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Ancient Egyptian Temple Ritual
Performance, Pattern, and Practice
Katherine Eaton

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ISBN: 978-0-415-83298-4
90000

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Ancient Egyptian Temple Ritual

Performance, Pattern, and Practice

Katherine Eaton

Ancient Egyptian Temple Ritual

There are few books dedicated to religious practice in ancient Egypt, and this book is a welcome addition. It explores the structure of ritual performance in ancient Egyptian temples and makes it broadly accessible.

—*Geoffrey Tassie, University College London, UK*

Large state temples in ancient Egypt were vast agricultural estates, with interests in mining, trading, and other economic activities. The temple itself served as the mansion or palace of the deity to whom the estate belonged, and much of the ritual in temples was devoted to offering a representative sample of goods to the gods. After ritual performances, produce was paid as wages to priests and temple staff and presented as offerings to private mortuary establishments. This redistribution became a daily ritual in which many basic necessities of life for elite Egyptians were produced.

This book evaluates the influence of common temple rituals not only on the day-to-day lives of ancient Egyptians, but also on their special events, economics, and politics. Author Katherine Eaton argues that a study of these daily rites ought to be the first step in analyzing the structure of more complex societal processes.

Katherine Eaton is an Egyptologist in the University of Sydney's Department of Studies in Religion. Since receiving her Ph.D. from New York University in 2004, she has published in top journals, including *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* and *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*.

Routledge Studies in Egyptology

1 **Ancient Egyptian Temple Ritual**
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Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
NEW YORK AND LONDON

First published 2013
by Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Simultaneously published in the UK
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group,
an informa business

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Eaton, Katherine.
Ancient Egyptian temple ritual : performance, pattern, and practice / by Katherine Eaton.
p. cm. — (Routledge studies in Egyptology ; 1)
Includes bibliographical references and index.

1. Egypt—Religion. 2. Temples—Egypt. 3. Rites and ceremonies—Egypt. 4. Egypt—Civilization—To 332 B.C. I. Title. II. Series: Routledge studies in Egyptology ; 1.
BL2441.2.E28 2013
299.3138—dc23
2012046096

ISBN: 978-0-415-83298-4 (hbk)
ISBN: 978-0-203-49324-3 (ebk)

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To Dominic and Liam

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Acknowledgments

Research for this book was funded by the American Research Center in Egypt, through a grant provided by the United States Department of State's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs. Thanks to the staff there, particularly Madame Amira Khattab and Mr. Amir.

Thanks to the Supreme Council of Antiquities, and the directors and inspectors who facilitated my work in Egypt, including Asmaa Kamel-el Din Ahmed, Dr. Mahmoud el-Halwagy, Dr. Mohamed el-Bialy, Ibrihim Suliman, Magdi el-Badri, Moustafa Abdel Rahman, Mr. Zein al-Arabadi, Osama Ismai Ahmed, Salwa Fatahalla Hasan, Zeinab Ali Mohammed.

I owe particular debts of gratitude to Heba Abdel Basser, Mohammed Zanan Nubie Abdu-Salaam and Mohammad Nagib.

Thank-you to the IFA-Penn-Yale Expedition to Abydos, which provided me with accommodations when I was working at Abydos, particularly David O'Connor, Matthew Adams, Janet Richards and house manager Ahmed Rageb.

Thanks to my advisor, Ogden Goelet; Ann Macy-Roth, whose encouragement at a pivotal moment made this happen; and colleagues Sameh Iskander, Peter Brand, and Amy Calvert.

Part I

Foundation

1 Introduction

Temples in Ancient Egyptian Society, Economy, and Cosmos

This book focuses on ritual cycles in which simple offerings, such as food and clothing, were presented daily in ancient Egyptian temples. Divine statues were cleaned, dressed, and adorned in the "Daily Ritual" (the toilet, called the "Uncovering of the Face" by the ancient Egyptians). Divinities and ancestors were fed during the "Ritual of the Royal Ancestors" (the meal, also called "Ritual of Amenhotep I"). Drawing on textual, art historical, architectural, and archaeological material, most of this book addresses questions about reading representations of ritual and the logistics of performing cult in ancient Egyptian temples. The meanings of ritual episodes shifted in different contexts. Thus, this first chapter explores the place of ancient Egyptian temples within the broader ancient Egyptian society, economy, and cosmos.

Today the two primary uses of ancient Egyptian temples are as archaeological sites and tourist attractions. Although both of these uses were known in ancient times, they were neither the primary functions (*Funktion*) for which temples were designed and built, nor the main uses (*Gebrauch*) to which they were ultimately put by the ancient Egyptians (Haring and Klug 2007). Temples were a ". . . locus for architectural, visual, verbal and performance arts" (Baines 1997:216). They were both the body of the god, and the body of his mother, with the sanctuary representing the womb. The later association was manifest in the personification of temples as goddesses receiving cult in ritual scenes (Refai 2002:299–303) and in the literal translation of the goddess Hathor's name, "House of (her son) Horus" (Troy 1986:21–22). *The Temple in Man* (Schwaller de Lubicz 1949 and 1981) represents the outer limits of analysis of the relationship between ancient Egyptian temples and human bodies from an Egyptological perspective, although many mystical interpretations of ancient Egyptian temples go even further (Baines 1990:2–3). However, the roles of temples as divine palaces and models of the cosmos had the greatest impact on the architectural, decorative, and ritual structures forming the focus of the present study. Finnestadt described these two aspects as "the warp and the weft" of the metaphorical and symbolical meanings of Egyptian temples (1985:3). In both of these aspects, the temple served as a protected locus for communication between

the world of humanity and the divine, in effect a road, "way" (eg. Assmann 2001:30–35, and Konrad 2006:22–23), or point of passage (on the verb bs(j), see Kruchten 1989:147–204).

The ancient Egyptians intended to present the appearance of changelessness in their temple architectural and artistic programs (Davis 1989:96–97; Assmann 1991b:32–33). However, in reality contexts changed radically over time. Shrines of the Early Dynastic Period (c. 2900–2545)[1] and Old Kingdom (c. 2543–2120 B.C.E.) and earlier were built by local communities, with only limited patronage from the crown, which focused most of its resources on royal memorials. In the New Kingdom (c. 1539–1077 B.C.E.), major divine temples were arguably divisions of the central government (eg. Janssen 1979:509). Divine temples of gods of rule like Amun-Re of Thebes and Ptah of Memphis were built with stone on a scale comparable to royal memorials in the Eighteenth Dynasty (c. 1539–1292 B.C.E.). However, divine temples continued expanding with each reign over the course of the New Kingdom, dwarfing royal memorials before the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty (c. 1292–1191 B.C.E.). In the Ptolemaic and Roman periods (332 B.C.E.–395 C.E.), temples continued to be built according to ancient Egyptian traditions already established in the New Kingdom, but by foreign rulers. Moreover, as with any complex social phenomenon involving hundreds of participants and thousands of observers, there were many different perspectives during every time period.

DIVINE PALACES

Temples were earthly residences for divinities and dead kings. For most of the pharaonic period, they were at the center of huge estates which were major features of the ancient economy, with humans acting as servants (Haring 1997). Large-scale temple building projects continued to be significant consumers of raw materials and labor in Ptolemaic Egypt, even though their economic influence was significantly reduced (eg. the Arisinotite [Fayum] and Herakleopolite nomes, Manning 2005). The estates were administered primarily from structures built of mud brick, surrounding stone-built temples. The function of the temple as a domestic economic unit for a deity is reflected in some of the most commonly encountered ancient Egyptian names for temples. Each term is a compound formed with very general terms for domestic establishments, namely "mansion" (*ḥwt*  , *Wb.* iii, 1,4) and "house" (*pr*  , *Wb.* i, 511,7).

The term *ḥwt* is commonly translated "mansion" or "estate." The translations of two common designations for temples—*ḥwt-nṯr* as "mansion of the god" and *ḥwt nt ḥḥw m rnpwt* as "mansion of millions of years"—are generally accepted. The term *pr* is commonly translated "house" or "household" but can also mean "room" in some contexts (Konrad 2006:11). There is a considerable history of scholarly discussion concerning the subtleties of

the meanings of *ḥwt* and *pr* and the differences between the two (eg. Konrad 2006:8–10; Haring 1997:26–29). Spencer's conclusion that "*ḥwt*, where it was not being used simply as an abbreviation for *ḥwt-nṯr*, described a productive foundation, supplying offerings for funerary cults . . ." is widely, but not universally, accepted (1984:27, see also Wilson 1997:626).

The term *r-pr* originally referred simply to an offering place but was clearly used to refer to temples by the New Kingdom (Spencer 1984:37–42; Vandersleyen 1967:148 n. 52). However, aspects of its meaning are the subject of significant debate (Konrad 2006:12–13). This revolves primarily around the meaning of the term *r* (often transliterated *r3*), variously read as "fraction" or "part" and "border" or "entrance". In addition, in temple contexts, the term *r* often designates the beginning of an utterance. Thus, perhaps *r-pr* is to be read "utterance house". There is no reason to choose one reading. To the contrary, the word *r* was very common and, like a lot of common words, had a range of meanings. Moreover, since temples were institutions with many roles in society and functioned on myriad symbolic levels, the multiplicity of the term *r-pr* reflects the complexity of the institutions which it designates.

Exploring the roles of temples requires broader analysis of the economic and political structures of ancient Egyptian society. Temples symbolically represented those social structures and maintained them by virtue of their economic role and position as centers of displays designed to legitimize the power structure. Temples were part of the state during the New Kingdom, much like the other center of elite power, the army (Janssen 1979:508, see also Haring 1997:34–35). More generally, the relationship between the temple and the state during periods of unity under domestic rule is best understood as a relationship between a part and a whole. This changed during periods of decentralization, as in Thebes during the Third Intermediate Period, when the high priests of Amun were largely independent of rulers based in the north; and during periods of foreign rule, including the Ptolemaic Period. However, even during these time periods, temples continued to be significant features of the economy, and their decorative programs continued to express the ideal social order.

SOCIETY

The social order depicted on the walls of ancient Egyptian temples places the king side by side with the gods, at the center of everything:

> These scenes present an abstract, idealized, cosmological space where the king is the sole hierarchically valid human protagonist because he is a being of comparable order to the gods. (Baines 2006b:23)

During some time periods, a few illustrious persons parallel him (eg. the king's chief wife under Akhenaten and Ramesses II; the high priest of Amun

and god's wife of Amun in Thebes during the Third Intermediate Period). However, these were unusual circumstances. The upper levels of the elite were referred to with groups of rather generic adoring figures, called the *pʿt*-people, perhaps representing members of the royal clan (L. Bell 1997:164). Priests were depicted serving the king in memorial temples of the Old and Middle Kingdom. During the New Kingdom, even this role ultimately came to be dominated by the king, along with the deities Horus Pillar-of-His-Mother and Thoth. Priests were then most commonly depicted in processional scenes. The other group of powerful elites, the military, was depicted primarily in battle scenes. Inside the temple, the use of emblematic personifications and statuettes of the king to depict subsidiary ritual acts, like holding standards and offering wine, allowed aspects of the complexity of ritual performance to be alluded to without violating the rules of decorum (chapter 2).

Such emblematic representations were the only way decorum allowed the depiction of common people, who had not been purified as priests. "Subjects" or "common people" are rendered abstractly with *rḫyt*-birds (), usually as emblematic personifications performing gestures of adoration, but sometimes more simply (Baines 1985:48–54). Some suggest that the presence of this motif indicates that the area was open to common people during festival processions (L. Bell 1997:163–164). Both administrative texts and mortuary material indicate that the situation was much more complex. There were significant divisions within the emblematic group of "all the common people" (*rḫyt nb*), who were reduced to a peripheral motif in temple decorative programs. Moreover, although the degree of social mobility in ancient Egyptian society is not really clear, there is considerable anecdotal evidence that social mobility was possible and that class barriers were both vague and permeable (eg. Trigger 2003:162).

In surviving temple administrative texts, the most prominent people are the members of the elite who controlled the temple infrastructure, followed by those running institutions which they had exchanges with, including the palace. Yet the king himself is almost invisible (eg. Posener-Kriéger 1976:565–609, Quirke 1991:149, and Haring 1997:380). Thus, from an administrative perspective, royalty can be grouped with what Quirke calls "higher officials and minor officialdom". This group consisted of a small group of important families which intermarried. Power relationships among the top elite shifted over time. For example, the power of provincial nobles overlapped with the king in the Sixth Dynasty, whereas the army had almost total control over the Eighteenth Dynasty king Tutankhamun (Cruz-Uribe 1994). In temple relief, men in this group were depicted serving the king in memorial temples and in processional and battle scenes.

There were much more significant distinctions made between men of this class in their burials. For example, Köhler divided this level into two groups, with different burial places in the Early Dynastic period (2008:390–395). The "king", "royal family", "aristocracy", and "highest officials" were represented

by the royal tombs at Abydos and Saqqara and elite tombs at North Saqqara. "Lower officials and priests", "scribes", "specialists", and the "middle class" were represented by burials at Helwan with stone architectural elements. In the late Old Kingdom and Middle Kingdom up to the reign of Sesostris III, the tombs of the elite were divided between those buried near the king and those buried in the provinces. The latter group overlaps with those who Quirke described as "second tier" based on his later material from an administrative context.

Administrative sources also refer to men who appear to have been independent, but untitled. In Quirke's Middle Kingdom material, they were often referred to as "townsmen" (*s n njwt tn*) or by their profession (1991:149). Often called the "middle class", some of these men may have been literate, and probably had restricted access to the temples (eg. courts during festivals, barque stations, and the like; see the following). Beneath these people were the servants of the "higher officials and minor officialdom", although servants of very high officials might have been better off than most independent men in some respects. Thus, Quirke divided this group based on how it related to the institutions which his administrative data was produced by and men in the most elite families. Haring also sees men working land independently and as dependents. However, he also noted that there was probably considerable overlap between these two groups, with many cultivating both their own fields and those of others (Haring 1997:15). Men of these classes were primarily involved in agriculture and processing of food for cult, but also might be conscripted for hard labor on building works and military service. Their level of wealth appears to have been parallel in some mortuary contexts.

For example, the two tiers in untitled men identified by Köhler in the Early Dynastic mortuary material which she works with led her to divide them based on profession into the semi-skilled "craft workers" and "soldiers and guards" and the unskilled "farmers", "laborers", and "servants", without reference to their degree of dependence on wealthy families or institutions (2008:384). The access of servants to temples may have been comparable to that of untitled men. Some were able to present votives to their gods and provide themselves with modest burials. Studies of their cemeteries show that, despite occasional violence between local rulers, the social processes related to the creation of a 'middle class' during the later Old Kingdom seem to intensify in the First Intermediate Period (Richards 2005:173). Thus, many Egyptians of these classes may have been better off when rule was decentralized.

Although details changed over time, the foundation of ancient Egyptian society was ultimately illiterate classes of laborers and servants with some more independent 'peasants' or 'members of the middle class', who together produced agricultural surpluses. Their labor—primarily in the fields, but also in mining expeditions, construction projects, bakeries, breweries, and, in short, any endeavor involving hard, physical work—was required to keep

temples and their divine estates running. A major function of ancient Egyptian temple ritual, and religion in general, was to legitimize the transfer of the wealth that these men and women created to a very small group of elite Egyptians. Elite Egyptians belonged to groups of interrelated families, whose relative power relations changed over time (Cruz-Uribe 1994). The main occupation of most male members of the elite was to oversee the labor of the servant classes and administer the surpluses which they produced. Elite women had three main roles: mistress of the house, weaving fine linen, and singing in temple cult. The king and his family were at the center of this group of elite Egyptians.

KINGSHIP

The Egyptians tended to be rather vague about precisely where the world of humans ended and the world of the gods began in describing images of the divine (eg. Eaton 2007b). This was true of the nature of the king as well. The king's role, like that of the temple, was not only to act as a link between the human and the divine, but to render that division less clear and absolute. Like the temple, the king was a point of passage. Although control was essential both to maintain the purity required in the divine realm, and to protect humanity from the full force of divine power (Robins 2005), within the confines of purified spaces and bodies, the precise points of transition were points of vulnerability and thus needed to be obscured.

The king clearly had a unique relationship with the divine, unparalleled by any other figure in ancient Egyptian society. As texts from the aftermath of the Amarna Period indicate, if the king turned away from the gods, no one had access (Murnane 1995:213). Some believe the king was considered to be a god himself, at least during certain time periods.[2] For example, the divinity of Amenhotep III and Ramesses II, particularly based on cults associated with their colossal statues, has long been widely accepted (eg. Habachi 1969). More recently, Melinda Hartwig suggested that Thutmose IV may have been deified, based primarily on a scene in the tomb of Tjenuna (TT 76) in which the king censes his own statue (2008). During all of ancient Egyptian history, the king was viewed as the living manifestation of Horus, son of Osiris. In the Fourth Dynasty, he added the designation "son of the sun god Re". According to Eighteenth Dynasty accounts of the royal birth, kings were destined to be king from the day of their conception, when the god Amun-Re, progenitor of the royal *k3*-sprit, inhabited their fathers' bodies and impregnated their mothers. Although the king was usually the eldest living son of the previous king, the inheritance of the royal *k3*-spirit from one's royal ancestors and divine fathers was what made one a legitimate king (L. Bell 1985:256–259).

The king was also clearly a human being. Yet each royal human attribute is shared by at least some of the gods. Although the fact that the king's

eventual death was inevitable makes him seem human on one level, it does not in fact distinguish him from the gods, particularly their cosmic manifestations. The death of the sun god Re each evening was also inevitable. The sun god Re was reborn each morning, and the royal *k3*-spirit was reborn into a different human vessel with each generation. Thus, a kind of immortality was attained through repeated rebirths (L. Bell 1997:138–140). The king was dependent on the gods for his legitimacy. But the sun god was also dependent upon divine help. He needed the body of his wife/mother, the sky goddess Nut, to be reborn each morning, and the god Seth at the prow of his barque to defend him from the serpent Apep. Texts in different genres from the same time periods give different impressions of the status of the king and the gods (Silverman's analysis 1995:52–58 was crucial to the following summary). The king's human fallibility is most prominent in literary texts, which had much more relaxed standards of decorum then material from temple and mortuary contexts.

Two of the most commonly cited texts in showing the humanity of the king are the Westcar Papyrus and the *Instruction of King Amenemhet I to Senwosret I*. In the Westcar Papyrus, King Khufu was portrayed as ignorant and thoughtlessly brutal when he suggested that the magician, Djedi, perform his trick of reattaching a severed head on a prisoner. Djedi shows more wisdom than the king when he replies:

> But not to a human being, O king, my lord! Surely it is not permitted to do such a thing to the noble cattle! (Lichtheim 1975:219)

King Amenemhet I displayed different weaknesses when he gave an account of his own assassination at the hands of a harem conspiracy to his son and successor, Senwosret I:

> For I had not prepared for it, had not expected it, had not foreseen the failing of the servants.
> Had women ever marshaled troops?
> Are rebels nurtured in the palace? (Lichtheim 1975:137)

The fundamental humanity of the king is apparent in these texts.

Yet deities were depicted with similar weaknesses in literary texts. The goddess Sakhmet showed much less respect for human life than King Khufu when she went into a murderous rage and killed large swaths of humanity in the *Destruction of Mankind* (Lichtheim 1976:197–199). In *The Tale of Isis and Re* (Borghouts 1978:51–55), Isis tricked the elderly, drooling sun god into revealing his true name, securing the kingship for her son, Horus, and providing a mythical model for harem conspiracies, like the one that killed Amenemhet I. Even the famous pornographic graffiti of the female king, Hatshepsut (Silverman 1995:57; Manniche 1977:21–22, Fig. 4), can be paralleled with Seth's violation of Horus in *Horus and Seth* (Lichtheim

1976:214–223). The imperfection of both the king and the gods in literary texts appears to hold relatively constant from at least the Middle Kingdom onward and likely had a longer history.

Descriptions of such 'human' frailties rarely make it into temple contexts, for either the king or the gods. Moreover, when they do, they are generally linked with an extraordinary triumph. For example, Ramesses II was misled by false reports, leading his troops into an ambush at Kadesh, but ultimately was vindicated by his superhuman military performance (Silverman 1995:50–52). Osiris lies dead on his bier but is revivified enough by his wife Isis to beget his son and heir, Horus. Even here, Horus is invariably depicted in the scene already full grown. Thus, all the uncertainties of the collecting of Osiris' members and Horus' childhood in the marshes of Chemis were eliminated (chapters 5 and 6). In temple relief, the king alone among humanity is depicted on the same scale as the gods. However, within the temple the king often kneels before the gods, a posture indicative of lower status (on standing vs. kneeling, see chapter 7). On the exterior walls of temples, by far the most common arrangement is for the king to stand face to face with deities. Thus, it seems like outside of the temple the population was encouraged to see the king as equal to the gods. The tales of divine weakness in the literary realm served to equalize the status of the human king and the gods.

What makes the king seem human to many modern minds does not necessarily make him less divine in the context of ancient Egyptian thought. The ancient Egyptians did not believe that their gods were all seeing or all knowing. Nor did the king lack superhuman qualities associated with gods. In the Hymns to Senwosret III, the king was lauded with terms very similar to those used in hymns to deities (Lichtheim 1975:198–201). In later times, colossal stone statues of the king became a focal point of popular worship (Habachi 1969:40–52). Yet here, too, the division between divinity and humanity was sometimes not clear. A few nonroyal individuals, including Imhotep, Hekaib, and Amenhotep, Son of Hapu, were the recipients of significant cultic activity beyond their mortuary cult (Wildung 1977:31–112; Habachi 1985). During the Old and Middle Kingdoms, people wrote prayer-like letters for deceased relatives to intercede on their behalf (Gardiner and Sethe 1928). Humans, royalty, and divinities were all beings who had both physical and spiritual components and the potential for greatness. The differences were vague, a question of degree and distribution of qualities, not kind.

The economic manifestation of the relationship between the king and the gods changed much more drastically over time, as an ever-smaller percentage of energy was invested in royal cult relative to investment in divine temples. Up until the New Kingdom, the vast majority of resources for temple building were directed towards royal mortuary establishments. The king donated stone architectural elements to divine temples, sometimes even whole chapels in the Middle Kingdom. However, divine temples, on the whole, were built of mud brick while royal memorials were made primarily

of stone. In their memorials, kings were depicted receiving offerings from long lines of offering bearers. They were also depicted among the gods—a royal prerogative. With very few exceptions, decorum forbade regular members of the elite to portray deities or the king on their monuments until the New Kingdom (Baines 2006b:21).[3]

Over the course of the Old and Middle Kingdoms, royal memorials generally became smaller and more cheaply built while temple donations tended to become more substantial. This trend continued in the New Kingdom, when major divine temples were built of stone. The stone-built royal memorial temples on the west bank at Thebes were within the estate of the main regional divine temple, devoted to Amun (Haring 1997:30–34). By the Third Intermediate Period, the royal tombs were located within the enclosure walls of Amun-Re's divine temple precinct at Tanis, without independent status (Brissaud 1987:figs. 21–22; Montet 1952:fig. 1, 106–122, and 1942:107–176). Thus, over time, the king's status appears to have become more and more dependent on the gods. This shift both resulted from and contributed to the increase in the power of the priesthood over time.

PRIESTHOOD

Priests could interact with the divine on a level forbidden to the general populace. They were the servants in divine houses on earth and cared for the divine images they protected. Priests were the only ones who could look upon the divine images. Their purified, physical bodies could do this. However, the spiritual reality was depicted on temple walls over and over again. The king alone stood directly before the gods. Thus, priests may have served as vessels for the king, as his living images (*twt ʿnḫ*, chapter 3). All priests served at the pleasure of the king. However, during most time periods, priestly titles were passed on in families, generation after generation. Priestly titles could also be honorary, allowing high-ranking officials to partake of temple offerings without contributing labor.

Up until the New Kingdom, the priesthood was not a full-time job. There was a rotating system of teams of priests, called phyles, serving for a month at a time. This allowed the king to give these patronage positions to a much larger group of men than he could otherwise. It also prevented those elites from using the temple as a power base to usurp royal power (Roth 1991:213). In the New Kingdom, the number of positions organized by phyle was drastically reduced, incorporating only lower-ranking *wʿb*-priests (Haring 1997:5). With the increase in the number of people working full time in major divine temples and similar changes in the military, these institutions could grow into power bases, giving groups of elites more potential to challenge the power of the king. This dual elite power base is manifest in the decorative programs of painted Theban tombs belonging to high officials in the reigns of Thutmose IV and Amenhotep III. Officials with

titles related to the priesthood had tombs decorated in the style of the stone-built temple at Karnak while those with military titles had tombs decorated in the style of the mud brick palace of Amenhotep III at Malqata (Hartwig 2004:30–35). This division in the use of architectural materials, stone for temples and tombs and mud brick for domestic architecture, led Assmann to posit two ancient Egyptian subcultures in *Stein und Zeit* (1991b: esp. 16–31).

Some have suggested that the religious revolution of Amenhotep III's son, Akhenaten, was a response to the growing power of the high priests of Amun. Whatever the source of this revolution, the result appears to have been greater power for the military, in the persons of Haremhab, last king of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and Ramesses I, founder of the Nineteenth Dynasty. Some two hundred years later, at the end of the New Kingdom, the high priest of Amun took control of southern Egypt. He and his successors depicted themselves on the walls of temples using royal iconography. When Egypt reunified during the Late Period, the king resumed his position as sole intermediary between humanity and the divine. This state of affairs continued during periods of foreign rule, such as the Ptolemaic Period, when Egypt was ruled by Greek-speaking kings. The relationship between 'church' and 'state' was presented as smooth and amicable in official announcements. However, outside of idealized renditions of the relationship, tensions are apparent among the Egyptian priests who considered Greek rule of Egypt to be illegitimate (eg. Huss 1992). The ideal was always to have an Egyptian king in the traditional position.

DECORUM

The king was an intermediary between Egypt and the world of the divine. The ways in which other people could express their relationships to the divine changed significantly over ancient Egyptian history. From the beginning of the kingship, there were symbols of royal power which even the most powerful members of the elite could not depict in their tombs. These included representations of deities, the king, and royal regalia. When texts associating the deceased with Osiris after death first appeared, they were also initially restricted to the king. Meanwhile, divinities were worshipped in accessible, mud brick temples. The degree of regional variation during this period is still the subject of some debate, with some arguing that these early, 'preformal' temples show significant regional variation (Kemp 2006:112–135) and others viewing those structures cited by Kemp as secondary to the main temples, which would be beneath later structures (O'Connor 1992). By the beginning of the Middle Kingdom, national standardization was replacing ". . . individual designs of the sanctuaries with distinctive forms" (Bußmann 2010: LXXXIX).

Towards the end of the Old Kingdom, some rules of decorum began to break down. Members of the elite could include depictions of royal regalia, like crowns, in object friezes, and texts in which they were associated with Osiris on their coffins (Willems 1988). The onset of this relaxation of decorum coincided with a series of social changes which were probably interrelated—the rise of the nomarchs, provincial elites who built decorated tombs in their hometowns rather than around the tomb of the king they served; the formation of a 'middle class'; and the decline of royal power, as reflected in the size and quality of royal mortuary establishments, which virtually disappeared during the First Intermediate Period and reappeared with the Middle Kingdom, but never on the immense scale of the Fourth Dynasty pyramids at Giza.

Related relaxations in decorum continued slowly throughout the Middle Kingdom. Analysis of the placement of tombs in provincial cemeteries indicates that ". . . the highest-ranking local official stood as an intermediary between the king and the local population" (Doxey 2009:11). Under Senwosret III the building of provincial tombs appears to have come to an abrupt end. This has been attributed to a governmental reorganization, which took power away from the nomarchal families who had risen to prominence in the late Old Kingdom and continued to be influential through the First Intermediate Period and into Middle Kingdom (with some fluctuations as some centers dropped in prominence and others rose). If this is correct, these reforms brought an end to the role of the nomarchs as intermediaries and the building of provincial tombs altogether. However, the evidence is unclear and subject to different interpretations (Richards 2005:6–7). Meanwhile, more and more temples were being rebuilt by the king, whose donations were becoming more substantial (eg. Habachi 1963 and Lacau and Chevrier 1956–1969).

There appears to be a contemporaneous increase in votive activity in the environs of temples. Some of the most extensive remains are at Abydos. From the beginning of the Middle Kingdom, family chapels were built immediately to the west of Osiris' temple, at the start of the processional route leading to the god's tomb. People placed statues, offering slabs, and stelae in these chapels so they could participate in Osiris' annual Khoiak Festival and other festivals of Osiris (O'Connor 1985 and Simpson 1974, 1995). Whether people previously excluded from access to deities were now allowed to set up votives outside the temple proper (Richards 2005:38) or local followers of deities were driven away from their gods as preformal temples reflecting local traditions were replaced by formal temples endowed by the crown and reflecting new, national traditions (Kemp 2006:112–135) is a matter of debate.

In the early Eighteenth Dynasty, decorum relaxed significantly again (Baines 1990:21). Members of the elite could depict themselves before their king and worshipping Osiris on the walls of their tombs (Hartwig

2004:54–73 and 112–117). Votive offerings start appearing in temple contexts in quantities not seen since the Old Kingdom (eg. Pinch 1993). Moreover, ordinary members of the elite were even depicted directly before gods of rule like Ptah and Amun-Re on stelae (eg. Petrie 1909:8, pls. 14–17). Under Amenhotep III worship of the royal *kꜣ*-spirit reached a new height. This king built the main part of Luxor Temple, devoted to the union between the royal *kꜣ*-spirit and Amun-Re (L. Bell 1984). Regular people could approach the royal *kꜣ*-spirit through colossal statues of the king in front of his memorial temple.

Amenhotep III's son, Akhenaten, made revolutionary, but ultimately short-lived, religious changes placing the king and his family as the sole intermediaries between humanity and the Aten, the solar disk and the only god recognized by the state, in temples and the tombs of high officials at Amarna. However, excavations in domestic areas at Amarna indicate that people continued practices of private devotion. Akhenaten's son, Tutankhamun, reopened the temples and brought Egypt back to the old religion. At this point, personal piety, the expression of an individual's personal relationship with a deity,[4] became much more prominent in texts. Some have suggested that it was a response to the Amarna Revolution. Assmann believes the change began earlier, in the Eighteenth Dynasty, and ties it to a new conception of the divine ". . . marked by the replacement of *Maat* (=the will of the community) by the will of god, entailing the replacement of 'wisdom' by 'piety' " (Assmann 1989:69, 72). According to Baines and Frood, personal piety was "intrinsic to Egyptian religion" from the earliest times (Baines and Frood 2011:5). They attribute the changes of the Ramesside period to ". . . a newly introduced style of display" (2011:17), rather than an underlying change in the understanding of the relationship between humanity and the divine. For example, in the Ramesside Period, the decoration in private tombs came to be dominated by scenes from the *Book of the Dead*, replacing the 'so-called' scenes of 'daily-life' which had been primary in the decorative programs in elite tombs since the Old Kingdom (Baines and Frood 2011:7–8, esp. n. 34–35). However, mortuary texts exploring the 'new' themes had already been in use among the elite since as early as the end of the Old Kingdom (Willems 1988), and oral or performative versions may have been accessible even earlier. Thus, the rites depicted on the walls were not new, just that particular mode of expression was new.

Similar changes occurred in the environs of temples, as outside divine temples, regular people could approach the god through colossal statues of the king in front of the temple, barque stations along processional routes (Murnane 1985), and specially built contra temples and shrines behind the rear enclosure wall, in line with the sanctuary within (Brand 2007:60–61). These official avenues of worship may have been replacing more accessible community-based shrines built of mud brick (Kemp 2006:112–135). Still, most of the ancient Egyptian population was excluded from the temples. Temple ritual legitimized the system of redistribution of resources which

impoverished the vast majority of Egyptians and left power in the hands of a few wealthy families. Although what percentage of this wealth was controlled by the temples is not known, the limited economic data that survives suggests that it was significant, even during periods of foreign rule (eg. Manning 2005). The justification for the concentration of resources through temple domains was that it propitiated the gods and maintained cosmic order, with Egypt as the center of the cosmos and the model of *Maat*. Thus, the view of the temple as a model of cosmos was essential to supporting the economic role of temples.

MODELS OF COSMOS

On a symbolic level, all temples served as models of the inundated and emergent cosmos, the primeval mound, and the world at night (eg. Hornung 1992:115–129 and Baines 1976:10). Thus, as one moves from the inside of the temple outward, the world is (re-)born, rising from the primordial waters of Nun; reappearing from the annual inundation; and emerging from darkness as the sun rises. The innermost parts of temples evoked Nun, the watery chaos of precreation, both through their darkness and the use of aquatic motifs in the architectural and decorative programs. The ceilings in these areas are often decorated with starry sky motifs, associating the area with night. The sanctuary was the highest point within the temple and represented the mound of creation. Transverse halls, columned halls, and other transitional rooms were covered yet admitted more light than the innermost rooms. When columned, their capitols often take the form of aquatic plants such as papyrus and thereby continue the theme of the watery landscape from the interior, but one with more mature vegetation emerging. Courts were open to the sky and the sun but were usually still surrounded by shaded porticos. Thus, courts represent the land emerging from the inundation, the created world and dawn.

Temples as a whole were the architectural equivalent of the *Akhet* or "light land." The root *ꜣḫ* had many associations—with radiance (*ꜣḫ*, Jansen-Winkeln 1996:201–215) and 'effectiveness' in various realms, including the magical (*ꜣḫw*, Ritner 1993:30–35 contra Borghouts 1987:29–46). Often translated as "horizon", the *Akhet* was not just the line where the sky meets earth or water. It was the space through which the sun traveled from the first appearance of its light at daybreak until its disk could be seen over the cliffs in the east; and from the point when its disk dropped below the cliffs in the west to when the sky was lit only by the stars and the moon. The pylons, erected in front of temples beginning in the Middle Kingdom, represented the desert cliffs behind which the sun rises and sets. Thus, temples were designed to be places where the human and divine realms could mingle. They were also associated with the cosmos at its most critical moments—birth and death.

Most surviving records of ritual prior to the New Kingdom come from royal memorial temple contexts. By the New Kingdom, the rituals inscribed on the walls of memorial temples and those inscribed on the walls of divine temples have strong parallels (see Appendix). If there were significant differences in performance, these differences are lost to us now. Thus, throughout this book, no general distinctions are made between the performance of ritual in memorial and divine temples. In the New Kingdom, the primary difference between these two types of establishment was the scope of building. Divine temples were added onto and rebuilt dynasty after dynasty, whereas memorial temples were meant to be completed in a single reign, or by a king's immediate successors (Eaton 2007a:234).

The gods were ultimately royal ancestors, appearing before the first human kings on king lists. Some ancient rites from the *Pyramid Texts* were adapted for use in later temple contexts (chapter 6). The parallels between records of ancient Egyptian temple rituals, like the Daily Ritual and records of ancient Egyptian mortuary rituals recovered, are clear and abundant (eg. chapters 4 and 6). However, mortuary rituals in ancient Egypt were not meant to mark death. To the contrary, they were meant to obscure it as much as possible. For example, the collection of rites commonly called *The Book of the Dead* was actually called *The Book of Coming Forth by Day* by the ancient Egyptians. Mortuary ritual was designed to transform the absolute end of life into just another transition, like birth or recovery from illness. For this reason, mortuary rites drew upon the rites of the living, human and divine—their toilets, meals, initiations, and even snakebite remedies. There was constant communication and interchange between these realms. Nonetheless, only mortuary rites with clear connections to temple (as opposed to tomb) contexts are read as temple rituals.

Ritual scenes were dominant in the temple as a model of the cosmos. They filled the middle and upper parts of the walls, with starry skies above and *soubassement* decoration, often featuring marsh motifs, below. The ritual objects manipulated within also represented elements of the cosmos (chapter 5). The sun was represented by broad collars in the Daily Ritual and processional barques during festivals. The moon, represented by the Eye of Horus, was associated with incense, ointments, perfumes, and countless other offerings. The annual Nile inundation was associated with offering wine, milk, and the pouring of libations. For the ancient Egyptians, ritual was an essential tool used to manage the natural cycles upon which they depended.

The dominance of renditions of ritual in the temple underscores the importance and perceived efficacy of ritual in maintaining the natural cycles which ancient Egyptian life depended on. Egyptologists often attempt to read ritual texts depicted on temple walls as ritual instructions, particularly in the monuments of Sety I, which often include extensive ritual texts (eg. his temple at Abydos, and the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, see chapter 2). However, the amount of text included was largely a function of

artistic style. In the Eighteenth Dynasty, during the reign of Sety I and during the Ptolemaic Period, the size of hieroglyphs in relation to scenes was small, and thus long texts could easily be included. During the reign of Ramesses II, hieroglyphs were much larger in proportion to the scene—a trend which continued through the end of the New Kingdom.

In some contexts, scenes and texts do appear to replicate the ritual. However, not for the purposes of instruction, as the texts are not legible in the low-light conditions of temple sanctuaries. Redundancy in ritual is generally a good thing. Thus, these scenes might have been repeated for the sake of repetition, providing a back-up in case of mistakes. These scenes also allowed depictions of manifestations of deities which may not have been embodied in the cult statue(s), such as ram-headed, human-headed, and ithyphallic forms of Amun-Re. The sacredness of such depictions is underscored by the veiling of select two-dimensional images, although this usually occurred on exterior walls and gateways (Brand 2007:61–62). Moreover, more subtle nuances of the divine may have been manifest in various details, such as the dress and regalia of both the god and the king who served him. For example, on the king, the blue crown was associated with military undertakings, whereas an elaborate *atef* like crown was associated with the royal *kꜣ*-spirit (L. Bell 1985:268).

These depictions of ritual also allowed the presentation of a spiritual ideal which could not be manifest bodily, namely, that the king performs every rite in every temple throughout Egypt. In reality, the vast majority of ritual performances were conducted by the bodies of priests, perhaps acting as living images of the king (chapter 3). The king's role as sole intermediary between earth and the divine realm in temple decorative programs was an expression of royal power and a statement of royal legitimacy which remained constant even in periods when personal piety was strong, foreigners dominated, and central control was weak. For example, in the hearing chapel to the east of the Girdle Wall in Karnak Temple, the king alone is depicted before the deities, even though the function of this structure was to give regular people a place in which to show their devotion. All the exceptions, like the high priests of Amun during the Third Intermediate Period, present themselves as royalty. The simplicity of the ritual structure depicted in these scenes on temple walls contrasts with complexity revealed by material remains, administrative documents, and even textual representations of ritual.

2 Complexity in Ritual

On Egyptian temple walls, ritual is depicted as impossibly neat and orderly. Of course, ritual is supposed to be neat and orderly.

> What is essential in the ceremony is the precise and faultless execution in accordance with rules, of numerous rites and recitations. (Staal 1975:19)

However, this is the *ideal*. Archaeology reveals how quickly and severely this order deteriorated in some ancient Egyptian ritual contexts, with old monuments meant to stand for 'millions of years' being employed as quarries for stone for new works. Even when cult continued, and buildings were not dismantled, endowments were whittled away and things fell into disrepair. Although priests continued to perform cult for King Menkaure (r. c. 2447–2442 B.C.E.) in his valley temple over two hundred years after his death, they moved their dwellings into the temple courtyard, encroaching on sacred space (Reisner 1931:49–53, plan 8). The Small Temple of Ramesses II south of Ptah's cult precinct at Memphis (RA 195506; Jeffreys 1985:72–73, figs. 30–36) became locus of craft production, probably with the decline of the New Kingdom, even as the sanctuary remained the focus of private devotion (Area A; Anthes, *et al.*, 1959:8–14 and 69–71).

As establishments like these declined, priests must have made compromises in many aspects of the performance of cult as well. The priests at Menkaure's valley temple funded their activities by crafting and selling miniature vessels for burial equipment, smashing statues and other ritual equipment to obtain the required stone (Reisner 1931:45). Less dramatic approaches, like burning less valuable imported incense and making fewer libations with expensive liquids like wine and milk, were almost certainly practiced throughout Egypt in times of economic decline. The loss of proper temple services is lamented in the *Admonitions of Ipuwer*, who calls on is readers to:

> Remember . . . , fumigating with incense, libating from a jar at dawn.
> Remember <bringing> fat *ro*-geese, *terep*-geese, and making divine offerings to the gods.

> Remember chewing natron, preparing white bread, [as done] by a man of the day of . . .
> Remember the erecting of flagstaffs, the carving of offering stones; the priest cleansing the chapels, the temple whitewashed like milk; sweetening the fragrance of the sanctuary, setting up the bread-offerings.
> Remember the observing of rules, the adjusting of dates, removing one who enters the priestly service unclean; for to do this is wrong, . . . (Lichtheim 1975:159)

When scholars try to explain away complexities of ritual which the ancient Egyptians did not even try to conceal in their representations, they are magnifying the ancient propaganda. Even during times of prosperity, when ritualists could strive to replicate the ideal, ritual was less neat and orderly than the depictions on temple walls and ritual papyri would suggest, not more.

One of the most serious oversimplifications has been in traditional Egyptological readings of the Daily Ritual and the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors. The Daily Ritual cycle was essentially the god's 'toilet'. After conducting the proper rituals to enter the chapel, the priests would clean, purify, and dress the image of the god as if the priest was a servant and the statue was the lord of the house. Broadly speaking, the purpose of the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors was to provide deities with meals. The offerings were then passed on to ancestors in the first reversion of offerings and temple personnel in the second reversion of offerings. However, the situation was not actually this straightforward. Royal ancestors were sometimes depicted as the recipients of initial offerings and deities as the 'ancestors' receiving the reversion of offerings. Royal memorial temples often have the same texts inscribed on the walls as divine temples (chapter 1 and Appendix).

Egyptologists tend to read representations of these ritual cycles in a linear fashion—i.e. as a sequential series of events. This chapter argues that such linear models cannot explain the organization of most representations of ancient Egyptian ritual, even within relatively idealized representations of the Daily Ritual and the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors as presented on papyrus—a medium which requires a linear arrangement of elements. These ritual cycles usually addressed multiple divine recipients and often called on groups of ritualists who may have performed actions concurrently. Moreover, many studies of specific ritual episodes associated with these cycles, such as offering wine and *Maat*, indicate that the arrangement of ritual scenes rarely follows a fixed pattern (eg. Poo 1995; Teeter 1997). Thus, nonlinear models, like those favored by ritual theorists, should be explored in the reading of these cycles.

UNITS OF RITUAL ANALYSIS

Two types of ritual unit will be referenced throughout this study, 'cycles' and 'episodes'. A ritual cycle is a group of ritual episodes read together as a

unit. Groups of episodes appearing on a single papyrus are generally considered to be a 'cycle'. However, the delineation of cycles in three-dimensional space is frequently the subject of more debate. A ritual 'episode' is a single unit set apart by ancient Egyptian writers and artists. On papyri, they are marked by the use of red text, called 'rubrics'. As a general rule, each episode begins with a title written in red, followed by an utterance written in black.[1] Some episodes end with explanatory comments written in red. Ritual episodes depicted on temple walls are usually arranged in registers, set apart by ground lines. Within each register, vertical lines, often with columns of text between, separate episodes. The focal point of each unit is almost always an image of a deity facing an image of the king (for example, in the Horus Cycle, Figs. 5.1–5.6). A selection of offerings or cultic equipment is often depicted between them.

Titles to scenes on temple walls are usually inscribed vertically between the king and the deity. Utterances, when they appear, are almost always inscribed in columns above the king.[2] Titles often begin with the words "Utterance for" (*r n*). The beginning of the utterance itself is usually marked by the phrase "Words to be spoken" (*ḏd mdw*). Some scenes have more than one title. For example, there might be one title preceding an utterance inscribed above the king and another title inscribed between the king and the deity. These cases indicate that the action in the scene can be captioned in more than one way, or that different things were going on at the same time (see the following). Utterances inscribed on temple walls are often parallel to utterances found in papyrus versions of rituals (eg. Moret 1902 and Nelson 1949a, Appendix). Divine responses are often inscribed above or behind the divine image but do not appear on most papyrus copies of rites.

INCONSISTENT ORDERING OF EPISODES

The toilet and meal cycles depicted in contexts most strongly linked to the performance of the rites on divine statues, namely papyrus copies of rites and cycles inscribed on the walls of sanctuaries, display marked parallelism in both the utterances associated with individual episodes and the overall pattern of the progression of episodes. However, the precise selection and arrangement of episodes varies, suggesting lack of standardization in ritual performance. For example, the Daily Ritual, as depicted in the Daily Ritual barque chapels in Temple of Sety I at Abydos (Dyn. 19), has been reconstructed in different ways by over half a dozen scholars (Table 2.1). Similar debate surrounds the reading of the Opening of the Mouth Ritual, which shares many features with the Daily Ritual (eg. Altenmüller 2009:13–15). In three-dimensional spaces, the diagonal relationships between scenes were often significant (Lurson 2007: 41, 183). The very fact that over the past one hundred years a satisfactory reconstruction of such ritual cycles based on the principle of linear ordering (step-by-step instructions) has eluded

Table 2.1 Proposed numberings of the Daily Ritual scenes in the Temple of Sety I at Abydos.

At least eight suggestions have been made concerning the order in which the Daily Ritual scenes at Abydos should be read. David's numbering scheme is used throughout this book. Osing's scheme is the one which follows the ordering in pAmun most closely. Mariette's ordering was the standard reading for a very long time and was used in many important publications, including Moret's publication of pAmun. For diagrams of the Daily Ritual chapels at Abydos featuring David's numbering scheme, see Figure A.1.

David 1981: 57–84	Mariette 1869: 34–76	Osing 1999: 318–320	Altenmüller 1969: 16–25	Barta 1966: 116–12	Roeder 1960: 72–141	Alliot 1949–1954: 76	Blackman 1918–1919: 26–53
1	1	1	1	32	1	1	28
2	21	2	3	1	3	29	1
3	2	3	2	33	2	2	29
4	22	4	4	2	4	30	2
5	3	8	11	34	8	3	30
6	23	5	5	3	5	31	3
7	4	9	12	35	9	4	31
8	24	6	6	4	6	32	4
9	5	10	13	36	10	5	32
10	25	7	7	5	7	33	5
11	6	13	14	17	14	6	33
12	26	n/a	9	6	11	34	6
13	7	14	17	18	15	7	34
14	8	15	15	19	16	8	35
15	9	16	16	20	17	9	36
16	27	11	8	7	12	35	7
17	19	19	27	22	20	11	18
18	35	29	19	10	31	21	15
19	18	20	28	23	21	12	19
20	34	30	20	11	32	22	14
21	17	21	29	24	22	13	20
22	33	31	22	12	33	23	13
23	16	22	30	25	23	14	22
24	32	32	23	13	34	24	12
25	15	23	31	26	24	15	23
26	31	n/a	25	14	30	25	11
27	14	24	34	27	25	16	24
28	13	25	32	28	26	17	25
29	12	26	33	29	27	18	26
30	30	28	24	15	29	26	10

Table 2.1 (continued)

David 1981: 57–84	Mariette 1869: 34–76	Osing 1999: 318–320	Alten-müller 1969: 16–25	Barta 1966: 116–12	Roeder 1960: 72–141	Alliot 1949–1954: 76	Blackman 1918–1919: 26–53
31	10	17	26	21	18	10	17
32	28	12	10	8	13	36	8
33	11	27	35	30	28	19	21
34	29	18	18	16	19	27	9
35	20	33	36	31	36	28	27
36	36	34	20	9	35	20	16

scholars indicates that a reexamination of the premise of linear ordering itself should be undertaken.

Among the various reconstructions of the Abydos Daily Ritual, three stand out as particularly important and worthy of further comment, namely those of Mariette, Osing, and David. In the first publication of the Abydos ritual texts, Mariette posited a double entry scheme. First the lower register was read, progressing counter-clockwise around the room. Then the second register was read in the same manner (Mariette 1869:34–76). Mariette's ordering became the standard, being followed by Moret in his publication of pAmun and material with significant parallels (Moret 1902:31). Minor variations in this double entry scheme were offered by Blackman, based on comparisons with the Opening of the Mouth and the Rite of the House of the Morning (1918–1919:26–53) and Alliot, based on comparison with the Edfu Temple version (1949–1954:76). In 1960, Roeder suggested reading the entry and exit scenes as units, among other adjustments. Most subsequent reconstructions have discarded double entry schemes.

Osing reconstructed what the order of the scenes and texts of the Sety Temple ritual cycle would be if they were performed according to the ordering of texts recorded on pBerlin 3053 and 3055, omitting the barque scenes. However, this results in no logical progression based on the layout of the scenes in relief. For example, on the north wall, the scenes in both registers on the east half of the wall are read first whereas on the south wall, all the scenes in the lower register are read as a progression, followed (not directly) by those in the upper register (Osing 1999:318–320). David attempted to reconstruct the order of the Daily Ritual at Abydos while making a "logical and symmetrical" scheme in the Temple of Sety I at Abydos her first priority. For this reason, despite the objections raised in the following, hereafter, the Daily Ritual episodes from the Temple of Sety I at Abydos will be referred to as "Abydos nn.", following David's order (Hussy 2007 also used David's numbering). Material from pAmun and pMut will be referred to as "pAmun nn." and "pMut nn." using Moret's numbering (1902).

David's reconstruction is, as she contended, ". . . both logical and symmetrical; there are no complicated progressions, and no episode is displaced within the order . . ." (David 1981:59). She starts to the north of the entrance and reads the scene in the lower register, followed by the scene in the register immediately above it, progressing around the room and following the same practice for each set of panels—i.e. lower register followed by upper register (Figure A.1). However, only one of the five largely complete Daily Ritual cycles at Abydos *exactly* fits into the "logical and symmetrical order" set out by David—that of Isis. (The remains of Ptah's cycle are also consistent; however, twelve episodes are missing.) Differences in order between these parallel chapels are inevitable no matter what numbering scheme one chooses. Amun-Re and Osiris, in particular, had special ritual requirements which meant that they had less space for scenes. Osiris is always depicted with other deities. Thus, six scenes had to be omitted from the side walls of his chapel for space reasons. In addition, on his west wall there was an actual door leading into his complex, rather than a false door. The door is flanked by the titulary of Sety I, requiring the omission of four additional scenes. In Amun-Re's chapel, the god's barque was followed by the barques of his consort, Mut, and son, Khonsu. This entailed the deletion of two scenes. In both chapels, scenes were not merely deleted, but also shifted (eg. Episodes 8 and 10 were reversed in Osiris' chapel).

Ordering differences are also inevitable in reading the Daily Ritual cycles depicted in the sanctuaries of the Ptolemaic temples of Horus at Edfu and Hathor at Dendera, hereafter referred to as Edfu nn. and Dendera nn. using David's numbering scheme. In fact, here there is even disagreement concerning which scenes in the chapel to include (compare Hussy 2007:pls. 16 and 18 and David 1981, Table A.2 and Figures A.2–3). In these chapels, David reads the lowest register first, from the door inward, alternating between the west and east walls. She then reads the second and third registers together, going from west to east in the same fashion (David 1981:75). The two cycles have very strong parallels. Nonetheless subtle differences exist. For example, in the cloth sequences (Table A.2), neither the white cloth nor the red cloth was named at Dendera. One episode does not specify the color of the cloth, and the other was not included, perhaps to make room for the offering of the counterpoise. At Edfu, the white cloth is named twice, and the green cloth is omitted, which some consider a mistake. These could all be mistakes. However, it seems more likely that modern scholars simply don't fully understand the criteria that the designers of the decorative programs were using. Another important difference between the cloth offering sequences in these two cycles is the verbs used to describe the action in the titles—"arraying" (*ḏb3*) at Edfu and "offering" (*ḥnk*) at Dendera. This was true in parallel rites at Abydos as well and may reflect the variety of ritual actions involved in carrying out a ritual episode (chapters 7–8).

The order of scenes in cycles devoted to the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors from temple contexts has been less studied than the Daily Ritual. However,

even more erratic results occur when scholars try to read episodes inscribed on temple walls (scenes and texts) in the order presented on papyrus (texts only). Two studies of three cycles depicted on temple walls yield only one case in which there is a clear correspondence between the order of the ritual as presented on papyrus and the order as presented on the temple walls. Nelson examined two temple versions of the meal inscribed on temple walls (scenes and text). The order of episodes in the very abbreviated cycle at Medinet Habu corresponds with the order in the papyrus versions (although, note the entry scenes are not in the same order as parallel versions associated with the Daily Ritual, Table A.3). The reliefs in the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak do not follow the order found on papyrus. For example, the utterance for making the torch of every day (Meal 38 = K 9) is in the second register of Section 1 whereas that for extinguishing (Meal 39 = K10) is in the fifth register of the second section (Nelson 1949 a:203).

In her study of the Temple of Sety I at Abydos, David suggested that the reversion of offerings progressed from the chapel of Sety I to the complex of Nefertem-Ptah-Sokar and the Gallery of the Lists. Yet each room had a different ordering scheme (David 1981:83–111, esp. 87; Figures 6.2–3). Moreover, some episodes were repeated in several different spaces. For example, the elevation of offerings (*ỉ3 ḫt*), was depicted frequently (chapter 8). The utterance associated with the elevation of offerings (Meal 44) appears at least four times in the Sety Temple, once each in the Ptah-Sokar Chapel and the Hall of Nefertem-Ptah-Sokar, and twice in the Gallery of Lists (David 1981:100–103). This suggests that the organization of the meal cycles in these rooms should be understood as parallel rather than sequential. The Ritual of the Royal Ancestors also lacks a standard order in comparable episodes from a single papyrus source (pBM 10689)—one set to be performed every day and the other to be performed on New Year's Day. The everyday morning rites (Meal 45–47) appear after the lighting of the torch (Meal Episode 38) whereas the New Year's Day morning rite (Meal 51) appears before the New Year's Day lighting of the torch (Meal 52–54). Thus, the torch might have been lit before or after the morning rites were completed (see Table A.3).

Lack of standardized order among ritual scenes is even more apparent in studies comparing a single type of ritual episode across different contexts, where order of any kind is often difficult to discern. For example, in her study of scenes of offering *Maat* and the royal name, Teeter observed the following:

> Neither ritual occurs in a predictable pattern with other scenes, suggesting that they are an iconographic expression of the king's piety rather than an act which formed part of a set ritual. (1997:43)

Since *Maat* and the royal name were symbolic offerings, doubt concerning whether or not they were actually presented is reasonable. Similarly, while

wine offering scenes often form patterns with other offering scenes, including *Maat,* these patterns vary too much to be predictable (eg. Poo 1995:45–47, 56; and Osing 1977:65–69). Thus, inconsistency in the ordering of ritual scenes should not be taken as evidence that the rituals depicted were not actually performed.

Since wine was a concrete physical offering, there is direct evidence for the physical presence of wine in Egyptian temple complexes, including records of the quantities required on certain occasions in festival calendars and the recovery of tags from temple contexts (Poo 1995:11). For example, Ramesses II's Theban memorial temple (the Ramesseum) received wine from as many as thirty-seven different vineyards (Kitchen 1992:120–121; see also Murray 2000). The assertion that wine was actually offered in temple ritual is also supported by the presence of extended utterances in temple liturgies recorded on papyrus (Meal 12). However, this point is also true of the ritual of offering *Maat*, which is Episode 42 on pAmun. According to Teeter:

> . . . the inclusion of the ritual (offering *Maat*) in the Berlin Service Book, and its omission from the related reliefs in the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, warns against assuming that the rite was not a part of a particular ritual because it is not portrayed on the temple walls. (1997:45)

Moreover, in pAmun 22 the priest declares that he is entering with an image of *Maat* (*twt mꜣʿt*), suggesting that there was a physical manifestation of the offering (Moret 1902:80–82). The apparent contradiction that Teeter was faced with in her study of *Maat* arises from the mistaken premise that whole ritual cycles (as opposed to individual episodes) were 'set' and thus, if a ritual does not occur in a "predictable pattern with other scenes" it must have been depicted for a non-ritual reason.

There is little indication that the ancient Egyptians were concerned with presenting episodes from the toilet and the meal in a standardized order. Rituals written on papyrus were presented sequentially because the medium requires such an order. On the *Dramatic Ramesseum Papyrus*, this drawback was addressed by the incorporation of vignettes, which sometimes deviate from the sequential ordering of the text above (see analysis of one segment from this document in chapter 4). The expectation that the Daily Ritual and the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors did have standardized orders may come from the fact that often there is a logical progression in the performance of tasks in elite households, with certain tasks being undertaken at certain times of day. This loose progression may have been over-interpreted as an 'order' due to modern preconceptions, as religious rituals in the monotheistic traditions of most Egyptologists tend to be more standardized.

The generalized discussion on the previous pages has established that depictions of ritual cycles on temple walls and papyri do not represent a single rigid sequence of events. This does not mean that such scenes cannot contribute to our understanding of the nature and practice of ancient

Egyptian temple ritual. A ritual episode might give rise to a variety of associations other than with episodes conducted during roughly the same time of day. For example, utterances featuring related symbolic motifs, like major events in the life of the god Horus and the return of his injured eye, sometimes may be grouped together (chapter 5). Other episodes were associated with specific architectural elements—eg. entry episodes are usually depicted near doors, not just in sanctuaries featuring Daily Ritual scenes like those at Abydos, Dendera, and Edfu, but also near doors in hypostyle halls, including the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak and in the barque station of Ramesses III at Karnak (Epigraphic Survey 1936:pl. 45, lower register), and, even further out, as in the court at Medinet Habu (Tables A.1–3). The placement of scenes relating to entry near doors is very common, but not universal. For example, some entry scenes occur nowhere near a door on the east wall of the First Osiris Hall of the Temple of Sety I at Abydos (Calverley, Gardiner, *et al.* 1938:pl.16, see also chapter 6, esp. Figure 6.1). Thus, episodes might appear in a number of different ritual contexts. Often these depictions were not directly connected to the physical performance of ritual on a statue for one deity.

MULTIPLE DIVINE RECIPIENTS

Evidence for the form of cult statues is very limited, and none have indisputably been found in situ (Robins 2005:4–6). Thus, assessing how these objects were used in ritual involves interpreting secondary data, including temple architecture, texts, and renditions of deities both on walls and in sculptures which do not appear to have been cult statues. When speaking of temple cult, most scholars still discuss 'the divine image', singular, rather than 'divine images', plural. The most minimalist interpretations of temple cult debate whether there was a single cult image, removed from the temple during festival processions, or two divine images, a cult image which was continually housed in the temple and a portable image to be carried in processions (eg. Robins 2005:2, 10; Kruchten 1997:26, Assmann 1991a:105). In his analysis of the Old Kingdom Temple of Tell Ibrahim Awad, Eigner suggests that a hidden image was housed in the innermost of the two rooms and a portable image was housed in inner half of the outer room (2007:97, citing Kruchten), even though there were fourteen separate offering stands found in the offering area (2007:89). This collection of stands might indicate the presence of multiple images receiving cult in that location.

In later temples, depictions of divine recipients of ritual cycles on temple walls usually take many different forms. The possibility that differences manifest in their two-dimensional forms were also reflected in their three-dimensional forms should be considered more seriously. In the Theban area, most temples have separate chapels for Amun-Re and Amun-Re *k3-mwt.f* (eg. Epigraphic Survey 1936 and 2009), which probably indicates that cult

was performed separately for at least two different images of the deity, each, perhaps, with his own processional image. Moreover, Amun-Re's Daily Ritual addressed many sources of divine power in addition to the primary recipient(s) of the ritual, including protective deities (Guglielmi and Buroh 1997:103). For example, pAmun Episode 4 addresses the Eastern Souls, Horus of the East, Kamutef who is in the solar disk, and other deities associated with the rising sun. Episode 5 addresses the Souls of Heliopolis. Then, before opening the shrine, the priest covers all his bases by addressing the gods and goddesses who are in Karnak, Thebes, Heliopolis, Memphis, the south, the north, the east, and the west. All of the powers addressed probably didn't have images in the temple, but some certainly did. For example, protective deities like the Souls of Pe and Nekhen and Mert were represented by subsidiary statuettes on Amun-Re's Theban processional barque during some time periods (Haremhab onward and Sety I onward, respectively Karlshausen 2009:219 and 223).

Outside of the Theban area there is even more variety. In two-dimensional art, many chapels feature groups of deities and different manifestations of the same deity (for detailed analysis of the rendering of different forms of deities in the Daily Ritual chapels at Abydos, see Zippert 1931:51–88). For example, Osiris of Abydos seems to need the constant presence of his consort, Isis; son, Horus; and supporting deities like Wepwawet and Anubis in his complex and Daily Ritual chapel. Golden statuettes of Isis, Nephthys, Horus, Wepwawet, the Souls of Pe, and others appear on depictions of Osiris' processional images, along with standards of Wepwawet, Thoth, Horus, and others. In the parallel Daily Ritual chapels at Abydos, Ptah was the least changeable. However, Ptah was also featured in the complex devoted to Sokar, where his syncretic relationships with Sokar, Osiris, and Tatenen were featured. The Heliopolitan solar triad—Re-Horakhte, Atum, and Kheperre—show the most variation in form in their Daily Ritual chapel. Although they may have all been manifest in a single form, perhaps the sphinx, on the processional barque, the possibility that each of these three vital solar forms had its own image should not be discarded. Moreover, both textual and decorative programs indicate that divinities were also manifest in subsidiary royal images embodying the syncretic relationship between the god and the royal *k3*-spirit (Eaton 2007b), ritual objects (chapter 5), and architectural features representing aspects of the cosmos (following, and chapter 5).

In several Daily Ritual episodes, the utterance was consistently addressed to specific deities who represented aspects of the cosmos even though the acts may have been performed on cult statues of many different deities. For example, Horus, Isis, Osiris, Amun-Re, and Atum are each depicted as recipients of the ritual in scenes representing the king offering the broad collar (Abydos 23) at Abydos. However, in the utterance the king greets two forms of the sun god—Atum who represented the setting sun and Kheperi who represented the rising sun. Thus, the utterance was being recited to

the round, golden collar, which represented the round, golden solar disk (chapter 5). Other episodes in which the utterance addresses ritual objects are pAmun Episodes 2–3, which are directed to the censer and the incense cup. The latter is associated with the Eye of the god Horus (Guglielmi and Buroh 1997:112). Other utterances may be addressed to architectural elements. For example, in "Utterance for kissing the ground" (pAmun Episode 12/29) and "Utterance for placing oneself upon the belly" (pAmun Episode 13/30) the priest says, "I embrace Geb" (*ḥpt.j gb*). Thus, Geb, the personification of earth, was venerated along with the deity whose statue was receiving the ritual. In this way the ritual was extended to the cosmos. These categories often overlap. For example, elements of the cosmos are often mentioned in litanies or represented by ritual objects other than divine statues. At other points, the priest declares that he is a deity, or seems to be instructing deities.

GROUPS OF RITUALISTS

The scenes on temple walls often suggest an ideal, singular ritual performance carried out by one actor, the king. Priests are often understood to be the king's delegates (eg. O'Connor and Silverman 1995 :XIX). Baines called this view into question:

> It is not a question, as is often asserted, of the king's delegating the practical performance of the cult to priests because he could not be everywhere at once. Rather, rules of decorum govern temple reliefs that depict human interaction with deities. (Baines 2006b:23)

This is a false dichotomy. Although Baines is certainly right about the matter of decorum in two-dimensional art, temple cult also presented an abstract, idealized, cosmological space. Its medium was performance. The nature of that medium did not permit the performers to be reduced to the same degree that they were in two-dimensional representations. Moreover, the texts associated with the toilet and the meal leave no doubt but that both cycles were physically performed by groups of priests. This type of organization was usually depicted when images of the king were the focus of cult into the early reign of Sety I. For example, in the Eighteenth Dynasty memorial temples of Thutmose II and Tutankhamun, a lector priest (*ḫry-ḥb*) and groups of *ḥm-nṯr* priests work together to perform a weekly rite for a royal *k3*-statue in a papyriform boat (Gabolde 1989:146–178). Similarly, in some internal processional scenes the king was assisted by groups of priests, as in room 46 at Medinet Habu, where a priest carries the statue of Min while the king props it up from behind. They are preceded by a large group of participants, including one identified as a *sm*-priest (Epigraphic Survey 1940:pl.209; see chapter 6). Living people had to play roles.

Visually, depicting multiple actors while maintaining the rules of decorum posed problems. In art, the tension between the desire to present the singularity of the king as the point of interaction between human and divine (eg. Baines 2006 :17) and a representation of cultic activity performed in teams (clearly not the first priority) was addressed in several ways. Subsidiary statuettes of the king and deities were depicted performing various acts. Another way to depict multiple actors was through the use of emblematic personifications, essentially hieroglyphs supplied with body parts which allow them to perform ritual acts (Baines 1985:41–63). So, lines of *ꜥnk*, *w3s*, and *ḏd* signs with arms (and sometimes legs and kilts as well) hold standards in many barque scenes in the innermost parts of the temple. These acts were performed by priests in more external, processional scenes (chapter 6). Such figures had a performative role as well, as three-dimensional stands in the form of emblematic personifications have been found (eg. Baines 1985:52, fig. 27)

Textual sources provide much clearer evidence of complexity in the performance of rites by priests directly before gods. Moret described the ritual presented in pAmun as if it were performed by a single priest (Moret 1902: 84–85). Indeed, the title indicates that the roll was for the use of the Great Pure-Priest (*wꜥb 3ꜥ*). In several episodes, the utterance reads "I am Horus" or "I am Thoth" (pAmun 5 and 22 and Moret 1902:21 and 80–81, respectively). It is not always clear whether a single priest was speaking or if there was a dialogue going on. However, in pAmun Episode 26, Horus and Thoth were clearly distinct from the priest reciting the ritual.

> *jw ḥr ḥnꜥ ḏḥwty jw r m33.k m ḥwt ꜥ3 ꜥb(3).st tw m mw nw nnw m ṯ3w nw nḫbt* . . . (Moret 1902:108)
>
> Horus and Thoth come so that you might see in the temple; they present to you water from the primeval waters, with grains of Nekhen (i.e. natron) . . .

This might suggest that the Great Pure-Priest was cuing other priests acting in the roles of divinities to perform these offerings, perhaps concurrently.

In pAmun Episodes 9 (= Abydos 4) and 25 (= Abydos 1), the utterance includes the declaration "I am a god's servant" (*jnk ḥm-nṯr*), a priestly title which was higher in rank than the Great Pure-Priest (Moret 1902:42–43, 105). Another reference to multiple actors occurs in the titles to pAmun 44 and 45, "Utterance for laying his hands upon the god" (*r n rdjt ꜥwy.f ḥr nṯr*) and "Utterance for laying my hands upon the box" (*r n ꜥwy.j ḥr ḥn*). This is a very strong indication that the Great Pure-Priest was reading for both someone of higher rank ("his hands", being upon the god) and himself ("my hands", being upon the box). Pure-priests, in general, were not very high in the priestly hierarchy, being "by far the commonest class of priests working in the temples" on the west bank at Thebes in the New Kingdom (Haring 1997:222). The Great Pure-Priest was only a middle-ranking priest

(Guglielmi and Buroh 1997:106–107; Kruchten 1989:177). Similarly, Meal Episode 49, to be performed on the Sixth Day Festival as recorded on the Berlin papyrus, was to be recited by the lector priest (*ḫrjw ḥ3bt*), who cues a higher ranking *sm*-priest to present the bouquets. In Meal Episode 42, on pCairo-Turin, the lector priest presenting the menu (*dbḥt-ḫtp*) for the Festival of Amun cued a *sm*-priest and a group of servants (*mryt*) as well. Thus, it would appear that for any given image, there may have been a mid-level priest who led the ritual, calling priests of higher rank to step in at crucial moments in the rite. The most important parts of the rite, reserved for the highest ranking priests, involved actual physical interaction with the divine image.

But what did it mean for a priest to interact with a statue which housed a divine presence, with ritual objects which were themselves personifications (chapter 5), within a building which was the body of the god and his mother (chapter 1)? This was no doubt a physical reality. But it need not have been the spiritual reality. Although the living, breathing, physical body of the pharaoh could not be in more than one place at a time, this physical limitation need not have prevented the presence of the king's *k3*-spirit. Priests brought in statues, living images (*twt ʿnḫ*) of the king, in which his *k3*-spirit could reside (Abydos 9, chapter 3). Moreover, the priests themselves may have served as vessels for the royal *k3*-spirit at critical moments in the ritual. Nonetheless, there were many things which the ancient Egyptians chose not to make explicit.

MULTIPLICITY

Ancient Egyptian temples served as divine households, on both religious and economic levels; as models of both the cosmos and divine bodies; and as maintainers of social, political, and environmental stability (chapter 1). Thus, the ritual performed within them operated on many levels. For example, although the episodes depicted on the walls in the Daily Ritual chapels at Abydos seem to have been based on a loosely organized progression of the ritual, it also seems that the episodes in which the king is depicted actually placing his hands on the statue appear largely in the lower register, whereas scenes in which there is no direct contact depicted between king and statue—particularly incense and libation scenes—appear more commonly in the upper register.

The ancient Egyptian practice of creating constellations of association figures in many areas of their religious expression. *Book of the Dead* chapter 17 provides many classic and particularly complex examples, such as:

> I am *j3ḫsy* at his goings forth; (I) have put my twin plumes on my head.
> WHAT IS THAT? As for *j3ḫsy*, he is Horus who saved his Father. As for "his goings forth," they are his Children. As for "his twin plumes on his head," Isis and Nephthys went and put themselves on his head, being present as hawks while his head was paining him. VARIANT: THEY ARE THE TWO LARGE, STATELY COBRAS that are on the brow of my Father Atum. VARIANT: "the twin plumes on his head" are his eyes. (T. Allen 1974:28)

Thus, the twin plumes on the speaker's head were associated with Isis and Nephthys, who in turn could manifest as hawks; twin cobras on the head of his father, Atum; or eyes. This text is particularly interesting because it was formed when the ancient Egyptians added glosses and comments onto *CT* 335 (Rössler-Köller 1979:295–343). However, there may have been many occasions when similar associations were relevant, but not explicitly referred to by the Egyptians.

Celebration of the multitude of possible interconnections between episodes seems to have been important in the ancient Egyptian approach to presenting ritual scenes, particularly in architectural settings (as opposed to presentations on papyrus). As Kemp pointed out, the problem becomes that once one starts thinking about what associations might have been relevant to the Egyptians ". . . it is hard to know when to stop" (Kemp 1989:4). Matters are further complicated by the possibility of different allusions and emphasis in different genres, times, and regions. Despite these problems, the study of ancient Egyptian culture requires recognition of a multitude of possible interconnections and cautious application of the principle in the analysis of all types of material. For example, the "Duties of the Vizier" was long thought to be a random list of responsibilities connected to that office. However, van den Boorn recognized that the organizing principle in this text consisted of a ". . . line of associations running through the text as a sort of red tape . . ." (van den Boorn 1988:303). The link might be a place (eg. *pr-nsw*), a position (eg. king's deputy), or a thing (eg. office-dependent landed property). Similarly, Baines observed that in hymns the Egyptians used ". . . a stock of known attributes and qualities that can be arranged in ever-varying ways" (Baines 1984b:39).

In the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors, the offering of wine and beer were both undoubtedly associated with other food and drink offerings. However, each substance had its own constellation of associations. Wine was vital to the healing the eye of Horus (i.e. the moon), and thus might also appear in association with lunar rites, the offering of the *wḏ3t*-eye, or any offering associated with the *wḏ3t*-eye. Beer, on the other hand, was associated with the appeasement of the Goddess Sakhmet in the tale of the *Destruction of Mankind*, and thus might have been used to ward off plague.

Ritual acts recorded in temples and on papyri surviving from ancient Egypt often have very similar utterances, with close parallels being encountered both regionally and over time. However, variation in the arrangement of ritual episodes was the norm. Variability in the order of ritual episodes is particularly well established for mortuary rituals, such as the *Book of the*

Dead, prior to the Ptolemaic Period (T. Allen 1974:1; Niwinski 1989:22–26; and Munro 1987:139–140). This situation has led to confusion in reading ritual cycles, particularly those depicted in three-dimensional space on temple walls. The two ritual cycles that formed the core of day-to-day ancient Egyptian temple ritual—the Daily Ritual and the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors—were neither read nor performed as a series of step-by-step instructions. Rather depictions of these cycles each represent a particular view of a web of interconnections between a large staff of priests and temple servants, deities and divine images, and more abstract ideas. Taking this view eliminates many of the conflicts and contradictions encountered in earlier studies of Egyptian temple ritual. Moreover, understanding the ways in which these daily cycles can be read and the ways in which they may have been performed is also essential to study of festivals because many festival celebrations included special versions of regular daily episodes as well as episodes only performed for festivals. However, it raises other sets of problems.

A model for understanding a ritual system with two categories, daily rituals and rituals for special occasions, grew out of the present study. Such a division is widely recognized both in Egyptology (eg. Assmann 1991a:105) and ritual theory (following). Daily rituals represent the norm. Festivals are generally not depicted independently. Rather, they appear within the framework of the presentation of daily offerings. Thus, without an understanding of regular routines, understanding of special occasions is incomplete. Most studies focus on how festival occasions differ from the everyday. The rituals for special occasions examined in the present study are often elaborations of regular daily rituals—the toilet incorporates an expanded array of perfumes, meals are transformed into feasts, and guests are invited. The incorporation of the everyday into special events stabilized them and gave them a greater appearance of regularity. This was particularly important when the event being celebrated had the potential to go very wrong, leading to chaos—like the annual inundation or the coronation of a new king. The stability of the everyday routine in the background provided the freedom to reject key elements of that routine. For example, the preparation through elaborations on the Daily Ritual and the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors provided divine statues with the protection that they needed to safely leave the sacred space of the temple in processions (chapter 6).

This relationship is expressed in early Ramesside temple decorative programs in which reliefs depicting ritual episodes associated with festivals, such as raising the *ḏd*-pillar and presenting festival bouquets, are often interspersed with episodes from ritual cycles that were performed on a daily basis. The two main daily cycles were the Daily Ritual itself, in which the deities' 'toilet' was performed, and the Ritual of Amenhotep I, a.k.a. the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors, or simply the 'meal'. These two daily ritual cycles formed the overall framework of temple ritual into which special festival episodes were inserted. Scenes of offering basic products like incense,

libation, ointment, and wine are the most commonly encountered scenes depicted on ancient Egyptian temple walls (chapter 8).

Some depictions of these rituals, particularly those recorded on papyrus or inscribed on the walls of temple sanctuaries, were clearly meant to instruct or replicate the ritual as it was to be performed and recited by temple staff (chapters 3–4). This is where the lessons of performance theory come into play. However, the same episodes can be rearranged, in ways unlikely to reflect how the ritual was actually performed. In these cases the rearranged ritual episodes were used to get across different messages, such as a celebration of royal legitimacy or a journey (chapters 5–6). In temple decorative programs, a ritual episode might give rise to a variety of associations—with similar offerings, with other episodes that have utterances featuring related mythical allusions, with architectural elements, as well as with episodes conducted during roughly the same time of day. Sometimes a group of ritual episodes shares a common theme, which indicates which aspect of the ritual was being emphasized in a particular context. This allowed the ancient Egyptians to adapt seemingly unchanging rituals to a wide variety of contexts. With this background established, several more complicated ritual cycles involving the intertwining of festival rituals with daily rituals can be read.

RITUAL THEORIES

Theoretical discussions of ritual often to center on two questions—"What is the nature of ritual?" and "What is the relationship between ritual and belief?" Under the broadest definitions, ritual implies a connection between action and abstract values like tradition, ancestors, patriotism, or piety. Actions are considered good or necessary for nonmaterial reasons—because they support beliefs. Belief can also be expressed in more narrative forms, traditionally either grouped together as 'myths' or divided into finer categories such as 'sacred texts', 'histories', and 'science', depending on the attitude of the researcher towards the material under discussion. Belief narratives, or myths, are ways of expressing stories, histories, and observations about the world. Rituals add meaning to routines—daily, monthly, annual, and life-cycle. Belief narratives and routines can be completely independent or interrelated. Each can grow out of the other. However, when a belief narrative and a ritual intertwine, they can become so inseparable that one becomes inconceivable without the other.

The problem with broad definitions of ritual is that it becomes difficult to identify any human action which is not ritual, rendering the category 'ritual' meaningless.

> The differences between everyday action and religious ritual action turn out to be fairly minor from the standpoint of cognitive representation. (Lawson and McCauley 2007:220)

Performance theorist Ronald Grimes described the "twin dilemma" of defining ritual as:

> . . . that of too neatly and narrowly cordoning off ritual from other social behavior and that of making it a dimension of all human activity. (Grimes 2004:124)

The focus of the present study fits into almost all definitions of what ritual is. However, because the divine was incorporated into almost every aspect of life connected to the temple in ancient Egypt, Egyptologists face a similar problem. How does one differentiate between ritual and just plain action? Was the slaughtering of a sacred bull, carried out in an area to the south of the temple precinct proper, part of the ritual, or was it a non-ritualized part of the temple operation? One's answer depends at least as much on one's definition of ritual as on the nature of the act itself.

> . . . if a cultural action serves no practical purpose, then it is ritual. (C. Bell 1997:46)

> Functionalists and early structuralists insisted on the practicality of ritual action . . . (C. Bell 1997:59)

These two observations, each a summary of a perspective composed by Catherine Bell, illustrate the lack of concurrence in the very basic question of what ritual is. The definition of ritual is somewhat simplified when it is divided it into two categories—repetitive and special events.

Special events are defined by how they differ from everyday routines, whether they were ritualized or not. These differences may be subtle—a larger meal than normal prepared in a manner similar to everyday meals, but perhaps with some special cut of meat, bird, cake, or pie. However, special events can be marked by extreme disruptions in the daily routine—removal of a group of young people from the community for a rite of passage, or abstaining from eating, drinking, and smoking during daylight hours for one month during the year.

Lawson and McCauley proposed a similar division:

> Some rituals captivate the imagination. Others provoke boredom. We are easily moved, often excited, and occasionally even astounded by the sights, sounds, and smells accompanying ritual spectacles. These events stimulate our senses, enliven our emotions, and captivate our minds. The enthronement of popes, the inauguration of presidents, the burial of heroes arrest our attention and embed memories that last a lifetime. Everyone loves sensory pageantry. Some rituals focus the attention, feed the imagination, evoke the remembrance of things past as well as the desires of things to come, and inspire dramatic actions that stand out against their everyday background. Yet the salience of such dramatic spectacles should not obscure the fact that 'ritual' often refers to the repetition of small and thoroughly mundane acts. Even though these rituals break with the ordinary world too, they frequently remain thoroughly humdrum. They trigger automatic responses that appear to be completely mindless. If we focus on participants' psychological responses in ritual situations, we cannot fail to notice the degrees of emotion involved in these two sorts of cases. Some rituals are so emotionally arousing that their effects seem to last forever. In other rituals, emotion seems to play little, if any, role. (Lawson and McCauley 2002:1)

Thus, repetitive rituals, as the name suggests, are repeated with great frequency, so great that they often become unconscious. Special events, in contrast, are often thought about, anticipated, and planned for.

Repetitive ritual is often difficult to distinguish from routine. The presence of the sacred is a sufficient, and some would say necessary, condition to identify such acts as ritual. One might call a military salute a secular repetitive ritual, or the state might be considered a 'higher power'. However, drawing the line between routine and ritual is difficult because on the margins the difference often lies in one's internal state. Is a mundane act simply utilitarian, or is it part of a larger world view, a symbol or something connecting me to my community, my ancestors, or my god? If the answer is 'simply utilitarian', it isn't ritual. However, if the act is an expression of a larger world view, consciously or unconsciously, it is ritual in the broadest sense of the term. The answer to that question might vary for the same act, might be different for two people sharing the same meal. These issues will not be decided here—or anywhere else. As Catherine Bell observed:

> Well, we are never going to agree on a definition of ritual. We do not want to, nor will doing so solve the problems we face. (2007:283)

Thus, Egyptologists should take her general advice to archaeologists and simply define ritual as ". . . those activities that address the gods or other supernatural forces" (2007:278, after Renfrew). But ritual theory does still have much to contribute in helping Egyptologists deal with complexity in ancient Egyptian temple ritual. Three models vie for dominance in ritual theory today and view ritual through the lenses of performance, patterns, and practice.

The performance theory approach generally begins with the observation and description of a performance or remains and representations of performance. From this foundation, observations concerning the function and meaning of the ritual within the broader society are explored. The context of the ritual is a vital concern. Thus, it makes sense for scholars with a tendency towards historical particularism, like Egyptologists, to gravitate towards this method (eg. Gillam 2005, Baines 2006a, and Do. Arnold

2008). Because, from the perspective of the broader ancient Egyptian society, display was so important to the legitimization of power, one of the primary purposes of temple ritual, Egyptologists tend to focus on external rites. Exclusion is an essential aspect of this display, but what, precisely, the outsiders are being excluded from—i.e., ritual performances within the temple—tends not to be the focus of these studies. However, those few with access to the images within the temple were also those with the most power in society, and thus the most potential to disrupt the social order. Therefore, the men with temple access were those with whom it was most vital to gain acceptance of the legitimacy of the power structure.

The focus of earlier scholarship is another factor leading Egyptologists to favor performance theory approaches to reading records of ritual. The relationship between ritual and the origins of drama has a long and fascinating history and continues to be a vital area of inquiry, generally (eg. Csapo and Miller 2007) and specifically within Egyptology (eg. Leprohon 2007 and Mikhail 1984a–c). This history perpetuates a tendency for scholars to be attracted to ritual cycles with strong narrative components. Compare the multitude of studies on the *Dramatic Ramesseum Papyrus* (chapter 4) and Osiris' Khoiak Festival (chapter 6) to the relative dearth of studies on cycles without strong narrative components known to us like the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors (Appendix A) and the Min Festival (chapter 6).

Egyptologists are increasingly recognizing the importance of non-narrative rites in the study of drama (eg. Leprohon 2007 and Gillam 2005). In a particularly compelling application of performance theory to the study of ancient Egyptian ritual, Baines analyzed aspects of temple construction as performance, including the transport of colossal statues (2006a:266–268). Nonetheless, the primary focus of Egyptological studies of ritual is still on special events with strong narrative components. The choice to focus on special events is not problematic in and of itself. However, when the cumulative result is the neglect of study of the everyday, understanding of the ancient Egyptian ritual system as a whole is impaired. Moreover, as detailed in chapters 4 and 6, patterns in performance of daily ritual cycles were vital to the structure of special events.

The study of patterns in ritual is rooted in the application of linguistic theories to the study of culture. These approaches have produced mixed results. It now seems clear that linguistic models work best for highly patterned activities, like the structure of ritual (Harris 2001:420–421)—although the patterns found are not always the same as patterns commonly found in language (Staal 2008:230). Moreover, analysis of these structures often leads to insights into the function and origins of ritual. For example, some work on the cognitive science of religion relates the function of ritual to memory (Lawson and McCauley 1990). However, when one turns to questions of meaning, results tend to vary much more from individual to individual. Staal observed that the interpretations of the meaning of rites was inconsistent, ultimately concluding that the question of meaning ought

to be discarded altogether (Staal 1989:141–142). He suggested ritual and meaning are utterly separate:

> . . . meanings are assigned to these performances and some of their elements or features. However, they reflect belief systems with which the rituals have nothing to do. (Staal 2008:226)

However, the problem may not have been with the meanings of the rituals Staal studied, but with what his model was able to deal with.

As Cannadine observed, the meaning of a ritual changes in different contexts (Cannadine 1983:105). Moreover, meaning is arguably the most changeable and least patterned aspect of ritual. Semantic values and symbols can be manipulated in ritual, just as objects, gestures, and phonetic values are. The fact that they are often not arranged into coherent narratives does not diminish their importance to the ritual. However, it does mean that linguistic models are less effective, sometimes even totally ineffective, in studying the meaning of ritual. Moreover, the meanings of rituals often change due to things external to the ritual, such as political and social changes. Thus, study of the structure of the ritual itself, which remains constant, cannot illuminate the changes. Despite their weaknesses, linguistic theories have a greater degree of scientific rigor than other methods and are very effective in illuminating those aspects of ritual which they are able to study. Patterns in the depiction of presentation of offerings are explored here in chapter 7, and structures similar to those found by Staal and other structuralists appear repeatedly in the descriptions of performance in chapters 3–4.

Both the performance and patterns models start with descriptions of what rituals are—performances or patterns. Rooted in these conceptions, each method then moves on to questions of function and, sometimes, meaning. Practice theory focuses more on the functions of 'ritual' (Kyriakidis 2007:6). Practice theory rejects the category of ritual, choosing to focus on the way myriad activities are 'ritualized'. What makes each special event 'special' is how it differs from the everyday.

> Ritual starts with an ordinary event (like a bath or a meal) and changes various of its components (like the size, place, or timing of the gathering, the quality or quantity of the elements and the intensity, formality, or routineness of the experience), thereby distinguishing the ritual event from mundane events and privileging it as sacred. A ritual event is best observed against the backdrop of mundane events, discerning "what it echoes, what it inverts, what it alludes to, what it denies". (Shafer 1997:19)

Since ancient Egypt is a dead society, records relating to the 'backdrop of mundane events' are significantly less well preserved than records of the religious rituals of the elite. Thus, the truly everyday, the everyday lives

of regular Egyptians, is often frustratingly out of reach. In addition, most domestic sites of the pharaonic period which have been the focus of major study, like Kahun, Amarna, and Deir el-Medina, were state designed for specialized purposes (Jeffreys 2006:166). However, what makes many excavated domestic sites problematic for understanding life in ancient Egypt more generally, their connection to temples, renders studying the everyday in the temple more accessible. Moreover, when approaching the larger system to which the various special ritual events belong, understanding the messier day-to-day management of 'doing things' (*jr ḥt*)—a common Egyptian description of performing ritual—within the temple is essential. For during festivals, the background of everyday temple ritual was adapted to transform these days into special events.

Another important feature of practice theory is the stress it places on the appreciation of the ". . . multiplicity of purposes, strategies, and performances . . ." (C. Bell 1997:88). This approach is very important in the ancient Egyptian context, in which temples served so many functions which religious institutions have largely ceded to secular governments in the modern West. Finally, practice theory is particularly appropriate for study of the basic, daily rituals since these rituals were not always performed, and depictions of episodes from these cycles had different meanings and served different ends in different contexts, sometimes even within the same temple.

Part II

Performance

3 The Household Model

The Daily Ritual and the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors were ritualizations of some of the most basic chores of everyday life, one's 'toilet' or 'levée' and meals (for a summary of the primary sources, see the Appendix). The ritual cycles considered in this part of the book seem to have been presented in a roughly sequential order, based on the order in which the acts were to be performed on divine statues. This organizational principle is particularly common in ritual cycles recorded on papyri, acting as guides for the priests performing the rituals, and on the walls of sanctuaries, housing divine images which received the rites. Nonetheless, the different natures of various deities were manifest in the unique forms of their images even in these relatively straightforward renditions of ritual. Moreover, most, if not all, deities probably had more than one image which received the daily ritual (chapter 2). As the rite was performed on one statue, other deities, manifest in ritual objects, architectural elements, and perhaps even ritual actors, interacted with the image. Most of this chapter looks at the ritual from the perspective of a divine image receiving the rites.

The fact that temples were modeled on elite households is generally recognized (eg. Haring 1997). However, the implications of this association for the logistics of organizing and performing temple cult have not been equally accepted. In large households the servants do not follow a single list of chores from start to finish. Servants and groups of servants have independent routines that overlap at various points. Many acts might be performed concurrently by different staff members. Different members of the household have diverse preferences. Some of these points are widely recognized in studies of administrative documents (eg. Posener-Kriéger:1976:538–540 and 1983:56; Haring 1997:3–7). That knowledge is not often applied to the reading of ancient Egyptian records of ritual.

Priests followed some patterns set by necessity in physically performing ritual acts. For example, fires must be lit before meat can be roasted. The lord of the house must be woken before he is dressed or eats. These are "enabling rituals" (Lawson and McCauley 2007:226). However, did the god have his breakfast before or after he was dressed? This point is not agreed upon by modern scholars and might have varied in ancient Egyptian temple

ritual as well. Comparison of different versions of daily ritual cycles leaves no doubt but that, despite the clear presence of some patterns set by necessity, these ritual cycles had no single canonical order (chapter 2). Thus, the sequences of ritual episodes presented here should be understood as loose progressions based upon the logistics of performing the ritual. In her study of ritual in the Temple of Sety I at Abydos, David reconciled the Daily Ritual scenes at Abydos with the Daily Ritual on pAmun by pointing out that both display similar thematic groupings within the same loose sequential framework (1981:77).

Each performance of a ritual may be different because rite might be:

> . . . preceded, accompanied and followed by numerous accessory rites, but its basic structure consists in a brief series of acts that follow each other in rapid succession. The subdivisions of these acts into elements is fixed, but their numbering and grouping together is to some extent arbitrary. (Staal 1989:79)

Staal's "elements" are comparable to Egyptian ritual 'episodes', and "their numbering and grouping" to 'ritual cycles'. It seems that David did not take her idea far enough. Within a loose sequential framework like the one she identified in the Daily Ritual cycles, episodes did not need to progress in a rigid sequential order, so long as each individual episode was performed with precision. Thus, the progression of the daily services might go as follows (for the progression of titles of episodes in various versions of the rituals, see Tables A.1–3).

PROGRESSION OF THE TOILET AND MEAL

Work began at daybreak or earlier in production areas of the temple (Sauneron 1988:77). The materials needed for cult were prepared. Incense, liquids, and ritual equipment for purification were brought to the area near the sacred lake and the side entrance to the temple, where the initial rites were held. Fires were lit (pAmun 1). Personnel who were to enter the sacred areas of the temple underwent their pre-entry purification rites (pAmun 2–4), perhaps at the sacred lake (Robins 2005:7). Everyone entering the inner temple needed to undergo such purification. For example, temple workmen often had the title *wꜤb*, Pure-Priest (Haring 1997:12, n.1). Since sacred space had to be kept ritually pure, even men coming in to repair a door bolt (for example) needed to undergo purification rites. Moreover, because the door bolt was itself a sacred object, associated with the eye of the god Horus and the finger of the god Seth (see the following), repairing it would be a ritually charged act, requiring someone with priestly qualifications. Once the priests were purified and ready to perform the morning service, those who had been on nightly service could retire. There should be no gaps.

Morning songs (Meal 45–47) might be sung throughout the first daily performance of the rites and may have involved groups of musicians. They were grouped with other cycles which were probably inserted into the ritual only at the appropriate times of day ("Song of the Two Regions at evening", Meal 41), month (the Sixth Day Festival, Meal 49–50), or year (the Festival of Amun, Meal 42–44; the New Year's Festival, Meal 51–55; and the Festival of Mut, Meal 56–57). Thus, the location of the Morning Songs and other rites associated with specific times on papyrus versions of the ritual probably does not reflect the actual order in which the rites were performed. Such rites were mixed into the regular sequence when appropriate and repeated at the appropriate time of day, probably concurrently with other acts (see the following).

The next series of rites was devoted to opening doors (eg. pAmun 5–9). Door opening scenes sometime occur in external areas of temple buildings, including Karnak, Medinet Habu (Nelson 1949a:206), Edfu, and Kom Ombo (Alliot 1949–1954:4–6). Nelson suggested that these episodes were emblematic of the toilet cycle as a whole, which he believed was performed before the meal. However, these scenes might also indicate that outer doors were sealed and ritually opened using some of the same rites employed deeper within the temple. Nonetheless, the doors that appear to have received the most attention were the doors to the sanctuaries and shrines (Abydos 1–6; Edfu and Dendera 1–3). The central focus of these rites was the physical opening of the door and preparation for entry into progressively more sacred rooms and shrines. However, entering the sanctuary was clearly a multi-track process.

Hussy showed that entry rites in Ptolemaic temples were accompanied by incense rites (*Weihrauch)*; the morning song (*Morgenlied*); and a group of three related scenes—the king being conducted to the resident deity by another god; associating with the god ("*sich zugesellen*"), sometimes receiving the sign of life (*snsn*); and embracing a deity (*ḫpt*)—which paralleled the entry (2007:8–15). Such a multi-track process is likely as early as the New Kingdom. At Abydos, an episode devoted to offering incense to the *uraeaus* appears among the entry scenes (Abydos 5). The purpose of this rite was to appease this protective image as one opened the doors. The king is also depicted being conducted by deities into the presence of the resident deities on the lintel of each of the six Daily Ritual chapels (Calverley, Gardiner, *et al.* 1958:pls. 12, 15, 18, 21, 24, and 27).

After entry, whether the toilet or the meal occurred first is debatable. Nelson and David both placed the toilet first (1949 a:206 and 1981:83). Both Sauneron and Alliot placed the meal before the toilet (1988:81–84; 1949–1954:11–59). Scholarly opinion now favors Nelson and David. There is a general preference for reading temples from the perspective of the resident deity, who entered the temple through the door to his shrine (eg. Konrad 2006:4–5; Robins 2005:7). Thus, after their initial entry, the priests are thought to progress straight to open and perform rites in the sanctuary.

The rites in the outer rooms were to be performed as they exited the temple (David 1981:85–86). However, this question of what happened first presents a false dichotomy. There is no reason to suppose that all the priests congregated at the same point. David acknowledged that the rites in the outer rooms could begin before the rites in the innermost rooms were complete (David 1981:86). However, she does not stress this point strongly enough, nor does she apply it to acts within a given ritual cycle.

After entering the sanctuary, the priests went through the same basic door-opening sequence to get into the shrine (Hussy 2007:15–17). Thus, the door-opening sequence is a series of rites repeated as needed (see the following) when opening up progressively more sacred spaces. Ordering in representations of these ritual steps varies because some rites were performed concurrently, and several doors had to be opened in close succession, so some rites were repeated at each door. However, cycles on temple walls usually do not duplicate entry episodes. None of the surviving ritual cycles, whether on walls or papyrus, include all of the known episodes associated with opening doors (Tables A.1–3).

Upon opening the innermost door to the shrine, the priest(s) saw the god. Adorations were recited, probably with singers and musicians. The priest(s) fell to the floor to kiss the ground before the god (pAmun 10–19, Abydos 7–10, and Edfu and Dendera 4–6). These episodes were not necessarily conducted sequentially, as utterances often refer to numerous other ritual acts, with episodes devoted to them, going on at the same time. In fact, in Horus' chapel at Abydos, the scene for seeing the god (Abydos 8) has two titles. At the beginning of the utterance, inscribed above the king is the expected title "Utterance for seeing the god". A more general title, "Doing incense" (*jrt snṯr*), is inscribed between the king and the deity. Thus, some episodes may be details of acts referred to in other episodes (see the following). The fact that seeing the god was described as a great privilege has led some to suggest that only one priest was allowed within the sanctuary (eg. Sauneron 1988:79). More likely, the level of deference required could be met by simply requiring lower-ranking people to avert their eyes. Certainly, there is a lot of evidence that several ranks of priest were interacting directly with the god.

The master of the house, family, and guests were woken, cleaned, and dressed (i.e., the toilet proper was performed). The Great Pure-Priest (*wʿb ʿ3*, pAmun 1,1), a *ḫm-nṯr* priest (pAmun 9 and 25, and Posener-Kriéger 1976:574–577), a *ḫm-ḥr* priest (Alliot 1949–1954:33), a *ḫntjw-š* (Posener-Kriéger 1976:540–541, 579–580), or most likely more than one of these working together, might perform this portion of the ritual. At Abydos, crowns and regalia were presented (Abydos 27–28). There are no episodes devoted to these activities on pAmun; however, references to crowning appear repeatedly in the adorations (pAmun 18–19 and 38–40). Perhaps the Great Pure-Priest led the recitation of adorations while the sequence for crowning and adorning the divine image with regalia was performed by a

priest of higher status. There are indications in the titles of some utterances that, while the Great Pure-Priest touched some ritual objects, someone else laid his hands on the actual image of the deity (chapter 2).

The toilet portion of the ritual also may have overlapped the meal. In the first meal sequence on pCairo-Turin, setting up the brazier was immediately followed by placing incense and fat on the fire (Meal 2–4). These scents were part of the process of enticing the deity to take up residence in a cult image. Then servants lay out food for the master of the house, family members, and guests (Meal 4–14). "Utterance for the fan" (Meal 7) reminds one that the fires lit earlier in the day still needed to be tended. On Cairo-Turin "Utterance for the First Libation" (Meal 15) appears after "Utterance for a Libation with Beer" (Meal 8). According to Nelson, the beer libation was ". . . not an offering of beer for the table of the god . . ." (1949 a:211). Thus, the beginning of the papyrus isn't the beginning of the meal ritual, but rather preparation for the beginning, which comes next.

Breakfast was served to the deities, starting with the "First Libation" (Meal 15–24). In temple ritual this culminates with the god coming down and inhabiting his freshly prepared statue to partake of his meal (Meal 25). Closing rites were performed by a lector priest (*ḫrjw-ḥ3bt*, Meal 26 and 28) and a *ḫm-nṯr* priest (Meal 27 and 29), followed by the rite of "Bringing in the Foot" (Meal 30 and Abydos 35, Nelson 1949b). However, it may only be priest(s) who performed the first phases of the meal who withdrew at this point. Doors may have been sealed after each service, or only at the end of the day. Food was offered to the ancestors (first reversion of offerings, Meal 34–40). This appears to have been done as the priests withdrew through the side door of the temple (David 1981:85–86). A new torch may also have been lit at this point (Meal 38–39). Torches were prepared in a separate ritual cycle (see the following). The meal closed with the Second Reversion of Offerings, in which the offerings were distributed as rations or wages.

The progression outlined over the previous few pages is very similar to those of David (1981:57–118), Barta (1980: 841–844), and Nelson (1949a:230–232). The key difference is the recognition that many things were probably happening concurrently. Middle-ranking priests tended various divine statues, calling in higher-ranking priests at crucial moments (chapter 2). Meanwhile, lower-ranking priests were bringing in offerings and performing associated preliminary rites. Still other priests were tending fires and torches. Thus, the prior reading contrasts with the minimalist vision of what the ancient Egyptian sanctuary was like held by many. For example, Alliot and Sauneron thought that much of the toilet, including changing the gods' clothes and offering jewelry, was not actually performed daily (1949–1954:90–91; 1988:84–85). However, these rites had to be performed with great precision. Many involved dealing with open fires—braziers, torches, incense burners—and pouring liquids like beer and wine. These acts had to be accomplished while wearing loose, flowing linen garments which had to be kept absolutely white to maintain ritual purity. Ritual performance was a

skill, and frequent practice was essential if the job was to be done properly. Moreover, the solar symbolism involved in some rites strongly suggests that they were performed twice daily (chapter 5). Thus, the Egyptians almost certainly performed these rituals daily, when they had the means to do so.

The sequence outlined here includes references to several patterns which deserve further comment. Because ritual cycles overlapped, some episodes appear in copies of more than one ritual cycle. Positing flexibility in the order of the rituals resolves many puzzling progressions in the cycles both on temple walls and on papyrus copies of the rituals. Some rituals were performed as needed rather than, or in addition to, on a schedule. Some episodes appear to be details of other episodes. Because these ritual cycles were practiced day after day, some episodes take for granted that the ritual had been performed the previous day. All surviving copies of these ritual cycles date to the New Kingdom and later. However, the limited evidence from Old and Middle Kingdom contexts suggests that the household model is appropriate for earlier cultic establishments as well.

OVERLAPPING CYCLES

The Daily Ritual and the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors overlapped both in content and in performance. There are three major indicators of overlap: episodes that appear in versions of both cycles; references to the performance of activities featured in one ritual cycle in utterances in the other cycle; and the appearance of episodes from both cycles in the same architectural space. The existence of episodes appearing in both the Daily Ritual and the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors strongly suggests that, although the Egyptians considered the toilet and the meal to be separate, either the exact dividing lines were ambiguous or some ritual episodes were required in both cycles. One example is an incense ritual (Meal 18 and pAmun 21) that also appears in contexts not clearly associated with either of these cycles (L. Bell 1985:281–285). Incense was probably burned almost constantly in temple ritual, and similar utterances clearly accompanied this act in various ritual cycles.

The other case is "Utterance for removing the footprints with the *ḥdn*-plant  " (*r n jnt rd m ḥdn*), often called the "Rite of Bringing the Foot" (Nelson 1949b). This episode appears in both the standard Daily Ritual chapels at Abydos (Abydos 35) and in papyrus versions of the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors (Meal 30). This episode is generally agreed to be the end of the Daily Ritual, and often occurs next to sanctuary doors—eg. in the Daily Ritual chapels at Abydos (Table A.1) and in Room XIX of Luxor Temple (Brunner 1977:pl.22, det. pl. 119). It is towards the middle of the meal, sometimes combined with other closing episodes (Table A.3 and Nelson 1949a:82). Thus, the ritual never really ended, but moved seamlessly on. In some systems, the lack of gaps is essential to the ritual (Staal 1989:181). The "Utterance for removing the footprints with the *ḥdn*–plant" may have

been performed any time a priest left certain ritual spaces (rituals performed as needed, see as follows).

Although there are no Daily Ritual episodes devoted to food offerings, references to such offerings appear in the utterances to some episodes. For example, in "Utterance for kissing the ground, putting oneself upon one's belly in order to touch the ground with his fingers" (Abydos 10, pAmun 15) the priest was to say:

> *sʿr n mɜʿt n nb.st ḥtpw n jr.sy* (eg. Calverley, Gardiner, *et al.* 1933: pls. 4, 5, and 13; 1935:pls. 4, 14, and 22)
>
> I offer *Maat* to its lord and offerings to their Maker.

Maat may have been emblematic of all offerings (Teeter 1997:1). A separate episode devoted to offering *Maat* appears in the pAmun version of the Daily Ritual (pAmun 42). This utterance associates food items, offered during the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors, with *Maat*:

> . . . *wnmy.k mɜʿt swr.k mɜʿt t.k mɜʿt ḫnḳt.k mɜʿt* (pAmun 22, 3–4; Moret 1902:142)
>
> . . . that which you eat is *Maat*, your drink is *Maat*, your bread is *Maat*, your beer is *Maat* . . .

Since *Maat* was equated with food, references to offering *Maat* in Abydos Episode 10 may indicate that a meal was to be offered at this point, or, in other words, that the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors and the Daily Ritual overlapped at this point. Moreover, piles of food are depicted in the adjacent barque scenes (Abydos 12), and statues of the king stand before offering tables under the stern of the barques in the chapels of Isis, Horus, and Ptah (Calverley, Gardiner, *et al.* 1933:pls. 19 and 22, 27 and 31; and 1935:pl. 23). These statues represent syncretic relationships between the royal *kɜ*-spirit and various deities (Eaton 2007b:20–22). They are depicted with food offerings associated with the meal and may represent the reversion of offerings, when offerings that had been presented to the gods were passed on to the royal ancestors.

Some utterances in the Royal Ancestor ritual refer to offerings associated with the toilet as well. For example, in the last of three episodes devoted to the morning hymns (Meal 47), the priest was to recite:

> *dd.sn mḏt nw ḥɜt.k mnḫt nw ḥʿwt.k nb ḥn.sn n.k wɜḏw msdmt* (B XIV 6)
>
> May they give ointment to your brow and linen to your whole body, and may they provide for you green eye-paint and black eye-paint . . .

Ointment (pAmun 54–55), linen (pAmun 49–53), and eye-paint (pAmun 56–57) are all items related to the 'toilet' that do not seem to have been offered during the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors (for parallel episodes from

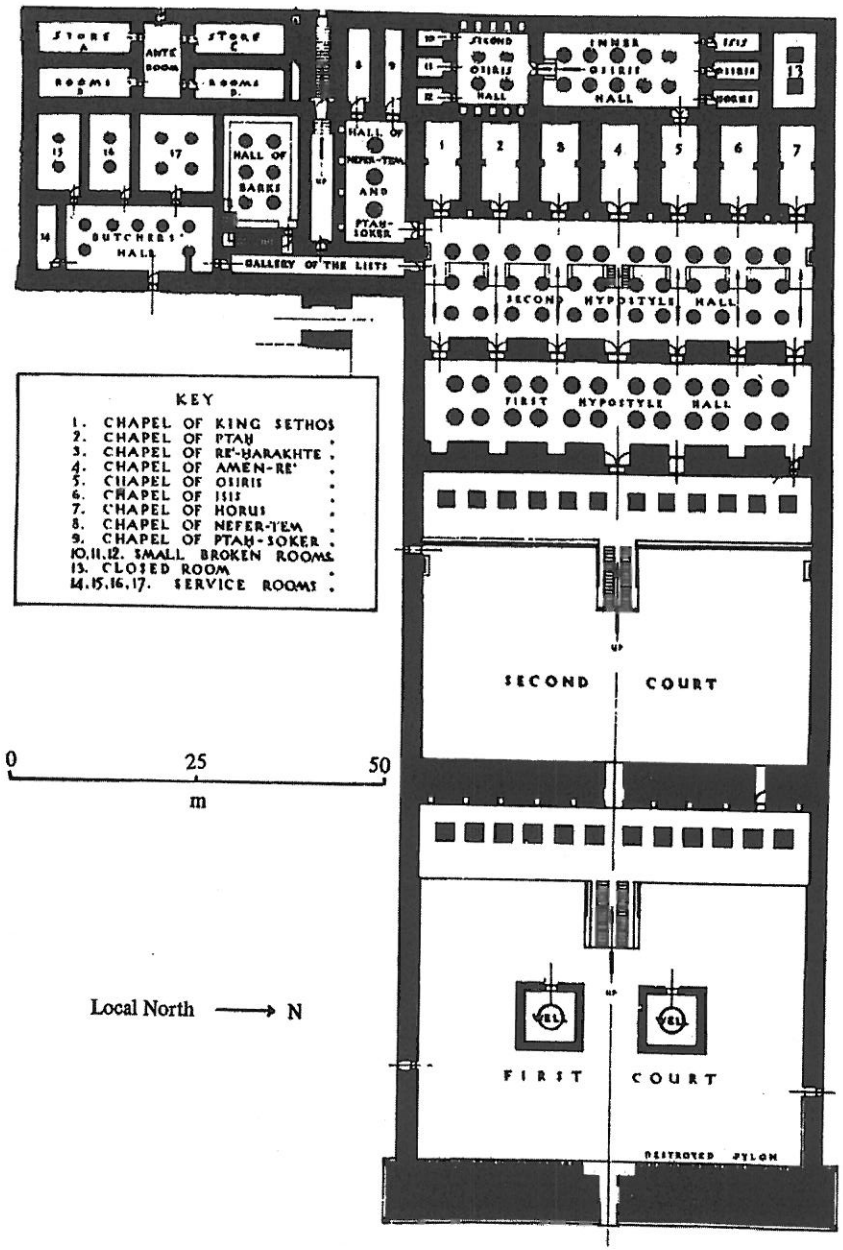


Figure 3.1 Plan of Sety I's Abydos Temple. Calverley, Gardiner, *et al.* 1933:pl. IA. Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.

other cycles, see Tables A.1 and A.2). These offerings are listed in a different order on pAmun, suggesting flexibility in the order of presentation. Sometimes references were less direct. For example, Gardiner suggested that the incense mentioned in "Utterance for Incense for Re" (Meal 33) ". . . symbolizes the crown of Upper Egypt assumed by the heavenly king in the course of his morning toilet" (Gardiner 1935:88).

Despite such overlaps and references, the Daily Ritual and the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors were clearly separated on papyrus copies of the rituals (Tables A.1 and A.3) and often in architectural space in temples. For example, in the Temple of Sety I at Abydos (Figure 3.1) the Daily Ritual was the focus of the decorative program in six of the seven main chapels (chapels 2–7); the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors was the focus in chapel 1, as well as in most of the rooms of the southern annex, including the whole complex of Nefertem and Ptah-Sokar (see chapter 6), the Gallery of the Lists, and the Hall of Barques.

However, episodes from the two cycles often share the same architectural space in such a way that overlap is indicated. For example, in the sanctuary of Sety I's Theban memorial temple (Figure 3.2), entry episodes and the beginning of the 'toilet' appear on the north half of the east wall; the 'toilet' continues on the north wall; food and drink, associated with the 'meal', are offered on the south wall and part of the south half of the east wall; and the Rite of Bringing the Foot appears closest to the door on the south half of the east wall. The evidence for the overlapping of the two ritual cycles does not present a situation in which the two rituals must be performed in lockstep. Rather, as some servants were preparing and laying out food for the lord of the house's breakfast while others woke and dressed him, some priests were conducting the first part of the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors while others were performing the Daily Ritual. Exact coordination of every step within the two programs was not necessary, provided they met properly at the appointed times.

RITUALS REPEATED AS NEEDED

Certain practical episodes, such as the "Utterance for the Fan" (Meal 7) to fan the fire, may have been performed as needed rather than, or in addition to, following a particular schedule. Comparable episodes from a single papyrus source (pBM 10689), one set to be performed every day and the other to be performed on New Year's Day, do not have a standard order. The everyday morning rites (Meal 45–47) appear after the lighting of the torch (Meal 38), whereas the New Year's Day morning rite (Meal 51) appears before the New Year's Day lighting of the torch (Meal 52). Thus, it seems that a torch may have been expected to start to burn out at about the time of the morning rites, but there was not a set time to change torches. The sanctuaries of ancient Egyptian temples had no windows, thus they needed torches for light even during the day. Since torches probably burned out several

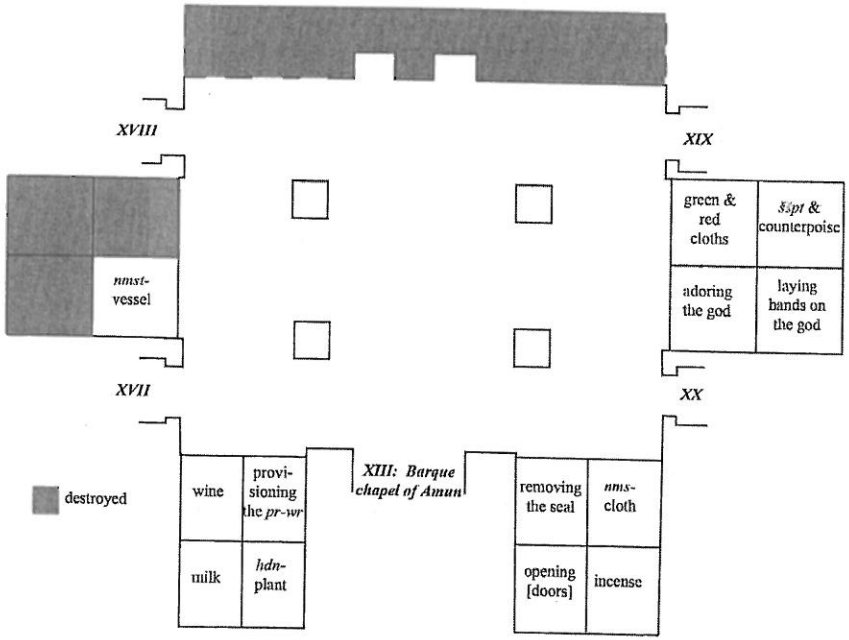


Figure 3.2 Diagram of the sanctuary of Sety I's Theban Temple. The decorative program features episodes from both the toilet (Abydos and pAmun parallels indicated) and meal:

removing the seal (*sfḫ ḏbꜥ*)	Abydos 4 ‖ pAmun 9
opening [doors] (*wn* [*ꜣwj*])	Abydos 6 ‖ pAmun 10
nms-cloth (*nms ḥꜥw*)	Abydos 31
incense	pAmun 21 or Abydos 16 ‖ pAmun 36
adoring the god (*dwꜣ nṯr*)	Abydos 16 ‖ pAmun 37–40, 42
laying hands on the god (*djt ꜥwj ḥr jt.f*)	Abydos 13 ‖ pAmun 44
green and red cloths (*djt mnḫt šsp wꜣḏt jnsj*)	Abydos 19 and 21 ‖ pAmun 51–52
sšpt & counter-poise (*djt sšpt mꜥnḫt*)	Abydos 25
nmst-vessels	Meal 17?
wine (*nw*-jars)	Meal 12
milk	Meal 13
provisioning the *pr-wr* (*dfꜣw pr-wr*)	Abydos 11
removing the footprints with the *hdn*-plant	Abydos 35 ‖ Meal 30

For more on these parallels, see Table A.1. Diagram by the author, after Osing 1999:329.

times a day, the torch to be replaced around the time of the morning rites was only the first torch expected to burn out. In the Karnak reliefs, the daily episodes for lighting and extinguishing torches appear on different segments of the wall—Karnak 9 appears on the second register in section I, Karnak 10 appears on the fifth register in section II (Table A.3, the two torch rituals for the New Year's Festival, Karnak 15 and 16, are adjacent).

In the copy of "Utterance for Extinguishing it (the torch)" from Karnak (Meal 39), there is an 'intrusive rubric' reading "Utterance for Twisting the Wick" (*r n sḫt ḥꜥt*) that, according to Nelson, ". . . must belong to a lost spell for one of the rites in the preparation, use and extinguishing of the torch" (1949a: 325). Thus, it seems that the torch episodes are references to a longer ritual series, which has not survived. Some priests were ritually preparing torches as others were carrying out other rituals. The meal and the torch cycle only overlapped when the torch being used during the meal needed to be replaced. These rituals, and other repeated rituals—perhaps even offering incense and libation—may have acted as refrains do in song (Staal 1989:179). However, due to space constraints, episodes would usually only be depicted once, even if they were repeated many times.

An exception is an entry sequence on pAmun in which Episodes 27 through 34 parallel Episodes 10 through 17. Because pAmun Episodes 20 and 26 are associated with festivals, many have read the whole sequence, from pAmun 20–34, as a festival entry sequence. There are many reasons for following this interpretation (chapter 4); however, the possibility that it relates to a second entry performed daily cannot be ruled out. The opening of doors was frequently depicted next to multiple doors in a temple. Moreover, some rites related to going into progressively sacred space might have been repeated every time priests entered certain areas. Thus, with several servants working together on overlapping circuits, coming in and going out, the rites related to opening doors would have been repeated over and over again, as needed.

EPISODES WHICH ARE DETAILS OF OTHER EPISODES

A pair of scenes from the Daily Ritual cycle at Abydos suggests that sometimes episodes might overlap or intertwine rather than exist as completely separate entities. In "Utterance for seeing the god" (Abydos 8; pAmun 11; Edfu and Dendera 5), the priest says, "I kiss the ground" (*sn.j tꜣ*). The scene immediately next to this one in the Abydos reliefs is the "Utterance for kissing the ground, putting oneself upon one's belly in order to touch the ground with one's fingers" (Abydos 10; pAmun 12–17 = 29–34). Thus, Abydos Episode 10 may be a detail of part of Abydos Episode 8. Abydos Episodes 8 and 10 were reversed in the Osiris Chapel (Calverley, Gardiner, *et al.* 1933:pl. 4), further indicating that, although the rites were related, they may not have been sequential.[1] Then, in Abydos Episode 10, the priest declares that he offers *Maat*. On pAmun, there is an episode devoted to offering *Maat* (pAmun 42), which, as already mentioned, might also be an allusion to the laying out of food offerings.

Thus, in some cases one episode might be meant to illuminate details about another. This type of structure is called 'embedding.' According to Staal:

> . . . an embedded ritual may be interrupted, once or several times, by the ritual in which it is embedded, to be continued or completed afterwards. (1989:108)

Rites for acts like kissing the ground and throwing oneself on one's belly may have been 'embedded' in the ritual at each point where they were mentioned in an utterance (the aforementioned rites repeated as needed). The repetition of these rites on pAmun might provide more support for this view. Another possible example of embedding in ancient Egyptian ritual is found in medical papyri. Many remedies will indicate that a medicine is to be swallowed. The practitioner must know to look elsewhere for an utterance to accompany the act of swallowing.

CONTINUOUS CYCLES

The king must be legitimate for the ritual to be effective. However, the process of performing ritual makes the king legitimate. Similarly, priestly purity is both required for ritual performance to be legitimate and the ultimate goal of the performance (Bonnet 1931:20). Since the results of the ritual are also prerequisites for performance, the cycles must be never ending. Several episodes in the Daily Ritual and the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors assume that the ritual had been performed the previous day. Reading these ritual sequences as forming interlocking cyclical patterns rather than following a linear order explains some puzzling aspects of the ritual and is more in keeping with the deeper symbolic meaning of the rituals as well.

For example, in the Daily Ritual cycle in the Temple of Sety I at Abydos, "Utterance for wiping off ointment" (Abydos 14) and "Utterance for taking off the clothing" (Abydos 15) presuppose that ointment and clothing had been put on the previous day. No such clear indications of the cyclical nature of the Daily Ritual occur on pAmun, where wiping off the ointment appears to have been an act performed at festivals rather than daily (chapter 4). However, similar cyclical structures do occur in the meal. In both papyrus versions of the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors, "Utterance for causing the torch to flourish every day" (Meal 38) is immediately followed by the "Utterance for extinguishing it" (Meal 39). This thematic group is a reference to a torch ritual cycle, which overlapped with the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors after the reversion of offerings, and perhaps as needed throughout the day (as mentioned earlier). Presumably a torch was not lit and then immediately extinguished (Nelson 1949a: 321–323). Rather, the new torch was lit with the old torch and then the old torch was extinguished. Thus, the torch used throughout the earlier part of the ceremony was the one that had been lit during the previous cycle.

The Daily Ritual and the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors also functioned on deeper symbolic levels that were related to cyclical events. For example, in entering the shrine (pAmun 9 = Abydos 4) one unfastened the bolt, an act associated with removing the finger of Seth from the Eye of Horus (Griffiths 1958:7–9).

st3 ḏbʿ n stẖ m jrt ḥr nḏm st (pAmun 3, 8; Guglielmi and Buroh 1997:120, 147)

The finger of Seth is removed from the eye of Horus. It is well.

The priest was repairing the moon, associated with Horus' injured eye, and thereby perpetuating the lunar cycle. The priest then opened the doors of the shrine (pAmun 10 = Abydos 6), saying:

wnw ʿ3wy pt snw ʿ3wy t3 (pAmun 4, 3; Guglielmi and Buroh 1997:122, 152)

The two door-leaves of the sky are open. The two door-leaves of the earth are open.

Opening the door-leaves of the sky allowed the sun barque to pass and thus perpetuated the solar cycle. The yearly cycle of the inundation was also invoked, for example in Meal Episode 16, "Utterance for the Second Libation" (*r n ḳbḥ snnwt*):

dj.f bḥ(ʿ)w ḥr swʿb.f (pCairo-Turin, C III, 2–6)

He causes the inundation in making himself pure.

Thus, the libation and purification rites were seen as the ultimate impetus for the annual inundation. Monthly rituals celebrating phases of the moon also invoked the symbolism of other cyclical events, particularly the solar cycle.

Other acts had mortuary as well as cosmological connotations. For example, in "Utterance for wiping off ointment" (Abydos 14), the substance was clearly meant to revivify the deity.

ṯs.s ḳsw.k dmḏ.s ʿwt.k s3ḳ jwf.k (eg. Calverley, Gardiner, *et al.* 1935:pl. 15).

. . . it joins your bones, it reunites your limbs, your flesh being reassembled.

Unlike Osiris, most deities did not die, per se, but could achieve revivification through syncretism with Osiris. In some cases, such 'revivification' might be considered more akin to recovery from illness than death. In any case, the ultimate goal of revivification was rebirth, an event celebrated in "Utterance for libation to Re" (Meal 32):

pr wḏ3 imyt(w) mn[ty] n mwt.[k 3st] msw.tw sḫpr.n.k ḫwn ms (B 5, 10–6, 3; and pCairo-Turin, T 18,14–C8, 7, with restored text after Gardiner 1935:pl. 52)

Come forth uninjured between the thighs of [your] mother [Isis], one borne, you become a child, born.

According to ancient Egyptian cosmology, the sun had to be reborn every day. Similar symbolic associations can be identified in virtually every episode. Although this symbolism was recognized in the earliest publications of these rites (eg. Moret 1902; Gardiner 1935; Nelson 1949a), the implications of the centrality of cyclical notions of time in temple ritual have not informed scholarly understanding of the structure of ritual performances strongly enough.

In life, the cycles of performing a toilet and eating meals probably began with birth or shortly thereafter. For the deceased, the cycle was renewed by means of a proper burial. For statue cults, the cycles of toilets and meals began with the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony. Correspondences between birth rites, funerary rites, and the Opening of the Mouth, itself employed as a mortuary ritual, have long been recognized (eg. Roth 1992 and 1993). These cycles include striking parallels with segments of the Daily Ritual and the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors (eg. Blackman 1918–1919; Moret 1902; and Gardiner 1935). Special versions of the toilet and meal also figured prominently in the performance of festivals (chapters 4 and 6). Once begun, these cycles were performed daily. Those for the gods and the ancestors were meant to be repeated forever.

EARLIER CULT COMPLEXES

The earliest representations of temple ritual were inscribed on small objects, such as jar tags and ceremonial mace heads. These renditions tend to focus on climactic moments in festivals. However, even with their limited space, everyday rites play essential supporting roles. For example, on the Narmer mace-head the king watches a festival event in which men run between cairns from his raised platform (Serrano 2002:53). However, his sandal-bearer is behind him and he has fan bearers by his side, two regular attendants who would have been experts at the protocol of interacting with the king as they performed their roles daily. Some early renditions of Sokar's festival also incorporated references to regular offerings and periodic acts of maintenance (chapter 6).

During the Old Kingdom, representations of cult directed towards the king, rather than the gods, come to dominate surviving records. These show groups of officials in lines with different offerings. The ritual focus of providing for the daily needs of deities or deceased kings was already prominent in Old Kingdom royal memorial establishments and the *Pyramid Texts* (Posener-Kriéger 1976:536–543). For example, in the sanctuary of Pepy II's pyramid temple (Jéquier 1936–1940: vol. 2, 58–62, and pls. 61–104, esp. pls. 71–76, 87–91), there are groups of dozens of officiants and offering bearers, including men with a variety of titles attached to several different institutions—the seal-bearer of the king of lower Egypt (*sḏȝwt bjty*); lector priests (*ḫry-ḥbt*); scribes belonging to the god (*sš nṯr*) and the king (*sš nswt*);

sole companions (*smr wʿty*), including one attached to the dual treasuries (*pr-ḥḏ*); officials attached to the palace (*pr-ʿȝ*), including a doctor (*swnw*); and many others.

This pattern continued in royal cult establishments through the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty, in both memorial temples and royal chapels associated with divine temples—for example, the king's chapel in the Eighteenth Dynasty temple at Medinet Habu (Epigraphic Survey 2009:9 and 86–89). By the Nineteenth Dynasty, chapels devoted to the kings' cults had moved to more peripheral places within their own memorial temples, and kings are generally depicted receiving offerings from Horus, Pillar-of-his-Mother; Thoth; or one of his royal descendants. Most explicit scenes of offering bearers and butchers have migrated to more external areas of the temple, especially courts (the chapel which Sety I devoted to his father, Ramesses I, at Abydos is an exception; Winlock 1921:pl. IX). Priests continued to be depicted performing in processional scenes for both the king and the gods.

The decorative programs of these typical Old and Middle Kingdom monuments support the household model, and in particular the involvement of a multitude of actors. Prior to the New Kingdom, divine temples were made predominantly of mud brick and tended to blend in more with the general surroundings than the great stone temples of the New Kingdom and later. Thus, it seems reasonable to suggest that the ritual, too, might have blended in more with everyday life. However, the patterns in decoration of chapels devoted to the king do not seem to reflect representations of cult before the god. For example, the scenes decorating the White Chapel of Senwosret I suggest that the focus on the king alone before the god was already current in the Middle Kingdom. Each pillar has the king before the deity, with many of the ritual titles which come to be typical later (eg. adoring god *dwȝ nṯr*; striking the white bread *sḳr t ḥḏ*). Although this could be a function of the architectural structure and the relatively external nature of the barque station, it still shows that priests were not considered necessary in such renditions, if they ever had been in scenes of offering to the gods (as opposed to the king). This is also true of the rooms devoted to Amun-Re and Amun-Re *kȝ-mwt.f* in the Eighteenth Dynasty temple at Medinet Habu (as previously mentioned).

The term "uncovering of the face" (*wn-ḥr*), which according the pAmun was the title of the toilet cycle, is attested in mortuary contexts as early as the Middle Kingdom, although no cycles comparable to the aforementioned toilet and meal cycles survive that early (Lohwasser 1991:1). However, two Middle Kingdom cycles intertwine 'mundane' offerings with mortuary and festival episodes, the Middle Kingdom *Dramatic Ramesseum Papyrus* (chapter 4) and a series of mortuary liturgies used in Ptolemaic temples having their origins in the *Coffin Texts*, or earlier (chapter 6). However, it bears repeating that both of these pre–New Kingdom sources were recovered from mortuary contexts.

CONCLUSIONS

Statues were cleaned and dressed daily, so that deities were tempted to inhabit them, and then offered the nourishment all living beings require. Thus, through their statues, gods were able to interact with the embodied king and his representatives, the priests. In ancient Egypt, the Daily Ritual and the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors were ritualizations of these basic chores of everyday life—the toilet and meals. However, they were not distinct, independent ritual cycles that progressed in a canonical order either on a national or a local level. Comparing different records of ritual based on the logic of performing the acts indicates that the progression of episodes was not standardized, that priests of various ranks were sometimes called on to perform specific episodes, and that 'different' ritual cycles might have had considerable overlap, progressing in the same way as the toilet and meals in an elite household.

However, the models of maintaining an elite household and of performance are primarily effective in reading those representations of ritual meant to replicate the performance of the rites for a divine image to some degree, such as those recorded on papyrus or the walls of sanctuaries, offering halls, and barque chapels. This was not the purpose of all, or perhaps even most, representations of ritual on temple walls (eg. Arnold 1962). Rituals might have been recited without acts being performed to link together the rituals of deities sharing the same temple, as suggested in the discussion of the ritual cycle on the east wall of the Second Hypostyle Hall in the Temple of Sety I at Abydos (chapter 5). If rituals were celebrated for non-anthropomorphic recipients, like the sky, the logic of performing the acts need not dictate the order of the ritual recitation. Nonetheless, most temple ritual was probably focused on cult images of deities, and therefore the progression of the ritual usually was arranged to accommodate the physical realities of working with those images.

4 Festivals in the Framework of the Daily Ritual

The performance of the Daily Ritual and the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors in temples probably progressed in much the same way as the toilet and meals in an elite household. Understanding the progression of these daily cycles is essential to understanding festival cycles because the 'toilet' and 'meal' formed the overall framework of temple ritual (Assmann 1991a:105). Therefore, many festival ritual 'cycles' were in fact groups of episodes 'intertwined' within the basic daily cycles. This chapter examines three ways in which intertwining occurred in records of ritual which were largely based on the logic of performing the acts on a divine image. Some festival episodes were set within the framework of the Daily Ritual, most clearly manifest in pAmun 3055. These episodes were often to be performed on 'any' festival day. Other festival variants were added onto the end of papyrus copies of the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors. These tend to be for specific celebrations, such as the Sixth Day Festival and the Festival of Amun. These were all rather simple additions. In the *Dramatic Ramesseum Papyrus* (DRP), a more complicated combination of events was represented, intertwining regular daily offerings, like the conical loaf of white bread, with episodes associated with Osiris' annual festival and periodic rituals related to royal legitimacy, like coronations and *ḥb-sd* (jubilee) festivals.

THE AMUN PAPYRUS

The ancient Egyptian title of pAmun gives the impression that the ritual was to be performed in a single location, for a single recipient by a single priest.

> *ḥ3t-ʿ m rw n(j)w ḫt-nṯr jrt n pr jmn-rʿ nsw nṯrw m ḫrt hrw nt rʿw nb jn wʿb 3ʿ jmy hrw.f* (pAmun 1,1–2; Guglielmi and Buroh 1997:106, 137)
>
> Beginning of the utterances for the divine rites which are done in the House of Amun-Re, king of the gods daily by the Great Pure-Priest in his day.

However, this impression is false. Although the text was specifically written for the Great Pure-Priest, it indicates that he called upon other ritualists at

various points (chapter 2). The person who wrote the ancient text may have had a specific sequence of episodes in mind. However, this is not the only possibility. More likely, the person who compiled this text was struggling to represent a multifaceted group of ritual episodes performed by the Great Pure-Priest with other priests in subtly different ways on different occasions. Ancient Egyptians confronted with this text may have had some of the same questions about the relationship between text and ritual performance as we have and may have read the text differently from each other, and from us.

In fact, one episode on pAmun has explicit instructions indicating that it was to be performed "every day" (pAmun 55) while others are for festival occasions (pAmun 20, 26, and 54). Several others have references to festivals, and their context further suggests that they may have been festival rites as well. The only divisions in the ancient text are the titles to the utterances. Dividing groups of episodes into sequences is an act of interpretation, which may be justified by the logistics of performing the acts described and the contents of the utterances. Two sequences were each devoted to purification, entry, and confronting the god. The first sequence, pAmun Episodes 1–19, was probably performed at the beginning of every day (hereafter referred to as the 'daily sequence') and does not include references to festivals. Guglielmi and Buroh translated only the first seventeen episodes and their parallels (from pAmun 27–34 and the Abydos reliefs, Table A.1). They suggested that that the first sequence closed with two hymns to Amun, pAmun Episodes 18–19 (Guglielmi and Buroh 1997:105, esp. n. 31). The beginning of the 'second sequence' is debatable. Moret read pAmun Episodes 25–42 as a second entry sequence, which allowed the priest to return with offerings (1902:102, 107). David read pAmun Episodes 20–42 as an entry sequence for special occasions, like festivals (1981:78).

Three activities were expanded or added in the second sequence, probably for festival celebrations: purification (pAmun 20–21, 35–36), entry (pAmun 22–25), and uncovering the face and confronting the god (pAmun 26–34). Both Moret and David end this sequence with presenting *Maat* (pAmun 42). However, the series of adorations (pAmun 37–41) makes only two very oblique references to festivals, and the utterance for presenting *Maat* has none. Thus, these episodes are not included in the present discussion of festival additions, since their role is ambiguous. In addition, pAmun Episode 54 expanded the rites associated with offering ointment for festivals. This analysis shows that the festival utterances often expand portions of the daily ritual rather than preceding, following, or replacing it.

PURIFICATION

> By virtue of this framing, performance is understood to be something other than routine reality; it is a specific type of demonstration. (C. Bell 1997:160)

The purification required before temple personnel entered certain areas of the temple is one of the definitive features of sacred space. The daily pre-entry purification sequence includes references to numerous preliminary acts that were performed first thing every morning, with the purification being a primary focus. These acts were not repeated in festival episodes. The first episode associated with festivals is pAmun Episode 20. This episode begins with a title and ritual instructions written mostly in red:

> *r n sty ḥb m bjt dd mdw* (pAmun 7,3; Moret 1902:70)
> SPEECH TO SCENT A FESTIVAL like honey. WORDS TO BE SPOKEN:

A regular rite for offering incense (pAmun 21) follows. Incense was to be presented again in pAmun Episodes 35–36. The latter episode refers to "festival perfume" (*sty ḥb*). That is the only indication, aside from their framing, which suggests that these three episodes might be festival episodes. The pragmatic focus of both segments is on scenting the sanctuary and offering incense to the deity. The symbolic focus is on the association of the Eye of Horus with fragrant substances and the assembly of Amun-Re's members. Both the pragmatic and symbolic foci have clear parallels in mortuary literature, a point emphasized by Moret (1902:72–76 and 78–79).

In pAmun Episode 20 honey is accorded powers usually associated with perfumes:

> *bwt.s grg m rn.s pwy n bjt wꜣḏt.s ḥr jb n jmn-rᶜ* (7) *nb nst tꜣwy nfr m hrw.pn ḥtp jb.f ḥr.s wn.s r jwf.f ṯs.s n.f ḳs.w.f sꜣḳ.s n.f ᶜt.f ḫnm.f sty.s r f mj ḫnm rᶜ m ᶜḥt.f* (pAmun 7, 6–8; Moret 1902:71)
> Its (f.) abomination (*bwt*, f.) is the liar, in this its (f.) name of "honey" (*bjt*, f.). It (f.) refreshes the heart of Amun-Re, Lord of the Throne of the Two Lands, beautiful as this day. His heart is in peace on account of it (f.). It (f.) opens his flesh. It (f.) knits together his bones for him. It (f.) pulls together his limbs for him. He smells its (f.) perfume, towards him, as Re joins with his horizon.

This ritual plays with some potentially dangerous symbolic motifs. The wordplay between "honey" (*bjt*) and "abomination" (*bwt*) allows the priest to symbolically offer up that which the god is opposed to and subjugates. This symbolism is in keeping with the offering of odorous substances, which were often associated with the subjugation of the foreign lands from which many were imported (see the following).

The power of honey is further underscored by the treatment of the words "like honey" (*m bjt*) in the rubric. They were written in black, even though they were followed by further instructions written in red—i.e. they were part of a rubric. This treatment is reserved for a limited range of words, mostly names of divinities, kings, and deceased persons in mortuary literature.

According to Posener, certain glyphs, like the sun (), were emblematic of a deity and therefore frequently written in black rather than red. The bee (), which can stand for the "King of Lower Egypt" as well as "honey" and "bee", was such a glyph (Posener 1949).

Honey was very important in temple ritual (Helck 1960–1970:703–708). It was a symbol of abundance, as in the *Tale of Sinuhe,* when this high official described the land to which he had fled:

> It was a good land called Yaa. Figs were in it and grapes. It had more wine than water. Abundant was its honey, plentiful its oil. All kinds of fruit were on its trees. Barley was there and emmer, and no end of cattle of all kinds. (Lichtheim 1975:226; for Egyptian, see Sethe 1927:7, 7–11)

Honey is also a proven antibacterial agent (Majno 1975:117–118), which the Egyptians valued for its power to cure wounds in the living and for other medicinal uses (Hofmann 2008:40–49; von Deines and Grapow, 1959:157–168). However, for a long time, honey was not considered to be beneficial to the dead.

Honey only appears rarely in ancient Egyptian mortuary contexts prior to the New Kingdom—in Barta's type C offering list from the Middle Kingdom onward (1963: 111–113). In addition, there is a beekeeping scene in the sun temple of the Fifth Dynasty king, Niuserra (Crane and Graham 1985:24–27, fig. 1), and honey is directly mentioned in an offering list from the same temple (Helck 1977:pl. II, 10). However, in a remedy for young children honey was said to be:

> . . . *bnr r rmṯ dḥrt nt nḥ jm* (Erman 1901:12, col. 2,4–5)
> . . . sweet to people but bitter to the ones yonder [i.e. the dead]

This line was probably composed in the Middle Kingdom and written down in the Seventeenth or early Eighteenth Dynasty. Since another hand on this papyrus may date as late as the Nineteenth Dynasty, the remedies on the first part of the papyrus were still in use well into the New Kingdom (Erman 1901:3–7).

Perhaps honey was considered unpleasant for the dead because, although it could stave off rot in a wound (Majno 1975:117–118), and may have been used to preserve meat (Ikram 1995:169–171), it was unable to prevent a corpse from rotting. (Although a common legend asserts that the body of Alexander the Great was preserved in honey, there is no evidence for this practice.) Any concerns that the Egyptians may have had about honey and the dead in early times seem to have faded by the Third Intermediate Period, the time when pAmun was written. Nonetheless, the association of incense with honey may still have underscored the belief that the god being served was alive. The offering of honey and substances associated with honey may have been particularly meaningful during lunar festivals. Honey is an ingredient in eye remedies (Eb 369–375, 379, 385, 392, and 410–413; Grapow, *et al.* 1958:41–44). The lunar cycle was associated with the injury and restoration of the Eye of Horus—the blacked-out moon being Horus' injured eye, which was filled and healed over the course of the lunar cycle.

ENTRY

Following purification, the priest entered the temple and the sanctuary of the god. The festival sequence might refer to a second entry into a space not entered in the course of the regular daily ritual. The title to the first episode in this segment, "Utterance to enter the temple" (pAmun 22), might indicate that the temple was reentered, perhaps after a procession, or that another temple along the processional route was entered at this point (on the term *ḥwt*, see chapter 1). The following episodes are devoted to entering the shrine: "Utterance for entering the shrine of the god" (pAmun 23) and "Another utterance" (pAmun 24). According to Wilson the word *sḫm* originates in a miswriting of the word *ḥm*, "shrine", ". . . where  has been reinterpreted as and thus *sḫm* is simply a latter form of *ḥm*" (1997:904). However, priests attached to the Great Temple of Amun at Karnak, arguably the most important religious institution in the country, knew the older phases of the language and could have set things right, had the associations been undesirable. Such 'accidents' tended to be perpetuated when they had meaning. In this case, the relationship between the objects designated by this sound-group, the *sḫm* "shrine", *sḫm* "power", and the *sḫm* "statue" which it contained, probably encouraged the perpetuation of this 'slip'.

In the Abydos version of the Daily Ritual, a parallel utterance (Abydos 9 = pAmun 23, Moret 1902:93, n. 1) is used in association with entering the *st-wrt*. Like *sḫm*, this term was ambiguous. By the Nineteenth Dynasty, *st-wrt* could refer to any shrine or temple. However, these broad meanings had only recently developed during the Eighteenth Dynasty. Previously *st-wrt* had referred to a god's throne or pedestal (Spencer 1984:108–114, esp. 113–114; and Wilson 1997:948). In modern academic systems of thought, this sort of ambiguity tends to be highly undesirable. The ancient Egyptians often embraced such ambiguity. For example, some very similar words for divine image were consistently kept distinct from each other, whereas others appear to be 'confused' but perhaps were expressing ritually significant relationships (Eaton 2007b).

The next episode in the festival sequence on pAmun is entitled "Utterance for mounting the stairway" (pAmun 25). Moret read this as referring to the steps leading up to the shrine (1902:106). However, essentially the same utterance appears in the chapels of Isis, Amun-Re, and Ptah at Abydos with the title "Utterance to enter in order to uncover the face inside the Great Temple and the *pr*-rooms of the gods, which are next to the great *pr*-room" (Abydos 1).[1] Konrad described the use of *pr* to designate individual rooms,

specifically in the Nineteenth Dynasty (2006:11). Thus, it seems most likely that these unusual references to temple architecture indicate that the ritual was conducted in special places. In the case of pAmun and pMut, that place seems to be the roof of the temple, which was approached only after the priest entered the *sḫm*-shrine. In the case of the Temple of Sety I at Abydos, that place was clearly the seven chapels of the Temple of Sety I itself, which may have both had its own set of processional barques and housed processional barques from other temples on festival occasions (Eaton 2007a:233 and 2006:78). In that case, the *st-wrt*-sanctuary was only entered after the special location had been reached. Thus, although the utterances performed at Abydos and Thebes were often parallel, regional variation in the ritual accommodated the needs of the specific site.

UNCOVERING THE FACE

Once the sanctuary was entered, the shrine was opened, uncovering the god's face. Then the priest saw the god, and kissed the ground, prostrating himself before the deity (pAmun 10–17 in the daily version). The festival (re-)entry sequence began with a special episode, "Speech for uncovering the face at festivals" (pAmun 26). The eight remaining episodes in this portion of the festival sequence (pAmun 27–34) were essentially parallel to the eight in the regular sequence (pAmun 10–17). The form of the god Amun-Re—Amun-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands—is the same in all the episodes in which he is named. Perhaps the same image received both sequences. This fits with the possibility of a reentry. Alternatively, one sequence may have been for a cult statue and the other for a processional image. This option fits with the possibility of a sequence added to address images not adored on a daily basis.

pAmun Episode 26 begins with the announcement that the face of Re in Heliopolis is uncovered, suggesting a linkage between temples for the festival occasions celebrated. It then invokes Amun-Re, established in Thebes, who also has epithets that associate him with monthly lunar festivals (pAmun 10, 7)—"Lord of the Sixth Day Festival" (*nb sjsnw*) and "Sovereign of the Seventh Day Festival" (*jty dnjt*). Kheperre, Horus, Thoth, and other divine figures are also mentioned. The utterance then moves on to a major theme observed by Moret, the enumeration of special offerings for the festival (1902:110), in this case:

> *jw ḫr ḥnᶜ ḏḥwty jw r mȝȝ.k m ḫwt ʿȝ ʿbȝ.st tw m mw nw nnw m tȝw nw nḫbt djt.sn mḏt nw ḫȝtwy.k mnḫ nw ḫᶜ.w.k nb ḥnk.sn tw* (pAmun 6,8–9; Moret 1902:108)
>
> Horus and Thoth come so that you might see in the temple; they present to you water from the primeval waters, with grains of Nekhen [i.e. natron], they give ointment to your two *ḫȝt*-chiefs, clothing for your entire body, ointments, incense, resins, clothing and black eye paint.

This utterance might suggest that the Great Pure-Priest (*wʿb ʿȝ*) was calling on other priests who acted in the roles of divinities while presenting these offerings, perhaps concurrently. Several of these offerings were associated with later episodes in the toilet, including clothing (pAmun 49–53) and ointments and eye-paints (pAmun 54–57). Thus, as one priest uncovered the god's face he was also instructing others to perform episodes of their own. However, with all the extra rites to perform at festivals, more tasks than usual may have been undertaken concurrently. All of these words and acts seem to be setting a more elaborate stage for the regular Daily Ritual episodes which follow. In this way, special festival offerings were distributed throughout the normal daily ritual cycle, which was laced with supplementary utterances, litanies, and offerings. This framework would have made it easier for the priests to remember the proper sequences, since the overall format was one which they followed every day (Lawson and McCauley 2007:243–244).

ADORATION

pAmun Episodes 37–41 were all hymns expressing adoration for Amun-Re. The first hymn in this series is quite long, extending over nearly four columns (13,9–17,1). Although none of these have instructions indicating that they were to be performed on festival days, the first adoration of Amun (pAmun 37) includes epithets which refer to his role in festivals:

> *jmn-rᶜ nb nst tȝwy nb ȝbd jry.n.f tp ḥrw 10 mnw-jmn mnmn mwt.f* (pAmun 14,6; Moret 1902:124)
>
> Amun-Re, Lord of the Throne of the Two Lands, Lord of the Month, Who-does-the-Tenth-Day, Min-Amun, Who Begat his Mother.

"Lord of the Month" (*nb ȝbd*) might refer to Amun-Re's role during the monthly festival (*ȝbd*), which marked the beginning of the month. "Who-does-the-Tenth-Day" might refer to a procession held once each Egyptian week (Gabolde 1989:151). Thus, the recitation of epithets connecting the god to festival days might distinguish this episode from regular, daily events. However, that connection is rather tenuous, and the reading is largely dependent on the larger context of the episode on the papyrus.

OFFERING OINTMENT

The "Utterance for presenting ointment" (pAmun Episode 54) unifies the utterances associated with offering ointment (Abydos 29) and wiping it off (Abydos 14) in the Abydos version of the ritual. The arrangement of scenes at Abydos suggested that the statue was cleaned and undressed before it was dressed and anointed again for each performance. The sequence in pAmun

suggests a different interpretation. pAmun Episode 54 has a closing rubric indicating that it was specifically to be performed on festival days.

> *jrt n psḏntyw 6 nt ḥb 15 nt ḥbn ḥ3w r p3* (pAmun 32,8–33,1; Moret 1902:194)
>
> To be done for the Blacked-Out Moon Festival, the Sixth-Day Festival and the Fifteenth-Day Festival, in addition to this [i.e. the following episode].

This episode is followed by an episode for every day, "Speech for offering the ointment of daily offerings" (pAmun 55), which has parallels with the presentation ritual (Abydos 29) but not the wiping of the ointment (Abydos 14). Thus, the sequence in pAmun suggests that ointment may have been placed on the statue daily, but that the statue was only cleaned of the residue at festivals. Since pAmun and the Abydos version of the ritual are from two different time periods and two different geographical locations, practice on this point may have changed over time or regionally.

Both the daily and festival utterances equate ointment with the Eye of Horus. However, the festival version contains a list of additional precious oils. The first seven correspond to the standard list of 'seven sacred oils' established during the Fourth Dynasty (Altenmüller 1976:12 and 27). Extensive lists of oils from some Old Kingdom private tombs belonging to men who used a wide variety of oils in their work, as overseers of doctors and attendants to the king's grooming, suggest that the list of seven represents a radical simplification of the wide array of oils used in everyday life (Altenmüller 1976 and Moussa and Altenmüller 1977:106–108). Thus, it is not surprising that several of the oils cannot be identified with any particular substance. In the rite on pAmun, a common adjustment was made—the core list of seven was extended to include nine oils, namely *sty ḥb*-ointment (*var. sṯy ḥb*); *ḥknw*-ointment; *sf(ṯ)*-ointment; *nḫnm*-ointment (*var. nšnm, nḫnm*); *tw3*-ointment; *ḥ3t nt ʿš*–ointment; *ḥ3t nt ṯḫnw*-ointment; *jbr*-ointment; and *b(3)ḳ*-ointment. In addition to the mortuary associations recognized for so long, most of these oils had associations with domination over foreigners, medical remedies, or both. These three associations—rituals of rebirth, enemies, and medical remedies—relate to the three gifts the gods so often give the king—life, dominion, and health (*ʿnḫ wḏ3 snb*).

"Festival odor", *sty ḥb*-ointment probably had an animal fat base (*Wb.* iv, 350,7–9; and Jéquier 1921:146). It was used as a salve in everyday life (*Wb.* iv, 350, 10). The first part of the name forms a pun with Nubia (*sty*). Literally "oil of praising" (Jéquier 1921:146), most scholars cautiously define *ḥknw*-oil as "a sacred oil", "name of one of the seven oils", or the like (eg. *Wb.* iii, 180,5–7). Texts inscribed in the Ptolemaic Temple at Edfu indicate that its base could be perfumed in many ways (Jéquier 1921:147). This oil is rare in medical contexts, being called for in one gynecological remedy

(Eb 813; von Deines and Grapow 1959:383–384; and von Deines, Grapow, and Westendorf 1958:282).

In daily life, *sf(ṯ)*-ointment was frequently called for in medical applications for salves and bandages (von Deines and Grapow 1959:437). This was perhaps a later writing of *sft*-oil, listed as tribute from the Syrians in the time of Thutmose III and identified as a product of the ʿš-tree (Helck 1960–1970:702; Altenmüller 1976:13 and 20). *sf(ṯ)*-ointment may be associated with similar sounding oils *sfi*-oil and *sfr*-oil. Jéquier suggested a connection between *sft*-oil and "fire" (*sf*) since fats of animal origin are solid at room temperature and heated to become liquid (1921:147). The phonetic association between *sf(ṯ)*-ointment and "slaughter" *sft* might also be significant. The identification of *sf(ṯ)*-oil as "oil of slaughtering" would make the start of the list of sacred oils—"festival", "praise", and "slaughter"—an attractive proposition. By the New Kingdom, *sf(ṯ)* no longer appears to denote a specific substance, but rather had become a general word for oil and fat.

The identity of *nḫnm*-ointment (var. *nšnm*, *nḫnm*) is generally agreed to be unknown (*Wb.* ii, 319,1–3 and Jéquier 1921:147). Some early works translated it "oil of Elephantine" based on its similarity with the name of the god Khnum (*ḫnm*, therefore *n ḫnm*, of Khnum; Jéquier 1921:148). Although this is clearly an over reading, the pun may have had symbolic significance. Another unidentified ointment, *tw3*-ointment, forms a pun with *tw3(w)* "man of low station, inferior" (*Wb.* v, 248, esp. 1–3 and 9–11), another type of person over whom the king claimed dominion (eg. the poor man is associated with rebellion in the *Instruction to Merikare*; Gardiner 1914:25).

Two imported "first-quality" (*ḥ3t*) ointments come next in the list. "First-quality oil of the ʿš-tree", *ḥ3t nt ʿš*–ointment is generally agreed to have been made of cedar or pine oil (*Wb.* i, 228,6; Jéquier 1921:148). Thus, it must have been imported from Lebanon. Although plain ʿš-ointment appears quite commonly in prescriptions for salves and bandages, first-quality oil (*ḥ3t*) does not appear to have been required (von Deines and Grapow 1959: 109–111). "First-quality oil of Libya", *ḥ3t nt ṯḫnw*-ointment follows (Jéquier 1921:149). In the tombs of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep, and Hesire (Third Dynasty), at least ten different kinds of oil or blends include *ṯḫnw* in their names (Moussa and Altenmüller 1977:106–108, nos. 5–7, 9–11, 19, and 26–28; Altenmüller 1976:14–21, nos. 5–11, 19, and 26–28). Thus, this term may originally have referred to any high-quality oil of Libyan origin.

The final two oils were widely used in medical contexts. The addition of these oils, used so extensively for the living, may have been another way to underscore that the god was alive, even though the ritual has significant parallels with rites performed for the dead. The first of the two oils, *jbr*-ointment, may have been imported from Punt and was identified as laudanum (von Deines and Grapow 1959:24–25). However, this identification is not universally accepted (eg. *Wb.* i, 63, 10–13). In particular, *jbr* appears to

be a general word for ointment in later writings (Wilson 1997:60). It had many medicinal uses, most commonly appearing in prescriptions for ointments and bandages, but also against headaches, grey hair, a demon, and both ear and eye problems (von Deines and Grapow 1959:23–25).

The last oil in the list, *b(3)ḳ*-ointment is generally agreed to refer to moringa oil, not olive oil as will be found in some early sources (Germer 1979:29; Helck 1960–1970:698–700; von Deines and Grapow 1959:151; Wilson 1997:333). It can also mean "oily", a word with positive associations, such as "bright" and "fortunate". Germer listed this first among the oils most important to the ancient Egyptians (1982:552). It appears dozens of times in the medical corpus, primarily for salves, bandages, and enemas (Germer 1979:31–33 and von Deines and Grapow 1959:149–153). This oil could have been imported from both Syria and Somalia. It was clearly a symbol of Egypt's domination over foreign lands in some contexts—for example, in a tribute list of Thutmose III, along with other products of foreign origin, including *sft* (Germer 1979:29). Nonetheless, it was also produced in Egypt (Germer 1982:552).

Most of the nine ointments had very generalized associations. These lists were meant to encapsulate all the essential oils used by elite Egyptians. Thus, one should not necessarily expect all of them to be associated with specific substances. Moret emphasized the importance of this list of oils in funerary rites (1902:196 and 198). However, the symbolic associations of these materials also related strongly to the concerns of the living. The choice of a group of nine calls to mind Nine Bows, Egypt's traditional enemies. Several of these oils were clearly associated with the domination of foreigners or non-elite Egyptians. In the case of "First-quality oil of Libya" (*ḥ3t nt tḥnw*), the association was direct. Other associations were through puns—smell or perfume (*sty*) with Nubia (*sty*); and *tw3*-oil with *tw3* "poverty" and *tw3(w)* "man of low station, inferior". Four others were associated with foreign points of origin—*sf(t)*-oil from Syria; *ḥ3t nt ʿš* "first quality cedar oil", from Lebanon; *jbr* from Punt; and *b(3)ḳ* moringa-oil, from both Syria and Somalia. Thus, most of these oils symbolized the king's dominance over chaotic humans, foreign and domestic.

All of these ointments were also used in everyday life as perfumes and skin softeners. Three in the list under consideration here appear extensively in medical texts, *sf(t)*-ointment, *jbr*-ointment, and *b(3)ḳ*-ointment. They occur primarily in external applications and bandages, but also for some internal applications and in eye remedies. Since the moon was associated with the injured eye of the god Horus, the offering of oils associated with eye remedies may have been particularly important during lunar festivals. Some of the other ointments had more limited medicinal associations as well (*sty ḥb*, *ḥknw*-oil, and *ḥ3t nt ʿš*). The major themes explored in the symbolic associations of the ointments offered are rebirth, representing the divine gift of life (*ʿnḫ*); enemies, representing the divine gift of dominion (*wḏ3*); and medical remedies, representing the divine gift of health (*snb*). None of these associations cohere into a complete system encompassing every type of ointment listed. This is not a problem. Symbolic references in ritual need not fit into a clear template. If one considers each offering of ointment to be one verse in the recitation, each verse does not have to refer to every single theme celebrated. To the contrary, each verse should have something unique to offer.

AMUN PAPYRUS CONCLUSIONS

Ritual episodes devoted to festival variants recorded on pAmun indicate that part of the ritual was performed in a special location, with the recitation of more elaborate sequences of divine names and epithets, and with the announcement of the presentation of supplemental offerings. These sorts of episodes are also prominent in a "festival hall" (*wsḫt-ḥbyt*) at Karnak, the Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake, including the Litany of Re and special food offerings like a calf and an antelope along with the more 'mundane' fowl, meat, and bread (Cooney 2000:20–21). These elaborations do not appear to have been held apart from the regular daily progression; rather, they were intertwined with the regular daily episodes.

FESTIVAL VARIANTS IN THE RITUAL OF THE ROYAL ANCESTORS

pAmun seems to have been written for a single priest, although the utterances he was to recite strongly suggest that he was directing or otherwise interacting with others. In contrast, papyrus versions of the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors were clearly to be performed by a group of priests. For example, Meal Episodes 26 and 28 were explicitly to be performed by the lector priest (*ḫry ḥbt*) and Meal Episodes 27 and 29 were to be performed by the God's Servant (*ḥm-nṯr*). In addition, in two festival episodes from the meal (Meal 42 and 49), the lector priest calls upon a higher-ranking *sm*-priest to perform certain acts. Thus, the person who wrote this text may have been struggling to force a group of ritual episodes performed in a three-dimensional space by a group of temple personnel—at least three are explicitly mentioned—into the two-dimensional, linear sequence which the medium of papyrus requires.

Unlike pAmun, papyrus versions of the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors group festival episodes at the end, along with utterances for certain times of day. In this way, episodes unique to several different festivals—the Festival of Amun (Meal 42–44); the Blacked-out Moon[2] (Meal 48); the Sixth Day Festival (Meal 49–50); the New Year's Festival (Meal 51–55); and the Festival of Mut (Meal 56–57)—were added to the cycle. However, parallel episodes recorded in the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak indicate that they

could be intertwined with regular daily rites, rather than being performed after them. There are special utterances for elevating offerings (Meal 44, perhaps "carrying"; see chapter 8); offering the *nmst*-vessel (Meal 55); incense (Meal 57); and preparing torches (Meal 52–54, covered earlier). The most frequent additions were associated with monthly festivals, offering bouquets and the menu (*dbḥt-ḥtp*). Simple versions of both of these activities were performed daily. Expanded versions accompanied many other festivals as well.

BOUQUETS

As symbols of life, bouquets were associated with many festivals (L. Bell 1997:183). The Ritual of the Royal Ancestors, as recorded on pBM 10689 (B), includes a supplementary episode, "Presenting the bouquet of the Sixth Day Festival" (Meal 49). This episode appears in the Karnak reliefs (K) along with "[Spell for presenting the bouquet] of the Blacked-out Moon Festival" (Meal 48). Although bouquets do not appear to be among the regular daily rituals in the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors, the Medinet Habu festival calendar (Epigraphic Survey 1934:pls. 136–167; Kitchen 1975–1990:V 115–184; 1993-fort.a:V 115–184; 1993-fort.b:V 115–184) indicates that they were offered daily in that temple, "10 daily" being called for in the list of "Additions to Daily Temple offerings". Bouquets also appear in most of the festival lists in that calendar. Thus, the presentation of bouquets at the Blacked-out Moon and Sixth Day festivals is indicative of broader patterns.

The utterances for these two ritual episodes (Meal 48 and 49) are almost identical, although the Blacked-out Moon Festival scene at Karnak is severely damaged. They begin:

> *r n ms ꜥnḫ ḥrw n sjsnw dj ꜥnḫ n nsw msw-nswt smrw-nswt m pr djw ḫnj jmn m sȝ.k* (Nelson 1949a:334, fig. 36)
>
> Utterance for giving a bouquet on the day of the Sixth Day Festival. Give a bouquet to the king, the royal children, and the courtiers in the House. Cause that Amun hover above as your protection . . .

Bouquets were offered to all the kings, their princes, and their courtiers. In exchange, Amun provided protection. The ritual for the Sixth Day Festival recorded on B includes additional instructions. The utterance was to be recited by the lector priest (*ḫry-ḥbt*), who called upon a *sm*-priest to present the bouquets (Gardiner 1935:97; Nelson 1949a:333). Thus, the lower-ranking lector priest has a ritual sequence to follow and calls upon the higher-ranking *sm*-priest to perform select acts (chapter 2). B also adds instructions that the utterance is "To be recited four times in the name of every king" (Nelson 1949a:335). Thus, in addition to presenting more offerings to regular recipients of the daily ritual, offerings were also made to

secondary figures, who may not have received daily care. The care of subsidiary images often appears to have been a feature of festivals (chapter 6).

THE MENU (*dbḥt-ḥtp*)

The *dbḥt-ḥtp* has been translated variously as "menu" or "bill of fare" (Gardiner 1935:82), "offering meal" (Cooney and McClain 2005:51), and "set meal" (el-Sabban 2000:76 and 79). However, the literal translation is closer to "required" or "necessary" offerings (Faulkner 1986:311–312). "Funerary meal" is another common translation (David 1981:46; Faulkner 1986:311–312). Although this ritual is clearly paralleled in texts from mortuary contexts, the meal is meant to bring life, not to commemorate death. Thus, *dbḥt-ḥtp* will be translated as "menu" here because it is a common, straightforward reading of the term without inappropriate nuances.

This episode was performed daily, perhaps twice. Some festivals also had special versions of the menu, including the Sixth Day Festival (Meal 50) and the Festival of Amun (Meal 42). These occur at the end of the papyrus version of the ritual with other special rituals for those festivals, as well as on temple walls. On the Medinet Habu festival calendar, special menus were listed for the Blacked-out Moon Festival; the Sixth Day Festival; the Coronation Festival; the Eve of the *wȝg*-Festival; the *wȝg*-Festival; the Festival of Thoth; the Feast of the Great Procession of Osiris; days three through five of the Sokar Festival; and the Processional Feast of Amun. Thus, extended menus were a common feature of festivals.

A menu for the Sixth Day Festival on pCairo-Turin was composed of fourteen items, each presented in one double presentation followed by a single presentation. The *dbḥt-ḥtp*s for the Festival of Amun also includes offerings associated with the daily menu, with considerable emphasis on special offerings, particularly fruit and meat (Gardiner 1935:92–94). Nelson observed three variations of the *dbḥt-ḥtp* for the Festival of Amun. The first is a list of thirty-nine items (BM 10689 and pCairo-Turin). Other menus for this occasion do not deviate significantly from this pattern. In the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, the list encompasses only the first nineteen items of the longer lists, probably cut short due to lack of space. Finally, a forty-item menu occurs several times in Luxor Temple "without the punning verses . . ." The additional item is "a *s.t*-goose between the *trp* and the *sr*-goose" (Nelson 1949a:327 n. 123).

In addition to the expected food and drink, more durable objects relating to maintaining fires were included in the festival *dbḥt-ḥtp*s—new fire-boring sticks at the Sixth Day Festival and braziers and fans for the Festival of Amun (Gardiner 1935:95 and 98). The Medinet Habu festival calendar listed other offerings presented on a monthly basis, including incense, wax, moringa oil, papyrus sheets, wood for heating, and charcoal for cooking. In addition, mats, and material for matting, were offered on the sixth day

of Sokar's annual festival. These things, like the flags flying in front of the temple which may have been replaced at the Sixth Day Festival (*Coffin Text* 154, see chapter 6), probably needed to be replaced periodically, but not daily. These fairly straightforward lists represent complex series of rites. On B, the lector reciting the menus calls upon a *sm*-priest to perform the *ḥtp-dj-nsw* (Gardiner 1935:95, 99). The episode of the Amun festival is then followed by directions for a group of servants (*mryt*) to carry in, or "elevate" (*ʃ3*), the offerings (Gardiner 1935:95; see also chapter 8). Many of the offerings in the lists also had special episodes devoted specifically to them. These were probably performed before the offerings were presented to the god.

THE *DRAMATIC RAMESSEUM PAPYRUS*

The *Dramatic Ramesseum Papyrus* (DRP) is a Middle Kingdom document found by Quibell in a tomb beneath the Ramesseum on the west bank at Thebes (Quibell 1898:3; see also Lorand 2009:9–44). The ritual depicted was performed on a standing, striding statue of the king holding a staff and mace, associated with the royal *k3*-spirit. This ritual cycle has been variously interpreted as a coronation, a *ḥb-sd* jubilee festival, and a version of Osiris' Khoiak festival. According to Sethe, who first published it in 1928, the DRP is a copy of an old ritual adapted for the coronation of Senwosret I. The text has some archaic grammar and lexicography, including the appearance of the title, *sḫn.w-3ḫ*, otherwise only known from First Dynasty inscriptions (Sethe 1928:98–99; Lorand 2009:61).

Gardiner, while agreeing with Sethe, observed:

> . . . the absence from it of various ceremonies known from both scenes and texts to have played a prominent part at the coronation is extremely puzzling; even "the affixing of the crown" (*smnt ḥr*) is there dismissed with those two words. (Gardiner 1953:24)

In 1954, Helck argued that the ritual in the DRP represented Senwosret I's *Sed* festival (often called the *Heb-Sed, Sed* Festival or 'jubilee festival'), a periodic demonstration and celebration of royal legitimacy, rather than the coronation (Helck 1954). This interpretation was widely accepted for a long time. (eg. Altenmüller 1965–1966, Barta 1976). In the 1980s, in a study on the raising of the *ḏd*-pillar, Mikhail asserted that in the DRP ". . . there is no indication of its being a celebration of *Sed* Festival or even a coronation" and argued that it was, in fact, a record of Osiris' Khoiak festival (Mikhail 1984c:56). Recently, some scholars have returned to Sethe's original interpretation, Lorand arguing that the performance represented was designed to gain public acceptance for the transfer of power to Senwosret I after the assassination of his predecessor, Amenemhet I (Lorand 2009:144, see also Quack 2006).

All of the correspondences between the DRP and other ritual and literary texts identified by the authors cited here are legitimate and serve to shed light on different aspects of the performance(s) represented on the papyrus. However, parallelism only occurs in segments or patches. Thus, the collection of episodes depicted in the DRP as a totality is puzzling in many respects (see Hornung and Staehelin 2006:94-95). Since the ritual cycle depicted on the papyrus has no title, nor any comparable, clear statement of purpose, all of these interpretations of the DRP rely on comparisons of the episodes represented with other, usually later, depictions of ritual cycles. Moreover, how the 'magician' who was the last owner of the DRP used this document is an open question, separate from the purpose for which it was designed. He could have acquired the document as a source for an original composition of his own which either was never started or didn't make it into the collection he took to the next life (Lorand 2009:146). The papyrus could have been read as a literary or historical text. The DRP and other texts deposited in the tomb may represent only that part of the magician's collection considered obsolete or otherwise of no use to his heirs. Any of these is possible. Even if the owner tried, insofar as he was capable, to perform the ritual depicted in the DRP with precision, as instructed, in the century and a half (or more) between the ascension of Senwosret I and the depositing of the DRP in the tomb of the 'magician', the rite may have taken on a very different meaning (for similar, see Cannadine 1983:104–107).

Nonetheless, the DRP was clearly designed for a priest overseeing a dramatic ritual performance. Lorand argues that the event depicted on the DRP was acted out in a single performance for the public, with movement between the different locations mentioned in the text mimed by the actors (2009:82). However, these close readings of ancient Egyptian ritual texts indicate that ancient Egyptian ritual performances were generally more, not less, complicated than the pared-down representations of performance. The DRP is unlikely to be an exception. The larger ritual represented in the DRP was very complex. Ritual is repetitious. It is entirely probable that as public displays were going on, more powerful associated rites were being conducted in protected spaces. Was the DRP designed as a guide for the external rites, for the internal rites, or was it a manual for the person coordinating them all? Without a clear statement of purpose, only speculation is possible.

The main pieces of evidence cited for the view that this cycle represents the coronation of Senwosret I are the presence of that king's name in the first two illustrations and the manipulation of the Horus and Seth motifs for the purposes of propaganda (Lorand 2009:140–144 and 164). The references to this battle between the rightful king, Horus, and the murderer of the former king, Osiris, father of Horus, were particularly potent due to the nature of the transfer of power at that time—Senwosret I's predecessor was assassinated (chapter 1). The best documented dramatic performance of the dispute between Horus and Seth is that associated with Osiris' Khoiak

festival. It was performed during the procession in which Osiris' divine images were being carried from his temple to his tomb in the last month of the inundation. Similarly, embalming, performing the funeral, and burying the previous king were among the first acts a new king had to undertake to display his legitimacy.

The burial of the king and the burial of Osiris employed the same symbolic motifs and the same types of ritual actors. After all, a primary goal of the king's mortuary ritual was to facilitate his transformation into Osiris. Thus, these features do not set the DRP apart from other ancient Egyptian ritual cycles. Both the veneration of kings, living and deceased, and the manipulation of the Horus and Seth motif are ubiquitous in ancient Egyptian ritual as it was performed every day (eg. Griffiths 1958:3–10). Moreover, the fact that these features were part of the fabric of everyday life, and therefore familiar and perhaps even comforting, gave this special application of the rites the power to reduce the anxiety of this fraught transition of royal power (if that was indeed its purpose). As with mortuary ritual (chapter 1), the desire was not to celebrate, or even mark the potentially dangerous change, but rather to incorporate it into the fabric of everyday life as much as possible, thereby conquering the potential for chaos.

Thus, elements of cult conducted in Egyptian temples on a daily basis, revolving around the care of the basic physical needs of deities, especially their toilets and meals, were vital to the ritual depicted in the DRP. Lorand recognized that elements of the divine meals were key structural components of the DRP, particularly scenes 3, 14, and 35 (Lorand 2009:105–107). Moreover, such offerings are incorporated throughout the papyrus—bread and beer (scene 1), cloths (scene 11), wine (scene 23), an *jb*-kid and a *smn*-goose (scene 32), beer again (scene 33), and *šᶜt*-cakes (scene 39). Thus, it appears that this festival 'ritual cycle' should be understood as a series of special episodes inserted into the overall framework of the daily rituals, rather than as a discreet cycle held apart.

A more detailed reading of the complexity of the papyrus as a whole is beyond the scope of this brief overview. The following discussion will focus on one interrelated set of images with accompanying text from one segment of the papyrus (Bild 7–10, Scenes 29–33, lines 41–54, see Figure 4.1). On the left, the king stands in his barque, facing right. In front of him, squatting figures cut the throats of a bird and a mammal (identified as a goose and a kid in lines 44–47 of the text above, Lorand 2009:127 and Sethe 1928:147 and 153). Another squatting figure then presents the heads to the *ḏd*-pillar. Two standing figures hold up the *ḏd*-pillar. To the right are two schematic renditions of boats, identified as *henu*-barques in the text above. The text sequence does not exactly match the images below, as is often the case when textual and artistic renditions of a myth or ritual are presented together (eg. Brunner 1986). This is probably because, although the presentation of text requires a step-by-step linear format, that is not how performances were organized. Artistic renditions have more options when depicting concurrent action.

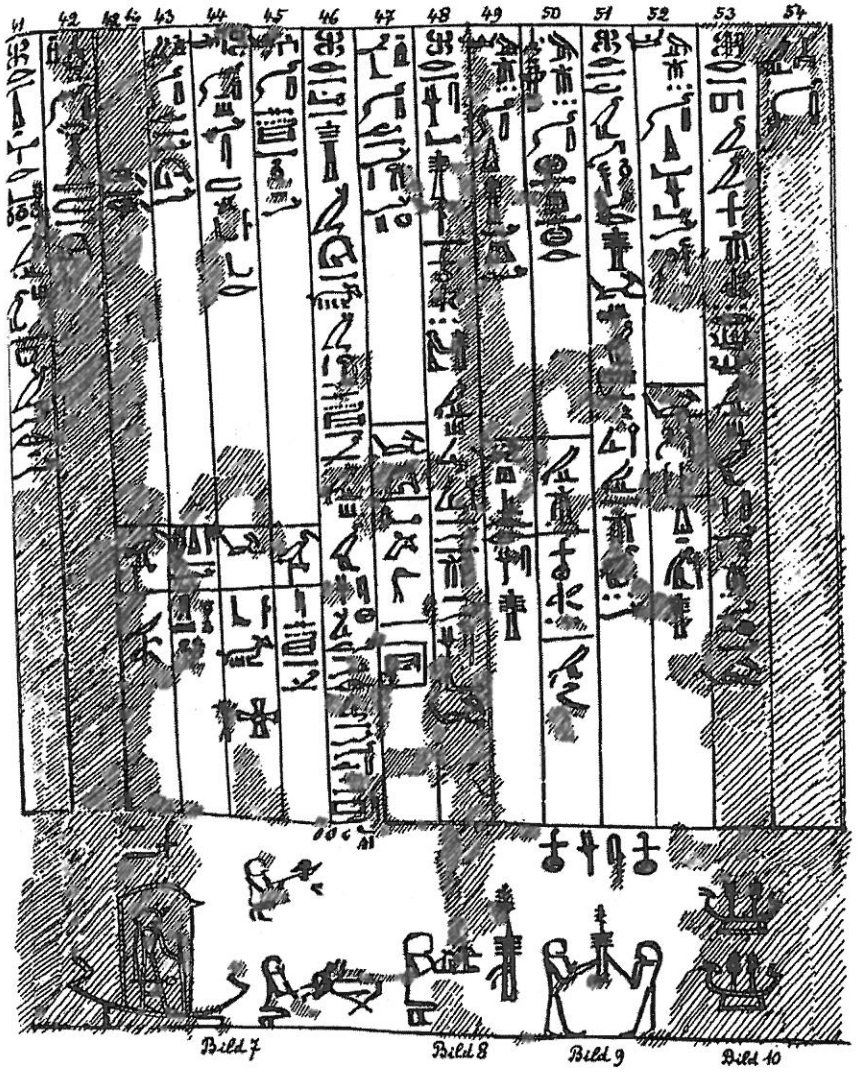


Figure 4.1 The *Dramatic Ramesseum Papyrus*, Bild 7–10, lines 41–54. Sethe 1928: pl. 15.

In this case, the animals were being butchered while the *ḏd*-pillar was being raised, perhaps in different locations. In the New Kingdom temple of Sety I at Abydos (Figure 3.1), these various elements appear in totally different parts of the temple, namely the royal barque in the Chapel of King Sety; the *henu*-barque in the hypostyle halls, the hall of Nefertem and Ptah-Sokar, and the Stairway Passage; butchering scenes in the Butcher's Hall; and raising the *ḏd*-pillar in the Inner Osiris Hall. The barques could be moved around. However, butchering large animals required drainage

facilities, leaving no viable options within the roofed portions of the temple. Raising the *ḏd*-pillar, on the other hand, represents a critical transition in need of protection. These two rites were brought together when the heads (or perhaps pots representing heads, as a note in the text above the scene probably indicates; Sethe 1928:147, line 43) were presented to the *ḏd*-pillar. The presenting of heads is the only one of these stages mentioning an actual place, the House of Gold (*ḥwt-nbw*). This further indicates that the raising of the *ḏd*-pillar was conducted in a protected space. Thus, the DRP can be read as a rite conducted in a series of different locations, with the man holding the papyrus acting as coordinator. Episodes were units which could be moved around on different occasions to achieve different ends.

The raising of the *ḏd*-pillar, featured in Bild 9 of the DRP, was clearly performed on the last day of Osiris' Khoiak festival (eg. Mikhail 1984c:51–69; Gaballa and Kitchen 1969:72–75; and van de Walle 1954:287–290). However, there is much debate concerning whether the raising of the *ḏd*-pillar was also performed for the king's coronation or *ḥb-sd*. The argument in favor is based on an inscription in TT 192 and the interpretation of the *Dramatic Ramesseum Papyrus* as a *ḥb-sd* ritual text (Helck 1954:389–391 and Barta 1976:31–43). Mikhail, on the other hand, argued against the latter interpretation:

> We have to take into consideration the long period of the *Heb-sed* celebration which is to be reckoned in months, about six. But this coincidence does not mean that the raising of the djed-pillar is a consistent part of the *Heb-sed* festival. (Mikhail 1984c:55)

This suggestion fits with the theory that festival rituals were intertwined with daily rituals and other rituals conducted during the same time period. Thus, there may not have been a consistent coronation or *ḥb-sd* festival. The timing of these events are still under discussion and may very well have changed over time (eg. Hornung and Staehelin 2006:39–40; van Siclen 1973). However, it is clear that funerary rites went on for at least two months (the estimated amount of time the embalming took), as did the *ḥb-sd* festival itself (van Siclen 1973:290). Because the king could die at any time, each funeral might interact with a different sequence of annual and lunar rites. Although the *ḥb-sd* festival may have ideally begun on the first day of the first month of Peret (Hornung and Staehlin 2006:39), it was sometimes coordinated with the king's original accession date (van Siclen 1973:290).

The fact that where periodic rituals of royal renewal ended and 'other' ritual cycles began was unclear is a contributing factor to the ambiguity which renders debate on these issues endless. Perhaps the raising of the *ḏd*-pillar and many other regular yearly, monthly, and even daily rituals experienced a shift in emphasis during coronations and *ḥb-sd* festivals, with more emphasis being placed on themes of royal legitimacy and stability (as opposed to mythic themes, themes of rebirth and change, etc.) than might

otherwise have been the case. One might compare this to the unusually lavish celebrations of Memorial Day, the Fourth of July, etc., during the U.S. Bicentennial in 1976. Most towns had their usual parades and picnics, but they were bigger and grander and intertwined with more speeches that looked back over American history. Indeed, since coronations had to be performed shortly after the previous king's death, whenever that may have occurred, each celebration intertwined with a sequence of annual ritual events which may not have occurred in recent memory. Thus, the priests went to the archives to see how it was handled the last time a king died two weeks into the month of Khoiak, for example. The incorporation of very archaic grammar and lexicography into the DRP (as mentioned earlier) suggests that the priests had to look very far back into the past for a confluence of events to use as a model in composing the DRP.

Part III

Practice

5 The Horus Cycle

The previous two chapters focused on the logistics of performing ritual on a statue of a deity. That model reflects how ritual would have been performed (ritual acts and recitations) for statues in ancient Egyptian temples. The models of maintaining an elite household and of performance are primarily effective in reading those representations of ritual meant to replicate performance to some degree. There are many more possibilities when depicting or reciting a ritual cycle. When the focus of the ritual was directed outward to the cosmos or to the temple building as a model of the cosmos, the practicality of performing physical acts upon an anthropomorphic recipient would not have been at issue. For example, the sky (*pt*) appears in the list of recipients in the litany connected to Meal Episode 33 "Incense to Re" (*r n snṯr n rʿ*). In most of the interior parts of the temple, a representation of the night sky would have been present in the starry sky decoration on the ceilings of the chapels (chapter 1). There are also consistent references to specific deities as recipients of the ritual in the utterances to some episodes of the Daily Ritual, no matter which deity was depicted as the recipient of ritual in the scene (chapter 2), including the golden broad collar, associated with the sun (see the following).

While groups of scenes are often arranged in a way that clearly does not reflect the chronology of ritual performances on statues, discerning what the underlying organizing principle might have been is much more difficult. This chapter examines a ritual cycle unlikely to have been organized based on the logic of performing acts on a statue. On the east wall of the Second Hypostyle Hall in the Temple of Sety I at Abydos, a series of scenes depict the major deities of the temple—Horus, Isis, Osiris, Amun-Re, Re-Horakhte, and Ptah—receiving ritual episodes associated with the toilet and the meal (Figure 3.1). The series of rites depicted is not a representation of how ritual was performed on a statue since multiple deities, unlikely to be embodied in a single statue, appear, all of whom have their own daily ritual chapels elsewhere in the temple. Moreover, for practical reasons the arrangement of scenes does not reflect the order in which rituals were to be performed on statues. Originally, seven processional routes, often called "alleys", ran through the hypostyle halls out onto the terrace of the Second Court of the

Temple at Sety I at Abydos, one corresponding to each of the seven barque chapels (most of the doors in the facade were blocked by Ramesses II). There are six panels of scenes, one between each set of doors leading into the First Hypostyle Hall. Along each alley the recipients of ritual depicted in the scenes generally belong to the family of the deity to whom the corresponding chapel is devoted. The group of deities along the alleys of Osiris and Ptah are larger, since they also serve the Osiris complex and the Nefertem-Ptah-Sokar complex, respectively (Eaton 2006). There is no one, clear way to read this cycle. However, one set of scenes does stand out.

In five panels, the king stands before standing deities in the lower register and kneels before enthroned deities in the upper. The deities are arranged back-to-back, creating an upward-pointing composition (Figures 5.1–5.5). The scene in the upper register adjacent to the alley of Sety I is different (Figure 5.6, upper right). The king is depicted enthroned, face to face with Mut, who gives him jubilees. This subtle shift changes the composition of the panel as a whole, setting it apart from the regularity of the rest of the wall. On one level, this can be read as the culmination of the ritual, when the gods show their pleasure by legitimizing Sety I. However, the king's acceptance by the gods was also a prerequisite for performance. Thus, there is never-ending circularity in the rite as well, a pattern encountered frequently in ancient Egyptian temple ritual (chapter 3). Moreover, these scenes are along the alley of Sety I, the route by which the barque of Sety I would have left the temple to go out on procession. This west-east progression may have been the dominant way in which this panel of scenes was approached. The main entrance to the temple was in the center, along the alley of Amun-Re.

The episodes depicted at the north end of the east wall (Figure 5.1, left), "Offering the *wsḫ*-collar" (Abydos Episode 23) and "Greetings with a *nmst*-vessel" (Meal Episode 17), do not appear towards either the beginning or the end of their ritual cycles when the main organizing principle is the order of performance on a statue. However, the logistics of performing the ritual on statues was probably not an issue in the Second Hypostyle Hall, as the statues would have been housed in more inner areas, the Daily Ritual chapels, the Osiris complex, and the complex of Nefertem-Ptah-Sokar. Rather, the arrangement of different groups of deities receiving daily rituals unified the cycles depicted in the inner areas of the temple.

The fact that these scenes are redundant is not a problem. To the contrary, repetition is vital to successful ritual. As Catherine Bell observed:

> In most societies, rituals are multiple and redundant. They do not have just one message or purpose. They have many, and frequently some of these messages and purposes can modify or even contradict each other. Nonetheless, ritual practices seek to formulate a sense of the interrelated nature of things and to reinforce values that assume coherent interrelations, and they do so by virtue of their symbols, activities, organization, timing, and relationship to other activities. (1997:136)



Figure 5.1 'Horus Cycle' Panel One, between the alleys of Horus and Isis in the Temple of Sety I at Abydos. Calverley, Gardiner, *et al.* 1958:pl. 51. Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.

Thus, the various performances could be organized several ways and with different ends in mind. This understanding is particularly important for representations of ritually important transit points, like the Second Hypostyle Hall, with priests approaching and retreating from various angles at different time of day and on different occasions.



Figure 5.2 'Horus Cycle' Panel Two, between the alleys of Isis and Osiris in the Temple of Sety I at Abydos. Calverley, Gardiner, *et al.* 1958:pl. 50. Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.

In the Horus cycle, repeated reference to the eye of the god Horus in the utterances is a unifying feature. These references allude to a very disturbing series of mythical events, usually dealt with obliquely in temple and mortuary ritual.[1] Different versions sometimes conflict. A narrative account, including details not clear in the ritual texts, appears in a New Kingdom literary text, *Horus and Seth*, which had more relaxed rules of decorum than texts for use in ritual contexts (Lichtheim 1976:214–223; pChester Beatty, see Gardiner 1931:8–26, pls. 1–16). The god Seth killed his brother, Osiris,



Figure 5.3 'Horus Cycle' Panel Three, between the alleys of Osiris and Amun-Re in the Temple of Sety I at Abydos. Calverley, Gardiner, *et al.* 1958:pl. 48. Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.

king of the gods, dismembered him, and spread his body parts throughout the land of Egypt. Osiris' sister-wife collected the parts, revivified her husband, and conceived his son, Horus. These moments of vindication are depicted in the innermost rooms of the complexes of Osiris and Nefertem-Ptah-Sokar in the Sety Temple. Paradoxically, Horus is always present for his father's revivification and his own conception in such scenes. Thus, even



Figure 5.4 'Horus Cycle' Panel Four, between the alleys of Amun-Re and Re-Horakhte in the Temple of Sety I at Abydos. Calverley, Gardiner, *et al.* 1958:pl. 47. Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.

in these protected areas, uncertainty is eliminated because the successful resolution of the crisis is present, personified in the adult Horus. Isis hid Horus from Seth throughout his childhood in the marshlands of Chemis. When he became an adult, Horus, backed by Isis, claimed the kingship for himself. The gods were divided. So Horus and Seth engaged in a series of challenges, battles, and trickery, with Isis repeatedly intervening to help



Figure 5.5 'Horus Cycle' Panel Five, between the alleys of Re-Horakhte and Ptah in the Temple of Sety I at Abydos. Calverley, Gardiner, *et al.* 1958:pl. 46. Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.

Horus. In one, Seth took out both of Horus' eyes, according to the Chester Beatty account.

In most ritual texts, only one of Horus' eyes was injured while the other was sound. They came to be associated with the moon and the sun, respectively. During the first six days of the lunar month, the six parts of Horus' injured eye were collected. The sixth day was a festival day. Since the wall on which the Horus cycle is inscribed has six panels, this numbering may be significant. However, there does not appear to be any more compelling

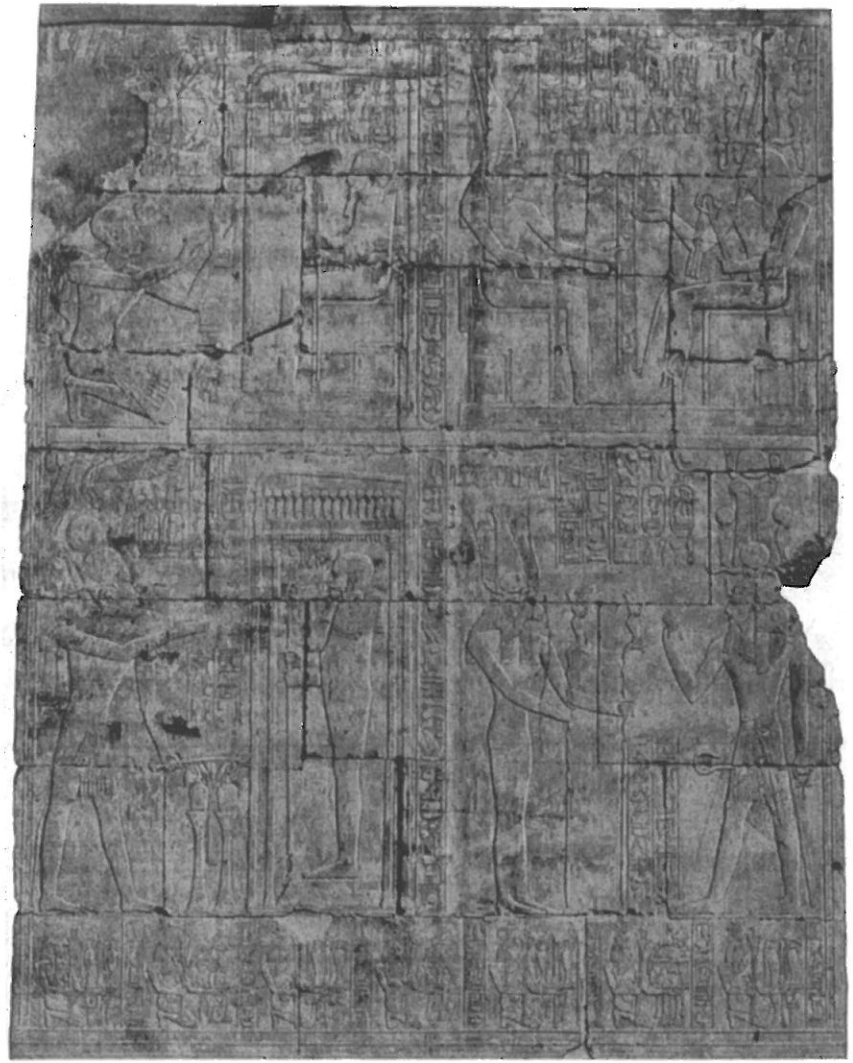


Figure 5.6 'Horus Cycle' Panel Six, between the alleys of Ptah and Sety I in the Temple of Sety I at Abydos. Calverley, Gardiner, *et al.* 1958:pl. 44. Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.

reason to relate this particular cycle with a sequence of lunar festival days. Symbolism relating to natural cycles—the daily solar cycle, the monthly lunar cycle, the yearly seasonal cycle, etc.—often appears in rituals celebrating one of the others. When one natural cycle was at an important transition point (eg. the moon was blacked out), references to natural cycles not currently in a critical transition (eg. the sun shining in the sky) could lend

stability to the transition. Thus, the presence of a focus on lunar symbolism does not indicate that a cycle was for a lunar festival.

Two aspects of the Horus cycle, a progression through different recipients and utterances referring to the restoration of Horus' injured eye, can be read as a celebration of the life cycle of the god Horus, and ultimately the legitimacy of King Sety I as the living Horus. Moving from north to south, the northernmost scenes feature greetings, references to the primordial waters of Nun, and invocations of Horus' ancestors. These overlap with references to Horus' childhood, primarily through the depiction of his mother, Isis. Horus' father, Osiris, is then, paradoxically, revivified by the eye of his son, Horus, so that he might beget his son, Horus. Then focus turns to Amun-Re, divine progenitor of the royal *kꜣ*-spirit and true father of all kings. The king's relationship with two other major state deities—Re-Horakhte and Ptah—is then celebrated. Despite the fact that Amun-Re, Re-Horakhte, and Ptah are the recipients of the ritual, a major mythical theme in this segment is the restoration and healing of Horus' injured eye. The king is then accepted as the legitimate king, qualifying him to perform the ritual.

[RE-]CREATION

The two northernmost episodes on the east wall of the Second Hypostyle Hall (Figure 5.1, left) are "Offering the *wsḫ*-collar" (Horus 1 = Abydos 23) in the lower register and "Greetings with a *nmst*-vessel" (Horus 2 = Meal 17) in the upper register. Neither episode appears at the beginning of cycles when the chronology of the ritual acts as performed on a statue appears to be a significant organizing principle.[2] Clearly different organizing principles are in play here. From a logistical standpoint, most of the god's toilet would need to be complete before this adornment would be placed on him, yet the utterance associates the act of presenting the *wsḫ*-collar with beginnings and was directed to the collar itself as a representation of the sun:

> (1) *rdj.t wsḫ jn nsw nb tꜣwy mn-mꜣᶜt-*[rᶜ] *n jt.f ḥr sꜣ ꜣst* (2) *jnḏ ḥr k jtm jnḏ ḥr k ḫpr-rᶜ kꜣ.n.k ḳꜣꜣ* (3) *wbn.k m bnbn* (Calverley, Gardiner, *et al.* 1958:pl. 51)
>
> Offering the *wsḫ*-collar by the king, lord of the two lands, Menmaatre to his father, Horus, son of Isis: "Greetings to you Atum! Greetings to you Khepri! You (sing.) have risen high, upon the hill[3]. You (sing.) shine forth in the *Benben*".

The king or priest reciting the ritual greets deities who are themselves associated with beginnings, Atum with creation and Kheperre with sunrise. Both are also solar deities, and the utterance declares that each rises (*kꜣ*) and shines (*wbn*). These two deities are greeted no matter who the king is depicted performing before (here it is Horus). This is not true of all utterances.

Many are directed at whichever deity is depicted receiving the ritual (eg. offering the *nmst*-vessel, as in the following).

The temple was a model of the cosmos. This was manifest through the association of its various architectural features with elements of cosmos—the brick enclosure wall with the waters of Nun, the axis of the temple with the path of the sun through the sky, the hypostyle halls with marshlands, and so on (eg. Hornung 1992:115–129 and Finnestadt 1985; see chapter 1). The two deities whom the king greets in the utterance are both forms of the sun god—Atum represented the setting sun and Kheperi represented the rising sun. These solar deities were manifest in the collar itself, no matter who received the collar. Thus, the ritual may have been performed to activate the collars as ritual objects before they were brought into the sanctuaries and placed on the divine images. The *wsḫ*-collar is a very wide necklace, extending in a circle, radiating from the neck to the outer shoulders. Independent broad collars made of gold, beads, and combinations of beads and flowers survive. All were probably used in temple contexts. Thus, the type of collar offered may have varied in ritually significant ways. For example, an imperishable gold collar might represent the unchanging sun itself, whereas perishable floral collars—particularly those with lotus flowers, which have solar associations—could, in theory, represent the changes in the sun's effect on Egypt as it moved across the firmament.

After the initial greetings to the solar deities, only one deity is addressed in the text. You *singular* rise and you *singular* shine.[4] Thus, it seems likely that these are two alternatives, Kheperi being greeted in the morning and Atum in the evening. In some longer versions of the presentation of the *wsḫ*-collar, the utterance goes on to venerate Horus' ancestors. For example, in the chapel of Re-Horakhte, where Atum is depicted as the recipient (Abydos Episode 23):

> *j psḏt ꜥ3 jmyw jwnw jtmw šw tfnwt gb nwt wsjr 3st stḫ nbt-ḥwt msw jtmw psd jb.f n msw.f m rn nw tn n psḏt jm n psḏt jm ṯn r tm m rn nw ṯn n psḏt* (Calverley, Gardiner, *et al.*, 1935:pl. 18)
>
> Oh, great Ennead (*psḏt*) which is in Heliopolis—Atum, Shu, Tefnut, Geb, Nut, Osiris, Isis, Seth and Nephthys—Children of Atum, who turns (*psd*) his heart to his children in these their names of the Nine Bows (*psḏt*), let him not turn his back (*psḏt*) on you (pl.), so that your name of the Ennead (*psḏt*) may be complete . . .

Note the wordplay with the word *psḏt*, which also begins the word "Blacked-out Moon" (*psḏtntyw*, see chapter 4). Blacked-out Moon Day was the first day of the month and was associated with the injured eye of the god Horus. This would be a very appropriate way to begin a cycle devoted to the story of Horus' life.

The next scene in the cycle (Horus 2) appears in the second register. It is titled:

> *jnḏ ḥr nmst jr f dj ꜥnḫ* (Calverley, Gardiner, *et al.* 1958:pl. 51)
>
> Greetings with a *nmst*-vessel, that he may make a granted life.

No utterance is inscribed here. However, the standard text generally begins:

> *m n.k tp.k ꜥbw <n.k> jrty.k jn.<j> n.k pr m nwn ḫ3t pr m jtmw rn.s pwy n nmst* (Daressy 1917; for New Year's variant, see Nelson 1949a:217)
>
> Take to yourself your head. Join <to yourself> your two eyes. I have brought you that which comes forth from Nun, the best which comes forth from Atum, in this its name of *nmst*-vessel.

Thus, creation motifs continue to be prominent, here with references to the primordial waters of Nun and the creator god Atum. Since Horus is the recipient, he would be assured that his body was intact as the cycle begins. The scene's position, adjacent to scenes devoted to Horus' mother, also underscores associations with the god's birth. Thus, these are all appropriate symbolic themes for the beginning of a ritual cycle. However, the same ritual act is depicted later in the cycle, adjacent to scenes focusing on the healing of the eye (Horus 19). Moreover, the themes of greeting and creation are repeated in the episodes flanking the central entrance into the Second Hypostyle Hall, along the alley of Amun-Re, indicating the multiple directions from which this hall could be approached.

In the scenes adjacent to the alley of Isis (Figure 5.1, right), the king offers libation (Horus 3) and incense (Horus 4) to Isis. In the lower register (Horus 3), the king stands and holds a *ḫs*-vase streaming with water that surrounds Isis. Between the king and the goddess is a low offering table holding a censer along with two *nmst*-vessels and one *ḫs*-vase. The censer may be a reference to Horus Scene 4 and the *nmst*-vessels to Horus Scene 2. Since "Greetings with a *nmst*-vessel" (Horus 2) didn't have an utterance inscribed, this utterance may have been recited when using both kinds of libation vessel. The set of libation vessels, taken together with the utterance inscribed above, suggests that the statue was purified four times, perhaps once with each type of vessel, twice a day.

The utterance reads:

> (1) *ḏd mdw jn nsw bjty mn-mꜣꜥt-rꜥ wꜥb sp 2 3st wrt* (2) *ḥr-jbt ḥwt mn-mꜣꜥt-rꜥ m ḳb jpn pr m nwn* (3) *ꜥbw.t sp 4 swꜥb ṯ gb ḫnty ḫt psḏt 3ꜥt* (Calverley, Gardiner, *et al.* 1958:pl. 51)
>
> Words spoken by the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menmaatre. "Pure two times is Isis the Great, who resides in the mansion of Menmaatre, with these libations which come forth from Nun, your purification. Four times, Geb purifies you, at the head of the body of the Great Ennead".

Thus, the focus on ancestors and the theme of creation continues. Incense and libation rituals rehydrated the desiccated body of the recipient. Fluids

lost from and restored to the corpse were frequently compared to the inundation (*bꜥḥj*) and the Eye of Horus (Blackman 1912:69–75). Nun appears to be a less common reference, but clearly was appropriate.

In the upper register (Horus 4), the king kneels and offers a burning bowl of incense to Isis, who is enthroned. The scene is entitled simply "Doing incense for his mother" (*jrt snṯr n mwt.f*). There is no utterance inscribed. Offering cups of incense is associated with many utterances. Nonetheless, it is clear that this panel of four scenes focuses on greeting the gods and invoking Horus' ancestors. Horus' mother, Isis, is introduced. The god is assured that he is whole, as he would be at birth. In the next panel, subtle references to Horus' childhood continue.

CHILDHOOD

The focus of this cycle, as a whole, appears to be the legitimization of Horus as king. Thus, points in his life when he was weak and vulnerable are not dwelled on. Nonetheless, one's birth was essential to royal legitimacy. The introduction of Horus' mother, the goddess Isis, as the primary recipient of offerings, often appearing with epithets focusing on her role as the mother of the god, immediately calls to mind Horus the Child. In the lower register of the next panel (Figure 5.2, left) the king holds a burning censer with one hand and pours water over an offering table piled with goods with the other (Horus 5). The utterance reads:

> (1) *wꜥb sp 2 ȝst nṯr mwt ḏr rꜥ-ḥrꜥḫty* (2) *ḏr psḏt wr ꜥȝ ḏr jtrt šmꜥw tȝ-mḥw* (3) *snṯr wꜥb nḏm sty nty sš* (4) *n ḏhwty nty m pr nṯr mḏȝt* (5) *ꜥwy dj sn rꜥ swꜥb.f nsw* (6) *mn-mȝꜥt-rꜥ wdn.n.f n ȝst* (Calverley, Gardiner, *et al.* 1958:pl. 50)
>
> Pure two times is Isis, the god's mother, with what Re-Harakhte creates, with what the great and important Ennead creates, with what the Conclave of Upper and Lower Egypt creates; the pure incense, sweet of perfume, which is in accordance with the writings of Thoth, which is in the Hours of Sacred Writings; the two arms, they give; Re, he purifies; and the King Menmaatre, he makes offerings to Isis.

The word *ḏr* "creates" (1981:46), could also be the far more common word "since" (*Wb.* V 592, 1–593, 14; J. Allen 2000:§8.2.17;). Thus, this line could also read "since (the time of) Re-Harakhte; since (the time of) the great and important Ennead; since (the time of) the Conclave of Upper and Lower Egypt". The adjectives applied to the Ennead each support a different interpretation. Fecundity and creation are evoked by the use of ꜥȝ-great, also translated as "plentiful" or "rich" (Faulkner 1986:37). Ancient times are evoked by the use of *wr*-great (here translated as "important" to indicate that two different words were used in the original), which also could

be translated as "eldest" (Faulkner 1986:63). Perhaps a dual reading was actually intended. Whether these lines focus on creation, primordial times, or both, they support the overall theme of this panel—Horus' birth and childhood.

In the upper register (Horus Scene 6, partly parallels Abydos 29 and pAmun 54), in the utterance associated with "Presenting ointment to Isis" (*rdjt mḏ.t m ȝst*), the Eye of Horus appears. It refers to its approach.

> (1) *jrt djw mḏ ḏd mdw* (2) *nḥrḥr jb n ȝst* (3) *nṯr mwt m ḫsfw jrt ḥr* (4) *nt ḏt.f sḫkr.s ṯ m* (5) *rn.s pw n wȝḏyt* (Calverley, Gardiner, *et al.* 1958:pl. 50)
>
> Making an offering of *mḏ*-ointment. Words to be spoken: the heart of Isis, the god's mother, rejoices at the approach of the bodily eye of Horus. It adorns you (f.) with this its name of Edjo.

The king is depicted kneeling and raising a tray with four jars of ointment on it. The same utterance is to be recited for Re-Horakhte in Horus Episode 17, where the king stands.

The posture of the king on this wall is generally not ritually significant, but rather follows a pattern set by the necessities of composition (see previous discussion). In the lower register, the king stands before a standing deity, creating a square composition. Yet the standing king does not present the ointment directly, but rather offers a statuette of himself in a reclining kneel (the "splayed-knee pose") offering the ointment (Horus 17; see the following). The frequent depiction of such statuettes might indicate that kneeling was an important posture in the presentation of ointment, even though it did not always need to be depicted (chapter 7).

THE REVIVIFICATION OF OSIRIS

The association of the Eye of Horus with offerings continues on the side of the panel adjacent to the alley of Osiris (Figure 5.2, right). However, there is also a new emphasis on Osiris taking or seizing the Eye of Horus for himself. In the lower register (Horus 7 = Meal 20), the text to the rite is inscribed in a box. The title, "Doing the Menu, bread and beer, given there from by the King Menmaatre" (*jrt dbḥt-ḥtp t ḥnkt dj jm jn nsw mn-mꜥȝt-rꜥ*), appears horizontally across the top, with six columns beneath. In the scene the king holds up a tray with five (*j*)ꜥ*b*-vessels (𓌀) on it, the portion-sized cups in which all six of the offerings listed were to be made (on (*j*)ꜥ*b*-vessels, see Pommerening 2005:78–80). Another set of five cups sits on an offering table between the king and the god, perhaps indicating, as with broad collar presented in Horus Scene 1 and the libation equipment depicted in Horus Scene 3, that this manifestation of the service was to be performed twice daily. The offering list reads:

(1) *wsjr jṯt n.k jrt ḥr r ḫnt.k s‹3›ṯ ḥr wdḥw wꜥb ꜥb 1*
(2) *wsjr m n.k jrt ḥr dbḥ.k ḥtp(w) ḥr.s dbḥw-ḥtp ꜥb 1*
(3) *wsjr m n.k jrt ḥr ꜥb.k mw jmy.s mwj ꜥb 1*
(4) *wsjr m n.k jrt ḥr bd.t r.k bd ꜥb 2*
(5) *wsjr m n.k jrt ḥr* [. . .]*n.k r ḥr.k ḫṯ ꜥb*[. . .]
(6) *wsjr m n.k jrt ḥr* [. . .]*pr sn ꜥb 1*

(Calverley, Gardiner, *et al.* 1958:pl. 50)

(1) Osiris, seize for yourself the Eye of Horus to your brow. Making libation upon a pure altar, 1 bowl.
(2) Osiris, take to yourself the Eye of Horus, your necessary offerings are upon it. Menu, 1 bowl.
(3) Osiris, take to yourself the Eye of Horus. Present the water, which is in it. Water, 2 bowl.
(4) Osiris, take to yourself the Eye of Horus, which cleanses your mouth. Natron, 2 bowl.
(5) Osiris, take to yourself the Eye of Horus, which you [have taken?] to your face. *ḥṯ3*-bread [. . .] bowl(s).
(6) Osiris, take to yourself the Eye of Horus, [. . .] *pr.sn*-bread, 1 bowl.

The first column is set apart by the use of a different verb for "take", here translated "seize" (*jṯt* instead of *m*), and by the fact that the vessel at the bottom does not appear in a separate box. The remaining five lines all follow a common pattern. Barta groups this list with anomalous offering lists, lists which are unique (Barta 1963:147–149). This is a very short menu compared to those usually encountered in the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors. For example, among those discussed by Nelson, the shortest has nineteen items but appears to be an abbreviation of a list of thirty-nine or forty items (1949a:327, n. 123; see also chapter 4).

The focus on the Eye of Horus here is plain. In other menus some items are associated with the Eye of Horus, but not all. In fact, some items associated with the Eye of Horus in the cycle under consideration herein have other associations in the longer menus. For example, the line devoted to the offering of *ḥṯ3*-bread in the menu from the cycle of the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors depicted in the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak reads:

jmn jṯy n.k r ḥr.k ḥṯ3 ꜥb 1 (Nelson 1949a:326, fig. 33, line 7)
O Amun, touch for yourself to your face, *ḥṯ3*-bread, 1 bowl.

In longer versions of the menu, references to the injured Eye of Horus are confined to the first part of the menu, whereas offerings in the later part of the list ". . . are not symbolic of sickness or weakness . . . but rather of strength and rejuvenation (Cooney and McClain 2005:67)." This is another indication that the eye of Horus has special significance in the context of the

cycle of scenes on this wall, and that it is not meant to be complete at this point in the cycle.

In the upper register (Horus 8), the title reads: "Offering *Maat* to the Lord of *Maat*, that he may make a granted life" (*dj mꜣꜥt n nb mꜣꜥt jr f dj ꜥnḫ*; Calverley, Gardiner, *et al.* 1958:pl. 50). The utterance is quite damaged, but clearly begins:

(1) *ḏd mdw dj.j n.k mꜣꜥt mj* (2) [*rꜥ*] *jr.k*[. . .] (Calverley, Gardiner, *et al.* 1958:pl. 50)
"Words to be spoken: I give to you *Maat*, like [Ra]. You make[. . .]"

Another episode for offering *Maat* appears further along in this cycle (Horus Scene 22), next to a scene where the king is accepted as a god. At that point the focus is on sealing the king's legitimacy. The episode devoted to offering *Maat* on pAmun (Episode 42) is very long, but this line does not appear to be paralleled. The pAmun utterance begins with a celebration of the solar cycle; goes on to celebrate the goddess *Maat*'s various roles, including her identification with the god's body parts, food, and drink; and ultimately concludes with adoration of the goddess (Moret 1902:139–147).

To the south of the alley of Osiris (Figure 5.3, left) in the lower register (Horus Scene 9), the king holds up a tray of offerings—the title is "Elevating Offerings" (Meal 44). However, here the utterance reads:

(1) *fꜣ ḥtpw n wsjr wꜣḥ ḫt n kꜣ.f* (2) *t ḥnḳt.k n.k ꜥḳw.k n.k jr wꜥb.*[*j*] *jr.f dj ꜥnḫ* (Calverley, Gardiner, *et al.* 1958:pl. 48)
Elevating the offerings to Osiris; setting out the provisions for his spirit. Your bread and beer belong to you, your provisions belong to you. (I) am pure, that he may make a granted life.

This utterance has no overlap with the texts for the Elevation of Offerings (Meal 44) in the Karnak reliefs (Nelson 1949a:329) or on pBM 10689, where it follows the menu for the Festival of Amun. The utterance on pBM 10689 is long and repetitive and features the refrain:

mj mrw fꜣt ḫt jw ḫft-ḥr fꜣt ḫt n . . . (Gardiner 1935:12,2)
Come, servants. Elevate offerings that are for the presence. Elevate offerings to . . .

Thus, the lector priest calls on servants for assistance in the act of elevating the offerings.

The refrain was to be repeated five times, twice for different forms of Amun (lord of Opet and *kꜣ mwt.f*), once for a list of deities, once for Amenhotep I, and once for a list of kings. The addressing of such episodes to two major forms of Amun, each with his own iconography, might provide evidence for the suggestion that there was not one 'primary' cult statue, but

rather at least two, and perhaps more (chapter 2 and Eaton 2007b). This is supported by architecture, with two chapels in the Eighteenth Dynasty temple at Medinet Habu (Epigraphic Survey 2009) and off of the central barque chapel in the Barque Station of Ramesses III at Karnak (Epigraphic Survey 1936), to name just two examples. The elevation of offerings appears several other times in the Temple of Sety I at Abydos, including twice in the complex of Nefertem-Ptah-Sokar and twice in the Gallery of the Lists (David 1981:104, 108, and 110–111). None of these scenes has an utterance parallel to the one in the Horus cycle.

Coming back to the Second Hypostyle Hall, in the upper register, the theme of Osiris taking the Eye of Horus is continued (Horus Scene 10, Figure 5.3, left):

(1) *jrt snṯr n wsjr* (2) *ḫnty jmntjw ḥ[r]-jb [ḥwt mn mꜣᶜt rᶜ] m n.k jt ḥr* (3) *jj sty.s r.k ḏd mdw sp 4 wᶜb sp 2* (4) *wsjr ḥr jb ḥwt [mn-mꜣᶜt]-rᶜ ḥtp kꜣ.k ḥr* (5) *snṯr ḥ[r s]t.k wrt m dj* (6) *n.k sꜣ [mrwyty?] k nb ḫᶜw sty-mr-n-ptḥ* (Calverley, Gardiner, *et al.* 1958:pl. 48)

Making incense for Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, who resides in [the mansion of Menmaatre] Take to yourself the Eye of Horus; its perfume comes towards you. Words to be spoken four times. Twice pure is Osiris who resides in the mansion [of Menmaatre]. Your *kꜣ*-spirit is pleased with regard to the incense upon your great seat as the gift to you of your [beloved?] son, Lord of Appearances, Sety Merenptah.

For most kings, embalming the previous king was their first act of kingship. Here, Horus revivifies his father, using his eye. Once the man had proven himself king through the performance of the burial of the previous king, it was realized that the king had been divine from his day of conception, when Amun-Re inhabited his father in order to impregnate his mother. This legend of the king's divine birth is alluded to in the next section.

AMUN-RE, FATHER OF THE KING

Amun-Re occupies the central alley through the hypostyle halls, the main entrance to the temple. Thus, themes of greeting and creation reappear here. Amun-Re was the father of the king—the living Horus. At this point the recipients of the ritual change from Horus and his mythical family to the gods of rule, changing the focus from Horus' childhood relationships to his association with other rulers. Adjacent to the alley of Amun-Re, continued references to the approach of the Eye of Horus appear. In the lower register (Horus 11, Figure 5.3, right), the king holds a censer, which is not burning. An inscription of two columns appears between the king and the god. It reads:

(1) *ḏd mdw jj snṯr jj sty nṯr jj sty.s r.k sty jrt ḥr* (2) *r.k sty nḫbt prt m nḫb*
ᶜ.t shḥr.s.t (Calverley, Gardiner, *et al.* 1958:pl. 48)

Words to be spoken: The incense comes, the god's perfume comes, its perfume comes to you, the perfume of the Eye of Horus comes towards you, the perfume of Nekhbet which comes forth from el-Kab, it washes you, it adorns you.

This speech is associated with an incense rite recorded in both papyrus versions of the meal (Meal 18) and the toilet (pAmun 21). The injury to Horus' eye took place in his battle for the kingship.

The scene in the upper register (Horus 12) is devoted to adoring Amun-Re and appears to have no direct reference to the god Horus. However, the king's position as son of Amun-Re is a focus of the utterance, and Amun's role as the creator god is emphasized.

(1) *dwꜣ jmn-rᶜ nsw nṯrw jn sꜣ.f mr.f sꜣ n jmn* (2) *sty mr-n-ptḥ jnḏ ḥr k ḫpr m* (3) *ḥꜣt pꜣwt ḫpr m s tp jj* (4) *nᶜ.j ḥr.k dwꜣ nfr.k jw rḫ kw* (5) *mnḫ.k ḥr.j di.k j fnḏ.k* [. . .] (Calverley, Gardiner, *et al.* 1958:pl. 48)

Adoring Amun-Re, King of gods, by his son his beloved, son of Amun, Sety Merenptah: Greetings to you,[5] who came into being at the beginning of the primeval time, who came into being as it, the head. ‹I› have come to you, that ‹I› may adore your beauty, for I know your potency to me. You give me your nose . . .

To the south of the alley of Amun-Re, in the lower register (Horus 13, Figure 5.4, left), the king throws pellets of incense into a censer before Amun-Re. The utterance is a short hymn to Amun, inscribed vertically between the king and the god without a title:

(1) *ḏd mdw jn nsw mn-m[ꜣᶜt]-rᶜ wṯs jr ṯny m ḥtp* [. . .](2) *šwty m ḥtp wṯs jr m[wt.k . . .] m ḥtp r ptr* (3) *nṯrw m nḫ*[. . .] *j[mn]-rᶜ ḥr-jb ḥwt mn-mꜣᶜt-rᶜ* (Calverley, Gardiner, *et al.* 1958:pl. 47)

Words to be spoken by the king, Menmaatre: Rise and create (dual) in peace [. . .] the two plumes in peace. Rise and create [your m]other [. . .] in peace in order to see the gods to pray [. . .] Amun-Re who resides in the mansion of Menmaatre.

The use of the dual suffix pronoun, *ṯny*, already archaic in the Middle Kingdom, marks this as a copy of a much older text (J. Allen 2000:§5.3). The combination of this scene and text is further indication of simultaneous action, with incense being burned as adorations are being sung (chapters 2–3). The focus on adoring the god Amun-Re continues in the upper register (Scene 14), where the king kneels and raises his hands in adoration, saying:

(1) *dwꜣ nṯr jn nsw* (2) *nb tꜣwy mn-mꜣᶜt-rᶜ ᶜnḫ ḏt ḏd mdw jn[ḏ ḥr]k jmn-rᶜ ḥr jb* (3) *ḥwt mn-mꜣᶜt-rᶜ m jn ᶜ.k ṯ r sḫt.*[*k ksb*(4)*t*].*k nbw.k mᶜfktt ṯfrr* [. . .] (5) *dj.n.*[*j*] *n.k kꜣ n nsw mn-mꜣᶜt-rᶜ j* [. . .] *mj* (6) *misw.t irt tp k dwꜣ n.k jmn nb sḫnt* (7) *kꜣ ḥr nb sḫnt* (8) *jmꜣt jnm nb*

sḫnt jm3t jb.k n s3 rˁ sty-mr-n-ptḥ dj ˁnḫ (Calverley, Gardiner, *et al.* 1958:pl. 47)

Adoring the god by the king, Lord of the Two Lands, Menmaatre life, forever. Words to be spoken: Greet[ings to] you, Amen-Re who resides in the mansion of Menmaatre. May you bring your arm to [your] field, your [*ksbt*-trees], your gold, turquoise, and lapis-lazuli. [I] give you the *k3*-spirit of the king Menmaatre [. . .] like the Crown of Upper Egypt, which is made upon you. Adoration to you, Amun, Lord of Sehenet, lofty one, Horus, Lord of Sehenet. Be gracious, Amun, Lord of Sehenet; may your heart be gracious to the son of Re, Sety-Merenptah, given life.

Horus, Lord of Sehenet, is venerated in parallel with another god of kingship—Amun, Lord of Sehenet. Horus has attained maturity.

THE RESTORATION OF HORUS' EYE

In these scenes along the alley of Re-Horakhte, references to the Eye of Horus are again strong and clear. In the lower register (Horus Scene 15, Figure 5.4, right), the king elevates the offerings before Re-Harakhte (an act associated with Meal 44). Two columns of text between the king and the god read:

(1) . . . *rˁ-ḥr3ḫty ḥr-jb ḥwt mn-m3ˁt-rˁ jn s3.f s3 rˁ sty-mr-n-ptḥ* (2) *t ḥr ˁnḫ nb ḥr.f ḏd w3s snb nb ḥr.f mj rˁ* (Calverley, Gardiner, *et al.* 1958:pl. 47)

. . . Re-Horakhte who resides in the Mansion of Menmaatre by his son, the son of Re, Sety Merenptah . . . all life is with him. All stability, dominion and health are with him, like Re.

The father-son relationship between the king and the god to whom he is offering is often emphasized in the king's titulary, usually inscribed above him; and in the speeches of the god, usually inscribed above the god.

In the upper register, the king kneels and presents a burning bowl of incense to Re-Horakhte (Horus Scene 16). The title of the scene appears between the king and the legs of the god:

jrt snṯr n jt.f rˁ-ḥrˁḫty ḥr-jb ḥwt mn-m3ˁt-rˁ jr.f dj ˁnḫ w3s ḏd snb nb 3w-jb.t nb ḏt

Giving incense to his father, Re-Horakhte, who resides in the Mansion of Menmaatre, that he might make a given life, dominion, stability, all health, all joyfulness, forever.

According to the utterance, the god is given the Eye of Horus:

(1) *r n snṯr n rˁ-ḥrˁḫty ḥr-jb ḥwt mn-m3ˁt-rˁ* (2) *ḏd mdw jn nsw mn-m3ˁt-rˁ jj* (3) *snṯr jj sty nṯr jj sty.s r.k ‹jj› sty* (4) *jrt ḥr r.k jj sty nḫbt prt* (5) *m nḫb jˁ.s ṯ sḫkr.s ṯ* (6) *st.s tp ˁwy.k jnḏ ḥr.k snṯr* (7) *jnḏ ḥr.k snṯr jnḏ ḥr.k mn wr* (Calverley, Gardiner, *et al.* 1958:pl. 47)

Utterance for incense to Re-Harakhte who resides in the Mansion of Menmaatre. Words to be spoken by the king, Menmaatre: The incense comes, the divine perfume comes, its perfume comes to you, the perfume of the Eye of Horus ‹come›[6] to you, the perfume of Nekhbet, which comes forth from el-Kab comes. It washes you. It adorns you. Its seat is upon your two arms. Greetings to you incense! Greetings to you incense! Greetings to you great monument!

The Eye of Horus meets Re-Horakhte in the lower register to the south of the door as well (Horus 17, Figure 5.4, left). The title of the scene is inscribed over an offering table with four ointment jars, each topped by a lotus flower:

r dj.t mḏ n jt.f rˁ-ḥr3ḫty (Calverley, Gardiner, *et al.* 1958:pl. 46)

Utterance for giving ointment to his father, Re-Horakhte

The episode is offering ointment to Re-Horakhte (Horus 17), as he presented it to Horus' mother, Isis, earlier in the cycle (Horus 6). The utterance is the same. Only the name of the recipient has changed. The king stands and holds a statuette of himself in a reclining kneel offering two jars of ointment. In Horus Scene 6, the king himself is depicted kneeling (see previous discussion and chapter 7).

In the upper register (Horus 18), the theme changes to healing, which continues throughout the rest of this panel. The king presents milk to Atum, saying:

(1) *ḏd mdw jn nsw [mn-m3ˁt]-rˁ bˁḥ* (2) *jtm m jrt [ḥḏt] b3ḫt bnrt* (3) *jmyt mnd n.s[. . .]jrt.n.f* (4) *dj.‹j› n.k k3w.k n [j‹w›3]tw.k ḥnˁ jrtt* (5) *sn bˁḥj.k jm sn . . . n [rn.k pw]y n bˁḥj* (Calverley, Gardiner, *et al.* 1958:pl. 46)

Words to be spoken by the king, [Menmaatre: Atum is inundated with milk [. . .] the sweet milk which is in her breasts [. . .] he made. ‹I› give to you your bulls and your cows, together with their milk. May you be inundated with them in t[his your name] of Inundation.

Milk was called for in several eye remedies (von Deines and Grapow 1959:53–54). Gazelle milk was used by Hathor to heal the Eye of Horus in the tale of *Horus and Seth* (Lichtheim 1976:219).

The theme of healing of the eye, begun along the alley of Re-Horakhte, continues on the north side of the alley of Ptah (Figure 5.5, right), in the lower register with offering the *nmst*-vessel (Horus 19):

(1) *ḏd mdw jn nsw mn-mꜥ3t-rꜥ ptḥ nb mꜣꜥt* (2) *m.n.k tp.k ꜥb.n.k jrt ḥr jn n.k* (3) *prt m nwn ḫ3t prt m jtm m rn.s* (4) *pwy n nmst* (Calverley, Gardiner, *et al.* 1958:pl. 46)

Words to be spoken by the king, Menmaatre: Ptah, Lord of *Maat*, take to yourself your head, unite to yourself the Eye of Horus, bring for yourself that which comes forth from Nun, the front portion which came forth from Atum, in this its name of *nmst*-vessel.

This is essentially the same utterance as for "Greetings with a *nmst*-vessel" (Meal Episode 17). The context of the scene, adjacent to scenes of offering milk and wine, underscores the healing and rejuvenating powers of the waters of Nun, associated with the liquid poured from the *nmst*-vessel.

In the upper register (Horus Scene 20), the king presents wine to Ptah, saying:

(1) *ḏd mdw r ḫkr šꜣ ptḥ mꜣꜥt nb ḥr-jb ḥwt mn-mꜣꜥt-rꜥ ḥꜥ bꜥ* (2) *ḥj jmy f mḥ jr.tj m jrṯt.s jw wꜥb ptḥ mꜣꜥt nb* (Calverley, Gardiner, *et al.* 1958:pl. 46)

Words to be spoken in order to adorn the field: Ptah, Lord of *Maat*, who resides in the mansion of Menmaatre. The inundation rejoices in it, the two eyes are filled with its milk. Ptah, Lord of *Maat*, is pure.

Milk was offered in the adjacent scene, Horus Scene 18. Thus, this panel of four scenes has a clear focus on the healing of the Eye of Horus. This panel is also concerned with the inundation. This is the alley of Ptah, serving the complex of Nefertem-Ptah-Sokar, designed as a route through which Sokar's barque emerged during his festival in the last month of the inundation (Eaton 2006:97–98). Thus, again, these scenes are not meant to be read in a single order, but rather were approached from different angles on different occasions. In the next panel, the newly (re)legitimate Sety I will (re)emerge.

SEALING THE KING'S LEGITIMACY

The king then makes more offerings to Ptah. In the lower register (Horus 21, Figure 5.6, left), the king holds a non-burning censer in his left hand and holds up his right, in a scene titled "Making offerings for his father, Ptah that he might make a granted life, like Re" (*wdn ḥt n jt.f ptḥ jr.f ꜥnḫ dj mj rꜥ*). In the register above this, the king offers *Maat* (Horus Scene 22). The god says, "(I) have given you the throne of Geb and the [Office] of Atum, like Re" (*dj.n.*(j) *n.k nst gb* [*j3*]*t jtm mj rꜥ*). The king has become the living Horus and is offering in that capacity. In the panels adjacent to the alley of Sety I, the king is the recipient of ritual. Sakhmet gives him his crowns in the lower register (Scene 23), and Mut gives him jubilees in the upper register (Scene 24). Thus, the king emerges as the legitimate king in his coronation

and is reaffirmed in his *ḥb-sd* jubilee. Again, there is interaction between these episodes on the north-south axis and the route along the east-west axis, serving the barque chapel of Sety I. Both the king and the goddesses are enthroned, breaking the cycle of kneeling king and enthroned deity in the upper register along this wall and thus serving as a focal point. This represents the culmination of the ritual, from the perspective of one focusing on the east wall of the room.

CONCLUSIONS

The cycle of scenes presented here consists of a series of overlapping themes relating to the life of Horus, with particular focus on his legitimacy as king. The ritual is presented here in six stages; however, this division was dictated by the architectural layout of the wall rather than the content of the ritual cycle. These representations of ritual were arranged to make the progression across the north-south axis of the hall as seamless as possible. Thus, themes overlap recipients with different associations, gradually changing the focus. For example, associations of the Eye of Horus with perfume, incense, etc. along the alley of Isis evoke Horus' childhood and the central event of his coming of age, the injury that he received in his battle with Seth for the kingship. Similar references take on a different meaning along the alley of Osiris, where one's mind is instead turned to Horus' role in the revivification of his father.

In the manipulation of this symbolic motif, decisive events are avoided when possible, alluded to when necessary, and never spelled out in detail. Transitions are times of uncertainty, when chaos is particularly likely to intrude. Egyptian ritual generally sought to smooth decisive moments out by depicting them as part of the fabric of the endless cycles of eternity (*nḥḥ*-eternity) whenever possible. Thus, the seminal events in the life of Horus that literary texts, like that on pChesterBeatty, focus on—such as his fight against Seth for the kingship and the injury of his eye—are glossed over here. References to such disturbing events could not always be avoided. However, they are generally to be found in more protected areas of temples. In the Temple of Sety I at Abydos, these themes are treated more directly in the inner rooms of the Osiris complex and the complex of Nefertem-Ptah-Sokar (see chapter 6).

6 Daily Rituals in Festival Frameworks

This chapter examines the incorporation of offerings and activities associated with the toilet and the meal into festival occasions. Simple offerings like food, drink, incense, and clothing were woven throughout festival ritual cycles in a non-narrative fashion for apotropaic reasons. This repetition also stabilized the festival celebration by incorporating the powerful—and potentially dangerous—elements of the festival into the predictable fabric of everyday life.

> Opening the door to the uncreated was no simple operation and was fraught with danger. Improperly done, it could unleash the full destructive potential of disorder. But properly done, through the prescribed rituals of the *Opet*-festival presided over by the divine king, the opening could produce rebirth and recreation. (L. Bell 1997:157)

Bell's observation applies much more broadly to the celebration of festivals more generally. Four groups of material are considered in this chapter, monthly festivals, Khoiak festivals, the Festival of Min and the Opet Festival.

The first group of material considered is a ritual cycle originally designed for mortuary cults which came to be used in temple contexts for the celebration of monthly festivals and various festivals for the god Osiris. Although explicit evidence only dates to the Ptolemaic Period, performance of these ritual cycles may have shifted to temple contexts by the New Kingdom, if not earlier. These cycles also place significant emphasis on the basic provision of food and drink. However, they do not appear to have been arranged based on the logic of performing those rites on a statue.

The second group, Khoiak festivals, includes two major annual festivals, those of Osiris and Sokar. A major focus of these festivals, performed at the end of the annual inundation season, was the preparation of divine images accompanying the gods in their processions to their tomb(s) and around the walls of the temple. Episodes devoted to performing daily rituals to prepare these subsidiary images for their journey were intertwined with episodes specifically associated with the mortuary-inspired festivals in their

complexes in the Temple of Sety I at Abydos. In both cases, the episodes were not arranged according to the logic of performing acts on an individual statue of a deity. The focus of these cycles was on the maintenance of power, the relationship between the king and the gods, and the multiplicity of the divine. Representations of processions indicate that these protective acts continued to be performed after the images left the temple.

The final two groups of material are representations of the Festival of Min and the Opet Festival from Theban area temples. Scenes devoted to both of these festivals were organized based on the progression of the parade or journey represented. However, woven throughout the processions are priests and statuettes of the king performing basic acts such as burning incense and presenting offerings—variations on episodes the priests performed every day. These rites protected and maintained sacred space around the sacred images and purified actors.

MONTHLY FESTIVALS AND "ALL THE FEASTS OF OSIRIS"

The Instruction to Merikare, a king of the Tenth Dynasty, includes a brief summary of the king's duty in performing the monthly festival, known from copies dating to the Eighteenth Dynasty, or later:

> In the monthly service, wear the white sandals,
> Visit the temple, reveal the mysteries[1]
> Enter the shrine, eat bread in the god's house;
> Proffer libations, multiply the loaves,
> Make ample the daily offerings,
> It profits him who does it. (Lichtheim 1975:102)

The focus is on making the normal daily rituals more abundant than usual.

From the earliest surviving records onward, monthly festivals focused primarily on the expansion of daily offerings and the ritualization of periodic acts of maintenance. According to the Palermo Stone, Userhaf endowed lands to provide bread and beer for the Sixth Day Festival (*snwt*, T. Wilkinson 2000:153, fig. 2).[2] In the *Pyramid Texts*, nine of the sixteen utterances mentioning monthly festivals focus on the presentation of meals and other offerings to the deceased (Eaton 2011). Monthly festivals are also mentioned in the archives of the mortuary temple of the Sixth Dynasty king Neferirkare (Posener-Kriéger 1976:544–549) and in feast lists from Old Kingdom private tombs (Spalinger 1996:110–111).

By the Middle Kingdom, changing the flags in front of the temple was also mentioned in association with the Sixth Day Festival, in *Coffin Text* Spell 154:

> 'I will erect my flagstaffs [*snw*] against him, I will oust him,' and that is how the *snwt*-festival came about. (Faulkner 1973:132)

SWANSEA

Coffin Text Spells 474 and 480 indicate that the monthly and half-month festivals were occasions for judging cases in Heliopolis (often called "On", eg. Faulkner 1977:112 and 125). Temple gates were important places of judgment in ancient Egypt (van den Boorn 1985:7–10; Sauneron 1954). Judging cases also fits into the category of a practical activity only required weekly, monthly, or bimonthly. In later records, essential cultic items such as fans, fire-boring sticks, and braziers, which needed to be replaced periodically, were added to menus, along with various luxury items (chapter 4).

Monthly lunar festivals are relatively neglected in the scholarly literature, in part because they are considered to be marginal. The Egyptians started using a solar calendar early in their history. It has been believed that festivals tied to the phases of the moon became relatively unimportant to the ancient Egyptians early on (eg. Spalinger 2002:249). In fact, references to lunar festivals in mortuary contexts indicate that such festivals may have become more important over the period from the Old Kingdom to New Kingdom rather than less (Eaton 2011). The large difference in textual evidence from divine temple contexts between the New Kingdom and earlier materials means that comparable analysis for temple contexts is not possible. Moreover, no copies of ritual cycles designed exclusively for monthly lunar festivals survive from any period.

Nonetheless, there is enough evidence to suggest how these festivals were celebrated. All of the surviving ritual episodes to be performed specifically on monthly lunar festival days occur within the framework of the provision of basic daily necessities like food and drink. Most of these were to be performed on many festival days. All share strong parallels with episodes to be celebrated at annual festivals. Some New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period copies of rituals on papyrus to be performed on a daily basis include alternative versions of regular episodes to be performed on festival occasions, including monthly lunar festivals. Special perfumes and the recitation of additional litanies and adorations were added to the toilet. Food, particularly more variety in special goods like meat and cakes, was added to the meal. Thus, the structure of these representations indicates that monthly festival ritual episodes were 'intertwined' with episodes relating to the regular 'toilet' and 'meal.' These were discussed in chapter 4. Here, the focus is on a mortuary ritual with its own, independent structure.

Assmann identified groups of texts as "Mortuary Liturgies" (Assmann 1990 and 2002). Two of these (Assmann's *sꜣḫw* I and II) include titles indicating that they were to be performed at overlapping groups of festivals. Both were celebrated at the monthly and half-month festivals. In addition, *sꜣḫw* I was also to be performed at ". . . all the mortuary feasts" (Assmann 1990:33); and *sꜣḫw* II was to be recited at the Sixth Day Festival and at ". . . every festival of Osiris" (Assmann 1990:9). Thus, like many of the episodes incorporated directly into the Daily Ritual and the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors, these cycles were associated with multiple festival occasions. Both of these texts also include claims that they had been copied from Eighteenth

Dynasty leather rolls in the library of the Osiris temple (Assmann 1990:9). In the case of *sꜣḫw* II, the focus of the remainder of this section, the relative antiquity of the rite proves to be even greater. This cycle was composed almost entirely of utterances from the Old Kingdom *Pyramid Texts* in an order encountered on Middle Kingdom coffins.[3]

This cycle prominently features themes found throughout the daily ritual cycles. Receiving bread and beer offerings, including those for the monthly and half-month festivals, is a prerequisite for this ritual cycle, as stated in the second episode of *sꜣḫw* II (= *PT* 373):

> receive your bread which does not grow mouldy and your beer which does not sour. (Faulkner 1969:123, §655)

and

> Barley is threshed for you, emmer is reaped for you, and offering thereof is made at you Monthly Festivals[4], offering thereof is made at you Half Month Festivals . . . (Faulkner 1969:124, §657)

In the next episode, *sꜣḫw* II Episode 3 (*PT* 721 = *CT* 516), the recipient is promised luxury food items, figs, wine, and a Nile goose. Allen recognized this as "A reference to the funerary priests bearing produce from the fields and officiating at the daily offering rituals in the tomb chapel" (2006:306, n. 81). These references alternate with exhortations that the recipient raise himself and ascend to the sky, which continue through *sꜣḫw* II Episodes 4–5 (*PT* 422 and *PT* 374+*CT* 516).

Regular offerings appear again in *sꜣḫw* II Episode 6 (= *PT* 424), with references to the "boon which the king grants" (*ḥtp-dj-nsw*, Meal 21), and:

> a thousand of bread, a thousand of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of all sweet things, a thousand of every kind of clothing . . . (Faulkner 1969:140–141, §773)

are intertwined with other themes, including judgment in Heliopolis.

The rite goes on to refer to the main crisis points in Osiris' life, those only found in the innermost protected areas in temple decorative programs (*sꜣḫw* II Episodes 7–10 = *PT* 366–369). Osiris impregnates Isis, Horus assembles his father's limbs, Thoth assembles Osiris' limbs, and Horus performs the Opening of the Mouth on Osiris. Yet there is no singular point of crisis. Horus was present in the cycle before his conception was referred to, and he assembles the body which was ultimately to father him. The focus then returns to basic daily rites, with a libation ritual, *sꜣḫw* II 11 (*PT* 423). Thus, a major crisis point is framed by episodes firmly rooted in the everyday.

Following this, *sꜣḫw* II Episodes 12–15 (*PT* 370–372; *PT* 332+722) celebrate the king's restoration and ascension, another crisis point framed by

regular offerings. The "boon which the king grants" appears again in *sꜣḫw* II Episode 16 (= *PT* 468), ending:

> O King, I am Thoth (var. Horus). A boon which the King grants: There is given to you your bread and your beer and these two *pꜣḏ*-balls of yours which came forth from Horus who is in the Broad Hall, that he may make your heart content thereby, O King, for ever and ever. (Faulkner 1969:157–158, §905)

The focus then turns again the resurrection of the king in *sꜣḫw* II Episodes 17–18 (*PT* 412; *PT* 723 [= *CT* 519]). Again, this does not represent a narrative progression, as points of crisis and vindication are woven together so a single crisis point is not evident.

In *sꜣḫw* II Episode 19 (*PT* 690), the clothing of the newly risen king is an important focus. It begins:

> Osiris awakens, the languid god wakes up, the god stands up, the god has power in his body. The King awakes, the languid god wakes up, the god stands up, the god has power in his body. Horus stands up and clothes this King in the woven fabric which went forth from him. This king is provided as a god, the Herdsman stands up, the Two Enneads sit down. (Faulkner 1969:298, §2092–2094)

A series of short utterances, what Faulkner called "A miscellany of short Utterances", follows. These may represent different items of clothing and regalia meant to aid in both the king's ascension and revivification and the revivification of the land during the inundation. The utterance closes:

> O King, may your body be clothed so that you may come to me. (Faulkner 1969:300, §2119)

Thus, the framing suggests that the clothing is the central active element of this episode.

The king again appears vindicated in *sꜣḫw* II Episode 20 (*PT* 674). References to regular offerings, bread, beer, oxen, fowl, cool water, clothing, and purification, are again incorporated into resurrection texts in Episodes 21–23 (= *PT* 675–676, 477 = *CT* 837). Daily rites and festival rites were not discrete cycles held apart. They were inseparable.

The series closes with *sꜣḫw* II Episodes 24–25 (= *CT* 838–839), devoted resurrection and ascension. The final lines are:

> Go aboard the day barque on the day when the lord of the horizon is spiritualized(?) so that he may row you in the night barque and the day barque like Re every day. Stand up, Osiris living forever and ever! (Faulkner 1978:28, VII 44–45)

Perhaps the actual reference to going on the barque was meant to sets these rites apart from parallel exploration of these themes found throughout the cycle, which tends to refer to going to Re, without such specifics.

The goal of these rites was to render transitions safe by incorporating them into everyday life. This was accomplished in two ways. The crises being averted and the triumph being sought are incorporated, repeatedly throughout the rite, not set apart as a singular turning point and climax. Within the rites, regular daily rituals devoted to the god's toilet and meals were repeated over and over again. This cycle was to be used primarily on monthly festival days. However, these would often occur in the context of annual festivals. Thus, on many occasions still more complicated rites would have been layered onto this structure. These concerns would also continue when the divine image was removed from the temple to go on procession.

KHOIAK

Festivals of Osiris and Sokar were celebrated during the last month of the inundation (called Khoiak). The festival began with rites within the temple in which new images of the gods Osiris and Sokar were made out of a mixture of grains and other materials. Often called 'corn-mummies', the recipes for these images varied both regionally and over time (Raven 1982:28 and Tooley 1996:175–176). Most involved watering the mixture, exposing it to sunlight, and sprouting the grains. These humble images were often wrapped as mummies and adorned with gold and precious stones. These acts are described as early as the Middle Kingdom on stelae left by pilgrims to Abydos. The most extensive description belonged to Ikhernofret, who described his participation in making the god's portable shrine with ". . . gold, silver, lapis lazuli, bronze, *ssnḏm*-wood, and cedar wood" (Berlin 1204; Mariette 1880b:24–26; Lichtheim 1975:123–125). These descriptions of opulence accord well with later examples of corn-mummies from other sites, which were frequently decorated with gold foil or placed in coffins decorated with gold foil (Raven 1982:19–23).

Meanwhile, the previous year's image was receiving its funeral rites. Some of these rites were repeated more regularly, at the monthly, sixth day, and half-month festivals, and all festivals of Osiris throughout the year (*sꜣḫw* II, as mentioned earlier). Thus, they were practiced at least three times a month. Such familiar rites would have been intertwined with special episodes, performed only at Khoiak. At the height of Osiris' Khoiak festival and Sokar's festival, the previous year's divine images were carried in procession, protected by the shrines on their barques, for all the populace to adore. Sokar's barque encircled the walls of his temple. Then, the images were brought to their tomb(s) and buried (for two different interpretations of the processional routes involved, see Eaton 2007a and Kucharek 2006).

These festivals were originally associated with two major cult centers, Abydos, home of the god Osiris, and Memphis, home of the god Sokar. However, they came to be celebrated all over Egypt. Each site was associated with a different part of Osiris' body, which was dismembered and scattered throughout Egypt when he was killed by his brother Seth (Beinlich 1984:58–68). Most general descriptions of these festivals rely on Ptolemaic renditions, designed to unite the various regional manifestations, including those performed for Osiris at Abydos and Sokar at Memphis (Chassinat 1966–1968 and Cauville 1998). The prominence of Osiris in Sokar's festival scenes in Theban memorial temples has led scholars to suggest that this national unification of these festivals had occurred by the New Kingdom (eg. Gaballa and Kitchen 1969:36). In some locations, including Thebes, this appears to be correct. However, national unification was not complete. The arrangement of scenes relating to the festivals of Osiris and Sokar in the Temple of Sety I at Abydos indicate that, at that cult center, the internal rites associated with these festival cycles remained separate well into the New Kingdom. The Abydene version was celebrated for Osiris Khentyimentiu and the divine members in the Osiris complex. A variation on the Memphite version was celebrated for Ptah-Sokar-Osiris (but not Osiris Khentyimentiu) in the complex of Nefertem-Ptah-Sokar (Eaton 2006). Since the two festivals were celebrated at the same time of year, their processions may have joined when they left their complexes within the temple; however, the few fragments of processional scenes left at Abydos are inadequate for any conclusions to be drawn.

OSIRIS' KHOIAK FESTIVAL

The internal rites for Osiris' festival were celebrated in his complex in the western end of the Temple of Sety I at Abydos (Figure 3.1). Moving from the innermost to the outermost areas, the three southernmost rooms (labeled 10–12 on the plan) are decorated with images associated with mortuary rites and are probably where the new corn-mummies were made while the previous year's images received their funeral rites. Two of the three southernmost rooms were devoted to the making of Osiris' divine images: a corn body attached to his head reliquary (generally called the "Osiris Fetish"), and a group of limbs, scalled the divine members and united by the *ḏd*-pillar, Osiris' backbone. The third room may have housed a processional barque to carry the divine members (Eaton 2006). However, even here, regular daily ritual scenes occur, including offering ointment (pAmun 54–55; Abydos 29; Edfu 17; Dendera 7) and "Greetings with a *nmst*-vessel" (Meal 17). Moving outward, the decorative program in the Second Osiris Hall is almost completely lost. It had an astronomical ceiling and a series of niches, perhaps to hold images to accompany Osiris' image when it was brought to his tomb.

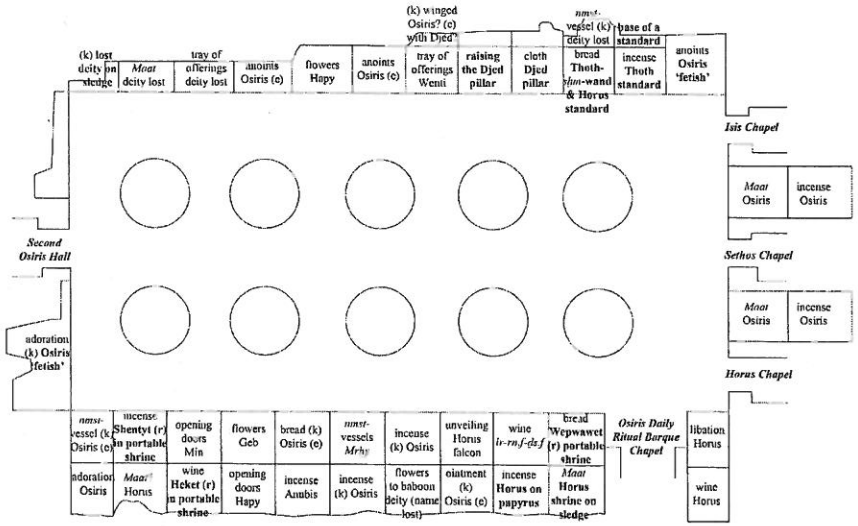


Figure 6.1 Plan of the decorative program in the First (Inner) Osiris Hall. Depictions of portable divine images, including standards and shrines with carrying poles or sledges, are indicated in bold print. Posture notes: (k) kneeling king; (e) enthroned deity; and (r) recumbent deity (in animal form). Both king and deities stand unless noted otherwise. See chapter 7 for further discussion of posture. Diagram by the author.

Intertwining between rituals associated with the toilet and the meal and Khoiak Festival episodes occurs in the First Osiris Hall (Figure 6.1, called the 'Inner Osiris Hall' on the plan in Figure 3.1) of the Temple of Sety I at Abydos. The First Osiris Hall features depictions of raising the *ḏd*-pillar, an act clearly performed on the last day of Osiris' Khoiak festival (eg. Mikhail 1984c; Gaballa and Kitchen 1969:72–75; van de Walle 1954:287–290; and chapter 4). However, the majority of representations in the First Osiris Hall are devoted to the presentation of regular offerings, strongly associated with the toilet and meal. Several of these might be associated with the Khoiak Festival, based not on the ritual depicted, but on the recipients depicted, portable images of deities that likely accompanied Osiris on his journey from temple to tomb during the Khoiak Festival. According to the ritual from the Ptolemaic Temple of Hathor at Dendera, there was a nautical procession with thirty-four small barques (Chassinat 1966–1968:64, 205, and 616).

Three representations on the east wall feature shrines with carrying poles—one dedicated to Wepwawet, a jackal god whose name means literally "opener of the ways"; one to Hekat, a frog goddess; and one to Shentyt, a cow goddess (Calverley, Gardiner, *et al.* 1938:pls. 14 and 16). These small shrines might have been placed in small barques, like those depicted in scenes commemorating the Festival of Sokar at Medinet Habu (Epigraphic

Survey 1940:pl. 196 and det. 226). On the west wall is a standard surmounted by Thoth in the form of an ibis (Calverley, Gardiner, *et al.* 1938:pl. 7). In addition, there is a depiction of a shrine on a sledge containing a statue of Horus in the form of a falcon and a depiction of Horus-who-is-upon-his-papyrus-pillar, who appears in Sokar's procession as depicted at Medinet Habu (Calverley, Gardiner, *et al.* 1938:pl.16). All of the scenes featuring portable images as recipients of ritual involve offerings associated with the Daily Ritual or the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors, most frequently bread, *Maat*, incense, and wine. However, none have utterances preserved that can definitively connect the scenes to any ritual cycles.

It is also significant that the various ritual episodes do not seem to be organized based on a logical progression of the toilet and the meal (Figure 6.1). Most notably, two scenes devoted to opening the doors appear in the seventh and eighth of ten pairs of scenes to the south of the door on the east wall of the First Osiris Hall. Episodes devoted to opening the doors usually appear along with other entry scenes, like unfastening the seal and drawing back the bolt, towards the beginning of papyrus copies of the ritual and near doors in versions on temple walls (chapter 3). Other scenes in the area are devoted to offering flowers, wine, bread, incense, and *Maat*, a mixture of scenes associated with the toilet and the meal. Thus, it seems in this case that the order of performance of the ritual episodes was not the primary organizing principle in this cycle of scenes. Perhaps the scenes were ordered based upon the appearance of the various deities in procession, with ritual episodes chosen to complement the nature of the recipient. Alternatively, there may have been symbolic threads running through the utterances, comparable to those found on the east wall of the Second Hypostyle Hall (chapter 5). Unfortunately, most of the remaining scenes lack utterances, and the cycle is too damaged to attempt such a reconstruction.

In the chapels of Isis and Horus at the north end of the complex (Figure 3.1), six of the seven scenes in each chapel are offering scenes that clearly would be appropriate within the context of the Daily Ritual or the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors. However, most of the scenes do not have ritual utterances and depict the king offering incense and libation, very basic acts featured in most ritual cycles. Each of these chapels has one scene that includes a ritual utterance that has a clear parallel in the Daily Ritual: "Utterance for Presenting the Broad Collar" (*r n rdjt wsḫ*, Abydos 23) in the Horus Chapel (Calverley, Gardiner, *et al.* 1938:pl. 32) and "Utterance for Offering *mḏ*-ointment" (*r n ḥnq mḏ*, Abydos 29) in the Isis Chapel (Calverley, Gardiner, *et al.* 1938:pl. 46). A third scene, in the Horus Chapel, has an "Utterance for Washing the Brazier" (*r n jˁ ḫ3wt*, Calverley, Gardiner, *et al.* 1938:pl. 34). This act may have been performed at the very beginning of the meal. The first identifiable episode on pCairo-Turin, which is missing some episodes at the beginning, is devoted to setting up the brazier (Meal Episode 2).

However, the focus in the three northern chapels, if one is to judge by the amount of room devoted to texts, is the granting of benefits to the king.

The themes on the north walls further underscore the focus on divine favors. The god presents the king with insignia in the Horus Chapel. The goddess presents the king with the sistrum and counterpoise in the Isis Chapel. Thus, these rooms represent the apex of the ritual when Osiris-Sety is revivified and accepted by the gods (David 1981:139–146, esp. 141). Such shifts in emphasis may also have been apparent in the performance of ritual episodes in different contexts or on different occasions.

THE FESTIVAL OF SOKAR

The earliest surviving mentions of Sokar's festival are from the Early Dynastic period (Serrano 2002:92–96). Renditions of ritual during this time period generally are inscribed on small objects. With space so restricted, there tends to be a tight focus on the most important aspects of the ritual, clearly Sokar's barque and the royal name. However, on two labels from Neith-Hotep's tomb at Naqada, there is a strong focus on offerings of meat on the left part of the central register. The act in the center of this register relates to some sort of production activity to be done by the king himself, probably to do with copper, although mixing clay for bricks has also been suggested. Thus expansion of regular daily offerings, and the preparation of luxury materials or acts of maintenance not performed daily, were important aspects of Sokar's festival from the most ancient times. Later texts indicate that mats and reed matting were associated with Sokar's festival as well (Medinet Habu festival calendar, see chapter 4)

Scenes associated with the mysteries of the Festival of Sokar appear in the complex of Nefertem-Ptah-Sokar in Sety I's Abydos Temple (Figure 3.1, Hall of Nefertem and Ptah-Sokar, and Rooms 8–9). The scenes associated with Sokar-Osiris' funeral and revivification were at the western end of Ptah-Sokar's chapel. In addition, the Litany of Sokar, in which the various names, epithets, and dwellings of the god were listed, appears on the north wall of the hall. This episode also appears in the cycle of scenes devoted to the Festival of Sokar at Medinet Habu (Gaballa and Kitchen 1969:4–5; Epigraphic Survey 1940:pl. 196, det. pl. 221–222). However, in her study of the temple, David suggested that the primary purpose of the Nefertem-Ptah-Sokar complex was the celebration of the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors (David 1981:83–118, esp. 97–108, see also Mariette 1869:pls. 35–40).

Indeed, most of the scenes in this complex feature ritual texts with parallels in papyrus versions of the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors (see Figures 6.2–6.3 and compare Table A.3). Episodes devoted to offering incense and the elevation of offerings also appear in the Sokar Festival scenes in the festival court at Medinet Habu (Epigraphic Survey 1940:pls. 218–220), underscoring how important the structure of daily ritual routine was to the success of the festival. Thus, episodes from the meal and Sokar's annual festival were intertwined in the decorative program of the Nefertem-Ptah-Sokar suite.

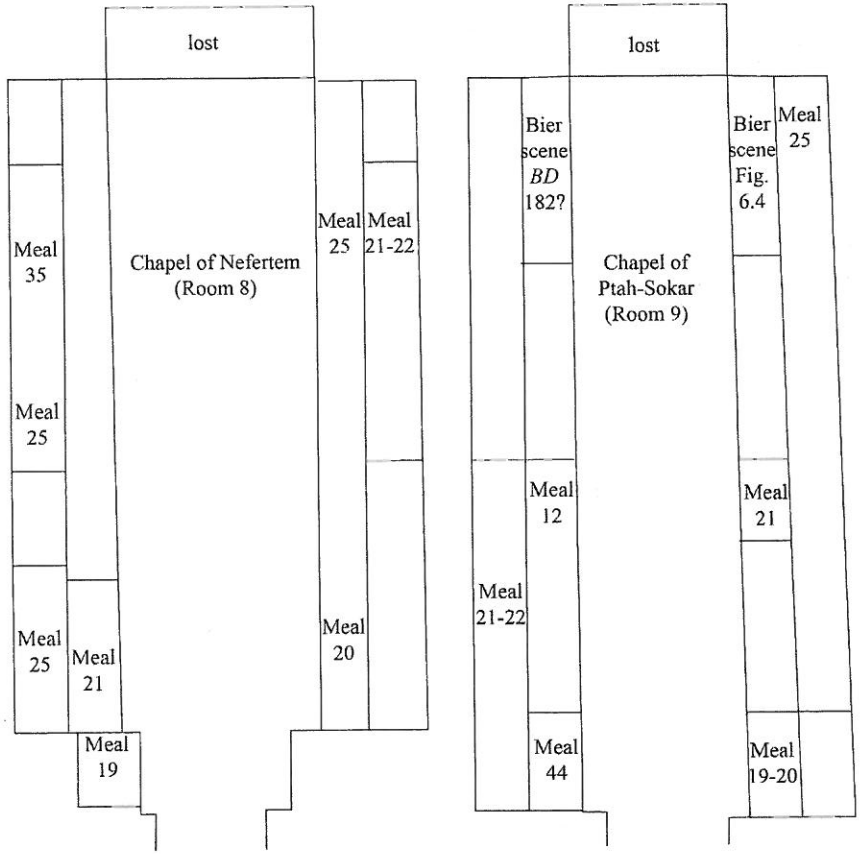


Figure 6.2 Plan of the decorative program in the chapels of Nefertem and Ptah-Sokar (Rooms 8–9 on the plan in Figure 3.1). Line drawing by the author.

The following description reads the progression of mysteries from the innermost part of the complex to the outermost.

The most secret mysteries of the Sokar Festival are depicted in the chapel of Ptah-Sokar with the revivification of the god. The westernmost scenes in this room are devoted to forms of the god Sokar lying on a bed. On the north wall, Horus and Isis revivify "Sokar-Osiris who-is-in-his-barque (*wjȝ*)" (Figure 6.4). The fact that Sokar-Osiris (or Sety as Sokar-Osiris) is said to be "in his barque" might indicate that the revivification was considered to be a metaphorical boat journey. It also might be a reference to the procession celebrated after the mysteries. The portion of the upper register above this scene was described by David:

> At the west end of the register, another inscription is partly preserved. "Oh, Soker, come to this thy bread, which the son of Re, Lord of

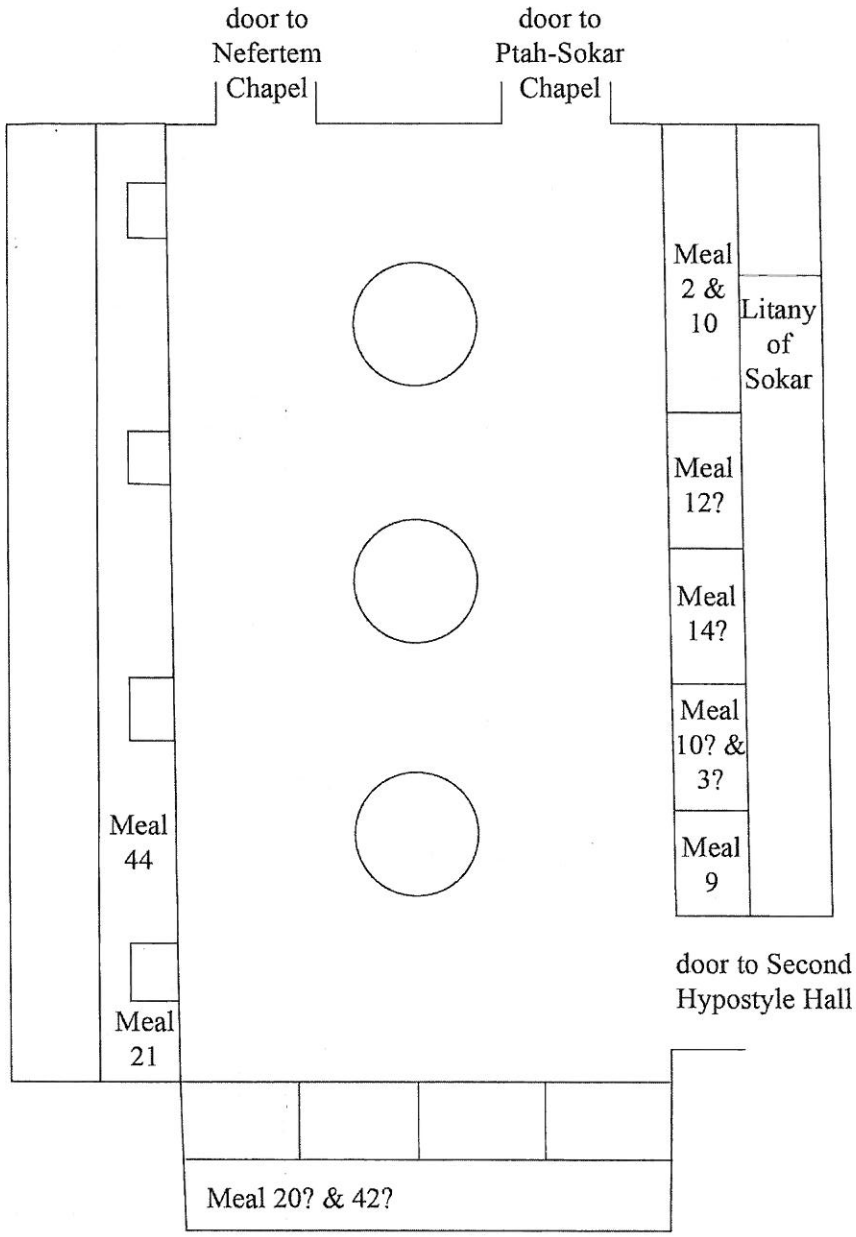


Figure 6.3 Plan of the decorative program in the hall of Nefertem and Ptah-Sokar. For location, see Figure 3.1. Line drawing by the author.

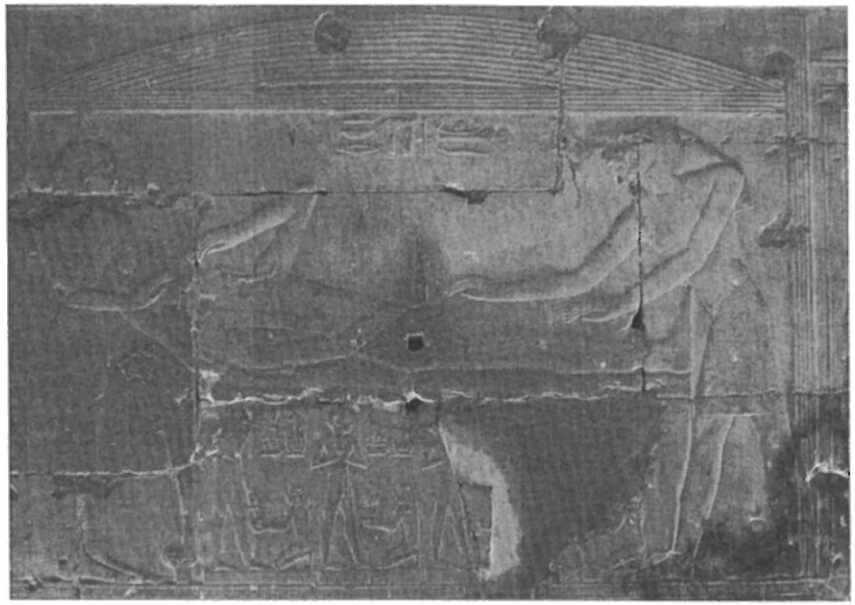


Figure 6.4 Sokar-Osiris who-is-in-his-barque, being revivified by Isis and Horus. From the north wall of the Chapel of Ptah-Sokar (Room 9 in Figure 3.1) in the Temple of Sety I at Abydos. Photo by the author.

> Diadems, [Sety Merenptah] [. . .] has given thee. Grant me all life and dominion, that I may live, that I may be joyful, and that I may unite with thee, thy power [. . .] a great many jubilees, I being at the head of the living forever". (David 1981:106)

In the parallel scene on the south wall, Isis, in the form of a bird, alights on the phallus of Osiris-Wennefer in a scene celebrating the conception of Horus. This scene has been cited as evidence for the "Osirianization" of Sokar (David 1981:105). However, viewed together with the guardian deities lined up in a shrine in the second register, the bier scene forms the vignette of chapter 182 of the *Book of the Dead* in which the deceased, in this case the god Sokar, is identified with Osiris-Wennefer (Eaton 2006:82–83, fig. 4).

Moving eastward in the room of Ptah-Sokar, another pair of parallel scenes occurs. In each scene the king kneels and offers libation in front of a shrine containing two falcons. On the north wall the falcons are labeled "Horus-who-is-in-his-barque" and "Isis-who-is-in-his-barque". The two falcons on the southern wall are both named Sokar. During the procession Isis and Horus would protect Sokar as he circled the walls, as they protected him during his revivification in the westernmost scenes. These may have been processional images, mummified and carried in Sokar's *henu*-barque

(Eaton 2006:82, and pl. 6). Similar falcon statuettes were also carried out in the open by priests following Min's palanquin during his procession as depicted at Medinet Habu (Epigraphic Survey 1940:pl. 196, det. pl. 203). Rites and ritual equipment had multiple purposes. In the remainder of the scenes, Sokar and various other deities receive episodes from the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors.

Rituals associated with the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors dominate the decorative program in the room of Nefertem as well. However, many of the recipients depicted are statues and ritual objects associated with the Sokar Festival. Thus, it seems likely that during Sokar's festival some of the images that were to accompany Sokar in his journey around the walls received rites in the Nefertem Chapel, including a small depiction of Nefertem's emblem on a very short pole resting in a shrine on a sledge in a larger shrine along with numerous other divine images (Mariette 1869:38c; on the form and symbolism of the emblem, see Munro 1969:34–40). In scenes of the Festival of Sokar at Medinet Habu, Nefertem's processional image is an emblem composed of a lotus blossom on a pole surmounted by two tall feathers (Epigraphic Survey 1940:pl. 196 and 224–225 and Gaballa and Kitchen 1969:1–13, and pl. I, fig. 2). In that scene it is laid horizontally in an elaborate carrying platform. However, individual priests also carried smaller versions of the emblem.

Other figures depicted in this room and associated with Sokar's procession in other contexts are Horus-who-is-upon-his-papyrus-pillar (Mariette 1869:pl. 39b), who appears in Sokar's processional scenes at Medinet Habu (Epigraphic Survey 1940:pl. 196 and Gaballa and Kitchen 1969: 6 fig. 2), and deities appearing together in long shrines, including Ptah-Osiris, Shu, Isis, and Nephthys. At the western end of this group is a depiction of Hathor-*bjk* (falcon, Mariette 1869:pl. 39b). In the Abusir Papyri, there is a description of a female falcon (*bjkt*) being placed in a barque for the celebration of a festival (Posener- Kriéger 1976:99–108 and 553–558). This festival seems to have immediately preceded Sokar's procession to encircle the walls.

There were also five small processional barques for goddesses depicted in Sokar's festival scenes at Medinet Habu (Epigraphic Survey 1940:pl. 196, det. pl. 226 and Gaballa and Kitchen 1969:8–13, 62–66 and fig. 3). Four of these goddesses—Hathor, Shesmetet, Bastet, and Sakhmet—have depictions of statues on the walls of the Nefertem Chapel. A depiction of a statue of Sakhmet on a sledge together with a depiction of a sphinx statue of the king appears at the westernmost end of the wall (Mariette 1869:pl. 40c). Much later (tp. Alexander IV) the goddesses Isis, Tayt, Bastet, Wadjet, and Neith, among others, were named in a hymn to be recited while bringing in Sokar (BM 10188, a.k.a. pBremner-Rhind 19, 13–31, Faulkner 1937:13). During the 'mysteries' of the Sokar Festival, and perhaps more regularly, statues and other portable divine images, like those depicted on the walls of Nefertem's chapel, probably received episodes from the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors and may have accompanied Sokar in his journey around the walls. Thus,

the Nefertem Chapel appears to have been the functional equivalent of the First Osiris Hall, acting as the area where images to accompany the god on his journey received rites needed to protect them before leaving the temple.

In the hall of Nefertem-Ptah-Sokar, the scenes in the lower register are dominated by episodes from the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors. According to the depiction of the Sokar Festival at Medinet Habu, this ritual was one of the first stages of the festival. In the upper register, the king presents menus (i.e. lists of food), an act associated with Meal Episode 20. On the east wall, the barque of Sokar might be the recipient, but only his characteristic barque stand, decorated with *ḏd*-pillars and *ʿnḫ*-signs, remains (Eaton 2006:81). On the north wall, the Litany of the Forms of Sokar, corresponding to *Book of the Dead* 142, is inscribed in front of the *henu*-barque of Sokar (Gaballa and Kitchen 1969:4–5). This entire register may be an extended version of the ritual depicted in Scene III at Medinet Habu, referring to rituals carried out in the temple after the ancestor ritual, but before the procession.

On the south wall of the Second Hypostyle Hall of Sety I's Abydos Temple, above the door to the Gallery of Lists (Figure 3.1), the king offers incense to Sokar's *henu*-barque. There is a table of offerings with six columns, each with a different location for Sokar (Calverley, Gardiner, *et al.* 1958:pl. 42 and David 1981:40). In the chapel of Ptah-Sokar, one depiction of the god was labeled "Ptah-Sokar Who-is-south-of-his-wall" (David 1981:104), a designation originally associated with a Memphite form of the god. Thus, there is a focus on forms of the deity as manifested in many locations, including Sety's Abydos Temple. However, it is interesting to note that the suite of Nefertem-Ptah-Sokar is south of the wall of the main temple. Perhaps Sety I chose to create an L-shaped temple so that he would have this southern annex to represent the area 'south of the wall'. At the entrance to the Nefertem-Ptah-Sokar hall, there is a scene entitled "Entering the Mansion of Sokar, adoration of the god" (David 1981:106), possibly indicating that the complex was considered to be somewhat separate from the rest of the temple.

KHOIAK FESTIVALS: CONCLUSIONS

The arrangements of scenes in the complexes of Osiris and Sokar in the Temple of Sety I at Abydos indicate that regular, daily rites were a major part of the festival celebrations for these deities. They were made special by being offered to the processional images of deities who were to accompany the main god on his procession. Although such processional images may have received daily rites, it seems probable that an expanded, festival version of the rites would have been required to protect these images in preparation for their travels outside of the sacred space of the temple. Neither of these cycles appears to be arranged based on the logic of performing the acts. The focus was on the multiplicity of the images receiving the cult. The need to protect the images continued after they left the temple.

THE FESTIVAL OF MIN

Annual festivals were not evenly distributed throughout the year and received radically different levels of investment. The Festival of Min (also often called Amun-Re *kȝ-mwt.f*)[5] figures as prominently in New Kingdom temple decorative programs at Thebes as the festivals of Sokar and Opet. However, their levels of endowment were very different. This probably relates to differences in their practical functions rather than to their importance. Nelson, who recognized that Min's festival was relatively under-endowed in the Medinet Habu festival calendar, suggested:

> The relative unimportance of this feast, as judged by the size of the offerings, is probably due to the fact that it was not primarily a mortuary feast and so would not be prominent in the calendar of a mortuary temple. (Nelson 1934:20)

Nelson is clearly wrong on this point. The Festival of Amun-Re *kȝ-mwt.f* figures prominently in the decorative programs of the memorial temples of both Ramesses II (the Ramesseum) and Ramesses III (Medinet Habu). Moreover, the connection between Min's festival and royal mortuary contexts was already quite ancient at this point, as it was mentioned in the table of service of king Neferirkare of the Fifth Dynasty (Posener-Kriéger 1976:561–563).

The Min Festival had such a small endowment because it was celebrated in the first month of the harvest season, when the grain would have yet to be harvested. In fact, cutting the first sheaves of wheat was an important episode in this festival (Lurson 2005:117). Thus, Min's festival was not associated with large amounts of agricultural income. In contrast, the most well-endowed festivals on the Medinet Habu festival calendar are associated with feasts of victory, when large amounts of booty would be processed; the inundation, when grain redistribution would have been at its height; and the king's coronation (Epigraphic Survey 1934:pls. 136–167). The festivals of Sokar and Osiris occurred during the last month of the inundation season, when the flood waters were receding. By that time, all of the crops would have been harvested, processed, and counted, and redistribution could be completed. Thus, the estates would receive their seed grain in time for planting. This period of massive redistribution ended with the largest daily offering of grain products, at the feast of *nḥb-kȝw* on the first day of the first month of planting.

The centerpiece of each of Min's festival scenes is his ithyphallic processional image, usually carried by a group of priests, covered from knee to

neck (or higher) by a platform and propped up from behind by the king or a statuette of the king.[6] The festival progression generally includes at least one scene of the divine image receiving rites associated with the daily ritual before leaving the temple and/or upon its return. The procession itself is also the site of rites associated with the toilet and the meal, sometimes performed by the king, or statuettes of the king; sometimes by priests. Enough was going on for a unique collection of events to be depicted in each representation, although Ramesses III chose to copy Ramesses II's rendition.

Although the ithyphallic image and the white bull were clearly central in the procession as depicted by Ramesses III, there were many other divine images in the procession, including ones which Min might inhabit. Within the space of the procession, the presence of the divine is diffuse, including standards with divine images such as hawks wrapped with ribbons, a baboon, a cow, and jackals. Some of these images are also depicted being carried by priests indoors, in Min's chapel as well. However, in this inner part of the temple, the priests appear to be wearing royal head cloths (*nemes* and *khat* headdresses; Epigraphic Survey 1940:pl. 209), perhaps an indication that they are meant to be living images of the king (chapter 3). At the front of the procession, two priests attend small standards featuring feathers and sun disks (Epigraphic Survey 1940:pl. 205). Subsets of these images appear over and over again in processional scenes. Thus, although this particular series was performed once each year, the priests practiced carrying these sacred images much more frequently. For example, across the courtyard in Ramesses III's festival court, Sokar's festival features many of the same images on standards. These are depicted being held vertically in front of each priest, whereas those in Min's festival scenes rested against the priests' shoulders. The difficulty of maintaining the position depicted in Sokar's scenes for a long time might suggest that both postures could be used, with the posture in Min's processional scenes representing repose.

In Ramesses III's temple, Min's festival procession begins and ends within the temple with the king giving offerings (*rdjt ꜥ3b*) and doing incense and libation (*jrt snṯr ḳbḥ*). In each case, the actions depicted are the same—the king burns incense in an arm censer and pours libations over a table of offerings (Epigraphic Survey 1940:196). In the first scene, a statuette of the king wearing the *nemes*-headdress is depicted kneeling on the same palanquin as Min's ithyphallic statue, holding a pair of *nw*-jars, generally associated with wine, up to the god (Epigraphic Survey 1940:pl. 200). In the closing rites, two golden statuettes of the king stand within the shrine, one in front of the divine image holding *nw*-jars and wearing the white crown, and one propping up the ithyphallic image from behind wearing a *nemes*-headdress (Epigraphic Survey 1940:pl. 207). A line of royal statues is lined up behind the king, followed by a priest holding lettuce in the first register (the white bull and the king's great wife stand above).

In the Eighteenth Dynasty temple at Medinet Habu, the god's return is celebrated by a full-sized image of the king giving wine (*rdj jrp*), with a long [illegible] and piles of offerings between him and the divine image (Epigraphic

Survey 1940:pl. 210). Sety I offers flowers upon his return in the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, while his statuette kneels directly in front of the god on his palanquin in the shrine holding *nw*-jars and wearing the white crown (Epigraphic Survey 1940:pl. 212; Nelson 1981:158).

Most processional scenes also feature references to these main themes from the daily rites, particularly offering wine, incense, and plants. The plants accompanying Min in his processions, including papyrus, lilies, and lettuce, were also protective images and symbols of life (H. Gauthier 1931:151–155, L. Bell 1997:183). Priests also carry fans and feathers, which played important protective roles (Epigraphic Survey 1940:pl. 201 and 212; Nelson 1981:158–159). As with the interior scenes, there was so much going on that each representation can depict a different set of acts. Amenhotep III's Min festival scene in Luxor Temple features two full-sized images of the king working together on the same divine image, one propping it up from behind, and the other walking in front of the image backwards while burning incense. Priests follow with a planter filled with lettuce (Epigraphic Survey 1940:pl. 211). In the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, Sety I stands beside the palanquin and props Min up, while his statuette kneels before the god on his palanquin holding *nw*-jars and wearing the white crown. Priests carry fans and a giant bouquet (Epigraphic Survey 1940:pl. 212; Nelson 1981:159).

Ramesses III's procession, copied from the Ramesseum, is the most elaborate version. The king walks between Min's palanquin and a white bull while a priest walks backwards burning incense in front of the group. A statuette of the king on the palanquin props up the statue of Min from behind while another kneels in front of the statue and holds up a damaged offering. The palanquin is flanked by a pair of giant bouquets and followed by a planter filled with lettuce, sacred to the god Min. Regular offerings of a *nmst*-vessel, three *ḥs*-vases, a stand with beer jugs, and a table of offerings are carried near the front of the procession.

Thus, wine is depicted being offered, often by statuettes of the king on the palanquin, or within the shrine; incense is burnt; libations are poured; bouquets and piles of offerings are presented. These are among the most common ritual acts depicted on temple walls and called for in temple liturgies (chapter 8). Priests practiced these rites daily. They also practiced them in processions on a regular basis. Thus, there were only a few special episodes, such as cutting the grain, which were not acts performed at least several times a month by the performers. This repetition stabilized the festival celebration and incorporated the powerful—and potentially dangerous—elements of the festival into the predictable fabric of everyday life.

THE OPET FESTIVAL

Scenes depicting the Opet Festival are organized based on the progress of the journey of the Theban Triad and the king from Karnak Temple, south to Luxor Temple, and back. This clarity in the narrative has led many of

its distinctive elements to be the subject of study. The focus of the present study is on those aspects of the performance which were repeated over and over again in other festival processions and in daily temple ritual. The most complete depiction of the Opet Festival occurs in Luxor Temple. The decorative program was started by Tutankhamun and completed by Sety I. This cycle is often divided into ten parts, five representing the trip from Karnak to Luxor and five representing the return. However, the Egyptians took pains to ensure that the scenes flowed together without abrupt divisions (Epigraphic Survey 1994:xviii). Transitions are points of danger. There was a constant tension between wanting to obscure points of transition, so that they won't be clear targets for chaotic forces, and to protect those points, thereby marking where they are. A balance between these two goals was achieved by contained vagueness. The journey is shown as a whole, with points of transition between temple and road, road and water, and the reverse, incorporated as seamlessly as possible. The points of divine and royal presences are also obscured by multiple images throughout.

Each journey begins and ends with offerings before the divine processional barques in the temple (Epigraphic Survey 1994:xvii–xviii). This framing is essential, for the offering sequence provided the barques with the protection they needed to leave the temple proper. References to regular daily offerings occur throughout the processional sequence in statuettes of the king performing ritual acts and in depictions of performances rendered on architectural features and river barges. These do not form a narrative sequence. To the contrary, a sample is present in every episode. Other representations are associated with one of the three types of environment the processional barques pass through—the chapels within Karnak and Luxor temples, where the barques rested on stands; the roads between the temples and the river, where the barques were carried on the shoulders of priests; and the river itself, where the barques were transported on river barges. In all of the episodes, statuettes show the king manning the barque, steering; protecting the shrine; and offering *nw*-jars and *nmst*-vessels. The pair of offerings represent the meal (wine, Meal Episode 12) and toilet (*nmst*-vessel, Abydos Episode 24, pAmun Episode 46; for more on these figures, see Karlshausen 2009:187–193). The deities also have multiple images on each barque, in the form of a prow aegis, whatever image was contained in the shrine, and a stern aegis.

The four scenes of offering before the divine barques within the temples share strong parallels. The divine presence is multifarious in these scenes. In addition to the three divine images contained within the barque, a series of *mdw-špsw* standards are depicted beneath the stern of Amun-Re's barque, including Wepwawet, a ram-headed Amun, three falcon-headed deities, and Osiris. Some scenes also include libation vessels with divine heads, indicating that the contents were associated with the divine bodily fluids (Epigraphic Survey 1994:pls.43 and 56). The king is also represented in multiple images.

Depicted within Karnak Temple before the journey begins and Luxor before the return journey (Epigraphic Survey 1994:pls. 5 and 56), the king offers incense and libations (*jrt snṯr ḳbḥ*). In the scene representing Karnak, the falcon-headed censer he uses has an additional statuette of the king, kneeling and holding the cup on the handle. Another statuette of the king kneels on an offering table beneath the front of the carrying pole of Amun-Re's barque. His offering is lost; however, in the closing Karnak scene a similar statue holds a giant bouquet (Epigraphic Survey 1994:pl.108). The royal processional barque, recognizable due to its royal images at both prow and stern, faces the barques of Mut and Khonsu. All of these barques would have had complete crews of royal figures (Khonsu's barque is damaged). Four additional figures of the king are depicted holding up the sky on Amun-Re's barque stand. In addition, a royal *mdw-špsw* standard is depicted beneath the stern of Amun-Re's barque. Thus, this scene would have had over thirty images of the king, twenty-three surviving plus seven more which can be confidently reconstructed in the damaged areas of the barques of Amun-Re and Khonsu.

Offering lists are depicted above the barques. Most of the offerings are regular daily offerings. However, each list also includes a butcher's knife (Epigraphic Survey 1994:2–4, 20, 24, and 40, pls. 8, 10. 45, 56, and 113). Butchering meat was clearly an important part of the external performance of this festival, with scenes of bulls being butchered lining the processional route between the river and Luxor Temple. Thus, knives were added to the offering list as ritual objects replaced periodically. Mut's lists also include a selection of valuable pigments (Epigraphic Survey 1994:3, 20, 24, and 40, pls. 8, 45, 56, and 113). Perhaps cosmetics were important to internal rites for this festival. The possibility that a sacred marriage rite was the focus of the internal rites for Opet has long been suspected. Nonetheless, that reading entails a lot of conjecture. Bell's reconstruction of the internal rites at Luxor Temple focuses on elaborations on and variations of rites performed every day (L. Bell 1997:174). The king presents water (special New Year's water), flowers, and incense. He was then crowned by the priests, who would have crowned the divine image daily (eg. Abydos Episode 27). Thus, as with the festival lists discussed in chapter 4, special rites were incorporated into an otherwise quite standard ritual cycle. Many of these common offerings are depicted on overflowing offering tables in front of the barques.

More regular offerings are depicted on the renditions of the temple gateways, forming the transition between the internal scenes and the journeys over land. At various points, the king offers *Maat*, a *nmst*-vessel, *nw*-jars, ointment, lettuce, flowers; runs with *ḥs*-vases and *ḥap* and oar; and embraces the god (Epigraphic Survey 1994:pls.16, 42, 56, and 101). These then lead directly into the land processions, in which the processional barques were carried to and from the river on the shoulders of priests. In the processions over land, libations were poured before the processional images to keep down the dust and for apotropaic reasons. During the Opet Festival, this

took on an added symbolic component as milk was the libation liquid being employed to purify the route before the processional barques as they traveled between the river and Karnak Temple and from the Nile back to Karnak (for a more complex reading of this route based on surviving architecture, see L. Bell 1997:160). Between Luxor Temple and the river, the route was lined with people butchering animals and attending kiosks filled with offerings (Epigraphic Survey 1994:pls. 38 and 63). The slaughter of large numbers of animals was probably essential at this time of year, as the amount of land available for grazing would be drastically reduced at the height of the inundation. Presumably many of these animals would be excess young males, allowing larger milk offerings than normal to be presented.

Each of the other barques is preceded by a priest, facing backward and holding an arm censer up to the face on the prow aegis. Two of these hold *nmst*-vessels in their other hands (the area is damaged on the third). The purpose of these acts was specified in inscriptions behind the shrines on the barques of Khonsu, Mut, and the king, reading "The protection of (all) life surrounds him/her" (Epigraphic Survey 1994:5–6). Thus, there is a bubble of protected space surrounding the barques.

The processional barques were then placed on barges to be towed up the river to Luxor, a journey conducted on land as recently as the time of Hatshepsut (Murnane 1982:575; L. Bell 1997:160–162). All of the barges are protected by attendants along the river's edge—that of the king by members of the military and that of Amun by members of the priesthood (Epigraphic Survey 1994:xviii). Among them, people raise and lower their arms in adoration and kneel down, kissing the ground. Both of these ritual gestures were repeated over and over again, daily, in ancient Egyptian temples. It is taken for granted that the musicians and dancers would have needed regular practice to perform well. In fact, the songs recorded on these walls may not have been have been specific to the Opet Festival. Some appear to be ancient drinking songs, probably associated with any festival occasion involving alcohol consumption (Murnane 1982:575 and 578 n. 19). Those charged with the performance of gestures of adoration, pouring libations, and burning incense also needed to practice their skills regularly.

The barge itself was essentially a floating temple. The rendition of the return to Karnak is the best preserved (Epigraphic Survey 1994:76). The side of Amun-Re's barge features the same sorts of scenes as those depicted on the temple gateways—eg. offering cloth and ointment and running with *ḫs*-vases. The king is depicted performing rites on all of the barges—burning incense, pouring libations, holding an oar. There is the normal complement of royal and divine images on each barque and a collection of divine and royal *mdw-špsw* beneath Amun-Re's stern. In addition, a statue of king Amenophis III stands behind the barques and small royal statuettes and holds a giant bouquet of flowers, fans, and possibly a scepter (?damaged). Accompanying boats feature images of the king smiting and trampling foreigners. Thus, again within the protected space, in this case the group of barges, there were multiple royal and divine images, so the exact point of vulnerability was obscured.

CONCLUSIONS

Many groups of ritual scenes inscribed on temple walls were not organized based on the logic of performing acts on a single divine image. The purposes of such theoretical ritual cycles are best discerned by assessing the common threads running through groups of episodes and the functions of spaces and objects where they are inscribed. The king is depicted performing the ritual in the vast majority of ancient Egyptian temple scenes. Thus, even when the king is merely offering something as simple as bread to the god, it is a statement about his role in the world as the intermediary between the divine and mankind. When such scenes are depicted on the exterior portions of temples it is this type of message, and not any information about how the ritual was to be performed, that the ancient designers of the decorative program meant to convey. In interior areas, the unique relationship between the king and the gods is often the focus. These themes reflect the primary purpose of ancient Egyptian ritual practice, to legitimize the centralization of power in the person of the king and the role of the temples in the ancient Egyptian economy. Thus, theoretical rituals cycles are best understood when we focus on what ritual is for, the main concern of practice theory.

In this chapter, discussion of the Festival of Min was separated from the Festival of Sokar. However, in the Temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, these two festivals were depicted in the same architectural space, the festival court, along with other festivals. Most festival spaces were designed to hold multiple festivals throughout the year, including the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, the court of the Barque Station of Ramesses III at Karnak and Luxor Temple. Large, expensive, labor-intensive stone buildings were not made to be used only once each year. However, this was not just a matter of economics. The very images carved on the walls had the potential to act as bodies for spiritual entities. The purity of these spaces had to be constantly maintained. If left empty, even for a few months, they would get dusty and start to fill with cobwebs. Cool, shady areas in particular would attract lizards, snakes, and other small animals. Ritual spaces had to be maintained on a daily basis or they would lose their purity and therefore their efficacy.

Part IV

Patterns

7 Gesture, Posture, and Movement

In 1993 Robert Ritner published his foundational work, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*. In this study, Ritner focused on magic as action—encircling, spitting, and the like. However, all study of ritual benefits from action-based analysis of 'mechanics'. In fact, one of the only things which ritual theorists tend to agree on is that ritual requires the precise repetition of actions, such as bodily movements, gestures, and manipulations of objects, in addition to sounds and utterances. Structuralists, like Staal, view ritual as primarily or even exclusively structured action:

> Ritual, then, is primarily activity. It is an activity governed by explicit rules. The important thing is what you do, not what you think, believe or say. (Staal 1989:116)

Performance theorists have a more holistic view of what ritual is, but they too agree that it requires some sort of physical act (eg. Grimes 1982:59–60). Practice theorist Catherine Bell is very resistant to the idea of defining ritual. Nonetheless, when she suggested a working definition of ritual for archaeologists to adopt, it was one that relies on the concept of action—that of Colin Renfew, which she summarized as:

> . . . rituals are those activities that address the gods or other supernatural forces. (C. Bell 2007:278)

Ritual is action.

Yet studies of motion in ancient Egypt are rare, and ritual is often only a peripheral consideration (eg. Dominicus 1994; Decker and Harb 1994; Ritner 1993; and Brunner-Traut 1938). Moreover, the role of ritual movement in daily ancient Egyptian temple ritual, the foundation of all Egyptian temple ritual, has not been investigated in detail before. Thus, the focus of this chapter is on patterns in representations of posture, gesture, and movement in the most commonly encountered ritual scenes from the temples of Sety I and Ramesses II. How these representations may have related to performance is a more controversial issue. Clear patterns emerge. However,

many explanations other than or in addition to representation of performance must be considered.

A multidisciplinary perspective strengthens this undertaking. Art provides 'representations of acts'. Texts provide 'descriptions of acts'. Archaeology provides the 'material remains of acts', often contradicting idealized representations. The main focus of this chapter is artistic representations. However, the *realia* of handling physical objects, based on surviving ritual objects and offerings, will be stressed when evidence is available. In addition, material remains and administrative documents reveal the importance of offerings so common that during some periods the Egyptians generally did not devote whole scenes to them, such as beer and water.[1] These were certainly the primary libation liquids used in ritual. However, more expensive, but less common, liquids like wine and milk had far more discrete scenes devoted to their presentation during the time period in question. In comparison, during the Greco-Roman period, beer was depicted being presented as a discreet offering, but still much less frequently than wine or milk (Beinlich 2008:55–57 and with bread 63, 514–525, and 318–323).

This chapter analyzes patterns in the representation of the king's posture, gesture, and handling of offerings in some of the most frequently depicted offering scenes from early Nineteenth Dynasty temples, namely: Sety I's Abydos Temple; Sety I's Theban Temple; the Great Hypostyle Hall, East Temple, and Girdle Wall at Karnak; the Court and Barque Station of Ramesses II at Luxor Temple; the Ramesseum; and the Great and Small Temples at Abu Simbel. This is the earliest period for which such a large-scale comparison of material from a variety of largely intact monuments can be done. This sample includes divine temples and memorial temples. There is some regional variation, with monuments from Nubia and Abydos as well as Thebes. Moreover, as discussed in the following, there were significant stylistic changes in art during this period of time.

Nonetheless, significant gaps remain. None of these monuments are devoted to goddesses. The one devoted to a queen, the Small Temple at Abu Simbel, suggests that the feminine might display different patterns in depictions of offering rites than the masculine, with greater emphasis placed on flowers and sistrums in particular. This was clearly the case in some later monuments; for example, at Philae, clepsydra, menits, and mirrors were always presented to goddesses (Vassilika 1989:206). There are also no major monuments from northern Egypt. However, limited remains from early Nineteenth Dynasty monuments in northern Egypt and the monuments of Ramesses II's son and successor, Merneptah (Sourouzian 1989; Dominicus 2004), provide some support for the same general patterns. None of the patterns discussed herein have been established outside this group of monuments, unless there is a specific statement to the contrary. Patterns during other time periods could be quite different (eg. Beinlich 2008 and Vassilika 1989 for Greco-Roman material). First, a generalized overview reading representations of action is presented. Then, patterns in representations of the ritual presentation of offerings will be analyzed.

READING REPRESENTATIONS OF ACTION

The question of how stylized depictions of ritual postures and gestures on temple walls might relate to movement is complex. Something Bell noted about ritual in general (or, as she prefers to call it, 'ritualization') also applies to representations of ritual:

> They do not attempt to reflect the real world accurately but to reduce and simplify it so as to create more or less coherent systems of categories that can then be projected onto the full spectrum of human experience. When successfully projected over the chaos of human experience, these categories can render that experience coherently meaningful and are themselves validated in that process. (C. Bell 1997:161)

Thus, the ritual scenes on temple walls simplified the relative chaos of temple rituals, which were themselves simplifications of the chaos of everyday life. For example, take the issue of who participates. All Egyptians took part in actual, everyday life. In temple ritual, only a relatively small staff of priests participated. In art, this was usually reduced to the king alone performing ritual before the gods (for exceptions, see chapter 1). The priests who performed the rituals daily were relegated to supporting roles (eg. carrying processional barques), when they were depicted at all.

In art the complexity of ritual is sometimes so reduced that a literal reading of a scene is impossible. Some of the most clearly non-naturalistic depictions of offering gestures appear in scenes of offering regalia from the Daily Ritual cycle at Abydos (Abydos 28, Figure 7.1). The Temple of Sety I at Abydos is particularly valuable because six chapels depict parallel versions of the same ritual cycle. In the chapels of Horus and Amun-Re, the king seems to balance a hook, flail, and *w3s*-scepter in the palm of his hand (Figure 7.1a). Full sized *w3s*-scepters were much longer than the depictions from the chapels of Horus and Amun-Re (compare the scepters in Figures 7.1a and 7.1c). The earliest manifestations of *w3s*-scepters had wavy shafts and may have been dried wild bull penises (est. length one meter; see Gordon and Schwabe 2004:138–145). A fragmentary example of a giant faience *w3s*-scepter (reconstructed to be over two meters long) inscribed for the Eighteenth Dynasty king Amenhotep II was found by Petrie in the northwest chamber of the Temple of Seth at Nubt (Victoria and Albert Museum 437–1895, Petrie, Quibell, *et al.* 1896:68 and pl. 78). So there is some evidence that these scenes are not just emblematic, but represent rituals which were performed.

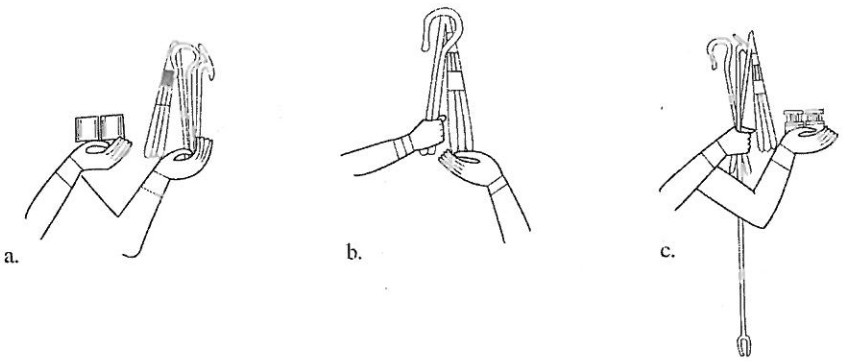


Figure 7.1 The king presents and receives regalia. (a) The king seems to balance regalia in his hand, Horus Chapel. (b) The gesture in a. echoes that of the king receiving regalia. (c) Regalia is depicted being grasped, Isis Chapel. Drawn by the author. For the larger scenes in which these gestures appear, see Calverley, Gardiner, *et al.* 1933:pls. 10 and 30; and 1958:pl. 19.

Given the form of these objects, the mode of presentation depicted in the chapels of Horus and Amun-Re is physically impossible. The *w3s*-scepter is too small, and both the flail and the top-heavy hook would certainly have fallen over. Regalia could have been offered in the form of amulets or models, like the rather late (Twenty-fifth Dynasty or later) faience *ʿnḫ*-sign, decorated with two *ḏd*-pillars (one on each side) and a *w3s*-scepter, (superimposed on one of the *ḏd*-pillars), found at the Temple of Taharqa at Gebel Barkal (23.5 centimeters high BM EA 54412, Friedman 1998:cat. 119). At Philae in the Ptolemaic Period, the king invariably offered this trio on top of a *nb*-sign as a compact emblem (Vassilika 1989:108, 368, AJW in her system). However, choosing to use such proxies (if they did, this is only a possibility) could have been a response to fanciful renditions of the mode of presentation on temple walls, with ritualists perhaps trying to copy literally what was depicted in more ancient scenes. A more likely initial motivation for the renditions of this offering gesture lies in the relationship between the king and the god. Holding regalia in the palm of the hand like this echoes a common royal gesture in scenes of the king receiving regalia from a deity (Figure 7.1b). In these cases, the presenting deity grasps a hook and flail by their handles while the king receives them in his palm. This gesture appears in several scenes the Second Hypostyle Hall of the Temple of Sety I at Abydos, which is adjacent to the Daily Ritual chapels. Thus, depictions of the king presenting regalia held up in the palm of his hand might imply that the god ultimately holds the regalia. Yet this gesture is not required.

In depictions of the episode devoted to presenting regalia in the chapels of Osiris, Isis, and Re-Horakhte, the hook, flail, and *w3s*-scepter are depicted being grasped by the king (Figure 7.1c). This physically possible mode of presentation is probably a more accurate depiction of how this group of

offerings might actually have been presented in ritual. Taken together with the full-sized remains of these pieces of regalia recovered from dumps of temple furniture, offering models probably had not superseded the presentation of full-sized objects at this point (if it ever did), although both methods could have been in use. In the fine, raised relief of Sety I's Abydos Temple, mistakes, lack of precision, and corners being cut are all unlikely explanations for the rendering of this detail. Each depiction of the gesture is almost certainly what was wanted in those scenes.

The range of a gesture could also be limited by the restrictions of working in a particular media or artistic style. For example, in the Nineteenth Dynasty, when the king is depicted in two dimensions presenting a tray of mixed offerings to a deity, he almost always holds it between shoulder height and brow level (eg. Figures 5.3, lower left, and 5.4, lower right). The main verb in the titles of such scenes is usually translated "elevate" (*f3j*). Thus, the gesture and verb appear to fit well together. However, this is just a coincidence. The verb *f3j* can simply mean "carry" (Gardiner 1935:95). Moreover, all trays, including those not associated with the elevation of offerings (eg. holding broad collars, ointment jars, or cups), were held at this level when depicted in two dimensions (eg. Figures 5.1, lower left, and 5.2, upper left and lower right). In contrast, statues of the king tend to hold trays decorated with mixed offerings at waist height (Figure 7.2, see also Solia 1992 and Sourouzian 1993). These three-dimensional depictions were also restricted because a tray held up by a statue would be an unstable element. A similar pattern occurs in the rendering of offerings not associated with either trays or the verb for elevation, including the king offering *nw*-jars in two versus three dimensions (see the following). Thus, the level at which trays of mixed offering are depicted being held should not be considered ritually significant, as it is clearly part of broader stylistic patterns and the practical necessities of working in different media.

Other details also follow patterns revealing more about composition and aesthetics than cult practices. For example, the king is often depicted wearing the white crown of Upper (southern) Egypt on the south sides of monuments or architectural elements (eg. lintels and door jambs) and the red crown of Lower (northern) Egypt on the north sides. This patterning occurs in the double scenes on the lintels to the doors to the Daily Ritual chapels in the Temple of Sety I at Abydos (Caverley Gardiner, *et al.* 1958:pls. 12, 15, 18, and 27). However, it seems unlikely that the king changed his crown every time he crossed the room. The existence of such variations in the details of ritual scenes has led many to downplay the religious significance of these details, considering them to reveal more about decorum, composition, and aesthetics than cult practices. The performative significance of details in ritual scenes must be looked at critically. Thus, a single scene generally does not reveal much about the ritual significance of these details.

However, analysis of broad patterns of what is appropriate in a large number of monuments transcending artistic styles sometimes leads to

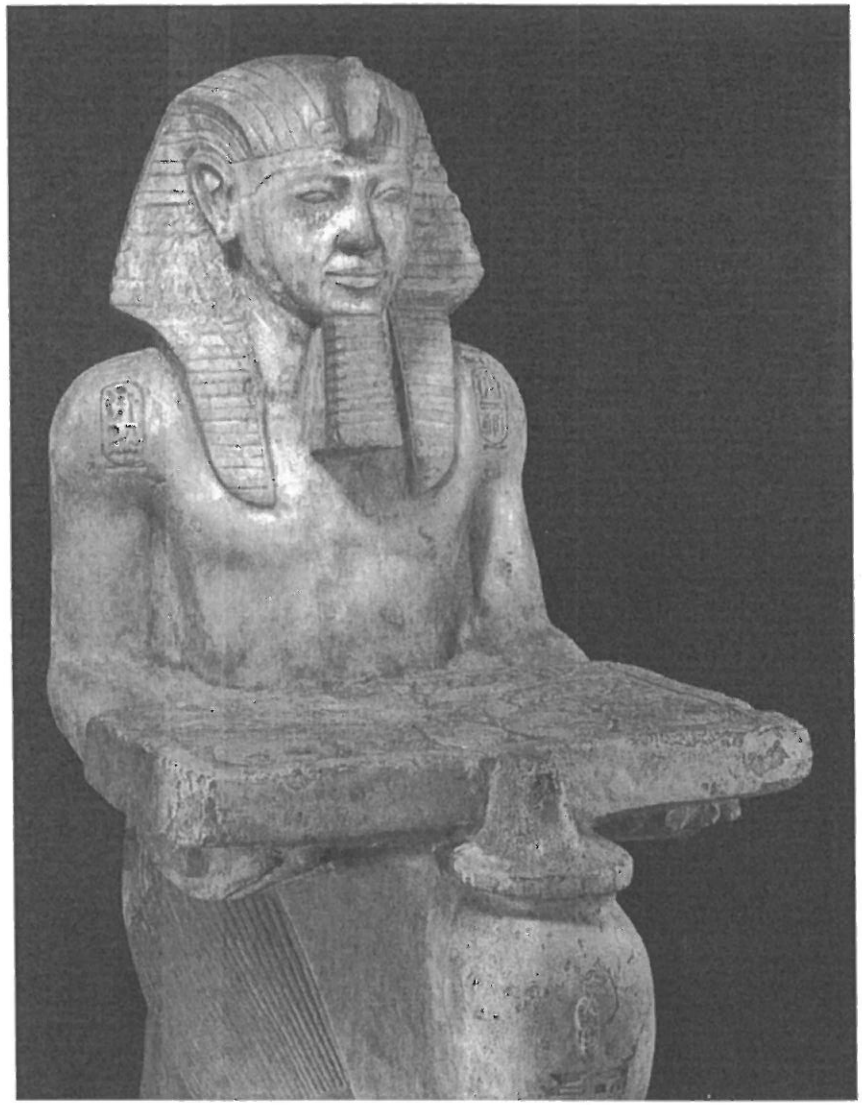


Figure 7.2 A three-dimensional depiction of the king holding a tray, BM 96. © The Trustees of the British Museum. For examples of the king holding trays of offerings in two dimensions, see Figures 4.1, lower left; 4.2, upper left and lower right.

significant observations about cult. For instance, it has long been recognized that certain foods that are always omitted from offering tables were considered to be unclean. Other foods are particularly associated with certain deities—lettuce with Min (Germer 1980) and onions with Sokar (Graindorge 1992), for example. For certain episodes in the foundation rituals,

such as hacking the earth, variations in depictions of gesture and posture were severely restricted for functional reasons—i.e. reasons related to the practicalities of performing the act (Brand 2000:12, n. 51). Figures of the king holding *nw*-jars are so strongly associated with wine offering that such figures are generally considered to be offering wine unless there is an inscription stating the contrary (Meeks 1998:116 and Poo 1995:43, but note 40, n. 8 for some exceptions). In the present chapter, the patterns observed span the post-Amarna style of Sety I's earliest years, Sety I's mature style, the style used by Ramesses II in completing the monuments of Sety I, and Ramesses II's mature style. Thus, although the time span is not very long, it encompasses significant stylistic changes.

GENERAL PATTERNS IN GESTURES OF OFFERING

For many offering rituals, a range of appropriate holds and postures might be depicted. However, this is not true for all offerings. For example, compare the range of gesture depicted in scenes of offering ointment and scenes of offering white bread in a selection of early Nineteenth Dynasty temples. A broad trend immediately emerges. Ointment is depicted being presented in many different ways, using seven distinct gestures, or modes of presentation. Although some of these modes are uncommon, none clearly dominates (Figures 7.3–4 and Table 7.1).

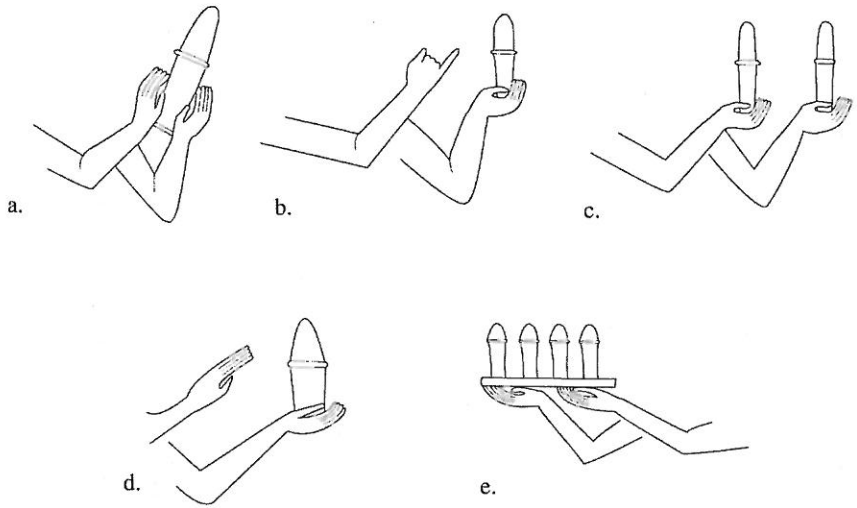


Figure 7.3 Modes of presentation used to offer ointment: a. two-handed tilt; b. anointing gesture; c. paired presentation; d. protective gesture; e. tray presentation; statuette (Figure 7.4); and one hand, arm by side (not pictured here; for an example of this gesture with white bread see Figure 7.6). Drawings by the author.



Figure 7.4 Ramesses II offers ointment using a statuette of himself in the splayed-knee pose. Two additional statuettes of the king holding ointment jars appear on a small offering table. From the First Hypostyle Hall in the Temple of Sety I at Abydos. Photo by the author. Offerings displaying this type of pattern shall be designated 'dynamic' offerings.

In contrast, analysis of the white bread scenes requires no table. Out of the eighty-two bread offering scenes in which the king's gesture is preserved from the same monuments, seventy-nine depict the king holding the bread in one hand, with the other hand poised behind it (protective gesture, Figure 7.5a–c and the following). Thus, only three of the bread offering scenes in

Table 7.1 Gestures Depicted in Scenes of Presenting Ointment

Gesture	Sety I's Abydos	Sety I's Theban	Karnak	Luxor court	Ramesseum	Abu Simbel	total
two handed tilt	36	1	8	2	1	0	48
anointing	12	4	11	2	0	4	33
paired	15	5	5	1	3	3	32
statuette	8	2	9	0	2	0	21
protective	7	0	2	5	2	1	17
tray	2	3	3	1	1	0	10
arm by side	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
total	81	15	38	11	9	8	162

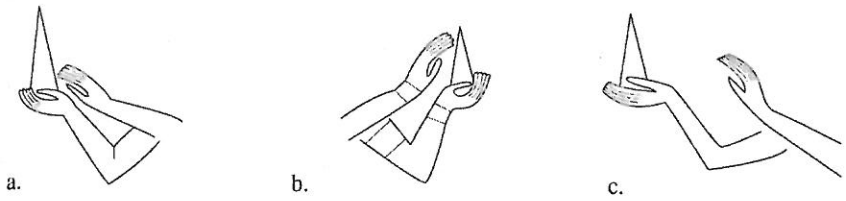


Figure 7.5 a.–c. The king offers white bread using variations on the protective gesture, from the hall of Nefertem-Ptah-Sokar (a.), the Osiris complex (b.), and the First Hypostyle Hall in the Temple of Sety I at Abydos (c.). Drawings by the author.

which the king's gesture is preserved, fewer than 5 percent of such scenes, depict other gestures. These will be referred to as 'anomalous gestures'. One appears in the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, where the king holds his empty hand by his side (Figure 7.6). Two additional scenes, in the Great Temple at Abu Simbel, could be paired presentations of bread (Figures 7.7–7.8). However, neither scene has a title. Moreover, in this roughly done relief, the triangular objects held by the king could be poorly drawn flames in cups of incense (compare Figure 5.1, upper right). Offerings displaying this pattern, in which 90 percent of scenes or more display the same gesture, shall be designated 'static' offerings.

The difference in the range of modes of presentation applied to ointment and bread cannot be accounted for by the difference in sample size. Although, with perhaps two different gestures for white bread and only three for ointment, the scenes at Abu Simbel have a much more similar range of gesture than those elsewhere, a larger division between offerings of presentation (eg. *Maat*, wine) and offerings of motion (eg. incense and libation) still holds at that site. The small number of scenes preserved from sites in northern Egypt, including material from Tanis, Heliopolis, and Memphis, do not allow comparable analysis. Nonetheless, the protective gesture was clearly the most common, and perhaps

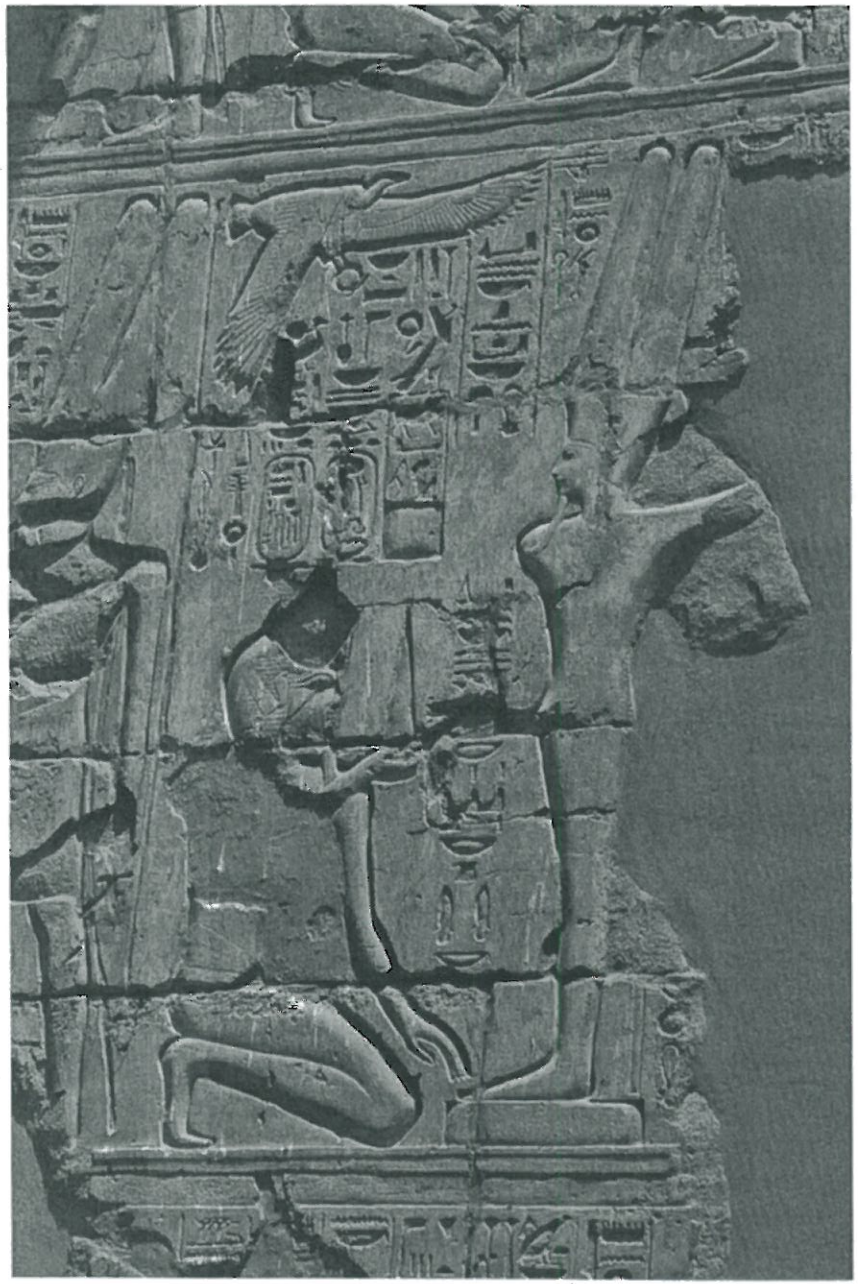


Figure 7.6 An anomalous white bread scene, single presentation, arm by the side, from the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak. Photo by Peter Brand, see also Nelson 1981:pl. 252.



Figure 7.7 One of two possible anomalous white bread scenes, paired presentations, from the Great Temple at Abu Simbel. Photo by the author. See also Porter and Moss 1951:105 Pillar II (b) reg. 2.

the only, gesture used to present white bread on such monuments. Meanwhile, the only two ointment scenes with gestures preserved in the small temple of Ramesses II at Mit Rahina (building K) have different modes of presentation, statuette in the sanctuary and paired in the columned hall (Porter and Moss



Figure 7.8 One of two possible anomalous white bread scenes, paired presentations, from the Great Temple at Abu Simbel. Photo by the author. See also Porter and Moss 1951:105 Pillar VII (c) reg. 2.

2003:843–844). Thus, dynamic offerings tend to show variation in modes of presentation even on small monuments with few offering scenes preserved.

The difference in range of modes of presentation transcends the major stylistic changes during the reigns of Sety I and Ramesses II (eg. see Brand



Figure 7.9 A priest carries three loaves of white bread on a tray, followed by another priest holding a bouquet and raising one hand in adoration. From the Court of Ramesses II at Luxor Temple. Photo by the author. See also Porter and Moss 1972:308 (29)–(30).

2000 and Lurson 2005). There do not appear to be practical reasons for the differences between depictions of offering ointment and white bread. Conical loaves of white bread and ointment jars are both rather tall objects with wide bases, held in the king's palm. One of the many modes of presentation used to offer ointment is the protective gesture, used in white bread scenes. Groups of three to five ointment jars were also presented by the king on trays (tray presentation, in the following and Figure 7.3e). Priests are depicted carrying bread on trays in processional scenes in the festival court of Ramesses II's Abydos Temple (Naville 1930:pl. XXVI) and the court of Ramesses II at Luxor Temple (Figures 7.9–10). These priests carry trays with three bread loaves on each. Two hold one tray each as for tray presentation and a third holds two trays in paired presentation. These probably involve an earlier, external stage in the ritual, before the goods were actually offered to the deity.

The king is not depicted presenting trays of bread before deities in Nineteenth Dynasty scenes. Three loaves are presented on a tray in a relief from the earlier Sanctuary of Sekhemet of Sahure, including the plural for conical loaves,  (Borchardt 1907–1909:114, pl. 36). Unfortunately, the verb in the title is lost. Bread is also sometimes among the offerings on mixed



Figure 7.10 A priest carries trays of white bread in the Court of Ramesses II at Luxor Temple. Photo by the author. See also Porter and Moss 1972:308 (29)–(30).

trays held before the god (eg. it is the central element on the tray in Figure 5.3 lower left). Bread trays and molds for conical loaves of white bread are both frequently found in production areas south of temples, where bakeries were located. The main purpose of such trays was probably to prepare flat loaves for baking (eg. Wegner 2000:118–119, a Middle Kingdom site; and Kemp 1979:7–12, Amarna, Eighteenth Dynasty). However, both pottery types were also found among cultic debris from parts of the Middle Kingdom temple devoted to both the preparation and presentation of offerings (the east block refuse deposit and cult building discard area, Wegner 2000:106–107 and 111–113, esp. fig. 20). Thus, bread may have been carried on trays within the temple proper in the Middle Kingdom.

The use of the protective gesture may not have become standardized until the Nineteenth Dynasty, although it also appears in all of the bread offering scenes in the southern rooms of Luxor Temple, dating to the time of Amenhotep III.[2] The protective gesture used in offering bread may have evolved out of an earlier gesture. Some of the earliest scenes of the king offering white bread, from the monuments of the Eleventh Dynasty king Mentuhotep II, involve the king holding the loaf in his palm with the other hand actually touching the top, as if to steady it (Deir el-Bahri, see Di. Arnold 1974:pls. 11 and 13; and Cairo JE 66331–2 from Tod, see Habachi 1963:fig. 22). The

presenting king's hands and forearms were arranged rather like a *k3*-sign, which can mean "food", among other things.

In any case, the reason for the variation in the range of gesture depicted in scenes of presenting ointment and white bread does not lie in style or the practical logistics of working with offerings of particular shapes, sizes, or consistencies. Moreover, these trends are part of a larger division, manifest over a much longer time period. Some offerings were depicted using a single mode of presentation in 90 percent or more of their scenes, including white bread, wine, and *Maat*. Wine jars are offered in pairs, one in each of the king's hands ('paired presentation', see the following). Scenes of offering *Maat* employ the 'protective gesture'. Poo and Teeter confirm the consistency of a very limited range of gesture for these offerings throughout Egyptian history for wine (Poo 1995:43) and from the appearance of the motif in the Eighteenth Dynasty onward for *Maat* (Teeter 1997:22). Offerings depicted being held up before deities in essentially the same fashion over and over again will be called 'static offerings' or 'offerings of presentation' because the primary act seems to be the presentation of the offering. These rites may have involved some movements (see the following), but they were very controlled.

Other offerings, including, ointment, incense, and libation, display more than one mode of presentation, even in relatively small samples. Offerings depicted being presented in many different ways will be called 'dynamic offerings' or 'offerings of motion'. These offerings were not simply presented to deities, but involved additional movement (eg. anointing, wrapping cloth, pouring). Individual scenes depicting dynamic offerings often draw from the same stock of modes of presentation as static offerings. However, when large numbers of scenes are compared, they show wide variation in how offerings are depicted being held. In particular, these types of offering were held at many different levels—from above shoulder height to the arm fully extended down to mid-thigh level. Many offerings (eg. incense and libation, flowers, and ointment) show significant variations in modes of presentation throughout Egyptian history. Similar divisions between static and dynamic offerings also appear in monuments of other time periods, for example the Ptolemaic temple of Isis at Philae (Vassilika 1989:98).

These observations are supported by patterns of verb use in the titles of the most common offering scenes. During the Nineteenth Dynasty, the most common verbs in the titles of the scenes for both static and dynamic offering are "doing" (*jrj*), "giving" (*rdj*), and "presenting" (*ḥnk*). Verbal use in these titles falls into three groups. Most offerings take some combination of the three main verbs of offering (milk, lettuce, tray of cups, broad collar, clepsydra, *šꜥt*-cakes, and sistrums). Two offerings, white bread and mixed trays, generally (ie. over 90 percent of the time) take a verb not employed with other offerings, white bread, only takes the verb "striking" (*sḳr*); and mixed trays usually take the verb "elevating" (*f3*). Offerings involving more variety in gesture take a wider range of verbs, particularly

in wall scenes inside of temples. Incense and libation scenes refer to the widest variety of actions. The most common titles are doing incense and libation, doing incense, and doing libation (*jrt snṯr ḳbḥ, jrt snṯr, jrt ḳbḥ*), which appear with almost every combination of equipment and gesture. Another common title, which appears only when the king is holding only *nmst*-vessels, is "Salutation with a *nmst*-vessel" (*jnḏ ḥr nmst*). In addition to doing incense and/or libation, the king can be labeled as doing *ḥtp-dj-nsw*, doing purification, encircling, or seeing the god. There is unparalleled variety in the actions described in titles to incense and libation scenes, just as there is unparalleled variety in the range of holds, gestures, and finger positions (more detail following).

Ointment takes the verb "wiping" (*sfḫ*) in addition to the three most common verbs. Most offerings in the first two groups display one dominant mode of presentation (i.e. are static), whereas most in the third group are appear with a variety of modes of presentation (i.e. are dynamic). Cloth is almost always depicted being presented in paired presentation. However, bolts are sometimes depicted being presented on trays. Moreover, in protected areas of the temple, the king can be depicted wrapping or unwrapping the divine image. This is reflected in the use of both the common verbs of offering and the verb *ḏbȝ* in scenes of offering cloth. Finally, flowers are almost always "given", the most common title being "giving plants" (*rdjt rnpwt*), despite the great variety in mode of presentation. There is occasionally some variety in the names of the flowers, including papyrus (*wȝḏw*) and lettuce (*ʿb*, eg. Nelson 1981:254). None of these are common in the Nineteenth Dynasty, and although the use of specific plant names does become more common later (eg. Beinlich 2008), "giving plants" remained the most common title in flower offering scenes in temple decorative programs throughout Egyptian history (Dittmar 1986:75). Thus, in the case of flowers, the variety in holds and gestures does not appear to refer to a range of action, but rather to the wide range in the form of the offering—stiff-stemmed papyrus and limp-stemmed lilies wound in a loop and offering in matched or mixed pairs; small compact bouquets held in the two-handed tilt; giant mixed bouquets as tall as the king himself (sometimes called *ʿnḫ*, forming a significant pun with "life", L. Bell 1997:183), held with two hands, being some of the most commonly encountered.

HOLDS

The king is usually depicted holding objects in one of two ways—in his open palm ('open hold') or grasped ('grasp hold'). There are also specialized holds for censers, 'grasp hold with index finger extended', and balls of incense, 'pincer hold'. Objects with a shaft or other narrow point which one can wrap one's fingers around, such as *ḫs*-vases, bunches of flowers with long stems, and sistrums, tend to be grasped. Objects too broad to be

grasped, such as *nmst*-vessels, compact bouquets of flowers, and trays, are held in open palms. Thus, the hold depends on the form of the object being held. Nonetheless, the association of two specialized holds with objects associated with a dynamic offering may be significant.

In open holds the king's palm faces up, his fingers curve slightly, and his thumb faces the viewer. Both ointment jars and conical loaves of white bread are held in this manner (Figures 7.3 and 7.5. When holding a small object, the thumb usually overlaps the object being held—a general trend in the rendition of hands in Egyptian art (Schäfer 1974:298–299). In most early Nineteenth Dynasty renditions, all four fingers are depicted as if beneath and curving around the object. The thumb is also usually depicted beneath flat objects too large to fit in the palm of the hand, like trays. The fingers still curve, leaving some space between the palm and the object being held—also common throughout Egyptian art (Schäfer 1974:298).

Open holds occur in four common arrangements—the presentation of two objects, each held in one hand using the open hold (paired and mixed double presentations, eg. Figure 5.5, upper, and Figure 7.3c); the presentation of two objects, one held in an open hold and the other in a grasp hold (Figure 7.1c, mixed double presentation); a single object, held between the palms and tilted towards the deity (two-handed tilt, Figure 5.1, upper left, and Figure 7.3a); and a single object, usually a tray or statuette, held with both hands beneath it (eg. Figures 5.1, lower left; 5.2, upper left and lower right; 5.3, lower left; 5.4, lower right). When the king is depicted presenting two objects with an open hold, it might seem like he has two right hands when he faces right and two left hands when he faces left. Thus, there appears to be no distinction made between the right and left hands in these cases.

> . . . the Egyptians seeming did not know their right from their left; right hands appear on left arms and vice versa. (Robins 1994:1)

In open holds, the aim was almost certainly simply to portray each part of the hand from its most characteristic angle.

Some objects, including ointment jars, *nmst*-vessels, and bouquets, were held between two open palms, in the two-handed tilt (Figure 7.3a and the following). In these cases, the object is cradled at an angle in the hand closest to the deity, which appears further from the viewer (due to overlap). The other hand appears closer to the viewer but further from the deity and rests on top of the tilted offering. Both thumbs face inward, towards the object. In trying to recreate this hold in three dimensions, the thumbs face back, away from the viewer. However, they are depicted as the forward-most parts of the hands. One might read this as a left hand extending from the right shoulder and vice versa. Thus, this serves as further indication that open holds were not meant to depict right or left hands, but rather simply generic hands from their most characteristic angle.

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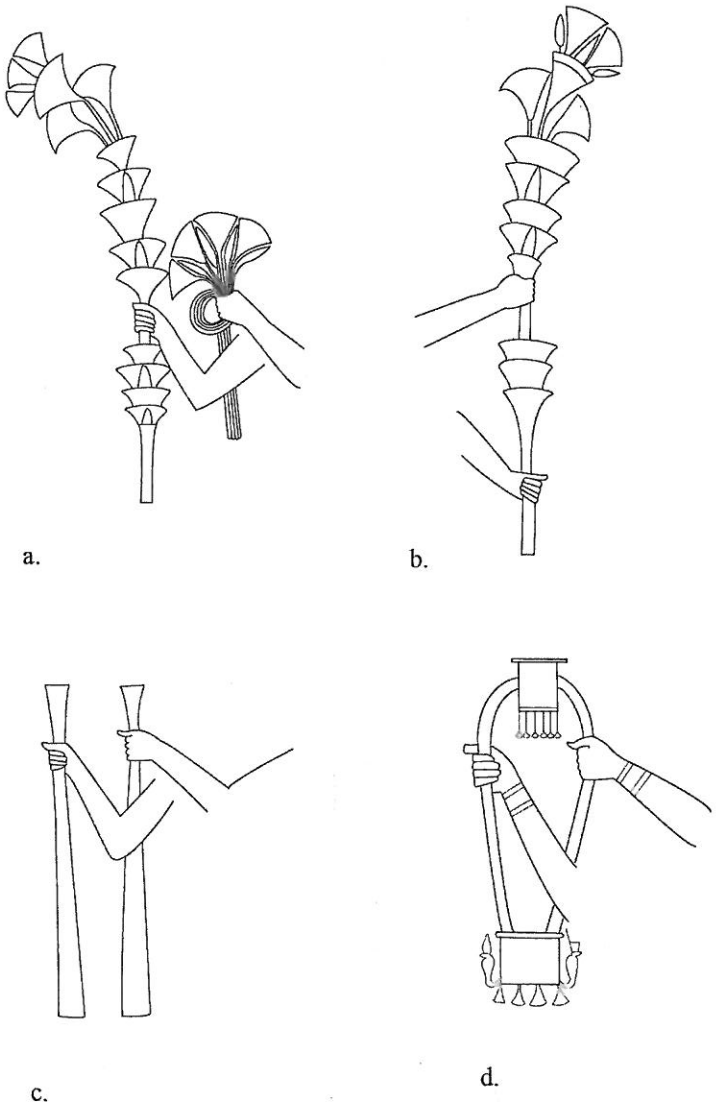


Figure 7.11 Line drawings of grasp holds: a. mixed presentation of two different types of bouquet; b. a two-handed grasp presentation of a large bouquet; c. a paired presentation of cloth; d. a two-handed grasp presentation of a broad collar. Drawings by the author.

Grasp holds, in contrast to open holds, usually appear to depict a left and right hand (Figure 7.11). When the king is depicted grasping objects, one hand is depicted with the folded-over fingers visible and the other with the back of the hand visible. In some scenes the fingers are not clearly

articulated, with the fingers folded over in a mitten-like manner. However, it is very unusual to have no indication of the fingers on the inner side of the hand. Each hand is depicted 'on its arm', meaning that the hand on the end of the arm extending from the left/front shoulder is depicted as a left hand and that on the end of the arm extending from the right/back shoulder is depicted as a right hand. This is the way most modern scholars read the arms. However, the ancient Egyptians probably did not read them this way. As Heinrich Schäfer pointed out, the Egyptians sometimes took pains to indicate that the front arm was to be read as the right arm (1974:296–297, fig. 307). The cases Schäfer points out appear to be unusual. As noted earlier, a grasp hold can be paired with an open hold. However, the latter does not show any sign of being left- or right-handed.

A variation on grasp hold is 'grasp hold, index finger extended'. In this hold, primarily associated with the arm censer, the index finger is extended along a horizontally held shaft (Figure 5.2, lower left). It is particularly common when the object is held at shoulder height. Most grasped objects are held with the shaft vertical. The censer is an exception, and this may be why it sometimes has a special hold. The extension of the index finger allows greater mobility in the wrist, allowing the censer to be moved around more easily than if a simple grasp were used. This is significant because the offering of incense seems to have been a multistep process involving significant movement.

Some later examples of arm censers (seventh through second centuries B.C.E.), found at North Saqqara, range between fifty and sixty centimeters in length (Insley Green 1987:38–44). An earlier censer, difficult to date but with stylistic parallels in two-dimensional renditions dating to the Old and Middle Kingdoms, is 35.5 centimeters long (Louvre E 5831, Sourdive 1984:320–324). With so few examples preserved, no generalizations can be made about change over time. However, the overall range fits well with their size in relation to the king in Nineteenth Dynasty offering scenes. These objects were quite large—ranging from about the length of a forearm to somewhat more than twice as long. Although they are often depicted being tilted, censers often have shallow compartments or small bowls for spare incense balls along the shaft, which had the potential to spill (eg. Figure 5.4, lower left).

In festival scenes, the king is often depicted holding three censers at one time before the barques of the Theban triad, throwing incenses pellet into the bowl of the one on top, while standing in front of the lead barque (eg. Nelson 1981:pl. 53). These scenes also indicate that these acts had to be done while moving backwards during festival processions, over dirt roads and in front of crowds. For example, the priests censing in the Opet processional scenes in Luxor Temple and the Min procession depicted in the memorial temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu were clearly facing backwards as the rest of the company were moving forwards (chapter 6). In order for ritualists to maneuver censers and other ritual objects with the precision ritual requires,

they must have had considerable training and regular daily practice, just like musicians and dancers (see also the discussion in chapters 3–6).

The pincer hold is another hold strongly associated with incense rituals. In this hold a round incense ball, or pellet, is held between the thumb and index finger (Figure 4.4, lower left). The small size of these objects alone could explain the special hold. Nonetheless, incense balls are usually depicted either being removed from bowls or thrown into censers when this hold is used. When the king throws pellets of incense, he is depicted holding one incense ball in the pincer gesture. From this point, a stream of pellets emerges in an arc, landing in the bowl of a censer or, less frequently, an incense cup. In rare cases the pellets stream forth from the king's palm, raised as for the protective gesture (eg. at Abu Simbel, Porter and Moss 1951:107 Room IV [63]–[64]).

Thus, objects used in offering rituals are commonly depicted being held with the fingers and thumb arranged in four different positions. Moreover, two of these holds—grasp, index extended; and pincer hold—have very restricted uses. Which hold is used seems to depend on the form rather than the function of the object in question. Libation vessels, which all function in like manner, are depicted being grasped; held in an open palm; held between two open palms, in the two-handed tilt; and carried on trays. However, these uses were not random. Vessels with slender places to take hold, *ḥs*-vases and *ʿnḫ*-vessels, were depicted being grasped. On the other hand, there is no way to grasp the rounded form of a *nmst*-vessel. So these are depicted being held in the open palm, between two palms (two-handed tilt), or on trays. Similarly, lengths of cloth were usually depicted being grasped (although in at least one case at Karnak they were draped over the king's open palms, Helck 1968:pl. 81). Bolts of cloth, on the other hand, are depicted on trays. In both of these cases, scenes featuring each type of presentation often have the same title. Most modes of presentation can employ whatever hold is required by the object being presented.

Although sometimes left and right hands are distinguished from each other, this is not always the case. No clear patterns occur for the use of the left or right hand or arm for specific tasks, such as being held up in a gesture of protection or greeting (see the following). In art they appear to be largely interchangeable, even in cases in which the use of specific hands to perform certain acts was specified in the text of the ritual. It is not clear whether this is an accurate representation of the ritual requirements, a function of artistic style, or an arrangement serving other religious requirements. In a Ptolemaic version of the harvest rite of driving calves to the threshing room (*ḫwt bḥsw*), the text specifies that the ropes attached to the calves legs were to be held in the left hand while the head of a snake was to be held in the right (Fairman and Blackman 1949–1950:106 and n. 34–40).

Nonetheless, Blackman and Fairman observed:

> The wavy rod and coiled ropes are always in the hand farthest from the beholder, i.e. in the left hand when the King faces right and *vice versa*. (1949–1950:76)

A staff with a snake head is depicted in the other hand (i.e. the hand closest to the viewer). The ritual object associated with the snake may have been depicted in the hand closest to the viewer while the vulnerable life-ropes were portrayed in the further hand for apotropaic reasons. The hand furthest from the viewer is also the hand closest to the calves, meaning that the ropes do not have to cross the king's figure, thereby symbolically binding him. Finally, the variations in ritual text could reflect variations in practice. Versions of the rite not mentioning right and left may not have distinguished between hands. Thus, although the Egyptians did have different roles for the right and left hands in some rituals, we cannot rely on two-dimensional art to clarify matters.

MODES OF PRESENTATION

Offerings were depicted being held in a limited number of ways in ancient Egyptian ritual scenes. In the following two sections, a series of modes of presentations encountered on early Nineteenth Dynasty monuments are presented. These modes were sometimes arranged in different ways and combined with different gestures. The first group is comprised of modes of presentation occupying two hands. The second group leaves at least one hand free to perform another gesture. In this text, the first occurrence of each mode of presentation is highlighted in bold italics.

Two-Handed Presentations

The most common mode of presentation in the early Nineteenth Dynasty was double presentation. Two objects are depicted being held by the king, one in each hand. The objects can be either grasped (eg. lettuce, lengths of cloth) or held in open palms (eg. *nw*-jars, milk jars, *nmst*-vessels, *šʿt*-cakes). Some offerings are almost always depicted being offered in pairs using this mode of presentation, including *nw*-jars, *šʿt*-cakes, and milk—these are considered ***paired presentations*** (Figures 5.5, upper; 7.3c; 7.7; 7.8; 7.11c). For other offerings, this is only one of many modes of presentation employed, including for cups, *nmst*-vessels, and flowers. Scenes in which the king runs with *ḥs*-vases might be considered a variation of paired presentation, performed as part of a libation offering sequence (see the following).

Paired offerings are usually depicted being held with the hands at about shoulder height in two-dimensional depictions. However, kneeling royal figures often hold the offerings slightly higher, at face level. Statuettes and depictions of statuettes often hold the offerings at waist height or upon the knees of kneeling figures (Figure 6.4, beneath the bier). For example, the statuettes of the king kneeling with *nw*-jars on depictions of processional barques often hold the jars on their knees (Karlshausen 2009:188). Thus, the range of presentation options was limited by the restrictions of working in two dimensions in the styles of Sety I and Ramesses II. Flowers are the only paired double presentations which commonly break with these trends

in two-dimensional representations. Bouquets and bunches of flowers are often held at two different levels—usually one at shoulder level and one at the waist or lower (Figure 7.11a). In some cases, these might be considered ***mixed presentations***, since two different types of bouquet were presented.

In mixed presentations two different objects are held, one in each hand (eg. Figures 5.2, lower left, and 7.1a and c). They can both be held at shoulder height or at two different heights—usually one at shoulder height and the other at chest height or lower. The most common mixed presentation is incense and libation. Objects employing open and grasp presentations can be combined. For example, burning incense cups, held in an open palm, are often paired with *ʿnḫ*-shaped libation vessels, which are grasped. Mixed presentations involving offerings other than incense and libation are unusual, but at least a few are to be found in most large monuments, like the groups of regalia discussed earlier or an unusual scene, from the hall of Nefertem-Ptah-Sokar in the Temple of Sety I at Abydos, of offering milk and a *pʿt*-cake (David 1981:106).

In all other two-handed presentations, the king is depicted using both of his hands to hold a single object. Whether the object was held in open palms or grasped makes a material difference in the way a two-handed presentation manifests. The most common two-handed open presentation is the ***two-handed tilt***. An object is held between the king's two open palms and tilted towards the deity (Figures 5.1, upper left, and 7.3a). The two-handed tilt is always performed with open palms. The thumbs generally face inward, towards the object and each other. The angle can vary, sometimes even being almost vertical. This mode of presentation is particularly common in Sety I's Abydos Temple, where it was the most commonly used gesture in presenting ointment. This mode of presentation is less favored in the monuments of Ramesses II. Unlike paired presentation, no offering uses this gesture exclusively. Rather, it is used for dynamic offerings requiring a range of movements in the course of presentation. For example, ointment, libation vessels, and flowers all involve the distribution of scent or liquid. Thus, one purpose of this mode of offering might be to indicate that an offering is waved in front of the deity or poured out. The two-handed tilt is also sometimes used for lettuce and onions (eg. Nelson 1981:pls. 214 and 123, respectively), perhaps because they are similar in form to bouquets.

Some offerings are depicted being grasped with two hands. In these ***two-handed grasp presentations***, the king's hands tend to be represented in the same fashion as in double presentations using the grasp hold. The most commonly encountered offerings held in this manner are giant bouquets (Figure 7.11b). One hand is usually at shoulder level and the other is lower—at kilt or waist level. Necklaces attached to broad collars and pectorals are often grasped with two hands, usually held at shoulder level (Figure 7.11d). The necklace can also be held in open palms rather than grasped. Although the broad collar can be held in different ways, it does not appear to move around, like incense and libation equipment. Nonetheless, such collars were

placed on divine statues, as were cloths and ointments. Moreover, in the utterance to this ritual episode, the broad collar is associated with the sun (chapter 5). Thus, the ritual of presenting the broad collar probably required a smooth, measured motion. This contrasts with the more varied movements required to distribute scent or liquid.

Offerings can also be placed upon a tray held up by the king with two hands (eg. Figures 5.1, lower left; 5.2, upper left and lower right; 5.3, lower left; 5.4, lower right). ***Tray presentation*** is used for the elevation of offerings, the presentation of the menu, broad collars, bolts of cloth, and jars of ointment, among other things. With the exception of the elevation of offerings and the menu (*dbḥt-ḥtp*), these rituals are often depicted with other modes of presentation as well. Although the king is not depicted offering bread on trays, priests were depicted carrying bread on trays in processional scenes in the festival court of Ramesses II's Abydos Temple (Naville 1930:pl. XXVI) and in the southwest corner of the court of Ramesses II at Luxor Temple (Porter and Moss 1972:308 [29]–[30]). Bread is often depicted on mixed trays of offerings and may not have been elevated individually. Thus, in some cases, offerings may not have been presented by the king on trays for ritual rather than logistic reasons. In some unusual scenes in the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, the king holds an offering table on his head while taking the splayed-knee pose and presents a statuette of himself in in the splayed-knee pose and holding an offering table on his shoulder (Nelson 1981:pls. 194 and 154; for a detail of the statuette, see Figure 7.13). It is quite common to see servants depicted carrying tables and trays on their heads and shoulders.

Statuette presentation might be considered to be a variation on tray presentation (Figure 7.4). An offering is presented in a stand in the form of a statuette of the king, which is in turn held like a tray. This is most commonly done with ointment jars. The most frequently encountered postures for these royal statuettes are the splayed-knee pose and the king in the form of a sphinx.[3] The sphinx might be used as a way to depict the king on his belly without violating rules of decorum—compare depictions of similar statuettes from Ptolemaic temples (eg. Hussy 2007:Abb. 16d, from Edfou I,94 Taf. 18). These postures often do not fit harmoniously with larger decorative programs, in which the king is usually depicted either standing or kneeling. The offering held by the statuette is usually the one named in the titles to the scenes. One scene in which the king offers an image of himself holding an ointment jar is actually titled "Presenting ointment with a golden image" (*ḫnk mḏ m twt nbw*, Figure 7.12). Statuettes presenting ointment jars also often appear on small offering tables, alone or in pairs (eg. Figure 7.4). In these cases kneeling figures are most common, followed by the splayed-knee pose. Statuettes of the king holding a tray of mixed offerings (Figure 7.13) and a *ḫn*-pillar (David 1981:26, pl. VI) also occur. However, each of these appear to be unique during this time period.

Statuettes of the king in the splayed-knee pose or kneeling are also frequently depicted presenting white bread. However, these statuettes are not

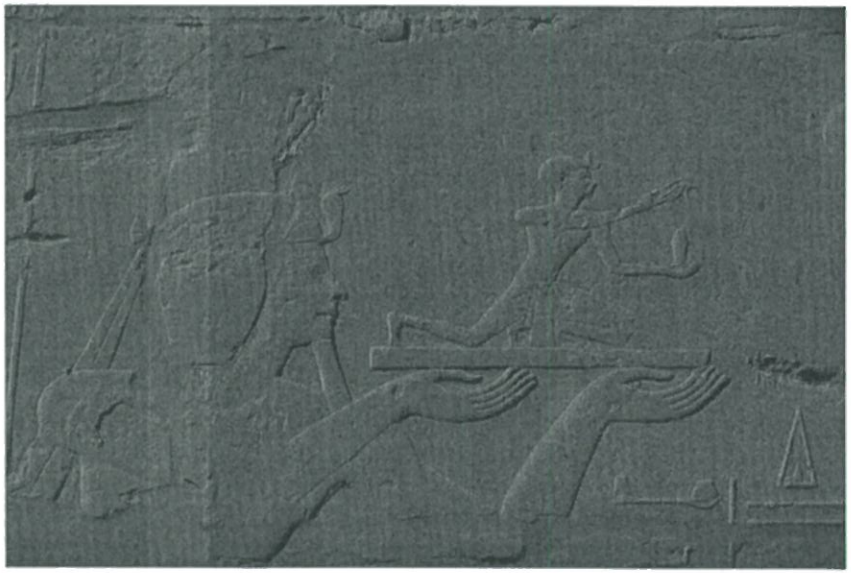


Figure 7.12 Detail of a statuette of the king performing the splayed-knee pose and presenting ointment while performing a gesture of anointing. Photo courtesy of Peter Brand. This scene appears in Nelson 1981:153.

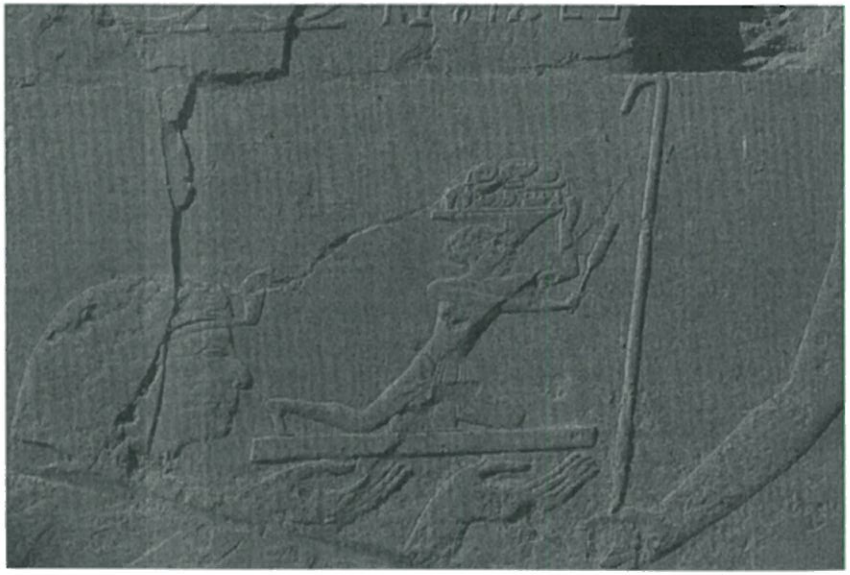


Figure 7.13 Detail of a statuette of the king performing the splayed-knee pose and carrying a table of offerings while holding a scepter. Photo courtesy of Peter Brand. This scene appears in Nelson 1981:154.

held by the king. Rather, they are always depicted on the front edge of offering tables with many other offerings, facing the deity. No other type of statuette appears in this position. Thus, aside from its individual presentation to the deity, white bread appears to go through most stages in the offering ritual, including elevation and perhaps consecration, with other food offerings. These statuettes are so small in relation to the bread loaves that they could not use the protective gesture (see the following), the mode of offering generally associated with scenes of offering white bread. However, they are very consistent in form. Statuettes of the king offering white bread always feature a single conical loaf held between the king's hands and forearms. Only the arm nearest the viewer is depicted. However, if the arms were to be viewed from above, they would form a *k3*-sign, like the earliest versions of the protective gesture which can be read as "food" (as mentioned earlier). The statuette of the king almost always wears the *nemes*-headdress, the *kḥᶜt*-headdress, or the white crown (the latter in the Theban area) and the *shendyt*-kilt, when the kilt is articulated. Similar consistency in dress does not occur when king offers white bread in scenes. In contrast, statuettes of the king offering ointment show considerably more variation in dress, posture, and location.

Statuettes of the king offering bouquets appear in a few barque scenes in Sety I's Abydos Temple. Most kneel, as in the examples from Horus' barque chapel and Horus' barque scene in the Hall of Barques. The only exception is a figure standing in front of the barque of Mut in Amun-Re's chapel—the only example of a standing statuette holding an offering scaled to the size of the main figure in the scene from this time period. This statuette is also unusual in that it is painted flesh tones, rather than gold.

Single- and No-Handed Presentations

When the king holds an offering in one hand, or is offering goods which he does not hold, the king's "free" hand(s) can be occupied in many different ways. ***Protective presentation*** is the most common single-handed mode of presentation. The free hand performs the protective gesture. The fingers of the hand are raised, cupped, and pointed towards an object held in the other hand, as if to protect it. The thumb is below the palm. Teeter recognized that this gesture was used in presenting *Maat* and many other things:

> The donor holds *Maat*, or the name equated with *Maat*, in one outstretched hand. According to a Ptolemaic period offering inscription at the Temple of Khonsu, the hand that does not hold the image of *Maat* is raised in protection of the goddess. This posture is comparatively unusual in Egyptian offering scenes that usually show the king offering with both hands. This single hand offering stance, however, is characteristic not only of *Maat*, but also of the royal name, white bread, clepsydra, ointment and more rarely, incense and libations. (Teeter 1997:22)

However, in some of these cases, namely *Maat*, the royal name, white bread, and the clepsydra, the protective presentation is used in well over 90 percent of scenes. This does not mean that these presentations involved no motion.

The empty hand can be held very close to the object or further back and at many different angles, from almost vertical to almost horizontal (Figures 7.3d, 7.5a–c). Thus, one can imagine the hand poised to protect the object, moving along a ninety-degree arc. However, it is also possible that the hand was sometimes cupped around the object from the side, as one might protect a flame in a burning cup of incense, but only depicted from its most characteristic angle in art. These two readings are not mutually exclusive. One mode of presentation could be code for a range of ritual motions. Other, more rarely depicted occupations for the free hand—reverse protective presentation, arm by the side, adoration, greeting, holding regalia, consecrating, and the anointing gesture—suggest more ritual motions.

In the ***reversed protective presentation***, the protective hand was held up between the object and the deity. This gesture is much less common than the protective gesture, being totally absent from some very large monuments, including Sety I's Abydos Temple. It occurs in scenes of offering *Maat* to Thoth on the north wall of the vestibule of the Great Temple at Abu Simbel (Figure 7.14) and to Amun-Re *k3-mwt.f* on the girdle wall of Ramesses II at Karnak (Helck 1968: pl. 78). This variation might be a further indication



Figure 7.14 The king offers *Maat* with the reverse protective gesture, from the north wall of the vestibule in the Great Temple at Abu Simbel. Photo by the author.

that protection was offered from many sides and angles with the cupped hand. It may also indicate that the empty hand encircled the object in protecting it. In no-handed presentations, the front hand is also sometimes held up in this manner. In such cases, the other hand usually holds an item of regalia (see the following).

The king's free hand is also sometimes extended down by his side, as in the anomalous white bread scene (Figure 7.6). Although emblems, like the *ʿnḫ*-sign, are sometimes grasped, the hand is usually empty when the king is presenting an offering with his other hand.[4] No offering uses this mode of offering exclusively. ***Arm by the side*** is usually very rare in monuments from this time period. However, it was used a lot in Sety I's Kanais Temple in the desert east of Edfu, appearing in six of the twelve scenes on the pillars (M. Gauthier 1919:pls. XVII–XX), perhaps for space reasons. Indeed, this gesture was often depicted in places where space is tight, such as the thicknesses to the Daily Ritual chapels in Sety I's Abydos Temple, and on a pillar of Merenptah (Sourouzian 1989:65, fig. 17). However, it is not used exclusively in cases where space is a concern. The anomalous bread scene in the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak features the king kneeling with his arm by his side in an area where space was not an issue (Figure 7.6).

The king may have raised and lowered his free hand in ***adoration*** in the course of presenting some offerings. The versions of the protective and reverse protective gestures in which the hand is almost vertical (i.e. near the twelve o'clock position, eg. Figure 7.5b) represent the upper adoration position. Arm by the side, then, represents the lower adoration position. A scene in the court of Ramesses II at Luxor Temple might support this view (Figures 7.9–10). A priest holds a large bouquet. The figure wears more modern dress than the king generally does and is rendered more naturalistically than the king generally is. Thus, the rules of decorum appear to be less strict for such figures. He is depicted with his arm raised, in a variation on the reverse protective gesture, and then lowered, in a variation of the arm by the side. Thus, this priest's free arm was raised and lowered in adoration. It must be emphasized that this festival scene does not represent ritual as it was performed in the temple. For example, the priests carry bread on trays, a mode of presentation not used by the king to present bread during this time period (see the previous discussion). Thus, this scene can only be used for the purposes of the present study with caution.

The king also was depicted raising and lowering both hands in a gesture of adoration. The hands are open, with the fingers slightly curved. Both hands are depicted next to each other at either their highest or lowest point in the movement. The highest point is in front of the shoulders or slightly higher. In this position the backs of the hands face the king, while the palms face the deity (eg. Figure 5.4, upper left). The lowest point is with the arms extended down, with no more than a slight bend in the elbow and palm facing backward. The hands in the lower position are sometimes held facing the king's thighs (Nelson 1981:pls. 89 and 100) and in other cases over offering tables. Sometimes the title indicates that the scene is one of adoration

(*dwꜣ nṯr*). However, in other cases the title specifies that the king is "giving things upon the table" (*rdj ḫt ḥr ḫꜣt*, Nelson 1981:pl. 145).

There is much more variety in the depiction of adoration in private monuments, particularly those of the Old and Middle Kingdoms. These include many different angles of inclination of the torso, raising the hands above the head, and the use of only one hand in adoring (Dominicus 1994:25–32). Thus, again, the restrictive depictions of the king performing ritual before the deity do not stem solely from restrictions in artistic conventions. Rather, they represent differences in decorum and, perhaps, ritual practice if similar rules needed to be followed in both the performance and visual arts. It is clear that in some cases the rules of decorum were quite different (eg. chapter 2, priests interacting with divine images, which was not acceptable in most visual art but clearly called for in texts describing performances).

At Abu Simbel in Room VII, the king raises his hands in adoration; the title is "Adoring the god four times for his father" (*dwꜣ nṯr sp 4 n jt.f*, Porter and Moss 1951:108 Room VII [81]–[82]). However, four *meret*-chests (boxes of colored cloth) appear between the king and the god, arranged in two registers of two each. In many offering rites, utterances include statements of adoration. It is not clear whether a gesture of adoration was always to be performed by one of the ritualists at such points. The occasional depiction of the gesture of adoration and, perhaps, the arm by the side in offering scenes primarily associated with other modes of presentation lends some support for the idea that this gesture may have been performed in the course of regular offering rituals as well as for independent episodes devoted to adoration.

In the gesture of ***greeting*** the hand is extended out (eg. Figure 5.6, lower left). Not to be confused with the protective gesture, or upper adoration, here the fingers are straight, not cupped, and the thumb faces up. Either the back of the hand or the palm can be depicted (on palms, see Baines 1992). Although greetings are often expressed in the utterances of offering rituals (eg. chapter 5), this gesture is rarely used in scenes of offering anything other than incense or libation. The variety of holds and modes of presentation employed in scenes of offering incense and libation suggests that these rituals involved a great deal of motion. Although scenes featuring the torch are quite rare, it also was a dynamic offering, presented three different ways in four scenes in the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak (Nelson 1981:pls. 211, 212, 216, and 220).

The gesture of greeting also frequently appears when the king is depicted presenting offerings without actually holding them, such as the boon which the king grants (*ḥtp-di-nsw*, eg. Nelson 1981:pls. 19 and 97); giving the temple (*pr n nṯr.f*, Nelson 1981:26); the hecatomb (Nelson 1981:pls. 77 and 187); and vessels for purification (*swʿb*, Nelson 1981:pl. 91). In these cases, the other hand usually holds ***regalia***, a symbol or group of symbols emblematic of the king's role as ruler. These include the *ʿnḫ*-sign, hook, flail, *wꜣs*-sceptre, mace, and staff. Actual examples of regalia to be used in temple cult have been found. A faience *ʿnḫ*-sign found in a dump of Eighteenth Dynasty temple furniture at Dendera measured about forty-one centimeters high by twenty centimeters wide (Petrie 1900:pl. XXIII,7; for *wꜣs*-sceptres see earlier discussion). So these appear to have been actual objects used during ritual performances, not just artistic conventions. These are only rarely used when the king is actually holding an offering in his hand, usually in incense or libation scenes. Regalia appears more often when the king is depicted presenting offerings without holding them. In these cases, regalia is often paired with another gesture, like greeting or ***consecrating***.

A particularly important item of regalia in ritual was the *ʿbꜣ*-scepter (also sometimes called a *ḫrp*-wand, Gardiner 1957: sign list S 40, eg. Figure 7.13), used to consecrate offerings. In most cases, the king holds it at shoulder height, so it extends up from there. His arm can be straight or bent. The scepter can be straight up or angled forwards over piles of offerings, including slaughtered animals (a hecatomb, eg. Nelson 1981:pls. 27, 39, 90, 101, and 107), and three stands with libation vessels—one holds *nmst*-vessels, one jars, and a third *ḥs*-vases (eg. Nelson 1981:pl. 14). This gesture is also used in the ritual devoted to erecting a *sehnet*—often called "Pole-Climbing Nubians" (eg. Nelson 1981:pls. 20 and 147). The king's other arm can be extended down by his side, holding an *ʿnḫ*-sign (eg. Nelson 1981:pls. 9, 90, and 107) or a censer (eg. Nelson 1981:pl. 39) or bent at waist height holding various items of regalia, such as the hook and flail (eg. Nelson 1981:pl. 14) or the staff and mace (eg. Nelson 1981:pl. 13). Decker and Harb identified twenty-four occurrences of raising the *sehnet* dating from the late Old Kingdom (tp. Pepi II) to the Roman period (1994:123–131). Six date from the reigns of Sety I and Ramesses II—four from Karnak Temple and two from Luxor Temple. In fact, of the seventeen pharaonic examples, all but one is from Thebes—ten from Karnak, five from Luxor Temple, and one from Mentuhotep's temple at Deir el-Bahri (Pepi II's is from Saqqara). In later times the distribution is much wider, including Hibis, Edfu, and Dendera in addition to Karnak.

An interesting variation occurs in scenes of offering four *meret*-chests. The king holds the *ʿbꜣ*-scepter up behind his head. His other hand is held up, as for reverse protective presentation or upper adoration. A late text describes the gesture: "I take the sceptre, I hold it in my right hand. I bend my left hand before your face" (Egberts 1995:175). However, in art:

> There is no difficulty identifying the arms as left and right when the officiant is facing right. The matter gets more complicated when he is facing left, for in that case it looks as if both arms have been switched, the left one holding the consecration instrument, and the right one being raised towards the divinity. This is one of those illusions so often created by the conventions of Egyptian art . . . (Egberts 1995:54)

Thus, just because an object is not consistently depicted in either the right or left hand does not mean that use of a specific hand was not ritually required. The *ʿbꜣ*-scepter also sometimes appears with a hand-held offering, particularly incense

Ointment was wiped on the deity with another specialized gesture, the ***anointing gesture*** (Figure 7.3b). The king's three middle fingers were folded against his palm, with his pinky and thumb extended straight out. The pinky was used to anoint the divine image. This gesture only appears when the king's other hand is holding an ointment jar. Usually the pinky is held up to the deity's brow with the hand closest to the deity. However, sometimes the rear hand appears over or behind the jar, perhaps representing the dip preceding the wipe. The actual wiping of the ointment seems to require the king to stand for functional reasons. The king performs the anointing gesture while kneeling in three scenes in the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak. In a fourth scene, the king presents a statuette of himself performing the anointing gesture in the splayed-knee pose (Figure 7.12, Nelson 1981:153). Nonetheless, the king always stands while performing the anointing gesture in every other monument from this time period. Moreover, in two cases standing figures of the king clearly go against the general posture trends in the room in question. In a scene from Room II in the Great Temple at Abu Simbel, the king is depicted standing in a room where the king kneels in every other scene (Porter and Moss 1951:106, Room II 106 [53]–[54]). The king also stands in an anointing scene in the chapel of Re-Horakhte in the Temple of Sety I at Abydos. Kneeling postures are generally favored in this room, unless the king stands for functional reasons, as when the king is taking a cloth off of a deity, or stylistic reasons, as in barque scenes (Calverley, Gardiner, *et al.* 1935:pls. 13–19; see the following).

None of the scenes depicting the king kneeling while performing the anointing gesture in the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak employ the verb associated with wiping in the Daily Ritual chapels (*sfḫ*)—one is "doing" (*jrt*), one is "presenting" (*ḥnk*), and the others have no title preserved (Nelson 1981:pls. 205, 153, 234, and 250, respectively). The use of statuettes taking the splayed-knee pose as holders for ointment jars suggests that this posture may have been important in the broader ointment-offering ritual sequence (chapter 5 and the following). Thus, the mixture of the kneeling and splayed-knee poses and the anointing gesture serve to depict the most characteristic aspects of different stages in the ritual, perhaps posture from the offering stage and gesture from the later anointing stage. Still, the kneeling figures of the king performing the anointing gesture are limited to one context during this time period, the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak. Moreover, many scenes break general trends in that context, including one (perhaps the only) anomalous white bread scene. Thus, the possibility that the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak is a special case should be considered.

POSTURES

In the vast majority of offering scenes, the king is depicted either standing or kneeling before a deity. The choice between these two postures is often

based on aesthetic concerns, such as style or composition. For example, it is quite common for the king to be depicted with the same posture on all columns, door jambs, and lintels in a given room. In other cases, walls have patterns of standing and kneeling figures (eg. chapter 5). Both standing and kneeling poses are varied by the degree of incline in the king's torso. Called 'honorific bowing', inclined torsos are a stylistic feature of some time periods, including the reign of Sety I (Brand 2000:38). First, the splayed-knee pose and running postures are presented. These two postures are often taken by the king but are far less common than simple standing and kneeling. Then, trends in posture in two temples are examined. The decorative program in the Temple of Sety I at Abydos generally shows a preference for standing figures of the king, and several types of scene always take standing postures. The Sety Temple represents general trends encountered on most Nineteenth Dynasty monuments. The decorative program in the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak breaks several of these trends.

The Splayed-Knee Pose and Running

The splayed-knee pose and running posture are probably portrayed less often than standing and regular kneeling postures in part because it is more difficult to fit them in harmoniously with the larger decorative program and because they take up more room. Moreover, in rectangular picture fields, both require some creative approaches to filling awkward triangular spaces behind the king's body. In the splayed-knee pose, the king kneels on one knee with the other leg extended out behind him (Figures 7.12–13). This pose is not generally favored in temple decorative programs except to fill in low spaces and triangular spaces, like those above some doors. The splayed-knee pose takes up more room than kneeling or standing. Moreover, the space over the king's back leg needed to be filled. This was often done with an emblem of the king's *kꜣ*-spirit (Nelson 1981:pls. 154 and 194) or a goddess who stands behind the king holding his jubilee festival (*ḥb-sd*) emblem (Nelson 1981:pls. 156 and 192).

Nonetheless, this posture does not fit harmoniously into most decorative programs. It is totally absent from many rooms and even entire monuments. Many scenes have images of subsidiary statuettes of the king making offerings in this posture (see earlier discussion), bread at the front of heavily laden offering tables and ointment on tables beneath processional barques, for example. Ointment jars are often held up by the king in small statuettes of himself taking the splayed-knee pose. By depicting these statuettes, the Egyptians got around the awkwardness of including this ritually essential pose in large portions of temple decorative programs.

Depictions of the king 'running' feature the king standing on his toes with his legs set apart, in a triangle (Figure 7.15). Cairns are often depicted behind the king, in the triangle formed where his extended back leg meets

his body. Cairns were markers which the king ran around, symbolically encircling his realm and demonstrating that he still had the vitality to be king at his *ḥb-sd*-jubilee festivals. The presence of cairns is sometimes used to argue that a rite was associated with the *ḥb-sd*-jubilee. However, they are such a standard feature of these running scenes that they might simply have become a standard part of the iconography of running. Most running scenes are associated with festival, as opposed to daily, rites. These include pulling Sokar's festival barque (eg. First Hypostyle Hall of Sety I's Abydos Temple; Porter and Moss 1991:6 [59]) and giving fields (represented by a papyrus roll—he grasps a flail in the other hand; Nelson 1981:pl. 35).

In their study of depictions of sport in ancient Egypt, Decker and Herb collected 314 running scenes, dating from the predynastic period through

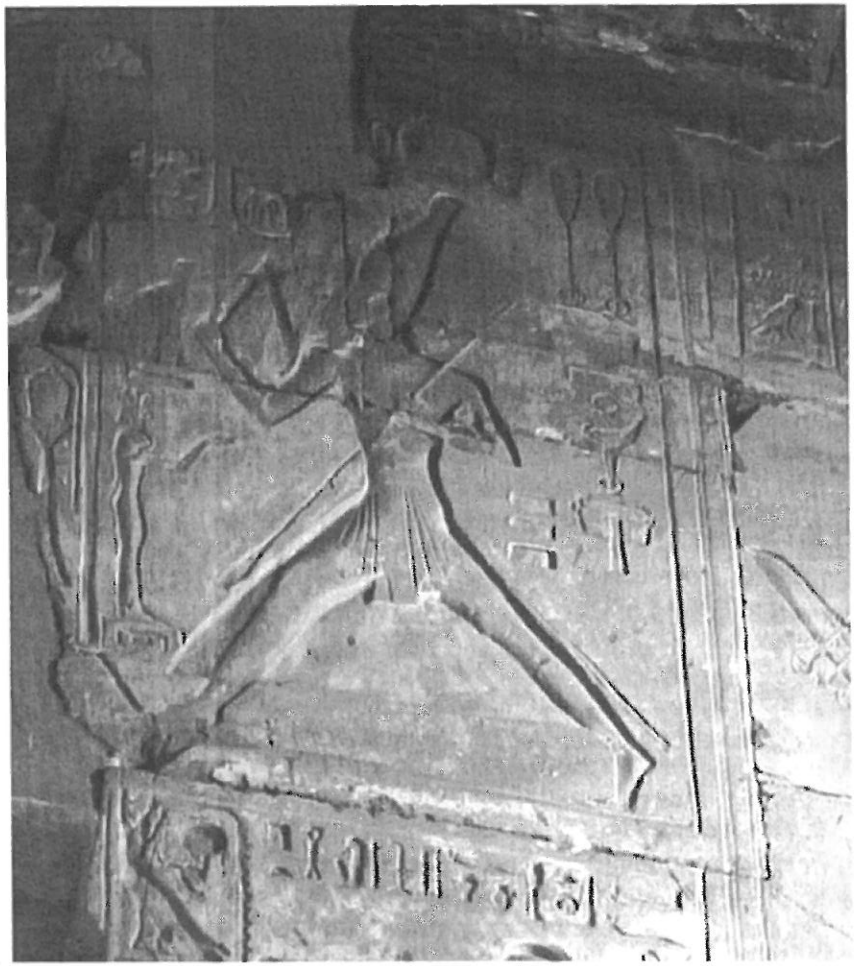


Figure 7.15 King running with *ḥap* and oar. Note the appearance of cairns and other space-fillers above the king's extended rear leg. Photo courtesy of Amy Calvert.

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the Ptolemaic Period (1994:31–123). Seventy-nine date to the Nineteenth Dynasty, seventy-six from the reigns of Sety I and Ramesses II. Fourteen of the entries feature the king running with *ḥs*-vases. Twenty-four entries feature him running with an oar, usually with the *ḥap* in the other hand, but sometimes with birds. Twenty-one additional entries are double scenes featuring one of each. The *Sed* Festival, or giving fields, as Nelson called it, in which the king holds a roll and flail, occurs four times alone and three additional times paired with the oar. Ramesses II also depicted himself running with birds four times. These continued to be the four most common running motifs to the end of ancient Egyptian civilization.

Only one running scene is likely to have been a daily ritual, running with *ḥs*-vases. In the early Nineteenth Dynasty, the king is almost always depicted running when he holds a pair of *ḥs*-libation vessels. Thus, running with *ḥs*-vases might be equivalent to episodes entitled "Greeting with a *nmst*-vessel"—i.e. some sort of preliminary rite for the ritual object to precede the libation ritual proper. Running with *ḥs*-vases (Nelson 1981:pls. 58 and 141) is one of two most commonly depicted running scenes, the other being running with *ḥap* (*ḥpt*)[5] and oar (*jṯj*, seize; Nelson 1981:pls. 54 and 142). These scenes often appear on door lintels in double scenes or mixed pairs (Calverley, Gardiner, *et al.* 1958:pls. 12, 15, 18, and 27). They may represent the approach to the divine sanctuary for daily and festival occasions, respectively. The *ḥs*-vases are emblematic of praise (*ḥs*) and the daily libation rites distributed throughout all daily and festival ritual cycles. The *ḥap* and oar represent the divine barques brought out for festivals.

Standing Royal Figures in the Temple of Sety I at Abydos

In most royal monuments, there is a marked preference for depicting the king in standing postures. This may be a matter of decorum. The king looks more commanding when he stands. Most monuments also display the king in kneeling postures as well, particularly in internal areas. Kneeling and splayed-knee pose postures appear to have been ritually necessary, although most offerings can be depicted with the king in standing, kneeling, or splayed-knee postures. In this section, reasons for the apparent preference for standing postures in a single monument, the Temple of Sety I at Abydos, are explored. Several trends relating to style, decorum, and divine hierarchies within the Sety Temple indicate that standing may have been a more dominant posture in art than in ritual performance.

The first stylistic trend is for figures of the king to stand on most architectural elements heavily decorated with offering scenes, namely door jambs and columns. The use of a single posture for the king on these elements creates a unified rhythm to the representations and allows one to focus more easily on the larger and more varied wall scenes. The king also always stands in Nineteenth Dynasty barque scenes, often with an inclined torso (Brand 2000:15). In the Daily Ritual chapels of Amun-Re, Isis, and Horus, the king stands in all scenes except Episode 10, "Spell for kissing the ground

placing oneself upon the belly to touch the ground with one's fingers, when entering upon the god", where he kneels for functional reasons, as has long been recognized (eg. Brunner-Traut 1977:573). Postures generally used for functional reasons were sometimes passed over in favor of a posture which is clearly not functional.

For example, in a scene at Abu Simbel, the king kneels while driving calves, an activity obviously requiring the king to stand (Porter and Moss 1951:Room VII [79]–[80]). However, such scenes are very rare and do not reduce the significance of trends observed in dozens of other scenes of the same type. Blackman and Fairman generally describe the king as "driving" the calves, without reference to his posture. They do note, however, that the king stands in the New Kingdom scenes (Fairman and Blackman 1949–1950:76–77).

Among the six Daily Ritual chapels in Sety I's Abydos Temple, only the Chapel of Re-Horakhte displays a strong preference for kneeling figures of the king (Calverley, Gardiner, *et al.* 1935:pls. 13–19; on the possible relationships between these different patterns, the nature of each deity, and the divine images see Zippert 1931:51–88). The king kneels in twenty-four of the thirty-six preserved scenes. In most of the remaining twelve scenes, there is a clear reason for why the king stands. The king always stands in the barque scenes for stylistic reasons (two scenes, Brand 2000:15). In seven additional scenes, the king is depicted performing acts that could only be accomplished while standing and that are usually depicted that way for functional reasons:

Episode 14 "Spell for wiping off the *md*-ointment": The king wipes the ointment from the uraeus on the god's brow (see earlier).
Episode 15 "Spell for taking off the clothing": The king removes a piece of clothing from the god.
Episode 27 "Fixing the two plumes upon the head": The king holds his hands up to Atum's crown.
Episode 30 "Spell for performing the scattering of sand": This is an exit ritual that the king performs as he leaves the sanctuary.
Episode 31 "Spell for arraying the body with *nms*-cloth": The king wraps a piece of clothing around the god.
Episode 33 "Spell for putting on the great cloth after these": The king wraps a piece of clothing around the god.
Episode 35 "Spell for wiping out the footprint with the *hdn*-plant": This is an exit ritual that the king performs as he leaves the sanctuary.

This leaves only two scenes in which the king's standing posture may be optional:

Episode 13 "Spell for laying hands upon the god"
Episode 24 "Making purification with a bowl of libation water, and with four pellets of incense": The king holds two cups, one with a flame and one with two streams of water.

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However, in both of these cases, one could argue that a standing posture might have been functional.

These differences in royal posture cannot be solely due to the status of the deities. There is no preference for or against kneeling in the barque chapels of Osiris and Ptah (Calverley, Gardiner, *et al.* 1933:pls. 3–15 [Osiris]; and 1935:pls. 21–27 [Ptah]). The king also stands in every scene in the three of the northern chapels in the Osiris complex, devoted to Osiris-Sety, Isis, and Horus (Calverley, Gardiner, *et al.* 1938:pls. 31–46). However, in the adjacent room, the First Hall of the Osiris complex, the king kneels in only eight of the thirty-seven preserved (or partly preserved) scenes (see Figure 6.1 and Calverley, Gardiner, *et al.* 1938:pls. 9A-16). The recipients are a form of Osiris and a consort in all six cases where they are preserved. Thus, in this specific case, the use of the kneeling posture for royal figures may be a way to set the god Osiris apart as dominant over all of the other deities depicted in this hall. In contrast, almost all of the royal figures stand in the Chapel of Amun-Re, who was described as head of the gods in the temple in some inscriptions (Kitchen 1975–1990: vol. 2, 511, 15). However, within this room, Amun-Re has only his consort, Mut, and son, Khonsu, to display dominance over, neither of whom have independent scenes devoted to them.

Thus, the king is most frequently depicted standing in the Temple of Sety I at Abydos for a combination of reasons relating to style, decorum, and hierarchy. It seems that relationships within one visual field, usually a single room, were of primary importance. In some cases, the use of a kneeling posture with a certain deity might indicate that that deity had higher status than the other deities depicted in the room (eg. First Osiris Hall). Similarly, equality of status between different forms of a deity might be displayed by sticking with a single posture in most of the scenes (eg. the standing posture used for various forms of Amun-Re in his chapel).

The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak

The wall scenes in the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, like most monuments, favor standing figures of the king. Some common trends discussed earlier hold here as well. For example, the king is always depicted standing on columns and in barque scenes. However, kneeling and splayed-knee poses are far more common here than is usual for this time period. Postures in this monument break trends in other areas as well. The king is also sometimes depicted kneeling while presenting ointment with the anointing gesture, used to anoint the brow of the deity (see prior discussion). In all of the other monuments during this time period, the king stands when performing the anointing gesture.

Two possible reasons, not mutually exclusive, might explain why the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak featured so many anomalous scenes. The first is that the Great Hypostyle Hall is a festival space. So the increased range of gesture may relate to that more complex ritual function. The court of Ramesses II at Luxor Temple had a similar role. Although

the Luxor court does not have any notable anomalous scenes, the same concept may have been communicated differently. Priests depicted participating in a festival procession in the *soubassement* use more modes of presentation than standard offering scenes do (Porter and Moss 1972:308 [29]–[30]; Figures 7.9–10). Second, the best artists may have been reserved for the Karnak temple. These artists may have been allowed more latitude or had access to a wider variety of pattern books and therefore had more knowledge of the range of what could be depicted.

CONCLUSIONS

Details in ancient Egyptian ritual scenes are often present for stylistic reasons or for reasons of decorum. This chapter argues that comparison of large numbers of scenes reveals patterns in what was appropriate that allow aspects of ritual movement to be reconstructed. Analysis of broad patterns in a sample of over two thousands scenes reveals patterns not attributable to questions of artistic style or decorum. Some offerings, like white bread, are almost always depicted being held in the same way and take few verbs in their titles. Others, like ointment, show a wide range gestures and more actions in their titles. Other patterns are attributable to artistic style and decorum. For example, standing was the most commonly depicted royal posture for the main figures in scenes. However, many subsidiary figures of the king are depicted kneeling and in the splayed-knee pose. Such figures allow the king to be depicted in postures which do not fit harmoniously with the overall composition of the decorative program. Other postures not generally depicted in art, like ". . . placing oneself upon the belly . . .", are called for in ritual texts (pAmun 13, Abydos 10). In some cases they might not be appropriate for the king when he is the main figure in a scene. This type of analysis requires a large number of scenes, preferably from well-preserved monuments. One of the few time periods for which this is possible is the early Nineteenth Dynasty.

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8 The Most Common Offering Scenes

Episodes did not need to progress in a rigid sequential order, so long as each individual episode was performed with precision (chapter 3). But what did it mean to perform each individual episode with precision? The intricacies of this were lost with the deaths of the last ancient Egyptian priests. However, scenes and texts provide many clues about the performance of different types of offering ritual. This chapter brings together observations about aspects of ritual performance explored throughout this book to provide brief discussions of the performance of the offering rituals depicted most frequently in the temples of Sety I and Ramesses II. The analysis of this group of monuments (see chapter 7) included approximately two thousand offering scenes.

The five most frequently depicted offerings were incense and libation, *nw*-jars (wine), flowers, ointment, and *Maat* (in that order), accounting for over 80 percent of offering scenes. Each top offering occurs at least 150 times. Small changes in what is included do not have an impact on the ranking. For example, pouring liquid over the deity or using the anointing gesture could be included as offerings of liquids and ointments or could be excluded because they are really about the care of the divine image. In fact, as discussed in the following, scenes often allude to more than one stage in the ritual progression. However, these scenes are not common enough to change the relative rankings of incense and libation and ointment offering scenes. More generally, changing these sorts of parameters does not impact rankings because it is just shifting different groups of relatively uncommon scenes around between categories. However, changing the sample of monuments, by looking at individual monuments or parts of monuments, does sometimes produce different results.

Incense and libation, with over seven hundred scenes, are more than twice as common as offering wine, with about three hundred scenes. Nonetheless, in three of the eight monuments, incense and libation scenes are outnumbered—by *nw*-jars at Sety I's Gurnah Temple and the Great Temple at Abu Simbel and by flowers at the Small Temple at Abu Simbel. The focus on flowers in the Small Temple at Abu Simbel might be a gender issue as the monument was devoted to a queen. Scenes of presenting liquids, like wine

and milk, might also be considered part of the incense and libation group (see the following). Moreover, other factors may also be at play. In Sety I's Gurnah Temple, there is a pattern of depicting wine offering in double scenes on lintels and on door jambs. Half of the sixty-four scenes of presenting *nw*-jars in this temple are on such architectural features. In a monument with so many areas lost, such a pattern can have a significant impact on the relative distribution of scenes. The emphasis on wine at the Great Temple at Abu Simbel might also be the result of a desire to emphasize a product representing foreign domination (discussed in the following).

Some individual monuments have different distributions. For example, in Sety I's temple at Gurnah, scenes of offering milk are more common than *Maat*. In the Ramesseum, scenes of offering white bread are as common as ointment and more common than flowers. Both of these monuments have substantial sections missing, so this might be an accident of preservation. Milk and white bread are also both among the next ten most common offerings, namely white bread, mixed tray, milk, lettuce, cloth, tray of cups, broad collar, clepsydra, *šˁt*-cakes, and sistrums. All of these scenes occur at least ten times, but not more than one hundred times, in the sample. The remaining offering scenes—regalia, *šsp* and counterpoise, birds, onions, and *pˁt*-cakes—all occur fewer than ten times in the sample.

Based on administrative texts and depictions of tables of offerings, dozens of different types of offering passed through ancient Egyptian temples during this time period. Why were so few actually depicted being presented individually on the temple walls? All of these offerings functioned on myriad symbolic levels. As previous discussion has established, placing the same scene in different contexts would evoke different associations (chapter 2). What follows here is an explanation of why the fifteen most frequently depicted offering scenes were so important in ancient Egyptian representations of their ritual system. The Egyptians did not depict the presentation of this limited range of offerings over and over again merely because they were easy and relatively inexpensive ways to fill space on temple walls and other architectural elements. To the contrary, their predominance in decorative programs reflects the predominance of the ritual cycles they are emblems of. These rites were representative of the backbone of temple ritual. Thus, a major focus is the aspects of the ritual system they represent. The full spectrum of meanings carried by these offerings is beyond the scope of this targeted overview.

INCENSE AND LIBATION

Incense and libation were major components of all surviving ritual cycles, comprising over a third of utterances on some ritual papyri (eg. pAmun and pC-T; see Tables A.1 and A.3). They were performed in all daily ritual cycles and at all festivals and were called for in the closing rubrics repeatedly in

mortuary rituals. Like most offerings, they were associated with the revivification of the god, domination over foreigners, and the Eye of Horus (chapter 5), to name just a few of dozens of associations. Scented offerings more generally, like flowers and ointment, might be considered related to incense. Functionally, they all contributed to keeping the smells of production activities and surrounding fields out of the temple, an aspect of maintaining sacred space arguably as important as excluding impure bodies (eg. chapters 3 and 6). Liquid offerings, like wine and milk, are related to libations. In fact, one variation on offering incense is the presentation of incense balls of various types in bowls. The presentation of wine and milk could be considered parallel to these scenes and therefore a subset of the libation rites. Analysis of the titles of scenes provides some support for this suggestion. Scenes of offering wine sometimes take the title "doing libation" (*jrt ḳbḥ*, see chapter 7 n.1). However, scenes of offering wine and milk are far, far more common than the scenes of offering individual types of incense.

It is apparent that, if one is to judge by how rites were organized, and how often the ancient Egyptians depicted certain rites (both on papyrus and temple walls), no offerings were more ubiquitous than the presentation of incense and libations. All of the other most common offerings fall into two main groups—the toilet or the meal. Episodes devoted to incense and libation appear repeatedly throughout both of these main cycles, and the king presents incense in Daily Ritual scenes devoted to other ritual acts (eg. "Seeing the god", *mȝȝ nṯr*, Abydos Episode 8). Incense burning was also performed during processions, where it maintained a ring of sacred space around the divine image (chapter 6). Without repeated purification, the sacred space of the temple also would become impure. Thus, understanding incense and libation is fundamental to understanding all other temple ritual. One of the most important aspects of these rites was physically dynamic performances. Performing incense and libation was a skill requiring regular practice if it was to be done properly, particularly during festivals when priests would be walking in front of crowds while walking over rough dirt roads.

Even a cursory study of incense and libation scenes reveals a variety in the gesture of the king which, taken together, might be suggestive of rituals with dynamic movements. The variety of finger positions employed in holding the arm censer, in particular, is unique (chapter 7). This impression is further strengthened by the relatively wide range of activities mentioned in the titles to scenes depicting these rites. In fact, unlike other offering scenes, the depiction of incense and/or libation often appears with titles focused on other acts, like entry, seeing the god, or consecration; or that are broader in scope, like the "boon which the king grants" (*ḥtp-dj-nsw*, Meal 21).

Libation vessels are depicted being held from chin height down to kilt level. They share this quality with other dynamic offerings, like ointment jars and flowers. In contrast, static offerings were usually held at roughly shoulder height (from the upper chest to the chin). Presenting with the arm

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censer required a different range of movement, more focused in the hand and fingers. When held up to the god, the censer is cradled quite loosely in the hand, either with the index finger curled in or extended, a very unusual grip rarely depicted with other ritual objects. The king's other hand might hold any kind of libation vessel, throw pellets, be held up behind in protection, or be extended out in greeting. The censer can also be held down by the side. This position requires an adjusted grip, with the fingers curled in more tightly. This hold is commonly used on objects with horizontal shafts, such as scepters and sticks. The latter hold rarely occurs when the king is labeled as doing libation (*jrj snṯr*). Rather it occurs when he is labeled as doing other things, such as consecration or the *ḥtp-dj-nsw*. In these cases, the censer acts as an emblem, being held in the manner of an *ꜥnḫ*-sign, with which it is largely interchangeable. Like the censer, *ꜥnḫ*-signs had three-dimensional presences in temple ritual—eg. the large faience *ꜥnḫ*-sign found by Petrie at Dendera (1900:pl. XXIII,7). Manipulating the censer required a range of subtle finger movements. The ancient Egyptians rarely depict this sort of range in the motion of the fingers. No other offering is associated with so many finger positions. Most other objects commonly offered by the king are associated with one specific hold.

Ideally, incense burnt constantly, like the sun. The throwing of pellets represents the path of the sun over the sky. Incense was commonly offered using one of two ritual objects, the cup or the arm censer. The cup usually has smoke or a flame rising from it. As a hieroglyph, R7 on Gardiner's sign list, it is the word for *bꜣ*-soul. Renditions of images associated with the royal *kꜣ*-spirit appear very frequently in temple decorative programs (L. Bell 1985 and Eaton 2007b). These cups are effectively the presentation of the hieroglyph for *bꜣ*-soul. Thus, the *bꜣ*-soul may be represented most frequently in this more abstract form. If so, then the *bꜣ*-soul was every bit as prominent as the *kꜣ*-spirit and its associated offering, *kꜣ*-food, in temple decorative programs.

The arm censer contains within it the totality of incense offering equipment (Figure 8.1). Broad, rounded bowls like those in its 'hand' are depicted independently, burning in stands to the left. Straight-sided cups, like the one on its 'arm', are used to present pellets or burning incense (eg. Figure 5.4, upper right). Although the censers were waved around and objects were encircled, the constant repetition of the same series of movements appears to be important. The arm censer is almost always decorated with a falcon head, representing the god Horus, and the pellets represent his eyes. The sound eye was associated with the sun and the damaged with the moon. The Eye of Horus motif is often evoked in incantations associated with offering incense as well.

Libations, on the other hand, were associated with the natural cycle of the annual inundation. This rite has more discreet units of action than incense, including more changes in ritual objects. Storage containers are often listed as quantities in offering lists and depicted in offering arrays but are not

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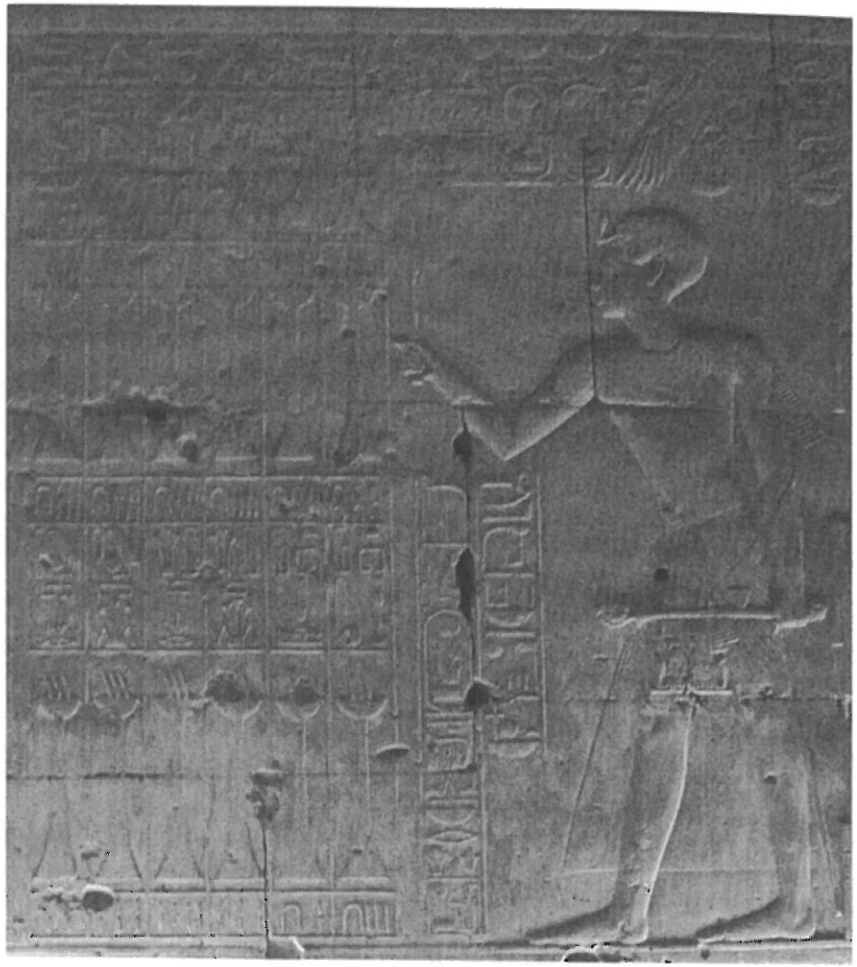


Figure 8.1 The king holds an arm censer. The rounded bowl held in the hand at the end of the arm censer is of the same type as those held in stands to the left. The straight-sided cup on its 'arm' probably held pellets and is the same shape as cups used independently to present burning incense and pellets (eg. Figure 5.4, upper right). From the north wall of the hall of Nefertem-Ptah-Sokar in the Temple of Sety I at Abydos. Photo by the author.

generally depicted being held up before the deity. They are associated with the first stage of the offering sequence, conducted primarily in support areas where serving containers were filled from storage units. These stages were usually not depicted in temple decorative programs (possible exceptions from the time of Tutankhamun, restored by Sety I, are acts depicted in kiosks next to the processional route in Opet Festival scenes, eg. Epigraphic Survey 1994:pl. 35, lowest register far right). Whether this stage was ritual depends on how one defines ritual. It does seem to have been performed by priests

with purified bodies within the sacred area of the temple. Since the deity was almost certainly not expected to be present and the act was quite utilitarian, narrow definitions of what constitutes ritual would not include this stage. Nonetheless, the issue is not with the understanding of such actions, but with how scholars talk about them. These acts were part of the sequence of offering incense and libation, whether or not one defines them as 'ritual'.

Three different libation vessels, or serving containers, commonly appear in scenes of "doing libation" (*jrj ḳbḥ*) in Nineteenth Dynasty scenes—*ḥs*-vase (sometimes tripled), *nmst*-vessels, and *ꜥnḫ*-vessels. These were used to pour libations and fill cups. Two of these vessels—*ḥs*-vases and *nmst*-vessels, each have their own rites in addition to their roles in generic scenes of "doing" incense and libations. Pairs of *ḥs*-vases are generally not depicted in scenes of offering libations. They appear in running scenes (chapter 7). The action is described as "bringing" (*ḫnp/ḫrp*) or "seizing" (*iṯt*). The Souls of Pe and Nekhen are also often depicted in the "bringing" role.

"Salutation with a *nmst*-vessel" (*ind ḥr nmst*) shows these vessels being held in many different ways—in protective presentation, in paired presentation, on trays, with the two-handed tilt. However, this title does not appear with mixed presentations, in which the vessel is held in one hand while the other holds an incense cup, arm censer, or other object. Nor does the gesture of greeting seem to be used with these titles. Thus, *ind* probably means 'protection' (as it is used in "protector of his father", a common epithet of the god Horus).

The standard text generally begins:

> *m n.k tp.k ꜥbw <n.k> jrty.k in.<j> n.k pr m nwn ḫ3t pr m jtmw rn.s pwy n nmst* (Daressy 1917:100; for New Year's variant, see Nelson 1949a:217)
>
> Take to yourself your head. Join <to yourself> your two eyes. I have brought you that which comes forth from Nun, the best which comes forth from Atum, in this its name of *nmst*-vessel.

Thus, the vessel is associated with the head of the deity and its contents with the inundation. More unusual titles specifically naming the *nmst*-vessel are "doing purification with *nmst*" and simply "presenting *nmst*". In a scene in the Temple of Sety I at Abydos, the king is depicted using a *nmst*-vessel to pour liquid into cups—individual consumption units (Figure 8.2). Cups are not generally used to pour libations, but they are used for doing purification, for example in the Daily Ritual chapels in Sety I's Abydos Temple (*jꜥb*, Abydos 24, *ḏsrt* in the T.I.P pAmun 47). Other consumption units—eg. *nw*-pots and milk containers—are usually just "given", "presented", or "done" (note *dšrt*-vessels used for giving beer in the Eighteenth Dynasty temple at Medinet Habu, Epigraphic Survey 2009:pl. 87).

In looking at these depictions of the process of offering incense and libation, and their symbolism, it is apparent that the two rites had distinctive

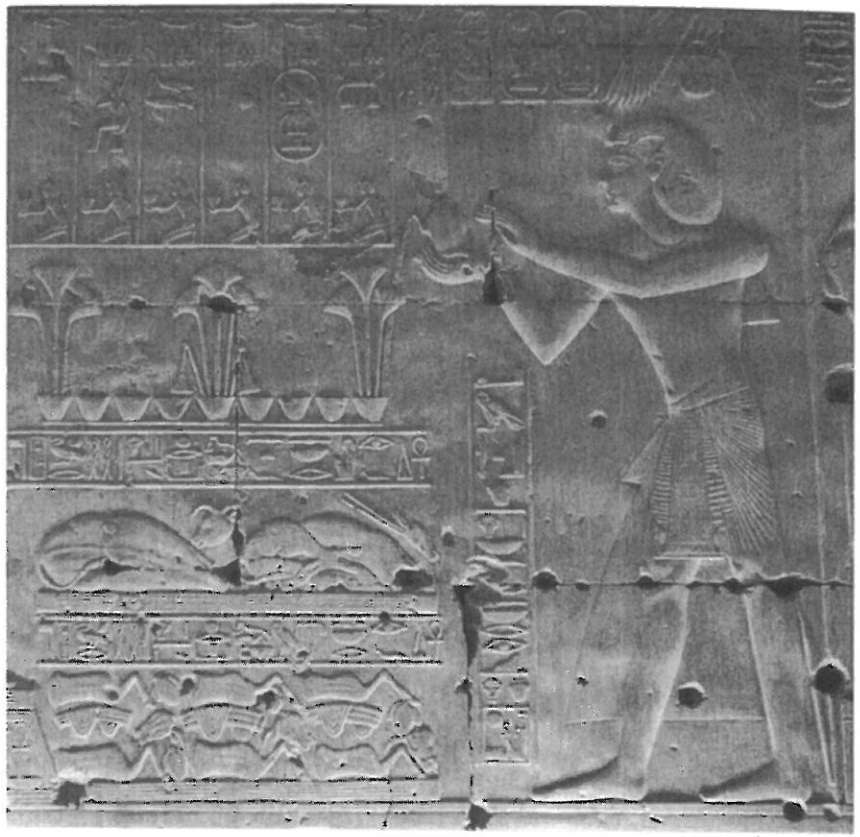


Figure 8.2 The king holds uses a *nmst*-vessel to pour liquid into cups. From the north wall of the hall of Nefertem-Ptah-Sokar in the Temple of Sety I at Abydos. Photo by the author.

rhythms. They were operating on complementary cycles, intersecting at different points over time. Thus, one cannot line up the steps involved in the two types of rite. The pairing of rituals with different physical rhythms means that both rites would rarely be at crisis points at the same moment. Crucial transitional points in one rite would be covered, or protected, by the strength of the other rite. For example, the subtle movements of the fingers performed while handling the censer might be covered by the smooth flow of liquid from the libation vessel being poured with the other hand, or by another priest (see the complex depictions of priests working together to pour libation in the chapels devoted to Ramesses I at Abydos, Winlock 1921:pl. IX). Some rites even call for the libation to be poured in "one movement" (*jṯ(j).t 1*, Cooney and Mclain 2005:51, n. 40). On the other hand, incense would burn steadily while libation vessels were refilled or changed.

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If one considers this in terms of the natural cycles associated with the two offerings, the solar cycle was in crisis at sunrise and sunset (as the incense ball was thrown from the king's fingers and as it landed in the censer); the lunar cycle during the blacked-out moon (when incense was waiting to be lit); and the seasonal cycle at the transition between the dry, harvest season and the inundation (when liquid was being transferred from storage containers to libation vessels and from libation vessels to consumption units). The most dangerous point in the year would be sunrise and sunset during the new moon, at the transition between harvest and inundation—when all of the powerful transition points converged. These convergences were covered by linking ritual cycles so that they would rarely be in crisis at the same time. By representing natural cycles at strong points through points of crisis, ancient Egyptian temple ritual supported the cosmos through these crucial transitions.

THE TOILET: OINTMENT, CLOTH, BROAD COLLAR

Among the next four most common offerings, ointment represents god's toilette. It is the only offering of these four appearing regularly in Daily Ritual cycles (in the Third Intermediate Period, offering *Maat* appears in pAmun 42). Among the next ten most common offerings, cloth and the broad collar regularly appear in representations of this cycle on both papyrus and temple walls. Finally, offering regalia and *sšp* and counterpoise was depicted in the Daily Ritual chapels in the Temple of Sety I at Abydos. These ritual objects are quite frequently depicted being presented *to* the king by deities. However, it is rare for the king to be depicted presenting them in the Nineteenth Dynasty. Depictions of the king offering such regalia became more common in Ptolemaic Period temple decorative programs. There also appears to have been an outward migration over time, whereby these scenes came to be represented in outer areas, not just the most protected areas, as in the sanctuaries as at Sety I's temples at Abydos and Gurnah, and in the innermost of the three halls in the Ramesseum.[1]

Objects presented and used in the course of the toilet tend to have two phases, giving (*rdj*) or presenting (*ḥnk*) the offering and then actually applying or adorning the god with the offering. Both phases can be encapsulated in a single scene, by mixing gestures, postures, and verbs associated with different phases of the rite (eg. the splayed-knee pose and the anointing gesture, chapter 7). Ointment jars are depicted being held in a wide variety of ways (Table 7.1). In a unique gesture, the king folded in his middle three fingers and anointed the deity's brow with his pinky. Offering ointment is associated with at least four verbs—"giving" (*rdj*); "doing, making" (*jrt*), "presenting, offering" (*ḥnk*), and "loosened, release, purify" (*sfḫ*, usually translated "wipe" in reference to offering ointment). This rite appears to have a much more targeted range of motion than incense, which was

walked around the image, or libations, which were poured over offerings and around the divine image.

Lengths of cloth are always presented in paired presentation, usually grasped (cloth is draped over open palms in one scene on the Girdle Wall at Karnak, Helck 1968:pl. 81). Bolts of cloth are depicted being presented on trays. These two different modes of presentation are dictated by the form the objects take. In addition, in protected areas of the temple, the king is depicted unwrapping the statue and wrapping various cloths around the statue. These scenes are generally found within the temple proper. This act, *ḏbꜣ*, can also appear in the title to simple presentation scenes. Cloth was also consecrated in the *meret* chests (Egberts 1995).

The broad collar was associated with the sun (chapter 5). Although logistics demand that it be placed on the statue relatively late in the cycle, the utterance expresses greeting. The placement of the collar was associated with sunrise. There is no indication of motion in the limited range of holds. Differences in holds often appear to be dictated by the form of the broad collar in a given scene. When offered with a pectoral, the king often grasped the necklace attached to the pectoral. Otherwise, it was usually depicted being held up in open palms, with or without a tray. Unlike the cloth, the broad collar is not depicted actually being placed onto or taken off of a divine image during this time period.

THE MEAL: WINE AND MILK, BREAD AND CAKE

Wine represents the meal. Among the next ten most commonly depicted offerings, white bread, mixed trays of offerings (or "elevation of offerings"), milk, trays of cups (or "menu"), and *šꜥt*-cakes are all associated with the meal. Related scenes might include the offering of lettuce, onions, and birds and the consecration of tables of offerings and hecatombs. Together these might form a "food complex" including hundreds of scenes. The most commonly depicted items of food and drink appear to be emblematic pairs, representing larger categories of offering. They were also not the offerings of their type presented in the largest quantities according to offering lists, but rather more expensive, prestige items.

Milk is the ultimate daily offering because it is in constant daily supply. The cows must be milked every day. Yet milk cannot be saved without being transformed into something else. It is also always domestic (although the cows may have been booty from abroad). Wine, in contrast, must be saved to turn into itself. It was often imported and reserved for special occasions, although it was offered as a libation in daily temple ritual as well.[2] The most common drink, beer, was listed in large quantities in offering lists. Along with water, it is often presumed to have been the liquid represented in libation scenes. However, it was not presented as an individual offering in any scenes in the sample under consideration herein (a libation with beer does

appear on papyrus, Meal Episode 8). In the Temple of Sety I at Abydos, a libation of water (*ḳbḥn mw*) appears in at least three of the daily ritual chapels (Horus, Isis, and Re-Horakhte, Abydos 24).[3]

Similarly, temple decorative programs focus on white bread and *šˁt*-cakes as emblematic of all breads and cakes, even though *bjt* and *psn*–loaves appeared most commonly in offering lists and administrative texts during this time period (Haring 1997:195).[4] Another way to look at these four offerings is as pairings of red and white—analogous to the red and white crowns. Red was considered a powerful color, combining the potential for both good and evil associated with transformation (eg. fire, childbirth, see R. Wilkinson 1994:106; on the evil connotations of red, see Ritner 1993:147–148). White was the color of ". . . cleanliness . . . ritual purity and sacredness . . ." (R. Wilkinson 1994:109). Thus, white carries neither the danger, nor the potential for positive transformation associated with red. Wine and *šˁt*-cakes (made with dates) represent red. Milk and white bread represent white.

Among the most common offerings, the only individual food offering remaining is lettuce. The number of scenes (about thirty) devoted to this offering is almost certainly inflated by the focus on Theban material in the sample. Lettuce was sacred to the god Min and his Theban counterpart, Amun-Re *kȝ-mwt.f* (Germer 1980; see also Ptolemaic Philae, where Min is the only deity depicted receiving lettuce, Vassilika 1989:206). Certainly lettuce is not among the top scenes at any of the temples outside of Thebes. Two scenes of offering onions also appear at Karnak Temple. Onions, sacred to the god Sokar, might be in the top fifteen most common offerings, if Sokar's Memphite temple were preserved (Graindorge 1992).[5] Both of these plants were held in the same ways as bouquets. In fact, some bouquets included lettuce along with the more usual flowers, like papyrus blossoms, particularly when offered to Min or his Theban counterpart, Amun-Re *kȝ-mwt.f* (eg. Nelson 1981:134, 240, 247, and 254).

The pattern with offerings presented during the meal is quite different from those associated with the toilet. Individual food offerings are presented or given, but these appear to be emblematic representations of larger groups of offerings. Other acts associated with the meal tend to be performed on the food as a group, raising up trays of mixed offerings, or cups representing the menu, or putting hands over and consecrating tables of offerings. These acts tend not to be depicted being performed on individual food offerings. Thus, individual, static presentation contrasts with group manipulation. Wine offering was the subject of an important monograph by Mu-Chou Poo (1995). In well over 90 percent of wine offering scenes, the king holds the *nw*-jars in a paired presentation. Patterns in the depiction and description of giving wine (*rdjt jrp*) or, rarely, presenting wine (*ḫnk jrp*) contrast strongly with incense and libation, although "doing libation" (*jrt ḳbḥ*) sometimes appears as the title in these scenes. Subsidiary statuettes of the king offering wine often appear on depictions of statue bases and processional images.

Milk and *šˁt*-cakes follow many of the same patterns as wine, usually being presented in paired presentation and appearing with the verbs "giving" (*rdj*) or "presenting" (*ḫnk*).

Offering white bread is unusual. Like *Maat* and the clepsydra, it was presented using protective presentation. It also appears with a verb unique to it among offering scene titles, *sḳr*. In other contexts, *sḳr* was quite a common verb. Known from the time of the pyramids onward with the primary meaning "strike" (*Wb.* IV 306, 10–307, 11), it also serves as an expression for the bringing of offerings (*Wb.* IV 307, 8–11). However, this verb does not appear in the titles to other ritual scenes, including the second most commonly depicted baked good, *šˁt*-cakes, prior to the Greco-Roman period (when its use expanded dramatically, *Wb.* IV 307, 11). The verb *sḳr* may also be a reference to the tapping of the pottery bread mold to release the bread. The only other static offering appearing with a unique verb is the mixed tray, which usually takes the verb *fȝ*, carrying or elevating. This term seems to refer to a very specific, controlled action. The setting apart of conical loaves on heavily laden offering tables, where they are frequently the only object among dozens of different offerings being held by a statuette of the king (chapter 7), is further indicative of some sort of special status for white bread.

PLANTS: BOUQUETS, FLOWERS, AND LETTUCE

Among food offerings, lettuce is unique in being presented using different gestures, including paired presentation and the two-handed tilt, despite the fact that its form remains constant. The combination of its dynamic modes of presentation and static use of verbs links lettuce to other plants, although it appears in collections of food manipulated together as well. Flowers and bouquets come in a wide variety of forms—small bundles offered with the two-handed tilt; large, tall bouquets held with two hands; thin bundles of papyrus blossoms, held in both paired and mixed presentations. However, patterns in the titles to these scenes in the Nineteenth Dynasty label the action simply "giving" (*rdj*), and that object as "plants" (*rnpwt*), although specific plants such as papyrus (*wȝḏw*) and lettuce (*ˁb*) are sometimes named. Thus with plants, the variety in gesture seems to relate to the variety in forms of the offering rather than a range of actions to be performed. Flowers appear on most offering tables and among the arrays surrounding processional images.

All of the most frequently depicted offerings were presented in greater variety and quantities during festivals. However, flowers were particularly associated with festivals. For example, the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors includes no rites for offering flowers or bouquets in the main body of the ritual. Episodes to be performed only on the Blacked-out Moon and Sixth Day festivals call for bouquets to be presented (Meal 49–50). Like milk,

flowers were domestic products with a short lifespan, although foreign varieties were imported and grown in Egypt (the most extensive collection comes from Eighteenth Dynasty Karnak, see Beaux 1990:63–142) and sometimes presented as offerings (eg. Dittmar 1986: 16, 26). Although they were among the restricted range of offerings presented by Queen Nefertari in her temple at Abu Simbel, flowers were not generally symbols of the feminine in ancient Egypt, as they are in the modern West. Lotus flowers were associated with the sun god, Re, and adorned the knives of men going into battle.

MAAT, THE ROYAL NAME, AND CLEPSYDRA

Maat and the royal name were relative newcomers to this system. All of the other top offerings appear on fragments from monuments dating to the Middle Kingdom or earlier, whereas scenes of offering *Maat* are first attested in the Eighteenth Dynasty (Teeter 1997:22). *Maat* was the personification of order, justice, and right living. Thus, it represents the king's offering of his activity maintaining order. During the Nineteenth Dynasty, the king's name and *Maat* are inseparable because *Maat* was the main element of the king's name as it was presented. By the Third Intermediate Period, offering *Maat* was also an episode in the Daily Ritual cycle (pAmun Episode 42). The utterance to this rite strongly suggests that *Maat* unites and represents all offerings (chapters 3 and 4; see also Teeter 1997:1 on the range of symbolic meanings of offering *Maat*). Both *Maat* and the royal name also represent royal power. However, this is true for all offerings. The ability to command resources and present them directly to the divine always reflected royal power. The clepsydra is a water-clock which takes the form of a baboon (associated with the god Thoth) sitting on a bowl with a pillar behind. Thus, like *Maat*, the clepsydra incorporated a divine image and was an offering of an abstraction (time).

Offering *Maat* and the royal name was the subject of an important monograph by Emily Teeter (1997). Scenes of *Maat* during the Nineteenth Dynasty usually appear with the title "Presenting *Maat*" (*ḥnk mꜣʿt*) or, more rarely, "Giving *Maat*" (*rdjt mꜣʿt*). *Maat* is presented using the protective gesture, or rarely the reversed protective gesture (perhaps an innovation of Ramesses II). The clepsydra also takes the protective gesture. Unlike all the other common offerings, *Maat*, the royal name, and the clepsydra were divine images as well as offerings, representing the goddess *Maat*, the king, and the baboon-god Thoth. Although the protective gesture was used in presenting a range of dynamic offerings, including incense cups and ointment, the only other static offering requiring this gesture is offering the white bread. Combined with other unique elements of offering white bread, this might suggest a special status for the presentation of the conical loaf, perhaps an association with Thoth (Lurson 2007:180).

CONCLUSIONS

The scenes on temple walls were simplified renderings of complicated ritual progressions. This was shown regarding cult practitioners and divine images in previous chapters. It is also true of movement and gesture. Some scenes were emblematic of more than one stage in the ritual. Thus, the king can be depicted kneeling or in the splayed-knee pose while performing a gesture used to place ointment on the deity's brow, an act which could only have been performed while standing. Similarly, the king was often depicted holding lengths of cloth up when the title of the scene employed the verb "arraying" (*ḏbꜣ*), which entailed the king wrapping the cloth around the divine image. According to papyrus versions of the ritual, cloths (white, green, and red) were first given to the deity and then wrapped around him (chapter 3). The intricacies of ritual performance in ancient Egypt are lost. However, some general principles about ritual movement can be established based on patterns in representation of gesture and posture.

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Appendix
Sources for the Daily Ritual and the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors

The Daily Ritual and the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors (often called the Ritual of Amenophis I) are ritual cycles that were performed, probably twice daily, in ancient Egyptian temples to provide for the basic physical needs of deities and ancestors. Most evidence for these ritual cycles comes from southern Egypt and dates to either the New Kingdom or the Ptolemaic Period. This trend follows more general patterns of accidents of preservation, since the best-preserved ancient Egyptian temples are in southern Egypt and date to the New Kingdom and Ptolemaic Period. Sources that are more evenly distributed over space and time, including ritual scenes and fragments lacking text and ritual episodes focusing on the daily care and feeding of the deceased from mortuary contexts, strongly suggest that variations on episodes depicted in Daily Ritual and Ritual of the Royal Ancestor cycles were used more generally both regionally and over time. For example, portions of the Opening of the Mouth ceremony and its antecedents display particularly strong parallels with the Daily Ritual (Blackman 1918–1919:26–53; Cruz-Uribe 1999:69–73).

The ritual cycle Egyptologists refer to as the "Daily Ritual" was called the "Uncovering of the Face" by the ancient Egyptians. The Uncovering of the Face was devoted to physically caring for the divine images housed in the sanctuaries and subsidiary chapels of temples throughout Egypt. Hence, it is often referred to simply as the "toilet". However, the Daily Ritual was, in fact, only one of two major cycles conducted daily in all ancient Egyptian temples. The other major component of daily cult was the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors, which provided the gods with meals (Nelson 1949a:202). In the present study, "daily ritual" designates the totality of ritual conducted daily, as opposed to the capitalized "Daily Ritual", which refers to the specific cycle modern Egyptologists call the Daily Ritual.

Episodes from the toilet appear in Eighteenth Dynasty monuments, including the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri, Thutmose III's temple at Medinet Habu, and portions of Luxor Temple built by Amenhotep III (Osing 1999:321–328). However, there are three main versions of the Daily Ritual cycle dating to the New Kingdom, Third Intermediate Period, and Ptolemaic Period. Each version survives in multiple, though not identical,

copies. In each case, at least one record is intact, or almost so. Yet to call them complete would be problematic. Each version has episodes unique to it. Moreover, episodes clearly associated with the god's toilet, but without clear parallels in the three major cycles, were depicted on temple walls, including the Eighteenth Dynasty material described by Osing.

The oldest of the three major versions of the Daily Ritual was inscribed on the walls of six chapels in the Nineteenth Dynasty Temple of Sety I at Abydos (Figure A.1 and Table A.1). There is considerable debate concerning the order in which the scenes should be read (see Table 2.1). Mariette's record of it (Mariette 1869:34–76) was long ago superseded in the quality of its reproduction by the publication of the epigraphic survey of these rooms (Calverley, Gardiner, *et al.* 1933–1935). Nonetheless, Mariette's side-by-side treatment of the episodes from the six largely parallel chapels is still of value. This material has been translated into German (Roeder 1960:84–141) and partially into English (David 1981:63–71). It is also presented as comparative material in translations of the Twenty-second Dynasty papyrus versions of the ritual cycle.

The version of the Daily Ritual most often used as a paradigm was recorded on two Dynasty Twenty-two papyri, now in the Berlin Museum (Table A.1). Being written on papyrus, they do not provoke the disputes about ordering which mire discussion of versions of the ritual cycle recorded in three-dimensional space (chapter 2). The more complete version, dedicated to Amun, appears on pBerlin 3055 (pAmun). A largely parallel version dedicated to Amun's consort, Mut, appears on pBerlin 3014/3055 (pMut). A facsimile of both hieratic texts has long been available (Berlin, Königlichen Museum 1901). A hieroglyphic transcription and French translation, including comparative material from the Sety Temple and elsewhere, has been available for almost as long (Moret 1902). In the late 1990s, a new German translation of the first part of pAmun, with comparative material from the Temple of Sety I at Abydos, appeared (Guglielmi and Buroh 1997). This cycle still does not have a complete translation into English.

The two main Ptolemaic copies of the Daily Ritual appear in the sanctuaries of the temples of Horus at Edfu (Chassinat 1984–1990:Vol. I, part 1, 12–51) and Hathor at Dendera (Chassinat 1934:1–72, pls. XLVI–LXXd). This material, along with other Ptolemaic versions of the ritual, has been translated into German (Hussy 2007). The Dendera material has also been translated into French (Cauville 1998-2011: vol. 1 pp. 66–71, 74–77. 80–83, 92097, 100–103, 106–109, pls. III–IV). As is usually the case with cycles depicted in three-dimensional space, there is disagreement as to the order in which these cycles should be read. Moreover, these cycles do not occupy the whole of their sanctuaries, and there is disagreement as to which scenes ought to be included as Daily Ritual episodes (eg. compare David 1981:75, Osing 1999:330, and Hussy 2007:173–178). The present study follows the reading of David but notes points of disagreement by Hussy (Table A.2). Other late versions of the Daily Ritual occur in other rooms at Edfu and Dendera (Hussy 2007:169–172 and 181–183) and in both Luxor Temple and Karnak (Osing 1999:330–331).

The Ritual of the Royal Ancestors, which was essentially the gods' meal, has received much less attention than the Daily Ritual. There are two papyrus copies of the ritual, both dating to the reign of Ramesses II of the Nineteenth Dynasty. Because Amenophis I is a prominent recipient on both papyrus versions of the ritual, this cycle is often referred to at the Ritual of Amenophis I. The first published in full was Papyrus Chester Beatty IX (pBM 10689), on which Amenophis I and Ramesses II performed the rites for Amun of Opet. This papyrus belonged to Qen-her-khepeshef, a Nineteenth Dynasty scribe from the workmen's community at Deir-el Medina. The scribe's private collection consists of nineteen papyri, including a broad range of material such as literary texts, hymns, tales, instruction literature, a general magico-medical papyrus, and a treatise on ailments of the anus (McDowell 1999:134–135). A hieratic facsimile, hieroglyphic transcription, and translation into English was done by Sir Alan Gardiner (1935:78–106 and pls. 50–61).

A version of the meal with strong parallels to pBM 10689 appears on the Cairo-Turin Papyrus (pCairo-Turin, or C-T), in which Ramesses II performed the ritual for the deified Amenophis I. The Cairo-Turin Papyrus, as its name suggests, was divided in two; its top half ended up in Cairo and its bottom half in Turin. A hieratic facsimile of the Cairo portion was published by Golénischev (Golénischev 1927:134–156, pls. XXIV–XXVII). Gardiner translated comparative material into English in his publication of pBM 10689. The Turin portion was published by Bacchi (Bacchi 1942), who recognized its relationship to pCairo. A copy of episode 20, the menu, also appears on an ostracon from Deir el-Medina (Cooney and McClain 2005).

Nelson recognized parallels between these papyrus rituals and scenes and texts inscribed on temple walls. He published two abbreviated versions of the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors which occur on the north half of the east wall of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak and in the first court at Medinet Habu (Nelson 1949a). David noted parallels between many episodes in this cycle and scenes in several areas of the Temple of Sety I at Abdyos, particularly the Sety Chapel, the complex of Nefertem-Ptah-Sokar, and the Gallery of the Lists (David 1981:83–118). David also noted that the temples of Edfu, Dendera, Kom Ombo, and Philae all feature ancestor rituals near the side entrance to the temple, which the priests used in performing the meal. According to her, the ritual progressed from the sanctuary to the side door and then out to the service area of the temple (David 1981:85).

In fact, as with the Uncovering of the Face, most temples have scenes depicting the king performing episodes associated with the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors, like offering wine, milk, and bread and elevating trays of offerings. However, a comparative study like that undertaken by Osing for the Daily Ritual material has yet to appear. The Ritual of the Royal

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Ancestors also has strong parallels in mortuary material from much broader geographical and temporal ranges (eg. chapter 6). Again, in this the meal is similar to, yet less studied than, the toilet. The following three tables present the titles of the episodes in selected daily ritual cycles with some parallel material noted.

Table A.1 The Toilet: New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period (Abydos, pAmun, and pMut)

pAmun and pMut	Abydos, based on the Isis chapel

Introductory Heading

ḥ3t-ʿ m r.w n(j)w ḫt-nṯr jrt n pr jmn-rʿ nsw nṯrw m ḫrt ḥrw nt rʿ w nb jn wʿ b aA jmj ḥrw.f (1,1–2)

Beginning of the utterances for the divine rites which are done in the House of Amun-Re, king of the gods, daily by the Great Pure-Priest in his day.

Pre-entry Purification

1. *r n sḫj st3* (1,2–5)
   U. for lighting the fire
2. *r n ṯ3j sḥtpy* (1,5–8)
   U. for taking the censor
3. [*r n*] *w3ḥ 3ʿʿb ḥr sḥtpy* (1,8–2,2)
   U. for placing the brazier on the censor
4. *r n rdjt snṯr ḥr sḏt* (2,2–4; Mut 1,3–5)
   U. for putting incense upon the fire

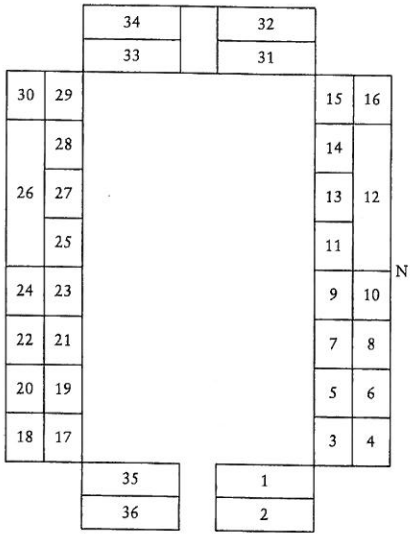


Figure A.1 Daily Ritual Episode numbering for the Temple of Sety I at Abydos, after David 1981:62. For alternative numbering schemes, see Table 2.1.

Entry and Approach

5. *r n nmt r bw ḏsr* (2,4–7; Mut 1,5–2,1)
   U. for advancing to the holy place
6. *ky r* (2,7–3,3; Mut 2,1–6)
   Another U.
7. *r n sḏ j3dt* (3,3–5; Mut 2,6–7; Aby. 3)
   U. for breaking the net
8. *r n sḏ sjnt* (3,5–8; Mut 2,7–10; Aby. 2&3)
   U. for breaking the clay seal
9. *r n sfḫ ḥḏ* (var. *sḏ s*) (3,8–4,2; Mut 2,10–3,5; Aby. 4)
   U. for releasing the chapel (var. drawing back the bolt, see Guglielmi and Buroh 1997:120–121)

1. *r n ʿḳ r wn ḥr m ḫnw n ḥ(w)t ʿ3t ḥnʿ prw nṯrw nty r-gs pr-wr* (U. ‖ pAmun 25)
   U. for entering in order to uncover the face in the interior of the palace and the chapels which are beside the *pr-wr*
2. *r n sḏ sjn* (‖ pAmun 8 and Meal B)
   U. for breaking the clay seal
3. *r n sfḫ ḏbʿwt* (U. ‖ pAmun 7–8)
   U. for releasing the seal
4. *r n sḏ s* (U. ‖ pAmun 9 and Meal C)
   U. for drawing back the bolt
5. *r n* (var. *jrt*) *snṯr n ʿrʿt* (‖ Meal A)
   U. for (var. Doing) incense for the uraeus goddess

pAmun and pMut	Abydos, based on the Isis chapel

Episodes 10–17 are largely parallel to episodes 27–37

10/27. *r n wn-ḥr* (var. *nṯr*) (4,3–6; 11, 1–4; Mut 3,5–10; Aby. 6)
U. for uncovering the face (var. of the god)

6. *r n wn ʿ3wy* (‖ Meal D and U. ‖ pAmun 10/27)
   U. for opening the two doors
7. *r n ʿḳ r sḫm* (T. ‖ pAmun 23)
   U. for entering the *sḫm*
8. *r n m33 nṯr* (‖ pAmun 11/28–12/29)
   U. for seeing the god

11/28. *r n m33 nṯr* (4,6–7; 11,4–5; Mut 3,10–4,1; Aby. 8)
U. for seeing the god

9. *r n ʿḳ r st-wrt* (var. *n pr-wr n nṯr pn*) (U. ‖ pAmun 23)
   U. for entering the *st-wrt* (var. of the *pr-wr* of this god)

Adoration of the God

12/29. *r n sn t3* (4,7–9; 11,5–7; Mut 4,1–4; Aby. 8)
U. for kissing the ground

13/30. *r n rdjt ḥr ḫt* (4,9–5,2; 11,8–10; Mut 4,4–7)
U. for placing oneself upon the belly

14/31. *r n rdjt ḥr ḫt n dwn* (5,2–6; 11,10–13; Mut 4,7–5,1)
U. for placing oneself upon the belly, for stretching out flat

15/32. *r n sn t3 jw ḥr m-ḫr(w)* (5,6–7; 12,1–2; Mut 5,2–4; Aby. 1)
U. for kissing the ground, prone

16/33. *ky* (5,8–9; Mut 5,5–6; 12,2–4; Aby. 10)
Another

17/34. *ky* (6,1–3; 12,4–7; Mut 5,7–10; Aby. 10)
Another

10. *r n sn t3 rdjt ḥr ḫt r sn t3 m ḏbʿw.f* (U. ‖ pAmun 15/32–17/34)
    U. for kissing the ground, placing oneself upon the belly to touch the ground with one's fingers

18. *r n dw3 jmn* (6,3–6)
    U. for adoring Amun
19. *ky dw3 jmn* (6,6–7,1)
    Another adoring Amun

For Festivals

20. *r n sty ḥb m bjt* (7,2–9; Mut 6,1–2, frag.)
    U. for festival perfume with honey
21. *r n snṯr* (7,9–8,5; Mut 6,3–8, frag.)
    U. for incense

(*continued*)

Table A.1 (continued)

pAmun and pMut	Abydos, based on the Isis chapel
Reentry	
22. *r n ʿḳ r ḥ(w)t* (8,5–9,6; Mut 6,9–7,3, frag.) U. for entering the temple	
23. *r n ʿḳ r sḫm n nṯr* (9,6–8; Aby. 9) U. for entering the shrine of the god	The title is largely parallel to Aby. 7; the u. is largely parallel to Aby. 9.
24. *ky r* (9,8–10,1; Mut 7,3–5, frag.) Another U.	
25. *r n pr r ḫnd* (10,1–10,6; Mut 7, 9–7,7, frag. 1; Aby. 1) U. for mounting the stairway	U. is largely parallel to Abydos Episode 1, despite the different title; see chapter 3.
26. *r n wn ḥr ḥb w* (10,6–11,1) U. for uncovering the face at festivals	
27–34. Repetition of the adorations in pAmun 10–17	
35. *r n snṯr* (12,8–11) U. for incense	
36. *ky* (12,11–13,9) Another	
37. *dwꜣ jmn* (13,9–16,1) Adoration of Amun	
38. *ky* (16,1–17,1) Another U.	
39. *ky* (17,1–18,1) Another U.	
Adorations	
40. *ky dwꜣ jmn* (18,1–19,3) Another adoration of Amun	
41. *ky dwꜣ jmn ḥr dwꜣ* (19,3–20,2) Another adoration of Amun at dawn	
42. *r n ḫnḳ mꜣʿt* (20,2–25,6) U. for presenting *Maat*	
Purification and Preparation of the God	
	11. *r n ḏf(ꜣ)w pr-wr* U. for provisioning the *pr-wr*
43. *r n snṯr n n psḏt* (25,6–26,1; Mut 20,3–21,3) U. for incense to the Ennead	12. *jrt snṯr* [*ḫft wn*] *ḥr m sḥtpy* Offering incense while uncovering the face with a censor. (Mariette 26)
	13. *r n rdjt ʿwy ḥr nṯr* (‖ pAmun 44) U. for laying hands upon the god
44. *r n rdjt ʿwy.f ḥr nṯr* (26,2–7; Mut 21,2–22,2; Aby. 13) U. for laying his hands upon the god	14. *r n sfḫt mḏt* (U. ‖ pAmun 54) U. for wiping off ointment

pAmun and pMut	Abydos, based on the Isis chapel
	15. *r n sfḫt mnḫt* U. for taking off the clothing
	16. *dwꜣ nṯr sp 4* [*jrt snṯr*] *ḫft ʿḳ r stp-sꜣ* Adoring the god four times, offering incense when entering the palace
45. *r n ʿwy.j ḥr ḥn r jrt ʿbw* (26,7–10; Mut 22,3–6) U. for laying my hands upon the box in order to perform purification	
46. *r n ʿbw 4 tn nmst nt mw* (26, 10–27,3; Mut 22,3–6; Aby. 24) U. for purification with four *nmst*-vessels of water	
47. *jrt ʿbw m 4 tn ḏšrt nt mw* (27, 4–7; Aby. 24) U. for purification with four *ḏšrt*-vessels of water	
48. *jrt ʿbw m snṯr* (27,7–10; Aby. 24) Making purification with incense	
Clothing	***(and Purification)***
49. *r n mnḫ (t) ḥḏ(t)* (27,10–28,7; Aby. 17) U. for the white cloth	17. [*r n*] *rdjt* (var. *ḏbꜣ*) *mnḫt ḥḏt* (U. ‖ pAmun 49–50) U. for putting on the white cloth
50. *r n ḏbꜣ mnḫt* (28,7–29,2; Mut 23, 1–6; Aby. 17) U. for putting on the cloth	18. *jrt ʿbw m 4 ṯꜣw n bd* (U. ‖ pAmun 60) Making purification with four pellets of *bd*-natron
51. *r n ḏbꜣ mnḫt wꜣd (t)* (29,2–5; Mut 23,6–24,2; Aby. 19) U. for putting on the green cloth	19. *r n* (*ḏbꜣ*) *mnḫt wꜣd t* (‖ pAmun 51) U. for putting on the green cloth
	20. *jrt ʿbw m 4 ṯꜣw n šmʿwy nw nḫb* (‖ pAmun 60 and 62) Making purification with four pellets of Upper Egyptian natron of el-Kab
52. *r n ḏbꜣ mnḫt jnsy* (29,5–30,3; Mut 24,2–25,4; Aby. 21) U. for putting on the red cloth	21. *r n ḏbꜣt mnḫt jnsy* (‖ pAmun 52) U. for putting on the red cloth
53. *r n ḏbꜣ mnḫt jdmj* (30,3–8; Mut 25,4–26,3; Aby. 33) U. for putting on the dark red cloth	22. *jrt ʿbw m 4 ṯꜣw mḥwy nw šrpt* (‖ pAmun 59 and 63) Making purification with four pellets of Lower Egyptian natron of Wadi el-Natrun
Insignia	
	23. *r n ṯs* (var. *rdjt*) *wsḫ* (*ḥdr*) (‖ see chapter 4) U. for joining (var. giving) the broad collar (and pectoral)
Aby. 24 has parallels to pAmun 46–48, 60, and 64	24. *jrt ʿbw m iʿb n ḳbḥ* (*n*) *mw m 4 ṯꜣw n snṯr* (‖ pAmun 46–48, 60, and 64) Making purification with an *jʿb*-vessel of water, with four pellets of incense

(continued)

Table A.1 (*continued*)

pAmun and pMut	Abydos, based on the Isis chapel
	25. *r n rdjt sšpt mᶜnḫt* U. for giving the *sšpt* and counterpoise
	26. *jrt ᶜbw m snṯr ḥr sḏt pḥr ḥ3 sp 4* Making purification upong the fire with incense, encircling four times
	27. *r n smnt* (*var. ḳ3*) *šwty m tp* [U. for] fixing the Two Plumes upon the head
	28. [*r n*] *rdjt w3s ḥḳ3 nḫ3ḫ3* (*jrj*) *ᶜwy* (*jrj*) *rdwy* U. for giving the *w3s*-sceptre, crook, flail, bracelets, and anklets [lit. that which pertains to the arms (dual) that which pertains to the feet (dual)]
Ointment	
54. *r n ḥnk mḏt* (30,8–33,1; Mut 26,3–28,3; Aby. 29 and 14) U. for presenting ointment [at festivals]	29. *r n ḥnk mḏt* (*rdjt mḏt*) (‖ pAmun 54) U. for presenting ointment
55. *r n ḥnk mḏt jmnyt* (33,1–5; Mut 28,3–5; Aby. 29) U. for presenting the ointment of daily offering	
56. *r n ḥnk w3ḏ* (33,5–6; Mut 28,5–6) U. for presenting green eye-paint	
57. *r n ḥnk msdm* (33,6–7; Mut 28,6–7) U. for presenting black eye-paint	
Closing Rites and Exit	
58. *r n wšš3 šᶜy* (33,7–34,2; Mut 28, 7–29,2; Aby. 30) U. for scattering sand	30. *r n wšš3 šᶜy* (‖ pAmun 58) U. for scattering sand
	31. *r n smᶜr ḥᶜw m nms* U. for adorning the body with a *nms*-cloth
	32. [*dw3*] *nṯrt sp 4* Adoring the goddess four times
	33. *r n ḥbs m mnḫt ᶜ3t* (*ḥr s3 nn*) U. for putting on the great cloth after these (U. ‖ pAmun 53)
59. *r n smn pḥr ḥ3 sp 4* (34,2–6; Mut 29,2–4; Aby. 22) U. for *smn*-perfume, encircling four times	34. *jrt ᶜbw m snṯr ḥr sḏt pḥr ḥ3 sp 4* Making purification upong the fire with incense, encircling four times
60. *r n ḥn*(*t*) *bd* (34,6–35,1; Mut 29,4–6; Aby, 18, 20, 24) U. for a *ḥnt*-cup of natron	

pAmun and pMut	Abydos, based on the Isis chapel
61. *r n ḥn*(*t*) *snṯr* (35,1–6; Mut 29,6–30,1; Aby. 36) U. for a *ḥnt*-cup of incense	
	35. *r n jn rd m ḥdn* U. for removing the footprint with the brush of the *ḥdn*-plant
Post-Exit Purification	
62. *jrt ᶜbw* (35,6–8; Mut 30,2–3; Aby. 20) Making purification	
63. *r n smn* (36,1–2; Mut 30,3–4; Aby. 22) U. for *smn*-perfume	
64. *r n ḥn*(*t*) *n mw* (36,2–4; Mut 30,5–6; Aby. 24) U. for a *ḥnṯ*-cup of water	
65. *r n snṯr* (36,4–37,3; Mut 30,6–7; Aby. 36) U. for incense	36. *jrt ᶜbw m snṯr ḥr sḏt* (var. adds: *pḥr ḥ3 sp 4*) (‖ pAmun 61 and 65) Making purification upon the fire with incense encircling four times
66. *r n s3m ᶜntyw* (37,3–8) U. for burning myrrh	

Table A.2 The Toilet: Ptolemaic Period
*numbering after David 1981:75, * with alternative readings from Hussy 2007 noted*

Edfu	*Dendera*

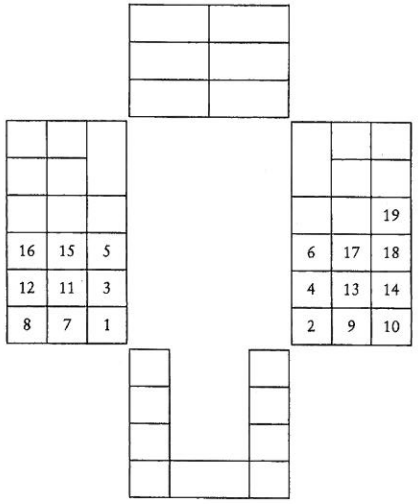


Figure A.2 Edfu: Daily Ritual numbering

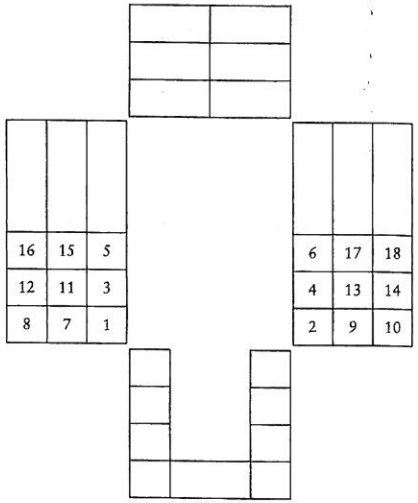


Figure A.3 Dendera: Daily Ritual numbering

Entry

1. *pr r rwt*
   Going forth through the entrance (Hussy 3**)
1. *pr r ḫndw*
   Going forth to the throne/staircase (Hussy 1)

Opening the Shrine

2. *sṯȝ jdr*
   Loosening the thread (Hussy 4)
3. *sfḫ ḏbᶜ*
   Unfastening the seal (Hussy 5)
4. *wn ḥr ḥr nṯr*
   Uncovering the face of the god (Hussy 6)
5. *mȝȝ nṯr*
   Seeing the god (Hussy 7)

2. *sṯȝ jdr*
   Loosening the thread (Hussy 2)
3. *sfḫ ḏbᶜ*
   Unfastening the seal (Hussy 3)
4. *wn ḥr ḥr nṯr*
   Uncovering the face upon the god (Hussy 4)
5. *mȝȝ nṯr*
   Seeing the god (Hussy 5)

Adoration of the God

6. *dwȝ nṯr sp 4*
   Adoring the god four times (Hussy 8)
6. *dwȝ nṯr*
   Adoring the god (Hussy 6)

*Note that David numbered the top two registers of her Dendera diagram incorrectly.

** Hussy included the scenes in the first two registers on the door jambs as Episodes 1 and 2 of the Edfu cycle.

Edfu	*Dendera*
Purification and Preparation of the God	
7. *šms ᶜntyw* Presenting myrrh (Hussy 15)	7. *ḫnk mḏ* Offering ointment (Hussy 11)
8. *swᶜb m 4 nmst nt mw* Purifying with four *nmst*-vessels of water (Hussy 9)	8. *swᶜb m nmst 4* Purifying with four *nmst*-vessels of water (Hussy 7)
Clothing and Purification	
9. *ḏbȝ mnḫt ḥḏt* Putting on the white cloth (Hussy 16)	9. *ḫnk mnḫt* Offering a cloth (Hussy 12)
10. *swᶜb m 4 dšrt nt mw* Purifying with four *dšrt*-vessels of water (Hussy 10)	10. *swᶜb m dšrt 4* Purifying with four *dšrt*-vessels (Hussy 8)
11. *ḏbȝ mnḫt jrtyw* Putting on the blue cloth (Hussy 18)	11. *ḫnk wnšb* Offering the *wnšb*-cloth (no Hussy number)
12. *pḫr ḥȝ sp 4 m 5 ṯȝw mḥw nw šrp* Encircling four times with five pellets of Lower Egyptian natron of Wadi el-Natrun (Hussy 11)	12. *jrtᶜbw m 5 ṯȝw šmᶜn nḫb* Making purification with five pellets of Upper Egypt (Hussy 9)
13. *ḏbȝ mnḫt ḥḏt (wȝḏtʔ)* Putting on the white cloth (green?) (Hussy 17)	13. *ḫnk wȝḏt* Offering the green cloth (no Hussy number)
14. *pḫr ḥȝ sp 4 m 5 ṯȝw šmᶜ nw nḫb* Encircling four times with five pellets of Upper Egyptian natron of el-Kab (Hussy 12)	14. *jrt ᶜbw m 5 ṯȝw mḥw m šrp. . .* Making purification with five pellets of Lower Egypt . . . (Hussy 10)
15. *ḏbȝ mnḫt jdmj* Putting on the dark red cloth (Hussy 19)	
16. *pḫr ḥȝ sp 4 m 5 ṯȝw nw bd* Encircling four times with five pellets of *bd*-natron (Hussy 13)	
Ointment	***Insignia***
17. *ḫnk mḏ n jt.f* Presenting ointment to his father (Hussy 20) (Also see Dendera Episode 7; David believed that the placement of that episode was a mistake)	15. *jrt sššt* Offering the counterpoise (no Hussy number)
	16. *ḫnk mnjt* Presenting the *menit* (no Hussy number)
	17. *ḫnk wn.ḥr wy* Presenting the *wn.ḥr wy* (no Hussy number)
	18. *ḫnk wsḫ* Presenting the broad collar (no Hussy number)

Table A.2 (*continued*)

Edfu	*Dendera*
Closing Rites and Exit	
18. *pḥr ḥ3 sp 4 m 5 t3w nw snṯr* Encircling four times with five pellets of incense (Hussy 14)	
Postexit Purification	
19. *pḥr ḥ3 sp 4 m snṯr ḥr sḏt* Encircling four times with incense upon the fire (no Hussy number)	

Table A.3 The Meal

	C-T	B	K	MH
numbering after Nelson 1949a			(pls. Nelson 1981)	
Entry Episodes				
A. *no title preserved* (U. ‖ Abydos 5, *r n snṯr n ʿrʿt*) [U. for incense to the uraeus goddess]				1
B. *r n sḏ sjn* (‖ pAmun 8 and Abydos 2) U. for breaking the seal			B (pl. 227, right)	2
C. *r n* [*sṯ3 s*] (‖ Abydos 4) U. for drawing back the bolt			C (pl. 227, center)	3
D. *r n* [*wn ʿ3wy*] (U. ‖ pAmun 10/27 and Abydos 6) U. for opening the door			D (pl. 227, left)	
E. *no title preserved*				4
Presentation of Roast-Meat Offering				
#. *r n jʿ ḫ3wt* (Calverley, Gardiner, et al. 1938:pl. 34) U. for Washing the Brazier				
1. *r n* […] *n k3.f* U. for […] for his k3-spirit	T 12,2–3			
2. *r n* [*w3ḥ*] *ʿḥ n k3.f* U. for [setting up] the fire-altar for his *k3*-spirit	T 12,3–4			
3. *r n rdjt snṯr ḥr ḫt* U. for putting incense upon the fire	T 12,4–5		1 (pl. 230)	
4. *r n w3ḥ ʿd ḥr ḫt* U. for placing fat upon the fire	T 12,5–7		1 (pl. 230)	
5. *r n jwf ḥr ḫt* U. for meat upon the altar	T 12,7–8			
6. *r n mʿḳ3* U. for the spit	T 12,8–9			

	C-T	B	K	MH
7. *r n ḫn tn* U. for the fan	T 12,9–10			
8. *r n ḳbḥ m ḥḳt* (var. K, *r n ḫn*[*w*]*m ḥnḳt*) U. for libation with beer	T 12,10–11		2 (pl. 229)	
Presentation of Food Offerings				
9. *r n sḳr t ḥḏ.t* U. for 'striking' the white bread	T 12,11–12 T 12,12–15			
10. *r n ḥnk m spt-3ḥ* U. for presenting with *spt-3ḥ*-cake	T 12,15–C 2,2			
11. *r n ḥnk m ḥnḳt* U. for presenting beer	C 2,2–T 13,1			
12. *r n ḥnk m jrp* U. for presenting with wine	T 13,1–5		3 (pl. 226)	
13. [*r*] *n* [*bʿḥ*] *m jrt.t* [*ḥḏ.t*] [U.] for [inundating?] with [white] milk	T 13,6–11			
14. *r n swʿb ḥtpw-nṯr m ḳbḥ snṯr* U. for purifying the divine offerings with libation and incense				
The God's Daily Meal				
15. *r n ḳbḥ tpy* U. for the First Libation	T 13,11–C 3,2			
16. *r n ḳbḥ snnwt* U. for the Second Libation	C 3,2–6			5
17. *r n jnḏ ḥr m nmst* U. for greetings with a *nmst*-vessel	C 3,6–9			6
18. *jrt snṯr* Doing incense	C 3,9–T 14,4			7
19. *r n sk3p mʿntyw jnw špsy ḥ(w)t-ʿ3* U. for causing fumigation with myrrh in the noble interior of the great mansion	T 14,4–13			8
20.–21. *jrt dbḥt-ḥtp n ḥrw nb* Doing the 'menu' of every day	T 14,13–C4–T15,11	Recto		
21. *jrt ḥtp-dj-nsw* Making a boon which the king grants	T15,11–C 5,6	1,1–6		
22.–23. *r n ṯs ḫt ḥr ḫ3wt nswt* U. for arranging offerings upon the royal altar	C 5,6–T 16,8	1,6–2,5		
23. reconstructed by Gardiner Giving libations	T 16,8–13	2,5–9		
24. *r n rdjt ʿntjw ḥr ḫt* U. for putting myrrh upon the fire	T 16,13–C 6,2	2,9–12		
25. *r n jn nṯr r šbw.f* U. for bringing the god to his meal	C 6,2–T 17,1	2,13–3,7		9

(*continued*)

Table A.3 (continued)

	C-T	B	K	MH
Rites for the Conclusion of the Daily Service				
26. *ḏd mdw jn ḥry-ḥbt jn ꜥnḫ ḥr nṯr* To be recited by the lector priest; bringing life to the god	T 17,2–6	3,7–11		10
27. *dd [md]w jn ḥm-nṯr jn jb n nṯr* (var. T, *nsw ḏsr-kꜣ-rꜥ*) *n.f* To be recited by the *ḥm-nṯr* priest; bringing the heart of the god (var. T, King Djeserkare) to him.	T 17,8–C 7,2	3,11–4,7		
28. *ḏd mdw jn ḥry-ḥbt* To be recited by the lector-priest	C 7,2–10	4,7–12		
29. *[...m]-nḫt ꜥšj jnḏ ḥr.k r m[...] j st ḥr.tw ḥm-nṯr m jnw* ...after calling out 'Hail to you" [...] while, as they say the *ḥm-nṯr*-priest is within	C 7,10–T 18,12	4,12–5,8		
ḏd mdw jn ḥm-nṯr Words spoken by the *ḥm-nṯr* priest	T 18,2	5,1		
30. *r n jn rdwy m hdn* U. for removing the footprints with the brush of the *hdn*-plant	T 18,12–13	5,8–9	4 (pl. 210)	10
31. *rn smn ꜥꜣ* U. for fastening the door	T 18,13–14	5,9–10		10
Heliopolitan Rites (?)	T 18,14–C 8,8	5,10–6,3		
32. *r n ḳbḥ n rꜥ* U. for libation to Re	C 8,7–T 19,8	5,10–6,3		
33. *r n snṯr n rꜥ* U. for incense to Re				
34. *jrt ḥr ḫꜣwt nswt* What is done upon the altar of the kings ##. *r n ḏd ḥꜣw-ḫt* U. for making the special offerings endure	T 19,8–11 T 19,12	6,10–12	5 (pl. 218, right)	
35. *r n ꜥḳ r wḏb-jḫwt* U. for entering for the revesion of offerings	T 19,12–16	6,13–7,2	6 (pl. 218, center)	
36. *r n ḳbḥ tpy nty r ḥꜣt jrt snṯr* (var. K., [r] *n jrt ḳbḥ [m]-nḫt wḏb-jhwt*) U. for the first libation which is before the making of incense (var. K., [U.] for libation after the reversion of offerings)	C 9,1–5	7,2–5	11 7 (pl. 218, left) 8 (pl. 217)	
37. *[r n jrt snṯr m-nḫt] wdb-jḫwt* [U. for making incense after] the reversion of offerings				

	C-T	B	K	MH
38. *r n srwḏ tkꜣ hrw nb* (var. K. *jrt tkꜣ hrw nb*) U. for causing the torch to flourish every day (var. K., making the torch of every day)	C 9,5–T 20,9	7,5–8,1	9 (pl. 216)	
39. *r n ꜥḫm f* U. for extinguishing it [i.e. the torch]	T 20,9–12	8,1–3 8, 3–21	10 (pl. 203) 11 (pl. 202)	
40. *r n srwd ḥtp-nṯr ḏd mdw* U. for making the divine offerings endure. Words to be spoken.	T20,12–C 10–T 21,3			
The Evening Hymn				
41. *r n ḥs jdbwy ḏdt ḥr rwhꜣ ḏd mdw* U. of praise for the Two Regions, what is said in the evening. Words to be spoken.	T 21,3–C 11,2	8,22–9,7		
Festival of Amun				
42. *dbḥ-ḥtp n ḥb jmn-rꜥ nb jpt jmn-rꜥ nb nstj tꜣwy* (var. C, *nsw ḏsr-kꜣ-rꜥ*) 'Menu' for the Festival of Amun-Ra, Lord of Opet; Amun-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands (var. C, King Djeserkare)	C 11,3–T 22–C 12–T 23,9, 7–11,14		12 (pl. 207)	
43. *ḏd mdw jn ḥry-ḥbt nty ḥr njst* (var. T *m pr pn*) To be said by the lector-priest who is reciting (T adds "in this house")	T 23,6–8	12,1–3		
44. *fꜣ ḫt jn ḥr-ḥb nṯr pn r ḥft-ḥr.f fꜣ ḫt* (var. K., *r n fꜣj ḫt*) Elevation of offerings, by the lector priest of this temple (var. K, U. for the elevation of offerings)	T 23,8–C 13–T 24,12	12,3–13, 1	20 (pl. 204)	
The Morning Hymns				
45. *ḏdt m ḥs jdbwy n jmn ḥr tr n dwꜣ* (B) *ḏd mdw m ḥs jdbwy n jmn-rꜥ nsw nṯrw ḥr tr n dwꜣ* (T) What is said as praise the Two Regions to Amun (var. T, Amun-Re, king of the gods) in the morning.	T 24,12–C 14–T 25,2	13,1–11		
46. *ḏdt n nṯr pn m hꜣhꜣ* What is said to this god in acclamation	T 25,2–11 (End of C-T)	13,11–14,3		
47. *ḏdt n nṯr pn ḥr-sꜣ tꜣ ḥ(w)t 2* What is said to this god after the two stanzas		14,3–8		
The First- and Sixth Day Festivals				
48. *[r n ms ꜥnḫ] n hrw n psḏntyw* [U. for presenting the bouquet] of the Blacked out Moon Festival			13 (pl. 228)	

Table A.3 (Continued)

	C-T	B	K	MH
49. *ms ꜥnḫ n hrw n sjsnw* Presenting the bouquet of the Sixth Day Festival		14,8–11	14 (pl. 206, bottom)	
50. *dbḥ-ḥtp n sjsnw* 'Menu' for the Sixth Day Festival		14,11–16,11		
The New Year Festival				
51. [*ḏdt dw*]*ȝt wpt-rnpt* What is said on the New Year Morning		16,11–17,11		
52. [*r*] *n tkȝ n wpt-rnpt* U. for the torch of the New Year		17,11–Ver. 1	15 (pl. 212)	
53. *rwd tkȝ pn* This torch endures		1,2–7	16 (pl. 211)	
54. *r n hfȝt pr* U. for illuminating the house		1, 7–12	17 (pl. 220)	
55. *jnḏ ḥr nmst n wpt-rnpt* Salutation with the *nmst*-jar for the New Year Festival			18 (pl. 219)	
Festival of Mut				
56. *ḏd mdw mwt sp 4,dpt.s* Words spoken; Mut, four times, her boat		1, 12–2,9		
57. *r n jrt snṯr n mwt* (K) U. for incense to Mut		2,9–3,3	19 (pl. 205, right)	

Abbreviations

ÄA	Ägyptologische Abhandlungen
ASAE	*Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Egypte*
AV	Archäologische Veröffentilichungen
BdÉ	Bibliothèque d'Étude
BIFAO	*Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale*
BSÉG	*Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie Genève*
CT	A. de Buck, 1935–2006. *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*. 8 vols. OIP 34, 49, 64, 67, 73, 81, 87, 132. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
ERA	Egyptian Research Account
GM	*Göttinger Miszellen*
JARCE	*Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
LdÄ	*Lexikon der Ägyptologie*
MÄS	Münchner Ägyptologische Studien
MDAIK	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
PdÄ	Probleme der Ägyptologie
RdÉ	*Revue d'ÉgyptologieSAK Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur*
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations
Wb.	A. Erman and H. Grapow, eds.,. *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*. 6 vols. Berlin and Leipzig, 1st ed.: 1926–1931; 2nd ed.: 1955.
YES	Yale Egyptological Studies
ZÄS	*Zeitschrift für ägyptische sprache und altertumskunde*

Notes

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1. Throughout this book, dates and the spelling of royal names are after Hornung, Krauss, and Warburton 2006.
2. For an overview of the history of scholarship in this area, see O'Connor and Silverman 1995 XXIII.
3. eg. Wepwawet and Min on some Middle Kingdom stelae from Abydos (Simpson 1974:pls. 25, 28, 65, 67, 71, 79–82); for a comprehensive overview of this material see Malaise 1981 and 1984.
4. Baines and Frood define personal piety as ". . . the sense of selection and active involvement between a deity and a human being or king" (2011:3–4, n. 17). Assmann views it as a "theology of will" (1989:75–78).

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1. For circumstances in which black ink is used amidst red text and the reverse see Posener 1949:77–81; 1951:75–80.
2. Note exceptions in several Horus scenes, in which the utterances were inscribed between the king and the deity; see chapter 5.

NOTE TO CHAPTER 3

1. For an alternative view—that these rites were performed in quick succession—and more detailed discussion of the motions in question, see Hussy 2007:18–20.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

1. The text breaks off after "face" in the version in the chapels of Horus and Re-Horakhte.
2. According to Loprieno, "The root *psḏ* is probably tied to the semantic realm of the 'new'. . . " (1995:255 n. 103). Thus, *psḏtntyw* is often translated literally as "New Moon". However, this term has different meanings in English, which do not correspond to the phase of the moon to which the ancient Egyptians were referring when they used the term *psḏtntyw*. As summarized by Depuydt: "As translation of *pḏtntyw* [illegible]

'New moon' is not suitable. The term has two meanings. Astronomical new moon, or conjunction, occurs when sun, moon, and earth, in that order, position themselves on a single line (strictly, in a single plane). Since astronomical new moon cannot be observed, a phenomenon happening about the same time must mark the beginning of the month. One such phenomenon is the first appearance of the new crescent in the evening in the western horizon. This is the second meaning of new moon. But the second meaning is not suitable as a translation of, *psḏtntyw* involves the disappearance of the *old* moon" (1998:73). Thus, a literal translation of this term is misleading, confusing, and inappropriate.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

1. For more generalized discussion of the relationship between myth and ritual, see chapter 2.
2. The *wsḫ*-collar appears as Episode 23 in David's reconstruction of the Daily Ritual in the chapels at Abydos (David 1981:69). Although this episode has received different numbers in various reconstructions of the ritual, none placed it towards the beginning of the cycle. Alliot placed it the earliest, as Episode 14 in his ordering (Table 2.1).
3. "hill" (*ḳȝȝ*) is written with the staircase (O 40); thus, the word is often translated "stairway" (David 1981:49 and 68; "l'escalier", Moret 1902:243). However, both the *Wb.* and Faulkner cite this as a common variant without choosing to list "staircase" as an alternative translation ("Hügel u.ä." *Wb.* V, 5, 3–6; "hill, high ground", Faulkner 1986:275).
4. V 30 (*nb*) appears in place of the second person singular pronoun, V 31 ( *k*), throughout this utterance. The second person pronoun, *k*, appears in parallel versions (eg. Calverley, Gardiner, *et al.* 1933:pl. 13). The replacement of V 31 with V 30 occurs elsewhere in the Horus cycle (Scene 12; eg. see note 5). Whether this glyph was to be read "you" or "lord", the subject is still singular.
5. As in note 4 (Horus Scene 1), and elsewhere in this cycle, the use of the word "lord" ( *nb*) appears in place of the regular second person singular pronoun ( *k*) throughout this utterance.
6. At the end of line 3, "come" may have been left out for space reasons; David 1981:46.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 6

1. Lichtheim translated *kf3ḥr sšt3* as "[observe]", but noted "reveal the mysteries" (Lichtheim 1975:107, n.8). Gardiner translated: "be discrete concerning the mysteries" (Gardiner 1914:27, §15, 64–65). Somewhat later, mortuary literature indicates that there were certain mysteries revealed on monthly festival days, for example *CT* 154 = *BD* 115.
2. For a summary of annals discovered in the 1990s and the early 2000, see Baines 2008.
3. *Jtj*; *PT* 373; *PT* 721(= *CT* 516); *PT* 422; *PT* 374+*CT* 516; *PT* 424; *PT* 366–369; *PT* 423; *PT* 370–372; *PT* 332+722; *PT* 468; *PT* 412; *PT* 723 (= *CT* 519); *PT* 690; *PT* 674; *PT* 675–676; *PT* 477 (= *CT* 837); *CT* 838–839.

4. James Allen translates "first-of-the-month festivals" (2006:84). However, many believe that Blacked-out Moon Day (*psḏntyw*) was the first day of the ancient Egyptian month and that the monthly festival (lit. "Head of the Month", *tp 3bd* often translated New Crescent Day) was the second day of the month. The fact that the half-month festival is also qualified with *tp* indicates that the term does not designate the first day of the month, but only the beginning of a phase of the moon.
5. For simplicity, the name "Min" is used in generalized discussion, with the understanding that both forms of the ithyphallic deity are included.
6. eg. Ramesses III Festival Court at Medinet Habu; Eighteenth Dynasty temple at Medinet Habu (tp. Thutmose III, recarved in the Ptolemaic Period); Luxor Temple room VIII; Great Hypostyle Hall, Karnak; Temple of Khonsu tp. Herihor (where the king walks behind, but does not appear to prop up the figure); Epigraphic Survey 1940:pls. 201, 210B–D (and 2009:XXIX, esp. n. 26 and fig. 2.), 211, 212, 216. Min would also be carried by a single priest, inside the temple–eg. Ramesses III room 46 at Medinet Habu and at the White Chapel of Sesostris I, Karnak; Epigraphic Survey 1940:pls.209, 210A.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 7

1. *ḳbḥ* is often translated "cool water". However, during the Nineteenth Dynasty, it seems to simply mean "libation". Rarely, the word is followed by a specification of the type of liquid—wine (on the north wall of the south chapel at Abu Simbel), beer (Meal 8), and water (Abydos 24) all appear.
2. White bread is depicted round topped in this area of Luxor Temple, like *šꜥt*-cakes. Fortunately, all of these scenes have titles. Protective presentation always appears with white bread (pls. 86, 97, 144, and 147) in the title, and paired presentation always appears with *šꜥt*-cakes (pls. 81 and 105) in the title; Brunner 1977.
3. Kneeling royal figures are associated with the reigns of Amenhotep III through Sety I, and the sphinx was introduced by Ramesses II (Lurson 2007:135). He cited an exception, in which Ramesses II holds ointment while kneeling. Figure 7.4presents other figures of kneeling kings holding ointment jars dating from the time of Ramesses II. The First Hypostyle Hall of Sety I's Abydos temple is believed to have been laid out and carved in raised relief under Sety I and then converted to sunk relief by Ramesses II (Brand 2000). Thus, this may not be characteristic of Ramesses II's designs.
4. For more on the rendering of empty hands held by a person's side, see Schäfer 1974:297–298.
5. This object appears in the unclassified section of Gardiner's hieroglyphic sign list (Gardiner 1957: sign-list Aa5). It appears to have something to do with the steering of boats. Allen simply identified it as "part of a boat" (Allen 2000: sign-list Aa5).

NOTES TO CHAPTER 8

1. In his study of the temples of Ramesses II at Derr and Wadi es-Seboua, Lurson noted a dramatic reduction ("*drastique réduction*") in the number of ritual acts depicted after year two of Ramesses II (2007:169).

2. The offering scenes associated with utterances parallel to that in the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors episode for presenting wine on the Cairo-Turin papyrus is illustrated with a libation scene (Abydos); the Karnak version's royal figure was cut out to make room for a door.
3. This scene is almost totally lost in Ptah's chapel. However, a few fragments of text suggest that this episode appeared there as well.
4. *ps*, *pzn*, *snw*, *t*, and *t-wr* breads are all represented. Bread was also presented in combination with beer. There is variety in both the verbs (*sḳr* is not among them) and gestures employed. Beinlich 2008:61–63, see also his section on "Gebäcke und brot" p. 132. Striking the white bread appears thirty-four times; Beinlich has it as a category in its own right (pp. 528–530).
5. Nonetheless, no scenes of offering onions occur in Sokar's complex in the Temple of Sety I at Abydos, so there is also considerable reason to doubt that such would be the case.

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