. While it is clear that not all aspects of ritual studies based on cross-cultural studies are relevant to ancient Egyptian culture, specific ideas might be adopted for Egyptological study. For example, major categories of ritual missing from Egyptian ritual, which are present in other cultures and theoretical approaches to ritual not yet utilised to study Egyptian ritual such as secular ritual, could be examined for their suitability for application to ancient Egyptian ritual.

When the general description of ancient Egyptian ritual is compared with corresponding descriptions of ritual based on cross-cultural studies, there are a large number of significant similarities. For example, among commonly mentioned characteristics of ritual is performative action (e.g., Grimes 1995: xvii; J. Watson 1988: 11-15), often having the purpose of promoting order over chaos (e.g., Zuesse 1987: 408-410; Moore & Myerhoff 1977: 3, 16-17). Rituals that are objects of research often relate to religious rites, funerary rites, and rituals connected to relationships of power (e.g., Middleton 1977: 73; Watson 1988: 8-10). Additionally, ritual has been described as having an integrative function (e.g., Zuesse 1987: 410-414; R. Watson 1988: 203-204).

Also, there are some characteristics that are less commonly mentioned, but similar to descriptions of Egyptian ritual. For example, ritual is described as being related to primeval times (e.g., Zuesse 1987: 406-407, 410). Additionally, the fact that violence is common in ritual performance has been noted (e.g., Grimes 1995: xviii). Finally, the issue of the relation between myth and ritual is discussed. It should be noted, however, that this is a very active and controversial area within academic analysis of ritual theory. While many scholars see an important connection between myth and ritual (cf., Zuesse 1987: 407), a significant number privilege performance and bodily experience of ritual over mythic interpretation (e.g., Lewis 1980: 11-19; Grimes 1995: 65-66; Bell 1997: 3-22, 252).

There are several aspects of ritual that are of interest to scholars of ritual, which may broaden what receives attention from Egyptologists. For example, one broad and controversial area of study is the nature of secular ritualisation in relation to or opposed to sacred ritual (e.g., Moore & Myerhoff 1977: 3-4, 11-12). A concern with how ritual action relates to both the physical body and the social body is likewise of significance (e.g., Lane 1981: 14-16; Bell 1992: 179-181). Also related to the concept of the body is research into relationships between ritual and individual identity (e.g., Zuesse 1987: 406-407). Because identity and the social body are important components in power relationships, ritual is studied as a significant element in the

construction and maintenance of power in human interaction (e.g., Bell 1992: 171-223).

One of the primary concerns of scholars researching ritual from a theoretical and cross-cultural perspective, which is not represented as a significant element in Egyptological writing about ritual, is the definition of the term ritual. Since the 1960's definitions of ritual have ranged from being narrowly focused on formal, religious actions (i.e., liturgy) (Zuesse 1987: 405-6), to encompassing all repetitive, patterned activity including animal behaviours (Huxley 1966: 258-9). In fact, the range of behaviours called ritual in academic studies caused Goody (1977: 25) to call the term "vagueness itself." Clearly, a definition can be very influential in what is selected for study and can define a discipline; therefore, this issue continues to receive significant attention and debate among scholars.

Bell (1992: 69) suggests that one of the primary problems scholars have faced in trying to define the term ritual is that they are looking for a universal phenomenon that can be described using a single definition. While uncomfortable with imposing a category that may represent a Western, academic construct on particular activities, she sees its utility in analysing foreign cultures in order to promote academic understanding (Bell 1997: 266-267). In fact, one of the significant problems Bell notes with approaches to ritual employing a universal definition has particular relevance for the study of ancient Egyptian ritual. Bell suggests that in scholars' analyses of ritual in

foreign cultures this universal definition overrides any criteria for ritual used in that culture (i.e., cultural determinism):

> The categories of activity so defined tend to override and undermine the significance of indigenous distinctions among ways of acting. At best, culturally specific distinctions may be noted in the attempt to discern the nuances of some particular expression of the universal phenomenon, but the `universal' always impoverishes the `particular'. In this way, the definitional approach to ritual loses sight of what may be the more useful questions that can be brought to bear on ritual activities of various kinds: Under what circumstances are such activities distinguished from other forms of activity? How and why are they distinguished? What do these activities do that other activities cannot or will not do? (Bell 1992: 70).

As an alternative approach to a universal definition, Bell proposes that the most effective approach to ritual is to see such activity as imbedded in a culture and thus what is "ritual" is culturally specific (Bell 1992: 92-3; 1997: 81-82). She argues that the context of ritual is "the multitude of ways of acting in a *particular* culture," thus ritual is "that way of acting that sets itself off from other ways of acting by virtue of the way in which it does what it does" (Bell 1992: 140, emphasis mine). Bell situates this form of analysis within practice theory, suggesting that this approach to ritual depends less on definitions and instead focuses on what distinguishes actions as ritualised and to what degree they are ritualised (Bell 1992: 74; 1997: 82).

Bell also provides a list of qualities of ritual that are found commonly in behaviours categorised as ritual. Unlike a definition, these qualities are not

required and can appear in combination and in various ranges of degree. She proposes this list as "an initial lexicon for analyzing how cultures ritualize or deritualize social activities" (Bell 1997: 138). Because of these factors, this list of qualities is very useful in mapping an approach to ritual within ancient Egyptian culture. Consequently, it is essential to review these qualities here.

The first quality of ritual in Bell's list is what she calls "formalism" (Bell 1997: 139). Formalism describes the performance of activities in a "formal" manner. Bell (1997: 139) defines it as "the use of a more limited and rigidly organized set of expressions and gestures." This formalism connected to ritual can be considered in a positive or negative manner as can be observed in the descriptive terms Bell (1997: 139-142) uses in relation to these activities (e.g., "polite, formula, cliché, conventional, manners, etiquette, civilized"). Social greetings and table manners are examples of activities that can be formal and represent types that can be performed with varying degrees of formalism (Bell 1997: 141-144). Additionally, it can be noted that the description of the Moon Festival quoted at the beginning of this chapter reflects the character of formalism in ritual.

Second is the quality of traditionalism. This is the idea that many ritual behaviours are said to be performed in conformity with the practices of an earlier time (Bell 1997: 145). Such rituals can be described as appealing to tradition or custom. Bell (1997: 149-150) is careful to point out that ritual behaviours having the quality of traditionalism do not actually need to be

old, however. Traditions can be built up through repeated performance or vague references to a past time (Bell 1997: 148). Examples of activities that have strong elements of traditionalism include calendrical rituals like Bastille Day and often repeated activities like saying the Pledge of Allegiance (Bell 1997: 149).

The third possible quality of ritual is invariance. Bell (1997: 150) describes invariance as, "a disciplined set of actions marked by precise repetition and physical control." Bell notes that repetition in and of itself is not enough to create ritual, but that "close attention to detail, discipline and self control" must accompany the actions being performed repeatedly (Bell 1997: 151). An example of a ritual having the quality of invariance is the practice by the inhabitants of monasteries of performing the daily personal routines in a precise, methodical, and identical manner each day (Bell 1997: 151).

Rule governance is the fourth quality of ritual activity. Behaviours associated with rituals often are performed according to socially sanctioned rules that often can be quite elaborate. While rule governance is common to a variety of kinds of activities, Bell (1997: 153-154) notes that this quality is particularly prominent in relation to violent and disorderly rituals such as sports and warfare. In these cases, the rules "define, regulate, and legitimise" the ritual activity (Bell 1997: 154-155).

The fifth quality of ritual activity is what Bell (1997: 155) calls "sacral symbolism." Bell means "sacral" in a very broad sense; she not only includes religious symbolism in this term, but also includes people, places, or things that have "a quality of specialness, not the same as other things" (Bell 1997: 157). Bell explains this quality of `specialness' in more detail as: "the way they [ritual activities]differentiate some places from others by means of distinctive acts and responses and the way they evoke experiences of a greater, higher, or more universalized reality – the group, the nation, humankind, the power of God, or the balance of the cosmos" (Bell 1997: 159). Consequently, both sacred and secular rituals can employ sacral symbolism. Examples of behaviours having a strong appeal to sacral symbolism are those surrounding national flags and royal palaces – a thing and a place around which people modify how they do things (Bell 1997: 156-159).

The final quality of ritual activity listed by Bell is that of performance. Performative action has already been noted in relation to Helck's description of Egyptian ritual and cross-cultural studies of ritual. Bell (1997: 159-160) notes that some of what distinguishes a performance as ritualistic is "the deliberate, self-conscious "doing" of highly symbolic actions in public." Bell (1997: 161) also notes that public performance has the ability to engage multiple senses and can thus produce a world in microcosm. As a result, ritual performance can give a sense of bringing order to chaos through the production of another reality. Bell (1997: 162) suggests that Hitler's

Nuremberg rallies are typical of performative rituals in their emphasis on bringing a message of order and power through carefully choreographed performance.

In reviewing these qualities of ritual, it is clear that some of the characteristics of ancient Egyptian ritual, as described by Helck, correspond to aspects of Bell's description. For example, the mention of ancient Egyptian ritual being connected to primeval times can be understood as sharing in the quality of traditionalism, Bell's second quality. Also comparable is the connection Helck makes between ritual and the divine world, which corresponds to Bell's fifth quality, sacral symbolism. These correspondences suggest that Bell's qualities provide a viable avenue of approach to the study of ancient Egyptian ritual. Additionally, by considering a constellation of qualities that are typical and the degree to which they are present or emphasized within ancient Egyptian culture, the ancient Egyptian concept of ritual should be delineated. Using the qualities suggested by Bell also should provide a description of ritual that can be compared to ritual in other cultures and to the theoretical analysis of the scholarly construct, "ritual." Another benefit of using this style of analysis over a definition is that it should speak to the concerns of Goody and Thomas discussed in Chapter 1. By referring to the qualities of ritual and their degree of intensity as Bell describes, the polarising effect of either fitting behaviours to modern cultural definitions or opposing such behaviours to western definitions can be less invasive.

Bell's emphasis on ritual being culturally specific and her list of qualities of ritual suggest a methodological approach to new investigations of ancient Egyptian ritual. Clearly, a study of the cognitive category ritual, through the analysis of words for ritual, should provide a picture of what was considered ritual within the ancient Egyptian culture. Two expressions in ancient Egyptian are regularly translated as ritual by Egyptologists, ỉr-ḫt and nt-ᶜ; however, the translation of these expressions as ritual has not been universal for all occurrences. This situation suggests that there is scope for a broader interpretation of ritual in ancient Egyptian terms than is currently understood. The determination of whether these expressions can mean ritual in ancient Egyptian will be guided by previous study of ritual by Egyptologists and cross-cultural analysis of the characteristics of ritual. The understanding of why certain activities were identified as ritual will be determined, in part, by the list of qualities of ritual as presented by Bell. The qualities in this list also will need to be set into the context of ancient Egyptian cultural practices and beliefs in order to understand the complex context of ritual within their society. From this combination of approaches, a clearer understanding of the cultural context of ritual in ancient Egypt can be achieved.

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[1] This article is meant to address the wider field of religious studies, but uses Egyptological examples as illustrations.

[2] For example, see the series edited by Derchain, *Rites égyptiens;* Derchain 1962, Kurth 1975, Derchain-Urtel 1981, Ryhiner 1995. Also see, Egberts 1995, Teeter 1997a.

[3] This trend in emphasizing temple ritual has early origins considering Moret's work mentioned earlier and continues through to today. For the primacy of temple cult in understanding ritual and the discussions of funerary and royal ritual in earlier studies see for example, Wilson 1946: 80-84; Alliot 1946, 1949; Nelson 1949; Bonnet 1952; Fairman 1954, 1958; Otto 1958; Morenz 1973: 81-109; Blackman 1998.

CHAPTER THREE

Analysis of ỉr-ḫt

> Therefore doth heaven divide
> The state of man in divers functions,
> Setting endeavor in continual motion;
> To which is fixed, as an aim or butt,
> Obedience: for so work the honeybees,
> Creatures that by a rule in nature teach
> The act of order to a peopled kingdom.
> *Henry V*: Act I scene II: 183-189

The ancient Egyptian expression most commonly considered to mean ritual, ỉr-ḫt, has the literal meaning, "to do things" (*Wb*. I: 124). In order to understand how this compound word could carry the sense of ritual, the two elements, ỉr and ḫt, will be analyzed individually. After the use of these components is understood, then the uses of ỉr-ḫt in Egyptian texts will be surveyed and analyzed.

3a **The Verb** ỉr

The first element in the expression ỉr-ḫt is the common verb ỉr (*Wb* I: 112) with the basic meaning "to do." Given the general nature of this verb it might seem that there is little to be learned about the meaning or use of ỉr-ḫt

from an analysis of the verbal element in this compound. It must be remembered, however, that one significant element in most definitions of ritual is the emphasis on bodily action (see Chapter 2, p.19). An investigation of the use of this verb in relation to concepts like performative action elucidates the ancient Egyptian conception of this kind of behaviour. The Egyptians use ir to describe several discreet areas of activity: physical performance; the performance of job activities (performing an office); performance of aggressive behaviour; and religious performance.

Another use of the verb ir that is significant to the connection of this word to ritual activity, is the use of nominal forms like irw and irt to describe the performance of rites (Anthes 1969: 26-33). The basic meaning of these forms is "what is done," or "activity" (*Wb.*I: 113). The words irw and irt are sometimes translated as ritual (Hannig 1995: 91; Meeks 1981: 42-3), though more commonly as performance or ceremony (Hannig 1995: 91-92; *Wb.*I: 113). When these nominal forms carry the latter meaning they normally are found accompanied by another form of the verb ir (e.g., "admitting children of the great...gold nemset—ewers and electrum libation flasks in their hands in order to *perform performances* of the Sed festival" chart #1, a.52; for a discussion see section 3a.5). This combination of words is of most interest because it stresses the performative nature of these activities.

3a.1 Physical Performance

The use of the verb ir to describe the performance of physical action is common in Egyptian texts. It is probable that this aspect of the verb is responsible for its use as an auxiliary for verbs of motion in Middle Egyptian (Gardiner 1957: § 485; Callender 1975: 41-42) and possibly is a factor in the development of the use of ir as a periphrastic auxiliary in later forms of Egyptian (Loprieno 1995: 220-225; Neveu 1996: 45-46).

First, it is clear that the verb ir describes bodily actions that could be related to public performance. In the story of Sinuhe, the act of dancing is modified by the verb ir: "the dance of the Mu dancers is *performed* at the door of your tomb" (chart #1, a.20). A similar example of this use of ir occurs in the Westcar Papyrus. The servant of Reddjedet hears sounds she believes relate to the performance of music and dance: "then she heard noise of singing, music, dancing, and shouting -- everything that is *performed* for a king - in the room" (chart #1, a.41). Later references to this event also employ this verb to describe the event: "she could not find the place where it was being *performed*" (chart #1, a.42) and: "she found it was *performed* within it" (chart #1, a.43). Finally, the performance of a funerary procession is described using ir: "a funeral procession is *performed* for you on the day of interment" (chart #1, a.19).

The verb ir is used to describe violent physical action.[1] In Sinuhe, Senwosret I is described as: "a strong man who *performs* with his strong arm" (chart #1 a.17). In shooting an arrow, Senwosret III's action is described: "as Sekhmet *performs*" (chart #1, a.23). Similarly, the act of severing a head is described with this verb: "look, one never commands *performing* the like to the noble herd" (chart #1 a.37). As might be expected in this context, the exceptional physical exploits of Amenhotep II are described using the verb ir. When Amenhotep displayed his great skill in rowing: "faces brightened when they saw him *perform* this" (chart #1, a.48) and when he shot an arrow through a copper target, it was described as: "a display like never yet *performed*" (chart #1, a.49). Finally, Ramesses II's military activities also are described using the verb ir. After describing Ramesses' lone personal attack against the enemy at Kadesh, he says: "as for every plan that my majesty said, I *performed* it in truth" (chart #1, a.82; also see chart #1, a.79, a.84, a.85).

The connection between ir and strong physical action also is evident in the non-royal epithets of the Middle Kingdom. Examples collected by Doxey (1998: 269-273) that potentially indicate such action include: "one who *performs* with his strong arm" (chart #1, a.29); "one who *performs* strongly" (chart #1, a.30); "one who *performed* control" (chart #1, a.06); "one who *performs* all that is said, the whole land shaking in fear of his wrath" (chart #1, a.07).

3a.2 Work-Related Activity

Less violent physical action also can be indicated through the verb ir. The most apparent kind of action described in this way is physical work. A common element of spells from the Book of the Dead and the inscriptions on ushabti is: "spell for not *performing* work in the necropolis" (chart #1, a.55) and "to *perform* any work that is to be *performed* in the necropolis" (chart #1, a.75). Similarly, the activity of a servant is indicated using the word ir: "in order to *perform* his service" (chart #1, a.81; also see chart #1, a.21). Finally, the performance of physical activity like building and rowing can be indicated in this way: "it is in every respect that I *performed* this" (rebuilding of a chapel) (chart #1, a.05; also see chart #1, a.28) and: "certainly, I will *perform* my water-procession" (chart #1, a.36).

Royal and non-royal epithets employ the verb ir to indicate the performance of work or similar activities. For example, in royal epithets the king is described as: "he who knows about the *performance* of all work more than a god who is in his hour" (chart #1, a.64) and: "one who *performs* with his two arms" (chart #1, a.65). In non-royal epithets, performance of duties for the king or a superior is often described using ir. Examples of such occurrences include: "one who *performed* what His Majesty commanded" (chart #1, a.08); "one who *performed* according to what is in his (lord's) heart" (chart #1, a.16); "one who *performs* for his lord" (chart #1, a.31); "one who *performs* what his lord favours" (chart #1, a.32), and its variants (Doxey 1998:

270-2); "one who *performed* his lord's business without ceasing" (chart #1, a.11).

Related to the use of ir describing work activities, it is common to describe the performance of one's job or the fulfilling of an office using this word. The kind of office being performed can be left stated generally: "one who *performed* an office according to its purpose" (chart #1, a.33). More often, the office is specified. The office indicated can be military: "one who *performs* as general in every place" (chart #1, a.13); bureaucratic: "it was during the reign of Unas that I *performed* as senior administrator" (chart #1, a.01; also see chart #1, a.04, a.10, a.78); priestly: "the eldest among them will be *performing* as Greatest of Seers in Heliopolis" (chart #1a.39; also see chart #1, a.24); and royal: "*performing* kingship" (chart #1 a.90, also see chart #1, a.34, a.38).

3a.3 Aggressive Behaviour

Not all activity to which ir refers is positive or laudable. For example, the performance of beating a servant was referred to using this verb: "see, it is what they *perform* against their peasants" (chart #1, a.22). Many examples come from funerary contexts, particularly from the negative confession (see Lichtheim 1992: 103-144). For example, in the tomb biography of Nesumontu he states: "I never *performed* an act of rebellion" (chart #1, a.27). The chamberlain Henun says of himself: "there was no falseness that came from my mouth, no evil that was *performed* by my hands" (chart #1, a.14). In

chapter 172 of the Book of the Dead the dead person is told to fight those who act against his interests: "scribe Nebseni rise up against them, against those males who *perform* against him and those females who *perform* against him" (chart #1, a.63).

3a.4 Religious and Ceremonial Activities

The final category of activity that is designated by ir is activity related to the practice of religion and related ceremonial activities like the royal Sed festival. The performance of offerings and temple rites commonly is referred to using the verb ir. The use can be general in reference, for example, "that which is *performed* by the lector priest" (chart #1, a.35) and "they found him while *performing* in the shrine in the house of Amun" (chart #1, a.66; also see chart #1, a.77). In other situations, ir can refer specifically to certain practices such as offerings or ritual actions. For example, Sehetepibre refers to the performance of specific ritual actions in his stele, "I *performed* the haker for its lord" (chart #1, a.25). Similarly, Thutmoses III states, "my majesty instituted for him divine offerings of barley in order to *perform* praise with it at the feast of the new moon, the sixth day feast and as a daily offering like the *performances* in Heliopolis" (chart #1, a.46; also see chart #1, a.86, a.91). Seti I also refers to a specific ritual action by using the verb ir, "in order to *perform* (the ceremony of) "Opening the Face" for the father" (chart #1, a.68). Funerary offerings often are referred to in a similar way as in this example

from the Book of the Dead, "along with those who *perform* offerings" (chart #1, a.60; also see chart #1, a.87). Finally, the performance of offerings is described in personal epithets. Examples include: "one who *performs* offerings to every god of the Oryx nome" (chart #1, a.12) and: "one who *performed* it as a burnt offering for the ka of Thoth" (chart #1, a.09).

The celebrations connected with festivals commonly are referred to using the verb ir. In the biographical inscription of Nekhebu, he says that he was praised for making offering, "at every good feast that is *performed* at any time of year" (chart #1, a.02). The Abydos stele of Sehetepibre asks the readers of the stele to say a voice offering as they love Osiris and as "you repeat *performing* his festivals" (chart #1, a.26). The celebration of the royal Sed festival is described in the same manner as these divine festivals. It is wished for the king, "may he *perform* millions of Sed-festivals" (chart #1, a.67). Similarly, in the Great Harris Papyrus, Ramesses III states, "I *performed* for you the first Sed festival of my reign" (chart #1, a.100; also see chart #1, a.88, a.101).

Also described using the verb ir are actions that are marginally ceremonial and have a physical component. Performing magic (bi3yt) in the Westcar Papyrus is described in this way: "without *performing* wonders for the children" (chart #1, a.40). The act of taking an oath is similarly expressed: "*performing* an oath to the lord" (chart #1, a.74). The physical aspect of greeting someone also can be expressed using ir: "your mother Nut makes

her two arms toward you in *performing* a greeting" (chart #1, a.76). Finally, the creation of a state of peace between the Hittites and the Egyptians is conveyed in a like manner: "there is no blame in peace when you *perform* it" (chart #1, a.80).

3a.5 Ir + Ir

A relatively common phrase related to performance involves the combination, ir + ir. Often, this combination takes the form of a nominal form of ir preceded by the verbal form (i.e., "to do what is done" or more simply, "to perform a performance"), thereby emphasizing the nominal character of the second element. Additionally, the combination of ir + ir gives the sense of performing traditional activities, i.e., do what is <normally> done. It is this aspect of the combination of these verbs that leads Hannig (1995: 91-2) to give the meaning of iri irwt as "the fulfillment of one's duty according to regulations." In addition, it should be noted that the use of this compound parallels many of the uses seen in the examples presented earlier that illustrate the use of ir in relation to performative activity.

An early use of this compound form to describe activities in the afterlife occurs in the Pyramid Texts. In Spell 517 the ferryman is asked to ferry the king over to the Field so that the king can participate in the activities performed there: "so that he might *perform performances* in it among the

revered ones, ferry N to the Field, the good seat of the great god" (chart #1, a.03). A similar example occurs in Spell 665 of the Coffin Texts, "he will *perform performances* and perform rule" (chart #1, a.34). The same phraseology is continued in the Book of the Dead where there is a strong concern with the dead taking part in activities in the afterlife that parallel activities they performed on earth. For example, in Chapter 64 it is said of the dead: "he *performs* all the *performances* of the living" (chart #1, a.56) and in Chapter 110: "*performing* all that one *performs* on earth" (chart #1, a.58; also see chart #1, a.57, a.61). Funerary rites also are referred to using ir + ir in Chapter 113 of the Book of the Dead: "they *perform* for them what was *performed* for those who are in Nekhen" (chart #1, a.59).

Temple rites also are indicated using the combination of ir + ir. A clear example is found in the contracts of Djefaihapi where he instructs the priests to deliver three wicks after "he *performs* what he will *perform* with it in the temple" (chart #1, a.15). In Thutmoses III's building inscription concerning the Ptah temple, he completes his description of the temple arrangements that he has made by saying, "my majesty commands that every *performance* be *performed* in this temple" (chart #1, a.47; also see chart #1, a.95, a.98, a.99). While these examples are general in reference, it is common to use similar expressions to describe specific performances. For example, in the tomb chapel of Tjunuroy is found the text: "he said, you *perform* your *performances* of Sokar who is in his cavern" (chart #1, a.93). Similar terminology is used of

the practices related to the god Thoth: "you *performed* all *performances* of the god Thoth" (chart #1, a.96).

Another common use of the combination ir + ir is found in descriptions of the performance of activities related to royal ceremony and practice. The Theban tomb of Kheruef contains several examples of the use of ir + ir to describe specific activities from royal ceremony, particularly of the Sed festival. Accompanying a scene of royal women performing ritual oblations to the king during his Sed festival is a text that reads: "admitting children of the great..... gold nemset--ewers and electrum libation flasks in their hands in order to *perform performances* of the Sed festival" (chart #1, a.52). A similar text accompanies a scene of women dancing: "admitting women before the king in order to *perform performances* of the Sed festival in front of the baldachin" (chart #1, a.51). Finally, a description of the ceremony of raising of the Djed pillar contains the same phraseology: "giving cloth, causing their feet to mount the steps of the throne in order to *perform performances* of the raising of the Djed pillar before the king" (chart #1, a.50).

Royal activities not immediately related to high ceremonial also are referred to by using ir + ir. For example, it is said of Ramesses II: "there are none who have *performed* what he *performed* in any foreign land" (chart #1, a.83). In quarrying graffiti at the Wadi Silsila the quarrying activities are described using ir + ir: "the coming, *performing* for him *performances* of the great and important monument work of his majesty" (chart #1, a.97). The

general works of the king often are described using this verb combination. Horemheb describes his reasons for his building activities for the gods as: "one *performs* for those who *performed*" (chart #1, a.54). Horemheb also describes the nature of his general governance as: "one *performed* all *performances* upon command" (chart #1, a. 53; also see chart #1, a.69, a.70, a.71, a.72, a.73).

Finally, ir + ir can be used to describe aggressive behaviour. In chapter 166 of the Book of the Dead, it states: "it is commanded to *perform* against what is *performed* against you" (chart #1, a.62). The Westcar Papyrus provides a non-funerary example of ir used of aggressive behaviour. Reddjedet's servant goes to her brother to complain of a beating she has received and her brother angrily responds: "indeed, is the *performance* something to *perform*, coming in front of me?" (chart #1, a.44). A similar example occurs in one of the Deir el-Medina letters, where an angry correspondent writes: "look, do not *perform* the *performance* of an evil person" (chart #1, a.94).

3a.6 Interpretation

After this brief survey of the uses of ir in relation to the idea of performance, it is clear that this verb can refer to a variety of kinds of physical action that goes beyond what is required for ir-ḫt to carry the meaning of ritual. What is of most interest is the ability of the verb ir to carry the meaning of physical and performative action.

The physical nature of the action described by ir is most clear in its use with actions involving military activity (see chart #1, a.17, a.23, a.27, a.48, a.83). Equally significant in indicating physicality are the uses relating to building and quarrying activities (see chart #1, a.05, a.10, a.78, a.97). Finally, the stated contrast between the spoken and the acted made by the ancient Egyptians as seen in the negative confession: "there was no falseness that came from my mouth, no evil that was *performed* by my hands" (chart #1, a.14; also see chart #1, a.92) and the royal proclamation: "I am a king who speaks and *performs*" (chart #1, a.28) indicate the connection made between the verb ir and physical action.

The performative nature of the action described by ir is equally clear. As has been reviewed above, this verb can describe several types of action commonly connected to performance like dance, music, water and funerary processions (chart #1, a.19, a.20, a.36, a.41). It also is possible to place under performative the uses of the verb ir in describing activities that would have involved a performative component. These activities include performing oaths (chart #1, a.74) and greetings (chart #1, a.76).

Given that the verb ir can combine the qualities of physical action and performative action, it is not surprising that religious rituals and secular ceremonies are described using this word. It is this situation that has led translators to use words like rite and ceremony when translating ir and

especially ir + ir.[2] A large number of the examples discussed in this section fall into the category of religious rituals or secular ceremonies (e.g., see chart #1, a.03, a.15, a.35, a.41, a.46, a.47, a.50, a.51, a.52, a.66, a.67, a.91, a.93, a.96, a.98, a.99, a.100). Given the qualities of physical performance connected to the verb ir, among this verb's other uses, it is reasonable to conclude that part of the reason it is used of negative behaviour and work related activities is because they have a strong physical and/or performative aspect.

It can be concluded that the verb ir has the ability to refer to physical performative action and therefore can carry the meaning of performing required if ir-ḫt means "performing rites." It now remains to determine the meaning of the word ḫt in this compound phrase.

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[1] Blumenthal (1970: 217-218) notes this use of ir, but translates it using the verb "handeln" which emphasizes action rather than performance.
[2] For example, see Wilson 1955: 21; Simpson 1972: 68; Lesko 1982: 26; Grandet 1994a: 289.

Chart # 1

ỉr (a references)

ref. no.	source	transliteration	translation	date
a.01	Urk I: 194.9	ỉr.n.(i) sꜣb ḫ̲d-mr m rk wnỉs	it was during the reign of Unas that I performed as senior administrator	05th Dyn.
a.02	Urk I: 217.14 (Nekhebu)	m ḥb nb nfr ỉrw m tr nb n rnpt	at every good feast which is performed at any time of the year	06th Dyn.
a.03	Sethe 1902-1922: 1191a-b (Pyramid Texts)	ḏꜣỉ N ỉr sḫt st nfrt nṯr ꜥꜣ ỉrt.f ỉrw ỉm.s m ꜣḫw	so that he might perform performances in it among the revered ones, ferry N to the Field, the good seat of the great god	06th Dyn.
a.04	Clère and Vandier 1948: §20 (Tjetji -- British Museum 614)	ỉr.n.(i) hꜣww.(i) nb(w) tp tꜣ m ḫry-tp nỉswt n ḏt.f	it is as the chief personal chamberlain of the king that I performed all my time on earth	11th Dyn.
a.05	Clère and Vandier 1948: §31	ỉr.n.(i) nn mỉ ḳd	it is in every respect that I performed this	11th Dyn.
a.06	Couyat and Montet 1912: pl. 31 (Henu -- Hammamat 114)	ỉr ḫrp	one who performed control	11th Dyn.
a.07	Couyat and Montet 1912: pl. 31 (Henu -- Hammamat 114)	ỉr ḏdt nb tꜣ r-ḏr.f ḥr nḥnḥ n snḏw nw ỉdt.f	one who performs all that is said, the whole land shaking in fear of his wrath	11th Dyn.
a.08	Fakhry 1952: pl. 6b	ỉr wḏwt ḥm.f	one who performed what His Majesty commanded	11th Dyn.

Chart # 1

ir (a references)

ref. no.	source	transliteration	translation	date
a.09	Anthes 1928: 38, pl. 16 (Hatnub)	ir st m sb n sḏt n kꜣ n ḏḥwty	one who performed it as a burnt offering to the ka of Thoth	11th Dyn.
a.10	Anthes 1928: 48-49, pl. 22 (Hatnub)	ir.n.i imy-r š m hꜣw ḫꜣty-ʿ nḥri ʿnḫ wḏꜣ snb	it was during the time of nomarch Nehry l.p.h., that I performed as overseer of quarry-work	11th Dyn.
a.11	Anthes 1928: 63, pl. 30 (Hatnub)	ir sšm n nb.f n ꜣbt.f	one who performed his lord's business without ceasing	11th Dyn.
a.12	Newberry 1893: (II)pl.5 (Beni Hasan)	ir ḥtpw n nṯr nb n mꜣḥḏ	one who performs offering to every god of the Oryx nome	11th Dyn.
a.13	Newberry 1893: (II)pl.14 (Beni Hasan)	irr imy-r mšʿ m st nbt	one who performs as general in every place	11th Dyn.
a.14	Schenkel 1965: #375	nn isft prt m r.i nn ḏwt irt.n ʿwy	there was no falseness that came from my mouth, no evil that was performed by my hands	11th Dyn.
a.15	Griffith 1889: pl 7.298 (Djefaihapi)	ir.f irtw.f im.s m ḥwt-ntr	he performs what he will perform with it in the temple	12th Dyn.
a.16	Montet 1928: l.219	irr mi ntt m ib.f	one who performed according to what is in his (lord's) heart	12th Dyn.

Chart # 1

ỉr (a references)

ref. no.	source	transliteration	translation	date
a.17	Blackman 1932: 51-52 (Sinuhe B51-52)	nḫt pw grt ỉr m ḫpš.f	a strong man who performs with his strong arm	12th Dyn.
a.18	Blackman 1932: 117 (Sinuhe B117)	ḥr ỉrt wpwt.k	(when he sees me) upon performing your business	12th Dyn.
a.19	Blackman 1932: 192 (Sinuhe B192)	ỉr.tw n.k šms-wḏ3 hrw sm3-t3	a funeral procession is performed for you on the day of interment	12th Dyn.
a.20	Blackman 1932: 194-5 (Sinuhe B194-195)	ỉr.tw ḫbb mww r r-ỉs.k	the dance of the mww-dancers is performed at the door of your tomb	12th Dyn.
a.21	Blackman 1932: 282-3 (Sinuhe B282-283)	r ỉrt ʿḥʿw.f	in order to perform his service	12th Dyn.
a.22	Sethe 1928: 21.10 (Eloquent Peasant B1.45)	mk ỉrrt.sn pw r sḫtyw.sn	see, it is what they perform against their peasants	12th Dyn.
a.23	Sethe 1928: 66.7 (Hymn to Senwosret III -- P. Kahun)	stỉ.(f) šsr mỉ ỉrr sḫmt	he shoots an arrow as Sekhmet performs	12th Dyn.
a.24	Sethe 1928: 68.5-6 (Sehetepibre - Cairo 20538)	ỉw ỉr.n.ỉ s3 mr.f m sšm n ḥwt nbw m sšt3 n nb 3bḏw	I performed as his beloved son in the procedure in the Mansion of Gold during the secrets of the lord of Abydos	12th Dyn.

Chart # 1

ỉr (a references)

ref no.	source	transliteration	translation	date
a.25	Sethe 1928: 68.7 (Sehetepibre - Cairo 20538)	ỉr.n.ỉ hꜣkr n nb.f	I performed the Haker for its lord	12th Dyn.
a.26	Sethe 1928: 70.7 (Ikhernofret - Berlin 1204)	wḥm.tn ỉrt ḥbwt.f	you repeat performing his festivals	12th Dyn.
a.27	Sethe 1928: 82.2 (Nesumontu - Louvre C.1)	n sp ỉry.ỉ tp ḫnt	I never performed an act of rebellion	12th Dyn.
a.28	Sethe 1928: 83.23 (Semna - Berlin 1157)	ỉnk nswt ḏdw ỉrw	I am a king who speaks and performs	12th Dyn.
a.29	Blackman 1953: pl.13	ỉr m ḫpš.f	one who performs with his strong arm	12th Dyn.
a.30	Blackman 1953: pl.13	ỉr nḫt	one who performs strongly	12th Dyn.
a.31	Newberry 1895: (I) pl.5 (XXX)	ỉr n nb.f	one who performs for his lord	12th Dyn.
a.32	Gardiner, Peet and Černý 1952: pl. 36 (Sinai 118)	[ỉrr] ḥsst nb.f	one who performs what his lord favours	12th Dyn.

Chart # 1

ỉr (a references)

ref. no.	source	transliteration	translation	date
a.33	Lange and Schäfer 1902-25: pl. 41 (Cairo 20539)	ỉr ỉꜣt mỉ ỉry.s	one who performed an office according to its purpose	12th Dyn.
a.34	de Buck 1933-61: VI 291.r-t (Coffin Texts)	ỉry.f ỉrw ỉry.f sšmw	he will perform performances and perform rule	12th Dyn.
a.35	Erman 1890: 4.11 (P. Westcar)	ỉryt ḫry-ḥbt	that which is performed by the lector priest	17th Dyn.
a.36	Erman 1890: 5.7 (P. Westcar)	ỉw.ỉ ḥm r ỉrt ḫnt.ỉ	certainly, I will perform my water-procession	17th Dyn.
a.37	Erman 1890: 8.17 (P. Westcar)	mk n wḏ.tw ỉrt mnt ỉry n tꜣ ʿwt špst	look, one never commands performing the like to the noble herd	17th Dyn.
a.38	Erman 1890: 9.11 (P. Westcar)	ỉw.sn r ỉrt ỉꜣt twy mnḫt m t3 pn r ḏr.f	they will perform this excellent office in the entire land	17th Dyn.
a.39	Erman 1890: 9.12 (P. Westcar)	ỉw smsw n.sn-ỉmy r ỉrt wr mꜣw m ỉwnw	the eldest among them will be performing as Greatest of Seers in Heliopolis	17th Dyn.
a.40	Erman 1890: 11.10 (P. Westcar)	nn ỉrt biꜣywt n nꜣ n ḫrdw	without performing wonders for these children	17th Dyn.
a.41	Erman 1890: 12.2 (P. Westcar)	ʿḥʿ.n sḏm.n.s ḫrw ḥsỉ šmʿ ḫbt wꜣg ỉrrt nbt n nsw m tꜣ ʿt	then she heard noise of singing, music, dancing, and shouting -- everything that is performed for a king -- in the room	17th Dyn.
a.42	Erman 1890: 12.3	n gm.n.s bw ỉrrw st ỉm	she could not find the place where it was being	17th Dyn.

Chart # 1

ỉr (a references)

ref. no.	source	transliteration	translation	date
	(P. Westcar)		performed	
a.43	Erman 1890: 12.4 (P. Westcar)	gm.n.s ỉr.tw m ḫnw.f	she found it was performed within it	17th Dyn.
a.44	Erman 1890: 12.15-16 (P. Westcar)	ỉr ỉs ỉrt pȝ ỉỉt tp-ỉm.ỉ	indeed, is the performance something to perform, coming in front of me?	17th Dyn.
a.45	Urk IV: 96.2-3	ỉr.n.f tw mtt nt ỉb.f r ỉrt ỉrtw.n.f m tȝ	he made you for his affection in order to perform that which he performed to him on earth	18th Dyn.
a.46	Urk IV: 747.5-8	ỉw wȝḥ.n n.f ḥm.ỉ ḥtpw-nṯr n srwt r ỉrt ḥsỉt ỉm.f m psdn m 6 nt nb m ỉmnyt rᶜ nb mỉ ỉrwt m ỉwnw	my majesty instituted for him divine offerings of barley in order to perform praise with it at the feast of the new moon, the sixth day feast, and as a daily offering like the performances in Heliopolis	18th Dyn.
a.47	Urk IV: 772.4	wḏ ḥm.ỉ ỉr.tw ỉrwt nbt m r-pr pn	my majesty commands that every performance be performed in this temple	18th Dyn.
a.48	Urk IV: 1280.8	ḥrw ᶜnw mȝȝ.w n.f ỉr.n.f nn	faces brightened when they saw him perform this	18th Dyn.
a.49	Urk IV: 1281.2	sp ỉs pw n pȝt ỉrt.f	a display like never yet performed	18th Dyn.
a.50	Urk IV: 1860.15-17	rdỉt mnḫt rdỉt ᶜḥᶜ rdw.sn r rdw st r ỉrt ỉrw n sᶜḥᶜ ḏdw m-bȝḥ nsw	giving cloth, causing their feet to mount the steps of the throne in order to perform performances of the raising of the Djed pillar	18th Dyn.

Chart # 1

ỉr (a references)

ref. no.	source	transliteration	translation	date
			before the king	
a.51	Urk IV: 1871.7	sṯ3 ḥmwt m-b3ḥ nsw r ỉrt ỉrw n ḥb-sd ḫft ḥr ṯnṯ3t	admitting women before the king in order to perform performances of the Sed festival in front of the baldachin	18th Dyn.
a.52	Epigraphic Survey 1980: pl. 32 (Tomb of Kheruef, TT 192)	sṯ3 msw wr...nmst nbw snbt ḥḏ-nbw m ḏrt.sn r ỉrt ỉrw n ḥb sd	admitting children of the great...gold nemset--ewers and electrum libation flasks in their hands in order to perform performances of the Sed festival	18th Dyn.
a.53	Urk IV: 2116.2-3	sw3š.sn n ḥr.f mỉ nṯr ỉr.n.tw ỉrrwt nb ḫr wḏ ///	they pay honour to his face like a god; one performed all performances upon command ///	18th Dyn.
a.54	Urk IV: 2124.6-8	3b.n.f ṯnw.tw.f r nswy ḫprw ỉrr.tw n ỉrw	it is to be more than former kings that he desired that he be distinguished because one performs for those who performed	18th Dyn.
a.55	BD: Ch. 5.1	r n tm ỉrt k3t m ḫr-nṯr	spell for not performing work in the necropolis	18th Dyn.
a.56	BD: Ch. 64 rubric. 1	ỉw.f ỉr.f ỉrrwt nbt ʿnḫw	he performs all the performances of the living	18th Dyn.
a.57	BD: Ch. 64 rubric. 51	ỉw.f ỉr.f ỉrrt s nty tp t3 ỉr m ỉrrw nbt ntyw	he performs what is performed by a man on earth performing according to all that is performed by those who are	18th Dyn.
a.58	BD: Ch. 110.3	ỉrt ỉrr.tw nbt tp t3	performing all that one performs on earth	18th. Dyn.
a.59	BD: Ch. 113.9	ỉr.w n.sn ỉrwt n ỉmyw nḫn	they perform for them what was performed for those who are in Nekhen	18th Dyn.

Chart # 1

ỉr (a references)

ref. no.	source	transliteration	translation	date
a.60	BD: Ch. 147.II.9	m-ˁ ỉrryw ḥtp	along with those who perform offerings	18th Dyn.
a.61	BD: Ch. 153A.33	ỉry.ỉ m ỉrrwt.sn hnw m hnw.sn n kꜣ.ỉ	I perform in what they perform, praising as they praise my ka	18th Dyn.
a.62	BD: Ch. 166.4	wḏ(.tw) ỉrt r ỉr r.k	it is commanded to perform against what is performed against you	19th Dyn.
a.63	BD: Ch. 172.8-9	ṯsw n.sw sš nbsny r ỉrryw r.f ỉrryt r.f	scribe Nebseni rise up against them, against those males who perform against him and those females who perform against them	18th Dyn.
a.64	Rondot 1997: 130 (Karnak, Hypostyle Hall)	rḫ-sw r ỉrrt kꜣwt nbt r nṯr ỉmy wnwt.f	he who knows about the performance of all work more than a god who is in his hour	19th Dyn.
a.65	Rondot 1997: 131 (Karnak, Hypostyle Hall)	ỉr m ˁwy.fy	one who performs with his two arms	19th Dyn.
a.66	Gardiner 1932: 94.4	ỉw.sn ḥr gm.tw.f ỉw ỉ.ỉrt.f m ḥwt-nṯr nt pr-ỉmn	they found him while performing in the shrine of the house of Amun	19th Dyn.
a.67	Gardiner 1937: 62.4-5	ỉmỉ ỉry.f ḥḥw n ḥb-sdw	may he perform millions of Sed-festivals	19th Dyn.
a.68	KRI I: 48.11	r ỉrt wn ḥr n ỉt	in order to perform (the ceremony of) "Opening the Face" for the father	19th Dyn.
a.69	KRI I: 89.9	twt swt ỉrt n ỉrr.st	it is pleasing to perform for the one who has performed it	19th Dyn.

Chart # 1
ỉr (a references)

ref no.	source	transliteration	translation	date
a.70	KRI I: 118.5	ḥsiw.f ḳbw ḥr ỉrrt.f ỉr n.f sꜣ rᶜ	his praise is doubled on account of what he has performed: what was performed for him by the son of Re	19th Dyn.
a.71	KRI I: 202.6	twt swt ỉrt n ỉrw ꜣḫ ỉr ꜣḫ ỉr.n ḥm.f	it is pleasing what is performed by a beneficent performer who performs such beneficence as his Majesty has performed	19th Dyn.
a.72	KRI I: 210.14	wnn ỉrrwt.k	as long as your performances last	19th Dyn.
a.73	KRI I: 219.4-5	ỉr ỉrr.tw ḥr wḏ nṯr	if one performs at the command of a god	19th Dyn.
a.74	KRI I: 238.13	ḥr ỉrt ᶜnḫ n nb	performing an oath to the lord	19th Dyn.
a.75	KRI I: 342.5	r ỉr ḳꜣt nbt ỉrrt m ḫrt-nṯr r.s	to perform any work that is to be performed in the necropolis	19th Dyn.
a.76	KRI I: 362.9-10	ỉrỉ n.k mwt.k nwt ᶜwy.s m ỉrt nyny	your mother Nut makes her two arms toward you in performing a greeting	19th Dyn.
a.77	KRI II: 37.11	bw wꜣḥ.ỉ nfr ḥꜣ ḏrt r tm ỉrwt m pꜣy.k wbꜣ	I ignored no good deed to guard from not performing them in your open court	19th Dyn.
a.78	KRI II: 38.6	ỉw ỉnk ỉrr ms ỉnr	I performed as stone carrier	19th Dyn.
a.79	KRI II: 76.1	ntk sꜣ ỉmn ỉrw m ᶜwy.fy	you are a son of Amun who performs with his two arms	19th Dyn.
a.80	KRI II: 97.13	n wn ṯᶜy m ḥtp ỉw.k ḥr ỉrt.f	there is no blame in peace when you perform it	19th Dyn.
a.81	KRI II: 104.12	ỉw.n r ỉrt bꜣkw	we will perform servitude	19th Dyn.
a.82	KRI II: 124.1-2	ỉr sḫrw nb ḏd.n ḥm.ỉ ỉr.ỉ st m mꜣᶜt	as for every plan that my majesty said, I	19th Dyn.

Chart # 1

ỉr (a references)

ref. no.	source	transliteration	translation	date
			performed it in truth	
a.83	KRI II: 151.12	nn ỉr ỉr.n.f ḥr ḫ³swt nbw	there are none who have performed what he performed in any foreign land	19th Dyn.
a.84	KRI II: 174.13-14	ỉry sw ḥm.f ˁ.w.s. m m³ˁt	it is his Majesty l.p.h. who performed it in truth	19th Dyn.
a.85	KRI II: 224.9	ỉrr ˁ šn ỉtn	one who performs to the region of the circuit of the sun disk	19th Dyn.
a.86	KRI II: 226.4	ḥr ỉrt ḥssỉ ỉt.f ỉmn-rˁ ḥr-³ḫty ỉtm	performing what his father Amun-re-horakhti-atum praises	19th Dyn.
a.87	KRI II: 263.10	ỉr ³ḫ n k³.ỉ	to perform beneficence for my ka	19th Dyn.
a.88	KRI II: 270.1	ỉry.k ḥb sd ỉr.n.ỉ m ḫnw.f	that you might perform the Sed festival that I performed within it	19th Dyn.
a.89	KRI II: 275.6	ỉry .ỉ sw n ỉb.k	I perform it at your desire	19th Dyn.
a.90	KRI II: 567.4	ỉrt nswyt	performing kingship	19th Dyn.
a.91	KRI II: 575.9	ḏdw m ỉwnw ỉrw m w³st mn m ḥwt-k³-ptḥ	what is said in Heliopolis, what is performed in Thebes, what is established in Memphis	19th Dyn.
a.92	KRI III: 5.8	nn ḏd.ỉ grg m rḫ.ỉ n ỉr.ỉ sp snnw	I did not say falsehoods knowingly, I did not perform deception	19th Dyn.
a.93	KRI III: 486.6	ḏd.f ỉrr.k ỉrrwt.k skr ỉmy ḳrrt.f	he said, you perform your performances of Sokar who is in his cavern	19th Dyn.
a.94	KRI III: 542.1-2	mk m ỉr ỉrrt rmṯ bỉn	look, do not perform the performance of an evil person	19th Dyn.
a.95	KRI III: 555.14	ḏb³w.f ỉw ỉrrt ỉrr.f	he adorns, performing what he performs	19th Dyn.

Chart # 1
ỉr (a references)

ref. no.	source	transliteration	translation	date
a.96	KRI III: 29.13-14	ỉr.n.k ỉrrwt nbt n nṯr ḏḥwty mỉ ḳd wšbt ḥr ˁ mỉ ḏdwt nꜣn ḫmnyw	you performed all performances of the god Thoth like the nature of response concerning the record (condition) like what was said by the Ogdoad	19th Dyn.
a.97	KRI V: 228.6	pꜣ ỉỉ ỉr n.f r ỉrrt kꜣ(t)w mnw ˁꜣyw wrw n ḥm.f	the coming, performing for him performances, of the great and important monument work of his majesty	20th Dyn.
a.98	KRI V: 526.2	dwꜣ n hrw n ỉrrt ỉr n.f ˁnḫ nb	adoring on the day of performing performances for him of the living lord	20th Dyn.
a.99	KRI VI: 458.12	r-ḏd ỉ.ỉr.st mtw.k ỉrwt ỉw pꜣ ỉ.ỉrr.k nb m ỉrr.tn n nṯrw n pr-ˁꜣ	saying what it does and you perform all that which you perform in your performing for the gods of the pharaoh	20th Dyn.
a.100	Erichsen 1933: 49.10 (Great Harris Papyrus)	ỉ.ỉr.ỉ n.k ḥb sd tpy n nswt	I performed for you the first Sed festival of my reign	20th Dyn.
a.101	Erichsen 1933: 49.10 (Great Harris Papyrus)	ḳbḥ.ỉ n.k ỉ.ỉrwt m ḫnw ttnt	I doubled for you the performances in the interior of the court	20th Dyn.

3b ḫt

The second element in the expression ir-ḫt is another common word, ḫt (*Wb* I: 124) with the basic meaning "things." Again, it would appear that the general nature of this word is not promising in an attempt to understand the meaning of ir-ḫt. An analysis of the uses of the word ḫt in Egyptian texts often has more specificity than is usual with the English word "things." The Egyptians used ḫt to describe property, offerings, cultic rites, and various concepts. This section also will examine the possibility that ḫt can take on specific meanings when combined with other words.

3b.1 Property

One of the most frequent uses of the word ḫt in ancient Egyptian is to denote property. This sense of property is presented clearly in a number of sources. For example, when the belongings of the Eloquent Peasant are stolen he prays: "Lord of Quiet, give to me my *property*" (chart #2, b.44). In the tomb biography of Nekhebu he says of his work for his brother, "I set in order all his possessions (išwt.f)[2] for him so that his *property* was greater in his house than the house of any noble" (chart #2, b.15; also see b.39, b.46). In chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead, the dead in their own defense said: "I have not made great my possessions (ḫrt.i) except by means of my *property*" (chart #2, b.106; also see b.105). Similarly, discussions concerning property in

the wisdom texts frequently make use of the word ḫt: "he was a wealthy man, his *property* was great" (chart #2, b.34; also see b.35, b.37, b.38, b.120). The same impression of the meaning of ḫt as property is given in Seti I's description of his triumph over the Libyans where Amun-re tells Seti that he caused the conquered Libyans to come to Seti, "under all their *property*, loaded upon their backs" (chart #2, b.122). Similarly, the Hittite king, when presenting his daughter to Ramesses II in marriage is recorded as saying, "I have presented all my *property*, with my eldest daughter at their front" (chart #2, b.143; also see b.140). Finally, when Ramesses II finds himself abandoned by his soldiers at the Battle of Kadesh, he shames his soldiers by telling them what he did for them. Among Ramesses' good works was: "I placed a son over his father's *property*" (chart #2, b.142; also see b.130). This statement would have been extremely potent to the ancient Egyptians. It echoed the important concept of father-to-son inheritance expressed in the declaration of innocence in tomb biographies and the Book of the Dead and in virtuous behaviour as expressed in the wisdom literature (see chart #2, b.90; also see b.102, b.115).[3]

This last example also carries a second nuance to the idea of property, that of inheritance. Within the Egyptian texts there are numerous examples of ḫt referring to what someone would inherit. This use is clearly seen in an ostracon from Deir el-Medina (ODM 108). The workman Pashedu calls it:

"this day of giving his *property*" (chart #2, b.139; also see b.69, b.141). After indicating that he wanted his property divided among his children, he gives a list of that property, which includes copper tools, baskets, a festival-portion, the grain allowance, mooring posts, a mirror, frying-pan, and stone vessels (KRI I: 409.5-9). It is clear from this list that ḫt includes both concrete objects and what might be called legacies (festival portion and grain allowance). This source also indicates that ḫt could be used to indicate property in legal texts (a will). This use is seen clearly in the will found at Kahun where the bequest is described as ḫt: "all my *property* in country and town shall belong to my brother" (chart #2, b.31).

A more complex example of a type of will that uses ḫt to indicate property is provided in the contracts of Djefaihapi. When Djefaihapi indicates the source of the material he is allocating to his temple cult he points out: "look you, it is my *property* from my father's house" (chart #2, b.30). Djefaihapi admonishes the ka-priests: "you stand over all my *property* that I placed under your control, look it is before you in writing" (chart #2, b.28; also see b.27).

Not surprisingly, ḫt is used in other kinds of legal texts to indicate property. The royal decrees of the Old Kingdom make extensive use of ḫt to indicate property. In a decree of Pepy II from Coptos, the king indicated concerning a field and its produce: "His Majesty commanded their exemption

like the *property* of Min of Coptos" (chart #2, b.18; also see b.19, b.20, b.22, b.127, b.129).

From the examples from the royal decrees, it is clear that the property referred to in these decrees can describe the property of a deity. That this is true is demonstrated by a large number of occurrences of ḫt describing either the property of the god and/or the property of a temple. Adding nṯr to ḫt indicates the property of a deity. An early example occurs in the Abusir papyri (Posener-Kriéger and de Cenival 1968). A few of the papyri that are accounts of materials contain the heading ḫt nṯr (Posener-Kriéger and de Cenival 1968: 47A.1, 47B.1). Under this heading are several kinds of fabric,[4] presumably fabric for the use of the god.

God's property also appears in statements concerning moral behaviour. In asserting proper behaviour, an Egyptian said: "I am devoid from contentiousness concerning god's *property*" (chart #2, b.52). Similarly, in the declaration of innocence of chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead, there are a couple of statements concerning ḫt nṯr: "I did not repulse the cattle from the god's *property*" (chart #2, b.103) and "I have not stolen the god's *property*" (chart #2, b.104).[5]

Pictorial evidence provides further indication of what might be considered god's property. A number of types of objects are labeled as ḫt nṯr in temple equipment pictured on the walls at Karnak: "silver necessaries of

god's *property*" (chart #2, b.62); "natron necessaries of god's *property*" (chart #2, b.63); "alabaster filled from the pure estate of the god's *property*" (chart #2, b.64); "unguents of the god's *property* for performing his praises in festivals" (chart #2, b.67; also see, b.84, b.148).

Often the term ḫt is used for material that might be considered to belong to a god, but is not modified by the word nṯr. This property can be considered as temple property and is often described in this manner. In a letter acknowledging the receipt of materials ḫt is used with ḥwt-nṯr: "because we received all the equipment of the temple, all the *property* being safe and sound" (chart #2, b.45; also see b.57). Huy, Viceroy of Kush, described one of his roles in the temple through the title "scribe who reckons all good *property* in the temple of Nebmaatre" (chart #2, b.83). Seti I, in the royal decree concerning his temple at Abydos, uses ḫt to refer to temple property. The overall purpose of the decree is stated: "to not cause that one transgress against any *property* belonging to this house (the temple), which is in the whole land" (chart #2, b.125, also see b.128). Similarly, when describing specific types of interference, the decree employs ḫt: "as for anyone who will be found seizing any *property* of the temple of Men-maat-re" (chart #2, b.126). From Seti I's decree it is clear that the property of a temple included a wide range of types of things including fields, ships, and raw materials (KRI I: 51-58).[6] This impression of the breadth of things included in the category of

temple property is confirmed in the Great Harris Papyrus where Ramesses III specifies what he gave to the god Amun for his temples and lists as ḫt items such as cattle, gardens, lands, galleys, workshops and towns (chart #2, b.153; also see b.154).

The final kind of property described as ḫt in Egyptian texts is the property of the tomb or the dead. In the tomb of Nekhebu, he curses the visitor to the tomb, "who will destroy any *property* from this tomb of mine" (chart #2, b.16; also see b.05, b.91, b.97, b.110, b.118, b.123). A related use is seen when the 'successful' residents of the land of the dead are called nbw ḫt, lords (possessors) of *property*. For example, in chapter 99 of the Book of the Dead the newly dead person greets the residents of the west saying: "hail to you beautiful ones, divine kas, lords of *property*" (chart #2, b.99; also see b.73, b.77, b.81, b.98, b.112).

3b.2 Offerings

The use of the word ḫt for offerings is relatively common. This extension of the meaning of ḫt to offerings can be understood through the application of ḫt to temple and tomb property. The standard request for invocation offerings uses ḫt to indicate any offerings not listed specifically in the inscription: "for voice offerings to him there consisting of bread, beer, beef, fowl, and all *offerings* of every day" (chart #2, b.04; also see b.42, b.71).

The phrase, ḫt nbt nfrt wꜥbt, became a stock phrase in Egyptian texts. For example, it was used to indicate funerary offerings: "performing `an offering that the king gives' with all good and pure *offerings*" (chart #2, b.145);[7] and the king used the same phrase to describe the endowment of temple offerings: "three times pure is the setting down of all good and pure *offerings*" (chart #2, b.144).

Beyond the offering formulas, ḫt appears meaning offerings in temple texts. For example, a text on the statue of the high steward Amenhotep from Memphis, says: "to the gods of this temple that is provided with *offerings* for eternity" (chart #2, b.76). Similarly, when describing Seti I's works of the temple at Abydos, the goddess Seshat says: "<you> establish for them *offerings* of bread and cakes for them in your temple" (chart #2, b.135; also see b.21, b.133, b. 136, b.137 [from an offering list]).

Funerary offerings also are designated as ḫt. Chapter 172 of the Book of the Dead states: "who themselves elevate *offerings* to you" (chart #2, b.113; also see b. 114, b.116). Similarly, an inscription on a statue of Thoth from the vicinity of Deir el Bahri includes: "may they give all *offerings* upon the altar" (chart #2, b.60; also see b.09, b.79). Another example of ḫt in a funerary context is found in the tomb of Piay: "your Ka priest will receive *offerings*" (chart #2, b.146).

Sometimes it is difficult to differentiate between the meanings of property and offerings based on context. It is unclear in the stele of Sobeknakht whether offerings or property are being designated: "may they give all that goes forth upon their table of offerings after the god is satisfied with his *offerings* {alternately: his *property*}" (chart #2, b.80; also see b.68, b.134, b.138). In the Book of the Dead, the dead person says: "I am the custodian who conducts the *offerings* {*property*} of Horus to Osiris in the Duat" (chart #2, b.96). A similar situation is presented by a passage in chapter 189: "Will you live on another's *offerings* {*property*} every day?" (chart #2, b.119). The difficulty in translation of these cases arises from the fact that the semantic field of the Egyptian word ḫt is broader than the English word property.

3b.3 Cultic Rites

The word ḫt also appears in contexts that suggest that it means rites. An early use of ḫt for rites occurs in the Abusir papyri. The recto (frame 7) of B.M. 10735 (Posener-Kriéger and de Cenival 1968: pl. III) contains several occurrences of ḫt in different contexts that suggest that the word refers to rites rather than physical offerings themselves or temple property. In column b, ḫt is part of a heading in red ink that reads: "*rites* of the morning" and "*rites* of the evening" (chart #2, b.10).[8] Below the heading are lists of priests who will participate in the rites. That these priests are participating in the rites and not

merely responsible for the temple property used in these rites is indicated by the heading immediately above the heading in red, which reads, "those who have performed rites at the pyramid" (chart #3, c.31). The heading of the next column indicates the preference for rites over offerings as a translation for ḫt. Normally ḫt is used in Egyptian texts to indicate physical objects while this heading indicates that reading or direction from a written source was involved in the performance of ḫt. The heading reads: "the one who receives the book roll after performing *rites* " (chart #3, c.32). [9] The rites of the night remained a common festival through the New Kingdom, appearing in lists of festivals regularly (chart #2, b.49, b.55, b.61, b.72, b.87, b.147). The mentions of the rites of the night in the Book of the Dead indicate a connection with the journey to the West and possibly to the judgement. For example, a passage in chapter 18 states: "O Thoth, who caused Osiris Ani, the justified, to be justified against his enemies with the great magistrates who are in Khem the night of the *rites* of the night in Khem (chart #2, b.88) ... as to this night of *rites* of the night festival day, it is the dawn on the coffin of Osiris" (chart #2, b.89; also see chart #2, b.108).

There are a number of examples of ḫt meaning rites that are not connected to rites of the morning or evening. For example, in chapter 108 of the Book of the Dead is the statement: "I know how to conduct *rites* of driving away Apep from it" (chart #2, b.100; also see b.53, b.54, b.74, b.75, b.85). Seti

I, in the Nauri decree establishing the cult at his Abydos temple, enumerates the animals for offering and indicates they are to be offered "by the rules of the god's *rites*" (chart #2, b.124; also see b.01, b.107). Also possibly referring to rites is the statement concerning mining activity: "scribes who know the *rites* of the house of life, in order to make this monument of the seat of forever" (chart #2, b.151).

In these examples of the use of ḫt to designate rites, this meaning largely is determined by the context. In most cases the same passage could be interpreted to refer to property or offerings. For example, in chapter 147 of the Book of the Dead, the dead person says: "I having endowed ḫt in Abydos" (chart #2, b.111; also see chart #2, b.101). Clearly this could be read as the dead person having endowed rites[10], offerings, or even property (in a tomb). The context within the Book of the Dead, particularly in chapter 117 (b.101), would suit rites far better than offerings or property since it refers to clothing standards, healing pains of Osiris, and the preparation of the way in the valley and on the water (Book of the Dead, ch. 117, l. 2-3). These activities sound like rites rather than a reference to the property of the tomb or the offerings presented by a ka-priest for the dead person. Clearly, the tomb property and the offerings would have been essential for the pleasant life of the dead in the West, but far more important would be the complex of

activities and physical objects that made up the entire funerary package – the rites.

3b.4 Concepts

The last category of use for the word ḫt is what can be termed concepts. The Egyptians designated as ḫt a proceeding, evil event, and with the addition of nb, the concept of all that exists (i.e., everything).

There are a number of examples of ḫt referring to a proceeding or set of events. Sometimes the proceeding is clearly defined, as in the inscription of Weni where he is describing sensitive legal proceedings: "I heard *proceedings* alone" (chart #2, b.11; also see chart #2, b.12, b.17, b.93). Another example of a reference to formal proceedings is indicated in an early text from a tomb of an official of the Fourth Dynasty. When he sets up his endowment, the official states: "as for any ka priest of eternity who will institute *proceedings* against his brothers, he should make a record (ḫ) of his exclusion from the ka priests" (chart #2, b.02; also see chart #2, b.40, b.95).

Other times not all of the proceedings to which ḫt refers are defined. For example, in the inscription of Shepsesptah, he says: "then His Majesty praised him concerning the *proceeding*" (chart #2, b.06; also see chart #2, b.43, b.86). Similarly, the official Pahery describes: "all *proceedings* of the palace, l.p.h." (chart #2, b.56, also see chart #2, b.117). The royal steward of

Senwosret I, Intef, described himself as: "one whose skill is ready in every *proceeding*" (chart #2, b.33).

A concept that the Egyptians commonly designated using the word ḫt is that of evil. Speaking evil yourself or against someone else was considered a particularly immoral act by the ancient Egyptians.[11] One common denial in tomb inscriptions was: "it never occurred that I said any evil *thing* against any person to the majesty of my Lord" (chart #2, b.07; also see chart #2, b.14; to a superior see b.13). A slightly different example occurs at Deir el Bahri where Thutmoses I urges loyalty to Hatshepsut by saying: "he who will speak evil *things* as conspiracy against Her Majesty, he is dead" (chart #2, b.58).

The word ḫt connected with evil is also referred to as a force outside speech. A rubric of chapter 18 of the Book of the Dead assures the dead: "all evil *things* shall not pervade him" (chart #2, b.92; also see chart #2, b.109). The king can be seen as a force against evil things,[12] as can be seen in a royal epithet used by Ramesses II and III: "Ramesses, protector from all evil *things*" (chart #2, b.149).

The final use of ḫt to be examined here is to describe totality or a hypothetical grouping. This concept is expressed in Egyptian by ḫt nbt and is used to describe either a comparison, 'more than anything', or a large collective, 'everything'.

The comparison using ḫt, r ḫt nbt, is a common, relatively fixed expression in Egyptian texts. This phrase is used in relation to a wide range of concepts. In the Shipwrecked Sailor, the giant snake tells the sailor that he will see his home and family again and says: "it is better than *anything*" (chart #2, b.23; also see b.25, b.50). The same phrase appears in relation to the results of an inspection of capturing animals: "really, they were much more numerous than *anything*" (chart #2, b.24). In Louvre C12 r ḫt nbt carries the sense of 'a lot': "then he praised god for me greatly more than *anything*" (chart #2, b.47; also see chart #2, b.48, b.51).

The use of ḫt nbt, meaning everything, varies far more than r ḫt nbt. In some examples ḫt nbt appears to describe all that exists. For example, during the Amarna period, all that exists is described as "*everything* that Aten creates" (chart #2, b.82; also see chart #2, b.78). Similarly, in Cairo 20540, all that exists is described in a standard formula as: "*everything* good and pure, given of heaven, created of earth, brought by the innundation" (chart #2, b.41; also see chart #2, b.08). The phrase ḫt nbt also can refer to a part of the whole as in the idea of removing something from a defined grouping. For example, in the Hermopolis decree of Seti I, it promises penalties against temple personnel: "who shall remove *anything*" (chart #2, b.131; also see chart #2, b.121, b.132, b.152).

The opposite of everything, nothing, is expressed by the negation of this phrase. For example, in medical discussion it is stated: "if *nothing* descends for her" (chart #2, b.26; also see chart #2, b.94). In other examples ḫt nbt can be understood as 'in every way'. In the wisdom of Ptahhotep, old age is described as: "evil in every *way*" (chart #2, b.36). The pharaoh is described as: "Thoth in every *way*" (chart #2, b.70). Finally, ḫt nbt can describe a particular grouping of things. For example, the reception of goods is described using this phrase: "*everything* that my brother gave to me" (chart #2, b.32) and "*everything* good of His Majesty's receiving" (chart #2, b.65; also see chart #2, b.03, b.29). A group of products from a particular area also can be described in the same manner: "really, all ports were supplied with *everything* good" (chart #2, b.66) and "*everything* good of the Divine Land for which (Your) Majesty sends them" (chart #2, b.59).

3b.5 Interpretation

In considering the occurrences of the word ḫt in Egyptian texts, which have been reviewed here, it is clear that there are several different uses of this word. The core meaning of ḫt should be considered to be a description of the personal property of a human, a deity, or an institution. Many of the other uses could be understood as being extensions of this basic meaning. For example, offerings, rites, and proceedings could be a category of property if

they are understood as similar to endowments owned by a human, deity or institution. This kind of extended meaning of property is seen in the wills of Pashedu (see chart #2, b.141) and Djefaihapi (see chart #2, b.28). The examples involving evil would fit into this same category if they were considered to refer to concrete rites or proceedings. The nominal forms of these adjectives can indicate both good and evil;[13] therefore, it can be concluded that the addition of ḫt refers to a more concrete or specific idea. Finally, ḫt can be used with nbt to describe a collective or, if negated, as the absence of a collective (everything and nothing). On the one hand, some examples could be interpreted as being grouped with the examples meaning property. Example b.32 could be translated as "all the *property*, which my brother gave me." On the other hand, in many cases the examples of references to collectives can be seen as concrete groups. For example, ḫt nbt in number b.08 refers to products of a foreign land and in number b.82 it refers to what Aten creates. If a general totality needed to be expressed by the Egyptians, they would employ the word tm (*Wb.* V: 305).

Overall, ḫt should be understood as having a broader meaning than is usual for the English word "property" and a more limited meaning than the English word "things." It is this mismatch in semantic fields that creates the contextual or interpretative translation seen in chart #2. In most cases it is the context that indicates that what is referred to are offerings, rites, proceedings,

or a grouping. As has been noted previously concerning example b.32, the translation is based on a translator's interpretation of the context. What is clear, however, is that there is a core meaning to ḫt that is more specific than the English word "things." Normally "things" in English lacks the specificity required for use in legal texts, yet ḫt is used frequently in Egyptian legal texts, specifically in relation to inheritance of property. It is this specificity that makes it a suitable word to refer to rites and proceedings. It can be concluded then that ḫt can refer to a variety of forms of property both as physical objects and as activities, and to specific groups of such things.

3b.6 ḫt in Compounds

What remains to be discussed is the use of ḫt in combination with another word, or as a compound phrase. It is recognized that ḫt, when combined with another word, can take on a more specific meaning.[14] Some of these compounds are connected closely with religious practice. For example, fꜣi ḫt, elevating offerings (*Wb* I: 573; see chart #2, b.113), wꜣḥ ḫt, lay down offerings (*Wb* I: 257), smꜣ ḫt, make ready offerings (*Wb* III: 447; see chart #2, b.79), ṯs ḫt, arrange offerings (*Wb* V: 399; see chart #2, b.134, b.135, b.136) are used frequently in labels accompanying offering scenes in temples. Religious practitioners (priests) were described as rḫ ḫt, one who knows things (*Wb.* II: 443; Edel 1979: 113), although this description was common for

officials who had received education (Doxey 1998: 47-8; Lichtheim 1997: 4-8; Gardiner 1957: 578).

It is this tendency of the word ḫt to take on a technical meaning in a compound with another word that has led scholars to propose that the compound ir(t)-ḫt refers to performing rites. In this case ḫt, in the compound ir(t)-ḫt, is understood to refer to cultic objects (Caminos 1964: 77; Redford 1973: 84, n. 32; Vernus 1978: 125, n.(a)). From the preceding discussion it is clear that this understanding of ḫt as referring to cultic objects is attested by independent usage (chart #2, b.62, b.63, b.64); however, it is not a necessary rendering of this word. If the range of independent use of the word ḫt, as presented here, is considered there are a number of alternative readings possible for ḫt in ir-ḫt; property, rites, offerings, or proceedings. Given that it has already been determined that the verb ir can mean performing, it is equally possible that ir-ḫt can mean performing (with) property, performing rites, performing offerings, or performing proceedings. In order to determine which of these understandings is most appropriate, the use of ir-ḫt in Egyptian texts must be surveyed and analyzed.

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[2] See Edel 1955-1964 § 301 where he indicates that išwt.f is the plural form of ḫt.

[3] For examples not using ḫt , but expressing similar ideas see Urk I: 123. 3-4 and 133.4-5: "I never judged between two brothers in such a way as to deprive a son of his father's possessions (ḫrt)"; Urk IV: 1045: 13 "he placed children on their father's seat"; and from wisdom literature Ptahhotep maxim 5: "it is the property of my father" (Žába 1956: l.98); Merikare: " do not take a man from his father's property" (Quack 1992: l. 47); and Neferti

gives the opposite as a sign of chaos: "a man's property is taken from him and given to an outsider" (Helck 1970: L47).

[4] The interpretation of ḫt nṯr in these accounts is not straightforward. Posener-Kriéger (1976: 344-345, 350-351), in her commentary on these texts has difficulty in determining to what the heading refers. Part of the difficulty comes from a desire to choose between the meanings property and rites. Posener-Kriéger translates the term as "bien du dieu" but suggests it might be "rite divin" (344, n. 8).

[5] It should be noted that king's property also can be designated as ḫt, as is clear from an offering list from Karnak, see chart #2, b.150.

[6] It should be noted that in this decree Seti I makes a clear distinction between the property of the temple (ḫt) and the personnel of the temple. People clearly are not considered ḫt of the temple, although the decree protects their personal property from seizure.

[7] For a discussion of the offering formula see for example, Hoch 1995: § 197; Gardiner 1955: excursus B.

[8] There has been a lot of discussion concerning the rites of the morning and the rites of the evening. Such practices are connected to funerary rites and are often considered to represent offerings of food that consist of a morning and evening meal. See Malinine 1935-38:895-6, Hornung 1959: 106. Posener-Kriéger (1976: 16, n.1) connects the morning and evening meals to offerings of haunches of beef. See section 3c.2 for the role of the lector priest in relation to the offering of beef in the funerary cult.

[9] Posener-Kriéger (1976: 157) suggests that there is another occurrence of ḫt meaning rites in the Abusir papyri, but the context is too broken to determine the meaning of the heading in this text.

[10] In this case, I am thinking of the possibility that the rites being endowed do not necessarily involve physical objects such as offering, but might be limited to ceremonies involving actions and words only such as would be the case with prayers or hymns. An example of such a practice would be the invocation offering (cf., Hetepherakhet, Urk I: 49).

[11] See Lichtheim 1997: 19-21; for the importance of the opposite, speaking mꜣꜥt see Doxey 1998: 41-2, 55-6.

[12] For a discussion of the king as a force against evil (ḏw) see for example, Grimal 1986: 305-306, #973.

[13] See Hoch 1995: §21.

[14] See Leprohon 1994: 46, note #49; Redford 1973: 84, note #32.

Chart # 2

ḫt (b references)

ref. no.	source	transliteration	translation	meaning	date
b.01	Urk I: 12.1-2	m ḥ³t rmṯ ḫt nbt irt.n(.i) n.sn r prt-ḫrw n(.i) im	with fields, people and all rites which I have set up for them for a voice offering for me therewith	rites	04th Dyn.
b.02	Urk I: 13.3 (Tjuiw)	ir ḥm-k³ nb ḏt šn.ty.fy ḫt r snw.f ir.f ˁ n dḳr.f r ḥm-k³	as for any ka priest of eternity who will institute proceedings against his brothers, he should make a record of his exclusion from the ka priests	proceeding	04th Dyn.
b.03	Urk I: 154. 6 (Dramatische Texte)	ḏd mdw m ḫt nbt mrt.f	a saying for everything that he loves	concept	04th Dyn.
b.04	Urk I: 165. 10	r prt-ḫrw n.f im m t³ ḥnḳt k³ ³bd ḫt nbt n(t) rˁ nb	for voice offerings to him there consisting of bread, beer, beef, fowl, and all offerings of every day	offerings	04th Dyn.
b.05	Urk I: 50. 15 (Hetepherakhet)	n-mrwt mkt ḫt sbi n k³.f	in order that the property of one who has gone forth to his ka may be protected	property	05th Dyn.

Chart # 2

ḫt (b references)

ref. no.	source	transliteration	translation	meaning	date
b.06	Urk I: 53.1 (Shepsesptah)	iḫr ḥsi sw ḥm.f ḥr ḫt	then His Majesty praised him concerning the proceeding	proceeding	05th Dyn.
b.07	Urk I: 57. 16	n sp ḏd(.i) ḫt nbt ḏwt r rmṯ nb ḫr ḥm n nb(.i)	it never occurred that I said any evil thing against any person to the majesty of my Lord	concept	05th Dyn.
b.08	Urk I: 168. 2 (Abusir - Sahure)	ḏd mdw in(.i) n.k ḫt nbt nfrt imyt ḫ3st	words spoken, I bring to you everything good that is in the foreign lands	concept	05th Dyn.
b.09	Urk I: 177. 10	ḫt bnrt m pr išdw	sweet offerings from the house of the fruit tree	offerings	05th Dyn.
b.10	Posener-Kriéger and de Cenival 1968: IIIb (Abusir)	ḫt dw3t ḫt grḥ	rites of the morning, rites of the evening	rites	06th Dyn.
b.11	Urk I: 99. 5 (Weni)	sḏm(.i) ḫt wʿ.k(wi)	I heard proceedings alone	proceeding	06th Dyn.

Chart # 2

ḫt (b references)

ref. no.	source	transliteration	translation	meaning	date
b.12	Urk I: 100.13 (Weni)	šn.t(w) ḫt m ỉpt nsw r ḥmt nsw wrt-ḥts m sšt3	a proceeding was instituted in the royal harem against the royal wife, Great of Wand[13] in secret	proceeding	06th Dyn.
b.13	Urk I: 123. 1 Urk I: 132. 17 (Pepinakht-Heqaib)	nn sp ḏd.ỉ ḫt nbt ḏwt n sḫm ỉr.f r rmṯ nb	I never said any evil thing to a superior against any person	concept	06th Dyn.
b.14	Urk I: 195.9 (Kagemeni)	n ḏd.n.f ỉs ḫt r ḏw n nsw m grḥ	in falsehood, he did not say evil things to the king	concept	06th Dyn.
b.15	Urk I: 216. 17 (Nekhebu)	wn(.ỉ) ḥr ỉp n.f ỉšwt.f nb ꜥ3 ḫt m pr.f r pr s3ḥ nb	I set in order all his possessions for him so that his property was greater in his house than the house of any noble	property	06th Dyn.
b.16	Urk I: 219.4 (Nekhebu)	ỉr rmṯ nb sšn.ty.fy ḫt nbt m ỉs(.ỉ) pn	as for any person who will destroy any property from this tomb of mine	property	06th Dyn.

[13] see Doret 1986: 29 n.165

Chart # 2

ḫt (b references)

ref. no.	source	transliteration	translation	meaning	date
b.17	Urk I: 223. 12 (Pepyankh-herib)	ir ḫt nbt ḏddt r(.i) m-bꜣḥ srw	as for all proceedings that were said against me before the magistrates	proceeding	06th Dyn.
b.18	Urk I: 283. 16 (Coptos decree - Pepy II)	iw wḏ.n ḥm ḫwit.sn mi ḫt n mnw gbtyw	His Majesty commanded their exemption like the property of Min of Coptos	property	06th Dyn.
b.19	Urk I: 287. 10 (Coptos decree - Pepy II)	r mḏd ḫt r.sn r ip ḫt m-ˁ.sn	in order to strike property against them, in order to assess property from them	property	06th Dyn.
b.20	Urk I: 305. 5 (Decree for vizier Idi)	n rdi.n hm(.i) mn ḫt.sn [ḫt it.sn] im.sn	My Majesty cannot cause to be established their property or their father's property for them	property	06th Dyn.
b.21	Urk I: 305. 9 (Decree for vizier Idi)	ḫnn.ty.sn ḫb.ty.sn ḫt ḫnt wˁbw tꜣ ḥnḳt.k	those who will disturb or those who will reduce offerings from (out of) your pure bread and beer	offerings	06th Dyn.
b.22	Petrie 1896: pl. VIII, l.9-10 (Coptos)	ˁḥˁ rdi rmṯt.f ḫt.f ꜣḫt.f r ḥtp-nṯr it.i Mn nb Gbtyw	his people, his property and his fields shall be given for the offerings of my father Min, lord of Coptos	property	11th Dyn. ?

Chart # 2

ḫt (b references)

ref. no.	source	transliteration	translation	meaning	date
b.23	de Buck 1948: 103.13-14 (Shipwrecked Sailor)	nfr st r ḫt nbt	it is better than anything	concept	11th Dyn.
b.24	Newberry 1893: pl.7, l.1 (Beni Hasan)	isṯ ʿšꜣ wrt r ḫt nbt	really, they were much more numerous than anything	concept	12th Dyn.
b.25	Newberry 1893: 14,4 (Beni Hasan)	nfr wrt mꜣꜣ r ḫt nbt	it was very good to see more than anything	concept	12th Dyn
b.26	Griffith 1898: pl. 5 l.56 (Kahun Papyrus)	ir tm hꜣw n.s ḫt nbt	if nothing descends for her	concept	12th Dyn.
b.27	Griffith 1889: pl. 6. 270 (Djefaihapi)	nn n ḫt rdi.n.sn n.i	this property which they have given me	property	12th Dyn.
b.28	Griffith 1889: pl.6, l. 271-2 (Djefaihapi)	ʿḥʿ.k ḥr ḫt.i nb rdi.n.(i) ḫr ʿ.k mk st ḫft-ḥr.k m sš	you stand over all my property that I placed under your control, look it is before you in writing	property	12th Dyn.

Chart # 2

ḫt (b references)

ref. no.	source	transliteration	translation	meaning	date
b.29	Griffith 1889: pl. 6. 280 (Djefaihapi)	ḫt nbt ddt sr nb nḏs nb r ḥwt-nṯr	everything that any official or any commoner places in the temple	property	12th Dyn.
b.30	Griffith 1889: pl. 7, l. 288 (Djefaihapi)	mk ṯn ḫt.i pw nw pr it.i	look you, it is my property from my father's house	property	12th Dyn.
b.31	Griffith 1898: pl. 12 l.4 (Djefaihapi)	ḫt.i nbt m šꜣ m niwt n sn.i	all my property in country and town shall belong to my brother	property	12th Dyn.
b.32	Griffith 1898: pl. 12 l.8 (Djefaihapi)	ḫt nbt rdiw.n n.i pꜣy.i sn	everything that my brother gave to me	concept	12th Dyn.
b.33	Simpson 1974: ANOC 4.1, l.X+6	šꜣ ʿrḳ.f m ḫt nb	one whose skill is ready in every proceeding	proceeding	12th Dyn.
b.34	Golenischeff 1913: 1116 recto, l. 10 (Neferti)	špss pw ʿꜣ n.f ḫt	he was a wealthy man, his property was great	property	12th Dyn. ?

Chart # 2

ḫt (b references)

ref no.	source	transliteration	translation	meaning	date
b.35	Golenischeff 1913: 1116 recto, l. 47 (Neferti)	ir.tw nḥm ḫt s r.f rdiw n nty m rwty	one shall take a man's property from him, and it shall be given to him who is outside	property	12th Dyn. ?
b.36	Žába 1956: 20-21 (Ptahhotep)	irrt i3w n rmṯ bin(.w) m ḫt nbt	what old age does to men is evil in every way	concept	12th Dyn.[14]
b.37	Žába 1956: 164 (Ptahhotep)	m tw3w n iwty ḫt.f	do not beg from him who has no property	property	12th Dyn.
b.38	Žába 1956: 181 (Ptahhotep)	n ii.n is ḫt ḏs.s	of itself, property does not come	property	12th Dyn.
b.39	de Morgan *et al.* 1894: 177, l.2	di.n.i ḫt n iwty sw	even to the nonentity did I give property	property	12th Dyn.
b.40	Lange and Schäfer 1902: CG 20001, l.8 (Iti)	iw šms.n.(i) nb ꜥ3 šms.n.(i) nb nḏs n iw ḫt im	I served a great lord, I served a little lord, no proceedings came therein	proceeding	12th Dyn.

[14] may be older than this, but earliest surviving copy is 12th Dyn. See, for example, the discussion in Lichtheim (1973: 5-9, 61-62) where she would attribute this work to the 6th Dyn.

Chart # 2

ḫt (b references)

ref. no.	source	transliteration	translation	meaning	date
b.41	Lange and Schäfer 1902: CG 20540, l.5-6	ḫt nbt nfrt wʿbt ddt pt ḳmȝt tȝ ỉnnt ḥʿpy	everything good and pure, given of heaven, created of earth, brought by the innundation	concept	12th Dyn.
b.42	Roveri 1988: pl. 137, l. 6 main text (Meru - Turin 1447)	ḫȝ m ḫt nb nfrt m dd wsỉr	a thousand of all good offerings by the gift of Osiris	offerings	12th Dyn.
b.43	Blackman 1932: 33, l.13-14 (Sinuhe B215-216)	ỉw mỉ ḫt ʿȝ wḥm st	it is like a big proceeding to repeat it	proceeding	12th Dyn.
b.44	Sethe 1928a: 20.14-15 (Eloquent Peasant)	nb sgr dỉ.k r.k n.k ḫt.ỉ	Lord of Quiet, give to me my property	property	12th Dyn.
b.45	Möller 1961: 18 #7, l. 2-3 (Berlin P10003.A.II)	šsp.n.n ḥnw nb n ḥwt-nṯr ḫt nbt nt ḥwt-nṯr ʿḏ wḏȝ	because we received all the equipment of the temple, all the property of the temple being safe and sound	property	12th Dyn.

Chart # 2

ḫt (b references)

ref. no.	source	transliteration	translation	meaning	date
b.46	Boeser 1909: pl.10, l. 10	m srwd ḫt n nb(.i)	in consolidating the property of my lord	property	12th Dyn.
b.47	Sethe 1928: 76.13 (Amenysoneb)	ʿḥʿ.n dwꜣ.n.f n.i nṯr ʿꜣ r ḫt nbt r ḏd wꜣḏ.wy ir nꜣ n nṯr.f	then he praised god for me greatly more than anything, saying: how happy is he who has done this for his god	concept	13th Dyn.
b.48	Sethe 1928: 76.16 (Amenysoneb)	ʿḥʿ.n.tw ḥʿw im wr r ḫt nbt	then one rejoiced therein greatly more than anything	concept	13th Dyn.
b.49	Urk IV: 27. 5 (Ahmoses)	ḫt ḥꜣwy ꜣbd 7 nt ḥb	rites of the night, 7 month festival	rites	18th Dyn.
b.50	Urk IV: 28. 12-15 (Ahmoses)	n mrrf.s r ḫt nbt	for her whom he loves more than anything	concept	18th Dyn.
b.51	Urk IV: 61. 1	n ḏd.i ḥꜣ n.i r ḫt nbt	I did not say, would that there is for me, concerning anything	concept	18th Dyn.
b.52	Urk IV: 62. 4 (Inni)	šw.i m ḏꜣt r ḥr ḫt nṯr	I am devoid from contentiousness concerning god's property	property	18th Dyn.
b.53	Urk IV: 81. 17 (Thutmoses I)	ḏdt ḫt nbt ir.tw n.s	she is one who says all rites that one performs for her	concept	18th Dyn.

Chart # 2

ḫt (b references)

ref. no.	source	transliteration	translation	meaning	date
b.54	Urk IV: 110. 9 (Paheri)	ḏd.f iw wʿb ḫt nbt irrwt n kꜣ.tn	he said every pure rite that is performed for your Ka	rites	18th Dyn.
b.55	Urk IV: 112. 11 (Paheri)	ḫt ḥꜣwy	rites of the night	rites	18th Dyn.
b.56	Urk IV: 118.11 (Paheri)	ḫt nbt nt pr nsw ʿnḫ wḏꜣ snb	all proceedings of the palace, l.p.h.	proceeding	18th Dyn.
b.57	Urk IV: 165. 2 (Thutmoses III, Karnak)	ḫft ḥtp nṯr m ḫt.f mnw pw kꜣt m ḥwt-nṯr.f	when the god is satisfied with his property, the work in his temple is a monument	property	18th Dyn.
b.58	Urk IV: 257. 15 (Hatshepsut)	ḏd.ty.fy ḫt ḏwt m wꜣ ḥmt.s swt mt.f	he who will speak evil things as conspiracy against Her Majesty, he is dead	concept	18th Dyn.
b.59	Urk IV: 346. 11-12 (Hatshepsut, Punt)	ḫt nbt nfrt nt tꜣ-nṯr hꜣbt sn ḥmt.(t) r.s	everything good of the Divine Land for which (Your) Majesty sends them	concept	18th Dyn.
b.60	Urk IV: 452. 1 (Northampton stele)	di.sn ḫt nbt ḥr ḥꜣt	may they give all offerings upon the altar	offerings	18th Dyn.
b.61	Urk IV: 470. 2 (Hepu)	mswt wsir ḥb ḫt ḥꜣwy šsp itrw	birthday of Osiris, rites of the night receiving the river festival	rites	18th Dyn.

Chart # 2

ḫt (b references)

ref. no.	source	transliteration	translation	meaning	date
b.62	Urk IV: 635. 14 (Thutmoses III)	ḥḏ dbḥw n ḫt nṯr	silver necessaries of god's property	property	18th Dyn.
b.63	Urk IV: 640. 7 (Thutmoses III)	ḥsmn dbḥw n ḫt nṯr	natron necessaries of god's property	property	18th Dyn.
b.64	Urk IV: 641. 1 (Thutmoses III)	šs mḥ m ḏt wʿbt nt ḫt nṯr	alabaster filled from the pure estate of the god's property	property	18th Dyn.
b.65	Urk IV: 707. 11 (Thutmoses III)	ḫt nbt nfrt nt šsp ḥm.f	everything good of His Majesty's receiving	concept	18th Dyn.
b.66	Urk IV: 719. 7 (Thutmoses III)	ỉst mniwt nbt sspdw m ḫt nbt nfrt	really, all ports were supplied with everything good	concept	18th Dyn.
b.67	Urk IV: 766. 10-11 (Thutmoses III)	nwdw nw ḫt nṯr r ỉrt ḥssỉt.f m ḥbw	unguents of the god's property for performing his praises in festivals	property	18th Dyn.
b.68	Urk IV: 768. 7 (Thutmoses III)	ʿḥʿ n wdn ʿpr m ḫt nbt 12	12 heaps of offerings provided from all offerings	offerings	18th Dyn.
b.69	Urk IV: 1068. 7	kꜣ.tw psš.tw ḫt.f	his property shall be divided	property	18th Dyn.

Chart # 2

ḫt (b references)

ref. no	source	transliteration	translation	meaning	date
b.70	Urk IV: 1074. 4 (Rekhmire)	ḏḥwty pw m ḫt nbt	he (the king) is Thoth in every way	concept	18th Dyn.
b.71	Urk IV: 1495. 10 (Nebawawy)	ḫ3 m ḫt nbt nfrt wʿbt ḫ3 m ḫt nbt ndmt	thousand of all good and pure offerings, thousand of all sweet offerings	offerings	18th Dyn.
b.72	Urk IV: 1518. 9, 12	ḫt ḫ3wy	rites of the night	rites	18th Dyn.
b.73	Urk IV: 1539. 6	nbw ḫt	lords of property	property	18th Dyn.
b.74	Urk IV: 1772. 12 (Mutemwia)	ḏdt ḫt nbt ir.tw n.s	she is one who says all rites one performs for her	rites	18th Dyn.
b.75	Urk IV: 1788. 9 (Ramose, TT#55)	sm3 ḫt nfrt wʿbt ḫft ḥtp nṯrw m ḫt mi ir.tn hsy nb n k3 n	Make ready good and pure things in front of gods' offerings with rites as you perform all praise to the Ka of	rites	18th Dyn.
b.76	Urk IV: 1796: 1-2 (High Steward Amenhotep)	n nṯrw nw ḥwt tn sḏf3y m ḫt r nḥḥ	to the gods of this temple that is provided with offerings for eternity	offerings	18th Dyn.
b.77	Urk IV: 1814. 3 (Amenhotep son of Hapu)	nb ḫt m-irw	lord of property among them (akhu)	property	18th Dyn.

Chart # 2

ḫt (b references)

ref. no.	source	transliteration	translation	meaning	date
b.78	Urk IV: 1815. 19 (Amenhotep son of Hapu)	tp ḥsb n ḫt nb	chief accountant of everything	property	18th Dyn.
b.79	Urk IV: 1848. 19 (TT#57)	sm3 ḫt ḫft imyw b3ḥ	who make ready offerings in front of those who were before	offerings	18th Dyn.
b.80	Urk IV: 1887. 1 (Nekhetsobek)	dı.sn prrwt nbt ḥr wḏḥw.sn ḫft ḥtp nṯr m ḫt.f	may they give all that goes forth upon their table of offerings after the god is satisfied with his offerings	offerings	18th Dyn.
b.81	Urk IV: 1932. 5 (Khaemwaset)	šsp snw pr b3ḥ ḥr wḏḥw n nbw ḫt	receiving offerings that go forth from upon the table of offerings of the lords of property	property	18th Dyn.
b.82	Urk IV: 1990. 3 (Akhenaten Boundary Stele)	m ḫt nbt nty p3 itn ḥr sḫpr st	with everything that Aten creates	concept	18th Dyn.
b.83	Urk IV: 2077. 7 (Weserhat)	sš ḥsb ḫt nbt nfrt m ḥwt nb-m3ʿt-rʿ	scribe who reckons all good property in the temple of Nebmaatre	property	18th Dyn.
b.84	Gaballa 1977: pl. XXIIA, X+8	ibr n ḫt nṯr	ladanum of the god's property	property	18th Dyn.

Chart # 2

ḫt (b references)

ref. no.	source	transliteration	translation	meaning	date
b.85	BD: Ch. 17.4	iw ꜣḥ ḫt n irr.s tp-tꜣ	it being a beneficent rite to one who performs it on earth	rites	18th Dyn.
b.86	BD: Ch. 17.29	ḫsf ḫt n ḫftyw nw nb-r-ḏr	those who oppose the proceedings of the enemies of Neberdjer	proceeding	18th Dyn.
b.87	BD: Ch. 18.3	grḥ n ḫt ḫꜣwy	the night of the rites of the night	rites	18th Dyn.
b.88	BD: Ch. 18 B. 3-4	i ḏhwty smꜣʿ-ḫrw wsir ꜣny mꜣʿ-ḫrw r ḫftw.f m ḏꜣḏꜣt ʿꜣwt imy ḫm grḥ n ḫt ḫꜣwy m ḫm	O Thoth, who caused Osiris Ani, the justified, to be justified against his enemies with the great magistrates who are in Khem the night of rites of the night in Khem	rites	18th Dyn.
b.89	BD: Ch. 18 C. 2	ir grḥ pwy n ḫt ḫꜣwty ḥb hrw ḥḏ tꜣ pw r ḳrs wsir	as to this night of rites of the night festival day, it is the dawn on the coffin of Osiris	rites	18th Dyn.
b.90	BD: Ch. 18 C. 4	smntl.tw n.f iwʿt m ḫt it.f wsir	when one caused him to be established as heir to the property of his father Osiris	property	18th Dyn.

Chart # 2

ḫt (b references)

ref. no.	source	transliteration	translation	meaning	date
b.91	BD: Ch. 18 I. 3-4	m ḏ3ḏ3t ʿ3wt imywt r-st3w grḥ pwy n sḏr inpw ʿwy.f ḥr ḫt ḥ3 wsir sm3ʿ-ḫrw ḥr r ḫftyw.f	among the great magistrates who are in Rostau on this night of Anubis resting, his arms upon the property around Osiris, causing Horus to be justified against his enemies	property	18th Dyn.
b.92	BD: Ch. 18 rubric. 6	nn pḫr sw ḫt nb ḏwt nbt	all evil things shall not pervade him	concept	18th Dyn.
b.93	BD: Ch. 30 A.2-3	m ʿḥʿ r.i m mtrw m-b3ḥ nbw ḫt m ḏd r.i ir.n.f st r wn m3ʿ r irt.n.i m sḫprw ḫt r.i m-b3ḥ nṯr ʿ3 nb imnt	do not stand against me as a witness before the lords of property; do not say against me, "he performed it against justification concerning what I have done; do not create proceedings against me before the great god, lord of Imenet	property proceeding	18th Dyn.
b.94	BD: Ch. 42.17	nn ḫpr ḫt nbt r.i	nothing shall happen against me	concept	18th Dyn.

Chart # 2

ḫt (b references)

ref. no.	source	transliteration	translation	meaning	date
b.95	BD: Ch. 64. 5-6	sḏmyw ḫt m nsw sšmyw mnỉ r šṯ3yt	who hear proceedings from the tongue and who conduct the dead to the secret place	concept	18th Dyn.
b.96	BD: Ch. 78. 22	ỉnk ỉry ỉṯṯ ḫt ḥr n wsỉr r dw3t	I am the custodian who conducts the property of Horus to Osiris in the Duat	property	18th Dyn.
b.97	BD: Ch. 85. 5-6	sḫtp.n.ỉ ỉb n ỉmyw ḫt	I satisfied the hearts of those who are among property	property	18th Dyn.
b.98	BD: Ch. 97. 3	ỉmyw šms n nb ḫt	those who are among the followers of the lord of property	property	18th Dyn.
b.99	BD: Ch. 99. 30-31	ỉnḏ-ḥr ṯn nfrw k3w nṯrw nbw ḫt	hail to you beautiful ones, divine kas, lords of property	property	18th Dyn.
b.100	BD: Ch. 108. 14-15	ỉw.ỉ rḫ.kwỉ sšm ḫt ḫsf n 3pp ḥr.s	I know how to conduct rites of driving away Apep from it	rites	18th Dyn.

Chart # 2

ḫt (b references)

ref. no.	source	transliteration	translation	meaning	date
b.101	BD: Ch. 117. 2-3	ỉi.n.i smn.i ḫt m ꜣbḏw wp.n.i wꜣt m r-stꜣw	I came so that I might establish rites in Abydos when I opened roads in Restau	rites	18th Dyn.
b.102	BD: Ch. 125. 9 (intro, Nu)	nn nmḥ.i nmḥy m ḫt.f	I never deprived the orphan of his property	property	18th Dyn.
b.103	BD: Ch. 125. 16-17 (intro, Nu)	n šnᶜ.i mnmnt ḥr ḫt nṯr	I did not repulse the cattle from the god's property	property	18th Dyn.
b.104	BD: Ch. 125. 8 (Neg. conf.)	n ṯꜣw.i ḫt nṯr	I have not stolen the god's property	property	18th Dyn.
b.105	BD: Ch. 125. 18 (Neg. conf.)	n sḫwn.i n ỉs ḥr ḫt.(i)	I have not disputed except concerning my property	property	18th Dyn.
b.106	BD: Ch. 125. 41 (Neg. conf.)	n wr ḫrt.i n ỉs m ḫt.i	I have not made great my possessions except by means of my property	property	18th Dyn.
b.107	BD: Ch. 125. 14 (address)	ỉnk sm n nṯrw rḫ ḫt ḥᶜt.sn	I am one who helps the gods, who knows rites of their bodies	rites	18th Dyn.

Chart # 2

ḫt (b references)

ref. no.	source	transliteration	translation	meaning	date
b.108	BD: Ch. 125. 24 (address)	iw ḳrs.n.i st ḥr wḏb n mᶜnᶜ3t m ḫt ḫ3wy	I buried it in the river bank of Manaat during the rites of the night	rites	18th Dyn.
b.109	BD: Ch. 136a. 24	n ḫm.n sw ḫt ḏwt	evil things cannot harm him	concept	18th Dyn.
b.110	BD: Ch. 136b. 6	ḏb3.f m ḫt.f	he is provided with his property	property	18th Dyn.
b.111	BD: Ch. 147 III.7	smnḫ.n.i ḫt m 3bḏw	I having endowed rites in Abydos	rites	18th Dyn.
b.112	BD: Ch. 149 VIII. 6-7	iw rdi šfšft.i n nbw ḫt	my respect is given to the lords of property	property	18th Dyn.
b.113	BD: Ch. 172. 35-6	f3i n.k ḫt ḏs.sn	who themselves elevate offerings to you	offerings	18th Dyn.
b.114	BD: Ch. 172. 43	pšš.tw n.k ḫt m-b3ḥ rᶜ	offerings are shared with you before Re	offerings	18th Dyn.
b.115	BD: Ch. 172. 45	wḏ3.k ḥr w3wt wrt m sᶜḥ.k n šsp ḫt it.k	you set out upon the great roads according to your rank of one who receives the property of your father	property	18th Dyn.
b.116	BD: Ch. 178. 13-14	di n.k ḫt m-b3ḥ ḏhwty wr	offerings are given to you before great Thoth	offerings	18th Dyn.

Chart # 2

ḫt (b references)

ref. no.	source	transliteration	translation	meaning	date
b.117	BD: Ch. 180. 34-35	pḥrr.i r nmtwt m sʿḥ.i n št3w ḫt	I ran by strides according to my rank of those whose proceedings are secret	proceeding	18th Dyn.
b.118	BD: Ch. 181. 12	ḫt.f ḫt.k	his property is your property	property	18th Dyn.
b.119	BD: Ch. 189. 23	ʿnḫ.k tr m ḫt ky rʿ nb	will you live on another's offerings every day?	offerings	18th Dyn.
b.120	Helck 1995: 35, C17 (Admonitions of Ipuwer)	mtn nb ḫt sḏr ib	look, the possessor of property passes the night thirsty	property	19th Dyn. (orig. 12th Dyn. ?)
b.121	KRI I: 5.14 (KV #17)	ḏdt ḫt nbt ir.tw n.s	one who says any rite and it is performed for her	rite	19th Dyn.
b.122	KRI I: 24.1 (Karnak)	ḫr ḫt.sn nb 3tp ḥr psd.sn	under all their property, loaded upon their backs	property	19th Dyn.
b.123	KRI I: 31.1 (Karnak)	di.i n.k ḫt ḥr stḫ	I give to you the property of Horus and Seth	property	19th Dyn.
b.124	KRI I: 49.5 (Nauri Decree)	m tp rwd n ḫt nṯr	by the rules of the god's rites	rites	19th Dyn.

Chart # 2

ḫt (b references)

ref. no.	source	transliteration	translation	meaning	date
b.125	KRI I: 51. 4-5 (Nauri Decree)	tm rdit tḥi.tw r ḫt nbt n pr pn nty m tȝ ḏr	to not cause that one transgress against any property belonging to this house, which is in the whole land	property	19th Dyn.
b.126	KRI I: 54.8 (Nauri Decree)	⸢ ir rmṯ nb gmit ⸣ṯȝwt ḫt nbt n tȝ ḥwt mn-mȝʿt-rʿ	as for anyone who will be found seizing any property of the temple of Men-ma`at-r`	property	19th Dyn.
b.127	KRI I: 56.1-2 (Nauri Decree)	ḥnʿ m-ʿ ṯȝw ḥmt.f ḫrdw.f ḫt.f nb r tȝ ḥwt	along with seizing his wife, his children, and all his property for the temple	property	19th Dyn.
b.128	KRI I: 69.4 (Kanais temple)	ir.sn wšb ḥr ḫt	they answer for (their) property	property	19th Dyn.
b.129	KRI I: 69.15-70.1 (Kanais temple)	pȝ wn (wn) ḫt nb.i m imyt-pr ḫr rdwy.sn nḥḥ ḥnʿ ḏt	all my property exists as a testament under their feet eternally and forever	property	19th Dyn.
b.130	KRI I: 74.10 (Aswan stele)	rdiw ḫt n iwty n.f ḫnms.f	one who gives property to he who is without friends	property	19th Dyn.
b.131	KRI I: 125.15 (Hermopolis decree)	nty iw.f r šd ḫt nbt	who shall remove anything	concept	19th Dyn.

Chart # 2

ḫt (b references)

ref. no.	source	transliteration	translation	meaning	date
b.132	KRI I: 126.1 (Hermopolis decree)	nty iw.f r iṯt ḫt nbt rmṯ nb im.s	who shall take away anything or any people from it	concept	19th Dyn.
b.133	KRI I: 143.15 (Abydos temple)	inn.f ḫt nb ///	he brought all offerings ///	offerings	19th Dyn.
b.134	KRI I: 174.1 (Abydos temple)	ṯs ḫt ḥr ḫ³wt m dd nsw	offerings are arranged on the altar as that which is given by the King	offerings	19th Dyn.
b.135	KRI I: 187.7 (Abydos temple)	w³ḥ n.sn ḫt p³wt ḫnfw n.sn m ḥwt.k	<you> establish for them offerings of bread and cakes for them in your temple	offerings	19th Dyn.
b.136	KRI I: 188.16 (Abydos temple)	ṯs ḫt ḥr ḫ³wt	offerings are arranged on the altar	offerings	19th Dyn.
b.137	KRI I: 319.4 (relief -- Cairo 8380)	ḫt nbt prt nb m b³ḥ m ///	all offerings, all that goes forth before ///	offerings	19th Dyn.
b.138	KRI I: 355.13 (statue of Iuny - MMA 33.2.1)	ḫnp.f ḫt ḥr wʿbw wr ḏt	may he receive offerings from the pure things of the great forever	offerings	19th Dyn.
b.139	KRI I: 409.3 (Pashedu - ODM 108)	rʿ pn n rdit ḫt.f	this day of giving his property	property	19th Dyn.

Chart # 2

ḫt (b references)

ref. no.	source	transliteration	translation	meaning	date
b.140	KRI II: 20.1 (Kadesh Inscription)	fḫ.f sw m ḫt.f nbt	he released himself from all of his property	property	19th Dyn.
b.141	KRI II: 36.13 (Kadesh Inscription)	ḳd.i n.k ḥwt.i nt ḥḥ m rnpwt diw.i n.k ḫt.i nb m wnmt	I built for you my mansion of millions of years and I gave you all my property as sustenance	property	19th Dyn.
b.142	KRI II: 57.12 (Kadesh Inscription)	diw.i sꜣ ḥr ḫt it.f	I placed a son over his father's property	property	19th Dyn.
b.143	KRI II: 234.15 (Ist Hittite Marriage)	ḥnḳ.kwi m ḫt(.i) nbw sꜣt.i wr m ḥʿt.sn	I have presented all my property, with my eldest daughter at their front	property	19th Dyn.
b.144	KRI II: 640.11 (Seti temple - Qurneh)	wꜣb 3 wꜣḥ ḫt nbt nfrt wꜣbt	three times pure is the setting down of all good and pure offerings	offerings	19th Dyn.
b.145	KRI III: 209.11	irt ḥtp-di-nsw m ḫt nbt nfrt wꜣbt	performing "an offering that the king gives" with all good and pure offerings	offerings	19th Dyn.
b.146	KRI III: 380.13 (Piay)	ḥm-kꜣ.k r šsp ḫt	your Ka priest will receive offerings	offerings	19th Dyn.

Chart # 2

ḫt (b references)

ref. no.	source	transliteration	translation	meaning	date
b.147	KRI III: 484.11	ḫt ḫ3wy m ḫm	rites of the night in Khem	rites	19th Dyn.
b.148	BD: Ch. 145. 19	iw.i wrḥw.kwi m ibr n ḫt nṯr	I am anointed with ladanum of the god's property	property	19th Dyn.
b.149	KRI V: 212. 3&4 (Festival of Min at Ramesseum and Medinet Habu)	rʿmss- mri imn-rʿ m-ʿ ḫt nbt ḏwt	Ramesses, protector from all evil things	concept	20th Dyn.
b.150	KRI VI 9.8 (Karnak - Festal Stele)	ḫt nswt n it.f špss	royal property of his noble father	property	20th Dyn.
b.151	KRI VI: 11. 13 (Hammamat 240)	sšw rḫyw ḫt nw pr ʿnḫ r irt mnw pn n st nḥḥ	scribes who know the rites of the house of life, in order to make this monument of the seat of forever	rites	20th Dyn.
b.152	KRI VI: 776. 16 (Papyrus BM 10052, Tomb Robberies)	ḏd.f bwpwy.i ptri ḫt nbt hn ptr.i wnw	he said, I did not see anything except what I see exists	concept	20th Dyn.

Chart # 2

ḫt (b references)

ref. no.	source	transliteration	translation	meaning	date
b.153	Erichsen 1933: 10.1 (Great Harris)	sḫwy ḫt i3wt k3mw 3ḫwt mnš wḫrwt dmi i.diw pr-ᶜ3 ᶜ.w.s. r-pr it.f špss imn-rᶜ-nsw-nṯrw mwt ḫnsw nṯrw nbw w3st m imyt-pr r nḥḥ ḏt	summary of property, herds, orchards, fields, ships, workshops, and towns that Pharaoh, L.P.H., gave to the chapel of his noble father, Amun-re, king of the gods, Mut, Khonsu, and all the gods of Thebes, as a testament forever and ever	property	20th Dyn.
b.154	Erichsen 1933: 29.8 (Great Harris)	ᶜpr.i sw m rmṯ m ḫt r sṯ3 r pr.k k3mw ḫr ḥrrw r p3y.k wb3	I equipped it with people and with property in order to bring to your house an orchard containing flowers for your courtyard	property	20th Dyn.

3c ỉr-ḫt

From the preceding discussion of the semantic field of the word ḫt, it is evident that the expression ỉr-ḫt can carry the sense of ritual through the meaning "performing cultic rites." This same discussion also demonstrated that the word ḫt can refer to a broader range of things than cultic objects and, therefore, it is possible that ỉr-ḫt also might have a broader meaning. A survey of the uses of ỉr-ḫt confirms that it describes activities beyond cultic rites. The Egyptians used ỉr-ḫt to describe the performance of cultic rites, funerary rites, negative or evil behaviour, and work.

3c.1 Cultic Rites

It is clear that the performance of cultic rites, or what scholars commonly consider ritual, is designated by the Egyptians as ỉr-ḫt. For the purposes of this discussion, ritual activity that is directed to deities and/or takes place in a temple is considered as being cultic rites. Also included in the category of cultic rites is the ritual activity performed at royal funerary establishments because it had an official public aspect and was more closely connected to divinity than other funerary establishments.[15]

The first definitive element in rites being cultic is that they were directed to deities. It was common for the ancient Egyptians to indicate that they were performing god's rites (ỉr-ḫt nṯr).[16] For example, in the inscription

of Sabu-Tjety, he described the duties assigned to him by the king as: "all *god's rites* and every performance that two high priests of Ptah at Memphis (usually) *performed*" (chart #3, c.38). Similarly, the stated function of the decree of Pepy I was to ensure that: "*god's rites are performed* in the city of these two pyramids" (chart #3, c.46). Thutmoses III, in his Festival Hall at Karnak, described among his efforts for Amun: "*performing* for him *god's rites*" (chart #3, c.116).

As is indicated in the previous example, the ancient Egyptians were anxious to indicate that they performed rites for gods. This desire was present in the private citizen as well as in the ruler. For example, Amenemhat, a prophet of Amun under Thutmoses III, described himself as: "the one pure of hands, *who performs rites* to Amun" (chart #3, c.123; also see chart #3, c.117). Ramesses III described his establishment of new offerings as: "by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Wosermaatre-meriamun, for *performing rites* to his father Amun" (chart #3, c.149; also see chart #3, c.114, c.142, c.151). Similarly, Hatshpesut described her devotion on her chapel at Karnak as: "it is for the gods that I *performed rites*, so that they might flourish I took their hands" (chart #3, c.126).[17] Legal documents also could refer to rites performed for gods. An early decree of King Neferirkare for the priests of Abydos defined appropriate priestly duties saying: "together with all work of the nome in addition to *performing rites* to his god in the temple in which he is" (chart #3, c.23).

From the example of the decree of Neferirkare, it is evident that actions indicated using the word ir-ḫt sometimes took place in temples. There are a number of other examples that indicate that rites were performed in a temple or this location was implied through the context. For example in the Abusir Papyri, one of the earliest appearances of ir-ḫt in reference to cultic rites, a list of people had the heading: "those who have *performed rites* at the pyramid" (chart #3, c.31); while another list was headed: "the one who receives the book-roll after *performing rites*" (chart #3, c.32). The location in which these rites were performed is understood to be the funerary temple of Neferirkare because they belong to the archive of that temple (Posener-Kriéger 1976: ix-2). The instructions Djefaihapi made for his funerary cult were more specific in its definitions of location providing a clear example of ir-ḫt taking place in temples: "*performing rites* in the temple every day" (chart #3, c.109). Thutmoses III, in relating his devout activities at a temple during his campaigning, indicated that he supplied offerings for the feasts of the beginning of the year and the appearance of the god's statue after he "found that *rites were performed* therein, consisting of libating, censing..." (chart #3, c.115). In the text of the Ritual of Amenhotep I, the primary ritual of the state temples in ancient Egypt,[18] the expression ir-ḫt indicated the actions of the officiating priest. When the priest entered the sacred area of the temple, he said: "I am the prophet, it is in order to *perform rites* that are done for Amun that I have come" (chart #3, c.139). Similarly, Ramesses III said of the

practices and offerings he instituted at Medinet Habu that: "I *perform* its *rites* as is written" (chart #3, c.148). Finally, connections between priests and their practices in temples are made clear in a Ramesside inscription on the base-block of an Apis-bull Statue from the Serapeum. Ramesses II's son, Khaemwaset says: "Oh, all prophets and lector priests who *perform rites* in the temple of Apis every morning, libate and cense for me, offer to me from your arms, and remember my name with an offering-that-the-king-gives upon the altar of the temple" (chart #3, c.143). From these examples, it should be noted that there is no distinction in terminology between rites performed in temples by kings (see example c.148; also see chart #3, c.67, c.141) or by priests (see examples c.31, c.32, c.109, c.115, c.139, c.143; also see chart #3, c.118, c.124, c.127, c.128, c.140).

In a number of examples already examined, it can be noted that the expression ir-ḫt had a strong connection to physical action in temple cult. In particular, the involvement of the hands or arms was referred to in examples c.123, c.126, and c.143. The biographical inscription of Pepiankh the Middle demonstrated a similar connection where Pepiankh described his job as overseer of prophets of Hathor of Kusae. Pepiankh said: "it is as an overseer of prophets of Hathor, lady of Kusae, that I spent a great part of this time passing and entering before Hathor, lady of Kusae, upon seeing her and *performing rites* for her with my two hands" (chart #3, c.62). Pepiankh is stressing that he performed the rites himself, but it also is evident that the

rites involved the use of hands (bodily action). Amenemhet made the importance of hands in the act of performing rites and the importance of a state of purity very clear when he said: "for the Ka of the one who is pure of hands when *performing rites*" (chart #3, c.122; also see chart #3, c.117). The Coptos decree of Pepy II used the expression ir-ḫt to refer to the physical, and necessarily bodily, act of ritual slaughter: "offering to Horus of the slaughter house in *performing rites* consisting of slaughtering" (chart #3, c.56).[19]

When taken together, the examples examined here provide evidence for a number of significant characteristics for cultic rites referred to as ir-ḫt. First, some cultic rites were modified by the adjective nṯr -- god's rites or divine rites[20] -- indicating that the ancient Egyptians did separate rites directed to deities from other rites. The existence of this distinction counters any suggestion that the ancient Egyptians failed to distinguish between the sacred and the secular in relation to ritual activities.[21]

Second, a number of examples suggest that cultic rites had a basis in custom or writing. The customary nature of performing rites is evident in example c.38 where Sabu-Tjety wanted to indicate that he was doing the priestly work customarily performed by two men. Part of the customary nature of such performances of rites may relate to the fact that some elements of these performances were connected to written instructions. This situation is indicated in c.32 where a book roll was part of the performance of rites at the funerary temple of Neferirkare. Presumably, the book roll contained

either the spells recited during the performance or instructions for the actions performed or possibly both.[22] Example c.148 confirms that it was desirable to perform rites in accordance with such written instructions. In this text Ramesses III affirmed that he performed the temple rites according to what was required in writing. It can safely be assumed that these written texts took a number of forms. From the texts that are extant today, it is possible that texts listing appropriate quantities of offerings for specific festivals like the Medinet Habu Calendar (Nelson 1931-33: 1-63), magical spells linking words with actions like the spell in chapter 89 of the Book of the Dead (BD 89: rubric) or the pictures of appropriate actions like the raising of the Djed pillar (Sethe 1928b) could be the kinds of texts employed to indicate how to perform ỉr-ḫt.

Third, these examples provide a picture, if somewhat vague, of what kinds of performance were included in ancient Egyptian cultic rites. Example c.115, unfortunately broken in mid-list, indicates that libating and censing were components of ỉr-ḫt. A similar text described a burnt offering as being ỉr-ḫt: "you perform rites; bread, beer, and incense upon the flame" (chart #3, c.107). The inclusion of presentation of offerings among these components is equally clear given the content of c.143. Beside being instructed to libate and cense, the priests were told to offer from their arms and perform the ḥtp-dỉ-nsw on the temple altar. As can be seen in this example, the reference to hands or arms being connected to ỉr-ḫt was often in relation to the actions

involved in presenting offerings. It should be noted, however, that at times the reference to hands could also refer to other bodily actions like the one Hatshepsut claimed to have performed in c.126. Finally, as Amenemhet stated in c.123, purity was an important element in proper performance of cultic rites.

When these characteristics are taken together, it is clear that many of the major elements identified by Egyptologists as important to ritual (see Chapter 2a) -- temple practice, dedication to deities, and cultic action -- are all indicated by the expression ir-ḫt.

3c.2 Funerary Rites

Equally important to include in the category of ritual are the practices surrounding the burial and reverence of the dead in ancient Egypt. Included among funerary rites are practices involved with the preparation for burial and the burial itself, activities conducted by the living for the dead, and performances the dead must complete to reach or perpetuate a happy state in the after life according to ancient Egyptian belief.

A significant number of examples of ir-ḫt in a funerary context are generalised thereby providing little information about what they signified, but they do confirm that practices connected with death were called ir-ḫt. It was common in ancient Egyptian tombs and tomb chapels to request the performance of rites from the living. Tomb owners assured the visitors that

they would receive benefits if they would "perform rites" for them (chart #3, c.15[23]; also see chart #3, c.22). Similarly, spell 397 in the Coffin Texts stated: "*performing rites* is what you did for her" (chart #3, c.91; also see chart #3, c.97, c.108).

Some of these general examples do provide an indication of who were performing these rites. As in examples c.10, c.15, and c.22, already discussed, the appeals for rites could be addressed to a general public. In the spells of the Coffin Texts it is assumed that one group of practitioners would be the family and friends of the deceased. Spell 146 contained several references to this group of performers: "he seeks out his companions and his loved ones who *perform rites*[24] for this N on earth" (chart #3, c.77; also see chart #3, c.78, c.79, c.80). From these examples, it is evident that non-specialists were able to perform the activities to which ir-ḫt refer.

Priests, as might be expected, also are said to perform rites. In a royal decree of Neferkauhor, which set up the funerary cult for a vizier, the provisions included: "His Majesty commanded the levy for you of 10 inspectors of ka priests in order to *perform rites* for you" (chart #3, c.57; also see chart #3, c.29). More common was the performance of rites by the lector priest, particularly in inscriptions from the Old Kingdom.[25] An inscription in the tomb of Kakherptah stated: "the lector priest who will *perform* for me *rites* of empowerment of an empowered spirit according to that secret writing of the craft of the lector priest" (chart #3, c.26; also see chart #3, c.27, c.42). A

similar statement was part of an appeal to the visitor in the tomb of Ankhmahor: "O lector priest who will come to this tomb *to perform* empowering *rites* according to that secret writing of the craft of the lector priest" (chart #3, c.45; also see chart #3, c.43).

One of the activities of the lector priest must have been connected with the ritual preparation and/or offering of cuts of beef.[26] This fact is indicated by the captions over scenes of men slaughtering cattle where the men urged each other to work faster saying: "hurry! the lector priest is coming *to perform rites*" (chart #3, c.60) or: "get it done! look, the lector priest is *performing rites*" (chart #3, c.61). Labels from the tombs at Beni Hasan suggest that recitation before offerings made up part of the lector's performance in the Middle Kingdom. In these tomb paintings lector priests were shown in the attitude of reciting and holding a book roll before offerings placed in front of the deceased. The labels read: "*performing rites*" (chart #3, c.105) or: "*performing rites* by the lector priest" (chart #3, c.106). This attitude of recitation before offerings is suggestive of part of the content of the writings referred to as secret in the tomb inscriptions of examples c.26, c.42, c.43, c.45.

The reference to the connection between writing and performing rites shifted after the Old Kingdom to emphasize the importance of the writings of Thoth for the good of the deceased. For example, in tomb #2 at Meir, the inscriptions wishes: "may they *perform rites* for you in accordance with this writing that Thoth placed in the house of god's book" (chart #3, c.70).

Similarly, in spell 894 of the Coffin Texts it states: "*rites are performed* for you in accordance with this writing that Thoth made for Osiris in the god's house of books" (chart #3, c.100). An echo of this idea remains in chapter 144 of the Book of the Dead: "among those who know proceedings, among those who *perform rites* to the Osiris, overseer of the house, to the overseer of seal bearers, Nu, beside Thoth among those who perform offerings" (chart #3, c.136).[27] The importance of the coupling of ir-ḫt with these allusions to the written word—the lector priest, the writing of Thoth, the secret or sacred book – is that it establishes the presence of writing as a significant element in the ancient Egyptian concept of what constituted ir-ḫt.

The extant texts related to funerary beliefs provide evidence of an interesting set of practices associated with the expression ir-ḫt. Given the importance of offerings to the funerary cult, it is not surprising that references to offering rites occurred in connection to this expression. For example, in the tomb of Nika-ankh an inscription over a depiction of children states: "may they *perform rites* of bread and beer in the role of this my heir as they performed for themselves" (chart #3, c.07; also see chart #3, c.09). This reference to ir-ḫt applied to the perpetuation of the offering cult to the dead ancestor by the family provides a connection to both the activities of the lector priest performing recitations over the offerings and the general references of family and loved ones performing rites for the dead.

Also included in the practices described as ir-ḫt are those that the funerary texts contained to aid the dead in reaching and succeeding in the afterlife. Some of these practices seem to be ones that were performed on earth for the benefit of the dead, while some seem to be performed in the afterlife by the deceased themselves or by deities on their behalf. The esoteric nature of the funerary texts (Lesko 1991: 88-90) makes the identification and interpretation of many of these practices problematic.

Frequently, the references to the performance of rites involved a precise number. This fact indicates that the activities that were referred to by ir-ḫt were not global in nature, but could be a defined set of actions. In Spell 187 of the Coffin Texts the deceased said: "I live on those 3 *rites* that *were performed* for Osiris" (chart #3, c.83; also see chart #3, c.88, c.96). Spell 220 contained a similar statement, but this time the deceased claimed to have performed the rites: "because I have *performed at 4 rites* upon this great altar of Osiris" (chart #3, c.86). Spell 191 indicated that the rites could be performed for the benefit of the deceased, but not be directed to them or the deities of the funerary world: "*perform 5 rites* to the earth and sky" (chart #3, c.84).

Some of the funerary texts combined the performance of rites with objects. Spells in the Coffin Texts contained references to such practices. In Spell 186 the dead was described as: "for whom were *performed 9 rites* with amulets of Osiris" (chart #3, c.81). Spell 187 states: "one *performs rites* for it

there with red emmer" (chart #3, c.82). Spell 234 suggests: "*performing rites* with 4 basins of Khepri and Heket" (chart #3, c.87).

Other rites were named or compared to rites of a specific type. For example, one common rite that benefited the dead was the performance of the rites of the night. Spell 439 of the Coffin Texts suggested that others beyond the deceased performed this activity on behalf of the deceased: "one *performs for you the rites* of the night in Khem" (chart #3, c.92). This same idea continued into the New Kingdom appearing in the Book of the Dead: "who have *performed for him rites* of the night in Khem" (chart #3, c.147). In chapter 182 of the Book of the Dead the deceased identified himself with the god of writing and said that he had performed these rites himself: "I am Thoth, I *performed rites* of the night in Khem" (chart #3, c.152).[28]

Beyond the rites of the night in Khem, there were a number of other rites that benefited the dead. For example, there were the rites that were compared to practices on the island of Serser. These rites included the judgement of the dead and the transformation into an empowered spirit (Demarée 1983: 224). In the Coffin Texts, Spell 465 states: "he *performs every rite* in it just as is performed on the island of Serser" (chart #3, c.93). Similarly, Book of the Dead chapter 110 states: "he *performs every rite* there like what is performed on the island of Serser" (chart #3, c.133). Chapter 178 of the Book of the Dead mentions a series of rites connected to the burial itself: "may they *perform* every good *rite* for him this good day; rites of

guidance in travel, rites of the eye of Horus, rites of every entry to see the god" (chart #3, c.138). In Spell 1100 of the Coffin Texts the deceased was safe because they expressed the wish: "may *rites be performed* for him inside the slaughter house of the protector" (chart #3, c.103).

As described for the cultic rites, funerary rites were carried out through speech and action, and at least in some cases, a state of purity was desirable. The earliest example of the use of ir-ḫt, on a seal from a funerary context, referred to speech: "one who says any *rite* and it is *performed* for her" (chart #3, c.01).[29] As in cultic rites, the use of hands in the performance of funerary rites was indicated. Spell 545 of the Coffin Texts stated: "both hands are *performing rites*" (chart #3, c.94). Also from the Coffin Texts were requests for purity: "pure is every *rite that is performed* for me" (chart #3, c.98; also see chart #3, c.99).

While it can be assumed that the entry and success of the deceased in the afterlife were at least partially determined by the proper performance of rites, there were two stated outcomes of funerary rites in the ancient Egyptian texts, protection (mkt) and empowerment (ꜣḫ).[30] In the tomb of the nomarch Inti, inscriptions address, "he who will *perform numerous protection rites* of one who has gone to his ka" (chart #3, c.35) . The most common stated outcome, however, was in connection with the Egyptian term *akh*. Rites themselves could be described as being empowering: "the lector priest who will *perform rites of empowerment* of an empowered spirit according to that secret writing of

the craft of the lector priest" (chart #3, c.26; also see chart #3, c.42, c.45, c.52).[31] The rites also could cause the deceased to become an empowered spirit: "it is upon *performing rites* by the lector priest that he made the bank so that he might become empowered" (chart #3, c.27; also see chart #3, c.145).

When examined as a group, the uses of ir-ḫt provide an interesting picture of what performing funerary rites meant to the ancient Egyptians. The activities referred to as ir-ḫt included a range of practices from simple offering rites to complex secret rites performed to ensure passage to the afterlife such as are found in the Book of the Dead. Similarly, those who could perform funerary rites seem to have ranged from the loved ones of the deceased to specialized priests. In the Old Kingdom and early Middle Kingdom the performance of rites by the lector priest seems to have been an important element in the funerary cult and in funerary beliefs. The lector priest was involved in the presentation of offerings, particularly those including slaughtered cattle. The lector priest had the special responsibility of ensuring that the dead became an empowered spirit (ꜣḫ) through the performance of appropriate rites. These rites would have included the recitation of spells (chart #3, c.105, c.106; Demarée 1983: 205-8), but were not limited to this, given the scenes connecting the lector priest to the offering of food and drink (chart #3, c.60, c.61).

The references to the role of the lector priest in the funerary cult fade after the early Middle Kingdom. This change most likely was due to a rise in

literacy and the wider use of Coffin Texts and later the Book of the Dead to aid the deceased in reaching the afterlife and prospering there. From the evidence surveyed here, it can be concluded that the performing of funerary rites included three elements: spoken words, bodily actions, and physical objects. For example, from the evidence of the funerary scenes at Beni Hasan (chart #3, c. 105, c. 106) the lector priest would recite spells over offerings using appropriate actions. This conclusion also is supported by the descriptions of rites in the spells of the Coffin Texts and the Book of the Dead (chart #3, c.81, c.82, c.85, c.87, c.94, c.138). As noted previously, these same three elements were important to temple cult activities described as ir-ḫt. As Ritner (1995: 35-67) has demonstrated, in magic the combination of these three things was considered by the Egyptians to be necessary for magic to be effective. Given this situation for magic, which was closely related to ritual, it should be considered that the efficacy of cultic or funerary rites also would have been enhanced if these three elements were present.

Finally, the outcome of performing funerary rites clearly was related to the central desire of the funerary cult in ancient Egypt – the successful transition to the afterlife through becoming an empowered spirit. There are several areas where the performance of rites addressed these desires. First, the Egyptians credited rites with being able to turn the deceased into an empowered spirit. Second, the Egyptians believed rites could protect the tomb and its contents, which were necessary to an empowered spirit in the

afterlife, from damage. Third, rites could be enhanced through attention to purity and thereby would have been more effective in providing for the deceased in the afterlife.

As was noted for the performance of cultic rites, the performance of funerary rites as indicated by ir-ḫt falls within the expected characteristics of ritual as identified by Egyptologists. It involved performative action directed to the land of the dead for the benefit of the deceased and secondarily the deities who lived there. This performance was based on written texts and thus had a traditional character.

3c.3 Aggressive Rites

It is clear from numerous examples of the use of the expression ir-ḫt that it could refer to activities which were violent or whose end product was negative rather than beneficial as has been examined for the cultic and funerary rites. Aggressive rituals, for the purposes of this discussion, are activities whose outcome was considered by the ancient Egyptians to be evil, bad, or harmful. Also included in this category are rites that involved violence or that were described as being performed against someone or something even if the result was beneficial such as the rites against evil spirits.

The majority of references to the performance of aggressive rites described as ir-ḫt were general in character. One place where it is common to

find such a reference is in the negative confession in tomb biographies. The deceased declared: "I never *performed evil rites* against any person" (chart #3, c.08). This statement was formulaic in the Old Kingdom and varied little from tomb to tomb (chart #3, c.11, c.33, c.37, c.51, c.66[32]). In the inscription of Merisuankh the negative modifier was not included in this statement: "I shall never *perform rites* against any person" (chart #3, c.30). Such an omission, if not an error, suggests that performing rites against someone could be assumed to be negative by the ancient Egyptians. As a result it should be assumed that the expression ir-ḫt did not refer exclusively to beneficial activities.

The basic statement of not performing evil rites against any person sometimes was modified to give more detailed information. For example, in his tomb inscription, Hetepherakhet stated: "I never *performed any rites* by my power against any person" (chart #3, c.16). In the tomb inscription of Pehenwikai, he stated: "I never *performed any evil rites* while performing rites for any person" (chart #3, c.13[33]). These examples provide the interesting information that while performing rites a person may have been in a special position to perform rites that had either beneficial or harmful results. By the New Kingdom this kind of statement was seen as being suitable for the deceased to proclaim at the final judgement before Osiris: "there is none against whom I *performed rites* " (chart #3, c.134).

Also extremely common were general references to other people performing rites against someone or against someone's tomb. Such references occurred in all periods, from the Old Kingdom to the New Kingdom. During the Old Kingdom it was common to include in the address to the living a warning against performing rites that would harm the tomb.[34] These statements tended to be formulaic and varied little between tombs. The standard warning said: "as for any person who will *perform evil rites* against this [tomb]" (chart #3, c.18[35]; also see chart #3, c.14, c.15, c.17, c.48, c.49). The tomb of Inti from Deshasheh extended this basic statement to cover two types of harmful rites: "certainly, as to all people who will *perform evil rites* against this, or those who will perform any destructive rites against this" (chart #3, c.34). The basic statement also appeared without the word evil in a similar manner to the example of the general denial of performing evil rites discussed previously (chart #3, c.30). For example, an inscription on a false door in the British Museum stated: "he who will *perform rites* against this, the crocodile will be against him in the water, the snake will be against him on land" (chart #3, c.50; also see chart #3, c. 06). In the tomb of Ankhmahor, the warning specified the tomb: "if there is any *rite that you perform* against this tomb" (chart #3, c.44). Finally, in Cairo 1650 the tomb-owner warned the reader of the tomb inscription: "as for any person who will *perform rites* against my children, I will be judged with him by the great god" (chart #3, c.41). Given the context and the similar examples examined here, it is

probable that the tomb-owner was warning against the performance of rites against his children in their role as inheritors and practitioners of his funerary cult.[36]

A similar kind of fear was expressed in relation to the funerary cult of officials that were not limited to their tombs.[37] The royal decree establishing the funerary cult for the Vizier Idi provided punishments for people who performed rites that would harm funerary cult activities in temples or shrines. The decree specifies: "those who will *perform destructive evil rites* against any of your statues, your offerings, your ka houses, your furniture, or your monuments that are in any temple or shrine" (chart #3, c.58).[38]

The funerary inscriptions also expressed a concern that rites might be performed against the tomb owner. There were a number of spells in the Coffin Texts that confronted the possibility that rites might be performed against the deceased. The most common expression of this fear was: "one shall never *perform for me rites* consisting of this which the gods abominate" (chart #3, c.89; also see chart #3, c.90, c.130, c.137). The concern about harmful rites also was expressed more simply: "those who will *perform* any *rites* evilly against this N" (chart #3, c.71; also see chart #3, c.24, c.72, c.95, c.102,[39] c.104, c.135). In Spell 17 this idea was amplified by the addition of speech to performance: "as for those who will say or those who will *perform rites* evilly against you" (chart #3, c.73). This example indicates, as was true for cultic and funerary rites, that evil rites could have been performed and

recited. Spell 205 confirms the fact that recitation could have been part of harmful rites. After listing a number of negative actions, such as eating faeces and walking upside down, the deceased said: "I did not *perform* for you words spoken at any (of these) *rites*" (chart #3, c.85). During the New Kingdom, there was continuity of the idea that rites might be performed against the deceased. The Book of the Dead contained several references to such actions. For example, chapter 69 addresses: "my enemies, who *perform* every evil *rite*" (chart #3, c.131). In chapter 138 the deceased warned against performing harmful rites because: "*rites* pass to them which they *perform* against me" (chart #3, c.135).

It also was common for the ancient Egyptians to express a concern that rites would be performed against the gods. In Spell 952 of the Coffin Texts, the deceased claimed identity with one "who saves the gods from those who *perform rites* against them" (chart #3, c.101). It is clear that the actions involved in the attack of Seth on Osiris and the response of Horus were described as ir-ḫt. In chapter 9 of the Book of the Dead the deceased claimed identity with Horus by saying that he would punish Seth, " I cut out this heart of Seth who *performs rites* against my father Osiris" (chart #3, c.129). Spell 49 of the Coffin Texts referred to the behaviour of Seth toward Osiris in a similar manner: "by *performing rites* against him" (chart #3, c.75; also see chart #3, c.76). Spell 37 also may have referred to this conflict, but described the retaliation on behalf of Osiris as rites: "when you complain, he is

punished for you in order to *perform rites* in accordance with all that you said" (chart #3, c.74). The ritual actions feared by the deceased described in chapter 93 of the Book of the Dead also seemed to refer to this mythic cycle: "if any evil or bad *rite* of the festival of the rebels *be performed* against me" (chart #3, c.132).

Similarly, the mythic act of repelling the snake that attacks the solar boat was described as ỉr-ḫt. This activity was so described on a statue of Horemheb: "you open the way to the seat in the boat, you *perform rites* against that rebel serpent, you sever his head" (chart #3, c.125). In the Book of the Dead, chapter 40, the deceased claimed to have performed the same rite: "I *performed all rites* for you which were spoken against you by the Ennead concerning the performance of your being cut off" (chart #3, c.146). While not as clear as the examples from the Book of the Dead, Spell 1100 in the Coffin Texts seemed to refer to this mythic event, mentioning Apep before it stated: "may *rites be performed* for him (Apep) inside the slaughterhouse of the protector" (chart #3, c.103).

There is an interesting example of the negative use of ỉr-ḫt that does not fit with the examples so far examined in that it does not relate to a funerary or religious context. Among the admonitions of Ipuwer was the statement: "look here, *rites are performed* that never happened before, the king has been removed by the rabble" (chart #3, c.64). It is the context, rather than the syntax that determines that this statement involved a case of the performance

of aggressive rites. Given this example, it is possible to say that the ancient Egyptians saw the removal of the king as partaking in some aspect of the performance of rites as described by ir-ḫt. It can be suggested that, by using the expression ir-ḫt, the author of the text was putting the act in the same category as the mythic actions of Seth and Apep.[40] Such a reference was present in chapter 93 of the Book of the Dead: "if any evil or bad *rite* of the festival of the rebels *be performed* against me" (chart #3, c. 132). It is equally possible that the act of making or unmaking a king was considered as being a performance of rites. This idea will be considered in section 3c.5.

There are a number of interesting observations that can be made concerning these examples of ir-ḫt. First, it is clear that the category ir-ḫt included both positive and negative rites. Aggressive rites included both rites that had a harmful effect and rites that were violent, but some could be perceived as being ultimately beneficial, like the slaying of Apep. Although the aggressive uses of ir-ḫt have rarely been understood as referring to ritual, it is not surprising that the ancient Egyptian concept of performing rites would have embraced both negative and positive behaviour. Ritner (1995: 28-33) has demonstrated that the ancient Egyptian conception of what constituted magic was complex, including both positive and negative practices. The same conception must have been true for what constituted ir-ḫt, given the close connections between magic and ritual in Egyptian culture.

This idea would explain why the Egyptians did not always indicate that rites were evil. It would have been understood that rites against someone could be harmful. It can be concluded, therefore, that the beneficial nature of the rites was not a defining element of ir-ḫt for the ancient Egyptians.

Second, within the examples of funerary practice, negative examples of performing rites appear to have been the opposite of the positive examples examined in section 3c.2, except for the violent rites aimed at controlling the forces of disorder. Within the former examples are a similar range of activities that were labelled as ir-ḫt for funerary rites, but these activities had a negative aspect. Just as one purpose of the spells and actions described in the Coffin Texts and Book of the Dead was to ritually aid the deceased in the journey to the West and to aid in the successful completion of the trial before Osiris, these sources envisioned the existence of the performance of rites that could hinder or stop the deceased in this process and thus tried to provide protection against these rites. For example, the recitation of spells that caused the dwellers in the afterlife to eat faeces (c.85) would be included in this category. The rites that the Egyptians thought might be performed against the tomb owner would have included this kind of activity. Similarly, just as the positive funeral rites called ir-ḫt included offering rites and rites performed by the family at the tomb, the Egyptians sometimes described as ir-ḫt rites that aimed at disrupting these activities. Aggressive rites were directed against: the children of the deceased; the tomb of the deceased; and,

in the case of Vizier Idi, the statues, offerings, shrines, furniture, and monuments of the deceased. The aggressive rites directed at the funerary cult could be divided into rites that affected the world of the dead and rites that affected the world of the living.

Generally, what constituted such rites was left vague in these inscriptions. The example from the inscription setting up the funerary cult of the Vizier Idi separated rites into evil and destructive, providing a clue as to what these rites might have been. Evil rites would have included recitations and ceremonies designed to bring about a negative change in state for the deceased in the afterlife like walking upside down. Evil rites also would have included performing rites incorrectly, for example offering at a tomb in a state of impurity.[41] Such a state would make the rite ineffective thus cutting off the deceased from the offerings that were essential to survival in the West. It already has been noted that purity was closely connected to performing rites in a cultic and funerary context. While not as closely connected to negative rites, performing rites in impurity is stated as one of the negative things that could be done to a statue or tomb in close proximity to statements concerning the performance of negative rites (cf. c.13, c.14 -- Urk I: 49.1-11; c. 16, c.17 -- 50.16-17; c.44 -- 202: 1-3).

Destructive rites can be recognized as ones that physically damage or destroy objects necessary to the funerary cult like statues, reliefs, texts, or other mortuary monuments. For example, this type of destruction is

mentioned in the Coffin Texts where bowls, offering tables and water pots are mentioned as being broken, smashed, and scattered (CT VI: 295, spell 667). Such destruction was not random, but was part of a recognized ritual activity.[42] Evidence of ritual destruction is well documented in ancient Egypt (Ritner 1995: 136-153). In relation to these negative texts the destruction feared in the tombs also could describe the ritual defacing of all identifying texts and figures occasionally found in tombs throughout the Pharaonic period in Egypt (Ritner 1995: 148-149). This kind of destruction denied the tomb owner the ability to be remembered and thus receive offerings.

Third, given that the aggressive rites related to the funerary cult were the opposite of the positive rites, it is fair to assume that the generalized statements concerning performing evil rites related to the opposite of performing rites generally. If this was the case, when a deceased person claimed to have never performed evil rites against any person, this was not confined to rites that prevented a dead person from becoming an empowered spirit. Instead, the person was claiming a much broader range of good behaviour that covered all areas of performing rites. This understanding of what aggressive rites referred to also allows for a clearer picture of why the rabble removing a king might be described as performing rites. As will be seen in the next section, performing royal work or ceremony was considered as ir-ḫt so aggressive rites would constitute the opposite of the norm.

While not normally considered as part of the performance of rites by Egyptologists, the performance of activities that were similar to cultic and funerary rites, but had the opposite results, were included among what the ancient Egyptians considered as ir-ḫt. Also included among ritual activities were violent acts that brought about or maintained order through the overthrow of the forces of chaos as represented by the mythic characters Seth and Apep.

3c.4 Work

The final, and possibly least expected, category of activity to which the ancient Egyptians applied the expression ir-ḫt was work. This category included what can be termed court ceremonial, work originating from a royal source, and regular work.

If the term ritual were extended to activities beyond cultic and funerary rites, given the findings of scholars studying ritual (see Ch. 2b.1), it would not be surprising that the ancient Egyptians might have included royal ceremony in the category of ritual. When relevant texts are examined, the expression ir-ḫt does appear referring to court ceremonial. For example, in the inscription of Washptah the king was recorded as saying: "it was in accordance with my desire that he *performed every rite* whenever he came to the Privy-Chamber"[43] (chart #3, c.12). Another early example may be found in the inscription of Weta. Weta said of himself that he was one "who

habitually *performed rites* concerning the throne of the king" (chart #3, c.05); "who habitually *performed rites* concerning the king's sandals" (chart #3, c.04); and "who habitually *performed rites* according to the wish of his lord being the work of the craftsman, Weta" (chart #3, c.03). While Weta might have been describing his performance of work for the king, the symbolic importance of the throne and the king's sandals[44] suggest that these references also may have had a ceremonial component. Finally, it is possible that the ancient Egyptians referred to the activities surrounding the Sed festival using the term ir-ḫt. Unfortunately, the text is broken where this expression is linked to the Sed festival: "...sanctuary for worship of the retainers in order to *perform rites* ///sed festival" (chart #3, c.150).

From royal ceremonial it is only a step to include royal decrees and commissions. In two of the Coptos decrees of Pepy II (B and D), the carrying out of the activities indicated in the decree was described using the expression ir-ḫt. The decree stated: "as for every overseer of Upper Egypt, every magistrate, every agent, every scribe ///who [will not] *perform rites* according to the words of this command, offering to Horus of the slaughter house in performing rites consisting of slaughtering" (chart #3, c.56; also see chart #3, c.53, c.55).[45] Interestingly, there are a number of examples of the use of ir-ḫt that refer to work originating from the king. Senedjemib included a letter written to him from King Izezi concerning a royal commission in his tomb. The king praised Senedjemib's work on royal constructions and

described this work as ir-ḫt: "it is concerning it that you are *performing rites* very excellently" (chart #3, c.19). Although the broken context makes it difficult to be certain, the son of Izezi, Kaemtjenennet, probably described his work in relation to the king: "consisting of *performing every rite* for you that is performed by a servant whom his lord loves" (chart #3, c.25).

The majority of examples of ir-ḫt referring to work did not make specific reference to the royal connection of work, but spoke more generally of performing work for an unnamed person or performing work well. The work may have been performed for the king, but the emphasis in these examples was placed on performance of work based on the duties of a career. The most significant examples of the use of ir-ḫt in relation to job activities are found in the tomb of Rekhmire. In relation to the legal aspects of his job as vizier, the king instructs Rekhmire: "then you see for yourself that every *rite is performed* like that which pertains to the law, *performing every rite* exactly right" (chart #3, c.119). In the same inscription Rekhmire described the duties of the magistrate (sr)[46] as ir-ḫt: "then one is not ignorant of his deeds, look it is the shelter of a magistrate to *perform rites* according to instructions" (chart #3, c.120). Finally, Rekhmire used this expression less specifically to describe the activities involved in any official's job: "look, a man exists in his office when he *performs rites* according to what is given to him" (chart #3, 121).

Other tomb owners of lesser rank used the expression ir-ḫt to describe their own fulfilment of career duties. For example, in the tomb of Tepemankh

it is said that the tomb owner was one: "who *performs every rite* that one commands of him as chief scribe" (chart #3, c.28; also see chart #3, c.21, c.40, c.111). In the tomb of Nekhebu, ir-ḫt was used to describe the work involved in governing a town: "I *performed every rite* excellently in it for him" (chart #3, c.47). Another tomb owner bolstered his reputation by claiming that he did work, in the form of ir-ḫt, for the nomarch: "I did not *perform rites* for any small man, but I *performed rites* for the nomarch" (chart #3, c.63).

One interesting kind of work the ancient Egyptians referred to using ir-ḫt was work at sea. In the tomb of Senedjemib, he commended the sailors who worked for him saying: "every *rite was performed* by these sailors as was commanded" (chart #3, c.20). In the Middle Kingdom one ship captain was memorialised as being a good captain: "more than any of his friends who *performed rites* upon the sea" (chart #3, c.110).

A number of uses of the expression ir-ḫt were not specific, but the context might suggest a reference to work. Among the Middle Kingdom epithets were a couple that contain ir-ḫt. These epithets referred to enhanced ability in performing rites: "one who *performs rites* knowingly" (chart #3, c.65) and "one who *performs rites* successfully" (chart #3, c.68; also see chart #3, c.69). A similar type of claim was made in the tomb of Inti: "*performing rites* rightly is what the god loves" (chart #3, c.36). In these cases the context of the epithets and the moral statement do not suggest a cultic or funerary meaning,

but rather a secular meaning most logically related to work experience. Finally, in an ostracon from Deir el-Medina, the expression ir-ḫt was used to refer to what would be done with tax (wages) that may have referred to work: "let me *perform every rite* with the remainder of their tax" (chart #3, c.144).

When examined as a group, these examples of ir-ḫt referring to work allow for some conclusions concerning the use of this expression in this context. First, it is evident that royal connections, both in the performance of court ceremonial and in the performance of royal decrees and commissions, were a significant part of the kind of work that might be described as ir-ḫt. There are enough examples, however, to suggest that non-royal work would have been referred to as ir-ḫt as well.

Second, the work called ir-ḫt often was modified in these inscriptions by an indication that it was performed according to instructions or a written guide (chart #3, c.20, c.21, c.28, c.53, c.55, c.56, c.111, c.119, c.120, c.121). It is possible that the examples of royal ceremonial that were said to have been performed by the desire of the king (chart #3, c.03, c.12) should be included in this group if the `desire' of the king was considered as a formal statement or written command. Something of this idea was present in the statement in Sabu-Tjety's inscription: "lo, the wish of his majesty is stronger than any *rite that is performed* there" (chart #3, c.39). A similar expression of the king's position in relations to rites was expressed for Hatshepsut when her work was described by saying: "as a god, she *performed every rite* " (chart #3, c.112).

From the prevalence of statements that appealed to commands related to ir-ḫt in a work context, it can be concluded that one important element of work described as ir-ḫt was such a formalized setting forth of activities. These activities were to be performed either as an expression of the royal will[47] or as the fulfilment of a formal job description. The text in Rekhmire's tomb that described the duties of the vizier is an example of such a formal job description.[48]

Third, given the connection of ir-ḫt to work originating in a royal context and the connection of ir-ḫt to traditional or written work descriptions, it can be asserted that the work described by this expression was formal and culturally proscribed. As a group, the examples discussed in this category describe not a single activity, but rather an entire set of activities defined as a job or project. The expression ir-ḫt referred to the idea of what is involved in performing the duties of a particular career rather than being limited to the physical aspect of work or the performance of a single task for which the ancient Egyptians used words like kꜣt (*Wb* V: 98) and bꜣk (*Wb* I: 426). As a result, ir-ḫt could have included duties of work like manual labour, ability to follow instructions, ability to work with superiors and inferiors, leadership skills, speaking and writing ability, and ability to use special technology or knowledge. It is this clustering of activities and skills that made the expression ir-ḫt particularly suited to describing the carrying out of a royal

commission or the career duties involved in being a sailor, magistrate, or vizier.

At this point it is appropriate to discuss the Old Kingdom title iry-ḫt-nswt (see chart #3, c.02, c.59), an alternate reading proposed for rḫ-nswt (Helck 1954: 26-28), in relation to the use of the expression ir-ḫt as revealed in this analysis. While ir-ḫt could have referred to cultic and funerary practices, as demonstrated above, it was commonly employed to refer to work that was connected to royalty. This work not only surrounded royal court ceremonial (see chart #3, c.03, c.04, c.05, c.12, c.150), but also described work that was ordered by the king either as part of a royal work project or as part of a beneficence for a loyal official (see chart #3, c.19, c. 36, c.53, c.55, c.56). One of the problems that has been connected with reading this title as iry-ḫt-nswt is the understanding of ḫt.[49] This difficulty is resolved if ḫt-nswt was connected with the meaning of the expression ir-ḫt as work rites. This understanding also would bring the title in line with other titles formed with iry-ḫt known to refer to royal establishments and rites (Leprohon 1994: 46). The relationship between iry-ḫt and ir-ḫt is also suggested by the fact that the shift in meaning of the title to rḫ-nswt and the reduction in use of ir-ḫt occurred at the same time (end of the Old Kingdom).[50] It is clear that the use of ir-ḫt to refer to court ceremonial and work requested by the king paralleled the suggested

meaning of iry-ḫt-nswt as "one connected to royal rites" (Helck 1954: 28, 1958: 279-280; Leprohon 1994: 47; Doxey 1998: 125).

While seemingly outside the basic idea of what might constitute ritual as the term is normally understood, there are a number of characteristics of work designated by the ancient Egyptians as ir-ḫt that were shared with cultic rites, funerary rites, and negative rites. Performing work rites involved performative action based on traditional or written texts. In addition, while not stated explicitly, the performance of career duties would have encompassed the elements of action, speech, and physical objects previously noted as being part of performing rites in the other categories (see 3c.2). It can be concluded, therefore, that the performance of work, in the sense of all the duties involved in a career or commission, was included in the category of performing rites by the ancient Egyptians.

3c.5 Interpretation

Now that the survey of the uses of ir-ḫt in ancient texts is complete, it is possible to consider the semantic field for this expression. Indeed, it is clear that there were some over-arching concepts that constituted ir-ḫt. These concepts can be divided into two groups: the actions involved; and the expected outcome of those actions.

The first, and most obvious aspect of ir-ḫt is that it referred to physical action. This aspect was present in all four categories of uses: cultic, funerary, negative, and work. In cultic and funerary rites, the physical aspect of ir-ḫt was evident in the mention of the use of hands when these activities were described (e.g., chart #3, c.62, c.94). The method for performing evil rites was intentionally left vague by the ancient Egyptians, but the references to destructive rites against physical objects and to the violent acts against Apep (e.g., chart #3, c.58, c.125) also suggest a strong physical component. Finally, in the description of work, the physical actions involved in the duties of a career are indicated by the actions referred to in relation to the job. For example, the activities of sailors at sea, the building of royal monuments, and the actions specified in the Coptos decrees (chart #3, c.19, c.20, c.55, c.56) refer to physical actions.

It is equally clear, however, that these physical actions were not the only aspect of performing rites. In many cases the physical actions were performed with objects, accompanied by recitation. In cultic and funerary rites, offerings of objects were made presumably while spells were recited (e.g., chart #3, c.143, c.105). There are similar indications, although not as clearly stated, that aggressive rites contained these three elements. Certainly, the recitations of spells were significant in the performance of aggressive rites (e.g., chart #3, c.73, c.85). The evidence for the performance of rites with objects is external to the references examined in this study; however, given

the physical evidence of cursing individuals using figurines (Ritner 1995: 113), it can be assumed that objects also were significant to the performance of evil rites. Finally, it is this combination of things, action, object, and word, that particularly suits the references to work as overall job duties more than the physical action aspect. As was noted previously (p. 109), this combination of activities in ancient Egyptian thought was particularly powerful and thus assured success for the performer.

Equally significant to all the categories of things referred to by ir-ḫt was the basis of the performance of rites on tradition or custom and the written text. One indication of the importance of performing rites according to instructions was that in several cases the performance of rites according to a set pattern was emphasised through the use of the emphatic[51] (e.g., chart #3, c.93, c.111). Another indication is provided by the connection of rites to written texts, which was very strong in all categories except the negative rites. In cultic rites, funerary rites, and work rites, it is clear that an over-riding concern of the ancient Egyptians was to perform the rites as written (e.g., chart #3, c.26, c.56, c.148). This connection explains the strong identification of Thoth with ir-ḫt (Schott 1963: 103, 105.II) noted previously. That the Egyptians did not refer to written aggressive rites is not surprising considering their belief in the magical power of writing (Nordh 1996: 190-191) and, while such written texts probably existed (Ritner 1995: 213), it could have been perceived as dangerous to refer to them in contexts such as

funerary inscriptions. There were hints within the texts containing references to negative rites that the rites were based on tradition or spoken instructions. Coffin Text spell 205 referred to words spoken at negative rites as if there were a body of known spells for accomplishing these actions (chart #3, c.85). Similarly, in the descriptions of the punishment of Apep, the action was described as being according to what was spoken by the Ennead (chart #3, c.146).

The ancient Egyptians were not as clear writing about what they thought was the outcome of performing rites compared to how they thought rites were performed. Only in rare instances was the expected outcome particularly indicated. In relation to the expected result of cultic rites, Hatshepsut indicated that she performed rites for the gods so that they might flourish (chart #3, c.126). The stated purpose of some of the funerary rites was to ensure that the deceased became an empowered spirit or one who flourished in the West (e.g., chart #3, c.27), while many of the negative rites sought to disrupt this transformation (see p. 118). Similarly, clearly the rites conducted against Apep (e.g., chart #3, c.125) were believed to produce the opposite results of cultic rites by stopping the snake from flourishing through cutting. The results of work rites also could be described as causing the worker to flourish as was indicated in the tomb of Rekhmire where he indicated that performing rites according to instructions caused an official to keep his office (chart #3, c.121). This situation casts light on one reason why

the removal of the king by the rabble might be called performing rites grouped with the negative rites (chart #3, c.64). Clearly, the overthrow of the king was similar to the overthrow of Seth and Apep described in the negative rites and thus would have caused the king not to flourish.

In the last example, where the king was overthrown, a theme in ancient Egyptian thought can be recognised: the theme of order vs. chaos. This example is located in a string of chaotic events warned against by Ipuwer (Helck 1995: 27-33, B48-C12). The point of this piece of literature was to urge the ancient Egyptians to keep the ordained order (Helck 1995: 49-52, F1-F9; 60-62, H1-H9) or this kind of chaos would result.[52] Directly following on the chaos connected to the overthrow of kingship, Ipuwer described the chaos that resulted if the rest of the population failed to perform their appointed tasks (Helck 1995: 33-44, C13-C50).[53] This thinking also was behind the concern of the performance of proper work rites by officials. The ancient Egyptians placed the highest value on the performance of duty according to recognized standards of behaviour (Doxey 1998: 28-9; Lichtheim 1992: 54-59). Adherence to these rules ensured the maintenance of ma`at.

Indications of connections between ir-ḫt and ma`at are demonstrated in another way beyond the example just noted from the Admonitions. As Lichtheim (1992: 9-19) has demonstrated, segments of tomb biographies were devoted to describing how the tomb owner had behaved according to ma`at. A number of the examples of ir-ḫt examined in this study come from this

context (chart #3, c.15, c.16, c.17, c.28, c.34, c.35, c.36, c.42, c.43). The clearest statement from this type of text is from the tomb of Inti where it was stated: "performing rites rightly (m3ᶜ) is what the god loves" (chart #3, c.36). The relation of ma`at to the performance of ritual in ancient Egypt will be considered fully in Chapter 6.

3c.6 Chronological Analysis

In this analysis of the uses of ir-ḫt, the chronological development of this expression has not been emphasized. This lack of emphasis is not because there was no chronological development, but rather because the development that is apparent is not related to the basic uses of ir-ḫt. All four major categories of use – cultic, funerary, aggressive behaviour, and work -- are represented throughout the period under study. This fact testifies to the stability of the concept at the basis of this expression in ancient Egyptian thought and practice.

What does change over time is the frequency of use of ir-ḫt. Such measurements of frequency are difficult to make due to the nature of the preservation of ancient Egyptian materials. The pattern that is evident in the corpus of examples of ir-ḫt is that this expression appears more commonly in the Old Kingdom texts than in texts of later periods. This pattern is significant because far fewer texts are preserved from the Old Kingdom than from later periods, in particular from the New Kingdom. The explanation for

this reduction in the use of ir-ḫt is related, in part, to the use of the expression nt-^{c} and thus this discussion will be resumed in Chapter 5.

Conclusion

It can be concluded at this point that ir-ḫt did mean performing cultic rites, but that it referred to a range of rites that went beyond cultic rites. This range of rites included funerary rites, aggressive rites, and work rites, in addition to cultic rites. What tied these activities together was: an emphasis on physical performance, usually accompanied by the manipulation of objects and speech; an appeal to the origin of these activities in traditional or written instructions; an expected outcome that the beneficiaries and performers of the rites would flourish; and that the proper performance of rites was in conformance with ma`at thereby bringing order in the cosmos, while negative rites were against ma`at and thus their performance contributed to chaos.

When considering the relationship of ir-ḫt to its component elements, it is obvious, on the one hand, that ir should be understood as meaning performing given the strong emphasis on physical activity connected with ir-ḫt. The component ḫt, on the other hand, should not be understood to refer to cultic objects or cultic rites given the breadth of rites referred to by ir-ḫt. The best understanding of ir-ḫt is derived from ḫt referring to proceedings. The expression ir-ḫt, however, did not simply mean performing proceedings, but

was more specialised as to what proceedings were described as ir-ḫt. Just as other compounds with ḫt could have special limited reference, ir-ḫt referred to activities that had the characteristics noted previously, justifying the translation "performing rites." Before considering the implications of this study of ir-ḫt for the understanding of ancient Egyptian ritual it is necessary to consider the use of ir-ḫt in the royal epithet nb irt-ḫt and to verify these findings by examining a second expression used to describe ritual, nt-ᶜ.

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[15] See discussions of the problems of categorising royal funerary establishments in Arnold 1997: 31-32; Haeny 1997: 86-90.

[16] It is this expression that the editors of the *Wörterbuch* believed to mean ritual (Wb VI: 125). I have chosen to translate it as a direct genitive (Hoch 1995: §22), "performing rites of the god," but it also can be translated as a nisbe adjective (Hoch 1995: §54; Hornung 1982: 63-64), "performing divine rites."

[17] This sentence could be understood as a reciprocal sentence (Hoch 1995: §152), "just when I performed rites to the gods, is when I took their hands that they might flourish"; however, it is more likely that this phrase should be understood as two parallel sentences in poetic apposition. In this way, this sentence would be similar to the example quoted by Hoch (1995: 223) as being"two complete explicatory sentences loosely bound by meaning and form."

[18] See Gardiner 1935 for comments on ritual of Amenhotep.

[19] Nordh (1996: 210-211) notes the connection of slaughtering to ritual slaughtering of animals with the aid of a priest following strict regulations that were written down, the mythic overthrow of the enemies of Osiris by Horus, and the maintenance of ma`at. Also see below in section 3c.5 where these actions are connected to the wider connections of ritual and ma`at. For the reconstruction of nfr in this passage, see Edel 1955-: §1137.

[20] See Hornung 1982: 63-65 where he discusses the concrete nature of the adjectival form of nṯr.

[21] While Egyptian life has been described as religion, with no separation between the sacred and the secular (Tobin 1989: 3), it would be a mistake to explain the various activities called ir-ḫt as being grouped together because they were all sacred to the ancient Egyptians. This understanding obscures the main characteristics that bind activities called ir-ḫt together and distinguishes them from other activities.

[22] Posener-Kriéger (1976: 17-18) notes that the content of the book mentioned in this text is unknown, but suggests, given the context, that it refers to the offering rite connected to the rites of the morning and evening.

[23] This example is interesting in that the participial form wnw, while rare, suggests habitual and repeated action that is typical of ritual. See Gardiner 1957: §474 and Edel 1955-: §650.

[24] See Faulkner's (1973: vol. 1, 123) translation where he translates ir-ḫt in this passage as work and compare with section 3c.4 below where examples of this expression referring to work are discussed.

[25] For a discussion of the lector priest as a member of the staff of the House of Life in relation to ritual and magic see Nordh 1996: 209-210.
[26] For a connection between offerings of cuts of beef with the rites of morning and night see note #8 above and see Nordh 1996: 210-211 for additional evidence of the role of the lector priest in ritual slaughter.
[27] For a study of the writings of Thoth related to offerings see Schott 1963; for a study connecting Thoth with books, learning, and ritual see Nordh 1996: 213-214.
[28] For rites of the night in Khem see Altenmüller 1980: 42 and Junker 1953: 202
[29] See Troy 1986: 88, 190, where she associates this phrase with the efficacy of speech of the royal women in ancient Egypt, particularly in relation to cultic rites.
[30] For the sake of consistency, I am translating ꜣḫ based on the English word empower because it avoids the positive connotations of the English words glorified, beneficial, and effective inconsistent with the destructive nature also connected with this term (Ritner 1995: 33). Based on several studies of ꜣḫ it is clear that the term is not easily translated into a single English word (Ritner 1995: 30-35; Demarée 1983: 189-195; Englund 1978: 14-20), therefore the word empower captures the elements of power as a potentially positive or negative force and the change in state connected with becoming an *akh* in one, identifiable word.
[31] See Demarée 1983: 208-9, n.84 for a different translation.
[32] This is a lone Middle Kingdom example.
[33] This translation follows Sethe's (Urk I: 49, note b) reconstruction.
[34] For this threat formula see Morschauser 1991: 38-41.
[35] For the reading of the seated man hieroglyph (Gardiner Sign List A1) as rmṯ (person) rather than s (man), see Edel 1955-: §53.
[36] For threats against the family see Morschauser 1991: 122-129.
[37] For threats against the mortuary cult see Morschauser 1991: 117-120.
[38] While it is possible to understand this passage as referring to general destruction of property, such an understanding does not account for the use of a term (ir ḫt) elsewhere clearly connected to ritual acts in temple and funerary cult. It has to be asked why such property would be destroyed rather than taken for use by others unless it was to ritually impact the funerary cult of the official in question. The Egyptians could and did use other ways of describing practices that would adversely impact on the funerary cult that were not ritualistic, such as removal of objects for others' use. For example, see the passage in the letter to the dead, Cairo 25975, where the complaint is made that "she took all property that was in it" (Gardiner & Sethe 1928: pl. IA.5) in relation to an inheritance. Additionally, the Letters to the Dead provide examples of how non-ritualistic negative activities were described. In Leyden Papyrus 371, the writer accosts the dead relative saying, "but I having done nothing evil against you" [iw bw ir.i bꜣw r.t] (Gardiner & Sethe 1928: pl. VII.3). Given these alternatives, it must be assumed that the ancient author intentionally chose to use ir-ḫt. Thus it remains for us to understand what characteristics are shared in common among the activities called ir-ḫt by the ancient Egyptians. At this point the English term "performing rites" is used to translate the ancient Egyptian concept referred to as ir-ḫt, although the semantic fields of the English and Egyptian terms do not match exactly. For further discussion of these ideas see note # 8 in Chapter 1 and the discussion on translation in the concluding chapter of this work.
[39] This interpretation of this passage follows the emendation of the text (reading irw.k as an erroneous writing of a sḏm.f) suggested by Faulkner 1973: 139, spell 1055, note #2.
[40] See Nordh (1996: 92-3) for a discussion of the connection of Seth, Apep, and the rebels with funerary beliefs and the belief of the ancient Egyptians in this rebellion being against ma`at.
[41] For examples of threats related to entering tombs in a state of impurity see Morshauser 1991: 67-68.

[42] See note #38 above for a discussion of the way ancient Egyptians referred to non-ritualistic acts that could be destructive or harmful.
[43] For comment on this see Doret 1986: 24, n.96
[44] See Ritner (1995: 119-120) on the symbolic and magical significance of bound prisoners on the royal throne and sandals; for an early example of an important official being connected to the king's sandals see the Narmer Palette (Kemp 1989: 42).
[45] Théodoridès (1995b: 698, n.# 156) interpreted this expression: "n'agiraient pas conformément" understanding ir-ḫt to refer to "remplir son office" (Théodoridès 1995a: 303). The difficulties Théodoridès (1995a: 303-305) has with understanding ir-ḫt as ritual are overcome if the religious nature of ritual is seen as a modern scholarly definition and not part of the ancient definition. Théodoridès' observed meanings for ir-ḫt involving work and religious practice fit well with the observations made in this study.
[46] The term sr is general in reference for a state official with no signalling of rank or social status. For a discussion see Doxey 1998: 157-158. For an interpretation of sr in the Rekhmire text in particular see van den Boorn 1988: 211-212 where he highlights the local nature of the title holders, but points out their responsibility to the central power of the vizier.
[47] For a detailed examination of this issue see Chapter 4 of this work where the royal epithet nb irt-ḫt is discussed.
[48] This text probably dates from the early New Kingdom, but there is some evidence for pre-New Kingdom codification of the duties of the vizier (van den Boorn 1988: 375). For the possibility of codified duties for other officials see Doxey 1998: 175-180, 209.
[49] See the discussion of Leprohon (1994: 46-47) where he outlines the difficulties of interpreting the title too broadly (royal affairs) and too narrowly (royal religious cult).
[50] For this shift see below in section 3c.6, Chronological Analysis and see Leprohon 1994: 46 where he discusses the move from iry-ḫt-nswt in the Old Kingdom to rḫ-nswt by the First Intermediate period being "connected to its almost complete disappearance as a title for provincial officals by the time of the Sixth Dynasty."
[51] According to the so-called `standard theory' these would be Second Tenses (e.g., Hoch 1995: §147-148), while in the `neo-standard theory' they would be what Allen (2000: §25.9) calls "emphatic sentences with emphasized adverbs or prepositional phrases" (cf. Allen 2000: 405-408; Loprieno 1995: 162-164, 192-194; Collier 1991: 33-34).
[52] For the nature of this text as part of a genre of literature with the theme of order vs. chaos and thus having no bearing on any historical events as has been suggested in the past see the discussion of Lichtheim (1973: 149-150).
[53] For a discussion of the issues of order vs, chaos in this text see Assmann (1990: 72, 217) where he particularly discusses the connection between chaos and the inversion of careers and lifestyles.

Chart #3
ỉr(t)-ḫt (c references)

ref. no.	source	transliteration	translation	category	date
c.01	Kahl et al. 1995: Ne/Be/17.c	ḏd(t) ḫt nb(t) ỉr(.tw) n.s	one who says any rite and it is performed for her	funerary	03rd Dyn.
c.02	Kahl et al. 1995: Ne/Sa/30 Ne/Sa/81.b Ne/Sa/82.b Ne/Sa/83.b Ne/Sa/84.b Ne/?/3.a-b Ne/?/4.a-b Ne/?/6.a	(i)rỉ ḫt nsw	one connected to royal rites	royal work	03rd Dyn.
c.03	Urk I: 22. 8 (Weta)	ỉr ḫt r st ỉb nt nb.f m ḳ3t ḥmw wt3	who habitually performed rites according to the wish of his lord being the work of the craftsman, Weta	work	04th Dyn.
c.04	Urk I: 22. 10 (Weta)	ỉr ḫt m tbt nsw	who habitually performed rites concerning the king's sandals	royal work	04th Dyn.
c.05	Urk I: 22. 13 (Weta)	ỉrt (sic) ḫt r st n nsw	who habitually performed rites concerning the throne of the king	royal work	04th Dyn.
c.06	Urk I: 23. 14-15	ỉrty.fy ḫt ỉr nw n sp ỉr(.ỉ) ḫt ỉr.f	as for he who will perform	negative	04th Dyn.

Chart #3
ir(t)-ḫt (c references)

ref. no.	source	transliteration	translation	category	date
	(Meni)	in nṯr wḏ^{c}.f	rites against this, never have I performed rites against him. it is the god who will judge him	work	
c.07	Urk I: 31. 2 (Nika-ankh)	irr.s(n) ḫt t^{3} ḥnḳt n iw^{c}.i pn mi irr.sn ḏs	may they perform rites of bread and beer in the role of this my heir as they performed for themselves	funerary	04th Dyn.
c.08	Urk I: 156. 3 (Dramatische Texte)	n sp ir.i ḫt dwt r rmṯ nb	I never performed evil rites against any person	negative	04th Dyn.
c.09	Urk I: 162. 11 (Nika-ankh)	irr.sn ḫr-^{c} s^{3} smsw mi irr.sn n ḫt ḏs	they made the eldest son an apprentice as they performed in rites themselves	funerary	04th Dyn.
c.10	Urk I: 35. 1 (Henu)	ir rmṯ nb irty.fy ḫt r nw ir.n(.i) r im^{3}ḫ ḫr n nb(.i)	as for every person, who will perform rites against this, which I have done to be honoured before my lord	funerary	05th Dyn.
c.11	Urk I: 40. 3 (Cairo 1482, Sekhemetenankh)	n sp iry(.i) ḫt nbt ḏwt r rmṯ nb	I never performed any evil rites against any person	negative	05th Dyn.

Chart #3
ir(t)-ḫt (c references)

ref. no.	source	transliteration	translation	category	date
c.12	Urk I: 42. 15 (Cairo 1569I, Aberdeen 1526, Washptah)	irı.f ḫt nbt r st-ib(.i) iwi rf r ḫnw-ˁ	it was in accordance with my desire that he performed every rite whenever he came to the Privy-Chamber	royal work	05th Dyn.
c.13	Urk I: 49. 4 (Pehenwikai)	n sp iry(.i) ḫt ḏwt ir ḫt nt rmṯ nb	I never performed any evil rites while performing rites for any person	negative	05th Dyn.
c.14	Urk I: 49. 9 (Pehenwikai)	ir.ty.sn ḫt ḏwt r.f	those who will perform evil rites against him	negative	05th Dyn.
c.15	Urk I: 50. 3-4 (Hetepherakhet)	ir rmṯ nb wnw ir.sn n(.i) ḫt im	as to any person who habitually performs rites to me therein	funerary	05th Dyn.
c.16	Urk I: 50. 8 (Hetepherakhet)	n sp iry(.i) ḫt nbt m wsir(.i) (r) rmṯ nb	I never performed any rites by my power against any person	negative	05th Dyn.
c.17	Urk I: 50. 17 (Hetepherakhet)	ir.ty.sn ḫt ḏwt ir nw	those who will perform evil rites against this (tomb)	negative	05th Dyn.
c.18	Urk I: 58. 5 (Snefrunefer)	ir rmṯ nb ir.ty.fy ḫt ḏwt r nw	as for any person who will perform evil rites against this (tomb)	negative	05th Dyn.
c.19	Urk I: 61. 12	irr.k ḫt pw ḥr.s iḳr iḳr	it is concerning it that you	work	05th Dyn.

Chart #3
ir(t)-ḫt (c references)

ref. no.	source	transliteration	translation	category	date
	(Senedjemib)		are performing rites very excellently		
c.20	Urk I: 66. 2 (Senedjemib)	ir ḫt nbt n sḳdw pn mi wn.tw wḏ	every rite was performed by these sailors as was commanded	work	05th Dyn.
c.21	Urk I: 69. 2 (Tepemankh)	irr ḫt nbt wḏ.tw n.f	who performs every rite that was commanded of him	work	05th Dyn.
c.22	Urk I: 73. 4 (Djenwen)	ir rmṯ nb ir.ty.fy ḫt r nw	as for any person who will perform rites against this (tomb)	funerary	05th Dyn.
c.23	Urk I: 170. 15-17 (Neferirkare)	ḥnᶜ ḳ³t nbt nt sp³t ḥ³w irt ḫt n nṯr.f m ḥwt-nṯr ntt.f im.s	together with all work of the nome in addition to performing rites to his god in the temple in which he is	cultic	05th Dyn.
c.24	Urk I: 182. 6 (Kaemtjenenet)	irr.k ḫt r pḥt .i ḫ³ m rmṯw	you perform rites against my strength in a thousand people	negative	05th Dyn.
c.25	Urk I: 182. 12 (Kaemtjenenet)	m irt n.k ḫt nbt irrt n b³k mrr nb.f	consisting of performing every rite for you that is performed by a servant whom his lord loves	work	05th Dyn.

Chart #3
ir(t)-ḫt (c references)

ref. no.	source	transliteration	translation	category	date
c.26	Urk I: 186. 14 (Kaherptah)	ḫry-ḥb ir.ty.fy n(.i) ḫt ꜣḫt n ꜣḫ ḫft sš pf štˁ n ḥmwt ḫry-ḥb	the lector priest who will perform for me rites of empowerment of an empowered spirit according to that secret writing of the craft of the lector priest	funerary	05th Dyn.
c.27	Urk I: 189. 17 (Ptahhotep)	ir.n.f mrt sꜣḫt.f ḥr irt ḫt in ḫry-ḥb	it is upon performing rites by the lector priest that he made the bank so that he might become empowered	funerary	05th Dyn.
c.28	Urk I: 190. 7 (Tepemankh)	irr ḫt nbt wḏ.tw n.f m tp n sš	who performs every rite that one commands of him as chief scribe	work	05th Dyn.
c.29	Urk I: 190. 13 (Tepemankh)	ir n.f ḫt in tw.i ḫr inpw ḥwt-ḥr wnis mrt pr sḥḏ ḥm-nṯr	rites were performed for him by me with Anubis, Hathor and Unis who loves the house of the inspector of hem-netjer priests	cultic	05th Dyn.
c.30	Urk I: 234. 14 (Rawer)	n sp ir(.i) ḫt r rmṯ nb	I never performed rites against any person	negative	05th Dyn.
c.31	Posener-Kriéger and de Cenival	irw ḫt ḥꜣ ḥr mr	those who have performed rites at the pyramid	cultic	06th Dyn.

Chart #3
ir(t)-ḫt (c references)

ref. no.	source	transliteration	translation	category	date
	1968: IIIb (Abusir)				
c.32	Posener-Kriéger and de Cenival 1968: IIIc (Abusir)	šsp mḏ3t m-ḫt irt ḫt	the one who receives the book roll after performing rites	cultic	06th Dyn.
c.33	Urk I: 70. 4 (Inebti)	n sp ir.i ḫt ḏwt r rmṯ nb	I never performed evil rites against any person	negative	06th Dyn.
c.34	Urk I: 70. 15-16 (Inti)	ir ḥm rmṯ nb ir.ty.sn ḫt ḏw r nw ir.ty.sn ḫt nbt nbḏt r nw	certainly, as to all people who will perform evil rites against this, or those who will perform any destructive rites against this	negative	06th Dyn.
c.35	Urk I: 71. 4 (Inti)	ir.ty.fy mkwt ḫt sbi n k3.f	he who will perform numerous protection rites of one who has gone to his ka	funerary	06th Dyn.
c.36	Urk I: 71. 10 (Inti)	mrrwt nṯr pw irt ḫt m3ʿ	performing rites rightly is what the god loves	work	06th Dyn.
c.37	Urk I: 72. 1-4 (Sefetjwa)	n sp iṯ.i ḫt nt rmṯ nb ir.s n sp ir(.i) ḫt ḏwt r rmṯ nb rmṯ nb ir.ty.fy ḫt ḏwt r nw.i	I never seized the property of any person on account of it, I never performed evil	negative	06th Dyn.

Chart #3
ir(t)-ḫt (c references)

ref. no.	source	transliteration	translation	category	date
			rites against any person; as for any person who will perform evil rites against this of mine		
c.38	Urk I: 85. 2 (Sabu-Tjety)	ḫt nṯr nb irt nb irrt wr-ḫrp-ḥmwt 2	all god's rites and every performance that two high priests of Ptah at Memphis (usually) performed	cultic	06th Dyn.
c.39	Urk I: 85. 14 (Sabu-Tjety)	sk nḫt ib n ḥm.f r ḫt nbt irrt im	lo, the wish of his majesty is stronger than any rite that is performed there	work	06th Dyn.
c.40	Urk I: 138. 13 (Sabni)	iw(.i) r irt n.k ḫt nbt iḳr	I will perform every excellent rite for you	work	06th Dyn.
c.41	Urk I: 150. 9 (Cairo 1650)	ir rmṯ nb ir.ty.fy ḫt r ḫrdw(.i) iw.i r wḏ^{c} ḥn^{c}.f in nṯr ^{c}3	as for any person who will perform rites against my children, I will be judged with him by the great god	negative	06th Dyn.
c.42	Urk I: 187. 4-7 (Nyhetepptah) Badawy 1978: fig, 13	r irt ḫt ḫft sš pf n ḥmwt ḫry-ḥb ir.n ^{c}pr ḫft irt ^{c}.f iw ir.n ḫt nbt 3ḫt špsst	in order to perform rites according to that scribe of skill, the lector priest. Equipment was made in accordance with what was	funerary	06th Dyn.

Chart #3
ir(t)-ḫt (c references)

ref. no.	source	transliteration	translation	category	date
			made in its document, all empowering and noble rites were performed		
c.43	Urk I: 187. 14 (Nyhetepptah) Badawy 1978: fig. 2	irw n.f ḫt ḫft sš pf n ḥmt ḫry-ḥbt	who perform for him rites according to that writing of the craft of the lector priest	funerary	06th Dyn.
c.44	Urk I: 202. 1 (Ankhmahor) Badawy 1978: fig. 23	ir ḫt nbt irt.tn r ist pn	if there is any rite that you perform against this tomb	negative	06th Dyn.
c.45	Urk I: 202. 15-16 (Ankhmahor) Badawy 1978: fig. 22	i ḫry-ḥb iw.ty.fy r is pn r irt n ḫt ꜣḫt ḫft sš pf štꜣ n ḥmwt ḫry-hb	O lector priest who will come to this tomb to perform empowering rites according to that secret writing of the craft of the lector priest	funerary	06th Dyn.
c.46	Urk I: 213. 11 (Decree for Snefru pyramid)	n mrwt irt ḫt nṯr m niwt mrwy	in order that god's rites are performed in the city of these two pyramids	cultic	06th Dyn.
c.47	Urk I: 216. 14 (Nekhebu)	ir(.i) n.f ḫt nb im.s iḳr	I performed every rite excellently in it for him	work	06th Dyn.
c.48	Urk I: 225. 16	ir ir.ty.fy ḫt ḏwt r nw.i	as for he who will perform	negative	06th Dyn.

Chart #3
ỉr(t)-ḫt (c references)

ref. no.	source	transliteration	translation	category	date
	(Nefer)		evil rites against this of mine		
c.49	Urk I: 226. 6 (Redinesu)	ỉn nṯr wḏ^{c}-mdw.f ḥn^{c} ỉr.ty.fy ḫt r.s	it is the god who will judge him, together with he who will perform rites against it	negative	06th Dyn.
c.50	Urk I: 226. 13 (BM 71)	ỉr.ty.fy ḫt r nw msḥ r.f mw ḥf^{3} r.f ḥr t^{3}	he who will perform rites against this, the crocodile will be against him in the water, the snake will be against him on land	negative	06th Dyn.
c.51	Urk I: 226. 15 (BM 71)	n ỉr.n.(ỉ) ḫt ḏwt r rmṯ nb	I did not perform evil rites against any person	negative	06th Dyn.
c.52	Urk I: 263. 15 (Meriper)	ỉw ỉrw.n ḫt nbt ^{3}ḫt n.ỉ	being every empowering rite that was performed for me	funerary	06th Dyn.
c.53	Urk I: 281. 17-18 (Pepy II decree for temple of Min at Coptos)	ỉnnw ḫr ỉmy-r šm^{c}w r ỉrt ḫt ḫft.f	which are brought concerning the overseer of Upper Egypt in order to perform rites before him	work	06th Dyn.
c.54	Urk I: 283. 7 (Pepy II decree)	ỉrr.k ḫt ḫft	you perform rites accordingly	work	06th Dyn.
c.55	Urk I: 283. 11	ỉrt ḫt ḫft mdt nt wḏ pn	performing rites according	work	06th Dyn.

Chart #3
ir(t)-ḫt (c references)

ref. no.	source	transliteration	translation	category	date
	(Pepy II decree)		to the words of this command		
c.56	Urk I: 292. 3-5 (Pepy II decree)	ir imy-r šmˁ nb sr nb wpwt nb sš nb ///[nf]r n irr.f ḫt ḫft mdt nt wḏ pn drp r ḥr sḫw n irt ḫt m šˁ	as for every overseer of Upper Egypt, every magistrate, every agent, every scribe/// who [will not] perform rites according to the words of this command, offering to Horus of the slaughter house in performing rites consisting of slaughtering	work cultic	06th Dyn.
c.57	Urk I: 302. 18 (Neferkau decree)	iw wḏ.n ḥm(.f) ṯst n.k sḫḏ ḥm-kꜣw 10 r irt n.k ḫt	His Majesty commanded the levy for you of 10 inspectors of ka priests in order to perform rites for you	funerary	06th Dyn.
c.58	Urk I: 304. 17-18 (decree for Vizier Idi)	ir.ty.sn ḫt nbḏt bint r twt.k nb ˁbꜣ ꜣwt.k nb ḥwt kꜣ.k nb ḫtwt.k nb mnw.k nb ntw m r-prw nb ḥwt-nṯrw nb	those who will perform destructive evil rites against any of your statues, your offerings, your ka houses, your furniture, or your	negative	06th Dyn.

Chart #3
ir(t)-ḫt (c references)

ref. no.	source	transliteration	translation	category	date
			monuments that are in any temple or shrine		
c.59	Leprohon 1994: fig. 2 (Irti)	iryt-ḫt nswt	one connected to royal rites	royal work	06th Dyn.
c.60	Duell 1981: pl. 109 (Mereruka)	wn.tn r ḫn iw ḫry-ḥbt ḥr irt ḫt	hurry! the lector priest is coming to perform rites	funerary	06th Dyn.
c.61	Blackman 1924: pl. IX (Meir, tomb D.2)	imi ḫpr mk ḫry-ḥbt irt ḫt	get it done! look, the lector priest is performing rites!	funerary	06th Dyn.
c.62	Blackman 1924: pl. IVa (Meir, tomb D.2) Urk I: 222. 1-2	ir.n.(i) bw ꜣ n ꜥḥꜥw pn m imy-r ḥmw-nṯr n ḥwt-ḥr nbt ḳsy sk wi ꜥḳ ḥr ḥwt-ḥr nbt ḳsy ḥr mꜣꜣ.s ḥr irt n.s ḫt m ꜥwy.(i)	it is as an overseer of prophets of Hathor, lady of Kusae, that I spent a great part of this time passing and entering before Hathor, lady of Kusae, upon seeing her and performing rites for her with my two hands.	cultic	06th Dyn.
c.63	BM 1372. 5-6 Quoted in Gardiner 1957: §105.10	n ir(.i) ḫt n šrr nb ir.n.(.i) ḫt n ḥꜥty-ꜥ	I did not perform rites for any small man, but I performed rites for the nomarch	work	10th Dyn.

Chart #3
ir(t)-ḫt (c references)

ref. no.	source	transliteration	translation	category	date
c.64	Helck 1995: 31, C2 (Ipuwer)	mk.tn is ir ḫt n pȝ ḫpr wȝs šd nsw in ḥwrw	look here, rites are performed that never happened before, the king has been removed by the rabble	negative	11th Dyn.
c.65	Sadek 1980: 10, l. 7 (Wadi el-Hudi 4)	ir ḫt rḫw	one who performs rites knowingly	work	11th Dyn.
c.66	Cairo 20729 Quoted in Gardiner 1957: § 106.3	n sp iry.i ḫt nbt ḏwt r rmṯ nb	I never performed any evil rite against any person	negative	12th Dyn.
c.67	Lacau and Chevrier 1956-: pl. 15, scene 8 (Senwosret I chapel)	ir.k n ḫt nbt nfrt	you perform in every good rite	cultic	12th Dyn.
c.68	Gayet 1889: pl. 27	ir ḫt n tp nfr	one who performs rites successfully	work	12th Dyn.
c.69	Lange & Schäfer 1902: pl. 40 (Cairo 20538)	ir ḫt n tp nfr	one who performs rites successfully	work	12th Dyn.
c.70	Blackman 1915: pl. 6 (Meir tomb B.2)	ir.sn n.k ḫt ḫft sš pn rdi.n ḏḥwty m pr mḏȝt-nṯr	may they perform rites for you in accordance with this writing that Thoth placed in	funerary	12th Dyn.

Chart #3
ir(t)-ḫt (c references)

ref. no.	source	transliteration	translation	category	date
			the house of god's book		
c.71	CT I: 46.c spell 15	ir.ty.sn ḫt nbt r N pn ḏw	those who will perform any rites evilly against this N	negative	12th Dyn.
c.72	CT I: 52.b spell 17	ir.ty.s ḫt nbt r N tn	she who will perform any rites against this N	negative	12th Dyn.
c.73	CT I: 52.d spell 17	ir ḏd.ty.sn ir.ty.sn ḫt nbt r.k ḏw	as for those who will say or those who will perform rites evilly against you	negative	12th Dyn.
c.74	CT I: 148.a spell 37	iw.k idr.tw.f n.ṯn r irt ḫt ḫft ḏdt.k nbt	when you complain, he is punished for you in order to perform rites in accordance with all that you said	negative	12th Dyn.
c.75	CT I: 215.e spell 49	in ir(t) ḫt r.f	by performing rites against him	negative	12th Dyn.
c.76	CT I: 220.e spell 49	in ir(t) ḫt r.f	by performing rites against him	negative	12th Dyn.
c.77	CT II: 182.b spell 146	sḫn.f sm3w.f mrwt.f irw ḫt n N pn tp t3	he seeks out his companions and his loved ones who perform rites for this N on earth	funerary	12th Dyn.
c.78	CT II: 184.b	dmḏ n N pn mrwt.f irwt ḫt n N	his loved ones are	funerary	12th Dyn.

Chart #3
ỉr(t)-ḫt (c references)

ref. no.	source	transliteration	translation	category	date
	spell 146	pn tp t3	assembled for this N who performed rites for this N on earth		
c.79	CT II: 189.a spell 146	dmḏ n N pn mrwt.f ỉrw ḫt n N pn tp t3	the assembly of the loved ones of this N who perform rites on earth	funerary	12th Dyn.
c.80	CT II: 194.c spell 146	ỉr swt dmḏ n N pn mrwt.f ỉrw ḫt n N pn tp t3	if he assembles for this N his loved ones who perform rites for this N on earth	funerary	12th Dyn.
c.81	CT III: 85.j spell 186	ỉry n.f ḫt 9 m wḏ3w n wsỉr	for whom were performed 9 rites with amulets of Osiris	funerary	12th Dyn.
c.82	CT III: 88.e spell 187	ỉr.tw n.s ḫt ỉm m bdt ḏšrt	one performs rites for it there with red emmer	funerary	12th Dyn.
c.83	CT III: 89.d spell 187	ʿnḫ.ỉ m ḫt 3 ỉryt n wsỉr	I live on those 3 rites that were performed for Osiris	funerary	12th Dyn.
c.84	CT III: 100.a spell 191	ỉrt ḫt 5 r t3 pt	performing 5 rites to the earth and sky	funerary	12th Dyn.
c.85	CT III: 146.f spell 205	n ỉr.ỉ n.ṯn ḏd-mdw ḥr ḫt nbt	I did not perform for you words spoken at any (of these) rites	negative	12th Dyn.
c.86	CT III: 202.j spell 220	nttw ỉr.kwỉ r ḫt 4 ḥr ḫ3t tw wrt nt wsỉr	because I have performed at 4 rites upon this great	funerary	12th Dyn.

Chart #3
ỉr(t)-ḫt (c references)

ref. no.	source	transliteration	translation	category	date
			altar of Osiris		
c.87	CT III: 301.a spell 234	ỉrt ḫt m š (4) ḫprỉ ḥḳt	performing rites with 4 basins of Khepri and Heket	funerary	12th Dyn.
c.88	CT IV: 24.f spell 278	ỉw ỉr.k r ḫt 6 (7)	you perform at 6 (var.7) rites	funerary	12th Dyn.
c.89	CT IV: 324.b spell 335	nn ỉr.tw n.ỉ ḫt m nw n bwt nṯrw	one shall never perform for me rites consisting of this which the gods abominate	negative	12th Dyn.
c.90	CT IV: 330.o spell 336	n ỉr.tw n.ỉ ḫt m nw n bwt nṯrw	one did not perform for me rites consisting of this which the gods abominate	negative	12th Dyn.
c.91	CT V: 96.e spell 397	ỉrt ḫt ỉrt.n.k (n.)s	performing rites is what you did for her	funerary	12th Dyn.
c.92	CT V: 292.d spell 439	ỉr.tw n.k ḫt ḫ3wy m ḫm	one performs for you the rites of the night in Khem	funerary	12th Dyn.
c.93	CT V: 349.e spell 465	ỉrr.f ḫt nbt ỉm.s mỉ ỉr.tw m ỉw n srsr	he performs every rite in it just as is performed on the island of Serser	funerary	12th Dyn.
c.94	CT VI: 141.c spell 545	ʿwy m ỉrt ḫt	both hands are performing rites	funerary	12th Dyn.
c.95	CT VI: 259.q spell 637	nn ỉrt ḫt nbt r N pn ḏw	without performing any rites evilly against this N	negative	12th Dyn.

Chart #3
ỉr(t)-ḫt (c references)

ref. no.	source	transliteration	translation	category	date
c.96	CT VI: 295.p spell 667	ỉw N ỉrr ḫt 5 r-gs wsỉr	N is one who performs 5 rites beside Osiris	funerary	12th Dyn.
c.97	CT VI: 343.e spell 712	ỉw.f ỉr.f ḫt nbt mrrt.f	he performs every rite that he loves	funerary	12th Dyn.
c.98	CT VII: 31.o spell 831	wʿb ḫt nbt ỉrrt n.ỉ	pure is every rite that is performed for me	funerary	12th Dyn.
c.99	CT VII: 31.p spell 831	ḫt nsw wʿb ḫt nbt ỉrrt n kꜣ.k	royal rites, pure is every rite that is performed for your ka	funerary	12th Dyn.
c.100	CT VII: 104.e-f spell 894	ỉr n.k ḫt ḫft sš pw ỉr.n ḏhwty n wsỉr m pr nṯr mḏꜣt	rites are performed for you in accordance with this writing that Thoth made for Osiris in the god's house of books	funerary	12th Dyn.
c.101	CT VII: 167.f spell 952	nḏt nṯrw m-ʿ ỉrrw ḫt r.sn	who saves the gods from those who perform rites against them	negative	12th Dyn.
c.102	CT VII: 308.c spell 1055	ḏr ỉr.k ḫt nbt r.ỉ	since you perform every rite against me	negative	12th Dyn.
c.103	CT VII: 419.d spell 1100	ỉry ḫt ỉm.f m-ḫnw nmt ḫw	may rites be performed for him inside the slaughter house of the protector	funerary	12th Dyn.

Chart #3
ir(t)-ḫt (c references)

ref. no.	source	transliteration	translation	category	date
c.104	CT VII: 509.j spell 1167	ḏr ir.tw ḫt nbt r.i ink ḥsf ꜣdw	since every rite is performed against me, I am one who opposes aggressors	negative	12th Dyn.
c.105	Newberry 1893: pl. XVII,XIX,XX (Beni Hasan, tomb #2)	irt ḫt	performing rites [label over a lector priest reciting before funerary offerings]	funerary	12th Dyn.
c.106	Newberry 1893: pl. XVIII (Beni Hasan, tomb #2)	irt ḫt in ḥry-ḫb	performing rites by the lector priest [label over 2 lector priests reciting before funerary offerings placed before the deceased]	funerary	12th Dyn.
c.107	Helck 1978: 70	ir.k ḫt tꜣ ḥnḳt snṯr ḥr sḏt	you perform rites; bread, beer and incense upon the flame	cultic	12th Dyn.
c.108	Griffith 1889: pl.6,271 (Djefaihapi)	ir.k n.i ḫt	you perform rites for me	funerary	12th Dyn.
c.109	Griffith 1889: pl.8,308-9 (Djefaihapi)	irt ḫt m ḥwt-nṯr rᶜ nb	performing rites in the temple every day	cultic	12th Dyn.

Chart #3
ỉr(t)-ḫt (c references)

ref. no.	source	transliteration	translation	category	date
c.110	Sayed 1977: 159 (Ankhow)	r smr.f nb ỉrw ḫt m šn-wr	more than any of his friends who performed rites upon the sea	work	12th Dyn.
c.111	Urk IV: 120. 1 (Paheri)	ỉr.n.ỉ ḫt mỉ wḏdwt	I performed rites just like what was commanded	work	18th Dyn.
c.112	Urk IV: 246. 4 (Hatshepsut)	ỉrr.s ḫt nbt m nṯr	as a god, she performed every rite	work	18th Dyn.
c.113	Urk IV: 300. 6	ỉrt mrrt m ỉrt n ḫt nbt nfrt rwḏt	doing what is loved, in performing in every good, pure, and enduring rite	work	18th Dyn.
c.114	Urk IV: 491. 15-17 (tomb of Iahmes)	ỉw.f wdn.f n wsỉr n nṯr nb ỉw.f ḳʿḥ.f ʿ.f ḏs.f ỉr.f ḫt n ////	he offers to Osiris and to every god, he bends his arm himself when he performs rites to ////	cultic	18th Dyn.
c.115	Urk IV: 751. 2 (Thutmoses III)	gm ḥm.ỉ ỉr.tw ḫt ỉm m ḳbḥ snṯr	My Majesty found that rites were performed therein, consisting of libating, censing...	cultic	18th Dyn.
c.116	Urk IV: 871. 4-6 (Karnak)	nṯr nfr nb tꜣwy nsw bỉty mn-ḫpr-rʿ ỉr.n.f mnw.f n ỉt.f ỉmn-rʿ nb st tꜣwy ỉrt n.f ḫt nṯr wdn n.f ḥtp nṯr ḥb ʿꜣ wrt	good god, lord of the two lands, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre, he made his	cultic	18th Dyn.

Chart #3
ỉr(t)-ḫt (c references)

ref. no.	source	transliteration	translation	category	date
			monuments for his father Amun-re, lord of the thrones of the two lands, performing for him god's rites, offering to him god's offerings and very great festivals		
c.117	Urk IV: 1009. 9-10 (Tjanuny)	ʿwy.k wʿb ḥr ỉrt ḫt ỉmn ḥr šsp st	may your two arms be pure when performing rites (for) Amun upon receiving it	cultic	18th Dyn.
c.118	Urk IV: 1021. 10 (Neferperet, Cairo 42121)	m rdỉ th.tw r ỉrt ḫt nbt	not causing one to neglect to perform any rites	cultic	18th Dyn.
c.119	Urk IV: 1088. 5-6 (Rekhmire)	ỉḫ mȝȝ.n.k n.k ỉrt ḫt nbt mỉ ntt r ḥp ỉrt ḫt nbt r mtt ỉrw	then you see for yourself that every rite is performed like that which pertains to the law, performing every rite exactly right	work	18th Dyn.
c.120	Urk IV: 1089. 2-3 (Rekhmire)	ḫr n ḫm nn tw ỉryt.f mk ỉbw pw n sr ỉrt ḫt ḫft tp-rd	then one is not ignorant of his deeds, look it is the shelter of a magistrate to perform rites according to	work	18th Dyn.

Chart #3
ir(t)-ḫt (c references)

ref. no.	source	transliteration	translation	category	date
			instructions		
c.121	Urk IV: 1092. 9-10 (Rekhmire)	mk wnn s m ỉ3wt.f ỉr.f ḫt ḫft ḥr dd n.f	look, a man exists in his office when he performs rites according to what is given to him	work	18th Dyn.
c.122	Urk IV: 1220. 3 (Amenemhat)	n k3 n wʿb ʿwy ḥr ỉrt ḫt	for the Ka of the one who is pure of hands when performing rites	cultic	18th Dyn.
c.123	Urk IV: 1224. 7 (Amenemhat)	wʿb ʿwy ỉrr.f ḫt n ỉmn, ỉmn-m-ḥ3t	the one pure of hands, who performs rites to Amun, Amenemhat	cultic	18th Dyn.
c.124	Urk IV: 1735. 10 (Amenhotep III)	nt.sn n ỉm.f ỉrr ḫt nbt	those in it who perform every rite	cultic	18th Dyn.
c.125	Urk IV: 2092. 16-18 (Horemheb)	wpt.k w3t r st n dpt ỉr.k ḫt r sbỉ pw wḏʿ.k tp.f	you open the way to the seat in the boat, you perform rites against that rebel serpent, you sever his head	negative	18th Dyn.
c.126	Lacau and Chevrier 1977: 145, l.5 (Red Chapel, Hatshepsut)	ỉr.n.ỉ ḫt n nṯrw šsp.n.ỉ ʿw.sn m ʿrw	it is for the gods that I performed rites, so that they might flourish I took their hands	cultic	18th Dyn.

Chart #3
ir(t)-ḫt (c references)

ref. no.	source	transliteration	translation	category	date
c.127	Gardiner 1952: pl VIII.99 (Festival Hall, Thutmoses III)	/// m irt ḫt m.sn	in performing rites with them	cultic	18th Dyn.
c.128	Gardiner 1952: pl VII.91 (Festival Hall, Thutmoses III) Urk IV: 1269. 17	m bꜣgw ny ḥr irt ḫt	do not weary yourself through doing rites	cultic	18th Dyn.
c.129	BD: Ch. 9. 4	ḥsḳ.i pn ib n swty irr ḫt r it.i wsir	I cut out this heart of Seth who performs rites against my father Osiris	negative	18th Dyn.
c.130	BD: Ch. 17. 121	nn ir.tw n.i ḫt m nw bwt nṯrw	one shall not perform for me rites consisting of these abominations of the gods	negative	18th Dyn.
c.131	BD: Ch. 69. 3	ḫftyw.i iryw ḫt nbt ḏwt	my enemies, who perform every evil rite	negative	18th Dyn.
c.132	BD: Ch. 93. 4	ir ir.tw ḫt nbt r.i bin ḏw nt ḥb sbiw	if any evil or bad rite of the festival of the rebels be performed against me	negative	18th Dyn.
c.133	BD: Ch. 110. C.17	ir.f ḫt nb im.s mi irrt m ꜥw-nsrsr	he performs every rite there like what is	funerary	18th Dyn.

Chart #3
ir(t)-ḫt (c references)

ref. no.	source	transliteration	translation	category	date
			performed on the island of Serser		
c.134	BD: Ch. 125. 8 (address to the gods)	nn irt.n.i ḫt r.f	there is none against whom I performed rites	negative	18th Dyn.
c.135	BD: Ch. 138. 6-7	ʿp ḫt n.sn irt.sn r.i	rites pass to them which they perform against me	negative	18th Dyn.
c.136	BD: Ch. 144. 11	m-ʿ rḫ ḫt m-ʿ iryw ḫt n wsir imy-r pr n imy-r ḥtm Nw r ʿ n ḏhwty m-ʿ iryw ḥtpw	among those who know proceedings, among those who perform rites to the Osiris, overseer of the house, to the overseer of seal bearers, Nu, beside Thoth among those who perform offerings	funerary	18th Dyn.
c.137	BD: Ch. 176. 1-2	nn ir.tw n.i ḫt m nw n bwt nṯrw	one shall not perform for me rites consisting of these abominations of the gods	negative	18th Dyn.
c.138	BD: Ch. 178. 10-11	iry.sn n.f ḫt nbt nfrt m rʿ pn nfr ḫt n sšmt ḫp ḫt n ḥr irt ḫt n dpt ʿḳt nbt n m33 nṯr	may they perform every good rite for him on this good day, rites of guidance in travel, rites of the eye of	funerary	18th Dyn.

Chart #3
ir(t)-ḫt (c references)

ref. no.	source	transliteration	translation	category	date
			Horus, rites of every entry to see the god		
c.139	Gardiner 1935: pl 53, recto 7.1 (Chester Beatty IX)	ink ḥm-nṯr ii.n.i r irt-ḫt irwt n imn	I am the prophet, it is in order to perform rites that are done for Amun that I have come	cultic	19th Dyn.
c.140	KRI I: 344. 2 (Brussels E.5300)	iry n.f ḫt ḫw [n ḫm]	for whom the rites of the night are performed in Khem	cultic	19th Dyn.
c.141	KRI II: 433. 16 (Tanis column – Montet/Coche-Zivie 6)	nṯr nfr ir ḫt sꜣ imn	good god who performs rites, son of Amun	cultic	19th Dyn.
c.142	KRI II: 487. 7 (Memphis, Ptah temple)	irt wdn ḫt nbt n it.f	performing offering and every rite to his father	cultic	19th Dyn.
c.143	KRI II: 879. 15-16 (Serapeum, Temple of Apis)	is ḥmw-nṯr ḫry-ḥbw nbw nty [irw] ḫt m ḥwt nṯr n ḥpw-ꜥnḫ tp-dwꜣt nb [ir n.i] ḳbḥ snṯr drp n.i ꜥw.tn sḫꜣ rn(.i) m ḥtp-di-nsw ḥr tꜣ ḫꜣt ḥwt-nṯr	Oh, all prophets and lector priests who perform rites in the temple of Apis every morning; libate and cense for me, offer to me from your arms, and remember	cultic	19th Dyn.

Chart #3
ir(t)-ḫt (c references)

ref. no.	source	transliteration	translation	category	date
			my name with an offering-that-the-king-gives upon the altar of the temple		
c.144	KRI III: 161. 14 (O. Berlin P.11238)	////rdi iry.i ḫt nbt m p3y.sn ḥtri wḏ3tw	/// let me perform every rite with the remainder of their tax	work	19th Dyn.
c.145	KRI III: 275. 5-6 (Luxor Museum 227)	ink wʿ mnḫ 3ḫ n nb.f rdi.n.f wi ḥm-k3y.i n twt.f ir.n.f ḫt.i m sšr nb iry ///	I am an empowered spirit (akh) for his lord, he gave me my Ka priests of his statue, he performed my rites with every action that is performed ////	work funerary	19th Dyn.
c.146	BD: Ch. 40. 2-3	iw ir.n.i ḫt nbt im.k nty ḏd r.k m psḏt r irt šʿd.k	I performed all rites for you which were spoken against you by the Ennead concerning the performance of your being cut off.	funerary	19th Dyn.
c.147	BD: Ch. 181. 2-3	iry n.f ḫt ḫ3wy m ḫm	who have performed for him rites of the night in Khem	funerary	19th Dyn.
c.148	KRI V: 117. 11 (Medinet Habu	iri.i ḫt.s m sš	I perform its rites as is written	cultic	20th Dyn.

Chart #3
ỉr(t)-ḫt (c references)

ref. no.	source	transliteration	translation	category	date
	Calendar)				
c.149	KRI V: 119. 12 (Medinet Habu Calendar)	ỉn nsw bỉty wsr-mỉ^{c}t-r^{c}-mrỉ-ỉmn m ỉr(t) ḫt n ỉt.f ỉmn	by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Wosermaatre-meriamun for performing rites to his father Amun	cultic	20th Dyn.
c.150	KRI V: 305. 4 (Medient Habu)	ỉwnn n šmsw r ỉrt ḫt ///ḥb-sd	sanctuary for worship of the retainers in order to perform rites //sed festival	royal	20th Dyn.
c.151	Epigraphic Survey 1930-: pl. 140.62 (Med. Habu III)	...m ỉr(t) ḫt n ỉt.f...	...consisting of performing rites for his father	cultic	20th Dyn.
c.152	BD: Ch. 182.21	ỉnk ḏhwty ỉr.n.ỉ ḫt ḫ^{3}wy m ḫm	I am Thoth, I performed rites of the night in Khem	funerary	20th Dyn.

CHAPTER FOUR

Analysis of the Royal Title nb ỉrt-ḫt

– And what have kings that privates have not too,
Save ceremony, save general ceremony?
And what art thou, thou idle ceremony?
What kind of god art thou, that suffer'st more
Of what mortal griefs than do thy worshippers?
What are thy rents? what are thy comings-in?
O ceremony! show me but thy worth:
What is thy soul of adoration?
Art thou aught else but place, degree, and form,
Creating awe and fear in other men?
Henry V: Act IV scene I: 258 - 271

– O Kate! nice customs curtsy to great kings. Dear Kate, you and I cannot be confined within the weak list of a country's fashion: we are the makers of manners, Kate; and the liberty that follows our places stops the mouths of all find-faults.
Henry V: Act V scene II: 291-296

The finding that ỉr-ḫt can refer to a variety of activities, including cultic rites, funerary rites, royal rites, aggressive rites, and job duties, has a bearing on the understanding of the use of this term in royal protocol. ỉr-ḫt is part of a relatively common title, nb ỉrt-ḫt, which occurs in royal titulary, labels, and descriptions of the king. In order to evaluate the meaning of this title in light of the uses of ỉr-ḫt surveyed in the previous chapter, the nature and use of nb ỉrt-ḫt in ancient Egyptian texts and art will be reviewed and analyzed.

4a **The Nature of the Title**

The meaning of the title nb irt-ḫt has not been obvious to scholars from the analysis of this compound word based upon its constituent parts. The *Wörterbuch* is not helpful in this regard, for the entry for nb irt-ḫt reads, "*Titel des Königs*" (*Wb* I: 124). In general, this title is translated by Egyptologists in one of two ways: as "Lord of Action" (e.g., Blumenthal 1970: 25, 133; Lichtheim 1976:32; von Beckerath 1980: 557; Cumming 1982: 8) and as "Lord of (cultic) Ritual" (e.g., Wente 1980: 41; Barta 1980: 839; Schade-Busch 1992: 175-6; Kitchen 1993: 2). There are two primary reasons for the use of these different translations. First, the translation of nb irt-ḫt can be based on the lexical meaning of the parts of the compound. If the translator understands the core meaning of irt-ḫt as `doing things', then "Lord of Action" is a logical translation. If the translator reads irt-ḫt as `cultic rites', then "Lord of Cultic Rites" would be the preferred translation. It is important to note that in this style of translation the translators may understand the title to refer to the role of the king as chief officiant in temple cult regardless of which translation they prefer (cf. Blumenthal 1970: 25, A 1.19). Second, the translation can be based on the context of the title in a text or the artistic representations it accompanies. When nb irt-ḫt is in the context of the military exploits of the king, there is a tendency to translate the title as "Lord of Action" (e.g., Lichtheim 1976: 32; see chart#4, d.82), while when the title accompanies a

scene of the king performing offering rites the title is translated "Lord of Cultic Rites" (e.g., Donadoni 1947: 339; see chart #4, d.32). In this style of translation there is a difference in interpretation of the context that is signalled by the translator in the choice of how to translate nb irt-ḫt.

These differences in contextual translation of the title nb irt-ḫt have not gone unnoticed. Noblecourt, noting that nb irt-ḫt often occurred in relation to military actions on the part of the king, or what might be considered profane acts, suggests that these scenes and actions were actually sacred and thus represented ritual acts (Noblecourt and Kuentz 1968: 57 §219). Noblecourt's discussion of nb irt-ḫt arose from her publication of a particular scene from the small temple at Abu Simbel. In this relief Ramesses II is about to strike prisoners captured in battle (Noblecourt and Kuentz 1968: §219). Noblecourt points out that this was not just a representation of a rite of sacrifice of prisoners in a temple, but was closely connected to the king in his role as leader of the army as exemplified by Thutmoses III's description of the battle of Megiddo. In this text, he was described as being nb irt-ḫt in the middle of a series of what would be descriptions of a great warrior (chart #4, d.82).

Clearly, there are a number of issues related to the problem of understanding the meaning of the title nb irt-ḫt to the ancient Egyptians. One problem is inherent in the lexical style of translation. The assumption in this translation is that irt-ḫt refers to cultic rites or physical action and thus nb irt-ḫt

as a royal title would refer to either the ritual function of the king in temple cult or to the king as a strong man. As the results of the study of the expression ir-ḫt in the previous chapter reveal, ir-ḫt referred to a specific group of activities that could include cultic rites and physical behaviour, but was not limited to one or both of these activities. Obviously, any lexical understanding of the title nb irt-ḫt must either be inclusive of the entire semantic field of the expression ir-ḫt or any narrowing of definition must be supported by some external evidence that this narrowing is appropriate. The most productive external evidence is the context surrounding the occurrence of this royal title. Since this is the other method that has been used by Egyptologists to understand the title, the problems (and benefits) encountered in this form of translation are evident. One problem is that of determining what should constitute the context of the title. To date, the usage of nb irt-ḫt has been considered in specific situations like in the titulary (e.g., Blumenthal 1970: 25); in relation to specific types of scenes like the militaristic scene studied by Noblecourt (Noblecourt and Kuentz 1968: §219); or in relation to specific rulers (e.g., Schade-Busch 1992: 175-176). While these studies provide excellent information on the occurrence of the term within these specific contexts, they do not provide a diverse corpus of material for the study of the title nb irt-ḫt.

Additionally, many of the examples that have been studied to date were considered in isolation from their wider contexts. An analysis of a

complete royal system of text and decoration as found in royal tombs and royal mortuary temples represent such a wider context. The royal tomb of Tutankhamun and the mortuary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu provide the best-preserved and published examples of these types of contexts. In the case of Tutankhamun's tomb, the occurrence of this title on wall paintings and objects deposited in the tomb provide a view of both the relationship of nb irt-ḫt to the overall burial plan and to the royal court through objects used during the pharaoh's life. While potentially not as rich, Medinet Habu provides a relatively simple (in comparison to Luxor or Karnak) temple program of text accompanying wall relief that can be analyzed for the content of the accompanying representations and for location in relation to room use.

The final significant problem that is evident in the studies of the context of the title nb irt-ḫt is definitional. Beyond the assertion that the title refers to the pharaoh in his function as leader of the cultic rites in temples, there is little discussion of the distinctions between cultic rites, other categories of religious activities, rites not of a cultic nature (e.g., court ceremonial), and ritualistic actions based on the ancient Egyptian world-view (i.e., morality, ideology, ethics, custom, and social obligations).

Interesting consequences result from this situation. The first consequence is that possible avenues of evidence are ignored or separated out as not fitting the title's meaning. For example, in Barta's (1975: 16) study of nb

irt-ḫt the function of the king as ruler and the rites of birth, coronation, and rejuvenation are analyzed in opposition to his being nb irt-ḫt thus closing off any inquiry into a connection between the meaning of the title and these other aspects of kingship.

A second consequence is that when an aspect of the context of nb irt-ḫt does not seem to match what is expected if the title refers to the role of the king in the temple cult (i.e., its context is secular rather than sacred) then this aspect is rationalized to refer to temple cult in some way. This kind of rationalization is found in Blumenthal's (1970: 133-134) study where it is concluded that the epithet ṯmꜣ-ˁ (*Wb* V: 367), normally considered an epithet referring to the king in his military or sporting character (Noblecourt and Kuentz 1968: §218; Grimal 1986: 76, 568, 707), referred to priestly action when found next to nb irt-ḫt.

A third consequence is that, in working through the contexts in which nb irt-ḫt occurs, there is a tendency to mix the categories of action mentioned earlier. The problem with mixing these categories is that it potentially obscures both similarities and differences in thought about such categories on the part of both the ancient Egyptians and the modern analyst. For example, in Noblecourt's discussion of nb irt-ḫt (Noblecourt and Kuentz 1968: § 219), the distinction between cultic rites, other religious activities, and world-view are blurred. Noblecourt states that the military activities performed by the

king under the title nb irt-ḫt were not always a representation of a cultic rite of executing captives. She notes that the king as warrior was compared to Horus and thus had a sacred character and consequently his militaristic action was in a sense ritual. Since this kind of reasoning would make all divinely connected actions cult ritual and since the king commonly was connected to divinity, all actions of the king would become cult ritual. The result of this reasoning is to make the category, cult ritual, lacking in analytical usefulness. By this I mean that if we follow Noblecourt in extending the cultic role of the king to account for the variable uses of nb irt-ḫt, then we begin to lose something of the distinct role of temple cult among the duties of the king and in ancient Egyptian culture. In addition, by admitting all activities of the king into the purview of the title nb irt-ḫt, the nature of the title becomes so general that it only has meaning as a way of separating the king from other people. Clearly, a comprehensive review of the use of this title should indicate whether it is general in reference or more specific.

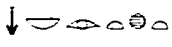
4b **The Uses of** Nb ʾIrt-ḫt

In order to evaluate the context in which nb irt-ḫt is used and thereby arrive at a reasonable idea of what the title meant to the ancient Egyptians, the occurrences of this title were collected and categorized. From this

survey, it is clear that in many ways the meaning of irt-ḫt in the title nb irt-ḫt fits within the range of activities surveyed in the previous chapter and thus is not limited to cultic activities. In order to present the results of this collection the form of the title will be discussed, the results of the general survey and the analysis of the tomb and temple programs will be reviewed, and finally an evaluation of these results will be presented.

4b.1 The Writing and Form of the Title nb irt-ht

The writing of the title nb irt-ḫt never became standardized from its first known appearance under Sahure (chart #4, d.01) until the end of the New Kingdom. Graphic considerations most likely were the reason for the continued variation in the writing of this title since many of the occurrences of nb irt-ḫt were in locations where appearance was of high concern such as temple architraves, labels accompanying monumental depictions of the king, or in graphic designs on objects. The primary problem was that the hieroglyphs, when written in full, did not form attractive symmetrical square units. This led to elements of the title either being left out or rearranged.

The earliest writings referring to Sahure were written relatively in full:  (chart #4, d.01, d.02), but other early writings commonly left off the t of irt (e.g., chart #4, d.04, d.05, d.06, d.08) or the t of ḫt (e.g., chart #4, d.62). This level of variation remained through the reign of Ramesses XI/Herihor (e.g., chart #4, d.419, without t of irt and chart #4, d.414, without t

of ḫt). Clearly, the single t was intended to stand for both words and thus the title would be read as nb irt-ḫt regardless of the writing. It can be concluded, therefore, that the title should be understood grammatically as noun-infinitive-noun where irt-ḫt is the direct genitive of nb. A survey of the writing of nb irt-ḫt on objects from the tomb of Tutankhamun provide examples of the wide variation in the writing of this title:


chart #4, d.163


chart #4, d.165


chart #4, d.168


chart #4, d.174


chart #4, d.175[1]

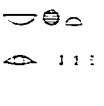

chart #4, d.190


chart #4, d.191

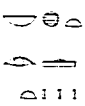

chart #4, d.195


chart #4, d.202

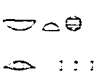

chart #4, d.207


chart #4, d.212

From this survey, it is possible to conclude that the differences in writing of the title nb irt-ḫt were not indicative of any differences in meaning, but simply were determined by graphic concerns.

Finally, it is interesting to note that in most of Hatshepsut's inscriptions she used the feminine form of this title, nbt irt-ḫt (e.g., chart #4, d.66, d.67, d.69, d.76). The use of the feminine form, nbt, should not be understood as a title for royal women. Unlike the titles nb tꜣwy -- nbt tꜣwy and nb ḫˁw -- nbt ḫˁw (Troy 1986: D2/13, D2/15), there is no female form of nb irt-ḫt used by queens. The feminine form of nb irt-ḫt was used by Hatshepsut only during the time she used the king's titulary, not among her titles as queen or regent (cf. Troy 1986: 163, 18.13 for Hatshepsut's titles). The other ruling queen to use the title, Sobeknefru, does not use the feminine form (chart #4, d.54-56).

4b.2 Chart #4

In order to gain a clearer understanding of the context of the royal title nb irt-ḫt, the occurrences of the title in major corpora were collected and analyzed. Chart #4 presents the results of the survey of occurrences of nb irt-ḫt in outline. This chart is not a listing of raw data, but rather a presentation of an interpretation of that data organized in such a way as to highlight significant results. As in the other charts in this work, each occurrence is given its own reference number and where it is published (source column) and organized by reign (ruler column). The reign is determined by when the inscription was made rather than to which king the title referred (e.g., see

chart #4, d.81—a list of former kings compiled during the reign of Thutmoses III).

Since the context of the occurrence is vital to evaluating the use of the title, the chart provides several levels of interpretation of that context. The third column, headed "context," contains a description of the object and, if possible and as appropriate, the location of the title on that object. The fourth column, headed "position," indicates the relationship of the title to the royal titulary. The positions under analysis were: if the title was isolated or not related to the titulary (1); if the title was located before the throne name (2); if the title was located before the personal name (3); and finally, if the title was related to the titulary, but not considered to be in relation to either the throne or personal names (4). An example of this last situation would be if the title was located in a string of epithets after the throne and personal names. Also noted, in the case of a relationship to either the throne or personal name, was if the title appeared immediately before the name (a) or not (b). Finally, any special relationships within the titulary are noted (*). These special relationships include observations such as: whether the title occurs near titles or epithets of a particular nature; whether the title occurs in a patterned relationship to a specific title or epithet; or whether the title was changed if the monument was usurped.

The fifth column, headed "character," provides an interpretation of the character of the context of the title based on the information in columns three,

four, and six. The categories of character were determined by reference to categories of titles and epithets as discussed by Blumenthal (1970), Grimal (1986), Schade-Busch (1992), and Rondot (1997). Finally, the sixth column, headed "source type," contains a categorization of the type of object on which the title is located in order to indicate what kinds of objects would have been considered appropriate contexts for the title. This categorization also provides a comparison for the character assigned in the fifth column. This ability to compare is particularly valuable in cases like the material from Tutankhamun's tomb, where some objects clearly were manufactured for use in his tomb while others were articles used by the king during his lifetime.

4b.3 Types of Sources

Since the types of the sources are basic to understanding the context of the occurrences of the title nb irt-ḫt, they will be discussed first. An analysis of the types of sources on which the title appears can indicate both what types of objects were connected with nb irt-ḫt and possible bias in the sample. While it is not possible to know with absolute certainty how biased the sample is in the way of types of missing or under-represented objects, the numbers do provide a rough idea of what types of objects were associated with the title and how common was that association.

Figure #4.1 presents the types of sources and the number of occurrences per type in the form of a bar chart. From this chart it is easy to

see that objects in the Temple type are the most common source for the title nb ỉrt-ḫt making up 40%of the total. This number represents: architectural elements of temples such as pylons, walls, doorways, and architraves; shrines and chapels; and large cultic monuments. Statuary, stele, and obelisks are not included in this category due to their portability both in the past and present. Funerary temples also were excluded from the Temple type in order to analyze these institutions with stronger royal and funerary associations separately. Finally, foreign temples were grouped with foreign sources of all types because of the tendency of material in such contexts to reflect the imperial program as well as the standard cultic program. When these factors are considered, it is obvious that sources that traditionally are considered as being cultic provide a high percentage of the total sample. While it is true that temple material forms a large part of the material remains from ancient Egypt, the large numbers of sources of a cultic nature that carry the title nb ỉrt-ḫt indicate a positive relationship between the two.

Tomb contexts also make up a significant proportion (20%) of the total types of sources. The material from the tomb of Tutankhamun makes up a large percentage of these occurrences. Even discounting those references from Tutankhamun's tomb, the number of times nb ỉrt-ḫt is used in tombs is notable in this sample. Both royal and non-royal tombs contain objects and decorative schemes that contain the title in a variety of contexts. In general, nb ỉrt-ḫt occurred as part of the titulary that functioned, at least in part, as a

label for scenes of the king or on objects connected to the king. These scenes and objects range from mummy bandages (chart #4, d.114), to bows and bow cases (chart #4, d.165-d.167, d.169, d.195, d.196), to painted titles on a robe of a priest in a scene on the tomb wall (chart #4, d.249, d.250). Because of the complex nature of this material, the significance of these examples will be considered in the section on the character of the context (4b.5).

Foreign contexts make-up the next most numerous category of sources (13%). Foreign material is separated into its own type because there was a general tendency to use titles and epithets related to the king as warrior, conqueror, and ruler of foreign lands more frequently than in sources from the Egyptian heartland. The foreign sources have a more limited range of types than Egyptian sources. The majority of objects bearing the title nb irt-ḫt come from temples and stelae, with a small number of statues also bearing the title (figure 4.2). These foreign sources cover the general range of time that Egypt was active in leaving monuments in Nubia and the Levant, from Middle through New Kingdoms (Amenemhet III to Siptah).

The next category in regards to number of occurrences (9%) is the Funerary Temple. The mortuary temples on the West Bank at Thebes and temples connected to royal ancestors and the king at Abydos are included in this category. As mentioned earlier, funerary temples have strong royal and funerary connections along with the connections to the divine sphere typical of cult temples.

Statues constitute 8% of the total types of sources that carry the title nb irt-ḫt. The statues range in form including representations of deities, royalty, nobility, and animals. A number of these statues may have come from temples or funerary temples; but since the provenance of statues cannot always be known today, statues were grouped into their own type of source. While the statue type represents a much smaller percentage of the occurrences than the previous types, one aspect of this type is particularly interesting. Several of the statues in this group are statues of lions and sphinxes (chart #4, d.05, d.144, d.279). Since sphinxes appear in other types of objects (foreign statues - d.304, d.305; stele - d.97, d.98; throne - d. 125, d.126; chariot equipment - d.171), the relationships between the title nb irt-ḫt and the sphinx is significant. Because the sphinx appears in different types of sources, this relationship will be explored in the section on the analysis of the data (4c.1).

Stelae represent a similar percentage of the total types as statues (7%). Stelae can potentially come from a number of contexts including temples, forts, mines, tombs, and even houses.[2] Just as in the case of statues, the provenance of the stelae cannot always be determined today so stelae were grouped as an independent type of source. Known provenance is considered as part of the character of the object. In addition, it is not necessarily the case that the provenance of a stele captures the most significant aspects of the

object. Stelae had commemorative and boundary marking functions that could be related to their setting in complex ways.

Royal sources make up the second rarest source type (2%). This type of source includes material from palaces and material that has primarily royal functions or ownership and does not fit into the other categories already discussed (e.g., inscribed spearhead – chart #4, d.63). The small number of objects in the corpus does not reflect what would have been true in ancient Egypt, but rather reflects survival patterns into modern times. The material from Tutankhamun's tomb that originally was used in the palace, but was deposited in his tomb at death (see section 4b.6) demonstrates this fact.

The final category of source types is the obelisk making up only 1% of the total number of objects. While obelisks were erected in temples in Egypt, they were considered as a separate source due to their special character as cultic object, architectural feature, and as a monument eliciting royal competitive building campaigns.[3] That being said, it should be noted that the title nb irt-ḫt was not commonly engraved on obelisks.

4b.4 Position of the Title in Relation to the Titulary

In understanding any royal title or epithet, it is necessary to examine how that title relates to other titles, epithets, and royal names in texts and labels on graphic representations. This method has been used before with interesting results (Blumenthal 1970; Grimal 1986; Schade-Busch 1992). The

relationships between titles, epithets, and royal names explored in these studies suggested the kinds of relationships investigated in this column of chart #4. Two main elements in the position of nb irt-ḫt were considered: how the title was related to either the throne name or personal name and the nature of the titles and epithets located in proximity to the title. As was indicated above (section 4b.2), these two elements were broken down into specific relationships (key 1-4) and the existence of epithets and titles related to specific aspects of kingship were noted. These aspects of kingship include royal, cultic, military, and building. They represent a modification of the categories of Rondot (1997: 123-134) simplified to suit the material under investigation with reference to earlier studies into the nature of royal titles (Blumenthal 1970; Grimal 1986; Schade-Busch 1992).[4] These categories also were used to determine the character of the context of the title (see section 4b.5).

In examining the positioning of the title, the period under study was divided into three groups: pre-New Kingdom; the New Kingdom to the reign of Tutankhamun; from Tutankhamun to the end of the New Kingdom. The New Kingdom was split at the reign of Tutankhamun to see if the Amarna interlude, when nb irt-ḫt does not appear (see discussion on pp. 206-207), caused any changes in the use of the title (see figure 4.3). From this temporal analysis, it is evident that throughout all periods there was a common position for the title nb irt-ḫt.[5] The most striking element of this pattern of

location was a strong preference that developed for placing the title before the throne name. In fact, 81% of all occurrences of nb irt-ḥt were before the throne name. Additionally, there was a strong preference within this pattern to place this title directly before the throne name (64% of all occurrences, see figure 4.4). There are two primary reasons for noting this pattern. The first reason is that the close connection of nb irt-ḥt to the throne name might suggest a connection between the act of becoming king and the king being nb irt-ḥt. Additionally, it suggests that any connections made between epithets and titles that also appear commonly before the throne name are not necessarily connected to the title nb irt-ḥt, but rather are connected to the throne name. Consequently, the wider context around the positioning of epithets and titles before the throne name needs to be considered.

Another pattern that was noted in reviewing the positioning of nb irt-ḥt was that there was a growing tendency over time to position this title directly before the personal name if it did not occur before the throne name. This pattern can be seen in the increase in the number of occurrences in the 3a category in the final period in the New Kingdom. This positioning also would occur in parallel inscriptions where nb irt-ḥt might appear in position 2a in the first inscription and 3a in the second (e.g., chart #4, d.79 and d.80). As a result of recognizing this pattern, the epithet or title that occurred in the parallel position to nb irt-ḥt, in relation to either the throne name or personal

name, was noted unless it was ubiquitous (e.g., son of Re). The title, nb ḫ^{c}w, Lord of Diadems, often occurred in a parallel relationship to nb irt-ḫt: a pattern that was not noted for any other title or epithet. The title Lord of Diadems occurred in a close relationship (parallel or adjacent) to nb irt-ḫt in 32% of the corpus. This relationship between titles again suggests a strong connection between nb irt-ḫt and the act of becoming king or the institution of kingship.

The results of examining the epithets and titles that occurred in the context of the same titulary sequence also suggest a connection to the crowning and duties of kingship. A relationship between nb irt-ḫt and royal epithets occurred in 82% of the total corpus. The second most common relationship was between military epithets and nb irt-ḫt, occurring in 26% of the total. Cultic and building epithets were less commonly connected to nb irt-ḫt, occurring in 14% of the total and 10% of the total respectively. Clearly, there was a weak connection between nb irt-ḫt and cultic titles in relation to their relative positions in the titulary. The primary exception to this was in the titulary of Herihor (chart #4, d.413-415, 417-429). This exception is significant because Herihor was the first high official to use the title nb irt-ḫt among his titles, in this case modelled on the royal titulary (Gnirs 1996: 203). His main claim to this title was through his position as the high priest of Amun (Römer 1994: 24-26, 33-34); consequently the religious context

surrounding the title in his titulary (47% of occurrences of nb irt-ḫt in Herihor's titulary are related to cultic epithets - much more than the 14% in the corpus overall) creates a striking contrast to the lack of such religious contexts in the titulary of Egyptian kings.

There are a number of factors that contribute to the prevalence of royal and military connections. For example, nb irt-ḫt most commonly appears in close proximity to the throne name in the titulary. This proximity also is preferred for the standard royal titles, nsw bity (Blumenthal 1970: A1.1) and nb t3wy (Blumenthal 1970: A1.20), thereby causing a large number of the occurrences of nb irt-ḫt to be located next to these royal titles. Grimal (1986: 513), noting the connection between nb irt-ḫt and nb t3wy, suggested that these titles were paired terms referring to the spiritual and temporal aspects of kingship respectively and thus together they made up the totality of kingship. The difficulty with this suggestion is that there is no consistency in the pairing of these titles. Rather, in most cases when these two titles appear together they appear clustered before the throne name with other royal titles. For example, on a label over the deified Ramesses II, he is given the titles nb t3wy, nb ḥ'w, and nb irt-ḫt before the throne name (chart #4, d.364 -- *M. Habu* V: 337) or similarly at Luxor Seti II is nsw bity, ḥḳ3 pḏt 9, nb ḫpš, nb irt-ḫt, and nb t3wy before the throne name (chart #4, d.335 -- KRI IV: 269.12). Because of this observation, these titles can be understood as being in a complementary

rather than an oppositional relationship. Another example of why royal titles would appear in a close relationship to nb irt-ḫt is that royal and military titles in the titulary occur with more frequency when compared to other categories of titles and epithets.

4b.5 The Character of the Context

The study of the relative position of the title nb irt-ḫt in the royal titulary sequence provides interesting information about the possible field of reference for this title. However, given the limited nature of this kind of evidence and the problems already noted, it is important to consider a broader context for this title. The column in chart #4 labelled "character" is an attempt to interpret the data and arrive at some conclusion as to the general nature of the context of the title nb irt-ḫt. Due to the interpretative nature of this identification, the characterization of the context is somewhat subjective.

The categories used for describing the character of a source derive from an expansion of the basic categories used in analyzing the position of the title in the titulary. Added to the categories cultic, royal, military, and building are 'funerary' to reflect objects and beliefs related to funerary practices and 'foreign' to reflect objects and beliefs related to Egypt's imperial practices. Funerary and foreign categories were important to add to

categories used in this section to reflect aspects of the source of the objects that were not necessarily significant in the analysis of the titulary.

In determining the character of the context of nb irt-ḫt, the source of an object was not necessarily the most important determining factor. The overall nature of the object, the nature of the epithets and titles that appear in proximity to nb irt-ḫt, an evaluation of the purpose of the object, and the source are considered in the determination of the suitable categories to assign to each entry in the corpus. There are two results of considering such a broad range of factors in the analysis in this way: each entry in the corpus can have more than one characterization and an object coming from a particular source may not have the nature of that source within its characterization. An example of the last situation would be that not all objects that have their source in a temple receive a cultic characterization. This situation would arise in the case of something like the Annals of Thutmosses III (chart #4, d.82) whose source was a temple, but based on the other factors was determined to be lacking in specifically cultic features. Similarly, material from the tomb of Tutankhamun was not automatically given a funerary characterization, but was evaluated based on the context and original use. A similar situation occurs in the case of the other factors. For example, the overriding presence of royal titles in the analysis of position in the titulary is compensated by only assigning royal characterization when there were significant royal titles present or strong royal characteristics in the source or purpose of the object.

Royal characteristics are those that refer to the king in roles not included in cultic, funerary, building, military, or foreign duties such as political leader of the nation and his role in the palace infrastructure.

The results of an analysis of the distribution of the character of the context of nb ỉrt-ḫt are displayed in figure 4.6. Royal character is still the most common association found with the title nb ỉrt-ḫt, appearing in 57% of the corpus. Cultic contexts were present in 56% of the examples while military contexts occurred in 30%. Less common were contexts involving foreign (18%), building (12%), and funerary (10%) characters. From this analysis it is clear that cultic contexts are related to a significant proportion of the corpus, but certainly are not prevalent enough to support the limitation of the meaning of nb ỉrt-ḫt to the king being the chief officiant in the temple cult. Rather, the range of categories with substantial representation in the corpus suggests that nb ỉrt-ḫt refers to a broader set of royal characteristics.

4b.6 Use of the Title in Royal Programs

While the results of the analysis of the corpus as presented in chart #4 is significant, it treats each entry as an isolated occurrence of the title nb ỉrt-ḫt. Before making any conclusions about the nature of the title nb ỉrt-ḫt, it is necessary to consider how this title was used as part of a larger program. The

best examples of such a larger royal program are the tomb of Tutankhamun (KV #62) and the funerary temple of Ramesses III, Medinet Habu.

Tutankhamun's Tomb

Chart #5 shows the distribution of objects bearing the title nb irt-ḫt within the rooms of Tutankhamun's tomb. Finer distinctions on the context of the objects within the tomb are difficult due to the nature of the original deposition and the subsequent robberies. As Černý (1965: vii) has pointed out, the objects in the tomb, based on hieratic dockets, often were incorrectly deposited in containers meant for something else. Additionally, he believed that the people who restored the tomb after the robberies put objects in any place possible. Consequently, very few of the small objects were in the correct box or among the objects with which they were originally deposited (Černý 1965: vii-viii; McLeod 1982: 2). Even the original placement of objects within the annexe is uncertain, based on the state of the room and the mixed nature of the material found in it (Reeves 1990: 89).

The objects from the tomb bearing the title nb irt-ḫt were divided into two categories for the purpose of analysis, cultic/funerary and other royal. This division was based on the criteria used to determine the character column in chart #4. The object of this division was to gain an indication of how much of the material might have related to the king as chief cultic officiant in life and in a funerary context and how much material related to

other activities of the king. The results of this analysis indicate a relatively mixed use of the title throughout both the tomb itself and between these categories.

A total of 47 objects from the tomb bear the title nb irt-ḫt. They come from the antechamber (14), the burial chamber (2), the treasury (17), and the annexe (14). As can be noted from these numbers, the objects were spread relatively evenly throughout the chambers of the tomb except for the limited use of the title in the burial chamber. The avoidance of this title in the burial chamber probably is not significant in this case, given the small size of the chamber thereby limiting its contents, the relatively common use of nb irt-ḫt on shawabtis in the tomb, and the use of nb irt-ḫt on funerary shrines and bier. The appearance of nb irt-ḫt on the mummy bandages with the name of Amenhotep II and Thutmoses III (chart #4, d.114) in other royal burials also argues against a general avoidance of the title in close proximity to the burial of a pharaoh.

Of the 47 objects that carry the title nb irt-ḫt, 26 fall in the cultic/funerary category and 21 in the royal category. While this seems an equitable split, it should be noted that 18 of the objects in the cultic/funerary category are shawabtis. A closer examination of the articles in both categories demonstrates that the majority have funerary, military, or ceremonial affinities. This being said, it also is true that the material from the tomb represents quite complex problems with some objects potentially

having multiple associations made more difficult to interpret given the context.

The most easily interpreted material is the funerary collection. For example, the opening of the mouth scene, the Hippopotamus-headed funerary bier, the canopic shrine baldachin, the alabaster canopic shrine, and the shawabtis all have clear relationships with funerary practices. The chest with peaked lid also probably had funerary connections based on the character of the scene on the end of the box where the king (referred to as Osiris) offers to Wennefer (Edwards 1976: 108; Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 11-12, 32 *Seite A Knopf*). However, this offering scene and opening of the mouth scene could reflect the relationship between nb ỉrt-ḫt and the king as a cultic officiant, given the king's role in these scenes. Likewise, there are several reasons why this title was considered appropriate to inscribe on the mirror found in the treasury. This mirror could have funerary connotations, although it is equally possible that it could have a cultic use or, as is most likely, it had a ceremonial use.[6]

A similar lack of clarity as to use is found with the pedestal for a statue found in the small golden shrine (Carter #108). This object has been assigned a cultic/funerary function based on the fact that the shrine in which it was found is in the shape of a cultic structure and an amulet of the goddess Weret-hekau also was found in the same context (Reeves 1990: 140-1). As Edwards (1976: 119) has pointed out, however, this evidence could also be

interpreted as referring to the coronation ceremony. Finally, Troy (1986: 62-3, 71-2, 100-101) points to an interpretation of these objects as referring to the ritual role of the queen in regeneration and hence she connects it to funerary regeneration. Since it is hard to understand the function of this base, the missing statue that may have rested on it, or even the small shrine since its contents had clearly been robbed, it is difficult to choose between these theories. It also should be considered that the shrine and its contents had intended multiple levels of meaning.

Another object that was assigned to the cultic/funerary category, a tall shrine from the annexe (Carter # 487), also proves to be problematic due to ancient theft. Again, the object was placed in this category due to its being in a traditional shrine shape. Carter believed that this shrine had originally contained a metal cubit-rod (Reeves 1990: 135; Carter 1933: 127). If the shrine contained something like this, it could be understood that the cubit was used in cultic ceremonies, funerary rites, royal ceremonies, or as a royal standard for legal purposes.[7]

The military character of objects also is relatively clear in Tutankhamun's tomb. A number of types of military gear bear the title nb irt-ḫt, such as chariot equipment, bows, a bow case, and possibly staves. This material can be understood to be related to the king in his military and "sporting" character (see Decker 1992: 20-24). This context for the title should be considered as related to the depictions in temples of the king triumphing

over prisoners, the inspection of horses, or the hunting of desert game that are accompanied by nb irt-ḫt (e.g., chart #4, d.338, d.341, 342).

These images of the king carry a strong message about the king as a powerful and victorious ruler, but they also can be related to the cosmic role of the king maintaining order (Redford 1995: 167). In this regard, it should be noted that most of this equipment is highly decorated, but functional and thus can be considered as being ceremonial objects. This is certainly true of the equipment connected with the chariot (Carter # 122), which is sometimes referred to as the "state chariot" (Littauer & Crouwel 1985: 99). Similarly, nb irt-ḫt only appears on the highly decorated composite bows found in the tomb and not on the more plain self-bows. These findings indicate that not only do these objects suggest a relationship between nb irt-ḫt and the martial character of the king, but also a relationship between this title and royal ceremonies where the king might appear in his chariot with his military gear.

Finally, a couple of the staves found in the tomb also carried the title nb irt-ḫt. The staves can be considered as having several meanings to the ancient Egyptians. The staves may be related to the military equipment in their character of weapons (i.e., fighting sticks, see Decker 1992: 82-87). Additionally, staves were traditionally connected with males and were symbolic of rank – both royal and noble, used in ceremonies, used in judicial proceedings, and connected to funerary equipment through Osiris (Fischer

1986: 50-57; 1978: 5-32; Drenkhahn 1984: 1270; Hassan 1976: 174). The two staves in question were highly decorated and thus should be considered, like the chariot equipment and bows, to partake in a ceremonial aspect.

A number of other objects in the tomb, which were inscribed with the title nb irt-ḫt, have ceremonial functions. Two pieces of jewellery from Tutankhamun's tomb (Carter #269m and 585q) bore the title nb irt-ḫt. While it is difficult to determine with certainty the specific meanings the Egyptians attached to these two pieces of jewellery,[8] some interesting features of their deposition in the tomb are suggestive. First, both items were found in boxes that also bore the title (Carter #269 and #585). Second, each of these boxes contained at least one other object that carried the title nb irt-ḫt (Carter #269b, #585r, and possibly #393). The first box, as already noted, has been connected with the royal regalia while the second box has been connected with the king's "toys" (Carter 1933: 130; Reeves 1990: 191). As already noted, there is great difficulty in assuming that the objects were originally placed in these boxes because of ancient robbery, but the clustering of the title nb irt-ḫt, may indicate that these objects were in their original place of deposition. In the case of the scarab bracelet, it may have been connected to the royal regalia. In the case of the ivory bracelet, it is far less clear, but it may have been connected to the memorialising of childhood or palace life. It featured scenes of animals running (Reeves 1990: 152). In both cases, this evidence

could indicate that these pieces of jewellery had more of a ceremonial meaning than being primarily for personal adornment.

The game board found with the ivory bracelet also provides interesting information concerning the range of objects bearing the title from this tomb. This small ivory game board (Carter #585r) forms a set with another small ivory game board (Carter #393) found loose in the annexe (Tait 1982: 49). Carter suggested that this game originally came from box #585 since it so clearly formed a set with #585r (Tait 1982: 15). While it might be easy to consider these as funerary games related to the scenes of the deceased playing senet (Kendall 1982: 264), there are several factors that suggest otherwise. First, these two boxes do not seem to have had the 30 square (senet) side as the dominant playing surface. The written inscription on both boxes is correctly oriented when the 20-square game is on the top face (Tait 1982: 18). Additionally, the drawers on these games could be properly shut only when they were inserted with the 20-square game facing upward (Tait 1982: 18). Additionally, Tait (1982: 49) has suggested that these matching game boxes may have been placed end to end to play a variant double-20 square game if the bolt system was added for funerary reasons. This would suggest that these games were made for use during Tutankhamun's life and then modified as funerary pieces by the addition of bolts. Finally, the 20-square game, unlike the 30-square senet game, was not associated with

religious or funerary beliefs (Kendall 1982: 265; Reeves 1990: 160) and thus the inscription on these games probably does not refer to such beliefs.

Finally, the containers inscribed with nb irt-ḫt that were assigned to the royal category (Carter #40, #269, #271, #403, #585) must be considered in relation to their ceremonial character. It has already been mentioned that the cartouche-form box (#269) was connected with the royal regalia and that box #585 was connected to childhood toys. Box #40 also has been considered to have a special meaning based on its contents. The presence of balls of hair has suggested that the box labelled with the king and queen's names related to a marriage contract (Edwards 1976: 110; Reeves 1990: 189). The segmented box (#271) contained writing equipment and a mirror case (Murray & Nuttall 1963: 11). Carter believed that the group of writing equipment from this box was used by the king during his life and was not made for the burial (Reeves 1990: 166). In this case, the writing material may have been seen as part of the ceremonial equipment of the king. Finally, the chest on legs, #403, contained headrests. However, Carter did not believe that these were the original contents, suggesting that the box was for fine linens (Carter 1933: 116). While it is impossible to determine why this box carried the title, it can be suggested again that the linens could have been ceremonial or cultic in use.

In considering the contents of Tutankhamun's tomb that were inscribed with nb irt-ḫt as a whole, it is interesting to note that while many have a clear funerary function, a clear cultic function does not predominate.

There were objects in the tomb that had strong cultic connections and bore inscriptions, but they did not carry the title nb irt-ḫt.[9] Many of the objects that carried the title had strong connections to royal ceremonial such as the military and sporting equipment, material that may have related to the coronation (the royal regalia, its box, and the pedestal in the small shrine), the royal staves, the mirror cases, and the contract chest. Other material could have related to royal activities that might have been understood as having a regular, official and repetitive character like the writing material and its box and the "toys" and their box.

Medinet Habu

The results of the analysis of Medinet Habu appear in chart #6. The chart was organised in the same way as chart #5. The first obvious pattern in the use of nb irt-ḫt is that the cultic scenes in which the king is referred to as nb irt-ḫt occur in the innermost areas of the temple where only the king and select priests would have gone (inner and back rooms and the roof terrace – V: 337, 346; VII: 534, 538). The only exception to this is the border inscription added by Ramesses IV in the 2nd court (VI: 392A). Clearly, this inscription is not integrated closely into the scene itself and thus may not have formed part of the original design. The remaining occurrences of nb irt-ḫt accompany scenes in the more public areas of the temple (exterior of first and second pylons, window of appearances, first and second courts, and exterior and

passage of the central tower – I: 44; II: 102, 109, 111, 116; V: 299, 301; V: 360B; VIII: 616B, 621, 625) or in the royal private quarters (VII: 630, 639, 655). These scenes range from the standard scenes of the king triumphing over prisoners and hunting wild animals to the king participating in ceremonial activities with his sons and daughters.

The second pattern worthy of note is that the title nb irt-ḫt was used more commonly in conjunction with scenes that were not overtly related to the king as chief cultic officiant (74%). This is not to say that the king was not interacting with the deities in some of the scenes categorised as royal. For example, several of the scenes depict the king presenting prisoners to the god Amun (I: 44, VIII: 616B, VIII: 621). The prime message of these scenes was that the king was demonstrating to the god his ability to maintain order rather than presiding over the god's cult. This understanding of this type of scene allows it to be grouped with the scenes of the inspection of horses (II: 109), the wild animal hunts (II: 116), and the campaign scenes (V: 360B).[10] The scenes of ceremonial also must be taken into consideration in this regard. Clearly, the scenes of royal children participating in ceremonies (V: 299, 301; VIII: 630, 639) suggest that the title nb irt-ḫt included this aspect of royal activity as well. It is interesting to note that the king playing a board game (VIII: 639) is connected to the title given the similar connection between nb irt-ḫt and 20-squares noted in the tomb of Tutankhamun (Carter #393, #585r).

In a similar manner to the tomb of Tutankhamun, the Medinet Habu temple, if decorated to follow a particular program, seems to reflect a use of this title with a range of official royal activities. These activities included cultic officiant, military hero (defender of order), royal father, and object of, or participant in, court ceremonial.

From the analysis of the royal program as represented by the placing of objects in the tomb of Tutankhamun and the decoration at Medinet Habu, it is clear that there was a range of placement of material throughout the major elements of these structures. In addition, it is evident that the types of activities alluded to in this program ranged through several areas of royal activity that included, but was not limited to, the king as chief cultic officiant. These activities generally run parallel to the categories present in the main corpus including royal ceremonies such as the coronation, military activity such as campaigning against foreigners, funerary beliefs and rites such as the opening of the mouth ritual, and chief cultic officiant such as presenting offerings to Amun-re at Medinet Habu.

4c **Analysis and Conclusions**

From the foregoing survey of the use of the royal title nb irt-ḫt, it is evident that the context of this title included a variety of activities. These activities can be grouped into categories such as cultic, military, royal, building, foreign, and funerary. From these results, it can be concluded that

the title nb irt-ḫt was used in relation to the king performing cultic acts (e.g., see chart #6 for the cultic elements in the royal program of decoration at Medinet Habu). It is clear, however, that this category of activity, while significant, does not make up the majority of the context of this title and thus its meaning cannot be limited to a reference to the king as chief cultic officiant. This conclusion is supported by the fact that this title never appears as *nb irt-ḫt nṯr as might be expected if the title were limited to the king's special relationship to the gods. This stands in stark contrast to terms related to temples and cult such as ḥwt-nṯr, which appears both with and without nṯr (cf., *Wb* III: 1-5), and ir-ḫt nṯr itself (see 3c.1). The result of this conclusion is that the meaning of this title needs to be re-examined in light of both the context of the title and the meaning of the phrase ir-ḫt as presented in Chapter 3. It also is appropriate to consider how the results of this survey impact on the analytical categories of cultic action, religion, ceremony and world-view discussed above in section 4a. Finally, the impact of these findings on the understanding of ritual and kingship needs to be assessed.

4c.1 Analysis

In order to interpret the pattern of use of the title nb irt-ḫt, it is necessary to review significant elements of the results of the study of the phrase ir-ḫt that was conducted in Chapter 3. It was found that ir-ḫt referred

to activities that were categorized as cultic rites, funerary rites, royal rites, aggressive rites, and job duties. From examining this range of activities, it is evident that the ancient Egyptians included both secular and sacred activities in the practices referred to by ir-ḫt and sometimes designated practices as sacred by calling them ir-ḫt nṯr. What tied these activities together was an emphasis on physical performance, usually accompanied by the manipulation of objects and speech. In addition, activities referred to as ir-ḫt had a formal character often grounded in traditional or written instructions. Finally, these activities had a close relation to the functioning of ma`at in the world and in individuals' lives.

Clearly, there is significant overlap between these findings and the context of the title nb irt-ḫt. First to be considered is whether the irt-ḫt in nb irt-ḫt corresponds to a general use of ir-ḫt or if it is a particular category of use. On the whole, it can be said that the context of the title nb irt-ḫt does overlap with the wider use of ir-ḫt. This overlap occurs in the use of both to describe cultic rites, funerary rites, aggressive (military) rites, and royal rites. While it is possible that the title nb irt-ḫt refers to the king as the master of performing rites in general, this explanation leaves some aspects of the pattern of the context of this title unexplained. For example, the pattern of frequency of occurrences between categories for nb irt-ḫt, as seen in figures 4.5 and 4.6, does not correspond to the distribution of comparative categories in the

general use of the phrase ir-ḫt. In particular, the high frequency of royal, cultic, and military contexts is not explained by understanding the title as referring to the performance of all rites. Additionally, the specific contexts of building and foreign activities are not aspects of the general use of ir-ḫt.

In reviewing the specific categories of use for ir-ḫt the most promising match for understanding nb irt-ḫt is the category job duties. In this case the title could refer to the king as the master of performing the highest office (kingship) and/or the performer of his office *par excellence* and/or the one who plays a role in determining what is proper to performing any job. This interpretation of nb irt-ḫt would account for both the frequency of contexts and the kinds of contexts noted in the foregoing survey. The more frequent contexts could be considered as more important or more common duties within the king's job while the kinds of contexts observed would represent the range of royal duties. This view of nb irt-ḫt is relatively easy to test through the comparison of known ancient Egyptian ideology of kingship to the categories of contexts of this title and by re-examining the use of the title for specific connections to statements describing royal duties.

Interestingly, the range of activities connected with the title nb irt-ḫt coincides with the known major categories of activities that a pharaoh was expected to perform. While the ideology of kingship did not remain static throughout the history of ancient Egypt (Hornung 1957: 131-133; Grimal 1986:

719-720), it can be said that there were general characteristics to the position that can be articulated (Blumenthal 1970: 8; Grimal 1986: 719-720; Baines 1995: 6; O'Connor and Silverman 1995: XXI). These general characteristics provide a basis of comparison for patterns observed in relation to the title nb irt-ḥt. These characteristics are derived from the study of royal ideology by Blumenthal (1970), which forms the basis for recent studies of kingship (Grimal 1986: V; Schade-Busch 1992: 5; Rondot 1997: 123).

Blumenthal found that, in ancient Egyptian thinking, the king had a special relationship with the world of the divine. The king was described as having a filial relationship with gods, was granted kingship by the gods, and was equated or compared to the gods (Blumenthal 1970: 62-105). Additionally, the king was expected to have a special cultic function acting as the primary connection between the human world and the divine. In order to accomplish this connection, the king built monuments, particularly temples for the gods and their worship, the king acted as chief officiant in the cult ritual, and established and maintained various foundations for the gods (Blumenthal 1970: 112-144).

The king also had a special relationship to the past (Blumenthal 1970: 148-169). The king was expected to preserve the memory of his precursors through setting up monuments and foundations to them. In turn, the king used royal predecessors to reinforce legitimacy for his rulership through claims of filiation and to provide a guide for behaviour. Often it was

appropriate for the king to claim to have exceeded the accomplishments of his precursors in expeditions and building projects.

In Egyptian thought, the king was responsible for proper rulership of the land under his authority (Blumenthal 1970: 173-210). This responsibility included keeping the land and the people within it prosperous and orderly. The king was to guard the borders and extend the boundaries of the land through conquering and pacifying foreign territories. Related to this concept was the fact that the king was seen as the commander of the army (Blumenthal 1970: 205-256). The king was an eager and successful warrior and leader of his army and he was therefore feared by his enemies. The king also was skilled at recognizing, restraining, and punishing his foreign enemies and those who rebelled against his rule.

Also related to proper rulership was the idea that the king was responsible for his subjects who owed him their allegiance (Blumenthal 1970: 264-418). The king, through his wisdom, skill, and pleasing manner, kept his subjects happy, safe, and healthy. These attributes were demonstrated through the choice of wise councillors, the promotion of young people, being merciful and respectful to subjects, and providing for their physical needs. In return, the king could expect his subjects to give him their love, physical effort, and lives.

Finally, the king was responsible for preserving order -- ma`at -- in the natural world and human society (Blumenthal 1970: 432-441). This last

responsibility could, in part, be accomplished by observing the duties of the ideal king as described above, but the king also could promote the preservation of ma`at through other means, such as actively speaking ma`at (Blumenthal 1970: 432, H1.1).

When this ideology of the role and duties of the king in ancient Egyptian thinking is compared with the characteristics of kingship connected to the title nb irt-ḫt, it can be concluded that they overlap to a large degree. The connections between the title nb irt-ḫt and its use in a cultic context reflect the king's ideal relationship to the divine as described by Blumenthal. Some of the building contexts also relate to the king's relationship to the divine through the construction of temples (e.g., Tutankhamun's restoration stele, chart #4, d.156).

The royal character of contexts of nb irt-ḫt are related to the king's proper rulership of the land under his authority and his responsibilities to his subjects. This proper rulership also is reflected in the connection of this title to court ceremonial through the ceremonies of crowning, enthronement and the celebration of the Sed-festival (cf. Blumenthal 1970: 37-53; Barta 1975: 44-70; also see references to the Sed-festival in chart #4, d.25, 68, 152, 153, 154). Royal contexts also include some of the building references. For example, in Theban tomb #226 (chart #4, d.155) the context of nb irt-ḫt is the presentation of jewellery and objects for the palace, referred to as monuments, to the king and queen. Finally, the royal context of this title includes the provision for

cultivating good officials. In a biographical inscription on a statue, Menkhepreresoneb calls the king nb irt-ḫt in relation to the king teaching him and praising his efficiency (chart #4, d.93).

The military character of contexts of nb irt-ḫt parallels the ideal of the king as an eager warrior, military commander, and pacifier of foreign territory. This role of the king also parallels the common use of nb irt-ḫt in foreign settings. Additionally, this military characteristic speaks to the king's role in maintaining order within Egypt by identifying and punishing rebels. This context is best represented by the scenes of the king smiting foreign prisoners or trampling his enemies under his feet in the form of a sphinx (e.g., chart #4, d. 121, 122, 125, 126, 172, 173, 225, 227, 228, 229, 230, 233, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 264, 275, 327, 338, 339, 340).

From this general comparison between the ideal of kingship in ancient Egypt and the character of the context of the use of the title nb irt-ḫt, it can be concluded that this title does reflect the general duties an Egyptian king was expected to perform. These general similarities are supported by the use of nb irt-ḫt in a description of Ramesses II as the ideal king:

> When His Majesty was a vigorous young man, strong-armed, the Lord of performing ritual, his splendour was in the land, throughout every place like the moon in its youth; his mind brought forth order like the Lord of Hermopolis, upon the guidance of his ka, according to truth. He assigned work from his own mind (KRI II: 535.9-11 see chart #4, d.287).

While it is true that this inscription appears in the festival court of the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos, the reference to Ramesses as nb irt-ḫt does not refer to the king as a cultic officiant in that temple. Clearly, the context of the title refers to the overall attributes of Ramesses as king of Egypt. This context also connects this title to the working of the king's will being performed according to ma`at and that these activities came from the king's own mind.

If it is concluded that the title nb irt-ḫt does refer to the king as lord of performing rites in the sense that he performs his job duties, then the connection of this title to ma`at is understandable. The intimate connection between the ideal role of the king and ma`at is very clear (for example see: Grimal 1986: 294-304; Assmann 1990: 201-212, 242-245; Schade-Busch 1992: 144-145; Baines 1995: 3, 11-12; O'Connor and Silverman 1995: XVIII-XX; Teeter 1997a: 89-93). In general it can be said that the king maintained ma`at by performing his duties properly (Blumenthal 1970: 441). This connection, as demonstrated through the ritual of presenting ma`at and the parallel ritual of presenting the royal name to the goddess Ma`at, emphasized the king's legitimacy (Teeter 1997a: 89-90). Thus it can be said that if the king is the "lord of performing rites" – the one who performs his job *par excellence*, the one who performs the highest job, and the one who plays a role in determining what is proper to performing any job – he has a unique relationship to ma`at.

The recognition of the connection between the title nb irt-ḫt, referring to the king performing the duties of his office, and the king maintaining ma`at provides possible explanations for a number of patterns observed in relation to the use of nb irt-ḫt. First, the king is the only Egyptian who used the title. There was no bureaucratic or queenly versions of nb irt-ḫt. This pattern can be explained through the special connection between ma`at, the performance of the king's job duties, and royal legitimacy that makes it appropriate that no one but the king would use the title nb irt-ḫt. As noted above, the king had a special relationship to ma`at that was expressed to support the king's legitimate right to his position of rulership. Additionally, it was traditional for the king to be described as uniquely qualified (created) for performing his royal duties (Blumenthal 1970: 37, 223-224; Grimal 1986: 95, 108-124; Redford 1995: 163-164).

Second, while the strong connection between cultic and royal contexts and nb irt-ḫt might have been expected, the strong connection between military and foreign contexts and nb irt-ḫt is unanticipated. This strong connection can be explained if the relationship between ma`at and the royal duties is significant. One of the most performative and visual ways in which the king promotes ma`at is through subjugating the forces of chaos in his role as warrior and military commander over rebels and foreigners (Hornung 1957: 126-128, 1997: 306-307; Grimal 1986: 651; Schade- Busch 1992: 92-93).

Thus, it should not be surprising if the king in his role of bringing order to the world through violence is described as nb irt-ḫt. This connection would explain the frequency of the appearance of this title in head-smiting scenes, in hunting scenes, on weapons and chariots, and with the king as a sphinx and lion,[11] which was noted above.

The connection between nb irt-ḫt and ma`at also clarifies observations concerning ir-ḫt made in Chapter 3. In section 3c.5 (pp. 131-132), it was noted that Egyptians who performed their job duties properly could be said to be performing rites (ir-ḫt) that maintained ma`at. This situation was most evident in the Admonition literature where a failure to perform formal duties properly resulted in disorder. While this correspondence strengthens the view that irt-ḫt in nb irt-ḫt corresponds to the performance of job duties as a rite, it also clarifies one of the occurrences of ir-ḫt in Ipuwer discussed in Chapter 3 (3c.3 – pp. 115-116). Among the inversions in condition described by Ipuwer was a reference to the removal of the king: "look here, rites are performed (ir-ḫt) that never happened before, the king has been removed (šd) by the rabble (ḥwrw)" (chart #3, c.64). This description of inversion can be understood as not only an inversion of normal social positions[12], but also more specifically as an inversion of the king as nb irt-ḫt. Thus the king, who is the strong man who removes the forces of chaos, is himself removed by those representing chaos.[13] Consequently, it could be said that this section of

Ipuwer is a verbal inversion of the traditional scene of the king smiting the head of the rebels.

The final feature of the use of the royal title nb irt-ḫt that needs to be analyzed is the avoidance of the title on the part of Akhenaten. This avoidance of the title was noted previously by Hornung (1957: 132) in his study of the role of the 18th Dynasty kings. While it is possible to suggest that Akhenaten avoided this title because of its connections with the *traditional* role of king as leader of the offering cult, given Akhenaten's emphasis on being the sole cultic officiant of the Aten (Hornung 1982: 248; Baines 1991: 189; Redford 1995: 177) it is unlikely that he would avoid the title because of its statement concerning the special position of the king in the cult.

In an attempt to understand why this title was disliked by Akhenaten, it is helpful to consider what titles took its place. Hornung (1957: 132) notes that one title that Akhenaten added was ʿnḫ m mꜣʿt (one living in ma`at). This title fills much the same position in the titulary as nb irt-ḫt being found in connection with nb tꜣwy and nb ḥʿw (Anthes 1952: 4) and appearing commonly before the throne name (e.g., Urk IV: 1965.14; 1966.3; 1981.15; 1982.6; 1983.4; 1983.11; 1989.3; 2003.6; 2003.19; 2004.20; 2012.4). Akhenaten clearly believed that he had a unique relationship with ma`at (Anthes 1952: 26-28). Given this special relationship, it is probable that Akhenaten saw the maintenance of ma`at through being nb irt-ḫt as inappropriate to his reinterpretation of the kingship. The view that it was necessary for the king to preserve order

through his action had disappeared (Assmann 1989: 66-67). Akhenaten had a direct relationship to ma`at that did not need the proper performance of royal duties to preserve order. This change from a more complex chain of relationships to a direct connection between religion and life was a hallmark of Akhenaten's program (Hornung 1982: 244; Assmann 1995: 66, 207-208; Baines 1995: 28; Redford 1995: 180).

Thus, it can be concluded that Akhenaten avoided the title nb irt-ḫt because it represented an indirect approach to world order that was at odds with his theory of his direct relationship to ma`at. This conclusion is reinforced through reference to Tutankhamun's restoration stele (Urk IV: 2025-2032). The main focus in the stele is on the restoration of order in the land through Tutankhamun's traditional and proper exercise of kingship. Tutankhamun claims to have restored ma`at after the chaos caused by Akhenaten's reign through properly carrying out his duties daily in the palace (Urk IV: 2028: 11); through restoring the cults of the gods (Urk IV: 2028.12-2030.23); and being a strong and wise king issuing laws (Urk IV: 2031.28-3032. 30). Presumably, Tutankhamun stressed these three activities because in his estimation Akhenaten had not carried them out properly, according to tradition. Significantly, on this stele Tutankhamun also restores the use of the title nb irt-ḫt in his titulary (see chart #4, d. 156).

In considering this analysis of the use of the title nb irt-ḫt it is necessary to return to the issue of the analytical categories of cultic rites, other religious

activities, ceremonial, and ritualistic actions based on the ancient Egyptian world-view. When the various contexts in which this title is found are considered, the first three categories -- cultic rites (e.g., king offering in the temple, chart #4, d. 11, 12, 16, 17, 86, 96, 108, 124, 161, 222), other religious activities (e.g., building temples, chart #4, d. 136, 156, 244), and ceremonial (e.g., the Sed festival, chart #4, d. 25, 68, 154)– are found among these contexts. Clearly, privileging a single one of these categories over the others in understanding this title would be wrong.

Grimal (1986: 561) has described nb irt-ḫt as a term of power (*pouvoir*) referring to the technical ability of the king to communicate with the divine. In some respects this idea is true in that many of the contexts connected with this title were given divine connections by the ancient Egyptians. As a builder, the king could be described as building the temple for his father, a god (e.g., Blumenthal 1970: 117; Grimal 1986: 526-532). As an actor in temple offerings to the god, the king also could be described as performing for his father (e.g., Blumenthal 1970: 124; Grimal 1986: 514-517). Finally, as a warrior the king was compared to a god (e.g., Blumenthal 1970: 96, 217-218; Grimal 1986: 653- n.532, 655-659, 707).

While the king's connection to the divine is important to royal ideology, these connections do not necessarily reflect the technical ability of the king to communicate with the divine alone. These comparisons also reflect the ideology of the king's position in the world order and his

responsibilities in relation to that world order. The king was seen as having a privileged position in relation to the sphere of human activity and divine activity (cf. Schade-Busch 1992: 144; Redford 1995: 164). As mentioned previously, part of that position was the special relationship between the king and the maintenance of ma`at. Ma`at was not simply a religious concept, but had wider relevance to the ancient Egyptian world-view including philosophy, sociology, justice, and political theory (see Assmann 1990: 17-24). Therefore, if the title nb irt-ḫt referred to actions that maintained ma`at, these actions would encompass both sacred and secular aspects of kingship.

The complexity of these aspects of ancient Egyptian royal ideology can be illustrated by a consideration of the role of the temple and palace in ancient Egyptian thought. As O'Connor (1995: 264-265) has demonstrated, the temple and palace had parallel but separate roles in connecting Egypt with the cosmos. The king maintained order through performing cultic rites in the temples (cf., O'Connor 1995: 265), but also maintained order through performing ceremonies and formal administrative acts in the palaces (cf., O'Connor 1995: 266-267). Thus in these cases the king maintained the cosmic order both through his "technical ability to communicate with the divine" as chief officiant of the cult and through the performance of ceremonies in the palace that affirmed the relative position of the king, officials, and foreigners (O'Connor 1995: 267-268). As O'Connor (1995: 264-266, 276, 282-283, 291-292) is careful to point out, the king can be compared to the gods -- particularly the

solar gods-- in connection to the palace, but this comparison does not necessitate an understanding of what went on there as religious in a conventional sense.

A similar situation existed in relation to the king as a strong man who maintained his power through physical violence (Redford 1995: 161, 165-167). The king could be compared to a god like Horus avenging his father Osiris, when the king was in the act of slaughtering rebellious foreigners. Again, these acts are not in essence religious in that the king is not performing them for the god, nor is the god performing miracles for the king. The king is performing in acts that parallel the acts of divinities. As Redford (1995: 161) explains, "the concept does not float in some ethereal form remote from the real world, but appears in a very personal and very physical interpretation. Pharaoh is literally a strongman prone to violence."

The emphasis on the king's role in relation to nb irt-ḫt can be shifted then from his cultic or religious activities to the position of the king in Egyptian thinking on the world order. Therefore, what the connections to the divine related to nb irt-ḫt indicate is that the king as nb irt-ḫt had a special position because of the world-view of the ancient Egyptians. The king was capable of being the "lord of performing rites" because of his privileged position in the world. Consequently, by understanding the religious connotations of nb irt-ḫt as related to the position of the king in the world-view of the ancient Egyptians, the problems discussed above in section 4a -

the necessity of relating all activity to cultic rites or the exclusion of royal ceremony from the category of activity referred to as rites by the ancient Egyptians – are overcome.

At this point it remains to point out the correspondence between the meaning of nb irt-ḫt and what was determined in Chapter 3 about the main characteristics of ir-ḫt (see summary at the beginning of this section, p. 196-7). Overall, it can be said that the contexts in which the title nb irt-ḫt are found involve the king in physical performance. This physicality can be noted in the performance of cultic rites, the performance of royal ceremony, the performance of military exercises, the performance of funerary rites, and the activities involved in building monuments.[14]

Additionally, the duties referred to by this title could be said to be formal in nature and grounded in custom through the traditional nature of the ideology of kingship. The formal and traditional nature of the ideology of kingship and the duties involved is indicated by texts like the Instructions to King Merikare, particularly in regard to sections that indicate that books preserved knowledge relevant to being a good king: "Imitate your fathers, your predecessors, one works ... with knowledge. Look, their words are established in books, open that you may read, and imitate knowledge" (Golenischeff 1913: pl.9-10 l.35-36). This formal and traditional quality of ritual in ancient Egyptian kingship suggested to Assmann (1991: 245-246) that the king had little scope for individual action. This same kind of royal

situation is partially reflected in Shakespeare's Henry Vth, as quoted at the opening of this chapter. Just as Henry Vth was feeling controlled by royal ceremony and obligation, he also had the ability to be the "maker of manners." It is fair to assume -- based on what Ramesses II said concerning ordaining works according to his own mind (p. 202) and based on the emphasis placed on the wisdom of the king -- that the Egyptian pharaoh also could create his own rituals and thus there was a balance between tradition and innovation. It should be understood, however, that the king based his innovative rituals on custom and his unique position in the cosmos and that is why the king was "lord of performing rites."

As has been demonstrated above, there was a close connection between the duties of the king as described by being "lord of performing rites" and ma`at. This connection to ma`at highlights one aspect of performing rites recognized in Chapter 3, but not overtly mentioned in the contexts of nb irt-ḫt examined in this study: the combination of speech, action, and object in ritual performance. In her study of ma`at, Lichtheim (1992: 41) points out that according to ancient Egyptian thought ma`at was to be performed through actions and words. Clearly, given the close connection between kingly duties and ma`at, it can be assumed that the duties referred to through the use of the title nb irt-ḫt also had this quality of combining words and action. It is these characteristics that might best explain the connection made between nb irt-ḫt and the 20 square game that was observed in both

Tutankhamun's tomb and the playing of games with the royal daughters in the temple of Medinet Habu. The playing of these games involved proscribed rules that, when played in a formal, royal setting by the king, may have taken on a more ritualistic status. Therefore, it can be concluded that the characteristics that were part of ir-ḫt also were typical of the duties of the king as "lord of performing rites."

Finally, it must be noted that the activities of the king in preserving ma`at conform to one of the hallmarks of ritual action. Assmann (1989: 59) notes that, unlike the gods, the king must maintain world order through the constant repetition of four basic actions: providing justice for humans; providing deities with worship and offerings; realising ma`at; and destroying chaos. As was noted in Chapter 2 (2b, p. 20, 23), one of the defining elements of ritual is its repetitive nature. Thus, it can be said that the ancient Egyptians recognised the king's actions as being ritualistic, partly through this repetitive quality.

4c.2 Conclusions

The title nb irt-ḫt is found in contexts related to activities that could be described as royal, cultic, military, funerary, building, and foreign. These diverse contexts make it unlikely that this title referred to the king in his role as chief cultic officiant in temples as has been proposed previously. A review of the contexts described above and the uses of the expression ir-ḫt as

explored in Chapter 3 of this study suggest that the title referred to the performance of duties involved in the "job" of being a king. As a result, it can be concluded that the title, "lord of performing rites" describes the king as the one who performs his job *par excellence*, the one who performs the highest job among humans, and the one who plays a role in determining what is proper to performing any job. Also connected to the title nb irt-ḫt, through both the Egyptian concepts of ritual and kingship, is the idea that by being "lord of performing rites" the king maintained order (ma`at) in the world. Akhenaten may have avoided this title because he believed that he had a direct connection to ma`at rather than the indirect connection suggested by the need to be a leader in the performance of rites. The religious connections of nb irt-ḫt come not from a reference to the cultic concerns of the king, but rather from the world-view of the ancient Egyptians that placed the king in a privileged role in relation to the human and divine spheres of existence.

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[1] Note that in this example and in example d.199, the nb stands for both nb ḳ3wy and nb irt-ḫt.
[2] For the provenance of stelae in general see Martin 1986: 1-6. For stelae in houses see examples from Thebes, Amarna, and Deir el-Medina in: Holden 1982: 298; Demarée 1982: 103, 106-107; 1983: 181-183; Friedman 1984: 110-114; Freed, Markowitz, & D`Auria 1999: 220, 256-257.
[3] For example, see Hatshepsut's obelisk inscription (Urk IV: 364.10- 369.2) where she describes her erecting of the obelisk where she emphasises the effect of the monuments on posterity and the reliefs from Deir el Bahri where she shows how they were transported (Naville 1908: pl. 154). For a detailed study of the multiple meanings of the large obelisks in central New Kingdom temples see Martin 1977: 124- 175 and Habachi 1984: 3-15.
[4] The categories are constructed following Rondot's (1997: 127-132) categories as follows: **cultic** contain references to the king as chief officiant in the cult of the gods and include claims of descent from specific gods - Rondot's 1) *Naissance et filiation divine*; **royal** contain

references to the king as ruler – Rondot's 2)*Fonction royale* and 3) *Efficacité du roi dans l'exercice de sa charge;* **building** contain references to the king as a builder of monuments and memorials – Rondot's 4) *Le roi concepteur et réalisateur* and 5) *Le roi constructeur;* **military** contain references to the king's power, strength, and military prowess – Rondot's 6) *Le Roi Guerrier*.

[5] The sample size was smaller for pre-New Kingdom use of the title and some of the earliest examples were broken so it was impossible to reconstruct their relationship to any titulary. These facts may have influenced the results; however, the existing examples support a pattern of preference for a location that is consistent with the New Kingdom material.

[6] Mirrors have been identified as having symbolic meaning and therefore they played significant roles in funerary practice, cult ritual, and ceremonial, as well as having a personal functional use (Edwards 1976: 141; Husson 1977: 39-42; Lilyquist 1979: 97-98; Müller 1984: 1147-1150). While I have considered this mirror as most likely having a funerary function, the fact that it was found in the cartouche-form box -- connected to storage for royal regalia (Aldred 1971: 245; Edwards 1976: 139; Reeves 1990: 190) -- suggests that it might have been used by Tutankhamun for ceremonial preparations.

[7] For these uses see, Doll 1982: 58-59.

[8] Jewellery, in a similar manner to staves, has multiple meanings. Besides functioning as personal adornment, jewellery can signal rank and be used in ceremonies to distinguish participants by role (royal regalia) or to publicly reward individuals (e.g., gold of honour – Aldred 1971: 18-20, pl. 117, 118; Andrews 1991: 180-185). Jewellery also can have amuletic value for the wearer or be used in cultic rituals (Aldred 1971: 14-17; Andrews 1991: 171). Finally, the ancient Egyptians could see jewellery as a monument, that is to say a lasting memorial. This is indicated in an inscription from Theban Tomb #226 where the king, bearing among his titulary the title nb irt-ḫt, is presented with jewellery described as monuments (see chart #4, d.155).

[9] For example, see the inscriptions from the libation vessels with Carter numbers 54 and 620 (Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 28-30, 220-224). Also consider the list of ritual objects made by Reeves (1990: 130-135) where the only object he lists that bears the title is the tall shrine discussed immediately before.

[10] Schulman (1988: 1, 8-9, 193-197; 1994: 265, 267) has demonstrated that these scenes can function on two levels, as a record of an historical event (actual physical ritual of execution) and as a "timeless and symbolic triumphal theme" (Schulman 1994: 267). The question then becomes whether the title nb irt-ḫt appears next to the scene because the ritual of execution is seen as a cultic rite performed by the king or whether the title appears because of the wider theme of triumph. Clearly, the ritual act of execution is appropriately a rite, but given the presence of the title nb irt-ḫt on the other triumphal scenes, it is most likely that the title refers to the wider theme.

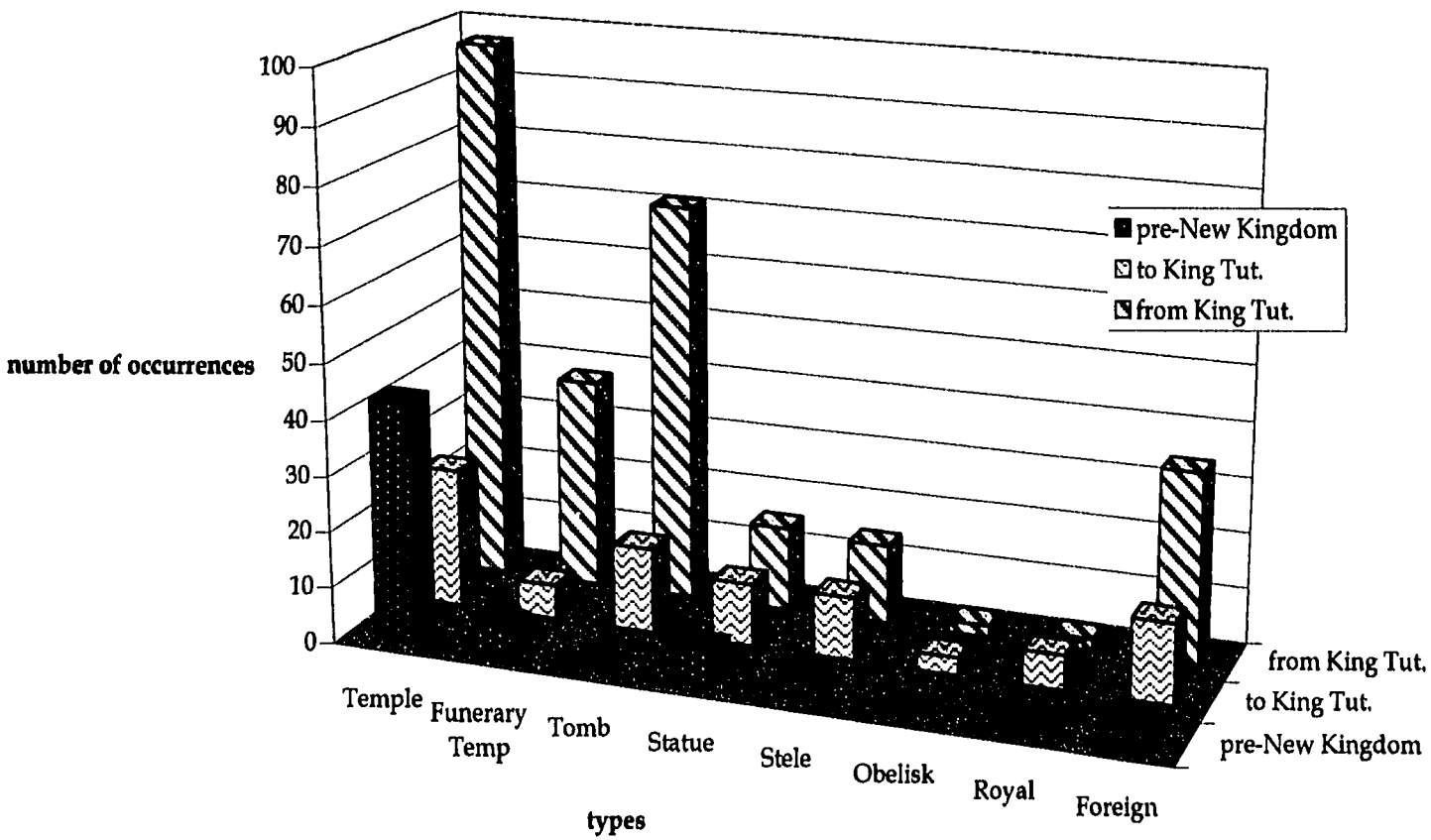
[11] For the sphinx/lion representing the king as the bringer of order through aggressive means see deWit 1951: 19-21, 47-48, 462-463.

[12] For example, see Assmann's (1989: 60-61) discussion of the king's role in judging the lower classes so that they are not oppressed by the upper classes, thereby preserving ma`at in society.

[13] Obviously, kings did not explore this idea explicitly since they did not want to promote rebellion as an acceptable form of social action (cf. Baines 1995: 14). References like the one in Ipuwer are rare and given the nature of Egyptian royal ideology, it should not be surprising that this one is somewhat oblique.

[14] For a discussion and graphic representation of the relationships between physical activity, political activity, and divine activity in kingship see Schade-Busch 1992: 131-132.

fig 4.1 -- Sources for nb irt-ḫt



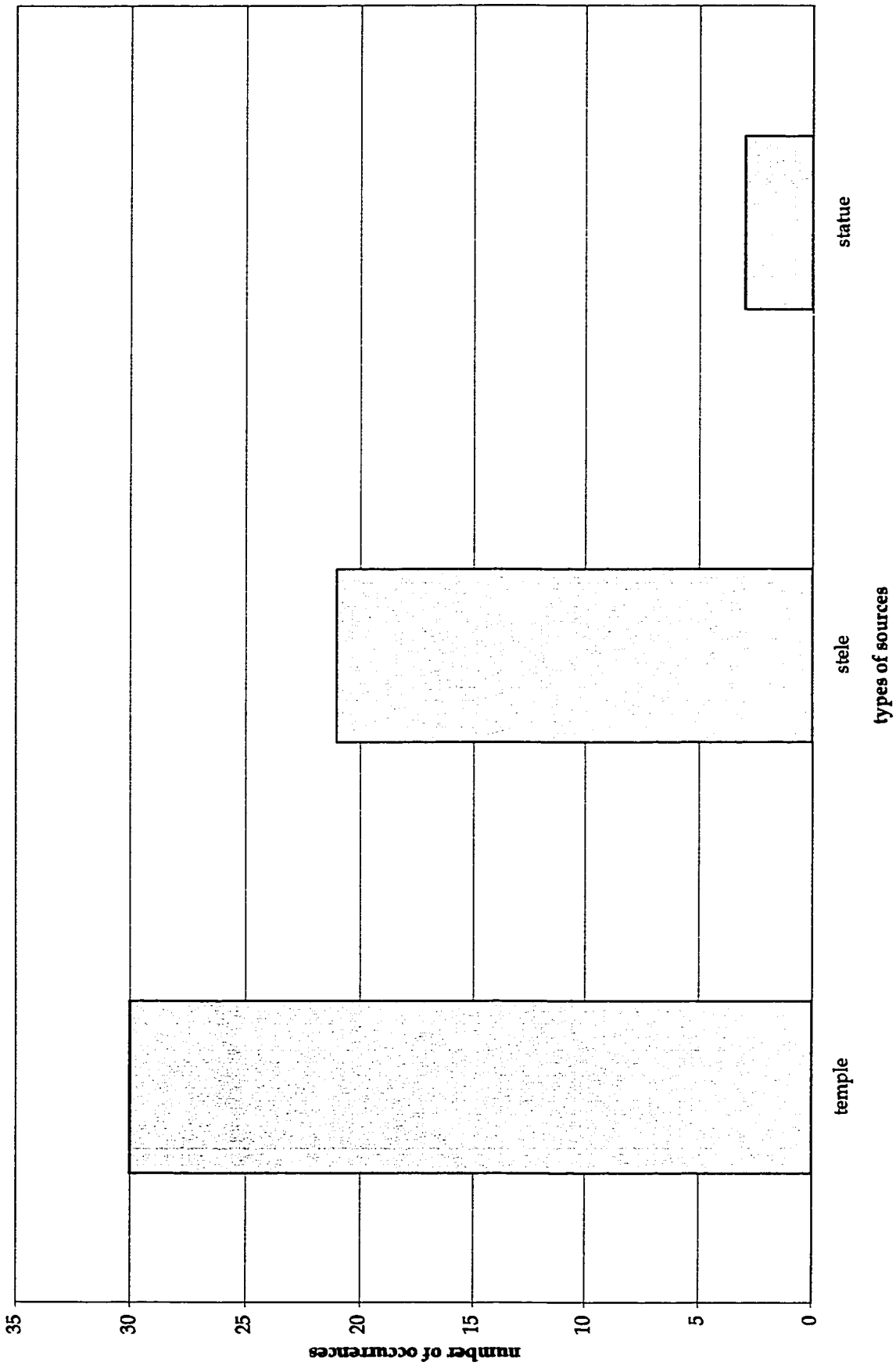


fig. 4.2 Foreign Sources

fig 4.3 -- location of epithet nb irt-ḫt in titulary

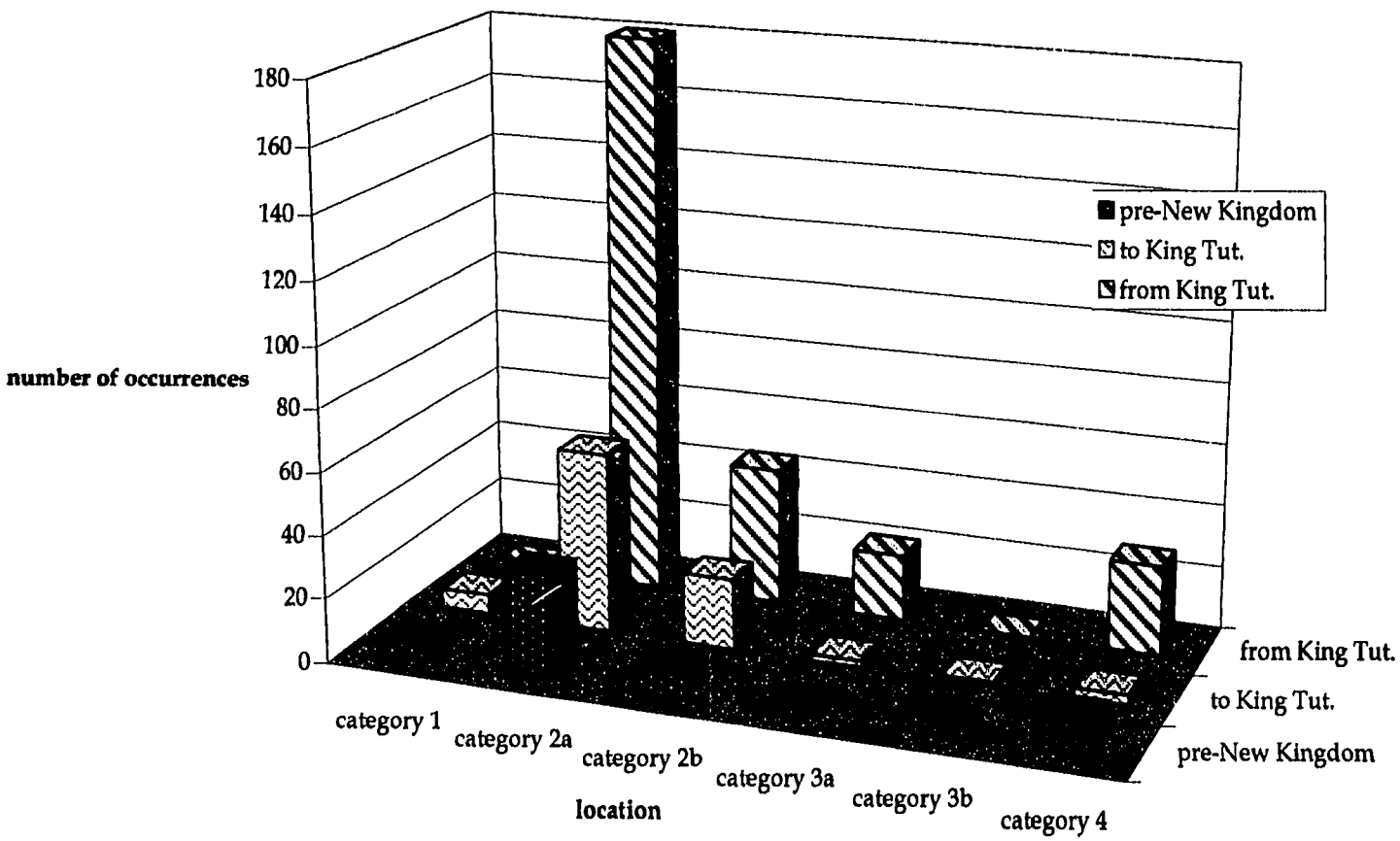


fig. 4.4 -- Total Categories of Position

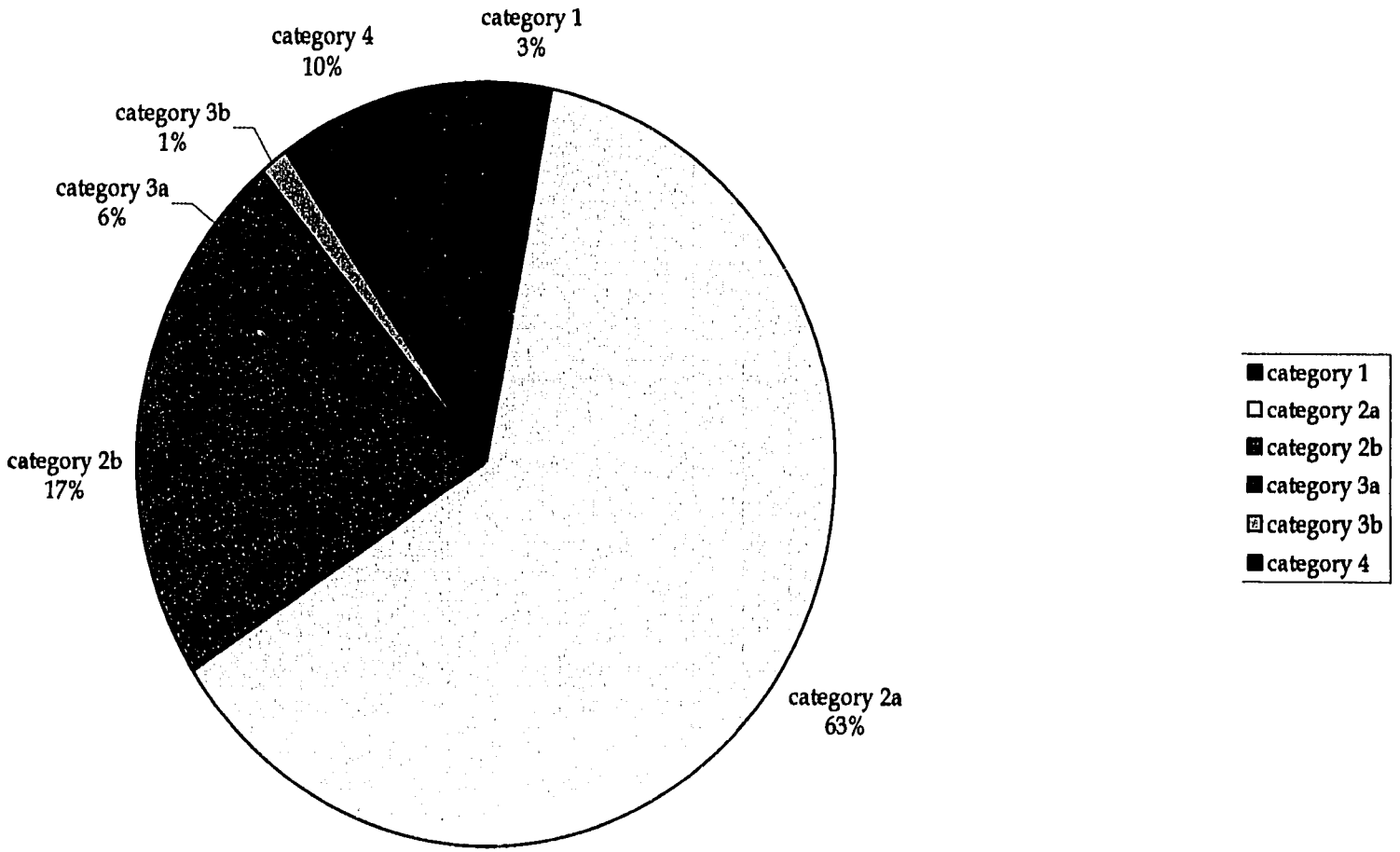


fig. 4.5 -- Relationships in Royal Titulary

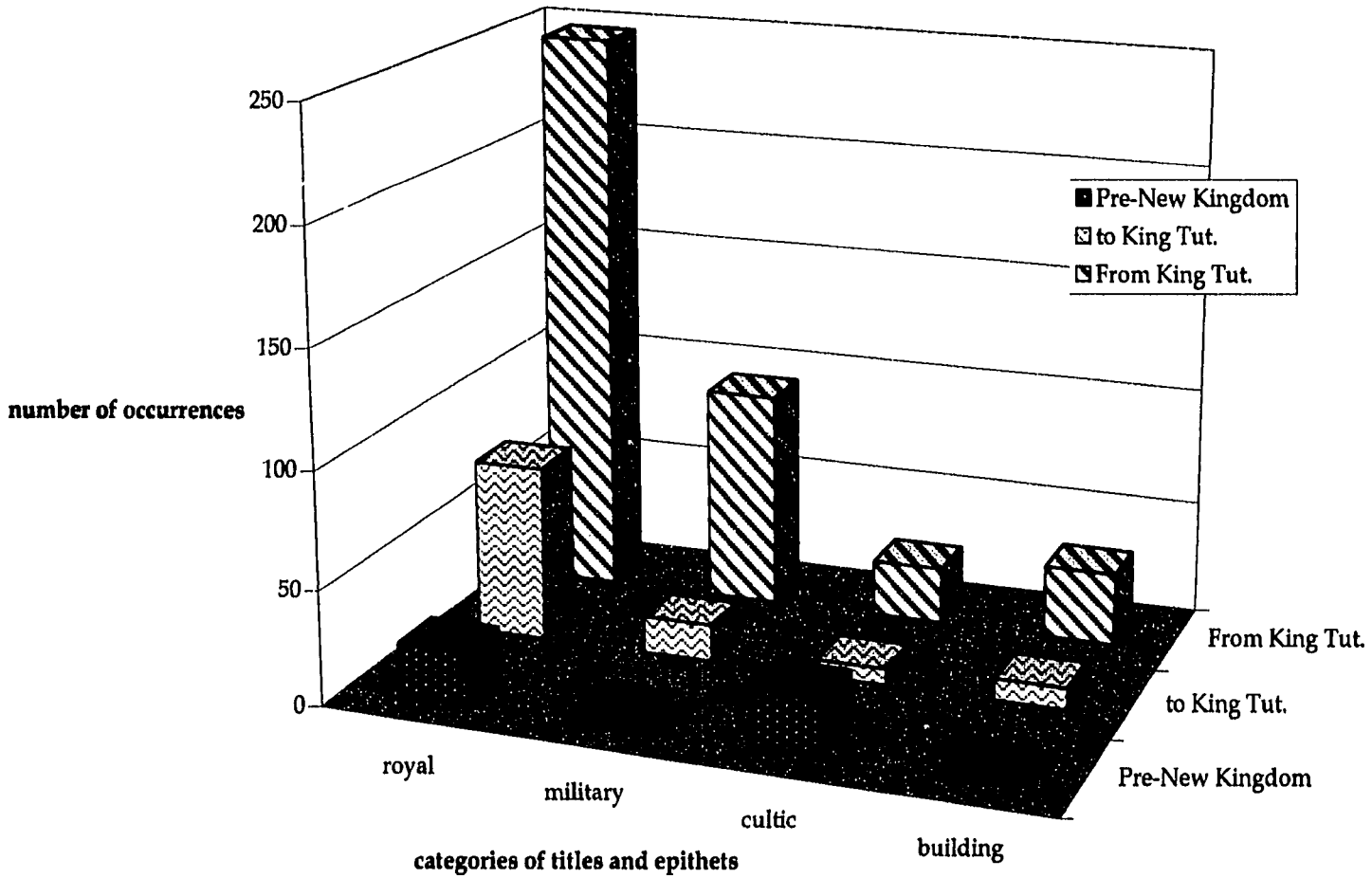


fig. 4.6 -- Character of Context

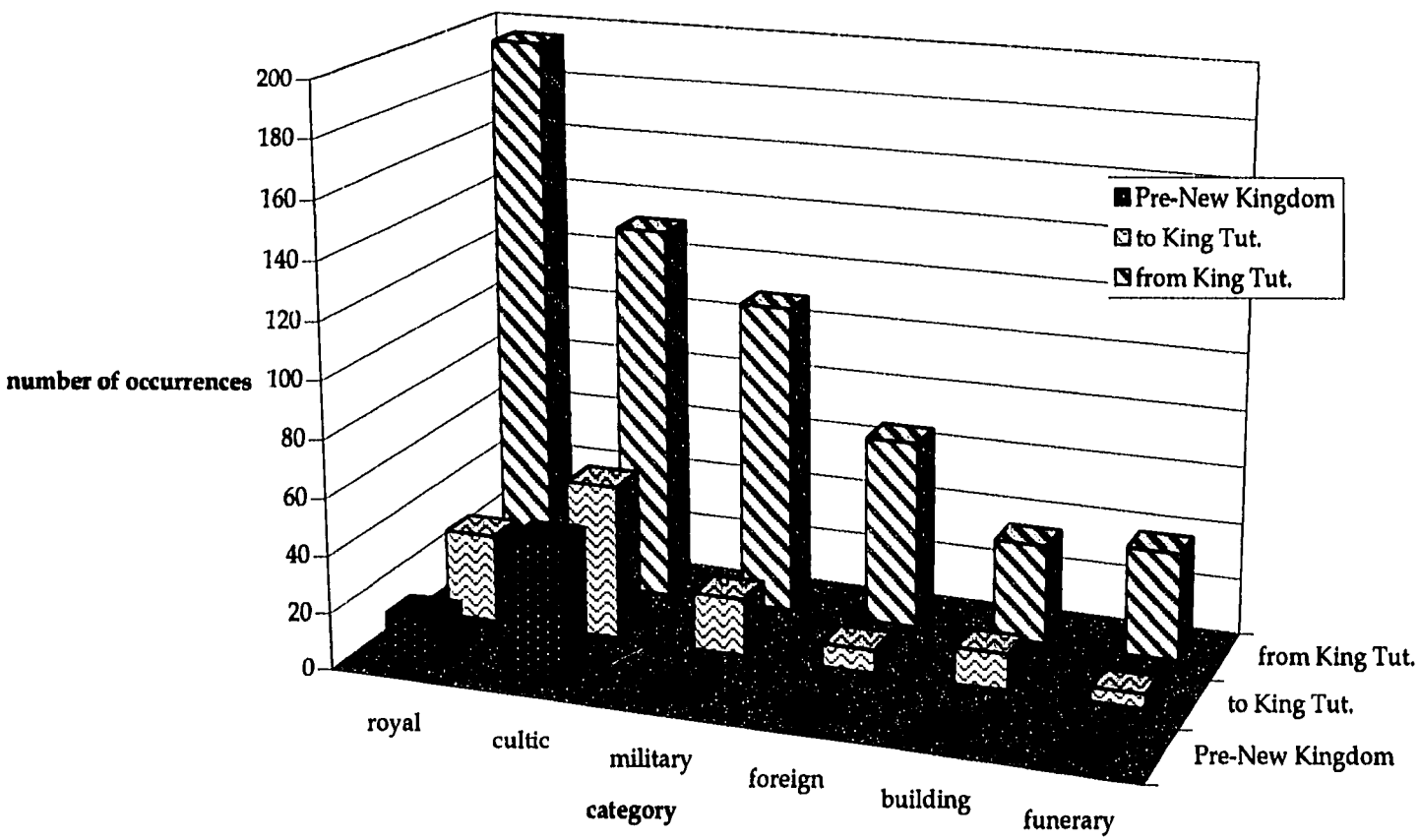


Chart # 4
nb irt-ḥt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
d.01	Borchardt 1910: 46	architrave of funerary temple of Sahure (south side)	4 * royal, military	royal cultic	Funerary temple	Sahure
d.02	Borchardt 1913: pl. 45 (Sahure II)	relief from funerary temple (?) of king on throne wearing red crown (Heb-sed scene?)	4 * royal	royal	Funerary temple	Sahure
d.03	VonBissing 1928: pl. 28, #430	relief fragment, broken context	1	royal	Funerary temple	Niuserre
d.04	Jéquier 1940: pl. 9	Portico of funerary temple broken context	1	royal	Funerary temple	Pepy II
d.05	Petrie 1885: pl II, 8A	Base of sphinx, usurped and moved	4 * royal	royal military	Statue	Middle Kingdom (pharaoh uncertain)
d.06	Petrie 1896: pl. 10.2	fragment of temple (?) from Koptos, Sakhmet offers life to the king	2a	cultic	Temple	Senwosret I
d.07	Urk VII: 16. 21	large decorative cartouche on architrave at Beni Hasan	4 * royal; related to "lord of diadems"	royal	Temple?	Senwosret I
d.08	Lacau and	Karnak, chapel of	3b	cultic	Temple	Senwosret I

† Key: 1 - isolated or not in titulary; 2 - before throne name, a - directly, b - indirectly; 3 - before personal name, a - directly, b - indirectly; 4 - non-specific position in epithet string; * - special notes related to particular elements of context

Chart # 4

nb irt-ḫt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
	Chevrier 1969: pl. 2	Senwosret I, titulary over "windows" on east façade				
d.09	Lacau and Chevrier 1969: pl. 12	Karnak, chapel of Senwosret I, pillar scenes 1 & 2, Amun offers life to king in red crown and in white crown	1	cultic	Temple	Senwosret I
d.10	Lacau and Chevrier 1969: pl. 19	Karnak, chapel of Senwosret I, pillar scene 16, Amun offers life and stability to king in red crown	3a	cultic	Temple	Senwosret I
d.11	Lacau and Chevrier 1969: pl. 20	Karnak, chapel of Senwosret I, pillar scene 17, king wearing double crown offers milk to Min	4 * royal	cultic	Temple	Senwosret I
d.12	Lacau and Chevrier 1969: pl. 23	Karnak, chapel of Senwosret I, pillar scene 23, king wearing cap offers lettuce to Min	2b *cultic	cultic	Temple	Senwosret I
d.13	Lacau and Chevrier 1969:	Karnak, chapel of Senwosret I, pillar scene	2a	cultic	Temple	Senwosret I

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Chart # 4

nb irt-ḫt (d references)

ref no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
	pl. 25	28, king wearing double crown is led before Amun by Re				
d.14	Lacau and Chevrier 1969: pl. 28	Karnak, chapel of Senwosret I, pillar scene 3', king wearing double crown is led before Amun by Rehorakhty, Heb Sed mentioned	4	cultic	Temple	Senwosret I
d.15	Lacau and Chevrier 1969: pl. 28	Karnak, chapel of Senwosret I, pillar scene 4', king wearing red crown is led before Min-Amun	1	cultic	Temple	Senwosret I
d.16	Lacau and Chevrier 1969: pl. 30	Karnak, chapel of Senwosret I, pillar scene 9', king wearing double crown presents offerings and standards to Min-Amun	4	cultic	Temple	Senwosret I
d.17	Lacau and Chevrier 1969: pl. 31	Karnak, chapel of Senwosret I, pillar scene 8', king wearing white	1	cultic	Temple	Senwosret I

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Chart # 4
nb irt-ḫt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
		crown offers standards to Min-Amun				
d.18	Lacau and Chevrier 1969: pl. 31	Karnak, chapel of Senwosret I, pillar scene 10′, king wearing white crown offers standards to Min-Amun	2a * royal	cultic	Temple	Senwosret I
d.19	Lacau and Chevrier 1969: pl. 32	Karnak, chapel of Senwosret I, pillar scenes 11′ & 12′, king wearing cap offers nw jars to Min-Amun	4	cultic	Temple	Senwosret I
d.20	Lacau and Chevrier 1969: pl. 35	Karnak, chapel of Senwosret I, pillar scene 18′, king wearing cap offers staves to Min-Amun	4	cultic	Temple	Senwosret I
d.21	Lacau and Chevrier 1969: pl. 38	Karnak, chapel of Senwosret I, pillar scene 23′, king wearing cap kneels presenting nw jars to Min-Amun	2b * royal	cultic	Temple	Senwosret I
d.22	Lacau and	Karnak, chapel of	3b	cultic	Temple	Senwosret I

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Chart # 4

nb irt-ḫt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
	Chevrier 1969: pl. 39	Senwosret I, pillar scene 25′, king wearing cap embraces Min-Amun				
d.23	Lacau and Chevrier 1969: pl. 40	Karnak, chapel of Senwosret I, pillar scene 28′, king wearing double crown with Ka presents oar ?	4	cultic	Temple	Senwosret I
d.24	Lacau and Chevrier 1966: 35b	Karnak, chapel of Senwosret I, architrave	3b	cultic	Temple	Senwosret I
d.25	Bochi 1994: 60	relief block from temple of Medamoud with heb-sed scene; written in full before face of king on red crown side and on white crown side	3a	royal	Temple	Senwosret III
d.26	Habachi 1954: 451	Tell ed-Dab`a, lintel of monumental doorway	3b * royal, building	royal building	Royal	Senwosret III
d.27	Simpson 1995: fig. 9	lintel from Abydos	2a	cultic	Funerary temple	Amenemhet III
d.28	Gardiner & Peet 1952: Pl. X, #23	stele at mining site of Magharah, scene of king	2b * royal	cultic	Foreign stele	Amenemhet III

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Chart # 4

nb irt-ḥt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
		receiving djed pillar from Thoth and Hathor				
d.29	Gardiner & Peet 1952: Pl. XVIII, #56	stele at entry to mine at Serabit el-Khadem, scene of king receiving ankh from Hathor	2b * royal	royal cultic	Foreign stele	Amenemhet III
d.30	Gardiner & Peet 1952: Pl. XXXVI, #104	stele from Serabit el-Khadem, unknown provenance at site	2b * royal; followed by description of official's expectation of his reception at end of mining expedition	royal	Foreign stele	Amenemhet III year 27
d.31	Gardiner & Peet 1952: Pl. XLIVA, #113	stele from Serabit el-Khadem, unknown provenance at site, scene of king on throne with fanbearer	3b * royal	royal	Foreign stele	Amenemhet III
d.32	Donadoni 1947: 339.El8	Medinet Maadi temple, vestibule, west wall, with scene of purification	2a *cultic	cultic	Temple	Amenemhet III
d.33	Donadoni 1947:	Medinet Maadi temple,	2a	cultic	Temple	Amenemhet III

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Chart # 4

nb irt-ḥt (d references)

ref no:	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
	343.Gl1	vestibule-sanctuary door, outer west, king with Renenutet	*cultic			
d.34	Donadoni 1947: 350.Pl1	Medinet Maadi temple, vestibule-sanctuary door, inner west	2a *cultic	cultic	Temple	Amenemhet III
d.35	Donadoni 1947: 506.Rl3	Medinet Maadi temple, sanctuary west side, south wall, offering scene to Renenutet	2a * royal, cultic	cultic	Temple	Amenemhet III
d.36	Donadoni 1947: 510.Ul6	Medinet Maadi temple, sanctuary west wall, offering scene to Sobek	2a	cultic	Temple	Amenemhet III
d.37	Donadoni 1947: 511.Xl3	Medinet Maadi temple, west shrine, west wall	2a *cultic, military	cultic	Temple	Amenemhet III
d.38	Donadoni 1947: 513.Xl6	Medinet Maadi temple, west shrine, east wall, mentions Sed festival	2a * royal, cultic	cultic	Temple	Amenemhet III
d.39	Donadoni 1947: 515.Yl3	Medinet Maadi temple, centre shrine, west wall	2a *cultic	cultic	Temple	Amenemhet III
d.40	Donadoni 1947: 516.Yl3	Medinet Maadi temple, centre shrine, east wall, mentions Sed festival	2a * royal, cultic	cultic	Temple	Amenemhet III

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Chart # 4
nb irt-ḫt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
d.41	Donadoni 1947: 519.Wl5	Medinet Maadi temple, east shrine, west wall	2a *cultic, military	cultic	Temple	Amenemhet III
d.42	Donadoni 1947: 520.Wl2	Medinet Maadi temple, east shrine, east wall	2a *cultic	cultic	Temple	Amenemhet III
d.43	Donadoni 1947: 521.Wl2	Medinet Maadi temple, east shrine, back wall	2a *cultic	cultic	Temple	Amenemhet III
d.44	Donadoni 1947: 522.Zl1	Medinet Maadi temple, jamb between west and centre shrines	2a *cultic	cultic	Temple	Amenemhet III
d.45	Donadoni 1947: 521.Zl2	Medinet Maadi temple, jamb between centre and east shrines	2a *cultic	cultic	Temple	Amenemhet III
d.46	Donadoni 1947: 343.Hl1	Medinet Maadi temple, vestibule-sanctuary door inscription, outer east, king with Sobek	2a *cultic	cultic	Temple	Amenemhet IV
d.47	Donadoni 1947: 349.Ol2	Medinet Maadi temple, west door jamb between sanctuary and vestibule	2a *cultic, building	cultic	Temple	Amenemhet IV
d.48	Donadoni 1947: 351.Ql1	Medinet Maadi temple, vestibule-sanctuary door, inner east	2a *cultic	cultic	Temple	Amenemhet IV
d.49	Donadoni 1947:	Medinet Maadi temple,	2a	cultic	Temple	Amenemhet IV

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Chart # 4
nb ỉrt-ḫt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
	352.Rl5	vestibule-sanctuary door, inner architrave, king offers to Sobek	* cultic			
d.50	Donadoni 1947: 509.Tl3	Medinet Maadi temple, sanctuary east side, south wall, offering scene to Renenutet, mentions Sed festival	2a * royal, cultic	cultic	Temple	Amenemhet IV
d.51	Donadoni 1947: 522.Zl3	Medinet Maadi temple, jamb of far west shrine, appears twice	2a * cultic	cultic	Temple	Amenemhet IV
d.52	Donadoni 1947: 523.Zl4	Medinet Maadi temple, jamb of far east shrine	2a * royal, cultic; related to nb t3wy	cultic	Temple	Amenemhet IV
d.53	Valloggia 1969: 121	plaque in the form of a pylon	2a * royal	royal cultic?	Stele	Amenemhet IV
d.54	Habachi 1954: 459	Statue from Tell ed-Dab`a of queen on throne	2a * royal, cultic	royal? cultic	Statue	Sobeknefru
d.55	Habachi 1954: 460	Statue from Tell ed-Dab`a of queen on throne	2a * cultic	cultic	Statue	Sobeknefru
d.56	Habachi 1954: 460	Statue from Tell ed-Dab`a of queen on throne	2a	royal?	Statue	Sobeknefru

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Chart # 4

nb irt-ḫt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
d.57	Habachi 1954: 460	Statue from Tell ed-Dab`a of king on throne	2b * royal	royal	Statue	Harnedjheritef
d. 58	Habachi 1954: 461	Inscribed block from Asyut, part of wall of chapel, scene of king offering to god	2a *cultic	cultic	Temple	Harnedjheritef
d.59	Simpson 1974: ANOC 58.1	Stele from Abydos	2b * royal	royal	Stele	Khendjer
d.60	Petrie 1885: pl. III, 16	Granite seated statue	2a * royal	royal	Statue	Sobekhotep IV
d.61	Bourriau 1988: fig. 58	Stele of king with Wepwawet	2a * royal	cultic	Stele	Wepwawetemsaf
d.62	Petrie 1896: pl. 6.3	fragments of a monument from Koptos, over Min	4	cultic	Temple	Intef V (?)
d.63	Urk IV: 13. 14	inscription on spearhead	2a * royal, military	military	Royal	Kamose
d.64	Urk IV: 92. 8	Karnak pylon	2b * royal, building	royal building	Temple	Thutmoses I
d.65	Urk IV: 144. 15	Heliopolis block, king with god Re	2b * royal	cultic	Temple	Thutmoses II
d.66	Urk IV: 246. 11	Hatshepsut throne story Deir el-Bahri	1 * feminine form	royal	Funerary temple	Hatshepsut

† Key: 1 – isolated or not in titulary; 2 – before throne name, a – directly, b – indirectly; 3 – before personal name, a – directly, b – indirectly; 4 – non-specific position in epithet string; * - special notes related to particular elements of context

Chart # 4

nb irt-ḥt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
d.67	Urk IV: 261. 15	Hatshepsut throne story Deir el-Bahri, list of names	2b * royal; feminine form; related to goddess of diadems	royal	Funerary temple	Hatshepsut
d.68	Urk IV: 283. 11	Karnak pylon scene related to crowning and sed festival	2a * royal, cultic	cultic	Temple	Hatshepsut
d.69	Urk IV: 294. 9	Amun temple at Deir el-Bahri	2a * royal, cultic; feminine form	cultic	Funerary temple	Hatshepsut
d.70	Urk IV: 295. 4	door of granite at Amun temple at Deir el-Bahri	2a * royal, building	cultic building	Funerary temple	Hatshepsut
d.71	Urk IV: 296. 3	ebony shrine of Amun temple at Deir el-Bahri	2b * royal, related to "lord of diadems"	royal cultic	Funerary temple	Hatshepsut
d.72	Urk IV: 313. 13	inscription of Hatshepsut in the tomb of Thutmoses I	2a * royal, building	building funerary	Tomb	Hatshepsut
d.73	Urk IV: 313. 15	inscription of Hatshepsut naming Thutmoses I in his tomb	2a * royal	funerary	Tomb	Hatshepsut

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Chart # 4
nb irt-ḥt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
d.74	Urk IV: 360. 10	obelisk of Hatshepsut at Karnak overwritten by Thutmoses III	2a * royal; written over Hatshepsut's title "lord of the two lands"	cultic building	Obelisk	Thutmoses III
d.75	Urk IV: 420. 1-2	funerary stele of Djehuty, Thebes, heading naming both kings (Northampton Stele)	2a	royal	Stele	Hatshepsut and Thutmoses III
d.76	Urk IV: 464. 7-8	statue of Inebny	2a * royal; Hatshepsut has feminized titles and has "mistress of the two lands" instead.	royal	Statue	Hatshepsut and Thutmoses III
d.77	Urk IV: 194. 4	Semna	2a * royal, building; directly precedes throne name Khakhaure	cultic building	Foreign temple	Thutmoses III

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Chart # 4

nb irt-ḫt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
			(Senwosret III) and serekh containing words ḫprw nṯr			
d.78	Urk IV: 526. 4	obelisk inscription	2a * royal, building	cultic building	Obelisk	Thutmoses III
d.79	Urk IV: 548. 12 (Gardiner & Peet 1952: Pl. LX, #192)	temple of Serabit el-Khadem, entrance to Hanafiyah, left doorjamb	2a * royal	cultic	Foreign temple	Thutmoses III
d.80	Gardiner & Peet 1952: PL. LX, #192	temple of Serabit el-Khadem, entrance to Hanafiyah, right doorjamb	3a * royal	cultic	Foreign temple	Thutmoses III
d.81	Urk IV: 608. 12 -610. 6	Karnak offering list of kings - list of those with nb irt ḫt given beside:	--good god, lord of a joyful heart, lord of performing rites (Snefru) --good god, lord of the two lands, king of Upper and Lower	royal cultic	Temple	Thutmoses III

† Key: 1 - isolated or not in titulary; 2 - before throne name, a - directly, b - indirectly; 3 - before personal name, a - directly, b - indirectly; 4 - non-specific position in epithet string; * - special notes related to particular elements of context

Chart # 4

nb irt-ḫt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
			Egypt, lord of performing rites (Teti-Sare) --king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of performing rites (Sehetepibre) {Amenemhet I} --good god, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of performing rites (Maakherure) {Senwosret III} --king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of performing rites (Sobeknefrure) {queen Sobeknefru?}			

† Key: 1 - isolated or not in titulary; 2 - before throne name, a - directly, b - indirectly; 3 - before personal name, a - directly, b - indirectly; 4 - non-specific position in epithet string; * - special notes related to particular elements of context

Chart # 4

nb irt-ḥt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
			--good god, lord of performing rites (Kheperkare) {Senwosret I} --good god, lord of performing rites (Senakhtenre) {Tao I} --king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of performing rites, (Senwosre) --good god, lord of performing rites, (Nebkheperre) {Intef VII} --good god, lord of the two lands, king of Upper			

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Chart # 4

nb irt-ḫt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
			and Lower Egypt, lord of performing rites (Nebhetepre) {Mentuhotep I}? --good god, lord of the two lands, lord of performing rites (Seneferkare) {?} --good god, lord of the two lands, lord of performing rites (re[////]) --king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of performing rites (Khaneferre) {Sobekhotep IV} --king of Upper and Lower			

† Key: 1 - isolated or not in titulary; 2 - before throne name, a - directly, b - indirectly; 3 - before personal name, a - directly, b - indirectly; 4 - non-specific position in epithet string; * - special notes related to particular elements of context

Chart # 4

nb irt-ḫt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
			Egypt, lord of performing rites (Mersekhemre) --king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of performing rites (Senefer///re) --king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of performing rites (Khaankhre) --king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of performing rites (Sekenre) {Tao II?} --king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of performing rites			

† Key: 1 - isolated or not in titulary; 2 - before throne name, a - directly, b - indirectly; 3 - before personal name, a - directly, b - indirectly; 4 - non-specific position in epithet string; * - special notes related to particular elements of context

Chart # 4

nb irt-ḫt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
			(Khutawyre) {Wegaf} --king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of performing rites (Sekhemwadjkh are) --good god, lord of the two lands, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of performing rites (Re/////) --good god, lord of the two lands, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of performing rites (Senefer////re) --good god, lord			

† Key: 1 - isolated or not in titulary; 2 - before throne name, a - directly, b - indirectly; 3 - before personal name, a - directly, b - indirectly; 4 - non-specific position in epithet string; * - special notes related to particular elements of context

Chart # 4
nb irt-ḫt (d references)

ref no	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
			of the two lands, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of performing rites, (Sekhemsertawy re) {several restorations possible)			
d.82	Urk IV: 657. 7	Annals of Thutmoses III, describing him in battle and comparing him to war god	1 * military	military	Temple	Thutmoses III
d.83	Urk IV: 684. 5	Annals of Thutmoses III, above dedication to Amun	2a * royal	cultic military	Temple	Thutmoses III
d.84	Urk IV: 815. 14	temple of Semna, entry to pillared hall	2a * royal, building	cultic building	Foreign temple	Thutmoses III
d.85	Urk IV: 831. 1	temple at Heliopolis, doorjamb inscription	2a * royal	cultic	Temple	Thutmoses III

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Chart # 4

nb ỉrt-ḫt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
d.86	Urk IV: 832. 8	temple at Heliopolis, commemorative text (?) over scene of king making offerings to sun god	2a * royal	cultic	Temple	Thutmoses III
d.87	Urk IV: 841. 16	inscription in Karnak, column of Thutmoses III	1 *cultic	cultic	Temple	Thutmoses III
d.88	Urk IV: 844. 8	Karnak, near Hatshepsut obelisk	2a * royal	cultic	Temple	Thutmoses III
d.89	Urk IV: 856. 5	Akhmenu temple architraves (inner inscriptions) other architraves alternate ḏsr-ḫʿw (outer) and "strong in conquering the nine bows (middle)	2b * royal, military	royal cultic military	Temple	Thutmoses III
d.90	Urk IV: 881. 7	Medinet Habu, southwest architraves	2b * royal	cultic	Temple	Thutmoses III
d.91	Urk IV: 885. 5	inscription on alabaster vase, furnishings from temple north of Ramesseum, Menkheperre-offers life	2a	cultic	Funerary temple	Thutmoses III

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Chart # 4
nb irt-ḫt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
d.92	Urk IV: 933. 17	inscription on gold object in scene of reception of gold in tomb of Menkheperresoneb	2a * royal	royal	Tomb	Thutmoses III
d.93	Urk IV: 993. 17	biographical inscription on statue of Menkheperresoneb	1 * royal; "the lord of performing rites taught me inasmuch as he was efficient in (his lord's) heart, my lord praising me concerning my efficiency"	royal	Statue	Thutmoses III
d.94	Urk IV: 1243. 16	stele at Montu temple at Armant	2a	cultic	Stele	Thutmoses III
d.95	Urk IV: 1244. 12	stele at temple of Montu, Armant	2a * royal	cultic	Stele	Thutmoses III
d.96	JEA 38 (1952): pl II (Urk IV: 1252. 3)	margins of text of Thutmoses III in the festival hall at Karnak describing institution of	2a * royal, cultic	royal cultic	Temple	Thutmoses III (year 23)

† Key: 1 - isolated or not in titulary; 2 - before throne name, a - directly, b - indirectly; 3 - before personal name, a - directly, b - indirectly; 4 - non-specific position in epithet string; * - special notes related to particular elements of context

Chart # 4
nb ỉrt-ḫt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
		new rites and festivals				
d.97	Urk IV: 1284. 4	small sphinx stele	2a * royal	military	Stele	Amenhotep II
d.98	Urk IV: 1284. 17	small sphinx stele, broken context	4 * royal	military	Stele	Amenhotep II
d.99	Urk IV: 1289. 7	stele from Amada	2b * royal, military	military foreign	Foreign stele	Amenhotep II
d.100	Urk IV: 1300. 3	titulary label over king on stele from Memphis, king shown with Amun	2a * royal	cultic	Stele	Amenhotep II
d.101	Urk IV: 1300. 10	titulary label over king on stele from Memphis, king shown with Ptah	2a * royal	cultic	Stele	Amenhotep II
d.102	Urk IV: 1316. 1	Karnak stele	4 * royal, military	cultic military	Stele	Amenhotep II
d.103	Urk IV: 1316. 8	titulary on stele from Karnak, king offers to Amun	2a * royal	cultic	Stele	Amenhotep II
d.104	Urk IV: 1333. 16	near head-smiting scene on 8th pylon at Karnak	4 * military	military	Temple	Amenhotep II
d.105	Urk IV: 1351. 13	Amada temple, inner right side of door	2b * royal	cultic	Foreign temple	Amenhotep II
d.106	Urk IV: 1351. 17	Amada temple, inner left	2b	cultic	Foreign	Amenhotep II

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Chart # 4
nb irt-ḫt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
		side of door	* royal, parallel to cultic		temple	
d.107	Urk IV: 1352. 8	kneeling statue with offering table from Karnak, base inscription	2b * royal	cultic	Statue	Amenhotep II
d.108	Urk IV: 1352. 10	kneeling statue with offering table from Karnak, table inscription	2a * royal, military	cultic military	Statue	Amenhotep II
d.109	Urk IV: 1352. 19	seated statue from Karnak, right inscription	2a * royal	cultic	Statue	Amenhotep II
d.110	Urk IV: 1353. 15	statue of unknown provenience, right inscription	2a * royal	royal?	Statue	Amenhotep II
d.111	Urk IV: 1356. 4	block from Elephantine	2a * royal	cultic?	Temple?	Amenhotep II
d.112	Urk IV: 1361. 3	Elephantine (?)	2a * royal	cultic?	Temple?	Amenhotep II
d.113	Urk IV: 1364. 2	grave item, wooden chapel piece	2b * royal, cultic	funerary	Tomb	Amenhotep II
d.114	Urk IV: 1364. 14-16	mummy bandages	2b * royal, building; appears in both Amenhotep II	building funerary	Tomb	Amenhotep II

† Key: 1 - isolated or not in titulary; 2 - before throne name, a - directly, b - indirectly; 3 - before personal name, a - directly, b - indirectly; 4 - non-specific position in epithet string; * - special notes related to particular elements of context

Chart # 4
nb irt-ḫt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
			and Thutmoses III titularies			
d.116	Urk IV: 1392. 1	statue of king in scene of Kenamun giving gifts for New Years	2a * royal	royal	Tomb	Amenhotep II
d.117	Urk IV: 1407. 7	statue of Kenamun from Mut temple	2a * royal	cultic	Statue	Amenhotep II
d.118	Urk IV: 1476. 16	TT #56, titulary in tomb of Userhet	2a	funerary?	Tomb	Amenhotep II
d.119	Urk IV: 1550. 2	Lateran obelisk, south side	2a * royal	cultic building	Obelisk	Thutmoses IV
d.120	Urk IV: 1555. 12	stele from Konosso, king with queen, head smiting scene, label over king	2b * royal, military	military	Foreign stele	Thutmoses IV (note Helck's correction)
d.121	Urk IV: 1559. 7-8	scene of king battling Syrians on chariot from tomb of Thutmoses IV, right side	2b * royal, military	military	Tomb	Thutmoses IV
d.122	Urk IV: 1559. 16	scene of king battling Syrians on chariot from tomb of Thutmoses IV, left side	3b * royal, military	military	Tomb	Thutmoses IV
d.123	Urk IV: 1561. 14	statue fragments from	2b	building	Statue	Thutmoses IV

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Chart # 4
nb irt-ḫt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
		Karnak	* building			
d.124	Urk IV: 1562. 20	stele showing king offering to gods	2a * royal	cultic	Stele	Thutmoses IV
d.125	Dunham 1958: pl. 11	side panel of chair from tomb of Thutmoses IV, scene of king as human-headed sphinx trampling enemies	1	military	Tomb	Thutmoses IV
d.126	Hayes 1959: fig 84, p.153	side panel of chair from tomb of Thutmoses IV, scene of king as human-headed sphinx trampling enemies	1	military	Tomb	Thutmoses IV
d.127	Carter & Newberry 1904: pl. VIII	handle of a fan, context broken	2b	royal	Tomb	Thutmoses IV
d.128	Carter & Newberry 1904: pl. XXV	faience model papyrus roll	2a	funerary	Tomb	Thutmoses IV
d.129	Urk IV: 1566. 7	Temple of Amada, hypostyle hall, on north side of first pillar on left	2a * royal, military	royal cultic military foreign	Foreign temple	Thutmoses IV

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Chart # 4

nb irt-ḥt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
d.130	Urk IV: 1567. 4	Temple of Amada, hypostyle hall, on west side of second pillar on right	2a * royal, military; related to "lord of diadems"	royal cultic foreign	Foreign temple	Thutmoses IV
d.131	Urk IV: 1567. 10	Temple of Amada, hypostyle hall, on west side of third pillar on left	3a * royal; related to "lord of diadems"	royal cultic	Foreign temple	Thutmoses IV
d.132	Urk IV: 1612. 10-11	stele of Neferhet, king worships goddess	2a * royal, military	royal cultic foreign	Stele	Thutmoses IV
d.133	Urk IV: 1637. 11	Boundary stele, Wadi Halfa, king offers to god	2a	cultic	Foreign stele	Thutmoses IV
d.134	Urk IV: 1662. 5	Konosso stele, Amun offers southern regions to king	2a * royal	military foreign	Foreign stele	Amenhotep III
d.135	Urk IV: 1669. 15-18	Montu temple dedication inscription, south side	2a * royal, military, cultic, building	royal cultic military foreign building	Temple	Amenhotep III
d.136	Urk IV: 1681. 6	Tura inscription	2a * royal; related	royal building	Royal	Amenhotep III

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Chart # 4

nb irt-ḥt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
			to "lord of diadems"			
d.137	Urk IV: 1683. n.b	Luxor architraves, variant, sometimes included	2a * royal	cultic	Temple	Amenhotep III
d.138	Urk IV: 1688. 1	Luxor architraves	2a * royal	cultic	Temple	Amenhotep III
d.139	Urk IV: 1688. 9	Luxor architraves	2b * royal; related to "lord of diadems"	royal cultic	Temple	Amenhotep III
d.140	Urk IV: 1692. 14	Luxor architraves	2a * royal	cultic	Temple	Amenhotep III
d.141	Urk IV: 1694. 9	Luxor architraves	2b * royal, military; related to "lord of diadems"	royal cultic military	Temple	Amenhotep III
d.142	Urk IV: 1702. 2	Luxor architraves	2b * royal	royal cultic	Temple	Amenhotep III
d.143	Urk IV: 1703. 6	Luxor architraves	2b * royal	cultic	Temple	Amenhotep III
d.144	Urk IV: 1709. 11	Sockel inscriptions at	2a	royal	Temple	Amenhotep III

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Chart # 4

nb irt-ḫt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
		Luxor	* royal; related to "lord of diadems"	cultic		
d.145	Urk IV: 1738. 8	Commemorative scarab, Mitanni series	2a * royal	royal foreign	Royal	Amenhotep III
d.146	Urk IV: 1746. 5	Base inscription of lion	2a * royal; related to "lord of diadems"	royal military	Statue	Amenhotep III
d.147	Urk IV: 1751. 3	Gebel Barkal, inscription on ram	2a * royal	cultic	Foreign Statue	Amenhotep III
d.148	Urk IV: 1757. 15	Broken sculpture, throne	2a	royal?	Statue	Amenhotep III
d.149	Urk IV: 1759. 8	Statue of king from Karnak, left side	2a * royal	cultic	Statue	Amenhotep III
d.150	Urk IV: 1760. 4	Offering table from palace of Malkata	2b * royal; related to "lord of diadems"	royal cultic	Royal	Amenhotep III
d.151	Urk IV: 1774. 3	Ebony stick	2b * royal	royal	Royal	Amenhotep III
d.152	Urk IV: 1858. 10	In tomb of Kheruef, painted on king's baldachin	2a * royal	royal	Tomb	Amenhotep III

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Chart # 4
nb irt-ḫt (d references)

ref. no	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
d.153	Urk IV: 1866. 1	Tomb of Kheruef, painted on king's baldachin, carried in Sed-festival	2a * royal, military	royal foreign	Tomb	Amenhotep III
d.154	Urk IV: 1866. 6	Tomb of Kheruef, over king in his baldachin, carried in Sed-festival	2a * royal; related to "endowed with the double crown"	royal	Tomb	Amenhotep III
d.155	Urk IV: 1877. 6	TT # 226, in royal titulary over scene of the presentation of jewellery to king and his mother	2a * royal, building	royal building	Tomb	Amenhotep III
d.156	Urk IV: 2032. 11	Restoration stele at Karnak	2b * royal, military; related to "lord of diadems"	royal military foreign	Stele	Tutankhamun
d.157	Urk IV: 2033. 5	stele near 7th Pylon at Karnak	2a * royal, military	royal cultic foreign	Stele	Tutankhamun
d.158	Urk IV: 2048. 13	statue of Amun and Amunet at Karnak	2a * royal; related to "lord of	royal cultic	Statue	Tutankhamun

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Chart # 4
nb irt-ḫt (d references)

ref no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
			diadems"			
d.159	Urk IV: 2048. 16	statue of Amun and Amunet at Karnak	2a * royal; related to "lord of diadems"	royal cultic	Statue	Tutankhamun
d.160	Macadam 1955: pl. IIc	Kawa temple A, pronaos, n. wall, w. of door over scene of Amun offering life to king	2a * royal	cultic	Foreign temple	Tutankhamun
d.161	Macadam 1955: pl. IId	Kawa temple A, pronaos, w. wall, king censes offering table before gods	2b * royal, military	royal cultic military foreign	Foreign temple	Tutankhamun
d.162	Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 12.32	chest from KV#62	2b * royal	funerary	Tomb	Tutankhamun
d.163	Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 16.40	alabaster chest from KV#62	2a * royal, military, building; related to "lord of diadems"	royal military building	Tomb	Tutankhamun
d.164	Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 21.48f	bow from KV#62	2a * royal, military; related to "lord	royal military	Tomb	Tutankhamun

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Chart # 4
nb irt-ḫt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
			of diadems"			
d.165	Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 21.48g (1)	bow from KV#62	2b * royal, military	royal military foreign	Tomb	Tutankhamun
d.166	Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 21.48g (2)	bow from KV#62	2b * royal, military; related to "lord of diadems"	royal military	Tomb	Tutankhamun
d.167	Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 22.48j	bow from KV#62	2a * royal, military; related to "who tramples all lands"	royal military foreign	Tomb	Tutankhamun
d.168	Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 25.50jj	staff from KV#62	2a	royal	Tomb	Tutankhamun
d.169	Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 31.77b	bow from KV#62	2b * royal, military; related to "lord of diadems"	royal military foreign	Tomb	Tutankhamun
d.170	Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 37.98	staff from KV#62	2a * royal; related to "lord of diadems"	royal	Tomb	Tutankhamun

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Chart # 4
nb irt-ḫt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
d.171	Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 45.108a	pedestal for statue from KV#62	2a * royal	funerary	Tomb	Tutankhamun
d.172	Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 50.122aa	chariot from KV#62, gold leaf sheet with scene of king striking enemy	2a * royal, cultic	cultic military	Tomb	Tutankhamun
d.173	Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 50.122ee	chariot from KV#62, gold leaf sheet with scene of king as sphinx trampling enemies	2a * royal, military	military foreign	Tomb	Tutankhamun
d.174	Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 61.137	Hippopotamus-headed funerary bier from KV#62	2b *cultic	funerary	Tomb	Tutankhamun
d.175	Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 62.150	wooden strips from a chariot from KV#62	2a * royal; related to "lord of diadems"	royal military	Tomb	Tutankhamun
d.176	Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 62.173	alabaster vase (lamp) from KV#62	2a * royal; related to "lord of diadems"	royal	Tomb	Tutankhamun
d.177	Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 99.266F	canopic shrine baldachin from KV#62	2a * royal; related to "lord of	royal funerary	Tomb	Tutankhamun

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Chart # 4

nb irt-ḫt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
			diadems"			
d.178	Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 105.266b	alabaster canopic shrine from KV#62	2b * royal	funerary	Tomb	Tutankhamun
d.179	Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 119.269A	cartouche-form box from KV#62 (may have contained royal regalia)	2a * royal, military; related to "lord of diadems"	royal military foreign	Tomb	Tutankhamun
d.180	Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 119.269B	cartouche-form box from KV#62	2a * royal, building; related to "lord of diadems"	royal building	Tomb	Tutankhamun
d.181	Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 121.269b, frontA	mirror case from KV#62	2a * royal	funerary?	Tomb	Tutankhamun
d.182	Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 121.269b, frontC	mirror case from KV#62	2b * royal	funerary?	Tomb	Tutankhamun
d.183	Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 121.269b, rearC	mirror case from KV#62	2b * royal; related to "lord of diadems"	royal funerary?	Tomb	Tutankhamun
d.184	Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 123.269m	scarab bracelet from KV#62	2a * royal	royal?	Tomb	Tutankhamun

† Key: 1 - isolated or not in titulary; 2 - before throne name, a - directly, b - indirectly; 3 - before personal name, a - directly, b - indirectly; 4 - non-specific position in epithet string; * - special notes related to particular elements of context

Chart # 4

nb ỉrt-ḫt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
d.185	Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 125.271B top	segmented box from KV#62	2a * royal, military; related to "lord of all lands"	royal foreign	Tomb	Tutankhamun
d.186	Beinlich & Saleh1989: 125.271B middle	segmented box from KV#62	2a * royal; related to "lord of diadems"	royal military foreign	Tomb	Tutankhamun
d.187	Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 142.319g	shabti from KV#62	2a * royal	funerary	Tomb	Tutankhamun
d.188	Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 146.323c	shabti from KV#62	2a *cultic	funerary	Tomb	Tutankhamun
d.189	Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 147.323h?	shabti from KV#62	2a * royal; related to "lord of diadems"	royal funerary	Tomb	Tutankhamun
d.190	Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 147.323i	shabti from KV#62	2a * royal	funerary	Tomb	Tutankhamun
d.191	Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 148.324j	shabti from KV#62	2a * royal; related to "lord of diadems"	royal funerary	Tomb	Tutankhamun
d.192	Beinlich & Saleh	shabti from KV#62	2a	royal	Tomb	Tutankhamun

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Chart # 4

nb irt-ḥt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
	1989: 149.324k		* royal; related to "lord of diadems"	funerary		
d.193	Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 152.326l?	shabti from KV#62	2a	funerary	Tomb	Tutankhamun
d.194	Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 168.335A	bow case from KV#62	2a * royal; related to "lord of diadems"	royal military	Tomb	Tutankhamun
d.195	Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 168.335B	bow case from KV#62	2a * royal, cultic; related to "lord of diadems"	royal military	Tomb	Tutankhamun
d.196	Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 179.393	gameboard case from KV#62	2a * royal, military; related to "lord of diadems"	royal foreign	Tomb	Tutankhamun
d.197	Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 180.403(1 left bottom)	chest on legs from KV#62	2b * royal	royal	Tomb	Tutankhamun
d.198	Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 180.403(1 right top)	chest on legs from KV#62	2b * royal, military; related to "lord	royal foreign	Tomb	Tutankhamun

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Chart # 4
nb ỉrt-ḫt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
			of diadems" in position 2a, parallel to epithet, "lord of all lands"			
d.199	Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 180.403(1 right bottom)	chest on legs from KV#62	2b * royal; related to "lord of diadems" in position 2a	royal	Tomb	Tutankhamun
d.200	Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 186.418b?	shabti from KV#62	2a * royal	funerary	Tomb	Tutankhamun
d.201	Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 186.418b	shabti from KV#62	2a * royal; related to "lord of diadems"	royal funerary	Tomb	Tutankhamun
d.202	Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 192.487	shrine from KV#62	2a * royal, military; related to "lord of all lands"	foreign funerary	Tomb	Tutankhamun
d.203	Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 197.512a? (60782)	shabti from KV#62	2a * royal; related to "lord of	royal funerary	Tomb	Tutankhamun

† Key: 1 - isolated or not in titulary; 2 - before throne name, a - directly, b - indirectly; 3 - before personal name, a - directly, b - indirectly; 4 - non-specific position in epithet string; * - special notes related to particular elements of context

Chart # 4
nb irt-ḫt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
			diadems"			
d.204	Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 197.512a (60784)	shabti from KV#62	2a * royal; related to "lord of diadems"	royal funerary	Tomb	Tutankhamun
d.205	Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 197.512a? (60786)	shabti from KV#62	2a * royal	funerary	Tomb	Tutankhamun
d.206	Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 197.512a? (60787)	shabti from KV#62	2a * royal	funerary	Tomb	Tutankhamun
d.207	Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 197.512a (60788)	shabti from KV#62	2a * royal	funerary	Tomb	Tutankhamun
d.208	Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 200.517b (60781)	shabti from KV#62	2a * royal; related to "lord of diadems"	royal funerary	Tomb	Tutankhamun
d.209	Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 207.585	box (for toys?) from KV#62	2a * royal; related to "lord of diadems"	royal	Tomb	Tutankhamun
d.210	Beinlich & Saleh	box (for toys?) from	2b	royal	Tomb	Tutankhamun

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Chart # 4

nb irt-ḫt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
	1989: 208.585 interior right	KV#62	* royal, military; related to "lord of diadems"	military		
d.211	Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 208.585 interior left	box (for toys?) from KV#62	2b * royal, military; related to "lord of diadems"	royal military	Tomb	Tutankhamun
d.212	Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 208.585q	ivory bracelet with scenes of running animals from KV#62	2a * royal, military; related to "lord of diadems"	royal military foreign	Tomb	Tutankhamun
d.213	Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 209.585r	gameboard case from KV#62	2b * royal	royal	Tomb	Tutankhamun
d.214	Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 218.611a? (60914)	shabti from KV#62	2a * royal; related to "lord of diadems"	royal funerary	Tomb	Tutankhamun
d.215	Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 218.611b?	shabti from KV#62	2a *cultic	funerary	Tomb	Tutankhamun
d.216	Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 219.611b (60880)	shabti from KV#62	2a * royal, military; related to "lord of power"	military funerary	Tomb	Tutankhamun

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Chart # 4
nb irt-ḥt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
d.217	Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 1	scene of Ay opening the mouth for Tutankhamun in KV#62	2b * royal; parallel epithet for Tutankhamun is "lord of diadems"	funerary	Tomb	Tutankhamun (Ay)
d.218	Urk IV: 2107. 12	Stele of Ay from the funerary temple of Sahure	2b * royal	royal cultic	Stele	Ay
d.219	Urk IV: 2135. 19	Statue of Tutankhamun usurped by Ay and Horemheb, title may be original to Tutankhamun	2b * royal, military; parallel to epithet "ruler of the nine bows"	royal military foreign	Statue	Horemheb?
d.220	KRI I: 2.6	titulary on stele establishing sacred offerings in Buhen	2a * royal; related to "lord of diadems"	royal cultic foreign	Foreign stele	Ramesses I (Year 2)
d.221	KRI I: 4.15	titulary on loose block from Heliopolis with scene of Atum and king, context broken	2b	cultic	Temple	Ramesses I
d.222	KRI VII: 1.7	titulary in Karnak great	2a	cultic	Temple	Ramesses I

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Chart # 4

nb irt-ḥt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
		Hypostyle Hall over scene of RI libating to Ogdoad	* royal			
d.223	KRI I: 14.11	label near relief of king at Karnak describing campaign to Yenoam and Lebanon related to scene of king binding captives	4 * military	military foreign	Temple	Seti I
d.224	KRI I: 20.15	label near relief of king at Karnak describing campaign against Libyans related to scene of king in his chariot in battle	4 * military	military foreign	Temple	Seti I
d.225	KRI I: 21.11	label near relief of king at Karnak describing campaign against Libyans related to scene of king spearing a Libyan chief	4 * royal, military	military foreign	Temple	Seti I
d.226	KRI I: 23.12	label near relief of king at Karnak describing campaign against	2a * royal; related to "lord of	royal military foreign	Temple	Seti I

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Chart # 4
nb irt-ḫt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
		Libyans relates to scene of king offering prisoners and booty to Theban triad	diadems"			
d.227	KRI I: 26.5	label behind relief of king at Karnak showing triumph over enemies, behind scene of king with his ka	4 * military, cultic	cultic military foreign	Temple	Seti I
d.228	KRI I: 29.13	titulary on triumph scene at Karnak	2a * royal, military; related to "lord of diadems"	royal military foreign	Temple	Seti I
d.229	KRI I: 30.1	label above king at Karnak showing triumph over enemies, over scene of king with his ka	4 * military	military foreign	Temple	Seti I
d.230	KRI I: 36.4	label above king at Kanais temple showing triumph over enemies, related to scene of king trampling chiefs of all foreign countries	4 * military	royal military foreign	Foreign temple	Seti I

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Chart # 4
nb irt-ḫt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
d.231	KRI I: 38.2	titulary on stela instituting offerings to Min-Amun residing in Buhen	2a * royal, military; parallel to epithet "lord of all lands"	cultic military foreign	Foreign stele	Seti I (Year 1)
d.232	KRI I: 62.8	titulary on stela of mining expedition to Serabit el-Khadem, relates to offering scene and text of king triumphing over foreigners	2a * royal; related to "lord of diadems"	royal cultic military foreign	Foreign temple	Seti I (Year 8)
d.233	KRI I: 104.13	titulary on stela from Amarah West showing king slaying prisoners	3a * royal, military; related to "lord of the two lands"	military foreign	Foreign stele	Seti I
d.234	KRI I: 105. 9	titulary on monument worshipping royal ancestors from Qantara describing making of the monument	2a * royal; related to "lord of diadems"	royal building	Temple	Seti I
d.235	KRI I: 106.5+6	titulary on monument worshipping royal	2a * royal, military,	royal military	Temple	Seti I

† Key: 1 – isolated or not in titulary; 2 – before throne name, a – directly, b – indirectly; 3 – before personal name, a – directly, b – indirectly; 4 – non-specific position in epithet string; * - special notes related to particular elements of context

Chart # 4

nb irt-ḥt (d references)

ref no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
		ancestors from Qantara	building	building		
d.236	KRI I: 106. 9-10+11-12	titulary on monument worshipping royal ancestors from Qantara	2a * royal; related to "lord of diadems"	royal building	Temple	Seti I
d.237	KRI I: 107.12	titulary on restoration inscription on Seti I's monument from Qantara	2a * royal, building	royal building	Temple	Seti I
d.238	KRI I: 118. 16	titulary on obelisk from Heliopolis; text describes obelisk and temple	2b * royal, military; related to "lord of diadems"	royal cultic military	Obelisk	Seti I
d.239	KRI I: 141.5	titulary on Abydos temple ceiling dedications in hypostyle hall	2a * royal, building; related to "lord of diadems"	royal cultic building	Temple	Seti I
d.240	KRI I: 141.8	broken context -- titulary? on Abydos temple ceiling dedications in hypostyle hall	2a * building	cultic building	Temple	Seti I
d.241	KRI I: 142.4	same as above	3a * royal, cultic	cultic	Temple	Seti I
d.242	KRI I: 153.9+12	titulary on doorjambs of	2a	royal	Temple	Seti I

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Chart # 4

nb irt-ḥt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
		chapel of Amun at Abydos temple stating dedication to Amun	* royal, building; related to "lord of diadems"	cultic building		
d.243	KRI I: 202.13 (see addenda and corrigenda 414.6)	broken titulary on columns at Karnak in great Hypostyle hall, usurped by Ramesses II	2a * royal, military, building	cultic military foreign building	Temple	Seti I
d.244	KRI I: 203.2	name given in address to king by god thanking him for building the Karnak Hypostyle hall, usurped by Ramesses II	2a * royal, building	cultic building	Temple	Seti I
d.245	KRI I: 221.13	god addresses king inscription in vestibule of Ramesses I's suite at Qurneh temple of Seti I	4 * royal, military	cultic military	Funerary temple	Seti I
d.246	KRI I: 224.9+10	titulary on tomb KV#17, Hall E, rear wall, scene of shrine	2b * royal, cultic, military; related to "lord of diadems who seizes the white crown"	royal military foreign funerary	Tomb	Seti I

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Chart # 4
nb irt-ḫt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
d.247	KRI I: 228.12	titulary on Karnak Pylon VIII; part of renewal inscription	2b * royal, military, building	royal military building	Temple	Seti I
d.248	KRI I: 234.9	titulary on barque stand of Seth of Avaris	2b * royal, military; related to "lord of power"	royal military	Temple	Seti I
d.249	KRI I: 340.10	titulary on robe of Userhat, high priest of Tuthmoses I, on scene in his tomb (TT 51)	2b * royal, cultic	royal	Tomb	Seti I
d.250	KRI I: 340.14	same; broken	2b * royal, building; related to "lord of diadems"	royal building	Tomb	Seti I
d.251	KRI II: 575.2	Karnak, Great Hypostyle Hall, Valley Festival scenes, text above figure of Seti I	2a * royal, cultic	cultic	Temple	Seti I (inscribed during reign of R II)
d.252	KRI II: 134.2	label on scene of king in chariot during battle of Qadesh at Ramesseum	2b * royal, military; related to "lord of diadems"	royal military foreign	Funerary temple	Ramesses II

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Chart # 4

nb irt-ḫt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
d.253	KRI II: 146.10	label on scene at Karnak, pylon III, of king presenting spoils and captives to the Theban triad	4 * royal, military	royal cultic military foreign	Temple	Ramesses II
d.254	KRI II: 157.11	label on scene at Karnak, great hall, of king binding captives	2a * royal, military	military foreign	Temple	Ramesses II
d.255	KRI II: 160: 7	label behind scene at Karnak, great hall, of king before topographical list of conquered lands (west side)	4 * royal, cultic, military	cultic military foreign	Temple	Ramesses II
d.256	KRI II: 162.6	label on scene at Karnak, great hall, of king before topographical list of conquered lands (east side)	4? * royal, military; broken context	cultic military foreign	Temple	Ramesses II
d.257	KRI II: 167.14	triumph scene at Karnak	4 * military	military foreign	Temple	Ramesses II
d.258	KRI II: 199.15	head-smiting scene at Beit el-Wali	3a * royal, military;	military foreign	Foreign temple	Ramesses II

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Chart # 4

nb irt-ḫt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
			related to "lord of power"			
d.259	KRI II: 200.9	triumph scene at Gerf Husein	4? * military?: broken context	military foreign	Foreign temple	Ramesses II
d.260	KRI II: 201.8	base-line titulary on triumph scene on pylon at Wadi es-Sebua` temple	2a * royal; related to "lord of diadems"	royal military foreign	Foreign temple	Ramesses II
d.261	KRI II: 204.9	epithets behind king in triumph scene in first hall of Derr temple	4 * cultic, military	cultic military foreign	Foreign temple	Ramesses II
d.262	KRI II: 204.16	parallel scene to above	4? * royal, military? broken	military? foreign	Foreign temple	Ramesses II
d.263	KRI II: 205.10	epithets of king in triumph scene in north gate at Abu Simbel	4 * military	royal military foreign	Foreign temple	Ramesses II
d.264	KRI II: 207.2	epithets under scene of king slaying a Libyan chief in main hall of Abu Simbel, south wall	3a * nb nḫt irt-ḫt (lord of victory who performs rituals); royal,	royal military foreign	Foreign temple	Ramesses II

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Chart # 4

nb irt-ḥt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
			military; related to "lord of the two lands"			
d.265	KRI II: 207.3	same, continues above	4 * royal, military	royal military foreign	Foreign temple	Ramesses II
d.266	KRI II: 208.11	same, but on north wall	4 * royal, military, cultic	royal cultic military foreign	Foreign temple	Ramesses II
d.267	KRI II: 209.15	triumph scene on small temple of Abu Simbel, epithets following titulary	4 * royal, military	royal military foreign	Foreign temple	Ramesses II
d.268	KRI II: 225.12 & 13	opening of Karnak version of treaty of R II with Hattusil III -- R II's titulary	2a * royal; related to "lord of diadems"	royal foreign	Temple	Ramesses II (year 21)
d.269	KRI II: 234.7	margins of main text of first Hittite marriage of RII located at Pylon IX at Karnak, beginning of line broken	2a * royal; related to "lord of diadems"	royal foreign	Temple	Ramesses II

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Chart # 4

nb irt-ḫt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
d.270	KRI II: 309.2	Abydos, Stele I in Seti temple, in full titulary in opening of main text -- scene on top has Osiris saying that he grants R II the lands in peace	2a * royal, building; related to "lord of diadems"	royal cultic building	Stele	Ramesses II
d.271	KRI II: 309.13	Abydos, Stele II in Seti temple, in full titulary in opening of main text -- scene on top has Osiris saying that he grants R II victory with all foreign countries being under his sandals	2a * royal, military; related to "lord of diadems"	royal cultic military foreign	Stele	Ramesses II
d.272	KRI II: 310.1	same, at end of text	2a * royal, military; related to "lord of power"	royal cultic military	Stele	Ramesses II
d.273	KRI II: 315.14, 15	two jambs to recessed south stele, Great temple at Abu Simbel	2b * royal	cultic military	Foreign stele	Ramesses II
d.274	KRI II: 321.14	stele of RII and the gods of Buhen, Cairo Museum,	2a * royal, building;	royal building	Foreign stele	Ramesses II

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Chart # 4

nb irt-ḥt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
		full titulary in main text	related to "lord of diadems"			
d.275	KRI II: 344.8	Aswan stele, in titles around scene of king slaying foes before gods (Amun and Khnum) --broken contexts	4 * military	military foreign	Foreign stele	Ramesses II Year 2
d.276	KRI II: 351.16	Luxor Pylon III, titulary accompanying scene of king offering to Amun-re	2a * royal, cultic	cultic	Temple	Ramesses II
d.277	KRI II: 444.7	Tanis, black-granite colossus left dorsal pillar titulary	3a * royal, military; related to "lord of diadems"	royal military	Statue	Ramesses II
d.278	KRI II: 458.5	Tanis, architraves from temple, broken context	2a * royal	cultic	Temple	Ramesses II
d.279	KRI II: 460.14	Per-Ramesses palace pillars	2a * royal; related to "lord of diadems"	royal	Royal	Ramesses II
d.280	KRI II: 461.10	Per-Ramesses palace inlay frag. of titularly	2a * royal	royal	Royal	Ramesses II
d.281	KRI II: 486.6	Heliopolis (?), sphinx	2a	royal	Statue	Ramesses II

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Chart # 4
nb irt-ḥt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
		base, titulary	* royal; related to "lord of diadems"	military		
d.282	KRI II: 504.10, 13	Hermopolis, standing statues	3a * royal	royal?	Statue	Ramesses II
d.283	KRI II: 511.7	Abydos, Seti Temple, Heraldic cartouches on door thickness to rear stairway	4 * phrased as, "who performs the rites for his fathers the gods"; royal, cultic	royal cultic	Funerary temple	Ramesses II
d.284	KRI II: 511.8	same, paired with above	3a * phrased as, "who performs the rites for the Lord of the gods"; royal, cultic; related to "lord of diadems"	royal cultic	Funerary temple	Ramesses II
d.285	KRI II: 515.13	Abydos, R II temple, east-side door to pylon	2a * royal, cultic;	royal cultic	Funerary temple	Ramesses II

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Chart # 4

nb ỉrt-ḫt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
			related to "lord of diadems			
d.286	KRI II: 531.14	Abydos, R II temple, festival court, bandeau-text over processions	2a * royal; related to "lord of diadems"	royal cultic	Funerary temple	Ramesses II
d.287	KRI II: 535.10	Abydos, R II temple, festival court, bandeau-text over offerings	4 * royal, military, building	royal military building	Funerary temple	Ramesses II
d.288	KRI II: 541.13	Abydos, R II temple, portico room I doorway	3a * royal, cultic, military; related to "lord of diadems" and "lord of power"	royal military	Funerary temple	Ramesses II
d.289	KRI II: 557.3	Karnak, Great Hypostyle Hall, dedication on architraves, in full titulary sequence	3a * royal, military, building; related to "lord of diadems" and "lord of power"	royal cultic military foreign	Temple	Ramesses II
d.290	KRI II: 557.9	same	2a * royal, military	royal cultic	Temple	Ramesses II

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Chart # 4

nb irt-ḫt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
			building; related to "lord of diadems"	military foreign building		
d.291	KRI II: 562.3,5,8,11; 563.3,6,10,12, 15; 564.1	Karnak, Great Hypostyle Hall, transverse architraves, rows 15, 16, 18, 19, 20; always span 4	2a * royal, military	royal cultic military foreign	Temple	Ramesses II
d.292	KRI II: 567.14	Karnak, Great Hypostyle Hall, festival of Opet scenes on west wall of pylon II, text above king offering to Amun-re-Kamephis	2a * royal	royal cultic	Temple	Ramesses II
d.293	KRI II: 572.12	Karnak, Great Hypostyle Hall, festival of Opet, terminal scenes	2a * royal, cultic	royal cultic building	Temple	Ramesses II
d.294	KRI II: 580.13	Karnak, Court of pylons III, rhetorical bandeau	2a *royal, cultic, military; related to "lord of diadems"	royal cultic military foreign	Temple	Ramesses II
d.295	KRI II: 588.7	Karnak, schist statuette of king R II, prostrate	2b * royal, military	royal cultic	Statue	Ramesses II

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Chart # 4

nb irt-ḥt (d references)

ref. no	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
		offering naos, inscription broken		military foreign		
d.296	KRI II: 607.3,4	Luxor, forecourt, south wall, doorway to buttresses	2b * royal	royal cultic	Temple	Ramesses II
d.297	KRI II: 613.12	Luxor, forecourt, western architraves, context broken	2a * royal	royal cultic	Temple	Ramesses II
d.298	KRI II: 614.11,12	Luxor, forecourt, triple shrine, chapel of Amun, text on ram-headed Djed-pillar	2a * royal, building	cultic building	Temple	Ramesses II
d.299	KRI II: 628.2,3	Luxor, vestibule chapels, west chapel of Khons, door-jamb dedications	2a * royal, building; related to "lord of diadems"	cultic building	Temple	Ramesses II
d.300	KRI II: 628.9,10	Luxor, vestibule chapels, east chapel of Mut, door-jamb dedications	2a * royal, building; related to "lord of diadems"	royal cultic building	Temple	Ramesses II
d.301	KRI II: 642.2	Qurneh, Seti temple, vestibule, north wall scene of R II being	2b * royal	royal foreign	Funerary temple	inscribed under R II for Seti I

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Chart # 4
nb irt-ḫt (d references)

ref no	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
		crowned by Theban Triad before Seti I, over Seti I				
d.302	KRI II: 644.12	Ramesseum, Ozymandias Colossus, west side	2a * royal; related to "lord of diadems"	royal	Statue	Ramesses II
d.303	KRI II: 653.2	Ramesseum, 1st hall, scene barque of Mut, behind barque	2a * royal	royal cultic	Funerary temple	Ramesses II
d.304	KRI II: 705.4	Deir el-Medina, Hathor temple, frieze dedication	2a * royal, building	building	Temple	Ramesses II
d.305	KRI II: 718.02	Beit el-Wali temple, vestibule pillar, south pillar, south side	2a * royal	royal cultic	Foreign temple	Ramesses II
d.306	KRI II: 726.12	Wadi es-Sebua temple, outer area, north sphinx, front of base	2a * royal; related to "lord of diadems"	royal military foreign	Foreign statue	Ramesses II
d.307	KRI II: 728.12	Wadi es-Sebua temple, second court, 2nd west sphinx, pedestal inscription, west side	2a * royal, building; related to "lord of diadems" and	royal military foreign building	Foreign statue	Ramesses II

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Chart # 4
nb irt-ḫt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
			"who made monuments"			
d.308	KRI II: 744.8	Derr temple, sanctuary, east wall above king censing and libating barque	2b * royal, military	royal cultic military foreign	Foreign temple	Ramesses II
d.309	KRI II: 764.4	Abu Simbel, Great Temple, north annexes, room viii, south wall, over R II deified while R II offers to him	3a	royal cultic military	Foreign temple	Ramesses II
d.310	KRI II: 764.8	Abu Simbel, Great Temple, north annexes, room viii, east wall over scene of king offering wine to deified R II	2b * royal, military	royal cultic military	Foreign temple	Ramesses II
d.311	KRI II: 769.7	Abu Simbel, Lesser temple, pillared hall, first Hathor pillar, south row	2a * royal	cultic	Foreign temple	Ramesses II
d.312	KRI II: 770.15	Abu Simbel, Lesser temple, sanctuary, north wall, scene king and queen offered to by king,	2b * royal; related to "lord of diadems"	royal cultic	Foreign temple	Ramesses II

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Chart # 4

nb irt-ḫt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
		over couple				
d.313	KRI II: 775.15	Buhen, sandstone stele fragment, over king,broken context	3a * royal	royal cultic	Foreign stele	Ramesses II
d.314	KRI III: 24. 8	limestone stele from Deir el-Medina of king and vizier adoring 2 goddesses, label over king	3a * royal; related to "lord of the two lands"	royal cultic	Stele	Ramesses II
d.315	KRI III: 78. 14	Sehel graffito of viceroy Huy, label over king	4 * royal	royal	Foreign stele	Ramesses II
d.316	KRI III: 92. 2	Wadi es-Sebua stele, of viceroy Huy, label over king offering to deities	2a * royal	cultic	Foreign stele	Ramesses II
d.317	KRI III: 105. 13	Abu Simbel double stele, date line under head smiting scene	2a * royal; related to "lord of diadems who seizes the white crown"	royal military	Foreign stele	Ramesses II
d.318	KRI III: 203. 8	Abu Simbel, rock stele 9, scene of king on throne greeted by fanbearer, left	3a * royal, military; related to "lord	royal military foreign	Foreign stele	Ramesses II

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Chart # 4
nb irt-ḫt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
		margin - throne name, right margin - personal name	of the two lands"			
d.319	KRI III: 362. 1	Tomb of Nakhtamun, label over lutist and singer	2a * royal, military; related to "lord of all lands"	royal foreign	Tomb	Ramesses II
d.320	KRI III: 395. 7	TT #19 label over portable image of Amenhotep I	2a * royal	cultic	Tomb	Ramesses II
d.321	KRI III: 462. 16	Naophorous statue, inscription of left shoulder, poorly written	2b * royal	royal cultic	Statue	Ramesses II
d.322	KRI III: 474. 5	Broken context, relief of man before Osiris and Horus, text behind Horus	2a	cultic funerary?	Tomb?	Ramesses II
d.323	KRI III: 623. 15	Stele from Deir el-Medina, three kings seated before a bouquet adored by kneeling man	2a * throne name of R I; royal	royal cultic	Stele	Ramesses II
d.324	KRI III: 624. 6	Stele from Deir el-Medina, king smiting prisoners, man adoring	2a * royal	military	Stele	Ramesses II

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Chart # 4

nb irt-ḥt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
d.325	KRI III: 716. 15	Tomb stele from Deir el-Medina, gods Osiris, Anubis, Amenhotep I, Ahmose-Nefretari, offered to by family, label over Amenhotep I	2a * throne name of Amenhotep I; royal	royal cultic funerary	Stele	Ramesses II
d.326	KRI III: 815. 2	TT #2 door lintel inscription from burial vault	3a * personal name of Amenhotep I; royal	royal cultic funerary	Tomb	Ramesses II
d.327	KRI IV: 23. 14	Karnak, formal triumph scene, king smiting prisoners, label behind king	4 * military	royal military foreign	Temple	Merenptah
d.328	KRI IV: 60. 16	Abydos, temple of Seti I dedication, rear wall, north half	2a * royal, building; related to "lord of diadems"	royal building	Funerary temple	Merenptah
d.329	KRI IV: 61. 6-7	Abydos, temple of Seti I dedication, rear wall, south half	2a * royal, military	royal cultic military	Funerary temple	Merenptah
d.330	KRI IV: 195. 14	Qurneh, Seti I funerary	2a	royal	Funerary	Amenmesses

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Chart # 4

nb ỉrt-ḫt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
		temple, stele with scene of king offering to deities	* royal	cultic	temple	
d.331	KRI IV: 199. 11-12	KV #10, main doorway, right and left jambs	2a * royal, cultic; related to "lord of diadems"	royal cultic funerary	Tomb	Amenmesses
d.332	KRI IV: 203. 10	Unprovenienced statue-base, cartouches may have replaced Merenptah's	2a * royal	royal?	Statue	Amenmesses (Merenptah?)
d.333	KRI IV: 206. 3	Unprovenienced libation basin, much broken, scenes of priests worshipping gods	4 * adds, "for his father Amun"; royal	royal cultic	Temple?	Amenmesses
d.334	KRI IV: 267. 15	Karnak statue with standard, inscription on kilt, poorly written	2a * adds, "for his father Re"; royal	cultic	Statue	Seti II
d.335	KRI IV: 269. 12	Luxor, court of Amenhotep III, bandeau text cut over older texts, East wall of vestibule	2b * royal, military	royal military foreign	Temple	Seti II
d.336	KRI IV: 349. 7	Buhen, fragments of a stele	2a * royal	cultic?	Foreign stele	Siptah

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Chart # 4

nb irt-ḥt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
d.337	KRI V: 36. 2	Medinet Habu, pylon II, presentation of prisoners scene	2b * royal	royal military	Funerary temple	Ramesses III
d.338	KRI V: 107. 8	Medinet Habu, E. high gate, scene of triumph over prisoners, epithets of king	2a * royal; related to "lord of diadems like Amun"	royal military	Funerary temple	Ramesses III
d.339	KRI V: 107. 14	Medinet Habu, E. high gate, scene of triumph over prisoners, base-line inscription	2a * royal; related to "lord of diadems like Amun"	royal military	Funerary temple	Ramesses III
d.340	KRI V: 110. 5	Karnak, Amun temple of Ramesses III, East tower, triumph over prisoners, speech of Amun to king	2a * royal	military	Temple	Ramesses III
d.341	KRI V: 112. 10	Medinet Habu, forecourt, accompanies scene of king inspecting horses, end line	2a * royal	royal military	Funerary temple	Ramesses III
d.342	KRI V: 113. 14	Medinet Habu, first pylon, south tower, king	2a * royal; related	royal military	Funerary temple	Ramesses III

† Key: 1 – isolated or not in titulary; 2 – before throne name, a – directly, b – indirectly; 3 – before personal name, a – directly, b – indirectly; 4 – non-specific position in epithet string; * - special notes related to particular elements of context

Chart # 4
nb irt-ḫt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
		hunts desert game, marginal line	to "lord of diadems"			
d.343	KRI V: 186. 10	Karnak, Amun temple of R III, festival of Opet scene, label over royal barge	2a * royal; related to "lord of diadems"	royal cultic	Temple	Ramesses III
d.344	KRI V: 188. 15	Karnak, Amun temple of R III, festival of Opet scene, end-line by barge of Amun	2a * royal; related to "lord of diadems"	royal cultic	Temple	Ramesses III
d.345	KRI V: 210. 14	Ramesseum, festival of Min scenes, conclave of royal ancestors, {note: nb irt-ḫt is omitted by R III and "lord of diadems" is added in position 3a in parallel scenes at Medinet Habu}	2a * royal	cultic funerary	Funerary temple	Ramesses II
d.346	KRI V: 219. 13	Karnak, Amun temple of R III, scenes of festivals of Amun, barque procession, speech of Amun	2a * royal	cultic	Temple	Ramesses III

† Key: 1 - isolated or not in titulary; 2 - before throne name, a - directly, b - indirectly; 3 - before personal name, a - directly, b - indirectly; 4 - non-specific position in epithet string; * - special notes related to particular elements of context

Chart # 4

nb irt-ḫt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
d.347	KRI V: 226. 4	Karnak, Amun temple of R III, scenes of festivals of Amun, barque procession, speech of Amun, broken context	4? * royal	cultic	Temple	Ramesses III
d.348	KRI V: 231. 8	Karnak, bandeau text of court IV	2a * royal; related to "lord of diadems"	royal cultic	Temple	Ramesses III
d.349	KRI V: 231. 9	Karnak, bandeau text of court IV	3a * royal, military; related to "lord of diadems" and "lord of power"	royal cultic military	Temple	Ramesses III
d.350	KRI V: 231. 11	Karnak, bandeau text of court IV	2a * royal; related to "lord of diadems"	royal cultic	Temple	Ramesses III
d.351	KRI V: 243. 5	Karnak, double stele, right text, scene of king offering to gods	2a * royal, military; related to "lord of power"	cultic military	Stele	Ramesses III
d.352	KRI V: 277. 8	Karnak, temple of Amun	2a	royal	Temple	Ramesses III

† Key: 1 - isolated or not in titulary; 2 - before throne name, a - directly, b - indirectly; 3 - before personal name, a - directly, b - indirectly; 4 - non-specific position in epithet string; * - special notes related to particular elements of context

Chart # 4

nb ỉrt-ḫt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
		of R III, portico, Amun's speech to king, broken context	* royal; related to "lord of diadems"	cultic		
d.353	KRI V: 279. 1	Karnak, temple of Amun of R III, portico, king's reply to Amun	2a * royal; related to "lord of diadems"	royal cultic	Temple	Ramesses III
d.354	KRI V: 283. 3	Karnak, temple of Amun of R III, exterior dedications, west wall {alternates with "lord of power}	2a * royal; related to "lord of diadems"	royal cultic	Temple	Ramesses III
d.355	KRI V: 283. 9	Karnak, temple of Amun of R III, exterior dedications, east wall	2a * royal; related to "lord of diadems"	royal cultic	Temple	Ramesses III
d.356	KRI V: 283. 11	Karnak, temple of Amun of R III, exterior dedications, wall of Bubastite court	2a * royal; related to "lord of diadems"	royal cultic	Temple	Ramesses III

† Key: 1 - isolated or not in titulary; 2 - before throne name, a - directly, b - indirectly; 3 - before personal name, a - directly, b - indirectly; 4 - non-specific position in epithet string; * - special notes related to particular elements of context

Chart # 4

nb irt-ḥt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
d.357	KRI V: 283. 14	Karnak, temple of Amun of R III, exterior dedications, east wall, lower	2a * royal, military; related to "lord of diadems"	royal cultic foreign	Temple	Ramesses III
d.358	KRI V: 284. 7	Karnak, temple of Amun of R III, exterior dedications, east wall, podium	2a * royal, military; related to "lord of diadems"	royal cultic	Temple	Ramesses III
d.359	KRI V: 284. 10	Karnak, temple of Amun of R III, exterior dedications, east wall, podium	2a * royal, cultic	cultic	Temple	Ramesses III
d.360	KRI V: 284. 14	Karnak, pylon III, bandeau texts	2a * royal, military; related to "lord of diadems"	royal military	Temple	Ramesses III
d.361	KRI V: 292. 7	Luxor, rhetorical building stele	2a * royal, military, building	military building	Stele	Ramesses III
d.362	KRI V: 296. 12	Karnak wall stele, label over king offering to Amun; nb irt-ht replaced at Medinet Habu with	2b * royal, building; related to "lord of diadems"	royal cultic building	Stele	Ramesses III

† Key: 1 - isolated or not in titulary; 2 - before throne name, a - directly, b - indirectly; 3 - before personal name, a - directly, b - indirectly; 4 - non-specific position in epithet string; * - special notes related to particular elements of context

Chart # 4
nb irt-ḥt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
		lord of making monuments				
d.363	KRI V: 307. 13	Medinet Habu architraves, S. colonnade	2a * royal, military; related to "lord of diadems"	royal military	Funerary temple	Ramesses III
d.364	KRI V: 323. 16	Medinet Habu, funerary chapel of Ramesses II	2a * royal; related to "lord of diadems"	royal funerary	Funerary temple	Ramesses III
d.365	KRI V: 339. 11	Tod, 18th Dyn. kiosk, west wall, exterior bandeau text	3a * royal; related to "lord of diadems"	royal cultic	Temple	Ramesses III
d.366	KRI V: 346. 14	unprovenienced table of offerings	2a * takes form, "lord of performing rites in Ipet-Sut"; royal, building; related to "lord of diadems"	royal cultic building	Temple	Ramesses III
d.367	M. Habu II: 111	Medinet Habu, near	1	royal	Funerary	Ramesses III

† Key: 1 - isolated or not in titulary; 2 - before throne name, a - directly, b - indirectly; 3 - before personal name, a - directly, b - indirectly; 4 - non-specific position in epithet string; * - special notes related to particular elements of context

Chart # 4
nb ỉrt-ḥt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
		scene of king ready to strike prisoners on east side of window of appearances in 1st court	* military	military	temple	
d.368	M. Habu II: 111	Medinet Habu, near scene of king ready to strike prisoners on west side of window of appearances in 1st court	1 * military	royal military	Funerary temple	Ramesses III
d.369	M. Habu V: 346	Medinet Habu, inner room 3, scene of king anointing cult standard of Horus	2a	cultic	Funerary temple	Ramesses III
d.370	M. Habu VI: 392D	Medinet Habu, architrave of portico	4 (broken context)	royal cultic	Funerary temple	Ramesses III
d.371	M. Habu VII: 534	Medinet Habu, back room # 48, king offers wine to Amun-re and ma`at to Ptah	2a	cultic	Funerary temple	Ramesses III
d.372	M. Habu VII: 538	Medinet Habu, roof terrace, king offers to Amun-re	2a * royal; related to "lord of	cultic	Funerary temple	Ramesses III

† Key: 1 - isolated or not in titulary; 2 - before throne name, a - directly, b - indirectly; 3 - before personal name, a - directly, b - indirectly; 4 - non-specific position in epithet string; * - special notes related to particular elements of context

Chart # 4
nb irt-ḫt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
			diadems"			
d.373	M. Habu VIII: 625	Medinet Habu, exterior of central tower, with scene of king grasping prisoners	2a * royal; related to "lord of diadems"	royal military	Funerary temple	Ramesses III
d.374	M. Habu VIII: 630	Medinet Habu, private quarters, scene of king receiving something from a daughter, scene broken	2a * royal; related to "lord of diadems"	royal	Funerary temple	Ramesses III
d.375	M. Habu VIII: 639	Medinet Habu, private quarters, scene of king caressing a daughter and playing a board game	2a * royal, military; related to "lord of diadems"	royal	Funerary temple	Ramesses III
d.376	M. Habu VIII: 655	Medinet Habu, titulary surrounding door into private quarters	2a * royal; related to "lord of diadems"	royal	Funerary temple	Ramesses III
d.377	KRI VI: 4. 2	Karnak, festal wall stele, scene of king before gods, marginal text, right, inner column	2a * royal, cultic, military; related to "lord of diadems" and	royal cultic military	Temple	Ramesses IV

† Key: 1 - isolated or not in titulary; 2 - before throne name, a - directly, b - indirectly; 3 - before personal name, a - directly, b - indirectly; 4 - non-specific position in epithet string; * - special notes related to particular elements of context

Chart # 4
nb irt-ḫt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
			"lord of power"			
d.378	KRI VI: 4. 8	Karnak, festal wall stele, scene of king before gods, marginal text, left, inner column; {outer column identical except "lord of power" substituted for nb irt-ḫt}	2a * royal, cultic, military; related to "lord of diadems" and "lord of power"	royal cultic military	Temple	Ramesses IV
d.379	KRI VI: 8. 2	Karnak, festal stele, over offering lists, broken context	2a * royal	cultic	Temple	Ramesses IV
d.380	KRI VI: 22. 3	Abydos stele to the gods, introduction of main text	2b * royal; related to "lord of diadems like Rehorakhty"	royal cultic	Stele	Ramesses IV
d.381	KRI VI: 31. 14	Karnak, text on south obelisk of Tuthmoses I	2b * adds "in Thebes"; royal, military;	royal cultic military foreign	Obelisk	Ramesses IV
d.382	KRI VI: 40. 4	Karnak, solar roof shrine (Akhmenu) dedications	2a * royal; related to "lord of	royal cultic	Temple	Ramesses IV

† Key: 1 - isolated or not in titulary; 2 - before throne name, a - directly, b - indirectly; 3 - before personal name, a - directly, b - indirectly; 4 - non-specific position in epithet string; * - special notes related to particular elements of context

Chart # 4
nb irt-ḫt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
			diadems, ruler"			
d.383	KRI VI: 40. 12	Karnak, "cour de la cachette, west wall	2a * royal, military; related to "lord of diadems like Amun"	royal cultic military	Temple	Ramesses IV
d.384	KRI VI: 40. 13	Karnak, "cour de la cachette," west wall	2a * royal, military; related to "lord of diadems"	royal military	Temple	Ramesses IV
d.385	KRI VI: 41. 14	Karnak, "cour de la cachette," west wall	2a * royal, cultic; related to "lord of diadems"	royal cultic	Temple	Ramesses IV
d.386	KRI VI: 52. 14	Medinet Habu, passage in gate tower, bandeau text	2a * royal; related to "lord of diadems like Amun"	royal cultic	Funerary temple	Ramesses IV
d.387	KRI VI: 53. 11	Medinet Habu, pylon I, bandeau text on east façade	2a * adds to epithet, "of Amun"; royal, military;	royal cultic military foreign	Funerary temple	Ramesses IV

† Key: 1 - isolated or not in titulary; 2 - before throne name, a - directly, b - indirectly; 3 - before personal name, a - directly, b - indirectly; 4 - non-specific position in epithet string; * - special notes related to particular elements of context

Chart # 4

nb irt-ḫt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
			related to "lord of diadems like Amun"			
d.388	KRI VI: 55. 9	Medinet Habu, first court, interior north wall, below scenes of Syrian campaign	2a * royal, building	cultic building	Funerary temple	Ramesses IV
d.389	KRI VI: 56. 7	Medinet Habu, second court, interior south wall, below offering scene	2a * royal; related to "lord of diadems like Amun"	royal cultic military	Funerary temple	Ramesses IV
d.390	KRI VI: 56. 9	Medinet Habu, second court, interior south wall	2a * royal; related to "lord of diadems"	royal	Funerary temple	Ramesses IV
d.391	KRI VI: 56. 14	Medinet Habu, second court, west wall, below scene of processions of sons	2a * royal, cultic, military; related to "lord of diadems like Atum"	royal cultic military	Funerary temple	Ramesses IV
d.392	KRI VI: 57. 3	Medinet Habu, second	2a	royal	Funerary	Ramesses IV

† Key: 1 - isolated or not in titulary; 2 - before throne name, a - directly, b - indirectly; 3 - before personal name, a - directly, b - indirectly; 4 - non-specific position in epithet string; * - special notes related to particular elements of context

Chart # 4

nb irt-ḥt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
		court, west wall, below scene of processions of sons	* royal, cultic, military; related to "lord of diadems like Re"	cultic military	temple	
d.393	KRI VI: 880. 5	Karnak, great hypostyle hall, on column-bases, broken context	2a * royal, military; related to "lord of diadems"	royal military	Temple	Ramesses IV
d.394	KRI VI: 233. 7	TT# 148, painted on robe of priest offering to dead couple	2a * royal	funerary	Tomb	Ramesses V
d.395	KRI VI: 233. 11	TT# 148, painted on robe of priest offering to three dead couples	2a * royal	funerary	Tomb	Ramesses V
d.396	KRI VI: 286. 5	Karnak, statue of king grasping Libyan captive	2a * royal; related to "lord of diadems"	royal military foreign	Statue	Ramesses VI
d.397	KRI VI 287. 1	Karnak, statue of king supporting Amun, (usurped from R IV or V)	2a * royal; related to "lord of diadems"	royal cultic	Statue	Ramesses VI
d.398	KRI VI: 327. 16	KV #9, dedicatory	2a	royal	Tomb	Ramesses VI

† Key: 1 - isolated or not in titulary; 2 - before throne name, a - directly, b - indirectly; 3 - before personal name, a - directly, b - indirectly; 4 - non-specific position in epithet string; * - special notes related to particular elements of context

Chart # 4
nb irt-ḥt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
		inscription in corridor below scene of king before Re (usurped tomb)	* royal, military; related to "lord of diadems like Amun-re-nesu-netjeru"	cultic military		
d.399	KRI VI: 329. 12	Statue, unprovenienced; broken titulary	2a * royal	royal?	Statue	Ramesses VI
d.400	KRI VI: 386. 9	KV # 1, lintel of naos in scene of king censing and libating to Rehorakhty	2a * royal; related to "lord of diadems like Amun-re-nesu-netjeru"	royal cultic	Tomb	Ramesses VII
d.401	KRI VI: 450. 4	Heliopolis, table of offerings, right end panel	3a * royal, building; related to "maker of monuments" and "lord of diadems"	royal cultic building	Temple	Ramesses IX
d.402	KRI VI: 450. 9	Heliopolis, table of offerings, left end panel	3a * royal, building; related to	royal cultic building	Temple	Ramesses IX

† Key: 1 - isolated or not in titulary; 2 - before throne name, a - directly, b - indirectly; 3 - before personal name, a - directly, b - indirectly; 4 - non-specific position in epithet string; * - special notes related to particular elements of context

Chart # 4
nb ỉrt-ḫt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
			"maker of monuments" and "lord of diadems"			
d.403	KRI VI: 540. 7	Karnak, court of pylons VII-VIII, east postern gate, king offered flowers by high priest	2a * royal	royal cultic	Temple	Ramesses IX
d.404	KRI VI: 547. 8	TT #65, scene in shrine of broad hall, 12 statues of kings behind barque of Amun offered to by king, bandeau text	2a * adds to epithet, "for his father Amun, king of the gods"; royal, building; parallel to statement concerning Amun placing him on the throne	royal cultic building	Tomb	Ramesses IX
d.405	KRI VI: 547. 16	TT #65, scene in shrine of broad hall, 12 statues of kings behind barque of Amun offered to by king,	4? * royal, cultic	cultic	Tomb	Ramesses IX

† Key: 1 - isolated or not in titulary; 2 - before throne name, a - directly, b - indirectly; 3 - before personal name, a - directly, b - indirectly; 4 - non-specific position in epithet string; * - special notes related to particular elements of context

Chart # 4
nb irt-ḫt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
		text behind barque; context broken				
d.406	KRI VI: 553. 5	TT #65, broad hall, front wall, barques of Theban triad offered to by king	2a * royal	cultic	Tomb	Ramesses IX
d.407	KRI VI: 678. 13-14	Usurped statue of Ramesses V, left frame lines	2a * royal; related to "lord of diadems"	royal	Statue	Ramesses X
d.408	KRI VI: 703. 9	Karnak, temple of Khonsu, architraves in hypostyle hall, west side; {nb irt ht alternates with nb tawy on east side}	2a * royal, building; related to "lord of diadems"	royal cultic building	Temple	Ramesses XI
d.409	KRI VI: 707. 11	Karnak, temple of Khonsu, door jambs in hypostyle hall, east (restored, order may be wrong)	2b * royal	royal cultic	Temple	Ramesses XI
d.410	KRI VI: 707. 12	Karnak, temple of Khonsu, door jambs in hypostyle hall, west	2a * royal; related to "lord of	royal	Temple	Ramesses XI

† Key: 1 - isolated or not in titulary; 2 - before throne name, a - directly, b - indirectly; 3 - before personal name, a - directly, b - indirectly; 4 - non-specific position in epithet string; * - special notes related to particular elements of context

Chart # 4
nb irt-ḫt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
		(restored, order may be wrong)	diadems"			
d.411	KRI VI: 707. 14	Karnak, temple of Khonsu, door jambs in hypostyle hall, west	2a * royal; related to "lord of diadems"	royal	Temple	Ramesses XI
d.412	KRI VI: 712. 15	Karnak, Khonsu temple, festival of Opet scenes, label on king offering to barge of Amun	3a * royal; related to "lord of the two lands"; modified titulary	royal cultic	Temple	Ramesses XI (Herihor)
d.413	KRI VI: 718. 5	Karnak, Khonsu temple, picture of pylon, dedications painted on flagpoles	2a * royal, military, building, cultic	royal military building	Temple	Ramesses XI (Herihor)
d.414	KRI VI: 721. 14	Karnak, Khonsu temple, Herihor offers to barques of Theban triad, text on top of shrine	2a * royal, military, building	royal cultic military building	Temple	Ramesses XI (Herihor)
d.415	KRI VI: 722. 9	Karnak, Khonsu temple, Herihor offers to barques of Theban triad, text	4?	cultic	Temple	Ramesses XI

† Key: 1 - isolated or not in titulary; 2 - before throne name, a - directly, b - indirectly; 3 - before personal name, a - directly, b - indirectly; 4 - non-specific position in epithet string; * - special notes related to particular elements of context

Chart # 4
nb irt-ḫt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
		behind barque shrine, broken context				
d.416	KRI VI: 723. 10	Karnak, Khonsu temple, forecourt , east wall, scenes of feast of Min	2a * royal; related to "lord of diadems"	royal cultic	Temple	Ramesses XI (Herihor)
d.417	KRI VI: 724. 7	Karnak, Khonsu temple, forecourt, first east side architrave, west (outer) face	2a * royal, cultic	cultic	Temple	Ramesses XI (Herihor)
d.418	KRI VI: 725. 7	Karnak, Khonsu temple, forecourt, first east side architrave, east (inner) face	2b * royal, building; followed by statement that he satisfies Amun through performing ma`at	royal building	Temple	Ramesses XI (Herihor)
d.419	KRI VI: 726. 4	Karnak, Khonsu temple, forecourt, second east side architrave, west (outer) face	2b * royal, cultic	royal cultic	Temple	Ramesses XI (Herihor)

† Key: 1 - isolated or not in titulary; 2 - before throne name, a - directly, b - indirectly; 3 - before personal name, a - directly, b - indirectly; 4 - non-specific position in epithet string; * - special notes related to particular elements of context

Chart # 4
nb irt-ḥt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
d.420	KRI VI: 726. 9	Karnak, Khonsu temple, forecourt, second east side architrave, west (outer) face	2a * royal, cultic; related to "lord of diadems"	royal cultic	Temple	Ramesses XI (Herihor)
d.421	KRI VI: 726. 12	Karnak, Khonsu temple, forecourt, second east side architrave, west (outer) face	2a * royal, cultic; related to "celebrator in the house of Khonsu, in the good place"	royal cultic	Temple	Ramesses XI (Herihor)
d.422	KRI VI: 726. 16	Karnak, Khonsu temple, forecourt, second east side architrave, east (inner) face	2b * royal, military, cultic; related to "lord of diadems"	royal cultic military	Temple	Ramesses XI (Herihor)
d.423	KRI VI: 727. 12	Karnak, Khonsu temple, forecourt, first west side architrave, west (inner) face	2a * royal, cultic; related to "lord of diadems"	royal cultic	Temple	Ramesses XI (Herihor)
d.424	KRI VI: 727. 14	Karnak, Khonsu temple, forecourt, first west side architrave, west (inner)	2a * royal; related to "lord of	royal	Temple	Ramesses XI (Herihor)

† Key: 1 – isolated or not in titulary; 2 – before throne name, a – directly, b – indirectly; 3 – before personal name, a – directly, b – indirectly; 4 – non-specific position in epithet string; * - special notes related to particular elements of context

Chart # 4
nb irt-ḥt (d references)

ref. no.	source	context	position†	character	source type	ruler
		face	diadems"			
d.425	KRI VI: 728. 9	Karnak, Khonsu temple, forecourt, second west side architrave, east (outer) face	2a * adds to epithet, "in his father's house"; royal, military; related to "lord of diadems"	royal cultic military	Temple	Ramesses XI (Herihor)
d.426	KRI VI: 729. 7	Karnak, Khonsu temple, forecourt, second west side architrave, west (inner) face	2a; 3a * royal, cultic; related to "lord of power"	royal cultic military	Temple	Ramesses XI (Herihor)
d.427	KRI VI: 729. 10	Karnak, Khonsu temple, forecourt, second west side architrave, west (inner) face	3a * royal; related to "lord of the two lands"	royal	Temple	Ramesses XI (Herihor)
d.428	KRI VI: 729. 13	Karnak, Khonsu temple, portico west half, east (outer) face	2a * royal	cultic	Temple	Ramesses XI (Herihor)
d.429	KRI VI: 730. 8	Karnak, great hypostyle hall, one column only (#42)	2a * royal	cultic	Temple	Ramesses XI (Herihor)

† Key: 1 - isolated or not in titulary; 2 - before throne name, a - directly, b - indirectly; 3 - before personal name, a - directly, b - indirectly; 4 - non-specific position in epithet string; * - special notes related to particular elements of context

Chart # 5
Nb irt-ḥt in Tutankhamun's Tomb

Cultic/Funerary	Other Royal	Location	Page[1] : Carter #	Cross Ref. to Chart #4
chest with peaked lid		antechamber	012: 32	d.162
	alabaster chest (marriage contract? chest)	antechamber	016: 40	d.163
	bows	antechamber	021: 48f; 021: 48g (1); 021: 48g (2); 022: 48j (1); 031: 77b	d.164- d.167, d.169
	staves	antechamber	025: 50jj; 036: 98	d.168, d.170
pedestal for gold? statue of king		antechamber	045: 108a	d.171
	chariot equipment (gold leaf sheet – king strikes enemy)	antechamber	050: 122aa	d.172
	chariot equipment (gold leaf sheet – king as sphinx tramples enemies)	antechamber	050: 122ee	d.173
Hippopotamus-headed funerary bier		antechamber	061: 137	d.174
	wooden strips from chariot	antechamber	061: 150	d.175
opening of the mouth (Ay)		burial chamber	001: none	d.217

Chart # 5
Nb irt-ḫt in Tutankhamun's Tomb

Cultic/Funerary	Other Royal	Location	Page: Carter #	Cross Ref. to Chart #4
	alabaster vase (lamp)	burial chamber	062: 173	d.173
Canopic shrine baldachin		treasury	099: 266	d.177
alabaster canopic shrine		treasury	105: 266b	d.178
	cartouche-form box (contained royal regalia)	treasury	119: 269	d.179-d.180
mirror case		treasury	121: 269b	d.181-d.183
	scarab bracelet	treasury	123: 269m	d.184
	segmented box	treasury	125: 271	d.185-d.186
shawabtis		treasury	142: 319g (60865); 146: 323c (60863); 147: 323h? (60871); 147: 323i (60872); 148: 323j (60908); 149: 324k (60909); 152: 326l? (61061); 218: 611a? (60916); 218: 611b? (60877); 219: 611b (60880)	d.187-d.193, d.214-d.216
	bow case	treasury	167: 335	d.194, d.195
	gameboard case	annexe	179: 393	d.196
	chest on legs	annexe	180: 403	d.197-d.199

Chart # 5
Nb ỉrt-ḫt in Tutankhamun's Tomb

Cultic/Funerary	Other Royal	Location	Page[1] · Carter #	Cross Ref. to Chart #4
shawabtis		annexe	186: 418b (60874); 186: 418b? (60873); 197: 512a (60784); 197: 512a (60788); 197: 512a? (60782); 197: 512a? (60786); 197: 512a? (60787); 200: 517b (60781)	d.200, d.201, d.203-d.208
shrine			192: 487	d.202
	box (for toys?)		207: 585	d.209-d.211
	ivory bracelet		208: 585q	d.212
	gameboard case		209: 585r	d.213

[1] All page references from Beinlich and Saleh 1989.

Chart #6
Nb irt-ḫt at Medinet Habu

Cultic/Funerary	Other Royal	Location	Volume: Plate[1]	Cross Ref. to Chart #4
	king offers captive sea peoples	exterior of 2nd pylon	I: 44	d.337
	king ready to strike prisoners	exterior of 1st pylon	II: 102	d.387
	king inspects horses	1st court – south wall	II: 109	d.341
	king ready to strike prisoners	window of appearances	II: 111	d.367
	king hunting wild animals	exterior of 1st pylon	II: 116	d.342
	processions of sons	second court	V: 299	d.392
	processions of sons	second court	V: 301	d.391
label over deified Rameses II being one of several gods offered to by king		chapel of Ramesses II	V: 337	d.364
king anoints cult standard		inner room (room 3, east wall)	V: 346	d.369
	titulary	architrave of south colonnade	V: 359B	d.363
	scene of Syrian campaign	1st court, below scenes on north wall	V: 360B	d.388
king offers to gods		2nd court, south wall below scenes	VI: 392A	d.389, d.390
	titulary	architrave of portico above column 45	VI: 392D	d.370
king offering to Amun-re and Ptah		back room	VII: 534	d.371
king offering to Amun-re		roof terrace	VII: 538	d.372

Chart #6
Nb irt-ḫt at Medinet Habu

Cultic/Funerary	Other Royal	Location	Volume: Plate[1]	Cross Ref. to Chart #4
	king presents prisoners	north wall of passage in central tower, below scenes	VIII: 616B	d.386
	king presents prisoners	exterior of central tower	VIII: 621	d.338, d.339
	king grasps prisoners	exterior of central tower	VIII: 625	d.373
	king receives something (erased) from daughter	private quarters	VIII: 630	d.374
	king receives and caresses daughter and plays game with another	private quarters	VIII: 639	d.375
	titulary surrounding door	doorway to private quarters	VIII: 655	d.376

[1] All plates from *Medinet Habu*

CHAPTER FIVE

Analysis of nt-^{c}

> And gradually he had trained her and made her into an active, organized woman who looked up her engagement book every morning, made plans and programmes for the day ahead and then walked her way through them to retire to her room at night, tired with the triumphant tiredness of the virtuous and dutiful.
>
> Anita Desai: *Clear Light of Day.*

The previous chapters have investigated the ancient Egyptian concept of ritual through the word, ir-ḫt. This chapter will test the integrity of the results of this investigation through evaluating the semantic field of another ancient Egyptian word that was used to signify ritual, nt-^{c}. If the results of the semantic field for ir-ḫt are representative of the Egyptian concept of ritual, then the semantic field of nt-^{c} should overlap with that of ir-ḫt to a large extent. In this chapter, the word nt-^{c} will be analysed and the use of this word in ancient Egyptian texts will be surveyed for comparison with the categories of use already established for ir-ḫt.

5a **The Composition of the Word** nt-ᶜ

The expression nt-ᶜ can be understood as a compound word made up of a genitival n and a noun, ᶜ. This understanding would presume a feminine antecedent that had dropped out or was understood such as ḫt. This compound would then have the meaning, "belonging to the ᶜ " (cf., Gardiner 1957: 572). Alternatively, the expression could derive from the relative adjective nty written in an archaic manner as nt (Gardiner 1957: § 199) and a noun. This would have the meaning, "what belongs to the ᶜ." The *Wörterbuch* (I: 156, II: 197) defines nt-ᶜ as "*Bestimmung, Brauch, Herkommen,*" which reflects the use of the word rather than its original meaning. Obviously, understanding the meaning of the noun ᶜ is essential to understanding the origin of this expression. This noun is widely understood to be a word that refers to a document (e.g., Redford 1970: 43, n.1; Lorton 1974: 114; Harari 1990: 422-423), although it is sometimes suggested to be a word for arm (*Wb* I: 156). As Lorton (1974: 114, 162, n.1) has pointed out, the common writing of nt-ᶜ with the papyrus-roll determinative (, Gardiner Sign List Y1) and the range of contexts in which this word appears suggest that the proper understanding for this element in the compound is a word referring to documents.[1]

5a.1 The Word ˁ

An examination of the ancient use of the word ˁ allows for a more precise understanding of the meaning than simply "document." The *Wörterbuch* (*Wb* I: 158) gives "*Schriftstück, Urkunde*" and notes its use in titles. Additionally, the *Wörterbuch* (*Wb* I:159) lists its use in the Old Kingdom to describe a legal right. An examination of the sources that contain the word ˁ indicates that its use was most common during the Old Kingdom. These references suggest that ˁ was used to indicate a written document that had legal or official purposes. In the Abusir Papyri the word ˁ is used in inventories to refer to a leather (or papyrus) roll that had been erased (Posener-Kriéger 1976: 366). The same word may have been applied to the documents that formed this archive (Posener-Kriéger 1976: 2).

The majority of examples, however, suggest that ˁ was used to refer to a document that had already been written and had legal or official purposes rather than a blank scroll. For example, the legal nature of the word is clear in a 4th Dynasty text that says "he made a *document* of his claim against the ka priest" (*Urk* I: 13.4).[2] The official nature of the texts is illustrated through connections to the king. For example, the importance of a document being prepared in the presence of the king is emphasised: "his majesty caused that he make the *document* there, writing beside the king himself" (*Urk* I: 232.14). Further demonstrating the royal connections is the fact that the term royal

(nzw) modifies some uses of the word ꜥ, "document". In another 4th Dynasty text, it is stated: "their names are there according to the royal *document*" (*Urk* I: 4.16).[3] Similarly, this phrase appears in titles from the Old Kingdom, "scribe of the royal *documents*" (*Urk* I: 25.13), "overseer of scribes of the royal *documents*" (*Urk* I: 60: 14) and somewhat similarly, "royal scribe of *documents*" (*Urk* I: 47.6).[4] Finally, the "house of royal *documents*" (*Urk* I: 284.15) is attested.

After the Old Kingdom, the word ꜥ becomes less common as other words that refer to written texts, such as mḏꜣt (*Wb* II: 187), sḫrt (*Wb* IV: 261), šꜥt (*Wb* IV: 418-419), šfdw (*Wb* IV: 461), and drf (*Wb* V: 477) come to be used commonly.[5] The use of ꜥ after the Old Kingdom does supply a clue as to the nature of the Old Kingdom texts that were being referred to by this word. During the Middle Kingdom the word ꜥ was used frequently in the Coffin Texts, although this may represent an archaistic use since the funerary texts were conservative. One common use in these texts was to refer to a record of ritual events. For example, in Coffin Text Spell 183, the offerings that the deceased expects to be offered in the funerary rites are said to be listed on the ꜥ (de Buck 1935: III.78f&g).[6]

In the New Kingdom the texts that were referred to as ꜥ were administrative documents that tended to feature lists of people or things that would have legal force. Examples of such documents would include the

town register that appears in Papyrus B.M. 10068 (Peet 1930: pl. 14. 2V2) and the Turin Taxation Papyrus (Gardiner 1948: 37.11). These texts compare favourably with the kind of text represented by the Abusir Papyri. It may be that the word ˁ originally referred to such an administrative document that listed people, materials, or procedures for official and legal purposes.[7] As administrative and legal documents became more complex toward the end of the Old Kingdom (Baines 1984: 694), new words came to be applied to different types of documents replacing the more common and simple ˁ. If this theory is correct, then the emphasis on official and legal uses of the ˁ reflects the kind of document prevalent in the early literate period – registers – whose primary use at this period was as legal or administrative records.

If the core meaning of the word ˁ is a listing of information as an official record, then the literal, and perhaps original, meaning of the compound word nt-ˁ would be "belonging to the document."[8] Within this literal meaning is the fact that the document being referred to is not any written document, but one that is a record, taking the form of a register or list that had prescriptive force. It should be noted that examples of the compound word nt-ˁ that are preserved today do not predate the 12th Dynasty (see chart #7), thus they occur after ˁ had ceased to be in common use. This situation makes it difficult to know if nt-ˁ originated during the Old Kingdom,

reflecting contemporary usage, or if it was a conscious archaising emphasising the old and thus traditional.

5a.2 Original meaning of nt-ᶜ

The proposed original meaning of nt-ᶜ, "belonging to the (prescriptive) document," certainly corresponds to a couple of aspects of ritual noted as characteristics of ir-ḫt. First, the word contains the sense of reliance on written or traditional practice (see section 3c.5, pp. 129-130). Second, the word contains connections to official, royal, and legal aspects of society (see section 3c.4, pp. 125-127). While these are important elements of ritual noted in Chapter 3, they do not constitute enough of an overlap in meaning to confirm that the analysis of ir-ḫt is representative of the concept of ritual in ancient Egypt. Therefore, it is necessary to investigate the occurrences of nt-ᶜ to evaluate its use in relation to the categories of cultic ritual, funerary ritual, aggressive ritual, and work as ritual.

Unlike in the case of the compound word, ir-ḫt, scholars already have noted many of these categories of uses of nt-ᶜ. For example, Kruchten (1986: 143-144) notes among its meanings:

> un "usage", une "coutume", une "habitude" (journalière), un "règlement", un "traité" (international), un "ordre de préséance" (à la Cour), une "cérémonie religieuse", un "rite", un "service rituel", et même une "phase" (de la lune).

Kruchten (1986: 143), however, analyses these varied meanings as aspects of the "lois humaines" and the "lois naturelles" between which the ancient Egyptians did not distinguish, rather than as aspects of ritual. Similarly Goelet notes as meanings for nt-^{c}: `custom', `habit', `rite', `ritual', 'to organize', `stipulations', and `customary agreement' and notes that it "approaches the English expression `liturgy' in the sense of prescribed routine or the like" (Goelet and Levine 1998: 263-264). Goelet also points to the divine planning behind the use of nt-^{c} (Goelet and Levine 1998: 265).

5b Uses of nt-^{c}

In order to analyse these various meanings in relation to the ancient Egyptian concept of ritual that arose out of the analysis of ir-ḫt conducted in Chapter 3, the uses of nt-^{c} were categorised in a similar manner. From this categorisation, it was clear that the categories cultic, funerary, aggressive, and work were represented among the uses of nt-^{c}. However, not all the occurrences of nt-^{c} fit into such groupings; therefore, it was necessary to add the category `custom'.

5b.1 Cultic Ritual

Just as with ir-ḫt, it is clear that nt-^{c} was used to refer to cultic ritual. First, rituals referred to as nt-^{c} can be connected to the gods. For example,

priests were instructed: "do not be remiss concerning any of your *rituals*, be pure and clean with god's proceedings (ḫt nṯr)" (chart #7, e.18). Similarly, in an inscription of Thutmoses III, it is stated: "who perform the *ritual* of god's proceedings before my father Amun-re at the calendar festivals" (chart #7, e.27; also see e.37, e.58).

As the last example makes clear, the Egyptians expressed the idea that rituals (nt-ˁ) were performed for the gods in a pattern of use similar to that observed with ỉr-ḫt. A similar assertion was made by Thutmoses III in the establishment of worship: "it was My Majesty who found all beneficences in increasing monuments as embellishments for the future by means of *rituals*, by means of purification, by means of regulations, by means of provisions of this chapel for my father, Amun" (chart #7, e.17). This statement compares well with one made by Ramesses III that uses ỉr-ḫt where Ramesses says that he performs rites to his father Amun (chart #3, c.149). Also noteworthy in these statements is the fact that the nt-ˁ are described as being `performed' (ỉr), which also compares with the performative nature of cultic rites already noted as typical of the ancient Egyptian concept of ritual. For example, rituals are performed for Ptah: "My Majesty caused that all *rituals* of the interior[9] be performed for his father Ptah-south -of-his-wall in Thebes" (chart #7, e.19, also see chart #7, e.20).

As was the case with ir-ḫt, rituals designated by nt-ˁ were described as being performed by priests in temples. In one of the earliest examples of nt-ˁ, Ikhhernofret claimed: "I caused the hour priests of the temple to [///] toward their duties. I caused that they know the *ritual* of every day and of calendar festivals" (chart #7, e.01; also see chart #7, e.02, e.25). The religious building could be a ḥwt-nṯr as in the previous example or a r-pr: "those who perform in every rite, that is every *ritual* that is performed in this chapel" (chart #7, e.24; also see chart #7, e.26).[10]

The performance of cultic rituals was not limited to priests, however. People not identified first as priests could be described as performing rituals in a cultic context. Thutmoses III was described in relation to religious practice, as entering "into *rituals* more than scribes or priests" (chart #7, e.28). Similarly, Ramesses III instructs the Vizier To to "perform her (Nekhbet's) *rituals* in the temples of the Sed festival" (chart #7, e.65). These uses of nt-ˁ can be compared to similar patterns of use observed with ir-ḫt (see Chapter 3, 3c.1) where it was noted that the same terminology was applied to the performance of rites regardless of the officiant.

For at least some cultic rituals that were designated using the expression nt-ˁ, a state of purity was considered important. In the Nauri decree of Seti I, Seti said of his foundation of the temple: "everyone is caused to know (his) *rituals* in every regulation of purity" (chart #7, e.36). This

statement is quite similar to the instructions given to priests to be pure and clean in god's proceedings (chart #7, e.18), which is mentioned above. This state of purity also was noted in relation to cultic rites designated as ir-ḫt (see Chapter 3, section 3c.1).

One strong element of the use of nt-ˁ for cultic ritual is an emphasis on its customary or traditional nature. Hatshepsut, in the Speos Artemidos inscription, connects the rituals she observed to primeval times: "the *rituals* of its arrangement, which he made at the beginning of time, are restored" (chart #7, e.09).[11] It should be remembered that the "first times" were a potent idea to the ancient Egyptians, embodying a time of original and perfect creation that set the pattern for future proper behaviour as guided by ma`at (Morenz 1973: 167-168; Barta 1984: 158-161; Westendorf 1986: 870; Hornung 1992: 39, 47). In other texts, there is mention of performing rituals "of every day" or of festivals specified according to the calendar (e.g., chart #7, e.01, e.20, e.27, e.39). These references to set periodic performance not only highlight custom or tradition, but also the repetitive nature of these rituals.

Emphasis also could be placed on performing rituals in a specific manner that suggests attention to rules. For example, Ramesses III stated: "it is according to the celebrations of Ptah that I endowed his provisions, his *rituals*, and his duties" (chart #7, e.62). Similarly, it was said of priests that: "they perform their [///] properly according to all *rituals* of this temple" (chart #7, e.25).[12] This attention to tradition and rules also is suggested by the

need to educate people in the proper performance of nt-ˁ. This education is reflected in statements where claims of "causing someone to know" the ritual. Both Ikhernofret (chart #7, e.01) and Seti I (chart #7, e.36), in examples quoted above, claim to educate performers of cultic rituals in this way.

From these examples of cultic rituals referred to using the word nt-ˁ, it can be said that nt-ˁ parallels many of the characteristics noted when ir-ḫt was used to refer to cultic rites. Clearly nt-ˁ, when combined with the verb ir, had a performative quality (e.g., chart #7, e.19, e.20, e.24, e.26, e.27, e.39).[13] In addition, the performances were accomplished with physical objects as is indicated by references to offerings (ḥtpw – see chart #7, e.03, e.58). Cultic rituals were performed for the gods, in temples, often by priests who conducted the rituals periodically according to custom and instruction. Given the original meaning of the word nt-ˁ, it can be assumed that the written nature of such custom and instruction was understood by the ancient Egyptians.

5b.2 Funerary and Aggressive Rituals

The occurrences of nt-ˁ referring to funerary rituals are not as numerous as the occurrences of ir-ḫt applying to such rites. This may be in part because the majority of the examples of nt-ˁ date to the New Kingdom. The majority of the occurrences of ir-ḫt referring to funerary rites predate the

New Kingdom (see chart #3).[14] On the one hand, this lack of evidence means that the information about funerary rituals referred to as nt-ˁ is not as rich as that provided for ir-ḫt. On the other hand, the examples that are preserved provide interesting parallels to the examples with ir-ḫt presented in Chapter 3 (3c.2) in that they refer to rituals of offering, the process of rebirth in the next world, the process of living in the next world, and aggression in the mythic world. Also rare in reference to nt-ˁ are examples that relate to aggressive rituals. As has been noted, aggression in relation to funerary belief does appear with nt-ˁ; therefore, aggressive rituals will be discussed within this study of nt-ˁ and funerary rituals.

The one example of nt-ˁ that relates to the offering of funerary provisions is controversial. Assmann (1983: 265.19, 266.n.i) transliterates nt-ˁ with a question mark and notes that the grouping might better be understood as ꜣw ˁ – having the meaning, "*die Hand ausstrecken.*" If the text is read retaining the nt-ˁ, then it could be understood as: "provisions of the *ritual* of the guide by his follower" (chart #7, e.56). While this combination of nt-ˁ and ˁw is not paralleled, it can be compared to the spell from the Coffin Text that refers to the guide (ˁw) offering water to the deceased at the wag festival and the festival of Thoth (CT I, 276a, Spell 64).[15] Unfortunately, this passage is very poorly preserved and thus it is difficult to make a conclusive decision concerning the correct reading. Additionally, it is difficult to determine

whether funerary offerings are being discussed or whether it is cultic offerings to the sun.

There are a couple of examples of the use of nt-ᶜ that describe rituals that occur as part of the process of rebirth of the dead and their entry into the West. The process through which Osiris, and by extension the dead person, was revived after death through the reunification of the body was described as a nt-ᶜ ritual: "he being united by means of your *ritual*" (chart #7, e.74). The judgement of the dead was described in similar terms in the Instructions of Merikare: "that day of judging the wretched, the hour of performing *rituals*" (chart #7, e.06).[16] These rituals would be similar to the rites described as ỉr-ḫt that were mentioned as being practices performed on the island of Serser (see Chapter 3, section 3c.2 – p.106).

Finally, there are a set of rituals referred to as nt-ᶜ that are related to proper living once the dead had reached the West. These rituals are found described in the solar hymns that are written on many New Kingdom tombs and funerary papyri.[17] One element in life in the West that is referred to as a nt-ᶜ is the ritual of the journey of the sun across the sky in the solar boat. This journey, which is repeated daily, is referred to as nt-ᶜ in both the solar hymns used in the cult and in these funerary texts.[18] For example, in chapter 20 of the Leiden hymn to Amun, the worshipper says: "how you cross [the sky], Horakhty, performing your *ritual* for yesterday daily" (chart #7, e.48). In the

sun hymns found in tombs the sun is addressed in relation to his voyage in similar phrases: "his *ritual* being performed daily, he was not hindered in his performance of yesterday" (chart #7, e.54; also see chart #7, e.53, e.55, e.57). Finally, in chapter 15 of the Book of the Dead the movement of the sun through the West during the hours of night is described using nt-ˁ: "when you have completed the hours of night, likewise you presented them and you completed (them) according to your *ritual*" (chart #7, e.34).

The activities of the gods in the West, as described in the Book of the Dead, also were described as nt-ˁ under certain conditions. In chapter 183 of the Book of the Dead, the worshipper, after assuring Osiris of the performance of proper offering rites, praised him saying: "all your governance being potent like his rituals from before" (chart #7, e.51). In chapter 127 of the Book of the Dead, in a section referring to the triumph of the gods over their enemies, Thoth is described as: "born according to ritual" (chart #7, e.50). This association between Thoth and funerary ritual presents another correlation between rituals described as ir-ḫt and nt-ˁ. As was noted in Chapter 3 (3c.2 - p.103-104), Thoth was linked to the setting down in writing of the rituals appropriate to the dead. Also, it is appropriate that Thoth is connected to triumphing over the enemies of the gods in a funerary and solar context because Thoth was integral to the solar journey and repulsing the enemies of Re.[19] In this context, it is relevant to note that in el Bersheh tomb #7, the overthrow of rebels is referred to as a ritual

performance: "the great wab priest of Thoth in overthrowing the rebels [upon the day] of performing *rituals*" (chart#7, e.02).

This last example also introduces the use of nt-ˁ to refer to aggressive rituals. The Litany of Re also contains a use of nt-ˁ that alludes to aggressive actions: "they did not perform their *rituals* against Osiris Seti before the butchers" (chart #7, e.49). Again, this example demonstrates an overlap between ir-ḫt and nt-ˁ as aggressive rituals related to funerary practices were noted as being referred to as ir-ḫt in Chapter 3 (3c.3). In particular, rites related to the overthrow of the rebels, especially events associated with the slaughter of Apep, were described as ir-ḫt (p. 115-116). The two examples using nt-ˁ also describe the overthrow of rebels and refer to the butchers in a manner that runs parallel to similar uses of ir-ḫt.

While not used as frequently for funerary rituals as ir-ḫt, these examples of nt-ˁ provide some interesting parallels to the uses of ir-ḫt that were discussed in Chapter 3. It is clear that nt-ˁ, like ir-ḫt, described rituals that were related to entry and life in the afterlife. These rituals had close ties to the ritual rebirth of Osiris and the journey of the solar boat with Re. Both of these activities included the battling of rebels, an activity also referred to as nt-ˁ or ir-ḫt. Included in the descriptions of the battle with the rebels were references to the god of writing, Thoth. While a connection with Thoth might be expected with an expression that referred to the written text like nt-ˁ, this

tie confirms the relationship between ritual and this god that was noted with funerary rites and ir-ḫt. What brings these ideas together is the performative and periodic nature of these activities as well as their crucial nature in relation to the maintenance of world order. The clearest example of this is the solar journey, which the solar boat repeated every 24 hours thereby maintaining the world order that Re had instituted in primeval times.[20] The aggressive rituals, sometimes performed by Thoth, kept the rebels from disrupting this journey.

5b.3 Work as Ritual

The expression nt-ᶜ frequently was used to describe the duties connected to work. In Chapter 3 (3c.4) it was concluded that work called ir-ḫt encompassed career duties, often related to the king, that were based on tradition or written instruction. The examples of work duties called nt-ᶜ display similar characteristics. Additionally, as with the work activities called ir-ḫt, the duties called nt-ᶜ can be divided into royal and general work.

One kind of work that the ancient Egyptians considered as nt-ᶜ was the performance of royal duties. An inscription at Karnak said of Thutmoses III: "because he gave *ritual* as lord of all lands, the nine bows are bound together under his two sandals" (chart #7, e.08).[21] The duties of kingship being

described here are those that involve the king subduing foreign lands and instituting Egyptian rule thereby bringing ma`at to all lands. This example, therefore, is comparable to the duties of kingship represented by the triumph scenes that are labelled with the title nb irt-ḫt (see Chapter 4).

The king also could perform similar duties to create or maintain order in Egypt itself. Horemheb, after the perceived upheaval of the Amarna period, was described as bringing order to Egypt through ritual that was based in primeval standards: "that was when he had set this land in order, so that he might *ritualise* it in accord with the time of Re" (chart #7, e.30).[22] A similar statement concerning Seti I's rule was inscribed in his temple at Abydos: "making peaceful the Two Lands (by) his *rituals*, the land is again like the First Occasion" (chart #7, e.38).

The connection to the god Re and the perfect primeval time seen in these examples is not just indicative of the idea that the work done by the king was based on early tradition. Additionally, these connections represent clear connections between the king's actions and those of the gods, in particular the solar god. This idea can be seen in parallels where ceremonies that were conducted by the king on earth are paralleled by the solar god on a cosmic scale. For example, in a solar hymn found in the tomb of the vizier Paser, the solar god was praised saying: "nobody established what is under and what is upper except for you alone, (by) your *ritual* of stretching the cord you form the Two Lands" (chart #7, e.52). This idea clearly runs parallel to

the description of the king founding temples through the ceremony of stretching the cord[23] and thus it can be said that the ritual performed by the king gains in significance through this connection to divine ritual. The impression that the work of the king could be considered to partake of a nature of divine activity is further reinforced by the description of Ramesses III from Medinet Habu: "they see him like Re at dawn, they being under the governance and *rituals* of the king" (chart #7, e.60).[24]

Work designated as nt-^{c} was not only performed by the king, but also by courtiers as part of court ceremonial. In the Prophecies of Neferti, the courtiers were described as performing ritual greetings to the king: "they went out, they having paid their respects according to their *ritual* of every day" (chart #7, e.07). Horemheb, in his decree stela set up at Karnak, used the expression nt-^{c} to refer to ceremonies he wanted performed at court. For example, Horemheb claimed: "I have testified concerning procedures of the audience chamber and the *ritual* of the interior of the royal nursery" (chart #7, e.32; also see chart #7, e.31,[25] e.33).[26] It also is clear that the expression nt-^{c} was applied not only to specific ceremonies, but to the overall work duties of a courtier. The Instructions of Amenemope declares itself to provide, "all regulations of entry of elders and the *rituals* as (royal) friends" (chart #7, e.75). Similarly, it is said of an old courtier who can no longer physically observe the proper ceremonial behaviour: "losing in bows, resting in his spine, his *ritual*, it neglects its place" (chart #7, e.29).

Not all the work called nt-ᶜ was royal duties or court ceremonial. For example, in the tomb of Rekhmire, the text over a scene of the vizier inspecting artisans explains that Rekhmire is: "causing that every man know his duties, consisting of the *ritual* of every occupation" (chart #7, e.22). A similar statement was made concerning work performed for the Residence City[27]: "in order to perform every occupation of the Residence City according to their *ritual* of every day" (chart #7, e.23). One interesting aspect of these examples is that, at least partially, these occupations are connected to the king. In the second example, the people are performing work to support the royal establishment. While not as clearly connected to the king, the first example does suggest that the vizier, the chief representative of the king, is stating that he will make everyone knowledgeable concerning his work thus preserving order in Egypt.[28]

One interesting observation concerning nt-ᶜ as it refers to work is that it allows some questionable references to things done by priests, which do not seem to be cultic rites, to be interpreted as work. These activities could include the repair of temple property: "look, it has been commanded that you purify the chapel of Abydos. Artisans are given to you for its *ritual* together with hour priests of the temple of these districts and the storehouse of the god's offerings" (chart #7, e.03). It is possible, in light of this example, that some of the references to rituals in relation to religious buildings and priests might include not only cult ritual, but also work required for the building and

maintenance of temple estates (e.g., chart #7, e.09, e.19, e.20, e.24, e.25, e.26, e.61, e.63, e.64).[29]

In reviewing the use of the expression nt-ᶜ as applied to work, there are a number of striking similarities when compared with the use of ir-ḫt for work. First, many of the examples of nt-ᶜ were in connection to work performed in relation to the king and court ceremonial much as was discussed for ir-ḫt (see 3c.4). Second, the skilled duties involved in the performance of a job also were similar to the performance of general duties that were present in the examples of ir-ḫt discussed in Chapter 3 (3c.4). These similarities are evident in a number of specific examples. The example of Washptah (chart #3, c.12) performing rites in the Privy Chamber is parallel to the examples of nt-ᶜ used to describe the ceremonies and work of the royal courtiers discussed in this section (chart #7, e.07, e.31, e.32, e.33, 75). Another set of parallel examples comes from the tomb of Rekhmire. In this tomb, both ir-ḫt and nt-ᶜ were used to refer to the duties involved in a career that were performed according to instruction (compare chart #3, c.120 and c.121 with chart #7, e.22). Finally, there are parallel examples related to the performance of official commissions. The expression ir-ḫt was used by King Izezi to refer to the work that Senedjemib was performing in royal construction projects on command (chart #3, c.19). Similarly, the Vizier

Ankhu used nt-ᶜ to refer to the work that Amenysoneb was to perform in renewing the temple at Abydos on command (chart #7, e.03).

Clearly, the work described by these two terms share some essential qualities. Work designated by the term ritual was formal and official often being based on a connection with royal activities. These royal activities included the duties of kingship, the performance of court ceremonial, and the carrying out of royal or official commissions. Another characteristic of ritual work was that this work was being performed based on tradition or written instructions. This tradition is reflected in the idea that actions were based on primeval times (chart #7, e.30, e.38) or that someone needed guidance to perform them successfully. This need for guidance is implied in Rekhmire's need to cause that people know the duties of their occupation (chart #7, e.22) and in the opening of the Instructions of Amenemope, which claims to provide instruction on the duties necessary to be a courtier (chart #7, e.75). Similar to the findings in regards to work called ir-ḫt, work designated as nt-ᶜ is an entire set of activities, not a single activity. The work of performing royal ceremonial or the job of an artisan under the vizier would have involved a clustering of skills performing a series of activities.

In addition to the characteristics that are shared to a large degree between work called ir-ḫt and nt-ᶜ, there is one characteristic of ritual work that is more apparent in the examples using nt-ᶜ. This characteristic is an emphasis on the repetitive nature of the work. This repetitive quality was

indicated using the phrase, "of every day" (chart #7, e.23, e.31). This quality is typical of the use of nt-ᶜ across the categories and is responsible for one common translation of this expression – custom.[30]

5b.4 Custom as Ritual

As has been seen in the examples that have been examined to this point, there is a strong emphasis on periodicity with the rituals called nt-ᶜ. While the rites called ir-ḫt are not without some reference to repetition (e.g., chart #3, c.62, c.109, c.143), this feature is not as prevalent as it is with nt-ᶜ. This characteristic is strong enough that some examples of the use of nt-ᶜ seem to have custom as their primary meaning. Consequently, it is necessary to analyse these occurrences separately from those that clearly fit into the categories that match those used to analyse the primary uses of ir-ḫt. The use of nt-ᶜ to refer to custom falls into two primary categories, daily programme and legal agreement.

The expression nt-ᶜ occasionally occurs in a context that would suggest its primary meaning was a personal daily programme or custom. A well-known early example of this situation is found in the Westcar Papyrus. The success of the wonder performed in the story of the cheating wife relies on an adulterer going "down to the pool according to his *ritual* of every day" (chart #7, e.04; also see chart #7, e.05, e.66). Given the formality of the other

contexts of nt-ᶜ and the origin of this expression in record books, it is unlikely that this use of nt-ᶜ is exactly equivalent to habit. Additionally, since the action of the story relies heavily on the man making his trip to the pool, it is likely that the ancient Egyptian author chose a word that let the audience know that the man was bound to go to the pool. As a result, the meaning of nt-ᶜ is closer to something like programme where the day's activities were written down ahead of time and followed throughout the day. It also is possible that this example could be understood as nt-ᶜ meaning work. In this instance, the man would be going down to the pool as part of his required job duties. In either case, the context requires that nt-ᶜ refer to an activity that had a certain degree of formality and periodicity in that it was predictable.[31]

This kind of predictable behaviour based on a written text also is typical of another type of use of nt-ᶜ – that of a legal agreement. The examples of nt-ᶜ in this context share a quality of being a customary and obligatory agreement between two parties. For example, in the tomb of Rekhmire, the captured foreigners, working as slaves for the estate of the temple of Amun, are given provisions in accordance with some kind of customary procedure: "giving to them linen, oil, clothes, according to their *ritual* of annual requirements" (chart #7, e.21). Similarly, the high priest of Amun Amunhotep is given supplies according to a customary or binding arrangement called nt-ᶜ: "giving to you the basins of gold and silver in accord

with the *ritual* of the servant" (chart #7, e. 70; also see chart #7, e.71, e.72, e.73). These examples are interesting in that they have similar characteristics. They involve the movement of goods, some on a periodic schedule (cf., chart #7, e.21 and e.71), involving personnel connected to the temple. These examples can be compared favourably with an example that was placed within the work category. In this example a work receipt of a potter said: "received as revenue of the potter, completed according to his *ritual* of every day" (chart #7, e.66). While this example may refer to the work of the potter, it also may refer to legal agreements or contracts for daily production that the potter has made. From this comparison, it is possible to understand the relationship between work, legal agreements, and customary behaviour that brings these activities together under the term nt-ˁ.

Many of the examples of the use of nt-ˁ to refer to a legal agreement come from international agreements. The context of nt-ˁ in these texts implies a certain periodicity that suggests a customary pattern and hence has influenced the translation of this expression as "*customary* agreement" (Spalinger 1981: 303, n.13). For example, in the Annals of Thutmoses III, the foreign ports were supplied for the Egyptians by the locals "according to their *ritual* of each year" (chart #7, e.11; also see chart #7, e.12, e.13, e.14, e.15, e.16, e.21).[32]

The formality of such agreements, however, is suggested by the manner in which nt-ˁ is used in the treaty between Ramesses II and the king of

the Hittites, Hattushili III. This expression is used a number of times in the treaty to refer to the formal written arrangements between the two kingdoms. The written quality of the treaty is made obvious in the text itself: "as for the words of the *ritual* that the Great Ruler of Hatti performed together with Ramesses II Meriamun, the Great Ruler of Egypt, in writing on this silver tablet" (chart #7, e.46). Clearly, from this example it can be concluded that nt-ᶜ did not refer to the document itself (the silver tablet), but to the content of that document. Additionally, it can be noted that there was a customary basis to the terms of this treaty when the kings agree that they will abide by terms of former treaties: "as for the proper *ritual* that had been here" (chart #7, e.45). It also is relevant to note that the treaty reflected conditions laid down by the gods much like other examples of nt-ᶜ: "the *ritual* causing to be established the plans which Re made and which Seth made" (chart #7, e.43). Finally, the hoped for outcome of the treaty, order and harmony, was precisely defined in the description of the agreement as: "the good *ritual* of peace and brotherly affection so good peace and good brotherly affection are permitted to occur between us forever" (chart #7, e.41).

It is possible to understand the reason behind the selection of nt-ᶜ by the author(s) of the document based on the original meaning of this expression as an instructional record.[33] Clearly, the treaty is a listing of stipulations each party must observe and this compares favourably with the use of nt-ᶜ and ir-ḫt in the context of royal decrees (e.g., section 5b.3, chart #7,

e.30, e.31, e.32, e.33; section 3c.4, chart #3, c.53, c.55, c.56). While the use of nt-ᶜ to refer to a treaty can be understood in relation to the original meaning of this expression, a deeper understanding can be achieved by considering how the characteristics of the use of nt-ᶜ observed in other contexts relates to this treaty. It is evident from the discussion above that the ancient Egyptian understanding of the nature of the treaty they enacted had some basic elements that are common to other ritual activities.

The first element of ritual that is integral to the treaty of Ramesses II and Hatushili III is performance. The treaty relies on each party performing specific physical actions. For example, the treaty specifies that they would act as allies and go to war if either party was attacked (KRI II: 228.3-11). Similarly, both rulers promised that they would return fugitives to their respective lands (KRI II: 229.3-11). Therefore, the treaty demonstrates the three elements of ritual that were observed as part of ritual (see section 3c.5, pp. 127): word, the written treaty; object, the military gear or the fugitives; and action, the physical acts of going to war or moving of people.

The second element of ritual that is a constituent of this treaty is periodicity. This element occurs in two different ways. First, there is an emphasis on the fact that the treaty is not new, but part of an ongoing set of behaviours between the two kingdoms. For example, at a couple of points in the document there is reference to former treaties or periods where the relationship between the two parties were in accord with the terms of this

new treaty (KRI II: 227.2-3; 228.1-3). Also of importance is the fact that the treaty is aligned with the primeval arrangement of the gods (KRI II: 227.2; 227.5), something also witnessed in regards to the ritual actions already analysed in this chapter. Second, there is a sense that the behaviours agreed to in the treaty are ones that must be repeated over the life of the rulers and their descendants in order to meet the terms of the treaty. For example, both rulers vowed that the "children of their children" would have a relationship of "peace and brotherly affection like our nature forever" (KRI II: 227.13-14). Additionally, in the vow both kings are making, they state: "we grasp it so that we may perform in accord with this proper governance" (KRI II: 228.3).[34]

The final element that represents a similarity between the treaty and other ritual behaviours is the desired outcome of the treaty. With ritual, it has been noted in this study (section 3c.5, pp. 131-132; section 4c.1, pp. 200-206) that world order in accord with ma`at was the desired result of performing rituals. It is clear that the desired outcome of this treaty for both parties was an ordered relationship based on the desire of the gods that produced "peace and brotherly affection" (see for example, chart #7, e.41).

From this review, then, it can be established that the treaty between Ramesses II and Hattushili III conformed to primary characteristics of ritual in a number of essential ways. First, the treaty rested on a written document that set out a list of instructions for each king to follow. This characteristic is concurrent with the original meaning of the expression nt-^{c}. In addition, this

characteristic is typical of the characteristic of rituals being based on written documents or tradition as observed with the use of ỉr-ḫt. Second, the treaty represents a requirement of the parties to the treaty performing physical action with objects based on words. This quality of ritual was seen most strongly with the phrase ỉr-ḫt. Third, the treaty had definite reference to repetition in time, both in the past and in the future. Repetition was an essential element of ritual seen in relation to nt-ᶜ and nb ỉrt-ḫt. The final characteristic of ritual that was present in the treaty was that the desired outcome of the treaty was order. Again, the performance of ritual to bring about order was noted particularly in relation to nb ỉrt-ḫt. Clearly, describing the treaty as a ritual between Ramesses II and Hatushili III was appropriate given the ancient Egyptian concept of ritual.

5c Analysis and Conclusions

From the preceding survey of the use of the expression nt-ᶜ, it is evident that its use closely overlaps with that of ỉr-ḫt. This use can be divided into the same categories of ritual as were used in the analysis of ỉr-ḫt – cultic, funerary, negative, and work. However, it was necessary to add the category of "custom." From these results, it can be concluded that nt-ᶜ and ỉr-ḫt had a parallel relationship, but at this point it is necessary to analyse and evaluate that relationship. In order to carry out this analysis, the qualities of activities

called nt-ᶜ need to be reviewed. After these qualities have been outlined, then it will be possible to analyse the degree and character of the relationship between nt-ᶜ and ir-ḫt. This analysis is important in order to confirm that the study of nt-ᶜ does not contradict any major characteristics of ritual in ancient Egyptian thought from the study of ir-ḫt and nb irt-ḫt, but rather compliments that study. Finally, it is important to discuss the chronological development in relation to both terms for ritual.

5c.1 Analysis of the Uses of nt-ᶜ

From the study conducted in this chapter, it is clear that the expression nt-ᶜ was used to refer to rituals that can be categorised as cultic, funerary, aggressive, and work. From the use of this expression for these four categories, it can be concluded that just as with ir-ḫt and nb irt-ḫt, the activities that were called nt-ᶜ included both sacred and secular activities. These two areas of activity are witnessed by the cultic and work references. However, within the activities to which nt-ᶜ refers there are qualities that cut across these categories. It is important to delineate these qualities before trying to compare the use of nt-ᶜ with ir-ḫt and nb irt-ḫt.

The first, and most obvious quality of nt-ᶜ is its reference to the written record. This quality can be witnessed, not only in the literal meaning of the expression, "belonging to the (prescriptive) document," but also from the

context of its use. For example, in the treaty between Ramesses II and Hatushili III, nt-^{c} is connected to the act of the words of the ritual being recording on a tablet (chart #7, e.46). It also is appropriate, in relation to the written nature of this expression, to note that the god of writing, Thoth, is mentioned in the same context as nt-^{c} (e.g., chart #7, e.02, e.50).

Another strong quality of the rituals referred to as nt-^{c} is that of performance. Already in the earliest examples, nt-^{c} appeared with the verb ir thereby highlighting the performative nature of the ritual activities. Additionally, the performative action associated with nt-^{c} can be noted in the predominance of contexts that involve physical action. By way of illustration, in the examples of nt-^{c} surveyed in this chapter, beyond references to performing (ir), this expression is related to actions like: coming and going (e.g., chart #7, e.04, e.05, e.28, e.32, e.75); overthrowing enemies (e.g., chart #7, e.02); `stretching the cord' (e.g., chart #7, e.52); supplying (e.g., chart #7, e.11, e.13, e.21); filling manufacturing orders (e.g., chart #7. e.66); bowing (e.g., chart #7, e.29); guarding (e.g., chart #7, e.35); and uniting body parts (e.g., chart #7, e.74).

Periodicity is another quality of rituals called nt-^{c} that is common to many examples in the corpus. This quality normally was expressed through reference to the repetition of the ritual at regular intervals in time. For example, activities often were described as occurring daily (e.g., chart #7,

e.01, e.04, e.05, e.07, e.23, e.31, e.48, e.54, e.66), annually (e.g., chart #7, e.11, e.12, e.13, e.14, e.15, e.16, e.21), or at calendar festivals (e.g., chart #7, e.01, e.09, e.20, e.27, e.39).

It is equally clear that the Egyptians believed that the rituals called nt-ᶜ had a strong foundation in custom, tradition, or primeval times. This idea sometimes was expressed through the use of phrases like offering to the ennead "according to their ritual" (chart #7, e.58)[35] or endowing rituals "according to the celebrations of the shrine of Ptah" (chart #7, e.62), which suggest a traditional manner in which to perform rituals. As was clear in the treaty between Ramesses II and Hatushili III (see chart #7, e.43), rituals also could be grounded in tradition by being linked to the gods or to primeval times. For example, rituals called nt-ᶜ were linked to either the restoration of activities performed "at the first" (chart #7, e.09) and "since existence (began)" (chart #7, e.68) or ritualising the land "in accord with the time of Re" (chart #7, e.30) and "like the First Occasion" (chart #7, e.38). Finally, rituals occasionally were described as having been performed forever (e.g., chart #7, e.53, e.55, e.57).

Obviously, if rituals were based on such a traditional footing, it was necessary to educate people in their proper performance. This need to educate the performers of ritual does appear in the texts in the corpus. The earliest extant use of nt-ᶜ is related to a claim by Ikhernofret that he caused that the priests "know" the ritual (chart #7, e.01). Seti I made similar claims

in regards to priests (chart #7, e.36), Rekhmire caused everyone to "know his duties consisting of the *rituals* of every occupation" in regards to training workers (chart #7, e.22), and Amenemope's goal in his Instructions clearly was to educate courtiers in their rituals for court ceremonial (chart #7, e.75). Given this need the ancient Egyptians felt to educate people in the performance of rituals, it is not surprising that there was an emphasis placed on being sure that the rituals were performed properly. This idea most commonly was expressed using the word mty (*Wb* II: 173-174 [mtr]) to indicate that the ritual was performed according to tradition and instructions (see above, discussion of chart #7 e.25, p. 314 and note 12).

Given the emphasis placed on the background of ritual in custom and the need to educate, it can be concluded that there was an official quality to ritual. This idea is confirmed through the number of occurrences of nt-ᶜ in royal or divine contexts. Only three examples of the use of this expression have no apparent reference to the gods, the king, or the royal court (i.e., chart #7, e.04, e.05, e.66). This fact implies that one essential quality of ritual was formality.

The final quality that is apparent in a number of examples of the use of nt-ᶜ is a connection to order. Most commonly, this connection was a belief in the ability of rituals called nt-ᶜ to create order in the world. This idea was expressed most commonly in respect to the work of the gods or kings. As was described previously, it is clear that the expected outcome of the treaty

was an ordered relationship between the Egyptians and the Hittites. This same outcome was expressed in relationship to the king of Egypt and other foreign countries. For example, it was said of Thutmoses III: "because he gave *ritual* as lord of all lands" (chart #7, e.08; also see chart #7, e. 10). Similarly, the king was described as bringing order to Egypt through the performance of rituals. For example, Seti I was described as "making peaceful the Two Lands (by) his rituals, the land is again like the First Occasion" (chart #7, e.38; also see chart #7, e.30). Finally, the gods also shared in the task of performing rituals to bring order to the land of Egypt. This idea is clearly stated in the solar hymns: "by your ritual of stretching the cord you form the Two Lands" (chart #7, e.52) and, as was mentioned before, the solar journey ensured order (see pp. 320-322, n. 20).

From this analysis of nt-ᶜ, it is clear that there were a number of qualities that were common across the categories of use of this expression. Rituals called nt-ᶜ were activities that were based on a written guide that had a performative quality. These rituals were conducted repeatedly as set times, ideally anchored in custom that originated in the archetypal era of primeval times. Due to these qualities, it was necessary that performers of ritual be educated so that they performed their rituals properly. Rituals also had an official or formal quality that connected rituals to the divine or royal spheres. Finally, the desired outcome of the performance of ritual was order in the world.

5c.2 Comparison of nt-^{c}, ỉr-ḥt, and nb ỉrt-ḥt

At this point, it is possible to make direct comparisons between the words for ritual that have been analysed in this study. At a basic level, it is clear that the characteristics of use -- cultic, funerary, aggressive, and work -- are common to all terms. The primary difference in use related to these categories between nt-^{c} and ỉr-ḫt/nb ỉrt-ḫt is a matter of emphasis and frequency within these categories. For example, for the category funerary ritual, there are far fewer examples for nt-^{c} than for ỉr-ḫt. Related to this situation, is the fact that there is no mention of the lector priest performing rituals, something that was common of rites called ỉr-ḫt (see chart #3, c.26, c.27, c.42, c.43, c.45, c.60, c.61, c.106, c.143; and see discussion in Chapter 3, section 3c.2, pp. 102-104). This difference between the two terms is not fatal to seeing both ỉr-ḫt and nt-^{c} as terms used to refer to ritual. The most probable cause of this difference is chronological since almost all of the occurrences of references to the lector priest come from the Old and Middle Kingdoms, a time when there are few occurrences of the expression nt-^{c}.

Another problem in assessing the differences in emphasis and frequency is that nt-^{c} does not appear as commonly as ỉr-ḫt and nb ỉrt-ḫt. This results in the situation where parallels between the expressions might be represented by a small number of occurrences or a single occurrence in the

case of nt-^{c}. For example, it was noted, particularly in relation to the royal title nb irt-ḫt and, to a lesser degree with ir-ḫt, that there was a connection between ritual and the king constructing monuments (see section 4c.1, pp. 200-201; section 3c.4, p.121). Within the corpus, there is only one clear occurrence of nt-^{c} that provides a connection between ritual and royal actions which could be considered as the construction of a monument (chart #7, e.17).

If the categories are considered as a whole, the primary difference between nt-^{c} and ir-ḫt/nb irt-ḫt would appear to be in the lack of emphasis on aggressive rites with the expression nt-^{c}. While not entirely absent from the occurrences of nt-^{c} (e.g., chart #7, e.02, e.49), there are no examples of claims of people performing rituals against other people's tombs. The opposite situation is represented by the fact that there are no examples of ir-ḫt referring to treaties. While it could be argued that the occurrences of aggressive rites in funerary texts for nt-^{c} (e.g., chart #7, e.02, e.49) and the use of ir-ḫt in relation to royal decrees (e.g., chart #3, c.53, c.55, c.56) might be related uses of these terms, the total lack of clear examples suggests a difference in emphasis between the two words.

The most logical explanation for this difference lies in the original meaning and use of these words. Since ir-ḫt had the original meaning `performing procedures,' both its antiquity and reference to physical manipulation may have caused it to be favoured to describe the kinds of

activities involved in performing rites against a tomb (see discussion in section 3c.3, pp. 112-113). Similarly, the documentary, legal, and prescriptive nature of the treaty may have caused a preference for the use of the expression nt-^{c} given its proposed original meaning `belonging to the prescriptive document'. Equally important may have been the fact that such treaties were somewhat foreign to Egyptian practice[36] and hence, a potentially more archaic term would not necessarily have been preferred.

Given these factors, it is evident that the differences in emphasis and frequency of use between nt-^{c} and ir-ḫt/nb irt-ḫt do not present significant issues for the understanding of the cognitive category ritual. Rather, it should be understood that any differences observed are representative of the difference of original meaning of the words and the chronological differences in use.

If the qualities of ritual that cut across all categories of the use of nt-^{c} that were reviewed previously are considered, it can be concluded that they too parallel what was outlined for ir-ḫt and nb irt-ḫt. If the qualities of rituals called nt-^{c}, which were discussed in section 5c.1, are compared with the qualities of rites called ir-ḫt that were discussed in section 3c.5, they fall into the same general types.

The most obvious quality noted with respect to rites called ir-ḫt was its reference to physical action (3c.5, pp. 128-129). For ir-ḫt, this quality was

noted across all categories of use. Physical action also was noted as a strong quality of the rituals called nt-ᶜ (5c.1, p. 335). Like ir-ḫt, the quality of physical action cut across all categories of activities called nt-ᶜ. An example of a physical ritual that was called both ir-ḫt and nt-ᶜ was the ritual of entry where either a priest entered the presence of a deity (e.g., chart #3, c.62, c.138) or a courtier entered the presence of the king (e.g., chart #7, e.07, e.32, e.75) observing the proper rituals set for that occasion. Such physicality was also noted in relation to the context of the title nb irt-ḫt, most notably in relation to the king repulsing the forces of chaos through military triumph (section 4c.1, pp. 202, 204).

One aspect of use noted in relation to the physical nature of ritual called ir-ḫt was the fact that it often was combined with two other aspects: object and speech (3c.5, p. 128). This fact was not as commonly noted with the examples of nt-ᶜ; however, the combination of these three things clearly was an important aspect of the treaty document. It is probable that the three elements also were a factor in other rites called nt-ᶜ such as court ceremonial and the funerary rituals where actions such as bowing might be connected with set speeches of greeting or prayer and manipulation of objects such as offerings or symbols of office.

The quality first noted with nt-ᶜ was its reference to the written record (5c.1, p. 334). This aspect of use for ir-ḫt also was found to be as important as

the physical nature of rites, cutting across all characteristics that were discussed (3c.5, pp. 129-130). In both cases, the god of writing, Thoth, was noted as being associated with the context of these words. Given this reliance on the written word, it is not surprising that an emphasis on the customary nature of rituals was also common to both ỉr-ḫt and nt-ᶜ. The ritual actions performed often were described as being based on a traditional style of rites (compare chart #3, c.26, c.35, c.38, c.42, c.43, c.45, c.70, c.93, c.100, c.119, c.132, c.133,c.138, c.139, with chart #7, e.09, e.20, e.30, e.39, e.58, e.62, e.75). Such an emphasis on performance based on written tradition also was present in relation to royal performance and thus could be related to the title nb ỉrt-ḫt (see discussion in section 4c.1, pp. 211-212).

In the case of both nt-ᶜ and ỉr-ḫt, this emphasis on written instructions and reliance on traditional observance seems to have necessitated the education of those who performed rituals. This reality is represented best by the use of the word rḫ, `to know' or `to learn' (*Wb* II: 442-444). Knowing or learning rituals is referred to in both the nt-ᶜ and ỉr-ḫt corpora (e.g., chart #3, c.65, c.136; chart #7, e.01, e.22, e.36). The king as nb ỉrt-ḫt also educated officials (chart #4, d. 93). Further evidence of this concern over doing rituals correctly according to written instructions, tradition, and education is the fact that it was said that rituals were performed mty, `properly' (e.g., chart #3, c.119; chart #7, e.25). Clearly, the ancient Egyptians were concerned not only

with the idea that rituals were performed, but also with the *way* those rituals were performed.

Periodicity also was a quality that appeared in respect to both words for ritual; however, it was more prominent with nt-ᶜ. As was seen above, it was common for the rituals called nt-ᶜ to be described as having been performed annually, daily, or regularly according to a time set by the calendar (see p. 335-336). This kind of specific comment on performing rituals on a regular basis was rare with ir-ḫt. For example, Khaemwaset addressed the priests of the Apis cult as those who performed rites called ir-ḫt every morning (chart #3, c.143, also see chart #3, c.109). A similar idea of a periodic performance of rites as royal ceremonial was described being performed whenever the courtier entered the Privy-Chamber (chart #3, c.12). Clearly, many of the cultic and funerary rites would have been understood by the ancient Egyptians as necessarily being repeated on a regular basis given their standard religious practice.[37] Given this fact and the presence of a few examples of ir-ḫt with a time reference, it is probable that the difference in the number of references to periodicity between nt-ᶜ and ir-ḫt is not significant. It is possible that the selection of nt-ᶜ over ir-ḫt to refer to rituals having a strong periodic quality was a case of emphasis. An Egyptian would have selected the expression nt-ᶜ in order to stress the repeated and customary nature of the

ritual being described based on the stronger intrinsic quality of custom related to the origin of the expression nt-ˁ.

A quality of formality was clearly connected with nt-ˁ, ir-ḫt, and obviously nb irt-ḫt. This formality is not only indicated by the need for performing rituals properly through attention to instruction and tradition through education, but also by the frequent connection of ritual to royalty and divinity. Clearly, the examples of ritual that fall into the cultic and funerary categories have this formal quality. What is significant is that this formal quality also is found in the work category. As was noted previously, work called nt-ˁ and ir-ḫt was connected to royalty to a large extent (see section 3c.4, especially p. 125, and sections 5b.3 and 5c.1).

Finally, a concern with the production of order through ritual was prominent in the described outcome of ritual, be it nt-ˁ, ir-ḫt, or nb irt-ḫt. This concern with order was discussed for nt-ˁ in relation to the actions and decrees of the king (see 5c.1, pp. 337-338). This concept was expressed clearly in the treaty between Ramesses II and Hattushili III (see 5b.4). This attention to order was very clear in relation to the use of the title nb irt-ḫt in conjunction with the role of the king as a military leader who conquers the forces of chaos seen as foreigners, rebels, or wild animals (section 4c.1, pp. 204-206). In the case of ir-ḫt, it was noted that one stated aim of performing rites was to cause order through making people, living or dead, flourish (section 3c.5, pp. 130).

Clearly, performing work called ir-ḫt was considered by the Egyptians to produce order and guarantee success in the final judgement (section 3c.5, pp. 131-132). This connection between ritual and order is suggested further by the appearance of nt-ᶜ and ir-ḫt in contexts involved with judgement (e.g., c.06, c.41, c.49, c.93, c.119, c.133; chart #7, e.06).

From this comparison of the categories of use and qualities of these words for ritual it is clear that there is considerable correspondence between ir-ḫt and nt-ᶜ. The next issue, then, is whether there is any evidence that the ancient Egyptians identified these two terms with each other. In fact, there are some examples of uses of these two terms that suggest that the ancient Egyptians did connect them as related in meaning. First, the expression nt-ᶜ was occasionally in close contact with ḫt nṯr. For example, Thutmoses III instructs priests: "do not be remiss concerning any of your *rituals*, be pure and clean with *god's proceedings*" (chart #7, e.18; also see chart #7, e.27, e.37). Similarly, there is an example of ir-ḫt in close contact with ᶜ: "equipment was made in accordance with what was made in its *document* being all *rites performed* for an empowered spirit" (chart #3, c.43). More importantly, there are a couple of examples where ir-ḫt and nt-ᶜ actually occur in the same context. Example e.24 gives possible evidence for the conscious identification of the two terms through the m of predication: "those who perform in every *rite* (ir-ḫt), that is every *ritual* (nt-ᶜ) that is performed in this

chapel" (chart #7, e.24; also see chart #7, e.26).[38] Therefore, it can be concluded that these two terms were identified with each other during the New Kingdom, if not earlier.

In reviewing the connections between ir-ḫt and nt-ˁ, it can be concluded that there was significant overlap in the semantic fields of these two expressions. The basic characteristics of the use of these expressions for referring to cult ritual, funerary ritual, aggressive ritual, and work ritual were alike. Additionally, the qualities of ritual that cut across these categories – physicality, written and traditional precedent, need for education, formality, and the promotion of order – show great similarity as well. Finally, the fact that there was a conscious identification of these expressions by the ancient Egyptians strongly suggests that they refer to comparable activities. Given that the terms ir-ḫt and nt-ˁ referred to the same categories, similar qualities, and were consciously identified with each other, it can be concluded that not only did these expressions share significant overlap in regards to their semantic field, they also were understood by the ancient Egyptians as referring to the same cognitive category. As a result of this conclusion, it can also be stated that the initial investigation of ir-ḫt in order to reconstruct the ancient Egyptian cognitive category `ritual' was accurate.

5c.3 Chronological Analysis

As in the study of ir-ḫt there has been little consideration of chronological development in this analysis of the expression nt-ᶜ. Unlike in the case of ir-ḫt, however, the preserved examples of nt-ᶜ primarily date to the New Kingdom. This situation leaves less room for an evaluation of development of use; however, it does appear that the main categories of use and qualities of ritual are constant across the preserved examples of nt-ᶜ. The use of nt-ᶜ does seem to rise and fall in popularity during certain reigns. In general, it would appear that nt-ᶜ was popular during the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmoses III, Horemheb, Seti I, Ramesses II, and Ramesses III. The significance of this pattern is difficult to assess without a clearer knowledge of patterns of textual preservation than currently obtain. Despite this fluctuation in popularity, the fact that the basic characteristics and qualities remain relatively constant through time further supports the conclusion drawn in relation to the chronological analysis of ir-ḫt (section 3c.6), that the ancient Egyptian concept of ritual was stable throughout the pharaonic period.

At this point, it is essential to return to the pattern of frequency of use of ir-ḫt that was noted in the chronological analysis of this term (section 3c.6). There, it was noted that this term appeared more frequently in the Old Kingdom than in later periods. It probably is not coincidental that the

reduction in occurrences of ir-ḫt coincided with the growth in use of the expression nt-ˁ. The convergent development of two terms without one displacing the other is not unknown in ancient Egyptian language. One example of such a pair of words is ḥwt-nṯr and r-pr. Spencer, in her study of the lexicography of the temple (1984:37-55), demonstrated that while these two terms originally had separate meanings their meanings converged, but both words continued in use. The most obvious explanation for the patterns of use observed in relation to ir-ḫt and nt-ˁ was that they, like ḥwt-nṯr and r-pr, originated separately and came to refer to the same concept, commonly being used interchangeably. If this hypothesis is true, then ir-ḫt, "performing procedures," based on the available evidence, was the earlier term and reflected a time when the written text, while important, was not as common as later in time (cf. Baines 1984: 694-695). Later, as the written text became more common and clearly was a way of recording the proper form of performing rituals, the expression nt-ˁ, "belonging to the (prescriptive) document," became an appropriate way to describe ritual. It is probable that nb irt-ḫt was a title used by kings before the use of nt-ˁ to refer to ritual became common. It is most likely that kings retained this title because of the greater weight it carried as an older and thus more traditional expression.

5c.4 Conclusions

From this survey of the semantic field of the expression nt-ᶜ, it is clear that there is a substantial overlap with the semantic field of ir-ḫt. The major categories of the rites referred to by ir-ḫt – cultic, funerary, aggressive, and work – were found to fit the categories of use for nt-ᶜ. Another category, custom, was added to the categories used to analyse ir-ḫt in order to account for this use of nt-ᶜ, although it is possible that these uses of this expression were related to the category of work. Additionally, it was found that the qualities of ritual, which cut across the categories of use, were similar for both terms and also fit many aspects of the royal title nb irt-ḫt. These qualities included: physicality; written and traditional precedent; need for education; formality; and the promotion of order. The primary difference between nt-ᶜ and ir-ḫt related to the qualities of ritual was a matter of emphasis. The reasons some qualities may have been more emphasised for one term and not the other probably lie in the original meaning of each term. As discussed in the introduction to this chapter, the expression nt-ᶜ had the original meaning `belonging to the (prescriptive) document', which emphasised the origins of the instructions for performing the ritual in written form. This reference to writing may explain why this term did not come into *common* use until the Middle Kingdom, when literacy was more widespread and the textual corpus more complex. It is likely, then, that ir-ḫt and nt-ᶜ were parallel terms that had

converging meanings. The later arrival of nt-ᶜ and the convergence in meaning between the two expressions explain why the use of ir-ḫt became less frequent by the New Kingdom.

In the final analysis, it can be said that both ir-ḫt and nt-ᶜ were expressions that referred to ritual. Consequently, it can be concluded that the attributes proposed for the cognitive category `ritual' in ancient Egypt, based on the study of ir-ḫt, are correct.

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[1] There are problems associated with the interpretation of ᶜ as arm (hand) or document (credentials, record) in relation to the appearance with or without the bookroll determinative. For example, see Fischer 1964: 16, n. 2; Faulkner 1973: vol. 1, 194, n.3; vol. 2: 45, n.30; 248, n.2. As a result the presence or absence of this determinative is not helpful in determining the meaning of ᶜ in nt-ᶜ.

[2] For further examples see *Urk* I: 171.2, 307.19; Vandier 1936: 37 (6); Alliot 1946: 64, n. 4; Gunn 1948: 28, (3); Goedicke 1956: 30; Posener-Kriéger 1976: 479.

[3] For further examples see *Urk* I: 2.11, 4.15; Meeks 1980: 77.0549; Meeks1981: 78.0601; Meeks 1982: 79.0403.

[4] This holder of the last title is also described as a rḫ-nsw, which, if this title actually should be read ir-ḫt nsw as proposed by some scholars (see above, section 3c.4, p.126-127), could be important for understanding the early relationship between text and ritual. For further examples of titles combining ᶜ and nsw see *Urk* I: 31.13, 94.8, 280.15.

[5] All except mḏ3t in this list begin to be used in the Middle Kingdom according to the *Wörterbuch*. For a wider selection of words related to ancient Egyptian `books' see Schott 1990.

[6] For similar examples see de Buck 1935: IV. 31a (spell 281), 42c (spell 290), 389a (spell 351); V. 152a (spell 389), 173d (spell 400); VI. 51b (spell 482), 128b (spell 533), 295l (spell 672), 300f (spell 672), 308p (spell 681); VII. 164f (spell 949).

[7] This interpretation accords well with Redford's (1986: 129, 142, n.62) understanding of ᶜ in the Old Kingdom royal archives. Redford describes royal archives for this period as having administrative documents (ledgers, ᶜ) and annalistic documents (gnwt).

[8] This is the generally accepted understanding; see Lorton 1974: 114 ("what belongs to the document"); Redford 1970: 43, n.1 ("relating to the document"), 1986: 219, n.61 ("that which conforms to the regulation"); Goelet & Levine 1998: 263 ("that which belongs to the book").

[9] The word ḫnw is difficult in this example since it has a range of meanings that provide little information about the nature of ritual being described. In the *Wörterbuch* (III: 368-370), the meanings given includes the general – interior or home– to more specific reference to an interior, private room or the royal palace. This causes specific problems for understanding

the ritual being described because it cannot be determined whether there is a sense that it is a royal ritual, a private ritual, or just a typical ritual for the temple.

[10] See Spencer (1984: 22-55) on these terms. For ḥwt, Spencer (1984: 25-26) suggests a building devoted to the funerary cult of the king or queen and private individuals during the New Kingdom or a cult temple. The ḥwt also could be used to refer to the estate that produced offerings and materials for the temple or funerary cult. For r-pr and ḥwt-nṯr, Spencer (1984: 55) proposes that in essence they both meant temple by the Middle Kingdom. The two terms refer to the main temple rather than the entire temple complex or administration. The r-pr was the place of offerings originally, while the ḥwt-nṯr was the cult centre of a god. As a result of the convergence of meaning of these two terms, to distinguish them in translation ḥwt-nṯr will be translated as `temple' while r-pr will be translated as `chapel'.

[11] See Gardiner 1946: 46, n.9 for the difficulty with the writing of pꜣwt n tpw. Also, note the grammatical structure here – it conforms to the pattern observed by Assmann (1989: 58-59) where it is necessary for kings to repeat actions to maintain order that gods only needed to perform once. The royal action is expressed using imperfective sḏm.f stressing repetive action (Gardiner 1957 § 442.5) vs. the perfective form for the god's actions.

[12] The use of the term mty (*Wb* II: 173-174, mtr – *"richtig, rechtmässig, genau*) in relation to nt-ᶜ also is found when nt-ᶜ is used to designate a treaty. Goelet and Levine (1998: 263, n. 33) suggest that mty reinforced the "orderly nature" of nt-ᶜ in relation to its reference to "established custom:" See further in section 5b.4 where the use of nt-ᶜ is discussed in relation to custom and the treaty. See Gardiner 1952: 16, n.6. where he gives the meaning "evenness or normality, and so applies naturally to what is time-honoured, traditional, or the like." Given these analyses, mty will be translated as `properly' in this study to capture the idea of orderly nature and custom suggested as appropriate in the context of the expression nt-ᶜ.

[13] It also should be noted that the word ir, when combined with nt-ᶜ, may have a technical meaning related to *observing* a pre-existing customary set of procedures. For a discussion of this use of ir, see Kruchten 1981: 166-168. This use does not exclude the performative use of ir in these specific cases or a sense that `observing' involved performative action.

[14] This lack of funerary data may relate to a change in attitudes to what was proper in tomb and funerary texts related to a rise in the expression of more personal concerns through hymns and prayers in the New Kingdom (cf. Lichtheim 1988: 2, 134).

[15] This example from the Coffin Texts is not without problems either. The reading of ᶜw is based on a difficult reading by de Buck (1935: I,276, n.2*).

[16] This example is not entirely clear given the way it is written as to whether it refers to the judgement of the dead, the judgement of the living in court, or possibly both. For a discussion of this issue see Lichtheim 1973: 107, n.4.

[17] For these solar hymns see Assmann 1983 and references provided.

[18] For discussions of the relationship between the sun hymns used in the cult, the funerary papyri, and in the tomb decorative program see Stewart 1966: 29-31 and Assmann 1983: x-xiv.

[19] See Chapter 15 of the Book of the Dead and the solar hymn Text 158b in Assmann (1983: 216, n.d) where Thoth is given this role.

[20] The relationship between order (ma`at) and the solar deity is clear in Egyptian texts. For discussion see, for example, Zandee 1964: 54, 68; Barta 1984: 160-161; Assmann 1995: 32-35, 50-53.

[21] See discussion of this example by Redford (1970: 43, n.1) where he notes the sense of nt-ᶜ related to royal leadership. This sense of nt-ᶜ is found in a number of other examples (chart #7, e.10, e.30, e.38, e.59, e.60) and can be related to the king as a giver of ritual and thus order as expressed in the title nb irt-ḥt.

[22] The content of this phrase and the grammatical structure here (sḏm.n.f – sḏm.f) are interesting in relation to the discussion of Assmann (1989: 58-59). This sentence would seem to conform to the examples Assmann uses of the king initiating sets of states that need to be constantly maintained while the god Re originated the state once.
[23] For an example with similar wording see the description of the founding of a temple by Senwosret I (P. Berlin 3029, deBuck 1938: 50, II.2-4) where the courtiers say to the king: "your decisions come to pass, the king is appearing in the Uniting-of-the-Two-Lands, in order to stretch [the cord] in your temple."
[24] For a discussion of the relationship between nt-ᶜ and sḫrw see Goelet and Levine 1998: 262-271. Goelet's interpretation provides interesting insights into the pairing of these two words in relation to treaties. Goelet suggests that sḫr referred to the actual relationship between the countries as planned by the gods while nt-ᶜ referred to the actual document. Goelet stresses the use of sḫr to describe divine intervention and thus does not deal with the example under discussion here, although the implications of this idea are interesting to the issue of the Egyptian idea of world order and the gods.
[25] See grammatical discussion in Kruchten (1981: 166-168) for iry.i, where this word emphasises the sense of applying an established procedure. See note #12 above.
[26] For this text and commentary on the uses of nt-ᶜ within it see Kruchten 1981, especially pp.166-168.
[27] For the meaning, "Residence City" for ḫnw in the Rekhmire texts see van den Boorn 1988: 48-49.
[28] See van den Boorn (1988: 310-331) for a summary of the duties of the vizier. Of particular interest to this study, he noted that beside his work as deputy of the king, the vizier was responsible for the management of the pr-nsw and its personnel, oversaw the operations of the ḫnw, personally instructed local urban authorities and appointed leading local officials.
[29] The connection between building construction, craftsmanship, and the priesthood may be indicated by the title wr ḫrpw ḥmwt (Greatest of the Master-Craftsmen – Faulkner 1981a: 64) held by the high priests of Ptah in Memphis (*Wb* I: 329). As Gardiner (1947: I.38*) noted, the god Ptah was related to crafts and thus so were his priests as part of their duties. Additionally, he notes that the high priests were known to assist in the construction of tombs. I would like to thank Mary Ann Pouls Wegner for bringing this title to my attention.
[30] This is the primary understanding of the expression in Faulkner's dictionary (1981a: 142).
[31] Lorton (1974: 162, n.2) has suggested that nt-ᶜ in this case referred to "letters of assignation." However, given the fact that the nt-ᶜ was `of every day', it would seem unlikely that, given the regularity implied by the story, he would have had a daily letter for each appointment.
[32] See Lorton's (1974: 114) discussion of these texts where he interprets the use of nt-ᶜ very closely to the origin of the expression as coming from a written document.
[33] Compare the work on the meaning of nt-ᶜ in the treaty in Redford 1970: 43, n..1; Spalinger 1981: 303-304, 322; Harari 1990: 422-425; and Goelet & Levine 1998: 263-264; where the basis of understanding of how nt-ᶜ came to applied to a treaty is based on its derivation from the word for document (ᶜ).
[34] Note the emphasis on the notion of repetition and continuity of the actions to which the kings committed themselves in this section of the treaty. This is particularly interesting in relation to the statement earlier in the treaty of the gods Re and Seth making such a relationship between the powers once in the past. For a discussion of these ideas see Spalinger 1981: 310-325.
[35] For a recent discussion of the use of nt-ᶜ in the Great Harris Papyrus see Grandet 1994: 235, n.912 where he describes it as a custom put in writing.

[36] For the foreign character of treaties for the Egyptians of this period, see Goelet and Levine 1998: 257.
[37] Here I am thinking of the daily temple cult, regular offerings made at the tombs, and the special festivals celebrated monthly or annually.
[38] The m of predication is understood in this passage as described in Gardiner 1957: §96.

Chart #7
nt-ʿ (e references)

ref no.	source	transliteration	translation	category	date
e.01	Sethe 1928a: 71. 6-7 (Ikhernofret)	rdi.n.i [///] wnwtyw ḥwt-nṯr r irwt.sn di(.i) rḫ.sn nt-ʿ nt rʿ nb ḥbw tp-tr	I caused the hour priests of the temple to [///] toward their duties. I caused that they know the ritual of every day and of calendar festivals	cultic	12th Dyn.
e.02	Newberry 1895: XIX,3.16 (el Bersheh II)	wʿb ʿȝ ḏḥwty m sḫrt sbit [r hrw] irt nt-ʿ(w)	the great wab priest of Thoth in overthrowing the rebels [upon the day] of performing rituals	aggressive, funerary	12th Dyn.
e.03	Sethe 1928a: 76. 7-8 (Amenysoneb)	mk wḏ(w) swʿb.k pȝ r-pr n ȝbḏw rdi n.k ḥmwt r nt-ʿ.f ḥnʿ wnwtyw ḥwt-nṯr nt tȝ spȝwt šnʿ n ḥtpw nṯr	look, it has been commanded that you purify the chapel of Abydos. Artisans are given to you for its ritual together with hour priests of the temple of these districts and the storehouse of the god's offerings	cultic	13th Dyn.
e.04	Erman 1890: III. 2-3 (Westcar)	m-ḫt hȝi nḏs r pȝ š mi nt-ʿ.f nt rʿ nb	after the commoner goes down to the pool according to his ritual of every day	custom	17th Dyn.
e.05	Erman 1890: III. 10-12 (Westcar)	ḫr m-ḫt mšrw ḫpr(w) iwt pw ir(w).n pȝ nḏs mi nt-ʿ.f nt rʿ nb	now when evening occurred, the commoner came according to his ritual of every day	custom	17th Dyn.
e.06	Volten 1945: P.53-54	hrw pf n wḏʿ mȝr wnwt nt irt nt-ʿw	that day of judging the wretched, the hour of performing rituals	funerary work	17th Dyn.?

Chart #7
nt-ˁ (e references)

ref no.	source	transliteration	translation	category	date
	(Merikare)				
e.07	Helck 1970: Ie (Neferti)	prt pw ỉr.n.sn nḏ.sn-ḫrt mỉ nt-ˁ.sn nt rˁ nb	they went out, they having paid their respects according to their ritual of every day	work	18th Dyn.
e.08	Urk IV: 184. 8	rdỉ.n.f nt-ˁ m nb ḫ3st nbt pḏt 9 dm3.w ḫr ṯbwty.f	because he gave ritual as lord of all lands, the nine bows are bound under his two sandals	work	18th Dyn.
e.09	Urk IV: 384. 8-12 (Speos Artemidos)	dmḏyt ḥbyt r tr.s m nḏr tp-rd n ỉrr.ỉ srwd nt-ˁ nt ṯs.s ỉrt.n.f m p3wt n tpw	the cycle of festivals is at its time through observing the regulations of my making. The rituals of its arrangement, which he (Re?) made at the beginning of time, are perpetuated	cultic	18th Dyn.
e.10	Urk IV: 589.9	rdỉ nt-ˁ m t3w mṯn ˁš3 r šˁw	one who gave ritual in the lands of Mitanni more abundant than the sand	custom	18th Dyn.
e.11	Urk IV: 700. 6-8	ỉst n3 n mniwt sspd(w) m ḫt nb mỉ ḥtr.sn mỉ nt-ˁ.sn nt ṯnw rnpt ḥnˁ b3k n rmnn mỉ nt-ˁ.sn n ṯnw rnpt	so, these harbours were supplied with everything according to their levy according to their ritual of each year together with the revenue of Lebanon according to their ritual of each year	custom	18th Dyn.

Chart #7
nt-ˁ (e references)

ref no.	source	transliteration	translation	category	date
e.12	Urk IV: 713. 4-5 (restored)	m ḫt nbt nfrt mỉ nt-ˁ.sn ṯnw rnpt	with every good thing according to their ritual of each year	custom	18th Dyn.
e.13	Urk IV: 719. 7-8	ỉst mnỉwt nbt sspd(w) m ḫt nb nfrt mỉ nt-ˁ.sn nt ṯnw rnpt	so, all harbours were supplied with every good thing according to their ritual of each year	custom	18th Dyn.
e.14	Urk IV: 723. 4-5	m ḫt nbt nfrt mỉ nt-ˁ.sn nt ṯnw (rnpt)	with every good thing according to their ritual of each (year)	custom	18th Dyn.
e.15	Urk IV: 727. 9-10 (restored)	m ḫt nbt nfrt mỉ nt-ˁ.sn nt ṯnw rnpt	with every good thing according to their ritual of each year	custom	18th Dyn.
e.16	Urk IV: 732. 6-7	m ḫt nbt nfrt mỉ nt-ˁw.sn n ṯnw rnpt	with every good thing according to their rituals of each year	custom	18th Dyn.
e.17	Urk IV: 750.10-14	ỉst ỉn ḥm.ỉ gm(w) ỉḫwt nbwt m sˁḫ mnw m smnḫ n m-ḫt m nt-ˁ m wỉb m tp-rd m sḏfḫ r-pr pn n ỉt.ỉ ỉmn	it was My Majesty who found all beneficences in increasing monuments as embellishment for the future by means of rituals, by means of purification, by means of regulations, by means of provisions of this chapel for my father, Amun	cultic	18th Dyn.
e.18	Urk IV: 752. 10-11	m bỉg ḥr nt-ˁw.ṯn nb wˁb twr ḥr ḫt nṯr	do not be remiss concerning any of your rituals, be pure and clean with god's proceedings	cultic	18th Dyn.

Chart #7
nt-ˁ (e references)

ref no.	source	transliteration	translation	category	date
e.19	Urk IV: 769. 17-770. 1-2	ḥm.i (ḥr) rdit ir.tw nt-ˁw nb nt ḫnw n it.f ptḥ rsy inb.f m m wꜣst	My Majesty caused that all rituals of the interior be performed to his father Ptah-south-of-his-wall in Thebes	cultic	18th Dyn.
e.20	Urk IV: 771. 5-7	iw r(di) ḥm.i rdit ir.tw nt-ˁw nb nt ḫnw n mwt.i ḥwt-ḥr ḥrt-tp wꜣst m hrw n ḫꜣwt nt ḥb.s ḫpr m ꜣbd 3 šmw ˁrḳy	My Majesty caused the causing that all rituals of the interior be performed to my mother, Hathor chieftainess of Thebes on the day of the altar festival of her festival that happens in the third month of summer, the last day	cultic	18th Dyn.
e.21	Urk IV: 1147. 10-11 (Davies 1943: pl. LVII, Rekhmire)	rdit n.sn sšrw mrḥt ḥbsw mi nt-ˁt.sn n ḫrt rnpt	giving to them linen, oil, clothes, according to their ritual of annual requirements	custom	18th Dyn.
e.22	Urk IV: 1148. 12-13 (Newberry 1900: pl. XVI, Rekhmire)	rdit rḫ s nb irt.f m nt-ˁwt nt ḥnt nbt	causing that every man know his duties consisting of the rituals of every occupation	work	18th Dyn.
e.23	Urk IV: 1150. 1-2	r ir(t) ḥnt nbt n ḫnw mi n(t)-ˁ.sn nt rˁ nb	in order to perform every occupation of the Residence City	work	18th Dyn.

Chart #7
nt-ˁ (e references)

ref no.	source	transliteration	translation	category	date
	(Rekhmire)		according to their ritual of every day		
e.24	Urk IV: 1262. 16-17 (restored)	irrw m ḫt nbt m nt-ˁ nbt irrt m r-pr pn	those who perform in every rite, that is every ritual that is performed in this chapel	cultic	18th Dyn.
e.25	Urk IV: 1263. 9	ir.sn [///].sn mty ḫft nt-ˁw nbt nt ḥwt-nṯr.ṯn	they perform their /// properly according to all rituals of this temple	cultic	18th Dyn.
e.26	Urk IV: 1264. 2 (restored)	irrw m ḫt nbt m nt-ˁ nbt irrt r pr pn	those who perform in every rite, that is every ritual that is performed in this chapel	cultic	18th Dyn.
e.27	Urk IV: 1264. 6	irr tȝ nt-ˁ nt ḫt nṯr m-bȝḥ it.i imn-rˁ m ḥb nw tp-trw	who perform the ritual of god's proceedings before my father Amun-re at the calendar festivals	cultic	18th Dyn.
e.28	Urk IV: 1271. 19	ˁḳ sw m nt-ˁw r sšw r wˁbw	he (Thutmoses III) is one who enters into rituals more than scribes and priests	cultic	18th Dyn.
e.29	Urk IV: 1381. 5-6	nhw m ksw ḫn m psd.f nt-ˁ.f thi.s dmi.s	losing in bows, resting in his spine, his ritual, it neglects its place	work	18th Dyn
e.30	Urk IV: 2119: 11-12 (Horemheb,	ist sw grg.n.f tȝ pn nt-ˁ.f sw r rk rˁ	that was when he had set this land in order, so that he might ritualise it in accord with the time of Re	work	18th Dyn.

Chart #7
nt-ˁ (e references)

ref no.	source	transliteration	translation	category	date
	coronation)				
e.31	Urk IV: 2158. 3 (Horemheb, decree)	iry.i nt-ˁ n mkt ḥm.i r hrw tpy nb	I performed the ritual of protection of my majesty for the beginning of every day	work	18th Dyn.
e.32	Urk IV: 2160. 13 (Horemheb, decree)	mtr.n.i nmtt n ˁḫnwty nt-ˁ n ḫnw kꜣp	I testified concerning the procedures of the audience chamber and the ritual of the interior of the royal nursery	work	18th Dyn.
e.33	Urk IV: 2160. 17-19 (Horemeheb, decree)	wḥmw n ˁrˁyt r nmtt.sn ḥr sḏsrt ḫt pr r ḏr.f šnyw nsw r ˁḥˁw.sn mˁbꜣyw r nt-ˁ.sn	the heralds of the hall of judgement as to their procedures concerning consecrating throughout the entire house, the royal entourage according to their attending, the Council of Thirty according to their ritual	work	18th Dyn.
e.34	BD: Ch. 15. 23 (Ra)	km.n.k wnwt grḥ mitt msms.n.k st km.n.k mi nt-ˁ.k	when you have completed the hours of night, likewise you presented them and you completed (them) according to your ritual	funerary	18th Dyn.
e.35	Reisner & Reisner 1933: 35 l.34	wꜣ r iyt r ṯḥnt m grḥ r irt rsyt nt-ˁ	(the guards) were on the way to come to meet with the night in order to perform the ritual watch	work	18th Dyn.

Chart #7
nt-ʿ (e references)

ref no.	source	transliteration	translation	category	date
e.36	KRI I: 49.1	rdw rḫ s nb nt-ʿ m tp-rd nb n wʿb	everyone is caused to know (his) rituals in every regulation of purity	cultic	19th Dyn.
e.37	KRI I: 49.6	[///]mɜʿ r sw.sn m tp-rd n ḫt-nṯr [///].f nt-ʿ [///] ms sw	[///]offerings on their dates as per regulations of the god's proceedings. He [///] the rituals [///] who created him	cultic	19th Dyn.
e.38	KRI I: 152.8-9	sgrḥ tɜwy nt-ʿ.f tɜ m wḥm-ʿ mi sp-tpy	making peaceful the Two Lands (by) his rituals, the land is again like the First Occasion	work	19th Dyn.
e.39	KRI I: 231.10	[///] ḥm.f ir nt-ʿ ḥb m mɜʿwt nty ḫpr.f spr 4 prt rʿ 10 ḥr wɜst	his majesty [///] the ritual of the renewed festival which occurs in the 4th month of peret day 10 in Thebes to be performed	cultic	19th Dyn.
e.40	KRI II: 226.11	pɜ nt-ʿ irw	the ritual that was performed...	custom (treaty)	19th Dyn.
e.41	KRI II: 227.1 (partially restored)	pɜ nt-ʿ nfr n ḥtp n snsn dì ḥtp nfr snsn nfr ḫprw r iwd.n r nḥḥ	the good ritual of peace and brotherly affection so good peace and good brotherly affection are permitted to occur between us forever	custom (treaty)	19th Dyn.
e.42	KRI II: 227.2-3	bw dì pɜ nṯr ḫprw smɜy r iwd.sn m nt-ʿ	the god did not permit violence to occur between them according to	custom (treaty)	19th Dyn.

Chart #7
nt-ʿ (e references)

ref no.	source	transliteration	translation	category	date
			the ritual		
e.43	KRI II: 227.5	[///]nt-ʿ n dit mn pȝ sḫr irw prʿ irw swtḫ	[///]the ritual causing to be established the plans which Re made and which Seth made	custom (treaty)	19th Dyn.
e.44	KRI II: 227.6	ptrỉ irw sw ḫtisȝrw pȝ sr ʿȝ n ḫti m nt-ʿ	look, Hattusil the great ruler of Hatti has performed himself according to ritual	custom (treaty)	19th Dyn.
e.45	KRI II: 228.1	ỉr pȝ nt-ʿ mty wnw dy	as for the proper ritual that had been here	custom (treaty)	19th Dyn.
e.46	KRI II: 229.11 (partially restored)	ỉr nȝy mdwt n pȝ nt-ʿ irw.n pȝ sr ʿȝ n ḫti irm rʿ-msw-mrỉ-imn pȝ ḥḳȝ ʿȝ n kmt iw m sš ḥr pȝy ʿny n ḥḏ	as for the words of the ritual that the Great Ruler of Hatti performed together with Ramesses II Meriamun, the Great Ruler of Egypt, in writing on this silver tablet	custom (treaty)	19th Dyn.
e.47	KRI II: 232.5,6	pȝ ḫtm n pȝ nt-ʿ irw ḫtisȝrw	the seal of the ritual that Hattusil performed	custom (treaty)	19th Dyn.
e.48	Gardiner 1905: 22. II,16 (Leiden Hymn to Amun)	ḏȝw.wỉ.tỉ ḥrȝḫty ḥr irt nt-ʿ.k n sf m ḫrt hrw	how you cross [the sky], Horakhty, performing your ritual for yesterday daily	funerary	18th Dyn.

Chart #7
nt-ˁ (e references)

ref no.	source	transliteration	translation	category	date
e.49	Piankoff 1964: pl.12-13.1 (Litany of Re)	n ỉr.sn nt-ˁ.sn m wsỉr (stỉ) m-bꜣḥ sfṯyw	they did not perform their rituals against Osiris Seti before the butchers	aggressive, funerary	19th Dyn.
e.50	BD: Ch. 127B. 9	ỉ ḏḥwty msw mỉ nt-ˁt	O Thoth, born according to ritual	funerary	19th Dyn.
e.51	BD: Ch. 183. 23-24	mnḫ sḫrw.k nb mỉ nt-ˁ.f ḫr ḥꜣt	all your governance being potent like his rituals from before	funerary	19th Dyn.
e.52	KRI VII: 17.6-7 (partially restored)	ỉw n grg n ḫryw ḥryw wpw-ḥr.k wˁ.tỉ nt-ˁ(.k) pḏ-šst snṯ.k tꜣwy	nobody established what is under and what is upper except for you alone [by] your ritual of stretching the cord you form the Two Lands	cultic	19th Dyn.
e.53	KRI VII: 121. 2-3 (restored)	ỉw ỉr.n.k nt-ˁ.k r nḥḥ	you have performed your ritual forever	funerary	19th Dyn.
e.54	KRI VII: 138.13	ỉr nt-ˁ.f m ḫrt hrw n ỉsḳ.n.f m ỉry.f n sf	his ritual being performed daily, he was not hindered in his performance of yesterday	funerary	19th Dyn.
e.55	KRI VII: 155.13	ỉw ỉr.n.k nt-ˁ.k r nḥḥ	you have performed your ritual forever	funerary	19th Dyn.
e.56	KRI VII: 157.15	[///] ˁšꜣ ḏfꜣw nt-ˁ ˁw ỉn šms sw [///]	many /// provisions of the ritual of the guide by his follower ///	funerary	19th Dyn.
e.57	KRI VII: 224.1-2	ỉw ỉr.n.k nt-ˁ.k r nḥḥ	you have performed your ritual forever	funerary	19th Dyn.
e.58	Erichsen 1933:	ỉw.f smn r-prw ḫr ḥtpw nṯr r smꜣˁ	he established chapels with god's	cultic	20th Dyn.

Chart #7
nt-ˁ (e references)

ref no.	source	transliteration	translation	category	date
	75.10 (Great Harris)	n psḏt mỉ nt-ˁ.sn	offerings in order to present to the Ennead according to their ritual		
e.59	KRI V: 26. 8-9	ḥḳ3 mnḫ sḫrw mỉ t3-ṯnn grg t3 pn r 3w.f m nt-ˁ nb	a ruler excellent of governance like Tatjenen, who sets this entire land in order by means of every ritual	work	20th Dyn.
e.60	KRI V: 27. 7	m3ˁ.sn sw mỉ rˁ ḥr tp-dw3yt ỉw.sn ḫr sḫrw nt-ˁ n nsw	they see him like Re at dawn, they being under the governance and rituals of the king	work	20th Dyn.
e.61	KRI V: 74.7	wˁbw ḥr ỉr nt-ˁ.sn	priests performing their rituals	cultic	20th Dyn.
e.62	KRI V: 116.12	smnḫ.n.ỉ ˁ3bt.f nt-ˁ.f ỉrw.f mỉ nty r ḥbt nt sḥ ptḥ	it is according to the celebrations of the shrine of Ptah that I endowed his provisions, his rituals, and his duties	cultic	20th Dyn.
e.63	KRI V: 244. 13	ỉry pr-ˁ3 ˁ.w.s. p3y.k šrỉ śwˁb ỉwnw n ỉtm dd ḫpr pr pr-rˁ-hr-3ḫty ḫry nt-ˁw.f	Pharaoh, l.p.h., your youth, causes to be purified Heliopolis of Atum, causing the house of Rehorakhty, to occur according to his rituals	cultic	20th Dyn.
e.64	KRI V: 245. 16	r n3y.tn r-prw rdỉt ḥ3w n dỉt mḥ nt-ˁ nb ỉ.ỉry n.tn r sˁ3 n3y.tn ///	for your chapels, causing wealth and in causing to complete every ritual which is performed for you to make great your ////	cultic	20th Dyn.

Chart #7
nt-ˁ (e references)

ref no.	source	transliteration	translation	category	date
e.65	KRI V: 430. 12	r irt nt-ˁw.s m ḥwt ḥb-sd	in order to perform her (Nekhbet) rituals in the temples of the Sed festival	cultic	20th Dyn.
e.66	KRI V: 474. 13	šsp m bȝkw n pȝ ḳdnw mḥ mi nt-ˁ.f rˁ nb	received as revenue of the potter, completed according to his ritual of every day	work	20th Dyn.
e.67	KRI VI: 7. 9	ptḥ ḥr wȝwȝ ḥnˁ ib.f r-ḏd ink pȝ [///] ḳmȝ nn ḥr nfy dit nt-ˁ.s gmyt mn nb m nȝy.i pss	Ptah took counsel with his heart saying, I am [///] creating this upon that, causing their ritual that was found, every example, by my labour	work	20th Dyn.
e.68	KRI VI: 72. 7	bw wȝḥ.i nt-ˁ ḏr wnnwt	I did not leave a ritual since existence (began)	work	20th Dyn.
e.69	KRI VI: 380. 15	[///] wḏ nt-ˁ in ḥm.f m-ḥr.tn	ritual is commanded by his majesty in your sight	cultic	20th Dyn.
e.70	KRI VI: 456. 12	dit n.k pȝy ˁˁb n nbw ḥḏ m (ˁ-)nt-ˁ n pȝ bȝk	giving to you the basins of gold and silver in accord with the ritual of the servant	custom	20th Dyn.
e.71	KRI VI: 457.4-5	imi ḫȝ-tȝ 2 n it m ḥsiw n ḥm-nṯr tpy n imn imn-ḥtp mȝˁ-ḫrw iw (ˁ-)nt-ˁ.f r ṯnw rnpt nb	Give 20 aroura in grain in praising of the chief priest of Amun, Amunhotep, true of voice, being in	custom	20th Dyn.

Chart #7
nt-ˁ (e references)

ref no.	source	transliteration	translation	category	date
			accord with his ritual for every year		
e.72	KRI VI: 458. 13-14	r iˁ ib.k m (ˁ-)nt-ˁ n ḥḏ m [///]	to satisfy in accord with the ritual for silver with [///]	custom	20th Dyn.
e.73	KRI VI: 458. 14, 15	dmḏ ḥḏ (ˁ-)nt-ˁ mḥ 4	total silver of the ritual: 4	custom	20th Dyn.
e.74	Louvre 3292 (inv.).6	ḫnm.f m nt-ˁ.t	he being united by means of your ritual (deceased identified as Osiris)	funerary	20th Dyn.
e.75	Budge 1923: 41, column I.2-4 (Amenemope)	tp-rd nb n ˁḳwˁḳw smsw nt-ˁ m smrw	all regulations of entry of elders and the rituals as (royal) friends	work	21st Dyn. (Ramesside origin)

CHAPTER SIX

Conclusion: Ancient Egyptian Ritual

> "That's a great deal to make one word mean," Alice said in a thoughtful tone.
>
> "When I make a word do a lot of work like that," said Humpty Dumpty, "I always pay it extra."
>
> "Oh!" said Alice. She was too much puzzled to make any other remark.
>
> "Ah, you should see 'em come round me of a Saturday night," Humpty Dumpty went on, wagging his head gravely from side to side, "for to get their wages, you know."
>
> Lewis Carroll: *Through the Looking Glass*

From the evidence collected in the studies of ir-ḫt and nt-ˁ, it is now possible to reconstruct the cognitive category "ritual" in ancient Egypt. It is clear from this evidence that ritual included the major categories: cultic, funerary, aggressive, work, and customary behaviours. The typical uses of the terms ir-ḫt and nt-ˁ suggest that the ancient Egyptians considered not all activities that fit into such categories as ritual, however. Activities that were called ritual had to embody a clustering of qualities typical of ritual in addition to belonging to one of the previously mentioned categories. It is these qualities that provide some of the most interesting insights into the nature of ancient Egyptian ritual.

6a The Nature of Ancient Egyptian Ritual

The first major category of activity that the ancient Egyptians called ritual was cultic performance. Various activities including offering, libating, and censing, which were performed by kings and priests, were called ỉr-ḫt and nt-ˁ (see Chapter 3c.1 and 5b.1). Such ritual performance is indicated clearly in relation to the king when Thutmoses III claimed that he entered "into rituals (nt-ˁ) more than scribes or priests" (chart #7, e.28). Similar wording is used in relation to priests as is evident in Khaemwaset's address, "Oh, all prophets and lector priests who perform rites (ỉrt-ḫt) in the temple of Apis every morning" (chart #3, c.143). This relationship between cultic performance and ritual also is evident in the strong connection between the royal title nb ỉrt-ḫt and temple contexts (noted in 40% of the corpus – see figure #4.1). Equally significant is the evidence for the conscious role that the king took as nb ỉrt-ḫt in ensuring the ongoing and proper performance of cultic ritual. This idea is demonstrated by the claims the king made both for endowing rituals (e.g., chart #3, c.115 and chart #7, e.17) and for educating priests in their proper performance (chart #7, e.36).

The second category of activity that the ancient Egyptians considered as having a ritualistic character was funerary practice. The major funerary practices that were considered ritualistic included the presentation of offerings and prayers to the deceased, activities associated with the process of

rebirth in the next world, and activities associated with living in the next world. Particularly connected to the performance of funerary rituals for the deceased were the lector priests (e.g., chart #3, c.43), although "loved ones" (e.g., chart #3, c.77) also were expected to perform rites for the dead (see discussion in Chapter 3c.2). Also important to funerary rituals were the activities surrounding the judgement of the dead and the transformation of the dead into an empowered spirit (see Chapter 3c.2, pp. 107-108 and Chapter 5b2, pp. 318-319). Finally, a number of activities performed as part of the world of the West, like the daily voyage of the solar boat and the repelling of Apep, were described as rituals (see Chapter 5b.2).

This last mentioned ritual, the repelling of Apep, brings attention to the third category of activity, that of aggressive ritual. The ancient Egyptians considered a number of acts, including the mythical act of repelling Apep, as ritualistic. As was described in Chapter 2, the pattern of some rituals being aggressive or violent has been noted in cross-cultural studies of ritual (Bell 1997: 153-154), although it has not commonly been considered in discussion of ancient Egyptian ritual. In general, the aggressive activities that the ancient Egyptians considered as ritual feature either the overthrow of evil figures, like Apep, or the disruption of the established order in this life or the next. The latter type of aggressive ritual is exemplified by "overthrowing the rebels upon the day of performing rituals" (chart #7, e.02), an activity that was related to both the mythic world and the real world. The real world

overthrowing of rebels is best demonstrated by the use of the royal title nb irt-ḫt in close connection to scenes and descriptions of the king slaying enemies (see Chapter 4c.1, p. 204-205, also see Chapter 3c.3, pp. 115-116 and Chapter 5b.2, pp. 319-320). An example of the former type of aggressive ritual is the destruction of materials and spells necessary for the survival of the deceased in the next world (see Chapter 3c.3, pp. 112-114). In addition, there is some indication that the overthrow of the social order could be thought of as an aggressive rite as exemplified by the reference to the overthrow of the king being a performance of rites (chart #3, c.64).

The fourth category of activities called ritual was work or the duties of an office. The idea that performing the activities involved with work is ritualistic is not unique to Egypt, but has been noted in other cultures (e.g., see Middleton 1977: 85). From the examples of ir-ḫt and nt-^{c} that refer to work, it is clear that the work that was identified as ritual was not casual, but represented a set of activities that were typical of what was required in a career or to perform the duties of a particular office correctly (see Chapter 3c.4, pp. 123-124 and Chapter 5b.3, pp. 325-326). Many of the examples of work that the ancient Egyptians termed ritual related to the king through his role as nb irt-ḫt (see Chapter 4c.1), court ceremonial, or royal commissions. This aspect of work as ritual is exemplified in the Instructions of Amenemope where it describes "the rituals as (royal) friends" (chart #7, e.75). The work did not have to have direct royal connections, however, as is demonstrated by

the reference to duties of artisans and sailors being called ritual (e.g., chart #7, e.22; chart #3, c.20).

Finally, the last category of activity that the ancient Egyptians connected to ritual was customary behaviours. The primary types of customary activities that were called ritual were the daily programme an individual might follow and the carrying out of a legal agreement (see Chapter 5b.4). The best known examples of these two uses of ritual in relation to custom are the story in the Westcar Papyrus where the adulterer goes "down to the pool according to his ritual of every day" (chart #7, e.04) and the naming of the treaty between the Hittites and Ramesses II as a ritual (e.g., see chart #7, e.46).

It is not immediately apparent what unites these various categories of activities together as ritual for the ancient Egyptians, however, there are a number of qualities shared across these categories that were noted in the study of both terms (see Chapter 3c.5; Chapter 4c.1and Chapter 5c.1-c.2). Given the varied nature of the five categories of activity discussed above, these qualities that the activities had in common must have been significant to what constituted ritual to the ancient Egyptians. Based on the analysis of the contexts of ir-ḫt, nb irt-ḫt, and nt-ˁ, the following list of qualities of ritual can be assembled.

Ritual to the ancient Egyptians was performative. Both the presence of the verb ir and the physical nature of many of the activities that were

described as ritual indicate this aspect of ritual. Ritual also had a formal or official character. Many of the activities called ir-ḫt or nt-ˁ were connected to the king, the royal court, or the world of the divine. This formality also is visible in the strong emphasis on rituals being performed based on tradition or on a written text. This basis for ritual in tradition and text meant that in many cases the ancient Egyptians expressed a need that the performers of ritual needed to be educated in the proper performance of those rites. This was very apparent in relation to the descriptions of the performance of work where the king and officials needed to be educated in their duties and educate others.

These elements: physical performance, formality, and the written text also become important as the main components of a performance of ritual. Successful ritual performance seemed to have needed the combination of word, bodily action, and the manipulation of objects in a prescribed manner. Another element of this prescribed manner of performance, aside from the formal and traditional rules, was that they be performed repetitively, often according to a calendrical schedule. Finally, there was a strong relationship between ritual and order in the cosmos. In ancient Egyptian thinking, order in the world of humans, gods, and the dead could be created, perpetuated or disrupted by the performance of ritual.

The definition of these important qualities of ritual provide a strong basis for analysis using the qualities of ritual that Bell suggests for evaluating

ritualising activity (see Chapter 2b, pp. 22-25). In reviewing the six qualities of ritual discussed by Bell, (formalism, traditionalism, invariance, rule governance, sacral symbolism, and performance), it is clear that the ancient Egyptian concept of ritual contains elements of all of these qualities. What needs analysing is which of these qualities is emphasized and in what ways. The qualities of invariance and performance are aspects of ancient Egyptian ritual, but show less depth within the material in this study of ir-ḫt and nt-ᶜ when compared with rule governance, formalism, traditionalism and sacral symbolism.

There probably were elements of invariance in some ancient Egyptian rituals; however, the descriptions studied in this work do not strongly reflect this quality. From what is known of cultic rituals, it is probable that they would have performed them with attention to precise and controlled repetition of actions, but the ancient Egyptians did not dwell on the details of this in their texts. Invariance in ritual performance may be hinted at in text c.36 where it is claimed that "performing rites rightly is what the god loves," however, this could equally refer to rule governance or traditionalism.

Performance certainly was an important aspect of ancient Egyptian ritual. A strong sense that rituals were performed in a physical manner was noted repeatedly throughout this study. This having been said, there was little emphasis placed on the performance being public in the textual descriptions of ritual. While it is known that rituals called ir-ḫt and nt-ᶜ were

performed publicly, (for example the ritual executions connected with the title nb irt-ḫt[1] and festivals like the Sed festival) the public nature of these rituals is not referred to by the use of descriptive terms in Egyptian.

Rule governance, formalism, and traditionalism seem to have been interwoven in ancient Egyptian ritual. While it is possible at times to separate these qualities of ritual in the evidence, the interweaving of these qualities suggests that to the Egyptians they were connected. The primary evidence for rule governance in the examples collected in this study are references to regulations (e.g., chart #7, e.36, e.37), the existence of objects connected to ritual that must have been governed by complex rules such as the 20-square game, and the rules put forward in the treaty documents that were called rituals.

The rules themselves seem to have been considered formal in that there were strong associations with the worlds of the palace and the divine. An example of such formalised actions in relation to the palace is the references to complex series of formalised behaviours on the part of the courtiers that were called ritual, "the heralds of the hall of judgement as to their procedures concerning consecrating throughout the entire house, the royal entourage according to their attending, the Council of Thirty according to their ritual" (chart #7, e.33; also see chart #3, c.12; chart #7, e.32, e.75). The rituals performed before the gods seemed to have the same formalised character as can be seen in the description of the service of Hathor, "it is as an

overseer of prophets of Hathor, lady of Kusae, that I spent a great part of this time passing and entering before Hathor, lady of Kusae, upon seeing her and performing rites for her with my two hands" (chart #3, c.62). From these examples, it would seem that there were strong rules for performing rituals that featured formalised actions.

What is more interesting is that for these same rule-bound, formal actions there was often a claim of traditionalism attached to them. For example, many of these same rituals claimed a traditional basis for their performance. In the Horemheb decree quoted above (e.33), he is not claiming to have instituted new palace procedures, but rather to have observed traditional ones, as Kruchten (1981: 166-168) has made clear. The Egyptians made similar claims in relation to treaties (see Chapter 5b.4, p. 332-333) and the institution of cultic rites (e.g., chart #7, e.09). This appeal to tradition for the origin of ritual was noted frequently in this study, especially in reference to the "primeval times" (e.g., Chapter 5c.1, pp. 336).

What is of further interest in this appeal to tradition is that the last reference to primeval times as a source for ritual suggests a link to the last quality that Bell suggests for analysis, sacral symbolism. In placing the origin of certain rituals in the primeval times, the ancient Egyptians were linking those rituals to a special world thereby giving the rituals themselves a special quality. Such sacral symbolism appears in both sacred and secular rituals in ancient Egypt and is closely integrated with the ancient Egyptian worldview.

This quality of ritual can be seen in the locus for ritual being set apart in special places such as the palace or temple. Equally important as a form of "specialness" is giving ritual a connection to people who are separated out as extraordinary, such as the king. This relationship with sacral symbolism would explain why many of the references to work as ritual are connected to the king (see Chapter 5b.3).

The relationship between the king and ritual is a particularly rich element of sacral symbolism in ancient Egyptian thinking. For example, the king when performing rituals is compared to a god (e.g., chart #3, c.112) thereby the king is distinguished from normal humanity. However, the position of the king as nb irt-ḫt, the leader of ritual in the world, also sets the king apart. The strongest element in royal sacral symbolism in ancient Egyptian ritual is its link to the concept of ma`at. As has been noted in this study, there was an intimate link between ritual, kingship, and ma`at (see Chapter 4c.1). As Bell (1997: 159) suggests is significant for sacral symbolism in ritual, the connection of ritual and ma`at "evokes a higher reality...through the balance of the cosmos." In addition, the role of the king as the guarantor of order in the universe, the role of ritual in preserving and creating that order, and the position of the king as nb irt-ḫt, work together to bring considerable power to ritual in ancient Egyptian society. Clearly, ritual was an important element in the ancient Egyptian worldview, and in the power relationships in society.

This analysis of the qualities based on the work of Bell brings out the importance of several primary aspects of ancient Egyptian ritual. First, rules and formal performance were significant to ritual. Second, it was important to the ancient Egyptians that their rituals were grounded in tradition. These factors explain the need for education in ritual often expressed in ancient Egyptian texts (see Chapter 5c.2, p. 343). Finally, ritual was given a special place in the ancient Egyptian worldview through sacral symbolism. The intimate connection between ma`at and ritual gave ritual an important place in relation to social relations, work, and religious beliefs. It can be concluded, therefore, that the cognitive category of ritual in ancient Egyptian thought included a variety of activities related to cultic practices, funerary practices, aggressive behaviours, work, and custom that were bound together with a specific set of qualities that the ancient Egyptians related to the maintenance of ma`at. The most significant of these qualities were physical performance of formal rites utilising the three elements of speech, action, and the manipulation of physical objects sanctioned by tradition.

6b **Issues of Translation**

The final question that must be addressed in this study is how the terms ỉr-ḫt and nt-ˁ should be translated as a result of this word study. As was indicated at the beginning of this work, the expressions ỉr-ḫt and nt-ˁ were translated consistently as "performing rites" and "ritual" for the purposes of

clarity.[2] This method works well when the reader's understanding of ritual matches the semantic field of the ancient term. From the results of this study of ỉr-ḫt and nt-ˁ, it is probable that the reader's understanding of ritual will not match the ancient Egyptian understanding.

The fact that modern concepts of ritual are different makes the issue of the translation of ỉr-ḫt, nb ỉrt-ḫt, and nt-ˁ critical. For example, on the one hand it would be confusing for many readers if the references to work or treaties were translated using the term ritual.[3] On the other hand, translating the references to performing rituals for the king (e.g., chart #3, c.04) or performing rites against a tomb (e.g., chart #3, c.44) too generically as "doing things" misses the original precision of the ancient Egyptian concept of ritual. The translator of the ancient Egyptian texts must find a balance between these two extremes that pays attention to the modern reader's concept of ritual and the ancient intention given their concept of ritual. While every text will have its individual contextual issues, it can be suggested that whenever it is possible "ritual" or a modifier such as "ritualistic" be used in the translation of ỉr-ḫt and nt-ˁ. If this form of translation is not possible, then a translation that is sensitive to the ancient Egyptian conception of ritual should be attempted. For example, in the case of ỉr-ḫt and nt-ˁ being used in relation to work, it could be translated as "carrying out the formal duties of the office."[4] Such a translation captures some of the qualities that placed this activity within the ancient Egyptian conceptual category of ritual without confusing

the modern reader. So while we might say with Alice, "that's a great deal to make one word mean," the coherence of the category of ritual in ancient Egyptian thought allows us to understand what the ancient writers meant and translate it into our own cultural terms.

6c **Conclusion**

The main purpose of this study was to determine what constituted ritual to the ancient Egyptians. It is recognised that understanding concepts from other cultures is difficult, as the comments of Goody and Thomas indicate. It was necessary, therefore, to design this investigation into ritual in such a way that the ancient Egyptian concept of ritual was revealed without too much influence from the modern conception of ritual. The most accessible method for doing this was the reconstruction of the semantic field of ancient Egyptian terms for ritual. As this study has demonstrated, such an approach can indicate what kinds of activities were called ritual.

As a result of this word study, in conjunction with theoretical approaches from the field of ritual studies, it also has been possible to articulate the qualities that were typical of ritual. These qualities proved to be particularly interesting in that not only were they essential for understanding why certain activities were called ritual, but they also demonstrated the importance of ritual in ancient Egyptian society. Most significantly, this word study has enriched modern understanding of the relationship between

ritual, kingship, and ma`at. This particularly was achieved through the re-evaluation of the royal title nb irt-ḫt. It was determined that this specific title did not refer to the king in a sacral function, but had wider reference to the king as a leader and creator of ritual and as the performer of the office of kingship. This wider reference not only applied to the issue of the title nb irt-ḫt, but also to the category of ritual itself. One of the most important contributions of this study is the finding that ancient Egyptian ritual referred to a variety of sacred and secular activities. These activities were bound together through their reference to formal and traditional behaviours that had influence on the forces of ma`at and isfet in the world.

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[1] See Schulman 1988: 4-5, 51-57 and 1994: 267-270 for comments on the public and ceremonial nature of this ritual.

[2] This method follows the suggestion of Sollberger 1973: 160.

[3] Translating either ir-ḫt or nt-ˁ into English as "ritual" when it refers to work could easily be misinterpreted by a reader as referring to the worker performing cultic offerings in a temple. For example, in the tomb of Rekhmire the reference is to the duties of a magistrate, not his religious duties: "look, it is the shelter of a magistrate to perform rites according to instructions" (chart #3, c.120).

[4] In the case of the Rekhmire example quoted above, it could be translated as: "look it is the shelter of a magistrate to carry out the formal duties of the office according to instructions." It should be noted that this translation does cause the loss of the knowledge that the ancient Egyptians connected the duties of the office to other ritual behaviours, but it does capture some of the reason that the expression ir-ḫt was selected as appropriate.

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1928b *Dramatische texte zu altaegyptischen Mysterienspielen.* Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ASAE	*Annales du Service des Antiquitiés de l`Égypte.*
BD	Budge, E., 1898, *The Book of the Dead, The Chapters of Coming Forth by Day. Vol. I, The Egyptian Text in Hieroglyphic.* London: Kegan Paul, Trench,Trübner & Co.
BIFAO	*Bulletin de l'Institut Français d`Archéologie Orientale.*
CT	de Buck, A., 1935-, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society.*
JARCE	*Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt.*
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.*
JEOL	Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptische Genootschap (Gezelschap) "Ex Oriente Lux."
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies.*
KRI	Kitchen, K. 1968-, *Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical.* Oxford: Blackwell.
LdÄ	Helck, W. and E. Otto, 1975-1989, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
MDAIK	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo.*
Medinet Habu	Epigraphic Survey, 1930-, *Medinet Habu.* Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the Universityof Chicago.
PT	Sethe, K., 1910, *Die Altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte.* Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs.
RdÉ	*Revue d'Égyptologie.*
SAK	*Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur.*

SAOC	*Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization.* Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
Urk	Steindorff, G. 1906-1958, *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums.* J.C. Hinrichs :Leipzig and Berlin.
Wb	Erman, A and H. Grapow, eds., 1926-31, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache.* J.C. Hinrichs: Leipzig and Berlin.
ZÄS	*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde.*