

Sonderdruck aus

5. Symposium zur ägyptischen Königsideologie /
5th Symposium on Egyptian Royal Ideology

Palace and Temple

Architecture – Decoration – Ritual

Cambridge, July, 16th-17th, 2007

Edited by Rolf Gundlach
and Kate Spence

2011

Harrassowitz Verlag · Wiesbaden

King as God and God as King

Colour, Light, and Transformation in Egyptian Ritual

Katja Goebis

This paper examines the relationship between the conceptions of “divine kings” and “royal gods” in Egypt on the basis of some of the rituals that are associated with both. Individual scenes relating to the ceremonies of accession and/or coronation in Egypt appear on most surviving temple walls and may even ornament surfaces that appear at first sight secondary in religious or political importance, such as items of jewellery. Here one may think of the scenes that show the king having his crown bestowed, or confirmed, by Amun, or of Thoth or Seshat recording the divine titulary and years of the reign on the leaves of the Ished-tree. Yet, there is relatively little evidence for the actual rituals surrounding these events. Scholars generally agree that they must have been evocative of the ceremonies marking the renewal of the kingship, such as the Sed-festival,¹ the Confirmation of Royal Power on the occasion of the New Year,² and the merging with the royal Ka in the context of the Opet-festival.³ It is further assumed that, in the course of these, the king, or incumbent to the throne, underwent a transformation that made him into a “divinized being” in the widest sense.⁴ However, various steps in the Daily Cultic Ritual, performed in the temples of gods on the divine statues housed there, evoke episodes of these royal rituals – most conspicuously in the bestowal of crowns. This raises questions about the nature of divinity and royalty in Egypt, and of their interrelations, since – one might argue – a god does not need to be “divinized”. A slightly different angle is hence appropriate.

* Abbreviations generally in accordance with W. HELCK/W. WESTENDORF (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (= LÄ), vol. VII, 1989, p. IX-XXXVIII.

1 Most recently E. HORNUNG/E. STAEHELIN, *Neue Studien zum Sedfest*, AH 20, 2006, with earlier literature.

2 J.-C. GOYON, *Confirmation du pouvoir royal au nouvel an* [Brooklyn Museum Papyrus 47.218.50], BdE 52, 1972, e.g. 17–18; IDEM, *Aspects thébains de la confirmation du pouvoir royal: les rites lunaires*, in: SSEA(J) 13, 1983, 2–9.

3 L. BELL, *Luxor temple and the cult of the royal ka*, in: JNES 44, 1985, 251–294.

4 With the divinity hence inhering in the office of the kingship, the transfer of which entails – explicitly at least in the New Kingdom – that of the royal Ka (see BELL, *Luxor temple*, esp. 267). The standard treatments of two distinct “natures” of the king are H. GOEDICKE, *Die Stellung des Königs im Alten Reich*, Ägyptologische Studien 2, Wiesbaden 1960, esp. 88, and G. POSENER, *De la divinité du pharaon*, Paris 1960. More recently, E. WINDUS-STAGINSKY has refined this picture somewhat (*Der ägyptische König im Alten Reich. Terminologie und Phraseologie*, Philippika 14, Wiesbaden 2006, with summary on 241 ff.; see esp. 246–247). For proof of the king’s divinized status, which involves his coronation, as a prerequisite for his performing the temple ritual see e.g. F. LABRIQUE, *Stylistique et théologie à Edfou. Le rituel de l’offrande de la campagne: étude de la composition*, OLA 51, 1992, 163–164 (with earlier literature).

Transformation and Divinization

Within the wide range of attested Egyptian rituals, those bringing about some kind of transformation hold an important place. This is in part simply due to the chance of preservation, which means that large parts of surviving ritual texts stem from the funerary sphere and are hence concerned with the “transfiguration” of the deceased person into an immortal Akh and, at least in the earlier periods, into a divinized being prepared to join the gods in their celestial abode.⁵

However, death and destruction are also indispensable parts of the eternal cosmic cycle (and thus order) beyond the funerary sphere, in that they represent the potential for recreation and rebirth.⁶ Transformation – from death to life, and/or from potential to actual(ized) existence – are hence integral to the Egyptian conception of Maat and the institutions maintaining it – kingship and state. Therefore, important rituals of transformation pertain to the royal sphere, such as the Sed-festival and the coronation – with the former, as stated, far better attested to date than the latter.

The fact that the Egyptians did indeed perceive continuity (and overlap) in the rituals aimed at transfiguring the dead and those of bestowing the kingship or regenerating the ageing king is made explicit, for example, in the reciprocal influence that the iconography of Osiris’s regeneration and that of the Sed-festival had on one another.⁷ Similarly, the ample use of royal ritual referents in funerary texts such as the Pyramid and Coffin Texts, which include episodes of “crowning” or “legitimization” before the head of the pantheon and other deities, attest to an overlap in those two spheres.⁸ Alexandre Moret, in his groundbreaking study of the Daily Cultic Ritual in Egyptian temples, went as far as to claim that the funerary cult of Osiris represented the prototype for the cult of all divinized beings, while Eugene Cruz-Urbe has investigated the problem of how, specifically, the Opening of the Mouth and the temple rituals in the Late Period interrelate.⁹

In a recent article,¹⁰ Ute Rummel, in examining specific ritual objects and actions, has illustrated the transformative power especially of *jdmy*-linen. This fabric played a role in both the mummification and resulting transfiguration of the deceased as well as in royal

5 See J. ASSMANN/M. BOMMAS/A. KUCHARÉK, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien*. 2 vols., Heidelberg 2002–2005.

6 See e.g. K. GOEBIS, *Zerstörung als Erneuerung in der Totenliteratur. Eine kosmische Interpretation des Kannibalenspruchs*, in: GM 194, 2003, 29–49; also P. DERCHAIN, *Perpetuum Mobile*, in: OLP 6/7, *Miscellanea in honorem Joseph Vergote*, 1975–76, 153–161.

7 Especially from the Ramesside period onwards; E. HORNUNG/E. STAEHELIN, *Studien zum Sedfest*, AH 1, 1974, 68–70; IDEM, *Neue Studien*, 76.

8 K. GOEBIS, *Crowns in Egyptian funerary literature. Royalty, rebirth, and destruction*, Oxford 2008, which collects the evidence for the use of crowns in these texts. Chapter 4 (pp. 359–378) in particular examines the implications of this evidence for the terrestrial kingship.

9 A. MORET, *Le rituel du culte journalier en Égypte d’après les papyrus de Berlin et les textes du temple de Sêti I^{er}, à Abydos*, Paris 1902, 219–220; E. CRUZ-URIBE, *Opening of the Mouth as temple ritual*, in: E. TEETER/J.F. LARSON (eds.), *Gold of Praise. Studies in honor of Edward F. Wente*, SAOC 58, 1999, 69–73.

10 U. RUMMEL, *Weihrauch, Salboel und Leinen: Balsamierungsmaterialien als Medium der Erneuerung im Sedfest*, in: SAK 34, 2006, 381–407.

festivals, as the material from which the Sed-festival clothes were made.¹¹ *Jdmj* is one of the most precious textiles of the Old Kingdom.¹² Texts (Pyramid Texts and later)¹³ attest that *jdmj*-linen may potentially appear in various colours but is most commonly red,¹⁴ and that it is one of the textiles that is applied to the deceased's body in order to bring about his or her rebirth.¹⁵ In this role it is often likened to the mummy-wrappings (of Osiris).¹⁶ Because of its corresponding regenerative power, the Sed-festival cloak made of *jdmj* also appears in representations of the king following the renewal of his union with the royal Ka in the Opet-festival (see fig. 1)¹⁷ and, even more strikingly for our purposes, in the course of the coronation, in the scenes following the actual bestowal of the crowns: Thus, Hatshepsut is shown wearing it at Deir el-Bahari after Horus and Seth have crowned her and referred the royal office to her in the *pr nw*.¹⁸ The identity, in most instances, of the Sed-festival and

11 Thus already W.S. SMITH, The Old Kingdom Linen List, in: ZÄS 71, 1935, 149; K. SCHEELE, Die Stofflisten des Alten Reiches. Lexikographie, Entwicklung und Gebrauch, Menes 2, Wiesbaden 2005, 16.

12 SCHEELE, Stofflisten, 16.

13 Although the term is most likely attested as early as late Dyn. 1, time of Qa'a (seal impression from tomb S 3505); cf. J. KAHL et. al., Frühägyptisches Wörterbuch 1, Wiesbaden 2002, 62 under *jtjw*, the logographic writing of which was long thought to overlap with that of *jdmj*. See now SCHEELE, Stofflisten, 11–13, for the reading as *jdmj*.

14 Wb I, 153.13–18; P. DERCHAIN, Le papyrus Salt 825 (B.M. 10051), ritual pour la conservation de la vie en Egypte, Brussels 1965, 149–50 provides further references and suggests that *jdmj* and the equally red *jns* are of particular importance for the union of Re and Osiris in later periods. SCHEELE, Stofflisten, 13–16 (esp. 15–16) lists the reasons why *jdmj* has to be a red(dish) textile and presents examples of texts that seem to use *jdmj* equivalent to a colour term. The association with the term *w3d* (Pyr. 1202b; CT 934, VII, 135d) has to remain ambiguous since *w3d* is often linked with items and phenomena that are in fact red (cf. GOEBS, Crowns, 155–164, where a signification of *w3d* as “dark(er) shimmer (in relation to *hd*)” is proposed). On the use of terms denoting materials to express (abstract) colour terms see now D.A. WARBURTON, La terminologie des couleurs, in: J.-C. GOYON/C. CARDIN (eds.), Proceedings of the ninth international congress of Egyptologists, Grenoble, 6–12 septembre 2004, vol. 2, OLA 150, 2007, 1919–1926, esp. 1925. CT 934 (VII, 135d) provides an attestation for “white” (*hd*) *jdmj*.

15 The late Papyrus Salt 825 (II.8) lists *jdmj* and *jns* in an enumeration of embalming materials said to have come forth from a number of Heliopolitan gods, and seems to describe their origin from the sweat of Re (DERCHAIN, pSalt 825, 137). *Jdmj* is also the most common textile in the object friezes on MK coffins (JÉQUIER, Frises d'Objets, 34–37; RUMMEL, Weihrauch, 399 with nn. 88–89).

16 *jdmj*, as well as other typical “transformatory” materials and items such as incense and ointment, appear in the so-called “lion bier sequence”, attested as early as Niuserre, which forms part of the representations of funerary rituals. This ritual culminated in the enthronement of the “cloaked” king in the Hebsed pavilion, and this image hence came to be the characteristic “icon” that could represent the entire festival (RUMMEL, Weihrauch, esp. 394–395). For the important role of textiles – including mummy-wrappings, headbands, and dress in general – in the transfiguration of the deceased see now also the evidence collected by ASSMANN/BOMMAS/KUCHAREK, Altägyptische Totenliturgien I: Totenliturgien in den Sargtexten des Mittleren Reiches, 219 ff., esp. 221–222, 236; II: Totenliturgien und Totensprüche in Grabinschriften des Neuen Reiches, e.g. 193, 197, 486–487.

17 LACAU/CHEVRIER, Hatshepsout, 183–184, §§ 256–259; pl. 9, Block 171. Thutmose III at Deir el-Bahari: J. KARKOWSKI, Pharaoh in the Heb-Sed robe in Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahari, in: ET 19, 2001, 81–112, esp. 97–101 with fig. 7; RUMMEL, Weihrauch, 402–403 with fig. 11.1. On this festival, and on the processes of *rnpj* and *snrj* see also BELL, Luxor temple, esp. 245–246; 276–285.

18 Deir el-Bahari III, pl. LXIV (coronation); and NAVILLE, Festival-Hall, pl. xxiii (Sed-festival); see also RUMMEL, Weihrauch, 403 with fig. 11.3.

coronation cloaks was noted already by Shorter in 1934,¹⁹ and suggests that the Sed-festival cloak and *jdmy* function as both symbols of, and vehicle for, not only regeneration but also transformation. They symbolize – concordant with the prominent role of ritual dressing and undressing in *rites of passage* all over the world²⁰ – a newly attained state of being, be it of the transfigured deceased, the rejuvenated ruler in the Sed-festival, or the “divinized” king following his coronation.

Yet more strikingly, however, the same material occurs in the Daily Cultic Ritual, where it is applied to the statues of the gods. In this ritual, the various divine images throughout Egypt are “awakened” and – in view of the use of the *jdmy*-cloth, we may add “rejuvenated” or “revived”.

In the following, and on the basis of the outlined framework, I will attempt to define certain aspects in the relationship between king and god in a more nuanced way by comparing the details of the daily cultic dressing of the gods with certain aspects of the rituals of royal accession and confirmation.

The Daily Cultic Ritual – Transformation and Rejuvenation

While a set of scenes belonging to the Daily Cultic Ritual are known already from the walls of Hatshepsut’s *chapelle rouge* and her ebony naos (CG 70001) from Deir el-Bahari,²¹ this ritual is best attested from the later New Kingdom onwards, when it appears on the walls of six of the seven chapels in the temple of Seti I at Abydos,²² and, in the Third Intermediate Period, in the ritual papyri Berlin 3014, 3053, and 3055, whence it is commonly known as the “Liturgies for Amun and Mut”, or “Karnak Liturgy”.²³ The Offering Ritual in its canonized form, as which it is also known as the “Ritual of the Royal Ancestors” or “Ritual of Amenhotep I”, belongs to broadly the same (that is, later New Kingdom) time frame.²⁴ Episodes from these essential rituals can, however, be found on many temple walls, in particular on those of the temples’ primary cultic areas and as part of other ritual sequences,

19 A.W. SHORTER, The Reliefs showing the coronation of Ramesses II, in: JEA 20, 1934, 20.

20 A. VAN GENNEP, The rites of passage (transl. from French by M.B. Vizedom and G.L. Caffee). Chicago 1960; GOEBS, Crowns, 376–377.

21 Respectively, LACAU/CHEVRIER, Hatshepsout, 292–294, §§ 480–484 and Deir el-Bahari I, pl. XXV, XXVIII (also G. ROEDER, Naos, CG 70001–70050, §§ 1–61, pls. 1–3).

22 CALVERLEY/GARDINER, Abydos I–II.

23 G. MÖLLER (ed.), Hieratische Papyrus aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin 1, Leipzig 1901. Further evidence can be found in the temples of Karnak (Great Hypostyle Hall), Medinet Habu, Kom Ombo, Dendara, and Edfu, as well as on pChester Beatty IX and oDeM 204. See W. GUGLIELMI/K. BUROH, Die Eingangssprüche des täglichen Tempelrituals nach Papyrus Berlin 3055 (I, 1–VI, 3), in: J. VAN DIJK (ed.), Essays in honour of Herman Te Velde, Groningen 1997, 134–136 for a collection of sources and concordance of the first 17 episodes.

24 Ramesside pTurin Suppl. 10125, with parallels in pChester Beatty IX (recto) I/15 and (verso) I/3, as well as pCairo CG 54041. H.H. NELSON, Certain reliefs of Karnak and Medinet Habu and the ritual of Amenophis I, in: JNES 8, 1949, 201–232; 310–345. (For summary see R. DAVID, A Guide to religious ritual at Abydos, Warminster 1981, 82–86, and comparative tables on pp. 166–168).

and span almost the entire length of Egyptian religious practice:²⁵ References to the Opening of the Mouth Ritual, parts of which display significant overlap with the Daily Cultic Ritual, appear already in the tomb decoration of the early 4th Dynasty official Metjen and in Palermo Stone entries for kings of the same period.²⁶ More explicit references can be found in the clearly ritual utterances of the Pyramid Texts²⁷ as well as in the Abusir papyri, which relate to the cultic procedures associated with royal statues in the later 5th through the 6th Dynasty.²⁸ Scholars such as Blackman went as far as to hypothesize that both the Daily Cultic Ritual and Opening of the Mouth Ritual originated in the purification rites of the (pre- or) early dynastic “Heliopolitan king”, who – regarded as the embodiment of the sungod – was thus reborn every day.²⁹ Whichever scenario for their origin one wishes to postulate, the continued use of such ritual episodes on the walls of the Graeco-Roman temples attests to their status as fixtures within the daily cultic procedures in Egyptian temples over several thousand years.³⁰

25 J. OSING, Zum Kultbildritual in Abydos, in: E. TEETER/J. LARSON (eds.), *Gold of Praise: Studies on Ancient Egypt in honor of Edward F. Wente*, Chicago 1997, 317–334.

26 OTTO, *Mundöffnungsritual* II, 6.

27 PT 600, concerned with the offering of the broad collar *wsḥ*, is particularly well known, since it survived into the temple cult of the Graeco-Roman Period; see below, n. 30.

28 Various steps found in the Daily Ritual are already present there, including (but not restricted to) drawing the bolt, opening the shrine, presenting fabrics (as evident from the lists of fabrics appearing in these archives, which are designated as being for “offering purposes” (*htp-ntr*), and anointing. P. POSENER-KRIÉGER, *Les archives du temple funéraire du Néferirkarê-kakaï* (Les papyrus d’Abousir). Traduction et commentaire, BdE 65/1–2, 1976, e.g. 536–543, 547.

29 A.M. BLACKMAN, The sequence of the episodes in the Egyptian daily temple liturgy, in: JMEOS, 1918–1919, 27–53, esp. 27; also A.M. BLACKMAN/H.W. FAIRMAN, The consecration of an Egyptian temple according to the use of Edfu, in: JEA 32, 1945, 75–91. On the House of the Morning rites see also A.M. BLACKMAN, Some notes on the Ancient Egyptian practice of washing the dead, in: JEA 5, 1918, 117–124. Blackman maintained that both the Daily Cultic and Opening of the Mouth Ritual sought to imitate the same event, the daily lustration of the sungod at dawn, and that this god was conceived of as king, and indeed as prototype of all Heliopolitan kings (cf. sequence of the episodes, esp. 30). The recent study by J. KAHL (“Re is my Lord”. Searching for the rise of the Sun God at the dawn on Egyptian history, Menes 1, Wiesbaden 2007), which affirms the introduction of the cult of Re at the latest in early Dynasty 2, could make Blackman’s suggestions attractive once more. For the (counter-)hypothesis of all statue rituals originating in the Osirian complex of beliefs see above, n. 9. The equation of Daily Cult and Opening of the Mouth Ritual has been critiqued by DAVID (Guide, 77–80; see also B. ALTENMÜLLER-KESTING, *Reinigungsriten im Ägyptischen Kult*, Diss. Hamburg 1968, 150–175).

In particular, the Opening of the Mouth does not include (a) Presentation of *sšpt* and *mⁿḥt*, (b) Fixing the Double Feathers on the head, (c) Offering bracelets and anklets; moreover (d), at Abydos, the statue seems to be invested with all the insignia before the anointing takes place, while in the Opening of the Mouth anointing takes place after the presentation of the broad collar *wsḥ*, but before the investiture with the other insignia.

30 M. de C. ROCHEMONTEIX/E. CHASSINAT/S. CAUVILLE/D. DEVAUCHELLE, *Le temple d’Edfou* I², MMAF 10, 1984, 23; S. CAUVILLE, *Dendara – Traduction I*, OLA 81, 1998, 67–109. For specific episodes see e.g. E. GRAEFE, Über die Verarbeitung von Pyramidentexten in den späten Tempeln (Nochmals zu Spruch 600 (§ 1652a – § 1656d: Umhängen des Halskragens), in: U. VERHOEVEN/E. GRAEFE (eds.), *Religion und Philosophie im alten Ägypten*. Festgabe für Philippe Derchain, OLA 39, 1991, 129–148.

The details of the Daily Cultic Ritual's sequence remain, due to contradictory evidence in the various sources, debated, but scholars agree that the following steps are involved:³¹

- (1) Purification before entering the sanctuary³²
- (2) Entering
- (3) Opening of the shrine³³
- (4) Adoration of the god
(the Karnak Liturgy includes more extensive versions for festival days at this point)
- (5) Purification
- (6) Preparation of the god
- (7) Dressing
- (8) Offering ritual/"Ritual of Amenhotep I"
- (9) Purification on leaving the sanctuary
(followed by additional, alternative episodes for festival occasions in the Karnak Liturgy).

Significantly, part of all the mentioned rituals is occupied by "dressing" or "wrapping" the statue in "textiles" – one of these being, as indicated, the *jdmy*. More specifically, fabrics of different colours are used, including white, green, and red, and all of these colours are associated – thus the texts inform us – with both radiance and rejuvenation.³⁴ And while the

31 Listed here in the order presented in DAVID, Guide, 60–72, 80–83 for correspondences in the different sources. More recently, OSING (Kultbildritual in Abydos, esp. pp. 318–321) has revised the order suggested by David somewhat. D. HEIDEN, New aspects of the treatment of the cult statue in the daily temple ritual, in: Z. HAWASS (ed.), Egyptology at the dawn of the twenty-first century 2, New York/Cairo 2003, 308–315, suggests that only the censuring of the statue took place on a daily basis. GUGLIELMI/BUROH, Eingangssprüche, 106 n. 36 provide a survey of the older literature on this problem.

32 The purification rituals have also been studied by ALTENMÜLLER-KESTING, Reinigungsriten.

33 Recently examined by H.-G. BARTEL, Über den „Spruch beim Fortziehen der Riegel“ in den Sanktuaren des Tempels Sethos' I. in Abydos. 1. Teil, in: C.-B. ARNST/I. HAFEMANN/A. LOHWASSER (eds.), Begegnungen. Antike Kulturen im Niltal. Festgabe für Erika Endesfelder, Karl-Heinz Priebe, Walter Friedrich Reineke, Steffen Wenig, Leipzig 2001, 55–81.

34 The rejuvenating properties of the differently coloured textiles are illustrated, for example, by their use in the Ritual of Consecrating the *mrt*-chests, which originally relates to the myth of Osiris. While it is currently attested from the New Kingdom onwards, it may predate this time frame. The four *mrt*-chests were thought to contain the mummy bandages of Osiris. In particular, a text relating to his mysteries at Dendara explicitly states that four different kinds of clothing are to be found in the chests: (bright) *ssd*-linen, (red) *jdmy*-linen, (green) *w3dt*-linen, and (white) *hdt*-linen. The same four textiles are also found at Edfu (Edfou VI, 248, 12–14), but in most Graeco-Roman attestations the *ssd*-linen is replaced by *jrtjw*-linen, which we do not find in the earlier clothing rituals. A. EGBERTS, In Quest of Meaning. A Study of the Ancient Egyptian Rites of Consecrating the Meret-chests and Driving the Calves I, Egyptologische Uitgaven, 8/1–2, Leiden 1995, esp. 177–186; 380–381. See pp. 180–186 for connections with the Daily Cultic Ritual, where the author stresses – unjustifiably, in my opinion – the dissimilarities between the multicoloured linen of the Daily Cultic Ritual and the Ritual of Consecrating the *mrt*-chests. Cf. the discussion below.

overall sequence of the various rituals cited appears, as stated, to vary in its details, all include the following steps:³⁵

- (a) Dressing in coloured textiles
- (b) Anointing/Application of eye-paint

Several versions also include episodes of

- (c) Adorning with (royal and other) insignia or paraphernalia

Further, it appears that – with the exception of some of the Graeco-Roman evidence³⁶ – the dressing in various textiles follows a particular sequence of coloured fabrics:

- (1) White
- (2) Green
- (3) Red
- [(4) *jdmj* (dark Red?)]³⁷

Additional fabrics may be either prefixed to this sequence, as in the Opening of Mouth Ritual (*nms hdt, sj3w*), or else appended, as in Abydos (*nms (hdt), mnht 3t*). Compare the following table:

35 A further royal ritual involving textiles and insignia is attested in the so-called “Dramatic Ramesseum Papyrus” and represents an exception to this rule, which is not studied in this context. The discrepancy can be explained by the fact that the Dramatic Ramesseum Papyrus is not concerned with solar renewal but rather with legitimizing Horus against Seth. See also below, n. 172. On the role of a ritual’s function in determining content and structure of the recited text and its performance (as in the choice of mythical actors and precedents) see GOEBS, A functional approach to Egyptian myth and mythemes, in: JANER 2, 2002, esp. 51–54.

36 Cf. OSING, Kultbildritual in Abydos, 329–331.

37 See above, nn. 12–14, for the red colour of the *jdmj*.

Karnak	Abydos	Edfu	Dendara	OpM
				<i>nms</i> ³⁸ <i>ḥdt</i>
				<i>sj3w</i> ³⁹
<i>ḥdt</i> ⁴⁰	<i>ḥdt</i>	<i>ḥdt</i>	<i>mnḥt</i>	<i>ḥdt</i>
			<i>wnšb</i>	
<i>w3ḏt</i> ⁴¹	<i>w3ḏt</i>	<i>jrtjw</i> ⁴²	<i>w3ḏt</i>	<i>w3ḏt</i>
<i>jnsj</i> ⁴³	<i>jnsj</i>	<i>ḥdt</i> ⁴⁴	<i>jrt sšst</i>	<i>jnsj</i>
<i>jdmj</i>		<i>jdmj</i>	<i>mnjt</i>	<i>jdmj</i>
			<i>wn-ḥrwy</i>	
	<i>wšḥ/h3drt</i>		<i>wšḥ</i>	<i>wšḥ</i>
	<i>sšpt/mḥnḥt</i>			
	<i>sšd/šwty</i>			

38 For the use of the *nms* in the cult see K. GOEBS, Untersuchungen zu Funktion und Symbolgehalt des *nms*, in: ZÄS 122, 1995, 175–178.

39 = *sj3t*? See SCHEELE, Stofflisten, 26–27; oldest attestation late Dyn. 6 (Pepiankhherib, Meir), Pyr. 2004a, 2044a; both N). Possibly denotes a specific (fringed?) item of clothing, but later appears also as mummy-wrapping or headband. In later periods this fabric is generally white, which is reflected in the colour of the MK hieroglyph (e.g. JÉQUIER, Frises d’Objets, 33). In the ritual of embalming, *sj3t* appears as a divine item of dress (F. SERVAGEAN, L’étoffe *sj3t* et la regeneration du défunt, in: BIFAO 103, 2003, 441–442).

40 “White linen”, SCHEELE, Stofflisten, 26; oldest attestation Dyn. 6 (*Jstj/Ttj*, Saqqara). Appears much more frequently in Middle Kingdom friezes (JÉQUIER, Frises d’Objets, 31).

41 “Green linen”, SCHEELE, Stofflisten, 18–19; oldest attestation Dyn. 5 (Sahure); Pyr. 1202b (P, M, N); for later attestations (object friezes) see op. cit. p. 19 n. 57, with ref. to JÉQUIER, Frises d’Objets, 33.

42 Red or purple fabric? SCHEELE, Stofflisten, 45–46, following R. GERMER, Die Textilfärberei und die Verwendung gefärbter Textilien im Alten Ägypten, ÄA 53, 1992, 129–130, argues against the earlier rendering as “blue” based on the fact that *jrtjw* usually appears grouped with other red textiles and thus likely denotes a different hue of red. Earliest attestation in Dyn. 6 (Mereruka, Saqqara). For attestations of Old Kingdom blue linen see GERMER, Textilfärberei, 7–8; 129–130; SCHEELE, Stofflisten, 46 with n. 204. F. SARAGOZA, Rites de vêture et étoffes divines, in: M. DURAND/F. SARAGOZA (eds.), Egypte, la trame d’Histoire. Textiles pharaoniques, coptes, et islamiques, Rouen 2002, 32 with n. 9, suggests (with reference to Dendara IV, 109.10, where *jrtjw m wḥn w3ḏ* is mentioned) that *jrtjw* was coloured with juniper extract, but the parallel text in Edfu has *jns*-linen coloured thus (GERMER, Textilfärberei, 128).

43 “Red(dish) linen”, as suggested by GERMER (Textilfärberei, 7–8; 126–128) and followed by SCHEELE (Stofflisten, 10) with reference to the sort of fabric found in the pyramids of Pepi and Merenre. The fact that the term *jns* can also, from the Pyramid Texts onwards, mean “the Red” (= blood; Wb I, 100.4) underlines this signification. Oldest attestation late Dyn. 5 (Wenis): Pyr. 268b; 285d; in private contexts it appears in Dyn. 8 (Urk. I, 267.11 (I)), where it is used in conjunction with embalming procedures.

44 DAVID, Guide, table p. 82 suggests a miswriting for *w3ḏ*.

Karnak	Abydos	Edfu	Dendara	OpM
	<i>w3s/hq3(j3qs)/</i>			
	<i>nh3h3/jry</i>			
	<i>ʕwy/rdwy</i>			
<i>mḏt</i> ointment	<i>mḏt</i>	<i>mḏt</i>		<i>mḏt</i>
<i>w3ḏw</i> eye-paint				<i>w3ḏw</i>
<i>msdmt</i> eye-paint				<i>msdmt</i>
	<i>nms (hḏt)</i>			<i>3ms</i>
	<i>dw3 nṯrt ...</i> <i>hḏt ʕnt m nbw</i>			<i>hb/hḏ-mace</i>
	<i>mnḥt ʕ3t (?)</i>			<i>mnw-mace</i>

Table: Sequence of coloured fabrics and paraphernalia in the various dressing rituals

The Scenes and Their Text

In the following, I will examine the dressing episodes in the late New Kingdom Daily Cultic Ritual in some more detail. My focus is in particular on the symbolism of colour and sheen of the ritual items, and important statements relating to this symbolism are marked in **bold print**.

Presentation of the White/Bright Cloth (*mnḥt hḏt*)⁴⁵

r3 n mnḥ(t) hḏt

h3 NN – ʃsp n=k ʃʃp=k pn

ʃsp n=k nṯrt=k pn

ʃsp n=k mʕry=k pn

ʃsp n=k mnḥt=k tn

ʃsp n=k jrt twy n Hrw hḏt

pṯrt m Nḥb

hʕj=k jm=s

mnḥt=k jm=s

m rn=s pwy n mnḥt

Spell for the **bright/white cloth**

O NN, take for yourself this your **Shining One**,

take for yourself this your beautiful garment,

take for yourself this your *mʕry*-garment!

Take for yourself this your *mnḥt*-garment!

Take for yourself **this bright/white Eye of Horus**,

which came forth from Elkab,

(that) **you may shine forth/arise by means of it**,

(that) you may be ennobled by means of it,

in this its name *mnḥt*,

45 MORET, *Rituel du culte*, 179–180; DAVID, *Guide*, 67; OTTO, *Mundöffnungsritual II*, 113–114. The dressing of the statue in the Opening of the Mouth Ritual seems to be derivative of the Daily Cultic Ritual; cf. OTTO, *Mundöffnungsritual II*, 9. “A” = Abydos, “K” = Karnak, “OpM” = Opening of the Mouth.

<i>dmj=s hr=k m rn=s pwy n jdmj</i>	(that) it may cling to you in this its name <i>jdmj(t)</i> -linen,
(A = <i>jdmjt</i>)	
<i>ʕ=s hr=k m rn=s pwy n ʕt</i>	(that) it may be great on you in this its name of Great Cloth,
<i>šmʕ=s hr=k m rn=s pwy n šmʕt</i>	(that) it may be fine on you in this its name of fine <i>šmʕt</i> -linen.
<i>ḏb3.n(=j) tw (m) jrt Hrw</i>	I have clothed you (with) the Eye of Horus
<i>m ḏb3 Rnn-wtt</i>	(as) with the cloth of Renenutet,
⁴⁶ <i>nrw n=s nṯrw</i>	whom the gods respect.
<i>mn n=k jrt Hrw</i> (K: <i>hḏt</i>)	Take for yourself the (K: bright/white) Eye of Horus ,
<i>nrw n=k nṯrw</i>	so that the gods shall fear you,
<i>mj [...] nrw=s</i>	just as [...] its dread,
<i>mj nrw=sn n jrt Hrw</i>	just as they fear the Eye of Horus.

In receiving this garment, the deity thus adopts its properties: It is the “Shining One”, the “bright Eye of Horus” – potential reference to its lunar connotations⁴⁷ – and is said to come forth from Elkab, the cultic center of the vulture goddess Nekhbet.⁴⁸ It is also associated with the respect, or “terror”, of the serpent-goddess Renenutet, and therefore causes the god to be respected by the other deities. The cloth thus acts as a mark of distinction, as something that the other gods perceive when they behold the recipient deity in it. The “brightness” associated with it enhances this function of the cloth.

Presentation of the Green Cloth (*mnḥt w3ḏt*)⁴⁹

<i>r3 n ḏb3 mnḥt w3ḏt</i>	<i>Spell for donning the green/Wadjit-cloth.</i>
<i>ḥʕj W3ḏyt nb(t) nbyt</i>	May Wadjit, the mistress of flame/Nbyt , ⁵⁰ arise,
<i>Jqrt</i>	the excellent one,
<i>jwtt ḥsf=s m pt m t3</i>	who cannot be opposed in sky and earth!
<i>w3ḏt sw3ḏ=s NN</i>	The Green Cloth – may it refresh NN
<i>m w3ḏ=st</i> ⁵¹	with its greenness/freshness ,

46 Following A.

47 For the lunar meaning of the *jrt Hrw hḏt*, in particular when referring to the White Crown, see GOEBIS, Crowns, 103; 158–159.

48 For certain lunar connotations of Nekhbet see GOEBIS, Crowns, 179–181 with nn. 434, 438, also 254.

49 MORET, Rituel du culte, 184; DAVID, Guide, 67; OTTO, Mundöffnungsritual II, 116–117.

50 K determines with panther-head, a writing that Wb II, 244.18 lists as “Name einer Stadt” – Kom Ombo – according to R. HANNIG, Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I. Altes Reich und Erste Zwischenzeit, Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt 98, Mainz 2003, 1559; IDEM, Ägyptisches Wörterbuch II. Mittleres Reich und Zweite Zwischenzeit, Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt 112, Mainz 2006 2954 {41817}. Another, and more likely, possibility is Bilifiya/*pr-W3ḏyt* (HANNIG, Wörterbuch II, 2954 {41818}: *Nbjwj*), c. 10 km to the North East of Herakleopolis Magna, where – as the name suggests – Wadjit had the main cult. The place name *Nbt*, *Nbjw*, or *Nbyt* is found on the monuments from this town (L. HABACHI, Edjo, Mistress of Nebt (Bilifiya, near to Ihnâsya El-Medîneh), in: ZÄS 90, 1963, 41–49; M. GAMAL EL-DIN MOKHTAR, Ihnâsya el-Medina (Herakleopolis Magna). Its importance and its role in pharaonic history, BdE 40, 1983, 45. In view of the frequent association of the uraeus-goddess Wadjit and related deities with fire and flame, the present translation appears nevertheless pertinent (cf. also Wb II, 244.14: *nbjtj* “in den Beinamen der Sakhmet”).

smnh{t}=s n mnht=s tn
sw3d=s n jmyw w3d=s

rnpi=f n⁵²=s
mj rnpw R^cw
NN mn n=k jrt Hrw
swd3 n=f jmy=st

may it/she ennoble (him) through this its/her cloth,
 may it/she **refresh** (him) through what is in her
freshness/greenness,
 (so that) he will be young through it (or: for her)
 like Re is rejuvenated.
 NN, take for yourself the Eye of Horus!
 What is in it will make him hale!

The ritual episode employs wordplays that involve, on the one hand, terms for greenness/freshness (*w3d*), rejuvenation (*sw3d*), and haleness (*swd3*), and – on the other – the fiery solar disc and uraeus Wadjet, who is said to “arise” or “shine forth” (*h3j*). This latter statement moreover points to the luminous associations of the term *w3d* and the goddess associated with it. In funerary and other religious texts, *w3d* is explicitly used in contexts that evoke a dark “shimmer”, in particular of blood, but also of cosmic entities such as stars, and of objects made of semi-precious stones.⁵³ All of these share, in the words of Geraldine Pinch, the “shiny, almost moist, texture ... which ... gives them the appearance of living things”. Pinch compares here the Greek colour term *chloros*, “green”, which may however also denote a state of “freshness, moistness, fullness of sap”.⁵⁴ In line with this, and the examples listed, also *w3d* can therefore be said to convey aspects of luminosity – most likely captured by a rendering as “sheen”, or “gloss” – and which is always darker than the light intensity conveyed by terms such as *hd(t)*. In the representation accompanying the present episode of the Daily Cultic Ritual in the chapel of Amun-Re, the colour of the presented fabric has been preserved, and is reported to appear – for unknown reasons – as red.⁵⁵ This piece of evidence underlines the close relationship between the hues red and *w3d(t)* “green/fresh/dark(er shimmering) colour”, and their common association with the uraeus goddess Wadjet, which is explicit in the following episode.

51 Cf. K. JANSEN-WINKELN, Spätmittelägyptische Grammatik der Texte der 3. Zwischenzeit, ÄAT 34, 1996, 132, § 216.3.

52 Cf. JANSEN-WINKELN, op. cit., 164, § 267.

53 GOEBS, Crowns, e.g. 163.

54 G. PINCH, Red things: the symbolism of colour in magic, in: W.V. DAVIES (ed.), Colour and painting in Ancient Egypt, London 2001, 183, with reference to the work of the linguist John Lyons.

55 GERMER, Textilfärberei, 132. For the scene see CALVERLEY/GARDINER, Abydos II, pl. 12. It has been variously suggested, partly on the basis of this representation, as well as the absence, to date, of actual finds, that dyed green linen did not exist in Egypt until very late. Given the frequent representations of green dress, the existence of the term *w3dt*, “green cloth/linen”, from the Pyramid Texts onwards (e.g. GERMER, Textilfärberei, 131–132) and its important role in ritual, this seems highly unlikely. Rather, the present representation attests to the cited close relationship with the Red Cloth (see below, n. 63) and the solar significance of the ritual as a whole. It does indeed appear possible that – in a context of solar rebirth such as the present one – two different hues of red were envisaged, with the *w3dt* likely referring to the darker variety.

Presentation of the Red Cloth (*mnht jnsj*)⁵⁶

r3 n db3 mnht jnsj
h5j jrt Rcw nb t3wy
hq3t m jw nsrsr
wrt nbt nsn
hnwt jr s(y)
wḏ mdt jrj psḏt
*m wḏ.n=st*⁵⁸
sw3ḏ=st w3ḏ(w)=s n NN

smnh{t}=s mnht=s tn
sw3ḏ=s jmjw
*w3ḏ(w)=st*⁵⁹
my r=t ...⁶⁰
h5j=t m h3t=f
hwj=t sw m-m 3krw
dj=t snḏ=f m-m ntṛw
nh.tj m3.tj
rnpi.tj mj Rcw r^c nb
⁶¹*hknw n=k m nfr=k*
NN ...
mn n=k jrt Hrw
m33=k jm=st

Spell for donning the Red Cloth.

May the **Eye of Re**, Lord of the Two Lands, **arise**,
the (female) Ruler in the **Island of Flames**,
Great One, Lady of rage,
Mistress of him who created her,
who gives orders and made the Ennead⁵⁷
with that which she ordained.
May she refresh/**make green** her fresh-/**greenness** for
NN,
may she ennoble this her *mnht*-cloth,
may she refresh/**make green** that which is in/
appertains to her fresh-/**greenness**
Come ...
may you **shine forth/arise** at his **forehead!**
may you protect him between the Aker-gods,
may you place the fear of him among the gods!
May you be alive, seen,
and **rejuvenated like Re every day!**
There is jubilation for you because of your beauty,
NN, ...
Take for yourself the **Eye of Horus**,
that you may see with it.

As with the Green Cloth, the Red Cloth *jns(j)* is identified, once again, as the Eye of Horus, and, at the same time, also as the fiery Eye of the sungod; the reference to her “rage” moreover suggests that her angry form Sakhmet is meant.⁶² Even though the goddess is not

56 MORET, *Rituel du culte*, 185–187; DAVID, *Guide*, 68; OTTO, *Mundöffnungsritual II*, 117–118. For the colour and significance of the *jns(j)*-cloth see also above, n. 43, as well as the materials collected by GERMER, *Textilfärberei*, 126–128.

57 The Amun text is not explicit in whether the sungod himself or the Eye goddess is meant; the feminine ending *t* is not usually written in participles and relative forms at this time (cf. – here and passim – JANSEN-WINKELN, *Spätmittelägyptische Grammatik*, §§ 189 ff. for the general omission of gender and number markers). However, the Isis and Horus texts (CALVERLEY/GARDINER, *Abydos I*, pls. 23, 33) have *wḏt mdt jn psḏt* “given orders by the Ennead” (or possibly “giving orders to the Ennead”? See JANSEN-WINKELN, op. cit., § 271 for the possible writing of *n* as *jn*). The Osiris version supplies the writing *w3ḏ* for *wḏ* (CALVERLEY/GARDINER, *Abydos I*, pl. 13).

58 As n. 51.

59 As n. 51.

60 Following A.

61 Following K.

62 In mortuary liturgies of the later New Kingdom, as recently collected by ASSMANN/BOMMAS/KUCHAREK, *Totenliturgien II*, 446–48, the red *jns(j)*-fabric is specifically worn on the festival day of Sakhmet and appears several times in conjunction with a pendent of fayence pearls (*thnt*) (see below for this material); in TT 192 the *jns(j)* also appears as the former dress of Wennefer (op. cit., 487),

explicitly addressed by her names, references to her “freshness” or “greenness” are made.⁶³ She is said to arise at the “forehead” of the recipient and is hence his uraeus, who protects him when he comes forth from the horizon at sunrise. This timing is explicit in the references to the Aker-gods and Island of Flames. The fiery goddess moreover bestows power and respect for him, so that he receives acclaim. Finally, reference is made to the dual function of this shining cosmic “eye”, which both distinguishes the owner in the eyes of the observer and, at the same time, permits him to see.⁶⁴

while a green *sšd*-cloth is applied over (or in addition to) the *jns(j)* in conjunction with the *w3g*-festival (stelae BM 448, Vienna 55; op. cit., 447–448).

63 The close relationship between the Red and Green Cloths seems to be further underpinned by an, at first sight strange, statement found in the “Textile chamber” of the temple of Dendara. There, among the recorded prescriptions and techniques for dyeing the variously coloured fabrics, we find the assertion that the “Green Cloth”, *w3dt*, is to be made with what has been translated as “the foam of the red concoction” (*m hrwt nt jnsj*; Dendara IV, 109, 10–11; S. CAUVILLE, *Le temple de Dendara* XI, Cairo 2001, 196–197). Green textiles could of course be accomplished by dyeing in two stages – first yellow, then blue (GERMER, *Textilfärberei*, 56). However, the text in question may well point to the fact that one tincture could be used to dye various colours and shades. J.C. Goyon asserts that woad (*Isatis tinctoria*), for example, seems to have played a major role in the production of a whole variety of colours, ranging from red to violet, blue, and even green, the effect depending on how long the textile was left in the concoction, and whether it was fully immersed or the foam appearing upon fermentation was used (critiqued by GERMER, *Textilfärberei*, 128). Garance (*Rubia tinctoria*, potentially *jp3* in Egyptian, GERMER, *Textilfärberei*, 119–20) and safflower (*Carthamus tinctorius*, potentially Egyptian *kt/k3t*; op. cit., 120–121) were used for different shades of bright red and yellow respectively (cf. J.C. GOYON, *Notes pour servir à la connaissance des procédés tinctoriaux de l’ancienne Egypte*, in: *Livre du centenaire de l’IFAO*, MIFAO 104, 1980, 25–35, and IDEM, *Le lin et sa teinture en Egypte. Des procédés ancestraux aux pratiques importées* (VII^e siècle av. J.-C. à l’époque récente), in: IDEM (ed.), *Aspects de l’artisanat du textile dans le monde méditerranéen* (Egypte, Grèce, monde romain), Collection de l’institut d’archéologie et d’histoire de l’antiquité, Université Lumière-Lyon 2, Vol. 2, Lyon/Paris 1996, 13–22, esp. 18–20. Some points also in SARAGOZA, *Rites de vêture*, 32 with nn. 8–12. It should be noted, however, that the earliest red textiles that have been submitted to a chemical analysis (provenant from the pyramid complex of Amenemhat II at Dahshur) attest to dyeing with the mineral ferric oxide (GERMER, *Textilfärberei*, 8–9), while the use of garance (and also indigo for blue) is not attested before Dyn. 18 (op. cit., 18). The extent to which chance preservation can severely hinder our understanding of ancient Egyptian colouring techniques has recently been demonstrated by the striking finds of both oil binders and malachite (for the production of green) in pigmented inlays from the 4th Dynasty tomb of Nefermaat at Meidum (J. AMBERS/R. STACEY/J.H. TAYLOR, *Writing that cannot be erased: investigations of a box of pigmented inlays from the tomb chapel of an Old Kingdom noble*, in: *The British Museum Technical Research Bulletin*, 2007, 49–54).

64 On this complex of motifs, with a focus on the act of seeing, see H. ROEDER, *Mit dem Auge sehen. Studien zur Semantik der Herrschaft in den Toten- und Kulttexten*, *Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens* 16, Heidelberg 1996, e.g. 328; for the importance of being seen see GOEBS, *Crowns*, especially 14–17; 46–47; 101–104.

Presentation of the *jdmj* (Dark Red?) Cloth (*mnht jdmj*)⁶⁵

The text makes no explicit reference to colour,⁶⁶ but attests that the cloth, which originates from the arms of Tait and was made by Isis and Nephthys, “illuminates” the face:

<i>shd hr=s</i>	Her ⁶⁷ face is illuminated
<i>jn j3hw mnht</i>	by the light of the cloth ⁶⁸
<i>sšn.n 3st msn.n Nbt-hwt</i>	which Isis has spun and Nephthys has twisted
<i>jrj=sn sšp</i> ⁶⁹	(so that) they (may) create the light
<i>mnht n NN</i>	of the cloth for NN.

The luminous connotations of the four textiles bestowed are hence explicit. It appears that the deity is wrapped, consecutively, in various layers of light and colour that contribute to his or her overall luminous and multi-coloured appearance.

In the Abydos version, these rituals are followed by the bestowal of various items of royal insignia.

Presentation of the Broad Collar (*wsh*)⁷⁰

This episode breaks precedent in that it focuses on the actions of the creator and sungod himself as he “arises”, or “shines forth” (*wbn*), in the house of the benben-stone in Heliopolis. The mythical situation evoked is hence the moment of the first sunrise from the primeval mound at the moment of creation. Further references to creation include the mention of the birth of Atum’s first offspring, the twins Shu and Tefnut, by means of his spittle. The recipient deity is then likened to these gods.⁷¹

65 MORET, *Rituel du culte*, 187–190; OTTO, *Mundöffnungsritual II*, 118–119. In A, the text is present in the episode *r n hbs m mnht 3t hr-s3 nn*, which DAVID, *Guide*, 71 wishes to place at the end of the dressing ceremonies, following the episodes of adorning the deity with paraphernalia and ointments. In several versions, the *mnht 3t* is explicitly referred to as, or as made of, *jdmj* in the course of the text (e.g. chapels of Isis and Horus (CALVERLEY/GARDINER, *Abydos I*, pls. 20; 28), where the divine dress is referred to as “her/his dress of *jdmj*” (*sd=s/=f n jdmj*), which “envelops” (*t3m*) her/him “in its name of *jdmj*”. Note, however, that the first textile in the sequence, the *mnht hdt*, is also called “*jdmj*” in the course of the ritual recitation.

66 See above, n. 14, for arguments in favour of defining *jdmj* as a red(dish) textile in most cases.

67 The identity of the subject is unclear here, but one of the Eye goddesses is likely meant. In the Abydos chapel of Isis, the subject is the goddess herself, addressed in the 2nd person singular: *shd hr=t jn 3hw* (note that “light” (*j3hw*) has become “transfigured spirits” (*3hw*) in this version; CALVERLEY/GARDINER, *Abydos I*, pl. 20).

68 MORET, *Rituel du culte*, 188 translates “ce qui éclaire sa tête, c’est la lumière de la bandelette”.

69 A has *sšr*.

70 MORET, *Rituel du culte*, 242–243; DAVID, *Guide*, 68; OTTO, *Mundöffnungsritual II*, 119–120. The episode moreover appears in the Osiris complex at Abydos, shrine of Horus, E-wall, N portion (CALVERLEY/GARDINER, *Abydos III*, pl. 32).

71 This part of the spell is moreover famous as an almost verbatim survival of PT 600, which has nothing to do with the *wsh*-collar, however, but is rather using the cited mythical imagery to accomplish the protection of the pyramid.

<i>r3 n ts wsh h3drt n NN</i>	<i>Spell for fixing the wsh-collar and h3drt-pectoral for NN.</i>
<i>jnd-hr=k Tmw jnd-hr=k Hprj</i>	Hail to you, Atum, Hail to you, Khepri!
<i>q3.n=k m q3</i>	You have become high on the stairway,
wbn=k <i>m bnb</i>	you rise in/as the benben,
<i>m hwt bnb m Jwnw</i>	in the house of the benben in Heliopolis.
<i>jss.n=k m Šw</i>	You have spat out (as) Shu
<i>tfn=k m Tfn</i>	and you have expectorated (as) Tefnut;
<i>dj.n=k wy=k h3 tp=sn m k3</i>	you have placed your arms around their heads as/in the Ka (gesture)
<i>wnn=k k3=k jm=sn</i>	so that you might exist with your Ka in them.
<i>h3 Tmw dj.n=k wy=k</i>	O Atum, you have placed your arms
<i>h3 tp NN dt</i>	around NN's head, forever,
<i>hwj=k sw</i>	that you may protect him.
<i>n hprt nbt r=f ... dt</i>	Nothing can happen to him ... forever.

In the chapel of Re-Harakhte, there follows an invocation to the Ennead which appears to be identified with the collar:⁷²

<i>j-psdt 3(t) jmj(t) Jwnw</i>	Oh great Ennead, who are in Heliopolis,
<i>Tmw Šw Tfnwt Gbb Nwt</i>	Atum, Shu, Tefnut, Geb, Nut,
<i>Wsjr 3st Stš Nbt-hwt</i>	Osiris, Isis, Seth, and Nephthys,
<i>msw Tmw psd jb=f n msw=f</i>	children of Atum, who turns his heart to his children
<i>m rnw=tn n pdwt psd</i>	in these their names of "Nine Bows".
<i>jm psd.t(j)=f(j) jm=tn</i>	Do not let there be one who shall turn his back to you, ⁷³
<i>r tm rnw=tn n psdt</i>	in order that your name(s) of "Ennead" be completed.
<i>j-nd=f Tmw m-^c hftjw=f ...</i>	May he (the collar) protect Atum from his enemies ...
<i>n hpr ht nbt r=f dw n dt dt</i>	Nothing evil will happen to him forever and ever.

The collar and pectoral thus represent yet more protection for their wearer – symbolically expressed by Atum's "placing his arms around" the deity. Yet, they also symbolize the Ennead,⁷⁴ and thus the fully differentiated post-creation universe – the final step in the creative process set in motion by the solar creator's first rising. And this symbolism, I would argue, finds expression in the collar's various colours. That its "multicoloured"

72 Thus P. BARGUET, *Le Livre des morts des anciens égyptiens*, LAPO I, 1967, 226 n. 1 (= chapter 158). Versions of this part appear also in the funerary versions of this spell, including PT 600. For the text see CALVERLEY/GARDINER, *Abydos II*, pl. 19. The connection of the *wsh* with the Ennead was also noted by R. BEAUD, *L'offrande du collier-ousekh*, in: S. ISRAELIT-GROLL (ed.), *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim I*, Jerusalem 1990, 46–62.

73 On various proposed translations of this passage see R.O. FAULKNER, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts and Supplement of Hieroglyphic Texts*, Oxford 1969, 247 n. 7; OTTO, *Mundöffnungsritual II*, 119; J.P. ALLEN, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, Atlanta 2005, 269.

74 It may be of note that – at least in the Amun-Re version – the preceding scene of offering the red *jnsj*-cloth makes explicit reference to the rising sungod (or Eye goddess) as creator of the Ennead (cf. n. 57 above).

nature was indeed thought to relate to the creative power of the sun is expressively conveyed in a unique representation found in the tomb of Meryra I at Amarna (tomb 4).⁷⁵ There, the royal family is seen consecrating offerings to the Aten, who is enveloped in a set of striated arcs evoking the *wsḥ*-collar, and these have variously been interpreted as a rainbow or solar halo (fig. 2).⁷⁶ Norman de Garis Davis suggested that, either, the image shows the Aten at its rising when surrounded by clouds, or else that it referred to the setting sun, and I think his interpretations are much more plausible. I personally would like to think that we see here an image of the early morning sun,⁷⁷ the Aten in his form as creator of multiplicity out of unity, and thus of everything. This would account for the rather ordinary texts accompanying the image, which plainly state the god to be “the living Aten”, “Lord of Sed-festivals”, who “envelops everything”. The uniqueness of the representation (to date) can perhaps be interpreted as it being a design of Meryra’s himself. Whatever view one is inclined to accept, a *coloured* sundisc and its light are envisaged here, and – as far as the sparse traces of pigment that remain can reveal, the Egyptians expressed this not simply by rendering the disc in shades of red, but by applying to it a range of colours, including the faience blue and turquoise green that we find so prominently in descriptions of the sky as well as in inlaid and other renditions of the *ḥꜥ*-hieroglyph.⁷⁸

Presentation of *sšpt*-cloth and *mꜥnḥt*-counter-poise⁷⁹

Both items are, once again, associated with the Eyes of Horus and Re. Since two objects are offered, two eyes are required and invoked. They, too, are moreover explicitly addressed as the uraeus goddess – the mythical referents suggest that the angry Hathor-Sakhmet of the Destruction of Mankind is meant. The name of the *sšpt*-cloth is in itself a reference to shine since it evokes a range of terms that signify light, brightness, and illumination.⁸⁰ In the Amun-Re chapel, the two cultic objects are moreover identified with the god’s Double

75 DAVIES, Amarna I, pl. 22 (Pillared Hall, S-wall, E-side, upper register).

76 See L.O. CONGDON, A Rare Solar Display – Depicted in the Tomb of Meryre I at El Amarna, in: Amarna Letters 4, 2000, 44–59 for discussion.

77 One may note in this context that the goddess of all minerals, Hathor, may appear as a radiant collar of gold around the neck of the sungod; cf. S. AUFRÈRE, L’Univers minéral dans la pensée égyptienne 1, Cairo 1991, 382. Furthermore, the present image is paralleled, on the western side of the same wall, by a scene showing Akhenaten and Nefertiti leaning out of the window of appearance, which is decorated with an ornament evoking a *wsḥ* collar and closely resembling the arcs that adorn the Aten on the eastern side (DAVIES, Amarna I, pl. 6–7 (Pillared Hall, S-wall, W-side). It appears that this display was intended to set king and god in parallel.

78 A. DE BUCK, De egyptische voorstellingen betreffende den oerhevel. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Leiden, 1922; M. SCHUNCK, Untersuchungen zum Wortstamm *ḥꜥ*, Habelts Dissertationsdrucke Reihe Ägyptologie 5, Bonn 1985, 4–9. Striking pictorial examples can be found among the inlaid jewelry of the Middle Kingdom princesses Sathathor and Mereret, e.g. JE 30857 and JE 30875; see e.g. A. BONGIOANNI/M. SOLE CRUCE (eds.), The illustrated guide to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, Cairo 2001, 347; 349. For lapis and turquoise as creatively “charged” and celestial colours and materials see also AUFRÈRE, L’univers minéral 2, 463–521.

79 MORET, Rituel du culte, 241–242; DAVID, Guide, 69.

80 HANNIG, Wörterbuch II, 2350–2351. Note that the item in question is called *sšpt* in other contexts (ibid, 2487).

Feathers – a typical association of the two eyes of the sungod,⁸¹ with the crown name offering a further play on light, “šw”. They aid in the defeat of the god’s enemies:

<i>smn.n=s šwty=k m tp=k</i> <i>hw hftjw=k</i>	It (the Eye of Horus/uraeus goddess) has established your Double Feathers on your head, which slay your enemies.
---	--

The identification of the presented items with both the uraeus and the *šwty* thus underlines their luminous potential.

Fixing the headband (*sšd*) and Double Feathers (*šwty*)⁸²

In this scene, the officiating king is seen fastening the characteristic crown of the respective deity he worships. This stands in contrast to the accompanying text, where it is explicitly the Double Feather diadem that is bestowed. I follow the Amun-Re version, which is the most explicit:

<i>smn sšd šwty m tp</i> <i>hꜥj Wrt m tp n NN</i> <i>smn.n=s wpt=f</i> <i>q3 šwty=k m tp=k NN</i> ... <i>s3h=s Rꜥw</i> <i>sm3ꜥ-hrw=k r hftjw=k</i> <i>dsr NN r nꜥrw 3hw</i> <i>šwty=k m tp=k</i> <i>hꜥw m wpt=k</i> <i>smn s(y) nꜥr nꜥrt nb</i> <i>m wpt=k</i> <i>w3š=k NN nb nrw</i> <i>m nꜥrty=f</i> ... <i>sw3d.n=st hr n Hꜥpy</i>	<i>Fixing the headband and Double Feathers on the head.</i> The Great One arises on the head of NN, she has established (herself on) his parting. High is your Double Feather Crown on your head, NN, ... It transfigures Re.⁸³ You are made justified against your enemies! NN is more sacred than the (other) gods and spirits! Your Double Feather is on your head, arisen at your brow, and all the gods and goddesses fix it at your brow. You are majestic, NN, a Lord of respect through his Two Divine Eyes. ... It has made fresh the face of Hapi.
--	---

The Double Feathers appear as the *Wrt* – “Great One” – one of the typical names of the solar Eye. They are said to be “high” – an obvious association – and to “transfigure” – *s3h* – the sungod and thus also the recipient deity here. It is clear that the crown plays a fundamental role in the transition of the addressee from one stage to the next; Moret held that the god received his “soul” and thus “effectiveness” with this crown.⁸⁴ Promptly, we also hear about the “justification against enemies” – one of the emblematic steps taken by

81 See commentary on the ensuing episode. Text: CALVERLEY/GARDINER, Abydos II, pl. 10.

82 MORET, *Rituel du Culte*, 239–241; DAVID, *Guide*, 69.

83 Reading *s3h s(y) Rꜥw*, “Re transfigures it” renders poor sense here.

84 MORET, *Rituel du Culte*, 48.

both kings and the deceased in their transition from one world to another, and which has its mythical origin in the legitimization of Osiris or Horus against Seth before the council of gods. This mythical episode is related to both, the transformation of the human incumbent to the throne into the “superhuman king” who has been inducted into the office of kingship, and to the deceased when he is transfigured into an “immortal spirit”.⁸⁵ By means of the feathers, the recipient is made “sacred” – *ḏsr* – another indication as to the related nature of transfiguring the dead and the divine statue here – and thus more distinguished than all other gods and spirits. The crown, representing the two divine eyes,⁸⁶ moreover instils respect. The luminosity of the *šwty*, which inheres in their nature (as indicated for the previous episode) and also appertains to the *ssḏ* headband that serves as their base,⁸⁷ is likely to play an important part here. Finally, the crown is said to “refresh the face of the Nile-god” – pointing, again, to the function of this entire ritual as “rejuvenating” the gods, as well as to the resulting fertility of the land, which is ensured by eternal recreation. The central role of the *šwty* is further underlined by the fact that, besides in this and the previous episode, this item of divine insignia appears one more time, in one of the episodes detailing the opening of the shrine.⁸⁸

<i>NN šsp n=k</i>	NN, receive for yourself
<i>šwty=k ḥḏty</i> (K: <i>ḥḏt=k</i>)	your bright Double Feathers (K: (and) your White Crown) ⁸⁹
<i>m jrt Ḥrw</i>	as the Eye of Horus:
<i>wnmt m wnmṯ</i>	the right (feather) as the right eye ,
<i>j3bt m j3bt</i>	the left (feather) as the left eye ,
<i>nfrw=k n=k NN</i>	your perfection for you, NN!
<i>ḥ3w ḥbs tw</i>	O naked one, dress yourself!

The luminous qualities of the *šwty* and their status as cosmic eyes are explicit in this text, as is their function as an item of radiant insignia that perfects the god: Their luminosity appears as the visible outer “layer” in which the god is dressed.

85 ROEDER, Mit dem Auge sehen, 19–73.

86 The close relationship between (feather) crown and eye(s of Horus) was also discussed by MORET, *Rituel du culte*, 47–8. A similar usage occurs in some NK solar hymns, where we find an additional equation with the solar barques; see ASSMANN, *Liturgische Lieder*, 193–194; IDEM., *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern*, Theben 1, Mainz 1983, 110–111 with n. f.

87 For the luminous *ssḏ* see GOEBIS, *Crowns*, 103–104; 154; 196; 368.

88 MORET, *Rituel du culte*, 42–48; most recently GUGLIELMI/KUROH, *Eingangssprüche*, 120; in A = Episode of “Pulling back the bolt” (DAVID, *Guide*, 63).

89 For translation of the abbreviated text of the cognate scene in the Great Hypostyle at Karnak see A. EL SHARKAWY, *Der Amun-Tempel von Karnak. Die Funktion der Großen Säulenhalle*, erschlossen aus der Analyse der Dekoration ihrer Innenwände, *Wissenschaftliche Schriftenreihe Ägyptologie* 1, Berlin 1997, 174–175. There, as in A, the *šwty* appear with the episode of “Pulling back the bolt”.

Presenting *w3s*-sceptre, crook, flail, bracelets, and anklets⁹⁰

rdj w3s j3qs nh3h3
jry ʿwy jry rdwy
mn n=k jrt=k shwt=k
mn n=k jrt Hrw jy
sty=s r=k
dd mdw: NN hsbq mfk3t
NN
h3 rdj.n=j n=k
jrty=k Hrw
ts=sn n=k qsw=k
srwd=sn n=k ʿwt=k

Presenting w3s-sceptre, crook, flail,
bracelets, and anklets.
 Take for yourself your Eye, your domains!
 Take for yourself the Eye of Horus,
 its perfume appertains to you!
 To recite: NN, **lapis-lazuli and turquoise,**
 NN!
 O, I have given you
your Two Eyes of Horus,
 so that they may reassemble your bones,
 so that they may make firm your limbs.

The king presents the insignia which are here associated with his rightful inheritance as well as with the Eye of Horus. Additionally, and more significantly, they also stand for the celestial materials lapis-lazuli and turquoise, which are then equated with the two Eyes of Horus and said to “reassemble” his bones and limbs. As we will see, this statement refers – especially in the funerary sphere – to the endowment with a divine body, which is made of precious materials.

Spell for presenting ointment (*mdt*)⁹¹

This episode also occurs in K, which is cited here. The ointment is – as is usual – identified as the Eye of Horus. At the same time, it is yet again the solar Eye Wadjet-Sakhmet when she rises from the horizon and punishes the enemies of the sungod:

nhrrhr jb n NN ...
m hsf jrt=f nt dt=f
nhrrhr jb n Hrw
m hsf jrt=f nt dt=f
sw3q=s tw shkr=s tw
m rn=s pwy n W3dyt sndm sty

The heart of NN ... rejoices
 at meeting his bodily **Eye!**
 The heart of Horus rejoices
 at meeting his bodily **Eye!**
 May it **refresh** you, may it adorn you
 in this its name of **Wadjet**, sweet of scent!

[There follows the enumeration of oils; then]

h3 NN ...
mh⁹²=j n=k jrt Hrw (m) mdt
 ...
dj=k sw⁹³ r h3t=k
jrt Hrw Shmt

O NN, ...
 I have filled the **Eye of Horus** with ointment for you.
 ...
 May you place it at your forehead,
 the Eye of Horus, **Sakhmet**,

90 MORET, *Rituel du culte*, 238–239; DAVID, *Guide*, 70.

91 *r3 n hnk mdt*; MORET, *Rituel du culte*, 190–194; DAVID, *Guide*, 70.

92 From this point on, K and A diverge. Cf. MORET, *Rituel du culte*, 193 with n. 3.

93 Cf. JANSEN-WINKELN, *Spätmittelägyptische Grammatik*, § 233.3.

<i>psj=s n=k</i>	that she may burn for you
<i>ntrw jmjw-ht Stš</i>	the gods that are in the following of Seth.
<i>rdjt⁹⁴ n=k Gbb jw^c=f ...</i>	Geb has given you his inheritance, ...
<i>m3^c-hrw=k r hftjw=k</i>	and you are justified/triumphant ⁹⁵ against your enemies.
<i>js(w) jtj.n=k wrrt</i>	Behold, you have seized the wrrt-crown
<i>hntj ntrw tpjw t3</i>	at the head of the gods on earth.
<i>Wp-w3wt wpj=f n=k w3wt</i>	Wepwawet, he opens the ways
<i>r hftjw=k</i>	against your enemies for you
...	...
<i>jmj (n=k) jrt Hrw r h3t=k ...</i>	Place (for) yourself the Eye of Horus at your forehead!

Yet again, the fiery and angry form of the solar Eye is hence envisaged. As in several of the episodes cited so far it is said to “rejuvenate” or “refresh” the god – *sw3d*. The shine transferred to the recipient by applying the ointment is expressed by reference to the burning fire of Sakhmet and the seizing of the *wrrt*-crown, which plays an important role in the process of transfiguration.⁹⁶ In funerary texts, the crown is a luminous ornament that both distinguishes the wearer and renders him or her visible, while all crowns may be identified with the cosmic eyes of sun, moon, and Horus.⁹⁷ The action of seizing the *wrrt* is moreover commonly associated with the triumph of the legitimate ruler in both this world and the next.⁹⁸

Adorning the body with the *nms*-cloth⁹⁹

The officiating king is seen draping a large garment around the shoulders of the recipient deity, which suggests that the *nms* represents one of the outermost layers of coloured clothing applied in this ritual.¹⁰⁰

94 JANSEN-WINKELN, op. cit., §§ 32, 97.

95 For this meaning of *m3^c-hrw* see R. ANTHES, The original meaning of *M3^c-hrw*, in: JNES 13, 1954, 21–51.

96 For this role of the *wrrt* see GOEBS, Crowns, chapter 2.1, esp. 36–40, 74–80. The role of oils in the regeneration of the deceased is discussed by M. ROCHHOLZ, Schöpfung, Feindvernichtung, Regeneration: Untersuchung zum Symbolgehalt der machtgeladenen Zahl 7 im alten Ägypten, ÄUAT 56, 2002, e.g. 226.

97 GOEBS, ibid., esp. 96–104 for the luminous associations in particular of the *wrrt*.

98 Ibid. and ROEDER, Mit dem Auge Sehen, 31–71, who does not distinguish *wrrt* and White Crown, however.

99 This episode is exclusive to A. MORET, Rituel du culte, 238; DAVID, Guide, 70. For a more detailed discussion of the *nms* in this context see K. GOEBS, Untersuchungen zu Funktion und Symbolgehalt des *nms*, in: ZÄS 122, 1995, 175–176. Note that presentation of the *nms* also occurs in the Opening of the Mouth Ritual (OTTO, Mundöffnungsritual II, 95), where the item is used for “wiping the mouth and eyes”, however.

100 In A, there follows the dressing in the “Great Cloth” (*mnht 3t hr-s3 nm*); cf. n. 65 above.

r3 n sm^cr h^cw m nms
jy nms hdt¹⁰¹ sp-sn
jy jrt Hrw hdt
prt m Nh^b
nms.tw ntrw jm=s
m rn=s pwy n nms
shkr.[t]w¹⁰² ntrw jm=s
m rn=s pwy n shkryt
nms=t NN shkrw sw
jry=t st r tp ^cwy=fy
m rn=t pwy n hdt Nhbt
prt m Nh^b

Spell for adorning the body with the nms-cloth.
 The **bright nms** comes, (recite) twice,
 the **bright Eye of Horus** comes,
 which came forth from **Elkab**.
 The **gods are clad in it**
 in this its name of *nms*,
 the **gods are adorned by means of it**
 in this its name of “adornment”.
 May you dress NN, adorning him,
 may you take (your) place upon his arms
 in this your name of **White One, Nekhbet/Elkabite**,
 who came forth from Elkab.

The garment is – besides with the Eye of Horus – yet again associated with brightness, represented here by the “White One of Elkab”, the crown and potentially lunar goddess Nekhbet.¹⁰³ While the text is explicit in calling the fabric in question “*hdt*”, it is likely that the primary colour association of the *nms* would have been the one known from the royal sphere, and thus lapis-blue and gold as shown in innumerable pictorial examples of the royal headdress of the same name. In this, as in many other contexts, *hdt* should thus be translated as “bright”, rather than “white”.¹⁰⁴

Adoring the (uraeus) goddess four times¹⁰⁵

The King kneels in front of the god’s sceptre, on which the goddess Wadjet in her form of uraeus perches.¹⁰⁶ She is wearing the Red Crown:

dw3 ntrt sp-4
jnd-hr=t R^ct
nbt t3wy
Hwt-Hrw hrjt-jb Jwnt
hdt fnt m nwb
sšpt wpt m d^cmw
jw=t wbn
h3y rmtw
psd=t nh^c rhyt
ntr nb hr ššfyt=t

Adoring the goddess four times
 Greetings to you, **Rait**,
 Mistress of the Two Lands,
Hathor, who resides in Dendara,
 with **bright headcloth of gold**,
 with **resplendent parting of electrum**.
 When you have **risen**,
 humankind is in jubilation,
when you shine, the people live
 and every god is in **awe** of you.

101 See JANSEN-WINKELN, Spätmittelägyptische Grammatik, § 170 for masc. adjectives ending in *t*.

102 Following the other versions (e.g. CALVERLEY/GARDINER, Abydos I, pls. 20, 28).

103 See above, n. 48.

104 For this meaning of *hdt*, especially when referring to the White Crown set in contrast to the Red, see GOEBS, Crowns, 54–56.

105 MORET, Rituel du culte, 234–235; DAVID, Guide, 71.

106 In the chapel of Isis, the goddess herself is addressed – she fulfils the role of the solar eye-goddess (CALVERLEY/GARDINER, Abydos I, pl. 20).

If this episode is indeed subsequent to the bestowal of the various fabrics, crowns, and other items of insignia – all of which (apart from the *wsḥ*) are equated with the uraeus goddess Wadjet/Sakhmet – it is likely that we are looking at the completed, and fully risen, luminous divine physique at this point.¹⁰⁷ Possibly in order to underscore this meaning, another one of the solar daughters and Eyes is invoked – the resplendent Rait-Hathor. References to the goddess rising, accompanied by the jubilation of mankind, appear to take us to the moment when sunrise is fully accomplished. This completes the sequence of dressing episodes in the Daily Cult.¹⁰⁸

Transformation through Light and Colour

In the course of the Daily Cultic Ritual, the divine statue is hence dressed in various items of clothing and paraphernalia, all of which convey luminosity and sheen. The coloured fabrics may refer to different intensities of light, but in their bestowal as a sequence of fabrics and colours they likely also evoke the multicoloured light that the Egyptian encountered when the sun rose in the morning and revealed – on the one hand – various shades of celestial blue and red as well as, on the other, the at first red light of the sundisc that gives way to its blinding white radiance once sunrise is completed.

Several years ago, I examined a particular way of representing the solar barque in the Book of the Night as found in the tomb of Ramesses VI.¹⁰⁹ I was able to show that the iconography of the barque, and in particular of one of its features – the so-called “Treibtafel” that covers its prow in the evening and early morning – changed throughout the night, most notably when sunrise approached. By means of this changing iconography, which moreover makes subtle use of the dual function of hieroglyphs as both ideograms and phonograms, the dynamic process of the sun’s changing light intensity and colour was expressed. Thus, iconographic features such as a densely woven cover could be used to indicate *darkness* or “*lightlessness*”, followed by sprouting papyrus umbels signifying the impending “*freshness*” (*w3ḏw*), and thus potential “*greenness*” and *darker sheen* of the sun at the period of impending sunrise, and soon replaced by shoots of what appears to be the reed *phragmites communis* with its characteristic rubbery *red* stem. The sequence of symbols is completed with the appearance of a row of *šw*-feather hieroglyphs appearing to “*shine*” *brightly* through the plant-curtain of the “Treibtafel”. I suggested then that the different degrees of solar light intensity could be expressed by means of colours (and materials) that the Egyptians considered lustrous, even though this may not be our own perception today.

107 Note that OSING, Kultbildritual in Abydos, wishes to place this episode before the dressing rituals.

108 As stated above, n. 65, DAVID (Guide, 71) wishes to place the episode of dressing in the “great cloth” (*mnḥt ʿ3t*) at this point, which corresponds to the episode of applying the *jdmj* and its luminous features in K. Cf. the comparative table above.

109 K. GOEBS, Expressing luminosity in iconography: some features of the solar bark in the tomb of Ramesses VI, in: GM 165, 1998, 57–71.

A similarly “dynamic(ally changing) light” can be observed, I believe, in the dressing episodes of the Daily Cultic Ritual, all of which make explicit reference to the light and shine of the materials and objects bestowed and relate them to aspects of the fiery solar Eye and uraeus. The sequence proceeds from potentially lunar “bright” (*hdt*), via green/dark sheen (*w3d*) and red (*jns(j)*) to (in A) more and more colour and shine, expressed in the colours of the *wsh*-collar, the blinding bright light of the *šwtj* and *ssd*-Diadem, the bracelets and anklets, sceptres associated with turquoise and lapis-blue (*hsbd*, *mfk3t*), and the commonly blue-golden *nms*, which several religious texts relate explicitly to the golden light of the rising sungod from the dark-blue primeval ocean¹¹⁰ but which in the texts under study is explicitly associated with the “White One of Elkab”. This process apparently culminates in the fully risen solar Eye with its bright golden headdress.

In addition to such a dynamic meaning, this polychrome divine image relates eloquently to the multiplicity – here “multi-colouredness”/polychromy – of the post-creation universe, which stands in contrast to the unity of the monochrome pre-creation world. While in the Daily Ritual there is no reference to the *kkw* that textual descriptions associate with the chaotic world before creation, I think it may be significant that the sequence of fabrics starts with neutral white, or “bright”, which in texts has the dual function of being typically associated with stellar and lunar deities and thus night time, and may also stand for the impending light that is to be visible in the horizon as sunrise approaches.¹¹¹ From there, the “solarized” divine image becomes, as we have seen, increasingly more colourful. Depending on which reconstruction of the ritual sequence is followed, the episode of adoring the rising solar Eye Rait-Hathor in her golden headdress appears to take us back to the monochrome, blinding light of the fully risen sun.

Within this sequence, it is clearly no coincidence that the multi-coloured *wsh*-collar is presented following the application of the variously coloured fabrics¹¹² and that it is – explicitly so in the version of the Harakhte chapel – equated with the Ennead.¹¹³ The ritual employs densely woven metaphorical references to the plurality of the post-creation universe here. In this context, the officiant’s statement that he will not “liken (or praise) the ‘colour’ ” of the recipient deity to (or above) that of another god (*nn stwt=j jwn=k r ky ntr*) appears meaningful. It is found earlier on in the ritual, in the episode of “placing oneself on

110 Ibid., 89–92; GOEBS, *nms*, esp. 167–168; 180; AUFRÈRE, *Univers minéral*, e.g. 478–482.

111 GOEBS, *Crowns*, 148–151.

112 Note that instances of the bestowal of this collar outside of the Abydos chapels also place it after the application of the fabrics, as in the Karnak sanctuary of Philipp Arrhidæus: PM II², 101, 293–324; OSING, *Kultbildritual in Abydos*, 331.

113 It is worth noting at this point that the *wsh* develops into a veritable symbol for Heliopolitan creation in the decoration program of the temple of Edfu; see A. EGBERTS, *Substanz und Symbolik. Überlegungen zur Darstellung und Verwendung des Halskragens im Tempel von Edfu*, in: H. BEINLICH et al. (eds.), 5. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung, Würzburg, 23.–26. September 1999, ÄUAT 33, 2002, 77. An explicit reference to the shining light of the differentiated post-creation universe in form of the Ennead is found elsewhere in the ritual, when – in the episode for “Opening the face” (or door leaves, A), the opening of the doors of the sky at the appearance of the rising sungod coincides with the “shining forth” of the Ennead (*psd psdt*) (MORET, *Rituel du culte*, 49; DAVID, *Guide*, 64; GUGLIELMI/KUROH, *Eingangssprüche*, 123); for the same episode in the Great Hypostyle at Karnak see EL-SHARKAWY, *Amun-Tempel*, 174–175.

the belly”,¹¹⁴ and it is tempting to read it as a further conscious reference to this detailed theme: The *double entendre* of *jwn* as both “colour” and “character”¹¹⁵ is easily discerned.

Further, the fact that every god had to be cultically cleansed, dressed in vibrantly coloured clothes, crowned with luminous crowns, and anointed with shimmering oils *every* morning, illustrates that the luminosity of Egyptian gods was cyclical: It had to be renewed every day, just as creation was repeated daily.

We can summarize our observations up to this point as follows:

- (a) To the ancient Egyptian (of the New Kingdom and later at least) the prototype of “god” was a cosmic, and more specifically solar, one.
- (b) Such cosmic gods were conceived as both luminous and multi-coloured.
- (c) Their luminosity needed to be renewed cyclically.
- (d) Divine “multicoloured light” was “dynamic light”.
- (e) The application of such dynamic light represented a (gradual) “transfiguration” of the recipient.

Transfiguration of the Deceased by Means of Light, Colour, and Dress

The last point in particular is illustrated compellingly by a number of funerary texts. I am citing only a few examples that demonstrate the coherence and equivalence of divine rituals with post-mortem transfigurations particularly poignantly.¹¹⁶

Book of the Dead Chapter 172¹¹⁷

This text represents a so-called “Gliedervergottung”, aiming to endow the deceased with a divine body made of precious materials.¹¹⁸ Having compared the deceased’s beauty to the “shine of the sungod” (*m3wt nt R3w*), the text further describes him as follows:

114 MORET, *Rituel du culte*, 59; DAVID, *Guide*, 65; GUGLIELMI/KUROH, *Eingangssprüche*, 128.

115 HANNIG, *Wörterbuch II*, 143 {1176}, {1179}, {1180}.

116 See also ASSMANN/BOMMAS/KUCHAREK, *Totenliturgien I*, 9, who note that, in reading a solar hymn or a *s3hw*-transfiguration, it is often impossible to distinguish the two.

117 Tb (NAVILLE) I, pl. CXCI, 11ff (Nebseni); translation e.g. Tb (HORNUNG), 353, verses 38–46; 51.

118 Cf. J. QUACK, *Dekane und Gliedervergottung. Altägyptische Traditionen im Apokryphon Johannis*, in: JAC 38, 1995, 97–122, esp. 106–107 for the present text. The principle of obtaining such a body is already attested in the Coffin Texts. In CT 294, the deceased ascends to the sky with a head and back of lapis-lazuli, a belly of *qmw*-gold, and a neck of gold. Precious materials feature also in the production of funerary clothing, as in CT 594 (kilt; gold, costly stones, faience, lapis-lazuli, green jasper (or amber? – *shyt/shwt* = *shrt*; HANNIG, *Wörterbuch II*, 2286 {29139}), turquoise, and carnelian are brought), or CT 596 (bracelet; gold, malachite (*s3mt* = *šsmt*; HANNIG, op. cit., 2488 {33575}), and (perhaps) red jasper (*hnmw* = *hnmt*? (S2P); Wb III, 294.4–8, attested from Dyn. 18 onwards) or carnelian (S11C) are brought). Compare the extensive study by AUFRÈRE, *Univers minéral II*, 811, who concludes that the offering of minerals represents a guarantee of divinization and rebirth.

... *ḥd* *ḥr=k r ḥwt j^cḥ*
ḥrj=k ḥsbdy

...
šny=k š^cmw
m ḥsbd tp ḥr=k
wbn R^cw m ḥnt=k
ḥbs.t(j) m nbw
drf.n=st Ḥrw m ḥsbd
jnhwy[=k] sn ḥty¹
snsn {n} [.ty]
drf.n st Ḥrw m ḥsbd
strwt=sn m ḥsbd m^{3c}

...
nḥbt=k ḥkr.tj [m] nbw
wḥm.tj m ḡ^cmw ...
jw psd ḥ=k¹ rrmr.tj m nbw

...
jw ḥpdy=k swḥty n ḥrst

...
jw ḥ^c(w)=k wshw m nbw
mndty=ky
swḥty m ḥrst
drf[t] Ḥrw m ḥsbd
q^chy=ky n ṯḥnt m ṯḥn

... your face is **brighter** than the **house of the moon**.
 Your top is **lapis-lazuli (blue)**,

...
 your hair is [covered/or shines?]¹¹⁹
 with **lapis-lazuli** above your face
Re shines (or: the **rays of Re** are) on your face,
 (so that it is) wrapped in **gold**,
 and Horus has traced (= coated?) it in **lapis-lazuli**.
 [Your] Two brows are the two sisters,
 united,
 and Horus has traced them in **lapis-lazuli**.
 their eye-lids¹²⁰ are of **real lapis-lazuli**.

...
 Your neck is adorned with **gold**
 and again (or: in addition) with **electrum** ...
 (your) spine is cast in **gold**,

...
 your buttocks are two eggs of **carnelian**

...
 your body is widely (= copiously?) adorned with **gold**.
 Your eye sockets/cheeks¹²¹
 are two eggs of **carnelian**,
 which Horus has traced in **lapis-lazuli**.
 Your shoulders of **faience** are **glittering**.

Further golden body parts mentioned are knees and fingers.

Seemingly summing up all these metaphors is the statement found toward the middle of the text in the fourth stanza (Egyptian: *ḥwt*).¹²²

jw ḥt=k pw pt ...

Your body is the sky ...

The cosmic significance of this multi-coloured, and “multi-material” body-description is thus evident. The deceased, who is explicitly referred to as *ntrj*, “divine”, is described in terms of the gods’ bodies, which are thought to be made of multicoloured, precious materials. Best known is the famous description of the god Amun in the Magical Harris Papyrus, which states the god to have bones of silver, flesh of gold, and hair of lapis-lazuli.¹²³ The deceased’s incorporation into the divine sphere coincides with his or her

119 Meaning of verb unknown; Wb IV, 421.13 “vom blaufarbigen Haar” (with reference to the present passage).

120 MEEKS, *Année lexicographique*, 77.4006; 78.3971.

121 Wb II, 93.10–14.

122 Line 25; Tb (HORNUNG), 354, 86.

123 *qsw=f ḥd jwf[=f] m nbw ḥrt-tp=f m ḥsbd m^{3c}*. Cf. H.O. LANGE, *Der magische Papyrus Harris*, *Historisk-filologiske meddelelser* 14/2, Copenhagen 1927, 38.IV, 9). See AUFRÈRE, *Univers minéral*,

“transfiguration”, and this entails the adoption of a divine physique. Iconographically, this principle finds a particularly vivid expression in the many colourful, and often inlaid, anthropomorphic coffins and sarcophagi with feathered design that come to the fore from the Second Intermediate Period onwards,¹²⁴ while the importance of colour for the deceased’s afterlife is underlined by the finds and lists of coloured textiles in both royal and private tombs from the Old Kingdom onwards.¹²⁵

As we have seen, the radiance of divine beings inheres, besides in their luminous bodies, also in their clothing and other paraphernalia. These may be simply equated to light, or else be made of the precious materials that we have already encountered.¹²⁶ In the Leiden hymn to Amun the god is “robed in brilliance and wrapped in turquoise”,¹²⁷ while the West-goddess appears with a “necklace” or “garment” of red carnelian as early as CT 32 (I, 109a).¹²⁸ Also in the Coffin Texts, the deceased comes forth from the “carnelian of the Great God” (CT 165 III, 13a; B3C).¹²⁹ Carnelian is also said to be the material from which the temple of Sobek, Lord of Bakhu, and thus of the western mountain, is made in CT 160 (II, 376d) and thus evokes the redness of the setting sun here.

In Coffin Text 486, the solar Eye Hathor appears “in” turquoise, wrapped in the golden and blue *nms*-head-dress,¹³⁰ and CT 1099 describes the face of the moon as “silvery-bright” (*ḥḏ*). Even the dark blue lapis-lazuli is a “shimmering” colour.¹³¹ Solar hymns provide abundant evidence here (compare ASSMANN, Sonnenhymnen in Thebanischen Gräbern, 260–261; No. 187 (TT 194 (4), ll. 21–22):

<i>pt m nbw n nfr hr=k</i>	The sky is gold because of your face’s beauty,
<i>Nwn m ḥsbd</i>	the primeval ocean is lapis-lazuli
<i>n wbn=k jm=f</i>	because you shine forth in it .

Headdresses and crowns are particularly prominent in this context and are often explicitly equated with certain cosmic bodies or their shine. Examples for the *nms* have already been mentioned, as has the role of the *šwtj*-feathers as equivalents of the two luminous Eyes and barques of the sungod.

466–467; 477–481 for the use of lapis-lazuli (blue) and gold in particular to describe divine bodies; also *ibid.* 311–313 for further examples of including various minerals/precious stones and metals.

124 Obvious examples are the coffins of Tutankhamun (JE 60670; good photographs in BONGIOANNI/SOLE CRUCE, *Illustrated guide*, 332–334), or that of KV 55 (JE 39627; *ibid.*, 166–167). See also D. MEEKS, *Dieu masqué, dieu sans tête*, in: *Archéo-Nil* 1, 1991, 5–15, for the significance of funerary masks of precious materials (or their colours) as a means of obtaining an imperishable, “divine” head.

125 SCHEELE, *Stofflisten*, 10 ff.

126 ASSMANN/BOMMAS/KUCHAREK (*Totenliturgien* II, 134; 193; 197–198; 292–293; 297; 305; 447–448; 486–487) present funerary texts detailing wishes for the clothing of the deceased in divine (or divinizing) items of dress in the course of his or her transfiguration.

127 A. MASSY, *Le papyrus de Leyde I 347, Etudes égyptiennes* I, Ghent 1885, 2.

128 All versions but B1p, T1L^b: *wšḥ.n=sn sndw ḥrswt* (divine plural det.).

129 This version substitutes “carnelian” of the sun and creator god for his “egg” as the location from which the deceased comes forth, clearly alluding to the redness at dawn.

130 CT VI, 64a–c: *prj=s m nfk3t nms(.t(j)) m nms*; see GOEBIS, *nms*, esp. 166.

131 See also AUFRÈRE, *Univers minéral*, 463–488.

The White Crown may appear as a metaphor for moonlight when, for example, the moon-god Thoth is plainly stated to “be” the *hdt*-crown (CT 531, VI 123i).¹³² The Red Crown (both as hieroglyph and object) can, unsurprisingly, signify the redness at dawn, most eloquently expressed, perhaps, in one of the glosses to the Nut-Picture in the “cenotaph” of Seti I at Abydos: Accompanying the solar disc at the feet of the goddess, which is surrounded by the (no doubt red) flood of the Primeval ocean, which is about to ascend to the sky as the beetle Khepri, we find the simple statement: “The ‘Red Crown’ (i.e. redness) happens after (i.e. the birth)” (*dsrt m-hr*).¹³³

Some terms, such as *sšd*, are even ambiguous in meaning, denoting both an item of (royal head)dress and a term for light: In PT 335 § 546a (T) the deceased is “the *sšd* on the brow of Re”, while the version in N amends this to make use of the verb *sšd* “to shine”.¹³⁴

The Atef-crown, which is often represented as multicoloured and, especially in the New Kingdom and later, sports a variety of additional solar ornaments such as discs and uraei, is worn particularly frequently by solar deputies in funerary texts. The most common are Horus and Osiris when standing in for the sun-god as rulers of the morning or night. Also this item of divine and royal insignia hence had luminous connotations, as in CT 720 (VI, 349d), where it figures among the insignia of the deceased as god of the morning and/or dawn (*hd-t3*), who sits at the prow of the solar barque.¹³⁵

CT 61 is notable for “piling on” a wide range of luminous associations, with no regard for mythological or other consistency: The deceased shines forth (*wbn*) in the Double Feathers (*šwtj*) of Sopdu, assumes the Atef and bright White Crown of Horus, which were originally given by Re; he is clad in the pure garment of Ptah and the robe of Hathor. Sitting on a mat of turquoise at the bow of the solar barque, he shines forth as fair as Re (*wbn*), and gleams (*psd*) like Hathor. Stars kindle a light for him (*stt n=k gnhw tk3*), and he is further assisted by Orion and the Big Dipper. Here, the transfiguration of the deceased is achieved by means of adopting a whole variety of different, radiant and colourful, paraphernalia: It appears that the more luminosity can be accumulated, the better the chance of a successful transfiguration.

These examples show that radiance is a divine attribute that can be attained by mortals only under special circumstances, and that it is transferred by application of items of radiant dress, paraphernalia, and ointments.

132 See GOEBS, Crowns, 141–151 for the lunar associations of this crown.

133 Cenotaph of Seti I, pl. LXXXI; cf. GOEBS, Crowns, 194; 466 with fig. 8.

134 *sšd=f m wpt Rcw*; see also Wb IV, 301.12–13, “mit einer Binde schmücken”, “einen Schmuck umbinden”. The deceased’s kilt in this spell is said to be Hathor, which suggests an additional golden sheen. See also above, n. 87, for the luminosity of the *sšd*.

135 Other relevant Coffin Text spells include CT 469 and 482; see GOEBS, Crowns, 111–112; 199–201; 233–234 for the associations of the Atef with the pre-sunrise sky.

Coronation as Transfiguration and Divinization

In light of the evidence presented, and in particular in view of the central role that crowns play in the processes of cultic transformations, also the coronation of the reigning king (in conjunction with the rituals surrounding both his accession to the throne and the renewal of his kingship during various festivals) can hence be stated to represent such an act of “physical divinization”.

The Coronation of Hatshepsut

As is well known, the to date most complete surviving (and published) series of coronation scenes can be found in the 7th register of the famous, and now reconstructed, Red Chapel or *Chapelle Rouge* of Hatshepsut¹³⁶ in the temple of Karnak, where it is executed in quasi-identical fashion on both the south and north walls of the sanctuary.¹³⁷ There, the king of gods, Amun, aided by a variety of goddesses, Thoth, and Iunmutef, is seen bestowing a range of crowns on the female King. Not all blocks are preserved, and some crucial crowns are missing, including the White and Double Crowns: Eight scenes are preserved on the south side, but only four on the north side. In their publication, Lacau and Chevrier, following the customary arrangement of scene sequences at this point in time, list, from the western corner at the entrance towards the back of the chapel, the following:

(1) Induction by Amun and Atum¹³⁸ (following a now destroyed purification scene)

Hatshepsut wears wig and uraeus.

136 LACAU/CHEVRIER, Hatshepsout, 228–256; the chapel has recently been re-published: F. BURGOS/F. LARCHÉ, *La chapelle rouge. Le sanctuaire de barque d'Hatshepsout I*, Paris 2006, 78–84, 123–127; “summarizing” coronation scenes with the Blue Crown only: *ibid.*, 138–139, 153–154 (Hatshepsut); 140–141 (Thutmose III).

137 A further series can be found in Luxor temple, where the royal rituals and divine birth of Amenhotep III are represented (rooms XIII and XIV; likely nine different coronation scenes were represented here: BELL, *Luxor temple*, esp. 265–266). Another sequence for Hatshepsut survives in her mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahari (PM II², 347.17–348.21) and is currently being prepared for publication by J. Karkowski. As stated earlier, individual episodes or “iconic” scenes referring to the coronation ritual are found on most temple walls, especially of the New Kingdom and later; see also LACAU/CHEVRIER, *Hatshepsout*, 251, § 403. For Karnak, and more specifically the Akhmenu as the location around which the coronation rites may have revolved at least in the New Kingdom, see e.g. E. DELANGE, *Nouvelles clés de lecture de la Chambre des Ancêtres*, in: J.-C. GOYON/C. CARDIN (eds.), *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists*, Grenoble 6–12 septembre 2004, Vol. 2, OLA 150, 2007, 407; D. LABOURY, *Archaeological and textual evidence for the function of the “Botanical Garden” of Karnak in the initiation ritual*, in: P. DORMAN/B. BRYAN, *Sacred space and sacred function in ancient Thebes*, SAOC 61, 2007, 27–34.

138 Block 172 S; LACAU/CHEVRIER, *Hatshepsout*, 235–236; BURGOS/LARCHÉ, *Chapelle rouge*, 78. For purification and induction as important elements in both royal and priestly initiation rites, see J.-M. KRUCHTEN, *Les annales des prêtres de Karnak (XXI–XXIII^es dynasties) et autres textes contemporains relatifs à l’initiation des prêtres d’Amon*, OLA 32, 1989, 165–204.

[jyt prt?] <i>bs nswt m pr-wr m pr-nsr</i> <i>m jtrty šm^cw mḥw</i> <i>hrw ḥb [...]</i> <i>sm3-t3wy</i>	[Entering and leaving], Royal induction into the Perwer and Perneser, into the two chapels of the South and the North, on the day of the festival of [...] and the Uniting of Two Lands.
--	---

(2) Coronation with the *nms* (see fig. 3)¹³⁹

Amun (seated in the chapel) crowns Hatshepsut with the *nms*, with the queen kneeling in front of the god, her back turned towards him. Werethekau assists by extending the *ḥ* toward the queen's nose, while Thoth presides over the procedures and establishes her regnal years and Sed-festivals for her. This basic composition remains quasi-identical throughout the sequence, but a variety of other goddesses stand in for Werethekau. Iunmutef, as facilitator of the ritual transformation,¹⁴⁰ replaces Thoth in all other scenes.

The texts accompanying the coronation run as follows:

<i>ḏd mdw jn Imn-R^cw</i> <i>s3t[=j] (M3^ct-k3-R^cw) </i> <i>smn[=j] ḥ^c=t</i> <i>m nms</i> <i>sp tpj ḥ^ct [ḏd mdw]</i> <i>m nswt hr st Hrw nt ḥnw</i> <i>mj R^cw ḏt</i>	Address by Amun-Re: "My daughter Maatkare: I establish/fasten your crown, (in the form of) the <i>nms</i>, on the first occasion of the coronation/appearance as king on the throne of Horus of the living, like Re, forever."
---	---

Werethekau, Lady of the sky and Mistress of the two lands, addresses Amun as follows:

<i>ḏd mdw</i> <i>snḏm ḏs=k nb ntrw</i> <i>Imn-R^cw nb nswt t3wy</i> <i>sh^cj=k [wj]</i> <i>m ḥ3t s3t=k</i> <i>njswt-bjtj (M3^ct-k3-R^cw) </i> <i>mjtj wḏ.n=k</i> <i>jt[=j] R^cw</i> <i>dj=j nrw=s m jbw rḥyt</i> <i>snḏ s(y) pḏwt psḏ</i>	Address: "Seat yourself, Lord of the gods, Amun-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two lands. May you cause [me] to rise/shine forth at the forehead of your daughter, the Dual King (Maatkare) in accordance with what you have ordained, (O) my father Re, (that) I (may) place respect for her in the hearts of the <i>Rekhyt</i>, and the nine bows fear her."¹⁴¹
---	--

139 Block 261 S, 186 N; LACAU/CHEVRIER, Hatshepsout, 237–240; BURGOS/LARCHÉ, Chapelle rouge, 79, 127. For this headdress see GOEBS, *nms*; IDEM, in: D.B. REDFORD (ed.), The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt I, New York 2001, 324, s.v. Crowns.

140 For this role of Iunmutef see U. RUMMEL, Iunmutef. Konzeption und Wirkungsbereich eines altägyptischen Gottes, SDAIK 33, 2010.

141 Block 186 on the N-side has:

dj=j nrw=s m hrw p^ct (That) I (may) place respect for her in the faces of the *p^ct*-nobility,

Strikingly, the goddess's text, rather than describing the *nms*, refers to the fiery uraeus and solar Eye, which is embodied in both the crown and the attending deity herself. This basic structure is adhered to in all of the coronation texts: Amun simply states that he bestows the crown, while it is generally the attending goddess who provides information about its significance.

(3) Coronation with the Blue Crown, *hprš*¹⁴² (fig. 4)

In his address to the queen, Amun refers to this crown as:

<i>hkr h^c jmj tp=j</i> <i>mrrw Wrt-hk3w</i> <i>mhn hr wpt=f</i>	The ornament which arose/shone forth on my head, and on the top (lit.: parting) of which Werethekau likes to coil
--	--

while the attending goddess Amaunet calls it:

<i>hkr h^c n nb-r-dr</i> <i>h^cw psdt m m3 n=f</i>	The ornament which arose/shone for the Lord of All and at the beholding of which the Ennead rejoices.
---	--

The Blue Crown thus appears here as the crown of Amun himself rather than as one of the insignia of Re. This is likely due to its comparatively late introduction¹⁴³ into both the set of royal headdresses and the coronation ritual (further references in this and the ensuing texts relate to political authority and dominance and are not discussed here for reasons of space).

There is no explicit mention of the crown's colour or sheen, but the verb *h^cj* and the designation of the deity owning it as "Lord of All" evoke the primeval cosmic event of the first sunrise. Its being beheld by the Ennead further suggests a signification as a distinguishing marker that renders the wearer visible. This is in line with the common association, and even equation, of crowns and luminous divine eyes from the Pyramid Texts onwards, which we discussed already for the *šwty*.¹⁴⁴

<i>snd=s ht h3st nbt</i> <i>kmt dšrt hr tbwty=s</i> <i>nh.tj dt</i>	and the fear of her throughout all foreign lands. The Black and the Red are united under her sandals (that) she may live forever!
---	---

142 Block 23 S; LACAU/CHEVRIER, Hatshepsout, 240–242; BURGOS/LARCHÉ, Chapelle rouge, 80; additional coronation scenes with Blue Crown on the east and west faces of the chapel: *ibid.*, 138–139, 153–154 (Hatshepsut), 140–141 (Thutmose III).

143 See GOEBIS, in: REDFORD, Oxford Encyclopedia I, 324, s.v. Crowns, for this headdress; on the late appearance of this crown and its development out of the cap around the time of the Second Intermediate Period see W.V. DAVIES, The origin of the Blue Crown, in: JEA 68, 1982, 69–76.

144 See above, p. 73; also GOEBIS, Crowns, e.g. 18; 40–41; 46; 55; 73 with n. 140; ROEDER, Mit dem Auge sehen, 307–315.

(4) Coronation with *jbs*-wig and uraeus¹⁴⁵ (fig. 5)

The attending goddess is Mut:

<i>šsp n=ṯ ḥʿw=ṯ m jbs</i>	Receive for yourself your crown (in the form of) the <i>jbs</i> ,
<i>ḥkr ḥʿ ḥsbḏyw</i>	the ornament that arose/shone forth lapis-coloured
<i>jmj tp n jt=ṯ Rʿw</i>	(and which is) on the head of your father Re.
<i>ḥʿj=ṯ jm=f</i>	May you arise/shine forth with it,
<i>mnḥ=ṯ jm=f</i>	may you be excellent with it,
<i>ʿnh.tj mj Rʿw ḏt</i> ¹⁴⁶	may you live like Re, forever.

In contrast with the preceding crown, the blue, or rather lapis-lazuli, colour of the *jbs*-wig is made explicit, and once again the use of the verb *ḥʿj* as well as the attribution to the sungod as its original owner evoke the moment of solar creation.

(5) Coronation with the Red Crown (*nt*), with *ḥ3bt* and *mjst*¹⁴⁷ (fig. 6)

Fittingly, the attending deity is Wadjet of Pe and Dep, who embodies this crown. Amun informs the queen:

<i>smn=j sʿh=ṯ m bjtj</i>	I establish your dignity as <i>bjtj</i>
<i>mj Rʿw ḏt</i>	like Re, forever

while Wadjet adds:

<i>šsp n=ṯ ḥʿ=ṯ m nt</i>	Receive your crown (in the form of) <i>nt</i> ,
<i>mn ḥ3bt=s m tp=ṯ</i>	its “wire” is stable on your head.
<i>ḏm.n mjst=ṯ (emend =s?) ḥrt</i>	Your crown/its (?) “shaft” has pierced the sky. ¹⁴⁸

145 Block 114 S, 117 N; LACAU/CHEVRIER, Hatshepsout, 242–243; BURGOS/LARCHÉ, Chapelle rouge, 81, 126. See GOEBS, in: REDFORD, Oxford Encyclopedia I, 324, s.v. Crowns, for this headdress in combination with the *ssd*-circlet.

146 Block 117 (N side has):

<i>ḥʿj=ṯ jm=f wsr=ṯ jm=f</i>	May you shine forth with it, may you be mighty with it,
<i>m rn=ṯ n wsrt-k3w</i>	In your name of Mighty of Kas (= Horus name of Hatshepsut).
<i>jw n=ṯ ʿnh w3s w3ḏt rnpwt</i>	Life, dominion, and freshness/rejuvenation of years
	(= <i>Nbty</i> -name of Hatshepsut) pertain to you
<i>ḥʿj=ṯ m njswt-bjtj</i>	(when) you arise/shine forth as Dual King
<i>ḥr st Hrw</i>	on the throne of Horus,
<i>ḥq3t Jpt-swt n ḏt</i>	(female) Ruler of Karnak, forever.

147 Block 145 S; LACAU/CHEVRIER, Hatshepsout, 243–245; BURGOS/LARCHÉ, Chapelle rouge, 82. For a detailed discussion of the multifaceted symbolism of this crown see GOEBS, Crowns, 155 ff; also IDEM, Crowns, in: REDFORD, Oxford Encyclopedia I, 323, s.v. Crowns.

148 See LACAU/CHEVRIER, Hatshepsout, 245 with nn. 1 and 5, who suggest a meaning of “shaft” (“tige”) and point to similarities with the Opening of the Mouth and Daily Cultic Rituals, where a similar reference to the piercing of the *shdw*-sky by the *mjst* appears in the episode of “Censing the Uraeus”. They also suggest a miswriting for the 3rd pers. sg. fem. pronoun. It may be worth noting, however, that the term employs the determinative of a Red Crown with uraeus, while the Red Crown determinative of *nt* earlier in the text does not display this feature. One may ask, therefore, if the *mrs/mjst* should not

jw nbjw=t r h3w-nbw
h^c.tj m nbt P Dp
jw n=t h^cnh w3s wsrt-k3w

Your fiery flame is directed against the Haunebu –
 (when **you are**) **arisen** as Lady of Pe and Dep.
 To you belong life and prosperity, O Mighty of Kas.

The following blocks are missing and most likely depicted:

- (6) White Crown,
- (7) Double Crown,
- (8) *h^cnt* or *h3t*-headdress, or perhaps *šwty*.

There follows:

(9) Coronation with the Atef¹⁴⁹ (fig. 7)

Hatshepsut is invoked to rise with this crown:

h^cj=t jm=f n rhyt

May you **appear/shine forth** with it to the Rekhyt

while Hathor of Thebes further qualifies it as:

h^cw pn nfr hr
jtj=t nb ntrw
nb šfšfyt
šhm hprw
h^cw R^cw
n sp tpj

This beautiful crown before
 your father, the Lord of the Gods
 and possessor of **awe**,
 powerful of manifestations,
the crown of Re
of the First Occasion.¹⁵⁰

In line with its association – here and in other contexts – with *šfšfyt*, “awe”, the Atef is further said to place “dread” (*ntrw*) in the hearts of the *p^ct*-nobility.

rather be understood as a further designation for the uraeus-snake (goddess) here. This is further suggested by the use of *mjst* in the above-mentioned episode of the Daily Cultic Ritual (Censing the Uraeus; MORET, *Rituel du culte*, 232), where it appears in a long enumeration of different names and manifestations of Werethekau. With a view to the use, in other contexts, of the consonant group *m-j-z* for both, designations of the liver (HANNIG, *Wörterbuch II*, 1036 {12501}) and (potentially) of horned cattle (ibid., 1037 {12504}; MEEKS, *Année Lexicographique*, 78.1667) one may moreover wonder if these terms have in common the “curvedness”, or similar, of the subjects they describe. *mjst=t* in the present context might then translate as “your curved” or “erect crown”, corresponding to the use of *h3bt*, “the bent one” for the wire of the *nt*.

149 Block 95 S; LACAU/CHEVRIER, Hatshepsut, 246–247; BURGOS/LARCHÉ, *Chapelle rouge*, 83. GOEBS, in: REDFORD, *Oxford Encyclopedia I*, 323, s.v. Crowns; also IDEM, *Crowns*, esp. 62–68, 111–113 for this crown.

150 Alternatively, a translation “powerful are the manifestations of the crown of Re of the first occasion” is also possible.

The primordial function of the Atef is hence explicit. Lacau and Chevrier translated: “The leader of beings (*hprw*), this is the Crown of Re of the first occasion”, but in view of the fact that the ensuing crown – *hnw* – is also addressed in terms of its *hprw*, a translation of *hprw* as “manifestations” renders better sense here.

(10) *Hnw/h^c pn dsr ʕ3 hprw Imn-R^cw*¹⁵¹ (fig. 8)

<i>smn[=j] n=t h^c pn dsr</i>	I establish for you this sacred crown,
<i>ʕ3 hprw Imn-R^cw</i>	great of manifestations of Amun-Re.

Hathor of Dendara provides us with more details:

<i>šsp n=t hnw</i>	Receive (for yourself) the hnw-crown
<i>n pr-dw3w</i>	of the Morning House,
<i>h^cj=t jm=f</i>	(that) you may rise/shine forth with it
<i>mj 3hty</i>	like Akhty.

This causes her to let the hearts of the Rekhyt live.

The *hnw*, which represents a horned form of the *šwty* on an Amun-Crown base¹⁵² is here explicitly associated with the matutinal form of the sungod – Akhty – and pertains to the “Morning house”.¹⁵³ The luminous associations of the *šwty* have been discussed above.¹⁵⁴

(11) “Crown of Re” (*h^cw R^cw*)¹⁵⁵ (fig. 9)

This is a complicated combination crown, whose most distinct elements are *nms* and *3tf*,¹⁵⁶ augmented by two large uraei with solar discs, a pair of ram horns, and the “horn of Amun” signifying the divine status of the ruler.¹⁵⁷

151 Block 71 S, 141 N; LACAU/CHEVRIER, Hatshepsout, 247–248; BURGOS/LARCHÉ, Chapelle rouge, 84, 125.

152 See GOEBS, in: REDFORD, Oxford Encyclopedia I, 324, s.v. Crowns; also S.A. COLLIER, The Crowns of Pharaoh: Their development and significance in ancient Egyptian kingship. Doctoral Dissertation University of California, Ann Arbor: UMI (9632841) 1996, 98–99.

153 See above, n. 29 and below, n. 162.

154 Nn. 86; 88; 144.

155 Block 154 S, 178 N; LACAU/CHEVRIER, Hatshepsout, 249–251; BURGOS/LARCHÉ, Chapelle rouge, 84, 124.

156 This combination becomes more and more prevalent from the time of Thutmose I onwards, and may represent the king as ruler over the complete solar cycle, combining the aspects of (the Son of) Re with that of (the Son of) Osiris (GOEBS, in: REDFORD, Oxford Encyclopedia I, 324, s.v. Crowns).

157 E.g. D. WILDUNG, Egyptian saints. Deification in pharaonic Egypt. New York 1977, 2–20 with various examples. The same crown is also (well) known from the representation of Amenhotep II in the tomb of Kenamun (ibid., 2 with fig. 1).

<i>smn[=j] n=t</i>	I establish for you
<i>h^cw R^cw ^c3w Jmn-R^cw</i>	the great “ Crown of Re ”(?) of Amun-Re , ¹⁵⁸
<i>jmjw tp=f</i>	which is on his head.
<i>hnm=f m tp=t</i>	May it embrace your head
<i>htp=f m wpt=t</i>	and rest on your brow.

Werethekau attends, and addresses Hatshepsut as follows (S-wall):

<i>šsp n=t h^c p ṛn ʕ (?)ṛ</i>	Receive (for yourself) this ṛgreatṛ crown,
<i>jmj tp jtj=t Tmw</i>	which is on the head of your father Atum ,
<i>h^cj=t jm=f n dt</i>	(that) you may arise with it forever.

On the N-wall, the goddess instead resumes her introductory address to Amun that precedes the conferral of the first headdress, the *nms*: She urges the creator to let her, the uraeus goddess, appear at the forehead of his daughter. This brings the ritual to an end.

While not all the crowns in this sequence of scenes are explicitly called luminous, nor reference is made to their colour, the accompanying texts reveal that all of them are ultimately symbols of the fiery uraeus goddess Werethekau. It is her flame that defeats the enemies of the king, and the bestowal of the different crowns appears to be about “activating” her.

Further, explicit reference is made to the crowns as “manifestations” and crowns of Re (e.g. *jbs*, Atef, Crown of Re; indirectly also *nt*, which makes the king into a *bjtj*-king “like Re”). More specifically, his forms of the morning and as creator are evoked – *3hty* (*hnw*) and Atum (Crown of Re; Atef and *nms* in association with the *sp tpy* – the first occasion). The latest addition to this series of royal crowns, the *hprš*, is said to belong to Amun-Re specifically, and also the final combination crown, the Crown of Re sporting the horn of Amun, is associated with this god. All of these solar manifestations are hence luminous by definition. In addition, the verb *h^cj*, which is typically used to describe both solar and stellar risings, is employed and further emphasises the parallels between the sungod and his deputy on earth – the king.¹⁵⁹

There was no need, therefore, to make the colour and/or sheen of the headdresses explicit in text because it was inherent in their iconography and would have been obvious to the observer. The exception from this rule is the *jbs*-wig, which is explicitly stated to possess lapis-lazuli sheen. This item is, at first sight at least, the only non-coloured (black) headdress in the series and seemingly required such a qualification.

Lacau and Chevrier commented on the fact that Hatshepsut’s headdresses in this sequence grow increasingly complex – from simple *nms* to the complicated composite Crown of Re. We can add to this statement the observation that the bestowed crowns render the recipient increasingly colourful, and that this polychromatic image of the king relates,

158 LACAU/CHEVRIER (Hatshepsut, 249 with n. 1) refrained from reading the crown name, but – in line with the writing of the preceding headdress, *hnw* – I would like to see the elaborate crown hieroglyph as a determinative for the group *h^cw R^cw*.

159 See GOEBIS, Crowns, esp. 363 ff.; also P. BARGUET, Note sur la sortie du roi hors du palais, in: Hommages à François Daumas, Montpellier 1986, 51–54.

just as in the case of various layers of coloured materials employed in the Daily Cultic Ritual, to the multiplicity and polychromy of the created world.

Karnak	Abydos	OpM	Coronation Hatshepsut
		<i>nms ḥdt</i>	<i>nms</i>
		<i>sj3w</i>	
<i>ḥdt</i>	<i>ḥdt</i>	<i>ḥdt</i>	<i>ḥprš</i>
<i>w3dt</i>	<i>w3dt</i>	<i>w3dt</i>	<i>jbs</i>
<i>jnsj</i>	<i>jnsj</i>	<i>jnsj</i>	<i>nt</i>
<i>jdmj</i>		<i>jdmj</i>	missing
			missing
			missing
	<i>wsh/h3drt</i>	<i>wsh</i>	<i>3tf</i>
	<i>sšpt/mḥnht</i>		
	<i>sšd/šwty</i>		<i>ḥnw</i>
	<i>w3s/ḥq3 (j3qs)/ nh3h3/ jry ḥwy/rdwy</i>		<i>ḥḥw Rḥw</i>

Comparative Table of Dressing and Coronation Rituals

Confirmation of the Kingship on the Occasion of New Year

Finally, a few words on the rituals for the Confirmation of the Kingship on the occasion of the New Year as preserved in pBrooklyn 47.218.50, where a similarly “progressive” luminosity and polychromy can be observed. The text has been dated to the late 5th or early 4th century BCE.¹⁶⁰

This set of rituals begins in the morning with the awakening of the king, possibly on the first epagomenal day (*rs nb m ḥ=f n ḥn w3s*),¹⁶¹ and is followed by his purification – when wearing the *wrrt*-crown (I, 1–5) – and his dressing in clothes said to be made by Tait (col. I, 3–5: *r3 n mw*; 5–7: *r3 n ḥbs*). In this way, all (potential for) evil or mishap is removed from him.

The chief performer of ceremonies then arrives and reads the “Ceremony of the House of the Morning”¹⁶² (*pr dw3t njswt*; col. I, 7).¹⁶³ Following a procession to the temple, more

¹⁶⁰ GOYON, Confirmation, 13.

¹⁶¹ Ibid, 19.

¹⁶² For which see A.M. BLACKMAN, Some notes on the ancient Egyptian practice of washing the dead, in: JEA 5, 1918, 148–165.

¹⁶³ GOYON, Confirmation, 19 with comm. n. 15; 54.

precisely the “Chapel of the Great Throne” (*p3 sh n st-wrt*), the king (or his representative) is subject to ceremonies of clothing, investing with royal insignia, and anointing.¹⁶⁴

Specifically, a piece of red fabric with 30 Red and 30 White Crowns and a figure of Ptah drawn on it is then applied to his neck, which is tied with 60 knots (col. I, 9):

Tying the amulets of the Great Throne
to the neck of the king by the anointing priest:
30 White Crowns and 30 Red Crowns
which have a figure of Ptah in between them,
drawn with **scribal ink on a red (?) *jdmj*-cloth**.
Fasten at the neck of the king with 60 knots.¹⁶⁵

Further, he receives a *w3s* and an **‘*nh*-sceptre of faience**, followed by two different head-dresses: *ssd* and *ssp-band*, and the ***m’nh*-counterpoise** (or band?),¹⁶⁶ which is here said to “give life” to its wearer (I, 17).¹⁶⁷

(col. I, 10–12)

*Bringing the ‘*nh* and the w3s of faience to the king*

To recite:

O Re, O gods of the South, North, West, and East!

Come and behold Horus, to whom his **Eye** has been given!

... his father Atum has made him Lord of mankind ...

(col. I, 15–17)

*Causing the *ssd-band* to arrive:*

O NN, I have filled (*mhi*) your **Eyes** for you,

I have not stolen (*swj*) them from your face.

*Causing the *ssp-band* to arrive:*

Hail to you, NN, in peace ...

I bring to you your crown, the *wrrt*

Receive it in its name of *ssp-band*;

You see with it because of its name of *m3js*!¹⁶⁸

164 Ibid., 19 with n. 8.

165 Ibid., 20, 54.

166 Ibid.

167 This item may refer to the “hanging portion” or fastening of the headband here; *ibid.*, 88 with n. 40. We may note that *sspt* and *m’nh* were associated also in the Daily Cultic Ritual, where their bestowal is followed by the crowning with *swty*-feathers, however.

168 GOYON, Confirmation, 88 with n. 39 wished to see here a late writing of *mjswt*, which he identified unequivocally as the White Crown. See now also GOEBS, Crowns, esp. 76, 144–145.

Causing the *m^cnh^t*-counterpoise to arrive:

To recite:

NN, be alive, nurseling of **gold**!

Just as in the Daily Cultic Ritual, the Dressing Rites are followed by the application of unguents: here nine different ointments are applied – the names of some suggesting that they may stand in for crowns, the description of others revealing that they were likely coloured. Thus, we find: “Coronation (or accession) ointment of Shetat” (*b3s n h^c n st3t*), “Coronation ointment of the step-throne dais” (*b3s n h^c n tn3t*), “Ointment made for the king and placed in the *ʿfnt*-headdress” (*b3s jry n njswt ddw m-hnw ʿfnt*). The coloured ointments include: “Ointment of [faience-mineral]?” (*b3s n thnt?*; text badly damaged)¹⁶⁹ and “ointment of red quartzite, myrrh, and pure soil from the sacred place” (*b3s n bj3 sm^c ʿntj t3 w^cb st-dsrt*),¹⁷⁰ ending with “ointment of the royal kilt of faience mineral mixed with laudanum” (*b3s n šndyt nt thnt bs m jbr*).¹⁷¹ The accompanying recitations are mostly concerned with the effective overcoming of the solar enemies, as befits the occasion of the end of the old, and the beginning of the New Year. This concludes the protective rites, and other ritual complexes follow.

As with the dressing and coronation rituals discussed so far we thus find the application of various items of dress and ointments that explicitly evoke a range of colours and sheen, eloquently expressed when the recipient is addressed as a “nurseling of gold”. Several of the items bestowed either stand in for, or at least evoke, a range of royal headdresses and in this way underscore the intimate connection between these royal insignia and their important symbolic function in expressing cosmic light and colour.

169 (II, 22); GOYON, Confirmation, 88 n. 25 with references.

170 (III, 5); GOYON (ibid., 21 with n.1) suggested that the last two items may have been made to include green (or dark-blue) and reddish colour respectively.

171 (III, 10).

Karnak	Abydos	OpM	Coronation Hatshepsut	pBrooklyn 47.218.50
		<i>nms ḥḏt</i>	<i>nms</i>	
		<i>sj3w</i>		
<i>ḥḏt</i>	<i>ḥḏt</i>	<i>ḥḏt</i>	<i>hprš</i>	<i>ḥḏt</i>
<i>w3ḏt</i>	<i>w3ḏt</i>	<i>w3ḏt</i>	<i>jbs</i>	and
<i>jnsj</i>	<i>jnsj</i>	<i>jnsj</i>	<i>nt</i>	<i>nt</i> on
<i>jdmj</i>		<i>jdmj</i>	missing	<i>jdmj</i>
			missing	
			missing	
	<i>wsh/h3drt</i>	<i>wsh</i>	<i>3tf</i>	<i>3nh/w3s</i>
	<i>sšpt/mḥnht</i>			(faience)
	<i>sšd/šwtj</i>		<i>hnw</i>	<i>sšd</i>
	<i>w3s/ḥq3 (j3qs)/ nh3h3/jry ḥwy/rdwy</i>		<i>ḥḥw Rḥw</i>	<i>šsp/wrrt/ m3js (= mjswt?)</i>
				<i>mḥnht</i>
<i>mḏt</i>	<i>mḏt</i>	<i>mḏt</i>		9 <i>b3s</i> ointments (evoking colours and crowns)
<i>w3ḏw</i>		<i>w3ḏw</i>		
<i>msdmt</i>		<i>msdmt</i>		

Comparative Table of Dressing, Coronation, and Royal Renewal Rituals¹⁷²

172 Also the ritual of the Dramatic Ramesseum Papyrus (SETHE, *Dramatische Texte*) “plays” with various coloured items, but in its sequence the investing with insignia precedes the application of oils/eye paint and clothes, to include:
 Carnelian wreath (= red Eye),
 Fayence necklace (= green Eye),
šwtj/2 *šhm*-sceptres,
 followed by:
 Eye-paint (green and black),
 which in turn is followed by the textile offerings
 (bib, *šnb*-fringe, and 4-fibre, 6-fibre, and *jdmj*-linen),
 and finally:
 Ointment, said to be “*ḥḏ*” against the enemy.
 See also above, n. 35.

Conclusion

We have looked at various examples of transformation and transfiguration: When, at the moment of creation, Atum made himself first into two and then into a multitude, he also created colourfulness/polychromy – as expressed vividly in the many surviving multi-coloured examples of *h^c*-hieroglyphs, the mound appearing out of the – dark and monochrome – pre-creation waters.¹⁷³

The sungod, in the course of his journeys through sky and underworld, is associated with a variety of paraphernalia and their colours which can express his different forms or manifestations (*hprw*).¹⁷⁴ The “ideal-type” of gods he created is hence also multicoloured and, again, we have plenty of evidence for gods in colourful dress and paraphernalia. The deceased assumes limbs of imperishable, precious materials and their luminous colours in the course of his transfiguration into an Akh and is thus likened to the gods in their celestial realm. The king, finally, is – by means of the various multi-coloured crowns, headdresses, and other royal insignia – equally endowed with colours and luminosity. The paraphernalia he receives are explicitly said to be those of Re (often “on the occasion of creation”, *sp tpy*), and he thus assumes on earth both, the outer appearance of the sungod in his various manifestations, and his role. This aspect is underlined in particular by his designation as *stj*, “deputy”, of the sungod, which he shares with a group of gods that may temporarily substitute for the creator at a number of junctures in the cosmic cycle: The most important ones are Thoth-moon and Osiris (-Orion?) at night, Ptah as creator, and Horus or Harakhte in the morning. With all these gods the terrestrial ruler shares both the title *stj* of Re as well as (at least a selection of) his crowns and other paraphernalia.¹⁷⁵

To the Egyptians, their king hence really had the appearance of a god – as impressively described in the famous portrayal of Hatshepsut as supposed incumbent to the throne in the legend of her youth (Urk. IV, 245.17–246.10):

173 SCHUNCK, Untersuchungen zum Wortstamm *h^c*, 4–9.

174 For some of these colour associations see GOEBS, Expressing luminosity. An interesting new study by D. Werning investigates the usage of colour and its symbolism in the Book of Caverns and demonstrates that – in the final scene, which represents sunrise – the attending deities are shown black, likely because sunrise has not yet occurred, while the sungod himself is polychrome. The author also surmises a relationship between the coloured representation of some beings and their state of being alive, vs. the depiction as monochrome or bicoloured of others, which merely have “symbolic status” (D. WERNING, Das Höhlenbuch. Textkritische Edition und Textgrammatik, Doctoral Dissertation, University of Göttingen (forthcoming)).

175 Explored in detail in GOEBS, Crowns, esp. 368ff.

... <i>hpr.hr hmt=s ʕ3.tj</i>	... and her Majesty became greater
<i>r ht nbt</i>	than anything.
<i>nfr m3 n=s</i>	It was more beautiful looking at her
<i>r ht nbt</i>	than anything:
<i>jm=s m ntr</i>	Her form/appearance was as (that of) a god,
<i>qd=s m ntr</i>	her character was as (that of) a god,
<i>jrr=s ht nbt m ntr</i>	(when) she did anything (it was) as a god,
<i>3h=s m ntr</i>	her <i>3h</i> /efficacy was as (that of) a god.
<i>W3dyt jmj t 3t=s</i>	‘Wadjit in her moment (of rage)’ –
...	...
<i>sw3š.n=s jrw=s n ntr</i>	(she) made her divine form majestic. ¹⁷⁶

176 Note also the equivalence of king and sungod in the rituals of pBrooklyn 47.218.50, where the king is said to: “live like Re lives, see with the vision with which Re sees, hear with the hearing with which Re hears, command with the authority to command that Re uses, complete his journey as Re, and arrive as Atum”. He is then said to be a god among gods, and to have come into being in the sky (GOYON, Confirmation, 62; col. III, 16–17).



Fig. 1: Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, wearing “Sed-festival cloaks”, return to Karnak during the Opet procession. Chapelle Rouge, block 171. Photo: K. Leser.

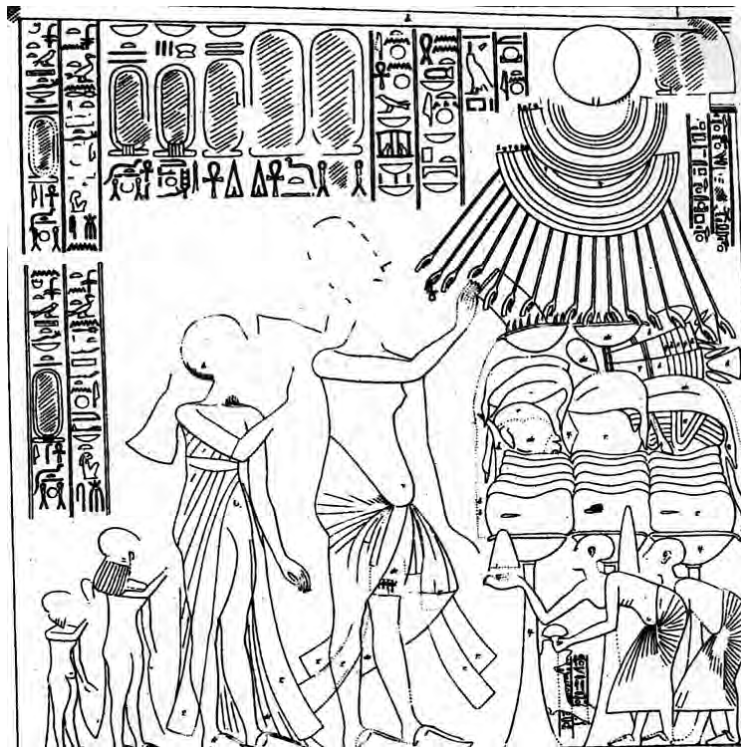


Fig. 2: Akhenaten and Nefertiti worship the Aten adorned with a striated, multicoloured collar. From the tomb of Meryra I at Amarna (Pillared Hall, S-wall, E-side, upper register). After Amarna I, pl. 22.



Fig. 3: Hatshepsut is crowned with the *nms*. Chapelle Rouge, block 261. Photo: K. Leser.



Fig. 4: Hatshepsut is crowned with the Blue Crown. Chapelle Rouge, block 23. Photo: K. Leser.



Fig. 5: Hatshepsut is crowned with the *jhs*. Chapelle Rouge, block 114. Photo: K. Leser.



Fig. 6: Hatshepsut is crowned with the Red Crown. Chapelle Rouge, block 145. Photo: K. Leser.

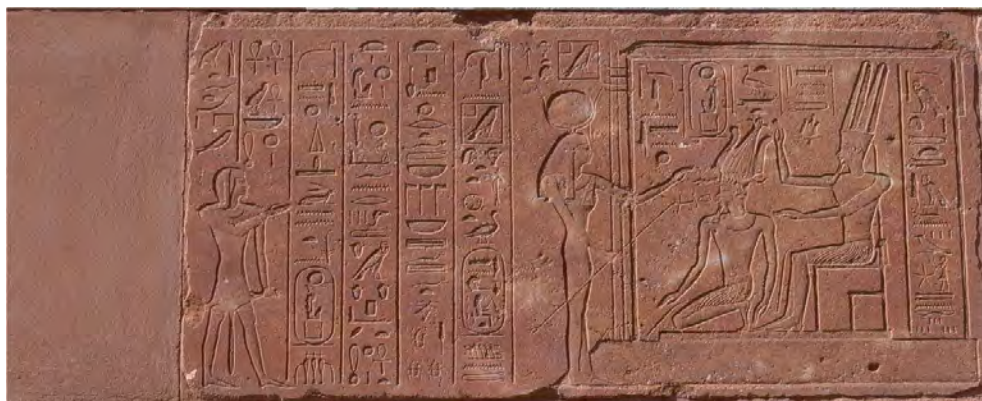


Fig. 7: Hatshepsut is crowned with the *3tf*. Chapelle Rouge, block 95. Photo: K. Leser.



Fig. 8: Hatshepsut is crowned with the *hnw*. Chapelle Rouge, block 141. Photo: K. Leser.



Fig. 9: Hatshepsut is crowned with the Crown of Re. Chapelle Rouge, block 178. Photo: K. Leser.