

THE HEB SED FESTIVAL SEQUENCE AND pBROOKLYN 47.218.50.

Jean Daniel DEGREEF

PREVIOUS STUDIES.

The Heb Sed was a regeneration festival, celebrated after the king had reigned for thirty years (with exceptions and repeats) ¹. The meaning of its individual ceremonies is difficult to ascertain, as even their sequence has never been established with certainty. The earliest attempt was that by E. NAVILLE (1892) in his publication of the Osorkon II (22^d dynasty) gateway in the temple of Bastet at Bubastis. His reading, mostly per wall segment, was followed by E. UPHILL (1965). BISSING & KEES ² read the Jubilee scenes from the Sun Temple of Niuserre at Abu Ghurob (5th dynasty) from the top down, ending with the palanquin processions. Their reading was adopted by later authors ³, wrongly, as it now appears : the recently published reliefs in the temple of Amenhotep III at Soleb ⁴ feature numbered registers, so that one has no choice but to start with the palanquin scenes at the base.

THE BROOKLYN PAPYRUS 47.218.50 AS AN EXTRANEOUS SOURCE.

Papyrus 47.218.50 of the Brooklyn Museum (Jean-Claude GOYON, 1972), provides the ceremonial sequence of a Ptolemaic New Year festival for the king. Even at first glance there are striking parallels with scenes known from the Heb Sed ⁵. The Brooklyn papyrus 47.218.50 thus constitutes an intact and independent source allowing a reconstruction of the Heb Sed ceremonial sequence.

THE HEB SED RITUAL SEQUENCE RECONSTRUCTED FROM pBROOKLYN 47.218.50.

1. Purification and dressing of the king in the p *dw3.t* ⁶ : at Soleb badly damaged scenes mention a "House of Clothes" (p *ḥbs.w*). A domed purification building is represented as well ⁷.

1 See HORNUNG & STAEHELIN, 1974, *passim* ; 2006, pp. 9-12.

2 in BISSING II, 1923, pp. 8-15. The authors were unlucky. Osorkon II's palanquin procession is a final ritual, but not of the Heb Sed, only of the first day. The upper register at Abu Ghurob has a foundation ceremony, giving the (wrong) impression of a festival beginning.

3 W. KAISER, 1971 ; E. HORNUNG & E. STAEHELIN, 1974 and 2006 ; W. BARTA, 1978 ; J. GOHARY, 1992 ; Ch. SAMBIN & J.-F. CARLOTTI, 1995.

4 M. SCHIFF GIORGINI † / N. BEAUX, 1998 & 2002.

5 The text explicitly refers to the Heb Sed (GOYON, 1972, pp. 56, 59). Moreover, the king wears the "Heb Sed cloak" at the New Year (Mentuhotep II and III near the Nile flood celebration site Silsileh, PETRIE, 1888, pls. XIV, 359 & XV, 443 ; Thutmosis I at Deir el-Bahari, NAVILLE, 1895, pl. LXI). The Edfu New Year is the "Heb Sed of Horus" (ALLIOT I, 1949, p. 432). Yet in Soleb the Jubilee started on I.II.Šmw (SCHIFF GIORGINI V, pl. 97), maybe somewhat early for it to have lasted until the New Year, even with at least 14 performances (cf. *zp 14-nw, ibidem*, pl. 131) ?

6 pBrooklyn 47.218.50, I, 1-7, GOYON, 1972, pp. 19, 53-54.

7 SCHIFF GIORGINI III, pp. 254-257 ; V, pls. 76-77, 79-81.

2. Palanquin procession ⁸ : the palanquin is fetched in a chapel ⁹ and the king carried in procession. During the Heb Sed he is accompanied by Upuaut ¹⁰. The king is handed an *ḥnh-w3s* amulet ¹¹, probably equivalent to the *w3s* of older palanquin processions ¹².

3. The king is provided with *sšd* and *sšp* fillets ¹³ : from the text they are for his magical protection (against the impure nocturnal world, which he has to cross in the open ?).

4. Stop in the *pr-wr* and *pr-nzr* ¹⁴ : on the papyrus the next stages are simplified into an eleven-fold anointing, with the spell titles matching the Heb Sed sequence. The first episode occurs in the *pr-w* and *pr-nzr*. In Soleb one proceeds on foot from the "house of clothes" (*p n ḥbs.w*) to the *pr-w* and *pr-nz* ¹⁵. As in Bubastis the ritual inside the two shrines is the offering of a *šb.t* device ("clepsydra") to Nekhbet and Wadjyt ¹⁶. During the Upper Egyptian palanquin procession at Abu Ghurob ¹⁷ Niuserre passes by a shrine of the Horus of Behedet. He is then presented with a bow and arrows at the "Gate of the Ombite (Seth)", *sb3-(W)nb.t(j)*. The *labrys* ax represented nearby is an item associated with the desert god *H3*, who is (not astonishingly) linked with purification ¹⁸. One then reaches the *pr-wr*. On the Brooklyn papyrus the next division is the coronation with the *Št3.t* "Hiding Crown" ¹⁹. Allusions to Isis' magic or Horus "surrounding" the king and of a claw "on him" seem to designate a dressing ritual with a feathered garment on top of a panther skin ²⁰. Thus the king is the young falcon waiting to be reborn inside the animal / sky goddess-shaped *pr-w* or the sarcophagus / granary-shaped *pr-nzr*.

8 pBrooklyn 47.218.50, I, 7-8, GOYON, 1972, pp. 19, 54. The Jubilee has an Upper Egyptian *zp3* and a Lower Egyptian *wṯz* palanquin. They are only used on the first two days (one day for each). From the third day on (*zp 3-nw* ff., see SCHIFF GIORGINI V, pls. 99-137), one moves about on foot. A "10th occasion" of the procession with the *zp3* (*ibidem*, pls. 63-65) occurs on the wrong (north) side. It belongs with the nearby inauguration rites, some of which are dated from 26.IV.*Pr.t* to 1.I.*Šmw*. Is the procession's impossible date of "year 26 (*sic* !), 4th month, [...]" an error for 26.IV.*Pr.t* ?

9 BISSING II, 1923, pl. 21, 50b, top right shows a room with the two palanquins.

10 BISSING II, pls. 18-22 ; III, pls. 1-8?

11 pBrooklyn 47.218.50, I, 9-15, GOYON, 1972, pp. 20, 54-55.

12 BISSING II, pp. 5-6 & pls. 15-17 ; III, pp. 2, 10-13 and *Beiblatt A*, center (Thutmosis III).

13 pBrooklyn 47.218.50, I, 15-17, GOYON, 1972, pp. 20, 55.

14 pBrooklyn 47.218.50, I, 17-II, 1, GOYON, 1972, pp. 20, 56.

15 SCHIFF GIORGINI V, pls. 70-73.

16 SCHIFF GIORGINI III, pp. 245, 248-257 ; V, pls. 63-64, 70-81 ; NAVILLE, 1892, pls. III, XVI.

17 BISSING II, 1923, pl. 19. After the fitting out one returns to the palace before the banquet of pl. 18.

18 BEGELSBACHER-FISCHER, 1981, p. 229 ; SCHIFF GIORGINI III, p. 255 ; V, pl. 79 ;

NAVILLE, 1892, pl. XI, 6 ; NAVILLE, 1895, III, pl. LXIII.

19 pBrooklyn 47.218.50, II, 1-7, GOYON, 1972, pp. 20, 56-57.

20 see HORNUNG & STAEHELIN, 2006, pp. 56-60.

5. Ceremonies on the throne podium ²¹ : the king is crowned and dressed on the *tnt3.t* stepped podium. The texts allude to his rebirth and his "rising" at dawn, so that he is preparing to come out of a feeble, infant-like or "dead" state, paralleling the Sun god's. All the Heb Sed representations of this episode are very fragmentary ²². Several features seem linked with the Opening of the Mouth : the prevalence of the *sm* and a representation of his taking off his panther skin ²³, the presence of a "mouth opener" (*wn-r3*) ²⁴, the actions on the seated king interrupted by the slaughter of cattle, then of enemies ²⁵, the former as during the Opening of the Mouth ceremony ²⁶. In any case representations of cloth and of a panther skin ²⁷ are compatible with royal fitting out rituals.

6. Heliopolitan rituals ²⁸ : the last five anointing episodes use unguents stained with minerals from Heliopolis, possibly suggesting the colors of the sky at dawn (cf. PT 567b-c). A mention of erecting two "gods" (obelisks) in a *msq.t* temple ²⁹ matches the sacred columns in front of the *Hw.t 3.t*, the "great enclosure" (assembly court of the gods), at Bubastis ³⁰. *Msq.t* may allude to the *msq.w* "skins", i.e. targets represented in Heb Sed scenes when reaching the *Hw.t 3.t* or departing from it ³¹. In the present setting the pillars represent the reborn god's lifting the sky. This act of Creation was also mimicked in the festivals of Upuaut and of Min, which replace the poles at Abu Ghurob ³². There they occur after a cattle procession, where the animals are treated as enemies commanded to "come and

21 pBrooklyn 47.218.50, II, 8-18, GOYON, pp. 20-21, 57-59.

22 NAVILLE, 1892, pls. XIX-XXI, XXIII-XXV, I-II, XXVII, VI ; BISSING II, pls. 12, 14 ; III, pl. 9?

23 BISSING II, pl. 12, 32 and cf. OTTO, 1960, pp. 60, 71.

24 NAVILLE, 1892, pls. XIX, 5, XX, 6, XXIV, 9.

25 BISSING III, pl. 19, # 306-307, 310, 312-313 and NAVILLE, 1892, pl. XIX, 1 show him walking while holding a mace. In the Wadi Maghāra (Sinai) this is associated with the sacrifice of foreigners (GARDINER & PEET, 1952, pls. I-VIII). The *prj h3 jnb.w* of NAVILLE's pl. XXIII, 7 matches Niuserre's later *prj h3* tour of the cattle before the final banquet (pl. 3, # 9).

26 OTTO, 1960, pp. 73-76, 102-103.

27 NAVILLE, 1892, pls. XIX, 5 ; XX, 5-6 ; XXIII, 5 ; XXIV, 9 ; XXV, II.

28 pBrooklyn 47.218.50, II, 19-III, 20, GOYON, pp. 20-21, 59-63.

29 pBrooklyn 47.218.50, III, 4, GOYON, pp. 60, 93.

30 NAVILLE, 1892, pp. 21-22 & pl. IX, 7-10. See also Chapelle rouge blocks 274, 155, 251, 309.

31 BISSING II, pl. 13, 33a ; NAVILLE, 1892, pl. XI, 4-6 ; SCHIFF GIORGINI III, pp. 291-292 ; V, pl. 119. See Taharqa's protection ritual at Karnak (PARKER *et al.*, 1979, pl. 25), associating them with the throwing of mud balls in the cardinal directions, as maybe before entering the podium court after the *prj h3 jnb.w* of the initial fitting out rites in Bubastis (NAVILLE, 1892, pl. XXIII, 8).

32 Lifting of the forked pole of Min's Hut (see GAUTHIER, 1931, pp. 147-149 ; JEQUIER, 1938, pp. 17-19, pls. 17-19 ; at Soleb : SCHIFF GIORGINI V, pl. 122, top right). Probably lifting the double Upuaut as the "Two Scepters of the Sky" on 20.I.3*h.t* at Assiut (MONTET, pp. 138-139) ; this part (if it existed) is missing in all Heb Sed representations. The Djed was lifted during Sokar's Festival (OIP 102, 1980, pp. 59-61 & pls. 55-56).

watch" (*jj, ptr*) the king's superiority over Seth ³³. Upuaut's festival comprises the god's anointing and the king running. The god's lifting (?) is lost. Min's feast consists of offerings and a procession comprising the god's standard, reaching the *Hwt ʿ3.t* entrance with its targets. The king's podium there may represent Min's Hut ³⁴. More detailed versions of the three feasts are featured in later Jubilees ³⁵.

7. Banquet :

a. for the deities of the western and eastern chapels ³⁶ : these two rooms are simplified versions of the rows of chapels (*jtr.tj*) mentioned at Niusere's and represented in Soleb and Bubastis ³⁷. Repeats of the divine offerings during the days following the palanquin procession are featured in Abu Ghurob ³⁸. Amon possesses his own dining room at Soleb and Bubastis, as did the Ombite at Niuserre's ³⁹.

*b. for the deities of the *hnw* central chapel* ⁴⁰ : they are Horus and the Lady of the rekhyt-populace (Hathor), the crown goddesses and several deities whose name is lost (from the Soleb and Bubastis parallels Horus, Seth and a bull ⁴¹). Horus and Hathor stand for the king and queen on the throne podium. At Abu Ghurob Niuserre receives an offering, alongside those to the *jtr.tj* chapel rows and the king's children ⁴². The most detailed scenes are at Kheruef's and at Bubastis ⁴³. The choreography resembles the mating dance of ostriches, maybe for Hathor under this form ⁴⁴. Her presence on the podium points to a hierogamy for the king's self-engendering before the night. His fertility allows him to provide a *k3*-like quality called *Hʿb* to his courtiers, under the form of bird and fish amulets (the

33 BISSING II, pl. 6, 13 : III, 1928, pl. 13, 228. For the meaning see Pyramid Texts § 588b.

34 See the lifting of the *k3*-pole of Min's Hut featured on a Heb Sed dais of Sesostris III (Cairo, JE 56497 A). The shrine on the podium is called *hnw*, as is the central chapel on pBrooklyn 47.218.50.

35 *Upuaut* : NAVILLE, 1892, pl. IX, 12. *Min* : SCHIFF GIORGINI III, pp. 299-306 ; V, pls. 120-125. *Sokar* : OIP 102, 1980, pp. 58-66 ; NAVILLE, 1892, pl. XIII, III (the *Hnw* boat alongside the lifting of the [djed]) ; SCHIFF GIORGINI III, pp. 272-273 ; V, pl. 104 (on the third day of the Jubilee, offerings to Osiris "on the day of the hoeing of the earth" ; an official holds a djed cane).

36 pBrooklyn 47.218.50, III, 20-XI, 18 ; GOYON, pp. 22, 63-67.

37 NAVILLE, 1892, pp. 18-21 & pls. VII, VIII, XII ; SCHIFF GIORGINI V, pls. 52-55.

38 BISSING II, *Titelblatt*, pl. 7, pl. 8a-b, pl. 25 # 85-87, 91-95 ; III, pl. 16 # 264-271.

39 SCHIFF GIORGINI V, pl. 49 ; NAVILLE, 1892, pls. V, XIII, 1 ; BISSING II, pl. 18, # 44d.

40 pBrooklyn 47.218.50, XI, 19-25, GOYON, pp. 22, 67.

41 See NAVILLE, 1892, p. 15 & pl. I, 1 ; SCHIFF GIORGINI III, pp. 221-223 ; V, pls. 36.

42 BISSING II, pls. 18, 21. Niuserre's has two probable repeats of the king's meal : one is lost on W. KAISER's 4th register from below, near a cattle procession and offerings to deities (BISSING II, pls. 13 & 20) ; a second after the Upuaut and Min festivals (*ibidem*, pls. 4-5, 11) : *cf.* portative altars, reeds for building the banqueting Hut ? The presence of the *hrj-wdb*, "he in charge of the supply" (*ibidem*, pl. 11, # 27) also indicates a previous meal.

43 OIP 102, 1980, pp. 41-49 & pls. 24-39 ; NAVILLE, 1892, pls. XIV-XV. Also SCHIFF-GIORGINI V, pl. 119.

44 See Hierakonpolis Nubian camp (HK 64), located alongside a rock with ostrich graffiti ; a nearby deposit contained ostrich feathers plus an inscribed stone naming Hathor (FRIEDMAN, 1996).

signs used to write *H^cb*)⁴⁵. The offering of food to the king is rarely represented⁴⁶.

*c. for the standard-deities to the left and right*⁴⁷ : on pBrooklyn 47.218.50 they are the same as those represented at Bubastis : the Horus falcon, the "Souls" of Pe, the cow Isis-Hezat, the *mr.t* musician-goddess, the bow, etc...⁴⁸ At Niuserre's the standards are the *šms.w-Hrw* (Upuaut, afterbirth, bow)⁴⁹.

The king is featured preparing to leave at Abu Ghurob and Bubastis. The *šms* execution device, the ropes and the presence of a man called the "Heliopolitan" may form links with Re's Night Barge⁵⁰, which the king is shown boarding at Kheruef's after the banquet⁵¹.

8. Rituals in the House of Life :

*a. offerings to the gods on the tablet*⁵² : they comprise several forms of Horus, Khnum etc. At Soleb these two gods are worshipped at this stage⁵³. Surprisingly, the Pyramid Texts (Utterance 324) show that they are column-deities (alongside apotropaic beings) at the gate of the *Hw.t ʿ3.t*.⁵⁴ This may explain that the gods' names were only read from a tablet, at least during the New Year ritual⁵⁵.

*b. offerings to the gods in the courtyard*⁵⁶ : the list comprises the Ennead and many other deities and objects used in nocturnal rituals, such as the lion-bed. Thus the king is entering the Hereafter, where his *k3* meets the Heliopolitan ancestors, alongside deified items leading to his rebirth. At Soleb and Bubastis one stops inside the *jz* "tomb" featuring the Ennead before offering to the column deities⁵⁷.

45 OIP 102, 1980, pp. 43-45 ; NAVILLE, 1892, pls. XVIII, XXII. For *H^cb*, see KUSBER, 2005, pp. 110-112.

46 See GOHARY, pp. 61-62 & pl. XX (Akhenaten). SCHIFF GIORGINI III, pp. 239-240 ; V, pl. 56 features its equivalent during the inauguration.

47 pBrooklyn 47.218.50, XI, 26-XIII, 10, GOYON, 1972, pp. 22, 67-68.

48 NAVILLE, 1892, pls. IX, 1-6 (arrival at the podium for the first banquet), XIV, 1-2 (first banquet), and later on pl. I, 5 (final meal).

49 BISSING II, pl. 21, # 50a. The *šms.w Hrw* are not offered to in the Upper Egyptian procession.

50 BISSING II, pl. 11, # 27 ; NAVILLE, 1892, pl. XI, 4-6. This would be as at Kheruef's.

51 OIP 102, 1980, pp. 49-54 & pls. 42-48.

52 pBrooklyn 47.218.50, XIII, 13-20, GOYON, 1972, pp. 23, 68-69.

53 SCHIFF GIORGINI III, pp. 272-291 ; V, pls. 100-117 ; 126-130. The presentation of lettuce to [Horus] is preserved at Bubastis before starting the second part of the festival (NAVILLE, 1892, pl. XI), after the king's purification and dressing (clepsydra offering to Nekhbet). This parallels the beginning of the first part (stage 4., with officiants from the House of Life, see *ibidem*, pl. III).

54 For a good representation, see the offering to Khnum and Horus "with extended arm" before entering the *Hw.t aA.t* of Sokar and his Ennead, during the god's festival (Medinet Habu) (BLEEKER, fig. 3, top center = OIP LI, IV, pl. 196). The third god offered to is Shesmu, a divine form of the thresher or pounder.

55 For such a tablet during the Old Kingdom, see BROVARSKI, 1987.

56 pBrooklyn 47.218.50, XIII, 24-15, GOYON, pp. 23, 69-70.

57 SCHIFF GIORGINI III, pp. 273, 285, 294-295 ; V, pls. 103, 114, 117, ; NAVILLE, 1892, p. 25 & pl. X, 3. The standards of the Duat deities (pl. X, 1-2) are represented at Soleb, meeting the king

c. *stop in the "Chapel of Conferring the Inheritance"* ⁵⁸ : complex magical actions are performed, among which the king's lying down and the decapitation of plant bundles have parallels in the Heb Sed Lion Bed scenes ⁵⁹. The lying down is given a funerary meaning. Nautical mentions may identify the chapel with the cabin of the Night Barge, used at this stage in the Kheruef representations.

d. *offerings to "the gods of the Caverns, the Duat guides, the Servants of Horus, the kings of Upper- and Lower Egypt"* ⁶⁰ : the text is chapter 168 of the Book of the Dead. The king interacts with deified officiants and objects used in nocturnal rebirth rituals. The vignettes tie in with representations of the king lying on his belly and lifting his head as if awakening, coming back to life ⁶¹. Crowns and symbols of power underneath the bed form a link with the "Chapel of Conferring the Inheritance". The Underworld gods seem featured inside chapels near the Lion Bed booth at Soleb and Bubastis ⁶².

9. Presentation of birds to "the god who is in his disk" ⁶³ : nine live "birds of Re" are placed successively behind the king's neck, among other things to provide him with the capacity to fly away into the morning sky and to fuse with Re. The text on pBrooklyn 47.218.50 ends here for lack of place.

10. Building the pavilion for the banquet : the continuation of the festival is best seen on the upper register of Niuserre's representations, with a foundation ceremony ⁶⁴. The building of a chapel at this late stage of the festival appears to enact the creation of the World (i.e. the "celestial" banqueting hall) by the young, reborn king ⁶⁵. It parallels the raising of sacred pillars preceding the first banquet.

after his banquet (SCHIFF GIORGINI V, pl. 118). NAVILLE's scenes should be moved up one or two registers here, to make place for the cult of Horus and Khnum, plus scenes with standards.

58 pBrooklyn 47.218.50, XV, 20-XVI, 25, GOYON, pp. 23-28, 70-75.

59 BISSING II, pl. 23 ; III, pl. 17 # 276-278 ; NAVILLE, 1892, pl. II, 4-9 ; SCHIFF GIORGINI V, pls 47-48. At Bubastis the chapel is called *pr-wr* : it harbors the king's fitting out like the *pr-wr* in part 4.

60 pBrooklyn 47.218.50, XVII, 1-XX, 1, GOYON, pp. 29-30, 75-77.

61 e.g. MONTET, 1970, p. 181 fig. 47 ; PIANKOFF, 1954, pp. 439-441 & fig. 142.

62 SCHIFF GIORGINI V, pls. 47-48 (a corn sheaf fits in with the decapitation of plants in the Lion Bed chapel) ; NAVILLE, 1892, pls. IV, 3 & IVbis, 12.

63 pBrooklyn 47.218.50, XX, 1-25, GOYON, pp. 30-32, 77-81. None of the extant Heb Sed sequences has preserved this ritual. It is alluded to on various Old Kingdom statues, e.g. Khafre's, CGC 14 (GOYON, p. 125 n 362) ; cf. VERNER, 1985, pp. 271-273 & pls. XLIV-XLVII ; ROEHRIG, 1999.

64 BISSING II, p. 3 & pls. 1-3 ; III, 1928, pp. 4-6.

65 The creator god Ptah often appears inside a booth, cf. KRISTENSEN, 1947, p. 69. The original form of this construction was a tent or a hut, as built near the end of Min's Festival (GAUTHIER, 1931, pp. 142-149). See also pSalt 825, VI, 5-10 (DERCHAIN, 1965, pp. 49-53) ; Pyramid Texts (§ 130a ; Nut, as the "sky" of a see-through booth, is called a "sieve", see ALLEN, 2005, index p. 454) ; a cage-like shrine for the resurrecting god at Denderah (e.g. MARIETTE IV, 1880, pl. 65), with crossed papyri also met in the related "palace façade". The theme is universal : Jewish *sukkah* (KRISTENSEN, 1947, p. 81), Cosmic Huts in the Veda and Avesta (CHRISTOL, 1990 ; KELLEN, 1990).

11. Cattle counting and slaughtering : cattle is then led around a courtyard (*prj ḥ3*) to be counted ⁶⁶. This is repeated for Lower Egypt. The subsequent slaughtering is not represented in later Heb Sed scenes, except at Soleb during the inauguration, next to the handing of a bull's thigh to the king ⁶⁷.

12. The final banquet : the next division at Niuserre's names the *d3dw* hall ⁶⁸, probably the location of the evening banquet where the cattle meat was eaten. At Bubastis the pavilion with "lily" and papyrus columns is featured at the top of wall A ⁶⁹. The plant columns suggest their copying an architecture in light materials, which would be the freshly built "Hut". This is the same podium and chapel as for the meal of the preceding day : the objects at the base are identical and the deities alongside the king appear similar ⁷⁰. The king's meal is not shown, only the fetching of sacred objects. The festival ends with everybody returning on foot to the palace. At the end of the first two days, the return was a palanquin procession ⁷¹.

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1989 & 1990) ; in Ugarit the shrine in light materials built for Baal must have a window to allow the god's essence, the rain, to fall to earth. This provides the original rationale for the obligatory see-through character of such booths (see LABAT in VIEYRA *et al.*, 1970, pp. 413-415).

66 BISSING II, p. 3 & pl. 3 ; III, 1928, p. 6.

67 SCHIFF GIORGINI III, pp. 239-240 ; V, pl. 56.

68 BISSING II, p. 3 & pl. 3, 7a-b, 9.

69 NAVILLE, 1892, p. 15 & pl. I, 1 ; also HABACHI, 1957, p. 59.

70 NAVILLE, 1892, pl. I, 1,2,5, comparing with pBrooklyn 47.218.50, XI, 19-21.

71 SCHIFF GIORGINI V, pls. 94-98 and its copy at Bubastis (NAVILLE, 1892, pl. VI).

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