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**Komplex *wabetu* a dvora v chrámech
třicáté dynastie a Ptolemaiovské a Římské doby**

**The Complex of *Wabet* and Court in Temples of
the Thirtieth Dynasty and the Ptolemaic and
Roman Period**

Disertační práce

vedoucí práce - Prof. PhDr. Ladislav Bareš, CSc.

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Prohlašuji, že jsem disertační práci vykonal samostatně s využitím uvedených pramenů a literatury.

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Abstrakt

Předložená práce se zaměřuje na zvláštní architektonický komplex či celek, který se opakovaně objevuje v chrámech třicáté dynastie a Ptolemaiovské a Římské doby. Tento komplex tvoří otevřený dvůr a zvýšená zastropená kaple označované jako „dvůr“ a *wabet*. Předložená studie zkoumá obecné charakteristiky a základní součásti všech známých komplexů *wabetu* a dvora a snaží se lépe pochopit jejich funkci v chrámech a jejich vývoj v čase. Po stručném úvodu pojednávajícím o třinácti chrámech, jež komplex *wabetu* a dvora obsahují, a o samotných těchto komplexech (první kapitola) se další kapitoly věnují umístění komplexu, jeho orientaci, plánu a chronologii (druhá kapitola), výrazům, které se používaly k jeho označení (třetí kapitola), popisu a rozboru textů a vyobrazení na jeho stěnách (čtvrtá kapitola) a studii o původu a vývoji tohoto výzdobného schématu (pátá kapitola), jež mají přiblížit činnosti prováděné v komplexu a jeho funkci v chrámu. Po analýze hlavních součástí typického komplexu *wabet* je nadnesena a částečně zodpovězena také otázka, zda a do jaké míry odpovídají různé starší prostory v chrámech Nové říše a Pozdní doby obrazu *wabetu* a dvora tak, jak je známe z pozdějších chrámů (šestá kapitola).

Abstract

The study at hand focuses on an architectural complex or ensemble that regularly occurs in temples of the Thirtieth Dynasty and the Ptolemaic and Roman period. This ensemble generally combines an open court with an elevated and covered chapel, and is referred to as ‘court’ and *wabet*, respectively. The present study aims to bring together the common characteristics and essential components of all ensembles of *wabet* and court in order to get a better understanding of the ensemble’s role in the temple and its development over time. Following a brief introduction to the thirteen temples that appear to contain this ensemble in their core and to the complexes themselves (chapter 1), the following chapters focus on the ensemble’s location, orientation, layout, and chronology (chapter 2), the designations in use to refer to this complex (chapter 3), a description and analysis of the texts and reliefs applied to its walls (chapter 4), and a study of the origin and development of this decorative scheme (chapter 5) in order to gain a better insight into the activities performed in the complex and its role within the temple. With the main components of a typical complex of *wabet* and court in mind, the question is raised whether and to what degree various older spaces in temples from the New Kingdom and the Late Period correspond to the image of *wabet* and court as it is known from later temples (chapter 6).

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- ÄF – Ägyptologische Forschungen, Glückstadt.
- AH – Aegyptiaca Helvetica, Genève.
- ARG – Archiv für Religionsgeschichte, Stuttgart.
- ASAE – Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, Cairo.
- ASP – American Studies in Papyrology, Atlanta.
- ÄuAT – Ägypten und Altes Testament, Wiesbaden.
- AV – Archäologische Veröffentlichungen, Mainz am Rhein.

Bae – Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, Bruxelles.
BdE – Bibliothèque d'Etude, Cairo.
Beiträge Bf – Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde, Zürich–Wiesbaden.
BIFAO – Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo.
BiGen – Bibliothèque Générale, Cairo.
BJRL – Bulletin of the John Rylands Library Manchester, Manchester.
BSAE – British School of Archaeology in Egypt, London.
BSAK – Beiheft Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur, Hamburg.
BSEG – Bulletin de la société d'égyptologie Genève, Genève.
BSFE – Bulletin de la société française d'égyptologie, Paris.
CdE – Chronique d'Égypte, Bruxelles.
CEDAE – Centre d'études et de documentation sur l'ancienne Égypte. Collection Scientifique, Cairo.
CRIPPEL – Cahier de recherches de l'Institut de papyrologie et d'égyptologie de Lille, Lille.
DE – Discussions in Egyptology, Oxford.
DÖAW – Denkschriften der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch–historische Klasse, Wien.
EtTrav – Etudes et Travaux, Warsaw.
GM – Göttinger Miszellen, Göttingen.
GOF – Göttinger Orientforschungen, Wiesbaden.
HÄB – Hildesheimer ägyptologische Beiträge, Hildesheim.
HÄS – Hamburger ägyptologische Studien, Hamburg.
HdO – Handbuch der Orientalistik, Leiden.
IBAES – Internet–Beiträge zur Ägyptologie und Sudanarchäologie, Berlin (<http://www2.rz.hu-berlin.de/nilus/net-publications/>).
JARCE – Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt, New York.
JEA – Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, London.
JEOL – Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch Egyptisch Genootschap 'Ex Oriente Lux', Leiden.
JNES – Journal of Near Eastern Studies, Chicago.
LAPPO – Littératures anciennes du Proche–Orient, Paris.
MÄS – Münchener ägyptologische Studien, München–Berlin.
MDAIK – Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo, Berlin–Wiesbaden–Mainz.
MIE – Mémoires de l'Institut d'Égypte, Cairo.
MIFAO – Mémoires de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo.
MMAF – Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire, Cairo.
MRE – Monographies Reine Elisabeth, Bruxelles.
MVAG – Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch–Ägyptischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig.
OAC – Orientis Antiqui Collectio, Roma.
OBO – Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, Freiburg.
OLA – Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, Leuven.
OLP – Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica, Leuven.
OMRO – Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden, Leiden.
P.L. Bat. – Papyrologica Lugduno–Batavia, Leiden–Boston–Köln.
PdÄ – Probleme der Ägyptologie, Leiden.
PSBA – Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, London.
RAPH – Recherches d'Archéologie, de Philologie et d'Histoire, Cairo.
RdE – Revue d'Égyptologie, Cairo–Paris.
REA – Revue de l'Égypte Ancienne, Paris.
RT – Recueil de Travaux Relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie Égyptiennes et Assyriennes, Paris.
SA – Studia Aegyptiaca, Budapest.
SAGA – Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens, Heidelberg.
SAK – Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur, Hamburg.
SAT – Studien zum Altägyptischen Totenbuch, Wiesbaden.
SAOC – Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations, Chicago.
SDAIK – Sonderschrift des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo, Mainz.
UGAÄ – Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens, Leipzig–Berlin.
UMB – University Museum Bulletin, Philadelphia.
ZÄS – Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde, Leipzig–Berlin.
ZPE – Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, Bonn.

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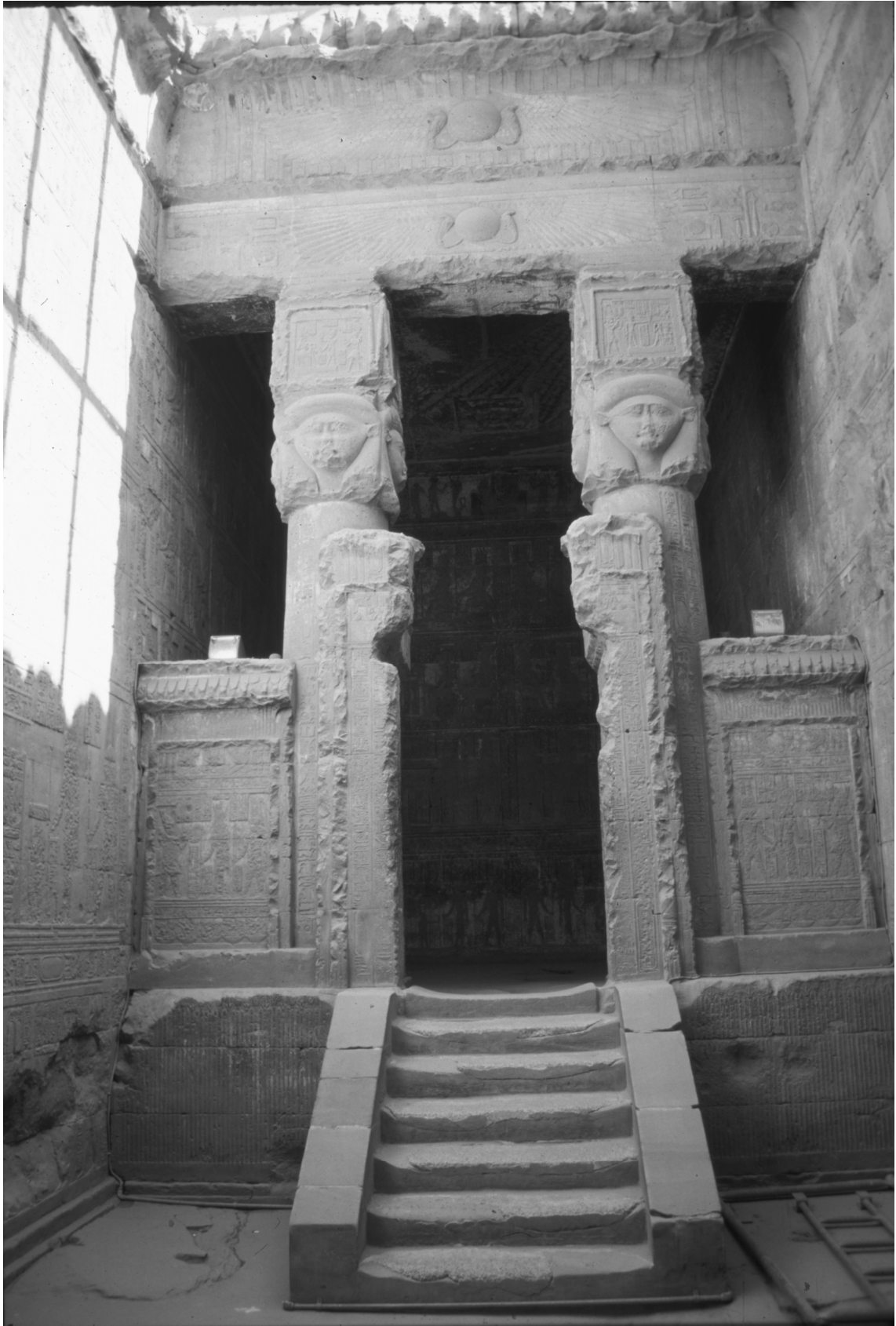
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*Fig. 1 The complex of wabet and court in the temple of Dendara
(photo by the author)*

INTRODUCTION

The temple in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt

The arrival of Alexander III in Egypt in 332 BC marks the beginning of Macedonian, Ptolemaic and – from 30 BC – Roman rule over the country. The Greek and subsequently Roman government brought about major changes in the political, economic, administrative and social structures of ancient Egypt,¹ but the centuries that followed after the arrival of Alexander III also witnessed the erection of numerous temples in the traditional Egyptian style. These lavishly decorated temples, like Philae, Edfu and Dendara to name but a few, belong nowadays among the best–preserved monuments of ancient Egypt, and their walls contain a wealth of information on various aspects of ancient Egyptian religious thought.² For most of the first century of egyptological research the temples of Ptolemaic and Roman times received a rather stepmotherly treatment: often they were not considered to be authentic Egyptian constructions or were seen as mere decadent or degenerated versions of older pharaonic monuments. The second half of the 20th century saw an ever increasing interest in these temples³ and various studies have since proved that these monuments are strongly imbedded in pharaonic traditions and can provide us with vital information on the development of Egyptian temples and religion. The architects and editors of the texts and reliefs used in the Ptolemaic temples drew from a rich repertoire of ancient traditions and

¹ For a good introduction to Macedonian, Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, consult: BOWMAN (1986); LLOYD (2000); PEACOCK (2000); and HÖLBL (2000:9–46; 2001). Although Ptolemaic Egypt and Roman Egypt are often referred to as a unit, major differences existed between both periods on the administrative, social and economic level. See in particular LEWIS (1995:138–149, 298–305).

² For a general overview of the temples of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt: ARNOLD (1999:143–273); and HÖLBL (2000; 2004; 2005). See also the recent online research project “Rome in Egypt” of the University of Pisa which provides a detailed overview of the temples of the Roman period in Egypt: www.romeinegypt.unipi.it/index.php.

³ A good illustration of this increasing interest can be observed by comparing the state of research in Ptolemaic and Roman temples in 1972 — in a series of articles written by specialists in the field — with the work that has been done since. See in particular: DAUMAS (1972); GUTBUB (1972), and WINTER (1972) and compare with KURTH (1997) and LEITZ (2004:2–15).

texts to develop the typical temples of this era, but did more than create mere copies.⁴ Besides using a vast selection of ancient models, they also competently and purposefully used older material as a starting point for new developments in the architecture and decoration of the temples. Research carried out in the past 50 years brought to light sets of rules and patterns underlying the layout of the temple and the decorative scheme applied to its walls⁵ – often referred to as the ‘grammaire du temple’.⁶ The study of individual rooms⁷ and specific offering rites⁸ and deities⁹ over the last half a century greatly improved our knowledge of the temples of this era.¹⁰

The typical layout¹¹ of the temples of Ptolemaic and Roman times is a development that dates back to the temples of the Ramesside period, such as the temple of Khonsu on the precinct of Amun at Karnak or the temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu. It also bears close resemblance to monuments from the preceding Thirtieth dynasty.¹² In essence the temples of the Thirtieth Dynasty and Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt consist of a series of recurring spaces

⁴ One of the focal points of the current studies of Ptolemaic and Roman temples is the transmission of texts through the ages. LEITZ (2004:13). For instance: COPPENS (2006a).

⁵ For instance: DERCHAIN (1962a); WINTER (1968); VASSILIKA (1989:5–11), and EGBERTS (1995:389–391). A good overview is given for the temple of Edfu in KURTH (1994:33–65). See also the overview for all temples in LEITZ (2004:6–8).

⁶ A term first coined by Belgian Egyptologist Philippe Derchain: DERCHAIN (1962a:33–34).

⁷ For instance the recent research by WAITKUS (1997) or PREYS (2002).

⁸ Consult for instance the *Rites Egyptiens* series.

⁹ For Edfu for instance CAUVILLE (1983; 1987a).

¹⁰ For a good overview, consult FINNESTAD (1997) and LEITZ (2004:5–8).

¹¹ Unlike most of the pharaonic dynasties preceding them, the Ptolemaic monarchs no longer concentrated their building activities in a specific region of Egypt, but rather spread them all over the land. See SCHOLZ (1994). The state of preservation of the temples varies greatly from region to region. The constant need for building material for the ever-expanding cities in the Delta and Middle Egypt has led to at least partial and often total destruction of many temples in this part of the country and their state of preservation often does not allow for a detailed reconstruction of the monuments (e.g. HÖLBL (2000:47–52). Fortunately, that is not the case with their counterparts in Upper Egypt and several of the western oases, like Kharga and Dakhla – these are well preserved. Our knowledge of the ‘typical’ layout and the rules governing the decorative schemes is therefore for the most part based on the temples in Upper Egypt and the western oases. ARNOLD (1999:3).

¹² NIEDERBERGER (1999:113–128) gives a detailed overview of the development of the temple from the end of the New Kingdom to the Roman period. DAUMAS (1980:262); ASSMANN (1984:39–50), and ARNOLD (1999:305–308) provide a concise overview of the main characteristics of the temples of the Late Period and Ptolemaic and Roman times. See also COPPENS (1996:153–156) for similarities in the layout of several minor Roman temples in the Theban–Coptite region.

arranged in a linear manner along an axis that led from the heart of the temple to the exterior. The very core of the temple is usually formed by a free-standing sanctuary, often combining the role of the bark sanctuary and the home for the statue of the main deity, surrounded by an ambulatory, which leads to a series of chapels dedicated to the other gods residing in the temple.¹³ Depending on the size of the monument and its state of completion, the sanctuary is preceded by one or more transversal halls — often termed the ‘hall of the ennead’ (wsx . t psD . t), the ‘hall of the offering’ (wsx . t wdn), and the ‘hall of appearance’ (wsx . t xa), which is usually the hypostyle hall. In a number of temples a pronaos, an open court and an entrance pylon were also erected in front of the core of the monument.¹⁴ The transversal halls provide access to a series of side rooms and one or, in the case of some of the larger temples, two staircases to the roof of the temple. The roof of the temple survived to this day in only a few cases, but we have evidence suggesting that chapels dedicated to the resurrection of Osiris,¹⁵ a kiosk¹⁶ and a ‘goldhouse’¹⁷ appeared regularly on or near the roof. The foundations and side walls of the temple often conceal entrances to hidden rooms and corridors (crypts).¹⁸ Another architectural feature typical for the temples of Ptolemaic and Roman times is the increased number of walls surrounding the temple which separated it further from the outside world.¹⁹

Like most other Egyptian temples, the monuments from Ptolemaic and Roman times also have a tendency to increased height of the floor level and decreased height of the ceiling as one nears the sanctuary, while the amount of daylight entering the temple becomes more and more limited towards the core of the monument. But the ever-growing darkness one encounters when proceeding from the temple entrance to the central sanctuary is in a number of the temples of this era suddenly chased away by the appearance of a few rays of light in a

¹³ In a number of temples the ambulatory is not present. The sanctuary is then located against the rear wall of the temple and the chapels dedicated to the other gods residing in the temple are usually positioned on either side of the sanctuary. See for example the temples of Philae (fig. 7 and 8), Satet at Elephantine (fig. 15), and Deir el-Medina.

¹⁴ While temples like Edfu (fig. 11), Kom Ombo (fig. 13), and Dendara (fig. 17) incorporate almost all of these elements, other temples, like Deir Shalwît (fig. 31), were only equipped with the first transversal hall in front of the sanctuary.

¹⁵ For instance: Philae, Edfu, and Dendara.

¹⁶ For instance: Edfu and Dendara – and perhaps Philae.

¹⁷ For instance: Edfu and Dendara.

¹⁸ For an overview, consult TRAUNECKER (1994).

¹⁹ The best example of this practice is the temple of Edfu.

small open court, often located to the side of one of the transversal halls. (fig. 1) The court in question belongs to an architectural complex or ensemble that regularly occurs in the temples of this period and generally combines an open court with an elevated and covered chapel. The terminology presently in use refers to this architectural ensemble as the ‘court (of the new year)’ and *wabet* or ‘pure place’.²⁰

Despite the fact that such complexes occur in a number of temples of Ptolemaic and Roman times, most currently available egyptological encyclopaedias do not even include a general definition of the ensemble. Neither the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* nor the more recently published *Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* include the complex of *wabet* and court as a separate entry.²¹ And not even a single reference to the ensemble occurs in R. Wilkinson’s work titled *The Complete Temples of Ancient Egypt*.²² The only exception is a short entry in D. Arnold’s *Lexikon der ägyptischen Baukunst / The Encyclopaedia of Ancient Egyptian Architecture*.²³

‘The Egyptian word *wabet* means ‘the pure (place)’ and is used, in later temples, of a small group of rooms near the stairs which lead to the roof, consisting of an unroofed sun court behind which was a raised cult room. The latter is separated from the courtyard by a screen wall with two columns. The *wabet* was used in New Year festivities for celebrating the union of the cult images with the sun disc. Its forerunners were probably the sun temples attached to the New Kingdom ‘houses of

²⁰ A quick glance at the more recent publications illustrates the widespread use of these terms in English, French and German: AUFRERE – GOLVIN – GOYON (1991:221, 237 and 260 – Ouabit); ARNOLD (1992:31, 97, 100, 153, 162–163 and 165 – Neujahrsfesthof, Wabet, Uabet); KURTH (1994:24 – Hof, Wabet); ARNOLD (1994:277 – Wabet, (Licht)hof); CAUVILLE (1995:60–61 – Ouabet, Cour du nouvel an, Place pure); SNAPE (1996:57 – Ouabet); FINNESTAD (1997:221 – Pure place); ARNOLD (1999:277–278 – Wabet, New Year’s Court); HÖLBL (2000:58, 63, 65, 76 and 91 – Neujahrshof, Wabet); CAUVILLE (2001:26 and 30 – Cour du nouvel an, Ouâbet); and CORTHALS (2003:114 – New Year Court, Wabet). To avoid any misunderstanding in the course of this study, I will use the terms *wabet* and *court* or refer to both chambers as an ‘(architectural) complex’ or an ‘(architectural) ensemble’.

²¹ LdÄ I–VII and OEAE I–III. The term ‘ouabet’ does feature briefly in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* under the entry for the ‘Neujahr’: LdÄ IV, 468–469. NIEDERBERGER (1999:45, n. 224) also remarked on the absence of a detailed study of the complex.

²² WILKINSON (2000).

²³ ARNOLD (2003:255). The original German text can be consulted in ARNOLD (1994:277). A similar definition can also be found in ARNOLD (1999:277).

millions of years'. Examples are found at Dendara, Shanhûr, el-Qal'a, Edfu, Kom Ombo and Kalabsha.'

The complete absence of a reference or short description of the complex of *wabet* and court in most encyclopaedias or general overviews of ancient Egyptian temples — with the exception of the brief definition of Arnold — is most remarkable. Over the past 135 years, in-depth studies of many *individual* complexes were carried out. The main focus of most studies dedicated to this ensemble has almost always been the complexes in the temples of Dendara and Edfu and their role during the festival at the time of the New Year – as will become clear from the following overview of older studies.

The complex of *wabet* and court – previous research

For most of the past century the inscriptions and scenes from the ensemble of *wabet* and court in the temples of Dendara and Edfu were the only ones available to the scholarly world. In the 1870s A. Mariette and J. Dümichen published a number of inscriptions from the ensemble at Dendara.²⁴ The complete publication of the reliefs and inscriptions of this complex only became available to the scholarly world in 1935, in the fourth volume of the Dendara-series by E. Chassinat.²⁵ It was the complex of *wabet* and court in the temple of Edfu that was the first to be published in its entirety – in 1897 by Marquis de Rochemonteix and Chassinat in the first volume of the Edfou-series,²⁶ while a number of inscriptions and reliefs of this ensemble had been published before by Dümichen and Piehl.²⁷

In the 1870s, Mariette was the first who attempted to clarify the role this complex played, focussing on the temple of Hathor in Dendara.²⁸ Although by now partially outdated and incomplete, his research produced the first coherent tale of the activities performed in this ensemble. In his study, Mariette linked the complex of *wabet* and court with a number of other chambers, constituting an area inside the temple of Hathor *exclusively* reserved for the celebrations surrounding the arrival of the New Year. According to Mariette, the ensemble of *wabet* and court functioned as an intermediary stage on a processional route that took the

²⁴ MARIETTE (1870: plates 1–6 (*wabet*) and 7 (court); 1874: plates C and D); DÜMICHEN (1877a: plate xxiii).

²⁵ Dendara IV, 179–271 and plates ccxcviii–cccxcv.

²⁶ Edfou I, 409–445 and plates xxxi–xxxiv. A revised edition was published in the 1980's by Sylvie Cauville and Didier Devauchelle.

²⁷ DÜMICHEN (1867: plates xxix–xxxi); PIEHL (1890: plates i–xxix).

²⁸ MARIETTE (1870:43, 189–221 and 315–321).

statues of the gods from their chapels and crypts to the kiosk on the roof of the temple to be rejuvenated through the union with the sun disc (Xnm-ıtn)²⁹ on New Year's Day. The *wabet* featured as the place where the statue of Hathor, accompanied by fellow-deities, was adorned, while the preceding court was the scene of numerous offerings. Three other chambers in the immediate vicinity of this ensemble, rooms Q (the so-called *trésor*), U and F¹,³⁰ constituted according to Mariette the depositories for the products used in the activities performed in the court and *wabet*. The statues of the gods were subsequently carried up the stairs to the kiosk on the roof of the temple to be united with the sun disc, after which they returned back to their resting place in the temple.

A research similar to that of Mariette in Dendara was conducted three quarters of a century later by M. Alliot for the temple of Horus in Edfu.³¹ Mariette's earlier claim that the complex of *wabet* and court and a number of other spaces constituted a temple within the temple exclusively reserved for New Year's Day activities was not embraced by Alliot. His study of the calendars in the temples of Edfu and Dendara also showed that the 'union with the sun disc' in the kiosk on the roof of the temple did not exclusively take place on the first day of the year but on various occasions throughout the year.³² In his work he nevertheless focused almost solely on the ceremonies performed during the five epagomenal days and the New Year. The basic function of the complex, such as it had been described by Mariette for the temple of Dendara, is illustrated in more detail in the study of Alliot for the temple of Edfu. In general, his conclusions do not differ extensively from the main picture Mariette painted of this ensemble in Dendara. The complex of *wabet* and court in the temple of Edfu functioned likewise as a halting point during a number of processions throughout the year in which the statues of the gods were rejuvenated through the 'union with the sun disc'. The activities performed in the *wabet* were again the adornment, purification and provision of protective amulets to the statue of the deity — not unlike activities performed during the daily temple ritual — and the presentation of large offerings in the open court.

²⁹ For a general introduction to the 'union with the sun disc', consult: Esna V, 122–132; DAUMAS (1951:393–400).

³⁰ Dendara I, pl. xlv.

³¹ ALLIOT (1949:302–433).

³² This had already previously been pointed out by CHASSINAT (1931:132).

The study of Alliot has since become the standard work used in almost all subsequent research and in general introductions to the function of this complex both in Edfu³³ and in Dendara,³⁴ but the conclusions obtained through Alliot's research in Edfu were also applied for example on the undecorated ensembles that were subsequently identified in the temples of Kalabsha³⁵ and Deir Shalwît.³⁶

In a long and often overlooked article that appeared immediately following the publication of Alliot, H.W. Fairman both questioned and refined certain elements of Alliot's research.³⁷ Fairman was the first to suggest that the ceremonies performed to rejuvenate the statues also included the ritual of the 'opening of the mouth'.³⁸ In his study he claimed that one of the many festive calendars engraved upon the temple walls of Kom Ombo mentioned the occurrence of this rite in connection with the festival at the time of the New Year.³⁹ A close inspection of this text does not reveal a single mention of the ritual of the 'opening of the mouth', and thus negates Fairman's claim. Evidence brought forward from two other sources – the research by S. Sauneron in Esna⁴⁰ and W. Waitkus in Dendara – has in the mean time proved beyond doubt that the 'opening of the mouth' was part of the renewal activities performed at various times throughout the year.⁴¹ In a recent study Waitkus also pointed out that in Dendara the Hw. t nbw or 'goldhouse'⁴² — the place where the 'opening of the mouth' is performed⁴³ — was located along the west staircase. The procession with the statues from the complex of *wabet* and court to the roof of the temple would thus automatically pass by this chamber.

³³ CAUVILLE (1987a:88–89 – 'Étude quasi exhaustive de cet ensemble ferial a été effectuée par M. Alliot').

³⁴ For instance: DAUMAS (1969:56–58); AUFRERE – GOLVIN – GOYON (1991:237); CAUVILLE (1995:60–62). For both temples, see also CORTHALS (2003:114–179).

³⁵ DAUMAS (1970a:7–8).

³⁶ Deir Chelouit IV, 27–36.

³⁷ FAIRMAN (1954–1955:183–189).

³⁸ On this rite see especially LdÄ I, 689–690; LdÄ IV, 223–224; OEAE II, 605–609; OTTO (1960); GOYON (1972b:85–182); SCHULMAN (1984); SMITH (1993:13); ASSMANN (2001:408–425).

³⁹ FAIRMAN (1954–1955:187) with a reference to DE MORGAN (1895:no. 596). See also the study of this text by GRIMM (1994: calendar B).

⁴⁰ Esna V, 126 and 149.

⁴¹ WAITKUS (1995:288; 1997:267–268).

⁴² *Dendara* VIII, 127–145; DERCHAIN (1990). In the temple of Edfu the Hw. t nbw was located on the roof of the temple according to Edfou I, 552–553 – see also WAITKUS (1999).

⁴³ LdÄ II, 739–740; OTTO (1960:1–4 and 26).

The same scholar also drew attention to the often overlooked mortuary character of the statues that made the journey from their resting place in the crypts past the complex of *wabet* and court and the ‘goldhouse’ to the roof of the temple. In his study devoted to the lowest level crypts in Dendara, Waitkus demonstrated that the statues residing in the crypts had to be seen as deprived of their essence – the presence of the divinity in the statue.⁴⁴ The statuary needs to be referred to as lifeless or better, to use a term by Assmann, as the *Leichnam* of the god in the underworld.⁴⁵ Although this aspect was briefly touched upon by Alliot and especially by F. Daumas, the main focus had always been on the solar aspects of the rituals involved.⁴⁶ The funerary character of the rites performed in the complex is also presented in the 2003 PhD thesis of A. Corthals who studied in great detail the New Year Festival in the Ptolemaic Temples of Upper Egypt.⁴⁷

The aforementioned research of Mariette, Alliot, Fairman, Daumas, Waitkus and Corthals was almost exclusively based on inscriptions and reliefs from the temples of Dendara and Edfu. Over the last fifty years the number of known complexes of *wabet* and court however increased rather dramatically from two to thirteen. More importantly, previously unknown materials – inscriptions and scenes – have been published that form a rich source of new information on this ensemble in the temples of the Late Period and the Ptolemaic and Roman era. Next to Dendara and Edfu, the ensemble has been identified in or suggested for the Thirtieth Dynasty temples of Khnum on the island of Elephantine and Isis and Osiris at Behbeit el-Hagar, in the Ptolemaic temples of Isis at Philae, Sobek and Harueris at Kom Ombo, Satet at Elephantine and Repyt/Triphis at Athribis (Wannina), and the Roman temples of Mandulis and Isis at Kalabsha, Isis and Desert Goddesses at el-Qal’a, Isis at Shanhûr, Isis at Deir Shalwât and Nephthys and Anuket at Komir (fig. 2).⁴⁸

⁴⁴ WAITKUS (1997:265–266).

⁴⁵ For the Late Period concept of each god having a ba in heaven, an image on earth and a corpse in the netherworld, see ASSMANN (1984:54).

⁴⁶ ALLIOT (1949:433); DAUMAS (1951: esp. 383–384).

⁴⁷ CORTHALS (2003: esp. 168–179).

⁴⁸ The first list of temples in which a complex of *wabet* and court was incorporated, was compiled by TRAUNECKER (1995:267–268). A more complete list can be found in NIEDERBERGER (1999:137). NIEDERBERGER (1999:125, n. 760) also suggested the possibility of a complex in the temple of Athribis in the Delta on the basis of several references to a *wabet* on the statue base of +d-Hr-pA-Sdw from the reign of Philippos III Arrhidaios. See JELÍNKOVÁ-REYMOND (1956:86–110). The text however does not deal with

Following the identification of a complex in the temple of Kom Ombo in 1952 by P. Lacaü,⁴⁹ and in the temple of Satet on the island Elephantine in 1960 by H. Ricke,⁵⁰ Daumas studied the architecture of the undecorated ensemble at Kalabsha in 1970.⁵¹ In 1985 A. Gutbub proposed to identify an open court in the temple of Isis at Philae as an early example of the complex, but his reasons for defining the open court as an ensemble of *wabet* and court did not stretch beyond a single paragraph.⁵² Although his suggestion appears to have been generally accepted,⁵³ the partly preserved inscriptions and reliefs from the open court have thus far been scarcely studied.⁵⁴

The 1990s witnessed a sudden renewed interest in the complex of *wabet* and court and, more importantly, the appearance in print of texts and reliefs from several hitherto unpublished complexes. In 1990 the first reference was made to the presence of a complex of *wabet* and court in the Thirtieth Dynasty temples of Elephantine and Behbeit el-Hagar.⁵⁵ In 1994 the architecture of the ensemble in the temple of Deir Shalwît was studied in great detail⁵⁶ and in 1995 Gutbub published the few remaining inscriptions from the complex in the temple of Kom Ombo.⁵⁷ Around the turn of the century the reasonably preserved inscriptions and reliefs from the ensembles in two small Roman temples became available: el-Qal'a in 1998 and Shanhûr in 2003.⁵⁸ The latter publication contains a detailed study of the decorative scheme of the ensemble by the author of this text.⁵⁹ In 1999 Niederberger suggested the existence of a complex in the temple of Komir.⁶⁰ Finally one cannot leave out the analysis of

the ensemble in the temple, but with a funerary workshop. The connection between the *wabet* in the temple and the *wabet* as a funerary workshop will be discussed further in this volume (Chapter 3.1).

⁴⁹ LACAÜ (1952:224–226).

⁵⁰ RICKE (1960:15).

⁵¹ DAUMAS (1970a).

⁵² GUTBUB (1985:132–133).

⁵³ For instance: VASSILIKA (1989:35–36); RYHINER (1995:18 and 37), and ARNOLD (1999:122).

⁵⁴ The only exception is a brief mention in a study of TRAUNECKER (1995:244–245).

⁵⁵ NIEDERBERGER (1990), and FAVARD–MEEKS (1990:32).

⁵⁶ Deir Chelouit IV, 27–36.

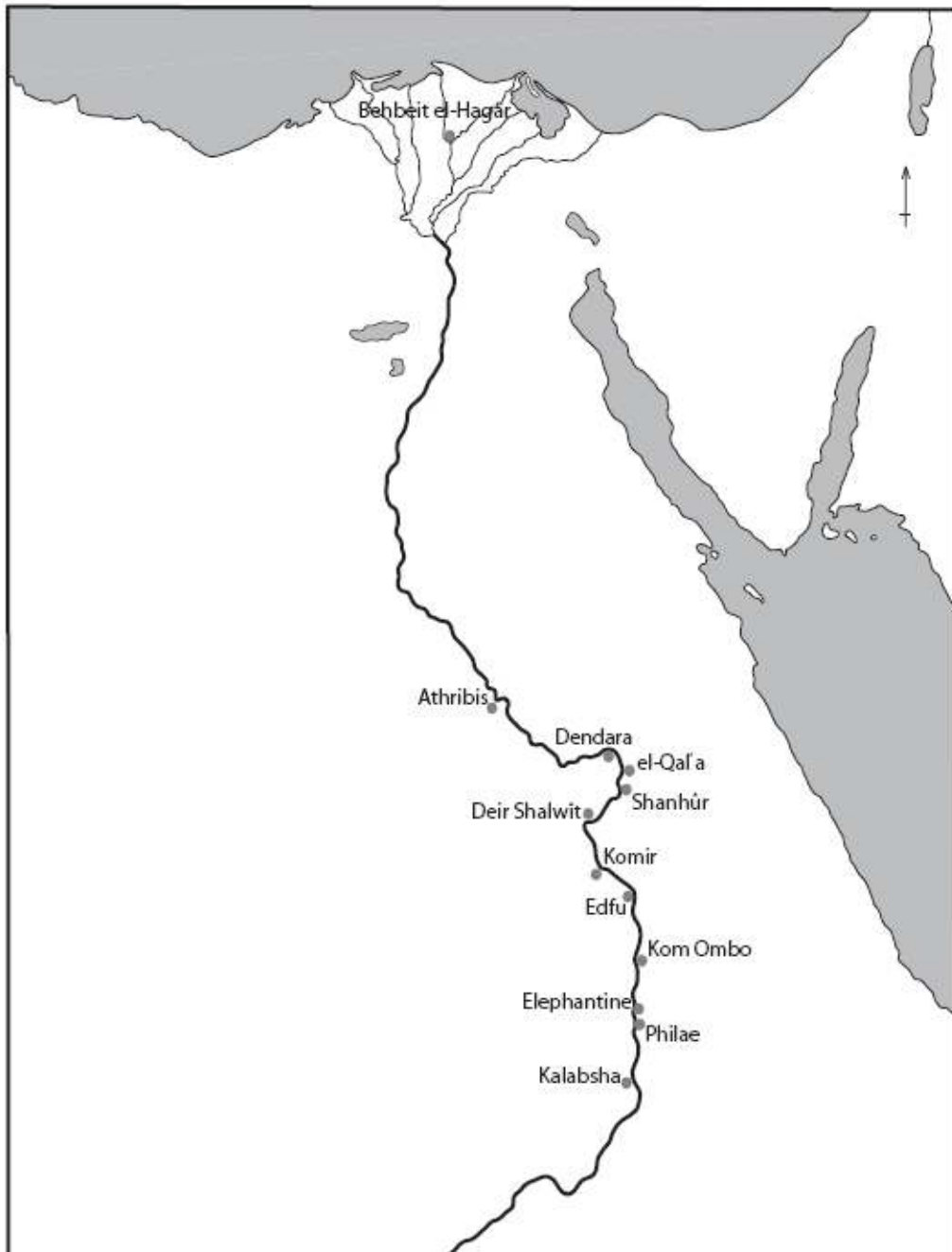
⁵⁷ Kom Ombo I, 294–299. A few of the inscriptions had been published already by DE MORGAN (1909:199, no. 807).

⁵⁸ el-Qal'a II, 63–98, nos. 174–216, and Shanhûr I, 113–132, and plates 84–113.

⁵⁹ Shanhûr I, 93–112. See also COPPENS (1999:88–90; 2003a).

⁶⁰ NIEDERBERGER (1999:130).

the decorative scheme of the complex at Dendara and the study of the role the ensemble played at the time of the New Year by Cauville,⁶¹ and the important research Corthals has recently done on the decorative scheme and function of the complex of *nabet* and court from the temples of Dendara and Edfu.⁶²



⁶¹ CAUVILLE (2001:26–34; 2002a:35–49).

⁶² CORTHALS (2003:122–178).

*Fig. 2 Location of the complexes of wabet and court*⁶³

(plan by the L. Vařeková)

The aim and scope of the present study

The publication of the architecture of the complexes at Kalabsha and Deir Shalwât, the inscriptions from el-Qal'a, Shanhûr and Kom Ombo and the long available but hardly touched material from the open court in the temple of Isis at Philae has in recent years greatly increased the architectural, textual and decorative material at hand for the study of the function and development of the complex of *wabet* and court and has opened up new perspectives for an in-depth study of this ensemble – the topic of the present volume.⁶⁴

The focus of the present study intends to differ from the previous approaches to the complex of *wabet* and court. A glance at the various aforementioned older studies, almost all devoted to a specific *wabet* and court in a particular temple, clearly reveals that each complex — despite numerous intrusions of the local theology in the decorative scheme and function of each individual ensemble — contains a number of recurring characteristic components in its architectural layout and in the decorative scheme applied to its walls. These essential or basic components clearly identify the complex and set it apart from any other area of the temple. Instead of studying the function of an individual complex in a single temple, like Alliot for Edfu or Mariette for Dendara, the present study aims to bring together the common characteristics and essential components of all ensembles in order to get a better understanding of the ensemble's role in the temple and its development over time.

A paper of C. Traunecker at the third *Ägyptologische Tempeltagung* in Hamburg in June 1994⁶⁵ marked the first attempt to gather the typical components of the various complexes and study the development over time in the architecture, decorative scheme and function of the complex. Traunecker was closely involved in the epigraphic work taking place since the 1980s in the complex at el-Qal'a and in the 1990s in the 'seat of the first feast' at Shanhûr. The

⁶³ An overview of the plausible reasons why there is an obvious concentration of temples that contained a complex of *wabet* and court in Upper Egypt will be covered in detail in Chapter 2.

⁶⁴ The aim of the study was presented in COPPENS (1999:90–92). As a member of the *Belgian Archaeological and Epigraphic Mission to Shanhûr (Upper Egypt)* of KULeuven, Belgium, I had the opportunity to participate in the archaeological and epigraphic work in the 'seat of the first feast' in the temple of Shanhûr between 1996 and 2000. During that period I also managed to visit on more than one occasion almost all complexes that feature in this study.

⁶⁵ The paper was published in the proceedings of the conference: TRAUNECKER (1995).

present study, in whose conception Traunecker also played a crucial role,⁶⁶ aims to build further on his initial research and provide an in depth study of the outlook, function and development of the complex of *wabet* and court on the basis of all available textual and decorative material.⁶⁷ This volume does not intend to study in detail all events that took place at the time of the New Year or during the *Xnm-ıtn* rituals, which were carried out not only on the days surrounding the arrival of the New Year but on several occasions throughout the year,⁶⁸ since it has long been established that the complex of *wabet* and court played an important role during these rituals and processions. Although numerous references will in the course of the study be made to the New Year and the *Xnm-ıtn* ritual, the present work intends in essence to take a closer look at the complex itself: its layout, decorative scheme, development, and the rituals performed within.

The first chapter of the volume aims to give a brief introduction to each of the thirteen temples in which a complex of *wabet* and court has been identified, with a focus on its location, layout and the main research conducted on site, before introducing the physical components of the individual complexes themselves: its location in the temple — with particular interest to its specific position with regard to the main sanctuary, the chambers and crypts located in its vicinity and the structures on the roof of the temple — its general orientation⁶⁹ and layout, and, where possible, information on its excavation.⁷⁰

On the basis of the description of the individual complexes the second chapter intends to put a time frame on the occurrence of the ensemble in the temple, to place it both within the temple and the whole of Egypt, and to give an overview of and developments in its layout. The third chapter gathers the numerous designations given to the ensemble by the Egyptians. It includes an analysis of the terms in use for both parts of the complex and their development over time as these various designations appear to illustrate quite different

⁶⁶ See ‘preface and acknowledgements’.

⁶⁷ Preliminary results of this research have been published in COPPENS (2002a; 2002b; 2005b).

⁶⁸ The festival calendar in the hypostyle hall of Dendara mentions for instance the occurrence of the *Xnm-ıtn* also on Thoth 20, Khoiak 26, full moon in Pachon, and new moon in Epiphi. GRIMM (1994: calendar J).

⁶⁹ In order to avoid confusion the orientation of the axis of the temple and of the complex will always be given from the entrance to the temple towards the sanctuary.

⁷⁰ Due to the state of preservation and publication of the individual complexes it is not possible to describe all these aspects for every single ensemble. For instance only the complex of Shanhûr was excavated in detail.

aspects of the complex, such as its architectural appearance and the nature and period of the ritual activities performed in it.

The fourth chapter focuses on the five complexes in which the decorative scheme and inscriptions have been preserved to such a degree that a detailed study and analysis of the decorative programme applied to its walls can be carried out: Philae (Ptolemaios II), Edfu (Ptolemaios IV), Dendara (Cleopatra VII), Shanhûr (Caligula), and el-Qal'a (Claudius). The main part of this chapter entails a detailed description, reproduction and analysis of the scenes and inscriptions from the open court in the temple of Philae, since – unlike the decorative schemes from all the other complexes – this material has not been studied before. Following an in-depth analysis of the decorative scheme of the complex in Philae, the reliefs and inscriptions of the four other remaining ensembles will be dealt with in less detail, since this research has already been carried out by other scholars. Unlike almost all previous studies, this one no longer regards the different complexes and their decorative programmes in their individuality, but as a part of a group of ensembles that formed an essential component of an ancient Egyptian temple from the end of the Late Period well into Roman times. The fifth chapter aims to bring together the common characteristics and essential components of all ensembles in order to get a better understanding of its role in the temple, its development over time, and the influence of other rites and rituals on the activities performed within.

The sixth and final chapter provides a study of the complex's many proposed architectural precursors from pre-Ptolemaic times, building on a comprehensive study of the complex of *wabet* and court in Ptolemaic and Roman times as carried out in the previous chapters. This includes architectural precursors, such as Room E1 on the roof of the temple of Hibis in the el-Kharga oasis, the so-called 'throne-room' or Ra-Harakhte chapel in a number of temples of Amun in Nubia, the Edifice of Taharqa at the Sacred Lake of Karnak, and the Sw . t Ra . w in various New Kingdom temples.⁷¹

⁷¹ For previous studies on possible Pharaonic and Nubian precursors of the complex of *wabet* and court, consult BADAWY (1975:90) and TRAUNECKER (1995:272–275 – both on Nubian temples); WAITKUS (1995:290–292 – Temple of Hibis); ARNOLD (1999:278) and NIEDERBERGER (1999:114–118; 120–121; 125–126 – both on the solar courts in New Kingdom temples); COONEY (2000 – the Edifice of Taharqa near the Sacred Lake in Karnak), and COPPENS (2002a:315–316; 2008a – Old Kingdom monuments).

In essence, following a brief introduction to the thirteen temples that appear to contain this ensemble in their core and to the complexes themselves (Chapter 1), the following chapters will focus on the ensemble's location, orientation, layout, and chronology (2), the designations used by the Egyptians to refer to this complex (3), and the decorative scheme applied to its walls (4 and 5), in order to gain a better insight into the activities performed in the complex and its role within the temple. With the main components of a typical complex of *wabet* and court in mind, the question will be raised whether and to what degree various older spaces in temples from the New Kingdom, the Third Intermediate Period and the Late Period correspond to the image of *wabet* and court as it is known from later temples (6).

1. Individual complexes of *wabet* and court

1.1 Elephantine: Temple of Khnum

The island of Elephantine (Abw), located in the middle of the Nile opposite the city of Aswan and just north of the first cataract (fig. 2), was inhabited almost continuously from Neolithic times into the Arab period. The archaeological research on the island started in the first decade of the 20th century and has continued ever since.⁷² Since 1969 the *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Kairo* and the *Schweizer Institut für Ägyptische Bauforschung und Altertumskunde* are carrying out systematic excavations of the temples and settlements at Elephantine.⁷³

The temple of Khnum⁷⁴ is located in the south–east part of the island and built along a south–east to north–west axis. The core of the temple of Khnum, including the complex of *wabet* and court, dates from the reign of Nectanebo II and replaced a monument from the New Kingdom with Late Period additions.⁷⁵ The long use of the temple as a stone–quarry has led to its almost complete destruction, with the exception of some relief fragments. The plan of the temple can only be reconstructed on the basis of the remaining foundations. The central part of the temple (fig. 3–4) consists of three rectangular shrines preceded by a transversal hall. The hall provides on either side access to a small room from which an ambulatory departs, surrounding the three central sanctuaries and leading to five rooms at the rear wall of the monument. The staircase to the roof of the temple is located to the south of the ambulatory. The foundation near the staircase contains two crypts. Two columned transversal halls, each containing four columns and providing access to a series of side rooms,

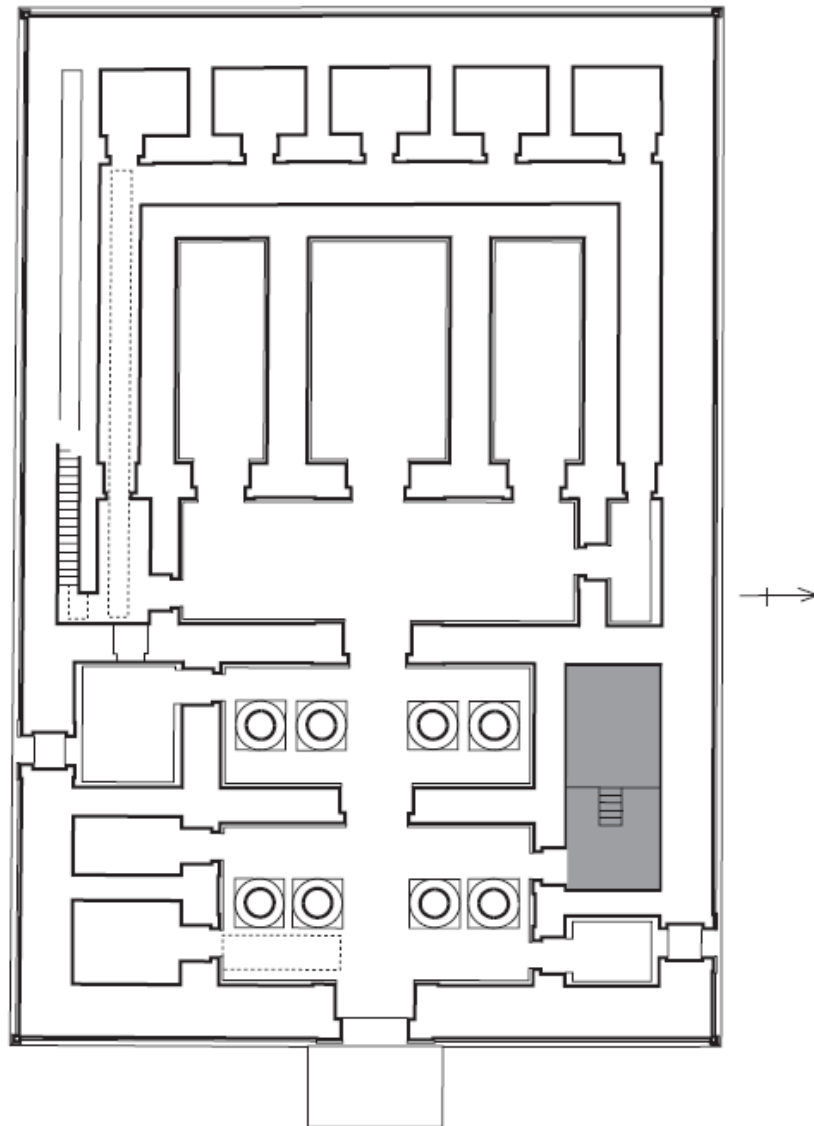
⁷² In general: PM V 224–229; LdÄ I, 1217–1225; and OEAE I, 465–467. For an overview of the excavations prior to 1969 consult KAISER – GROSSMANN – HAENY – JARITZ (1970:87–90).

⁷³ The result of the work of both institutes is published mainly in preliminary excavation reports in *MDAIK* and in the Elephantine–series in *Archäologische Veröffentlichungen* (AV). The latest preliminary report gives a detailed bibliographical overview of all publications of the two institutes since 1969: DREYER (2005:13, n. 1).

⁷⁴ PM V, 227 and LdÄ I, 1221–1222. See especially RICKE (1960); LASKOWSKA–KUSZTAL (1996:6–11); and NIEDERBERGER (1999). The preliminary reports on the work in the temple of Khnum can be consulted in the annual *MDAIK* – an overview of all relevant reports is given in NIEDERBERGER (1999:9–10). For older research on site consult NIEDERBERGER (1999:15–16). On the re–use of the temple in Late Antiquity and Early Medieval times: GROSSMANN (1980); F. ARNOLD (2003).

⁷⁵ See for instance KAISER (1997).

precede the most sacred part of the temple. In front of the temple used to be a small court and the entire monument was surrounded by an enclosure wall.



*Fig. 3 The core of the temple of Khnum from the reign of Nectanebo II
(drawing by L. Vařeková after NIEDERBERGER 1999: plate 40)*

The relief decoration of the interior of the monument also dates to the reign of Nectanebo II, but the exterior decoration was only finished at the time of Ptolemaios VIII Euergetes II.⁷⁶ The structure was enlarged in Ptolemaic times with the addition of a pronaos under the reigns of Ptolemaios VI Philometor and Ptolemaios VIII Euergetes II. An open court, surrounded

⁷⁶ LASKOWSKA-KUSZTAL (1996:3–4; 7–9); and JENNI (1998).

by columns on three of its four sides, and a pylon and cult terrace were added in Roman times, most likely during the reign of Augustus.⁷⁷

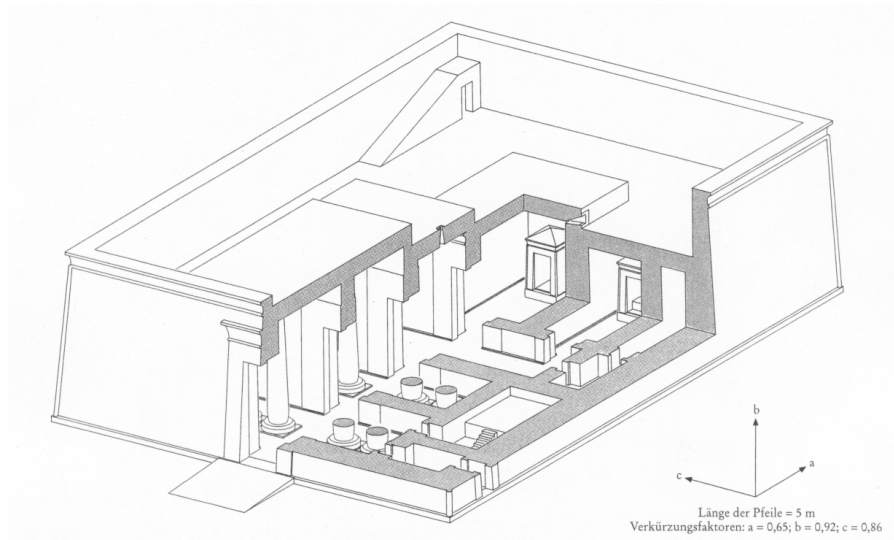


Fig. 4 Axonometric drawing of the core of the temple of Khnum
(NIEDERBERGER 1999:17, fig. 1)

In 1990 Niederberger was the first to point out the presence of a complex of *wabet* and court in the core of the temple from the reign of Nectanebo II.⁷⁸ (fig. 3–5) The complex, which lies parallel to the axis of the temple, is accessible through a doorway in the north–west corner of the first hypostyle hall. The entire space measures 3.71 x 9.25 m and runs the length of the second hypostyle hall. The identification of the complex is in part based on similarities in the layout of the monument with the contemporary temple of Behbeit el–Hagar and other, better preserved Upper Egyptian Ptolemaic temples,⁷⁹ but also on the remains of the foundations of this space.⁸⁰ The layout of the foundation walls of the temple indicates that the orientation of this room differs from all other spaces in the temple as the transversal foundation wall, which runs the length of the north–west wall of the first hypostyle hall, stops at its south–east edge – at the beginning of the complex.⁸¹ The remaining traces of the foundations of the room reveal a difference in the floor level of the two halves of the room: the north–west half of the room is located at a more elevated position than the north–east half. (fig. 5) The foundations

⁷⁷ JARITZ (1980:13–44), and LASKOWSKA–KUSZTAL (1996:4; 9–11).

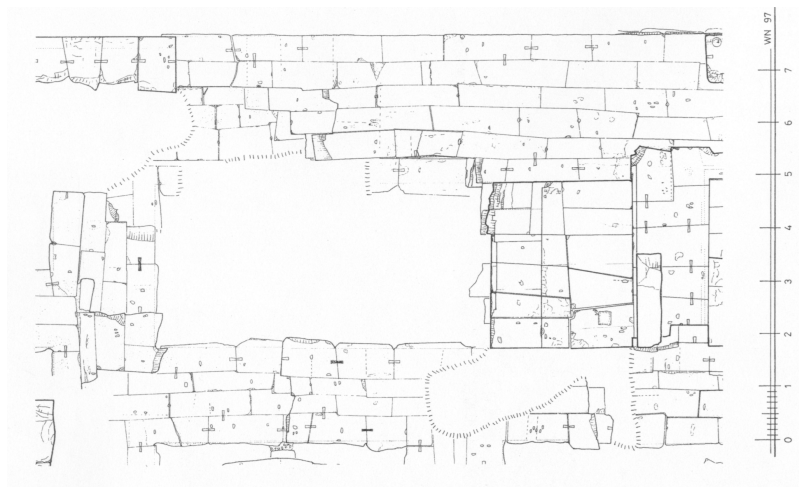
⁷⁸ NIEDERBERGER (1990:192).

⁷⁹ NIEDERBERGER (1990:192; 1999:120–121, 125–126).

⁸⁰ NIEDERBERGER (1990:192; 1999:44–46).

⁸¹ NIEDERBERGER (1999:18, fig. 2).

also suggest the presence of a small staircase in the middle of the north–east half of the room, but there are no traces of any partition between both halves of the space. In the absence of any remains of the roof of the temple, it cannot be established whether the north–east half of the room was open to the light of day, but the remaining architectural elements of this space do suggest the presence of an open(?) court and an elevated *wabet*. Numerous fragments of the decorative scheme of the temple have been recovered during the excavations or were re-used in the Christian church that was erected on the site of the temple, but not a single fragment could be attributed to the complex with any degree of certainty.⁸²



*Fig. 5 The foundations of the complex of wabet and court in the temple of Khnum
(NIEDERBERGER 1999:44, fig. 20 and plate 11c)*

⁸² LASKOWSKA–KUSZTAL (1996:58–61, and 67–70).

1.2 Behbeit el-Hagar: Temple of Isis and Osiris

Behbeit el-Hagar (ḫr Hby.t) is located to the north of Sebennytos (Samannûd) on the west bank of the Damietta branch of the Nile.⁸³ (fig. 2) The entire temple, located within a large brick enclosure wall, has been reduced to several large heaps of stones following the collapse of the building in early Roman imperial times.⁸⁴ The state of preservation of the monument has made it difficult to reconstruct its original layout, but the work of C. Favard-Meeks in the final decades of the 20th century, which has been crucial for our understanding of the temple, resulted in a hypothetical reconstruction of its layout and decorative scheme.⁸⁵ (fig. 6) Favard-Meeks also initiated plans for the excavation and reconstruction of the site, but very little has been undertaken in recent years.⁸⁶

The temple of Behbeit el-Hagar, the Hby.t or the “Festival Hall/Pavilion”,⁸⁷ is orientated along a west-east axis. The construction of the core of the temple dates back to the reign of pharaoh Nectanebo II, but might already have been on the drawing board at the time of Nectanebo I.⁸⁸ The heart of the temple is formed by a sanctuary dedicated to Isis, which is surrounded by an ambulatory that provides access to a series of chapels on its north, east and south sides. The chapels on the east side (Hw.t-rs-wDA, Hw.t-sr and ḫr-qA) are devoted mainly to the rebirth of Osiris or his transformation into a falcon. A staircase in the south-west corner provided access to the chapel of Osiris-Hemag (Hw.t-HmAg) and the ‘Divine Place’ (nTrꜣy) on the roof of the temple. The chapels on the north and south sides of the sanctuary of Isis have not yet been identified with any degree of certainty. It is at present also uncertain whether the sanctuary of Isis opened up immediately into the hypostyle hall⁸⁹ or whether one or more transversal halls were still inserted in between the sanctuary and the

⁸³ PM IV, 40–42; LdÄ I, 682–683, and OEAE I, 174–175.

⁸⁴ FAVARD-MEEKS (1997:104).

⁸⁵ The main result of the research is gathered in FAVARD-MEEKS (1991). Aspects of the work at Behbeit el-Hagar can also be found in FAVARD-MEEKS (1990; 1996; 1997). The studies of Favard-Meeks contain a detailed bibliography of previous studies on the temple of Behbeit el-Hagar. The most noteworthy of the older studies are ROEDER (1909); EDGAR – ROEDER (1913); MONTET (1949), and LEZINE (1949).

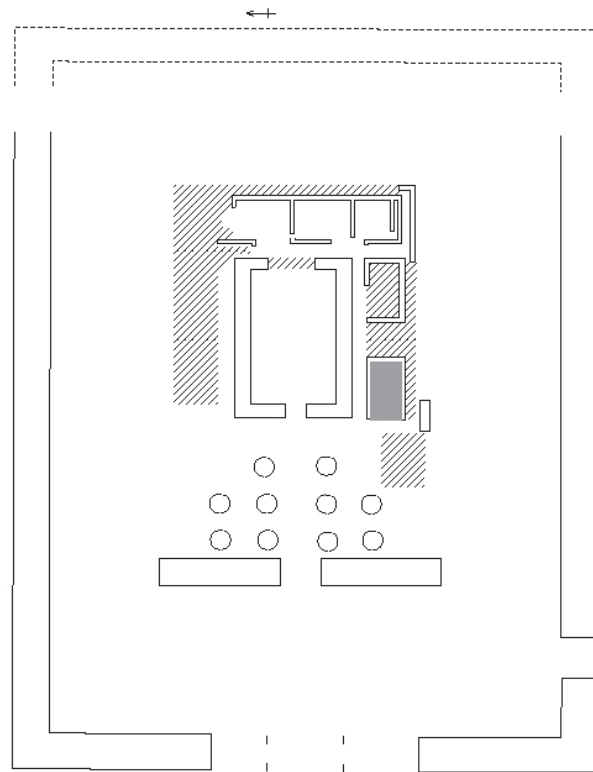
⁸⁶ See for instance FAVARD-MEEKS (1995).

⁸⁷ FAVARD-MEEKS (1991:435–438). See also Wb III, 60, and SPENCER (1984:80–85).

⁸⁸ FAVARD-MEEKS (1997:103).

⁸⁹ According to the reconstruction of FAVARD-MEEKS (1991: plate 1; 1997:105, fig. 1).

hypostyle hall.⁹⁰ The core of the temple was provided with a decorative scheme under the rules of Nectanebo II and Ptolemaios II Philadelphos. A columned hall was subsequently added in front of the sanctuary at the time of Ptolemaios III Euergetes I.



*Fig. 6 Hypothetical reconstruction of the plan of the temple of Behbeit el-Hagar
(drawing by L. Vařeková after FAVARD–MEEKS 1997:105, fig. 1)*

In 1990 Favard–Meeks suggested that the room in the core of the temple furthest to the south–west, located immediately to the east of the staircase to the roof, might have been a complex of *wabet* and court.⁹¹ Her argument for the presence of the ensemble in the temple is very circumstantial and based mostly on similarities in the layout of the temple of Behbeit el-Hagar and several better preserved Upper Egyptian counterparts. This is especially the case with the temples of Horus at Edfu (fig. 11) and Hathor at Dendara (fig. 17), which also

⁹⁰ NIEDERBERGER (1999:117–118, n. 691) proposes the presence of at least one transversal room. The plan in the Description V, pl. 30 suggests the presence of two rooms in between the sanctuary and the hypostyle hall.

⁹¹ FAVARD–MEEKS (1990:32).

include such a complex in the heart of the temple near the staircase to the roof.⁹² The general layout of the core of the temple of Behbeit el-Hagar also finds its counterpart in the contemporary temple of Khnum on the island of Elephantine where the complex is located in a very similar position.⁹³ (figs. 3–5) Remarkably, neither in her final publication of the scenes and decorative scheme of the temple of Behbeit el-Hagar⁹⁴ nor in any other article on the monument did Favard-Meeks repeat her suggestion regarding the presence of an ensemble in the temple, and it appears that she no longer stands behind this hypothesis.

It needs to be remarked that the temples of Behbeit el-Hagar, Edfu and Dendara share one more similarity in their layout that was not touched upon by Favard-Meeks, but which provides another indirect argument for the presence of the complex of *wabet* and court in the temple. The staircase at Behbeit el-Hagar led to several rooms, one of them being the chapel of Osiris-Hemag which was most likely located in the north-east corner of the roof.⁹⁵ Favard-Meeks's study of the chapel of Osiris-Hemag revealed that this space had been dedicated to the regeneration of Osiris. Her analysis of the term HmAg (t) indicates that it refers both to a place of embalming and the goldsmith's workshop. In both places a body or statue would receive some sort of 'wrapping': linen in the embalmers' workshop and amulets and coverings of precious materials at the goldsmiths. The coverings and amulets made from precious materials not only protect, but also play a role in the process of regeneration and transformation.⁹⁶ In the temple of Dendara the staircase outside the complex of *wabet* and court provides access, halfway to the roof, to the 'goldhouse' or the 'atelier des orfèvres' (Hw . t nbw), which is associated with the complex.⁹⁷ And the north half of the roof of the temple of Dendara contains a series of chapels devoted to the resurrection of Osiris.⁹⁸ Little remains of the constructions on the roof of the temple of Edfu, but several inscriptions

⁹² ARNOLD (2003:116) also suggested similarities with the temple of Hathor at Dendara.

⁹³ An observation made by NIEDERBERGER (1999:117–118). For the temple of Khnum at Elephantine, see already chapter 1.1.

⁹⁴ FAVARD-MEEKS (1991).

⁹⁵ FAVARD-MEEKS (1991:367–368).

⁹⁶ See for instance WILKINSON (1984), and ŽABKAR (1985).

⁹⁷ Dendara VIII, 127–145 and plates dcccii–dcccxiv. See also DERCHAIN (1990) and WAITKUS (1995:288). The association between the 'goldhouse' and the complex of *wabet* and court has already been discussed in the introduction to this volume.

⁹⁸ See especially CAUVILLE (1997a).

remained that also refer to the presence of a ‘goldhouse’ and Osirid chapels on the roof.⁹⁹ The chapel of Osiris–Hemag on the roof of the temple at Behbeit el–Hagar might well be considered an earlier example of the ‘goldhouse’ and the Osirid chapels in Edfu and Dendara. Tempting as these similarities in the layout might be, the presence of a staircase and the chapel of Osiris–Hemag at Behbeit el–Hagar merely suggests but does not necessarily prove the presence of a complex of *wabet* and court at the foot of the staircase.

A single inscription in the pr–qA–chapel of the temple refers to the *wabet*, more specifically to the god ‘Anubis, who is in the *wabet*’ (Inpw imy wab.t).¹⁰⁰ It cannot be established with any degree of certainty whether the term ‘*wabet*’ refers on this occasion to a room in the temple of Behbeit el–Hagar or to the mummification workshop with which Anubis, as patron saint of the embalmers and protector of the necropolis, was often associated.¹⁰¹ The complete absence of Anubis in the typical decorative scheme of the other ensembles¹⁰² suggests that perhaps the mortuary or mummification workshop is meant in this case.

The few remaining blocks as yet uncovered in this part of the temple date from the time of Ptolemaios II Philadelphos and again provide only very indirect evidence for the presence of the ensemble. Two distinct types of relief were applied on the blocks recovered in the area immediately to the east of the staircase. High relief, similar to that used in the sanctuary of Isis, was used in the easternmost part,¹⁰³ and sunken relief in the westernmost part of this space. The connection between these parts is far from clear on the terrain, but it might indicate the presence of a covered *wabet* (high relief), preceded by an open court (sunken relief).¹⁰⁴ These remaining fragments alone allow no reconstruction of the decorative scheme of this space or its orientation, let alone confirm the suggestion of Favard–MEEKS that these reliefs once belonged to a complex of *wabet* and court. The evidence for the presence of a complex in the temple at Behbeit el–Hagar must remain circumstantial for the time being, but it certainly cannot be ruled out given the similarities in layout with other monumental temples from Upper Egypt. Only further excavation of the site will enable us to resolve this problem.

⁹⁹ See especially Edfou I, 551–553.

¹⁰⁰ ROEDER (1909:68), and FAVARD–MEEKS (1991:208).

¹⁰¹ See in general: RÄRG, 40–45; LdÄ I, 327–333, and OEAE I, 97–98.

¹⁰² For a detailed overview of the decorative schemes of the complexes, consult Chapters 4 and 5.

¹⁰³ The presence of high relief, similar to the one used in the sanctuary of the temple, led FAVARD–MEEKS (1997:108) to suggest that this room ‘must have had a very special status’.

¹⁰⁴ FAVARD–MEEKS (1991:251–258; 1997:108).

1.3 Philae: Temple of Isis and Osiris

The island of Philae (p-ir k),¹⁰⁵ located about 8 km to the south of Aswan, became the focal point of the Isis cult in Upper Egypt in Ptolemaic and Roman times.¹⁰⁶ (fig. 2) The oldest finds on the island date back to the Late Period and include blocks from a no longer standing altar of Nubian pharaoh Taharqa (Twenty-Fifth Dynasty),¹⁰⁷ the remains of a kiosk of Psamtik II¹⁰⁸ and the re-used blocks of a temple of Amasis (Twenty-Sixth Dynasty).¹⁰⁹ The oldest preserved monuments at Philae date to the Thirtieth Dynasty: the kiosk of Nectanebo I at the south entrance staircase of the island, and the entrance gate of the same pharaoh, which was later transformed into the first pylon.¹¹⁰ (fig. 7) The central monument on the island of Philae is the temple of Isis.¹¹¹ (fig. 7–8) It has been generally accepted that the core of the temple dates to the reign of Ptolemaios II Philadelphos,¹¹² but Arnold has recently suggested that the design and perhaps even the initial stages of the construction of the temple might date back already to the reign of Nectanebo I. His assertion is based on the “pre-

¹⁰⁵ KAKOSY (1981).

¹⁰⁶ PM VI, 214–230; LdÄ IV, 1022–1027, and OEAE III, 40–44. A detailed overview of the history of the building activities on the island is found in HAENY (1985). For a general introduction see also WINTER (1972); MACQUITTY (1976); SAUNERON – STIERLIN (1978), and GIAMMARUSTI – ROCCATI (1980). The recent guide book of PETERS–DESTERACT (1997) needs to be approached with the greatest caution since the author of the volume did not seem to be aware of several recent studies on the temple and repeats outdated information. The most important studies of various aspects of the temple include LYONS (1896; 1908); ŽABKAR (1980; 1981; 1983; 1988); GUTBUB (1985:130–136); VASSILIKA (1989), and INCONNU–BOCQUILLON (2001). For the publication of the inscriptions and scenes from the temple consult Philae Bénédite; Philae I–II; and the photographs taken by the Prussian expedition to Philae and Nubia, which are available on microfiche: JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1808–1810).

¹⁰⁷ FARAG – WAHBA – FARID (1979), and HAENY (1985:201–202). Five Ramesside blocks were also discovered during excavations on the island of Philae, but it does not appear that the blocks belonged to a building on the island itself. See also WAHBA (1978).

¹⁰⁸ KADRY (1980), and HAENY (1985:202).

¹⁰⁹ FARAG – WAHBA – FARID (1977); FARID (1980), and HAENY (1985:204).

¹¹⁰ HAENY (1985:204–206), and VASSILIKA (1989:22–27). For re-used blocks from the reign of Nectanebo I, consult FARAG – WAHBA – FARID (1978).

¹¹¹ For a detailed description of the temple: HAENY (1985:206–217); GUTBUB (1985:130–134), and VASSILIKA (1989:27–38).

¹¹² See for instance HAENY (1985:206–207); VASSILIKA (1989:27), and OEAE III, 42.

Ptolemaic ground plan of the temple, which is square and has no freestanding sanctuary¹¹³. There are however several other temples in Upper Egypt that have a similar layout as the core of the temple of Isis at Philae and date without a doubt to the Ptolemaic period. This is for instance the case for the core of the temple of Hathor and Maat at Deir el-Medina from the reign of Ptolemaios IV Philopator.¹¹⁴ Although it is not possible to refute the proposition that the design of the temple dates already from the time of Nectenabo I, this issue can only be solved through a thorough investigation of the foundations of the temple. The decorative scheme applied to the walls of the interior of the temple is from the reign of Ptolemaios II Philadelphos, with a few additions from the time of his successor, Ptolemaios III Euergetes I. The pronaos was decorated under the rule of Ptolemaios VIII Euergetes II, while the outside walls of the temple received a decorative pattern during the reign of Augustus.

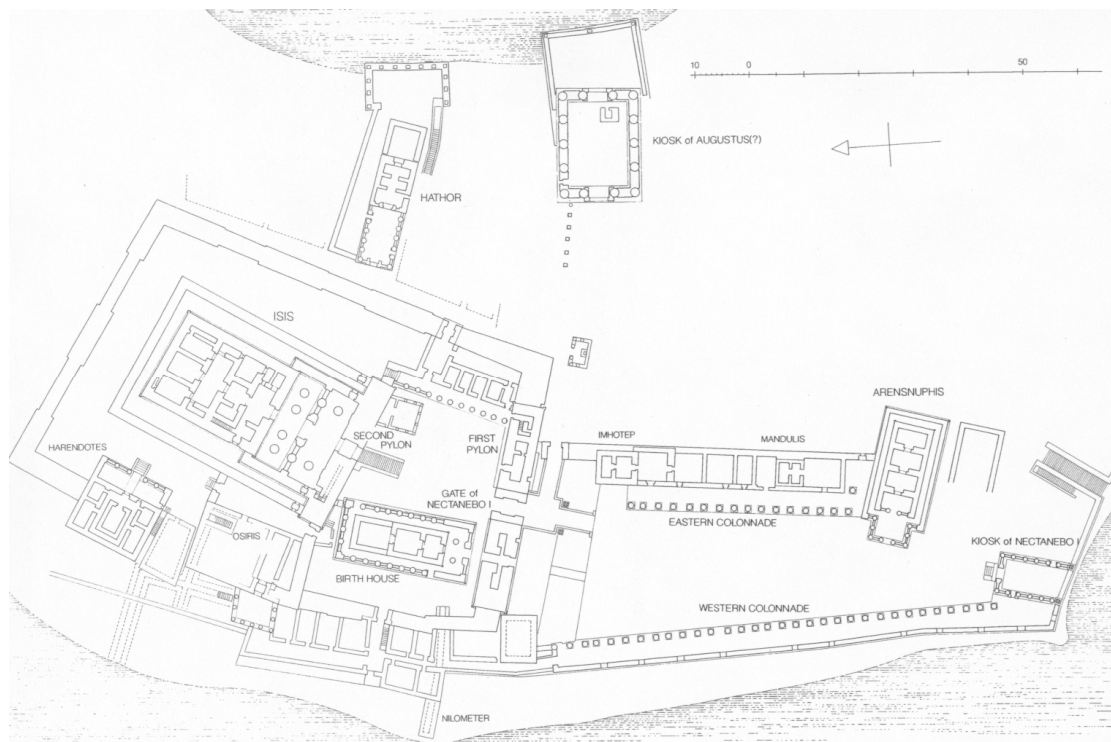


Fig. 7 The Island of Philae
(ARNOLD 1999:19, plate xv)

The core of the temple of Isis of Ptolemaios II Philadelphos is built along a central axis that runs from north to south, i.e. from the sanctuary (room X) through the ‘hall of the ennead’

¹¹³ ARNOLD (1999:122; 2003:174–175).

¹¹⁴ ARNOLD (1999:174–176), and DU BOURGUET (2002).

(VII), the ‘hall of offerings’ (V), and the ‘hall of appearance’ (I). Each of these halls provide access to one or more side chambers and to the pronaos which was only added in the time of Ptolemaios VI Philometor. (fig. 8) Unlike in most other Upper Egyptian temples,¹¹⁵ the sanctuary (X) in the temple of Isis is not surrounded by an ambulatory. The chapels of the other deities residing in the temple, to which the ambulatory usually gives access, are in the temple of Isis located to the east (XII) and west (XI) of the sanctuary.

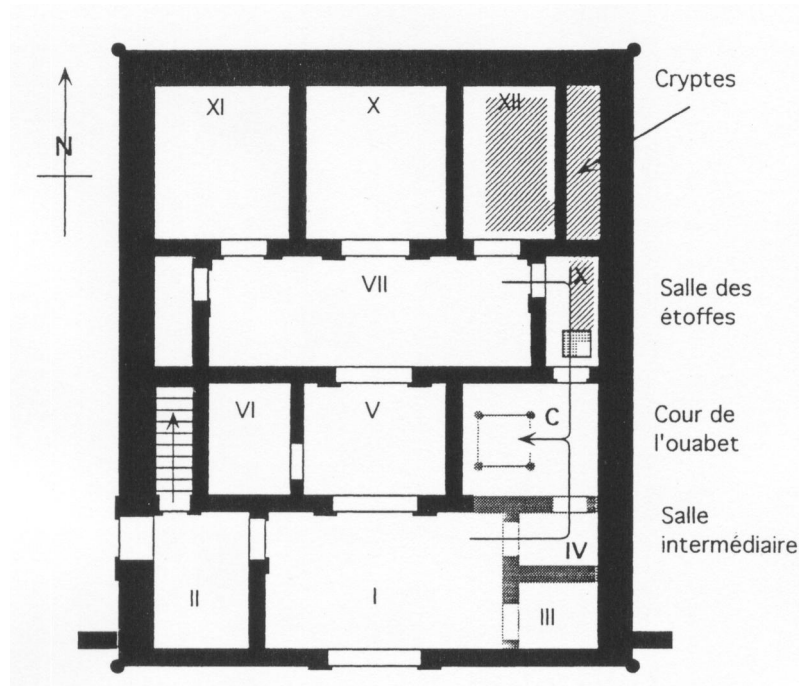


Fig. 8 The core of the temple of Isis at Philae (Ptolemaios II)
(TRAUNECKER 1995:243, fig. 1)

To the east of the main axis lies an almost square court (ca. 4.75 x 3.95 m.), open to the light of day. (fig. 8(c)–9) At present only three of its four walls still stand, and of the almost completely missing south wall only a few fragments remain above the doorway from room IV. This is an intermediate room – of which only the east wall survived – that connected the ‘hall of appearance’ (I) with the court. The open court received little to no attention until 1985 when A. Gutbub proposed to identify this court with the complex of *wabet* and court.¹¹⁶ Unfortunately Gutbub did not elaborate on the subject. His reasons for defining the open court as a complex of *wabet* and court did not stretch beyond a single paragraph and his

¹¹⁵ Consult for example the plans of Elephantine (temple of Khnum), Edfu, Kom Ombo, and Dendara in this chapter.

¹¹⁶ GUTBUB (1985:132–133).

identification was based mainly on the decorative scheme of the court. The presence of an open court in the vicinity of the sanctuary also reminded Gutbub of the location and appearance of the complex of *wabet* and court in later temples. Recent literature on the temple of Philae, whilst lacking in arguments, makes one conclude that the identification of this court as a complex of *wabet* and court has been generally accepted.¹¹⁷ In a recent article, based on a detailed study of the layout, remaining inscriptions and decorative scheme of the court, I have made a case for the identification of the open court with the complex of *wabet* and court.¹¹⁸ However an in-depth study of the decorative scheme and inscriptions of the court has never been undertaken and will form a part of the present study (Chapter 4.1.1).

The upper part of the three remaining walls of the court, in the form of a cavetto cornice, clearly shows that no roof ever covered any part of this open space. (fig. 9) This implies that a typical *wabet* as it is known from other temples (for instance fig. 1 and 12) was never erected in the open court. Various researchers, such as E. Vassilika, C. Traunecker and D. Arnold,¹¹⁹ have suggested that a partly freestanding platform, built mainly from non-durable materials, might have been erected in the west half of the court. The platform might have been covered with a roof, but no traces of such a roof can be ascertained in the court. A few traces of the floor of this platform may still be visible at its north wall. (fig. 9) In a reconstruction of the layout of the court, Arnold also suggested that two columns, connected with screen walls to the north and south wall of the court, might have divided the east part of the court from the west one, but not a single trace of such screen walls or columns can be observed in the open court.¹²⁰ The remaining decorative scheme on the walls of the court itself,¹²¹ dating from the reigns of Ptolemaios II Philadelphos and Ptolemaios III Euergetes I, indicates that this space was not orientated along the main temple axis (south to north), but perpendicular to its axis (east to west). The west wall of the open court forms its rear wall instead of the north wall.¹²²

¹¹⁷ For instance: VASSILIKA (1989:35–36); TRAUNECKER (1995:244–245); RYHINER (1995:18 and 37); ARNOLD (1999:122); NIEDERBERGER (1999:122), and CORTHALS (2003:116 and 118).

¹¹⁸ COPPENS (2006b).

¹¹⁹ VASSILIKA (1989:35–36); TRAUNECKER (1995:244–245), and ARNOLD (1999:122)

¹²⁰ ARNOLD (1999:191, fig. 139).

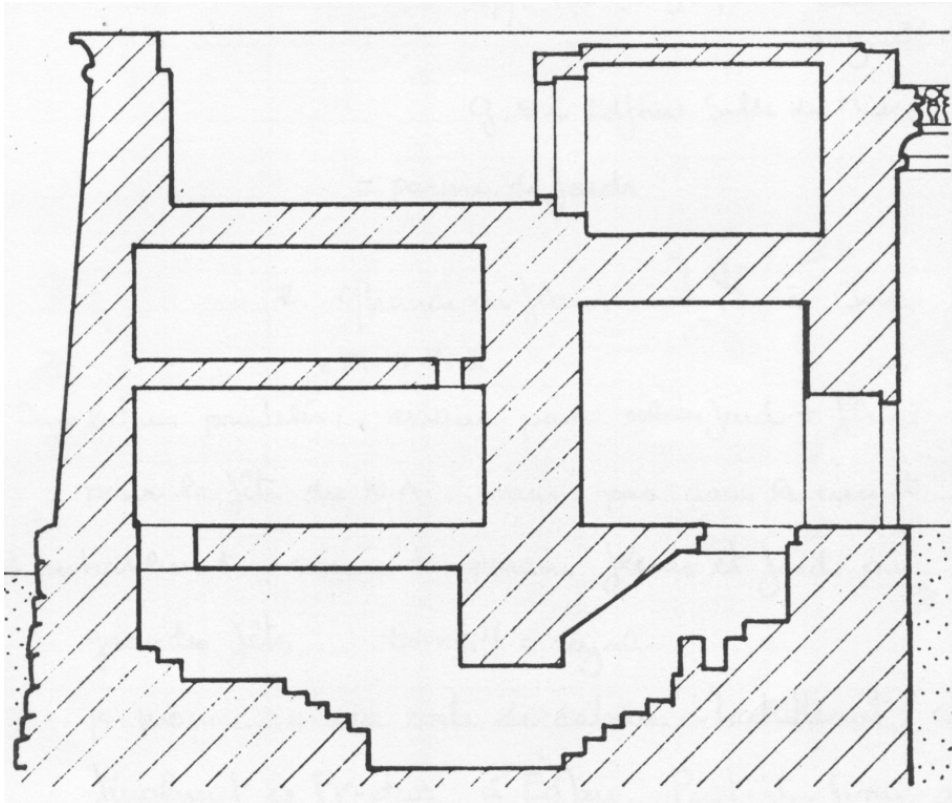
¹²¹ Philae Bénédite, 19–24 and plates VI–VIII, and JUNKER–SCHÄFER (1908–1910: photos 699–708, 711 and 1133). See also CORTHALS (2003:116–118).

¹²² GUTBUB (1985:133); VASSILIKA (1989:36), and TRAUNECKER (1995:243).



*Fig. 9 The open court in the core of the temple of Isis at Philae
(photo by the author)*

The open court is not accessible only from the south through room IV, but also from the north – and the sanctuary (X) and the ‘hall of the ennead’ (VII) – through the ‘chamber of linen’ (IX).¹²³ The entrance to the crypts of the temple is located in room IX. A descending staircase leads to a crypt *en caisson*¹²⁴ which consists of a space located underneath room XII and two superimposed rooms in the east outside wall of the temple.¹²⁵ (fig. 8 and 10)



*Fig. 10 The crypts of the temple of Isis in Philae
(LYONS 1896, pl. 5)*

The decorative scheme of room IX (fig. 66) reverses the general orientation of the decoration of the temple. Instead of depicting the gods coming from the core towards the entrance of the temple and the pharaoh from the entrance to the sanctuary, as is typical for most decorative schemes,¹²⁶ the decorative scheme of room IX has the pharaoh coming from the

¹²³ Philae Bénédite, 55–56 and plate xxi, and JUNKER–SCHÄFER (1908–1910: photos 1089, 1092, 1094, 1095, and 1097).

¹²⁴ On the term ‘en caisson’: ARNOLD (1991:211–212; 2003:43).

¹²⁵ LYONS (1896:30 and plate v), and TRAUNECKER (1994:231).

¹²⁶ GUTBUB (1985:124), and KURTH (1994a:41, 56).

core of the temple towards the open court instead to the sanctuary.¹²⁷ This suggests a very close connection between the court and room IX, which will be studied in greater detail in a later chapter (4.1.1). The staircase to the roof of the temple departs from room II, found opposite the open court. (fig. 9) The roof contained the remains of two roof chapels for the cult of Osiris in its south–east corner,¹²⁸ and traces of another two rooms (or perhaps kiosks?).¹²⁹

¹²⁷ GUTBUB (1985:132); VASSILIKA (1989:35), and TRAUNECKER (1995:244).

¹²⁸ Philae Bénédite, 119–127, and plates xxxv–xlii.

¹²⁹ VASSILIKA (1989:36).

1.4 Edfu: Temple of Horus

The temple precinct of Edfu (DbAt) is located on the west bank of the Nile, almost halfway between Luxor and Aswan.¹³⁰ (fig. 2) In Ptolemaic times a new temple of Horus replaced a series of older monuments. The remains of previous structures at Edfu date from the Second Intermediate Period, the New Kingdom and the Late Period, while inscriptions refer to the oldest temple on site, erected at the time of Senusret I of the Twelfth Dynasty.¹³¹ The best known pre-Ptolemaic structure in the temple of Edfu is beyond doubt the naos of Nectanebo II inside the sanctuary of the Ptolemaic temple.¹³²

The construction of the core of the Ptolemaic Horus temple,¹³³ including the complex of *wabet* and court, was started under the reign of Ptolemaios III Euergetes I in 237 BC and finished under his successor Ptolemaios IV Philopator. (fig. 11) The main part of the temple, which was built along a south–north axis, consists of a free–standing bark sanctuary, surrounded by an ambulatory leading to a series of chapels dedicated to the deities residing at Edfu. The bark sanctuary is preceded by the transversal ‘hall of the ennead’, the ‘hall of the offerings’ and the hypostyle hall, with each of these halls providing access to a series of side–chambers. The east and west walls of the ‘hall of the offerings’ features an entrance to a staircase to the roof. The east staircase makes a series of 90 degree turns, while the west staircase runs in a straight line to the roof of the temple. The reliefs in this part of the temple

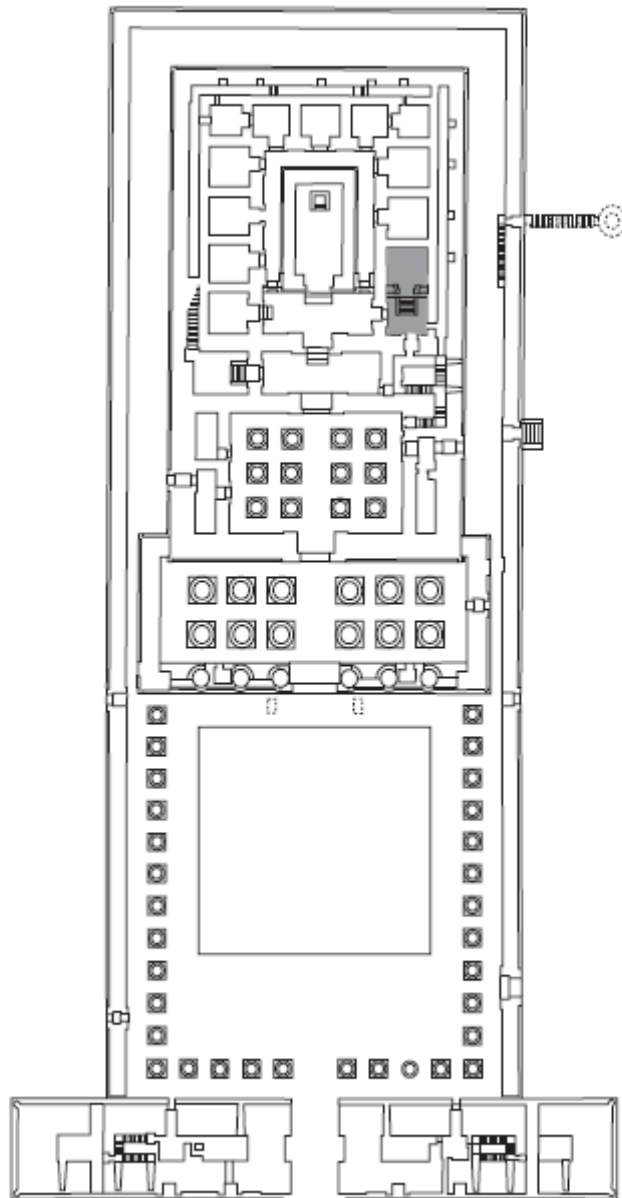
¹³⁰ PM VI, 119–168; LdÄ VI, 323–331, and OEAE I, 436–438.

¹³¹ On the pre-Ptolemaic remains found at Edfu, see for instance LdÄ VI, 323–324 and n. 9–21; LOEBEN (1990), and ARNOLD (1999:59 and 133).

¹³² See Edfou I, 9–11.

¹³³ For a general introduction to the temple of Horus at Edfu, consult SAUNERON – STIERLIN (1978); CAUVILLE (1984); AUFRERE – GOLVIN – GOYON (1991:248–255), and KURTH (1994a; 1994b; 2004b). The most important studies of various aspects of the temple include FAIRMAN (1935; 1954–1955; 1974); BLACKMAN – FAIRMAN (1942; 1943; 1944; 1946; 1949; 1950); GARDINER (1944); ALLIOT (1949–1954); DE WIT (1961); DERCHAIN (1962a); REYMOND (1963; 1969); MEEKS (1972); IBRAHIM (1975); KURTH (1983a; 1991); CAUVILLE (1983; 1987a); FINNESTAD (1985); GERMOND (1986), and LABRIQUE (1992). For the publication of the scenes and inscriptions, consult Edfou I–XV and CHASSINAT (1939). Since 1986, the Egyptological Department of the University of Hamburg under the direction of D. Kurth has undertaken a long–term project with the aim to translate and study the Ptolemaic inscriptions and reliefs from the temple of Edfu — especially the texts from volumes IV to VIII (for more information: <http://www.rz.uni-hamburg.de/Edfu-Projekt/Edfu.html>). Two volumes with translations have already appeared: KURTH (1998; 2004a). The members of the *Edfu-Projekt* at the University of Hamburg also publish the series *Die Inschriften des Tempels von Edfu. Begleitheft*. KURTH (1990; 1994c; 1999), and KOCKELMANN (2002).

date from in between the rules of Ptolemaios IV Philopator and Ptolemaios VIII Euergetes II. During the reign of the latter ruler the pronaos was added to the main part of the temple and work was started on the enclosure wall surrounding the building, which was finished at the time of Ptolemaios IX Soter II, and on the forecourt and pylon. The work at Edfu was concluded during the reign of Ptolemaios XII Neos Dionysos in 57 BC.



*Fig. 11 The temple of Horus at Edfu
(drawing by L. Vařeková after ARNOLD 1999:218, fig. 170)*

The complex of *wabet* and court is located to the east of the main sanctuary.¹³⁴ (fig. 11–12) The main entrance into the ensemble is through a doorway in the east wall of the ‘hall of the ennead’ in front of the sanctuary. A small doorway in the south wall of the open court provides another access to the court from the so-called annexe. This annexe connects the ensemble with the east staircase to the roof of the temple.¹³⁵ The lower bandeau inscription on the west outer wall of the temple specifies the dimensions of both the open court and the *wabet*: abA DfAw Hr iAb.t=s wab.t=f m-kbH=f ifdw m mH 8 or ‘the court of the food-altar is on its (= the temple’s) east side, its *wabet* in it, square rooms of 8 el’.¹³⁶ The exact dimensions of the court are 4.57 x 4.45m., while the *wabet* measures 4.07 x 4.41m.¹³⁷

The open court has not been preserved in its entirety. The west wall with the doorway from the ‘hall of the ennead’ and the north side of the court, leading up towards the *wabet*, have survived for the most part. The south and east walls are only preserved up to the beginning of the second of the original three registers. In the south-east corner of the open court a small opening provides access to a crypt *en caisson*. The crypt consists of a simple low undecorated corridor that runs the length of the temple naos.¹³⁸

The covered *wabet*, which was preserved completely including its roof, can be accessed from the open court by means of seven steps. (fig. 12) The facade of the *wabet* clearly separates this chapel from the open court. On either side of the staircase a low screen wall, attached to a column with a composite capital and a broken-door lintel,¹³⁹ screens the interior of the *wabet*. A wooden door could when necessary completely separate the *wabet* from the open court. On top of the abaci of the columns an architrave covered the passageway, while a cavetto cornice crowned the top of the facade of the *wabet*. The reliefs in the complex all date from the reign of Ptolemaios IV Philopator.

¹³⁴ Edfou I, 409–445 and plates xxxi–xxxiv. The complex of *wabet* and court from the temple of Horus at Edfu has already been studied in detail. Consult ALLIOT (1949:341–374); FAIRMAN (1954–1955:183–189); CAUVILLE (1987:88–89a); TRAUNECKER (1995:244–248), and CORTHALS (2003:120–178).

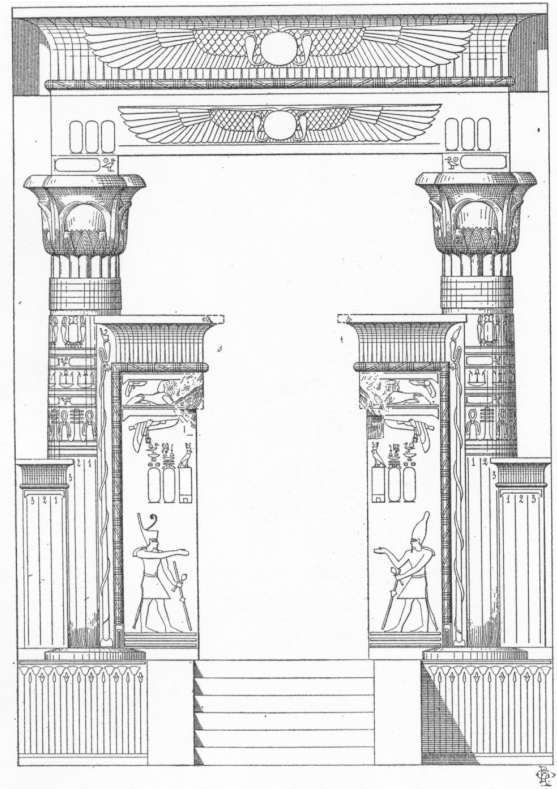
¹³⁵ Edfou I, 585–592.

¹³⁶ Edfou VII, 16, 1. For a translation of the text, see DE WIT (1961:308–309), and KURTH (1994:76).

¹³⁷ CAUVILLE – DEVAUCHELLE (1994:24). The average el would in this case be in between 50.88 and 57.13 cm.

¹³⁸ Edfou I, plate I, and TRAUNECKER (1994:34).

¹³⁹ On these architectural features, consult ARNOLD (1999:303–304; 2003:211).



*Fig. 12 The facade of the wabet at Edfu
(Arnold 1999:170, fig. 117, and Edfou I, plate xxxiiva)*

Immediately to the south of the ensemble a doorway leads to the annexe and on to the east stairway to the roof of the temple. The structures that once featured on the roof have been for the most part destroyed, but Lacau still found traces of a kiosk,¹⁴⁰ and the texts along the staircase mention also the presence on the roof of a 'goldhouse' (Hw. t nbw) and chapels dedicated to Osiris.¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ LACAU (1952:216–218).

¹⁴¹ Edfou I, 552–553. See also WAITKUS (1999) on the undecorated chapels on the roof of the temple of Edfu.

1.5 Kom Ombo: Temple of Sobek and Harueris

Kom Ombo (Nb.j . t) is located on the east bank of the Nile, about 40 km to the north of Aswan.¹⁴² (fig. 2) The main research at Kom Ombo was carried out in 1893 by a team under the direction of De Morgan, and in the second half of the 20th century by Gutbub.¹⁴³ Although a temple was erected during the New Kingdom at Kom Ombo,¹⁴⁴ the site only gained importance during the Ptolemaic and Roman period. The temple of Kom Ombo was erected during the reign of Ptolemaios VI Philometor and dedicated to the triads of two deities – Sobek and Harueris (Ⓐr wr or ‘Horus the Elder’) – which was reflected in the layout of the temple. (fig. 13). The temple is erected along two west-to-east running axes and its very centre is formed not by one but two freestanding sanctuaries dedicated to Sobek (south) and Harueris (north), respectively. The two sanctuaries are surrounded by an ambulatory that provides access to a series of chambers located behind them. The transversal ‘hall of the ennead’ precedes the sanctuaries and leads to the ‘hall of offerings’, where the access to the two staircases leading to the roof of the temple is located. The south staircase runs in a straight line to the roof of the temple, while the north staircase makes a series of 90 degree turns. Another transversal hall with two side chambers leads to the hypostyle hall and the pronaos. The enclosure wall that separates the temple from its surroundings contains a set of six chambers and a staircase at its back. In front of the pronaos a large open court with a colonnade is erected and a second enclosure wall encircles the entire temple.

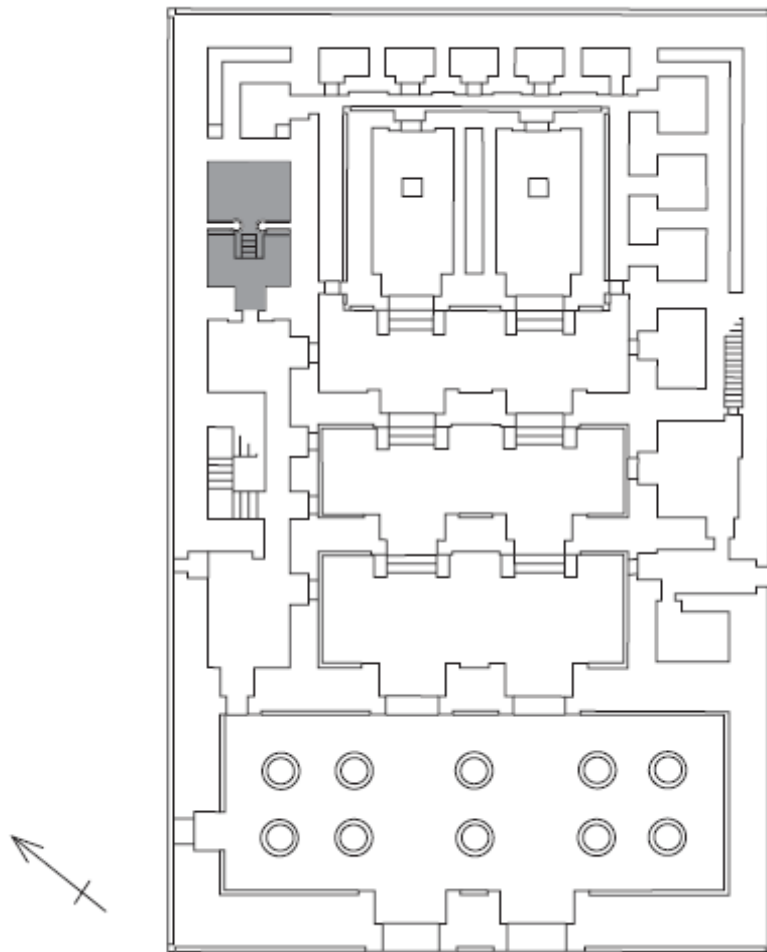
The decoration of the core of the temple, including the complex of *wabet* and court, dates from the time of Ptolemaios VI Philometor, while the decorative scheme of the other parts of the temple was only gradually engraved on the walls during the rule of his successors – especially Ptolemaios VIII Euergetes II (hypostyle hall and north rear wall) and Ptolemaios XII Neos Dionysos (pronaos and a set of rooms at the north end of the first enclosure wall). In Roman times the decorative activities continued under Augustus and Tiberius (open court), Nero and Vespasianus (outer walls of the naos), Domitianus (outside the north and

¹⁴² PM VI, 179–198; LdÄ III, 675–683, and OEAE II, 248–250.

¹⁴³ For a general introduction to the temple of Sobek and Harueris at Kom Ombo, consult GUTBUB (1972); AUFRERE – GOLVIN – GOYON (1991:259–261); ARNOLD (1999:187–189), and HÖLBL (2000:88–100). Important studies of various aspects of the temple include JUNKER (1931); BADAWY (1952); LACAU (1952:221–228); GUTBUB (1973; 1977; 1984), and DEVAUCHELLE (1994). For the publication of the reliefs and inscriptions consult DE MORGAN (1895–1909), and especially the republication of the scenes and inscriptions from the core of the temple in Kom Ombo I.

¹⁴⁴ Only very little remains of the New Kingdom temple of Kom Ombo: GUTBUB (1972:241).

south wall of the second enclosure), until the reign of Trajanus (the outside wall of the first enclosure).¹⁴⁵



*Fig. 13 The core of the temple of Kom Ombo
(drawing by L. Vařeková after ARNOLD 1999:187, fig. 136)*

The ensemble of *wabet* and court is located to the west of the two sanctuaries. A doorway in the north–west wall of the ‘hall of the ennead’ leads to an intermediary room that provides access to the complex (to the east) and at the same time to the staircase (to the west). The complex was first identified by Lacau in 1952 on the basis of comparisons with the layout and location of the complex in the temples of Edfu (fig. 11) and Dendara (fig. 17).¹⁴⁶ The complex is almost entirely destroyed and only a very small part remains of the north–east door from

¹⁴⁵ For a good overview of the various decorative phases: Kom Ombo I, xi, fig. 2.

¹⁴⁶ LACAU (1952:225). DE MORGAN (1909:199) had identified the space as some sort of corridor.

the intermediary room into the open court.¹⁴⁷ (fig. 14) The entire complex measured 6.00 by 3.80 m,¹⁴⁸ but the few remaining architectural traces do not allow us to pinpoint the exact location of the division between the open court and the *wabet* nor to obtain the exact height difference between both spaces.



*Fig. 14 The remains of the open court of the complex at Kom Ombo
(photo by the author)*

¹⁴⁷ Kom Ombo I, 291–299. See also the previous publication of a few of the inscriptions in DE MORGAN (1909:199, no. 807). The intermediary room was mistakenly identified by Gutbub and Inconnu–Bocquillon in Kom Ombo I, 291 as the open court, and the open court as the *wabet* (Kom Ombo I, 295). Gutbub made the same mistake in his entry on Kom Ombo in *LdÄ III*, 679, while his plan (*LdÄ III*, 677–678) clearly shows the existence of the intermediary room (I) in front of the complex of *wabet* and court (II). For the correct interpretation of the layout of the temple, consult LACAU (1952:225–226); NIEDERBERGER (1999:126), and ARNOLD (1999:187, fig. 38).

¹⁴⁸ Consult the plan of Lauer in LACAU (1952: plate 1).

1.6. Elephantine: Temple of Satet

The Ptolemaic temple of Satet¹⁴⁹ is located at the south end of the Elephantine Island, 30 m to the north of the temple of Khnum.¹⁵⁰ (fig. 2) The Ptolemaic monument is the latest in a long series of sanctuaries that had been erected on the island in honour of Satet since the beginning of Egyptian history. The numerous Satet sanctuaries on Elephantine include a shrine from the Early Dynastic Period, a Sixth Dynasty temple, and new monuments from the time of the Middle Kingdom rulers Mentuhotep II Nebhetepre and Senuseret I. Another temple saw the light of day during the reigns of Eighteenth Dynasty pharaohs Hatshepsut and Thutmosis III, and a kiosk or colonnade was added to this structure under Amasis during the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty.¹⁵¹ In Ptolemaic times a completely new temple was erected in honour of Satet on top of the New Kingdom monument.¹⁵² (fig. 15) The new temple of Satet was dated by Ricke to the reign of Nectanebo II on the basis of great similarities in the layout and construction of the monument with the nearby temple of Khnum of the same ruler.¹⁵³ On the basis of a building graffito in a foundation trench the construction of the temple was re-dated to the reign of Ptolemaios II Philadelphos.¹⁵⁴ A new study of the graffito revealed that the New Kingdom monument had only been taken down in 168 BC and a new temple in honor of Satet begun in 164 BC during the reign of Ptolemaios VI Philometor.¹⁵⁵

The Ptolemaic temple of Satet can only be reconstructed on the basis of the remaining elements of its foundations. (fig. 15) The core of the temple was formed by a sanctuary, surrounded by an ambulatory that provided access to the turning staircase to the roof in its south-west corner and to the crypts, located partly under the staircase. In front of the sanctuary lied a first transversal hall that provided access to a single room to the south and to

¹⁴⁹ LdÄ I, 1217–1222, and OEAE I, 465–466.

¹⁵⁰ On the island of Elephantine and the temple of Khnum, see already Chapter 1.1.

¹⁵¹ For an insight into the pre-Ptolemaic temple of Satet, consult a.o. BORCHARDT (1938:44–48); DREYER (1986), and KAISER (1971; 1988; 1997).

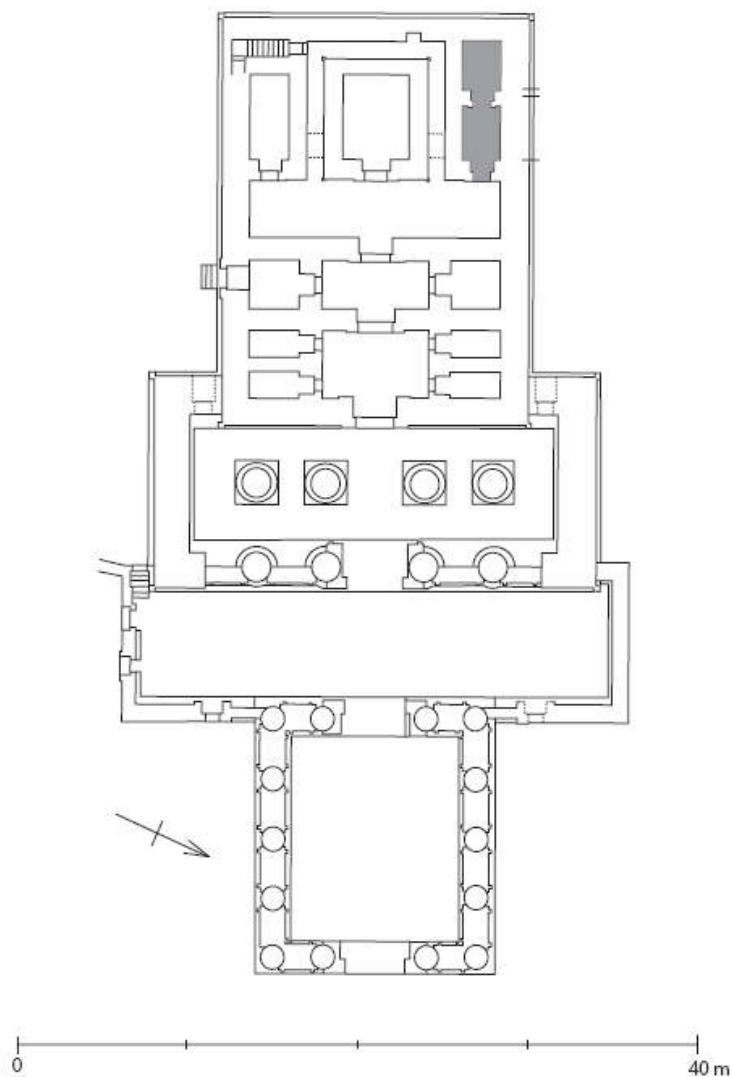
¹⁵² For a general introduction to the temple, consult ARNOLD (1999:189). The main research on the temple was carried out by RICKE (1960) and since 1969 by the members of the *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Kairo* and the *Schweizerisches Institut für Ägyptische Bauforschung und Altertumskunde*. The preliminary results of the work can be found in the reports that are regularly published in *MDAIK* (see already Chapter 1.1). See also JARITZ (1980:45–49), and LASKOWSKA–KUSZTAL (1996:11–15).

¹⁵³ RICKE (1960:13). The French excavation in the first decade of the 20th century originally dated the temple to the Roman period.

¹⁵⁴ KAISER (1971:195), and LÜDDECKENS (1971).

¹⁵⁵ VITTMANN (1997).

the presumed complex of *nabet* and court to the north of the sanctuary. The first transversal hall was preceded by two other halls, each with a series of side-rooms on both their short sides. A large freestanding kiosk was erected at the same time right in front of the temple, and a large cult terrace was installed further to the east. The kiosk was connected with the rest of the temple during the reign of Ptolemaios VIII Euergetes II through the construction of a pronaos and an enclosed open court. The decorative programme on the outside walls of the temple was only concluded in early Roman imperial times. Under the reigns of Trajanus and Antoninus Pius the reliefs on the outside walls of the temple were renovated.¹⁵⁶



*Fig. 15 The Ptolemaic Sateh temple of Elephantine
(drawing by L. Vařeková after ARNOLD 1999:189, fig. 138)*

¹⁵⁶ LASKOWSKA-KUSZTAL (1996:4).

The presumed complex of *wabet* and court is located immediately to the north of the sanctuary of the temple and accessible through the first transversal hall. The presence of the complex in the temple was suggested by Ricke in 1960 on the basis of its general layout and following comparison with similar complexes in other temples.¹⁵⁷ Since only the foundations of the space remain, almost nothing is known about these rooms. Niederberger suggested that both spaces might have been separated from each other by means of two columns and a screen wall on either side of the passageway, but this can not be established with any degree of certainty.¹⁵⁸ Likewise it is impossible to conclude whether the first room was open to the light of day, whether there was a difference in the height of the floor level between the first and second room, or whether any of the remaining reliefs of the temple derived from the complex.¹⁵⁹ The existence of the complex of *wabet* and court in the temple of Satet must therefore remain hypothetical.

¹⁵⁷ RICKE (1960:15; and plate 4).

¹⁵⁸ NIEDERBERGER (1999:123 and 126).

¹⁵⁹ LASKOWSKA-KUSZTAL (1996).

1.7 Athribis (Wannina): Temple of Repyt/Triphis

The temple precinct of the goddess Repyt or Triphis of Athribis, near the village of Wannina el-Gharbiya,¹⁶⁰ is located on the west bank of the Nile, across the river from Akhmim (Panopolis)¹⁶¹ and slightly to the south of Sohag. (fig. 2) The monumental site is for the most part covered by mounds of sand and has been excavated only partially. The most important research on site was undertaken by W.M.F. Petrie in 1908¹⁶² and by the Inspectorate of Sohag (SCA) since 1981,¹⁶³ but only few results of the work in progress have been published thus far¹⁶⁴ and the available information is vague and at times contradictory. The temple site appears to have consisted of two main temples in Ptolemaic and Roman times. The first temple dates from the reign of Ptolemaios IX Soter II¹⁶⁵ and appears to have replaced or incorporated older monuments from the Twenty-Sixth and Thirtieth Dynasty.¹⁶⁶ The second temple, which is thought to incorporate a complex of *wabet* and court, dates from the reign of Ptolemaios XII Neos Dionysos. A large part of the decorative scheme was applied to the walls during the reign of Ptolemaios XII, but the work continued also under the Roman emperors Tiberius, Claudius and Hadrianus.¹⁶⁷

The excavations of the temple of Ptolemaios XII still continue and its definite plan still needs to be drawn, but the preliminary plan already indicates that the temple had an atypical layout.¹⁶⁸ (fig. 16) The temple is orientated along a south–north axis with the typical pronaos

¹⁶⁰ PM V, 31–33, and LdÄ VII, 48. The temple site should not be confused with the site of Athribis, the capital of the 10th Lower Egyptian nome, in the Delta (LdÄ I, 519–524). On the goddess Repyt/Triphis consult RÄRG, 838–839 and LdÄ V, 236–242.

¹⁶¹ In general on the entire region: KUHLMANN (1983), and EGBERTS–MUHS–VAN DER VLIET (2002).

¹⁶² PETRIE (1908).

¹⁶³ See for instance EL–FARAG – KAPLONY–HECKEL – KUHLMANN (1985), and EL–MASRY (2003).

¹⁶⁴ EL–MASRY (2001). Certain aspects of the work at Athribis have been the subject of an M.A. thesis, a.o. ABD EL–AZIZ (1995); SHAFIK (1998), and ALI (2000). See also BAUM (1993), and CHERMETTE – GOYON (1996).

¹⁶⁵ The dating of the temple provides an adequate example of the contradictory information one finds in the as yet available literature: ARNOLD (2003:24) dates the temple to the reign of Ptolemaios VIII Euergetes II, and EL–FARAG – KAPLONY–HECKEL – KUHLMANN (1985:1) to Ptolemaios X Alexander I. The available epigraphic material proves beyond doubt that the decorative scheme of temple dates from the reign of Ptolemy IX Soter II: Petrie (1908: plates xxxi–xxxiii), and EL–MASRY (2001:213–215).

¹⁶⁶ PETRIE (1908:10–12); ARNOLD (1999:206), and EL–MASRY (2001:209–211).

¹⁶⁷ PETRIE (1908:4–10; 17–21; and plate xv); ARNOLD (1999:211–212), and EL–MASRY (2001:211–213).

¹⁶⁸ Compare the layout for instance with the more standard internal layout of the temples of Edfu (fig. 11) and Dendara (fig. 17), which are about the same size, in the relevant sections of this chapter.

as the main entrance into the temple. The following hypostyle hall leads to the core of the temple surrounded by an enclosure wall on its west, north and east sides. The area in between the enclosure wall and the core of the temple contains a single row of columns. The currently available plan does not allow us to conclude whether the temple was a peripteral temple in an open court, possibly inspired by Greek temples,¹⁶⁹ or a temple in a court with a colonnade.¹⁷⁰ The core of the temple appears to have consisted of three longitudinal parts. The central part was probably formed by a set of small rectangular chambers leading to the sanctuary. Around the central part ran a corridor that on either side provided access to several chambers. A series of three rooms is located at the back of the naos. The rooms appear to have been accessible only from the outside.¹⁷¹

The presence of a complex of *wabet* and court in the temple was first suggested by Traunecker in 1995 following his visit to the site.¹⁷² The ensemble is not mentioned in the preliminary description of the temple by El-Masry from 2001, but the typical layout of the complex clearly features on his preliminary plan of the temple.¹⁷³ (fig. 16). The complex of *wabet* and court is located to the east of the central longitudinal section in the heart of the temple and is accessible through a doorway in the east wall of the first room of the central section. Immediately to the east of the complex is the staircase to the roof of the temple. There is no study of the architecture of the complex nor a publication of the remaining decorative scheme – if there is any at all – currently available.

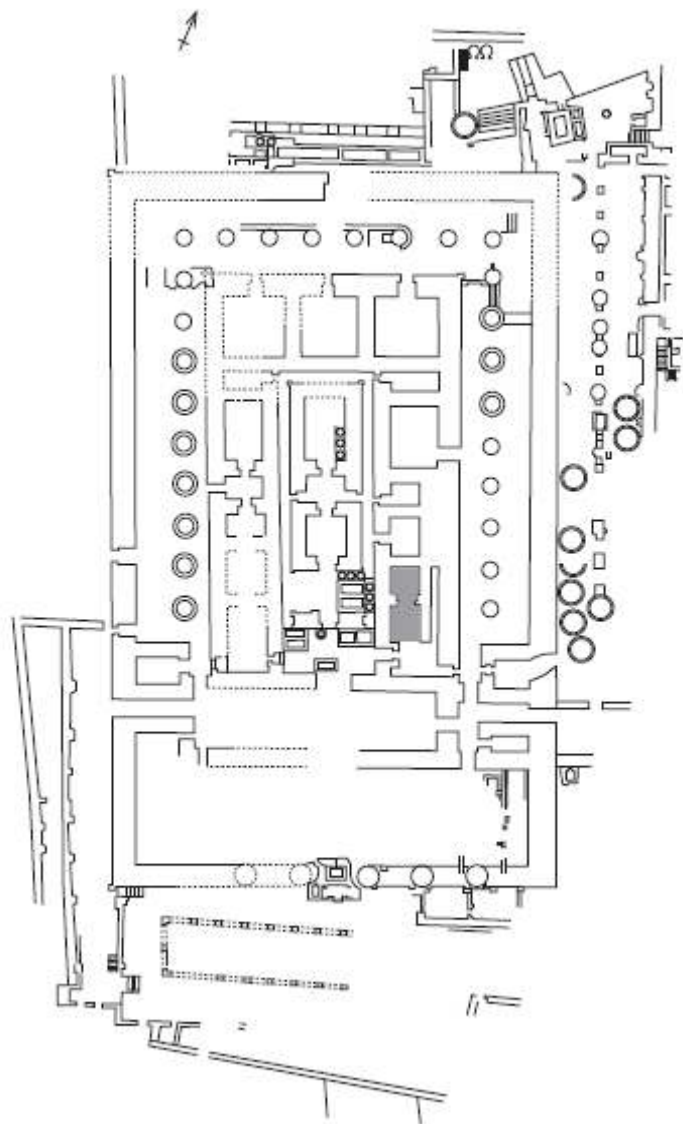
¹⁶⁹ In general: HAENY (2001).

¹⁷⁰ In the style of the colonnade surrounding the open court in front of the pronaos of the temple of Edfu (see fig. 11). The presence of the colonnade led BORCHARDT (1938:11) to suggest that the temple might have been a birth temple or *mammisi*. ARNOLD (1999:212) has however refuted this suggestion on the basis of the layout and dimensions of the temple.

¹⁷¹ A comparison with other Upper Egyptian Ptolemaic temples, like Khnum on the island of Elephantine (fig. 3), Edfu (fig. 11), and Kom Ombo (fig. 13), however suggests that the three rooms at the back of the temple might have been accessible from the ambulatory surrounding the central part of the temple. See also the hypothetical reconstruction in ARNOLD (1999:212, fig. 163).

¹⁷² TRAUNECKER (1995:267, n. 144).

¹⁷³ EL-MASRY (2001:211–213, and fig. 4).



*Fig. 16 The temple of Repyt/Triphis at Athribis (Wannina)
(drawing by L. Vařeková after EL-MASRY 2001:212, fig. 4)*

1.8 Dendara: Temple of Hathor

The temple precinct of Hathor at Dendara is located on the west bank of the Nile near the town of Qena (Ptolemaic Caenopolis), 75 km to the north of Luxor.¹⁷⁴ (fig. 2) The site of Dendara had been occupied since the Old Kingdom and the temple of Hathor from the Ptolemaic and Roman times is only the latest in a number of temples erected here.¹⁷⁵

The Ptolemaic–Roman temple¹⁷⁶ (fig. 17) is located within a huge brick enclosure wall and built along a south–to–north axis. The construction of its core started during the reign of Ptolemaios XII Neos Dionysos in 54 BC.¹⁷⁷ A bark sanctuary forms the heart of the temple and is surrounded by an ambulatory leading to a series of chapels dedicated to the gods residing in the temple. The bark sanctuary is preceded by the transversal ‘hall of the ennead’ (M), the ‘hall of the offerings’ and the hypostyle hall. Each of these halls provides access to a series of side–chambers and the two staircases leading to the roof of the temple. The decoration programme of this part of the temple started already under Ptolemaios XII Neos Dionysos, but most of it was carried out during the reign of his daughter Cleopatra VII. Under Roman Emperor Tiberius a pronaos was added in front of the hypostyle hall. The stone enclosure wall of the temple was also begun under Tiberius and continued under Nero, but it was never finished beyond the first courses of stone.¹⁷⁸

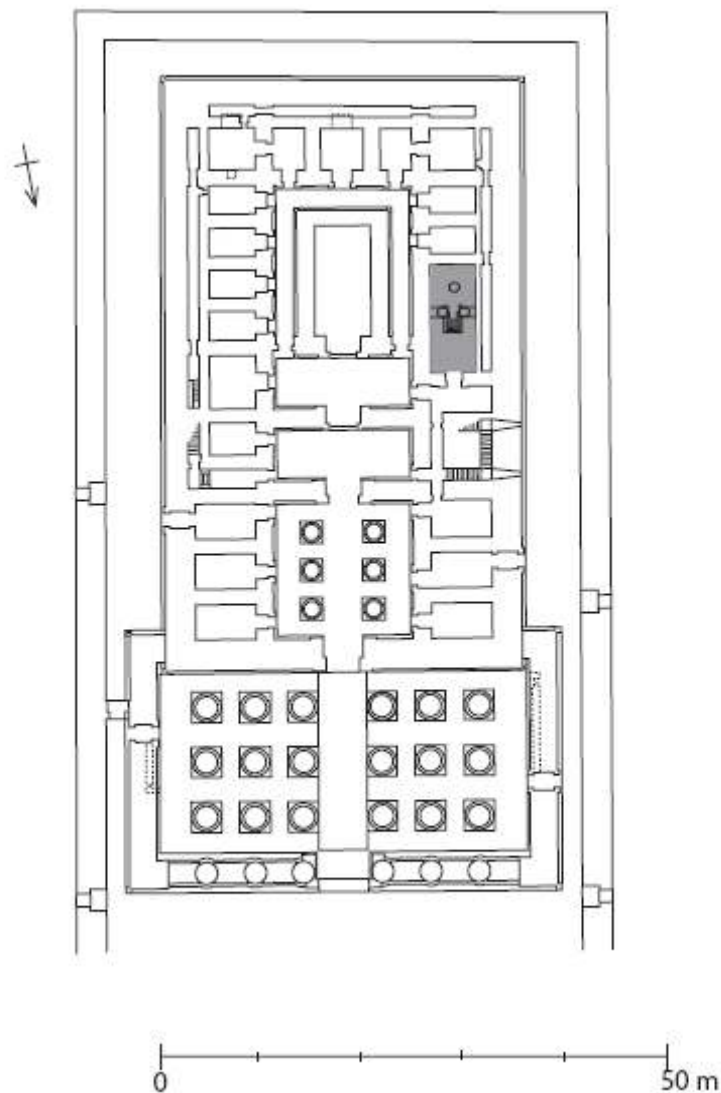
¹⁷⁴ PM VI, LdÄ I, 1060–1063, and OEAE I, 381–382. Geographically, the temple is actually located on the south bank of the Nile since the temple precinct is situated in a region where the Nile makes a wide turn towards the east.

¹⁷⁵ For pre–Ptolemaic activities at Dendara, consult the overview in DAUMAS (1972), and CAUVILLE (1995:3–4). See also DARESSY (1917) on a chapel of Mentuhotep Nebhepetre, and FISCHER (1968).

¹⁷⁶ For a general introduction to the temple of Horus at Dendara, consult DAUMAS (1969; 1970b; 1972); AUFRERE – GOLVIN – GOYON (1991:225–245), and CAUVILLE (1995). Important studies of various aspects of the temple include DÜMICHEN (1865; 1877a); MARIETTE (1870–1875); CHASSINAT (1966–1968); CAUVILLE (1990; 1992; 1993; 1997a; 2002); WAITKUS (1995; 1997); LEITZ (2001), and PREYS (2002). For the publication of the reliefs and inscriptions, consult Dendara I–XV and DAUMAS (1959). In 1998 S. Cauville (IFAO) embarked upon a long–term project with the aim of translating and studying the Ptolemaic inscriptions and reliefs from the temple of Dendara: CAUVILLE (1998; 1999; 2000; 2001; 2004a; 2004b).

¹⁷⁷ On the construction date of the temple of Hathor consult: AMER–MORARDET (1983), and WINTER (1989).

¹⁷⁸ For a detailed overview of the Roman activities at Dendara, consult HÖLBL (2000:72–87).



*Fig. 17 The temple of Hathor at Dendara
(drawing by L. Vařeková after ARNOLD 1999:249, fig. 209)*

The ensemble of *wabet* and court is located to the west of the sanctuary and was the first complex to be studied in detail.¹⁷⁹ (fig. 1, 17 and 18) A doorway in the west wall of the ‘hall of the ennead’ (fig. 17) leads to the so-called ‘trésor’ (p r HD) which functioned as a passageway both to the open court of the complex (to the south) and to the turning west staircase leading to the roof of the temple (to the north). The lower bandeau inscription on the west outside

¹⁷⁹ Dendara IV, 179–271, and plates ccxcviii–cccxcv. The ensemble at Dendara has been studied by MARIETTE (1870:43; 189–221; 315–321); DAUMAS (1951); TRAUNECKER (1995:248–251); WAITKUS (1995); CAUVILLE (2001:26–34; 2002a:35–49), and CORTHALS (2003:120–178). For a complete translation of all inscriptions found on the walls of the complex, consult CAUVILLE (2001:289–433).

wall of the pronaos provides a brief description of the complex and its dimensions:¹⁸⁰ *w s x . t w a b . t = f m 10 r 8 1/2 1/10 ... w a b . t = f [r -] x n t X n w s n . t i r . f m 8 1/2 1/10 r 8 1/6* or ‘the court of its (= the temple) *wabet* measures 10 by 8 1/2 1/10 el ... Its *wabet* is towards the interior (of the temple) opening up towards it (=the court)¹⁸¹ and measures 8 1/2 1/10 by 8 1/6 el’. The exact dimensions of the complex are 5.35 x 4.61 m for the open court and 4.46 x 4.61 m for the *wabet*.¹⁸²

The complex, including the ceiling of the *wabet*, has been preserved in its entirety. The decorative scheme dates to the reign of Cleopatra VII, although the cartouches have not been inscribed. The north–west corner of the open court contains an access to a crypt, which runs alongside the west wall of the naos and consists of a series of six decorated rooms.¹⁸³ A stairway of seven steps leads from the open court to the *wabet* and covers a height difference of 1.37 m. (fig. 1 and 18). The interior of the *wabet* is screened on both sides of the stairway by a combination of a screen wall attached to the lateral walls of the complex, a column with a Hathor capital, carrying the architrave and cavetto cornice, and a broken–door lintel. A wooden door made it possible to completely separate the *wabet* from the open court.

The east staircase, accessible from the ensemble by means of the ‘trésor’, provides access to the ‘goldhouse’ (*Hw . t n b w*)¹⁸⁴ which is located halfway to the roof. (fig. 19) An opening in the south wall of the ‘goldhouse’ looks out over the open court of the complex. (fig. 18) The staircase reaches the roof near a small kiosk located in its south–west corner.¹⁸⁵ (fig. 72) A series of chapels dedicated to Osiris is also located on the roof.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁰ CAUVILLE (1990:101–102).

¹⁸¹ i.e. the *wabet* is located further to the south and opens on the side of the open court in the north. See fig. 17.

¹⁸² The average length of the el would in the case of the complex have been between 53.5 and 54.5 cm. CAUVILLE (1990:111).

¹⁸³ Dendara VI, 65–104 and plates dx–dxxxix; WAITKUS (1997:166–230), and CAUVILLE (2004a:28–34, and 341–393).

¹⁸⁴ Dendara VIII, 127–145, and plates dcccii–dcccxvi; DERCHAIN (1990), and WAITKUS (1995:288; 1997:267–268).

¹⁸⁵ Dendara VIII, 1–70, and plates dcxcii–dccxxxvii.

¹⁸⁶ Dendara X, and CAUVILLE (1997a).

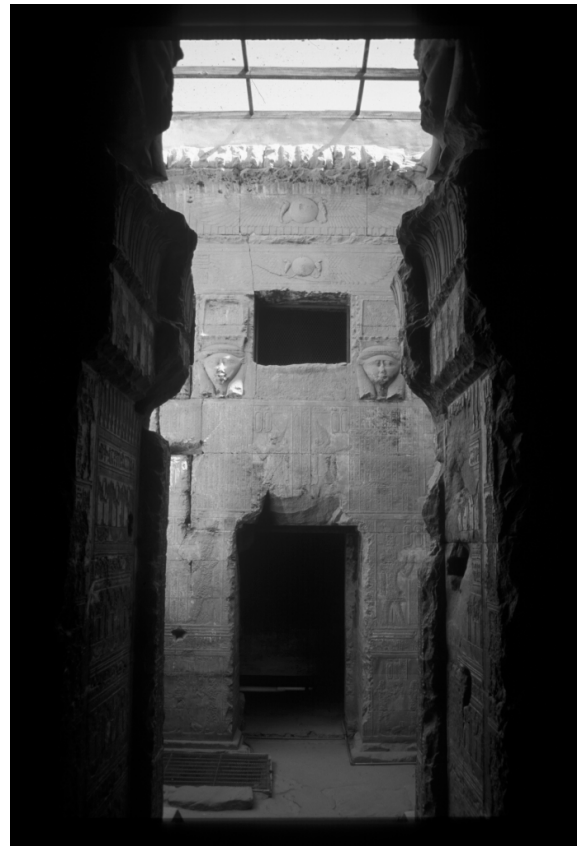
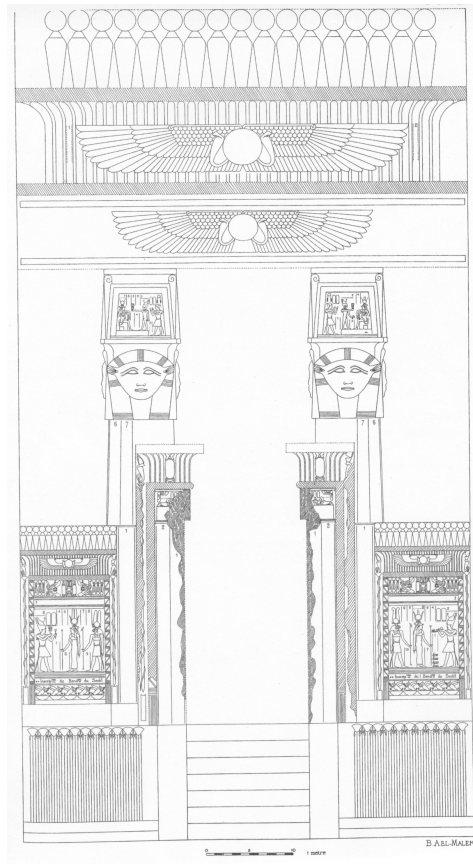


Fig. 18 The facade of the wabet and the open court with the doorway from the treasury and the window of the 'goldhouse'— seen from the interior of the wabet.
 (Dendara IV, plate ccviii, and photo by the author)

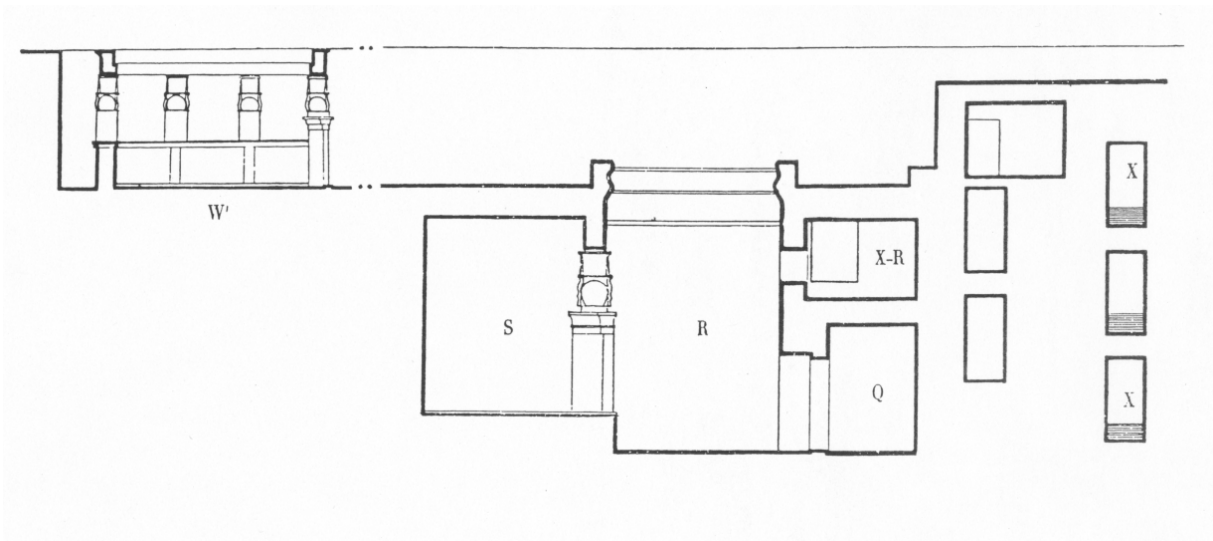


Fig. 19 The location of the complex, 'goldhouse', and kiosk at Dendara
 [S=wabet, R=court, Q=trésor, X-R='goldhouse', X=east staircase, W=kiosk]
 (Waitkus 1995:298, fig. 6)

1.9 Kalabsha: Temple of Mandulis and Isis

Kalabsha¹⁸⁷ (Talmis) was originally located 50 km to the south of Assuan on the west bank of the Nile. (fig. 2) In order to save the site from complete destruction due to the rising Nile water following the construction of the High Dam at Aswan, the monuments of Kalabsha were moved between 1961–1963 to the west bank of the Nile, close to Philae and the High Dam.¹⁸⁸ The site probably witnessed activity already during the Eighteenth Dynasty,¹⁸⁹ but the area of Kalabsha only gained importance in Ptolemaic and Roman times. The Ptolemaic monuments on site are a chapel of Ptolemaios V Epiphanes and a small sanctuary from the reign of Ptolemaios IX Soter II. The latter monument was only completed in the early years of the reign of Emperor Augustus.¹⁹⁰ It was found, together with the remains of a gate,¹⁹¹ in the foundations of the monumental temple that Augustus had erected here for Isis and Mandulis. The sanctuary of Ptolemaios IX Soter II was rebuilt on the island of Elephantine, while the gate was reconstructed in 1976 in the *Ägyptische Museum* in Berlin–Charlottenburg.¹⁹²

The entire temple of Kalabsha,¹⁹³ which is surrounded by an enclosure wall and orientated along an east–west axis, dates back to the reign of Roman Emperor Augustus. (fig. 20) The core of the temple consists of three transversal chapels: the sanctuary, an offering room, and a room for guest gods. Both the offering room and the room for the guest gods contain two doorways in the corners of their south walls, leading to three small side rooms, and in the case of the south–east corner of the room for the guest gods, to a staircase to the roof of the temple. Underneath the staircase two crypts had been installed. The three transversal rooms are preceded by a pronaos, an open court, a pylon, followed by a causeway leading to a large cult terrace above the Nile.

¹⁸⁷ PM VII, 10–27, and LdÄ III, 295–296.

¹⁸⁸ On the salvage of the monuments of Kalabsha, see STOCK – SIEGLER (1965).

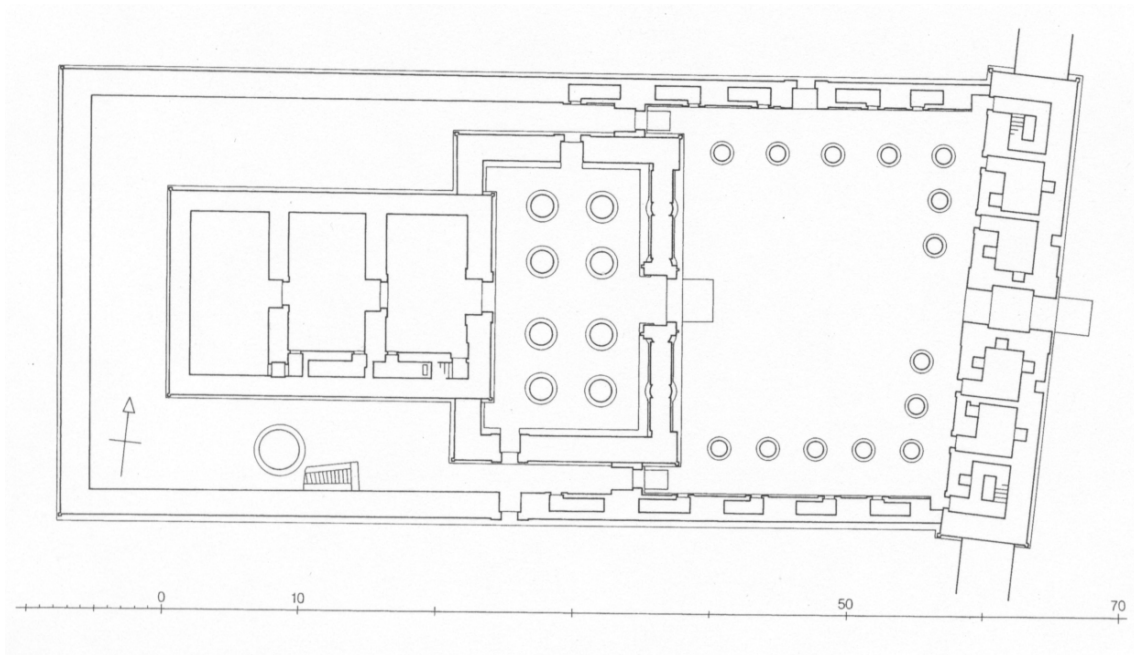
¹⁸⁹ See for instance CURTO – MARAGIOGLIO – RINALDI – BONGRANI (1965:18–21), and STOCK (1969). See however also the comments of DE MEULENAERE – DEWACHTER (1970:1).

¹⁹⁰ DE MEULENAERE (1961); DE MEULENAERE – DEWACHTER (1964–1970), and WRIGHT (1987).

¹⁹¹ WINTER (1977).

¹⁹² A detailed publication of the Ptolemaic remains at Kalabsha is being prepared by D. Arnold and E. Laskowska–Kusztal according to ARNOLD (1999:345, n. 171).

¹⁹³ For a general introduction to the Roman temple of Kalabsha: Kalabsha (s.d.), and ARNOLD (1999:241–243). The inscriptions from the temple are published in GAUTHIER (1911–1914). Detailed studies of the temple include SIEGLER (1970); WRIGHT (1970); DAUMAS (1970a), and ARNOLD (1975).



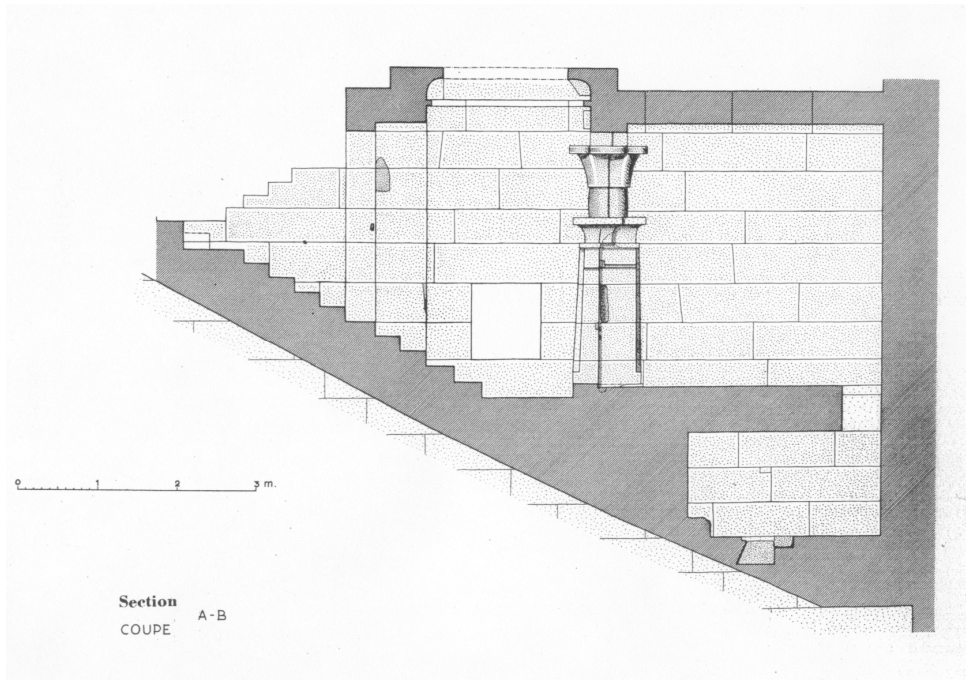
*Fig. 20 The temple of Mandulis and Isis at Kalabsha
(ARNOLD 1999:243, fig. 203)*

The presence of a complex of wabet and court in the temple of Kalabsha was first noticed by Daumas in 1970.¹⁹⁴ The ensemble had been described before by H. Stock and G. Siegler, but had not been recognised as a complex of *wabet* and court,¹⁹⁵ and earlier research by H. Gauthier failed to notice the complex at all.¹⁹⁶ The ensemble is located on the roof of the temple and can be accessed by means of the staircase that departs in the south-east corner of the third transversal hall. (fig. 20) Near the roof the staircase divides into two: one part leads further up to the roof of the temple, while the other part of the staircase turns back to the east and descends twelve steps into the middle of an open court. (fig. 21–23) At the seventh step of the descending staircase two doorjambs still indicate that a door was once located here for the sake of a complete closure of the complex.

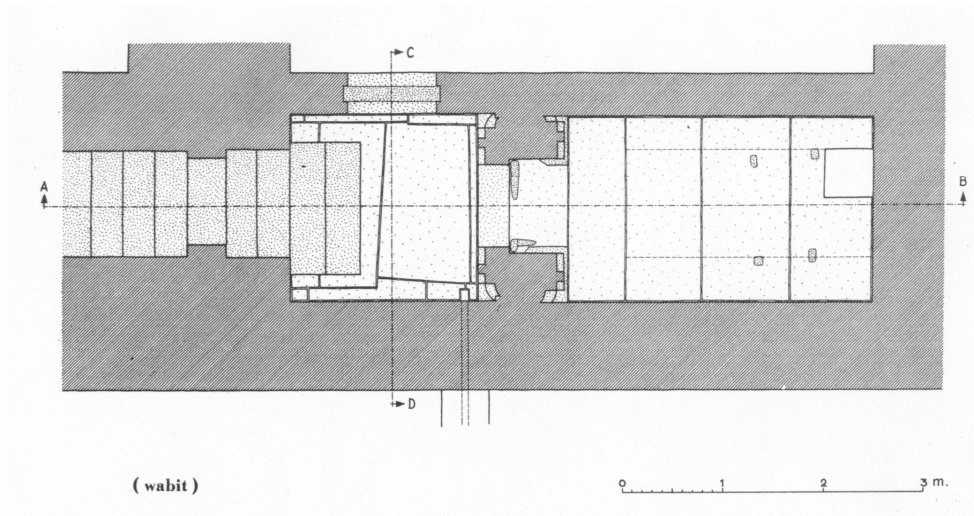
¹⁹⁴ DAUMAS (1970a).

¹⁹⁵ STOCK – SIEGLER (1965:45), and SIEGLER (1970:23–24 and plate 7) identified the complex as a chapel dedicated to Osiris after they have compared it with other Osiris chapels located on the roof of the Ptolemaic temples of Philae, Edfu and Dendara.

¹⁹⁶ GAUTHIER (1911:xi, and xxv). Gauthier was of the opinion that the complex was part of the structures built on the roof of the temple by local inhabitants in the 19th century.



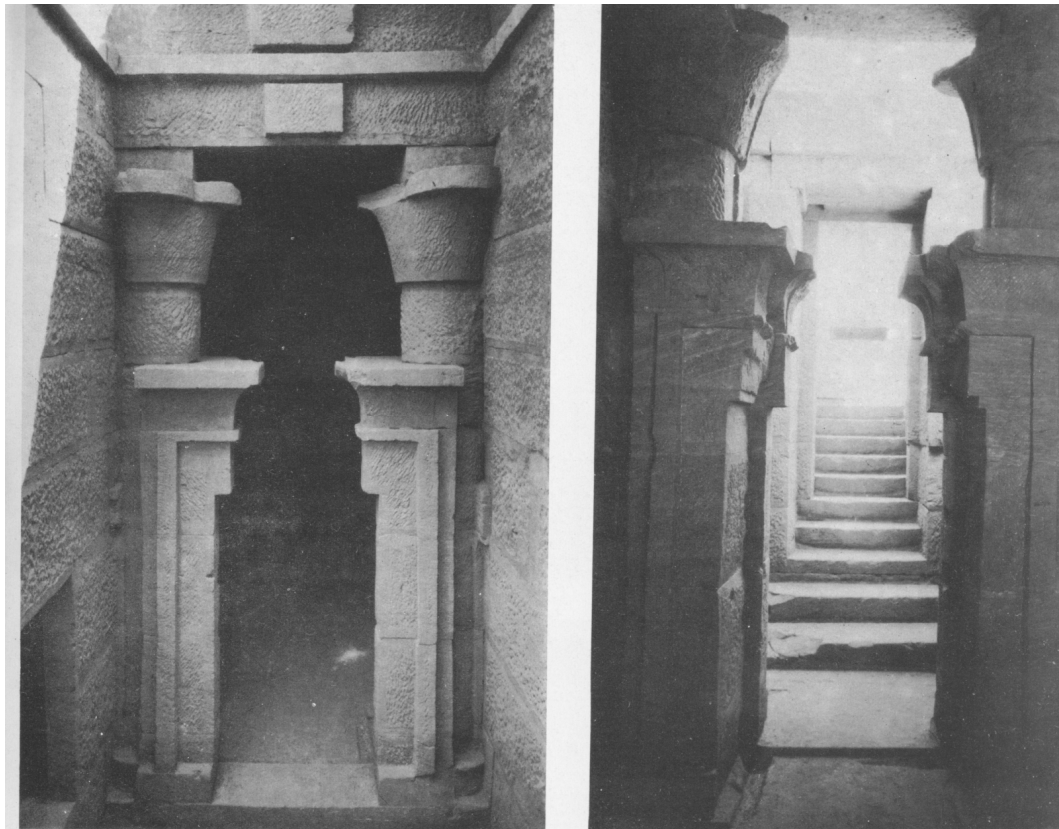
*Fig. 21 The complex on the roof of the temple of Kalabsha
(Kalabsha s.d., 66)*



*Fig. 22 Plan of the complex at Kalabsha
(Kalabsha s.d., 66)*

The open court (1.92 x 1.83 m) was never decorated and has only the torus moulding and cornice prepared for sculpture. A small, almost square window (0.88 x 0.98 m) opens in the north wall of the court and looks out over the third transversal hall – dedicated to the visiting deities. (fig. 20) The open court also contains a drainage system in its south–east corner to let the rainwater out of the complex. At its east end a single step takes us from the open court into the *wabet* (3.09 x 1.83 m.) which lies only 18 cm above the court floor level. The facade of

the *wabet* consists of a broken door lintel and a column on both sides of the doorway. A very small wall connects the columns with the lateral walls of the chapel. (fig. 23) The columns have an unfinished floral capital and carry an architrave and cornice. A square in the middle of both the architrave and the cornice suggests that both would eventually have been decorated with a sun disc. The *wabet* has been entirely preserved, including its roof, but was never decorated. The middle of the floor in the rear half of the chapel features four small holes, between 4 to 6 cm deep and on average about 9 x 9 cm in size, which form a rectangle of 1.10 x 0.65 m.¹⁹⁷ (fig. 22) Daumas has suggested that the holes functioned to keep a small pedestal in place.¹⁹⁸ The very back of the chapel contains a small square opening (48 x 48 cm) that leads to a small undecorated crypt (2.44 x 1.05 x 1.35 m) located underneath the *wabet*. (fig. 21)



*Fig. 23 The complex on the roof of the temple of Kalabsha
(Kalabsha, s.d., 50)*

¹⁹⁷ The exact dimensions of the four holes are: 9 x 8 cm; 11 x 5 cm; 7 x 12 cm, and 8 x 9 cm. See DAUMAS (1970a:5, and plate xviii). The dimensions of the rectangle are given by SIEGLER (1970:23, n. 61).

¹⁹⁸ DAUMAS (1970a:5).

1.10 Shanhûr: Temple of Isis

Shanhûr¹⁹⁹ (ⲡⲁ ⲛ ⲉⲣ) is located on the east bank of the Nile, between the larger temple sites of Coptos (Qift) and Apollonospolis Parva (Qus). (fig. 2) The temple has been known to the scholarly world since the 1830s, but an in-depth study of this monument was undertaken only in the 1990s by the Egyptological department of KULeuven, Belgium, in close collaboration with researchers from various other European institutions.²⁰⁰ Although the entire temple dates back to the Roman period, it was probably preceded by earlier monuments, but only very little has thus far been recovered of these structures.²⁰¹

The temple of Isis is orientated along a south–north axis, and consists of two main components: the naos, including the complex of *wabet* and court (fig. 24, nos. I–XIII), erected during the reign of Augustus, and a small chapel from the time of Tiberius. These two structures were later integrated into a single monument with two separate entrances through the construction of a hypostyle hall (XIV) and a pronaos (XV). Both the hall and the pronaos are of uncertain date, but were decorated during the rule of Nero and Trajanus, respectively. The internal layout of the temple clearly follows the general plan of monumental temples along the Nile in Upper Egypt from the preceding Ptolemaic period and can easily be considered a scale model of the layout of the larger sanctuaries of Edfu, Kom Ombo and Dendara. (For instance figs. 11, 13, and 17) Like the monumental Ptolemaic temples, the freestanding sanctuary of the temple of Shanhûr is surrounded by an ambulatory leading to two small chapels (VI and VIII) and to a niche with a crypt in the rear

¹⁹⁹ PM V, 136; and LdÄ V, p. 528–531.

²⁰⁰ The first of three intended volumes on the archaeological and epigraphic research at Shanhûr has already been published (Shanhûr I). For preliminary excavation reports and an overview of all publications on the temple of Shanhûr prior to the activities carried out by KULeuven, consult QUAEGEBEUR–TRAUNECKER (1994a) and TRAUNECKER–WILLEMS (1998). A general introduction to the temple can be found in COPPENS–WILLEMS (1999); HÖLBL (2000:65–72), and COPPENS (2002c; 2005a). Studies of various aspects of the temple can be found in QUAEGEBEUR–TRAUNECKER (1994b); QUAEGEBEUR (1995; 1997); TRAUNECKER (1995:260–267); KAPER (1998); COPPENS (1999; 2003a; 2003b:93–95), and WILLEMS (2007). See also the official website: http://www.arts.kuleuven.be/shenhur/The_Shenhur_Page.htm (not updated since 2002).

²⁰¹ In 1889, M. Grébaut reported the presence of a sandstone block showing Ptolemaic kings presenting offerings to various gods in Shanhûr. See DARESSY (1926:20). This block is said to carry the number JdE 28975 in the Cairo Museum but so far it has not been possible to locate it. And in March 2000, a sandstone block with incised hieroglyphs was discovered by one of the gaffirs on the slopes of the tell to the north of the temple. This block certainly predates the Ptolemaic period, and perhaps even dates back to the New Kingdom.

wall of the temple (VII). The sanctuary is preceded by a series of three transversal halls (II, IX, and XI). The second (IX) and third transversal hall (XI), which precede the hypostyle hall (XIV), both provide access to the stairway (XIII) to the roof and to a side-chamber (X and XII). Both the temple of el-Qal'a and the temple of Deir Shalwât on the Theban West Bank, which come from about the same time, also have a very similar internal structure. (figs. 29 and 31) Together with the temple of Shanhûr, these temples represent a continuation of the traditional Upper Egyptian temple plan in the early Roman times.²⁰²

The exterior of the temple of Shanhûr diverts from the standard plan. (fig. 24) A small contra-temple was erected around a false door both at the back of the main temple and at the back of the chapel of Tiberius. Some time after the rule of Tiberius, a colonnade consisting of a double row of cylindrical columns placed on a wider cylindrical base lined the temple's west wall. The colonnade started from the portico at the rear of the small chapel and linked up with the portico on the north rear wall.²⁰³ The small temple in Shanhûr thus combined the traditional internal structure of an Egyptian temple with an unusual exterior partly resembling a Greek peripteros temple.²⁰⁴

The complex of *wabet* and court (IV and V) at the temple of Shanhûr is located to the east of the sanctuary.²⁰⁵ (fig. 24, IV–V; and fig. 25) A doorway in the east wall of the small vestibule (II) preceding the sanctuary gives access to a court (2.10 x 2.02 m) open to the light of day. To the north of the open court and slightly higher up (0.70 m) is the covered *wabet* (2.66 x 2.05 m), accessible from the court by means of two steps. On either side of the steps a small low wall is still present. Traces in the lateral walls above the top of the small walls reveal that

²⁰² COPPENS (1996:153–156 and fig. 123–124). For more on these temples, consult the previous and following chapters.

²⁰³ Unfortunately, it cannot be verified whether a similar double row of columns was erected also along the east wall of the temple. This area of the terrain had been cleared a long time ago for the construction of a small railway, designed to bring sugarcane from the fields to the nearby factory in Qus. To our knowledge, no records exist of what – if anything at all – was discovered in this area during these clearance works. It is plausible that the colonnade that stretched along the west and north sides of the temple continued along its east wall.

²⁰⁴ For more information on the development of the temple of Shanhûr and the peculiar colonnade surrounding the temple, consult Shanhûr I, 5–7, and COPPENS (2005a:14–19). See also HAENY (2001) for other temples with colonnades in ancient Egypt, and the passage in this chapter on the temple of Athribis (Wannina) (1.6).

²⁰⁵ Detailed studies of the complex can be found in Shanhûr I, 93–132; TRAUNECKER (1995:260–267), and COPPENS (1999; 2003a).

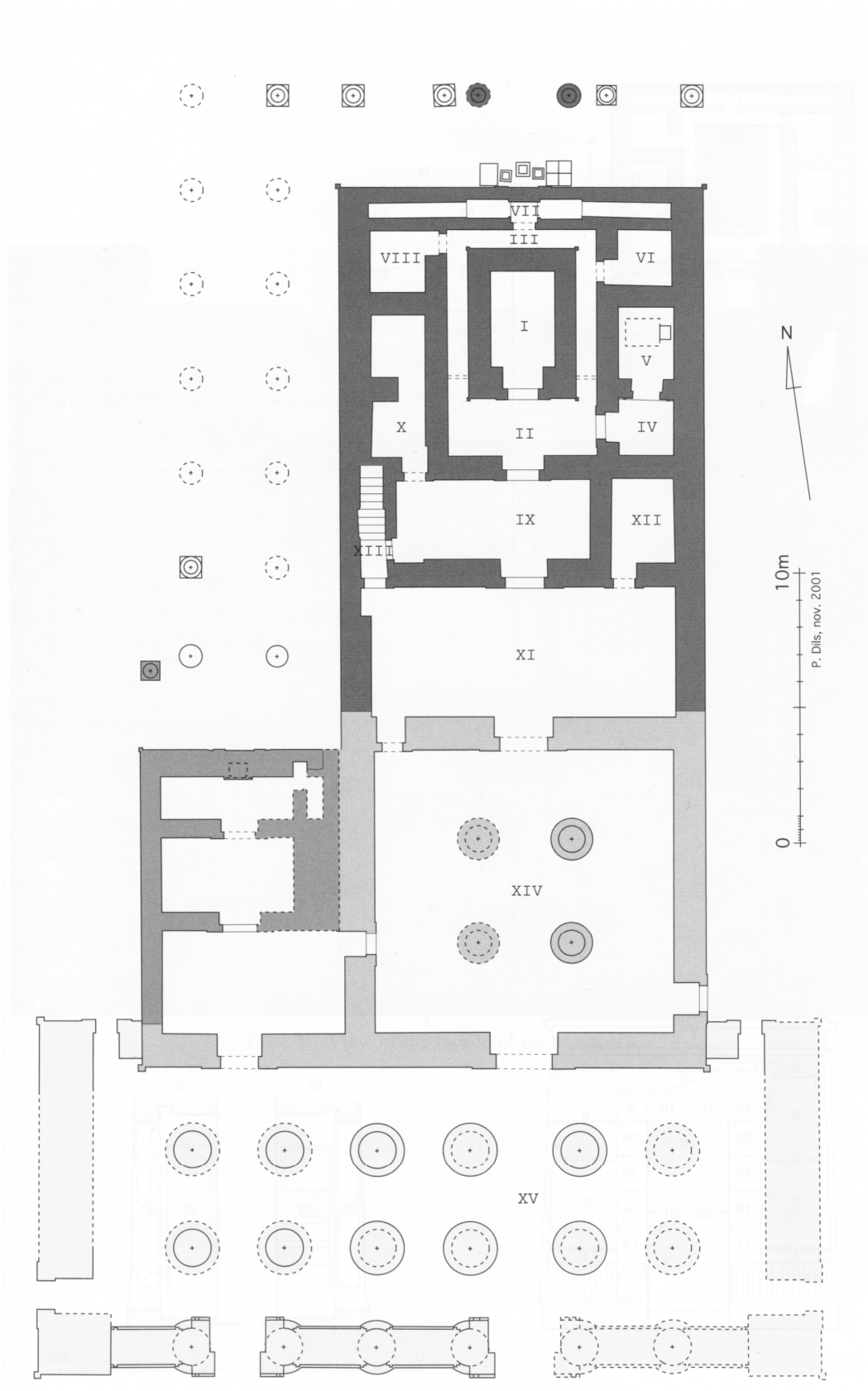
these did not carry free-standing columns, but pilasters²⁰⁶ which may have been carved in such a way as to visually suggest the appearance of columns. These pilasters undoubtedly carried the no longer extant architrave. The north (limestone) half of the ceiling of the *wabet* is still preserved in its original location, while fragments of the south (sandstone) half were discovered during the excavation of the complex. The north-east corner of the *wabet* features a small entrance to an undecorated crypt (ca. 1.20 x 1.00 m), located underneath the floor of the *wabet*. The open court did not receive any decorative programme. The scenes and inscriptions in the *wabet* can be dated to the reign of Caligula.

The complex of *wabet* and court at the temple of Shanhûr is the only ensemble to date that has been the subject of a detailed archaeological excavation.²⁰⁷ The excavation brought to light not only Coptic and Islamic occupation layers but also remains from the final moments of the temple. Against the south wall of the open court a part of a column has been discovered. (fig. 26) The surface of the column had been smoothed and provided with a depression and discharge for libations, indicating that the column had been reused at one point as an altar. The archaeological context in which this altar was discovered suggests that it predates the Coptic re-occupation of this monument.²⁰⁸ It is not entirely clear whether the altar/column was originally a part of the temple furniture. The excavation revealed that the base of the column was not placed upon the original paving of the floor of the open court, which had at some unknown point in time been removed, but upon the temple foundations. A similar re-used column was also uncovered in the second transversal hall of the temple. (fig. 25, IX) Both in the crypt underneath the *wabet* and in the open court, several fragments of statuary were found, including parts of the head and torso of an unidentified goddess (fig. 27), the upper part of a statue of two cobras (fig. 28), and a fragment of a statue of Osiris. No other crypt, accessed from the ensemble, delivered a similar find.

²⁰⁶ JEQUIER (1924:163–165), and ARNOLD (2003:176).

²⁰⁷ QUAEGEBEUR–TRAUNECKER (1994:178–179), and TRAUNECKER–WILLEMS (1998:123–127).

²⁰⁸ TRAUNECKER–WILLEMS (1998:123–127 and plates 23B, 24, and 25A), and COPPENS–WILLEMS (1999:118 and fig. 51 and 52).



*Fig. 24 The roman temple of Shanbûr
(Shanbûr I, plate 3)*



*Fig. 25 The complex at Shanbûr
(photo by the author)*



*Fig. 26 The altar in the open court
(photo by the author)*



*Fig. 27 Head of an unidentified goddess
(photo by the author)*



*Fig. 28 Statue of two cobras
(COPPENS–WILLEMS 1999:188, fig. 51)*

1.11 el-Qal'a: Temple of Isis and the Desert Goddesses

The small village of el-Qal'a²⁰⁹ lies only 800 m to the north-east of the large temple complex at Coptos (Qift)²¹⁰ on the east bank of the Nile. (fig. 2) Whilst the temple of el-Qal'a was visited by Richard Pococke as early as 1737, a detailed study of it was initiated only in the early 1980s by a team under the direction of C. Traunecker and L. Pantalacci.²¹¹

The temple was constructed during the reign of Emperor Augustus. (fig. 29) The main axis of the temple runs from east to west. The central point of the temple is the freestanding sanctuary dedicated to Isis, surrounded by an ambulatory which provided access to two chapels and to the complex of *wabet* and court. The sanctuary of Isis is preceded by a series of three transversal halls, each giving access to side-chambers and to a single staircase leading to the roof of the monument. A most remarkable feature of the temple is the occurrence of a second axis, running from south to north through the first transversal hall in front of the sanctuary of Isis. The second axis leads to a second sanctuary, dedicated to a series of goddesses of the desert. The decorative programme of the temple was started under Augustus, continued under Caligula and finished during the reign of Claudius.

The complex of *wabet* and court²¹² is located to the south of the sanctuary of Isis and can be accessed by means of a doorway in the south wall of the ambulatory. The open court (2.15 x 2.65 m) is preserved up to 3.75 m of its approximate 4.80 m of original height. The first two registers of the decorative scheme are completely preserved, while only the lower half of the third register is still present. At its west end a stairway of six steps leads from the court into the slightly elevated *wabet*, located 0.75 m above the floor level of the open court.

²⁰⁹ PM V, 134, and LdÄ V, p 38–40.

²¹⁰ For a good overview of the temple domains of Coptos, consult in particular TRAUNECKER (1992), and GABOLDE – GALLIANO (2000).

²¹¹ Reports on the work in progress, studies of particular aspects of the temple, and a bibliography of previous visitors and activities at the site, can be consulted in TRAUNECKER – PANTALACCI (1984–1985; 1989; 1993); TRAUNECKER (1982; 1995; 1997), and PANTALACCI (1995; 1998). Partial results of the epigraphic work are published in el-Qal'a I–II. For a general introduction to the site, consult HÖLBL (2000:63–65). See also REINACH (1912).

²¹² el-Qal'a II, 174–216, and TRAUNECKER (1995:251–260). REINACH (1912:219–224) also describes the complex, but identified the ensemble as a large chapel dedicated to Isis.

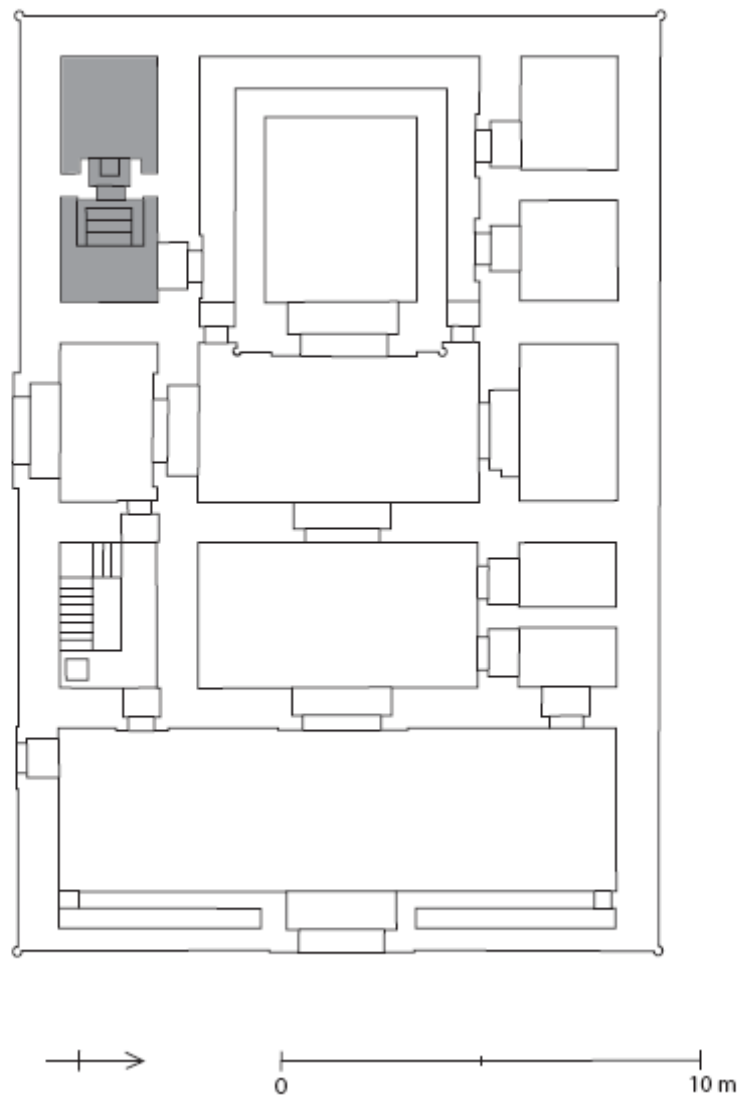


Fig. 29 The temple of el-Qal'a

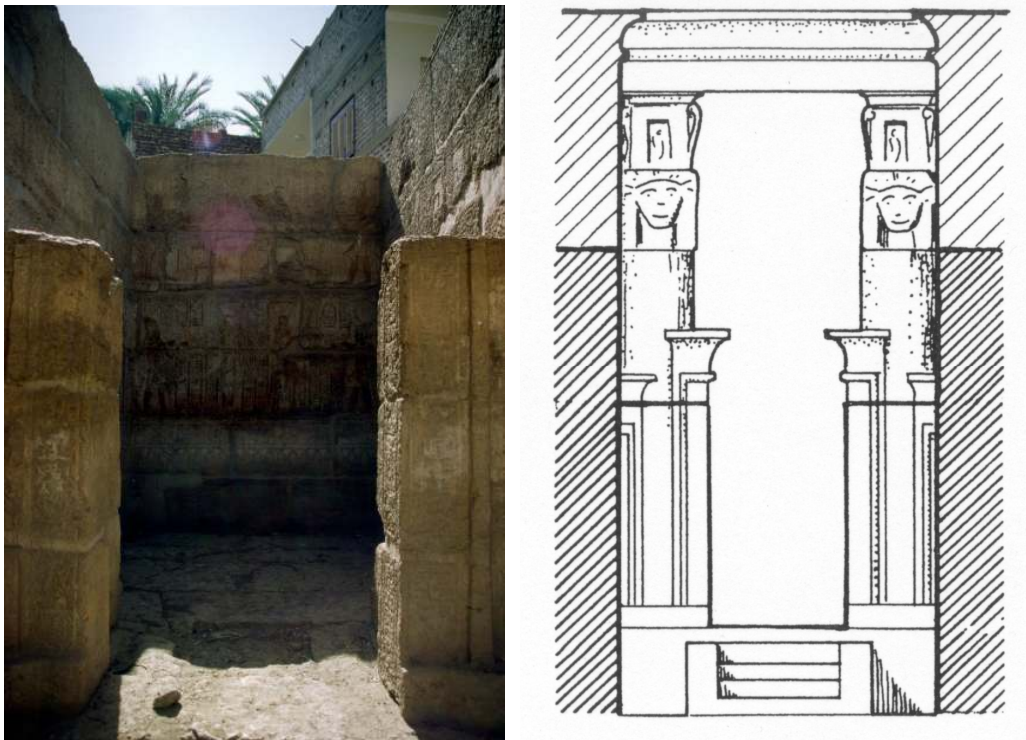
(drawing by L. Vařeková after TRAUNECKER 1997:170, fig. 1)

The interior of the *wabet* (2.15 x 3.25 m) was screened from the open court. (fig. 30) At present only a small wall is preserved on either side of the stairway, but the remaining traces suggest that a screen wall was carved into the wall, which most likely carried a column,²¹³ and that a broken-door lintel stood on either side of the staircase. In between the court and *wabet* an entrance to a crypt is located.²¹⁴ The badly preserved decorative scheme of the crypt has

²¹³ The reconstruction of the capitals of the columns as Hathoric is only a suggestion of TRAUNECKER (1995:278, fig. 3). No traces of the capitals have been found and the capitals might as well have been composite capitals, like in the complex at Edfu (Chapter 1.4 and fig. 12).

²¹⁴ TRAUNECKER (1994:40; 1995:253).

thus far not been published. In the *wabet* the decorative scheme is almost completely preserved with the exception of the upper part of the second register and the upper bandeau inscription. The entire remaining decorative scheme of the ensemble dates back to the reign of Claudius. No trace of the roof of the *wabet* has been found.



*Fig. 30 The facade of the complex in the temple of el-Qal'a
(photo by the author, and TRAUNECKER 1995:278, fig. 3)*

1.12 Deir Shalwât: Temple of Isis

Deir Shalwât²¹⁵ is located on the west bank of the Nile, at the south edge of the Theban west bank, about 3 km to the south–west of the temple of Medinet Habu. (fig. 2) The temple was visited by numerous scholars throughout the last two centuries, but it was mainly the work carried out by a French–Egyptian team under the direction of C. Zivie between the mid–1970s and the mid–1990s that has been crucial for our understanding of this monument dedicated to Isis.²¹⁶

The temple of Deir Shalwât is orientated along a west–to–east axis and surrounded by a large brick enclosure wall, of which only the foundations remain. The remaining structures on the temple precinct date back to two distinct phases. The older phase dates back to the Thirtieth Dynasty and the beginning of the Ptolemaic period and includes the enclosure wall and its east entrance gate. The gate was decorated only in the second half of the 1st century AD during the reigns of the Roman Emperors Otho, Galba, Vespasianus and Domitianus.²¹⁷ The temple that was erected within the precinct at that time has completely disappeared, with the exception of a few blocks that have been incorporated in the foundations of the Roman temple that was erected in its place.²¹⁸

The date of the construction of the Roman temple of Isis is far from certain, although it is generally assumed that the construction took place in early Roman imperial times (1st century AD).²¹⁹ The freestanding sanctuary, surrounded by an ambulatory and preceded by a transversal hall, forms the heart of the small temple. (fig. 31) The transversal hall provides access to the staircase leading to the roof in the south, and to a small room in the north, while the ambulatory leads to two small rooms (south) and the complex of *wabet* and court (north). The roof of the temple did not carry any structure. Only the sanctuary and the transversal hall

²¹⁵ PM II, 503–532, and LdÄ I, 1034–1035.

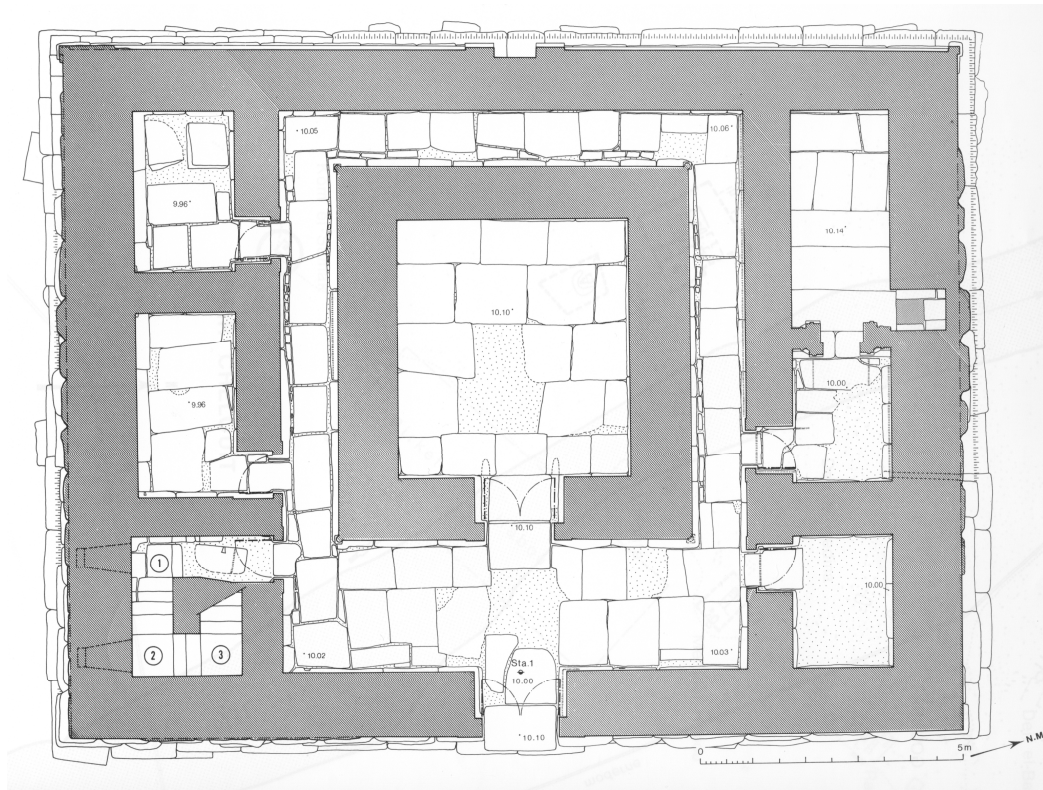
²¹⁶ The results of the work were published in four volumes: Deir Chelouit I–IV. Reports on the work in progress and studies of particular aspects of the temple can be found in ZIVIE (1977a; 1977b; 1983; 1989; 1993; 1994). The articles also include an overview and bibliography of earlier activities carried out in the temple domain in the course of the 19th and first half of the 20th century. For a general introduction to the temple: HÖLBL (2000:56–59).

²¹⁷ Deir Chelouit IV, 84–85. Consult Deir Chelouit I for the reliefs of the gate.

²¹⁸ Deir Chelouit IV, 85–92.

²¹⁹ For an overview of the problems surrounding the date of the construction of the temple, consult Deir Chelouit IV, vii; 68–72, and 82–84. See also ARNOLD (1999:231), and HÖLBL (2000:56–57).

of the temple received a decorative scheme during the reigns of Hadrianus²²⁰ and Antoninus Pius,²²¹ respectively.



*Fig. 31 Plan of the Roman temple of Isis at Deir Shalwīt.
(Deir Chelouit IV, pl. 11)*

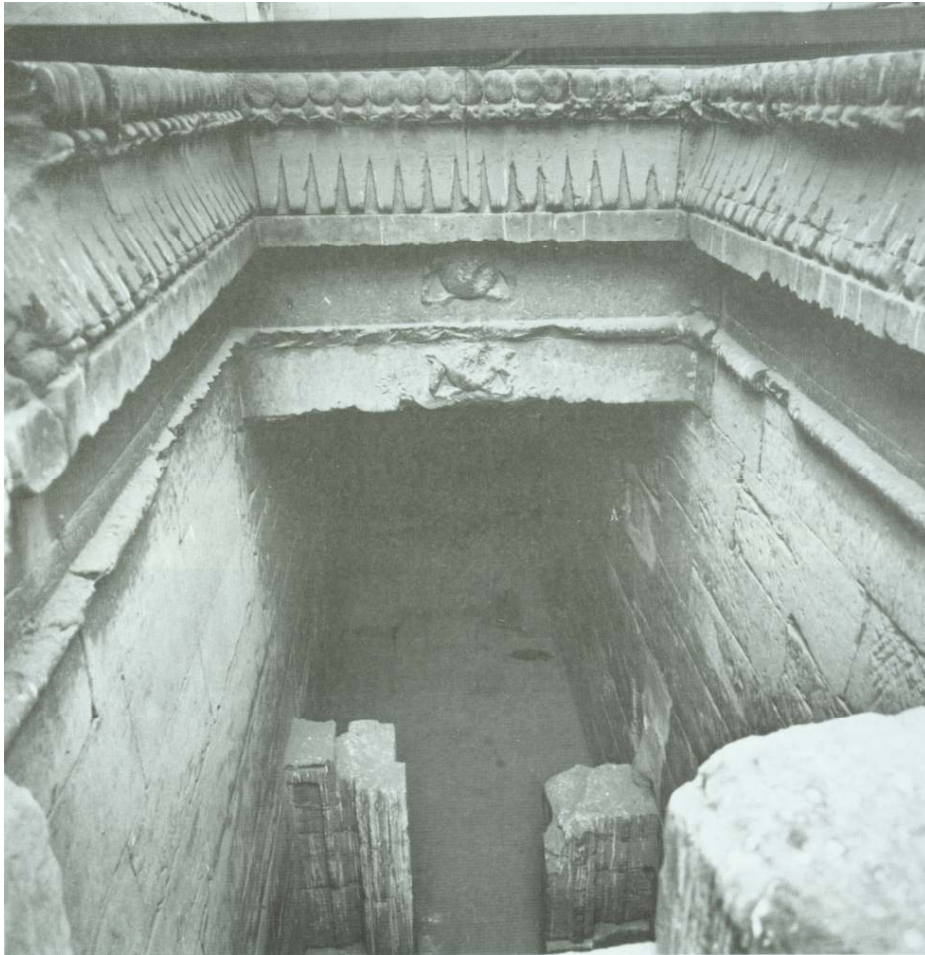
The complex of *wabet* and court is located to the north of the sanctuary and is accessible through a doorway in the ambulatory.²²² (fig. 31–33) The open court (2.55 x 1.90 m) is entirely preserved, but was never provided with a decorative scheme, with the exception of a cornice and a stylised uraeus frieze. At the west end of the court a small access ramp, 0.6 m long, leads to the entrance into the *wabet*, which lies a mere 0.14 m above the floor level of the open court. Of the facade of the *wabet* only the lower part has been preserved, but the remaining elements provided enough leads for its detailed reconstruction. (fig. 33) The doorway of the *wabet* is framed on either side of the access ramp by a broken door lintel. A

²²⁰ Deir Chelouit III.

²²¹ Deir Chelouit II.

²²² For a detailed study of the architecture of the ensemble, consult Deir Chelouit IV, 27–36. See also ZIVIE (1977a:27; 1989:74).

column, most likely carrying a no longer present Hathor capital,²²³ was attached at the back of the broken door lintel, and connected by a small screen wall to the lateral walls of the chapel. The architrave and cornice, both decorated with a sun disc with a cobra protruding on either side of the disc, are still present. (fig. 32)



*Fig. 32 The complex at Deir Shalwât
(Deir Chelouit IV, pl. 27)*

The *wabet* itself (4.88 x 1.90 m) is entirely preserved, including its roof. The roof consists of six limestone blocks, arranged in a north–south direction. A small opening in the centre of the ceiling allows a few rays of light to enter the room. In the north–east corner of the *wabet*, immediately behind the north screen wall of the facade, is a small niche (1.06 x 0.74 x 0.46 m) that provides access to the only crypt of the temple. (fig. 31) The entrance (42.50 x 50.00 cm) into the crypt was hidden by a block that could be pushed north, using two granite rollers,

²²³ The remaining architectural traces on the lateral walls of the chapel make it unclear whether the upper part of the facade of the *wabet* (a.o. the Hathor capitals) was ever put in place. See Deir Chelouit IV, 30–34.

into the niche beyond the opening into the crypt.²²⁴ The crypt itself is undecorated, 1.10 m long and only 0.67 m high, and runs slightly to the south, underneath the floor of the *wabet*.

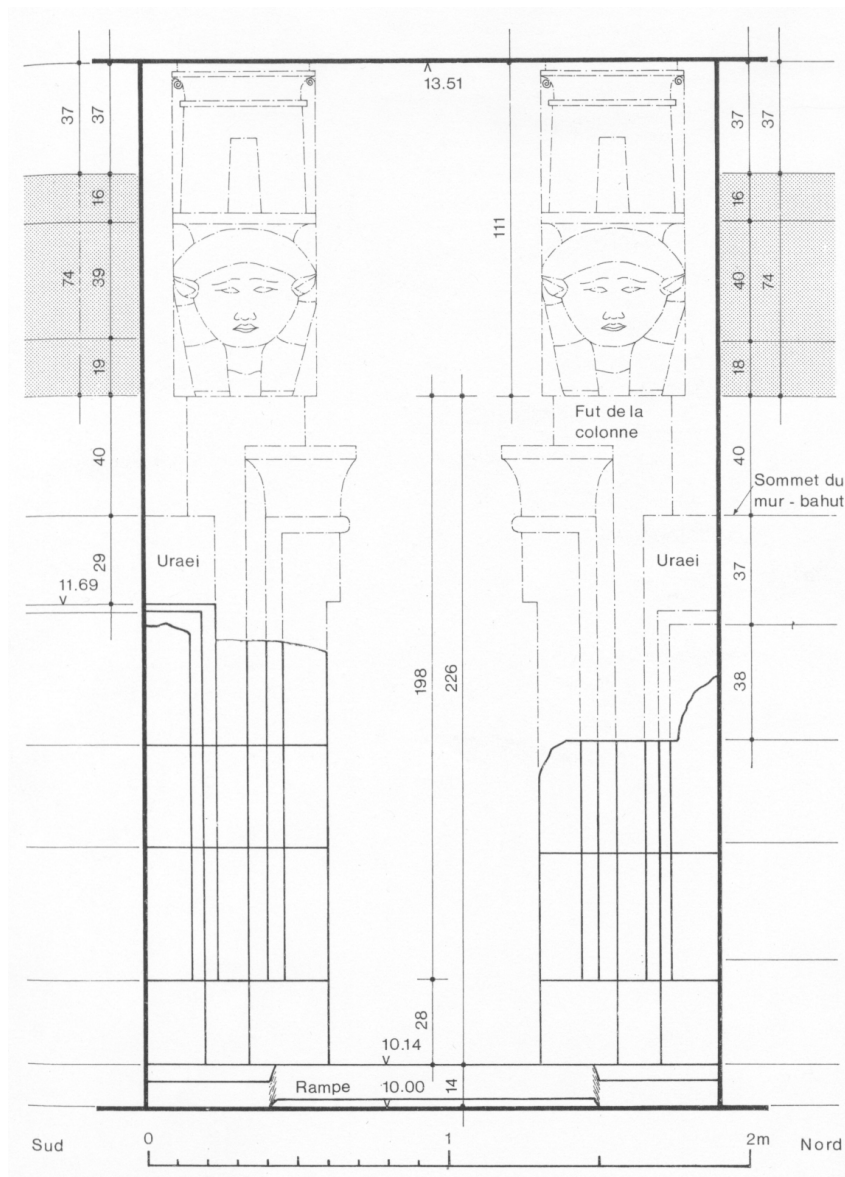
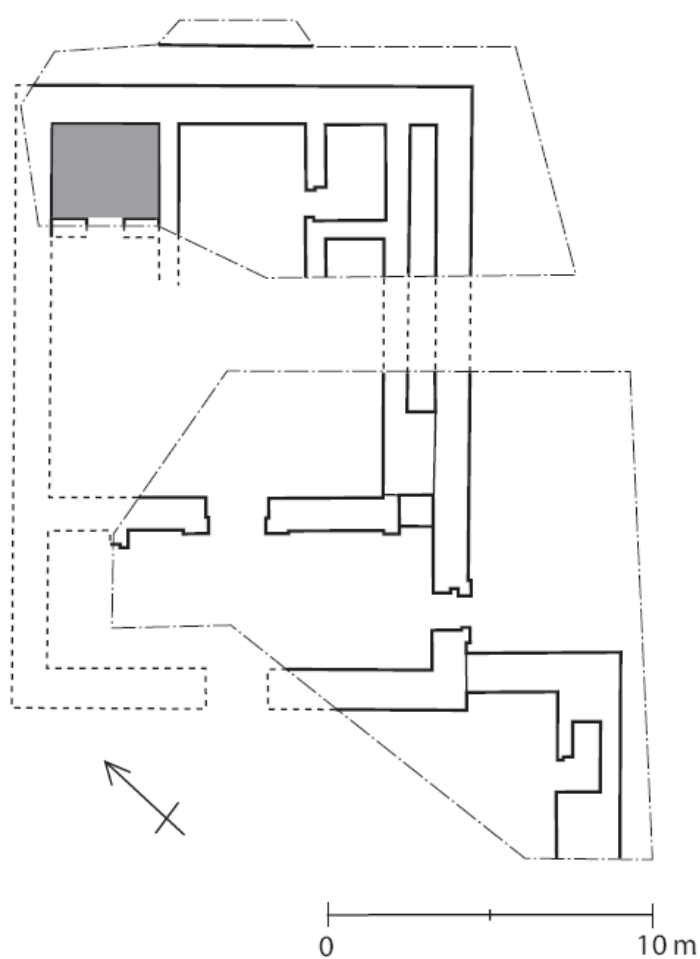


Fig. 33 Reconstruction of the facade of the *wabet* at Deir Shalwīt
(*Deir Chelouit IV*, pl. 30a)

²²⁴ A similar system of opening and closing a crypt is found in the rear wall of the temple of Shanhûr. QUAEGBEUR – TRAUNCKER (1994a:195–197), and COPPENS (2003b:93).

1.13 Komir: Temple of Anuket and Nephthys

The small village of Komir²²⁵ (ḫr-mr or ḫr anḳ.t) is located 15 km to the south of Esna on the west bank of the Nile. The site is documented already for the Eleventh Dynasty and a temple, now completely destroyed, dates back to Ramesside times.²²⁶ During the reign of Antoninus Pius a new temple was constructed in honour of Anuket and Nephthys. This temple was discovered in 1941 by a local inhabitant while he was digging for limestone, and is situated underneath several houses of the village. In the late 1970s the temple was partly excavated under the direction of El-Saghir.²²⁷



*Fig. 34 The temple of Anuket and Nephthys at Komir
(drawing by L. Vařeková after EL-SAGHIR 1983:152, fig. 3)*

²²⁵ LdÄ III, 684.

²²⁶ For an overview of pre-Roman activities at Komir, consult VALBELLE (1983:168).

²²⁷ EL-SAGHIR – VALBELLE (1981); EL-SAGHIR (1983), and VALBELLE (1983). See also ARNOLD (1999:267), and HÖLBL (2000:115).

The temple is orientated along a north–east to south–west axis. Since the temple has been excavated only partly and is for a part still located underneath the houses of the village and a road, only a preliminary plan of the monument is currently available.²²⁸ (fig. 34) The entrance to the temple appears to have been formed by a pronaos – although no elements of any column have been discovered thus far – followed by two transversal, perhaps hypostyle halls which lead to the main sanctuary of the temple. The second transversal hall contained a stairway leading to the roof of the temple. To the north–east of the sanctuary lie two small rooms and a long crypt, the latter near the north–east outside wall. To the north–west of the sanctuary el–Saghir excavated a single room (2.75 x 2.42 m) that was connected with another room further to the north–west²²⁹ which has not yet been excavated. (fig. 35)



Fig. 35 The core of the temple of Komir with the presumed wabet

[bottom left of the photo]

(EL–SAGHIR 1983: plate xxviii)

²²⁸ EL–SAGHIR (1983:152, fig. 3).

²²⁹ EL–SAGHIR (1983: 156 and plate xviii).

In 1999 Niederberger was the first to suggest that these two rooms might constitute a complex of *wabet* and court.²³⁰ He based his claim on the location of the room and on the difference in height (45 cm) between the floor level of the room considered to be a *wabet*, and the floor level of the sanctuary (which was probably on the same level as the room preceding the *wabet*). No traces of the decorative scheme were discovered during the excavation of the presumed *wabet*. On the basis of the currently available material it is extremely difficult to ascertain whether these rooms in the temple of Komir did indeed constitute a complex of *wabet* and court. Only further excavations, especially of the space preceding the presumed *wabet*, might provide the necessary information.²³¹

²³⁰ NIEDERBERGER (1999:128).

²³¹ In 1983 EL-SAGHIR (1983:158) was extremely doubtful about any future excavations taking place at Komir due to the fact that 15 more houses would need to be bought and the inhabitants resettled. No further work appears to have taken place at Komir since that time.

2. The complex in time and space

A complex of *wabet* and court is not an isolated feature or independent architectural construction. The ensemble has its place in time, a specific location and function within a temple located somewhere in Egypt, and a layout that has its specific characteristics which also develop over time. In the previous chapter the date of construction and decoration, the location and the layout of each individual ensemble was described in detail and these descriptions enable us to better place the ensemble in time and space. The second chapter aims to put a time frame on the occurrence of the ensemble in the temple, to place it both within the temple and the whole of Egypt, and to give an overview of the ensemble's layout and its developments through time.

A note of caution is in order. Although a complex of *wabet* and court has so far been identified in or suggested for at least 13 temples of ancient Egypt, the overview of the individual complexes in the previous chapter has indicated that the identification of the ensemble in the temples of Behbeit el-Hagar, Elephantine (Satet), Athribis, and Komir is not certain yet due to the absence of conclusive information. Further on-site excavations will have to take place in order for scholars to be able to affirm or refute the presence of the ensemble in these monuments. In the following overview these four ensembles will therefore not be taken into account since any conclusions drawn on the basis of these ensembles must remain purely hypothetical. The ensembles will however be listed in the tables and figures and referred to in footnotes to provide the reader with a complete overview and allow them to draw their own conclusions about these complexes.

The nine remaining ensembles illustrate the complex's occurrence in the temple over a period of almost half a millennium, from the reign of the last pharaoh of the Thirtieth Dynasty, Nectanebo II (359/8–342/1 BC),²³² until the end of the 1st century AD.²³³ Of the nine ensembles that have currently been identified with certainty, only one dates back to the Thirtieth Dynasty, four to the Ptolemaic period and four to the first century of Roman presence in Egypt. (table I)

²³² On possible precursors of the complex in older temples of the Third Intermediate Period, the Late Period, and the New Kingdom, consult Chapter 7.

²³³ And perhaps even to the time of Roman Emperor Antoninus Pius (138–161 AD) if the temple of Komir does host such a complex.

Temple	Architecture	Decorative Scheme
Elephantine (Khnum)	Nectanebo II	no remains
<i>Behbeit el-Hagar</i>	<i>Nectanebo II</i>	<i>Ptolemaios II</i>
Philae	Ptolemaios II	Ptolemaios II
Edfu	Ptolemaios III	Ptolemaios IV
Kom Ombo	Ptolemaios VI	Ptolemaios VI (fragmentary)
<i>Elephantine (Satet)</i>	<i>Ptolemaios VI</i>	<i>no remains</i>
<i>Athribis (Wannina)</i>	<i>Ptolemaios XII</i>	<i>Ptolemaios XII (fragmentary)</i>
Dendara	Ptolemaios XII	Cleopatra VII
Kalabsha	Augustus	undecorated
Shanhûr	Augustus	Caligula
El-Qal'a	Augustus	Claudius
Deir Shalwît	1 st century AD	undecorated
<i>Komir</i>	<i>Antoninus Pius</i>	<i>no remains</i>

Table I. Overview of the complex of *wabet* and court in time

Viewing the temples that contained an ensemble on the map of Egypt reveals that with the exception of Behbeit el-Hagar,²³⁴ all of these temples are located in Upper Egypt, from Wannina in the north to Kalabsha in the south. (fig. 2) The location of these monuments suggests that this ensemble might have been a typical component of the Ptolemaic and Roman monuments of southern Egypt. But one has to keep in mind that the absence of complexes of *wabet* and court in temples to the north of Wannina might be due to the poor state of preservation and insufficient publication of the temples in the north rather than any purposeful geographical planning done by the ancient Egyptian priests. The constant need for building material for the ever-expanding cities of the Delta and Middle Egypt has led to at least partial if not total destruction of many temples in this part of the country and their state of preservation often does not allow for a detailed reconstruction of the monuments.²³⁵ On the other hand, numerous temples from Ptolemaic and Roman times are known in the Fayum and the western oases. Not a single one of the better preserved temples in this area contains

²³⁴ It is at present still unclear whether a complex was located in the temple of Behbeit el-Hagar (Chapter 1.2).

²³⁵ See for instance HÖLBL (2000:47–52) for the state of the Roman temple remains in the Delta and Middle Egypt. The temple of Behbeit el-Hagar is a good example of the typical state of preservation of the sanctuaries in this region and the many problems involved in the reconstruction of its layout.

such an ensemble,²³⁶ which does suggest that the complex could have been a typical architectural component only in Upper Egyptian temples. Only further research and excavation of the monuments from this period in the Delta and Middle Egypt might eventually shed more light on this problem.

While it is at present uncertain whether any monument from Middle Egypt and the Delta incorporated a complex in its core, it is likely that several other temples in Upper Egypt did indeed once contain it. In the introduction to this volume I have already pointed out that the temples from the Thirtieth Dynasty and the Ptolemaic and Roman era share many similarities in their layout and the temples that contain a complex of *wabet* and court are no exception to this rule.²³⁷ (fig. 36–37) Several other temples in Upper Egypt, such as the temple of Min and Isis at Coptos²³⁸ or the temple of Khnum at Esna,²³⁹ appear to have been built according to a very similar ground plan as the contemporary temples that contained a complex of *wabet* and court. These monuments might actually also have incorporated this ensemble in their core, but this can no longer be determined due to their unfortunate state of preservation.

The location of the ensemble in the temple appears to have been dictated by a simple rule under the Thirtieth Dynasty and in Ptolemaic times.²⁴⁰ In a temple located on the west bank of the Nile (Edfu and Dendara)²⁴¹ or on an island in the Nile (Elephantine and Philae), the complex is always located to the right of the sanctuary – when looking from the outside in. (table II) In a temple erected on the east bank of the Nile (Kom Ombo), the complex is located to the left of the sanctuary. It seems that this rule was no longer followed so strictly in Roman times. The rule still applies for the temples of el-Qal’ā and Deir Shalwīt, but is no longer at work in Kalabsha (on the west bank, but complex on the left side),²⁴² and Shanhûr (on the east bank, but ensemble on the right side).

²³⁶ See for instance: WILLEITNER (2003), and HÖLBL (2005).

²³⁷ NIEDERBERGER (1999:113–128), and ARNOLD (1999:305–308).

²³⁸ LdÄ III, 737–740; PM V, 123–125; PETRIE (1896); TRAUNECKER (1992:31–32; 38–39), and GABOLDE – GALLIANO (2000:58–78).

²³⁹ LdÄ II, 30–33; PM VI, 110–117; Esna I; ARNOLD (1999:180–181), and HÖLBL (2000:100–114).

²⁴⁰ On the location of the complex: TRAUNECKER (1995:267–269), and NIEDERBERGER (1999:137, table 2).

²⁴¹ This is also the case in the temples of Behbeit el-Hagar and Athribis.

²⁴² The situation is the same for the temple of Komir.

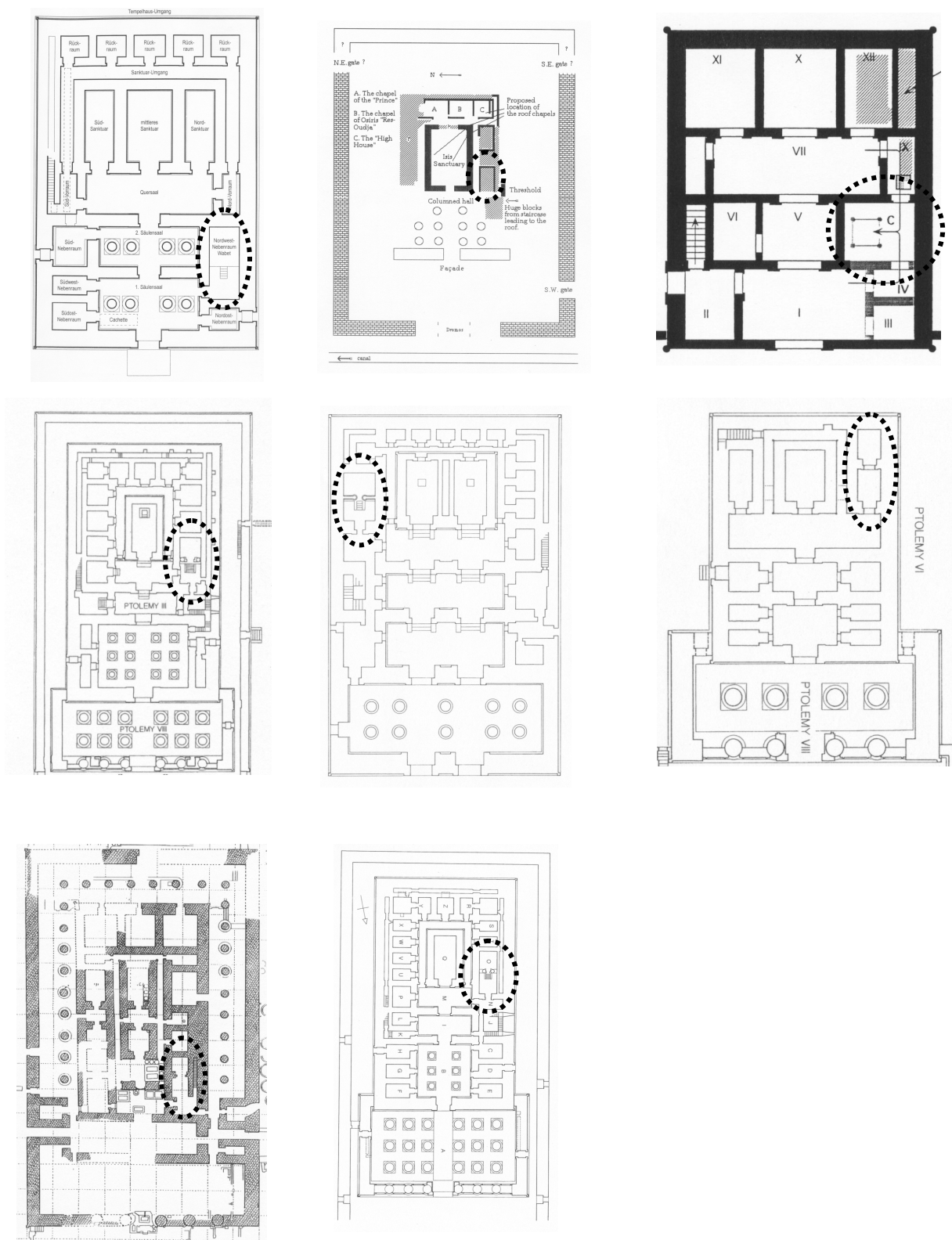


Fig. 36 The temples from the Thirtieth Dynasty and Ptolemaic times with the location of the complex of wabet and court (upper row: Elephantine (Khnum), Bebeit el-Hagar, and Philae; middle row: Edfu, Kom Ombo, and Elephantine (Satef); lower row: Atribis and Dendara)

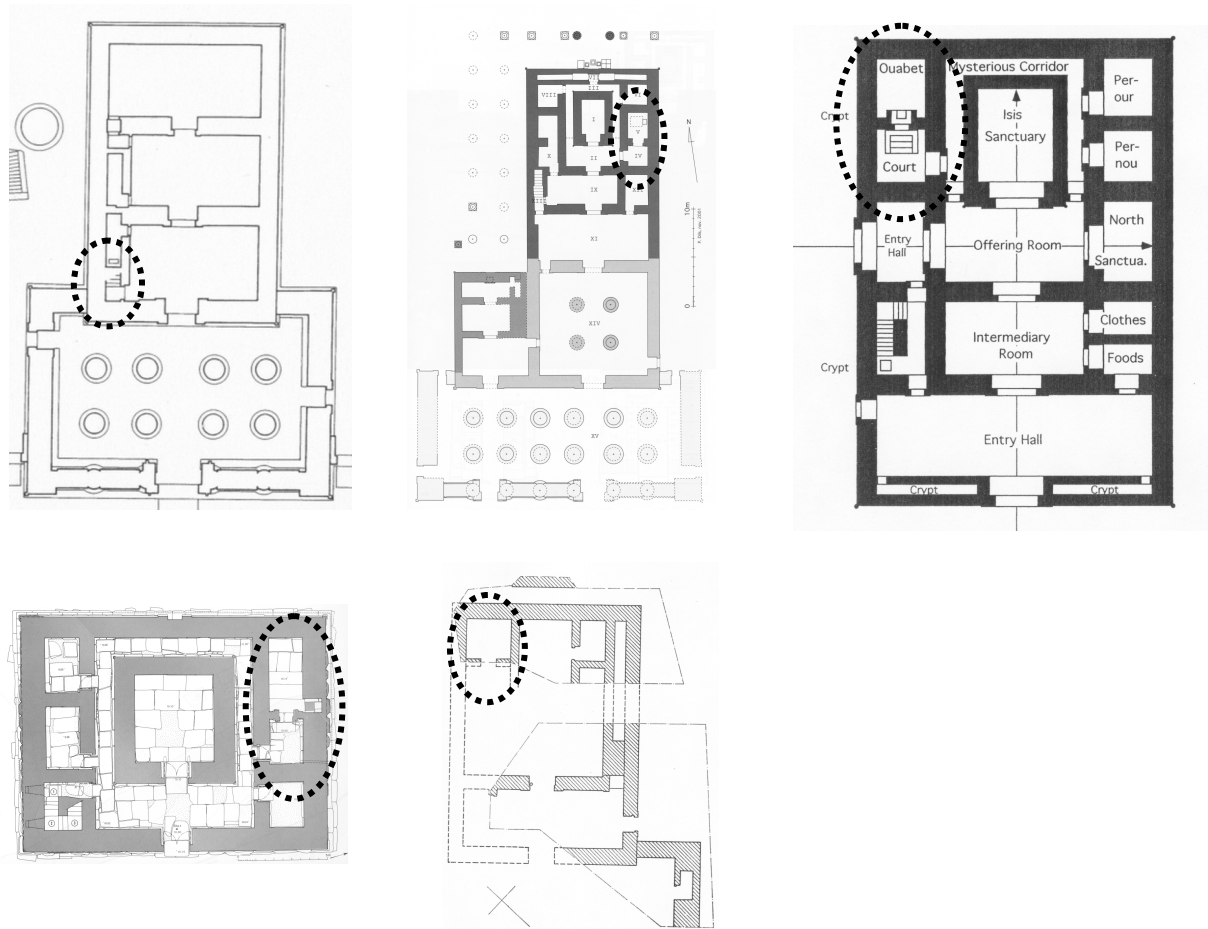


Fig 37 The temples from the Roman period with the location of the complex of wabet and court (upper row: Kalabsha, Shanbûr, and el-Qal'a; lower row: Deir Shalwît and Komir)

While the aforementioned geographical location determined the location of the complex in the temple, the physical²⁴³ and ‘virtual’ orientation of the temple did not have such an influence. The orientation of the complex in general follows the orientation of the temple. Only Philae (perpendicular on the temple axis) and Kalabsha (reversal of the orientation) are different. The ‘virtual orientation’ of a temple or a chamber in the temple is determined by the distribution of the images of the pharaoh – and especially by the kind of crown he wears – and of the deities on the walls of the rooms. For instance, in a physically north–south orientated temple, the depiction of the pharaoh with the red crown of Lower Egypt on the west wall, and with the white crown of Upper Egypt on the east wall, suggests a ‘virtual’ orientation of the monument from west to east. The west half of the temple represents in this

²⁴³ The orientation of the temple is seen from the entrance to the temple towards the sanctuary. In the case of the complex (table II), the orientation is given from the court towards the *wabet*.

case the north and the east half the south.²⁴⁴ In temples that are orientated according to an east–west or west–east axis, the virtual orientation does not come into play since one half of the temple is already physically the north half and the opposite part the south half. The distribution of the images of the pharaoh and the deities is then made accordingly. (table II)

Temple	Orientation of temple	Virtual Orientation	Bank of the Nile	Location of the complex	Orientation of the complex
Elephantine (K)	SE – NW	—	Island	R	SE–NW
Behbeit el–Hagar	W – E	—	West	R	W–E?
Philae	S – N	E – W	Island	R	E–W
Edfu	S – N	E – W	West	R	S–N
Kom Ombo	W – E	—	East	L	W–E
Elephantine (S)	E – W	—	Island	R	E–W
Athribis (Wannina)	S – N	E – W	West	R	S–N
Dendara	N – S	W – E	West	R	N–S
Kalabsha	E – W	—	West	L	W–E
Shanhûr	S – N	W–E/E–W ²⁴⁵	East	R	S–N
El–Qal’a	E – W	—	East	L	E–W
Deir Shalwât	E – W	—	West	R	E–W
Komir	NE – SW	—	West	L	NE–SW

Table II. The location and orientation of the temple and its complex

Lacau and Gutbub have suggested that the complex had always been located in the north part of the temple, whether ‘physically’ or ‘virtually’.²⁴⁶ This is indeed the case with the temples of Kom Ombo, Khnum at Elephantine, Kalabsha, and Deir Shalwât (physical orientation of the

²⁴⁴ For more information on the term ‘virtual orientation’ and illustrative examples, consult TRAUNECKER–SA’AD (1970:175–176), and TRAUNECKER (1995:268). See also KURTH (1994a:58–59), and GUTBUB (1985:124).

²⁴⁵ The virtual orientation (west to east) of the temple of Shanhûr is based on the distribution of the crowns of the pharaoh. The distribution of the deities on the temple walls, with the exception of the walls of the *nabet*, indicates the opposite orientation (east to west). TRAUNECKER (1995:268), and Shanhûr I, 24–38, and 98–99.

²⁴⁶ LACAU (1952:227), and GUTBUB (1985:124).

temple),²⁴⁷ and Philae and Edfu ('virtual' orientation).²⁴⁸ But their suggestion does not stand for the temples of Dendara, Shanhûr, and el-Qal'a.²⁴⁹

The exact location of the complex in the temple moved over time from the vicinity of the hypostyle hall to the very core of the temple near the 'hall of the ennead' and the freestanding sanctuary. (fig. 36–37) In the temple of Khnum at Elephantine (Thirtieth Dynasty), the ensemble was accessible through the first hypostyle hall which most likely functioned as the 'hall of appearance'.²⁵⁰ In the second oldest example – the open court at Philae from the reign of Ptolemaios II Philadelphos – the complex is located already closer to the very heart of the temple and features alongside the 'hall of offering'. It is connected with both the 'hall of appearance' and the 'hall of the ennead' by means of intermediary rooms. In the temple of Edfu, at the time of Ptolemaios III Euergetes I, the ensemble appears to have reached its characteristic and final location in the temple: accessible through the 'hall of the ennead' and (almost) at the height of the sanctuary. In the temple of Edfu the ensemble is directly accessible through the 'hall of the ennead' in front of the sanctuary. In several monumental temples like Dendara and Kom Ombo, an intermediary room connected this transversal hall in front of the sanctuary with the complex. The same room often also connects the ensemble with a turning staircase to the roof of the temple (Edfu, Dendara, and Kom Ombo). In the smaller temples the complex is accessed either immediately from the first transversal hall (Shanhûr)²⁵¹ or from the ambulatory (Deir Shalwât and el-Qal'a), while in Kalabsha the complex is located almost on the roof of the temple.²⁵² The main entrance into the complex is positioned either in a lateral wall of the open court (Elephantine, Philae, Edfu, Shanhûr, el-Qal'a, and Deir Shalwât)²⁵³ or looks directly towards the facade of the *wabet* (Kom Ombo, Dendara, and Kalabsha).

²⁴⁷ This is also the case for the temple of Satet at Elephantine.

²⁴⁸ The ensemble is according to the 'virtual' orientation of the temple of Athribis also located in its north half.

²⁴⁹ See already TRAUNECKER (1995:269). The rule does not apply for the supposed complex in the temples of Behbeit el-Hagar and Komir either.

²⁵⁰ In the temple of Behbeit el-Hagar it is unclear whether the complex was also accessible from the hypostyle hall or rather from one of the transversal halls to the east of the hypostyle hall. See already the comments in Chapter 1.2 on the layout of the temple.

²⁵¹ Likewise the temples of Satet at Elephantine, and Komir.

²⁵² The situation is still unclear for the temple of Athribis.

²⁵³ This is also the case for the temples of Satet at Elephantine and Athribis. The exact location of the entrance into the ensemble is unknown for the temples of Behbeit el-Hagar and Komir.

In larger temples the access to the roof is often located in the immediate vicinity of the complex (Edfu, Kom Ombo, Dendara)²⁵⁴ and it often takes the form of a staircase that makes a series of 90 degree turns in order to reach the roof of the temple. In the smaller temples often only a single staircase is present, and perhaps due to the limited size or technical requirements, it is often located elsewhere in the temple.

The so-called ‘Book of the Temple’ might eventually shed some more light on the rules and regulations governing the exact location and orientation of the ensemble in the temple. The ‘Book of the Temple’ is a generic name for a set of over 40 fragmentary and largely unpublished manuscripts which are mainly written in Demotic and to a much lesser extent in Greek.²⁵⁵ These documents are on a palaeographical basis all dated to the Roman period (1st and 2nd century AD), although an earlier date of origin is assumed.²⁵⁶ The largest part of the documents comes from the Fayum, and particularly the sites of Tebtynis and Soknopaiou Nesos, but fragments have also been found in Oxyrhynchus and as far south as Elephantine. The ‘Book of the Temple’ is a large manual for the ideal temple and consists of three main sections. Following a brief and fictitious historical introduction, the second part of the manual provides a very detailed description of the layout of the ideal Egyptian temple, and the final section deals with sets of rules and duties for priests and other temple employees. The final publication of the manual is still due, and so at present it cannot be confirmed whether the second part of the unpublished manual, dealing with the layout of the ideal temple, contains information on the location and orientation of the ensemble of *wabet* and court in the temple.²⁵⁷

From the very beginning of its existence, at the end of the Thirtieth Dynasty, the ensemble had consisted of two specific parts. Under the Thirtieth Dynasty and during the early

²⁵⁴ This appears to be also the case for the temple of Athribis.

²⁵⁵ For a general introduction to the ‘Book of the Temple’, consult QUACK (2002a). In-depth studies of various aspects of the ‘Book of the Temple’ can be consulted in QUACK (1997; 1999; 2002b; 2003a; 2003b; 2004; 2005). For older publications of some manuscripts, consult especially BURKARD (1990 = pBerlin 23071); REYMOND (1977 = pVindob./pWien D6319), and the comments in QUACK (1992–1993).

²⁵⁶ The ‘Book of the Temple’ was originally composed in Middle Egyptian (in hieratic), but was later translated into Demotic and Greek. QUACK (1992–1993; 1997; 2002a:1–2; 2005:105).

²⁵⁷ See QUACK (2002a:1; 2003:111). The designation *s.t. Hb tpy* or ‘seat of the first feast’, which is one of the terms often associated with the complex, is mentioned as a structure on the roof of the temple in pVindob/pWien D6319. See Chapter 3.2; REYMOND (1977:56–57; 89–90), and QUACK (2002a:4–5).

Ptolemaic period, the separation between the two spaces appears to have been suggested only by a difference in the height of the floor level, which could be bridged by means of a staircase in the middle.²⁵⁸ During the reign of Ptolemaios III Euergetes I the *wabet* in the temple of Horus at Edfu acquired the typical facade for the first time. (fig. 12) In the wider ensembles, like in Edfu and Dendara (fig. 18),²⁵⁹ the facade of the *wabet* consists of three clearly defined components on either side of the small staircase in the middle: a screen wall, attached to the lateral walls of the complex, a column that carries the architrave above the doorway, and a broken door lintel that holds the wooden doors used to separate the complex from the court. In Roman times, when the size of the newly constructed sanctuaries could no longer rival the monumental temples of the previous Ptolemaic period and the ensemble diminished in size,²⁶⁰ the screen wall was often reduced to a very small wall (Kalabsha, el-Qal'a, and Deir Shalwît – figs. 23, 30 and 33) or a mere carving into the pilaster that carries the columns (Shanhûr – fig. 25). The facade of the *wabet* with the broken door lintels, columns and screen walls is one of the most typical architectural features of the temples of the Ptolemaic and Roman period. The same type of facade was also used for the pronaos (fig. 38) and the colonnades surrounding the birth houses or *mammisis*.²⁶¹



*Fig. 38 The Ptolemaic Pronaos of Edfu
(photo by the author)*

²⁵⁸ This was definitely the case in the temple of Khnum at Elephantine (Chapter 1.1 and fig. 4) and perhaps in the temple of Isis at Philae (1.3 and fig. 10 for the possible remains of the platform).

²⁵⁹ Nothing remains of the facade of the *wabet* in the Ptolemaic temple of Kom Ombo (Chapter 1.5).

²⁶⁰ ARNOLD (1999:226). See also table III.

²⁶¹ On the development of this type of architectural feature, consult ARNOLD (1999:277–288, 303–304; 2003:180, 211).

Temple	Court	Wabet	Height difference
Elephantine (Khnum) ²⁶²	ca. 4.62 x 3.71	ca. 4.62 x 3.71	<i>unknown</i>
Behbeit el-Hagar ²⁶³	<i>unknown</i>	<i>unknown</i>	<i>unknown</i>
Philae ²⁶⁴	ca. 4.75 x 3.95	—	1.04
Edfu ²⁶⁵	4.57 x 4.45	4.07 x 4.41	1.32
Kom Ombo ²⁶⁶	ca. 6.00 x 3.80	—	<i>unknown</i>
Elephantine (Satet) ²⁶⁷	ca. 3.25 x 2.25	ca. 3.00 x 2.25	<i>unknown</i>
Athribis (Wannina) ²⁶⁸	ca. 4.40 x 3.10	ca. 3.85 x 3.10	<i>unknown</i>
Dendara ²⁶⁹	5.35 x 4.61	4.46 x 4.61	1.37
Kalabsha ²⁷⁰	1.92 x 1.83	3.09 x 1.83	0.18
Shanhûr ²⁷¹	2.10 x 2.02	2.66 x 2.05	0.70
El-Qal'a ²⁷²	2.65 x 2.15	3.25 x 2.15	0.75
Deir Shalwît ²⁷³	2.55 x 1.90	4.88 x 1.90	0.14
Komir ²⁷⁴	<i>unknown</i>	2.42 x 2.75	0.45

Table III. The dimensions of the complex of wabet and court

²⁶² NIEDERBERGER (1999:45). The entire complex measures 9.25 x 3.71 m. The research of Niederberger suggests that the division of the space into a court and a *wabet* was located in the middle of the room. The height difference between both parts of the complex could not be measured since only the foundations remain.

²⁶³ The complex has never been excavated and the exact dimensions are not yet known.

²⁶⁴ The ensemble in Philae consists only of an open court and possibly the remains of a platform at its north wall. The measurements were taken during the author's visit to the site.

²⁶⁵ CAUVILLE – DEVAUCHELLE (1984:24). The height difference was measured during my visit to the site.

²⁶⁶ The plan of Lauer in LACAU (1952: plate 1). The few remaining architectural traces do not allow us to pinpoint the exact location of the division between the open court and the *wabet*, or to obtain the exact height difference between both spaces.

²⁶⁷ RICKE (1960, plate 4). The height difference could not be measured since only the foundations remain.

²⁶⁸ EL-MASRY (2001) does not provide any measurements for the complex. The only available information is the preliminary plan of the temple (EL-MASRY 2001:212, fig. 4).

²⁶⁹ CAUVILLE (1990:111). The height difference was measured during the author's visit to the site.

²⁷⁰ DAUMAS (1970a: plates V–VII), and Deir Chelouit IV, 28, n. 41.

²⁷¹ TRAUNECKER (1995:262, n. 119), and Shanhûr I, 93.

²⁷² TRAUNECKER (1995:252, n. 82–83).

²⁷³ Deir Chelouit IV, 28, n. 41.

²⁷⁴ EL-SAGHIR (1983:156). The dimensions of the court are not known, since this part of the temple has never been excavated. The height difference constitutes the difference between the floor level of the *wabet* and the sanctuary.

The dimensions of the two distinct parts of the complex do not seem to have been governed by specific rules. The difference in size between the Ptolemaic and Roman ensembles appears to be due to the diminished size of the entire temple in Roman times. (table III) The ancient Egyptian description of the complex in the temples of Dendara and Edfu indicates that 8 square el constitutes the ideal dimensions for the ensemble.²⁷⁵ The ensembles in the smaller Roman temples suggest a size of the open court of ca. 4 square el and a slightly elongated wabet – ca. 4 el wide and 5 to 8 el deep. The difference between the floor levels of the two spaces also differs from temple to temple, but it is generally higher in the Ptolemaic examples.

The access to a crypt, located in the foundations of the temple, is also a recurring architectural feature in the complex. In case of the Thirtieth Dynasty examples it is at present not yet certain whether an access to a crypt was located within the complex or in its immediate vicinity. In Ptolemaic times, the oldest ensemble at Philae contains the access to the crypts of the temple in room IX, the intermediary room that connects the complex with the ‘hall of the ennead’. From the ensemble in the temple of Edfu onwards, the access to the crypt is usually located in the court (Edfu and Dendara) or in the immediate vicinity of the complex (Kom Ombo).²⁷⁶ In almost all Roman examples the *wabet* itself contains the entrance to the crypt (Shanhûr, Kalabsha, Deir Shalwît), while in el-Qal’a the entrance is located underneath the staircase that connects both areas of the ensemble.²⁷⁷ The crypt could consist of a long corridor with a series of rooms (Dendara and Edfu) or a single small room (all Roman examples).

Conclusion

After the initial stages in the development of the layout of the ensemble during the Thirtieth Dynasty and the early-Ptolemaic period, the complex appears to have received its typical form for the first time in the temple of Horus at Edfu during the reign of Ptolemaios III Euergetes I. The further developments in its layout appear to be due only to the reduction of the dimensions of the temples and temple rooms in Roman times and were not carried out for ritual purposes.

²⁷⁵ Edfou VII, 16, 1; CAUVILLE (1990:101–102), and CAUVILLE – DEVAUCHELLE (1984:24). See already Chapter 1.4 and 1.8. The size of the open court in the temple of Philae appears to follow this trend.

²⁷⁶ This is also the case for the temple of Satet at Elephantine. It is unknown whether an entrance to a crypt was located in the ensemble in Athribis.

²⁷⁷ It is at present not known whether the presumed complex in the Roman temple of Komir contained an entrance to a crypt.

In essence the layout of the complex of *wabet* and court consists of the following characteristics. The ensemble is located in the core of the temple, almost at the height of the sanctuary, and is accessible through the 'hall of the ennead'.²⁷⁸ Ideally it is located to the right of the sanctuary in temples on the west bank or on islands in the Nile, and to the left in temples on the east bank. The ensemble consists of two distinct areas: a court, open to the light of day, and a slightly elevated and covered chapel. A small staircase, located in the middle of the space, connects both parts of the ensemble, while a facade, consisting of two screen walls attached to the lateral walls of the complex, two columns and two broken door lintels, screens the *wabet* from the open court. An entrance to a crypt appears to have been another essential characteristic of the typical complex. In the larger examples, the ensemble was usually positioned near one of the staircases leading to the roof of the temple, while in smaller temples this could not be achieved, most likely due to the size of the building.

²⁷⁸ The only major exception is the ensemble in the temple of Kalabsha where it is located near the roof of the temple. For reasons unknown the interior of the temple consists of only three transversal halls with very small side rooms. A lack of space might be the reason why the complex was moved near the roof of the temple. But the layout of the complex does not differ from the other ensembles (Chapter 1.9).

3. Designations of the complex

The architectural ensemble of an open court followed by a covered chapel has been identified beyond doubt in nine temples of Upper Egypt, but only six of the complexes provide information on the designations used by the Egyptians for these spaces. In the oldest known example, in the temple of Khnum at Elephantine, only the foundations remain of the ensemble and none of the remaining fragments of the inscriptions could be attributed to the ensemble with any degree of certainty, while the Roman complexes at Kalabsha and Deir Shalwât have remained undecorated. The six remaining ensembles are found in the Ptolemaic temples of Philae, Edfu, Kom Ombo²⁷⁹ and Dendara, and the Roman temples of Shanhûr and el-Qal'a. The inscriptions in these temples reveal that a large variety of terms existed throughout the Ptolemaic and Roman period to designate these ensembles. The two designations mainly associated with the ensemble are 'wabet' (wab . t) and 'seat of the first feast' (s . t Hb tpy). This chapter intends to provide an overview and an analysis of the numerous designations in use for both parts of the complex and their development over time.²⁸⁰

3.1. Wabet (wab . t) and court of the wabet (wsx . t wab . t)

The currently used terminology that describes the architectural complex of an open court and elevated chapel as 'court' and '*wabet*' is derived from a few hieroglyphic texts from the temples of Edfu and Dendara. (table IV) Both terms figure prominently in the publication of the inscriptions from these complexes,²⁸¹ and because ever since then up into the 1980s these texts formed the only known material with information on the ancient Egyptian terms for the ensemble, these designations have subsequently been taken over in numerous studies where mention is made of the complex.²⁸²

²⁷⁹ Only very little remains of the complex at Kom Ombo and the only information regarding a possible designation of the complex is found elsewhere in the temple (see Chapter 3.2).

²⁸⁰ A preliminary study of the numerous designations in use for the ensemble was published in COPPENS (2002a).

²⁸¹ Namely as the title introducing the hieroglyphic texts of each room: 'Ouabit': Edfou I, 409 and Dendara IV, 215; 'Cour du Nouvel An': Edfou I, 437, and 'Cour de la Chapelle du Nouvel An': Dendara IV, 179.

²⁸² See already footnote 20 for a general overview.

The initial use of the term *'wabet'* for the elevated chapel dates back to the reign of Ptolemaios IV Philopator and comes from the complex in the temple of Edfu. On the doorjambs of the facade leading from the court into the chapel, the term occurs three times:

– Edfou I, 415, 5:²⁸³ Htp sp-2 m wab.t=f Htp @r BHdt.y nTr aA nb p.t sAb Sw.t pr m Ax.t Hr wab.t=f ... or 'Rest, rest in his *wabet*. Horus Behdety, the great god, lord of heaven, the dappled of feathers, who comes forth out of the horizon, rests in his *wabet*...'

– Edfou I, 416, 16:²⁸⁴ ... Htp @r BHdt.y nTr aA nb p.t Hr wab.t=f ... or '... Horus Behdety, the great god, lord of heaven, rests in his *wabet* ...'

The east staircase to the roof of the temple, which is located just to the south of the ensemble, contains another reference to the complex from the reign of Ptolemaios IV Philopator. A priest, carrying a papyrus and reciting texts, mentions the following: swAS.n=i swAS n Htp Hr wab<.t>=f or 'I praise/worship (using) the praise formula²⁸⁵ of resting on his *wabet*'.²⁸⁶ According to Alliot the term *'wabet'* in this case designated the small kiosk on the roof of the temple²⁸⁷ which was the final destination of the procession during the festivities related to the regeneration and rejuvenation of the statues of the deities,²⁸⁸ but he does not provide any arguments for his claim. The inscription in question contains an overview of the different texts the priest carries with him and recites during the procession to the roof of the temple immediately after having left the ensemble of *wabet* and court. There is no reason to assume that the term *'wabet'* in this case refers to any place other than the elevated chapel at the foot of the stairs where a series of cultic acts had taken place prior to ascending the staircase. The kiosk on the roof of the temple in Edfu is most commonly referred to as 'seat of the first feast' (s.t Hb tpy) and there is no indication that it was ever called *'wabet'*.²⁸⁹

²⁸³ ALLIOT (1949:366).

²⁸⁴ ALLIOT (1949:367).

²⁸⁵ WILSON (1997a:809–810).

²⁸⁶ Edfou I, 568, 5–6; ALLIOT (1949:412).

²⁸⁷ ALLIOT (1949:417, 419–420).

²⁸⁸ See already the overview of previous work on the complex in the introduction to this volume.

²⁸⁹ Edfou VII; 14,4; ALLIOT (1949:306–308); DE WIT (1961:305); KURTH (1994a:75); TRAUNECKER (1995:248). A close link does exist between the complex of *wabet* and court and the kiosk on the roof of the temple. See for instance Chapter 3.2 on the 'seat of the first feast' in Edfu, or WAITKUS (1995) for the situation in the temple of Dendara.

The complex is also referred to in the two lower bandeau inscriptions that provide detailed information on the internal layout of the entire temple of Edfu. The inscriptions are located on the exterior wall of the naos of the temple (Ptolemaios VIII Euergetes II) and the external part of its enclosure wall (Ptolemaios X Alexander I), respectively, and describe the complex as follows:

– Edfou IV, 6, 2:²⁹⁰ . . . abA DfA.w Hr iAby=s wab.t=f m-qAb=f or ‘... the (court of the) food–altar²⁹¹ is on his²⁹² left, his *wabet* within him.’

– Edfou VII, 16, 1:²⁹³ . . . abA DfA.w Hr iAby=s wab.t=f m-qAb=f or ‘... the (court of the) food–altar is on his left, his *wabet* within him.’

– Edfou VII, 17, 2:²⁹⁴ ... tA xnd iAbt.t m 10 r 8 sbA ktt im=f wbA r wab.t=f... or ‘... the east staircase, measuring 10 by 8 el, a small door is in it, opening towards its *wabet*...’

From the reign of Ptolemaios X Alexander I also comes the great festive calendar that gives an overview of the feasts of Hathor of Dendara throughout the year.²⁹⁵ The calendar is located on the doorway leading from the open court in front of the pronaos to the corridor surrounding the temple of Edfu. (fig. 11) The calendar records the activities that took place at the time of the festival of Harsomtus on the very first day of the year (Thoth 1), among them:²⁹⁶ . . . Htp Hr wab.t=f xft-Hr n pr-Ra r [s]mAa t Hnk.t iH.w Apd.w xw.t nfr.w nb.w /// or ‘Resting on/in his *wabet*, before/in front of the ‘Temple of Ra’,²⁹⁷ presenting bread, beer, meat and fowl, and all good things ///’. The important role the complex played at the time of the New Year is well-known and there can be no doubt that in this instance the designation ‘*wabet*’ refers to the complex.

²⁹⁰ DE WIT (1961:68–69); TRAUNECKER (1995:247).

²⁹¹ On the designation ‘(court of the) food–altar’ or abA DfA.w see Chapter 3.3.

²⁹² The hall of the enead: *Edfou I*, plate I, N; or fig. 11 in this volume. ‘Left’ is meant looking from the interior of the temple (the sanctuary) outwards.

²⁹³ DE WIT (1961:308–309); KURTH (1994a:76; 1994b:53); TRAUNECKER (1995:247).

²⁹⁴ ALLIOT (1949:378–379); DE WIT (1961:311); KURTH (1994a:77).

²⁹⁵ Edfou V, 384–360; Edfou XIII, plate cccclxxxiv; ALLIOT (1949:215–239); GRIMM (1994:8).

²⁹⁶ Edfou V, 349, 6–7; ALLIOT (1949:222–223); GRIMM (1994:21).

²⁹⁷ The ‘Temple of Ra’ refers to the temple and town of Edfu itself. WILSON (1997a:631).

In the temple of Dendara the term *wabet* does not occur on the walls of the complex itself, but features once on the lower bandeau inscription on the outside of the naos from the reign of Augustus, which like its counterparts in Edfu describes the internal layout of the temple in detail.²⁹⁸ This text also contains the only occurrence of the designation ‘court of the *wabet*’: ... wsx.t wab.t=f m 10 r 8 1/2 1/10²⁹⁹ r qaH—a n nTr im=s wab.t=f [r-]xn.t Xnw sn.t r=f m 8 1/2 1/10 r 8 1/6 or ‘... the court of his *wabet*, measuring 10 by 8 1/2 1/10 el, to bend the arm³⁰⁰ for the god in her. His *wabet* is towards the inside,³⁰¹ opening up towards him,³⁰² measuring 8 1/2 1/10 by 8 1/6 el’.

Hieroglyphs	Location
	Edfou I, 415, 5 and 416, 16. Edfou IV, 6, 2 Edfou VII, 17, 2
	Edfou I, 568, 6
	Edfou V, 349, 6
	Edfou VII, 16, 1
	CAUVILLE (1990:101)
	CAUVILLE (1990:101)

Table IV. The designations ‘*wabet*’ and ‘court of the *wabet*’

In total the inscriptions from the temples of Edfu and Dendara provide nine occurrences of the designation ‘*wabet*’ and a single occurrence of the term ‘court of the *wabet*’. The overview

²⁹⁸ CAUVILLE (1990:101–102); TRAUNECKER (1995:251). Older studies refer to the publication of this text by DÜMICHEN (1877a: plates 12–16).

²⁹⁹ For the rendering of numbers in Ptolemaic consult DE WIT (1962).

³⁰⁰ Wb V, 18–1; WILSON (1997a:1049). Holding/bending the arm is a priestly gesture performed in a variety of ritual acts, such as food and other offerings, the Htp dj nsw.t and the opening of the mouth ritual. Consult for instance: FAIRMAN–GRDSELOFF (1947:23, n. i); CHASSINAT (1966:294, n. 5).

³⁰¹ r-xn.t is used to designate the interior of the temple. CAUVILLE (1990:107, n. 19).

³⁰² i.e. the court.

of the various writings for the term *wabet* (table IV) indicates that the name for the elevated chapel of the complex was both in Edfu and Dendara almost always written with the sign of the foot combined with a vase from which water flows and the *pr*-sign.³⁰³ The noun *wabet* (*wab . t*) is a term that belongs to a series of words closely associated with the term *wab* ‘to be pure, to purify’,³⁰⁴ hence the chapel is at times also referred to as the ‘pure place’.³⁰⁵

The term *wabet*, determined with the *pr*-sign, is already attested in Old Kingdom sources and is most commonly understood to refer to a ‘workshop’ in the broadest sense of the word. It is a space where a series of goods were prepared in a ‘pure’ environment.³⁰⁶ Scenes and texts from the Old Kingdom, such as those found in the tomb of Ankhmahor in Saqqara,³⁰⁷ characterise the *wabet* as the place where a variety of craftsmen prepared, produced and assembled numerous goods, including false doors, funerary furniture and statues, for the tomb and afterlife of the deceased.³⁰⁸ From the New Kingdom onwards, the term ‘*wabet*’ also designated a more general sort of workshop in the house where a large variety of goods were made, including beer and bread.³⁰⁹

A large number of inscriptions and depictions mention also how the body of the deceased itself was treated in the *wabet*.³¹⁰ In the tombs of Qar and Idu in Giza (G7101 and G7102)³¹¹

³⁰³ VP E, nos. 1187 and 1189.

³⁰⁴ On the term *wab*, see Wb I, 280–284; HANNIG (1995:182–185); WILSON (1997a:212).

³⁰⁵ See for instance DAUMAS (1969:57); CAUVILLE (1995:60); FINNESTAD (1997:221); WILSON (1997a:214).

³⁰⁶ For the term *wab . t* as a ‘pure room’, ‘workshop’, ‘chapel’ e.a., consult Wb I, 284; CHASSINAT (1931:133); HANNIG (1995:184); WILSON (1997a:214). In most pre-Ptolemaic examples the term is written with a seated man sitting underneath a vase from which water pours out (VP A, nos. 859–877).

³⁰⁷ CAPART (1907:32–33, plate xxxiii).

³⁰⁸ For an overview of numerous attestations of the *wabet* as a workshop, consult DRENKHAHN (1976:147–151); BROVARSKI (1977:114–115).

³⁰⁹ See for instance: CAMINOS (1954:120); or *pAnastasi III*, pl. viii, 4; *pAnastasi IV*, pl. xvi, 2–3. The term remained in use throughout all periods of ancient Egyptian history. The stelophor statue of Ibi (JE 36158) contains an autobiographic text mentioning the construction of a *wabet* – presumably a workshop for the fabrication of the burial equipment – for the god’s wife of Amun Nitocris. GRAEFFE (1994:87, 91, and 98). I would like to thank Claus Jurman (Wien) for this reference.

³¹⁰ LdÄ I, 615–617, 745–765 (esp. 752–754); GRDSELOFF (1941:12–14); SETTGAST (1963:15–16); EDEL (1969:4–6); GOYON (1972b:24–25). Regarding the question whether the embalming took place in the mortuary workshop itself or in a different locality with the same name, consult DRENKHAHN (1976:147); BROVARSKI (1977:114–115).

and of Pepi-Ankh in Meir³¹² the deceased, having travelled in procession from their house across the Nile first to the *ibw* or ‘tent of purification’,³¹³ arrived at the *wabet* to be embalmed and prepared for their journey to the tomb. This led J.A. Wilson to coin the term ‘mortuary workshop’ to render the ancient Egyptian *wab.t*.³¹⁴ The use of the term ‘place of embalming’ or ‘mortuary workshop’ is not restricted to the Old Kingdom. Coffin texts,³¹⁵ New Kingdom stelae, such as those found in the tombs of Thoth (IT 110) and Antef (IT 164) in Thebes,³¹⁶ Late Period papyri like the funerary papyrus Rhind I,³¹⁷ and inscriptions from Ptolemaic and Roman temples, such as Behbeit el-Hagar, Edfu and Dendara,³¹⁸ all testify to the use of this term throughout the entire period of ancient Egyptian history. Concomitantly the term ‘*wabet*’ also invoked the embalming place for sacred animals, such as the Apis bull at Memphis (for instance pVindob 3873)³¹⁹ or the falcons at Athribis in the Delta.³²⁰ The use of the term ‘*wabet*’ for the ‘place of embalming’ not only reflects its role as the space where the body of the deceased was prepared for the tomb (a ‘workshop’), but also the purity (*wab*) of the space and all its contents since it was essential for the deceased to enter the afterlife in a state of purity.³²¹

On the basis of depictions of the ‘place of embalming’ in Old Kingdom tombs,³²² Ricke and Badawy reconstructed in the 1950s the *wabet* as an open court surrounding a central building.³²³ (fig. 39) According to their reconstructions, the activities in the central building

³¹¹ SIMPSON (1976: plate viia and figure 24 – Qar – and plates xviii and xxa and figure 35 – Idu).

³¹² BLACKMAN (1953: plates xlii, xliii and lxiv, 1).

³¹³ LdÄ V, 220–222 with references to previous studies. See also HOFFMEIER (1981); VAN ROODE (2003).

³¹⁴ WILSON (1944:202, n. 5).

³¹⁵ See among others CT III, 294e, 297i, 305c, 310e and CT VI, 264t. I would like to thank dr. H. Willems for providing me with these references.

³¹⁶ DE GARIS DAVIES (1932: plates 37 and 40); HERMANN (1940:32* and 39*).

³¹⁷ pRhind I, 2, 20; 2, 38; 3, 5; II, 3, 2 = G. MÖLLER (1913:14, 18, 20, 56).

³¹⁸ For instance: FAVARD–MEEKS (1991:208); Edfou I, 188,9; Edfou IV, 84,1–2; Edfou V, 67,3; 289,2; Dendara X, 28,1; 32,6; 40,9 and 15; 41, 2,3,5; 44,13; 118,3; 130,6; 132,13; 133,10; 135,14; 138,11; 140,14; 143,8; 147,6; 149,9; 207,3; 208,8; 214,4; 215,5; 217,11; 226,7; 236,3; 276,5; 370,9; 404,6 and 10; 405,5; 406,11 and 16; 407,9 and 12; 408,1; 412,13; 413,7; 414,9.

³¹⁹ VOS (1993:32–34).

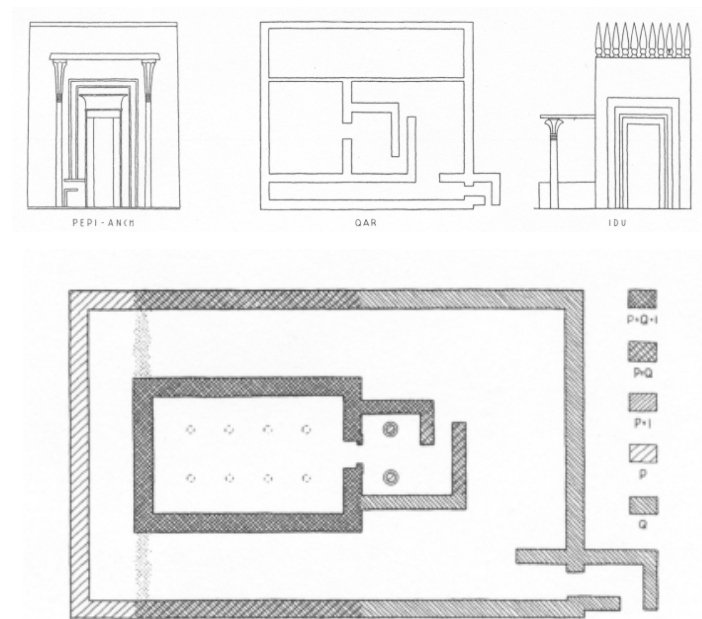
³²⁰ JELÍNKOVÁ–REYMOND (1956:96–110).

³²¹ For instance: RÄRG, 635; LdÄ V, 213; HOFFMEIER (1981:171); VOS (1993:34).

³²² The tombs of Pepi–Ankh, Qar and Idu. BLACKMAN (1953: plates xlii, xliii and lxiv, 1); SIMPSON 1976 (plates viia, xviii and xxa, and fig. 24 and 35).

³²³ RICKE (1950:96–97 and fig. 41); BADAWY (1954:65–67 and fig. 49).

were screened from view by means of an anteroom with columns and some sort of a screen wall. Their reconstruction of the typical layout of the place of embalming or *wabet* on the basis of inscriptions and depictions remains for the most part hypothetical since almost no traces of this type of *wabet* have thus far been excavated. E. Naville does mention the discovery of the remains of a place of embalming on the north colonnade of the middle platform and the causeway of the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, but no detailed plan of the area exists.³²⁴ S. Hassan has moreover suggested that it was not a ‘place of embalming’, but rather a storage place for embalming equipment.³²⁵ The excavations of Hassan at Giza revealed a series of mud brick structures and rock-cut drains and basins in the courtyards of the Old Kingdom tombs of Nefer, Kaunisut and Kai which he identified as the remains of a ‘place of embalming’.³²⁶ It is however impossible to reconstruct the exact layout of these places and compare them with the reconstructions of Ricke and Badawy.



*Fig. 39 Reconstruction of the wabet as a ‘place of embalming’
on the basis of scenes in the mastabas of Pepi–Ankh in Meir and Qar and Idu at Giza
RICKE (1950:97, fig. 41)*

In 1956 Jelínková–Reymond reconstructed the *wabet* as the ‘place of embalming’ for the falcons in Athribis in the Delta on the basis of a description on the statue base of Djedher

³²⁴ NAVILLE (1896:6).

³²⁵ HASSAN (1943:83).

³²⁶ HASSAN (1943:84–86).

from the reign of Philippos III Arrhidaios.³²⁷ (fig. 40) A brief but otherwise similar description is known from the embalming place of the Apis bull in Memphis (pVindob. 3873, rt. IV, 20).³²⁸ Both examples have the *wabet* located inside an open court and consisting of a portico with screen walls, erected in front of the building, which screened the interior of the space. An open court was located behind the portico, and a series of rooms for dissecting and embalming the sacred animals was located on the sides of the court. Unlike the embalming place in Athribis, of which nothing remains, the Apis embalming house in Memphis has been excavated in detail. Its general layout does not appear to resemble the reconstructions created on the basis of the texts. Instead the remains indicate a series of transversal rooms positioned behind each other.³²⁹

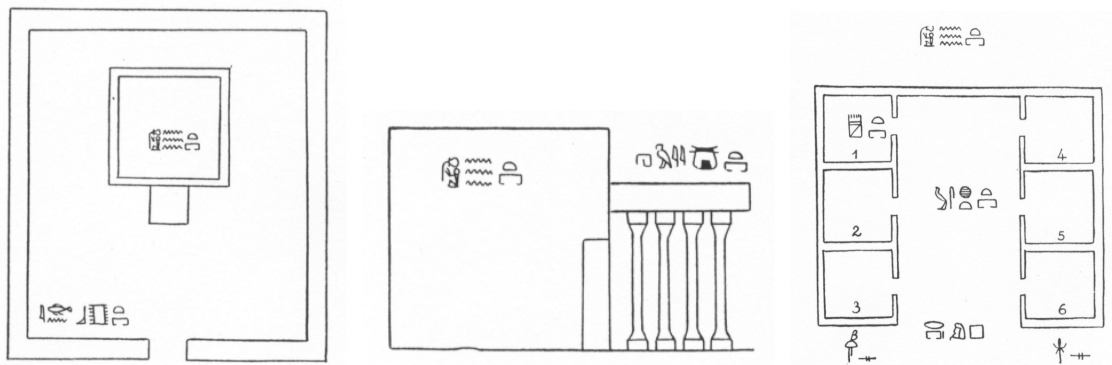


Fig. 40 Reconstruction of the *wabet* as a ‘place of embalming’ for the falcons at Athribis

JELÍNKOVÁ–REYMOND (1956:98–100)

The temple of Osiris–Baboon at Tuna el–Gebel appears to follow much more closely the description of a typical *wabet* as a ‘place of embalming’.³³⁰ The temple dates to the reign of Macedonian king Alexander IV and is therefore almost contemporary with the description of the *wabet* for the falcons in Athribis. At present very little remains of the temple, but the ground plan could still be reconstructed and is remarkably similar to the description of the place of embalming at Athribis. The temple consisted of a pylon–like entrance, followed by

³²⁷ JELÍNKOVÁ–REYMOND (1956:98–100).

³²⁸ VOS (1993:32; 53).

³²⁹ EL–AMIR (1948); DIMMICK (1959:75–76 and plate 41); VERCOUTTER (1962:55–58); JONES – JONES (1982; 1983; 1985; 1987; 1988).

³³⁰ GABRA (1939:491); KESSLER (1989:208; 2003:43–44); KESSLER – NUR EL–DIN (1996; 2005:134–135). For more information on the work of the Egyptological Institute of the Ludwig–Maximilians–Universität, München, and the Faculty of Archaeology of the Cairo University at Tuna el–Gebel, consult the official website at <http://www.aegyptologie.lmu.de/Tuna/tunahome.htm> under the section “Osiris–Pavian”.

an entrance hall leading to an open court surrounded by a series of six to eight chambers. The work at Tuna el-Gebel is still in progress and the final report on the temple still needs to be published.³³¹ (fig. 41)

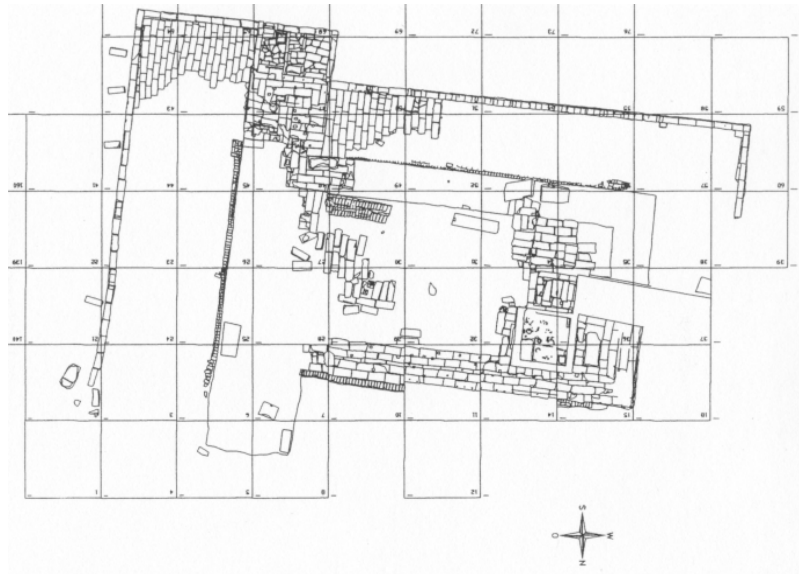


Fig. 41 The Temple of Osiris-Baboon at Tuna el-Gebel.
(KESSLER– NUR EL-DIN 1996:265)

Due to lacking archaeological evidence, it cannot at present be established to what degree the reconstructions of Ricke, Badawy and Jelínková–Reymond resemble the actual ‘place of embalming’. They are vaguely reminiscent of the general layout of the typical complex of *wabet* and court in Ptolemaic and Roman temples.³³² The screening of the interior of the *wabet* in the temple by means of columns and a screen wall resembles the reconstructions of the Old Kingdom mortuary workshops and the place of embalming from Macedonian times. In this perspective, it is tempting to link the lower bandeau inscriptions from the temple of Edfu,³³³ describing the *wabet* as being ‘within’ (m-qAb=f)³³⁴ the court, with the reconstruction of the place of embalming. Even though it does not conform to the architectural reality of the ensemble in the temples (figs. 36–37), this description gives the impression that the court should be considered to be an open space surrounding the *wabet*.³³⁵

³³¹ According to KESSLER (1998:vi) — ‘A. Nur el-Din, D. Kessler und Mitarbeiter, *Tuna el-Gebel V. Die Oberbanten des Tierfriedhofes*, in vorbereitung’.

³³² See already Chapter 2.

³³³ Edfou IV, 6, 2; Edfou VII, 16, 1.

³³⁴ Wb V, 10–11; WILSON (1997a:1046).

³³⁵ TRAUNECKER (1995:247).

In reality the *wabet* is merely preceded by an open court and thus ‘opens up’ (sn . t r=f)³³⁶ towards the court. In none of the complexes in the Ptolemaic and Roman temples does an anteroom precede the *wabet* itself. In the more monumental Ptolemaic temples like Edfu, Dendara and Kom Ombo (figs. 11, 13 and 17),³³⁷ an anteroom often precedes the entire complex of *wabet* and court and connects it with the staircase to the roof. Since the reconstructions of Ricke, Badawy and Jelínková–Reymond are hypothetical, it is at present impossible to establish whether and to what degree the layout of the ‘place of embalming’ influenced the outlook of the ensemble in the temple.

The incorporation of this type of *wabet* in temples of the Thirtieth Dynasty and the Ptolemaic and Roman era might have had an Old Kingdom predecessor. Schott, Ricke and Hassan have proposed that the valley temple of the king might also have incorporated a *wabet* or ritual ‘place of embalming’,³³⁸ but no textual or descriptive information gathered in the valley temples thus far appears to support this suggestion.³³⁹

Finally, the term *wabet* does not refer only to the place where the deceased was embalmed and prepared for the afterlife, but it can even be used to refer to the tomb itself.³⁴⁰ This designation is for instance encountered among workmen's graffiti from the Old Kingdom found in the pyramids of Djedefra in Abu Roash,³⁴¹ Raneferef in Abusir,³⁴² and Pepi I in Saqqara.³⁴³ In Middle Kingdom literature the term is still used to describe a tomb in the Admonitions of Ipuwer (pLeiden 344 recto).³⁴⁴ In this perspective it is also interesting to observe that the expression xpr tA wab.t n NN or ‘the *wabet* of NN

³³⁶ CAUVILLE (1990:101).

³³⁷ Room IX in Philae appears to have functioned in a similar manner. See Chapter 1.3.

³³⁸ HASSAN (1943:87–102); SCHOTT (1950:171–181); RICKE (1950:86–89, 92–98).

³³⁹ LdÄ VI, 189–193; BONNET (1953); ARNOLD (1977); STADELMANN (1985:209, 212–213), and VERNER (2001:48). See however also LdÄ I, 614 for a different point of view.

³⁴⁰ Wb I, 284(6).

³⁴¹ GRIMAL (1996:499; 1997:325–326). I would like to thank dr. M. Baud for providing me with this information. See also VALLOGGIA (2001:60).

³⁴² VERNER (2006:195–196).

³⁴³ LABROUSSE (1996:47, fig. 82b). I would like to thank dr. V. Dobrev (IFAO) for providing me with this information.

³⁴⁴ pLeiden 344, 6,14 and 7,8; GARDINER (1909:26).

happened/occurred', which is found in several late demotic papyri, implies that NN had died.³⁴⁵

The possible relation between the *wabet* or elevated chapel in the temples of the Thirtieth Dynasty and the Ptolemaic and Roman era and its older counterparts, such as 'general workshop', 'mortuary workshop', 'place of embalming', and 'tomb', will be discussed later in the volume.

3.2. 'Seat of the first feast' (s . t Hb tpy) and 'court of the seat of the first feast' (wsx . t s . t Hb tpy)

The terms '*wabet*' and 'court' might be commonly used in modern egyptological literature to refer to the ensemble of an open court and elevated chapel in the temples of the Thirtieth Dynasty and the Ptolemaic and Roman era but, as the previous passage has shown, this designation only occurs in the Ptolemaic temples of Edfu and Dendara. The long overlooked textual material from the Ptolemaic temples of Philae and Kom Ombo and the only recently available inscriptions from the Roman temples of Shanhûr and el-Qal'a indicate that the designation s . t Hb tpy or 'seat/place of the first feast'³⁴⁶ was also closely linked with the ensemble of *wabet* and court. The association of the term with the complex has for a very long time been problematic and the subject of various scholarly debates, since it is first and foremost associated with the kiosk on the roof of the temples of Edfu and Dendara. The specific space in the temple to which the designation s . t Hb tpy was applied however appears to have changed over time and I will attempt to trace this change in the following overview of the term's occurrence and distribution (see also table V).

An incomplete inscription located on the doorjamb in between room IV and the open court in the temple of Philae contains the oldest known designation for the ensemble. Although published by Bénéдите over a century ago together with the inscriptions from room IV,³⁴⁷ the text has thus far been overlooked by all scholars studying the ensemble and hence not given the attention it deserves. The inscription states that Ptolemaios II Philadelphos i r . n . f

³⁴⁵ SMITH (1991:103–104) provides an overview. I would like to thank Foy Scalf (Chicago) for this reference.

³⁴⁶ WILSON (1997a:952). The term occurs in Wb III, 57 under the entry Hb tpy.

³⁴⁷ Philae Bénéдите, 16, 10.

s.t Hb <tpy>³⁴⁸ <n mwt>.f %.t r Xnm-itn or ‘he made a ‘seat of the <first> feast’ <for> his <mother> Isis to unite with the sun disc’. This particular inscription is the only one that reveals the name of the open court in the temple of Philae and hence the oldest known name for the complex of *wabet* and court!

The identification of the designation ‘seat of the first feast’ for the open court in the temple of Philae brings new information to the scholarly discussion about the use of this term in the temples of Edfu and Dendara. In Edfu the designation s.t Hb tpy and the archaeological complex of *wabet* and court already are in a long and ambiguous relationship. In 1877, while studying a recipe from the laboratory in the temple of Edfu,³⁴⁹ Dümichen assigned this term to the ensemble of *wabet* and court.³⁵⁰ Fifty years later, and on the basis of the same text, Chassinat refuted this suggestion and using numerous inscriptions from the temple of Edfu relocated the ‘seat of the first feast’ to the kiosk on the roof of the temple.³⁵¹ In his in-depth study of the cult of Horus in Edfu, Alliot later attempted to combine both ideas. Referring to inscriptions from the court of the temple of Dendara where the court is described as the wsx.t n.t s.t Hb tpy or ‘the court of the seat of the first feast’,³⁵² he suggested that the s.t Hb tpy might designate both the kiosk on the roof and the complex of court and *wabet*.³⁵³ Fairman³⁵⁴ subsequently correctly argued that not a single text in the temple of Edfu applied the term ‘seat of the first feast’ to any chamber of the temple other than the kiosk. The location ‘seat of the first feast’ thus moved from the open court in the temple of Philae (Ptolemaios II Philadelphos) to the kiosk on the roof of the temple of Edfu (Ptolemaios IV Philopator and later). The close association between the ensemble and the kiosk on the roof has been known for a long time and is most obvious in the temple of Dendara.³⁵⁵

³⁴⁸ Although the reading of the name of the court is not entirely certain, the remaining signs strongly suggest that the open court was called the ‘seat/place of the first feast’ (table V). Dr. J.F. Quack (Heidelberg) came, independently from me, to the same conclusion. I am grateful to him for sharing this information with me.

³⁴⁹ Edfou II, 227, 3–16.

³⁵⁰ DÜMICHEN (1877b:6). This idea was subsequently repeated in DÜMICHEN (1879:124; 1885:30).

³⁵¹ CHASSINAT (1931:123–128) with references to Edfou I, 513, 13; 546, 2; 555, 9; 576, 5; 579, 12 and 580, 1. See also Edfou I, 549, 11 and 551, 6 and Edfou VII, 14, 4.

³⁵² Dendara IV, 185, 14 and 186, 5.

³⁵³ ALLIOT (1949:273, 305–308).

³⁵⁴ FAIRMAN (1954–1955:184).

³⁵⁵ For instance: WAITKUS (1995).

The exact location of the ‘seat of the first feast’ in the Ptolemaic temples of Kom Ombo and Dendara is still unclear. The designation only occurs a single time in the temple of Kom Ombo in the calendar of feasts for Haroeris and Hathor from the reign of Ptolemaios VI Philometor. The calendar mentions the following for 30 Mesore: Hb tpy wn–Hr n nTr pn n tAy=f gAy.t Sps<.t> xa r s.t Hb tpy [...] rA DbA mnx.t iri<.t> mDt iri<.t> ntyw–a nb m Hb tp.y xa<.t> im Htp n tAy=f gAy.t Sps<.t> iri<.t> aAb.t aA.t m–bAH=f...³⁵⁶ or ‘The First Feast. Revealing the face of this god (=Haroeris) in³⁵⁷ his noble shrine. Appearing (in procession) in the seat of the first feast [...] spell of adorning with mnx.t–cloth, applying of mD.t–unguent, performing all rituals of the first feast. Appearing (in procession) there, resting in his noble shrine, performing a great offering in his presence...’.

It is rather unfortunate that the text immediately following the ‘seat of the first feast’ – the only occurrence of this term in the temple of Kom Ombo – has not been preserved. There is also no mention in the text of the exact location of this ‘seat of the first feast’. Once the inscription resumes, reference is made to the purification and adornment of the god, activities that presumably still took place in the same locality. Since in the temples of Dendara and Edfu these rites could be performed both in the complex of *wabet* and court³⁵⁸ and in the kiosk on the roof of the temple,³⁵⁹ it is impossible to determine the precise location of the s.t Hb tpy in the temple of Kom Ombo.³⁶⁰

In the temple of Dendara the use of the designation ‘seat of the first feast’ appears to have been applied both to the ensemble of *wabet* and court and to the kiosk on the roof of the temple. The complex can only be reached from the ‘hall of the ennead’ through the so-called ‘trésor’ (abA DfA.w or pr–HD). (fig. 17) Traunecker has pointed out that on the doorjamb of the gate leading from the ‘hall of the ennead’ to the ‘trésor’ it is stated that this is the sbA n sqd r s.t Hb tpy in Nb.t Hna psD.t=s r Xnm itn or ‘the door of going to the seat of the first feast by the Golden One and her ennead to unite with the sun

³⁵⁶ DE MORGAN (1895–1909: no. 596, 15–16); GRIMM (1994:5; 140–141).

³⁵⁷ In Ptolemaic *n* and *m* are often interchangeable. JUNKER (1906:20).

³⁵⁸ For instance: Edfou VII, 16, 1–5, and Dendara IV, 233, 7–234, 3.

³⁵⁹ For instance: Edfou I, 555, 11–14; Dendara V, 117, 1–4, and Esna V, 124–125.

³⁶⁰ In his study of this text, GRIMM (1994:434, n. 178) appears to follow Alliot's suggestion that the term can be applied both to the *wabet* and to the kiosk, but provides no arguments for his reasoning.

disc'.³⁶¹ It could be argued that this gate also provides a secondary access to the stairway leading to the kiosk on the roof of the temple³⁶² and that all the other inscriptions referring to the union with the sun disc in the 'seat of the first feast' appear to point towards the kiosk rather than the *wabet*, but one cannot omit the fact that this gate leads in the first instance to the ensemble.³⁶³ Moreover 'the ritual of the seat of the first feast' or *ir.w n s.t Hb tpy* mentioned on the east and west doorjambs of the facade of the *wabet* and on the south doorjamb of the entrance into the *pr-HD* in Dendara³⁶⁴ most likely refers to activities performed in the complex instead in the kiosk. In a recent translation of the passages in the *wabet*, Cauville suggests that this ritual coincided with a great offering *before* the statue of the goddess was taken towards the kiosk on the roof.³⁶⁵ The exact location where both the ritual was performed and the offering presented is not mentioned in the inscription, but the complex of *wabet* and court appears a most plausible candidate.

The open court at Dendara is also designated twice as the *wsx.t n.t s.t Hb tpy* or 'the court of the seat of the first feast' in the east and west lower bandeau inscription in the court.³⁶⁶ Fairman, while debating Alliot's suggestion that the 'seat of the first feast' in the temple of Edfu could refer to both the ensemble and the kiosk, has argued that the court of the ensemble in the temple of Dendara cannot be the *s.t Hb tpy* as it is called 'court of the seat of the first feast'. His arguments are well-founded but do not exclude the possibility that the 'seat of the first feast' refers to the *wabet* itself. The court is in the temple of Dendara also called *wsx.t wab.t* or 'court of the *wabet*'³⁶⁷ and the designations '*wabet*' and 'seat of the first feast' might have been used as synonyms in this case. Although there can no longer be any doubt that *s.t Hb tpy* in the temple of Edfu refers solely to the kiosk, the designation appears to have evolved in the temple of Dendara and encompassed the different

³⁶¹ TRAUNECKER (1995:248) referring to Dendara IV, 151, 11.

³⁶² The entrance to the east staircase has a similar inscription: Dendara VII, 169, 3.

³⁶³ Several inscriptions from the temple of Dendara illustrate how the *s.t Hb tpy* refers to the kiosk on the roof of the temple: Dendara V, 117, 1; Dendara VII, 172, 10 and 14; 175, 2; 177, 12; 178, 16; 187, 2–3; 200, 11–12 and 201, 5, and CAUVILLE (1990:95).

³⁶⁴ Dendara IV, 216, 16; 217, 10. See also Dendara IV, 149, 17: *na Hm.t=T r HAY.t=T m Htp ... Hts.tw n=T tp-rd n s.t Hb tpy...* or 'Her majesty (=Hathor) travels to her HAY.t-chapel in peace ... the ritual of the seat of the first feast is performed for her...'. The HAY.t-chapel could be a designation for the complex (Chapter 3.7).

³⁶⁵ CAUVILLE (2001:354–355).

³⁶⁶ Dendara IV, 185, 14 and 186, 5.

³⁶⁷ CAUVILLE (1990:101). See already Chapter 3.1.

areas involved in the process of uniting the statues of the gods with the sun, i.e. both the complex of *wabet* and court and the kiosk.

Numerous inscriptions from the Roman temples of Shanhûr and el-Qal'a confirm the transition of the term s.t Hb tpy from the kiosk on the roof to the *wabet*. In these smaller sanctuaries the designations '*wabet*' and 'court' are in fact conspicuously absent when reference is made to this architectural ensemble. The texts of various bandeau inscriptions and hymns leave no doubt that it is the expression 'seat of the first feast' that is mainly applied here to describe this complex :

– Shanhûr I, 59: [...] di.t.n Ra m s.t Hb tpy stw.t=f Xnm m Ha.w [=s ...] or '[...] whom Ra has placed in the seat of the first feast, his rays united with [her] body [...]'].

– Shanhûr I, 66: ... iri.n=f s.t Hb tpy n mw.t [=f] nTr.t aA.t m ^- @r r iri<.t> Hb tpy im=f r nH[H] or '... he (= Caligula) has made the seat of the first feast for [his] mother the Great Goddess in Shanhûr in order to perform the first feast eternally in it'.

– Shanhûr I, 74: s.t Hb tpy nTr.w nTr.wt (?) [...] wp.t-rnp.t or 'The seat of the first feast of the gods and goddesses(?) [...] the opening of the year'.

– el-Qal'a II, 174: ... Hry.w-Sa m nDm-ib [&A nTr.t] aA.t Htp.ti m s.t Hb tpy.... or '... the sand dwellers are in joy when [the] Great [Goddess] rests in her seat of the first feast...?'

– el-Qal'a II, 194a: ... iri.n=f mnw=f [n] mw.t [=f] tA nTr.t aA.t s.t Hb tpy ... or '... he (= Claudius) has made his monument [for his] mother, the Great Goddess, a seat of the first feast...?'

– el-Qal'a II, 198: &A nTr.t aA.t-(N.t?) Htp.ti m s.t Hb tpy ... or 'The Great Goddess-(Neith?), resting in her seat of the first feast...?'

– el-Qal'a II, 215: anx s.t Hb tpy n %.t ... or 'May the seat of the first feast of Isis live...?'

– el-Qal'a II, 216: anx s.t Hb tpy n N.t ... or 'May the seat of the first feast of Neith live...?'

In the temple of el-Qal'a, the 'seat of the first feast' also figures in the inscriptions of two scenes on the east wall of the court.³⁶⁸ Unfortunately in both cases most of the text surrounding the term has been destroyed. The lower of the two scenes, el-Qal'a II, 179, depicts Emperor Claudius presenting a great offering to the two main divinities of the temple: Isis and the Great Goddess (tA nTr.t aA.t). The title of this scene mentions the aAb.t [...] nfr m s.t Hb tp.y m [...] or 'an offering [...] of beautiful (goods) in the seat of the first feast in [...]'. Above it a scene portrays Claudius reading a papyrus before an altar. The emperor finds himself once again in the presence of Isis and the Great Goddess. The title of this scene is not preserved but the legend accompanying Isis mentions: [...] .ti n=s tp-rd n s.t Hb tp.y or '[...]' for her the regulation/instruction³⁶⁹ of the seat of the first feast'. Several of the epithets accompanying Isis in this scene, such as SntAy.t and sfsf Aw.t n sn=s, refer to activities and rites related to the cult of the deceased and especially to that of Isis' brother Osiris.³⁷⁰ Whether the 'seat of the first feast' in the temples of Shanhûr and el-Qal'a included not only the court and *wabet* but also a kiosk is at present difficult to ascertain. Only a few blocks remain of the roofs of these sanctuaries, leaving no trace of a kiosk. The remaining bandeau inscriptions provide no further information regarding the presence (or absence) of such a construction either.

Hieroglyphs	Location
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³⁶⁸ el-Qal'a II, nos. 179 and 183.

³⁶⁹ Wb V, 288–289, and WILSON (1997a:1137).

³⁷⁰ TRAUNECKER (1995:254).














	Philae Bénédite, 16, 10
	DE MORGAN (1895–1909: no. 596, 15–16)
	Dendara IV, 151, 11
	Dendara IV, 216, 6
	Dendara IV, 217, 10
	Dendara IV, 185, 14; 186, 5
	Shanhûr I, 59
	Shanhûr I, 66
	Shanhûr I, 73
	el-Qal'a II, 174; 179
	el-Qal'a II, 183; 198
	el-Qal'a II, 194a
	el-Qal'a II, 215; 216

Table V. The occurrence of the designations ‘seat of the first feast’ and ‘court of the seat of the first feast’

The previous overview of the distribution of the ‘seat of the first feast’ in Ptolemaic and Roman temples indicates that the designation *s.t Hb tpy* appears to have always been closely associated with the complex of *wabet* and court. An interesting development can be observed in the distribution of the term throughout Ptolemaic and Roman times. In the temple of Philae it designates one of the oldest examples of the ensemble, while a mere generation later, in the temple of Edfu, the term is used to refer to the kiosk on the roof of the temple. While the location of the ‘seat of the first feast’ is unclear in the temple of Kom Ombo, in the late Ptolemaic temple of Dendara the designation appears to have been used

for both the kiosk on the roof and the ensemble – clearly indicating the close connection that existed between both places. Finally, in the Roman temples of Shanhûr and el-Qal’a the term appears to have been exclusively used to refer to the complex of *wabet* and court — as was the case in the oldest example at Philae.

The designation *s.t Hb tpy* is already known from the New Kingdom. The oldest occurrence of the term is found in the temple of Amun at Karnak from the time of Ramses III.³⁷¹ Although the designation undoubtedly must have occurred in other temples, I have not managed to find a single other occurrence of the term in a temple from the Third Intermediate Period and the Late Period. The term however features in at least one version of the so-called ‘Book of the Temple’.³⁷² In the Demotic pVindob./pWien D 6319 (text A, col. x+4, account x+δ, line 33), which was dated on palaeographical grounds to the second half of the second century AD, the ‘seat of the first feast’ is mentioned in a fragmentary passage that provides an overview of the structures built on the roof of the temple:³⁷³ */// tA s.t p.t n Hb tpy iw ir.w qd.s <n> tA ryt Hr.t n nA sH.w nA nTr.w ntj Hr ///* or ‘*///* the seat of heaven of the first feast, they had built it *<on>* the upper floor/roof of the chapels of the gods, which are on *///*’. The passage suggests the location of the ‘seat of the first feast’ on the upper part or the roof of the temple, which is comparable to the situation of the kiosk on the roof in the Ptolemaic temples of Edfu and Dendara.

The festival calendars and other inscriptions from the Ptolemaic temples of Edfu, Kom Ombo and Dendara indicate that the *Hb tpy* or ‘first feast’,³⁷⁴ which is an essential part of the designation of the ensemble, took place during the period at the end of the old year and the beginning of the New Year.³⁷⁵ Two of the calendars from the reign of Ptolemaios VI Philometor in Kom Ombo mention that the first feast took place from the final day of the year (Mesore 30) until the fourth day of the New Year (Thoth 4).³⁷⁶ The feast lasted in other words 10 days: Mesore 30, the five epagomenal days, and the first four days of the New Year

³⁷¹ BOURIANT (1890:173).

³⁷² For more information on the ‘Book of the Temple’, consult the references in footnote 255.

³⁷³ REYMOND (1977:56–57; 89–90). See also QUACK (2002a:4–5).

³⁷⁴ Wb III, 57; WILSON (1997a:634–635). See also CHASSINAT (1931:128–132).

³⁷⁵ GRIMM (1994:367–370; 415–418).

³⁷⁶ DE MORGAN (1895–1909: no. 424, 5; no. 596, 15–17); GRIMM (1994:141).

(Thoth 1–4).³⁷⁷ The great festive calendars at Edfu for Hathor of Dendara and Horus of Edfu from the reign of Ptolemaios X Alexander I do not provide an exact period for the *Hb tpy*, but mention *irj ntjw-an s.t Hb tpy* or ‘performing the instructions of the seat of the first feast’ on Mesore 30,³⁷⁸ the fourth epagomenal day,³⁷⁹ and Thoth 1,³⁸⁰ and *Htp m t<Aj>=f s.t Hb tpy* or ‘resting in his seat of the first feast’ on the fourth epagomenal day.³⁸¹ The festive calendars of the temple of Hathor of Dendara do not mention the *Hb tpy*, but references to the ‘first feast’ feature in several other inscriptions in combination with the festivities at the time of the New Year (*wp-rnp.t*).³⁸² In the Roman temple of Shanhûr, the ‘seat of the first feast’ is also associated with the activities surrounding the New Year.³⁸³

The exact sequence and nature of the numerous activities and processions performed at the turn of the year have already formed the subject of numerous studies.³⁸⁴ Although the festive

³⁷⁷ According to ALLIOT (1949:273–277) the festival lasted for 11 days in Edfu and started on the last day of the year (Mesore 30) and lasted until the fifth day of the New Year (Thoth 5). See WILSON (1997a:635). But the festive calendar of Edfu mentions for the fifth day of Thoth only the ‘feast of Horus Behdety’ (*Hb @r BHdty*) and makes no reference to the ‘first feast’ (= Edfou V, 397,6). See already FAIRMAN (1954–1955:183–184).

³⁷⁸ Edfou V, 395, 2.

³⁷⁹ Edfou V, 359, 6.

³⁸⁰ Edfou V, 349, 7.

³⁸¹ Edfou V, 395, 5.

³⁸² For instance: Dendara IV, 149, 17; 150, 5. Inscriptions in the complex at Dendara refer to the festivities taking place around the time of the New Year (*wp-rnp.t*) without mentioning the first feast. For instance Dendara IV, 234 refers to the festivities on Mesore 29 and the fourth epagomenal day and Dendara IV, 207 to the five epagomenal days and the New Year. Some scenes inside the *nabet* also contain references to purification on New Year’s Day: Dendara IV, 249, 6 (purifying Hathor with two vases of turquoise filled with myrrh) and 249, 16 (purifying Hathor with a golden vase filled with Nile water). For *wp-rnp.t*, consult Wb I, 300; WILSON (1997a:222–223).

³⁸³ Shanhûr I, no. 74. Another reference to the New Year is found on the remaining parts of the ceiling of the *nabet*, which will be discussed in Chapter 4.4. See Shanhûr I, 106–107 and no. 80a; TRAUNECKER (1995:266–267); COPPENS (2003a:54–55).

³⁸⁴ For the most recent study of the New Year festival in Upper Egyptian temples, consult CORTHALS (2003). See also LdÄ IV, 466–472; ALLIOT (1949:302–433); DAUMAS (1951; 1969:96–101); FAIRMAN (1954–1955:183–189); CAUVILLE (2002a:35–49). The rituals performed in the complex of *nabet* and court form an integral part of the activities that took place during New Year festival and will be discussed later in this volume (Chapter 5).

calendars of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt indicate the existence of a series of similar activities – with a focus on clothing rituals, great offerings, and processions – for all temples during the period surrounding the New Year, the exact sequence of events or the date on which each activity took place is, contrary to what has been claimed,³⁸⁵ clearly not the same for all temples.³⁸⁶

An older reference to the ‘first feast’ is found on the stela of Nubian ruler Anlamani.³⁸⁷ The stela was discovered in the first court of temple T at Kawa and is currently in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen.³⁸⁸ During his coronation journey³⁸⁹ the king participated in the celebration of the ‘first feast of Amun’ (Hb tpy n Inm), which took place in the temple of Amun at Kawa on the penultimate day of the second month of winter and lasted for a whole week. The inscription also hints at the close connection between the first feast and the confirmation of the ruler that took place at the same time.³⁹⁰ The confirmation of the rule of the pharaoh at the time of the New Year is not mentioned in the festive calendars of the Ptolemaic and Roman temples in relation to the activities that took place during the Hb tpy, but the close relation in time between both festivities is well known from other sources,³⁹¹ such as Late Period pBrooklyn 47.218.50³⁹² or the royal decree of Canopus (Ptolemaios III Euergetes I, 238 BC),³⁹³ and the three decrees of Ptolemaios V Epiphanes: Memphis (196 BC),³⁹⁴ Philensis II (186 BC),³⁹⁵ and Philensis I (185 BC).³⁹⁶ A series of scenes

³⁸⁵ For instance in LdÄ IV, 467.

³⁸⁶ A good overview of the day by day activities happening during the New Year period in the temples of Edfu, Kom Ombo, Dendara and Esna according to their festival calendars can be found in GRIMM (1994:20–25; 140–147; 367–370, and 415–418).

³⁸⁷ EIDE – HÄGG – PIERCE – TÖRÖK (1994:215–216).

³⁸⁸ MACADAM (1949:44–50; plate 15); EIDE – HÄGG – PIERCE – TÖRÖK (1994:216–228); TRAUNECKER (1995:275), and TÖRÖK (2002:416–422). For temple T of Kawa, consult PM VII, 184–192; LdÄ III, 378; TÖRÖK (2002:80–128). See also Chapter 6.3.

³⁸⁹ On the coronation journey of Nubian Kings, consult KORMYSHEVA (1994); TÖRÖK (2002:16–18).

³⁹⁰ MACADAM (1949:46; 48, n. 26).

³⁹¹ In general: LdÄ III, 532; HÖLBL (2001:88; 108); LOUANT (2003). See also Dendara IV, 240, 7 where mention is made of the renewal of the coronation ritual.

³⁹² GOYON (1972a).

³⁹³ Urk II, 137–138. On the Decree of Canopus, which has been preserved in two complete and four fragmentary copies, consult Urk. II 124–154; SPIEGELBERG (1922:3–37); DAUMAS (1952); ROEDER (1960:143–166); BERNAND (1970:989–1036; 1992: nos. 9–10); HÖLBL (2001:105–110).

³⁹⁴ Urk II, 195, 30. The decree is better known as the Rosetta stone. Fragments of the decree have also been found at Elephantine and Leontopolis. In general, consult Urk II, 166–198; SPIEGELBERG (1922:38–65, 77–

and inscriptions in the ensembles of Edfu and Dendara also illustrate the close connection between the activities in the complex and the celebration of the royal cult of the Ptolemaic pharaohs.³⁹⁷ These scenes will be analysed in more detail in the following chapter which takes a closer look at the decorative schemes of the different ensembles.

3.3. Court of the Food–Altar (**abA DfAw**)

The previous subchapters have illustrated that the designations ‘(court of the) *wabet*’ ((wsx.t) wab.t) and ‘(court of) the seat of the first feast’ ((wsx.t) s.t Hb tpy) formed the most typical terms in use for the ensemble in the temple in Ptolemaic and Roman times. A whole variety of other terms had been attributed to the complex, but these designations occur less frequently and often only within a single temple. The specific name for the open court of the ensemble in Edfu – abA DfAw – is a good example of such type of designation. The term does not feature a single time in the complex itself, but does appear in both of the already mentioned lower bandeau inscriptions which provide a detailed description on the internal layout of the entire temple:

- Edfou IV, 6, 2: . . . abA DfA.w Hr iAby=s wab.t=f m-qAb=f or ‘... the (court of the) food–altar is on his left, his *wabet* within him’ (Ptolemaios VIII Euergetes II).
- Edfou VII, 16, 1: . . . abA DfA.w Hr iAby=s wab.t=f m-qAb=f or ‘... the (court of the) food–altar is on his left, his *wabet* within him’ (Ptolemaios X Alexander I).

The designation also occurs in a list of offering rooms in the hypostyle hall of the temple³⁹⁸ and in the so-called treasury (pr-HD)³⁹⁹ in a recipe for the preparation of ointment (mrHt)⁴⁰⁰ made for a-n-aA.t m abA DfAw r nw n rnp.t... or ‘a cup of stone in (the court

86); DAUMAS (1952); ROEDER (1960:167–190); QUIRKE – ANDREWS (1988); BERNAND (1992: no. 16); HÖLBL (2001:165–166).

³⁹⁵ Urk II, 225. The reverse numbering of the decrees (Philensis II is older than Philensis I) dates back to their publication by Lepsius: LD IV, 20; LD VI, 26–34. In general, consult: Urk II, 214–230; SETHE (1917); MÜLLER (1920:57–88); HUSS (1991: no. 11 a–b).

³⁹⁶ Urk II, 211, 16. In general, consult Urk II, 198–214; MÜLLER (1920:31–56); HUSS (1991: no. 12 a–b).

³⁹⁷ For instance: Edfou I, 421–422; 430–431. See Chapter 4.2 and WINTER (1978).

³⁹⁸ Edfou II, 11, 12.

³⁹⁹ Edfou II, 159, 16.

⁴⁰⁰ Wb II, 111 and 209 (= mrH.t nar); WILSON (1997a:444).

of) the food–altar of provisions at the time of the (new)⁴⁰¹ year?. We can only assume that the *abA DfAw* mentioned in these two texts, which date back to the reigns of Ptolemaios VI Philometor and Ptolemaios VIII Euergetes II, respectively, refers to the open court since no further details on the location of this space are given in these inscriptions.





Hieroglyphs	Location
	Edfou IV, 6, 2
	Edfou VII, 16, 1
	Edfou II, 11, 12
	Edfou II, 159, 16

Table VI. The designation (court of) the offering table of provisions

The term *abA DfAw* originally designates an ‘offering table of provisions’ or a ‘food–altar’ and is often determined by a table or altar with offerings.⁴⁰² In the temple of Edfu the designation is always determined by the *pr*–sign (table VI), suggesting not only an altar but a specific space or room in the temple and the term is therefore commonly translated as the ‘court/space/area of the food–altar/offering table of provisions’.⁴⁰³ It is important to note that one of the central themes in the decorative schemes of all open courts, which we will analyse in more detail in the following chapter, is the consecration of the so–called great offering (*aAb . t aA . t*)⁴⁰⁴ by the pharaoh to the main deities of the temple. In the temple of Philae this particular scene occurs once and fills almost the entire east wall of the court.⁴⁰⁵ In all other open courts this specific offering occurs at least twice, and in the temple of Shanhûr no less than four times.⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰¹ ALLIOT (1949:40–41); WILSON (1997a:146). At Edfu the terms *nw* and *n-rnp.t* are very often associated with the arrival of the inundation and the New Year. WILSON (1997a:494, 585–586).

⁴⁰² Wb I, 177; WILSON (1997a:146).

⁴⁰³ For instance: KURTH (1994a:76; 1994b:53); TRAUNECKER (1995:247 and n. 38).

⁴⁰⁴ Wb I, 167; WILSON (1997a:136).

⁴⁰⁵ Philae Bénédite, 19, 9–10, and plate vi; JUNKER–SCHÄFER (1975: photos 711 and 1133).

⁴⁰⁶ Edfou I, 438–439, 443–444, and plate xxxiv; Dendara IV, 190–191, 205–206, and plates cccii–ccciii; el–Qal’a II, nos. 179 and 193; Shanhûr nos. 62–63 and 67–68.

The Ptolemaic designation of the open court as ‘the space of the offering table of provisions’ also brings to mind the finding of an altar in the open court of the Roman temple of Shanhûr during excavations in the late 1990s. (fig. 26) The altar in question was originally a part of a column, the surface of which had been smoothed and changed to feature a depression and discharge for libations, indicating its re-use as an altar. The archaeological context in which this altar was discovered suggests that it was most likely a part of the cultic material of the temple prior to the Coptic re-occupation of this monument.⁴⁰⁷ It might be an example of the *abA DfAw* or ‘food-altar’ that provided the open court of the ensemble with one of its names.

The designation *abA DfAw* also occurs as the name for a room in the temple of Dendara, specifically the so-called ‘trésor’ (*pr-HD*) that acts as a sort of intermediate room between the ensemble, the ‘hall of the ennead’ and the west staircase to the roof of the temple.⁴⁰⁸ The term is found both in this chamber⁴⁰⁹ (Cleopatra VII) and on the bandeau inscription on the outside wall that provides a detailed description of the interior layout of the temple (Augustus).⁴¹⁰ According to S. Cauville the term had probably lost its original meaning of ‘space of the food-altar’ by Late Ptolemaic times and was ‘by mistake’⁴¹¹ transferred upon the room preceding the ensemble of *nabet* and court instead of to the court of the complex. Although this is only an assumption, the transfer of the name of the open court from the ensemble at Edfu to the *pr-HD* in the temple of Dendara and the role this space played as a passageway between various parts of the temple indicates a close link between the complex and the *pr-Hd* in the temple of Dendara to which I shall return at a later stage.

3.4. Columned hall (*wADy . t*) and screen-walled portico (*sbx . t*)

The architectural outlay of the ensemble, and in particular the facade separating the open court from the *nabet*, appears to have inspired some of the designations used for the complex. The term *wADy . t* or ‘columned edifice/hall’⁴¹² occurs both in the Ptolemaic temple of Edfu

⁴⁰⁷ TRAUNECKER – WILLEMS (1998:123–127 and plates 23B–25A). See already Chapter 1.10.

⁴⁰⁸ See Dendara I, plate xlv, Q and fig. 17 in this volume. For an introduction to this room, consult CAUVILLE (2001:22–26).

⁴⁰⁹ Dendara IV, 156, 5 and 159, 17.

⁴¹⁰ CAUVILLE (1990:101–102).

⁴¹¹ CAUVILLE (1990:106): ‘par erreur’.

⁴¹² Wb I, 269; WILSON (1997a:207).

(Ptolemaios IV Philopator) and in the Roman temple of Shanhûr (Augustus) in inscriptions designating the complex (table VII):

– Edfou I, 416, 16: Htp sp-2 m wADy.t Htp @r BHdt.y nTr aA nb p.t Hr wab.t=f ... or ‘Rest, rest in your columned edifice. Horus Behedety, the great god, lord of heaven rests in his *wabet* ...’.⁴¹³

– Edfou I, 412, 14:⁴¹⁴ ... pHr=f wADy.t=f m Hb=f tpy... or ‘He (=Horus) walked about his columned edifice during his first feast...’.

– Shanhûr I, 61: ... wD r wADy.t it=s Atf s(y) m ix.t n mw.t<=f> nTr.t aA.t <r> ir.t Hb... or ‘... who (= Caligula) travels to the columned edifice of her⁴¹⁵ father and who provided it with offerings for <his> mother the Great Goddess to celebrate the festival...’.

– Shanhûr I, 65: ... ini.n=f x.t n tA.wj nb.w r wADy.t n Hnw.t=f nTr.t aA.t... or ‘... he (=Caligula) has brought the products of the two lands in their entirety to the columned edifice of his mistress the Great Goddess...’.

In origin the term wADy.t referred to a hall with wAD-columns (mainly a single-stem papyriform column), such as the hypostyle hall of Thutmosis I between the fourth and fifth pylon of the temple of Amun at Karnak. By the Ptolemaic era this term had become a more general designation of any edifice or construction with columns.⁴¹⁶ The typical facade of the *wabet*, consisting of a broken-door lintel, screen wall and column on either side of its entrance, most likely inspired the editors of the texts in the temples of Edfu and Shanhûr⁴¹⁷ to use the term wADy.t or columned hall/edifice for the *wabet*.

The kiosk on the roof of the temple of Dendara is on occasion also designated as a wADy.t.⁴¹⁸ (fig. 73) It was undoubtedly the architecture of the kiosk — consisting for the

⁴¹³ This text is located on the west doorjamb. The text opposite, Edfou I, 415, 5, on the east doorjamb, leaves little doubt about the use of wab.t and wADy.t as synonyms. See already Chapter 3.1.

⁴¹⁴ ALLIOT (1949:343–344).

⁴¹⁵ One would rather expect the suffix =f here instead, as it is none other than Emperor Caligula who is advancing towards the wADy.t.

⁴¹⁶ SPENCER (1984:68–71).

⁴¹⁷ In the ensemble in the temple of Shanhûr the columns were replaced by pilasters in order to fit the restricted amount of space available. See already Chapter 1.10.

⁴¹⁸ Wb I, 269 referring to Dendara VII, 143, 3; and Dendara VIII, 40, 1. See also SPENCER (1984:70), and Dendara VII, 145, 8 and 15.

most part of columns, screen walls and broken-door lintels — that led to the use of the same term for this structure, although it is tempting to suggest — if impossible to substantiate — that the close relationship between the kiosk and the *wabet* in the temple of Dendara may also have slightly influenced the use of this term for both rooms.⁴¹⁹





Hieroglyphs	Location
	Edfou I, 412, 14 and 416, 16
	Shanhûr I, 61
	Shanhûr I, 65
	Dendara IV, 233, 1

Table VII. The columned hall (*wADy . t*) and the screen-walled portico (*sbx . t*)

While the term *wADy . t* does not occur in Dendara to describe the complex, the designation *sbx . t* appears once on the west lower bandeau inscription in the *wabet* as a name for the ensemble.⁴²⁰ Spencer's analysis of the term *sbx . t* which occurs throughout all periods of ancient Egypt indicates that it refers in general to a screen-walled portico that screens and protects the sacred area beyond.⁴²¹ The typical facade of the complex most likely led to the use of this term for the ensemble.

3.5. Horizon (**Axt**)

In the Ptolemaic temple of Dendara and the Roman temples of Shanhûr and el-Qal'a the term *Ax . t* or 'horizon'⁴²² on occasions designates the complex of *wabet* and court. The use of the term 'horizon' for the complex is most obvious in the case of Shanhûr. The starting point of the two texts of the upper bandeau inscription on the north rear wall of the *wabet* is formed by the horizon-sign in the middle of the wall. The largest part of both inscriptions is no

⁴¹⁹ Both structures appear to have shared the designation 'seat of the fist feast' already in the temple of Dendara. See Chapter 3.2.

⁴²⁰ Dendara IV, 233, 1.

⁴²¹ Wb IV, 92; SPENCER (1084:161–169); WILSON (1997a:820–821).

⁴²² Wb I, 17; WILSON (1997a:17–18).

longer legible, but in both cases the text starts with *Ax.t n<.t> tA nTr.t aA.t* or ‘the Horizon of the Great Goddess’.⁴²³ The location of the text supports the suggestion that *Ax.t* should be interpreted as a designation for the ensemble.

The frieze at the top of the east and west wall of the open court and at the top of the four walls of the *wabet* in the temple of Dendara also contains a horizon–sign in its very centre.⁴²⁴ (figs. 75 and 78) A seated goddess, adorned with the typical Hathor crown and holding the ankh–sign, is depicted in the sun of the horizon. The seated goddess is undoubtedly none other than the goddess Hathor herself. In comparison with Shanhûr where the *wabet* is referred to as the ‘Horizon of the Great Goddess’, the combination of the horizon–sign and the sign of the goddess might well be interpreted as a manner of expressing ‘the Horizon of Hathor’ or ‘Hathor in the Horizon’. The two horizon–signs in the frieze in the open court are positioned underneath a winged sun disc from which three rays of light beam down on Hathor in the horizon. (fig. 75) The inscription accompanying the scene on the western wall mentions *Nbw.t xa.ti xn.t Ax.t* or ‘The Golden One (=Hathor), appearing in the horizon’. The other texts focus on the union of the gods Hathor and Horus with their images: *pSD r snsn snn=sn* or ‘shining to join with their image’, *wbn r Xnm xpr.w=sn* or ‘appearing/shining to unite with their forms’.⁴²⁵ The texts on the opposing eastern wall are very similar: *Ra xn.t Iwn.t xa xn.t Ax.t* or ‘Ra in Dendara, appearing in the horizon’, *xa r Xnm Xnty=sn* or ‘appearing to unite with their statue’ and *pSD m p.t r mAA Drtyw* or ‘shining in heaven to see the ancestor–gods’.⁴²⁶ The concept of a ‘union’ (*Xnm*) in the horizon, mentioned in the friezes in the open court, also occurs in the title of a scene on the second register of the north wall of the open court in Dendara: *rA n rdi.t Xnm Hm.t=s itn m Ax.t* or ‘Spell for making that her majesty unites with the sun disc in the horizon’.⁴²⁷

⁴²³ Shanhûr I, 124–125, nos. 71–72, and plate 109.

⁴²⁴ Dendara IV, plates ccci–cccii, ccv, ccvii, cccxi–cccxi.

⁴²⁵ Dendara IV, 213.

⁴²⁶ Dendara IV, 201.

⁴²⁷ Dendara IV, 206.

The association between the ensemble and the horizon is not limited to the presence of the *Ax.t*-sign in the centre of several friezes in Dendara and Shanhûr.⁴²⁸ Several inscriptions indicate the close relation that must have existed between the ensemble and the horizon in the minds of the designers of these texts. The western lower bandeau inscription in the open court of the ensemble at Dendara for instance compares the ‘court of the seat of the first feast’ with the ‘horizon of heaven’: *xws.n=f wsx.t s.t Hb tpy twt r Ax.t n.t p.t* or ‘He constructed the court of the seat of the first feast like⁴²⁹ the horizon of heaven’.⁴³⁰ While this inscription does not identify the complex with the horizon as such,⁴³¹ other texts are clearer on the subject. The upper bandeau inscription on the east wall of the *wabet* for instance mentions: *sps.n=f HAY.t n Hm.t=s m Ha Ax.t n kA=s xn.tj Iwn.t* or ‘He built a HAY.t-chapel for her majesty in joy, the horizon of her ka in Dendara’.⁴³² This particular text suggests that ‘the horizon of her ka’ is used as a synonym for the HAY.t-chapel, which is yet another term for the ensemble.⁴³³

The complexes in both the temple of el-Qal’a and the temple of Shanhûr also contain parts of the same hymn that associates the horizon with the shrine (*kAr*) in which the statue of the goddess was kept.⁴³⁴ The better preserved version of the hymn is found on the east side of the broken door lintel of the facade in the open court at el-Qal’a and reads: *wbn Nbw.t m-xnt Ax.t=s psD Ax.ty.t m kAr=s Twt ir=f Wr.t Hnw.t it=s Ra Hnsk.ty.t bnr<.t> mr.wt* or ‘Illuminate, the Golden One in her horizon, shine forth, Akhet in her shrine, for indeed you are the Great One, the lady of her father Ra, the braided one, whose belovedness is sweet’.⁴³⁵ The first line of the hymn on the west doorjamb in the complex at Shanhûr is very similar: *[wbn Nbw.t] m-xnt Ax.t=s psD*

⁴²⁸ It can no longer be established whether a horizon-sign featured in the upper bandeau inscription or frieze in the ensemble at el-Qal’a since the upper parts of the walls of the complex have not been preserved (Chapter 1.11).

⁴²⁹ On the expression *twt r*: WILSON (1997a:1131).

⁴³⁰ Dendara IV, 186, 4.

⁴³¹ Other parts of the temple of Dendara, and the temple itself, are also compared with the horizon. For instance Dendara I, 20, 10; 32, 5; 33, 10; 34, 10; Dendara II, 72, 3; 209, 3; Dendara III, 10, 11; Dendara IV, 60, 7; Dendara VI, 39, 1.

⁴³² Dendara IV, 233, 7. See already DAUMAS (1951:381).

⁴³³ On this chapel, consult Chapter 3.7.

⁴³⁴ On the term *kAr* consult Wb V, 107–108; SPENCER (1984:125–130); WILSON (1997a:1082–1083). The statue of the god/goddess was brought in a shrine to the ensemble.

⁴³⁵ el-Qal’a II, no. 196.

Ax.ty.t m kAr=s n... or ‘[Illuminate, the Golden One] in her horizon, shine forth, Akhet in her shrine of...’⁴³⁶

The only partially preserved inscriptions in the passage of the south gate in the temple of el-Qal’a, which provides access from the transversal hall in front of the sanctuary to the corridor surrounding it, is also designated as ‘the gate/door of the horizon [...]’ (r-pr/wn n Ax.t [...]).⁴³⁷ This part of the corridor only provides access to the complex of *wabet* and court and the ‘horizon’ mentioned in the inscriptions might refer to the ensemble.

The term Ax.t, which is most commonly translated as ‘horizon’, is an extremely complex concept in Egyptian religious thought and it is not possible within the scope of this research to provide a detailed study of all its aspects.⁴³⁸ Generally speaking, the Ax.t can refer to a region where the sun shines when it is not yet (or no longer) visible to man — it is the transitional zone between this world and the next. The term Ax.t could also be used for a tomb,⁴³⁹ and since the time of the New Kingdom, it frequently designated temples or parts thereof.⁴⁴⁰ The term is first and foremost associated with the pylon of the temple,⁴⁴¹ but any room in the temple could be referred to as Ax.t. In the case of the ensemble, the use of the designation might be inspired by the role the complex played in the temple at the time of the first feast during the transition from the old to the new year. In the following chapter, when discussing the function of the ensemble in greater detail, we will still return to this matter.

⁴³⁶ Shanhûr I, no. 59

⁴³⁷ el-Qal’a II, nos. 113–114.


⁴³⁸ LdÄ III, 3–7, RÄRG, 306–307. For a general overview of the root Ax(.t), its interpretation, and an overview of previous studies on the topic, consult JANSEN–WINKELN (1996).

⁴³⁹ For instance: pAbbot 2, 2 (referring to the tomb of Amenhotep I) or pHarris I, 3, 6. See ERICHSEN (1933). The pyramid complex of Cheops in Giza received the designation Ax.t xwfw or ‘the horizon of Khufu’ – STADELMANN (1991:106–107), and VERNER (2001:189).

⁴⁴⁰ Urk. IV, 421, 9; KRI II, 329, 9 and 361, 5 (Ramesside period). See also DE WIT (1951:71–73); GUTBUB (1973:299,b); JANSEN–WINKELN (1996:204–205, 211). For Late Period and Ptolemaic examples, see for instance FAVARD–MEEKS (1991:27–28, 42–43, 57, 76, 78, 89, 163); Edfou IV, 4, 6; Dendara I, 40, 5; 40, 8; 58, 14; Dendara II, 8, 14; 48, 6–7; 58, 12–13; 83, 2; 182, 13; Dendara III, 10, 6; 46, 3, 5, and 6; 49, 15; 61, 6; 76, 8; 107, 2; 109, 4; 121, 5; Dendara IV, 222, 2; 250, 12; 262, 12; 263, 5; Dendara VI, 1, 13; 39, 8; 68, 5; 91, 7; 106, 9; 107, 8; Dendara X, 176, 2; 215, 2; 249, 8; 261, 14.

⁴⁴¹ For instance: FINNESTAD (1997:210). The temple of Edfu is sometimes called the ‘Horizon of Horus’ (Ax.t n Hr – Edfou V, 396, 3), while ‘Horizon of Eternity’ (Ax.t n nHH) is a designation for both the temple of Edfu (Edfou IV, 78, 8) and Dendara (Dendara IV, 65, 6; 119, 4; 249, 1).

3.6. Place of Regeneration (**bw rnp**)

A single inscription from the ensemble in the temple of Shanhûr appears to designate the ensemble as a ‘place of rejuvenation’ or **bw rnp**.⁴⁴² The already mentioned eastern upper bandeau inscription in the ‘seat of the first feast’ of Shanhûr reads in its entirety: . . . wD r wADy.t it=s Atf s(y) m ix.t n mw.t<=f> nTr.t aA.t <r> ir.t Hb m bw rnp <r> r-a D.t or ‘... who (= Caligula) travels to the columned edifice of her(sic) father and who provided it with offerings for <his> mother the Great Goddess to celebrate the festival in the place of regeneration until eternity’. The exact reading of the remaining hieroglyphs  is not entirely certain, but it is suggestive of the designation ‘place of rejuvenation’. This term does not feature in any dictionary, or in any other ensemble of *wabet* and court. The use of this specific term for the ensemble, provided our reading is correct, would undoubtedly be related to the function the ensemble performed at the time of the New Year — no period of the year symbolised the idea of renewal and rejuvenation more aptly than the time surrounding the New Year.⁴⁴³

3.7. Chapel (**HAY . t, xw . t**)

The texts from the complex in the temple of Dendara also contain a series of terms that are generally interpreted and translated as ‘chapel’. These designations are not used exclusively for the ensemble in the temple of Dendara, but can refer to almost any room in the temple and the temple itself. On a few occasions the complex is for instance referred to as a **HAY . t** or ‘chapel’ (table VIII).⁴⁴⁴ The upper bandeau inscription on the east wall of the *wabet* mentions:⁴⁴⁵ sps.n=f **HAY . t** n Hm.t=s m Ha Ax.t n kA=s xn.tj Iwn.t or ‘He built a **HAY . t**-chapel for her majesty in joy, the horizon of her *ka* in Dendara’. And on the east column of the facade that divides the court from the *wabet* is engraved the following: mi.t m Htp r **HAY . t** m anx @.t-@r wr.t nb.t Iwn.t or ‘Come in peace to your **HAY . t**-chapel, in life, Hathor the great, mistress of Dendara’.⁴⁴⁶ The term **HAY . t** occurs also on the southern doorjamb of the entrance into the **pr-Hd** or treasury,

⁴⁴² Shanhûr I, no. 61.

⁴⁴³ LdÄ IV, 466–467; FINNESTAD (1997:221).

⁴⁴⁴ Wb III, 16.

⁴⁴⁵ Dendara IV, 233, 7. See already DAUMAS (1951:381).

⁴⁴⁶ Dendara IV, 221, 18.

which provided access to the complex, and reads: *na Hm.t=T r HAY.t m Htp ... Hts.tw n=T tp-rd n s.t Hb tpy...* or ‘Her majesty (=Hathor) travels to her HAY.t-chapel in peace ... the ritual of the seat of the first feast is completed for her...’.⁴⁴⁷ In Dendara the designation is in general used to refer to any given room or chapel in the temple or to the temple itself, so it is at times difficult to establish which space in the temple is indicated.⁴⁴⁸

The term HAY.t is a common occurrence in most Ptolemaic temple inscriptions. The analysis of the use of the term in the temple of Edfu by P. Wilson has for instance indicated that the designation is used commonly to refer to a ‘dark, internal chamber, where the god can walk and unite with his image’, but it can at the same time also designate the temple in its entirety.⁴⁴⁹ A single occurrence of the designation in the temple of Edfu might refer to the ensemble. The upper bandeau inscription that runs along the south side of the east staircase mentions: *pr @r @r.w n HAY.t r pr.t r mAA itn m wp-rnp.t...* or ‘Horus of the Horuses⁴⁵⁰ come forth from the HAY.t-chapel to see the sun disc at the opening of the year’.⁴⁵¹ The study of the festive processions at the time of the New Year in Edfu by Alliot mentions that the procession with the statues of the gods proceeded from the ensemble of *wabet* and court towards the kiosk on the roof of the temple for the statues to unite with the sun disc.⁴⁵² This would suggest that the HAY.t-chapel that the god left might well be a designation for the ensemble at the bottom of the stairs, although the term is also used for the central sanctuary.⁴⁵³

⁴⁴⁷ Dendara IV, 149, 17. See already Chapter 3.2.

⁴⁴⁸ For instance: Dendara I, 18, 5; 32, 1; 57, 8; 85, 2; Dendara II, 3, 12; 107, 12; 168, 4; 172, 7; 174, 2; Dendara III, 1, 15; 26, 12; 47, 6; 59, 5; 103, 15; 139, 3; Dendara IV, 6, 7; 9, 10; 87, 5; 98, 12; 101, 14; 107, 4; 140, 1; 155, 2; 159, 14; 167, 7; 170, 1; 221, 8; Dendara V, 20, 1; 28, 3; 38, 14; 50, 11; 88, 8; 116, 10; 122, 8; 133, 9; 145, 14; 152, 2; Dendara VI, 2, 1; 7, 4; 39, 3; 42, 1; 47, 2; 94, 10; 106, 8; 108, 6; 109, 5; 112, 4; 136, 9; 143, 11. On a rare occasion the term has been translated as a ‘protective place’ or ‘safe haven’: Dendara II, 6, 6; GOYON (1985:225).

⁴⁴⁹ WILSON (1997a:612–613). See for instance: Edfou I, 549, 15; 554, 4–5, and 16; Edfou III, 1, 4; Edfou IV, 8, 6; 10, 12; 19, 7; 51, 6; 54, 5; 234, 8–9; Edfou VI, 14, 3.

⁴⁵⁰ On ‘Horus of the Horuses’ (@r @r.w), consult CAUVILLE (1987a:83, 131, 220–222).

⁴⁵¹ Edfou I, 554, 15; ALLIOT (1949:385–386).

⁴⁵² ALLIOT (1949:375–421).

⁴⁵³ Edfou I, 549, 15 and 554, 4.

the complex, although it can also refer to other chapels in the temple⁴⁶⁰ or to the royal palace.⁴⁶¹ The term is closely associated with the verb *xwṯ* ‘to protect’ and in one instance the designation is even written with the sign of the goddess with her wings stretched out in a gesture of protection.⁴⁶² The use of this particular term for a space could indicate that it was a safe, protected place for both the god and the pharaoh at a time of imminent danger.⁴⁶³

To the ancient Egyptians no other period in the year could have represented a more dangerous time than the transition from old to new, and more specifically the five epagomenal days prior to the New Year. The arrival of the New Year brought renewal and rejuvenation to the land, but during the five epagomenal days that preceded the New Year, deities and demons unleashed a torrent of life-threatening forces that could inflict serious injuries upon Egypt and its inhabitants. The goddess Sekhmet especially, and her so-called messengers, played a central role in this process.⁴⁶⁴ This period of instability and grave danger is situated in the middle of the *Hb tpy* or ‘first feast’ during which the complex as a ‘seat of the first feast’ played an important role in the temple. One can only speculate whether the choice of the term *xw.t* for the ensemble was inspired by its close association to the verb *xwṯ* ‘to protect’ since it is only used twice to designate the ensemble, but perhaps it did

⁴⁶⁰ For instance: Dendara II, 4, 8; Dendara V, 25, 12; 138, 9; 158, 3. See also Edfou IV, 4, 5; Edfou VII, 1, 13. Other general terms for a ‘chapel’, such as *sty.t* (Dendara IV, 255, 2) and *ti.t* (Dendara IV, 257, 11) also occur in the complex at Dendara, but it is not certain whether these designations refer specifically to the ensemble or to any chapel in general.

⁴⁶¹ For instance: Edfou II, 59, 11; Edfou III, 165, 5. Dendara VI, 10, 8 mentions to the *xw.t-nsw.t*.

⁴⁶² VP D 143–147 and Dendara IV, 231, 8. See table VIII.

⁴⁶³ The *xw.t*-chapel is almost always mentioned in the temple of Dendara in combination with the verb *xwṯ*. For example: Dendara X, 108, 6: *xw.n=i xnty-mks m xw.t n.t H.t-nTr* or ‘I protect ‘The one who holds the mekes’ (= Osiris) in the *xw.t*-chapel of the temple; Dendara V, 25, 12: *xw.t sxm=f m xw.t=f* or ‘protecting his image in his *xw.t*-chapel’; Dendara V, 138, 9: *sxm=f xw.ti m-xn.t xw.t=f* or ‘his images, protected in his *xw.t*-chapel’; Dendara V, 158, 3: *xw.tw rA nb m xw.t* or ‘protected every day in the *xw.t*-chapel’. See also Dendara II, 4, 8: *xwy.t xwy.t m xw.t=sn* or ‘Khuit is the protector in their *xw.t*-chapels’. The epithet Khuit or ‘protector’ (*xwy.t*) was in origin applied to several goddesses, such as Nekhbet and Hathor, but Khuit became a goddess in her own right in Ptolemaic and Roman times, see Wb III, 246; LÄGG V, 665–666, and VERNUS (1978:440–444).

⁴⁶⁴ On the grave dangers facing mankind at the time of the five epagomenal days and the role of the goddess Sekhmet in this process, consult for instance JANKUHN (1972:5–9); GOYON (1974); YOYOTTE (1980); GERMOND (1981; 1986); RAVEN (1997).

suggest to the editors of the inscriptions the concept of a safe place in the dangerous days immediately before the New Year.

3.8. Conclusion

The Egyptian priests who designed the inscriptions and reliefs for the walls of the ensembles in the Ptolemaic and Roman temples used a large variety of designations to refer to the ensemble. These various designations appear to illustrate quite different aspects of the complex, such as its architectural appearance and the nature and period of the ritual activities performed in it. Although the ensemble is best known today as the *wabet*, the most frequently used term — from early Ptolemaic times well into the first century of Roman rule — appears to have been *s.t Hb tpy* (seat of the first feast). The association of this term with the ensemble is at times still problematic since it was shared with the kiosk on the roof of the temples, but the previous overview does suggest that one could henceforward also refer to the complex as the ‘seat of the first feast’ – with the exception of the ensemble in Edfu. The designation clearly indicates that the complex and the kiosk played an important role during the first feast (*Hb tpy*) which took place during the last days of the old year and the first days of the new year. The transition from the old to the new year represented to the ancient Egyptian mind a period of renewal and rejuvenation and this idea appears to have been a source of inspiration for a series of designations associated with the ensemble. A large number of terms refer to death and burial and the subsequent resurrection. Although in general the term *wab.t* designates a workshop where all sort of goods were prepared, it has also a mortuary connotation. It can be a place of embalming, where the body of the deceased was prepared, and even refer to the tomb itself. The term *HAYt* (chapel) also appears to point to this aspect of the complex as a mortuary workshop and tomb. The transitional region between this world and the next could well be represented by the use of the term *Ax.t* (horizon) as one of the names for the ensemble, while the single occurrence of the designation *bw rnp* (place of regeneration) would suggest the final stage in this process, from death to resurrection. The transitional period at the time of the New Year was also well known to be an unstable and life-threatening time and this might well have inspired the use of the term *xw.t* or ‘(protective) chapel’ for the ensemble in Dendara.

A series of other terms, like *wADy.t* (columned edifice) and *sbx.t* (screen-walled portico), refer to the architectural appearance of the ensemble and more specifically to the facade with columns and screen walls which separated the open court from the *wabet*. The

designation abA DfAw (court of the food–altar) clearly suggests which type of activities could have taken place in the open court. A more in–depth study of the actual rites and rituals performed in the complex will form the subject of the following chapter.

4. The decorative scheme of the individual complexes

The architectural ensemble of *wabet* and court occurs in at least nine temples of Upper Egypt, but in only five complexes the decorative scheme and inscriptions have been preserved to such a degree that a detailed study and analysis of the decorative programme applied to its walls can be carried out.⁴⁶⁵ The decorative scheme in these five ensembles fortunately covers almost the entire period during which the complex occurred in Egyptian temples, including examples from early Ptolemaic times in Philae (Ptolemaios II) and Edfu (Ptolemaios IV), a late Ptolemaic example in Dendara (Cleopatra VII), and two Roman ensembles in Shanhûr (Caligula) and el-Qal'a (Claudius). They present an opportunity to not only analyse their individual decorative programme but, even more importantly, to study the origins and development of the programme over time.

This chapter opens with a detailed description, reproduction and analysis of the scenes and inscriptions from the open court in the temple of Philae as this material has never been studied before.⁴⁶⁶ The decorative scheme applied to the walls at Philae is of great importance since it is the oldest known preserved example of its type. It allows us to gain valuable information on the development of the later decorative programmes in Edfu, Dendara, Shanhûr, and el-Qal'a, but also provides crucial information on the different sources that inspired the designers of its decorative scheme and on the transmission and edition of older texts and rites.⁴⁶⁷

A detailed study and analysis of the decorative programme of the four other ensembles (Edfu, Dendara, Shanhûr, and el-Qal'a)⁴⁶⁸ has recently been carried out and it would be a pointless

⁴⁶⁵ None of the fragments with inscriptions and reliefs found in the Thirtieth Dynasty temple of Khnum in Elephantine could be ascribed with any degree of certainty to the complex of the temple. Almost nothing remains of the decorative scheme of the complex in the temple of Kom Ombo and the Roman complexes at Kalabsha and Deir Shalwît have remained undecorated. For more information, consult Chapter 1.

⁴⁶⁶ The only exceptions are a brief analysis in TRAUNECKER (1995:242–244), and CORTHALS (2003:116–118).

⁴⁶⁷ For an introduction to the inscriptions from the court in the temple of Philae, consult COPPENS (2006a).

⁴⁶⁸ a) Edfu: ALLIOT (1949:341–368); CAUVILLE (1987a:88–89); TRAUNECKER (1995:244–248), and CORTHALS (2003:120–179). b) Dendara: TRAUNECKER (1995:248–251); CAUVILLE (2001:26–34), and CORTHALS (2003:121–179). c) Shanhûr: TRAUNECKER (1995:260–267), and Shanhûr I, 93–132. d) el-Qal'a: TRAUNECKER (1995:251–260).

exercise to repeat it here. Following the analysis of the decorative scheme of the open court in Philae, an introduction to the decorative programme of the four other complexes will be provided and the main characteristics of each individual scheme pointed out. But in contrast to almost all previous studies, it is my intention to regard the different complexes and their decorative programmes not in their individuality, but rather as a part of a group of ensembles that formed an essential component of an ancient Egyptian temple from the end of the Late Period well into the Roman times.⁴⁶⁹ Each complex — despite numerous intrusions of the local theology in the decorative scheme — contains a number of recurring characteristic elements in the decorative scheme applied to its walls. These essential components clearly identify the complex and set it apart from any other area of the temple. Instead of only studying the decorative programme in every individual temple, the second part of this chapter aims to bring together the common characteristics and essential components of all ensembles in order to get a better understanding of the role of the complex in the temple and its development over time.

⁴⁶⁹ A first attempt to study the development of the complex over time was made by TRAUNECKER (1995:267–277).

4.1. The ‘seat of the first feast’ in the temple of Isis at Philae

4.1.1 Introduction

The open court or ‘seat of the first feast’ in the temple of Isis in Philae lies to the east of the main temple axis and is connected with the axis through two small chambers. (fig. 8 and Chapter 1.3) The main entrance into the court is found in its south–east corner, where a small chamber, of which only the east wall is still standing, connects the court with the ‘hall of appearance’. (fig. 8, IV and 42) Gutbub has suggested that this room might have been the ‘room of the Nile’,⁴⁷⁰ but too little remains of this chamber to identify it with any degree of certainty. It most likely functioned as a *Hr.t-ib* or intermediate room.⁴⁷¹ The second entrance to the court is found in its opposite north–east corner. A long but small chamber, identified as the ‘chamber of linen’,⁴⁷² provides access to the crypts of the temple, and also connects the court with the ‘hall of the ennead’ (fig. 8, IX). A detailed study of the decorative scheme of the ‘chamber of linen’ will be incorporated in my analysis of the open court. Not only does the ‘chamber of linen’ provide a link between the court and the central sanctuary, but the orientation of the decorative scheme applied on the walls of this room reverses the orientation as seen elsewhere in the temple: the pharaoh is no longer represented from the entrance into the temple towards the sanctuary, but from the ‘hall of the ennead’ and the sanctuary towards the open court, suggesting a close connection between the latter and the ‘chamber of linen’. (fig. 65)

The open court still contains three of its four walls, with only fragments remaining of the now missing south wall. All inscriptions and scenes in the open court were executed in high relief. In origin the scenes and texts were covered by a layer of paint and plaster, but only very minor traces of both materials remain at present. In general the upper registers are better preserved than their lower counterparts. The figures of the deities and the pharaoh and the inscriptions on the top registers were wilfully destroyed, but it is especially the lower half of the walls that has suffered the most damage. Next to human activity in Coptic and Islamic times, this was also caused by the regular flooding of the temple due to the rising water of the Nile following the construction of the first Aswan dam.

⁴⁷⁰ GUTBUB (1985:133).

⁴⁷¹ TRAUNECKER (1995:244). On the term *Hr.t-ib*: SPENCER (1984:85–87).

⁴⁷² GUTBUB (1985:132), and RYHINER (1995:4, 13, 18–19 and 36–37).

The decorative programme dates for the most part from the reign of the Ptolemaic monarch Ptolemaios II Philadelphos, with a few additions from the time of his successor Ptolemaios III Euergetes I. The orientation of the figures of the pharaoh and the deities (figs. 46–47, and 57) indicates that this room was not orientated along the main temple axis (north to south), but perpendicular to its axis (east to west). The west wall (instead of the north wall) of the court forms its rear wall. According to the orientation of the figures of the pharaoh and the deities, the door from the intermediate room in the south–east corner of the court formed the starting point of the decorative programme and the centre of the west wall was its focal point.

Three major sources, each with its own particular set of problems, are at the disposal of those who wish to study the decorative programme of these chambers. The basic publication of the reliefs is from the hand of Georges Bénédite and dates back to the end of the 19th century,⁴⁷³ but his copies of the inscriptions and the scenes leave much to be desired. The reproduction of the inscriptions is in numerous cases incomplete and inaccurate. There are one or more signs missing,⁴⁷⁴ or lines of text,⁴⁷⁵ and at times an entire scene.⁴⁷⁶ A number of signs were also misread. A similar situation occurs with the plates of the reliefs. Only the basic information was copied and not always accurately,⁴⁷⁷ while a large number of elements were systematically omitted.⁴⁷⁸ Other scholars, such as Richard Lepsius and Heinrich Brugsch, only copied the odd scene or (part of a) text from these rooms during their visit to the isle of Philae. In most cases their work adds very little to the publication of Bénédite.⁴⁷⁹

Another important source of information for the study of these chambers are the photographs taken during the Prussian expedition to Philae and Nubia under the direction of Hermann Junker and Hans Schäfer in 1908–1910. These photographs have been available on

⁴⁷³ Philae Bénédite, 16–17 (room IV), 19–24 (court), 55–56 (room IX) and plates V–VIII and XXI.

⁴⁷⁴ For instance document 20. On the numbering of the different scenes, see page 153.

⁴⁷⁵ The lines uttered by Isis in document 9 were not copied.

⁴⁷⁶ For instance document 2.

⁴⁷⁷ For instance document 10.

⁴⁷⁸ For instance: a pedestal topped by a small round table on which a flower(s), a loaf of bread and/or a he-s-vessel were placed, is regularly positioned in between the offering pharaoh and the deity. This table and its contents were never copied. Compare fig. 65 with Philae Bénédite, pl. VIII, scene i.

⁴⁷⁹ References to these publications were gathered in PM VI, 239–240, no. 306–307 (room IV); 240, no. 308–311 (court), and 242, no. 338 and 345–347 (room IX). I will refer to the various sources when dealing with the relevant scenes.

microfiche since 1975 and provide a good counterbalance to the publication of Bénédite.⁴⁸⁰ Unfortunately the inscriptions on the photos are more often than not difficult to read due to the presence of both mud – a remnant from the time that the Nile flooded the temple – and plaster on the walls of the temple.⁴⁸¹

A more recent publication focuses only on the reliefs and not the inscriptions of the temples of Philae. In her art historical study, Eleni Vassilika brought together a large number of elements of almost every single scene from Philae in a detailed database.⁴⁸² The database is of invaluable help, considering the previously mentioned limitations of the plates in the work of Bénédite and the photographs of the Prussian expedition. However, in the specific case of the court of the temple of Isis, not all scenes of this chamber were included in the study⁴⁸³ and, as Vassilika mentions, not every decorative element of each scene found its way into the database.⁴⁸⁴

The combination of these three principal sources constitutes the basic material for the study of the aforementioned rooms in the temple of Isis, but even when combined, these principal sources still have limitations and are not always able to provide a complete picture of all scenes and inscriptions involved. In order to answer the questions brought forward by the incomplete and inaccurate nature of this material, I undertook three trips to Philae to make observations on site.⁴⁸⁵ With no scaffolding available to reach the upper registers of the walls, all observations had to be carried out from the ground-level with the aid of binoculars and

⁴⁸⁰ JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 698 (room IV); 699–708, 711, and 1133 (court), and 1088–1097 (room IX)).

⁴⁸¹ For the present study, I was able to consult on various occasions the printouts of the original photographs in the library and photo-archive of the Egyptological department of the *Koninklijke Musea voor Kunst en Geschiedenis* (Royal Musea for Art and History) in Brussels.

⁴⁸² VASSILIKA (1989: database no. 646–647 (room IV); 648–663 (court) and 738–741 (room IX)).

⁴⁸³ For instance documents 1 and 4.

⁴⁸⁴ VASSILIKA (1989:114, n. 141, and 292). One decorative element that was never included in the database is for instance the wadjet-standard. This standard consists of the upper part of the cobra rising from a papyrus stalk with a horizontally bent umbel, while its coils are wrapped around the standard pole or papyrus stem. This element is encountered regularly in scenes from the court and other places. For instance: document 16 and fig. 55.

⁴⁸⁵ Notes, slides and copies were made during two visits — in September 1998 and November 1999 — with a final check carried out on site in January 2003. I am much indebted to Filip Vets who took a number of photos on request during his visit to Philae in February 1999.

photographic equipment.⁴⁸⁶ Although this method enabled me to improve or add substantially to the older publications, it also left a number of questions partially or completely unresolved. It is my opinion that only a new and systematic survey of the entire temple of Isis will help to address all lacunae and faults still present in the material currently available to all scholars.

The nature of the available publications influenced the way in which I decided to present the material in this study. Following a general description of the decorative pattern in each chamber the reliefs are divided into several subgroups, based on the general orientation of the decorative scheme on the walls of the court. The starting point will be the partly preserved door leading from the intermediate room to the court, followed by the decorative frieze at the top and the procession with fecundity figures at the bottom of the walls, and the registers with reliefs on the east, north, and west walls, respectively. The inscriptions on the door between the court and the ‘chamber of linen’ and the reliefs of the latter room conclude the first part of the study of the decorative programme of both chambers.

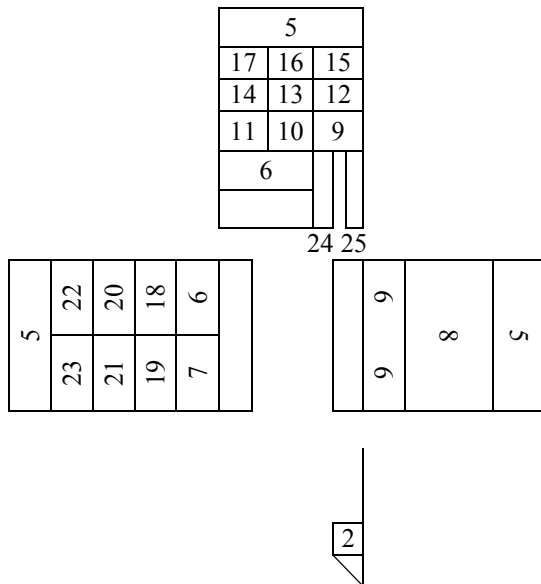
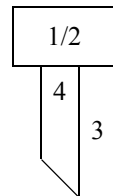
Each relief or document is handled separately and consists of the following elements: a general description of the scene,⁴⁸⁷ a new edition of the hieroglyphic text (when necessary), a transliteration,⁴⁸⁸ and a translation of the inscriptions. A first analysis of the reliefs is located at the end of each subgroup, while a detailed analysis of the decorative programme of the court and ‘chamber of linen’ is found at the end of Chapter 4.1. For easy reference, I have numbered the reliefs (for convenience sake termed “documents”) of the open court and the ‘chamber of linen’ in the following manner:

⁴⁸⁶ The slides were subsequently scanned in high resolution and studied in close detail. I am much indebted to Dr. Hana Vymazalová for her valuable assistance in this process.

⁴⁸⁷ Although a combination of the plates of Bénédite, the photographs of the Prussian expedition and the database of Vassilika already provides a decent picture of most scenes, I thought it justifiable to add a description of my own. This will not only bring together all available information, but it will also include those scenes and individual elements of other scenes that have been previously omitted. In a number of cases photographs taken on site during my visits are added.

⁴⁸⁸ The basis for the study of the text has been, despite its aforementioned limitations, the publication of the text by Bénédite. In the transliteration all relevant information gathered both on site and through a study of the Prussian photographs has been added. In a number of cases, where the text was never published before or the material available was inaccurately reproduced, this has led to the inclusion of a new and updated copy of the hieroglyphic text.

The few remains of the door leading from the intermediate room to the court consist of a part of the lintel above the door (documents **1–2**), the east doorjamb (doc. **3**), and the east thickness and inset of the door (doc. **4**).



The decorative pattern applied to the walls of the court contains a decorative frieze located above the registers with scenes (doc. **5**) and two processions of fecundity figures led by the pharaoh and proceeding from the door in the south–east corner towards the centre of the west wall of the court (doc. **6** and **7**). The east wall of the court consists of a single large scene. (doc. **8**) The north wall is divided into three registers with three scenes figuring on each register. In each case the pharaoh is positioned in front of a single deity (doc. **9–17**). The west wall of the court is

also divided in three registers, with each register divided in two scenes. In each case a triad of deities faces the king (doc. **18–23**). The thickness of the door leading from the court to the chamber of linen contains an inscription on either side. (doc. **24–25**).

The small but long ‘chamber of linen’ is also provided with a decorative pattern and consists of a decorative frieze along the top (doc. **26**) and a procession of fecundity figures at the bottom of the east, north and west walls (doc. **27**). The east, north and west walls of the room are decorated with a single large scene (doc. **28–30**). The north half of the west wall also contains the doorway leading to the ‘hall of the ennead’. Both the lintel (doc. **31**) and the south doorjamb (doc. **32**) are engraved with inscriptions, while the south thickness of the doorway shows a goddess embracing the ruler (doc. **33**).



Fig. 42 The intermediate room and entrance into the open court in Philae (photo by the author)



Fig. 43 Remains of the lintel above the door into the court (photo by the author)



Fig. 44 Remains of the lintel and the scenes above the door from the court to the intermediate room (photo by the author)





Fig. 45 Remains of the lintel above the door from the open court to the intermediate room (photo by the author)

4.1.2. The south entrance to the court (doc. 1–4)

a. Document 1: Lintel above the door (south face)⁴⁸⁹

Only a part of the right half of the lintel above the doorway leading from the intermediate room to the court can still be observed on site. (fig. 42 and 43) On the lintel Ptolemaios II is portrayed wearing a bag wig with a uraeus,⁴⁹⁰ a broad collar and a simple triangular skirt with a ceremonial tail.⁴⁹¹ With his left hand the pharaoh presents a tall white loaf of bread to the goddess Isis.⁴⁹² His other hand is raised in front of his face in adoration. Nothing remains of the headdress of the deity, but it consisted most likely of the so-called Hathor crown: the cow horns and a sun disc on top of the vulture headdress⁴⁹³ — the typical headgear of Isis in the temple.⁴⁹⁴ Above the head of the pharaoh hovers a sun disc with a uraeus protruding on either side,⁴⁹⁵ while a part of the left wing of a winged sun disc figures above Isis. The remaining inscriptions have never been published and consist of the following:

– Title: 
 sqr t-HD.t n mw.t=f⁴⁹⁶
 Consecrating the white bread for his mother.

– Pharaoh: 
 nb tA.wy [wsr-kA]-Ra [mry]-Imn nb [xa.w
 ptrwm]ys
 Lord of the Two Lands, [Userka]ra [Mer]amun, lord [of the
 crowns, Ptolem]aios.

⁴⁸⁹ PM VI, 240, no. 207 (lintel); Philae Bénédite, 16, 7–9, and JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 698).

⁴⁹⁰ VASSILIKA (1989: type WB4).

⁴⁹¹ VASSILIKA (1989: type MS76).




⁴⁹² VASSILIKA (1989: combination of type FOO1 and FOO3). Philae Bénédite, 16 wrongly identified the action of the pharaoh as paying homage to the deity.

⁴⁹³ VASSILIKA (1989: type FMD).

⁴⁹⁴ VASSILIKA (1989:204–205). On a few occasions Isis also wears the hieroglyph for her name (VASSILIKA (1989: type FMIS), either in combination with the vulture headdress and Hathor-crown (Philae Bénédite, pl. XXe) or solely with the vulture headdress (Philae Bénédite, pl. IVe; XXIII, I, and XXIV, III, and JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 1021 and 1025).


⁴⁹⁵ VASSILIKA (1989: type SD3).

⁴⁹⁶ Wb IV, 307; WILSON (1997a:939–940 and 1116–1117), and LEITZ (2001:203–204). In Edfu and Dendara the rite is often performed for Thoth, since the white bread was often seen as the ‘eye of Horus’ that was returned by Thoth: Edfu I, 72, 15; 477, 14, and Edfu VIII, 108, 8; Dendara II, 190, 16, and Dendara VII, 117, 2.

- underneath the sun disc:  Bhd . ty / Behdety
- the winged sun disc:  Bhd . ty nTr aA / Behdety, the great god
- Isis:  % . t nb . t Iw-rq⁴⁹⁷ / Isis, mistress of Philae

b. Document 2: Lintel and reliefs above the doorway (north face)⁴⁹⁸

The east half of the lintel above the door from the open court to the intermediate room is still for the most part preserved. (fig. 44–45) The lintel portrays Ptolemaios II wearing the same items as on the opposite face of the lintel (doc. 1): a bag wig, a broad collar and a simple triangular skirt with a ceremonial tail. His left arm hangs loosely alongside his body, while his right hand is placed underneath the ankh–sign that an unidentified goddess is presenting to him. Above the head of the king a sun disc with a uraeus protruding on either side is depicted. The goddess is adorned with the vulture cap and a pedestal–like support carrying the sun disc and cow horns. She wears a broad collar and a tight fitting wrap–around dress, and is seated on a block throne on top of a large pedestal. Her left arm is stretched towards the king as she directs the ankh–sign to his nose,⁴⁹⁹ while her right arm rests in her lap. In her right hand she holds another ankh–sign. Not a single inscription of this scene has been published before.

- Title:  <anx>⁵⁰⁰ r fnD=k / <Life> to your nose.

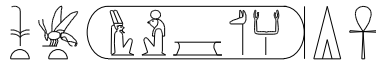
⁴⁹⁷ On the designation iw-rq for the island of Philae, see footnote 514.

⁴⁹⁸ VASSILIKA (1989: database no. 647) The description given by Vassilika in database no. 647 concurs with my Document 2, although this scene is located by Vassilika on the lintel above the door leading from the intermediate room to the court (south face) instead of its correct location on the lintel of the door from the court to the intermediate room (north face).

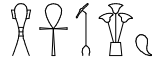
⁴⁹⁹ VASSILIKA (1989: type ANH8). The presentation of the sign of life by a deity to the pharaoh is encountered no less than 14 times in the temple of Isis from the reign of Ptolemaios II. Most of the time, this act is performed by a goddess and more specifically by Isis (9 times), making her the most plausible candidate for the unidentified goddess on this scene. (Philae Bénédite, pl. IIIf; IVc and e; XIV–XV, scenes M and M'; XVII–XVIII, scenes M and M'; XXe; XXIe; XXIIa, scenes II, II', IV and IV', and XXVa), and JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: nos. 1035–1038; 1056; 1067; 1074; 1078; 1089; 1124, and 1138).

⁵⁰⁰ The title occurs in five other instances in the temple (Philae Bénédite, 39, 12 and 14; 48, 9; 49, 15, and 57, 8), but only on two occasions does the inscription specify that it is anx that is presented to the ruler (Philae Bénédite, 39, 12, and 57, 8).

– Pharaoh:



nsw.t-bit.y nb tA.wy wsr-kA-Ra mry-Imn di
anx King of Upper and Lower Egypt Userkara
Meramun, given life.



sA anx wAs HA=f / Protection, life and dominion behind
him.

– underneath the sun disc:



BHd.ty nb p.t / Behdety, lord of heaven.

– in front of the goddess:



Dd mdw di.n<=i> n=k anx wAs nb [...]

Recitation: I hereby give you all life and dominion. [...]

–behind the goddess:



[...] ⁵⁰¹ <hAs.wt nb> ⁵⁰².w=f dmD Xr Tb.ty=k

D.t

⁵⁰¹ The oldest version of this expression in Philae is found on the lintel of the gate of Nectanebo II incorporated in the Ptolemaic first pylon: Dd-mdw di.n<=i> n=k qn r rsy nx.t r mH.t tA.w nb.w xAs.wt nb.w waf Xr Tb.ty=k mi Ra or 'Recitation: I hereby give you strength against the south, might against the north, all lands and all foreign lands subdued under both your sandals like (under) Ra'. (Philae I, pl. 76–77, and JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: nos. 1378 and 1379.) The lintel above the door from the sanctuary to the 'hall of the ennead' (Philae Bénédite, 57, 7–8 and 11) has similar texts in the columns following the goddess: a) Dd-mdw di.n<=i> n=k anx wAs nb snb nb Aw.t-ib nb tA.wy nb xAs.wt nb.w=f Xr Tb.ty=k D.t or 'Recitation: I hereby give you all life and dominion, all health, all joy, all lands and all his foreign lands under both your sandals forever'. b) Dd-mdw di.n<=i> n=k qn r rsy nx.t r mH.t tA.w nb xAs.wt nb nfr dmD Xr Tb.ty=k D.t or 'Recitation: I hereby give you strength against the south, might against the north, all beautiful lands and all foreign lands, united under both your sandals forever'. The expression also occurs on the so-called gate of Philadelphos: JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: nos. 155 and 161). a) Dd-mdw di.n<=i> n=k qn r rsy nx.t r mH.t xAs.wt nb.w dmD Xr Tb.ty=k Hr s.t !r D.t or 'Recitation: I hereby give you strength against the south, might against the north, all foreign lands united under both your sandals on the throne of Horus forever'. b) Dd-mdw di.n<=i> n=k anx wAs nb snb nb tA.w nb.w xAs.wt nb.w smA Xr Tb.ty=k xa=k Hr s.t @r D.t or 'Recitation: I hereby give you all life and dominion, all health, and all lands and all foreign lands united under both your sandals that you may gloriously appear on the throne of Horus forever'. The expression ... xAs.wt (nb.w=f) (dmD) Xr Tb.tj=k is a common occurrence

[...] <all> his <foreign lands> united under both your sandals
forever.


– above the scene:




[... .t / @r nD it=f]⁵⁰³ nb(.t) Iw-rq


mry

[...] beloved of Isis/Harendotes, the mistress/lord of Philae.

Above the lintel two fragments of scenes, one above the other, can still be observed. (fig. 44) Only a quarter of the lower scene has been preserved, showing a part of the torso and right shoulder of the king, his simple triangular-shaped skirt with a ceremonial tail and his legs. Nothing remains of the offering the ruler presented to the deity or of the deity itself. To the west of the pharaoh, a tiny detail of the flowers that once topped a small round table is still visible: a part of two stems of flowers and of the rope and knot that tied them together. Similar depictions of this type are found in several other scenes in the court and elsewhere in the temple.⁵⁰⁴ The only inscription still preserved on this scene is found behind the back of the king:  or sA anx wAs HA=f / Protection, life and dominion behind him.

Only a very small part of the east side of the upper scene is still preserved. (fig. 44) The only elements that can be distinguished are a part of the right shoulder of the pharaoh, the back of his triangular skirt with a ceremonial tail and the lower half of his right leg. The only remaining inscription is located behind the back of the ruler:  or sA anx wAs [HA=f]⁵⁰⁵ / Protection, life and dominion [behind him].

in Ptolemaic and Roman temples. For instance: Philae Bénédite, 3, 16; 37, 2 and 40, 18; Edfou II, 35, 13, and 65, 14; DE MORGAN (1895–1909: no. 610); GAUTHIER (1911:4, 1 and 8, and 143, 4), and Dendara I, 7, 3; 47, 16; 51, 14; 61, 13; 97, 9; 116, 9, and 133, 5.

⁵⁰² A close parallel to this particular writing is found on the lintel of the doorway from the sanctuary to the ‘hall of the enead’:  (Philae Bénédite, 57, 8).

⁵⁰³ The no longer present part of this inscription most likely contained one or more of the titles of the pharaoh and the name of the deity whose beloved he was. It is interesting to note that the preserved inscriptions on other lintels only refer to Isis (Philae Bénédite, 11, 9; 13, 14; 45, 16 and 18; 48, 6; 49, 10 and 12; 51, 1 and 3; 67, 5–7 and 71, 5) or Harendotes / @r nD it=f (Philae Bénédite, 11, 8 and 48, 6) as ‘nb(.t) Iw-rq’.

⁵⁰⁴ VASSILIKA (1989: types TAB13–18). For instance: documents 21–22 and Philae Bénédite, pl. XIVa, scenes ii and iii, and XVI, scene vi.

⁵⁰⁵ The same column is also found behind the back of the ruler in the previous scene.

The remaining relief on either side of the lintel above the door is worth a closer look since it differs substantially from the decoration of all other lintels that are likewise located above a door in the corner of a room. In all other examples, the lintel consists of lines of inscriptions below a winged sun disc.⁵⁰⁶ But the partly preserved decoration on either side of the lintel above the entrance to the ‘seat of the first feast’ does not follow this pattern and closely resembles the decorative pattern found on lintels in the central axis of the temple. Along this axis, four lintels feature, with a relief on either face: in between the hypostyle hall and the ‘hall of appearance’ (fig. 8, I),⁵⁰⁷ ‘the hall of appearance’ and the ‘hall of offerings’ (V),⁵⁰⁸ the ‘hall of offerings’ and the ‘hall of the ennead’ (VII)⁵⁰⁹ and the ‘hall of the ennead’ and the sanctuary of Isis (X).⁵¹⁰ Recurring elements in the decoration of these lintels include the presence of a double column with inscriptions at the lintel’s very centre, and a line with text and a winged sun disc hovering above the reliefs. The lintel is divided in two or four reliefs and most scenes show the ruler making an offering to one or two deities.⁵¹¹

The presence of a part of a winged sun disc on the north face (doc. 1), and a part of a column at the centre and a line of text above the relief on the south face (doc. 2) of the lintel above the entrance to the court clearly illustrates that the general layout of the decorative scheme on the lintels of the main axis was applied. The presence of a part of a relief representing the ruler making an offering to a deity (doc. 1 and 2) is likewise only found on lintels along the central axis. The theme of the offering scenes depicted on the lintel of the south entrance into the court — the offering of white bread (doc. 1) and life (doc. 2) — differs from the offerings usually presented on the lintels along the main axis of the temple. On 11 occasions the pharaoh offers *irp*–wine to the gods.⁵¹² The presentation of sistra, myrrh and beer occurs

⁵⁰⁶ Philae Bénédite, pl. III; IVc; XII; XVI; XVII; XVIII; XIX; XXa; XXIc; XXVa, and XXVIa, and JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: nos. 1057, 1074, 1078, 1085, 1088, 1107, 1124 and 1138).

⁵⁰⁷ PM VI, 238, no. 286–287 (south face); Philae Bénédite, pl. I, scenes I, II and III (north face), and JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: nos. 1116–117, 1350 and 1351).

⁵⁰⁸ Philae Bénédite, pl. II, scenes I and P’ (south face), and IX, scenes I and P’ (north face), and JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: nos. 1103 and 1131–1132).

⁵⁰⁹ Philae Bénédite, pl. XI, scenes I and P’ (south face), and XIV–XV, scenes I and P’ (north face), and JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: nos. 1067 and 1099).

⁵¹⁰ Philae Bénédite, pl. XVII–XVIII, scenes I and P’ (south face), and XXIIa, scenes I and P’ (north face), and JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: nos. 1036–1037 and 1070).

⁵¹¹ See also the overview on the following pages.

⁵¹² Philae Bénédite, 2, 2; 5, 9 and 12; 25, 5 and 8; 30, 7; 39, 5 and 7; 46, 9 and 12, and 57, 10.

only a single time on a lintel.⁵¹³ But the typical layout of the lintels along the central axis of the temple undoubtedly inspired the scenes on the lintel. The choice for this layout perhaps indicates the importance attributed to this entrance and the court by the priest that designed the decorative programme.

The lintels of the central axis deserve further scrutiny since they contain valuable information on the virtual orientation of the temple and the distribution of the depictions of its main deities. This will be of importance in the subsequent study and analysis of the decorative pattern of the court. The following table of the north and south faces of the four lintels along the central axis contains an overview of the deities depicted on the lintels and the location with which they are associated: Philae (i_w-r_q),⁵¹⁴ the island of Bigeh (s_{nmw}.t),⁵¹⁵ located to the west of Philae, and the Abaton or Pure Mound (i_A.t-w_{ab}.t) on the island of Bigeh.⁵¹⁶ The Abaton or ‘inaccessible place’ on the island of Bigeh is the location of one of the tombs of Osiris and was the destination of regular processions of the statue of the goddess Isis from Philae. A cave on Bigeh was considered to be the home of the Nile god Hapy and the source of the inundation.

The distribution of the deities on the lintels indicates a clear division between the east and west half of the building (see also table IX for an overview). In the east part of the temple the triad of Isis and Osiris, lords of Philae (i_w-r_q), and Harpocrates, son of Isis, are associated with the goddesses Nephthys and Nekhbet. The presence of Nekhbet and the occasional portrayal of the king with the white crown⁵¹⁷ on the east side of the lintel indicate that the east side of the temple represents Philae, Upper Egypt and the South. In the west part of the temple, the triad of Isis, Osiris(-Wennefer), the lord of the Abaton/Pure Mound (i_A.t-w_{ab}.t), and Harpocrates, son of Osiris, figure most frequently. The goddesses Hathor, mistress of Bigeh (s_{nmw}.t), and Wadjyt are regularly found in the company of this triad. The presence of Wadjyt and several depictions of the king with the red crown⁵¹⁸ suggest that

⁵¹³ Philae Bénédite, 1, 9 (ant_{yw}); 30, 5 (s_{SS}t) and 57,6 (D_Sr_w).

⁵¹⁴ Wb I, 47; LdÄ IV, 1022; GAUTHIER (1925:47), and KÁKOSY (1981).

⁵¹⁵ LdÄ I, 792–793; BLACKMAN (1915), and GAUTHIER (1928:40).

⁵¹⁶ Wb I, 26. i_A.t w_{ab}.t literally means the ‘pure mound’, but is most commonly referred to by its Greek name of ‘Abaton’ or the ‘inaccessible place’. For more information, consult: LdÄ I, 1–2, and 792; RÄRG, 1; JUNKER (1913), and GAUTHIER (1925:23).

⁵¹⁷ Philae Bénédite, pl. I, i; XVIII, P; XXIIa, P, JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: nos. 1037, 1070, and 1117).

⁵¹⁸ Philae Bénédite, pl. I, iii; XVII, I; XXIIa, I, JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: nos. 1036, 1070, and 1116).

the west side of the temple represents Lower Egypt and the North. The west side was probably associated with Bigeh due to the location of the island and the tomb of Osiris to the west of Philae.

The lintels along the central temple axis

SOUTH

Hypostyle hall

south face

<i>Nekhbet</i> Sekhmet	Isis (iw rq) Nephthys (iw rq)	Isis (iA.t-wab.t) Hathor (snmw.t)	Tefnut <i>Wadjyt</i>
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Nephthys (iw rq)	Isis (iw rq)	Isis (iA.t-wab.t)	Hathor (snmw.t)
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north face

Hall of appearance (I)

south face

Osiris Isis (iw rq)	Osiris-Wennefer Isis (iA.t-wab.t)
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Osiris Isis (iw rq)	Osiris-Wennefer Isis (iA.t-wab.t)
---------------------------	---

north face

EAST

Hall of offerings (V)

WEST

south face

Isis Harpocrates, son of Isis (iw rq)	Isis Harpocrates, son of Osiris (iA.t-wab.t)
---	--

Osiris (iA.t-wab.t) Nephthys and Isis (iw rq)	Osiris (iA.t-wab.t) Isis (snmw.t)	Hathor (snmw.t)
--	--	--------------------

north face

Hall of the ennead (VII)

south face

Osiris-Wennefer (iw rq) Isis (iA.t-wab.t)	Osiris (iA.t-wab.t) Isis (iA.t-wab.t)
--	--

Nekhbet	Isis	Isis	Wadjyt
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	(iw rq)	(iA.t-wab.t)	
--	---------	--------------	--

north face

Sanctuary (X)

NORTH

The following table provides a schematic overview of the general distribution of the representations of the deities, with their main epithets, on the lintels of the temple axis.

East	West
Isis, wr.t mw.t nTr nb.t iw-rq	Isis, di.t anx Hry.t-ib iA.t-wab.t
Osiris, nb iw-rq	Osiris(-Wennefer), nb iA.t-wab.t
Harpocrates, sA % .t	Harpocrates, sA Wsir
Nephthys, mnx.t nTr.w	Hathor, nb.t %nmw.t
Nekhbet	Wadjyt
<i>Upper Egypt / South</i>	<i>Lower Egypt / North</i>

Table IX. The distribution of the deities on the lintels of the central temple axis in Philae

Not only the distribution of the deities and the decorative scheme, but also the offerings depicted on the lintels are of interest. The presentation to Isis of white bread, which is often associated with the eye of Horus and has several solar connotations, on the lintel of the south entrance into the ‘seat of the first feast’ brings to mind a series of different themes.⁵¹⁹ One of them is the idea of the fertile land from which the grain sprouted that produced the bread, and another one refers to the Nile floods at the beginning of the year that revitalised the land and made it fertile once again. As an offering, the white bread is at times presented to the forefathers or predecessors, like in the ritual for Amenhotep I,⁵²⁰ and can suggest the idea of the renewal of kingship and legalises the position of the ruler who makes the offering. Together with beer and wine, it can also be offered to pacify the rage of a number of goddesses. According to the scenes in the chapel of Osiris in the temple of Seti I in Abydos,

⁵¹⁹ A good overview of the different themes the offering of white bread is associated with on the outside walls of the temple of Dendara can be consulted in LEITZ (2001:203–204). See also STROOT-KIRALY (1989), and WILSON (1997a:939–940 and 1116–1117).

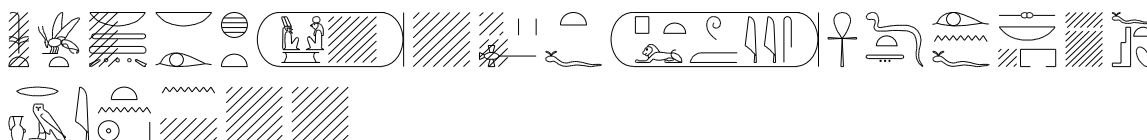
⁵²⁰ BACCHI (1942:19; and 68), and NELSON (1949:212).

the offering was also given to the deity during the Daily Temple Ritual, although it did not form an essential part of that ritual.⁵²¹

These different themes built around the offering of the white bread — a solar context, pacification, offerings to predecessors and forefathers, fertility and revitalisation at the time of the New Year — are some of the major themes that recur in almost all the reliefs and inscriptions engraved on the walls of the open court⁵²² and might be the reason why this particular offering was depicted on the lintel above the doorway into the ‘seat of the first feast’. The idea of renewal and new life is perhaps even more explicitly expressed on the scene on the opposite side of the lintel, which depicts Isis presenting the ankh–sign to Ptolemaios II (doc. 2 and fig. 44–45). It is undoubtedly no coincidence that in the thickness of the doorway that leads from the ‘hall of the ennead’ to the ‘chamber of linen’, which functions as a passageway to the ‘seat of the first feast’ and forms the only other means of entry into the court, a similar scene is depicted, portraying a goddess breathing life into the nostrils of the pharaoh (doc. 33).⁵²³ The idea of new life or renewal of life is also expressed on the east doorjamb of the doorway, underneath these lintels (doc. 3).

c. Document 3: East doorjamb⁵²⁴

A single line of text runs down the east doorjamb. The inscription is damaged and the lower part of the text has completely disappeared.



nsw.t-bit.y nb tA.wy nb ir.t ix.t [wsr-kA]-Ra mry-Imn
 [...].w(?) nD it=f Ptrwmys anx D.t ir.n=f s.t Hb [tpy n
 mw.t=]f %.t r Xnm-itn n[...]

⁵²¹ GARDINER – CALVERLY (1933:3), and DAVID (1981:62, and 73). The Daily Temple Ritual will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.1.6 (in relation to the scenes on the north wall of the open court).

⁵²² Following a study of the individual reliefs and inscriptions, I shall provide a more detailed overview of the main themes of the scenes in the open court in Chapters 4.1.10 and 5.

⁵²³ PM VI, 242, no. 338; Bénédite Philae, 56, 14; pl. xxi, e; JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 1089), and VASSILIKA (1989: database no. 738). A scene depicting the presentation of life by Isis to the pharaoh is a common occurrence on or near doorways in the temple – VASSILIKA (1989:30).

⁵²⁴ PM VI, 240, no. 207, and Philae Bénédite, 16, 9–10.

‘The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, lord of the ritual, [Userka]ra Meramun [...] protector of his father, Ptolemaios, living forever. He made a seat of [the first] feast [for] his [mother] Isis to unite with the sun disc [...]’

d. Document 4: East thickness and inset of the door⁵²⁵

The inset of the door is engraved with a decorative pattern spread over nine registers, consisting of an ankh–sign with arms, standing in the centre of a neb–sign and holding a was–sceptre in each hand. This group of signs is repeated four times in each register. (fig. 42) A single line of text runs down the thickness of the door. The orientation of the text is from the court towards the intermediate room.



anx nTr nfr sA Wsir mr=f r nsw.t nb wr mnw aA biAy.t sA Ra
nb xa.w Ptrwmys Wsir–Wnnfr nb iA.t–[wab.t ... mry]⁵²⁶

‘May live the perfect god,⁵²⁷ the son of Osiris, his beloved more than any (other) king, abundant of monuments, great of wonders, the son of Ra, lord of the crowns, Ptolemaios, [beloved of] Osiris–Wennefer, lord of the Ab[aton ...]’

The inscriptions on the east doorjamb (doc. 3) and on the thickness of the door (doc. 4) provide crucial information on the activities that took place at the court and on the general place and role of the pharaoh in the temple of Isis. The most important reference indicates that the open court functioned as the place where the rite of the ‘union with the sun disc’ (Xnm–itn) took place (doc. 3).

The ‘union with the sun disc’ is the climax of a procession with the statues of the deities. The act of exposing the statues to the rays of the sun reunites the statues with their *ba* and regenerates and rejuvenates the statues.⁵²⁸ In Ptolemaic and Roman times this activity is

⁵²⁵ PM VI, 240, no. 207 (thickness), and Philae Bénédite, 16, 11–12.

⁵²⁶ For other occurrences of the expression ‘Ptolemaios, beloved of Osiris(–Wennefer), lord of the Abaton/Pure Mound’, consult Philae Bénédite, 48, 4, and 49, 9.

⁵²⁷ The use of the title nTr nfr for the pharaoh dates back to the early dynastic period and in early Ptolemaic times occasionally takes the place of nsw.t–bit.y. See LdÄ III, 462 and 478; STOCK (1951), and WINTER (1968:36).

⁵²⁸ In general on the ‘union with the sun disc’, consult: Esna V, 122–132; DAUMAS (1951:393–400); CHASSINAT (1966:225–226); GERMOND (1981:195–199), and WAITKUS (1997:266–267).

especially attested in the days preceding the New Year and it is the central act during the procession on New Year's Day, but the rite is not exclusive to the period around the New Year. Several calendars indicate that the rite also occurred on other occasions throughout the year.⁵²⁹ The location where the union with the sun disc took place appears to have differed from temple to temple. The inscription on the east doorjamb of the court in Philae leaves no doubt that the union with the sun disc took place in the open court. The latter might also have been the setting for the *Xnm-ıtn* in the Roman temples of Shanhûr and el-Qal'a.⁵³⁰ The most detailed inscriptions on the rite come from the temples of Edfu and Dendara, where the rite commonly took place in the kiosk on the roof of the temple, known as the 'seat of the first feast'.⁵³¹ In the temple of Esna the ritual occurred in the open court in front of the pronaos.⁵³²

The inscriptions on the doorjamb and thickness of the door to the court also provide information on the position and role of the pharaoh in the temple of Isis at the time of Ptolemaios II. In the inscriptions, the Ptolemaic pharaoh is referred to as 'the son of Osiris' (doc. 4: *sA Wsir*) and takes on the role of Horus, the son of Osiris as 'the protector of his father' (doc. 3: *nD ıt=f*). In numerous texts in the temple, the relationship between Ptolemaios II and Horus is stressed and Ptolemaios II is on various occasions identified as Horus, son of Isis or Osiris:

– 'the perfect god, the son of Osiris' (*nTr nfr sA Wsir*).⁵³³

– 'the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Userkara Meramun, he is Horus' (*nsw.t-bit.y Wsr-kA-Ra mry-Imn nt f @r*).⁵³⁴

⁵²⁹ In the festival calendar in the hypostyle hall of the temple of Dendara (Cleopatra VII), and in the pronaos of the temple of Esna (presumably from the reign of Domitianus), the *Xnm-ıtn* is for instance attested for 1 and 20 Thoth, 1 and 14 Paophi, 1, 3, 26, and 27 Khoiak, 19 Tybi, 8 Mechir, 1, 10, and 11 Phamenoth, 11 Pharmuthi, 1 Pachon, 1 and 10 Payni, 21 Epiphi, and 30 Mesore. See Dendara IX, 162–164, and 202–204, and Esna II, 122 and 166. For an overview, consult GRIMM (1994:323), and CAUVILLE (2002a:6–12).

⁵³⁰ Shanhûr I, 111. See also Chapters 4.4 and 4.5.

⁵³¹ CHASSINAT (1931:124–127); ALLIOT (1949:303–305, and 411–421); DAUMAS (1951:393–394); FAIRMAN (1954–1955:185–186), CAUVILLE (2002a:46–49). There are indications that in Dendara the 'union with the sun disc' might also have taken place in the open space in front of the pronaos: WAITKUS (1997:168, n. 11; 175, n. 2, and 250, n. 5), and CAUVILLE (2004a:30).

⁵³² Esna V, 56–57, and 123–125.

⁵³³ Philae Bénédite, 16, 11.

⁵³⁴ Philae Bénédite, 34, 6–7, and JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 1106).

- Recitation by Isis: ‘... my son, Horus, my beloved, Lord of the crowns, Ptolemaios’ (sA=i @r mry=i nb xa.w P535
- Recitation by Isis: ‘... my son, Horus, my beloved, Lord of the two lands, Userkara Meramun’ (sA=i @r mry=i nb tA.wy Wsr-kA-Ra mry-Imn).⁵³⁶
- ‘her son, her beloved, [Pt]olemaios. I am your mother Isis’ (sA=s mry=s [Pt]rwmys ink mw.t=k % .t).⁵³⁷
- ‘her (= Isis) son is the lord of the land’ (sA=s m nb tA).⁵³⁸

The close link between the ruling pharaoh and Horus, the last divine ruler on Earth, is a well-established relationship, dating back at least to the Old Kingdom.⁵³⁹ But seldom is it stressed to such a degree as in the temple of Philae from the time of Ptolemaios II. It appears that the priests designing the texts for the temple on numerous occasions deliberately wished to portray Ptolemaios II, and for that matter the entire Ptolemaic royal house, as the legitimate ruler(s) of Egypt and the rightful heir(s) to the throne.⁵⁴⁰ Several inscriptions stating that the Ptolemaic pharaoh is the rightful heir of Osiris and Horus must be seen in the same light:

- ‘I hereby give you the inheritance of Horus of Pe’ (di.n=i n=k n imy.t-pr n @r P).⁵⁴¹
- ‘the perfect god, the living image of Ra, the heir of Wennefer’ (nTr nfr snn anx n Ra iwa n Wnn-nfr).⁵⁴²

The choice to use the legal term *imy.t-pr* for the inheritance in the first example illustrates the judicial character of the document.⁵⁴³ The study of T. Logan of the *imy.t-pr* showed that it permanently transferred the right to own and bequeath a property. The

⁵³⁵ Philae Bénédite, 63, 2, and JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 1033).

⁵³⁶ Philae Bénédite, 63, 10, and JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 1034).

⁵³⁷ Document 25. The same expression occurs twice more in the temple, but the ruler mentioned is in both cases Ptolemaios III Euergetes I. Philae Bénédite, 35, 10, and 71, 9–10.

⁵³⁸ Philae Bénédite, 63, 6, and JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 1034).

⁵³⁹ In general: LdÄ III, 15–21; RÄRG, 307–314, and FRANKFORT (1948:36–47).

⁵⁴⁰ An overview of the different ways in which the Ptolemaic royal house during the reigns of the first Ptolemies attempted to portray themselves as the rightful heirs to the throne of the native pharaohs can be found in HÖLBL (2001:77–90).

⁵⁴¹ Philae Bénédite, 72, 16, and JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 1045).

⁵⁴² Philae Bénédite, 64, 14, and JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 1026).

⁵⁴³ Wb I, 73–74; LdÄ III, 141–145; ŽABKAR (1988:25); WILSON (1997a:75), and LOGAN (2000).

Ptolemaic monarch is the legal heir of Horus, the divine ruler of the predynastic centre of Pe (Buto).⁵⁴⁴

In the temple of Philae, Ptolemaios II takes on the role of Horus as the son of Osiris – like Horus, he is referred to as ‘the protector of his father’ (doc. 3) – but also as the traditional Egyptian pharaoh. Throughout the temple both Horus and the Ptolemaic monarch are associated with the construction of temples, one of the many tasks expected of the traditional ruler.⁵⁴⁵ Horus is referred to as ‘the Mighty Bull who establishes the temples of the Ennead’ (kA nxt smn gs.w-pr.w psD.t),⁵⁴⁶ and Ptolemaios II is called ‘the perfect god ... who built the temples’ (nTr nfr ... ir gs.w-pr.w).⁵⁴⁷ The inscription on the east doorjamb (doc. 3) casts Ptolemaios II in yet another typical pharaonic role: as high priest he is the intermediary between this world and the divine and fulfils his priestly task as the ‘lord of the rituals’ (nb ir.t ix.t).⁵⁴⁸

4.1.3. The upper part of the walls (doc. 5)⁵⁴⁹

The upper part of the three preserved walls in the court consists of three main elements (fig. 46–47, and 57):

- a) A continuous row of erected cobras with a sun disc atop their head forming a frieze of uraei;
- b) A cavetto cornice;
- c) A decorative frieze separating the upper part of the walls from the registers with offering scenes. This frieze repeats a pattern of three kheker–signs, surmounted by a sun disc, and two cartouches of Ptolemaios II. The cartouches are placed upon a neb–sign and are topped by a pair of ostrich feathers and another sun disc.

– Cartouche a: wsr–kA–Ra mry–Imn

Userkara Meramun

⁵⁴⁴ LdÄ I, 887–888, and FRANKFORT (1948:93–95).

⁵⁴⁵ The Ptolemaic state’s support for the erection of new temples and the maintenance and restoration of older temples is another example of how the Ptolemaic rulers attempted to establish the legitimacy of their royal house. For a general introduction to this aspect of the Ptolemaic rule over Egypt, consult HÖLBL (2001:85–90).

⁵⁴⁶ Philae Bénédite, 62, 3, and JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 1031).


⁵⁴⁷ Philae Bénédite, 67, 7, and JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 1029).

⁵⁴⁸ BLUMENTHAL (1970:25, A1.19). For another occurrence of this expression, consult Philae Bénédite, 2, 8. The Ptolemaic pharaoh also features as the Iunmutef–priest in the temple (Philae Bénédite, 2, 15, and document 12).

⁵⁴⁹ Philae Bénédite, 19 and pl, VI, VII and VIII, and VASSILIKA (1989:396, fig. TFRZ 6).

4.1.4. Processions with fecundity figures (doc. 6–7)⁵⁵⁰

Two processions of fecundity figures,⁵⁵¹ led in both instances by Ptolemaios II, proceed along the lowest level of the walls of the court. (fig. 46–47, and 57) The starting point of both processions is the doorway leading from the intermediate room to the ‘seat of the first feast’ or, in other words, the south–east corner of the open court. The final destination and gathering point for the two processions is located at the centre of the west wall. What was depicted or engraved in this specific place can no longer be discerned, but a similar procession in the sanctuary of the temple journeys towards two columns with inscriptions on its rear wall. These text columns refer to the ruler approaching Isis, but in this specific example from the sanctuary the processions are not led by the pharaoh.⁵⁵²

The better preserved of the two processions (doc. 6) is located in the north half of the court and runs from the south entrance along the east and north walls towards the centre of the west wall. At the head of the procession on the west wall the ruler, Ptolemaios II, is depicted. Apart from the ankh–sign the pharaoh holds in his right hand, the red crown on his head and a part of a simple triangular ceremonial skirt, little is visible that would further characterise him. Ptolemaios II is not facing the oncoming fecundity figures, which is what Bénéдите depicted (fig. 57), but he leads them towards the centre of the west wall. Three fecundity figures follow the pharaoh on the west wall; eight more are located on the north and nine⁵⁵³ fecundity figures feature on the east wall. All 20 figures are portrayed wearing the typical –headdress on top of a long wig. A strand of the wig falls in front of the shoulder while its back profile is visible behind the shoulder of the figure.⁵⁵⁴ All figures are depicted with pendulous breasts and full heavy stomachs, and wear a large collar and a belt with stripes of cloth covering their genitals.⁵⁵⁵ Each figure holds a tray with two hes–vessels, covered by

⁵⁵⁰ PM VI, 240 (base); Philae Bénéдите, 19, 11–15; 22, 18; 23, 4, 24, 8–10, and pl. VI, VII and VIII; JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 701 and 706–710), and VASSILIKA (1989: database no. 653).

⁵⁵¹ For the use of the term fecundity figures: BAINES (1985:112–145).

⁵⁵² Philae Bénéдите, 63, 12–13, and pl. XXIIb.

⁵⁵³ Philae Bénéдите, pl. VI (= fig. 46) depicts only eight fecundity figures. The missing fecundity figure (no. 13 in my list) was most likely overlooked since none of the inscriptions accompanying him have been preserved.

⁵⁵⁴ This is most likely an example of the wig type 4 of BAINES (1985:87 and 92).

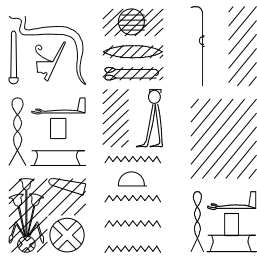
⁵⁵⁵ For a good overview of the general iconography of the fecundity figures, consult BAINES (1985:85–111).

papyrus blossoms and separated by a was-sceptre. Long stems, ending alternately in a papyrus or lotus blossom, are falling down from their hands towards the ground.

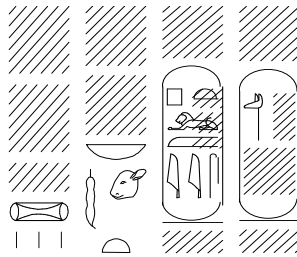
a. Procession on the west wall⁵⁵⁶

During the study of this procession it became apparent that Bénédite had only copied part of the text columns accompanying the three fecundity figures on the west wall.⁵⁵⁷ In the case of the texts accompanying Ptolemaios II⁵⁵⁸ and the *Randzeile* following the third fecundity figure⁵⁵⁹ I have nothing to add to his copy. The utterances of the three fecundity figures are reproduced here on the basis of my own observations on site.

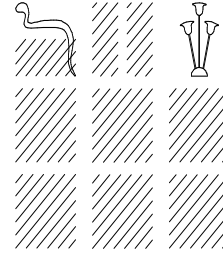
Fecundity figure 1



Fecundity figure 2



Fecundity figure 3



– Pharaoh

nb t3.wy wsr-kA-Ra mry-Imn nb xa.w Ptrwmys [...]

Lord of the two lands Userkara Meramun, lord of the crowns Ptolemaios [...]

– Fecundity figure 1


Dd mdw in Hapy [-mHw⁵⁶⁰] xr⁵⁶¹=T⁵⁶² [% .t]⁵⁶³ ini<=i> n=t mw-rnp⁵⁶⁴
[...⁵⁶⁵] Hapy

⁵⁵⁶ Philae Bénédite, 24, 8–10.

⁵⁵⁷ Philae Bénédite, 24, 8–10.

⁵⁵⁸ Philae Bénédite, 24, 8.

⁵⁵⁹ Philae Bénédite, 24, 10 (6).



⁵⁶⁰ The few remaining traces in this part of the text column suggest a reading of . The depiction of Ptolemaios II with the red crown both in front of the first fecundity figure and on the scene immediately above the procession of fecundity figures (doc. 18) suggests that the right half of the west wall of the court (the north half) represents Lower Egypt. The procession on the north wall of the court, which is a continuation of this procession on the west wall, is also led by a ‘northern Hapy’ (Philae Bénédite, 22, 18 and fecundity figure 4).

Recitation by the [northern] Hapy to you [Isis]: <I> bring you fresh water [...] the inundation.

– Fecundity figure 2


[... Htp.w/Hw⁵⁶⁶ ...] nb nDm sTy [sA Ra nb xa.w?] Ptrwmys
[nsw.t-bit.y nb tA.wy?] wsr[-kA-Ra mry-Imn]
[... offerings/libations/provisions ...] all/the lord, sweet of smell, [the son of Ra, lord of the
crowns?] Ptolemaios, [the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands?] User[kara
Meramun].


– Fecundity figure 3



⁵⁶¹ Only minor traces of these signs remain at present, but the reading of  in this part of the column by Bénédite appears highly unlikely. The traces rather suggest the presence of . This reading would not be without parallels in the court. See for instance: Philae Bénédite, 19, 11, and 22, 18 (fecundity figures 4 and 12).

⁵⁶² The expression Dd mdw in Hapy xr=T %.t occurs only three times in the temple of Isis in Philae, and more specifically in the court (Philae Bénédite, 19, 11; 22, 18 and 24, 9). The expression differs from texts encountered elsewhere in association with fecundity figures, such as Dd mdw in Hapy ini=i n=T ... and Dd mdw ini=i n=T ... (for instance Philae Bénédite, 26, 4; 31, 5; 33, 14, and 43, 12) and resembles more closely the texts associated with the pharaoh at the head of similar offering processions: Dd mdw i<n> NN xr=T %.t (for instance Philae Bénédite, 4, 13, and 7, 6). The expression associated with the ruler at the head of the procession was transferred to three fecundity figures in the court who, each in their own manner, are also at the head of a procession. These three fecundity figures are: a) the first figure immediately following the king on the west wall, b) the first figure (no. 4) on the north wall and c) the first figure (no. 12) on the east wall. For the expression Dd mdw in NN xr=T/k/NN: JUNKER (1906:147, #194, 4), and Wb III, 315.

⁵⁶³ The remaining traces suggest the presence of a seated figure in this area of the column and since the beneficiary of the offering is a female goddess according to the remaining inscription (Dd mdw ... xr=T and

ini=i n=t), Isis is the most plausible candidate. The use of the hieroglyph  to designate Isis is encountered regularly in the temple: Philae Bénédite, 12, 13 and 14; 44, 12; 52, 3; 53, 5; 63, 4, and 64, 5.

⁵⁶⁴ There can be little doubt that  was engraved here. Similar expressions are found in Philae Bénédite, 8, 6; 47, 16; 48, 1 and 2, and 49, 5. For other occurrences of the expression mw-rnp, consult for example Dendara I, 68, 9; 151, 3 or Dendara II, 210, 7.

⁵⁶⁵ Very few traces remain, but similar passages in the temple offer a number of variants in which  often follows the previous passage: mw-rnp m lwnw or mw-rnp m x.t=f nb.t (Philae Bénédite, 8, 6; 48, 2 and 49, 5). A parallel in Edfu reads:  for ms Hapy or 'which the inundation created' (Edfou II, 240, 4).

⁵⁶⁶ These terms and various others are often accompanied by this determinative in Philae. For instance Philae Bénédite, 19, 13 (Htp.w), and 42, 3 (Hw).

Dd [mdw ...] HA [...]

Recitation [...] flood/abundance?⁵⁶⁷ [...]

Randzeile:

nsw.t-bit.y nb tA.wy wsr-kA- Ra mry-Imn [sA Ra nb xa.w]

Pttrwmys [...] di n⁵⁶⁸=f tA.w nb.w m Htp

The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands Userkara Meramun, [son of Ra, lord of the crowns] Ptolemaios [...] May all lands be given to him in peace.

b. Procession on the north wall⁵⁶⁹

– Fecundity figure 4

Dd mdw in Hapy-mHw xr=T %.t wr.t mw.t nTr nb.t Iw-rq ini=i
n=t kA.w DfA.w n [nsw.t-bit.y] wsr-kA-Ra mry-Imn

Recitation by the northern Hapy to you, Isis, the great, mother of the god, mistress of Philae:
I bring you provisions and victuals of [the king of Upper and Lower Egypt] Userkara Meramun.

– Fecundity figure 5


Dd mdw ini<=i> qbH.w Hw/aqw⁵⁷⁰ wab.w Xr a.wy n [sA Ra] Pttrwmys

Recitation: <I> bring pure libations and provisions under both arms⁵⁷¹ of [the son of Ra] Ptolemaios.

⁵⁶⁷ The general context of the offering procession would suggest a reading of Haw ‘abundance’ (Wb III, 16–18) or HAy ‘flood’ (Wb III, 13). One could also consider the reading Hapy-mHw or ‘the northern inundation’, but the name of the fecundity figure bringing the offering is commonly found in the first column of the text accompanying this figure and not in the third text column.

⁵⁶⁸ The sign was not copied by Bénédite, but traces are still visible on site.

⁵⁶⁹ Philae Bénédite, 22, 18–23, 4.

⁵⁷⁰ The signs  do not appear to be a determinative of the previous term qbH.w as both Wb V, 27–28 and similar passages in Philae attest that (Philae Bénédite, 8, 4; 26, 4; 33, 14 and 15; 43, 12 and 13, and 51, 15. See also 19, 10 and fecundity figure 12). One could consider the transliterations aqw (Wb I, 232–233, and VP IV, 812, X 29) or Hw (Wb III, 44) and a general translation of this group as ‘provisions’.

– Fecundity figure 6

Dd mdw ini<=i> [...] m x.t nb nfr wab r-a.wy?⁵⁷² n [sA Ra]
Ptrwmys

Recitation: <I> bring [...] consisting of all good and pure products, the produce of [the son of Ra] Ptolemaios.

– Fecundity figure 7

Dd mdw ini<=i> [...] s]wAD mw?⁵⁷³

Recitation: <I> bring [...] to make the water fresh?

– Fecundity figure 8

Dd mdw ini<=i> n=t x.t nfr bnr wAD w[...] Ht[s]⁵⁷⁴ pwnt

Recitation: <I> bring you beautiful, sweet, fresh products [...] of/from? @ts? and Punt.


– Fecundity figure 9

[Dd mdw ini=i ...]⁵⁷⁵


[Recitation: I bring ...]

– Fecundity figure 10

⁵⁷¹ The expression Xr a.wy n or ‘under/on the arms of’ the pharaoh is common in the speech of the fecundity figures. For instance BAINES (1985:219, 307)

⁵⁷² The group of signs following wab and copied as  is at present very difficult to distinguish on site, but could have read r-a.wy or ‘pertaining to the hands of’ or ‘produce, handiwork’. Wb II, 395, and WILSON (1997a:572).

⁵⁷³ Neither Wb I, 263–270; WILSON (1997a:201–209) nor any other text from Philae provide a single example of the word wAD determined by three strokes of water. Perhaps swAD mw or ‘to make the water fresh’ is intended, but not a single parallel of this expression is known to me. Another possible reading could be wAD-wr.

⁵⁷⁴ The reading of the word is uncertain, but it might have been . The term is also encountered in a geographical procession in the ‘hall of appearance’ (Philae Bénédite, 3, 18). @ts is a region in Nubia, perhaps in the vicinity of Buhen and Wadi Halfa. See GAUTHIER (1927:146).

⁵⁷⁵ Only two signs remain of the entire inscription accompanying this fecundity figure.

Dd mdw ini<=i> n=t x.t nb.t r sDf[A ...].t nb⁵⁷⁶ xa.w
[Ptrwmys]

Recitation: <I> bring you all products to feed [...] the lord of the crowns [Ptolemaios].

– Fecundity figure 11

Dd mdw ini<=i> n=T [...] mw [...] pr m r[...]

Recitation: <I> bring you [...] water/libations⁵⁷⁷ [...] that come(s) out [...]

c. Procession on the east wall⁵⁷⁸

– Fecundity figure 12

Dd mdw in Hapy-mHw xr=T %.t wr.t mw.t nTr di.t anx nb.t Iw⁵⁷⁹-
rq ini=i qbH.w Hw/aqw⁵⁸⁰ qbH[...]

Recitation by the northern Hapy to you, Isis, the great, mother of the god, who gives life, mistress of Philae: <I> bring you libations and provisions of⁵⁸¹ [...]

– Fecundity figure 13



[...]⁵⁸²

– Fecundity figure 14

Dd mdw [ini<=i> ...] r tr[=f n⁵⁸³ ...]



Recitation: [<I> bring ...] at [his] time [of ...]

– Fecundity figure 15

⁵⁷⁶ The  of the publication of Bénédite is a .

⁵⁷⁷ The three strokes of water could also be the determinative of several terms, including qbH.w (Philae Bénédite, 22, 19, and 33, 14) and wab (Philae Bénédite, 8, 4, and 33, 14).

⁵⁷⁸ Philae Bénédite, 19, 11–15.

⁵⁷⁹ Bénédite copied  instead of .

⁵⁸⁰ See already fecundity figure 5 for this reading.

⁵⁸¹ The correct translation of the word qbH on the basis of a single remaining hieroglyph is problematic. A possible translation might be ‘libations and provisions of/from qbH.w (a water region)’ or perhaps ‘qbH.wy (Egypt)’. Wb V, 29, and WILSON (1997a:1052 and 1054).

⁵⁸² Nothing remains of the inscription accompanying this fecundity figure.

⁵⁸³ The expression r tr[=f n... occurs regularly in the utterances of the fecundity figures on the walls of the temple of Philae. In most cases it is associated with the arrival of fresh water (mw rnp) or a great inundation (Hapy wr): Philae Bénédite, 8, 7; 33, 15, and 51, 17.

Dd mdw ini<=i> n=t Htp.w nb.w r-a(.wy) n.t nsw.t-bit.y wsr-
kA-Ra mry-Imn Hnk n=f anx wAs⁵⁸⁴

Recitation: <I> bring you all offerings, the produce of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt
Userkara Meramun, in order that life and dominion may be given to him.

– Fecundity figure 16

Dd mdw ini<=i> n=t qbH.w wab.w⁵⁸⁵ pr [m ...] iAH.t [...]

Recitation: <I> bring you pure libations that come forth [out ...] iAH.t⁵⁸⁶ [...]

– Fecundity figure 17

Dd mdw ini<=i> n=t Htp.w nb.w nfr.w nw H.t sA Ra Ptrwmys di
n=f [...] ⁵⁸⁷

Recitation: <I> bring you all beautiful offerings of the residence of the son of Ra,
Ptolemaios, in order that may be given to him [...]


– Fecundity figure 18


Dd mdw ini<=i> qbH.w⁵⁸⁸ pr m Qsy tA nb m Htp⁵⁸⁹

Recitation: <I> bring libations that come forth out Qusae⁵⁹⁰ in order that the entire land may
be in peace.

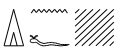
– Fecundity figure 19

Dd mdw ini<=i> n=T Ax.t⁵⁹¹ Xr Ax.t⁵⁹²=s wAH.t m Hn.w/nHb.t?⁵⁹³
aA.t

⁵⁸⁴ The last two remaining signs () were not copied in Philae Bénédite, 19, 13.

⁵⁸⁵ The correct reading is .



⁵⁸⁶ The word iAH.t is not known from other sources. Perhaps iHy.t, a term for the central sanctuary of the temple of Isis in Philae was intended here: Philae Bénédite, 58, 18 and 61, 15, and ŽABKAR (1980:129, n. 17).

⁵⁸⁷ The column, which was not copied in Philae Bénédite, 19, 14, contains the following signs: .

⁵⁸⁸ There are no signs missing between qbH.w and pr m as is suggested by Philae Bénédite, 19, 14.

⁵⁸⁹ The correct writing of this group is  (compare with Philae Bénédite, 19, 14).

⁵⁹⁰ Qusae is the main centre of the 14th Upper Egyptian nome (LdÄ V, 73–74).

⁵⁹¹ There still are traces of a small, square sign in the lower right corner of the quadrant: , resembling . Wb I, 18, and WILSON (1997a:17).

Recitation: <I> bring you the fertile land under her good products: a great garland with Hn . w–plants/of lotus flowers?

– Fecundity figure 20⁵⁹⁴

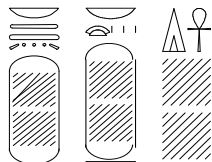
Dd mdw ini<=i> n=t qbH.w wab.w imyw tA pn nb xa.w Ptrwmys di n=f tA pn⁵⁹⁵

Recitation: <I> bring you pure libations that are in this land of the lord of the crowns Ptolemaios, in order that this land may be given to him.

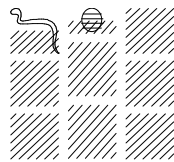
d. Remains of the second procession (doc. 7)

The second procession with fecundity figures has almost completely disappeared. Like the previous procession it started at the south–east entrance to the ‘seat of the first feast’, but ran below the first register on the now completely missing south wall of the open court to the centre of the west wall. No traces of the fecundity figures or the pharaoh leading the procession could be recognized on site. On the west wall only minor traces of the inscriptions remain. These inscriptions have thus far not been published.

Pharaoh



Fecundity Figure 1



– Pharaoh

nb tA.wy [wsr–kA–Ra mry–Imn] nb xa.w [Ptrwmys] di anx [...]


Lord of the two lands [Userkara Meramun], lord of the crowns [Ptolemaios], given life [...]

⁵⁹² The three plural strokes at the back of the bird were not copied by Bénédite: . Wb I, 15.

⁵⁹³ The third column of this text is hard to interpret. At present the following can still be discerned on site:

 . The remaining traces cast doubt over Bénédite’s copy of  and rather suggest a reading of 

for wAH . t m Hn . w/mnH aA . t or ‘a great garland with Hn . w–/papyrus–plants’. A different reading might

be with  for wAH . t nHb . t aA . t or ‘a great garland of lotus flowers’. See DITTMAR (1986:50–52).

⁵⁹⁴ See also LD Text IV, 161.

⁵⁹⁵ The final column of text was not copied in Philae Bénédite, 19, 14, and reads: .

– Fecundity figure 1

D[d mdw in ...] x[r ...]⁵⁹⁶

Recitation [by ...] to [...]

The processions in the open court do not differ greatly from similar ones that are depicted in the ‘hall of the ennead’.⁵⁹⁷ The fecundity figures in the open court present mainly libations⁵⁹⁸ and the produce of the land,⁵⁹⁹ but there are also a few minor references to the inundation that took place at the time of the New Year.⁶⁰⁰ The combination of a libation and a large offering of the produce of the land is also found in the large scene that covers the entire east wall of the court (doc. 8 and fig. 46).

Although the nature of the offerings presented by the fecundity figures follows well-established patterns, the two processions on the lower part of the remaining walls of the ‘seat of the first feast’ provide yet another indication of the importance attributed to this chamber by the designers of the decorative programme of the temple. In the temple from the reign of Ptolemaios II the processions with fecundity figures are for the most part depicted in the rooms along the central axis of the temple and the only exceptions are the ‘seat of the first feast’ and the nearby ‘chamber of linen’. Next to the typical pattern of the lintel above the main entrance into the court (doc. 1–2), the designers of the decorative scheme also incorporated into the court the procession with fecundity figures otherwise reserved for the chambers located along the main axis of the temple.

The layout of the scenes and their distribution on the temple walls could indicate that next to the main temple axis from the ‘hall of appearance’ to the sanctuary a second axis existed alongside it. The focal point of the second axis would have been the centre of the rear (or west) wall of the ‘seat of the first feast’. The orientation of the scenes indicates the existence of two routes or processions meeting in the ‘seat of the first feast’: a) a ‘divine’ route from the sanctuary, through the ‘hall of the ennead’ and the ‘chamber of linen’ (with the entrance to

⁵⁹⁶ The inscription probably contained the expression *Dd mdw in Hapy xr=T % .t.* Compare with the first fecundity figure of the opposite procession.

⁵⁹⁷ Philae Bénédite, 40–52, and plates XIV–XIX.

⁵⁹⁸ BAINES (1985:306–316).

⁵⁹⁹ BAINES (1985:209–225, and 317–325).

⁶⁰⁰ Fecundity figures 1, 11 and 14.

the crypts) to the ‘seat of the first feast’, and b) a ‘royal’ procession from the entrance into the temple to the ‘seat of the first feast’. Moreover, in the ‘hall of appearance’, which at the time of Ptolemaios II formed the entrance hall into the temple, the journey of the pharaoh to the temple, his purification and coronation, and admittance to Isis (the so-called ‘montée royale’) is depicted.⁶⁰¹ A small intermediate room connected the entrance hall with the ‘seat of the first feast’. (fig. 8) The outlook of the great offering scene on the east wall of the ‘seat of the first feast’ (doc. 8) also indicates the existence of two routes coming together in the open court of the temple.

4.1.5. The east wall: the great offering scene (doc. 8)⁶⁰²

A single large scene, representing Ptolemaios II in front of a large offering, covers the entire east wall of the court. (fig. 46) Remarkably, the beneficiary of the rite is not present. The ruler is orientated towards the north and the door leading to the ‘chamber of linen’. Ptolemaios II wears the double crown, a broad collar and a triangular skirt with a ceremonial tail on top of a large transparent skirt. Above his head a sun disc with a uraeus protruding from either side is depicted. Next to his cartouches Nekhbet is portrayed on a neb-basket above lotus plants. In his right hand the king holds a hes-vessel from which he pours water on round and oblong bread loaves lying on top of a round table with a single pedestal. In his left hand the ruler holds the censer in front of a large offering consisting of bread of various shapes and sizes, a variety of flowers, vegetables, fruit and other plants, fowl, all kinds of meat and various vessels. The hieroglyphic inscription behind the king was not copied by Bénéдите and reads




– Title: ir snTr qbH.w Hw/aqw?⁶⁰³ n mw.t=f

Performing the censuring and the libations of the provisions for his mother.

⁶⁰¹ PM VI, 328–239, no. 290–295; Bénéдите Philae, 3; 4; 6; 8, and 9, pl. I, xi and xi’ II, vii and vii’ and III, iv; JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 683, 686, 692, 1122, and 1128); GUTBUB (1985:132), and VASSILIKA (1989:28–29). On the ‘montée royale’, consult BARGUET (1986); CAUVILLE (1987a:140–142), and LABRIQUE (1992).

⁶⁰² PM VI, 240, no. 309; Philae Bénéдите, 19, 8–10, and pl. VI; JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 711 and 1133), and VASSILIKA (1989: database no. 654).

⁶⁰³ The use of  as a determinative of qbH.w is unattested (see already footnote 570) and the sign is probably the object of the censuring and libation activities of the king: Hw or aqw.

– Pharaoh: nsw.t-bit.y nb tA.wy wsr-kA-Ra mry-Imn sA Ra nb
xa.w P

The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands Userkara
Meramun, son of Ra, lord of the crowns Ptolemaios, given life and dominion
like Ra. All protection, life and dominion behind him like Ra.

– Above the great offering:⁶⁰⁴ nTr nfr nb Htp.w dfA.w smAa aAb.t aA.t n
mw.t=f %.t m HH.w Hfn.w DbA.w xA.w⁶⁰⁵ Sn.wt mD.w m
x.t nb.t nfr.t

The perfect god, lord of offerings and victuals, who presents/consecrates the
great offering to his mother Isis, consisting of millions, hundreds of
thousands, tens of thousands, thousands, hundreds and tens of all good
products.

– Below the sun disc: BHd.ty / Behdety

– Above the vulture: Nxb.t / Nekhbet

– On the sides of the lotus plants:⁶⁰⁶ di=s anx wAs / May she give life and dominion.

The focal point of the entire east wall of the court is Ptolemaios II performing a censuring and
libation in front of a large offering.⁶⁰⁷ The act has both a purifying and nourishing aspect: the
water and incense not only purify, but also restore life and refresh.⁶⁰⁸

⁶⁰⁴ See also LD Text IV, 161, and Urk II, 113–114.

⁶⁰⁵ The plural signs are written ahead of the sign.

⁶⁰⁶ The hieroglyphs were not reproduced in the publication of the inscriptions but feature on the plate of this
wall: Philae Bénédite, pl. VI.

⁶⁰⁷ The depiction of this act is a common occurrence on Ptolemaic and Roman temple walls. For the temple of
Edfu consult WILSON (1997a:1053–1054). The depiction of the presentation of a large offering is a recurring
theme in the decorative scheme of the court. See Chapter 5.

⁶⁰⁸ LdÄ III, 1014–1015; RÄRG, 424–426; BLACKMAN (1912), and LEITZ (2001:213–215).

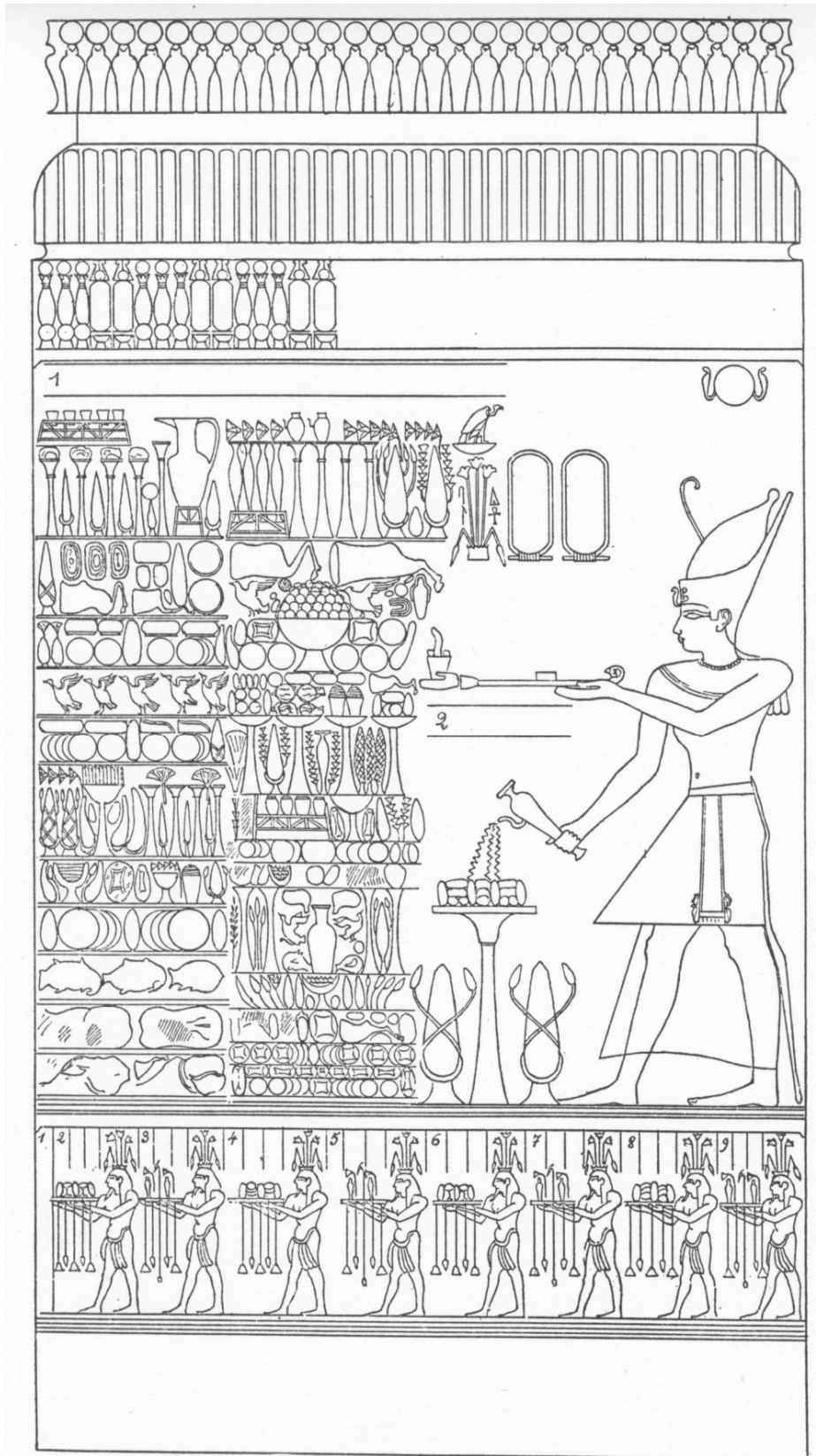


Fig. 46 The east wall of the open court in Philae
 (Philae Bénédite, pl. VI)

The combination of censuring and performing a libation occurs in a large variety of religious spheres. In the temple it can for instance be part of the Daily Temple Ritual and carried out for the statue of the main deity of the temple.⁶⁰⁹ The ritual also has a funerary character and is often performed by the son for his deceased father during the ‘opening of the mouth’ ritual.⁶¹⁰ Likewise, on several occasions the pharaoh is depicted on the temple walls while he censes and carries out the libation as the legitimate heir to his ancestors⁶¹¹ and the deceased deities or ancestors of Horus.⁶¹² The libation not only symbolizes the Nile flood, but also the ruler’s control over the Nile water and the products of the land that will grow after the flood has retreated.

The large offering scene in the open court is unique in more than one way: its remarkable size and the absence of the beneficiary of the offering make it stand out from most other reliefs inside the temple. The scene covers the space of three registers on the east wall of the ‘seat of the first feast’ — on the opposing west wall six scenes fit into the same space (fig. 57) — and appears much better suited for an outside temple wall or pylon than the interior of the temple.⁶¹³ Its size is also an indication of the importance its designers attributed to it and it is therefore all the more remarkable that the beneficiary of the act is not depicted on the wall.

⁶⁰⁹ For instance: episode 38 of the Daily Temple Ritual depicted in the chapel of Osiris in the temple of Seti I at Abydos. GARDINER – CALVERLY (1933:4), and DAVID (1981:62, and 72–73). For more information on the Daily Temple Ritual, consult Document 9. See also ALLIOT (1949:25–59, and 108) for the presentation, purification and consecration of a great offering as part of the Daily Temple Ritual in the temple of Edfu.

⁶¹⁰ OTTO (1960:12–13).

⁶¹¹ CAUVILLE (1983:174–175, and 1987b:22, note 1). For example: Edfou I, 42; Edfou II, 46; III, 130, and 181–182, and Edfou IV 148–149, and 304–305. For a detailed overview, consult WINTER (1978:149–151). See also GOYON (1972a:29–30) and his study of pBrooklyn 47.218.50, XVII, 1 – XX, 1, where the offering to the ancestors and ancestor gods is part of the acts performed by the pharaoh during the ritual of the confirmation of royal power at the time of the New Year.

⁶¹² Edfou I, 382; Edfou II, 51–52; Edfou III, 301 and 323; Edfou IV 83–85, and 239–241; Edfou V, 61–63, and 160–162; Edfou VII, 118–119; Dendara II, 213–214, and 223–224; Dendara III, 163–164, and 167–168; Dendara IX, 90, and el-Qal’a I, 7 and 39. See also REYMOND (1963), and PREYS (2002:93–97, and 137–140).

⁶¹³ No similar-size scene is known to me from the interior of any other Ptolemaic or Roman temple. For a similarly sized example on the outside temple wall of Dendara depicting Cleopatra VII and Ptolemaios XV Caesarion in front of a row of deities, consult CAUVILLE (1995:85–86). On the rear wall of the temple of el-Qal’a one can still observe the lower half of several large reliefs depicting the pharaoh in front of one or more goddesses. REINACH (1912:200) estimates these figures to have been over 3.50 m tall. Two large scenes also cover most of the rear wall of the temple of Shanhûr and depict Emperor Tiberius in front of Theban and Coptite deities. QUAEGEBEUR (1995:211–212, and 224, figs. 12 and 13).

But there are indications that suggest to whom this large offering was dedicated. On the relief, the pharaoh faces towards the north and the door in between the open court and the ‘chamber of linen’. This suggests that the large offering in front of Ptolemaios II is meant for a deity entering the court from the ‘chamber of linen’. This room functions as the entrance to the crypts of the temple and as a passageway from the sanctuaries and the ‘hall of the ennead’ to the ‘seat of the first feast’.⁶¹⁴ The intended beneficiary of this rite might have been one of the main deities of the temple (if not Isis as the main goddess) that would enter the court along this route during a procession and be instantly faced with a large offering in his or her honour.

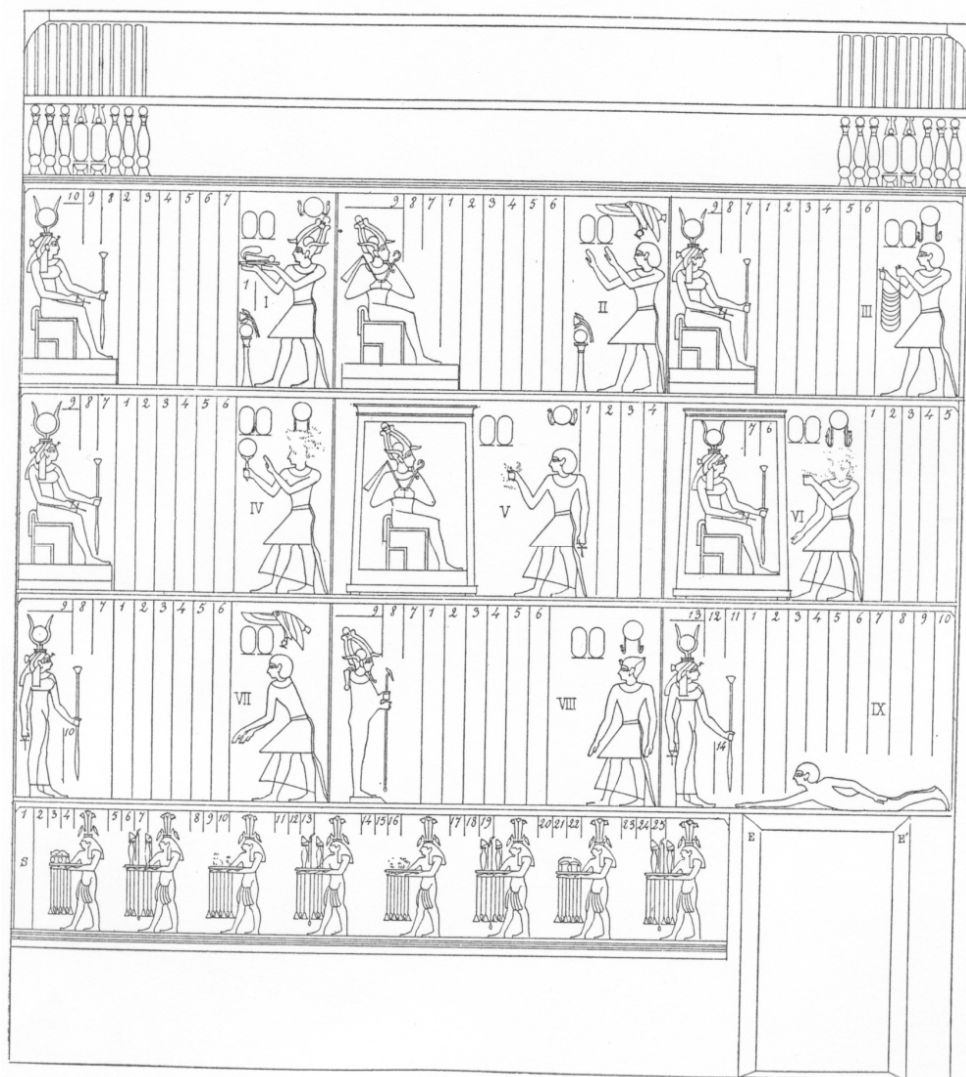


Fig. 47 The north wall of the open court in Philae
(*Philae Bénédite*, pl. VII)

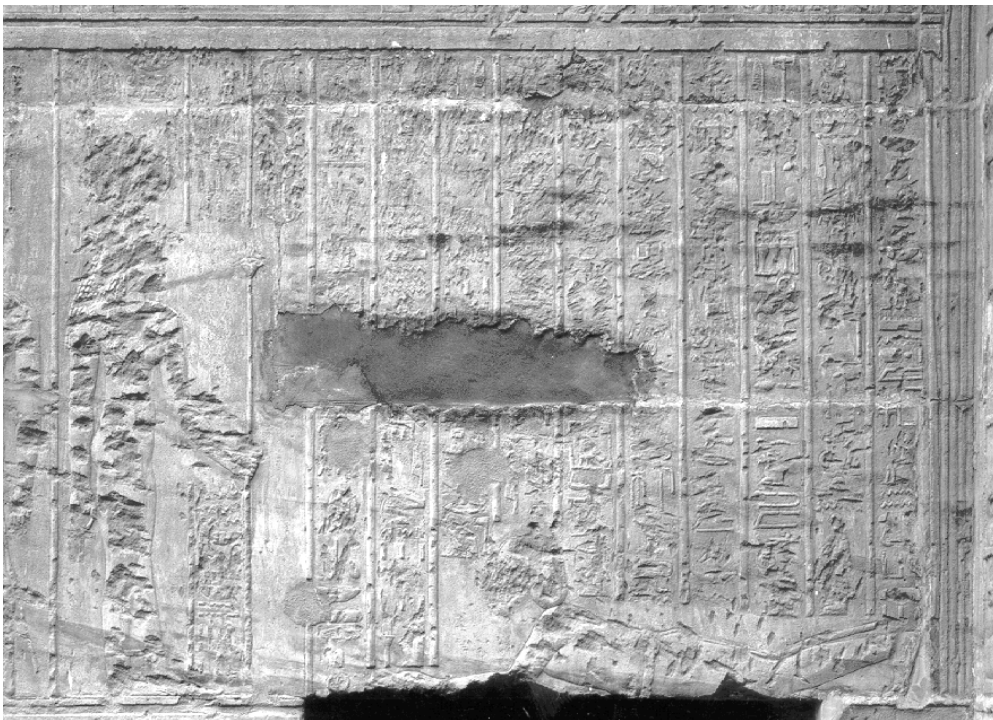
⁶¹⁴ I will return to this topic following the analysis of the decorative programme of the ‘chamber of linen’.

4.1.6. The north wall of the court (doc. 9–17)

The north wall of the court is divided into three registers with each register containing three scenes representing the pharaoh in front of a single deity: the goddess Isis is always in the east and west scene of the register, and Osiris(–Wennefer) in the central scene. (fig. 47)

a. Document 9: the *sn-tA* ritual for Isis (proskynese)⁶¹⁵

The scene depicts the pharaoh, wearing a bag wig and a short triangular skirt with a ceremonial tail, in complete prostration in front of the goddess Isis. (figs. 47, scene ix, and 48) No cartouches accompany the ruler since the entire area above the king is taken up by an inscription, consisting of ten columns of text. The goddess is adorned with the vulture cap and a pedestal-like support carrying the sun disc and cow horns. She is standing and wears a broad collar and a tight fitting wrap-around dress. Her right arm hangs loosely beside her body and in her right hand she carries the ankh-sign. In her left hand the goddess holds the papyrus sceptre.



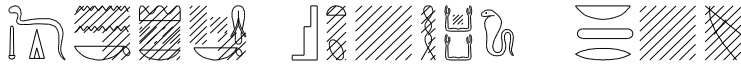
*Fig. 48 Ptolemaios II performing the *sn-tA* ritual before Isis*

(JUNKER – SCHÄFER 1975: no. 708)

⁶¹⁵ PM VI, 240, no. 310–311; Philae Bénédite, 22, 11–17, and pl. VII, scene ix; JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 708), and VASSILIKA (1989:database no. 661).

The inscriptions accompanying Isis have not been published before.

– three columns in front of and above the head of Isis:



Dd mdw di.n<=i> n=k xAs.wt nb Xr Tb.ty=k⁶¹⁶ %.t [... wr.t]

HkA.w⁶¹⁷ nb.t Iw-r[q] mry

Recitation: I hereby give you all foreign lands under both your sandals. Isis, [... great] of magic, mistress of Philae, beloved.

– before the feet of the goddess:



di.n<=i> n=k [xAsw.t?]⁶¹⁸ m ksw

I hereby give you all [foreign lands?] in obeisance.

The ten columns of text above the prostrated pharaoh combine four of the six chapters of the Daily Temple Ritual dedicated to the prostration of the ruler before the god. The Daily Temple Ritual, which focused on the care of the cultic image of the god, is known from a series of Twenty–Second Dynasty papyri, currently kept in Berlin,⁶¹⁹ and from scenes and texts found on the walls of several New Kingdom and Ptolemaic temples, such as Abydos, Edfu and Dendara, but the origins of the ritual appear to go back much further.⁶²⁰

The Berlin papyri divide the ritual into a series of spells or chapters, each describing and commenting on a specific act or rite performed during the ritual. Chapters 12 to 17 of the Daily Temple Ritual all deal with the prostration of the pharaoh before the god: rA n sn tA (chapter 12: chapter for kissing the earth), rA n rdit Hr Xt (chapter 13: chapter for

⁶¹⁶ For similar examples: Philae Bénédite, 23, 9 (= doc. 23); 37, 2; 57, 8 and 11 and doc. 2.

⁶¹⁷ The epithet wr.t HkA.w accompanies Isis elsewhere in the temple: Philae Bénédite, 51, 5, and ŽABKAR (1988:117).

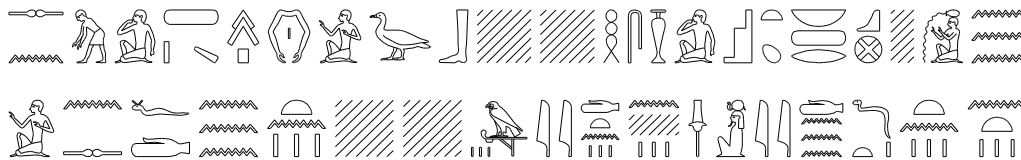
⁶¹⁸ The term xAsw.t or a similar expression was most likely engraved here. On the first pylon of the temple (Philae I, 83), we find for instance: di.n<=i> n=k xAsw.t rsy.w m ksw. For similar examples, consult Wb V, 140; Edfou IV, 56, 5.

⁶¹⁹ pBerlin 3014 and pBerlin 3055 = pAmun I, pAmun II, and pMut. For the publication of the papyri, consult Generalverwaltung der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin (1896–1901).

⁶²⁰ For a general introduction, consult: MORET (1902a); ALLIOT (1949:1–195); DAVID (1981:58–82); BARTEL (2002), and HEIDEN (2003).

placing oneself upon the belly), rA n rdit Hr Xt m dwn (chapter 14: chapter for placing oneself on the belly and for stretching oneself out), rA n sn tA iw Hr m Xrw (chapter 15: chapter for kissing the earth, while the head is down), and kj (chapters 16 and 17: similar chapters).⁶²¹ The columns of text above the prostrated Ptolemaios II are a combination of four of these six chapters of the ritual. The text opens with chapter 12, continues with extracts from chapters 13 and 14, and concludes with an excerpt from chapter 17. For a better understanding of the sources of this text, I have divided an updated copy of the inscription into the different chapters on which it was based. On the basis of a comparison of the Philae inscription with the chapters in the Berlin papyri and the chapels of the gods in the temple of Seti I in Abydos, I have attempted to complete the inscription from the ‘seat of the first feast’. A detailed overview of the variations in the hieroglyphic texts of these chapters is gathered in an appendix at the end of the chapter on Philae (Chapter 4.1.11).

1. Chapter 12:



2. Chapter 13:



3. Chapter 13 and 14:



4. Chapter 13:



5. Chapter 13 and/or Chapter 14:



6. Chapter 14:



⁶²¹ MORET (1902a:56–67); GUGLIELMI – BUROH (1997:125–133).



7. Chapter 17:



Chapter 12: sn<=i> tA Hpt=i Gb [irr=i / ir.n=i]⁶²² Hss.t <n> %.t
 nb.t Iw-rq wab=i n=s fd=tn [n=tn]⁶²³ ntr.w id.t=tn n[=tn]
 sxm<.w>⁶²⁴ id.t d.t=tn n=tn⁶²⁵

Chapter 13: inD [xr.t %.t] wr.t mw.t nTr nb.t tA.wj mw.t [...
 mn.ti Hr]⁶²⁶ s.t wr.t

Chapter 13 and 14: r[di.n=i wi Hr h.t=i n]⁶²⁷ Hryt=t [dgi=i]⁶²⁸ n
 mrw.t=t

⁶²² A study of the different versions of this specific spell brought to light two different readings (see appendix, Chapter 4.1.11): pAmun I, IV, 7; pAmun II, XI, 6 and pMut, IV, 1 all have irr=i, while the chapels of the gods in the temple of Seti I in Abydos always feature ir.n=i in this location: GARDINER – CALVERLY (1933:4, and 1935:4, and 14).




⁶²³ This expression is encountered in all variations of the ritual: pAmun I, IV, 8; pAmun II, XI, 6; pMut, IV, 2; GARDINER – CALVERLY (1933:4, and 1935:4 and 14). See also the appendix.

⁶²⁴ The text follows the version of the Daily Temple Ritual such as is also found in Abydos: GARDINER – CALVERLY (1933:4, and 1935:4 and 14). In pAmun I, IV, 8; pAmun II, XI, 6 and pMut IV, 2 we find nTrw.t instead (see appendix).

⁶²⁵ JUNKER (1906:38).

⁶²⁶ A similar expression follows the greeting of the god in pAmun I, V, 1; pAmun II, XI, 8 and pMut, IV, 4–5.

⁶²⁷ The reconstruction of this part of the text is hypothetical, but this expression is found both following the previous expression in chapter 13 and in front of the following expression dgA=i n mrw.t=k/T in chapter 14 (pAmun I, V, 4; pAmun II, XI, 11–12 and pMut IV, 9). In all these examples the term snD and not Hry.t is used.

⁶²⁸ A similar expression is encountered in pAmun I, V, 4–5; pAmun II, XI, 12 and pMut, IV, 10. This part of the column is too damaged to verify the reading of Bénédite. It is possible that his reading of  might be a mistake for  or . Both groups are known as a writing of dgi: Wb V, 497, and WILSON (1997a:1212).

Chapter 13: Hpt.n[=i Gb]⁶²⁹ @w.t-Hr di=s wr=i

Chapter 13 and/or chapter 14: nn [xr=k n] xr[yw=k]⁶³⁰ m hrw pn

Chapter 14: xf[tyw]=t ms[Dd].t⁶³¹ [...] ⁶³² xr=t sn r mnt⁶³³ m hrw pn
nn Hwrw m dw3 nb.t=f

Chapter 17: ind xr=t %.t nb.t @w.t-xnty [snD=T?]⁶³⁴ m h.t[=i]
Sfy.t m[-x.t Ha.w]=i iAw n=t iAw rn⁶³⁵=t iAw psD.t a3.t imyw-
x.t=t sn=i n<=T> tA [mi nb-r-]⁶³⁶ dr [in]k bA mnx m Nn-nsw di
kA.w

Chapter 12: ‘I kiss the ground, I embrace Geb, [I execute/I have executed] the ritual <for>
Isis, mistress of Philae, because I am purified for her. Your sweat [is for you], gods. Your dew
is for you, mighty one<s>. The scent of your body is for you’.

Chapter 13: ‘Greeting [you, Isis], the great, god’s mother, mother of the lord of the two
lands⁶³⁷ [... while you remain upon] the great seat’.



Chapter 13 and/or 14: [‘I have placed myself on my belly out of] fear of you. [I look up]
according to your wish’.

Chapter 13: [‘I] have embraced [Geb]. Hathor, she makes that I am great’.⁶³⁸



⁶²⁹ A similar expression is found in pAmun I, V, 2; pAmun II, XI, 9, and pMut, IV, 6.

⁶³⁰ The same expression is encountered in pAmun I, V, 2 and 5; pAmun II, XI, 9–10 and 12, and pMut, IV, 6–7 and 10.

⁶³¹ This expression is also encountered in pAmun I, V, 5; pAmun II, XI, 12–13, and pMut, IV, 10 – V, 1.

⁶³² The sign(s) following the -suffix are no longer clearly visible, but the remaining traces suggest that Bénédite’s reading of  is highly unlikely.

⁶³³ pAmun I, V, 5–6 and pAmun II, XI, 13 have the noun Hry.w, ‘fear’, instead.

⁶³⁴ Only a few traces on this part of the column are still visible, but their general outline suggests a different reading than the  proposed in the publication of Bénédite. pAmun I, VI, 1; pAmun II, XII, 4, and GARDINER – CALVERLY (1935:4, and 22) contain the -sign instead.

⁶³⁵ pAmun I, VI, 2; pAmun II, XII, 5, pMut, V, 8, and GARDINER – CALVERLY (1935:4 and 22) all have Ha.w instead of rn.

⁶³⁶ Parallels are found in pAmun I, VI, 2; pAmun II, XII, 5; pMut, V, 9, and GARDINER – CALVERLY (1935:4 and 22).

⁶³⁷ Another plausible reading for this passage could be ‘mistress of the two lands, mother ...’, but I prefer the epithet ‘god’s mother, mother of the lord of the two lands’ since elsewhere in the temple Isis is regularly identified as the mother of the pharaoh. See already my commentary on documents 3 and 4.

Chapter 13 and/or Chapter 14: [‘You will] not [fall before your] foes on that day’.

Chapter 14: ‘Your enemies, whom you hate, you fell them into distress on that day. There is no humiliation for one who worships his mistress’.

Chapter 17: ‘Greeting you, Isis, mistress of Philae.⁶³⁹ [Fear of you] is in my belly and of your majesty is in my [limbs]. Praise to you, praise to your name, praise to the great ennead who is in your company. I kiss the earth for [you like for the] all[-lord]. I am the excellent *ba* in Heracleopolis⁶⁴⁰ who gives offerings’.

Scenes depicting the ruler ‘kissing the earth’ (proskynese),⁶⁴¹ an act of utter and complete submission to the god, are not very common on the walls of Egyptian temples from the New Kingdom and Ptolemaic and Roman times — 22 examples are at present known to me.⁶⁴² In almost every single example, the *sn tA* is associated with reliefs related to the pharaoh seeing (*mAA nTr*) and adoring (*dwA nTr*) the god in the temple. The *sn tA* rite most often occurs in connection with a series of scenes depicting the king travelling from his palace to the temple to be introduced to the god (the so-called ‘*montée royale*’),⁶⁴³ and as a part of the Daily Temple Ritual.

A study of the 22 scenes depicting the prostration of the pharaoh before the god brought to light a recurring discrepancy between the title of the scene and the words spoken by the pharaoh on the one hand, and the actual depiction of the rite on the other. The discrepancy between the inscription and the depiction of the prostration of the king can be noted both in

⁶³⁸ MORET (1902a:59) translates ‘j’ai embrassé Geb et Hathor, pour qu’ils donnent (*litt.* elle donne) que je suis fort (*litt.* grand)’. GUGLIELMI – BUROH (1997:127) have correctly pointed out that in other *sn-tA* scenes from Ptolemaic times where this expression occurs, Geb – the lord of the land – is the only deity mentioned. In that case ‘Hathor’ constitutes already the beginning of the following sentence.

⁶³⁹ GAUTHIER (1927:120); Philae II, 31, n. 3, and ŽABKAR (1908–1910:137, n. 191).

⁶⁴⁰ Wb. II, 272, and GAUTHIER (1926:93).



⁶⁴¹ Wb IV, p. 154. For a general introduction to proskynese in Egypt, consult LdÄ II, 578; LdÄ IV, 1125–1127; GARNOT (1954:4–7); DOMINICUS (1993:33–35), and COPPENS – MYNÁŘOVÁ (in press). Other terms associated with this act are *ii Hr Xt r sn tA*, *ii Hr Dt*, *xr Hr Hr*, *ptx Hr tA*, *Htp Gb*, and similar expressions.

⁶⁴² GARDINER – CALVERLY (1933: plates 4, 18, and 26, and 1935: plates 4, 14 and 22); Philae Bénédite, 22; Edfou III, 12 and 164; Edfou IV 55, 209 and 227; Edfou V, 140; Edfou VII, 192, Edfou mammisi 12 and 42; Dendara V, 5; Dendara VII, 22 and 28; el-Qal’a II, 129 and 226; and Tod II, 231.

⁶⁴³ This set of reliefs, including the *sn tA*, has already been studied in detail by LABRIQUE (1992). See also BARGUET (1986:51–54), and CAUVILLE (1987a:140–142).

the New Kingdom and the Ptolemaic and Roman period. On the New Kingdom temple walls the *sn tA* occurs mainly as part of the rites performed during the daily ritual in the temple. In the most detailed description available of the numerous episodes of the Daily Temple Ritual — pBerlin 3055 — the prostration of the pharaoh is part of a series of rites that focus on adoring and seeing the god. These rites take place after the shrine that holds the statue of the god has been opened and the face of the god has been uncovered.

The walls of the six chapels of the gods — Osiris, Isis, Horus, Amun, Ra–Harakhte, and Ptah — in the temple of Seti I at Abydos are engraved with several scenes depicting the *sn tA* rite.⁶⁴⁴ The prostration of the pharaoh before the god is depicted in each chapel as a single scene and the accompanying inscription often combines excerpts from several spells of the Daily Temple Ritual as we know it from pBerlin 3055.⁶⁴⁵ The *sn tA* scene can be found either on the first or second register of the chapel wall. The posture of the pharaoh performing the *sn tA* in these reliefs differs considerably from the depictions of foreigners or officials prostrating themselves before the ruler. Although the related spells of the Daily Temple Ritual refer to the ruler ‘kissing the ground’ and ‘putting himself on his belly’, in contrast the six reliefs in Abydos show the pharaoh kneeling before the god with his knees together and his torso erect. The ruler, wearing the nemes–headcloth, always holds his hands in front of his face.

A similar situation occurs on the temple walls of Ptolemaic and Roman times. The Ptolemaic inscriptions accompanying the scenes of the pharaoh performing a prostration before the god often contain a sign expressing *sn tA*: a male figure prostrating himself on the ground ()⁶⁴⁶ or a man bowing down towards the ground ().⁶⁴⁷ On the scene itself, the

⁶⁴⁴ GARDINER – CALVERLY (1933: plates 4 (chapel of Osiris), 18 (Isis) and 26 (Horus), and 1935: plates 4 (Amun), 14 (Ra–Harakhte) and 22 (Ptah)).

⁶⁴⁵ The inscription accompanying the pharaoh performing the *sn tA* in the chapel of Ra–Harakhte contains for example excerpts from spells 11, 12, 15, 16 and 17. GARDINER – CALVERLY (1935: plate 14), and DAVID (1981:65 and n. 22).

⁶⁴⁶ For instance: Edfou III, 12; Edfou IV, 109; Edfou VII, 192; Edfou mammisi 12 and 42, and Dendara VIII, 22.

⁶⁴⁷ For instance: Edfou III, 164; Dendara V, 5, and Dendara VIII, 28.

pharaoh no longer kneels like in the New Kingdom examples.⁶⁴⁸ The ruler, here wearing the blue crown (xprS) rather than the nemes–headcloth,⁶⁴⁹ usually stands in front of the gods with his arms along his body,⁶⁵⁰ or sometimes with his arms extended forward.⁶⁵¹ The sn tA scenes from Ptolemaic and Roman times, unlike their New Kingdom counterparts, always figure on the first register of the temple wall. It is undoubtedly no coincidence that these scenes are located as close as possible to the ground upon which the ritual is supposed to take place.

The examples from the New Kingdom and the Ptolemaic and Roman period suggest that the composers of these texts and scenes did not consider it proper for the pharaoh, the intermediate between the human and the divine world, to prostrate himself completely before the god. On the temple reliefs of the proskynese, the pharaoh does not prostrate himself on the ground as the accompanying inscription mentions, but usually kneels or stands before the deity with his hands alongside his body. The study of H.G. Fischer has shown that scenes and sculptures depicting a prostrated pharaoh are encountered only very sporadically in ancient Egyptian art.⁶⁵² The known examples of small statuettes of the pharaoh in a prostrated position suggest that these sculptures were either part of a censer or small statues that functioned in temple rituals as a substitute for the absent pharaoh. Almost all scenes on a temple wall that actually depict a prostrated ruler also show a statue of the ruler and not the pharaoh himself.⁶⁵³ Different from any other scene from New Kingdom and Ptolemaic and Roman temples depicting the pharaoh ‘kissing the earth’, the king is presented on this particular relief from Philae prostrating himself completely on the ground in front of the goddess. We can only speculate as to the reason for this submissive depiction of the

⁶⁴⁸ The only exception is found in the mammisi at Edfu (Edfou mammisi, 42), but the occurrence of the depiction of a kneeling pharaoh performing the sn tA might rather be due to the limited space available to portray the figure of the king in this instance.

⁶⁴⁹ For examples of the pharaoh with the blue crown, see Edfou III, plates li and lxiii; Edfou X, plates lxxxv, lxxxix, and xci; and el-Qal’a II, 226. For examples of the pharaoh with the nemes–headcloth, see Edfou X, cxvii; and Dendara VIII, plates dcciv(iii) and dccxi. Vassilika has already demonstrated for the Ptolemaic scenes at Philae that the nemes–headcloth and the blue crown are interchangeable. VASSILIKA (1989:92).

⁶⁵⁰ For instance: Edfou III, plates li and lxiii; Edfou X, plates lxxxv, xci, and cxvii; Edfou mammisi, plate xii; el-Qal’a II, 129; and Tod II, 231.

⁶⁵¹ For instance: Dendara VIII, plates dcciv(iii) and dccxi; el-Qal’a II, 226.

⁶⁵² An overview of sculptures and reliefs of prostrated pharaohs can be found in FISCHER (1956; 1960).

⁶⁵³ For instance: Edfou IX, plate xviii. See also BRAND (2000:18–19).

Ptolemaic pharaoh when both older and younger scenes always depict the king standing or kneeling during the *sn tA*.⁶⁵⁴

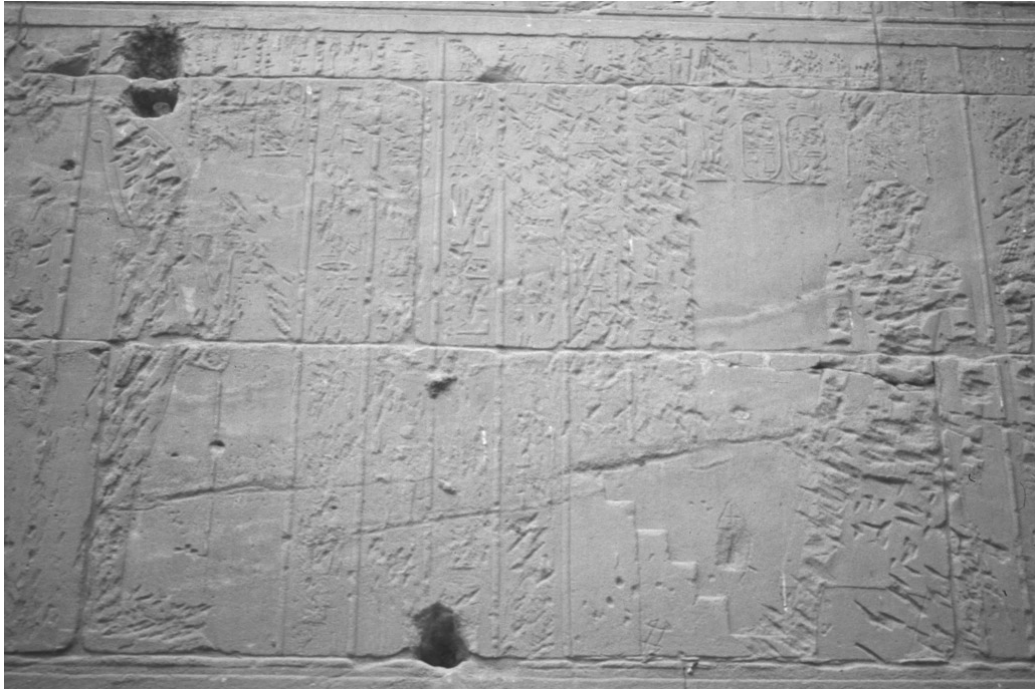
b. Document 10: Ascending the staircase before the god⁶⁵⁵

The central scene of the first register depicts Ptolemaios II in front of Osiris–Wennefer. (fig. 47, viii, and 49) The pharaoh is portrayed with the blue crown, a broad collar and a long skirt with a ceremonial tail above a short triangular–shaped skirt. Both his arms are hanging loosely beside his body. A sun disc is suspended above the head of the king and on either side of the disc a uraeus is protruding, adorned with both the ankh and the was–sign. A staircase with six stairs is positioned in front of the ruler and six columns of text separate the pharaoh from Osiris–Wennefer. The god is wearing the atef–crown and a broad collar. His body is enveloped by a large sheet, his hands emerging at the navel. In his hands he holds the crook and flail and the was–sceptre. The goddess Nekhbet — in the guise of a vulture adorned with the atef–crown and holding a was–sceptre — faces the ruler from a neb–basket positioned above a bush of lotus plants.⁶⁵⁶

⁶⁵⁴ Perhaps the composers of the inscriptions and the reliefs at Philae had only the text and no vignettes of the daily ritual at hand and hence decided to portray the pharaoh, in accordance with the inscription, ‘kissing the earth’? Or could it be that since the pharaoh was no longer a native Egyptian but of Macedonian descent that the composers decided to portray the foreign pharaoh in complete prostration — an act that was however not repeated for the depictions of other Ptolemaic and Roman rulers performing the *sn tA*? The question regarding the reasons behind the remarkable depiction of pharaoh Ptolemaios II in full prostration remains unanswered for the time being.

⁶⁵⁵ PM VI, 240, no. 310–311; Philae Bénédite, 22, 6–10, and pl. VII, scene viii; JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 707), and VASSILIKA (1989: database no. 662).


⁶⁵⁶ The staircase in front of the pharaoh, the figure of Nekhbet, the crook and flail in the hands of the god, and the hieroglyphs associated with the uraei were omitted in the plate (Philae Bénédite, pl. VII, viii), but are still visible on site (= fig. 49).



*Fig. 49 Ascending the staircase before the god
(photo by the author)*



– Pharaoh: nTr nfr⁶⁵⁷ nb tA.wy wsr-kA-Ra mry-Imn s3 Ra nb
xa.w Ptrwmys

The perfect god, lord of the two lands Userkara Meramun, son of Ra,
lord of the crowns Ptolemaios.

– Below the sun disc:⁶⁵⁸  BHd.ty nb p.t / Behdety, lord of heaven.

– Osiris-Wennefer: Wsir-Wnnfr nTr a3 nb IA.t-wab.t [...] ⁶⁵⁹
Osiris-Wennefer, the great god, lord of the Abaton [...].

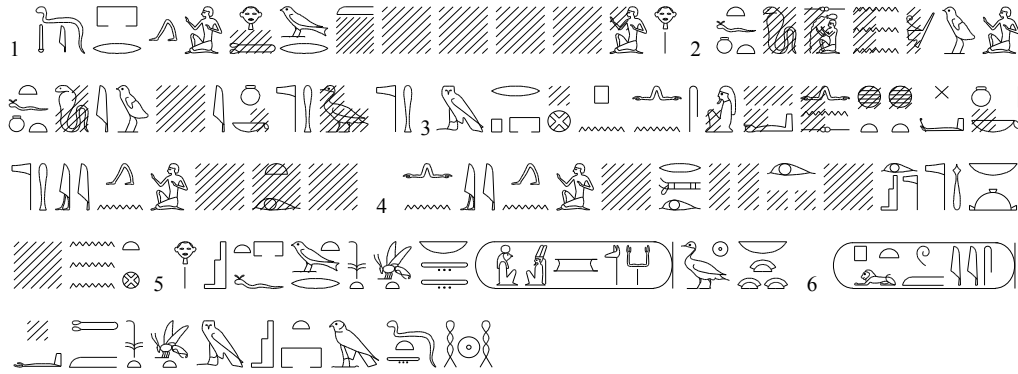
The six columns of text that feature in between the pharaoh and the god and above the staircase are for the most part an accurate copy of chapter 25 of the Daily Temple Ritual as

⁶⁵⁷ Bénédite by mistake copied , but the cartouche of Ptolemaios II is preceded by . The same mistake is also found in his copy of scenes on this wall (doc. 17) and of at least three scenes on the west wall of the court (doc. 18, and 22–23). The use of the title nTr nfr for the king dates back to the early dynastic period: LdÄ III, 462 and 478, and STOCK (1951). In early Ptolemaic times this title occasionally takes the place of nsw.t-bit.y – WINTER (1968:36).

⁶⁵⁸ The column of text below the sun disc was not copied by Bénédite.

⁶⁵⁹ The text continues above the head of the deity and minor traces are still visible, but no sign could be identified with certainty.

seen in the Berlin papyri, dedicated to the pharaoh ascending the staircase of a throne dais and opening the shrine of the god (rA n pr r xnd or ‘the chapter of ascending the staircase’). The text also occurs on the walls of the chapels of the gods in the temple of Seti I in Abydos and forms the first episode of the ritual (rA n aq r wn–Hr or ‘the chapter for entering in order to reveal the face’).⁶⁶⁰



Dd mdw pr<.n>=i⁶⁶¹ Hr=T wr m[-x.t=i aAbw=i Hr-tp a.wy=i]⁶⁶²
 [sS.n/swA.n]⁶⁶³=i Hr &fn.t swab.n wi &fn.t iw [Hm]⁶⁶⁴ ink Hm-
 nTr sA Hm-nTr m r-pr pn nn sAw<=i> nn sxtxt<=i> ink Hm-ntr
 iy.n=i [r ir].t ir[.w]⁶⁶⁵ nn iy.n=i [is] r tm ir.t⁶⁶⁶ [... kA]⁶⁶⁷

⁶⁶⁰ MORET (1902a:104–108), and DAVID (1981:63). Variants are found in pAmun I, X, 1–6; pMut, VI, 9–VII, 7 (fragmentary); GARDINER – CALVERLY (1933:17 (Isis), and 25 (Horus), and 1935:3 (Amon–Ra); 13 (Ra–Harakhte), and 21 (Ptah). See also ALLIOT (1949:69, and 82); BARTEL (2002:15–16), and the appendix at the end of the chapter (= 4.1.11).

⁶⁶¹ In all other versions of this text we find pr.n=i: pAmun I, X, 1, and pMut, VI, 9, and GARDINER – CALVERLY (1933:17 and 25, and 1935:3; 13, and 21).

⁶⁶² A parallel version of this text is found in pAmun I, X, 1–2; pMut, VI, 9–10; GARDINER – CALVERLY (1933:17, and 25, and 1935, 3; 13, and 21).

⁶⁶³ The reading sS.n=i is found in pAmun I, X, 1–2, while GARDINER – CALVERLY (1933:17, and 25, and 1935:3; 13, and 21) read swA.n=i instead. Both verbs can be translated as ‘to pass by’: Wb III, 482; Wb IV, 60–61, and WILSON (1997a:808 and 920).

⁶⁶⁴ This particle occurs in all other versions of this text: pAmun I, X, 2; GARDINER – CALVERLY (1933:17, and 25, and 1935:3; 13, and 21).

⁶⁶⁵ For this reading: pAmun I, X, 3; GARDINER – CALVERLY (1933:17, and 25, and 1935:3; 13, and 21).

⁶⁶⁶ The closest parallel to this text is found in pAmun I, X, 4–5: nn iy.n=i is r tm ir or ‘I have not come for that which is not to be done’. In the divine chapels in Abydos, a more complete version of this expression occurs: nn iy.n=i is r ir.t tm ir.t or ‘I have not come to do that which is not to be done’ – GARDINER – CALVERLY (1933:17, and 25, and 1935:3; 13 and 21), and BARTEL (2002:16).

Wsir nTr a3 nb IA.t-[wab].t Hr s.t=f wr.t nsw.t bit.y nb
 tA.wj wsr-kA-Ra mry-Imn sA Ra nb xa.w Ptrwmys xa.t m nsw.t
 bit.y m s.t @r D.t nHH

‘Recitation: I <have> come before/turned away from⁶⁶⁸ you, while the great one is [behind me and my offerings⁶⁶⁹ are upon both my arms.] I [have passed] before Tefnut, Tefnut has purified me. I am [indeed] a priest, the son of a priest in this temple. I shall not linger, I shall not turn back. I am a priest. I have come [to perform] the ritual. [Indeed,] I have not come for that which is not to be done. [... High is] Osiris, the great god, lord of the Abaton, on his great seat, while the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands Userkara Meramun, son of Ra, lord of the crowns Ptolemaios, appears as king of Upper and Lower Egypt on the throne of Horus for ever and ever’.

The text conveys the speech uttered by the pharaoh before he approaches the statue of the deity to reveal its face. The statue was at that time located in a shrine positioned on top of a dais and accessible by means of a small staircase (xnd),⁶⁷⁰ to which reference is made in the title of this chapter of the Daily Temple Ritual. The ruler explains the reasons for his presence and assures the deity of his good intentions, his knowledge of the rites to be performed, and his ritual purity – an essential state before the god can be approached.⁶⁷¹ The purity of the pharaoh before he approaches the god is the main and recurring theme of the inscriptions that accompany this chapter. Next to the texts from New Kingdom chapels at Abydos and from the Third Intermediate papyri from Berlin, which are very similar to the inscription in

⁶⁶⁷ Parallel versions of this text are found in pAmun I, X, 4, and GARDINER – CALVERLY (1933:17, and 25, and 1935:3; 13 and 21).

⁶⁶⁸ The determinative of the verb pr sometimes points in the opposite direction ($\overleftarrow{\text{pr}}$), indicating that the pharaoh has turned away or around. Consult GARDINER – CALVERLY (1933:25, and 1935:3, and 13). This translation would also explain the following passage of the text, where the ‘great one’ (the deity) is behind the pharaoh, who has turned around.

⁶⁶⁹ The translation follows pAmun I, X, 1 (aAb . t = Wb I, 167, and WILSON (1997a:136)), but all texts in the chapels of the gods in Abydos have (w)ab . w or ‘purifications’ instead. Wb I, 280, and WILSON (1997a:212).

⁶⁷⁰ Wb III, 314, and WILSON (1997a:743).

⁶⁷¹ LdÄ V, 212–213; RÄRG 631–633, and JUNKER (1959).

the open court at Philae, the purity of the pharaoh is also a central aspect of this rite in younger Ptolemaic examples at Edfu⁶⁷² and Dendara.⁶⁷³

The manner in which the designers of the decorative scheme in the open court at Philae chose to portray the pharaoh performing this act suggests that a different and more literal approach was taken in comparison with older and younger depictions of the same ritual. In the chapels of the gods in the temple of Seti I in Abydos, the inscription is accompanied by a depiction of the ruler sitting on his knees and presenting incense to the god. In neither text nor relief from Abydos is there any trace of a staircase. The relief in Philae appears to have been mainly inspired by the title of chapter 25 of the Daily Temple ritual from the Berlin papyri, where the ritual is referred to as ‘the chapter of ascending the staircase’. The relief in the open court in Philae is the only example of the depiction of this rite in which an actual staircase is part of the scene. In the examples from Edfu and Dendara the pharaoh is depicted standing in front of the deity with his arms beside his body and the staircase is never depicted. Like with the depiction of the pharaoh in total submission in the previous document, based on chapters dealing with the prostration of the ruler before the god, the designers of these scenes appear to have taken the titles of the chapters almost literally and decided to include the staircase to which reference is made in the title.

c. Document 11: Seeing the god⁶⁷⁴

The final scene on the first register of the north wall in the open court depicts Ptolemaios II in front of the goddess Isis. (fig. 50, vii) The pharaoh is adorned with a bag wig, a broad collar and a long, transparent skirt underneath a short triangular skirt with a ceremonial tail. The king bends down with both arms spread before his body in a gesture of prayer and obeisance.

⁶⁷² The walls of the sanctuary of the temple of Horus are engraved with a selection of scenes from the Daily Temple Ritual, including the episode about the pharaoh ‘ascending the staircase’. Edfou I, 24–25 and plate xi, and ALLIOT (1949:69–72).

⁶⁷³ The rite is depicted in the sanctuary (Dendara I, 40 and plates li and lii), on the east doorjamb of the entrance to the sanctuary from the ‘hall of the ennead’ (Dendara IV, 38 and plate cclxxi), and in the *pr-wr* or ‘great sanctuary’ of Hathor (Dendara III, 64 and plate clxxx).

⁶⁷⁴ PM VI, 240, no. 310–311; Philae Bénédite, 21, 19–22, 5, and pl, VII, scene vii; JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 706), and VASSILIKA (1989: database no. 663).

A vulture is suspended above the head of the king. In between the ruler and the goddess are six columns of text; a wadjet-standard is located between the cartouches and the first column with inscriptions.⁶⁷⁵ The goddess is adorned with the vulture cap and a pedestal-like support carrying the sun disc with a uraeus and cow horns. She is depicted standing and wears a broad collar and a tight fitting wrap-around dress. Her right arm hangs loosely beside her body and in her right hand she has the ankh-sign. In her left hand the goddess holds the papyrus sceptre.

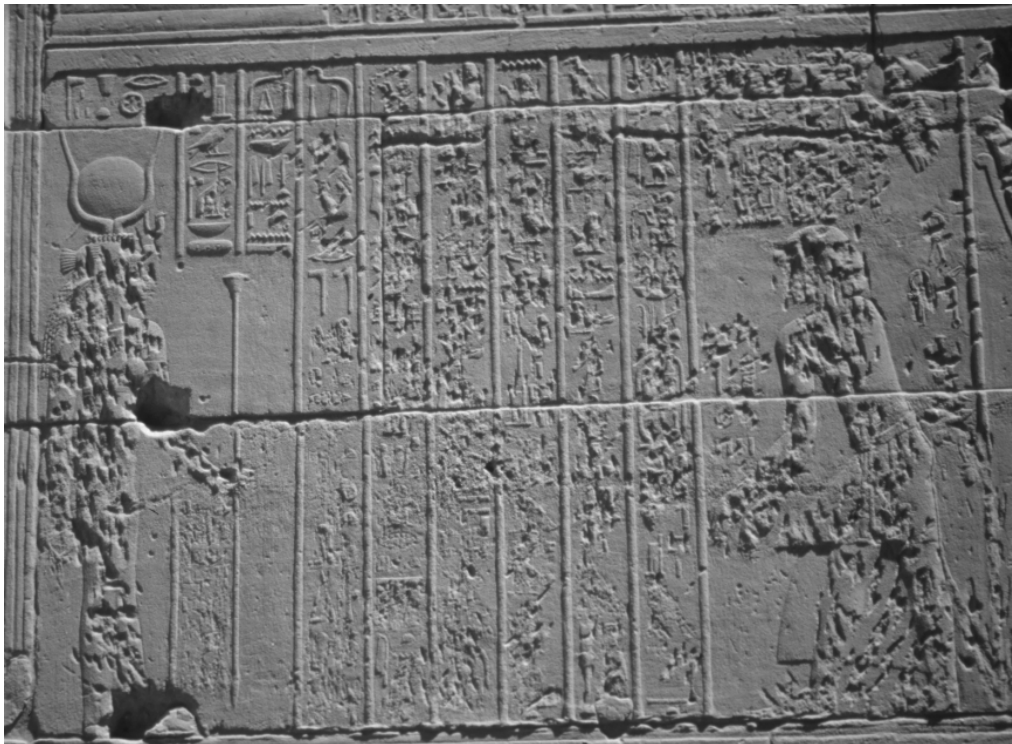


Fig. 50 Seeing the goddess: Ptolemaios II in front of Isis
(photo by the author)

– Title:⁶⁷⁶




mAA nTr aA sp-4⁶⁷⁷ / Seeing the great god four times.

⁶⁷⁵ The wadjet-standard does not figure on the plate of Philae Bénédite, VII, vii.

⁶⁷⁶ The title of the scene and several inscriptions accompanying the pharaoh and Nekhbet were omitted from the publication of Bénédite.

⁶⁷⁷ VASSILIKA (1989: database no. 663) proposed to read *dwA nTr* or ‘adoring the god’ for this passage. Her reading appears to be based on the occurrence of this title in similar scenes in the temple, such as Philae Bénédite, 12, 1; 41, 4; 51, 4, and 55, 13 (= doc 29) and 59, 8. The remaining traces on site do not support this reading and all other variations of this text, gathered in the appendix at the end of this volume, are entitled *rA n mAA nTr* or ‘chapter of seeing the god’.

– Pharaoh: nb tA.wy⁶⁷⁸ wsr-kA-Ra mry-Imn nb xa.w Ptrwmys di wAs


Lord of the two lands Userkara Meramun, lord of the crowns Ptolemaios,
 given dominion.



sA anx wAs HA=f nb mi Ra

All protection, life and dominion behind him like Ra.

– Nekhbet:  Nxb.t / Nekhbet

– Isis: Dd mdw di.n<=i> n=k nsy.t n Ra n p.t %t wr.t mw.t
 nTr nb.t Iw-rq Hnw.t nTr.w

Recitation: I hereby give you the kingship of Ra of heaven. Isis, the great, the
 mother of the god, the mistress of Philae, the lady of the gods.

di.n<=i> n=k aHa.w n Ra n p.t

I hereby give you the lifetime of Ra of heaven.

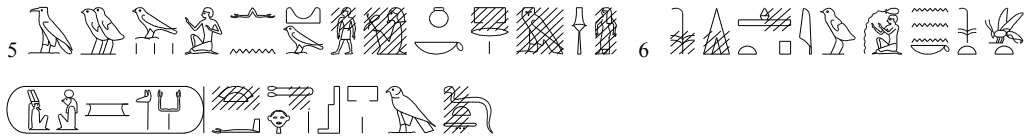
The inscription in the six columns in between the pharaoh and the goddess is a combination
 of three chapters of the Daily Temple Ritual on seeing the god and entering the sanctuary: the
 first line and a half follows closely chapters 11 and 28,⁶⁷⁹ while the rest of the text is based on
 chapter 24.⁶⁸⁰



⁶⁷⁸ There is no trace nor space for the titles nsw.t-bit.y and sA Ra that feature in the publication of Bénédite.

⁶⁷⁹ MORET (1902a:55–56, and 113), and GUGLIELMI – BUROH (1997:124–125). Variants of these chapters are found in pAmun I, IV, 6–7; pAmun II, XI, 4–5; pMut, III, 10 – IV, 1. In Abydos the text accompanies the eighth episode in the ritual: DAVID (1981:61), and GARDINER – CALVERLY (1933:4 (chapel of Osiris); 18 (Isis), and 26 (Horus), and 1935:4 (Amon–Ra); 14 (Ra–Harachte), and 22 (Ptah).

⁶⁸⁰ MORET (1902a:96–102). Variants of this chapter are found in pAmun II, IX, 8 – XI, 1 and pMut, VII, 3–7 (fragmentary) and are gathered in the appendix at the end of this chapter. This chapter of the Daily Temple Ritual does not feature in the divine chapels of the temple of Seti I in Abydos.



Chapter 11 and 28: Dd mdw Hr=i⁶⁸¹ s3 tw r nTr nTr s3 tw r Hr<=i>⁶⁸²
 nTr.t %t di.t anx Hry.t-ib IA.t-wab.t iw ir.n=i w3.t sS=i
 Chapter 24: [aq]=i r p.t [r mAA] itn⁶⁸³ sAw=i r nTr m nSn⁶⁸⁴ iw
 [ab.wt / wab.t]⁶⁸⁵ m a.wy<=i> nn Dd[.tw] n=i Hm.t iw<=i> rdi
 [H]tp nTr Hr s.t pn @r⁶⁸⁶ [nn ...]Aw=i⁶⁸⁷ nn Dw iry ink pr=i m
 sxm Htp-di-nsw.t wab=kwi nsw.t bit.y wsr-kA-Ra mry-Imn xa=ti
 Hr s.t @r D.t

Chapter 11 and 28: ‘Recitation: My face, guard yourself for the god. God, guard yourself for
 <my> face.’⁶⁸⁸ Goddess, Isis, who gives life, who is in the midst of the Abaton, I have opened
 the way⁶⁸⁹ in order that I may pass’.⁶⁹⁰

⁶⁸¹ VP I, G 286, no. 649.

⁶⁸² The suffix =i is likewise absent in the variants of this text in Abydos: GARDINER – CALVERLY (1933:4; 18, and 26, and 1935:4; 14, and 22).

⁶⁸³ pAmun II, IX, 8 has a similar expression.

⁶⁸⁴ pAmun II, IX, 8 reads nSn=f.

⁶⁸⁵ pAmun II, IX, 8–9 suggest this reading.

⁶⁸⁶ pAmun II, IX, 9 reads : iw=i r rdi.t Htp nTr <Hr> st=f or ‘I shall make the god content <on> his seat’.

⁶⁸⁷ It is not clear which term once figured here. One could consider nn sAw=i or ‘I am not feeble / I have not broken’: Wb III, 419, and WILSON (1997a:787–788). pAmun II, IX, 9–10 has for this passage: nn sAt=i xw=i or ‘I do not taint/make impure that what I protect’.

⁶⁸⁸ In all divine chapels in Abydos, this so-called ‘Kehrsatz’ is encountered in a similar form: GARDINER – CALVERLY (1933:4; 18, and 26, and 1935:4; 14 and 22). In pAmun I, IV, 6; pAmun II, XI, 4–5 and pMut, III, 10–11 the Ts-pXr-formula figures instead. In general: WESTENDORF (1955:392, no. 31). The phrase, in which the god is asked to beware of the face of the pharaoh, is likely to be an unintentional error: GUGLIELMI – BUROH (1997:125). In younger Ptolemaic examples the ‘Kehrsatz’ is kept, but it is built around the verb ‘to see’. For example: mAA.n=i nTr mAA wi sxm or ‘I have seen the god, the Mighty One sees me’ (Edfou I, 26). Other examples: Dendara I, 83, 3–4; Dendara II, 214–215; Dendara VI, 51, 11, and Dendara VIII, 23, 4–5.

⁶⁸⁹ Wb I, 247.

⁶⁹⁰ The text differs from the version found in pAmun I, IV, 6; pAmun II, XI, 5 and pMut, III, 11: nTr.w ir n=i wA.t sS.i or ‘Gods, open the way for me in order that I may pass’. In the chapels of the gods in Abydos, yet another version of this text occurs: nTr wn.n=i aA.wy=k di=k swA=i or ‘God, I have

Chapter 24: ‘I [enter] heaven [to see] the sun disc, I slowly approach⁶⁹¹ the god in distress, while offerings are in both my arms. [It] is not said to me to retreat, while <I> make content⁶⁹² the god on this throne of Horus. I do not [...], there is no evil thereof. I, I come forth with the *sxm*–image. An offering which the king gives, because I am purified.⁶⁹³ The king of Upper and Lower Egypt Userkara Meramun. May you appear on the throne of Horus forever’.

The opening passage of the inscription involves one of the highlights of the Daily Temple Ritual. Immediately after the priest/pharaoh has opened the door of the shrine that holds the statue of the god, eye contact is made between god and man. The act of ‘seeing the god’ — and concomitantly being seen by the deity — in the core of the temple is a momentous event that only befalls the privileged, such as the pharaoh and a few priests in the temple.⁶⁹⁴ The text of Philae is very similar to the older examples from the Berlin papyri and the chapels of Abydos, but has left out the final sentence of this chapter: *in nsw.t wD wi r mAA nTr* or ‘it is the king who has sent me to see the god’.⁶⁹⁵

opened both your door leaves in order that you may make that I pass’ – GARDINER – CALVERLY (1933:4; 18, and 26, and 1935:4; 14, and 22).

⁶⁹¹ Wb III, 418–419. The parallel found in pAmun II, IX, 8 has the verb *swA* instead.

⁶⁹² Wb III, 191.

⁶⁹³ The expression is often the final phrase accompanying an offering presented by the king: Edfou II, 146, 5; 171, 4; 235, 12; 236, 2, and 239, 17; Edfou III, 83, 10–11; Edfou V, 240, 9 and 16, and Edfou VII, 192, 17. The expression also occurs at the end of several chapters of the daily temple ritual, such as chapters 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, and 8. See also GUGLIELMI – BUROH (1997:109(f)).

⁶⁹⁴ For a good introduction to the implications of seeing god and being seen by the deity: VAN DER PLAS (1989:4–35). The *mAA nTr* scene occurs regularly on the walls of Ptolemaic and Roman temples. For example: Edfou I, 26; Edfou IV, 54–55; 71–72; 207–208, and 375–376; Edfou V, 39–40, and 330; Edfou VI, 58, and 245–246; Edfou VII, 137–138, and 255–256; Dendara I, 42; 76, and 83; Dendara II, 206, and 214; Dendara III, 42; 66, and 171; Dendara IV, 38–39; Dendara VI, 51; Dendara VIII, 23; Dendara IX, 127; Tod II, 265, and el-Qal’a II, 124.

⁶⁹⁵ pAmun I, IV, 6–7; pAmun II, XI, 6; pMut III, 11 – IV, 1, and GARDINER – CALVERLY (1933:4 and 26, and 1935:4; 14, and 22) all contain this phrase. The reason why it was omitted in the inscription from Philae is not certain. It might simply have been due to a lack of space on the wall. On the basis of the previous two documents, illustrating how literally the designers of the texts followed the contents of the chapters, one could also consider that the final phrase was left out since in the scene it is the pharaoh himself – and not a priest – who approaches the deity.

The second part of the inscription describes another crucial phase of the daily ritual. The text closely follows chapter 24 of the Berlin papyri. The chapter is simply titled *ky rA* or ‘another chapter’,⁶⁹⁶ but forms a unity with chapters 22 (*rA n aq r Hw.t-nTr* or ‘chapter of entering the temple’),⁶⁹⁷ and 23 (*rA n aq r sxm n nTr* or ‘chapter of entering the shrine/sanctuary of the god’).⁶⁹⁸ All three chapters are dedicated to entering the sanctuary of the deity and, more importantly, returning the *bA* or *sxm* to the deity in order to regenerate his powers.⁶⁹⁹ *bA* and *sxm* appear to have been used as very similar concepts in these chapters of the Daily Temple Ritual.⁷⁰⁰ In chapter 24 the pharaoh, after he once more stated the purity of his person and acts, offers the *sxm*-image to the deity. In a parallel inscription in chapter 23 in Abydos, the ruler presents the deity with the *twt anx* or ‘living image’, while he claims that *bA=k r Hna=k sxm=k r gs=k* or ‘your *ba* is with you, your image is at your side’.⁷⁰¹ In chapter 22, the pharaoh enters the sanctuary carrying the *saH n mAa . t* or ‘the image of Maat’.⁷⁰² Although the object brought forward by the king upon entering the sanctuary differs in the inscriptions (*sxm*, *saH n mAa t* and *twt anx*), the general theme of the act performed always appears to be the return of the *sxm* or *bA* to the god.

The reunion of the deity with his/her *ba* is not only one of the central themes during the Daily Temple Ritual, but also the culmination of the rites performed during the *Xnm-itn*-ritual or the ‘union with the sun disc’. The east doorjamb of the south entrance to the open court in the temple of Philae (doc. 3) already provided the information that this ritual took place in the open court or ‘seat of the first feast’. This might well have influenced the priests who designed the texts for the ‘seat of the first feast’ to include the excerpt from chapter 24 on its walls.

⁶⁹⁶ pAmun I, IX, 8 and pMut, VII, 3.

⁶⁹⁷ pAmun I, VIII, 5 and pMut, VI, 9.

⁶⁹⁸ pAmun I, IX, 6 and pMut, VII, 7.

⁶⁹⁹ MORET (1902a:79–102).

⁷⁰⁰ MORET (1902a:88–89, and 94–95), and WILSON (1997a:903). The *bA* and *sxm* appear already in the Pyramid Texts as very similar concepts. See HELCK (1987:58), and JANÁK (2003:24).

⁷⁰¹ GARDINER – CALVERLY (1933:4, 18, and 26, and 1935:4, 14 and 22). For the second expression see also pAmun I, IX, 7, and pMut, VII, 8.

⁷⁰² pAmun, I, IX, 5.

d. Document 12: opening the shrine of Isis⁷⁰³

The east scene on the second register depicts the pharaoh, dressed in a short triangular-shaped skirt with a ceremonial tail, in the process of opening the doors of the shrine of Isis. His right arm is hanging loosely in front of his body, while his left hand holds an L-shaped object emerging from the doors.⁷⁰⁴ The goddess is adorned with the vulture cap and a pedestal-like support carrying the sun disc and cow horns. A uraeus protrudes from the sun disc. Isis wears a broad collar and a tight fitting wrap-around dress. She is seated on a block throne on top of a large pedestal in a shrine. Her right hand, holding the ankh-sign, is lying in her lap, while the goddess holds the papyrus sceptre in her other hand. Part of the scene, specifically the headdress of the ruler, together with a part of a cartouche and the cobras protruding on either side from a sun disc above the head of the ruler, have been cut out of the wall.

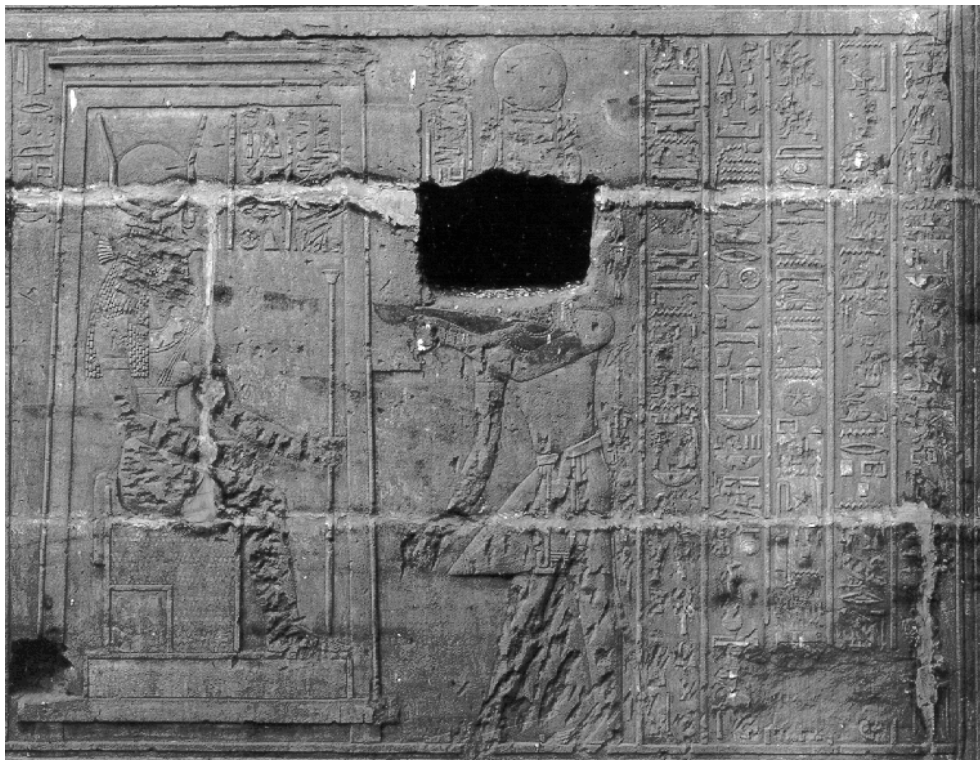


Fig. 51 Opening the shrine of Isis
(JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1975: no. 705))

⁷⁰³ PM VI, 240, no. 310–311; Philae Bénédite, 21, 14–18, and pl. VII, scene vi; JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 705), and VASSILIKA (1989: database no. 658).

⁷⁰⁴ VASSILIKA (1989:103) suggests that the L-shaped object might be some sort of key.

– Pharaoh: [...ws] r-kA-[Ra mry-Imn]⁷⁰⁵

[... Use]rka[ra Meramun].



sA anx wAs HA=f nb [mi Ra]

All protection, life and dominion behind him [like Ra].

– Sun disc:



BHd.ty [nb p.t]⁷⁰⁶

Behdety, [lord of heaven].

– Isis:

%t wr.t mw.t nTr di.t anx nb.t Iw-rq

Isis, the great, mother of the god, who gives life, mistress of Philae.

A text, consisting of five columns, follows after the pharaoh:



wn.w aA.wy p.t sS.w aA.wy t3 n [Ax].t⁷⁰⁷ wn.w-Hr %t nb.t anx
Hm.t anx Hnw.t anx di.t anx %t di.t anx Hry.t-ib IA.t-wab.t

⁷⁰⁵ Only a single cartouche was engraved before the face of the ruler. The few remaining traces in and above the cartouche are unfortunately too illegible to enable us to identify either the nsw.t bit.y or the sA Ra title. The text column following the back of the pharaoh was not copied by Bénédite.

⁷⁰⁶ This epithet of Behdety occurs also in documents 2, 14 and 15.

⁷⁰⁷ The two variants of this text in the temple of Philae read: wn.w aA.wy n p.t sS.w aA.wy n t3 m Ax.t (Ra) or ‘opened are the gates of heaven, opened are the gates of the land in the horizon (of Ra)’. Philae Bénédite, 21, 10–11 (= doc. 13) and 35, 13–14 = JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 1114). The term ‘horizon’ frequently refers to the temple or a part of it: Dendara I, 40, 5; 40, 8, and 58, 14; Dendara II, 8, 14; 48, 6–7; 58, 12–13; 83, 2, and 182, 13; Edfou IV, 4, 6; and FAVARD–MEEKS (1991:27). The term is also used to designate the complex of *wabet* and court (Chapter 3.5). The Ax.t Ra or ‘horizon of Ra’ is regularly

nb.t Iw-rq nb.t p.t Hnw.t nTr.w nb.w nb.t [...] anx [...] m
 xfa=s wnn p.t wnn tA wnn dw3.t wnn sb3 pn wnn [...] n Gb wnn
 Xr.t-nTr n Wn-nfr wnn r-pr pn n %t wr.t mw.t nTr [nb.t ...]
 m Hkn.w nfr [...] ink iwn-mw.t=f wab pr-wr [...] nTr.w

‘Opened are the gates of heaven, opened are the gates of the land of/in⁷⁰⁸ [the horizon]. Revealed is the face of Isis, mistress of life, the majesty of life, the lady of life, who gives life. Isis, who gives life, who is in the midst of the Abaton, mistress of Philae, mistress of heaven, lady of all gods, mistress of [...] life [...] in her grasp. As long as heaven exists,⁷⁰⁹ and the land exists and the duat exists, and this door exists, and the [...]’⁷¹⁰ of Geb exists, and the necropolis of Wennefer⁷¹¹ exists, this temple of Isis, the great, mother of the god, [mistress of ...] shall exist [...] in joy, beautiful of [...] I am Iunmutef (‘the pillar of his mother’) who purifies the *pr-wr* [...] the gods’.

The text accompanying the pharaoh opening the doors of the shrine of Isis can be divided into four sections and plays on the interaction of three similar sounding verbs: wn ‘to open’, wn-Hr ‘to reveal’ and wnn ‘to be, to exist’. The main theme of the text is the awakening of the goddess and the return of her senses after the doors of the shrine have been opened. The opening words uttered by the king to Isis give the impression that this text, like the three previous inscriptions, is also a copy of chapters of the Daily Temple Ritual. The beginning of the inscription closely follows chapters 10 and 27 of the Berlin papyri (rA wn-Hr nTr or ‘chapter revealing the face of the god’), dedicated to the opening of the shrine and revealing

used as a designation of a specific temple. For instance: the temple of Seti I in Abydos – GAUTHIER (1925:9) – and the Ptolemaic temple in Edfu: Edfou IV, 13, 6, and Edfou V, 396, 3.

⁷⁰⁸ n and m are interchangeable in Ptolemaic: JUNKER (1906:20, §25).

⁷⁰⁹ The expression ‘wnn . . . wnn’ or ‘as long as NN exists ... shall NN exist’ occurs regularly in Ptolemaic inscriptions: JUNKER (1906:100, §125); WINTER (1968:32), and GUTBUB (1973:32–33; 37(a), and 56(2)). For other examples of this phrase, consult Philae I, 278–279; Philae II, 242–247; DE MORGAN (1895–1909:314; 325, and 423–424); Dendara II, 20, 7; Esna II, 147, and 151, and DAUMAS (1958:310–311).

⁷¹⁰ In keeping with Geb as ‘the lord of the land’ (nb sAtw), a term for ‘land’ most likely figured in the now destroyed part of the sentence. For Geb as ‘lord of the land’ in Philae: Philae Bénédite, 6, 16 = JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 1126); Philae I, 227; Philae II, 33, and BEDIER (1995:173–182).

⁷¹¹ The Xr.t-nTr often refers to a necropolis of a city: GAUTHIER (1927:204). Osiris is known as ‘lord of the necropolis’ (Edfou I, 165, 16) and the necropolis is known to house his body (Edfou I, 219, 15).

the face of the deity.⁷¹² The opening phrase of the inscription is well-known and dates back to the opening lines of various utterances from the Pyramid Texts.⁷¹³ Other parallels can be found in the ritual of the ‘opening of the mouth’⁷¹⁴ and the temple ritual in Karnak.⁷¹⁵ The closest parallel to the inscription in Philae is found in five of the six chapels of the gods in the temple of Seti I in Abydos, representing the pharaoh opening the shrines of the deities during the Daily Temple Ritual.⁷¹⁶

The opening of the shrines in the Daily Temple Ritual takes place in four phases and entails the following events: 1. *sD sin* (‘breaking the seal’), 2. *sfx.t Dbaw.t* (‘unfastening the clay seal’) or *sD iAd.t* (‘unfastening the cord’), 3. *sTA s* (‘drawing back the bolt’) or *sfx HD* (‘unfastening the chapel’), and 4. *wn aA.wy* (‘opening the doors’) or *wn-Hr* (‘revealing the face’).⁷¹⁷ In the open court of the temple of Philae the opening of the shrines is represented in two reliefs that did not receive a title (see also doc. 13). Scenes depicting the opening of the shrines of the god in other Ptolemaic and Roman temples also occur in pairs⁷¹⁸ or quartets.⁷¹⁹ In the temple of Dendara the titles of these reliefs suggest a sequence of events very similar to the Daily Temple Ritual: *pr r xnd* (‘ascending the staircase’),⁷²⁰ *sfx Dba* (‘unfastening the seal’),⁷²¹ *sTA idr* (‘untying the cords’),⁷²² and *wn-Hr* (‘revealing the face’).⁷²³

⁷¹² MORET (1902a:49–55 and 113), and GUGLIELMI – BUROH (1997:122–124). See pAmun I, IV, 3, pAmun II, XI, 1–2 and pMut, III, 6: *wn.w aA.wy p.t sS.w aA.wy tA*. A slightly different reading is found on an ostrakon: *wn.w aA.wy p.t sS.w aA.wy tA wn.w aA.wy=k sS.w H.t-nTr=k*. See ČERNÝ (1937:oDM 204r).

⁷¹³ PT utterances 325 (§525–529), 479 (§981–985), 510 (§1132–1137), and 563 (§1408–1411): *wn.w aA.wy p.t i.sn.w aA.wy qbH.w*. See also BARTEL (2002:12–14).

⁷¹⁴ OTTO (1960:203, and scene 74A): *wn.w aA.wy p.t sn.w aA.wy Hw.t-nTr wn pr n nb=f*.

⁷¹⁵ NELSON (1949:205, and fig. 3D): *wn.w aA.wy pt [...] tA*.

⁷¹⁶ GARDINER – CALVERLY (1933:4 (Osiris), and 18 (Isis); 1935:4 (Amun); 14 (Ra–Harakhete), and 22 (Ptah): *wn.w aA.wy p.t wn.w aA.w tA sS.w aA.wy qbH.w*.

⁷¹⁷ MORET (1902a:35–55); DAVID (1981:60, and 63–64), and GUGLIELMI – BUROH (1997:117–124).

⁷¹⁸ Edfou I, 40–41, and pl. xii, and Dendara IV, pl. cclxxi. See also ALLIOT (1949:77).

⁷¹⁹ Dendara I, pl. li and lxii, and Dendara III, pl. clxxx, and cxc.

⁷²⁰ In the open court of the temple of Philae this scene is depicted on the first register of the north wall (see doc. 10). Dendara I, 40–41; Dendara III, 64–65, and Dendara IV, 38.

⁷²¹ Dendara I, 41–42; Dendara III, 65–66.

⁷²² Dendara I, 58–59; Dendara III, 76.

⁷²³ Dendara I, 59–60; Dendara III, 77, and Dendara IV, 41–42.

Unlike the inscriptions accompanying these scenes in Abydos and Karnak, the text in Philae does not proceed further in accordance with chapters 10 and 27,⁷²⁴ but changes the subject to ‘revealing’ of the face of Isis. However, this shift from opening the doors of the shrine (wn . w aA . wy) to revealing the face of Isis (wn–Hr % . t) is a minor change as the latter is inevitably preceded by the former: by opening the doors of the shrine, the pharaoh/priest concomitantly reveals the face of the goddess. The titles given to this chapter of the Daily Temple Ritual clearly illustrate the link between both acts. In the temple of Abydos, this scene is entitled rA n wn aA . wy, while the Berlin papyri refer to it as rA n wn–Hr nTr. The ritual of revealing the face of the deity not only allows the pharaoh to see god (mAA nTr),⁷²⁵ but also awakens the deity and revitalises his or her senses before offerings are presented.⁷²⁶ The ritual not only occurs in the Daily Temple Ritual, but for instance also features in funerary rites with the aim to raise the deceased from the dead and resurrect him/her to life so that he/she may live forever.⁷²⁷ It is undoubtedly no coincidence that in the inscription from Philae all epithets that are associated with Isis after her face has been revealed are referring to life (anx): she is the mistress (nb . t), majesty (Hm . t) and lady (Hnw . t) of life and gives life (di . t anx).

In the following lines the text focuses on the concept of eternity, the desired result of performing the ritual of revealing the face, by stressing the eternal character of the temple of Isis in Philae. The construction ‘wnn . . . wnn . . .’ which forms the core of this part of the inscription, should be understood as a play on the sound of the verbs wn and wn–Hr of the first half of the inscription. Both the construction and its contents are well-known from later examples in Philae, Kom Ombo, Dendara, and Esna.⁷²⁸ In all these occurrences the temple is connected with cosmic elements such as heaven, earth and the netherworld in order to proclaim its universal and eternal character.

⁷²⁴ In general these chapters of the daily temple ritual continue with: nD–Hr n Gb (it nTr . w) m Dd (n=f) nTrw or ‘Greetings to Geb, (father of the gods), with that what the gods say (to him)’. An overview of the various occurrences of this chapter can be found in GUGLIELMI – BUROH (1997:153).

⁷²⁵ See document 11.

⁷²⁶ On the rite of revealing the face, consult LOHWASSER (1991).

⁷²⁷ CT spells 239 and 241; MORET (1902a:50–53), and LOHWASSER (1991:34–35).

⁷²⁸ See already footnote 709.

At the conclusion of the text, the king identifies himself with ‘Iunmutef who purifies the *pr-wr*.⁷²⁹ The term Iunmutef designates a divinity that became associated with both the pharaoh and Horus, son of Osiris, and featured as the divine embodiment of the earthly sem-priest. From the New Kingdom onwards the Iunmutef-priest assumed on occasions the position and activities otherwise performed by the sem-priest. He takes on the role of Horus as the eldest son/legitimate heir both in the royal cult and in the funerary rituals. In this position he appears in the cult of the ka images and in the purification and coronation rites.⁷³⁰ The *pr-wr* that is mentioned in the text undoubtedly refers to the latter rite. It is the Upper Egyptian shrine that, together with its Lower Egyptian counterpart (*pr nsw/nw*), played an important role during the coronation of the pharaoh and at the time of the sed-festival.⁷³¹ The Iunmutef also played an important role during the ritual of the ‘opening of the mouth’ where he was involved in reviving the deceased in the sun light in front of the tomb.⁷³²

The role the Iunmutef played in a variety of rites dealing with renewal and rejuvenation most likely inspired the designers to include him in the inscription in Philae (doc. 12) and identify him with the pharaoh. The main theme of this text clearly focuses on revealing the face of the goddess and, more importantly, the return/renewal of her senses.

e. Document 13: opening the shrine of Osiris⁷³³

The central relief on the second register of the north wall depicts the pharaoh wearing the nemes-head cloth, a broad collar and a long, transparent skirt underneath a short triangular skirt with a ceremonial tail. (fig. 52) The ruler is in the process of opening the doors of the

⁷²⁹ The same expression is regularly encountered in Ptolemaic temples: a) Philae: Philae Bénédite, 3, 15 = JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 686); b) Edfu: Edfou II, 30, 1, and 59, 16; Edfou III, 113, 8; 159, 16, and 330, 12; Edfou IV, 50, 18; 70, 7 and 226, 7; Edfou V, 36, 13, and 137, 11; Edfou VI, 243, 5; Edfou VII, 43, 15 and 190, 14; Mammisi Edfou 68, 18, and 84, 15; c) Kom Ombo: DE MORGAN (1895–1909: nos. 150 and 882); d) Dendara: Dendara III, 114, 8.

⁷³⁰ LdÄ III, 212–213; RÄRG, 324–325; GARDINER (1953:27, n. 2, and 31, postscript); OTTO (1964:70), and GOMAA (1973:23–24). In the sed-festival the Iunmutef-priest often presents the pharaoh with three types of embalming equipment: *idmi*-linen, myrrh and oil or unguents. For more information, consult RUMMEL (2006:390–395).

⁷³¹ LdÄ IV, 934–935; RÄRG, 630–631; FRANKFORT (1948:95–96), and BARTA (1975:62–73). The *pr-wr* possibly refers to the central sanctuary of the temple of Isis: GUTBUB (1985:131–132).

⁷³² OTTO (1960:10).

⁷³³ PM VI, 240, no. 310–311; Philae Bénédite, 21, 10–13 and pl. VII, scene v; JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 704, and VASSILIKA (1989: database no. 659).

shrine of Osiris. His left arm is hanging loosely beside his body, while his right hand holds a long, straight peg emerging from the doors. A sun disc with two uraei is depicted above the head of the ruler. Osiris is seated in the shrine on a block throne upon a rectangular pedestal. The god is adorned with the atef-crown and a broad collar. His body is enveloped by a large sheet, his hands emerging at the navel and holding the crook and flail.

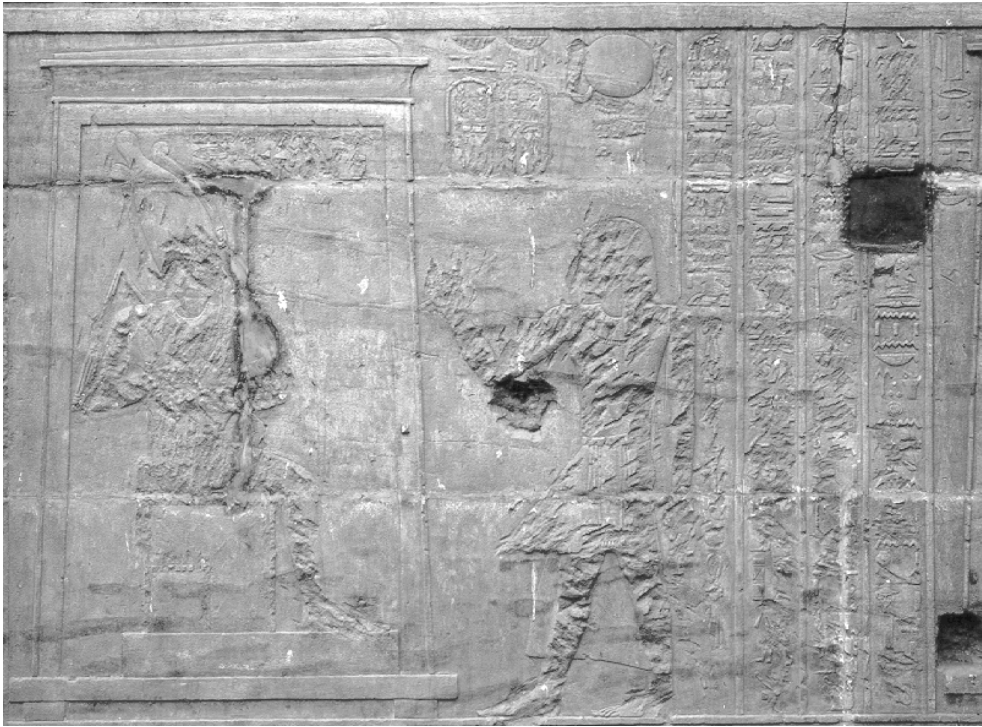


Fig. 52 Opening the shrine of Osiris
(JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1975: no. 704))

– Pharaoh: nb tA.wy wsr-ka-Ra mry-Imn nb xa.w Ptrwmys
Lord of the two lands Userkara Meramun, lord of the crowns Ptolemaios.

𓆎 𓆏 𓆑 𓆒 𓆓 𓆔⁷³⁴

sA anx wAs HA=f mi Ra

Protection, life and dominion behind him like Ra.

– Sun disc: 𓆕 BHD.ty / Behdety.

– Osiris: [...] ⁷³⁵

⁷³⁴ In his publication of this inscription Bénédite overlooked the fact that the first column of text following the pharaoh already ends at the top of the shoulder of the ruler. The 𓆎 and 𓆏-signs, which feature in his publication as part of the five columns of inscriptions following the ruler, form in fact the beginning of the inscription sA anx wAs HA=f (nb) mi Ra.

Five columns of text are engraved following the back of the pharaoh, with the final column intruding in the neighbouring scene (doc. 12):



wn.w aA.wy p.t sS aA.wy tA m Ax.t Ra wn.w aA.wy m %nmw.t sS
aA.wy m Iw-rq m aH Sps n Wsir nb IA.t-wab.t r rnp bA=k n p.t
H[na Ra sSm ...]⁷³⁶ Hna Gb pt[...] =sn ma[...] =sn n=k mD.t
xn.n[...] wn Ra htp Hr s.t [...] ibr m Hw.t=k

‘Opened are the gates of heaven, opened are the gates of the land in the horizon of Ra, opened are the gates in Bigeh, opened are the gates in Philae, in the noble sanctuary/shrine⁷³⁷ of Osiris, lord of the Abaton, so that your *ba* of heaven together [with Ra] may rejuvenate [your? image/statue⁷³⁸ ...] together with Geb. May they create/see?⁷³⁹ [...] and may they [...]

⁷³⁵ Only minor traces remain of a single column of text before the head of Osiris.

⁷³⁶ This reading is suggested by the parallel version of this text on the doorway of the poorly preserved room VI in the temple (fig. 8, VI): Philae Bénédite, 35, 15 = JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 1114). See also the appendix at the end of the chapter.

⁷³⁷ The term aH is most commonly used for the ‘palace’ or ‘sanctuary’ – WILSON (1997a:169), and Wb I, 214 – but on occasion also refers to the shrine or chapel of a deity. For a similar use of the term, consult Edfou I, 176, 11, and Edfou IV, 13, 12, and 20, 2.

⁷³⁸ In the general context of the inscriptions in the ‘seat of the first feast’, a translation of ‘image’ for sSm – Wb IV, 291, and WILSON (1997a:925) – is plausible since the concepts of *ba* and image are very similar (see already doc. 11). The term occurs in similar circumstances in the temple of Edfu: Edfou I, 563, 12 mentions the rejuvenation of the image and the union of the bA with its sSm. The destruction of the determinative accompanying the sign leaves this translation open to debate.

⁷³⁹ With only the beginning of the verb (pt [...]) and a vague outline of the determinative preserved, the translation of this passage is open to more than one interpretation. In the continuation of the text mention is made of the mD.t and ibr-unguent. In this context one might consider a reading of ptH or ‘to form, to open, to create’ – Wb I, 565, and WILSON (1997a:381–382). A different reading, in connection with the opening of the doors of the shrine, might be ptr or ‘to see’ – Wb I, 564, and WILSON (1997a:380).

for you mD . t–unguent [...] settle⁷⁴⁰ [...] Ra rests on the throne/place [...] the *ibr*–unguent in your temple’.

The central theme of the inscription concerns the rejuvenation of the statue of the deity following the opening of the shrine. The opening passage of the text is like the previous document grafted upon the opening lines of chapters 10 and 27 of the Daily Temple Ritual according to the Berlin papyri, dedicated to opening the doors of the shrine and revealing the face of the deity.⁷⁴¹ But the inscription almost immediately diverts from the chapters of the Daily Temple Ritual and places the event in a more local context – both geographically and functionally. It is the doors of Philae and Bigeh that are opened, and more specifically, the shrine of Osiris. The purpose of this ritual act is to allow the statue or image of the god to rejuvenate through the union with its *ba* and the sun god Ra. The inscription clearly refers to the main function of the open court: the Xnm–i t n or the union of the statue with the sun disc (doc. 3).

The last two lines of this inscription are poorly preserved, but the remains of the inscription suggest that it is a continuation of the theme of rejuvenating the statue of the deity after the doors of the shrine have been opened. Two types of unguents are mentioned in this part of the text: mD . t and *ibr*.⁷⁴² These ointments also occur in a list of unguents in various versions of the Daily Temple Ritual and are part of the daily toilette of the deity. The unguents are specifically applied to invigorate and anoint the deity.⁷⁴³ In the temple of Dendara the unguents feature in a list of the nine sacred oils.⁷⁴⁴ One of the central aspects of

⁷⁴⁰ The verb xn ‘to alight, to settle’ often occurs in contexts where the *ba* of the god or pharaoh settles on its image: Wb III, 287–288, and WILSON (1997a:730). For similar examples, consult Edfou II, 10, 2; Edfou IV, 18, 3; Edfou VIII, 111, 4. For the god alighting on its image, form or body (whether bs, xprw, D . t, or sStA), consult Dendara II, 58, 12; 107, 1, and 172, 8; Dendara III, 60, 2; 61, 6, and 172, 2; Dendara IV, 8, 11; 60, 6; 156, 8; 170, 2, and 222, 1; Dendara V, 42, 10, and 53, 7, and Dendara VI, 7, 7, and 82, 10.

⁷⁴¹ See document 11 for the relevant information and bibliography on this rite.

⁷⁴² Wb I, 63, and II, 185; CHASSINAT (1931), and WILSON (1997a:60 and 484–485). Together with bAq, the mD . t and *ibr*–unguents could be added to the seven sacred oils known from the Pyramid Rituals – PT utterances 72 to 78, and BARTA (1963:91, n. 178). The unguent *ibr* is also encountered in a number of medical texts as part of a treatment for a variety of ailments (including headaches and grey hair): VON DEINES – GRAPOW (1959:23–25), and GERMER (1979:174–176).

⁷⁴³ MORET (1902a:190–199), and DAVID (1981:70). Variants can be found in: pAmun XXX, 8 XXXIII, 5; pMut XXVI, 3 – XXVIII, 5, and GARDINER – CALVERLY (1935:10 (Amun–Ra), and 18 (Ra–Harakhte)).

⁷⁴⁴ Dendara IV, 103–104; 105; 106–107; 110; 127; 130–133, and 143.

both unguents is that they provide the *ba* (bA) with the ability to manifest (bA . t) itself in the statue of the deity and hence renew it:

– Dendara IV, 103, 13: bA m i br or ‘to manifest by means of the unguent’.

– Dendara IV, 107, 5: i br n bA=t, bA.n=t i m=f or ‘the unguent for your bA, you manifest by means of it’.

– Dendara IV, 141, 12, and 143, 9: mD.t/i br bA=t m sTi=f or ‘the mD.t/i br-unguent, you manifest by means of its perfume’.

Both of these unguents also figure in a list of products presented to Osiris on the west wall of the ‘hall of the offerings’ in Philae.⁷⁴⁵ This particular wall is in fact entirely dedicated to Osiris, while the opposing east wall revolves around Isis.⁷⁴⁶ The association of these products with Osiris is well-attested through several funerary rites, specifically through the ritual of embalming⁷⁴⁷ and the ritual of the ‘opening of the mouth’.⁷⁴⁸ In both rites i br and mD.t, which always feature in a list with the other sacred oils,⁷⁴⁹ are applied to the body of the deceased in order to rejuvenate and regenerate the corpse.⁷⁵⁰ This particular aspect of mD.t is also encountered in the temple of Edfu, where the unguent appears as a typical offering to Osiris. Together with mn x . t–linnen, it is likewise presented to Osiris to rejuvenate the god in the temple of Edfu.⁷⁵¹ In a number of temples, e.g. Behbeit el–Hagar,⁷⁵² Philae,⁷⁵³ Deir el–Medina,⁷⁵⁴ Dendara,⁷⁵⁵ and Shanhûr,⁷⁵⁶ both products are also offered together on occasion.

⁷⁴⁵ Philae Bénédite, 31, 12–13, and 32, 4 = JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 1108), and GUTBUB (1985:132).

⁷⁴⁶ Philae Bénédite, plates X and XII, and VASSILIKA (1989:30).

⁷⁴⁷ SAUNERON (1952:3 (= 2, 8) and 4 (= 2, 12)), and GOYON (1972b:35, and 44–45).

⁷⁴⁸ OTTO (1960:120–124, and 135–136 = scene 55). The ointments mentioned in this list are exactly the same as the aforementioned products listed in the Daily Temple Ritual.

⁷⁴⁹ The ointments presented to Osiris in the scene in the ‘hall of offerings’ (Philae Bénédite, 31, 12–32, 5) are encountered in the exact same order in the ritual of the ‘opening of the mouth’.

⁷⁵⁰ MORET (1902a:196); CHASSINAT (1931:119), and BARTEL (2002:14).

⁷⁵¹ CAUVILLE (1983:174).

⁷⁵² FAVARD–MEEKS (1991:144 and 200): offering of mD.t and mn x . t to Osiris. mD.t is presented only to Osiris – FAVARD–MEEKS (1991:7, 264, and 282) – and Isis – FAVARD MEEKS (1991:56, 69–70, 95, 122, 260–261 and 279) – in the temple of Behbeit el–Hagar.

⁷⁵³ On the west wall of the court in the temple of Philae, the offerings are associated with each other (doc. 18 and 19). In the temple of Philae the offering is not exclusively reserved for Osiris (Philae Bénédite, 31, 12, and 64, 11–12), but it is also presented to Isis and Min (Philae Bénédite, 36, 10; 44, 3, and 72, 12).

⁷⁵⁴ Deir el–Medina, 120.

⁷⁵⁵ Dendara, II, 137, 11; Dendara III96, 21, and Dendara IV, 102, 7; 257, 17, and 266, 14.

A different aspect of *ibr* is mentioned in a number of other rituals. In the rites performed during the confirmation of royal power at the time of the New Year, *ibr* figures in a list of nine unguents that are offered together with protective insignia to the king or his representative in the *sh n s.t wr.t* or the ‘chapel of the Great Sanctuary’. The main theme of these offerings and the prayers that accompany them is to placate Sekhmet, to provide protection against the dangers surrounding the final days of the year, and to triumph over one’s enemies.⁷⁵⁷ The unguent occurs in similar circumstances in the rite of presenting the ‘crown of justification’. Not only does this rite confirm Horus as the legitimate heir, but it also has an apotropaic character.⁷⁵⁸

The renewal and rejuvenation of the statue of the deity, which forms the central theme of this particular document, is an act that entails a degree of danger. The need for the statue to be renewed implies that it has reached a point of weakness and is open to negative external influences. The period prior to the arrival of the New Year – especially the epagomenal days – was the most dangerous and life-threatening time for both god and men in ancient Egypt.⁷⁵⁹ Since the rite of the ‘union with the sun disc’, which invigorated the statues of the gods in the temple, often took place at the time of the New Year, the rites and offerings performed in preparation of this act often also have an apotropaic aspect.⁷⁶⁰

f. Document 14: revealing the face of Isis⁷⁶¹

The final scene on the second register of the north wall depicts the pharaoh dressed in a short triangular skirt with a ceremonial tail and a broad collar. (fig. 53) Only a vague outline of the headdress worn by the ruler is still visible, therefore it is no longer possible to distinguish between what is most likely the nemes-head cloth and the blue crown.⁷⁶² In his right arm the

⁷⁵⁶ Shanhûr I, 6.

⁷⁵⁷ pBrooklyn 47.218.50, iii, 11 and xvi, 1, and GOYON (1972a:20–21, 61, 71, and 95, n. 103).

⁷⁵⁸ DERCHAIN (1955:230–233, and 248–249).

⁷⁵⁹ For instance: YOYOTTE (1980:64–67); GERMOND (1981:207–212).

⁷⁶⁰ See also documents 14 and 17. In the temple of Dendara the ‘ritual of placating Sekhmet’ (*sh t p %xm.t*) was carried out at the time of the New Year – CAUVILLE (2002a:121–140).


⁷⁶¹ PM VI, 240, no. 310–311; Philae Bénédite, 21, 4–9 and pl. VII, scene iv; JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 703), and VASSILIKA (1989: database no. 660).

⁷⁶² Both types of headdress – and several others – appear in this type of offering scenes: HUSSON (1977:55–56). This scene was only mentioned briefly and was not studied in the work of HUSSON (1977:245).

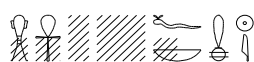
pharaoh presents a mirror, mounted on a handle in the shape of a papyrus plant with an umbel, to Isis, and his left arm is raised protectively behind the offering. A sun disc with two uraei is suspended above the head of the pharaoh and a wadjet-standard features in between the cartouches and the last column of the large inscription between the pharaoh and Isis.⁷⁶³ The goddess is adorned with the vulture cap and a pedestal-like support carrying the sun disc and cow horns. She wears a broad collar and a tight fitting wrap-around dress, and is seated on a block throne on top of a large pedestal. In her left hand she holds the papyrus sceptre while her right hand, with the ankh-sign, is lying in her lap.



Fig. 53 Offering a mirror to Isis
(JUNKER – SCHÄFER 1908–1910: no. 703)

– Pharaoh: nsw.t-bity⁷⁶⁴ wsr-ka-Ra mry-Imn sA Ra Ptrwmys di anx
()

The king of Upper and Lower Egypt Userkara Meramun, the son of Ra Ptolemaios, given life.



⁷⁶³ The wadjet-standard does not figure on the plate in Philae Bénédite, pl. VII, iv.

⁷⁶⁴ There is no trace or space for the titles nb tA.wy and nb xa.w that feature in the publication of the cartouches of this scene by Bénédite.

p[...] x.t [...] nb xw.t sA Ra Prwmys inD-Hr [... P]trw]mys
 xw=k [...] =k [...] di Tmsw n [Xr].t-rnp.t⁷⁷⁰ [...] Xr [...] m
 [...] P]trw[m]ys [...] D.t

‘[...] like the sun disc [...] of that which [He]nu fashioned. Ptah raised him there, while praising [...] the brightness of your face, the sweetness of your lips, while your nostrils are like the lotus of summer [...] lord/all [...] all [...] things, who protects the son of Ra, Ptolemaios. Greeting [... Ptole]maios. May you protect your [...] who inflict(s) the evil of that which is under the year [...] under [...] as/like [... P]tole[m]aios [...] forever’.

This inscription, together with the other two scenes on the second register of this wall (docs. 12 and 13), presents a variety on the theme of revealing the face of the goddess. In the previous two scenes the face of the divinity is revealed by opening the doors of the shrine, while in the relief at hand the face of the goddess reveals itself to her by a glance in the mirror.⁷⁷¹ The close association of both rites is also illustrated by the use of the term wn-Hr, designating both the act of ‘revealing the face’ and the mirror itself.⁷⁷² Likewise, in several other scenes where the mirror is offered, the pharaoh is called (iwa mnx n) wn aA.wy n p.t or ‘(the excellent heir of) the one that opens the gates of heaven’.⁷⁷³

⁷⁶⁸ The god Henu is a form of Ptah of Memphis, lord of the artisans. Together with other deities, such as Tanen and Sokar, Henu is often referred to as the creator of the mirror. POO (1993:348) and HUSSON (1977:250) with references to among others Edfou II, 76 (doc. 2); Dendara I, 118 (doc. 21); Dendara II, 118 (doc. 24); Dendara III, 17 (doc. 26); 73 (doc. 27); 85 (doc. 28) and 141 (doc. 29); Dendara IV, 64 (doc. 34); Philae Bénédite, 106, 4 (doc. 60); Esna II, no. 10 (doc. 70), and Philae I, 286 (doc. 77).

⁷⁶⁹ The expression THnw Hr=s bnr n spty=s Srty=T m sSn n Smw occurs on four other occasions in inscriptions accompanying the presentation of mirrors: HUSSON (1977:doc. 7 (= Edfou IV, 238), doc. 29 (= Dendara III, 141), doc. 34 (= Dendara IV, 64), and doc. 38 (= Dendara VI, 22)). Similar expressions are encountered in the offering of a lotus flower (Dendara II, 163–164 and Dendara III, 132, 12 = RYHINER (1986:71–73 = doc. 23, and 75–77 = doc. 25) and in a hymn to Hathor (Dendara II, 99, 9).

⁷⁷⁰ Wb V, 370. The expression di Tmsw n (Xr.t-) rnp.t occurs twice elsewhere in the temple of Isis: a) Philae Bénédite, 51, 11 = JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 1086), and ŽABKAR (1988:116, line 9), b) Philae Bénédite, 99, 15 = JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 350).

⁷⁷¹ See already MORET (1902a:50) on the close relationship between these activities.

⁷⁷² Wb I, 312–313; WILSON (1997a:230–231), and HUSSON (1977:37–38).

⁷⁷³ Edfou III, 126 = HUSSON (1977: doc. 4); Edfou IV, 238 (doc. 7); Dendara I, 7 (doc. 19); Dendara IV, 83 (doc. 35); 248 (doc. 36) and Dendara IX, 175 (doc. 43). The expression wn aA.wy n p.t is also the title of the high priest in the temple of Karnak, while the pharaoh is at times referred to as either the heir (iwa) or

Although the inscription in between the pharaoh and Isis has suffered extensively over the course of time, the remaining signs of the first part of the text still enable us to compare this inscription with other texts of a similar nature. From the analysis performed by M.–C. Poo⁷⁷⁴ on this type of scenes — gathered in C. Husson’s study⁷⁷⁵ — it has become clear that the inscriptions accompanying the offering of a mirror to a deity can be subdivided in a number of basic structural elements. Following this analysis, the first two lines of the text at hand most likely had the following structure:

- a. Address to the deity (structural element A or F)⁷⁷⁶
 - nothing remains
- b. Description of the mirror (B)
 - comparison with the sun and/or moon: m itn [...]
 - other deities as the creators of the mirror: nwb @nw wTs PtH im
- c. The expected effect of the offering (C) or epithets of the deity (D)
 - nothing remains
- d. Eulogy to the beauty of the goddess (E)
 - THnw Hr=s bnr sp.ty=s Sr[.ty=s m] sSn n Smw

To my knowledge, this particular scene is not only the oldest known version that combines these basic structural elements such as they are found in various younger representations of this ritual, but it is one of the first depictions of the presentation of a mirror to a deity on a temple wall in se. Not a single representation of the offering of a mirror is at present recorded for any temple before the reign of Ptolemaios II.⁷⁷⁷ The only two other scenes from this period are also found in the temple of Philae and depict the pharaoh offering a mirror to Tefnut and Anuket respectively.⁷⁷⁸

image (snn) ‘of the one that opens the gates of heaven’: OTTO (1964:71 and 118) with references to Edfou I, 338 and Edfou V, 60 and 203.

⁷⁷⁴ POO (1993:347–352).

⁷⁷⁵ HUSSON (1977:62–246).

⁷⁷⁶ The capital letters (A–F) refer to the subdivision of the structural elements of the inscription according to POO (1993:348–349).

⁷⁷⁷ HUSSON (1977:57, and 255). Examples of the representation of the offering of a mirror to a deity are known from stelae and mirrors from the Twenty–Fifth and Twenty–Sixth Dynasty – MUNRO (1968).

⁷⁷⁸ a) Tefnut: Philae Bénédite, 6, 6–8 and pl. II, III’ = JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 689), and HUSSON (1977:188, doc. 57). b) Anuket: Philae Bénédite, 68, 2–3 and pl. XXVb, I = JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 1052) and HUSSON (1977:189, doc. 57bis). The next two representations of this kind are

The immediate goal of the presentation of one or two mirrors to a deity is to reveal his/her face and appease the deity: the divinity glances at his/her image in the mirror and rejoices. The study of Husson of these various scenes in Ptolemaic and Roman temples clearly illustrates that this offering was primarily aimed at rendering peaceful ‘the eye of Ra’ — an epithet of the goddess⁷⁷⁹ — in its threatening aspect of Sekhmet.⁷⁸⁰ In this perspective, this offering undoubtedly played a role in the rites performed in the days prior to the arrival of the New Year. At no other point in time did the power of Sekhmet and her *wꜣꜣꜣꜣꜣ* or ‘envoys’ to inflict injuries upon the land and its inhabitants reach such strength as during the transition from old to new.⁷⁸¹ It is interesting to note that in several younger inscriptions reference is also made to the ‘union with the sun disc’ or the *Xnm-ỉꜥꜣ*, which often took place at the time of the New Year,⁷⁸² and that in the temple of Hathor in Dendara the offering of the mirror is only depicted on the walls of chapels that play a role during the ritual of the ‘union with the sun disc’.⁷⁸³ In return for the offering of the mirror, the pharaoh often receives everything that is reflected in the mirror – dominion over the world and the assurance of cosmic order for eternity.⁷⁸⁴

The second and even more damaged part of the inscription is apparently a continuation on the theme of placating the deity in order to dispel dangers and, specifically, on the protective

found in Edfu and date from the reign of Ptolemaios IV: Edfou I, 73 – HUSSON (1977:doc. 1) – and Edfou II, 76 – HUSSON (1977:doc. 2). Older representations of mirrors are encountered both on the walls of tombs, on the sides of sarcophagi and on the back of mirrors: HUSSON (1977:23–35).

⁷⁷⁹ HUSSON (1977:251–252). See also LEITZ (2001:209).

⁷⁸⁰ HUSSON (1977:255–256). The epithet ‘the eye of Ra’ refers to the myth of the return of the distant goddess – JUNKER (1911; 1917); SETHE (1912), and INCONNU–BOCQUILLON (2001). On appeasing Sekhmet (*sꜥꜥꜣꜣ ꜥꜣꜣꜣꜣ*) consult CAUVILLE (2002a:121–140), and GOYON (2006).

⁷⁸¹ JANKUHN (1972:5–7); HOENES (1976:67–78); YOYOTTE (1980:64–67); GERMOND (1981:207–212), and ŽABKAR (1988:121–123). For more information on the ‘envoys’ of Sekhmet: VALLOGGIA (1976:40–64).

⁷⁸² HUSSON (1977:262–263) with references to Edfou IV, 81–82 (doc. 6) and 388–389 (doc. 8); Edfou V, 17 (doc. 9) and 173–174 (doc. 10); Edfou VIII, 104 (doc. 16); Dendara I, 3 (doc. 18); Dendara III, 73–74 (doc. 27) and 192–193 (doc. 31); Dendara VIII, 65 (doc. 50) and 66–67 (doc. 51), and DE MORGAN (1895–1909: no. 492 (doc. 65)). The offering of a mirror at the time of the New Year is not limited to the Ptolemaic and Roman period, but occurs already much earlier. For instance: two mirrors are among the numerous gifts presented by the chief steward Ken–Amun to pharaoh Amenhotep II at the time of the New Year – DE GARIS DAVIES (1930:22–32, esp. 27, no. 25 and 26, and 29, no. 77, and plates XVIII; XX, and XXIII).

⁷⁸³ HUSSON (1977:271–273).

⁷⁸⁴ LÄ V, 1148; OEAE II, 421–422; HUSSON (1977:255–258), and VASSILIKA (1989:110).


qualities of the ritual of presenting a mirror. The occurrence of the verb *xw* or ‘to protect’ twice in these lines already indicates the general context. The expression *di Tmsw n Xr.t-rnp.t* or ‘who inflict(s) the evil of that which is under the year’ brings to mind a similar passage from the Book of the Dead (spell 125) in which the petitioner requests to be rescued from the *wpwtyw didi Tmsw sxpr idry.t* or ‘the envoys who inflict injuries and bring about punishment’.⁷⁸⁵ And in a similar but later occurrence of this expression in the temple of Philae, Isis is asked to protect Augustus from the injuries of this (past) year (*nHm sw m-a Tmsw n rnp.t tn*).⁷⁸⁶

The analysis of documents 12, 13 and 14 clearly indicates that the act of revealing the face of the deity, the central theme of the three scenes on the second register of the north wall, not only encompasses its rejuvenation and renewal of the senses, but also implies warding off the possibility of evil touching the statue of the god before the renewal could take place.

g. Document 15: Offering the usekh-necklace to Isis⁷⁸⁷

The east scene on the third register of the north wall depicts the pharaoh adorned with the blue crown and a broad collar. (fig. 54) He is dressed in a short triangular skirt with a ceremonial tail and holds a broad usekh-necklace consisting of seven strings in his outstretched hands. A sun disc with a uraeus protruding on either side is suspended above his head. In front of the feet of the king a hes-vessel is placed upon a small round table with a single pedestal.⁷⁸⁸ The goddess Isis is adorned with the vulture cap and a pedestal-like support carrying the sun disc and cow horns. She wears a broad collar and a tight fitting wrap-around dress, and is seated on a block throne on top of a large pedestal. In her left hand she holds the papyrus sceptre, while her right hand, holding the ankh-sign, is lying in her lap.

– Pharaoh: *nsw.t bit.y nb tA.wy wsr-kA-Ra mry-Imn sA Ra nb xa.w Ptrwmys*

 *di anx mi Ra*

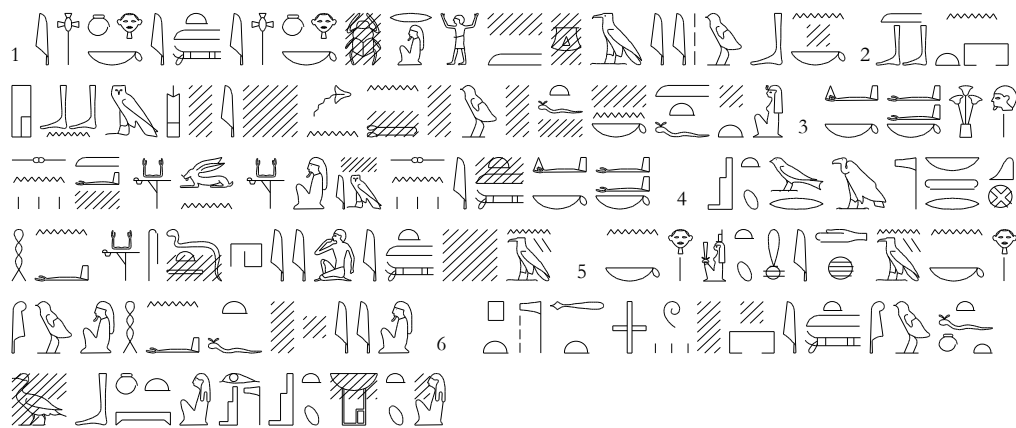
⁷⁸⁵ Book of Dead, spell 125. See also VALLOGGIA (1976:54–55).

⁷⁸⁶ Philae Bénédite, 99, 15 = JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 350).

⁷⁸⁷ PM VI, p. 240, no. 310–311; Philae Bénédite, 20, 16–21, 3 and pl. VII, scene iii; JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 705); ŽABKAR (1980:130–136), and VASILIKA (1989: database no. 655).

⁷⁸⁸ This table does not figure on the plates of Philae Bénédite, pl. VII, iii.

features both in a funerary context and on the walls of New Kingdom and Ptolemaic temples. The text often, although not exclusively, accompanies the presentation of the usekh–necklace to a statue of the god, the deceased or a sacred animal.⁷⁹⁰ Occurrences of (a part of) this text in a temple are found e.g. in the chapels of the gods in the temple of Seti I in Abydos,⁷⁹¹ in the temple of Amun in Karnak,⁷⁹² in the ‘ritual of Amenhotep I’,⁷⁹³ and on the rear wall of the sanctuary of the temple of Philae.⁷⁹⁴ It also features in the ritual of the ‘opening of the mouth’,⁷⁹⁵ in tombs and on funerary objects.⁷⁹⁶ A number of these texts are gathered in the appendix at the end of this study to allow for a comparison with the slightly damaged version found in the open court in the temple of Philae.⁷⁹⁷



⁷⁹⁰ On the transmission of the utterance and its close association with the presentation of the usekh–necklace, consult OTTO (1959); FEUCHT (1971); HANDOUSSA (1981); BEAUD (1990); GRAEFE (1991), and EGBERTS (2002).

⁷⁹¹ MORET (1902a:242–244), and GARDINER – CALVERLY (1933:13 (Osiris), 23 (Isis), and 33 (Horus); and 1935:12 (Amon–Ra), 19 (Ra–Harakhte), and 27 (Ptah), and 1938:32 (Horus)).

⁷⁹² NELSON (1949:324–325, and fig. 32). In the ‘ritual of Amun’ the text does not accompany the presentation of the usekh–necklace to the god, but a food–offering.

⁷⁹³ GARDINER (1934:91, and pl. 53). The text accompanies the presentation of a food–offering.

⁷⁹⁴ Philae Bénédite, 61, 6; JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 1031); ŽABKAR (1980:132–133), and VASSILIKA (1989: database no. 770).

⁷⁹⁵ OTTO (1960:131–132, and scene 54), and GOYON (1972b:146–147).

⁷⁹⁶ In the Late Period shaft tomb necropolis of Abusir the text also features on the basalt inner sarcophagus of Iufaa (BAREŠ 2006:4) and on the walls of the burial chamber of Menekhibnekau (personal communication by professor L. Bareš on 11.10.2007) underneath a frieze of objects depicting crowns, necklaces(!), and regalia. See also its presence on the cartonnage of a ram’s mummy found in Elephantine: KÁKOSY (1970:112).

⁷⁹⁷ Of the numerous occurrences of this inscription in the chapels of the gods in the temple of Seti I in Abydos I have copied in the appendix only the most complete and best preserved text, from the chapel of Ra–Harakhte.

ind xr=k Itm ind xr.k xpri qA [=k]⁷⁹⁸ m [g]Ay.w⁷⁹⁹ wbn=k m bnbn
 <m>⁸⁰⁰ Hw.t–Bnbn m Iwn[w] i[SS]⁸⁰¹.n=T⁸⁰² <m>⁸⁰³ ^w tf[n].n=k mi
 &f[n].t di=k a.wy=k HA=sn m–a⁸⁰⁴ k3 wn kA [=k]⁸⁰⁵ im=sn I[t]m
 di=k a.wy=k <HA>⁸⁰⁶ %.t wr.t mw.t nTr nb.t Iw–rq <anx=s>⁸⁰⁷ Hna
 kA=s n D.t hy Itm [dx]nAyn⁸⁰⁸=k Hr %.t mi dxnAyn=k Hr ^w &fn.t
 hy psD.t aA.t imy.w [Iwnw]⁸⁰⁹ Itm ^w &fn.t Gb Nw.t Wsir %.t
 Nb.t–H.t

‘Greeting you, Atum, greeting you, Khepri. You are high as a height. You appear/shine as the
 benben–stone in the Mansion of the Benben⁸¹⁰ in Heliopo[li].⁸¹¹ You have spat out⁸¹² Shu,

⁷⁹⁸ This reading is suggested by similar examples of this text (appendix).

⁷⁹⁹ There are still faint traces of the sign $\overline{\Delta}$. A similar expression occurs in the text in the sanctuary of Isis (Philae Bénéдите, 61, 6). The term gAy.w (and gy.t in the inscription in the sanctuary) are variants of the word qAw: ŽABKAR (1980:130–131). For the change of k into g in Ptolemaic: FAIRMAN (1945:77).

⁸⁰⁰ This reading occurs in other examples of this text (appendix).

⁸⁰¹ This reading occurs in numerous other examples of this text (appendix).

⁸⁰² One would rather expect the suffix =k here instead since the subject of the verb is the god Atum. This part of the column is unfortunately too damaged to verify Bénéдите’s reading.

⁸⁰³ This reading is suggested by similar examples of this text (appendix).

⁸⁰⁴ The presence of the pr–sign in Bénéдите’s publication could not be verified on site since this part of the column is too damaged. In other examples of the text this sign does not feature (see appendix). ŽABKAR (1980:133, and n. 33) proposes that this passage might be read m–a .t kA or ‘in the house of the ka’ and suggests that this could have been a sacred room or a temple in Heliopolis. Due to the absence of this sign in all other examples of this text and the fact that it can no longer be verified on site, it seems most likely that the expression m–a kA or ‘in an embrace’ was intended – EGBERTS (2002:76 and 79).

⁸⁰⁵ This reading is suggested by similar examples of this text (appendix).

⁸⁰⁶ This reading is suggested by other examples of this text (appendix).

⁸⁰⁷ This expression occurs in a number of other examples of this text: GARDINER – CALVERLY (1933:13; and 1935:19 and 27), and OTTO (1960:132, 54f).

⁸⁰⁸ According to ŽABKAR (1980:133, n. 35) the verb dxnAjn corresponds to dnxn of PT 600 (= §1654 a, and c), and GARDINER – CALVERLY (1935:19, and 27). This verb would later evolve into txn (Edfou I, 97, 12).

⁸⁰⁹ This reading is suggested by other occurrences of this text (appendix).

⁸¹⁰ The temple of Ra in Heliopolis: GAUTHIER (1927:68).

⁸¹¹ Wb I, 54 and GAUTHIER (1925:54).

you have spat out Tefnut. You have placed both your arms around them in an embrace so [your] ka is in them. Atum, may you place both your hands <around> Isis, the great, mother of the god, mistress of Philae, <so she may live> with her ka forever. Oh Atum, may you protect Isis, like you protected Shu and Tefnut. Oh great ennead that is in [Heliopolis]: Atum, Shu, Tefnut, Geb, Nut, Osiris, Isis and Nephthys'.⁸¹³

The usekh–necklace presented by the pharaoh to Isis appears originally in a funerary context. Already from the time of the Old Kingdom, it is placed on the mummy and features on the walls of tombs and the sides of coffins as part of the offerings presented to the deceased.⁸¹⁴ The usekh–necklace symbolised the idea of revival and renewal, but also protection.⁸¹⁵ At least from the time of the New Kingdom, the presentation of the usekh–necklace is often accompanied by (a part of) PT utterance 600. The inscription contains a request to the creator–god Atum to repeat the original creative act during which he created Shu and Tefnut and endowed them with life.⁸¹⁶ The central act of the creation is the embrace by the creator–god and the instalment of the life force for eternity. The idea of this embrace possibly led to the association between this utterance and the usekh–necklace: the putting on of the usekh–necklace also implies some sort of embrace.⁸¹⁷ The recipient of this act differs from one copy

⁸¹² NELSON (1949:325), and OTTO (1960:119) translate *i s s . n . k m ^w* as 'you spat out *like* Shu'. FAULKNER (1969:247, n. 1), and ŽABKAR (1980:132) suggest to regard the *m* in this expression as an early example of the Coptic *N* before the object of a transitive verb.

⁸¹³ One deity of the ennead of Heliopolis – Seth – is omitted from this text, while he does figure in the original PT utterance 600 and in the text from the chapel of Ra–Harakhte in Abydos. The position Seth occupied in Late Egyptian religion as primarily a god of chaos and enemy of the gods made it undesirable to include him in the list of the ennead of Heliopolis. LdÄ V, 910; RÄRG, 711–712; KEES (1924:82–87); TE VELDE (1967:138–151, esp. 148), and GOYON (1972b:147, n. 3). In the ritual of the 'opening of the mouth' Seth and Osiris are both replaced by Horus (see appendix).

⁸¹⁴ For instance: in the burial chamber of Qar – SIMPSON (1976: 11, and fig. 7), on the lid of the sarcophagus of prince Khenembaef – HASSAN (1953:9–10, and plates xiii–xiv), and on the so-called 'frise d'objets' of Middle Kingdom sarcophagi – JEQUIER (1921:62–64). See also HANDOUSSA (1980:144–145).

⁸¹⁵ HANDOUSSA (1980:147–148), and BEAUD (1990:56–58).

⁸¹⁶ OTTO (1959:228–230).

⁸¹⁷ NELSON (1949:325, n. 120); OTTO (1959:233–234); ŽABKAR (1980:135); GRAEFE (1991:129), and EGBERTS (2002:77). The necklace is often depicted with nine strings and BEAUD (1990:60) has suggested that this might be a reference to the ennead of Heliopolis mentioned in PT utterance 600. But it has not yet been satisfactorily explained why PT utterance 600 only occurs in the presentation of the usekh–necklace and not with the offering of the *bb–* or *iry–xx–*necklace, even though all three necklaces are depicted in exactly the same manner – EGBERTS (2002:72–73) – and entail some sort of embrace. Consult also GRAEFE (1991:129–130).

of the text to another. In the original PT utterance 600 it is the pharaoh and his pyramid, while on other occasions it could be for instance the deceased or offerings that benefited from the embrace.

From the New Kingdom onwards the usekh–necklace is still presented to the deceased at the time of the burial, for instance during the ‘opening of the mouth’ ritual,⁸¹⁸ but in combination with (part of) PT utterance 600 it also starts to feature extensively upon the walls of the temples as an offering presented by the pharaoh to the god. The recipient of the act is the deity and the embrace results in the deity’s renewal or rejuvenation and protection, and the same aspects are also bestowed upon the bearer of the offering – the pharaoh.⁸¹⁹

The particular copy of PT utterance 600 in the court (doc. 15) and the sanctuary⁸²⁰ of the temple of Isis in Philae are unique to the Ptolemaic and Roman period. Not only do these inscriptions represent the oldest known Ptolemaic version, but the texts also seem to be the only two examples of a fairly accurate copy of the utterance on the walls of a Ptolemaic or Roman temple. While in all known examples prior to the Ptolemaic period the text almost always appears as a reasonably accurate rendering of the opening lines of the utterance, in Ptolemaic and Roman times this is no longer the case. Erhard Graefe’s study of the scenes from Ptolemaic and Roman temples that combine the opening lines of utterance 600 with the offering of the usekh–necklace indicates that the utterance has been reduced to a series of keywords (*Schlüsselwörter*) that are combined with new textual material.⁸²¹ It is obvious that the two fairly accurate copies of the text on the walls of the temple of Isis in Philae – and several other inscriptions from the temple of Philae for that matter – are situated at a crucial stage in the development of Ptolemaic texts and provide interesting information on the transmission and editing of ancient Egyptian hymns and ritual texts – a point to which I shall return later in this study.⁸²² But the choice to feature this text upon the walls of the open court in the temple of Isis in Philae is most appropriate. The request to the creator–god to repeat his original act of creation with (the statue of) the goddess Isis and the presentation of the

⁸¹⁸ OTTO (1960:131–132, and scene 54).

⁸¹⁹ OTTO (1959:235); ŽABKAR (1980:135), and BEAUD (1990:58 and 61).

⁸²⁰ Philae Bénédite, 61, 6, and JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 1031).

⁸²¹ GRAEFE (1991). To the list of GRAEFE (1991:137) the following scenes can be added: Dendara XI, 34; el-Qal’a II, 142, 192, 214, and 249; Tod II, 271, and Philae Bénédite, 23 and 61.

⁸²² On the transmission and editing of numerous inscriptions in the temple of Isis in Philae, consult ŽABKAR (1980; 1983, and 1988), and COPPENS (2006a). See also Chapter 4.1.10.

usekh–necklace entail the idea of renewal and rejuvenation – the central theme of the rites performed in the ‘seat of the first feast’ during the ‘union with the sun disc’ or *Xnm–i.tn*. The usekh–necklace is moreover a gift that could be presented at the time of the New Year⁸²³ – one of the moments when the ‘union with the sun disc’ took place.⁸²⁴ Finally, the concept of protection, contained in the offering and the inscription, also occurs in the epithet of Isis in this scene — she is the one who protects her brother Osiris (*xw.t sn=s*) – and could be construed as a reminder of the dangers and evil that might befall the god and goddess before the ‘union with the sun disc’ could take place.⁸²⁵

h. Document 16: Praising Osiris–Wennefer⁸²⁶

The central scene of the third register depicts the pharaoh wearing a bag wig, a broad collar and a short triangular skirt with a ceremonial tail. (fig. 55) Both arms of the ruler are raised in front of his face in a gesture of praise to Osiris–Wennefer. A vulture, holding an ankh–sign, is suspended above the head of the pharaoh. In front of the feet of Ptolemaios II a hes–vessel and three flowers tied together are placed upon a small round table with a single pedestal.

⁸²³ The usekh–necklace is one of the many gifts presented to the pharaoh at the time of the New Year. On the walls of the New Kingdom Theban Tombs it is for instance offered to: a) Hatshepsut by her chief steward and the owner of tomb TT 73 – SÄVE–SÖDERBERGH (1957:2–4 and plates i–ii), b) Amenhotep II by his chief steward Ken–Amun – DE GARIS DAVIES (1930:22–32, and plates XIII; XV, and XIX), and c) Thutmosis IV by the chief steward Thenuna (TT76) – SÄVE–SÖDERBERGH (1957:50–51, and plate lxxii).

⁸²⁴ HANDOUSSA (1980:148) has remarked that the creative act of embracing — the focal point of PT utterance 600 — is not unlike the union of the *ba* with the statue, the focal point of the ritual of the ‘union with the sun disc’.

⁸²⁵ On the importance of protection before the ritual of the ‘union with the sun disc’ took place, see our commentary for documents 13, 14 and 17.

⁸²⁶ PM VI, 240, no. 310–311; BRUGSCH (1891:770); Philae Bénédite, 20, 10–15 and pl. VII, scene ii; JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 704), and VASSILIKA (1989: database no. 656).

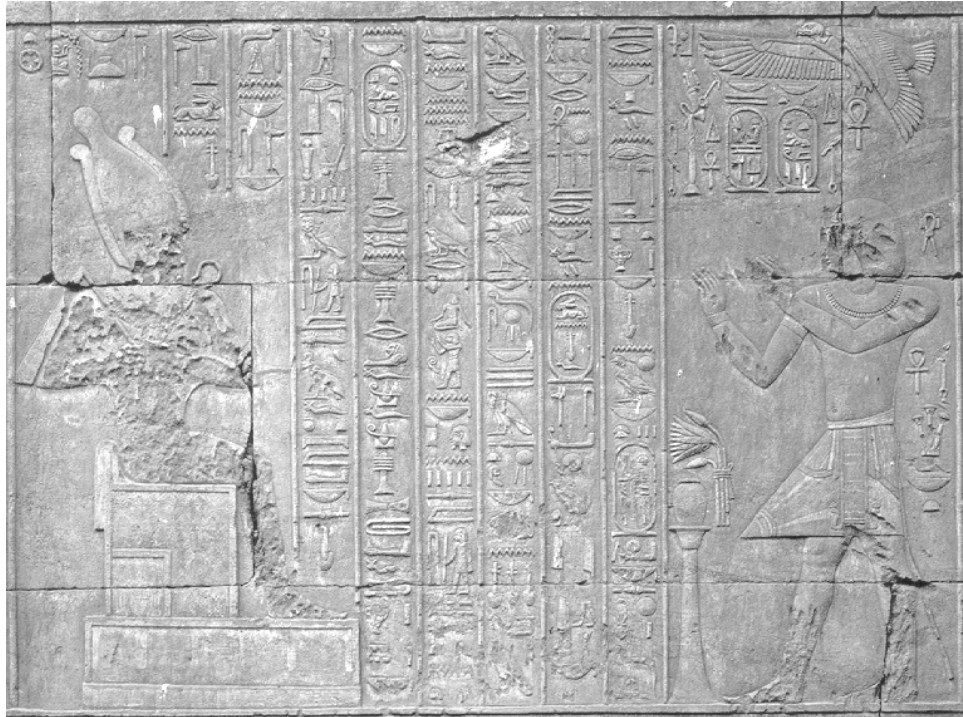


Fig. 55 Praising Osiris–Wennefer

(JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: 704)

Osiris–Wennefer is seated on a block throne on top of a pedestal. The god is adorned with a false beard, the atef–crown and a broad collar. His body is enveloped by a large sheet and his hands, emerging at the navel, hold the crook and flail. A wadjet–standard features in between the cartouches and the first column with inscriptions of Osiris–Wennefer.⁸²⁷ The cobra on top of the standard is adorned with the atef–crown, holds the was–sceptre, and faces the pharaoh.

– Pharaoh: nb tA.wy wsr–kA–Ra mry–Imn nb xa.w Ptrwmys di

wAs (𓂠𓅓)

Lord of the two lands Userkara Meramun, lord of the crowns Ptolemaios, given dominion.

𓂠𓅓𓅓𓅓𓅓


sA anx wAs HA=f nb.t

All protection, life and dominion behind him.

– Wadjet–standard: 𓂠𓅓𓅓

di=s anx wAs / May she give life and dominion.

⁸²⁷ The wadjet–standard does not figure on the plate of Philae Bénédite, pl. VII, scene ii.

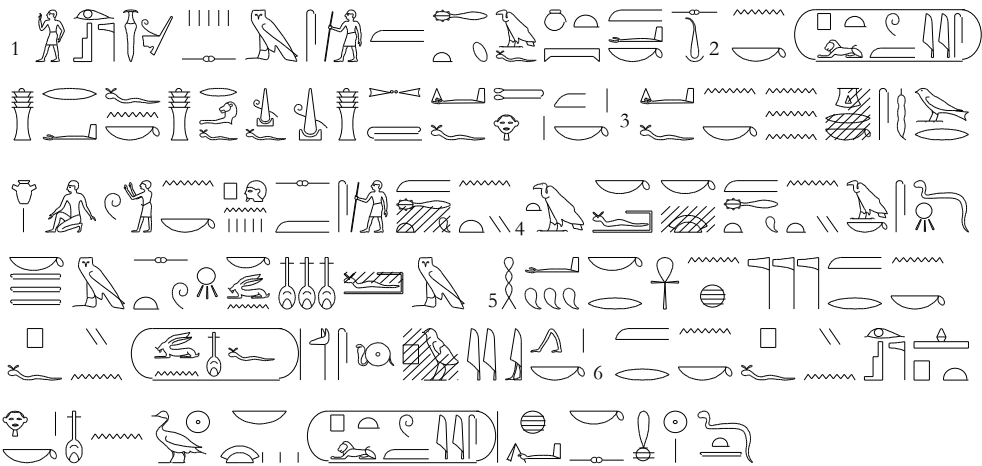
– Nekhbet: 

Nxb.t / Nekhbet.

– Osiris–Wennefer: dd mdw di.n<=i> n=k wsr nb Wsir–Wnnfr⁸²⁸ nTr a3
nb I3.t–wab.t

Recitation: I hereby give you all strength. Osiris–Wennefer, the great
god, lord of the Abaton.

Six columns of text are engraved between pharaoh Ptolemaios and Osiris–Wennefer:⁸²⁹



iAw Wsir tpy n 5 smsw m X.t mw.t=f Nw.t mk smn n=k Ptrwmys
Dd rdi=f n=k Dd r–HA.t=f wDA=f wDA Dd⁸³⁰ Ts pXr di=f tw Hr
gs=k⁸³¹ di=f n=k mw Xr=k⁸³² snDm wr<D>–ib iAw n=k tpy n 5 smsw
m X.t n.t mw.t=k pr=k [xa]⁸³³<.ti> m X.t n.t mw.t=k sHD=k
tA.w m stw.t=k wnnfr.w pr m Ha.w=k r anx nTr.w m rn=k pfy n

⁸²⁸ The name Wnnfr was not written in a cartouche as suggested by the copy of the text in Philae Bénédite, 20.

⁸²⁹ Part of this hymn was already translated previously: CHASSINAT (1966:321, n. 2) = Philae Bénédite, 20, 10–11, and BRUGSCH (1891:770, col. 1); and ŽABKAR (1981:144, n. 25) = Philae Bénédite, 20, 12, and BRUGSCH (1891:770, col. 3–4). My copy of the hymn is based on the publication of this text by BRUGSCH (1891:770) and observations on site.

⁸³⁰ For similar expressions consult WESTENDORF (1955:387, and 396–397).

⁸³¹ A close parallel of this text is found in spell 155 of the Book of the Dead: di=k tw r gs=k or ‘may you put/place yourself on your side’. ALLEN (1974:154), and FAULKNER (1985:155).

⁸³² A close parallel of this text is found in spell 155 of the Book of the Dead: di=i mw Xr=k or ‘I place water beneath you’. ALLEN (1974:154), and FAULKNER (1985:155).

⁸³³ This reading is suggested by ŽABKAR (1981:144, n. 25).

Wn-nfr wsr Ra pwy iy=k m rn=k pfy n Wsir Htp Hr=k nfr n sA
Ra nb xa.w Ptrwmys xw=k s<w> mi Ra D.t

‘Praising Osiris, the first of the five, the eldest in the body of his mother Nut. Behold, Ptolemaios establishes the djed–pillar for you. He places for you the djed–pillar before him/at his forehead. When he is healthy, healthy is the djed and the other way round.⁸³⁴ He places you at your side that he may place for you water beneath you to make pleasant the Weary–hearted one.⁸³⁵ Praising you, the first of five, the eldest in the body of your mother. May you come forth, appearing from the body of your mother and may you illuminate the lands with your rays. Beautiful things exist⁸³⁶ that come forth out of your limbs in order that the gods may live in that name of yours of Wennefer. It is the strength of Ra. May you come in that name of yours of Osiris, may your beautiful face be at peace for the son of Ra, lord of the crowns, Ptolemaios, and may you protect him like Ra forever’.

The scene depicts the pharaoh in a gesture of adoration in front of Osiris–Wennefer, but the main focus of the inscription accompanying the scene is a non–depicted djed–pillar.⁸³⁷ The djed–pillar is closely associated with Osiris and at least from the New Kingdom onwards represents the spinal column of the god. It evokes the idea of stability and duration and, as a symbol of Osiris, also the concept of regeneration and return to life. The pillar occurs both in a funerary context and in the temple cult. As a funerary amulet, mainly produced from faience and lapis lazuli, it is attested for all periods of ancient Egyptian history and is often placed on the throat or the chest of the deceased.⁸³⁸ The pillar also forms the subject of the Book of the Dead spell 155 — rA n Dd n nbw or ‘spell for the Dd–amulet of gold’⁸³⁹ — as part of a series of spells (155–160) dedicated to various amulets to be placed upon the body of the

⁸³⁴ The text turned around would read: ‘when he is healthy, healthy is the djed, and when the djed is healthy, healthy is he’. I would like to thank dr H. Györy for this reading.

⁸³⁵ The epithet is also used for Osiris in Chapter 155 of the Book of the Dead. See also Wb I, 338, and WILSON (1997a:247).

⁸³⁶ The opening of the sentence (wn nfr .w) is undoubtedly a play on the name of the god Wennefer (wnnfr or ‘the one that is eternally youthful’) that features at the end of the sentence.

⁸³⁷ LdÄ I, 1100–1105; RÄRG, 149–153, and DAVID (1981:122–123).

⁸³⁸ SMITH (1914: plate xxxii, fig. 2) shows for instance a djed–pillar amulet at the throat of a deceased. See also DAVIES – GARDINER (1915:112–113); ANDREWS (1994:82–83), and DODSON – IKRAM (1998:138 and 144).

⁸³⁹ NAVILLE (1903:299–300); ALLEN (1974:154–155), and FAULKNER (1985:154–155).

deceased.⁸⁴⁰ The main theme of spell 155 is the return of the backbone (the djed-pillar) to the deceased so he can raise himself from the dead.

The djed-pillar also had its place in the temple cult, specifically in the rite of ‘erecting the djed-pillar’ (saHa Dd) at the end of the Osiris festival in the month of Khoiak.⁸⁴¹ These festivities, which date back at least to the Middle Kingdom, are described in great detail in a long inscription in the first east Osiris chapel on the roof of the temple of Dendara.⁸⁴² The festival consisted of various stages or rites surrounding the death, burial and resurrection of Osiris. The pillar itself, erected on the final day of the festival (Khoiak 30), symbolised the return to life of the god. It has been suggested but not yet adequately proven that a similar rite also took place during the sed-festival of the pharaoh.⁸⁴³ In the Ptolemaic and Roman temple reliefs the djed-pillar was at times joined by two other important concepts – anx (‘life’) and wAs (‘dominion’) – that together formed an offering regularly presented by the pharaoh to the deities, and to Osiris in particular.⁸⁴⁴

The concept of the djed-pillar as a protective amulet and a symbol of regeneration in spell 155 of the Book of the Dead appears to have formed the main source of inspiration for the composers of the specific text on the north wall of the open court in the temple of Isis in Philae. The opening passage of the inscription with the epithet proclaiming Osiris ‘the first of the five, the eldest in the body of his mother Nut’ (tpy n 5 smsw m X.t mw.t=f)

⁸⁴⁰ Other amulets include a tit-amulet (spell 156), a golden vulture (spell 157), a golden collar (spell 158), and a papyrus-column (spells 159 and 160). ALLEN (1974:154–156); FAULKNER (1985:154–158), and MUNRO (2003:49–60). On the use of the Book of the Dead in temple rituals, consult GEE (2006).

⁸⁴¹ On the Khoiak-festival in general consult RÄRG, 494–496; CHASSINAT (1966); DAVID (1981:124–125); CAUVILLE (1997b:39–70), and EATON (2006). On the rite of ‘erecting the djed-pillar’ during the festival: VAN DE WALLE (1954); CHASSINAT (1966:756); BLEEKER (1967:116–117); DAVID (1981:123–124), and MIKHAIL (1984:56–65). PARK (1995) has argued rather unconvincingly that in the first Osiris hall in the temple of Seti I in Abydos the representation of a tilted djed-pillar refers to the autumn equinox and that of a raised djed-pillar to the spring equinox and rebirth of Osiris. Perhaps from the New Kingdom and definitely in Ptolemaic and Roman times, the Khoiak-festival of Osiris absorbed elements from the Sokar-festival – EATON (2006:97).

⁸⁴² Dendara X, 26–50, plates 3–5, and 25–30, and CAUVILLE (1997a:17–19, and 220–224).

⁸⁴³ But MIKHAIL (1984:51–56) strongly argues against the occurrence of the ritual of ‘raising the djed-pillar’ during the sed-festival.

⁸⁴⁴ WINTER (1968:69–102). In this offering the djed-pillar represents Osiris, protected by Shu (anx) and Tefnut (wAs).

occurs in various spells of the Book of the Dead.⁸⁴⁵ The epithet refers to Osiris as the first of the gods to be delivered by Nut during the five epagomenal days.⁸⁴⁶ The reference to the five days preceding the New Year, during which the ‘union with the sun disc’ most likely took place in the open court, is in my opinion undoubtedly no coincidence. The first half of the inscription continues with the presentation of the pillar to the god referred to as the ‘weary-hearted one’ (wꜣꜣ-ib) like in spell 155, and includes an almost accurate copy of a part of the spell (di=f tꜣ Hr gꜣ=k di=f n=k mw Xꜣ=k).

The result of the offering is the central theme of the second half of the inscription: the rebirth of Osiris and with him of the entire land. In his aspect of a revived deity, Osiris is often called Wennefer or ‘the one whose youth/perfection exists forever’ (mꜣ rn=k ꜣꜣꜣ n Wnnꜣꜣꜣ). The reborn god is in this passage closely associated with the sun god Ra as he illuminates the land with his rays (ꜣꜣꜣꜣ=k tꜣ.ꜣ ꜣ ꜣꜣꜣ.ꜣ=k) and causes produce to grow from his limbs (ꜣꜣꜣ ꜣ ꜣ.ꜣ=k). This passage brings to mind a scene in the Osiris chapel in the south-west corner on top of the roof of the temple of Philae. The relief, which dates from the Roman period (second century AD), forms a part of a series of scenes depicting the death, burial and resurrection of Osiris.⁸⁴⁷ The relief in question portrays Osiris, lying on a bed, with grain growing out from his body, and a priest performing a libation.⁸⁴⁸ (fig. 56, lower register)

⁸⁴⁵ For instance spells 183 and 185. ALLEN (1974:202 and 205). Similar epithets are also found in a series of hymns dedicated to Osiris from the Late Period and the Ptolemaic and Roman era – ŽABKAR (1981:141–145).

⁸⁴⁶ CHASSINAT (1966:321, n. 2). The epithet *smsw* or ‘eldest’ appears to have been applied to the five deities that were born during the five epagomenal days – CHASSINAT (1966:320–321).

⁸⁴⁷ Philae Bénédite, 119–127, plates XXXV–XLII; and CAUVILLE (1997a, vol. 2:270–273).

⁸⁴⁸ Philae Bénédite, plate XL, and PETERS–DÉSTERACT (1997:196–197).

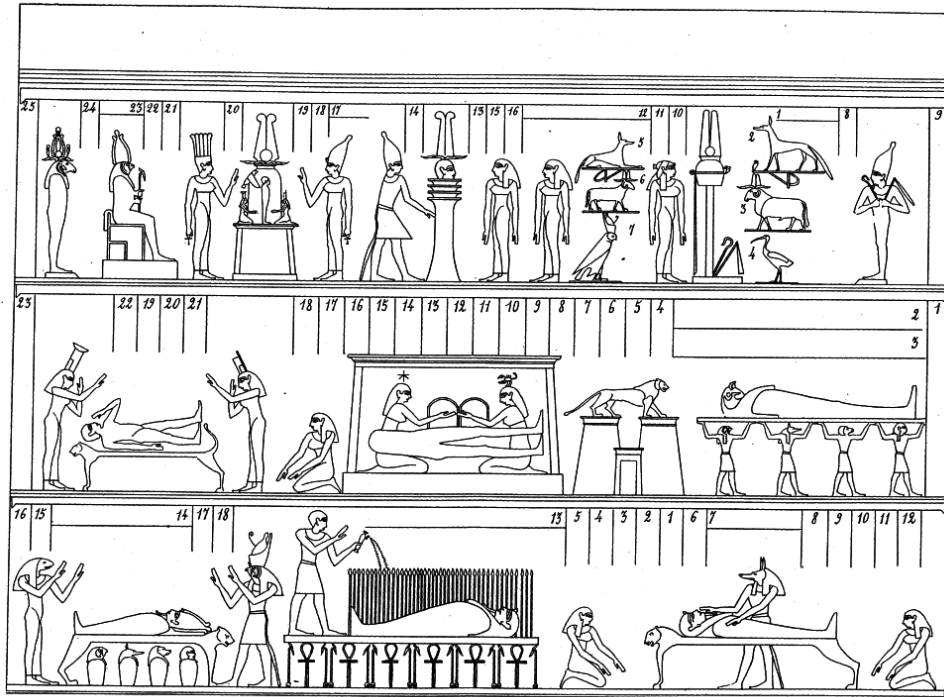


Fig. 56 The depiction of Osiris as a corn-mummy in Philae
(Philae Bénédite, plate XL)

The scene is a representation of the so-called corn mummies.⁸⁴⁹ Corn mummies usually vary in shape, size, and from one region to another and one period to another, but are in general mummiform objects representing Osiris or Sokar. New corn-mummies were produced during the Khoiak-festival and underwent a series of procedures and rites similar to the embalming process: they received unguents and were wrapped in linen. The interior of the corn mummies usually contained earth mixed with grains of corn and appears to have been regularly watered and placed in the sun, which might have led to the germination of the grain. During the Khoiak-festival corn mummies that had been produced the year before were officially buried.

The general theme of the corn-mummies — and the Khoiak-festival as a whole — and likewise of the djed-pillar is the resurrection of Osiris. The decision to engrave this text dealing with the presentation of the djed-pillar to the god Osiris on the north wall of the open court is most appropriate since the text's main concept clearly expresses the central theme of the Xnm-itn-ritual that took place at the 'seat of the first feast': renewal or rejuvenation.

⁸⁴⁹ LdÄ III, 744–746; RÄRG, 391–392; CHASSINAT (1966:41–51); RAVEN (1982), and BEINLICH (1984:272–289).

i. Document 17: Presenting the menat–necklace with counterweight to Isis⁸⁵⁰

The final scene on the third register portrays the pharaoh wearing the atef–crown, a broad collar and a short triangular skirt with a ceremonial tail. (fig. 57) In his outstretched hands he holds the menat–necklace with counterweight, surmounted by the head of Hathor. Above the head of the king a sun disc with a uraeus protruding from each side is suspended. In front of the feet of the king a hes–vessel and three flowers tied together are placed upon a small round table with a single pedestal.

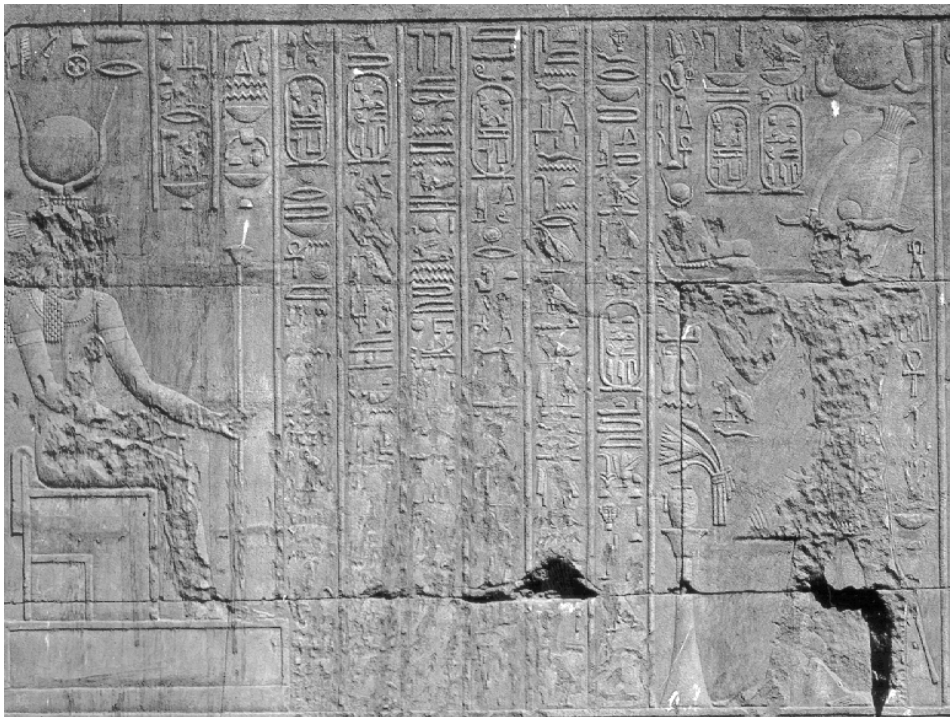


Fig. 57 Presenting the menat–necklace with counterweight to Isis
(JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 703)

The goddess is adorned with the vulture cap and a pedestal–like support carrying the sun disc and cow horns. She wears a broad collar and a tight fitting wrap–around dress, and is seated on a block throne on top of a large pedestal. In her left hand she holds the papyrus sceptre, while her right hand, holding the ankh–sign, is lying in her lap. A wadjet–standard features in between the cartouches and the first column with inscriptions of Isis.⁸⁵¹ The cobra on top of the standard is adorned with the atef–crown, holds the was–sceptre, and faces the pharaoh.

⁸⁵⁰ PM VI, 240, no. 310–311; Philae Bénédite, 20, 4–9 and pl. VII, scene i; JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 703); ŽABKAR (1988:126 and 184, n. 67), and VASSILIKA (1989: database no. 657).

⁸⁵¹ The wadjet–standard does not figure on the plate of Philae Bénédite, pl. VII, scene i.

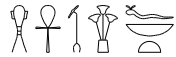
– Title: 

Hnk mni.t n mw.t=f


Presenting the menat to his mother.

– Pharaoh: nTr nfr nb tA.wy wsr-kA-Ra mry-Imn sA Ra nb xa.w
Ptrwmys

The perfect god, lord of the two lands Userkara Meramun, son of Ra, lord of the crowns Ptolemaios.



sA anx wAs HA=f nb.t / All protection, life and dominion behind him.

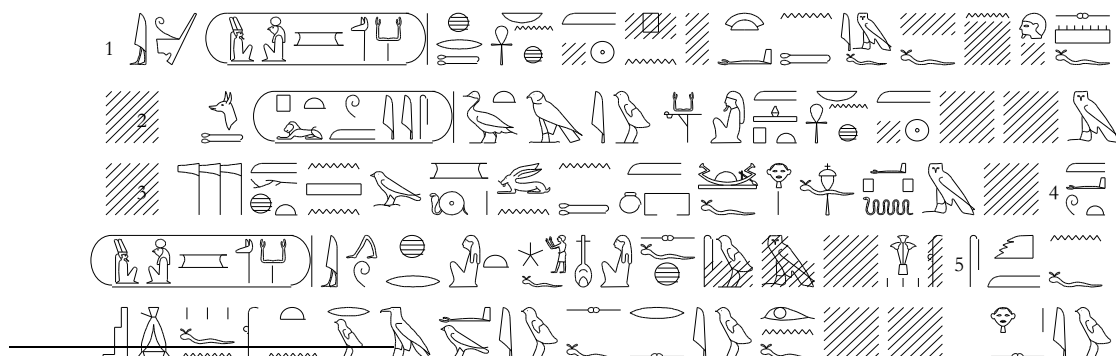
– Wadjet: 

di=s anx wAs / May she give life and dominion.

– Isis: Dd mdw di.n<=i> n=k Aw.t-ib nb.t % .t wr.t mw.t nTr
nb.t Iw-rq mry

Recitation: I hereby give you all joy. Isis, the great, mother of the god, mistress of Philae, beloved.

Six columns of text feature in between the pharaoh and Isis. A similar text is also found in the 'hall of the ennead' in the temple of Isis in Philae,⁸⁵² in an inscription from the reign of Ptolemaios IV on the south thickness of the first doorway into the temple of Isis in Aswan,⁸⁵³ and in an unpublished inscription in the temple of Isis in Dendara.⁸⁵⁴



⁸⁵² Philae Bénédite, 51, 6–10, and pl. XIX, scene vi = PM VI, 241, no. 337; JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 1086, and VASSILIKA (1989: database no. 710). In my reproduction of this text in the appendix I have made use of the more recent copy of ŽABKAR (1988:117) and the notes of GOYON (1993:92).

⁸⁵³ BRESCIANI – PERNIGOTTI (1978:66–67, and pl. xvi).

⁸⁵⁴ Some information on the unpublished inscription can be consulted in GOYON (1993:92).

Hr=f r k.T iy.ti mAw⁸⁷⁰ iw sA Ra Ptrwmys xa.t m nsw.t bit.y Hr
s.t @r d.t

‘Userkara Meramun has come to you, mistress of life, on this [beautiful day] on which you have appeared. He [ties on] for [you the tepe^t-uraeus]. He fastens [onto you] the white crown. Ptolemaios is your son Horus.⁸⁷¹ <Your> ka is in peace, mistress of life, on [this beautiful] day on [which you have appeared, whom] the gods [have pacified] after <her> rage. Beloved of Ra, you are in his barque repelling Apophis with [the magical powers of your utterance].⁸⁷² Behold, Userkara Meramun comes to you so he may adore <your> beauty. Release him from the [impurities/impediments] of the previous⁸⁷³ year, his impurities of this year are done away with, they⁸⁷⁴ are dispelled and his back is towards it. When he awoke,⁸⁷⁵ her face (= the year)⁸⁷⁶ was pacified, and his face was turned towards the other (year) that had come anew. May the son of Ra, Ptolemaios, appear as king of Upper and Lower Egypt on the throne of Horus forever’.

The final inscription on the north wall of the open court relates some of the central themes and events surrounding the transitional period between the very end of the old year and the beginning of the new year, and the appearance of the goddess in procession at the time of the

⁸⁶⁹ ŽABKAR (1988:117, col. 8), and GOYON (1993:92).

⁸⁷⁰ From this point onwards, the hymn in the ‘hall of the ennead’ continues with a negative confession, which is not taken over in the text in the court.

⁸⁷¹ In the translation of the parallel hymns in the ‘hall of the ennead’ and in the temple of Aswan, ŽABKAR (1988:119) and BRESCIANI – PERNIGOTTI (1978:67) translate this passage as ‘Usikara–Meramun, your son Horus / Tolemeo... Horo figlio tuo’. I have opted for a nominal sentence instead: the pharaoh comes to Isis, ties the uraeus onto her and is subsequently identified as her son Horus. On the close association between Horus and the pharaoh in the temple of Isis in Philae, see already the analysis of Documents 3 and 4.

⁸⁷² A similar expression is found in the mammisi in Philae: DAUMAS (1958:325) = Philae II, 7, 20.

⁸⁷³ I follow the reading of ŽABKAR (1988:182, n. 22) for this particular passage, in which HAwty is understood as referring to ‘early, past, previous’ (Wb III, 29). BRESCIANI – PERNIGOTTI (1978:67) translate: ‘nemici dell’inizio dell’anno’ or ‘the dangers of the beginning of the year’. It is however more likely that the ‘impurities of the past/previous year’ are intended here. The period prior to the New Year and not the beginning of the New Year itself was considered a period of danger. For instance: YOYOTTE (1980:64–65).

⁸⁷⁴ Undoubtedly sDbw=f or the impurities or impediments clinging to the pharaoh are meant – ŽABKAR (1988:118–119).

⁸⁷⁵ The expression might refer to awaking after death, or rather to the time of rebirth and renewal – WILSON (1997:591).

⁸⁷⁶ GOYON (1993:92).

New Year. The text is a reduced version of a hymn that occurs on at least three other occasions and is always associated with Isis: in the ‘hall of the ennead’ in the temple of Isis at Philae, where it accompanies a scene depicting Ptolemaios II in a state of adoration in front of Isis,⁸⁷⁷ on the south thickness of the first doorway into the temple of Isis in Aswan from the reign of Ptolemaios IV, and in an unpublished inscription from the small temple of Isis in the temple domain of Hathor at Dendara.⁸⁷⁸ Similar ideas are also expressed for instance in the final text of the ritual of appeasing Sekhmet, dated to the last month of the year and engraved on one of the six architraves in the pronaos of the temple of Edfu. This inscription dates from the reign of Ptolemaios VIII Euergetes II.⁸⁷⁹

The first part of the text contains several references to the arrival of the goddess (m hrw pn nfr xa .n=T im=f) and the presentation of several regalia to her (the tp .t–uraeus and HAt or white crown). The ‘beautiful day’ on which the goddess comes forth is undoubtedly a reference to her appearance in procession to the ‘seat of the first feast’ on the first day of the New Year.⁸⁸⁰ The transition from the old to the new, and especially the time of the epagomenal days, was considered to be a period filled with dangerous and life-threatening events for both god and men in ancient Egypt.⁸⁸¹ In the inscription Isis is identified with the raging and distant goddess that has returned in peace to Egypt,⁸⁸² and her frightening aspects are now used to drive off the evil and impurities that threaten her and the entire creation at this time of the year. The goddess herself receives protection, especially in the form of the uraeus placed upon her head and the menat–necklace with counterweight offered to her by the pharaoh.

The second half of the inscription continues this thread and contains a plea to protect the pharaoh from his enemies and to free him from any impurities clinging to him so that he may

⁸⁷⁷ On this text, see ŽABKAR (1988:115–127), and GOYON (1993:92–93).

⁸⁷⁸ In general on the temple: CAUVILLE (1992).

⁸⁷⁹ Edfou III, 322, 4–323, 3, and GOYON (2006:115–123, especially 119, n. 18).

⁸⁸⁰ ŽABKAR (1988:120–121).

⁸⁸¹ On the importance of protection from evil before the arrival of the New Year, see already my commentary for Documents 13 and 14. In general, consult JANKUHN (1972:5–7); HOENES (1976:67–78); YOYOTTE (1980:64–67); GERMOND (1981:207–212), and ŽABKAR (1988:121–123). On appeasing Sekhmet (sHtp %xmt) in her form of a raging goddess, consult especially CAUVILLE (2002a:121–140), and GOYON (2006).

⁸⁸² In general: JUNKER (1911; 1917); SETHE (1912), and INCONNU–BOCQUILLON (2001). On the relation between Isis and the distant goddess, see ŽABKAR (1988:60–64).

enter the New Year in a pure state. Some of the expressions used in this part of the inscription (especially *sfx sw m sDbw n HAwtyw rnp.t skm n=f sDb.w=f n rnp.t tn*) appear to date back to much earlier examples and are similar to passages found both in the Book of the Dead (spell 17) and in the Coffin Texts (spell 335, 208–210). In the ‘hall of the ennead’ at Philae the text continues with a passage that testifies that the pharaoh is free of all evil: *n Dwt r.f in DADAt sXd.w diw Tms.w n Xrt rnpt* or ‘no evil is held against him (= the pharaoh) by the council of the ones that are upside down,⁸⁸³ who inflict evil of that what is under the (past) year’. The last passage of the text in the temple of Isis in Aswan also features a similar but briefer wording: *nHm=k Ptrwmys anx D.t mry %.t m-a pr Tmsw r=f m rnp.t tn* or ‘May you (= Isis) save/protect Ptolemaios, living forever, beloved of Isis, from the evil coming out against him in this year’.⁸⁸⁴

Although there is no direct reference in the inscription to the object offered by the pharaoh on the scene, the presented menat–necklace with counterweight encompasses most of the themes expressed in the text: the necklace calms the raging goddess, provides protection and expresses the idea of renewal.⁸⁸⁵ The necklace is most often associated with Hathor, whose head often features on the counterweight (fig. 57),⁸⁸⁶ but would later on also be regularly offered to Isis. The head of a lion, referring to (raging) goddesses like Sekhmet, Bastet and Tefnut, also often appears on the counterweight.⁸⁸⁷ This type of necklace with counterweight can either be worn, or used as a musical instrument that produces a sort of rattling noise. As a musical instrument,⁸⁸⁸ it is often presented by the pharaoh to a goddess in order to calm her rage with the rattling sound.⁸⁸⁹ Worn around the neck, it protects its wearer from all sorts of diseases and impurities. In return for presenting the necklace to a goddess, the pharaoh is

⁸⁸³ The term *sxd* is often used to indicate the manner of going through the underworld or a reversal of normal life. WILSON (1997:917–918).

⁸⁸⁴ BRESCIANI – PERNIGOTTI (1978:66).

⁸⁸⁵ On the rite of offering the menat–necklace and its counterweight, consult LdÄ IV, 52–53; RÄRG 450–451; BARGUET (1952); LECLANT (1961); QUAEGEBEUR (1983:19–22); LABRIQUE (1992:225), and LEITZ (2001:182–185).

⁸⁸⁶ For other examples, consult for instance BARGUET (1952:105, fig. 3) or QUAEGEBEUR (1983:18, fig. 1c–d and 20, fig. 2c).

⁸⁸⁷ For instance: QUAEGEBEUR (1983:18, fig. 1e), and GYÖRY (1989). For examples of different types of scenes on the counterweights, consult ROEDER (1956:466–473).

⁸⁸⁸ DE GARIS DAVIES (1941:20–21, and plate xviii), and HICKMANN (1954).

⁸⁸⁹ BRUNNER (1955:7–11), and QUAEGEBEUR (1983:21).

often granted protection and all diseases are removed from him – a theme that is also expressed in detail in the accompanying inscription.

In the temple of Horus in Edfu, the necklace was often associated with the testicles of Seth that had been cut off in a fight between Horus and Seth.⁸⁹⁰ The offering of the necklace is in this perspective often associated with fertility and birth, but also with rebirth and rejuvenation. The scenes on the counterweight depicting a goddess breastfeeding the pharaoh or a child–god are also interpreted as symbolising a sort of passage or a rebirth,⁸⁹¹ and the idea of a renewal is also expressed through associations with the coronation and especially its renewal during the *sed*–festival.⁸⁹²

Given the various associations brought up by the presentation of the *menat*–necklace with counterweight, the choice to depict it in the final scene of the north wall of the ‘seat of the first feast’ is most appropriate: its protective function is of great importance during the days of chaos preceding the arrival of the New Year. At the same time the necklace also reflects the idea of renewal and rejuvenation associated with the New Year. These two themes also form the central ideas related in the accompanying inscription. The three objects presented to the deities on the third register of the north wall – the *usekh*–necklace (doc. 15), the *djed*–pillar (doc. 16), and the *menat*–necklace with counterweight (doc. 17) – all express the same concept: protection and, especially, renewal – the central theme of the rites performed in this open court or ‘seat of the first feast’ at the time of the New Year.

j. The north wall of the ‘seat of the first feast’ (doc. 9–17).

The nine scenes, divided over three registers, on the north wall of the ‘seat of the first feast’ (fig. 47) are grouped together both horizontally and vertically. The three horizontal registers depict three different types of acts performed by the pharaoh in front of the deity: approaching the shrine with the statue of the god on the first register (doc. 9–11), opening the shrine and revealing the face of the deity on the second (doc. 12–14), and providing

⁸⁹⁰ For instance: Edfou I, 56–57; Edfou III, 184–186, and Edfou IV, 100. See also BARGUET (1952:107).

⁸⁹¹ For instance BARGUET (1952:107–110), and LECLANT (1961:263–264).

⁸⁹² LECLANT (1961:272–274). The connection between the *menat*–necklace with counterweight and the *heb*–*sed* is perhaps most evident in a scene in the second hypostyle hall of the temple of Seti I at Abydos. The scene depicts the goddess Hathor holding in one hand the *menat*–necklace with counterweight and in the other the year–sign from which several *heb*–*sed* chapels are hanging. See GARDINER–CALVERLY (1958:13), and DAVID (1981:39).

necklaces and protective material to the deity on the third register (doc. 15–17).⁸⁹³ The wall is also divided in a vertical manner through the distribution of the deities over the three registers. The pharaoh faces Isis in the east scenes of the three registers (doc. 9, 12, and 15), Osiris(–Wennefer) in the central scenes (doc. 10, 13, and 16), and once more Isis in the west scenes of the three registers (doc. 11, 14, and 17). In this manner, each deity is approached, his or her face is revealed, and the deity is provided with a protective amulet.

The inscriptions that accompany these nine scenes provide a glance into a most interesting stage in the development, and especially on the transmission and (re)interpretation of ancient Egyptian texts in the early Ptolemaic period.⁸⁹⁴ These inscriptions and reliefs from the oldest preserved example of a ‘seat of the first feast’ in Ptolemaic times are most illustrative of the different ways in which the scribes approached age–old texts. In order to fill the wall with appropriate texts, which relate some of the main themes of (if not actual) events that took place in this open court,⁸⁹⁵ the editors of these scenes not only created new reliefs and inscriptions, but reused and edited a large variety of older material that best expressed the ideas and concepts behind the function of this space.

While the Daily Temple Ritual formed the main source of textual material that was used on the north wall, the wall also features several of the most important religious texts from ancient Egypt represented in one form or another, including passages copied from or inspired by the Pyramid Texts, the Coffin Texts, the Book of the Dead or Going Forth By Day, and the ritual of the ‘opening of the mouth’. On the one hand we find almost direct transmission of ritual texts, such as Pyramid Text Utterance 600 (doc. 15) or Chapter 25 of the Daily Temple Ritual (doc. 10). In these examples the scribes copied large portions of the basic text (most likely kept in the temple archives) and only modified the names of the ruler and deity mentioned. Occasionally the scribes also shortened the text because of the limited amount of space available for the inscription. The combination of various texts, e.g. in the prostration–scene where parts of four chapters of the Daily Temple Ritual are combined (doc. 9), or the

⁸⁹³ The central scene of the third register does not depict but only mentions the presentation of the djed–pillar amulet to the god. The scene itself shows the pharaoh praising Osiris–Wennefer (doc. 16).

⁸⁹⁴ In the 1980’s the late ŽABKAR (1980; 1983; 1988) already pointed out that the inscriptions from the sanctuary and the ‘hall of the ennead’ of the temple of Isis provide interesting information on the transmission and editing of ancient Egyptian hymns and ritual texts.

⁸⁹⁵ On the question whether some of the scenes depicted on the temple walls were actually carried out, consult GRAEFE (1979:47–48, and 1993). See also Chapter 5.

use of fragments of old inscriptions in new compositions (doc. 16 or 17), illustrate that the scribes in Philae were also very capable of adapting and reinterpreting ancient material in a new context. Other inscriptions, like one of the first typical texts accompanying the presentation of a mirror (doc. 14), testify to the creativity and knowledge of their composers.

The various inscriptions on the north wall of the open court clearly show the importance and need for the study of the texts from still other parts of the naos of the temple of Isis from the reign of Ptolemaios II. The numerous examples of the transmission, reinterpretation, and creation of ritual texts on the walls of the temple provide a unique insight into a most interesting stage in the development of ritual temple texts in the early Ptolemaic period and their transmission to other Ptolemaic temples.

The study of the nine inscriptions on the north wall of the ‘seat of the first feast’ in Philae revealed three main themes related to the function of the court. These themes roughly coincide with the acts depicted on the nine reliefs:

- a. The pharaoh approaches the naos containing the statue of the deity and proclaims his state of purity and his right as the legitimate heir to perform these acts (first register).
- b. The face of the deity is revealed and the statue of the god is reunited with its *ba* and rejuvenated (mainly on the second, but also on the third register).
- c. The deity and the pharaoh are protected by a series of spells and amulets. The inscriptions contain mainly references to the period immediately before the New Year when gods and men are threatened by the greatest danger (mainly on the third, but also on the second register).

The use of chapters and extracts of chapters from the Daily Temple Ritual by the editors of the Philae–texts to express the idea of a) the pharaoh approaching the shrine containing the statue of the deity and b) revealing the face of the god is very logical. There are striking similarities between some of the rituals performed on the statue of the deity during the Daily Temple Ritual in the sanctuary and the preparation of the statue for the $\text{Xnm-}i\text{t}n$ ritual in the open court. These similarities undoubtedly led the composers of the texts to select and adapt appropriate chapters and extracts from the Daily Temple Ritual for the inscriptions in the ‘seat of the first feast’. Although the concepts of renewal and protection are also incorporated in various chapters of the Daily Temple Ritual, the composers added for instance passages from the Pyramid Texts (PT Utterance 600) and the Book of the Dead

(spell 155) that covered the same ideas. These texts, and passages and notions from the ritual of the ‘opening of the mouth’ that were also used in the inscriptions, are commonly classified as ‘funerary literature’. The use of this term obscures the true meaning of these texts, which are mainly concerned with providing means for the deceased to live on after death.⁸⁹⁶ The underlying notions of renewal and rebirth in these texts link them with the function of the ‘seat of the first feast’ in Philae: renewal and rejuvenation through the ‘union with the sun disc’.⁸⁹⁷

The fourth theme that one regularly encounters in several of the inscriptions is a set of references to various aspects of kingship, such as the coronation and especially its renewal during the heb-sed, and the legitimate rule of the pharaoh as the successor of his father and Horus.⁸⁹⁸ The time of the New Year, when the renewal of the statues of the deities took place in the ‘seat of the first feast’, was also considered one of the ideal occasions for the ruler to be confirmed in his power as the legitimate heir to the throne,⁸⁹⁹ and most likely led to the inclusion of these references in the inscriptions.⁹⁰⁰ The analysis of the inscriptions and reliefs on the north wall of the ‘seat of the first feast’ clearly indicates that the main and recurring theme of these nine scenes is the idea of renewal and rejuvenation.

4.1.7. The west wall of the court (doc. 18–23)

The distribution of the pharaoh and the deities on the walls of the open court in Philae indicates that its west wall featured as the rear, and most important, wall of the ‘seat of the

⁸⁹⁶ The editors of the Philae-texts did not merely copy and reuse ancient material, but also incorporated new ideas, such as linking the revelation of the face of the deity in the Daily Temple Ritual with the idea of the goddess revealing her face in a mirror (doc. 14).

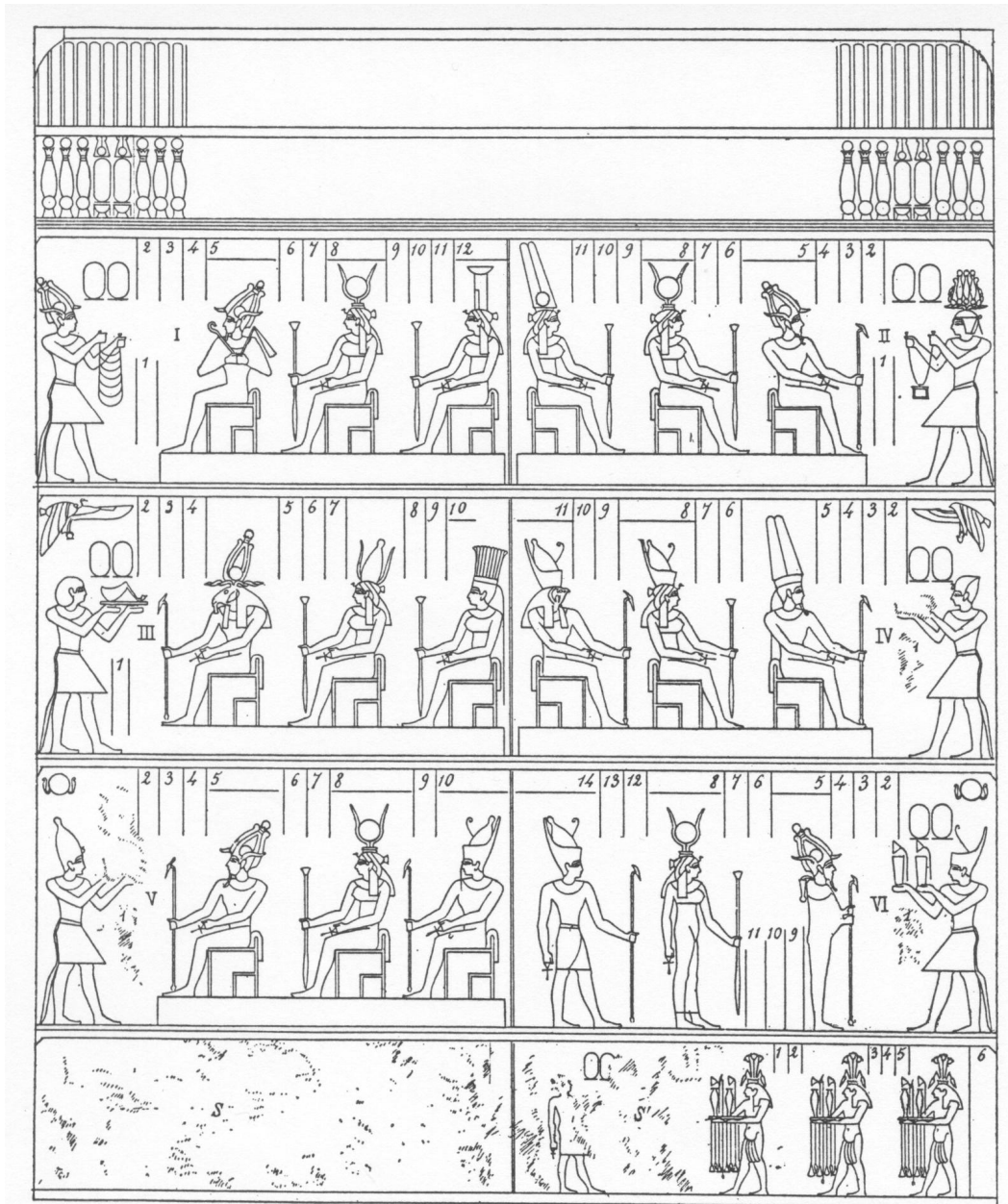
⁸⁹⁷ In the temple of Edfu the ritual of the ‘opening of the mouth’ was the major source of inspiration for the annual re-consecration of the temple. Edfou IV, 330, 12–331, 16, and BLACKMAN – FAIRMAN (1946).

⁸⁹⁸ See for instance documents 12, 13, and 16.

⁸⁹⁹ See especially GOYON (1972a:41–46), whose study of pBrooklyn 47.218.50 revealed that the festivities surrounding the confirmation of kingship had taken place for a total of 14 days, from the first epagomenal day until the ninth day of the month of Thot. See also Chapter 3.2.

⁹⁰⁰ The close association between the New Year’s festival in the temple and the coronation and confirmation of the pharaoh is expressed in greater detail in the complex of *wabet* and court in the temple of Edfu. See Chapter 3.2 and 4.2. The emphasis of the legitimate ruler aspect of the pharaoh is also stressed on the Hellenistic Harpocrates terracotta. A set of statues representing Harpocrates with the cornucopia and a falcon appear to refer to the legitimatisation of the Ptolemaic pharaoh at the time of the New Year according to GYÖRY (2002).

first feast' (fig. 58). The west wall of the open court is divided into three registers, with each register containing two scenes representing the pharaoh in front of a triad of deities.⁹⁰¹



*Fig. 58 The west wall of the open court in Philae
(Philae Bénédite, pl. VIII)*

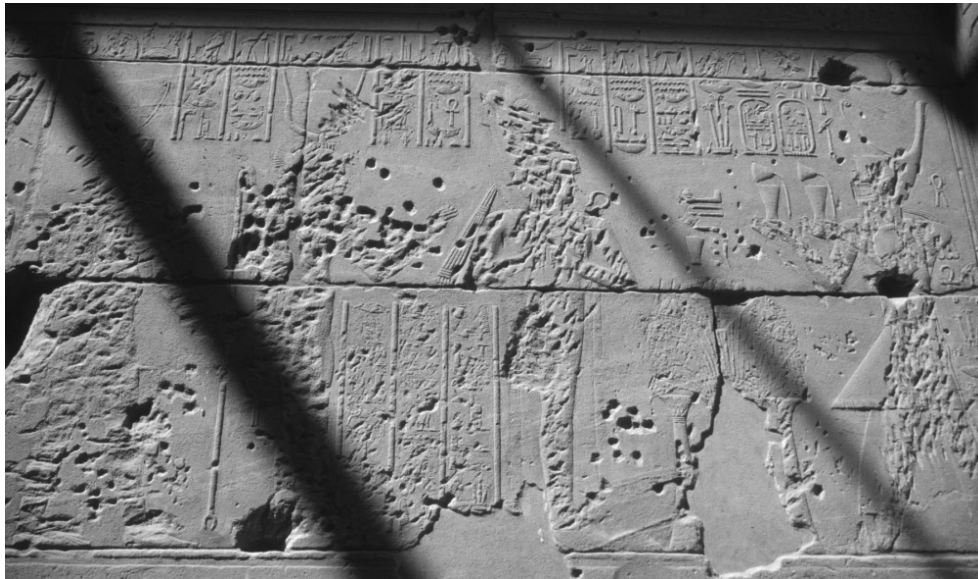
⁹⁰¹ The distribution of the triads on the west wall is dealt with at the end of this subchapter.



*Fig. 59 The west wall of the open court in Philae
(photo by the author)*

a. Document 18: Presenting the mD . t-unguent.⁹⁰²

The north scene of the lowest register on the west wall of the open court depicts Ptolemaios II in front of three deities of the nearby island of Bigeh: Osiris–Wennefer, Isis and Horsausir (‘Horus, son of Osiris’). (fig. 58, VI, and 60) The Ptolemaic ruler is adorned with the Lower Egyptian crown with a streamer, a broad collar and a long skirt underneath a short triangular skirt with a ceremonial tail. Above the head of the pharaoh a sun disc with a uraeus protruding on each side is depicted. In his outstretched arms the ruler holds two vessels surmounted by a lotus flower. Two small round tables, standing on pedestals and with a large bouquet of flowers in between, are positioned before the feet of Ptolemaios II. In between the cartouches and the first column of text accompanying Osiris–Wennefer, Nekhbet — in the guise of a vulture adorned with the atef–crown and holding a was–sceptre — is portrayed on a neb–basket above a bush of lotus plants.⁹⁰³



*Fig. 60 The presentation of the mD . t-unguent
(photo by the author)*

The three deities facing Ptolemaios II are all standing. Osiris–Wennefer is depicted with a false beard and the atef–crown. He wears a broad collar and a long sheet wrapped around his

⁹⁰² PM VI, 240, no. 308; Philae Bénédite, 24, 4–7, and pl. VIII, scene vi; JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 701), and VASSILIKA (1989: database no. 653).

⁹⁰³ Philae Bénédite, pl. VIII, scenes i–vi copied neither the table(s) with flowers (sometimes also with a hes–vessel on top of the table) nor the representations of Nekhbet or Wadjet for a single relief on this wall. VASSILIKA (1989: database no. 648–653, subheading ‘FURN’) studied the tables, but omits to mention the presence of Nekhbet (doc. 18 and 20) and Wadjet (doc. 21–23) on the west wall.


body. In his hands he holds the crook and flail.⁹⁰⁴ Isis is adorned with the vulture cap and a pedestal-like support carrying the sun disc and cow horns. A broad collar and a tight wrap-around dress complete her attire. Her right arm hangs loosely beside her body with the ankh-sign in her right hand. Her left arm stretches out in a gesture of greeting.⁹⁰⁵ The child-god Horsauser wears the double crown, a broad collar and a short triangular skirt with a ceremonial tail. His right arm hangs loosely beside his body. In his right hand he holds the ankh-sign and in his left hand the was-sceptre.

– Title: 

Hnk mD.t

Presenting mD.t-unguent

– Pharaoh: [nTr nfr nb tA.wy]⁹⁰⁶ wsr-kA-Ra mry-Imn sA Ra nb xa.w

Ptrowmys di anx wAs ()

The perfect god, lord of the two lands Userkara Meramun, son of Ra Ptolemaios, given life and dominion.



sA anx wAs HA=f nb mi Ra

All protection, life and dominion behind him like Ra.

– Osiris-Wennefer: Dd mdw di.n<=i> n=k⁹⁰⁷ x3s.wt nb.w m Htp Dd mdw di.n<=i> n=k wsr nb Wsir-Wnnfr nb IA.t-wab.t



Recitation: I hereby give you all the foreign lands in peace. Recitation: I hereby give you all might. Osiris-Wennefer, lord of the Abaton.


– Isis: dd mdw di.n<=i> n=k anx wAs nb %t wr.t mw.t nTr Hry.t-ib %nmw.t Hn.t nTr.w

Recitation: I hereby give you all life and dominion. Isis, the great, mother of the god, who is in the midst of Bigeh, mistress of the gods.

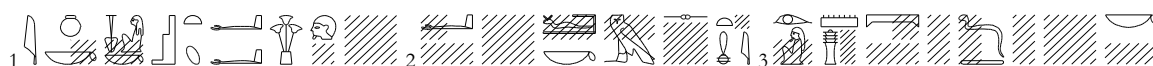
⁹⁰⁴ Philae Bénédite, pl. VIII, vi copied Osiris holding the was sceptre in both hands.

⁹⁰⁵ Philae Bénédite, pl. VIII, vi copied Isis holding the papyrus staff in her left hand.

⁹⁰⁶ Bénédite copied , but the cartouche of Ptolemaios II is clearly preceded by . The same mistake is also found in Bénédite's copy of the two scenes from the upper register of this wall (doc. 22–23). The opposing scene on this register (doc. 19) might also have contained this title, but this relief has unfortunately suffered extensive damage over the last century and Bénédite's copy can no longer be verified.

⁹⁰⁷ There is no trace of nor space for Bénédite's reading of .

The remaining fragments of the three columns with inscriptions before the feet of Isis were not completely published in Bénédite's study:⁹⁰⁸



ink smA.t⁹⁰⁹=k % .t a.wy<=i> HA [...] a [...] pr=k m s[...].t
mi Wsir mn Dd [...] p.t/Hry [...] D.t [...] =k [...]

I am your companion(?)⁹¹⁰ Isis, both <my> arms are behind [...] when you come out of [...] like Osiris (who?) established? [...] heaven / which is above [...] forever [...] your? [...].

–Horsausir: Dd mdw di.n<=i> n=k qn nb @r-sA-Wsir Hry-ib IA.t-wab.t


Recitation: I hereby give you all strength. Horsausir, who is in the midst of the Abaton.

The two vessels surmounted by a lotus-flower that Ptolemaios II presents to Osiris-Wennefer of Bigeh contain, according to the title of the scene, the mD.t-unguent.⁹¹¹ The offering is often, but not solely, presented to the god Osiris and its producer is in numerous temple texts identified as the god Shesmu.⁹¹² The unguent already occurred in an inscription on the north wall of the 'seat of the first feast' and has been dealt with in detail (doc. 13). It is used in a large variety of rituals in the temple and the funerary sphere where it is applied to the statue of the god or the body of the deceased in order to rejuvenate and regenerate it.

b. Document 19: Presenting stripes of cloth.⁹¹³

The south scene on the lowest register of the west wall is badly damaged and at present only traces of the text and relief remain. (fig. 61) The relief depicts pharaoh Ptolemaios II in front

⁹⁰⁸ The new copy of the text is the result of a joint effort with Dr Renata Landgráfová.

⁹⁰⁹ At present only the top half of the sign is still visible. In his copy of this passage Bénédite read  or smA.

⁹¹⁰ The determinative of a seated woman suggests that smA.t or 'companion' might be a plausible reading for this passage (Wb III, 450). In the scene Isis is depicted behind Osiris as his companion/wife, and she has her hand raised in a gesture of greeting/protection behind the back of the god.

⁹¹¹ Wb I, 63; Wb II, 185; CHASSINAT (1931:117–121; 1968:591–592), and WILSON (1997:484–485).

⁹¹² For instance: Dendara I, 145, 13, and Dendara IV, 102, 1–2; 104, 2; 137, 5, and 140, 14–15. For more information on the god Shesmu, consult: LdÄ V, 590–591; RÄRG 679–680, and CICCARELLO (1977).

⁹¹³ PM VI, 240, no. 308; Philae Bénédite, 24, 1–3, and pl. VIII, scene v; JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 702), and VASSILIKA (1989: database no. 652).

of the triad of Philae: Osiris, Isis and Harpocrates. Ptolemaios II wears the Upper Egyptian crown, a broad necklace and a short triangular skirt with a ceremonial tail. In his outstretched hands one can still recognize small traces of cloth in the shape of two stripes folded in half.⁹¹⁴ Above the head of the ruler a sun disc with a uraeus protruding on each side is depicted. It is presently impossible to ascertain whether the three deities facing Ptolemaios II were seated, which is how Bénéдите depicted them (fig. 58, V), or standing.⁹¹⁵ It is worth noting that in every other instance in the temple the deities on the first register are always portrayed standing up. It could not be established either whether a small round table on a pedestal was depicted in between the pharaoh and the gods.⁹¹⁶



*Fig. 61 Presenting stripes of cloth
(photo by the author)*

Osiris is depicted with a false beard and the atef-crown. He wears a broad collar and a long sheet around his body. The head of Isis is crowned with the vulture cap and a pedestal-like support carrying the sun disc and cow horns. The goddess is dressed in a tight fitting wrap-around dress and wears a broad necklace. Harpocrates is adorned with the double crown and

⁹¹⁴ This offering apparently has not been recognised by other scholars. See: Philae Bénéдите, pl. VIII, v; PM VI, 240, no. 308; VASSILIKA (1989: database no. 652, subheading 'offer': not present), and PETERS-DÉSTERACT (1997:168).

⁹¹⁵ VASSILIKA (1989: database no. 652, subheading 'misc') claims that the deities were standing.

⁹¹⁶ The fact that this table was not copied by Bénéдите does not necessarily imply that it was not engraved. In the five other scenes of this wall (doc. 18 and 20–23) such a table was present but never got copied.

a broad collar. He might have been dressed in a short triangular skirt with a ceremonial tail like his counterpart Horsausir on the opposite scene (doc. 18 and fig. 60), or depicted completely naked,⁹¹⁷ but not a single trace of his body is nowadays visible. According to Bénéдите all these deities were holding an ankh–sign in their left hand, while Osiris and Harpocrates both had the was–sceptre and Isis a papyrus staff in their right hand, but not a trace of these items could be recognised on site.

– Title: [...]

– Pharaoh: nsw.t bit.y/nTr nfr nb tA.wy⁹¹⁸ wsr-kA–Ra mry–Imn sA
Ra Ptrwmys

King of Upper and Lower Egypt/The perfect god, lord of the two lands
Userkara Meramun, son of Ra Ptolemaios.



[sA anx wAs] HA=f nb mi Ra

All [protection, life and dominion] behind him like Ra.



– Osiris: Dd mdw di.n<=i> n=k wsr Dd mdw di.n<=i> n=k qn nb
Wsir xnt.y [imnt.t]⁹¹⁹ nb Iw–rq mry



Recitation: I hereby give you might. Recitation: I hereby give you all strength.
Osiris, the Foremost of [the Westerners], lord of Philae, beloved.

– Isis: Dd mdw di.n<=i> n=k tA.w nb.w m Htp %t wr.t mw.t
ntr [di.t anx]⁹²⁰ nb.t Iw–rq nb.t x3s.wt

Recitation: I hereby give you all lands in peace. Isis, the great, mother of the
god, [who gives life], mistress of Philae, mistress of the foreign lands.

⁹¹⁷ Harpocrates is often depicted naked in the temple: Philae Bénéдите, plates XI, scenes i and i'; XIV–XV, scene i, i' and iii', and XXI, scene a, and JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: nos. 1059–1060; 1063–1066; 1095, and 1099).

⁹¹⁸ Bénéдите copied , but it is possible that  was engraved instead. This is for instance also the case in the opposite scene in the first register and in the two scenes in the upper register of this wall (doc. 18, 22 and 23). Not a trace of the title of the pharaoh is now visible.

⁹¹⁹ This epithet of Osiris occurs three more times in the temple of Isis. In two instances, Philae Bénéдите, 5, 13, and 25, 6, the epithet is rendered , while there is a single occurrence of  (Philae Bénéдите, 23, 8 = doc. 23). On the epithet in general, consult LÄGG IV, 783–786.

⁹²⁰ A study of all epithets of Isis in the temple brought forward that di.t anx is the only epithet possible in this combination. For parallels, consult Philae Bénéдите, 16, 16; 19, 11 (= doc. 6, fecundity figure 12), and 21, 18 (= doc. 12).

– Harpocrates: Dd mdw in @r-<p3>⁹²¹–hrd sA %.t nb Iw-rq

Recitation by Har<po>crates, son of Isis, lord of Philae.

The cloth presented to Osiris on this scene is a general type of linen, often identified as *mnx.t* and depicted as one or two stripes of cloth folded in half. It is used to clothe and adorn the deity to which it is given.⁹²² The cloth features in a variety of rituals that aim to revive or rejuvenate man or god. In the context of the temple, the offering is perhaps best known from the Daily Temple Ritual,⁹²³ but it traces its origin to a funerary context. The spell that accompanies the presentation of the *mnx.t*-cloth in the Daily Temple Ritual is for instance also found in scene 50B, or the offering of *sSm.t*-cloth, in the ritual of the ‘opening of the mouth’.⁹²⁴ The latter passage is a copy of Pyramid Texts Utterance 591, §1612–1614. The *mnx.t*-cloth itself is also regularly mentioned in the Pyramid texts, and features in lists of offerings (e.g. PT Utterance 419, §745c) and in a spell from the funerary ritual as part of the material presented to the statue (PT Utterance 540, §1332).

The *mnx.t*-cloth is best known in the guise of the four coloured *mnx.t*-cloths — white (*HD.t*), green (*wAD.t*), dark-red (*idmi*), and red or blue (*ins/irtiw*)⁹²⁵ — that are presented to the deities and deceased alike. These four cloths feature in the ritual of the ‘opening of the mouth’⁹²⁶ and in the Daily Temple Ritual, where they are presented

⁹²¹ The name of the deity is usually written with □ (Philae Bénédite, 30, 8; 40, 10, and 55, 6 = doc. 28), and Philae II, 25, 22; 57, 21; 65, 10, and 123, 13), but sometimes the *pA* is missing like in the present relief. (Philae Bénédite, 42, 11, and 43, 11).

⁹²² For similar offerings in other complexes, see for instance Shanhûr I, 78, or el-Qal’a II, 208.

⁹²³ MORET (1902a:181–184 = chapter 50): *rA n DbA mnx.t* or ‘spell of clothing/adorning with the *mnx.t*-cloth’, and DAVID (1981:61): *rA n Hbs m mnx.t aA.t* or ‘spell for clothing with the great *mnx.t*-cloth’.

⁹²⁴ OTTO (1960:114–116), and RUMMEL (2006:400–401).

⁹²⁵ The colour of the *irtiw*-linen (red or blue) has for a very long time been a subject of scholarly debate. The research of EGBERTS (1995:139–142) strongly suggests that the *irtiw*-linen was red in colour.

⁹²⁶ Scenes 50–53. See OTTO (1960:112–114, and 116–119), and GOYON (1972b:141–146).

respectively to the deceased and the deity to clothe, decorate and protect.⁹²⁷ The same type of coloured *mnx.t*-linen also features during the New Year's festival.⁹²⁸ In the temple of Opet at Karnak a hymn to Osiris mentions *snsn=k iry.w m wp-rnp.t sXkr.ti m HD.t bnd m wAD.t jTj.n=k sS.w nfr.w irti w idmi sTAm Ha.w=k* or 'you assume the clothes on the Opening of the Year, you are adorned with the white linen, clad in the green linen, you have accepted the beautiful linen, the red linen and the dark-red linen cover your body'.⁹²⁹ The calendars of several Ptolemaic and Roman temples also mention that the *mnx.t*-cloth is presented to the gods at the time of the epagomenal days.⁹³⁰ And Erika Schott has observed that in reliefs and inscriptions from New Kingdom temples and tombs the presentation of linen (and ointments) to the gods often coincides with a procession of offering vessels for purification at the time of the New Year.⁹³¹

The concept of renewal embedded in the presentation of the *mnx.t*-cloth in the lowest register of the west wall of the 'seat of the first feast' in Philae is further augmented by the occurrence of the offering of *mD.t*-unguent (doc. 18) opposite. The two products are regularly presented together in scenes or depicted in opposite or pairing scenes in numerous temples, such as Behbeit el-Hagar,⁹³² Philae,⁹³³ Edfu,⁹³⁴ Deir el-Medina,⁹³⁵ Dendara,⁹³⁶ and

⁹²⁷ MORET (1902a:179–190 = chapters 49, 51, 52, and 53); GARDINER–CALVERLY (1933:13, 20, 23, 28 and 33; 1935:8, 12, 16, 19 and 27); ALLIOT (1949:90–91), and DAVID (1981:67–68). The four coloured cloths also feature extensively in the procession of offering bearers in the 'chamber of linen'. This procession is directed towards the 'seat of the first feast'. See also doc. 27a–b (= chapter 4.1.9b), and PM VI, 242–243, 'base'; BRUGSCH (1891:1261–1262); Bénédite Philae, 55, 8–11; 56, 1–2 and 6–7, and pl. xxi, abc; JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: nos. 1092, 1094, 1095 and 1097); VASSILIKA (1989:390, 'DADO 40'), and RYHINER (1995:19).

⁹²⁸ LdÄ IV, 468. Four types of colored *mnx.t*-linen also feature on the rear wall of the *wabet* in Edfu and Dendara: Edfou I, 423,5–424,4, and 432,9–433,7, and Edfou IX, plate xxxiii, and Dendara IV, 247,3–248,4, and 265,7–266,10, and plate cccxi.

⁹²⁹ Opet I, 124, 5–6. See also the transliteration and translation of the text by Aurélie Paulet in the *Leuven Online Index of Ptolemaic and Roman Hieroglyphic Texts*: <http://www.arts.kuleuven.be/ptt/temples/opet5.htm>

⁹³⁰ For instance: on the first epagomenal day: Edfou V, 395, 2–3 (*iri.t mnx.t n Iwn-wr n BHd.t Hna psD.t=f*) or Edfou V, 359, 1–2 (*iri.t mnx.t n Wsir Hry-ib Iwn.t*), and on the fourth epagomenal day: Esna II, 172 (*iri.t mnx.t n Xnmw Hna psD.t=f*). Edfou V, 359, 5–6 also mentions for the fourth epagomenal day the birth of Isis, the revealing of her face (*wn-Hr*), the 'feast of clothing' (*Hb mnx.t*), and the fulfilment of the ritual of the 'seat of the first feast' (*iri.t ntj-a n s.t Hb tpy*).

⁹³¹ SCHOTT (1970:47–49).

⁹³² FAVARD–MEEKS (1991:144 and 200): offering of *mD.t* and *mnx.t* to Osiris.

⁹³³ Philae Bénédite, 31, 12; 36, 10; 44, 3; 64, 11–12 and 72, 12.

Shanhûr.⁹³⁷ The accompanying inscriptions inform that an offering consisting of the combination of both products suggests renewal and regeneration.⁹³⁸ The idea most likely stems from the funerary sphere where the unguent and stripes of linen are used during the embalming of the deceased who is anointed with the unguent and wrapped in linen before he is brought back to life through the ritual of the ‘opening of the mouth’.⁹³⁹ In the Daily Temple ritual, according to the scenes in the chapels of the gods in the temple of Seti I in Abydos, the mD . t–unguent and mnx . t–cloth are first removed from the deity before the god is adorned with new unguent and new linen of the same type.⁹⁴⁰

The same offer of mnx . t–cloth and mD . t–unguent is also regularly made by the heir to his ancestors and guarantees his right to the inheritance. The temple walls at Edfu contain for instance several scenes where the ruling pharaoh presents unguent and linen to his deceased Ptolemaic predecessors.⁹⁴¹ It is no coincidence that on the opposite east wall of the ‘seat of the first feast’ Ptolemaios II censes and performs a libation; a rite that has a very similar function (doc. 8). The act of censuring and performing a libation simultaneously is also often carried out by the son for his deceased father or by the pharaoh as the legitimate heir to his ancestors.

⁹³⁴ Edfou I, 63,16–64,4; 187,18–188,16; 376, 4–16, and Edfou V, 196, 2–17, and 284, 5–15.

⁹³⁵ Deir el–Medina, 120.

⁹³⁶ Dendara, II, 137, 11; Dendara III, 96, 21, and Dendara IV, 102, 7; 257, 17, and 266, 14.

⁹³⁷ Shanhûr I, 6.

⁹³⁸ CAUVILLE (1983:174), and ROEDER (1996:96–114).

⁹³⁹ See also RUMMEL (2006) who examined the rejuvenative qualities of linen and unguent during the sed–festival of the pharaoh. In the consecration of the temple of Edfu, linen and mD . t–unguent are likewise presented: Edfou IV, 331, 1, and BLACKMAN – FAIRMAN (1946:76 and 89).

⁹⁴⁰ GARDINER – CALVERLY (1933: 6 (Osiris); 19 (Isis), and 27 (Horus); 1935: 5 and 7 (Amun–Ra); 15 (Ra–Harakhete), and 23 (Ptah)); ALLIOT (1949:91–92), and DAVID (1981:66): episodes 14 and 15: r n sfx mD/mnx . t or ‘chapter of loosening/releasing the mD–unguent/mnx . t–cloth’.

⁹⁴¹ For instance: Edfou I, 46, 2–10, and Edfou III, 191,9–192,5: to Ptolemaios II Philadelphos and Arsinoe II; Edfou I, 421,17–422,2: to Ptolemaios III Euergetes I and Berenike II; Edfou III, 140,9–141,8: to Ptolemaios IV and Arsinoe III, and Edfou IV, 278,11–279,11: to Ptolemaios V Epiphanes and Berenike. For a detailed overview, consult WINTER (1978:149–151). See also GOYON (1972a:29–30) and his study of pBrooklyn 47.218.50, XVII, 1–XX, 1, where the offering to the ancestors and ancestor gods is part of the acts performed by the pharaoh during the ritual of the confirmation of royal power at the time of the New Year.

c. Document 20: Presenting maat.⁹⁴²

The north scene of the second register of the west wall depicts Ptolemaios II in front of the three Theban deities: Amun–Ra, Mut and Khonsu. (fig. 58, IV, and 62) The Ptolemaic ruler is adorned with the blue crown, a broad collar and a short triangular skirt with a ceremonial tail. Above the head of the pharaoh a vulture holding the ankh–sign is depicted. The item offered to the deities is at present only partly visible, but there can be no doubt that it is a depiction of the goddess Maat, wearing an ostrich feather on her head and seated on a neb–sign.⁹⁴³ In between Ptolemaios II and the first of the three deities a small round table with a single pedestal and surmounted by three flowers tied together is positioned.⁹⁴⁴ An engraving in between the cartouches of the pharaoh and the first column with inscriptions of Amun–Ra has almost completely disappeared, but the few remaining traces suggest that the goddess Nekhbet was depicted here as a vulture seated in a neb–basket on top of a bush of lotus plants.⁹⁴⁵

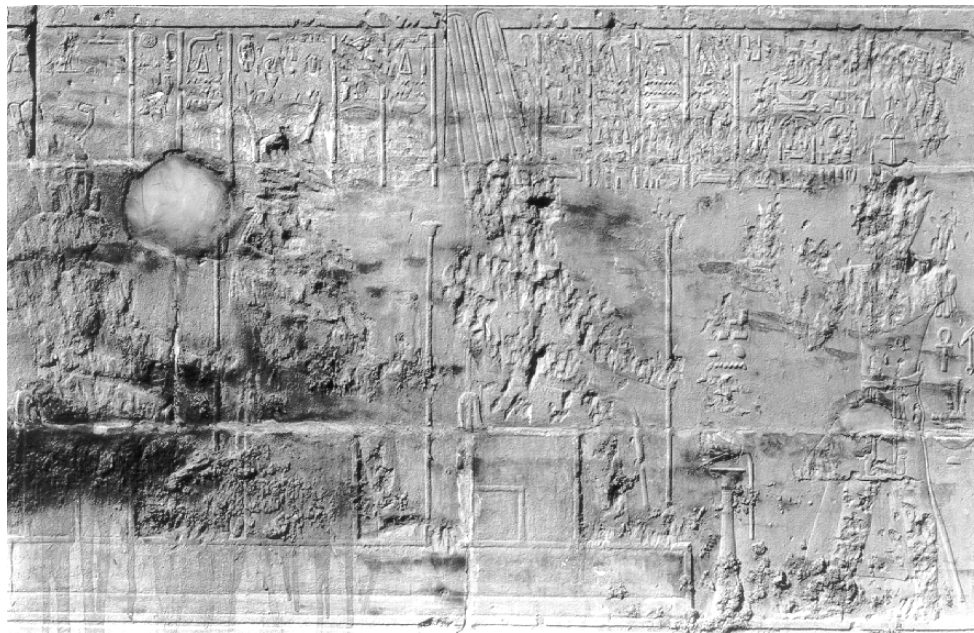


Fig. 62 Presenting Maat to the gods
(JUNKER – SCHÄFER 1908–1910: no. 699)

⁹⁴² PM VI, 240, no. 308; Philae Bénédite, 23, 16–18, and pl. VIII, scene iv; JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 699), and VASSILIKA (1989: database no. 651).

⁹⁴³ The offering was not recognised by Philae Bénédite, pl. VIII, iv.

⁹⁴⁴ This table does not figure on the plate of Philae Bénédite, pl. VIII, iv.

⁹⁴⁵ On the first register of this wall the goddess is portrayed in a very similar manner (doc. 18, fig. 59).

The three deities facing Ptolemaios II are all seated upon a block throne placed upon a large pedestal. Amun–Ra is adorned with a crown composed of two falcon tail feathers fixed on a square cap from which a streamer falls to the top of his throne. He is wearing a false beard, a broad collar and a long sheet around his body. Amun–Ra’s consort, Mut, wears a vulture cap and a pedestal–like support carrying the sun disc and cow horns.⁹⁴⁶ A broad collar and a tight fitting wrap–around dress complete her attire. Khonsu, depicted with the head of a falcon, wears the double crown, a large collar and a large sheet around his body. All three deities hold the ankh–sign in their right hand. Amun–Ra and Khonsu have the was–sceptre in their left hand, while Mut holds a papyrus staff in this hand.

– Title: 

Hnk mAA.t n it=f

Presenting maat to his father

– Pharaoh: nb tA.wy wsr–kA–Ra mry–Imn nb xa.w Ptrwmys di wAs



Lord of the two lands Userkara Meramun, lord of the crowns Ptolemaios, given dominion.




sA anx wAs H3=f nb mi Ra


All protection, life and dominion behind him like Ra.


– Nekhbet:  Nxb.t / Nekhbet

– Amun–Ra: Dd mdw di.n<=i> n=k [nsy.t (n.t Ra) n.t?] p.t⁹⁴⁷ Dd mdw di.n<=i> n=k [... nb].w⁹⁴⁸ Dd mdw di.n<=i> n=k [... Aw.t–ib?]⁹⁴⁹ Imn–Ra [nsw.t nTr.w nb p.t]⁹⁵⁰

⁹⁴⁶ Philae Bénédite, pl. VIII, iv portrayed the goddess wearing the double crown.

⁹⁴⁷ The  is still clearly visible. A study of the various gifts bestowed by the gods on the pharaoh includes the recurring nsy.t (n.t Ra) n.t p.t or ‘the kingship (of Ra) of heaven’. Philae Bénédite, 22, 4; 51, 13; 55, 6; 60, 15; 64, 9–10; 69, 1; 71, 18, and 72, 16.

⁹⁴⁸ At the bottom of the column  can still be seen. Similar examples, such as Philae Bénédite, 23, 11 (= doc. 22) suggest a reading of nb.w for this passage.

⁹⁴⁹ Only a few traces remain at the bottom of the column, but a reading of  appears plausible.

Recitation: I hereby give you [the kingship (of Ra) of] heaven. Recitation: I hereby give you [all ...]. Recitation: I hereby give you [... joy?]. Amun–Ra, [ruler of the gods, lord of heaven].

– Mut: $\overline{D}d$ mdw di.n<=i> n=k [...] Mw.t wr.t [...] ir.t Ra⁹⁵¹ [...]⁹⁵²

Recitation: I hereby give you [...] Mut, the great, the eye of Ra [...].

– Khonsu: $\overline{D}d$ mdw di.n<=i> n=k [...] #nsw m [W3s.t]⁹⁵³ Htp m nb 3w.t–ib

Recitation: I hereby give you [...] Khonsu in [Thebes], who is content as lord of joy.⁹⁵⁴

Maat is an ancient Egyptian concept that covers a wide range of ethical values, such as ‘order’, ‘justice’, and ‘truth’, that are based on the cosmic order.⁹⁵⁵ It was the main duty of the ruling pharaoh to uphold maat throughout the land by means of correct rule and proper service to the gods⁹⁵⁶ and to keep evil and chaos at bay. The presentation of maat to the gods as it is depicted on the west wall of the ‘seat of the first feast’ symbolises not only that the Ptolemaic ruler is dedicated and capable of performing this task and upholding the principles of maat, but concomitantly expresses his legitimacy. In the context of temple rites, the presentation of

⁹⁵⁰ Instead of Bénédite’s reading of $\overline{D}d$, one can still discern $\overline{D}d$.

⁹⁵¹ Bénédite’s $\overline{D}d$ is most likely $\overline{D}d$ or ir.t Ra, a common epithet of the goddess Mut. For a parallel, consult Philae Bénédite, 59, 9.

⁹⁵² The reading of these signs is problematic. Unfortunately this part of the text has suffered extensive damage since Bénédite made his copy, making it impossible to verify his reading.

⁹⁵³ Part of a long vertical sign, possibly $\overline{D}d$, is still present in this column. See also Philae Bénédite, 48, 15–16 for a similar inscription.

⁹⁵⁴ This is perhaps a corrupt version of the well-known #nsw m wAs.t nfr–Htp nb Aw.t–ib or ‘Khonsu in Thebes Neferhotep, lord of joy. See LÄGG III, 560.

⁹⁵⁵ This is not the place for an in–depth study of the extremely complex concept of maat. For more information, consult for instance: LdÄ III, 1110–1119; RÄRG, 430–434; OEAE II, 319–321; ASSMANN (1990), and TEETER (1997).

⁹⁵⁶ On the duty of the pharaoh to uphold the service and offerings to the god in the Ptolemaic and Roman period, consult GRAEFE (1979:47–71).

the goddess Maat to the deities is the most crucial ritual act performed in the temple.⁹⁵⁷ The offering is in fact archetypal; it was, according to the Berlin version of the Daily Temple Ritual and various New Kingdom depictions of the ritual, the most important offering as it incorporated the idea of all other offerings and could symbolise the food of the gods.⁹⁵⁸

d. Document 21: Presenting myrrh/gum resin.⁹⁵⁹

The south scene of the second register of the west wall portrays Ptolemaios II in front of the three deities from nearby Bigeh: Khnum, Satet and Anuket. (fig. 58, III, and 63) The ruler is adorned with the nemes head cloth, a broad collar and a short triangular skirt with a ceremonial tail. Above the head of the pharaoh a vulture, holding the ankh–sign, is depicted. The item offered to the deities is at present only partly visible, but there can be no doubt that it is a small figure of a sphinx with a pail–shaped vessel between its paws (𓆎𓆏) that the ruler holds in his outstretched hands.⁹⁶⁰ In between Ptolemaios II and the first of the three deities a small round table with a single pedestal and surmounted by three flowers tied together is positioned. A wadjet–standard features in between the cartouches and the first column with inscriptions of Khnum.⁹⁶¹ The cobra on top of the standard is adorned with the atef–crown and faces the pharaoh.

⁹⁵⁷ See for instance FAIRMAN (1958); DERCHAIN (1962b); CAUVILLE (1987:6–7); WILSON (1997:397–398); LEITZ (2001:204–208), and PREYS (2002:101–102; 210–214, and 401–403) on the offering of maat in Ptolemaic and Roman temples.

⁹⁵⁸ MORET (1902a:138–165), and GUGLIEMI (1980). The offering of maat does not feature in the scenes of the daily temple ritual engraved on the walls of the chapels of the gods in the temple of Seti I in Abydos.

⁹⁵⁹ PM VI, 240, no. 308; Philae Bénédite, 23, 13–15, and pl. VIII, scene iii; JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 700), and VASSILIKA (1989: database no. 650).

⁹⁶⁰ The object does not resemble the hind leg of a bull as it is portrayed in Philae Bénédite, pl. VIII, iii.

⁹⁶¹ Neither wadjet–standard nor table features on the plate of Philae Bénédite, pl. VIII, iii.

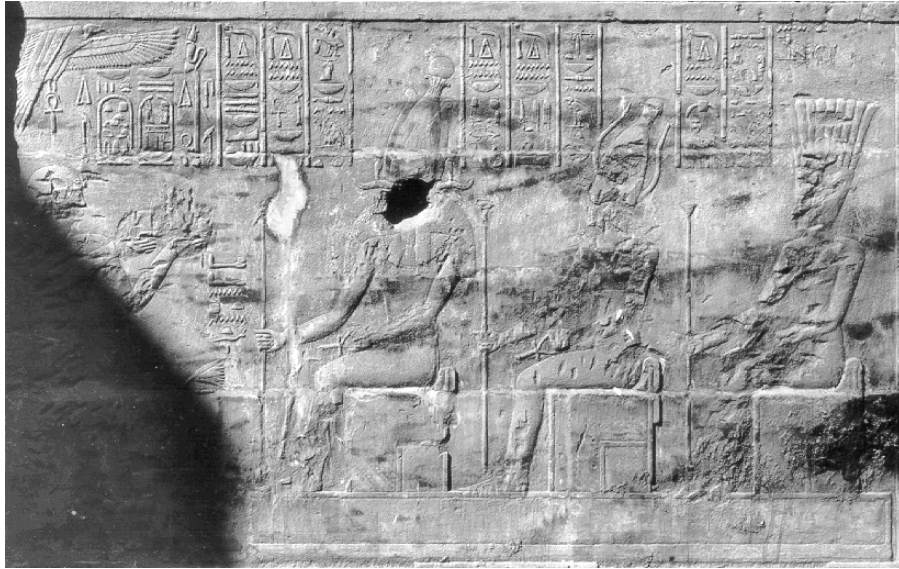


Fig. 63 Presenting myrrh

(JUNKER – SCHÄFER 1908–1910: no. 700)

Three deities are facing Ptolemaios II and they are all seated on a block throne placed upon a large pedestal. Khnum is depicted with the head of a ram, surmounted by horns and the atef-crown. He wears a broad collar and a long sheet around his body. In his right hand he holds the was-sceptre and in the left one the ankh-sign. Satef wears the Upper Egyptian crown in combination with long, narrow horns. Anuket is adorned with the ostrich tail feather crown. Both goddesses are wearing a broad collar and a long, tight fitting wrap-around dress, and hold a papyrus staff in their right hand and the ankh-sign in the left one.

– Title: Hnk antyw n it<=f>

Presenting myrrh/gum resin⁹⁶² to <his> father.

– Pharaoh: nb tA.wy wsr-kA-Ra mry-Imn nb xa.w Ptrwmys di wAs
 (𐀀𐀁)


Lord of the two lands Userkara Meramun, lord of the crowns Ptolemaios, given dominion.



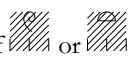

sA anx wAs HA=f nb mi Ra



All protection, life and dominion behind him like Ra.



⁹⁶² The exact nature of antyw is still a matter of debate: CHASSINAT (1966:217–223), and CHERMETTE-GOYON (1996:48, n. 7, and 58, n. 30).

- Wadjet:  di=s anx wAs / May she give life and dominion.
- Khnum: Dd mdw di.n<=i> n=k tA.w nb.w xAs.wt nb.w Dd mdw
di.n<=i> n=k anx wAs nb[.w]⁹⁶³ \$nm nb %nmw.t
Recitation: I hereby give you all countries and all foreign countries. Recitation:
I hereby give you all life and dominion. Khnum, lord of Bigeh.
- Satet: Dd mdw di.n<=i> n=k qn r [rsy]⁹⁶⁴ Dd mdw di.n<=i>
n=k nsy.t Ra⁹⁶⁵ p.t %Ty.t nb.t %nmw.t
Recitation: I hereby give you the strength in/over [the south]. Recitation: I
hereby give you the kingship of Ra of heaven. Satet, mistress of Bigeh.
- Anuket: Dd mdw di.n<=i> 3w.t–ib nb⁹⁶⁶ ank.t nb.t [&3–sty
Hry.t–ib %]nmw.t⁹⁶⁷
Recitation: I hereby give you [all joy]. Anuket, mistress [of the first nome of
Upper Egypt/Nubia,⁹⁶⁸ who is in the midst of] Bigeh.

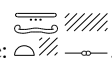
The gum resin (olibanum) or myrrh antyw is a very common offering made to a large number of gods in scenes on the walls of Ptolemaic and Roman temples.⁹⁶⁹ The offering can encompass a wide variety of different produce; it is a general term for aromatic substances and the incense, unguents and ointments that were prepared from it.⁹⁷⁰ In the temple of Philae, antyw is at times identified as the excretion of the eye of Horus.⁹⁷¹ The produce is

⁹⁶³ Only minor traces remain of the end of this column, suggesting a reading of  or .

⁹⁶⁴ The remaining traces of  suggest  as the most plausible reading. The expression qn r rsy is encountered elsewhere in the temple (Philae Bénédite, 2, 7; 37, 1; 55, 7; 57, 11, and 62, 5). Similar expressions are qn r xAs.wt nb.w (Philae Bénédite, 68, 12, and 69, 3–4) and qn r xAs.wt rsy.w (Philae Bénédite, 72, 18).

⁹⁶⁵ Instead of the signs  from the publication Philae Bénédite, I recognised  on site.

⁹⁶⁶ The following signs  are still present in this column.

⁹⁶⁷ The following signs can still be recognised on site and were not included in Philae Bénédite: .

⁹⁶⁸ &3–sty is a very common epithet of Anuket and can refer both to the (southern part of the) first Upper Egyptian nome and Nubia to the south. Consult VALBELLE (1981:94; 108, and 131) for more information.

⁹⁶⁹ In general: CHERMETTE–GOYON (1996), and LEITZ (2001:192–195).

⁹⁷⁰ CHERMETTE–GOYON (1996:48, n. 7), and LEITZ (2001:192–193).

⁹⁷¹ Philae I, 54, and Philae II, 298, and 394.

very often associated with the god Shesmu as the lord of the laboratory in which the oils, unguents and ointments are prepared. The presentation of *anṭyw* to the gods can have a variety of different meanings, but the paucity of inscriptions accompanying this particular scene does not allow an in-depth analysis of the exact meaning of the rite in this specific case. In general the offering suggests a close contact between the deity and the pharaoh and a confirmation of the legitimate position of the ruler on the throne of Egypt. *anṭyw* could also purify and revitalise the deities to which it was offered.⁹⁷²

e. Document 22: Presenting the *wDA*-pectoral.⁹⁷³

The north scene of the third register on the west wall of the open court depicts Ptolemaios II in front of three deities from Bigeh and the Abaton: Osiris-Wennefer, Isis and Hathor. (fig. 58, II, and 64) The ruler is adorned with the *hemhem*-crown on top of a bag wig. He wears a broad collar and a short triangular skirt with a ceremonial tail. In his outstretched arms he holds the *wDA*-pectoral. In between Ptolemaios II and the first of three deities a *hes*-vessel and three flowers tied together are placed upon a small round table with a single pedestal, while a *wadjet*-standard features in between the cartouches and the first column with inscriptions of Osiris-Wennefer.⁹⁷⁴ The cobra atop the standard wears the *atef*-crown and faces the pharaoh.

The three deities facing Ptolemaios II are all seated on a throne placed upon a large pedestal. Osiris-Wennefer is depicted with a false beard and the *atef*-crown. He wears a broad collar and a long sheet wrapped around his body. In his hands he holds the crook and flail.⁹⁷⁵ The head of Isis is crowned with a vulture cap and a pedestal-like support carrying the sun disc and cow horns. Hathor wears the same vulture cap, surmounted by a crown consisting of vertical narrow horns in between which a sun disc and two falcon tail feathers are positioned. Both goddesses are dressed in a long, tight fitting wrap-around dress and hold the *ankh*-sign in their left hand. In her right hand Hathor holds a papyrus staff, while the right arm of Isis is lifted in a gesture of greeting.⁹⁷⁶

⁹⁷² Edfou IV, 353, 17–354, 2. See also ALLIOT (1949:86), and ŽABKAR (1988:44–45).

⁹⁷³ PM VI, 240, no. 308; Philae Bénédite, 23, 10–12, and pl. VIII, scene ii; JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 699), and VASSILIKA (1989: database no. 649).

⁹⁷⁴ Neither the *wadjet*-standard nor the table figure on the plate in Philae Bénédite, pl. VIII, ii.

⁹⁷⁵ Philae Bénédite, pl. VIII, ii depicts the *ankh*-sign and the *was*-sceptre in his hands.

⁹⁷⁶ Isis is not holding the papyrus staff in her right hand as is depicted in Philae Bénédite, pl. VIII, ii.

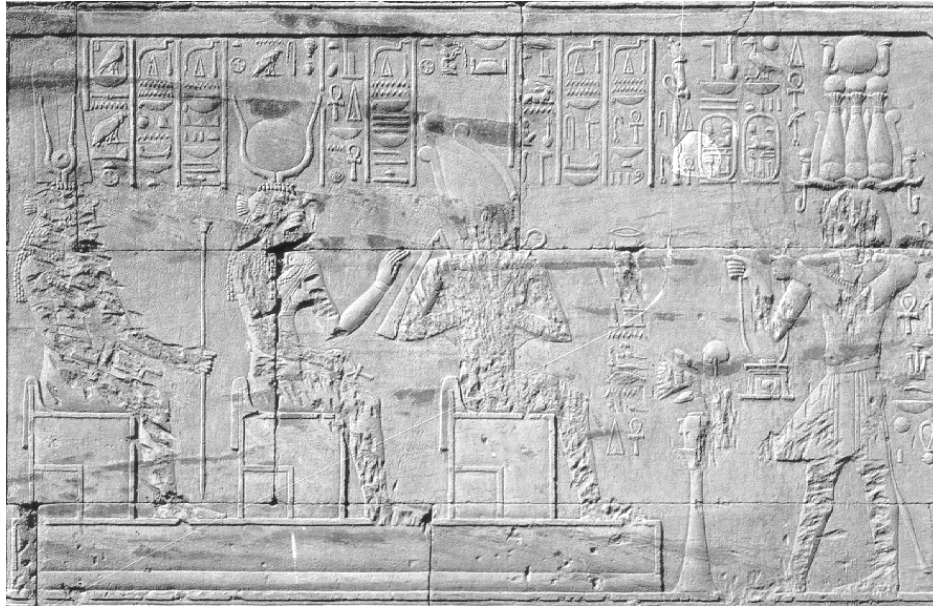






Fig. 64 Presenting the wDA-pectoral

(JUNKER – SCHÄFER 1908–1910: no. 699)

- Title: rdi.t wDA ()⁹⁷⁷ n it=f ir n=f di anx
Presenting the wDA-pectoral to his father, so it is made that life is given to him.
- Pharaoh: nTr nfr nb tA.wy wsr-kA-Ra mry-Imn sA Ra Ptrwmys di anx wAs ()
[The perfect god, lord of the two lands] Userkara Meramun, son of Ra Ptolemaios, given life and dominion.

sA anx wAs HA=f nb mi Ra
All protection, life and dominion behind him like Ra.
- Wadjet:  di=s anx wAs / May she give life and dominion.
- Osiris-Wennefer: Dd mdw di.n<=i> n=k anx wAs nb Dd mdw di.n<=i> n=k wsr nb Wsir-Wnnfr nTr aA nb IA.t-wab.t
Recitation: I hereby give you all life and dominion. Recitation: I hereby give you all might. Osiris-Wennefer, the great god, lord of the Abaton.

⁹⁷⁷ The beginning of the title is still legible and differs completely from Bénédite's copy.

– Isis: $\overline{\text{Dd}} \text{ mdw di.n} \leq i > \text{ n=k tA.wy}^{978} \text{ nb.w m Htp } \% . \text{t di.t anx}$
 $\text{nb.t anx Hry.t-ib } \% \text{nmw.t}$

I hereby give you the two lands in their entirety in peace. Isis, who gives life, mistress of life, who is in the midst of Bigeh.

– Hathor: $\overline{\text{Dd}} \text{ mdw di.n} \leq i > \text{ n=k xAs.wt}^{979} \text{ nb.w m Htp Dd mdw}$
 $\text{di.n} \leq i > \text{ n=k qn nb } @ . \text{t-@r nb.t } \% \text{nmw.t}$

Recitation: I hereby give you all foreign lands in peace. Recitation: I hereby give you all strength. Hathor, mistress of Bigeh.

The naos-shaped pectoral, like the one presented to the gods in the third register of the west wall of the ‘seat of the first feast’, is found in a variety of different contexts, but it appears to have always been associated with ideas of protection and renewal throughout the history of ancient Egypt. The pectoral was according to E. Feucht in origin closely linked with the royal sed-festival and suggested numerous repetitions of the festival and the guarantee of an eternal life for the ruler.⁹⁸⁰ The wDA-pectoral also featured, according to pBrooklyn 47.218.50, as an amulet during the confirmation of the ruler at the time of the New Year. The Brooklyn papyrus mentions for instance that the wDA.w n sA.w rnpt or ‘the wDA-amulets/pectorals of the protection of the year’ were brought as an important means of protection to the chapel where the king resided at that time.⁹⁸¹ Especially from the New Kingdom onwards, the pectoral also featured in the funerary sphere and became an important amulet that was placed on the mummy and expressed the idea of both protection and rebirth.⁹⁸²

The offering of the same necklace to the gods on the walls of Ptolemaic and Roman temples evokes in essence the same themes: protection and renewal. Graefe’s study of the offering of the pectoral in Ptolemaic temples for instance revealed that the term wDA has been used as a general word for a large variety of different amulets with apotropaic powers, such as the

⁹⁷⁸ In Philae Bénédite $\overline{\text{=}}$ was copied instead of = .

⁹⁷⁹ Bénédite misread $\overline{\text{=}}$ for = .

⁹⁸⁰ FEUCHT (1971:1).

⁹⁸¹ GOYON (1972a:26, 29, and 114, n. 277), and pBrooklyn 47.218.50, XVI, 11, and 22–23.

⁹⁸² LdÄ I, 232–236, and IV, 922–923; RÄRG, 26–31; FEUCHT (1971:1–2, and 45), and DODSON – IKRAM (1998:137–144). See also CT VII, 134–143. The term is undoubtedly linked with the verb wDA – ‘to be healthy, to be complete’ [Wb I, 399 and 401, and WILSON (1997:283–285)], and the uninjured wDA.t-eye of Horus [Wb I, 401, and WILSON (1997:286–287)].

wDA–pectoral, the wsx–necklace (doc. 15 and 23) or the sAw–amulets.⁹⁸³ The presentation of the amulets implied protection for both the deity to which it was presented and for the pharaoh making the offering. The other main theme associated with the pectoral — the idea of rebirth and renewal — remained in Ptolemaic and Roman times an essential concept incorporated in the offering of the pectoral. This concept is in this specific scene expressed for instance in the decoration of the interior of the naos–shaped pectoral which shows the sun disc rising above the horizon () (fig. 64).⁹⁸⁴

f. Document 23: Presenting the usekh–necklace.⁹⁸⁵

The final scene in the third register on the west wall of the open court portrays Ptolemaios II in front of three gods associated with Philae: Osiris, Isis and Nephthys. (fig. 58, I, and 65) The Ptolemaic ruler wears the atef crown on top of a bag wig, a broad collar and a short triangular skirt with a ceremonial tail. In his outstretched arms he holds the usekh–necklace with seven strings. In between Ptolemaios II and the first of the three deities a hes–vessel and three flowers tied together are placed upon a small round table with a single pedestal. A wadjet–standard features in between the cartouches and the first column with inscriptions of Osiris.⁹⁸⁶ The cobra on top of the standard wears a now unidentifiable crown and appears to hold a was–sceptre. It faces the pharaoh.

Three deities are facing Ptolemaios II and they are all seated on a throne placed upon a large pedestal. Osiris is depicted with a false beard and the atef–crown. He wears a broad collar and a long sheet wrapped around his body. In his hands he holds the crook and flail. The head of Isis is crowned with a vulture cap and a pedestal–like support carrying the sun disc and cow horns. The same vulture cap and pedestal–like support with the hieroglyph representing her name is found on top of the head of Nephthys. The dresses and position of the hands and arms of both goddesses are similar to that of their counterparts on the opposite scene (doc. 22).

⁹⁸³ GRAEFE (1979:71–77). See also FEUCHT (1971:42).

⁹⁸⁴ FEUCHT (1971:14): ‘Aufgang der Sonne über dem Dw–Berg’.

⁹⁸⁵ PM VI, 240, no. 308; Philae Bénédite, 23, 7–9, and pl. VIII, scene i; JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 700), and VASSILIKA (1989: database no. 648).

⁹⁸⁶ Neither the wadjet–standard nor the table figure in the plate of Philae Bénédite, pl. VIII, i.

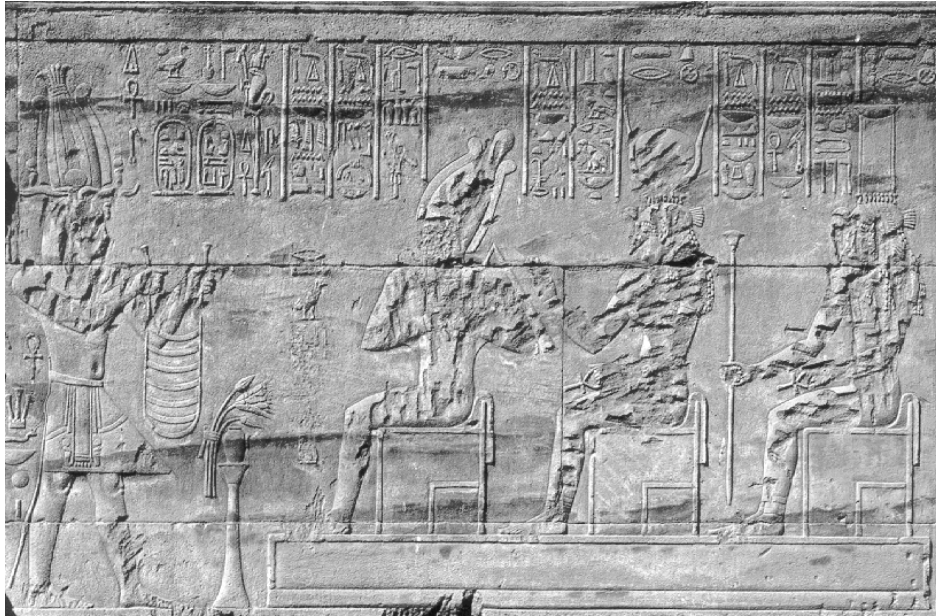


Fig. 65 Presenting the wsx-necklace.

(JUNKER – SCHÄFER 1908–1910: no. 700)

– Title: rdi<.t> w[sx⁹⁸⁷ n it=]f⁹⁸⁸

Presenting the w[sx-necklace to] his [father].

– Pharaoh: nTr nfr nb tA.wy wsr-kA-Ra mry-Imn sA Ra Ptrwmys di
anx wAs (𓆎 𓆏 𓆑)

The perfect god, lord of the two lands Userkara Meramun, son of Ra
Ptolemaios, given life and dominion.

𓆒 𓆏 𓆑 𓆒 𓆓 𓆔 𓆕

sA anx wAs HA=f nb mi Ra

All protection, life and dominion behind him like Ra.

– Wadjet: 𓆎 𓆏 𓆑 𓆒 di=s anx wAs / May she give life and dominion.

– Osiris: Dd mdw di.n<=i> n=k nsy.t n Ra⁹⁸⁹ p.t Dd mdw
di.n<=i> n=k snb Aw.t-ib nb Wsir xnt.y imnt.t nb
Iw-rq

⁹⁸⁷ The depiction of the offering of the wsx-necklace by the ruler to Osiris strongly suggests this reading.

⁹⁸⁸ At the end of the title the 𓆑-sign was not copied by Bénédite, whilst it is still clearly visible.

⁹⁸⁹ In Philae Bénédite 𓆎𓆑 was copied instead of 𓆎𓆑.

Recitation: I hereby give you the kingship of Ra of heaven. Recitation: I hereby give you all health and joy. Osiris, the Foremost of the Westerners, lord of Philae.

– Isis: Dd mdw di.n<=i> n=k xAs.wt rsy.w⁹⁹⁰ %.t wr.t mw.t
nTr nb.t Iw-rq

Recitation: I hereby give you the southern lands. Isis, the great, mother of the god, mistress of Philae.

– Nephthys: Dd mdw di.n<=i> n=k xAs.wt nb.w Xr Tb.wty=k Dd mdw
di.n<=i> n=k anx wAs nb Nb.t-@.t mnx.t⁹⁹¹ nTr.w Hry.t-
ib Iw-rq

Recitation: I hereby give you all foreign lands under both your sandals.

Recitation: I hereby give you all life and dominion. Nephthys, the excellent of the gods, who is in the midst of Philae.

The presentation of the usekh–necklace to a deity also takes place in the third register of the north wall and was already dealt with in detail (doc. 15). The offering, which is regularly presented at the time of the New Year to both gods and the pharaoh, incorporates concepts of renewal and rejuvenation, but also of protection.

g. The west wall of the ‘seat of the first feast’.

The west wall of the ‘seat of the first feast’ is divided into three registers, with each register containing two scenes representing the pharaoh in front of a triad of deities (Table X). The distribution of these triads of deities and the crowns worn by the pharaoh clearly follows the general distribution of the deities on the lintels along the central axis of the temple from the reign of Ptolemaios II (Table IX).⁹⁹² The study of the scenes on these lintels indicates that the east half of the temple represented Upper Egypt, Philae (iw-rq), and the south, while the west half represented Lower Egypt, Bigeh (%nmw.t) and the Abaton or ‘Pure Mound’ (iA.t wab.t), and the north. The orientation of the ‘seat of the first feast’ is however perpendicular (east to west) to the orientation of most other rooms in the temple (south to

⁹⁹⁰ See also Urk II, 120, b4 for this utterance by Isis.

⁹⁹¹ The epithet mnx.t nTr.w almost always accompanies Nephthys in the temple of Isis. The term mnx.t is in these instances both written with \equiv (Philae Bénédite, 1, 10; 3, 11–12; 41, 2, and 59, 6–7) and without (Philae Bénédite, 39, 5; 46, 16; 48, 17; 54, 6, and 64, 5). Both writings are also found in Wb II, 87.

⁹⁹² See already pages 160–162.

north) and can be divided into a north and south half. It logically follows that the north side is linked with Lower Egypt, Bigeh and the Abaton (west along the main axis), while the south side is linked with Upper Egypt and Philae (east along the main axis).

SOUTH	NORTH
Osiris (Philae)	Osiris–Wennefer (Abaton)
Isis (Philae)	Isis (Bigeh)
Nephthys (Philae)	Hathor (Bigeh)
Khnum (Bigeh)	Amun (Thebes)
Satet (Bigeh)	Mut (Thebes)
Anuket (Nubia/1st UE nome)	Khnosu (Thebes)
Osiris (Philae)	Osiris–Wennefer (Abaton)
Isis (Philae)	Isis (Bigeh)
Harpocrates (Philae)	Horsausir (Abaton)
UPPER EGYPT (Philae)	LOWER EGYPT (Bigeh/Abaton)

Table X. Distribution of the triads on the west wall of the ‘seat of the first feast’ in Philae

The distribution of the deities in the first and third register follows this pattern (Table X). In the north scenes we find the deities associated with Bigeh and the Abaton or ‘Pure Mound’ located on the island of Bigeh: Osiris–Wennefer (doc. 18 and 22), Isis (doc. 18 and 22), Horsausir (doc. 18) and Hathor (doc. 22). The south scene contains the main deities of Philae: Osiris (doc. 19 and 23), Isis (doc. 19 and 23), Harpocrates (doc. 19), and Nephthys (doc. 23). The scenes in the middle register are less easy to place since the gods of Bigeh (doc. 20: Khnum, Satet and Anuket) are located in the south instead of the north, as one would expect based upon the location of the main deities of Bigeh elsewhere (doc. 12 and 18). This triad of Bigeh is in the core of the temple regularly placed in relation with the triad of Thebes (doc. 21: Amun, Mut, and Khonsu), but there seems to be no general rule as to the geographical location of either triad in the temple.⁹⁹³ The choice for the distribution of these

⁹⁹³ In the ‘hall of the ennead’, the Theban triad is located on the east side of the north wall and the triad of Bigeh on the west side of the same wall – Philae Bénédite, plate XVII, i, and XVIII, i’, and JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 1075 and 1079), but in the sanctuary both triads feature on the east wall – Philae Bénédite, plate XXIII, ii and v, and JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 1020). In the ‘hall of appearances’ Amun of Thebes is located on the west wall of the room – Philae Bénédite, plate III, i, and JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 1120).

triads in this manner on the west wall of the ‘seat of the first feast’ might be due to geographical reasons: Thebes lies to the north of Bigeh.

The offerings presented to the deities on the rear wall of the ‘seat of the first feast’ provide the gods with clothing, ointments and adornments. One assumes that these scenes chronologically follow the activities depicted on the reliefs on the north and perhaps also on the now missing south walls, and portray the acts performed on the statue of the deity after its shrine was opened and its face revealed. The various offerings presented do not strictly follow a specific sequence of rites found in the Daily Temple Ritual, the ritual of the ‘opening of the mouth’ or any other rite, but generally depict various acts in the clothing and adorning of the statue. These scenes on the west wall express in general the same concepts that are also found on the reliefs and inscriptions on the north wall, and the main function of the rite of the ‘union with the sun disc’ performed in the ‘seat of the first feast’: renewal and regeneration of the statue of the deity.

The reliefs and inscriptions on the west wall also contain several references to another recurring concept: the confirmation of the pharaoh’s power and the legitimacy of his rule. This concept was already present on the north wall of the court, but is more clearly expressed in the offering scenes on the west wall. The Ptolemaic ruler is depicted performing one of the main tasks of his office: the service to the gods in the temple. The choice of offerings not only suggests renewal and regeneration to the deities, but the combination of the offering of linen and unguent, or the presentation of maat, both legitimise the pharaoh in his power, while the offering of the wDA–pectoral symbolises the confirmation of his power.

These ideas are expressed not only through the offerings presented by the pharaoh to the gods, but perhaps still more distinctly by what the deities give the ruler in return, and this not only on the west wall of the ‘seat of the first feast’. The most frequently presented gifts to the pharaoh are the concepts of ‘life’ (anx) and ‘dominion’ (wAs).⁹⁹⁴ Life, or at least its renewal, is the central focus of the rites performed in the ‘seat of the first feast’, but it is the gift of

⁹⁹⁴ Documents 2 (south wall), 8 (east), 18, 21, 22, and 23 (west). According to the fifteenth fecundity figure (doc. 6), the offerings are brought to the deities in order for the pharaoh to receive ‘life’ and ‘dominion’: Dd mdcw ini<=i> n=t Htp.w nb.w r-a(.wy) n.t nsw.t-bit.y wsr-kA-Ra mry-Imn Hnk n=f anx wAs or ‘<I> bring you all offerings, the produce of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Userkara Meramun, in order that life and dominion may be given to him’.

‘dominion’ (or strength/might – *wsr* and *qn*)⁹⁹⁵ that allows the pharaoh to rule over Egypt and the foreign lands and that features prominently in the inscriptions accompanying the deities.⁹⁹⁶ In five of the six offering scenes depicted on the west wall, at least one of the triad of deities presents the two lands, all lands and/or the foreign lands — whether ‘in peace’ (*m Htp*) or ‘under his sandals’ (*Xr tb.twy=k*)⁹⁹⁷ — to the ruler thus confirming him in his position.

The gift of the ‘kingship of Ra of heaven’ (*nsyw.t Ra p.t*)⁹⁹⁸ on three occasions, but also the ‘lifetime of Ra of heaven’ (*aHa n Ra n p.t*),⁹⁹⁹ and the ‘strength of Ra of heaven’ (*pHty n Ra n p.t*)¹⁰⁰⁰ should be seen in the same light: it is the gift of an eternal lifetime, strength and kingship.¹⁰⁰¹ The pharaoh restores the vitality to the statues of the gods during the rite of the ‘union with the sun disc’ at the ‘seat of the first feast’ and concomitantly his dominion over the land is restored.

A more general overview of the activities performed in the open court, the concepts expressed by the offering scenes, and the role of the space within the temple and its cult follow the study of the ‘chamber of linen’ (doc. 26–33 and Chapter 4.19) and the doorway between the ‘seat of the first feast’ and the ‘chamber of linen’ (doc. 24–25; Chapter 4.1.8) since both spaces are unmistakably linked.

⁹⁹⁵ Documents 18, 19, and 22 (west wall).

⁹⁹⁶ WINTER (1968:84–85), and WILSON (1997:198–199).

⁹⁹⁷ Documents 18, 19, 21, 22, and 23 (west wall). See also Documents 2 (south wall), and 9 (north wall).

⁹⁹⁸ Documents 11 (north wall), 20, 21, and 23 (west wall).

⁹⁹⁹ Document 11 (north wall).

¹⁰⁰⁰ Document 11 (north wall).

¹⁰⁰¹ For instance: WILSON (1997:175). This type of gift occurs elsewhere in the temple of Philae, but also in other Ptolemaic and Roman temples. For instance: a) *nsyw.t n Ra (n p.t)*: Philae Bénédite 51; 60; 64; 69; 71, and 72; Edfou I, 500, 1; Edfou V, 5, 2, and Dendara II, 201, 6; b) *aHa n Ra*: Philae Bénédite 6; 30; 41; 44; 47; 48; 51; 62; 64; 65; 68, and 72; Edfou IV, 6, 10; Edfou V, 91, 5; Dendara I, 41, 9, and Dendara II, 110, 13; c) *pHty n Ra*: Philae Bénédite, 6; 42; 64; 68, and 72.

4.1.8. The north entrance to the court (doc. 24–25)¹⁰⁰²

The thickness of the door leading from the court to the ‘chamber of linen’ was on both sides inscribed with a single line of hieroglyphs. The general orientation of both inscriptions indicates a reading from the ‘chamber of linen’ to the ‘seat of the first feast’. The inscription on the west thickness mentions the five royal names of Ptolemaios II. In the opposite inscription Isis is referred to as the mother and protector of the ruler. Neither inscription has been published before.¹⁰⁰³

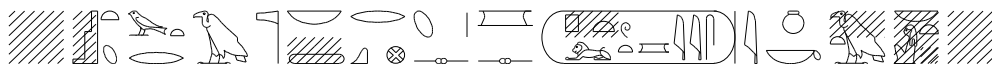
West thickness:



@r Hwn qny Nb.ty wr pH.ty @r nbw sxa.n sw it=f nsw.t-bity
wsr-kA-Ra mry Imn sA Ra Ptrwmys %.t [mry]¹⁰⁰⁴

Horus: The strong child. Nebty/The two goddesses: Great of Might. Golden
Horus/Falcon:¹⁰⁰⁵ His father made him appear. The king of Upper and Lower Egypt:
Userkara Meramun. The son of Ra: Ptolemaios, [beloved of] Isis.

East thickness:



[... %].t wr.t mw.t-nTr nb.t [Iw-r]rq sA=s mry=s [Pt]rwmys
ink [mw.t=k¹⁰⁰⁶ %.t ...]¹⁰⁰⁷

¹⁰⁰² PM VI, 240, no. 310; Philae Bénédite, pl. VII, E and E', and JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 708).

¹⁰⁰³ Philae Bénédite, 56 claims that the inscriptions on the thickness of the doorway leading from the court to the ‘chamber of linen’ were published with the inscriptions from the court (‘Le pied-droit E, E’ à été donné. Voir Cour, mur Nord, Porte’), but the inscriptions do not feature among the texts from the court in his work (Philae Bénédite, 19–24).

¹⁰⁰⁴ Similar passages can be found along other doorways in the temple: Philae Bénédite, 13, 1–3; 14, 10; 39, 10–11; 46, 1–2; 52, 4–5, and 58, 16–17. In most of these examples a second column, with inscriptions referring to the ruler as the one who constructed monuments for his mother Isis (i.r.n=f mnw=f n mw.t=f %.t), was engraved.

¹⁰⁰⁵ On the use of the term ‘Golden Falcon’, instead of ‘Golden Horus’, for this royal name a lecture was presented by dr. V. Dobrev (‘The Golden Falcon Title in the Old Kingdom: A Chronological Landmark for Royal Succession’) at the symposium *Chronology and Archaeology of Egypt. The Late Fourth and the Third Millennium BC* at the Charles University in Prague on June 13, 2007.

[... Is]is, the great, mother of the god, mistress of [Phi]lae, her son, her beloved, [Pt]olemaios.
I am [your mother Isis ...]

4.1.9. The ‘Chamber of Linen’ and the entrance to the crypts.

The ‘chamber of linen’ or Hw.t mnx.t is located to the east of the general axis of the temple of Isis (fig. 8, IX). The room can be entered from the central axis of the temple through a doorway in the northeast corner of the ‘hall of the ennead’. A door in the south wall of the ‘chamber of linen’ provides access to the open court or ‘seat of the first feast’. The room also contained the entrance to a large crypt stretching across several floors in the northeast corner of the temple (fig. 8, and 10).

The decorative pattern (fig. 66) applied to all walls of this room was engraved in high relief. The scenes and texts were, like their counterparts in the open court, at one time undoubtedly covered with a layer of plaster and paint. At present only minor traces of this decoration can still be discerned. The distribution of the deities and pharaoh on the wall of this chamber reverses the general distribution that is applied on the walls in almost all other rooms of the temple. Instead of the pharaoh proceeding from the entrance into the temple, or in this specific case from the open court towards the ‘hall of the ennead’ and the sanctuary of Isis, the ruler and the fecundity figures¹⁰⁰⁸ proceed from the ‘hall of the ennead’ in front of the sanctuary towards the ‘seat of the first feast’. The orientation suggests that the ‘chamber of linen’ functioned as a sort of passageway from the very core of the temple and from the crypts towards the ‘seat of the first feast’. Due to this apparent association between the ‘chamber of linen’ and the ‘seat of the first feast’, I felt a study of its decorative pattern and function was due in order to shed some more light on the role of the open court in the temple.

¹⁰⁰⁶ The sign engraved appears to be \cup rather than $\cup\circ$. A similar inscription (Philae Bénédite, 71, 9–10) suggests the reading of mw.t=k for this passage.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Similar inscriptions are encountered twice elsewhere in doorways in the temple of Isis. Philae Bénédite, 35, 9–10: [...] %t nb.t IA.t-wab.t Iw-rq sA=s mr=s Ptwrmys anx D.t ink mw.t qmA nfr ir %t nb Iw-rq sA=k D.t and 71, 9–10: Dd-mdw in %t wr.t mw.t nTr nb.t Iw-rq sA=s mr=s Ptwrmys anx D.t mry PtH ink mw.t=k qmA nfr=k ir %t sA=k D.t. Both texts date from the reign of Ptolemaios VI Philometor.

¹⁰⁰⁸ The orientation of the procession of fecundity figures and of the frieze on the west wall of room ix is depicted wrongly by Bénédite, *Philae I*, pl. xxi, c and needs to be reversed.

The south wall of the room is taken up entirely by the doorway into the ‘seat of the first feast’. The only text or scene present in this part of the room was engraved on both thicknesses of the doorway and has already been discussed in relation to the court (doc. 24–25). The three other walls of this chamber share a similar decorative pattern (fig. 66). This scheme consists of a frieze, repeating a pattern of a royal cartouche protected by a vulture with spread wings (doc. 26), and processions of offering bearers (doc. 27a–b) placed above and below an offering scene, respectively. Each wall is covered with only one register with a single scene. On the east wall Ptolemaios II precedes a pair of priests carrying a shrine and presents an offering to Isis and Harpocrates (doc. 28), while on the north wall his successor, Ptolemaios III Euergetes I, faces the god Shesmu (doc. 29). The south half of the west wall has the ruler facing Osiris–Wennefer and Isis (doc. 30). The north half of this wall contains the doorway leading into the ‘hall of the ennead’. Both the lintel (doc. 31) and the south doorjamb (doc. 32) are engraved with inscriptions, while the south thickness of the doorway shows a goddess embracing the ruler (doc. 33).

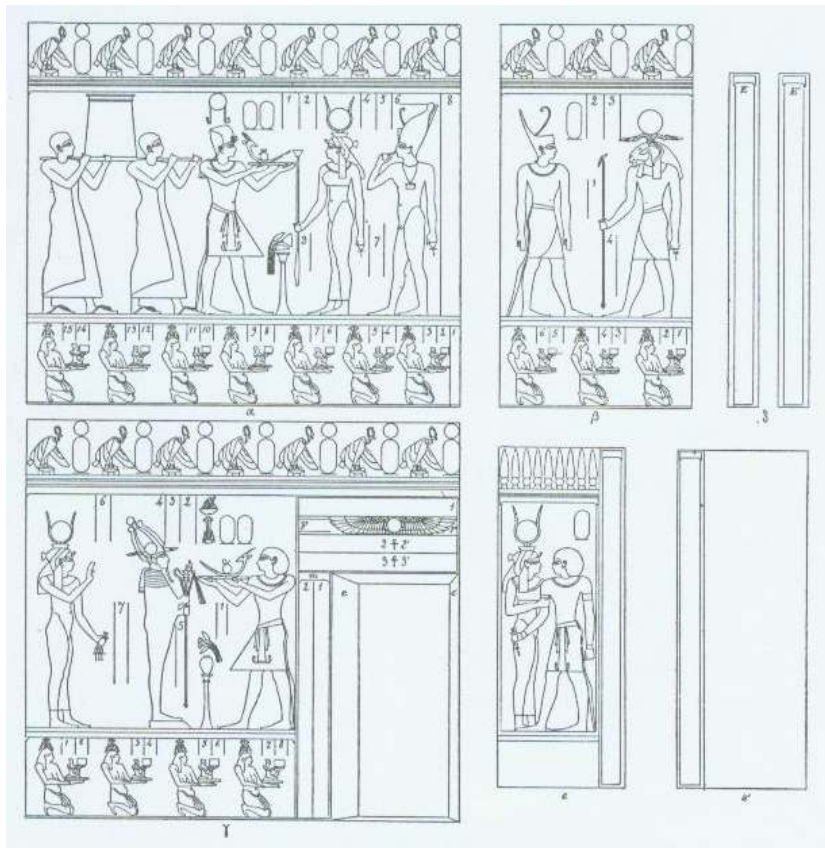


Fig. 66 The decorative scheme of the ‘chamber of linen’ in the temple of Philae (Bénédite Philae, plate XXI)

a. Document 26: decorative frieze.¹⁰⁰⁹

A decorative frieze tops the east, north and west walls of the room with a repetitive pattern: a royal cartouche, containing in turn the *nsw.t-bity* and *sA Ra* name of Ptolemaios II, is followed by a vulture with its wings spread in a protective gesture (fig. 66). The vulture is seated on the *nbw*-sign and wears the *atef*-crown. It holds the *was*-scepter and the *Sn*-sign in between its wings, while the flail is portrayed above its back. The frieze faces south and follows the orientation of the ruler on the scenes and of the fecundity figures on the lowest level of the walls.¹⁰¹⁰


Cartouche a: *wsr-kA-Ra mry-Imn*

Userkare Meramun

Cartouche b: *Pt rwmys*

Ptolemaios

b. Document 27a–b: Procession of offering bearers.¹⁰¹¹

Two processions of offering bearers proceed along the lowest level of the walls of the room. The starting point of both processions is the doorway leading from the ‘hall of the ennead’ into the ‘chamber of linen’. (fig. 66) The first procession (doc. 27a) journeys along the north and east walls of the room and consists of ten offering bearers; the second procession with four offering bearers travels along the west wall (doc. 27b). Both processions proceed in the direction of the doorway leading to the ‘seat of the first feast’.¹⁰¹² All 14 figures are portrayed wearing the typical -headdress on top of a long wig. A strand of the wig falls in front of the shoulder while its back profile is visible behind the shoulder of the figure.¹⁰¹³ All figures are depicted with pendulous breasts and full heavy stomachs, and wear a large collar and a

¹⁰⁰⁹ Bénédite Philae, 55, 3, and pl. xxi, a–b–c; JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 1091, 1093 and 1096), and VASSILIKA (1989:396, TFRZ 9).

¹⁰¹⁰ The orientation of the frieze on the west wall of the chamber is depicted wrongly in Bénédite Philae, pl. xxi, c and needs to be reversed. The *was*-scepter, *Sn*-sign and flail are missing in the copy in Bénédite Philae.

¹⁰¹¹ PM VI, 242–243, ‘base’; BRUGSCH (1891:1261–1262); Bénédite Philae, 55,8–11; 56, 1–2 and 6–7, and pl. xxi, abc; JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 1092, 1094, 1095 and 1097); VASSILIKA (1989:390, ‘DADO 40’), and RYHINER (1995:19).

¹⁰¹² The orientation of the procession of fecundity figures on the west wall of the room is depicted wrongly in Bénédite Philae, pl. xxi, c and needs to be reversed.

¹⁰¹³ This is most likely an example of wig type 4 of BAINES (1985:87 and 92).

belt with stripes of cloth covering the genitals. They are all kneeling¹⁰¹⁴ and carry a tray on which a small statue of the ruler is placed. The pharaoh is depicted in a squatting position. He wears the blue crown and holds a rectangular object of an uncertain origin or function in both hands. It is possible that a decorative pattern of some sort was at one time painted on the rectangular object the king is holding, but no traces of decoration are nowadays visible on site.¹⁰¹⁵ A similar procession of kneeling fecundity figures holding the statue of the ruler on a tray is depicted in the ‘chamber of linen’ in the temple of Dendara.¹⁰¹⁶ The statue of the pharaoh in Dendara carries unguent or linen.

b.1. Procession on the east and north walls (doc. 27a)

b.1.a. East wall:

– Column before the first offering bearer:

iy.n sA Ra nb xa.w P|wmys [anx D.t¹⁰¹⁷ xr=t] % .t nb.t Iw-rq
| |

The son of Ra, the lord of the crowns Ptolemaios [living forever] comes [to you] Isis, mistress of Philae.

– Offering bearer 1

ini<=i> n=t mnx.t Sps¹⁰¹⁸ r Ha.w=t

<I> bring you the noble mnx . t–cloth for your limbs.

¹⁰¹⁴ BAINES (1985:101): ‘with the feet flexed and the insteps clear off the ground’.

¹⁰¹⁵ This type of offering is not mentioned in the general overview of offerings presented by fecundity figures in the study of BAINES (1985:103–110).

¹⁰¹⁶ Dendara IV, plate cclxxvii.

¹⁰¹⁷ The same title also occurs on the north wall of this room: Philae Bénédite, 55, 13 (doc. 29). It is generally accepted that the addition of anx D . t to the sA Ra name of the Ptolemaic ruler does not occur before the reign of Ptolemaios III Euergetes I. See for instance LdÄ IV, 1194, and the overview in FELBER (2003:136–139). The title p|wmys anx D . t also does not feature in the publication of the inscriptions of Ptolemaios II from the temple of Behbeit el-Hagara (FAVARD–MEEKS 1991:25–225 and 251–299). The presence of this title in this room implies that either the expression anx D . t was part of the royal name already during the reign of Ptolemaios II or, which is more likely, if it was not part of his royal name, this part of the decoration was continued under the rule of Ptolemaios II’s successors. In this perspective it is worth mentioning that the name of Ptolemaios II’s immediate successor, Ptolemaios III, occurs on eight other occasions in the temple: Philae Bénédite, 15, 9; 35, 10, 12 and 16; 36, 11; 48, 10 and 12–13; 49, 15–17; 54, 12; 67, 10 and 12, and 71, 8–12.

¹⁰¹⁸ G. Bénédite mistakenly copied  instead of . See also BRUGSCH (1891:1262).

– Offering bearer 2

Dd mdw¹⁰¹⁹ ini<=i> n=t mnx.t idmi¹⁰²⁰

Recitation: <I> bring you dark–red mnx . t–cloth.

– Offering bearer 3

Dd mdw ini<=i> n=t mnx.t wAD.t

Recitation: <I> bring you green mnx . t–cloth.

– Offering bearer 4



Dd mdw in<=i> n=t mnx.t HD.t

Recitation: <I> bring you white mnx . t–cloth.


– Offering bearer 5


ini<=i> n=t Ss/mnx.t sSp.t di.ti n.f Sfy.t¹⁰²¹

<I> bring you bright cloth¹⁰²² which gives awe–inspiring fear of him.

¹⁰¹⁹ Although the group  is commonly transliterated as Dd mdw in (Wb V, 626), the lack of any name following this expression rather suggests the reading Dd mdw. This particular writing does not appear anywhere else in the temple. In similar examples, the group  is most often used (Bénédicte Philae, 4, 14–17, or 7, 7–9).

¹⁰²⁰ The same sign is part of the text uttered by the sixth fecundity figure on the east wall of this room. Both a reading nTry (Wb II, 365 and WILSON 1997:558) and idmi (Wb I, 153 and WILSON 1997:126–127) is possible. I have opted for the transliteration idmi or ‘red’ since the following two figures in the procession present green and white cloth respectively. Together with irtjw, which is at times substituted by ins or sSd according to EGBERTS (1995:140–141 and 178), the red, white, dark–red and green cloths appear together in the Daily Temple Ritual and the ritual of the ‘opening of the mouth’ (see doc. 19). A similar situation occurs on the opposite wall of this room (doc. 27b), but also in other Ptolemaic temples: for instance in Edfou I, 31 and 44–45 (sanctuary), or 423–424 and 432–433 (*wabet*), and Dendara IV, 111 (chamber of linen), or 247 and 265 (*wabet*). On the earliest occurrences of idmi and its use, see EDEL (1975:24–27), and RUMMEL (2006:398–401).

¹⁰²¹ Bénédicte’s -sign is not present in the publication of the same text by BRUGSCH (1891:1262).

¹⁰²² The group  preceding sSp has both the reading Ss and mnx . t (VP III, 639, S403). The inscription could be understood as ‘I bring you Ss/mnx . t–linen and bright sSp–cloth’. The same group of signs occurs once more in the text accompanying the following offering bearer where it is followed by the term nTr . t–cloth. Instead of these and other offering bearers bringing each two different kinds of cloth, I am tempted to regard the term Ss/mnx . t in the same light as mnx . t among the utterances of the previous three fecundity figures and in doc. 27b. Here the cloth (mnx . t) is specified by one of the following terms (HD . t, irtyw,

– Offering bearer 6

Dd mdw ini<=i> n=t Ss/mnx.t ntr.t (or idmi)¹⁰²³

Recitation: <I> bring you netjeret–cloth.

– Offering bearer 7

Dd mdw ini<=i> n=t mnx.t sSd

Recitation: <I> bring you sSd–linen.

b.1.b. North wall

– Offering bearer 8

Dd mdw ini<=i> n=t mnx.t w3d.t¹⁰²⁴

Recitation: I bring you green mnx.t–cloth.

– Offering bearer 9

Dd mdw ini<=i> n=t mnx.t Hd.t

Recitation: I bring you white mnx.t–cloth.

– Offering bearer 10

Dd mdw ini<=i> n=t mnx.t irtyw¹⁰²⁵

Recitation: I bring you red mnx.t–cloth.



b.2. Procession of offering bearers on the west wall (doc. 27b)


– Offering bearer 1

Dd mdw [ini=i n=t] mnx.t idmi¹⁰²⁶

wAD.t and idmi). Moreover, the first offering bearer on the east wall already mentions that it is the mnx.t–cloth that is being brought to the goddess. In all utterances of the fecundity figures in this room, mnx.t (and Ss) thus represents a general term for linen, while the second term specifies the exact type of cloth that is presented. See also WILSON (1997:435).

¹⁰²³ Since the second fecundity figure already carried the red idmi–cloth, it seems likely that this offering bearer presents the nTr.t–cloth.

¹⁰²⁴ The sign  in Bénédite Philae is a mistake. The correct reading is . See BRUGSCH (1891:1262).

¹⁰²⁵ The group of signs was copied wrongly by Bénédite and the correct reading can be found in BRUGSCH (1891:1262): .

Recitation: [I bring you] dark-red *mnx . t*-cloth

– Offering bearer 2

Dd mdw ini<=i> n=T *mnx . t Hd . t*

Recitation: <I> bring you white *mnx . t*-cloth

– Offering bearer 3

Dd mdw ini=i n=t *mnx . t irtyw*

Recitation: I bring you red *mnx . t*-cloth

– Offering bearer 4

Dd mdw ini=i n=t *mnx . t w3d . t*

Recitation: I bring you green *mnx . t*-cloth

c. Document 28: Presentation of linen¹⁰²⁷

The entire east wall of the ‘chamber of linen’ is taken up by a single large scene depicting Ptolemaios II followed by a set of priests carrying a shrine, in front of the gods Isis and Harpocrates (fig. 66a). The pharaoh is wearing the blue crown, a broad collar and a short triangular skirt with a ceremonial tail. He holds a platter with both hands on which a trussed gazelle – with its legs severed from the underbelly, bound together and placed on top of the animal – is deposited. Above the head of the ruler a sun disc with a uraeus protruding from both sides is depicted. A pair of priests wearing a cap-like wig and dressed in a priestly robe — a rectangular garment wound around the body — follows behind the pharaoh. On their shoulders they carry a simple shrine or portable chapel. A small round table, surmounted by three flowers tied together, is placed upon on a single pedestal before the feet of pharaoh.

The two deities, Isis and Harpocrates, facing Ptolemaios II are standing upright. Isis is crowned with the vulture cap and a pedestal-like support carrying the sun disc and cow horns. The goddess is dressed in a long tight fitting wrap-around dress and holds a papyrus

¹⁰²⁶ Another possible reading for this sign would be nTry (VP II, 299, G137). The presence in this offering procession of the other three coloured cloths (*irtyw*, *HD . t* and *wAD . t*) with which the *idmi*-cloth is often associated has led me to prefer this transliteration of the sign.

¹⁰²⁷ PM VI, 242, no. 346; Bénédite Philae, 55, 5–7, and pl. xxi, a; JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 1095–1097); VASSILIKA (1989: database no. 740), and RYHINER (1995:4; 13; 18, and 36–37).

sceptre in her right hand. Harpocrates wears the double crown and is otherwise completely naked. His right thumb is directed towards his mouth. The left arms of both deities are hanging loosely beside their bodies and in their hand they both hold the ankh-sign.

– Pharaoh: nb tA.wy wsr-kA-Ra mry-Imn nb xa.w Ptrwmys di anx w3s

Lord of the two lands Userkara Meramun, lord of the crowns Ptolemaios, given life and dominion.

– Isis: Dd mdw di.n<=i> n=k qn nb % .t nb.t Iw-rq di.n<=i> n=k nsy.t n.t Ra p.t

Recitation: <I> hereby give you all strength. Isis, mistress of Philae. <I> hereby give you the kingship of Ra of heaven.

– Harpocrates: Dd mdw di.n<=i> n=k tA.wy nb @r-p3-Xrd sA % .t¹⁰²⁸ Hry-ib Iw-rq di.n<=i> n=k anx w3s nb xr<=i>¹⁰²⁹


<I> hereby give you the two lands in their entirety. Harpocrates, son¹⁰³⁰ of Isis, who is in the midst of Philae. <I> hereby give you all life and dominion which is near <me> / which <I> have.¹⁰³¹

– Divine column: Dd mdw di.n<=i> n=k qn r rsy nxt r mHw nsyw.t n.t tA.wy m nb.wy tA iw=k di.ti mn Hr <s.t>¹⁰³² @r mi Ra D.t

Recitation: <I> hereby give you strength in/over the south, might in/over the north, the kingship of the two lands like the two lords¹⁰³³ of the land that you may be placed firmly on <the throne> of Horus like Ra forever.

¹⁰²⁸ BRUGSCH (1891:1262).

¹⁰²⁹ BAINES (1985:186–187), and Wb III, 315, section a for this reading.

¹⁰³⁰ Among the various transliterations presented in VP I, 146, D57, the reading sA for  does not feature. The close association of this sign with expressions such as ‘youth’ and ‘child’, illustrated e.g. by the transliterations rnp*i*, Sri and Xrd and the fact that the god @r-pA-Xrd sA % .t is well attested both in the temple of Isis and in the mammisi (for instance: Philae Bénédite, 24, 3; 30, 8; 40, 10; 42, 11, and 43, 11, and Philae II, 25, 22; 57, 21; 65, 10, and 123, 13) make the reading of sA for this sign very plausible. RYHINER (1995:4) opted without argumentation for a translation of this sign as ‘aimé’ (mry).

¹⁰³¹ See SANDRI (2006:167, and 310) for a similar translation of this passage.

¹⁰³² Similar expressions are encountered elsewhere in the temple: Philae Bénédite, 20, 8–9; 22, 10; 30, 6 and 9; 39, 6–7 and 9, and 42, 9.

d. Document 29: Adoration of Shesmu¹⁰³⁴

The small north wall of the ‘chamber of linen’ features a single scene depicting Ptolemaios III in front of the god Shesmu, the lord of the laboratory (fig 66b). The ruler is wearing the red crown, a broad collar and a short triangular skirt with a ceremonial tail. His arms are hanging loosely beside his body in a gesture of adoration. Shesmu stands in front of the pharaoh and is depicted with the head of a ram with a sun disc above the horns. The god is adorned with a broad collar and wears a short triangular skirt with a ceremonial tail. In his left hand he holds the ankh–sign, while the was–sceptre is in his right hand.

– Title: dw3 nTr sp 4

Adoring the god four times.

– Pharaoh: ptrwmjs anx D.t

Ptolemaios, living forever.

– Shesmu: Dd mdw di.n<=i> n=k Pwnt n_{dm} [sTy]¹⁰³⁵ ^smw nb is
di.n<=i> n=k anx wAs nb xrj<=i>¹⁰³⁶

Recitation: I hereby give you Punt, sweet of [smell]. Shesmu, lord of the workshop. I hereby give you all life and dominion which is near <me>/which <I> have.

e. Document 30: Presentation of linen.¹⁰³⁷

The south half of the west wall of the ‘chamber of linen’ contains one large scene depicting Ptolemaios II in front of Osiris–Wennefer and Isis (fig. 66g). The pharaoh is wearing a bag wig, a broad collar and a short triangular skirt with a ceremonial tail. He holds a platter with both hands with a trussed gazelle lying on its back. The legs of the animal are severed from its underbelly, bound together and placed on top of the animal. A small round table on a single pedestal is depicted before the feet of Ptolemaios II and a hes–vessel, surmounted by three

¹⁰³³ A reference to Horus and Seth: Wb II, 231.

¹⁰³⁴ PM VI, 242, no. 345; Bénédite Philae, 55, 13–14, and pl. xxi, b; JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 1093; VASSILIKA (1989: database no. 739), and RYHINER (1995:19).

¹⁰³⁵ The expression nDm–sty occurs regularly in this context: Bénédite Philae, 64, 12–13; Wb IV, 349, and WILSON (1997:968–969).

¹⁰³⁶ For this reading, consult footnote 1029.

¹⁰³⁷ PM VI, 242, no. 347; Bénédite, Philae, 56, 4–5, and pl. xxi, c; JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 1091); VASSILIKA (1989: database no. 741), and RYHINER (1995:18).

flowers tied together, is placed upon the table. The two deities facing the pharaoh are standing upright. In between the cartouches and the first column of text accompanying Osiris–Wennefer, Nekhbet – in the guise of a vulture – is positioned on a neb–basket above a bush of lotus plants.

Osiris–Wennefer is depicted with a false beard and the atef–crown. He wears a broad collar and a long sheet around his body. In his hands he holds the was–sceptre and the crook and flail. The head of Isis is crowned with the vulture cap and a pedestal–like support carrying the sun disc and cow horns. The goddess is dressed in a long tight fitting wrap–around dress and holds three ankh–signs in her left hand. The right arm of Isis is lifted in a gesture of greeting.

– Title: rdi.t mnx.t/Ss n it=f

Presenting mnx.t/Ss–cloth to his father.

– Pharaoh: nsw.t bit.y wsr–kA–Ra mry–Imn sA Ra Ptrwmys

The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Userkara Meramun, son of Ra Ptolemaios.

– Osiris–Wennefer: di.n<=i> n=k anx wAs nb Wsir–wnnfr nb IA.t–wab.t¹⁰³⁸ di.n<=i> n=k anx wAs m Htp

I hereby give you all life and dominion. Osiris–Wennefer, lord of the Abaton.

I hereby give you life and dominion in peace.

– Isis: %t di.t anx Hry.t–ib IA.t–wab.t¹⁰³⁹ a.wy=i H3=k m anx wAs nb

Isis, who gives life, who is in the midst of the Abaton. My arms are behind you with all life and dominion.

f. The doorway from the ‘chamber of linen’ to the ‘hall of the ennead’.¹⁰⁴⁰

f.1. The lintel (doc. 31)

The lintel above the doorway leading from the ‘hall of the ennead’ into the ‘chamber of linen’ consists of four lines with inscriptions (fig. 66g). The second line from the top has a winged

¹⁰³⁸ Bénédite Philae has iw–rꜥ instead.

¹⁰³⁹ G. Bénédite mistakenly copied \ominus instead of \curvearrowright .

¹⁰⁴⁰ PM VI, 242, no. 338; Bénédite Philae, 56, 8–11, and pl. xxi, c (F, F’ 1, 2, 2’, 3 and 3’), and JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 1090).

sun disc engraved in its centre with a small inscription on both sides. The texts of the third and fourth lines start at the ankh-sign in the middle of the lintel.

– line above winged sun disc:

nsw.t bit.y nb tA.wy wsr-kA-Ra mry-Imn sA Ra nb xa.w
P|wmys mry % .t di.t anx nb.t anx¹⁰⁴¹ nb.t Iw-rq

The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands Userkara Meramun, son of Ra, lord of the crowns Ptolemaios, beloved of Isis, who gives life, mistress of life, mistress of Philae.

– on both sides of the winged sun disc:

BHd.ty nTr a3 nb p.t di.f anx

Behdety, the great god, lord of heaven. May he give life.


BHd.ty nTr a3



Behdety, the great god.

– inscription on the third line from the top:

anx nsw.t bit.y nb tA.wy wsr-kA-Ra mry-Imn mry Wsir nTr
aA nb IA.t-wab.t

¹⁰⁴¹ The hieroglyphic sign for the vessel, following the anx-sign, does not feature among the signs of the VP I–IV and the transliteration of this hieroglyph remains problematic. This sign features both on the lintel and on the doorjamb (doc. 32) of the gate leading from the ‘hall of the ennead’ to the ‘chamber of linen’ (Bénédicté Philae, 56, 8 and 13) and in both instances it is found in an epithet of Isis referring to her as nb.t anx or ‘mistress of life’. The presence of this vase in this epithet is difficult to explain since the inscription is clearly legible and understandable without this sign. In a verbal communication, C. Traunecker therefore suggested to read this sign as the phonetic complement a (or anx). This reading also appears to apply to the same vase in an inscription on the thickness of the doorway leading from the ‘hall of the ennead’ to room XII (Bénédicté Philae, 49, 18), in a scene on the south wall of the ‘hall of the ennead’ (Bénédicté Philae, 41, 11–12), and to another vase, resembling a mD.t-vessel, encountered in a similar position among the epithets of Isis in a scene in room III (Bénédicté Philae, 16, 2). Although this is a plausible solution for the instances in which this sign is encountered, a study of other texts from the temple where this sign occurs suggests a different reading in a number of cases. For instance, the lintel of the gate leading from room VIII to the ‘hall of the ennead’ (Bénédicté Philae, 53, 6) leaves little doubt that the reading di is also a valid transliteration for this sign. The first line of this lintel reads:

 or mry % .t di.t anx nb.t IA.t-wab.t or ‘beloved of Isis, who gives life,

mistress of the Abaton’. In the second line  is replaced by the vase:  and would likewise read mry % .t di.t anx nb.t.Iw-rq or ‘beloved of Isis, who gives life, mistress of Philae’. A transliteration of the sign as di could also be considered for a similar occurrence of the sign in an inscription on the lintel of the doorway leading from the ‘hall of the ennead’ to the ‘hall of offerings’ (Bénédicté Philae, 39, 6).

May the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands Userkara Meramun live, beloved of Osiris, the great god, lord of the Abaton.

anx nsw.t bit.y nb tA.wy wsr-kA-Ra mry-Imn mry %.t

May the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands Userkara Meramun live, beloved of Isis.

– inscription on the fourth line from the top:

anx sA Ra nb xa.w P|wmys mry %.t nb.t Iw-rq
| |

May the son of Ra, lord of the crowns Ptolemaios live, beloved of Isis, mistress of Philae.

anx sA Ra nb xa.w P|wmys mry %.t
| |

May the son of Ra, lord of the crowns Ptolemaios live, beloved of Isis.

f.2. The south doorjamb (doc. 32)¹⁰⁴²

The south doorjamb of the doorway leading from the ‘hall of the ennead’ to the ‘chamber of linen’ was engraved with two columns of inscriptions (fig. 66g).

nsw.t bit.y nb tA.wy wsr-kA-Ra mry-Imn sA Ra nb xa.w P|wmys
di anx mi Ra mry %.t wr.t mw.t n| nb.t anx¹⁰⁴³ nb.t Iw-rq nb.t
xAs.wt rsy.w D.t

| |

‘The king of Upper and Lower Egypt Userkara Meramun, son of Ra, lord of the crowns Ptolemaios, given life like Ra, the beloved of Isis, the great, mother of the god, mistress of life, mistress of Philae, mistress of the southern lands forever’.

f.3. Passage of the doorway (doc. 33)¹⁰⁴⁴

The scene is located inside the doorway leading from the ‘chamber of linen’ into the ‘hall of the ennead’ (fig. 66, g and e). A frieze of kheker-signs is located above the scene. The pharaoh, identified by his cartouche as Ptolemaios (P|wmys), is wearing a bag wig, a broad collar and a short kilt with a ceremonial tail. His left arm hangs loosely beside his body while
| |

¹⁰⁴² PM VI, 242, no. 338; Bénédite Philae, 56, 12–13, and pl. xxi, c (m), and JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 1090).

¹⁰⁴³ For this reading, consult footnote 1041.

¹⁰⁴⁴ PM VI, 242, no. 338; Bénédite Philae, 56, 14; pl. xxi, e; JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 1089), and VASSILIKA (1989: database no. 738).

his right arm is positioned in front of the hips of the goddess. Ptolemaios II holds an ankh-sign in both hands.¹⁰⁴⁵ The head of the deity, most likely Isis,¹⁰⁴⁶ is crowned with the vulture cap and a pedestal-like support carrying the sun disc and cow horns. She is adorned with a broad collar and dressed in a long tight fitting wrap-around dress. The goddess is in the process of embracing the pharaoh: she has one hand placed behind the head of the pharaoh and the other on his right upper arm while she breathes life into his nostrils.

g. The ‘Chamber of linen’ and the entrance to the crypts.

The distribution of the deities over the scenes on the walls of the ‘chamber of linen’ follows the pattern set by the distribution of the deities in the scenes along the main axis of the temple and in the ‘seat of the first feast’. On the east wall we find Isis and Harpocrates (with the white crown) representing Philae and Upper Egypt, on the west wall Osiris–Wennefer and Isis representing the Abaton on Bigeh, while in the scene on the north wall the pharaoh is depicted with the red crown. The decorative scheme of the ‘chamber of linen’ in general follows the pattern that one encounters in similar chambers in later temples, such as Edfu and Dendara: a majority of the scenes are dedicated to offering scenes of various types of *mnx . t*- and other linen (doc. 27, 28, and 30), while the rest of them refers to the production of various oils, unguents and ointments, such as *mD . t* and *ibr*, in the laboratory, in which Shesmu was the lord (doc. 29).¹⁰⁴⁷ The purpose of the various ointments, unguents, and the *mnx . t*-linen produced and presented to the deities, for instance during the *xnm–itn* rite at the time of the New Year, has already been covered (doc. 13, 18, and 19).

In return for the presentation of linen to the deities, the ruler is presented with the same type of gifts as in the ‘seat of the first feast’. The gift of the combination of the concepts of ‘life’ (*anx*) and ‘dominion’ (*wAs*) features frequently in the speeches of the deities.¹⁰⁴⁸ The

¹⁰⁴⁵ Bénédite Philae, pl. xxi, scene e did not depict the ankh-sign in the left hand of the ruler.

¹⁰⁴⁶ The goddess Isis appears twice elsewhere in this particular spot in a doorway in the temple: Bénédite Philae, pl. IV, scene e (room II), and XX, scene e (room VIII). On both occasions she presents the sign of life to the king. This offering is regularly found in the immediate vicinity of doorways in the temple and Isis is most often the executor of the rite (see already Document 2).

¹⁰⁴⁷ Compare with Edfou, I, 118–136, and plate xxi, and Dendara IV, 101–145, and plates cclxxvi–cclxxxvii. See also CAUVILLE (1987:42–45; 2001:16–22).

¹⁰⁴⁸ Documents 28 (twice), 29, and 30 (thrice).

Ptolemaic ruler also receives control over the two lands from the hands of the child-god Harpocrates (doc. 28), who in Ptolemaic and Roman temple inscriptions is often portrayed as the legitimate heir to the throne of Egypt and in this function often associated with the ruling pharaoh.¹⁰⁴⁹ The confirmation of the pharaoh's power is expressed most explicitly in the divine column on the east wall of the 'chamber of linen': '<I> hereby give you strength over the south, might over the north, the kingship of the two lands like the two lords of the land that you may be placed firmly on <the throne> of Horus like Ra forever' (doc. 28).

One offering scene from the 'chamber of linen' deserves further attention. The relief on the east wall of the court depicts Ptolemaios II presenting linen to Isis and Harpocrates. He is being followed by two priests who carry a simple shrine or portable chapel on their shoulders (doc. 28 and fig. 66a). There are no inscriptions accompanying the priests and no mention is made of the contents of the portable shrine that they carry on their shoulders. The scene has been studied in detail by M. Ryhiner in her work on the processions with linen,¹⁰⁵⁰ where it is linked (particularly the portrayal of the two priests carrying the portable shrine) with a series of reliefs found in the New Kingdom temples of Luxor, Karnak and Abydos¹⁰⁵¹ and the Ptolemaic temple of Dendara.¹⁰⁵² The scenes from these four temples all depict and describe in greater detail a procession of priests carrying portable containers or shrines with linen to be used at the time of the New Year.¹⁰⁵³ Should the shrine carried by the unidentified priests on the Philae-relief indeed contain linen that is to be used to robe the god on New Year's Day — the most suited day for a ritual of rejuvenation to take place — than it is undoubtedly no coincidence that this scene is located just outside the 'seat of the first feast' and that the orientation of the priests and the ruler is towards this open court.

The exact content of the shrine in the 'chamber of linen' however remains a mystery – not a single inscription refers to it. Although there are very many similarities between the scene in

¹⁰⁴⁹ Consult SANDRI (2006:166–171) for a detailed overview of this aspect of Harpocrates.

¹⁰⁵⁰ RYHINER (1995: 4; 13; 18, and 36–37).

¹⁰⁵¹ a) In the offering room of the temple of Luxor from the reign of Amenhotep III: GAYET (1894: pl. 51, fig. 104); b) on talatats from the reign of Akhnaton recovered in Karnak: REDFORD (1988: 5, and pl. 39); c) in the temple of Ramses II at Abydos: PM VI, 37 (48), and MARIETTE (1869: plate 19c). See also RYHINER (1995: figs. 1–8, and plates 1–6).

¹⁰⁵² The scene is located in the third register of the 'chamber of linen': Dendara IV, 101–145, and plates cclxxviii–cclxxxvii.

¹⁰⁵³ RYHINER (1995:52–54).

the ‘chamber of linen’ in the temple of Philae and the four other depictions of this procession and so the connection between these reliefs cannot be dismissed, the scene also brings to mind a different type of procession at the time of the New Year. The Ptolemaic temples of Edfu and Dendara both feature along the staircase to the roof a series of scenes depicting processions of priests carrying the statues of the gods in shrines.¹⁰⁵⁴ These processions are directed towards and from a kiosk on the roof of the temple, known as the ‘seat of the first feast’ in Edfu and Dendara, where the ‘union with the sun disc’ is supposed to take place to rejuvenate and revitalise the statues of the god (Chapter 3.2). The similarities between the priests and shrine in the scenes from Philae, Edfu and Dendara suggest that the shrine carried by the priests in the ‘chamber of linen’ in Philae refers not only to the procession of linen at the time of the New Year, but also to the procession of the statue of a deity, most likely the main goddess of the temple – Isis – at the same time.

The idea of a procession leading from the very core of the temple, in particular the ‘hall of the ennead’ and the sanctuary where the statue of the goddess resided, to the ‘seat of the first feast’ is suggested by the orientation of the decorative scheme in the ‘chamber of linen’. A scene in the open court itself also suggests the idea of a procession from the heart of the temple. A single large relief representing Ptolemaios II in front of a large offering covers the entire east wall of the court, but the beneficiary of the rite is remarkably not present (fig. 46 and doc. 8). The ruler is orientated towards the north and the door leading to the ‘chamber of linen’. The relief suggests that the large offering in front of Ptolemaios II is meant for a deity entering the court from the ‘chamber of linen’. The intended beneficiary of this rite could well have been Isis who would enter the ‘seat of the first feast’ in procession and be instantly faced with a large offering in her honour.

The ‘chamber of linen’ did not function only as a passageway from the core of the temple to the ‘seat of the first feast’, but also contained the only entrance to the crypts of the temple of Isis in Philae (fig. 8 and 10). The crypts do not feature a decorative pattern on their walls and they do not get mentioned anywhere in the temple inscriptions. One can only speculate as to the function of these crypts on the basis of textual and visual material from crypts in other Ptolemaic and Roman temples. Traunecker’s study of the crypts indicates that these hidden chambers could be used as a setting for ritual activities or to store different types of cultic

¹⁰⁵⁴ Edfou, I plates xxxvii b, c, and e, and xxxviii c–e and o; Dendara VII, plates dclxxvii–dclxxx, and dclxxxix–dcxc, and Dendara VIII, plates dclxx–dclxxii; dccxciii, and dccxcvi–dccc.

material that would only be used during specific times throughout the year.¹⁰⁵⁵ The grand festivities surrounding important ritual festivals, such as the opening of the year, undoubtedly required a much larger amount of cultic equipment than what was commonly used during the daily activities in the temple. Some of the material used to produce the ointments and unguents and the different types of linen used during the festivals might have been stored in these hidden rooms located just outside the festive ‘seat of the first feast’.¹⁰⁵⁶ The location of the crypts and the inscriptions referring to them or featuring on their walls in other temples suggest that the function and purpose of these hidden rooms was very often linked with the chambers in the temple to which they are connected.¹⁰⁵⁷ In the specific case of the temple of Philae, this implies the ‘chamber of linen’ and most probably the space to which it leads: the ‘seat of the first feast’.

Crypts in several other temples also housed a large number of statues that, like other cultic material stored here, had a very specific use at particular times during the year. For most of the year, these statues were stored out of sight and only brought out of the crypts when they had a role to play during a particular feast or festival, such as the festivities surrounding the New Year. Inscriptions from the temple of Dendara refer to no less than 162 different statues housed in the underground crypts,¹⁰⁵⁸ while the excavation of the crypt underneath the *wabet* in the temple of Shanhûr brought to light several fragments of the statuary that was once stored there.¹⁰⁵⁹ The already studied shrine or container carried by priests towards the ‘seat of the first feast’, depicted on the east wall of the ‘chamber of linen’ in Philae (doc. 28, and fig. 66a), could also have contained a statue taken from the crypt, the entrance to which was located in the ‘chamber of linen’.

Waitkus’ detailed study of the scenes and inscriptions from the three underground crypts in the temple of Hathor in Dendara, including one that is entered through the open court of the

¹⁰⁵⁵ LdÄ III, 823–830, and TRAUNECKER (1994). See also CAUVILLE (1995:54–59), and WAITKUS (1995; 1997).

¹⁰⁵⁶ The walls of the chamber that formed the entrance to the crypt are covered with several scenes depicting the offering of linen and a single scene of the god Shesmu, the lord of the laboratory where ointments and unguents were produced. See fig. 66 and Documents 27–30.

¹⁰⁵⁷ LdÄ III, 824; TRAUNECKER (1994:39); CAUVILLE (1995:55), and WAITKUS (1997:4, and 235–238).

¹⁰⁵⁸ CAUVILLE (1987a), and WAITKUS (1997:239–242). On an old statue of Pepi I in the crypts of the temple of Dendara, consult KURTH (1987).

¹⁰⁵⁹ See Chapter 1.10, and figs. 27 and 28.

complex, revealed that these underground chambers could symbolise the netherworld.¹⁰⁶⁰ The prolonged presence of the statues in the crypts appears to the ancient Egyptian mind to have had consequences for the vitality of the statues and the statuary came to be seen as deprived of its essence – the presence of the deity in the statue.¹⁰⁶¹ The statuary appears to have been considered as lifeless, or rather, to use Assmann’s term, as the *Leichnam* or corpse of the god in the underworld.¹⁰⁶² In order for these statues to function once again, a number of cultic activities needed to be performed to reanimate and rejuvenate them and reunite them with their *ba* – the central purpose of the rite of the ‘union with the sun disc’ that took place in the ‘seat of the first feast’. The concept that the statues residing in the crypts could be considered to be the corpse of the deity might have also influenced the editors of the inscriptions and scenes that cover the walls of the ‘seat of the first feast’ in Philae: they used textual material that stems from the funerary sphere, such as the ritual of the ‘opening of the mouth’ or the ‘Book of the Dead or Going Forth By Day’, which was used in order to obtain a continuation of life beyond death for the deceased, be it a pharaoh or a commoner.¹⁰⁶³

The presence of an access to an underground crypt in every single known complex of *wabet* and court indicates that the entrance to a crypt formed an essential part of this complex.¹⁰⁶⁴ Whether all these undecorated crypts,¹⁰⁶⁵ like those preserved in the temple of Philae, served exactly the same purpose as the underground crypts in the temple of Dendara is, due to the lack of inscriptions and reliefs, impossible to establish. One can only assume that all these crypts might have housed the cultic material (including the (lifeless) statues of the deities) necessary for the optimal fulfillment of the ritual activities performed in the ensemble.

4.1.10. The ‘seat of the first feast’ in Philae

The open court in the core of the temple of Philae provides little direct information on its purpose and role in the temple. The only two clear indications are found on the east doorjamb of the doorway in the south–east corner of the room: the open court was known as

¹⁰⁶⁰ WAITKUS (1995:287; 1997:265). See also TRAUNECKER (1994:25, and 42).

¹⁰⁶¹ WAITKUS (1995:287, and 1997:265–266).

¹⁰⁶² For the Late Period concept of each god having a *ba* in heaven, an image on earth and a corpse in the netherworld, see ASSMANN (1984:54).

¹⁰⁶³ Consult also WAITKUS (1997:267–269).

¹⁰⁶⁴ See Chapter 2.

¹⁰⁶⁵ With the exception of the not yet published reliefs from the crypt underneath the complex in el–Qal’a. See Chapter 1.11.

the ‘seat of the first feast’ (s . t Hb tpy) and was used to perform the ‘union with the sun disc’ (Xnm-itn) (doc. 3). The location and the ritual are very well-known from later Ptolemaic and Roman temples (Chapter 3.2): in the ‘seat of the first feast’ the statues of the deities that resided in the temple would be exposed to sun rays in order to be reunited with their *ba*. Through this ritual the statues would become rejuvenated and revitalised in order to continue to serve their role in the temple as well as possible. Inscriptions from the temples of Edfu and Dendara indicate that the ‘union with the sun disc’ could take place on various occasions throughout the year, but the time of the New Year, with the arrival of the flood and new life, appears to have been considered by the ancient Egyptians the most perfect moment for renewal (Chapters 4.2 and 4.3). The ‘seat of the first feast’ in Philae contains several inscriptions that provide indirect references to the time of the New Year, although no text explicitly states that the ‘union with the sun disc’ took place (only) at that time in the open court.

The ‘seat of the first feast’ in the temple of Philae is at present the oldest known example and the remaining scenes on its walls provide the first indications of a series of ritual activities that were performed in this open court. But one should keep in mind that the south wall of the ‘seat of the first feast’ has almost completely disappeared and with it the scenes which, just like those on the north wall, undoubtedly contained information on the role of the open court in the temple. The remaining inscriptions and reliefs do not provide any clear-cut and unambiguous information on these activities or their exact sequence, but the many scenes indirectly provide a series of important indications that allow us to partly reconstruct the type of activities and the function they served.

The orientation of the decorative scheme in the ‘chamber of linen’ suggests the existence of a processional route, presumably with the statues of the gods, from the core of the temple, and in particular the sanctuary and the ‘hall of the ennead’, and/or the crypts to the ‘seat of the first feast’. A series of ritual activities appears to have been performed on and for the statues of the deities in the open court after the shrine or shrines containing the statue(s) of the god(s) were carried in. The aim of the rites appears to have been to prepare the statues for the approaching ‘union with the sun disc’: the shrines were opened, the faces of the deities revealed and the statues anointed and dressed. The idea that these statues are in need of a ritual act of revitalisation concomitantly implies that the statues are in a position of weakness and open to attacks from chaotic forces which are strongest exactly during the epagomenal

days preceding the New Year. A series of amulets and protective spells are provided to the statues as a means of protection against these forces of chaos.

After the statue underwent this set of preparatory rites, the ‘union with the sun disc’ took place, most likely on a platform along the west or rear wall of the court. It is interesting to note that the statue of the deity standing on this platform would face east and the rising sun on the morning of the New Year. At that time the sun had almost reached its zenith in the sky and its morning rays might have actually touched the statue. The concept of the rays of the sun touching the statue might have played a crucial role in the decision of the designers of the temple’s decorative scheme to orientate the open court east–west instead of following the expected orientation in vogue elsewhere in the temple (south–north). The orientation of the decorative scheme in the ‘seat of the first feast’ leaves no doubt that the west wall functions as its rear wall and the place where the statue would be positioned to face the rising sun on New Year’s day. At the same time, the statue would also face the large offering made in its honour on the opposite east wall.

In order to express the ideas and concepts at work in one of the oldest decorated ‘seats of the first feast’, the priest–editors that selected the reliefs and inscriptions that would go on its walls must have possessed a remarkable knowledge of numerous ancient texts and rites. For the acts of approaching and opening the shrines of the deities and revealing their face, passages from similar activities covered in the Daily Temple Ritual were for instance copied and edited. The inscriptions and reliefs on the walls of the ‘seat of the first feast’ also contain numerous references to funerary rites and texts, such as the ritual of the ‘opening of the mouth’ and the ‘Book of the Dead or Going Forth By Day’,¹⁰⁶⁶ but also to a series of royal festivities. In this perspective one cannot overlook the fact that the myrrh, unguents, and linen offered by the pharaoh on the west wall of the ‘seat of the first feast’ could not be used only to clothe and adorn the deity, but also featured in the heb–sed of the pharaoh.¹⁰⁶⁷ Although the ritual acts performed during the sed–festival and their exact sequence are still a matter of debate, one of the characteristic and always recurring sites involved in the festival

¹⁰⁶⁶ On the occurrence of scenes and texts from the ritual of the ‘opening of the mouth’ in the Late Period temple of Hibis in the el–Kharga oasis and the use of ‘mortuary’ literature in the temple cult, consult CRUZ–URIBE (1999).

¹⁰⁶⁷ Consult RUMMEL (2006) on the use of linen, myrrh, and unguents during the heb–sed. In general on the sed–festival: LdÄ V, 782–790; RÄRG, 158–160; FRANKFORT (1948:79–88); UPHILL (1965); BLEEKER (1967:96–123); HORNUNG–STAEHELIN (1974), and BARTA (1975:62–73).

are the two *sed*-chapels on top of a pedestal or dais. It brings to mind the platform that was once located along the west wall of the ‘seat of the first feast’ in the open court in Philae (or in the complex in the Thirtieth Dynasty temple of Khnum in Elephantine – Chapter 1.1). This platform would develop into the typical elevated chapel or *wabet* in the temple of Horus at Edfu a mere generation later (Chapter 1.4).

A connection between the *Xnm-i t n* rites and the *sed*-festival at the time of the New Year is also found in a festive calendar from the reign of Ptolemaios X Alexander I on the north-east doorway of the open court in front of the pronaos in the temple of Edfu. A poorly preserved fragment of the festive calendar appears to mention that a *sed*-feast of Horus and a *sed*-feast of Ra took place on the very first day of the New Year.¹⁰⁶⁸ Although it is very tempting to assume a connection between the ritual activities in the ‘seat of the first feast’ and the *sed*-festival of the pharaoh on the basis of the principal location and some of the acts performed, the evidence at hand is circumstantial at best. But on the other hand one cannot exclude the possibility that some of the rites of clothing and adornment performed for the statue of the god on the platform of the open court might have found some inspiration in the already age-old *heb-sed* of the ruler. After all, the aim of both rituals was the same: to renew and revitalise.

The Late Period pBrooklyn 47.218.50 provides an even closer parallel between royal festivities and the clothing rites performed on the statues of the gods in the ‘seat of the first feast’.¹⁰⁶⁹ The papyrus contains a set of directions for ritual acts to be performed during the commemoration of the enthronisation of Horus and the confirmation of the pharaoh’s power at the time of the New Year.¹⁰⁷⁰ The preparatory activities performed for the pharaoh in the *pA sH n s . t-wr . t* or ‘the chapel of the great seat’ involve the presentation of linen, unguents and protective equipment. Among the offerings presented, mention is also made of the *was*-sceptre and the *ankh*-sign.¹⁰⁷¹ Both these objects/concepts regularly feature as the gifts of the deities to the pharaoh on the walls of the ‘seat of the first feast’ in Philae. According to J.-C. Goyon, who studied pBrooklyn 47.218.50 in detail, the *pA sH n s . t-wr . t* seems to combine the function of the ‘chamber of linen’ and that of the complex of

¹⁰⁶⁸ Edfou V, 397, 5–6; ALLIOT (1949:206–208), and GRIMM (1994:20–23).

¹⁰⁶⁹ GOYON (1972a).

¹⁰⁷⁰ pBrooklyn 47.218.50, I, 7–III, 19, and GOYON (1972a:19–23).

¹⁰⁷¹ pBrooklyn 47.218.50, I, 10, and GOYON (1972a:20).

mabet and court in later temples.¹⁰⁷² This is of course reminiscent of the actual situation in the temple of Isis in Philae, where the open court and ‘chamber of linen’ are associated with each other both on the architectural and on the ritual level (Chapter 4.1.9g).

In pBrooklyn 47.218.50, the pharaoh makes his way from the palace to the pA sH n s . t-wr . t.¹⁰⁷³ In the ‘hall of appearance’ of the temple of Philae, which at the time of Ptolemaios II formed the entrance hall of the temple, the journey of the pharaoh to the temple, his purification and coronation and admittance to Isis (the so-called ‘*montée royale*’) is also depicted.¹⁰⁷⁴ A small intermediate room (fig. 8, room IV) connects the ‘hall of appearance’ with the ‘seat of the first feast’. The open court might well have featured as the space where two routes joined: from the north and the sanctuary came the procession of the statue through the ‘chamber of linen’, and from the south and the ‘hall of appearance’ arrived the pharaoh. Both the pA sH n s . t-wr . t and the complex feature as the space where the pharaoh and deity respectively underwent a series of clothing rites before the act of renewal took place.¹⁰⁷⁵ The climax of the royal feast – the actual confirmation of the pharaoh in his power – took place on a platform or dais in a columned court,¹⁰⁷⁶ the climax of the feast in the temple on a platform in an open court. At the time of the New Year, when the land was renewed by the flooding waters of the Nile, the statues of the gods in the temple and the position and power of the pharaoh of Egypt likewise were renewed.

¹⁰⁷² GOYON (1972a:19, n. 7, and 34).

¹⁰⁷³ GOYON (1972a:19).

¹⁰⁷⁴ PM VI, 238–239, no. 290–295; Bénédite Philae, 3; 4; 6; 8, and 9, pl. I, xi and xi’ II, vii and vii’ and III, iv; JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: nos. 683, 686, 692, 1122, and 1128); GUTBUB (1985:132), and VASSILIKA (1989:28–29). On the ‘*montée royale*’, consult BARGUET (1986); CAUVILLE (1987:140–142), and LABRIQUE (1992).

¹⁰⁷⁵ In light of this, it is most unfortunate that the south wall of the open court has, with one minor exception above its doorway, completely disappeared. The north wall, from where Isis entered the open court, contained a series of unique reliefs and inscriptions mainly devoted to the rites involved in opening the shrines of the deities and revealing their face prior to the ‘union with the sun disc’. One can only speculate about the contents of the reliefs that once decorated the opposite south wall. This part of the court might perhaps have contained more information on the confirmation of the pharaoh in his position, but in the absence of part of this wall, this will always have to remain pure speculation.

¹⁰⁷⁶ GOYON (1972a:36–37).

The ritual acts performed on the statues of the gods in the ‘seat of the first feast’ in Philae are deeply imbedded in various older rites and rituals.¹⁰⁷⁷ Both the acts depicted on the scenes and the inscriptions that accompany them refer on numerous occasions to older royal, funerary and temple rites. All these rites appear to have shared one single concept: the idea of a ‘passage’ from death, or at least a lifeless or death-like state,¹⁰⁷⁸ to a renewal of life and power.¹⁰⁷⁹ In the Daily Temple Ritual the statue of the god is awakened in the early hours of the morning and the *ba* of the deity enters its abode once more, enlivening its statue. In the ritual of the ‘opening of the mouth’ the senses are returned to the deceased and the temple is re-consecrated, and in the royal festivals the pharaoh’s power is confirmed. The preparatory rites that the pharaoh, the statues of the deities or the deceased underwent before the actual act of renewal or rejuvenation took place all involved a very similar set of clothing rites: the presentation of linen, unguents and ointments that represented the idea of renewal and of a set of amulets to provide protection in a weakened state or condition.¹⁰⁸⁰

The priests designing the decorative scheme to be engraved upon the walls of the ‘seat of the first feast’ in Philae did not create anything entirely new. Rather, the result of their work is rooted in ancient traditions that are set in a new context: the rejuvenation of the statues of the gods through the ‘union with the sun disc’. In order for the decorative scheme of the open court to express the idea of rejuvenation and renewal, the priests selected and edited scenes and inscriptions from various age-old ritual contexts, whether funerary, royal or temple, that all shared the idea of a passage from death to life. The reliefs and inscriptions that cover the walls of the ‘seat of the first feast’ in the temple in Philae are a testimony to their knowledge of ancient texts and rituals and their ability to rework this material to suit a new setting, as well as an example of working with traditional material in an innovative manner.

4.1.11. Appendix

¹⁰⁷⁷ On the influence of funerary rites on the ritual activities performed in the complex of *nabet* and court in general, consult COPPENS (2002b; 2008a).

¹⁰⁷⁸ Even the state of the pharaoh could be considered death-like prior to his confirmation at the time of the New Year according to UPHILL (1965:379–380); GOYON (1972a:27); BARTA (1975:63–66, and 69–72), and RUMMEL (2006:395–398, and 406).

¹⁰⁷⁹ According to BLEEKER (1967:6, and 144) renewal is the purpose of all rites, or in his own words: ‘the aim of all cultic rites is the renewal of the life of the world, of the community and of the individual. The festivals are, strictly speaking, enactments of religious renewal’.

¹⁰⁸⁰ DERCHAIN (1955:248–249).

The appendix attached to this chapter contains an overview of the texts that inspired or served as the basis for some of the inscriptions engraved on the north wall of the 'seat of the first feast' and that I have used to obtain a better understanding of the at times corrupted or illegible inscriptions on this wall.

b. Daily Temple Ritual, chapter 13

Doc. 9		Isis	
A2 = B2		Amun	
C2		Mut	

c. Daily Temple Ritual, chapters 13 and 14

d. Daily Temple Ritual, chapter 13

Doc. 9	
A2 = B2	
C2	

e. Daily Temple Ritual, chapters 13 and 14

f. Daily Temple Ritual, chapter 14

Doc. 9	
A3 = B3	

2. Document 10: ascending the staircase before the god

A pAmun I, X, 1-6

B GARDINER – CALVERLY (1933:17 = Isis)

C GARDINER – CALVERLY (1933:25 = Horus)

D GARDINER – CALVERLY (1935:3 = Amun-Ra)

E GARDINER – CALVERLY (1935:13 = Ra-Harakhte)

F GARDINER – CALVERLY (1935:21 = Ptah)

Daily Temple Ritual, chapter 25.

Document 10



A



B



C



D



E



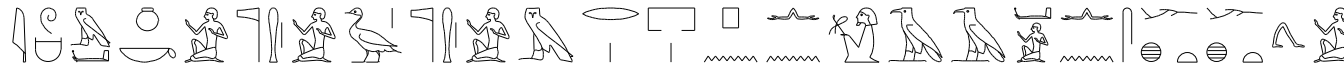
F



Doc. 10



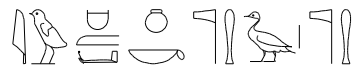
A



B



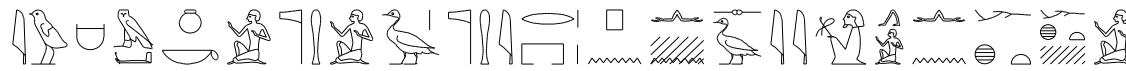
C



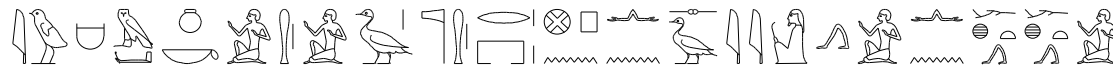
D



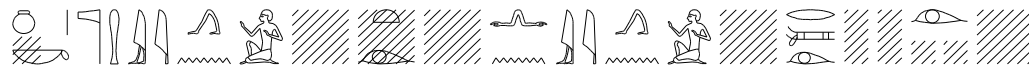
E



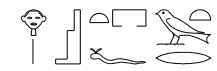
F



Doc. 10



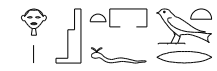
Osiris



A



Amun



B



Isis



D



Amun-Ra



E



Ra-Harakhete



F



Ptah

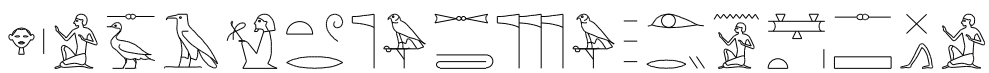


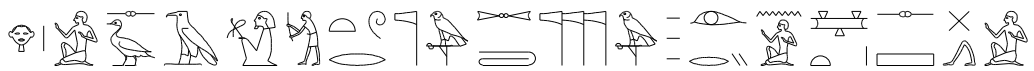
3. Document 11: seeing the god.

- | | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|---|---|
| A | pAmun I, IV, 6-7 | F | GARDINER – CALVERLY (1933:26 = Horus) |
| B | pAmun II, XI, 4-5 | G | GARDINER – CALVERLY (1935:4 = Amon-Ra) |
| C | pMut III, 10-11 | H | GARDINER – CALVERLY (1935:14 = Ra-Harakhte) |
| D | GARDINER – CALVERLY (1933:4 = Osiris) | I | GARDINER – CALVERLY (1935:22 = Ptah) |
| E | GARDINER – CALVERLY (1933:22 = Isis) | J | pAmun II, IX, 8 – X, 1 |

a. Daily Temple Ritual, chapters 11 and 28

Document 11 


A = B 

C 

D 

E 

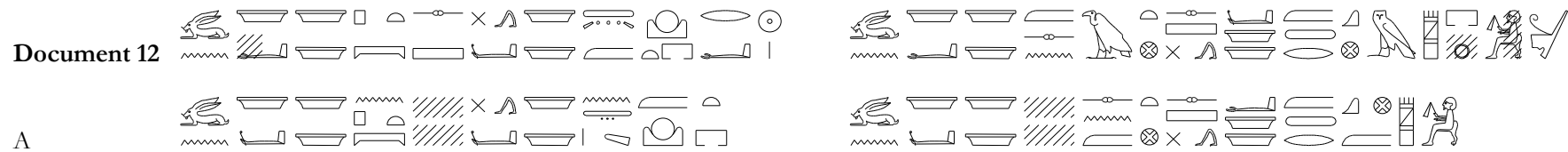
F 

G 

H 

5. Document 12: opening the shrine of Isis.

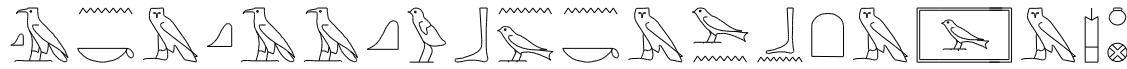
A Philae Bénédite, 35, 13-17 = JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908-1910: no. 1114).



Doc. 15



A



B



C



D



E



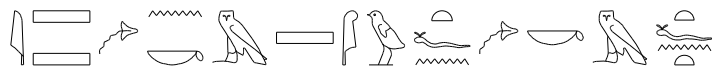
F



Doc. 15



A



B



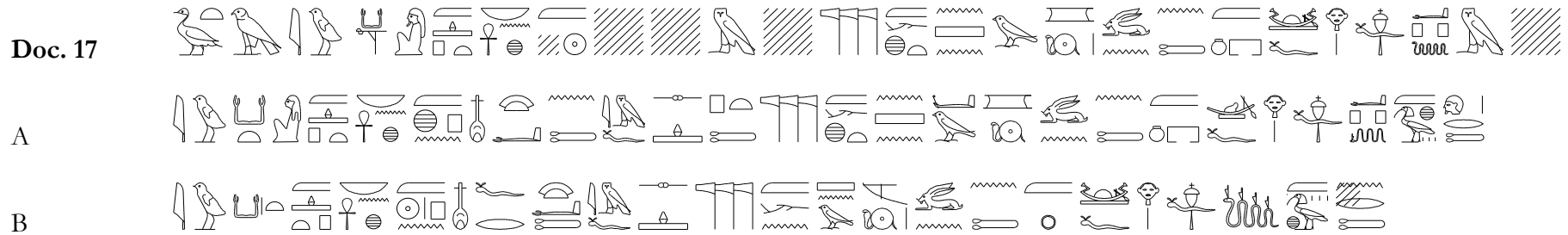
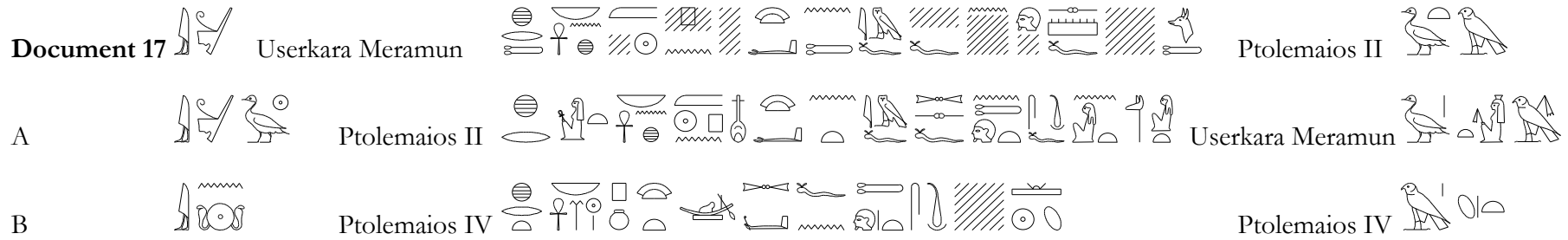
C



7. **Document 17: presenting the menat–necklace with counterweight to Isis.**

A ŽABKAR (1988:117) = Philae Bénédite, 51, 6–10, and JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 1086).

B BRESCIANI – PERNIGOTTI (1978:66–67, and pl. xvi).



4.2. The complex of *wabet* and court in Edfu

4.2.1. Introduction

The complex of *wabet* and court is located in the temple of Horus in Edfu to the east of the main sanctuary and can be accessed through a doorway from the west and the south.¹⁰⁸² (fig. 11–12) The main entrance into the ensemble is through a doorway in the east wall of the ‘hall of the ennead’ in front of the sanctuary. A small doorway in the south wall of the open court provides a second access from the so-called annexe.¹⁰⁸³ This small intermediate chamber connects the ensemble with the east staircase to the roof of the temple. The open court, unlike the *wabet*, has not been preserved in its entirety. Its west wall with the doorway from the ‘hall of the ennead’, and the north side, with the staircase leading up towards the *wabet*, have survived for the most part, but the south and east walls are only preserved up to the beginning of the second of the three original registers. The two rooms of the complex, like all other chambers in the core of the temple, date from the reign of Ptolemaios III Euergetes I and its decorative scheme from the time of his successor Ptolemaios IV Philopator.

The function and reliefs of the complex in Edfu have already been the subject of numerous studies, unlike the never before studied and analysed decorative programme that featured on the walls of the open court in Philae. Its role in the cultic festivities and processions at the time of the New Year was documented and analysed in depth by several scholars over the last sixty years.¹⁰⁸⁴ It is my opinion that it would be a pointless exercise to repeat their detailed research once more in this study, and therefore I will take a look at the complex and its decorative scheme from a slightly different perspective.¹⁰⁸⁵

¹⁰⁸² Edfou I, 409–436 (*wabet*); 437–445 (court), and plates xxxib–xxxiv. See also Chapter 1.4.

¹⁰⁸³ Edfou I, 585–592, and plates xxxivb and xxxix.

¹⁰⁸⁴ ALLIOT (1949:341–374); FAIRMAN (1954–1955:183–189); CAUVILLE (1984:46–48; 1987a:88–91); TRAUNECKER (1995:244–248), and CORTHALS (2003:120–178). The studies of Alliot, Traunecker and Corthals also contain translations of most of the inscriptions engraved on the walls of the complex.

¹⁰⁸⁵ In the introduction to this volume I already implied that the aim of this volume was to study the preserved complexes, and their reliefs and texts, not in their individuality, but rather as a part of a group sharing a number of recurring features in the scenes and inscriptions engraved onto their walls. The aim of this research is to bring together the characteristic elements or basic components of the decorative programme of the complex and study its possible origins and development over time. Subchapter 4.2 intends to provide an overview of the main themes that can be observed in the decorative scheme of the ensemble at Edfu. The results of this analysis are compared with the older example in Philae and a series of suggestions made regarding the rites that most likely formed a source of inspiration for the decorative scheme and ritual activities of the ensemble.

4.2.2. The Complex of Edfu and the New Year's festival

From Alliot's detailed study of the New Year's festival in Edfu it immediately becomes clear that an important development can be observed in the number and the distribution of the chambers and spaces associated with the processions and renewal festivities at the time of the New Year in Edfu when compared with the older example in Philae.¹⁰⁸⁶ In Philae the procession took the statues of the deities from the core of the temple through the 'chamber of linen' to the open court, where the 'union with the sun disc' took place on some sort of platform along its west wall.¹⁰⁸⁷ In Edfu the open court developed into an ensemble of an open court and an elevated and covered chapel, for the very first time designated *wabet*.¹⁰⁸⁸ These two chambers formed a crucial stage during the procession which started in the Mesenet-chapel in the centre of the rear wall of the temple, but unlike in Philae they did not form its final destination at all times. After a series of cultic rites in the complex, the procession could still continue along the east staircase to a no longer preserved kiosk on the roof of the temple. In Philae the open court, where the festivities climaxed, carried the designation 'seat of the first feast', while in Edfu the same name was reserved for the kiosk on the roof of the temple where the *Xnm-ı t n* occurred. Following the 'union with the sun disc' in the kiosk in Edfu, the procession would return the statues to their resting places by descending along the west staircase.

The exact sequence of events and the locations and number of occasions when the processions took place at the turn of the year are still a matter of debate that the presently available textual material does not allow to solve unequivocally. The festive calendars of Edfu leave no doubt that the New Year's festivities began on the last day of the old year (Mesore 30),¹⁰⁸⁹ but scholars disagree as to their end – whether they finished on Thoth 4,¹⁰⁹⁰ 5,¹⁰⁹¹ or even 9.¹⁰⁹² The matter is further complicated by the fact that the inscriptions relating to the first days of the month of Thoth in the festive calendar of Edfu from the reign of Ptolemaios X Alexander I are preserved only in part.¹⁰⁹³

¹⁰⁸⁶ ALLIOT (1949:303–433).

¹⁰⁸⁷ Consult Chapter 4.1.10.

¹⁰⁸⁸ See Chapter 3.1.

¹⁰⁸⁹ See for instance Edfou V, 395, 1.

¹⁰⁹⁰ FAIRMAN (1954–1955:183).

¹⁰⁹¹ ALLIOT (1949:276).

¹⁰⁹² GRIMM (1994:368).

¹⁰⁹³ Edfou V, 397, 5–7. See also ALLIOT (1949:206, and 208), and GRIMM (1994:20–25, calendar H).

Scholars also disagree regarding the ritual activities executed on these days of feast. Alliot proposed that on Mesore 30 and during the five epagomenal days a procession with the statue of Horus would make its way only to the complex of *wabet* and court for a clothing ritual and not to the kiosk or ‘seat of the first feast’ on the roof of the temple. He suggested that the statues might have been exposed to the light of the sun in the open court as their shrines were opened. Alliot was of the opinion that only on Thoth 1 and 4 a procession continued with the statues of the gods to the kiosk for the ‘union with the sun disc’.¹⁰⁹⁴ In a detailed review of the work of Alliot, Fairman later suggested that the procession could have continued to the roof of the temple on every single day of the festival, from Mesore 30 to Thoth 4, but that the processions during the days prior to the New Year might have been more modest in nature.¹⁰⁹⁵

Taking a closer look at the only partially preserved festive calendars of Edfu for this period, processions to the ‘seat of the first feast’ on the roof of the temple are only mentioned for Mesore 30, and the second and fourth epagomenal days.¹⁰⁹⁶ The calendar is however only partially preserved when it comes to the first days of the New Year!¹⁰⁹⁷ At present it is therefore impossible to ascertain the exact length of the festival in Edfu, or the exact route of the procession with statues for every single day. At times the procession might have ended in the complex, at other times the kiosk on the roof of the temple would have been its final destination. In light of the currently available material, it is perhaps best to repeat the words of Fairman on this topic: ‘a final solution to this problem cannot be offered’.¹⁰⁹⁸

It is also interesting to observe that the Edfu calendars do not include a single mention of a ‘union with the sun disc’ or the ensemble of *wabet* and court.¹⁰⁹⁹ Although the ensemble itself is not mentioned in the festive calendars, the east doorframe of the *wabet* appears to be very clear on the exact date when a procession entered the complex:¹¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁹⁴ ALLIOT (1949:273–277; 303–304, and 342).

¹⁰⁹⁵ FAIRMAN (1954–1955:184 and 186).

¹⁰⁹⁶ Edfou V, 395, 1–7.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Edfou V, 397, 5–7.

¹⁰⁹⁸ FAIRMAN (1954–1955:183–184).

¹⁰⁹⁹ Edfou I, 359, 15–19; Edfou V, 394, 10–395, 7, and 397, 5–401, 5; Edfou XII, pl. cccxxiv, and Edfou XIII, pl. ccclxxxix–cccxc. See also GRIMM (1994: calendars H and I).

¹¹⁰⁰ Edfou I, 412, 14–15.

pXr @r BHdty wADy.t=f m Hb=f tpy @.t-Hr nb.t Iwn.t m-qn=f
 psD.t=sn Hna=sn hrw Hb-wp-rnp.t Hr Xnm-itn=sn r tp-tr.w
 nTr.w m BHd.t

‘Horus Behdety went round (to) the columned chapel¹¹⁰¹ during his first feast,¹¹⁰² Hathor, the mistress of Dendara, was with him, while their enneads were with them, the day of the feast of the opening of the year for their union with the sun disc, (and) at the seasonal feast of the gods in Edfu’.

It is clear that this inscription places the procession to the complex at the time of the New Year, but the question needs to be asked whether the ensemble functioned solely during this period. The crux of the matter is the interpretation of the terms wp-rnp.t and (Hb)-tp-tr.w.¹¹⁰³ The first term clearly evokes the opening of the year, especially in association with Hb tpy or ‘the first feast’, but on occasions this designation can in Edfu also be used to refer to the feast of the coronation of the sacred falcon on Tybi 1.¹¹⁰⁴ The second designation, (Hb)-tp-tr.w, is most often translated as ‘annual or seasonal festivals’.¹¹⁰⁵ Wilson, in her publication of a Ptolemaic lexicon based on the inscriptions from Edfu, adds that it is ‘a general term for the annual, cyclical, seasonal festivals celebrated in the temple’. The occurrence of an annual, cyclical or seasonal festival does not necessarily have to be limited to the period of the New Year. In fact, as Chassinat and Alliot have shown, this designation could refer to almost any festival that is celebrated on a yearly basis.¹¹⁰⁶

There can be no doubt that to the ancient Egyptian mind the period of the New Year represented the most typical example of a cyclical and annual festival, and it is not surprising that most texts referring to the procession with the statues of the god to renew their vitality and reunite them with their *ba* are set at the time of the New Year – the most ideal moment for regeneration, when the inundation of the Nile revitalised the land of Egypt. But this does

¹¹⁰¹ The wADy.t or ‘columned chapel’ is a designation of the elevated chapel of the complex. See Chapter 3.4.

¹¹⁰² On the first feast, consult Chapter 3.2.

¹¹⁰³ For other occurrences of the term (Hb)-tp-tr.w in relation to the activities in the ensemble, consult Edfou I, 414, 6, and 415, 9.

¹¹⁰⁴ Edfou V, 399, 7. See also ALLIOT (1949:206; 210, and 282–284); GRIMM (1994:388–389), and WILSON (1997a:223). On the festival of the coronation of the sacred falcon, consult Edfou VI, 92–104; 143–157; 262–274, and 298–309; Edfou X, plate cxlix; ALLIOT (1954:561–676), and FAIRMAN (1954–1955:189–192).

¹¹⁰⁵ See for instance WILSON (1997a:635).

¹¹⁰⁶ CHASSINAT (1931:130–132), and ALLIOT (1949:430–432).

not exclude the possibility that the complex of *wabet* and court might have been used on other occasions throughout the year during other cyclical festivals.

The inscriptions from the complex do not provide any undisputable reference, let alone an exact date for any of these festivals, and the ensemble is not mentioned in the festival calendars of Edfu a single time. But festivals, like the one celebrated on Pachon 19, appear to be very similar in nature to the processions that took place at the time of the New Year. The festival of Khonsu of Edfu on Pachon 19 consisted of a procession to the roof of the temple, the revealing of the face of the god, the clothing and anointing of the statue, the recitation of hymns and finally the performance of the ritual of the ‘opening of the mouth’.¹¹⁰⁷ These ritual activities are very similar to the rites performed at the time of the New Year in the complex, as will become clear in the course of this chapter. In conclusion, I can merely assert that the ensemble of *wabet* and court could well have been a stage for this and other festival processions throughout the year, next to those performed at the time of the New Year, but lacking any clear textual evidence, this must remain a mere hypothesis.

4.2.3. The ritual activities in the complex

a. The bandeau and other inscriptions

The many reliefs and inscriptions that cover the walls of the ensemble are a lot more informative regarding the activities that took place in the complex. Numerous inscriptions in the ensemble refer to processions with the statues of Horus, Hathor and Harsomtut, and the ennead of Edfu¹¹⁰⁸ to the complex and speak of the desire of the deities to be united with the sun disc or the *ba* of the god, whether in the sun light of the open court or in the kiosk on the roof of the temple. The west lower bandeau inscription in the open court is very clear on this matter:¹¹⁰⁹

hy m Msn.t WTs.t m haa imyw BHd.t m mk @r Bhdt y xa r mAA itn
 Xnm.n=f [...] nTr.w nTr.wt pr.w r-Hna=f psD.t=f irw r-gs=f
 dgA.n=f Ra Hna bA=f tp kA=f mabA=f m-x.t=f ib=f Aw.t Xnm.n=f
 itn psD.t=f m THHwt imyw BHd.t m hy-sA-tA Dr Xnm nTr m
 iwnn=f

¹¹⁰⁷ Edfou V, 400, 8–401, 2. See also ALLIOT (1949:212, and 295), and GRIMM (1994:406).

¹¹⁰⁸ On the ennead of Edfu, consult ALLIOT (1949:405–409).

¹¹⁰⁹ Edfou I, 441. A complete translation of both bandeau inscriptions can be found in ALLIOT (1949:348–349).

‘Joy in the Mesenet–chapel, Edfu is in joy, those that are in Behedet are in feast, Horus Behdety, he has come out in procession to see the sun disc, he unites [...] the gods and goddesses, they have come with him, all his ennead is at his side. He sees Ra with his *ba* on top of his *ka*, while his harpoon is with him. His heart is in joy when he unites with the sun disc, his ennead is in joy, and those that are in Behedet are in adoration following the union with the god in his chapel’.

The opposite bandeau inscription in the open court also mentions that ‘Horus Behdety has appeared in procession in/from Mesenet to unite with the sun disc in his favourite place’ (@r BHdty xa.w xnty Msn.t r Xnm itn m s.t ib=f). The upper bandeau inscriptions in the *wabet* refer to a procession of Horus and the other gods of Edfu for a union with the sun disc:¹¹¹⁰ ‘Horus Behdety has appeared in procession to unite with his *ba*, its rays go around in his body’ (sxa @r-BHdty r smA bA=f stwt=f pXr m Ha.w=f), or ‘Horus Behdety has appeared in procession to unite with Ra, he sees the sun disc when it appears, those in the horizon, their hearts are sweet when its rays unite with his body’ (sxa @r-BHdty r Xnm Ra dgA=f itn m wbn=f imyw Ax.t ib=sn nDm Xnm stwt=f m Ha.w=f). In a similar spirit, the west doorframe of the *wabet* reads: ‘Behdety has come from the horizon of the sky/Naunet to unite with his image of the temple of Edfu’ (BHdty iw.w m Ax.t Nn.t r Xnm sxm=f n nDm-anx).¹¹¹¹ The ensemble moreover contains two texts, located on the inside of the screen walls separating the court from the *wabet*, instructing the priests to carry the shrines of the gods carefully and with dignity.¹¹¹²

The destination of the procession is the *wabet*, where Horus, Hathor, Harsomtus and his ennead reside during the activities in the complex.¹¹¹³

Htp sp-2 Hr wab.t=f Htp @r-BHdty nTr aA nb p.t sAb-swt Hr wab.t=f Htp Ra Hr=f m sp-tpy wD-mdw m Snwt=f @.t-Hr nb.t Iwn.t Htp Hr gs=f psD.t=s(n?) Hr iAby wnmy=f @r-smA-tA.wy pA

¹¹¹⁰ Edfou I, 417, and ALLIOT (1949:353–355) for a translation.

¹¹¹¹ The designation refers to the temple of Edfu according to WILSON (1997a:567).

¹¹¹² Edfou I, 414–415, and ALLIOT (1949:345–346) for a translation of both texts.

¹¹¹³ Edfou I, 415, 5–10, and 416, 6–11. For a translation of both texts, consult ALLIOT (1949:306, and 366–368).

Xrd sA @.t-Hr Htp m-mtr it=f Ihy sA @.t-Hr sHtp mw.t=f nb.t
 Iwn.t nTr.w Msn.t psD.t WTs.t¹¹¹⁴ m-Xnw HD.t=sn

‘Rest, rest in his *wabet*. Horus Behdety, the great god, lord of heaven, the dappled of feathers rests in his *wabet*, on which Ra rested the first time, giving instructions to his followers. Hathor, the mistress of Dendara rests at his side; their enneads are on his left and right side. Harsomtus, the child, the son of Hathor rests in the vicinity of his father, while Ihy, the son of Hathor, appeases his mother, the mistress of Dendara, and the gods of the Mesenet-chapel and the ennead of Edfu are in their shrines’.

The nature of the ritual activities performed on the statues of the gods in the complex is described and depicted in great detail on the walls of the *wabet* and the court. The central themes of the rites performed in the *wabet* are the purification and censuring of the statues of the gods, their clothing with linen, anointment, and adornment with protective insignia and royal regalia. The inscriptions on the interior of the columns in between the *wabet* and the court express these themes most eloquently:

a. west column:¹¹¹⁵

pr r rd wn-Hr Hr nTr Hnk wDA wsx/bb rdi mnx.t HD.t mnx.t
 irtyw mnx.t idmi wt @r m HD-Srt @r [...] Xkr.w smn sSd manxt
 wHm kbHw in pA Hry-sStA ir irw=sn in Hm.w-nTr smar psD.t
 aA.t arq psD.t nDs nTr.w wr.w s.t-wr.t ir nt-a nb n ir-mnx.t
 n @.t-Hr nb Iwn.t @r-smA-tA.wy [s]xa BHd.t xnty HD=f Sps Htp
 Hr s.t=f n D.t wr.w.t=f mit.t wr.w iry.w r s.t=sn

‘Ascending the staircase, revealing the face of the deity, presenting the wDA-pectoral and the beb/usekh-necklace, offering the white linen, the red linen, the dark-red linen, to wrap Horus with the container of clothing of? Horus [...] adornments/regalia, establishing the sSd-head band/diadem and the manx.t-counterpoise, repeating the libation by the Hry-sStA-priest, carrying out their duties by the Hm-nTr-priests, clothing the great ennead, clothing the small ennead: the great gods of the temple/sanctuary, performing all rituals of the clothing-ritual for Hathor, mistress of Dendara and Harsomtus, the coming out in

¹¹¹⁴ A designation for the temple of Edfu: WILSON (1997a:273–274).

¹¹¹⁵ Edfou I, 413, 12–16.

procession of Behedet in his noble shrine, resting in his seat of eternity, his great (goddesses) like his great (gods) are to their seat'.¹¹¹⁶

b. east column:¹¹¹⁷

Ts r xnd mAA nTr m Hd.t=f DbA sA.w apr Xkr.w dwA Dsr.t smn
 HD.t ir snTr n [sSd]=sn gs ti-Sps nTry Hr wp.t=f Dsr sp-2 in
 [s?]HD [...] m wr.w=f sTAm Ha.w n nb Iwn.t m wab.w.t=s smar
 sA=s Hr-smA-tA.wy Ihy wr sA @.t-Hr sHtp it=f Hna mw.t=f
 psD.t [aA.t?] psD.t @.t-Hr mk Ha.w=sn m Ssp.t ir n=sn irw=sn
 m Hb-msw Ra Hb tp tr.w mit.t aq.n nsw.t r HD.t=sn Sps r aq
 sH.w=sn r iw tr.w=sn mn sp-2 m iwnn=s[n] Sps mi p.t itn im=s
 pr=sn r-xn.t tp-tr=sn mi ra nb xpr apy/abb im=f

‘Ascending the staircase, seeing the god in his shrine, adorning with the sA.w-amulets, equipping with adornments/regalia, praising the red crown, establishing/affixing the white crown, performing the censing of their [sSd-head band/diadem], anointing the divine ointment/oil on his sacred brow twice by the overseer (of priests?)¹¹¹⁸ [...] with/on his great (gods), clothing the limbs of the mistress of Dendara with her pure linen, clothing her son Harsomtus and Ihy, the great, son of Hathor, who appeases his father and his mother. The [great?] ennead and the ennead of Hathor, their limbs are protected with the bright cloth. Their rituals are performed for them on the festival of the birth of Ra and the same at the time of the seasonal festivals. The king advances to their noble shrines to enter their chapels when their time comes. Remaining, remaining in their noble shrines, like heaven in which the sun disc is, (may) they come out at their time like the winged disc/beetle manifests in it daily’.¹¹¹⁹

The concept of clothing the deity and providing them with adornments, amulets and regalia is also mentioned on the lower bandeau inscription, located on the external part of the enclosure wall of the temple.¹¹²⁰ This inscription dates from the reign of Ptolemaios X Alexander I and provides a detailed overview of the internal layout of the temple and a

¹¹¹⁶ For a previous translation of the text, consult ALLIOT (1949:350–351).

¹¹¹⁷ Edfou I, 414, 2–7.

¹¹¹⁸ Wb IV, 227.

¹¹¹⁹ For a previous translation of the text, consult ALLIOT (1949:351–352), and CORTHALS (2003:115).

¹¹²⁰ Edfou VII, 16, 1–5.

general introduction to the ritual activities performed in its different chambers. The passage concerning the complex mentions the following:

abA DfA.w Hr iAby=s wab.t=f m-qAb=f ifdw m mH [...] Hnk mD.t
 mnx.t wDA n sAw r DbA nTr m Xkr.w=f swab Hm=f m TA.w=f
 nms.w.t=f r Xnm bA=f Hna sxm=f gb.t m nb=s xpr.w=f apr Ra m
 wiA=f m aHa (m)skt.t m dwA <m>anD.t m mSrw Xr #pri Itm m
 D.t=f Xt=f dwA kA=f dwA bA=f smA sbyw=f abA pr=f m aAb.t

‘The (court of the) food-altar is on its (= the ‘hall of the ennead’) left, his *wabet* within it, square chambers of [8] el. [...] Presenting unguent, linen and the amulets of protection to cloth the god with his adornments, purifying his majesty (=Horus) with his incense-pellets and his nemeset-vases to unite his *ba* with his image. The heaven belongs to its lord and his manifestations: Ra is equipped with his *wia*-bark at midday, while his *mesketet*-bark in the morning and his *manedjet*-bark in the evening carry Khepri and Atum in the morning and in the evening. Praising his *ka*, adoring his *ba*, slaying his enemies, providing his house with offerings’.¹¹²¹

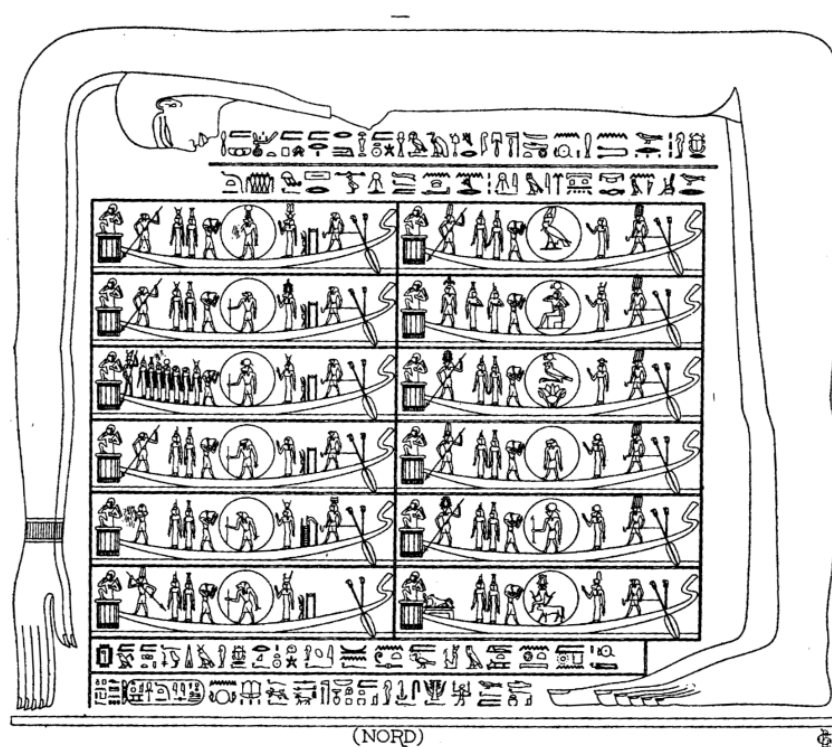


Fig. 67 The ceiling of the wabet in Edfu

¹¹²¹ For previous translations of this text, consult DE WIT (1961:308–309); KURTH (1994a:76; 1994b:53); TRAUNECKER (1995:247).

The second half of the inscription contains a description of the relief depicted on the ceiling of the *wabet* before continuing with the rites performed in the complex.¹¹²² (fig. 67) The scene on the ceiling is entirely enveloped by the goddess Nut, completely stretched out, with her fingers in the east and her legs in the west. The scene she envelopes with her body is a depiction of the 12 hours of the day. The east side of the scene represents the first six hours of the day (from north to south), the west side depicts the following six hours (from south to north). Each hour is represented by means of a bark, with Khepri in the *mesketet*-bark in the morning, Ra in the *wia*-bark at midday, and Atum in the *manedjet*-bark in the evening. The accompanying inscription also refers to these different forms or appearances of the sun god: ‘the great forms/appearances of the majesty of Ra-Behdety, the great god, the dappled of feathers, from the time he spins his potter’s wheel¹¹²³ in the early morning until (re)entering the mouth¹¹²⁴ (xpr.w wr.w Hm n Ra-BHdty nTr aA sAb Swt Dr wbA=f nHp m dwA.t tp.t r aq m rA).

The notion of clothing and adorning Horus, Hathor, Harsomtus and the ennead in the *wabet* is also expressed on the inner east doorframe of the *wabet*.¹¹²⁵

Htp @r-BHdty nTr aA nb p.t Hr wab.t=f iwnn=f Sps n.t sXkr
D.t=f r aq s.-t wr.t=f m Dsrw @.t-Hr nb.t Iwn.t Htp r-gs=k m
twt=s n mAa.t psD.t WTsw nTr.w s.t-Ra im-sn irw m-pHr=f STA
m wt=sn apr Xkr.w=sn wDA.w iry m sAw=sn

‘Horus-Behdety, the great god, lord of heaven, rests in his *wabet*, his noble chapel of adorning his body until the return to the sanctuary in sacredness,¹¹²⁶ while Hathor, the mistress of Dendara, rests besides you in her shape/form of Maat, and the ennead of Edfu and the gods

¹¹²² Edfou I, plate xxxiii. See also CAUVILLE (1984:46–48).

¹¹²³ On the ‘potter’s wheel’ as the place of creation, consult DORMAN (1999).

¹¹²⁴ The mouth of the goddess Nut is meant: the sun is swallowed by the goddess in the evening, journeys through her body at night and is reborn in the morning. The swallowing of the sun and its rebirth in the morning are depicted on the ceiling of the *wabet* in the temple of Dendara. See Chapter 4.3 and fig. 76.

¹¹²⁵ Edfou I, 416, 6–9, and ALLIOT (1949:367) for a translation.

¹¹²⁶ This passage suggests that the statue of Horus was clothed in the complex and remained in it before returning to its sanctuary, without going to the roof of the temple in between these two acts. This might give credence to ALLIOT’s (1949:273–277; 303–304, and 342) statement that not all processions at the time of the New Year journeyed to the kiosk on the roof, but sometimes ended in the complex. See already Chapter 4.2.2.

of the ‘seat of Ra’¹¹²⁷ are all near you, clothed with their wrappings, equipped with their adornments, and all the wDA–amulets as their protection’.

Finally, the three text columns engraved on the north and south wall of the passage from the ‘hall of the ennead’ to the open court also refer to the rites performed in the complex.¹¹²⁸ These inscriptions are heavily damaged, but one can still read that Horus of Edfu left his sanctuary for the ‘beautiful place’ to adorn his body with (linen or precious materials?)...¹¹²⁹ (s.t–wr.t pr BHd.t im=f r s.t–nfr r sXkr d.t=f m aA.t?...) ¹¹³⁰ In the remainder of the text, references are found to an aAb.t–offering, and to anointing– (r sgn Ha.w=f) and clothing–rites.

The texts in the *wabet*, on the outside lower bandeau inscription of the exterior wall, and in the passage from the ‘hall of the ennead’ to the open court all indicate the occurrence of similar types of rites that were carried out for the statues of the gods in the *wabet*, following the ascension along the staircase and the revelation of the face of the deity by the pharaoh or priest. The aim of the ritual activities was to prepare and enable the statue of the god to unite with its *ba* or the sun disc. The rituals and offerings mentioned in these inscriptions can be divided into five major categories: a) purification and libation with incense and nemeset–vases, b) clothing the deity with different types of linen, including the four coloured *mnx.t*–cloths, c) anointing the god with ointments and unguents (*mD.t*, *ti–Sps*), and d) providing protective amulets (*sA.w*–amulets, *wDA*–pectoral, *beb* or *usekh*–necklace) and e) royal regalia (the white and red crowns or the *sScd*–head band and *manx.t*–counterpoise) to the god. The younger bandeau inscription on the external enclosure wall mentions two more ritual acts: f) presenting offerings (*aAb.t*)¹¹³¹ and g) destroying the enemies of the god (*smA sbyw=f*).

b. The decorative scheme

¹¹²⁷ A designation of the temple of Edfu: WILSON (1997a:950–951).

¹¹²⁸ Edfou I, 438, 12–439, 7.

¹¹²⁹ The only remaining sign (*aA*) might refer to *aA.t*–linen or *aA.t* as precious materials. Different types of linen are presented to Horus during the clothing ritual in the *wabet* according to the previous inscriptions, while the precious material could be used to produce some of the regalia presented to Horus on the same occasion. Wb I, 165–166, and WILSON (1997a:135 and 138).

¹¹³⁰ Edfou I, 439, 4.

¹¹³¹ Edfou I, 415, 9 also refers to food–offerings and provisions in the complex.

These rites and offerings are described not only in these texts; very similar acts are also depicted on the walls of the *wabet* (purification, clothing, anointing, protective amulets and royal regalia) and the open court (great offerings and the destruction of the enemies). Not depicted on the walls of the complex, but featuring extensively in inscriptions in both spaces, are a series of hymns dedicated to various aspects of the god Horus. Alliot and Corthals have suggested a similar set of categories in their research of the decorative scheme of the complex.¹¹³² Table XI provides an overview of the various rituals performed and offerings presented and the beneficiaries of the rites in the scenes of the north, west and east walls of the *wabet*. The main beneficiary of the rites is, with a few exceptions, the god Horus of Edfu. The only other deities present are his consort Hathor and the result of their union: Harsomtus.

¹¹³² ALLIOT (1949:352, and 355–365) considered the following ritual acts: revelation, purification, protection, clothing and the presentation of numerous adornments and regalia, while CORTHALS (2003:136–149, and 166–178) suggested two main themes for the *wabet*: 1) protection, purification and clothing, 2) regalia, jewellery, kohl, and sacred objects of the deities, and she refers to the great offerings and the destruction of the enemies of the god, next to hymns praising the deity, in the open court.

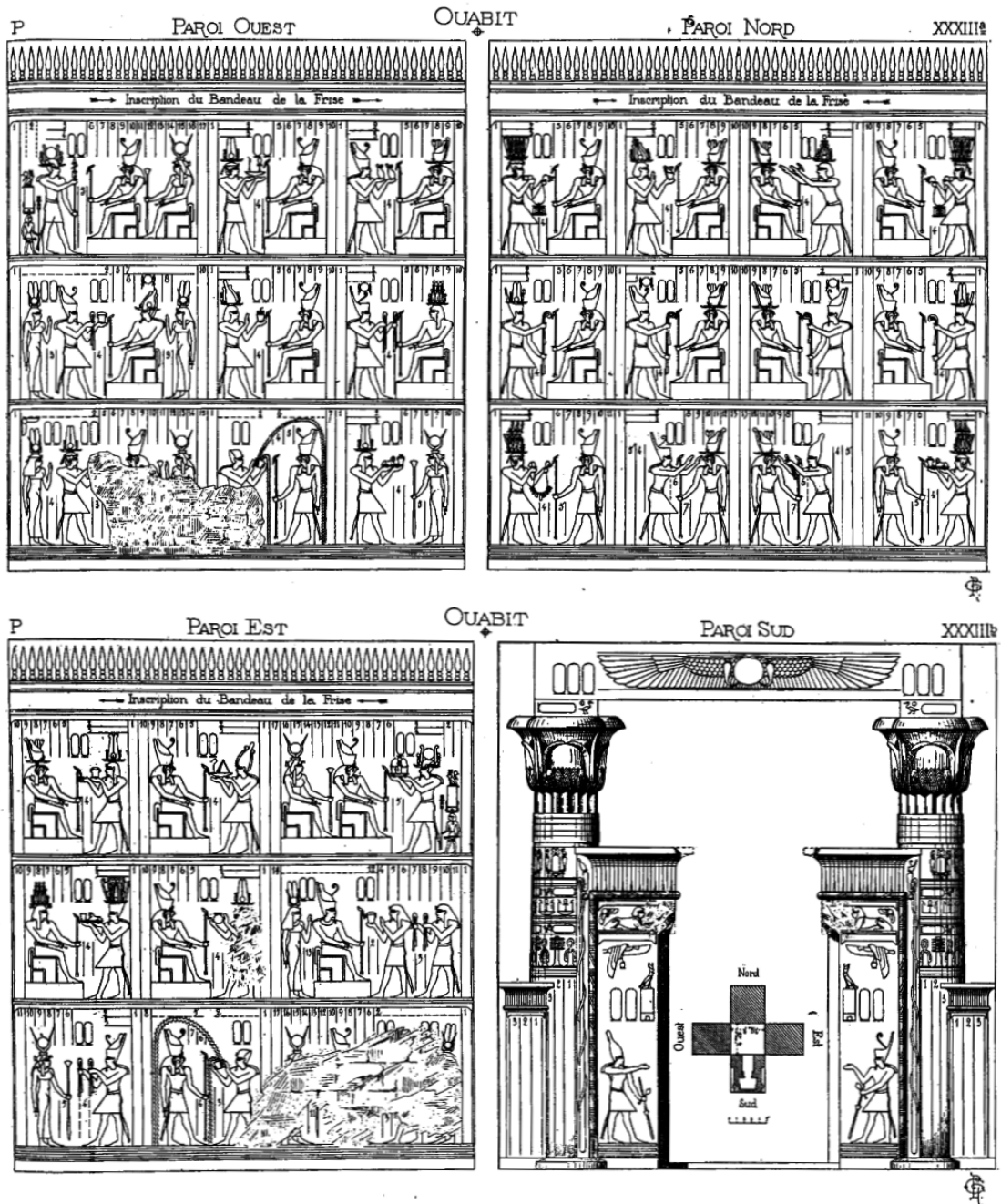


Fig. 68 The decorative scheme of the wabet in Edfu
(Edfou I, pl. xxxiiia)

Table XI. Distribution of the deities and offerings on the north, west and east walls of the wabet in Edfu.

North wall

wDA Horus 14	Hpt n @r Horus 15	Hpt n @r Horus 15'	antyw Horus 14'
mnx.t HD.t Horus 12	mnx.t wAd.t Horus 13	mnx.t idmi Horus 13'	mnx.t irtyw Horus 12'
wDA Horus 10	rdi.t a.wy Horus 11	nms-cloth Horus 11'	antyw Horus 10'

West wall

Xnt-harpoon Horus + Hathor 7	anx + wAs Horus 8	wAD + msdm.t Horus 9
mD + mnx.t Theoi Euergetai 4	snTr Horus 5	mnx.t Harsomtus 6
[bd Srp] Horus + Hathor 1	nmst-vases Horus 2	antyw Hathor 3

9'	nxx Horus 8'	7'
antyw Harsomtus 6'	nms.t Horus 5'	antyw + mnx.t Theoi Philopatores 4'
mnx.t Hathor 3'	dSr.t- vases Horus 2'	[bd] nXn Horus + Hathor 1'

East wall

mD Horus	HqA +	HH Horus + Hathor
-------------	-------	----------------------

The ritual purification of the statues of the gods in the *wabet* is mainly performed with natron and water, and through the burning of incense (snTr and antyw). The presentation of Upper and Lower Egyptian natron (scenes 1 and 1')¹¹³³ and the purification with water

¹¹³³ Edfou I, 418 and 427: [swab m TA mHw n ^rp] / [swab m] TA Sma n Nx b or 'purification with Lower Egyptian incense pellets from Wadi Natrun/Upper Egyptian incense pellets from Elkab'

streaming out of the nemeset and desheret–vases (2 and 2')¹¹³⁴ are depicted in the first register of the west and east walls. (fig. 68) The purification is also expressed by the presentation of a nemeset–vessel to Horus in the middle scene of the second register (5')¹¹³⁵ and the burning of incense for the same god on the opposite wall (5).¹¹³⁶ Corthals has identified the nemeset–vessel in the second register with the so–called ‘New Year’s flask’, a round but narrow vessel presented as a gift at the time of the New Year.¹¹³⁷ This identification is supported by the inscription accompanying the offering which mentions that the vase is filled with the first waters of the inundation.¹¹³⁸

Natron and the water from the nemeset– and desheret–vessels are regularly used in both funerary and temple rituals for their purification and regenerative powers. Natron and the nemeset–vessel already feature in the Pyramid texts,¹¹³⁹ while the desheret–vessels appear to have been linked with the nemeset–vessels from the time of the New Kingdom.¹¹⁴⁰ In the ritual of the ‘opening of the mouth’ the purification with the four nemeset– and four desheret–vessels followed by the use of Upper and Lower Egyptian natron and two censuring rites (snTr) form the introductory acts to the actual ritual.¹¹⁴¹ The same ritual also contains the presentation of a single nemeset–vessel, like in scene 5 where the vessel is used for a libation after the senses have been restored to the deceased, linen has been offered and a series of censuring rites has taken place.¹¹⁴² In the Daily Temple Ritual the four nemeset– and

¹¹³⁴ Edfou I, 418–419, and 428: *ir wab m 4 nms.t/dSr.t n.t mw* or ‘performing the purification with four nemeset/desheret vessels of water’.

¹¹³⁵ Edfou I, 431: *nD–Hr n nms.t* or ‘greeting with the nemeset–vessel’.

¹¹³⁶ Edfou I, 422: *pHr–HA tp n it=f m snTr Hr wdd wab Hm=f sp–4* or ‘going around for his father with incense, while burning, purifying his majesty four times’.

¹¹³⁷ CORTHALS (2003:170). In general on these flasks, consult: FELDER (1988); BLANQUET (1992), and MALEK (2003:298). For the presentation of water at the time of the New Year, see also SCHOTT (1970:43–49), and TRAUNECKER (1972:232–236).

¹¹³⁸ Edfou I, 431, 8.

¹¹³⁹ Consult PT utterances 16 (§10); 510 (§1140); 512 (§1164), and 515 (§1180) for the nemeset–vessel, and PT utterances 34–35 for natron.

¹¹⁴⁰ For instance: OTTO (1960:43).

¹¹⁴¹ OTTO (1960:37–52, and scenes 2–7). A more or less similar sequence can be observed in the re–consecration of the temple according to Edfou IV, 330–331, and BLACKMAN–FAIRMAN (1946:76, and 87–89).

¹¹⁴² OTTO (1960:139–142, and scene 62).

desheret–vessels are used for purification after the face of the god has been revealed,¹¹⁴³ while natron can be presented either during the presentation of linen¹¹⁴⁴ or as part of the final purification rites of the ritual.¹¹⁴⁵ The censuring tends to take place at various times throughout the daily temple ritual.¹¹⁴⁶ These purification and libation rites are also performed in a series of other rituals, including the ritual of Amenhotep I¹¹⁴⁷ and the ritual of Amun in Karnak, where it is occasionally stated that it is part of the New Year’s festival.¹¹⁴⁸

A final means of purification used during the rites in the ensemble involved antyw, myrrh or gum–resin and, in Ptolemaic times, different types of incense, covered by a general term.¹¹⁴⁹ The substance could be burned to sweeten the scent and purify Horus (10’ and 14’),¹¹⁵⁰ but also his consort Hathor (3)¹¹⁵¹ and their offspring Harsomtus (6’).¹¹⁵² The purifying and revitalising qualities of antyw were already pointed out in the chapter on the decorative scheme of the ‘seat of the first feast’ in Philae.¹¹⁵³ In the daily temple ritual, the burning of incense forms the final act of the rite.¹¹⁵⁴

¹¹⁴³ Chapters 46 and 47 of the Daily Temple Ritual: MORET (1902a:171–176).

¹¹⁴⁴ According to the Daily Temple Ritual engraved on the walls of the chapels of the gods in the temple of Seti I in Abydos: DAVID (1981:61, and 67–68).

¹¹⁴⁵ Chapters 59 and 60 of the Daily Temple Ritual according to the Berlin papyri: MORET (1902a:202–205).

¹¹⁴⁶ Chapters 4, 21, 35, 43, 48, 61, and 65 according to the Berlin papyri. See MORET (1902a:20–25; 77–79; 115–117; 166–167; 176–178; 205–207, and 210). For the daily temple ritual in the chapels of the gods at Abydos, consult DAVID (1981:60–61).

¹¹⁴⁷ BACCHI (1942:17–18, and 24).

¹¹⁴⁸ NELSON (1949: 215–221).

¹¹⁴⁹ Consult CHERMETTE–GOYON (1996:48, n. 7); WILSON (1997a:162–164), and LEITZ (2001:192–193) on the substance antyw.

¹¹⁵⁰ Edfou I, 429 and 435: Sms antyw n nb pwn.t sari ir.t=@r n nb=s or ‘presenting antyw to the lord of Punt, lifting up the eye of Horus for its lord’, and Sms antyw n sAb=swt snDm id.t n bik nTry or ‘presenting antyw to the dappled of feathers, making pleasant the scent of the divine falcon’. The scene in the third register (Edfou I, plate xxxiii, ‘paroi nord’) that portrays this offering shows by mistake the presentation of the wDA–pectoral.

¹¹⁵¹ Edfou I, 419: Sms antyw n mw.t=f wsr.t snDm id.t n Hknw=f or ‘presenting antyw to his mother, the mighty one, making pleasant the scent of his mistress’.

¹¹⁵² Edfou I, 431–432: Sms antyw n it=f Sps snDm id.t n qmA D.t=f or ‘presenting antyw to his noble father, making pleasant the scent of the one that created his body’.

¹¹⁵³ Chapter 4.1.7d, document 21.

¹¹⁵⁴ Chapter 65. MORET (1902a:210–212).

The main source for these ritual purification materials appears to have been the small annexe that connected the open court with the east staircase to the roof. Almost all inscriptions and reliefs on the walls of this small chamber deal with notions of purification of the statues of the gods and the rooms of the temple by means of libations, preferably with fresh or rejuvenating water, and censuring.¹¹⁵⁵ (fig. 69) The entrance to the annexe from the east staircase features for instance a depiction of a genie – a so-called ‘master of the altar’ – censuring on the west doorjamb and performing a libation on the east doorjamb.¹¹⁵⁶ The pharaoh is also depicted censuring and performing a libation for Horus on the east wall of the room,¹¹⁵⁷ while traces on the floor of this room suggest the possible presence of a libation table.¹¹⁵⁸ The numerous inscriptions on the doorjambs and the upper bandeau inscription also refer to the same ritual acts of purification.¹¹⁵⁹

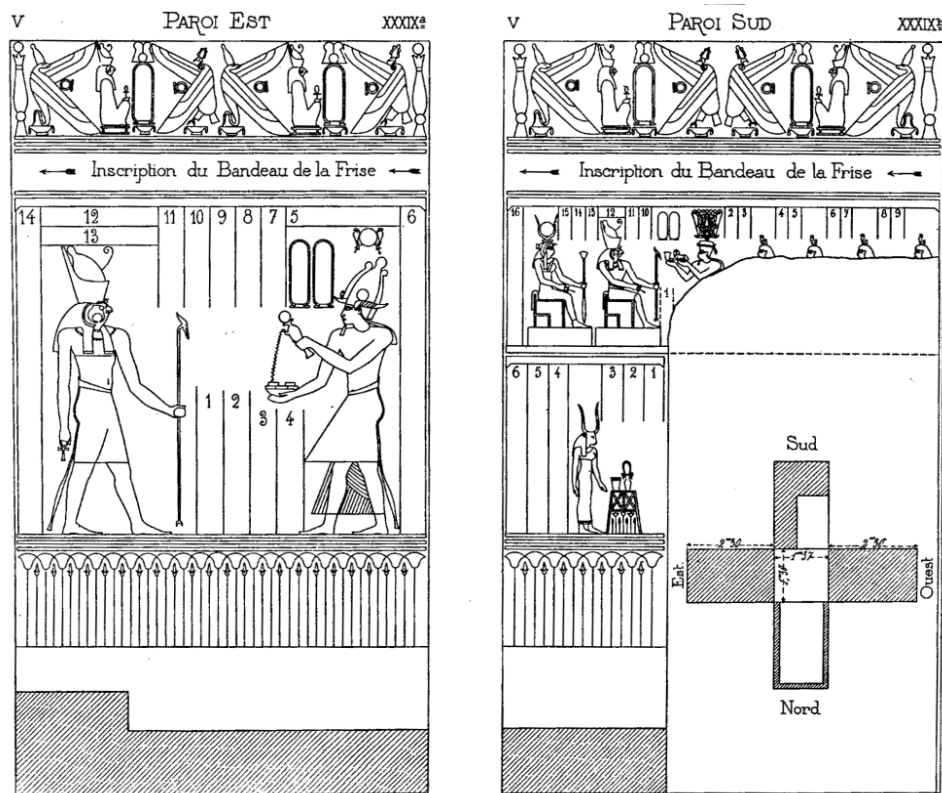


Fig. 69. The annexe to the complex in Edfu

¹¹⁵⁵ See already the comments of TRAUNECKER (1995:245).

¹¹⁵⁶ Edfou I, 586.

¹¹⁵⁷ Edfou I, 590–591, and plate xxxixa.

¹¹⁵⁸ Edfou I, 585 and ALLIOT (1949:347).

¹¹⁵⁹ See for instance Edfou I, 588, 3–6; 589, and 590, 3–5. A translation of most of these inscriptions can be consulted in ALLIOT (1949:336–337; 343, and 427).

Next to censuring and libations, these inscriptions also occasionally mention provisions and food-offerings.¹¹⁶⁰ The lintel of the doorway leading from the annexe to the east staircase contains a scene depicting the Ptolemaic pharaoh presenting *antyw* to Horus and Hathor.¹¹⁶¹ (fig. 69) The pharaoh is accompanied by four goddesses whose heads are topped with a snake and who are identified as four forms of Renenutet. The goddess Renenutet is a minor deity best known as a goddess of fertility and agriculture.¹¹⁶² The inscriptions accompanying two of the four goddesses have not been preserved, but the first (Rnnwt . t nfr . t) and second manifestations (Rnnwt . t wAD . t) of Renenutet bring food-offerings and make everything fertile.

The four forms of Renenutet not only feature in relation with the complex of *wabet* and court in Edfu, but occur in a similar position in the temple of Dendara. These four deities occur twice on the walls of the treasury in Dendara, i.e. the room which, like the annexe in Edfu, connects the complex with the staircase to the roof of the temple. The four goddesses are depicted on the lintel over the doorway leading from the ‘hall of the ennead’ to the treasury where they accompany Hathor in the guise of a snake while the pharaoh presents them with a general offering of food and provisions.¹¹⁶³ The four Renenutets also feature in the second and third registers of the doorjambs alongside the entrance from the treasury to the open court in the temple of Dendara.¹¹⁶⁴ The four goddesses present other deities with precious materials, such as gold, silver, lapis-lazuli and turquoise, next to general provisions.

The food-offerings and other provisions might refer to the great offerings mentioned in the inscriptions and depicted on the walls of the open court which is on occasion referred to as

¹¹⁶⁰ Edfou I, 589, 2 mentions for instance that the temple is equipped with food-offerings and provisions (Hw . t [-nTr] Htm Hw Hna DfA . w).

¹¹⁶¹ Edfou I, 587–588, and plate xxxixb.

¹¹⁶² Consult LdÄ V, 232–236; RÄRG 803–804, and BROEKHUIS (1971) for more information on this minor deity. Consult also DERCHAIN (1972b) for a damning review of the study of Broekhuis.

¹¹⁶³ Dendara IV, 149, and plate cclxxxviii. The better preserved relief in the treasury of the temple of Dendara allows the identification of the four Renenutets as follows: Rnnwt . t nfr . t, Rnnwt . t wAD . t, Rnnwt . t xn . t H . t -DfA . w, and Rnnwt . t xn . t H . t -ix . t.

¹¹⁶⁴ Dendara IV, 182–183, and plate ccxcv.

the '(court) of the food–altar of provisions' or *abA DfAw*.¹¹⁶⁵ The *aAb.t*–offering is depicted twice on the walls of the open court: the entire lower register of the now almost completely destroyed east wall of the court, and the first register to the west of the doorway to the annexe on the south wall of the court are engraved with a depiction of the pharaoh consecrating a great offering to Horus of Edfu.¹¹⁶⁶ (fig. 70) The great offering brings to mind the monumental offering scene on the east wall of the open court in Philae (document 8). The goods presented and described on the south wall are of particular interest since the inscription not only mentions food and beverages, such as bread, beer, wine, milk, honey, poultry, fruit and flowers, but also several of the products that occur in the rites performed on the statue of the god in the *wabet*, like libation water, *mD.t*–unguent, *mnx.t*–linen, and *natron*.¹¹⁶⁷ Traunecker has observed that the depiction of the offered goods on this scene follows the exact sequence in which they are mentioned in the accompanying inscription.¹¹⁶⁸ A comparison of these goods presented to Horus on the walls of the open court and the products carried by a number of deities to the roof of the temple along the east staircase reveals a close resemblance between the products.¹¹⁶⁹ The deities carry unguent, exotic plants and herbs, meat, poultry and water to the roof, while the inscriptions also mention cloth, linen, beer, wine, milk and a food–offering.

¹¹⁶⁵ See Chapter 3.3.

¹¹⁶⁶ Edfou I, 443–444, and plates xxxivc–d.

¹¹⁶⁷ Consult ALLIOT (1949:310–311) for a complete translation of the text.

¹¹⁶⁸ Personal communication in a letter dated 8.01.1997.

¹¹⁶⁹ See figure 1 in CORTHALS (2005:219) for an overview.

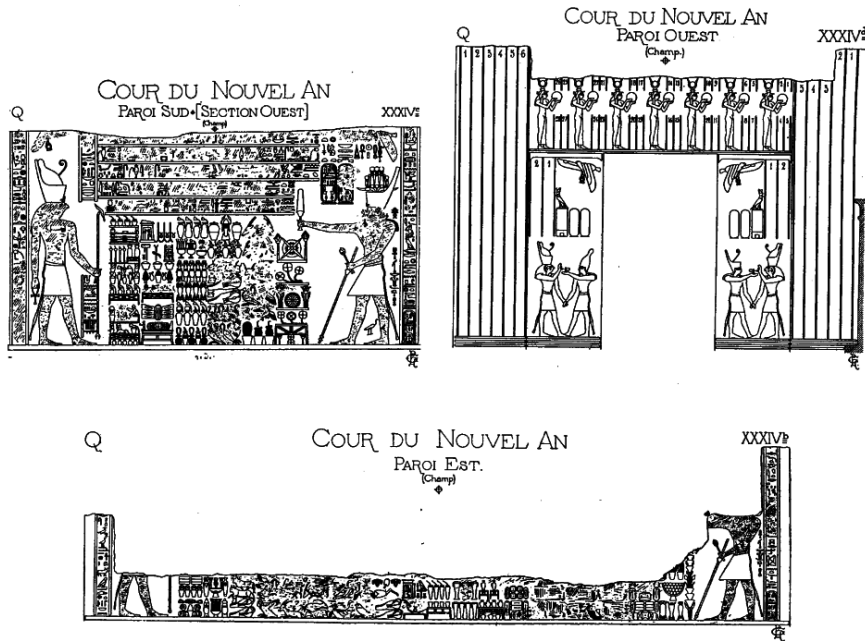


Fig. 70. The decorative scheme of the open court of the complex in Edfu
(Edfou I, pl. xxxvina)

The statues of the gods, which have been undressed and are naked according to the inscription accompanying the scene portraying the laying of hands on the god on the lower register of the north wall (11),¹¹⁷⁰ are provided with fresh linen. Horus is the recipient of the four coloured *mnx.t*-cloths in the second register of the rear wall (12, 12', 13, and 13'),¹¹⁷¹ while he receives the nemes-head cloth in the first register of the same wall (11').¹¹⁷² His partner Hathor (3') and their son Harsomtut (6) are also provided with the *mnx.t*-cloth.¹¹⁷³ The nemes-head cloth also features in several other rituals. In the ritual of the 'opening of the mouth' it is presented prior to the offering of the coloured cloths.¹¹⁷⁴ In the Daily Temple Ritual the head cloth is part of the regalia presented to the statue of the god after it has received linen.¹¹⁷⁵ The regenerative powers of the (coloured) *mnx.t*-cloths, their use during the ritual of the 'opening of the mouth', the Daily Temple Ritual and other rites, and their

¹¹⁷⁰ Edfou I, 420: *r di . t a . wy Hr nTr* or 'placing both hands on the god'.

¹¹⁷¹ Edfou I, 423–424, and 432–433: *DbA mnx.t HD.t/wAD.t/idmi/irtyw* or 'adorning with the white/green/dark-red and red *mnx.t*-cloth'.

¹¹⁷² Edfou I, 429–430: *smar m nms ir.t-@r pr m Nxb* or 'clothing with the nemes head cloth, the eye of Horus that came from Elkab'.

¹¹⁷³ Edfou I, 422–423 and 428: *DbA mnx.t* or 'adorning with the *mnx.t*-cloth'.

¹¹⁷⁴ OTTO (1960:95; 110–111, and scenes 34 and 48).

¹¹⁷⁵ The offering only occurs in the version of the Daily Temple Ritual found in the temple of Abydos: MORET (1902a:238); GARDINER – CALVERLEY (1935:8, and 16), and DAVID (1981:61, and 70).

relation to the New Year have already been studied during an analysis of similar scenes in the open court and ‘chamber of linen’ in the temple of Philae.¹¹⁷⁶

The statues of the deities are further presented with the necessary material for their anointment in the north scene of the third register of the west and east walls. The relief on the east wall depicts Ptolemaios IV presenting the mD.t-unguent (9),¹¹⁷⁷ while the opposite scene portrays the pharaoh offering the green and black eye paints (9).¹¹⁷⁸ The mD.t-unguent is particularly known for its regenerative powers,¹¹⁷⁹ while the eye paint has a strong protective function similar to that of the protective amulets that are presented to Horus on the walls of the *wabet*.¹¹⁸⁰ The black and green eye paints already feature together with a series of unguents, including mD.t, in the Pyramid texts.¹¹⁸¹ Both unguents are also associated in the ritual of the ‘opening of the mouth’¹¹⁸² and the Daily Temple Ritual¹¹⁸³ where they are usually offered after the presentation of linen and protective amulets and regalia.

Another unguent or oil is only mentioned in the inscriptions, but not depicted: the divine *ti-Sps*.¹¹⁸⁴ A. LÜCHTRATH’s study of *ti-Sps* has revealed that it was derived from the camphor tree of East Africa.¹¹⁸⁵ Camphor is one of the ingredients used in the production of incense in the temple, but it can also be used to obtain a type of oil. The substance could be used to anoint the statue of the god, like in Edfu, and also during embalming practices.

The protective amulets (*wDA n sAw*) mentioned in the inscriptions that provide an overview of the ritual acts and offerings performed in the *wabet* are reduced to two offerings

¹¹⁷⁶ Chapter 4.1.7b, document 19; Chapter 4.1.9, documents 27a–b, 28, and 30, and Chapter 4.1.9g.

¹¹⁷⁷ Edfou I, 434–435: Hnk mD.t n nb antyw sHtp ib=f m ir.t-@r or ‘presenting the unguent to the lord of antyw, appeasing his heart with the eye of Horus’.

¹¹⁷⁸ Edfou I, 425: Hnk wAD msdm.t n nb ir.ty sar x.t-ir.t or ‘presenting green and black eye paint to the lord of the two eyes, lifting up the goods of the eye’.

¹¹⁷⁹ Chapter 4.1.6e, document 13, and Chapter 4.1.7a, document 18.

¹¹⁸⁰ EL-KORDY (1982), and AUFRERE (1991:581–588).

¹¹⁸¹ PT Utterances 72–80.

¹¹⁸² OTTO (1960:120–124; 126–127, and scenes 55, and 56 A and B).

¹¹⁸³ The green and black eye paints only occur in the Berlin papyri version of the Daily Temple Ritual: chapters 56 and 57 – MORET (1902a:199–200). The mD.t-unguent is also found in the Abydene version of the ritual: MORET (1902a:190–199 and chapters 54–55), and DAVID (1981:61, and 70).

¹¹⁸⁴ WILSON (1997a:1124).

¹¹⁸⁵ LÜCHTRATH (1988; 1995:121–122).

of the wDA–pectoral to Horus in the first and third registers of the north wall of the *wabet* (10 and 14).¹¹⁸⁶ The protective and regenerative qualities of the pectoral and the usekh–necklace, which is mentioned in the inscriptions in the complex but not depicted, already formed a topic of study in the chapter dedicated to the decorative programme of the ‘seat of the first feast’ in Philae.¹¹⁸⁷

In the upper registers of the west, east and north walls of the *wabet*, Horus is mainly presented with a number of royal regalia, such as the crook and flail (8'),¹¹⁸⁸ the symbol of life and the was–sceptre (8).¹¹⁸⁹ The god of Edfu is also presented with one of his typical attributes in the temple of Edfu: the xmt–harpoon (7).¹¹⁹⁰ Not depicted, while mentioned in the inscriptions, is the presentation of the sSd head band and its manx.t–counterweight to the god. The sSd head band has strong regenerative aspects and features in the sed–festival of the pharaoh and during the New Year’s festivities.¹¹⁹¹ The presentation of the crook and flail, the symbol of life, the was–sceptre, and the head band and its counterweight also occurs during the Daily Temple Ritual,¹¹⁹² but it is most reminiscent of a series of rites performed during the

¹¹⁸⁶ Edfou I, 419–420, and 426: Ts wDA r xx n it=f sXkr Snb.t=f m n rx or ‘attaching the pectoral to the throat of his father, adorning his throat with that what is not known’ and Ts wDA n nb Xkr.w sHb Snb.t n kmA D.t=f or ‘attaching the pectoral to the lord of adornments, making festive the throat of the one that created his body’.

¹¹⁸⁷ Chapters 4.1.6g, document 15, and Chapter 4.1.7e, document 22.

¹¹⁸⁸ Edfou I, 434: Hnk HqA n Ra m xfa=f sar nxAXA n nb=f or ‘presenting the crook of Ra to his fist, lifting up the flail for his lord’.

¹¹⁸⁹ Edfou I, 425: rdi.t anx wAs n @r m xfa=f wr nrw=f xn.t Xw.t or ‘placing the ankh–symbol and the was–sceptre of Horus in his fist, great is the fear of him among all’.

¹¹⁹⁰ Edfou I, 424: xfa xm.t r rdi.t sw n it=f Hnk wa n nb Msn.t or ‘seizing the harpoon to present it to his father, presenting the harpoon to the lord of the Mesenet–chapel’.

¹¹⁹¹ PECOIL – MAHER–TAHA (1983); EL–KORDY (1984), and GOYON (1986:331, and 340, n. 4).

¹¹⁹² MORET (1902a:238–242), and DAVID (1981:61, and 69–70). The ankh–symbol is not offered during the Daily Temple Ritual. Life is not only presented by the pharaoh to the god but also the other way around. In the complex of *wabet* and court, the sign of life is presented by Horus of Edfu to the pharaoh on no less than five occasions. The two doorjambs on either side of the entrance gate from the ‘hall of the ennead’ depict the god Horus holding the pharaoh by the hand and presenting the ankh–sign to his face (Edfou I, 438; 440–441, and plates xxxib and xxxivb). The scene is also found to the west of the doorway leading from the court to the annexe (Edfou I, 444, and plate xxxive). This depiction of the presentation of life by a deity to the pharaoh might not necessarily have been inspired by the role the complex played in the renewal activities at the time of the New Year. The offering is rather very often depicted on or near doors and passages in the temple. See for instance Edfou I, plates xiiia–b; xxiiib; xxviiia; xxviiia; xxixb; xxxa; xxxib; xxxiib; xxxva, and xlb.

confirmation of the pharaoh's power according to Late Period pBrooklyn 47.218.50.¹¹⁹³ The most important offering in this category of rites is depicted in the very centre of the third register on the north wall, where the pharaoh is portrayed presenting and placing the hepet-crown of Horus/Ra on the head of the god (15 and 15').¹¹⁹⁴ Beside the act of coronation, the crown symbolises especially the confirmation of Horus and the pharaoh as rulers over the two lands.¹¹⁹⁵

Some references to the confirmation of royal power are already found in the open court in the temple of Philae, as I have indicated in the previous chapter, but the concept of kingship and its confirmation is much more present throughout the temple complex of Edfu. The walls of the temple of Horus of Edfu are, more than in any other temple, covered with references to the kingship of the god, its confirmation and protection. Horus is presented in Edfu as the legitimate heir of both Osiris and Ra. The maintenance of this legitimate world-order through its continual confirmation, but also its protection against and destruction of its enemies is omnipresent.¹¹⁹⁶ The confirmation of the kingship of Horus appears to have taken place on three occasions during the year – at the beginning of each season according to the recent study of Emanuel Louant:¹¹⁹⁷ on the first day of the New Year (Thoth 1) when the procession with the statues of the gods travelled to the complex, on the first day of Tybi when the festival of the coronation of the sacred falcon took place, and on the day Harsomtus was born (Pachon 11).

The everlasting continuation of the kingship and its confirmation might have been expressed in the *wabet* by the presentation of the symbol of eternity – HH (7').¹¹⁹⁸ In return for the offering, the Ptolemaic pharaoh is also granted an infinity of sed-festivals. A scene in the second registers of the east and west walls of the *wabet* indicates that not only the

¹¹⁹³ pBrooklyn 47.218.50, I, 10–17, and GOYON (1972a:20, and 54–55). See also ALLIOT (1949:360–365).

¹¹⁹⁴ Edfou I, 426–427, and 435–436: [Hnk] Hpt n @r r HA.t=f wTs xa n wtT sw or '[presenting] the hepet-crown of Horus to his forehead, lifting up the crown for the one who created him', and smn Hpt n Ra m tp=f swAH xa=f m wp.t=f or 'establishing the crown of Ra on his head, fastening his crown on his brow'.

¹¹⁹⁵ The crown was studied in detail by DERCHAIN-URTEL (1994).

¹¹⁹⁶ On the theology of the temple of Horus, consult especially CAUVILLE (1987a:239–242).

¹¹⁹⁷ LOUANT (2003).

¹¹⁹⁸ Edfou I, 433–434: Hnk HH n it=f Sps sHtp ib=f m mr=f or 'presenting the symbol of eternity to his noble father, appeasing his heart with what he loves'.

confirmation of the kingship of Horus, but also the legitimacy of the Ptolemaic pharaoh and the confirmation of his rule are evoked in the complex. (fig. 68) The scene in the west register portrays the ruling couple, Ptolemaios IV and Arsinoe III presenting *mnx.t*-linen and *mD.t*-unguent to their deceased and deified predecessors, the *theoi euergetai* or Ptolemaios III Euergetes I and Berenike II (4).¹¹⁹⁹ The two products are regularly presented together in reliefs or depicted in opposite or pairing scenes in numerous temples. The heir regularly offers them to his ancestors, which guarantees his right to the inheritance.¹²⁰⁰ On the opposite wall, the ruling couple is placed in the position of gods (*theoi philopatores*) and offered *antwy* and *mnx.t*-linen by their divine producers Shesmu and Hedjhotep, respectively (4').¹²⁰¹ Linen, myrrh and ointments, like the *mD.t*-unguent presented on the opposite scene, regularly feature together in the *sed*-festival of the pharaoh and are known for their regenerative powers.¹²⁰²

The presence of references to the coronation and confirmation of Horus and the Ptolemaic rulers on the walls of the complex is most likely related to the period during which the ensemble functioned. The New Year celebrations in the temple of Edfu appear to have combined a series of festive activities from various backgrounds. Next to the procession with the statues of the deities to the complex of *wabet* and court and onwards to the kiosk on the roof of the temple where the statues would be exposed to the sun and regenerated, this period was also considered one of the crucial moments of the year during which the kingship of Horus was confirmed.¹²⁰³ The confirmation of Horus on the throne of his father also had an impact on the legitimate position of Horus' successor, the pharaoh, and the period could be considered one of the most ideal moments for the coronation, its remembrance and the confirmation of the earthly pharaonic power.¹²⁰⁴

The many hymns that are engraved upon the walls of the temple also contain numerous references to the kingship of Horus, next to several other aspects of the god. The texts from

¹¹⁹⁹ Edfou I, 421–422: *Hnk mD.t mnx.t n it=f mw.t=f sTAm iw n qmA D.t=f* or 'presenting unguent and linen to his father and to his mother, to cloth the flesh of the one that created his body'.

¹²⁰⁰ See already my comments in Chapter 4.1.7a–b, documents 18 and 19.

¹²⁰¹ Edfou I, 430–431: *Sms antyw n nb tA.wy DbA mnx.t* or 'presenting *antyw* to the lord of the two lands, clothing with the *mnx.t*-cloth'.

¹²⁰² RUMMEL (2006).

¹²⁰³ LOUANT (2003:235–239).

¹²⁰⁴ For instance: ALLIOT (1949:359–360), and GOYON (1972a:41–46).

the complex focus intently on the solar aspects of Horus and his relation to Ra – not surprising in a space meant for the preparation of the statues of the god before they are united with the sun disc. The solar qualities of Horus are especially expressed on the outside of the columns, screen walls and broken door lintels that separate the open court from the *wabet*,¹²⁰⁵ (fig. 12) and in a long hymn dedicated to Horus that runs over 11 columns on either side of the west doorway leading from the court to the ‘hall of the ennead’ (fig. 70).¹²⁰⁶

A second theme that often occurs in the inscriptions, and mainly in their second half, deals with the destruction of the enemies of the god. Notions of victory over the enemies and protection against them are for instance expressed in the aforementioned long hymn on the west wall of the open court, or in the upper east bandeau inscription in the *wabet*.¹²⁰⁷ The lower east bandeau inscription in the open court also mentions the destruction of Sethian foes and Seth himself: ‘His enemies are under him, his harpoon sticking in them and (in) Seth, Apophis is stabbed, and a crocodile and a hippopotamus/Seth in the form of a hippopotamus are cast’ (xry.w=f Xr=f xm.t=f mds im=sn Nhs wnp aApp sty iH m-ab xAb).¹²⁰⁸ The stabbing of the snake, perhaps Apophis, can still be observed in the partially preserved second register on the south wall of the court.¹²⁰⁹ (fig. 71) This is the only preserved depiction of the destruction of an enemy on the walls of the complex.

¹²⁰⁵ Edfou I, 410–412.

¹²⁰⁶ Edfou I, 442–443, and plate xxxivb, with a translation in ALLIOT (1949:370–372).

¹²⁰⁷ Edfou I, 417, and ALLIOT (1949:354–355).

¹²⁰⁸ Edfou I, 441.

¹²⁰⁹ Edfou I, 445, and plate xxxivc.

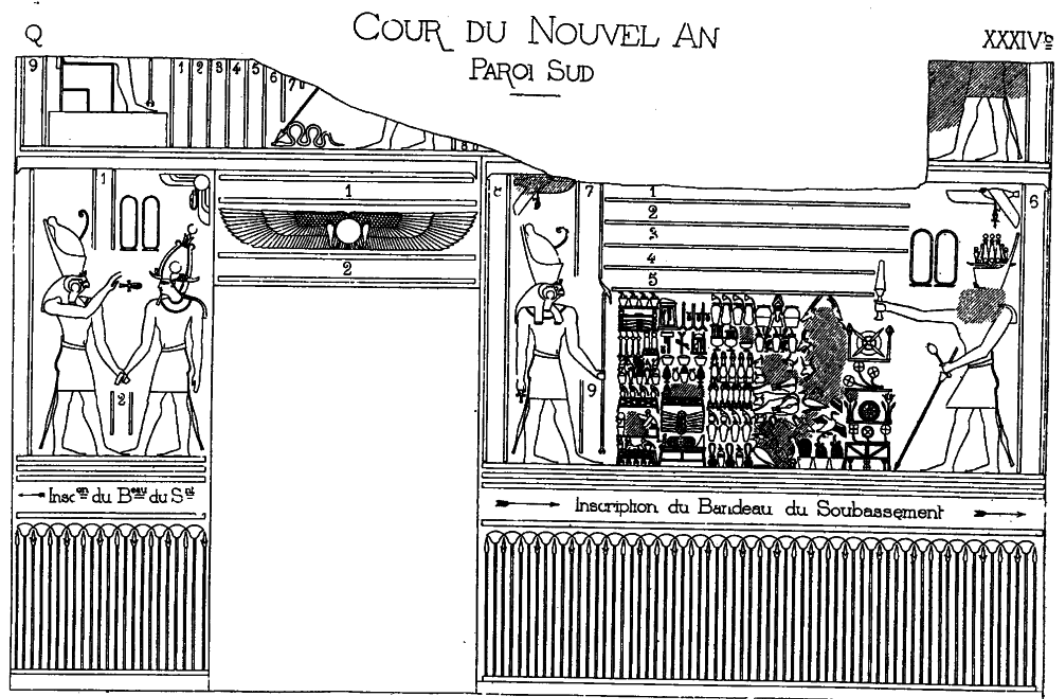


Fig. 71. The south wall of the open court in Edfu

Edfou I, xxxivc.

The long hymn to Horus on the west wall of the open court also calls on the people to come and greet and praise Horus and celebrate. The depiction of the seven Hathors playing the tambourine on the same wall, specifically on the lintel above the doorway from the court to the 'hall of the ennead', is also of a festive nature.¹²¹⁰ (fig. 70 and 72) The inscriptions accompanying the seven goddesses are for the most part destroyed, but what is left still contains references to the birth of Horus, son of Hathor, in Chemnis, and his inheritance of the throne of Ra. These references clearly point to the well-known tales involving the killing of Osiris by Seth and the subsequent fight between Horus and Seth for the inheritance of Osiris – the kingship over the two lands. The reference to the birth and youth of Horus in the marshes of the Delta also evokes the notion of protection: Isis protected the child from all evil that lurked in the marshes until he reached adulthood and could claim his inheritance.

¹²¹⁰ Edfou I, 440, and plate xxxivb. See also ALLIOT (1949:369) and CORTHALS (2003:129).



*Fig. 72 The seven Hathors playing the tambourine in the open court in Edfu
(photo by the author)*

The association of the seven Hathors with the infant is best known from the Ptolemaic and Roman birth-houses.¹²¹¹ In the second register of the north wall of the sanctuary of the mammisi of Edfu, the seven Hathors are seated while suckling the newborn child-god on their lap,¹²¹² and a similar scene is found in exactly the same position in the sanctuary of the Roman mammisi of Dendara.¹²¹³ Corthals' research also brought the seven Hathors in a relation with the seven cows of Ra in the temple of Dendara. The third register on the south wall of chamber U, to the east of the 'hall of offerings' in Dendara, depicts the seven Hathors seated on a throne and in the opposite register on the north wall the seven cows of Ra are portrayed lying on a representation of a temple.¹²¹⁴ The depiction of the seven Hathors suckling the child-god brings to mind general notions of (re)birth and, in particular in connection with the suckling, life. The concept of life, and especially its renewal, was the central theme of the rites performed in the complex and elsewhere in the temple in the period surrounding the New Year. This period of festivities and processions includes the five epagomenal days, considered by the Egyptians as the most life-threatening period of the year. At the same time, as the festival calendar of Edfu indicates, the birth of the gods Osiris, Horus, Seth, Isis, and Nephthys was also celebrated on these days.¹²¹⁵

¹²¹¹ DAUMAS (1958:415–418).

¹²¹² Edfou mammisi, 29–30, and plate xv, and CORTHALS (2003:129–130).

¹²¹³ Dendara mammisis, 129–130, and plate lx.

¹²¹⁴ Dendara VII, 124; 136–137, and plates dcxliii–dcxliv and dcxlix. See also CORTHALS (2003:130).

¹²¹⁵ Edfou V, 395, 2–7, and ALLIOT (1949:273–275). On the dangers at the turn of the year, see already my comments in Chapter 4.1.9, especially regarding documents 13, 14, and 17 in the open court in Philae.

In contrast to the sanctuary of the *mammisi*, the seven Hathors on the lintel in the open court are not depicted suckling a child but festively playing the tambourine. A similar scene occurs twice in relation to the New Year's festivities in the temple of Hathor at Dendara. Corthals already identified the depiction of the seven goddesses, together with two representations of Meret playing the harp and one relief of a queen playing the sistra, in the doorway leading from the open court to the elevated *wabet*.¹²¹⁶ But the seven Hathors also occur on either side of the passage of the north entrance to the kiosk on the roof of the temple where the final and most crucial rites of the New Year's activities took place.¹²¹⁷ Similar scenes are also found elsewhere in Ptolemaic and Roman temples and *mammisis*. The third register on the north wall of the sanctuary of the birth-house of Edfu features the seven Hathors playing the tambourine for Hathor suckling her newborn.¹²¹⁸ The seven deities playing the tambourine also occur twice on the walls of the birth-house of Philae,¹²¹⁹ and even more frequently in the temple of Hathor in Dendara: in the passage between chambers A and B in the south crypt no. 2,¹²²⁰ on the lintel of the H. t–msxn. t chapel,¹²²¹ and in the passage between the small vestibule (C') – in the southeast corner of the hypostyle hall – and the outside corridor that runs around the same temple. These depictions and references to the Hathors playing music¹²²² appear to be mainly of a festive nature.¹²²³

The depiction of the seven Hathors playing the tambourine on the lintel above the doorway leading from the open court to the 'hall of the ennead' in Edfu and the various hymns engraved on the walls of the complex express to various degrees some of the main themes of the rites performed in the complex: before life can be renewed on New Year's Day, protection is needed and the enemies need to be destroyed, but the result of the regenerative rites performed on this occasion is indeed worthy of celebration.

4.2.4. Conclusion

¹²¹⁶ Dendara IV, 218–220, and plate ccxiv. See also GUGLIELMI (1991:100), and CORTHALS (2003:131–132).

¹²¹⁷ Dendara VIII, 7, and plate dcxciii.

¹²¹⁸ Edfou *mammisi*, 32–33, and plate xv. See also CORTHALS (2003:130–131).

¹²¹⁹ Philae II, 126–131, and 220–223.

¹²²⁰ Dendara VI, 15–17, and plate ccclii.

¹²²¹ Dendara II, 95–96, and plate cxv.

¹²²² Dendara III, 33–35, and 133, 10.

¹²²³ On the festive nature of the seven Hathors and two Merets playing music, see GUGLIELMI (1991:92–100).

The procession with the statues of the gods did not always end with the rites performed in the complex. On New Year's Day and on other occasions it continued along the east staircase to the kiosk on the roof of the temple. The rites performed and offerings made in the *wabet* are thus preparatory stages in the festive processions that would result in the reunion of the statues with their *ba* by means of their exposure to the sun disc – whether on the roof or in the open court. The function of the elevated chapel of the ensemble as a place of preparation might have inspired its designers to designate it in Edfu with the term *wabet*, which in the first instance refers to a 'workshop' in the broadest sense of the word: it is the place where the statues of the deities are prepared before their renewal takes place.¹²²⁴

The ritual activities performed within and depicted and described on the walls of the *wabet* show a strong resemblance to a number of other rituals that all deal with the passage from death or a death-like state to the renewal of life. These rituals can be observed in the temple (the Daily Temple Ritual), in the funerary sphere (the ritual of the 'opening of the mouth' and even the embalming ritual), and also in the royal sphere (e.g. in the confirmation of the pharaoh's power according to pBrooklyn 47.218.50). I have already pointed out the close association between these rites and the activities in the complex in my analysis of the decorative scheme of the 'seat of the first feast' in Philae.¹²²⁵ While in the decorative programme in the open court in Philae the link with these other rituals is for the most part only hinted at (with the exception of the Daily Temple Ritual from which several chapters were copied onto the north wall of the court), the description and depiction of the ritual activities performed on the statue of the gods in the *wabet* of Edfu are much more extensive and explicit in their references to these older rituals.

The close association between the rites performed in the open court in Philae and the Daily Temple Ritual is obvious. On the north wall of the 'seat of the first feast' at Philae the initial stages of the daily temple ritual were depicted in great detail: the opening of the shrines of the gods and the approach and prostration of the ruler in front of their statues (Berlin version: chapters 7–34; Abydene version: chapters 1–10).¹²²⁶ In the *wabet* at Edfu the opening rites of

¹²²⁴ Consult Chapter 3.1.

¹²²⁵ See in particular Chapters 4.1.6j, and 4.1.10.

¹²²⁶ Consult Chapter 4.1.6, documents 9–13.

the daily temple ritual are only mentioned, but not depicted.¹²²⁷ The main focus of the ritual activities has shifted in Edfu towards the following stage of the ritual: the toilette of the statue of the god and in particular its purification, clothing with linen and anointment. The walls of the *wabet* in Edfu feature almost all chapters of the Daily Temple Ritual that deal with the clothing of the god according to the Berlin papyri (chapters 44 to 57)¹²²⁸ or the Abydene version of the ritual (chapters 13 to 31),¹²²⁹ without necessarily following the exact sequence of the ritual. Since the aim of the activities in the complex was similar to the rites performed during the Daily Temple Ritual – the clothing of the statue – the designers of the decorative scheme of the complex appear to have let themselves be strongly inspired by the latter for the decoration of the walls of the ensemble.¹²³⁰

The purification, clothing, anointing and the provision of protective amulets to the statues of the gods is also reminiscent of several funerary rituals and activities, including the actual embalming of the bodies of the deceased or the subsequent ‘opening of the mouth’. The embalming, prior to the opening of the mouth, entails a series of similar activities and has also the same aim as the rites performed on the statues of the gods in the *wabet*: the purification, provision with linen (mummification) and protective amulets is carried out in order for the body to be able to be revived and reunited with its *ba*.¹²³¹ The body of the deceased is, like the life-less statues of the gods, transported from its house to the *ibw* or ‘purification tent’¹²³² and onwards to the *wabet* or ‘place of embalming’, where it is to be prepared before the senses will be restored and the burial will take place. The body is purified, both with natron and with water,¹²³³ *antyw* is burned, the deceased is wrapped in linen, anointed with unguents and

¹²²⁷ Edfou I, 413, 12: *pr r rd wn-Hr Hr nTr* or ‘ascending the staircase, revealing the face of the god’, and Edfou I, 414, 2: *Ts r xnd mAA nTr m Hd.t=f* or ‘ascending the staircase, seeing the god in his shrine’.

¹²²⁸ Following MORET (1902a:287).

¹²²⁹ According to DAVID (1981:60–61).

¹²³⁰ The lateral walls of the sanctuary of the temple of Edfu, the site of the performance of the Daily Temple Ritual, are also decorated with reliefs depicting the purification, clothing, anointing, the presentation of protective pectorals and necklaces to the statue of the god, and offerings to the royal predecessors. Edfou I, 24–51, and plates xi–xii; ALLIOT (1949:69–98), and DAVID (1981:74–76).

¹²³¹ SAUNERON (1952); GOYON (1972b:35–38), and LdÄ I, 615–617. For a general introduction to the activities involved in the embalming process, consult DODSON – IKRAM (1998:103–165).

¹²³² LdÄ V, 220–222 with references to previous studies, and HOFFMEIER (1981).

¹²³³ The purification with *nemeset*– and *desheret*–vessels is usually carried out in the *ibw* or ‘purification tent’ and not in the ‘place of embalming’ according to GRDSELOFF (1941:25–26), and SETTGAST (1963:10).

ointments, and protective amulets, pectorals and necklaces are placed on his/her body. The similarities between the acts performed on the body of the deceased in the *wabet* as a place of embalming and on the statues of the gods in the temple might have actually inspired the priests–editors of the temple of Edfu to designate the elevated chapel of the complex with the term *wabet*.¹²³⁴ The assemblage that accompanied the deceased to the tomb and the statue to the roof of the temple likewise gathered in both places.¹²³⁵

These ritual activities are for a large part repeated during the ritual of the ‘opening of the mouth’. As Assmann has shown, in the New Kingdom the ritual could be carried out in the light of the sun in front of the tomb.¹²³⁶ This act combines two rites essential for the festivities at the time of the New Year: returning the senses to the statues and their union with the sun disc.¹²³⁷ The preparatory purification rites performed on the statue of the deceased in the *wabet* form the opening rites of the ritual of the ‘opening of the mouth’ (scenes 2 to 7),¹²³⁸ while the offering of linen, almost like the wrapping of the mummy with stripes of linen, and the anointing takes place after the senses of the deceased have been revived (scenes 48 to 56). The large offerings that are depicted on the walls of the open court are reminiscent of both the offerings gathered in the vestibule in front of the sanctuary during the Daily Temple Ritual¹²³⁹ and the offerings made to the deceased at the end of the ritual of the ‘opening of the mouth’ (scene 65 to 70).

¹²³⁴ On the close relationship between the activities performed on the body of the deceased in the *wabet* or ‘house of embalming’ and on the statues of the gods in the *wabet* (‘place of preparation/workshop’) in the temple, consult COPPENS (2002b; 2008a). See also Chapter 3.1.

¹²³⁵ DUELL (1938: plate 130); BLACKMAN (1953: plates xlii and xliii), and ALLIOT (1949:344–345, and 377).

¹²³⁶ ASSMANN (1984:54–56; 2001:418–425).

¹²³⁷ The association of the ritual of the ‘opening of the mouth’ with the festive processions and rites at the time of the New Year has already been briefly noted by Sauneron (Esna V, 126 and 149). Before that FAIRMAN (1954–1955:187) also suggested that one of the Kom Ombo calendars mentioned the ‘opening of the mouth’ ritual in relation to the festivities at the time of the New Year, referring to the Kom Ombo text published as DE MORGAN (1909: no.596). A close inspection of this text reveals that this is not the case – see also GRIMM (1994: text B) for a more recent study. In recent years WAITKUS (1995; 1997:265–269) has documented the close association between this ritual and the New Year’s rites for the temple of Dendara. I shall return to his study in the following chapter on the complex in the temple of Dendara (Chapter 4.3).

¹²³⁸ According to OTTO (1960:v–vii).

¹²³⁹ ALLIOT (1949:25–58).

In the temple of Edfu the ritual of the ‘opening of the mouth’ was performed not only to return the senses to the statues, but also to re-consecrate the entire temple.¹²⁴⁰ The rite of reconsacration involved, next to the actual opening of the mouth, the purification with nemeset and desheret–vessels, censuring, presenting the nemes head cloth, offering mD . t–unguent, linen, the usekh–necklace and large food–offerings. These ritual activities are very similar to the rites depicted on the walls of the complex of *wabet* and court in Edfu.¹²⁴¹ Although the inscriptions that give an overview of the various acts involved in the reconsacration of the temple do not provide an exact date for this event, it has been suggested that it might have taken place around New Year.¹²⁴² This could imply that the rituals performed in the complex at this time were not only intended to regenerate and revitalise the statues of the gods that resided in the temple but the temple itself as well.

The association between these funerary rites and practices and the ritual acts performed on the statues of the gods on their way from a death–like/lifeless state to renewal and rejuvenation is not limited to the scenes and inscriptions from the complex. References are also found along the east staircase. The priests carrying the statues of the god are sometimes referred to as smr . w, generally translated as ‘courtiers’ or ‘friends’ of the pharaoh.¹²⁴³ It is certainly no coincidence that these smr–priests, who could take the place of the sem–priests in the ritual of the ‘opening of the mouth’, are sometimes portrayed carrying a statue during the latter ritual.¹²⁴⁴ Likewise, in Middle Kingdom depictions, such as in the tomb of Antefoker in Thebes (TT 60), these priests are depicted carrying the sarcophagus to the tomb.¹²⁴⁵ An inscription on the walls along the east staircase in the temple of Edfu moreover suggests that the Hw . t–nb . w or the ‘goldhouse’, the place where the opening of the mouth took place,¹²⁴⁶

¹²⁴⁰ Edfou IV, 230–231, and BLACKMAN – FAIRMAN (1946).

¹²⁴¹ The walls of the sanctuary of Isis in her temple in Philae might also be engraved with various scenes recalling the reconsacration of the temple according to ŽABKAR (1988:85–88).

¹²⁴² BLACKMAN – FAIRMAN (1946:81–82).

¹²⁴³ Edfou I, 549, 17; 559, 16 and 571, 5, and WILSON (1997a:848).

¹²⁴⁴ OTTO (1960:164–166 = scene 73). In the reconsacration rite of the temple of Edfu, the smr–priests are called upon to perform the actual ‘opening of the mouth’: Edfou IV, 331, 11, and BLACKMAN – FAIRMAN (1946:77 and 88).

¹²⁴⁵ DE GARIS DAVIES – GARDINER (1920: plate xxi).

¹²⁴⁶ OTTO (1960:36–37), and AUFREERE (1991:374–376).

was located on the roof of the temple.¹²⁴⁷ Unfortunately, neither the ‘goldhouse’ nor the kiosk or ‘seat of the first feast’ on the roof of the temple have been preserved.¹²⁴⁸

The royal regalia presented to Horus, especially in the third register on the walls of the *wabet*, form the highlight of the activities performed in the court, but do not usually form a part of the previously mentioned rites, the one exception being some regalia offered to the gods on the walls of the chapels of the gods in Abydos during the Daily Temple Ritual.¹²⁴⁹ The presentation of these offerings was undoubtedly for the most part inspired by the theological system of the temple of Edfu, dedicated to the kingship of Horus and to the confirmation and protection of his rule.¹²⁵⁰ These royal offerings, together with the other goods presented to the ruler, are reminiscent of certain activities performed during the rite aimed at confirming the ruler in his power at the time of the New Year according to pBrooklyn 47.218.50. The papyrus mentions the purification and clothing of the pharaoh in the palace before the ruler journeys to the temple. In the *sH n s . t-wr . t* or the ‘chapel of the great seat’ the pharaoh is subsequently provided with a series of protective amulets and royal regalia, such as the symbol of life, the was-sceptre, and the *sSd* head band and its *manx . t*-counterweight. The ruler is then anointed with nine unguents from the *pr-wr* and *pr-nsr* as another means of protection before he continues his journey to other chapels in the temple.¹²⁵¹ The ritual acts performed in the palace and the *sH n s . t-wr . t* are not unlike some of the rites depicted on the walls of the complex, as Goyon, who published pBrooklyn 47.218.50, also observed.¹²⁵² Both spaces functioned as the location where the pharaoh and the statues of the god were prepared for their further journey towards confirmation and rejuvenation, respectively. Since New Year’s Day constituted the most ideal period for both acts, which are moreover similar in nature, the editors of the temple of Edfu appear to have decided to bring them together on the walls of the ensemble.

¹²⁴⁷ Edfou I, 552, 13 and 553, 1. See also WAITKUS (1999) on the undecorated chapels on the roof of the temple of Edfu.

¹²⁴⁸ The ‘goldhouse’ of the temple of Dendara is still preserved in its entirety. Consult Dendara VIII, 127–145; DERCHAIN (1990); AUFRERE (1991:374–375), and Chapters 1.8 and 4.3.

¹²⁴⁹ DAVID (1981:61): the presentation of the was-sceptre, the crook and flail, and the *manx . t*-counterweight (chapters 25 and 28).

¹²⁵⁰ In general on the theology of the temple of Edfu and the role of Horus, see CAUVILLE (1987a).

¹²⁵¹ pBrooklyn 47.218.50, I, 1 – III, 20, and GOYON (1972a:19–21, and 53–63).

¹²⁵² GOYON (1972a:19, n. 7, and 34, n. 2).

The Daily Temple Ritual, the ritual of the ‘opening of the mouth’, whether executed on the statues of the gods or for the entire temple, and the rites performed for the confirmation of the pharaonic power and the kingship of Horus are all rituals that deal with renewal, regeneration, protection and confirmation. Several aspects of each of these older rites have been united on the walls of the complex in Edfu, like in its older counterpart in Philae,¹²⁵³ in order to best express its nature and function. These scenes and accompanying inscriptions reveal that the complex of *wabet* and court in the temple of Edfu is the place where the statues of the gods are prepared for the union with the sun disc or with their *ba* and for their subsequent renewal and rejuvenation. The preparation consists in the purification, clothing with linen, anointing, and provision of protective amulets – since the epagomenal days prior to the New Year are considered the most dangerous period of the year – and food-offerings to the statues of the gods, based on similar practices in the Daily Temple Ritual and the ritual of the ‘opening of the mouth’. These activities are followed by the presentation of items characteristic of the theology of the temple and its central deity. These goods refer to the confirmation of the kingship of Horus and his successor, the pharaoh, over the land. The actual climax of the feast constituted the ‘union with the sun disc’ which could be performed on the roof of the temple, like on New Year’s Day, but at times also in the open court in front of the *wabet*.

¹²⁵³ Chapter 4.1.10.

4.3. The complex of *wabet* and court in Dendara

4.3.1. Introduction

The late Ptolemaic complex of *wabet* and court in the temple of Hathor in Dendara is another ensemble that has preserved a decorative scheme on its walls, and is almost two centuries younger than the early Ptolemaic complexes in Philae and Edfu. The decorative programme from the other Ptolemaic ensembles – in the temples of Sobek and Haroeris in Kom Ombo and Satet in Elephantine from the reign of Ptolemaios VI, and in the temple of Repyt in Athribis (Wannina) from the reign of Ptolemaios XII – has not been preserved or its identification is problematic.¹²⁵⁴ In the temple of Dendara, the ensemble of *wabet* and court¹²⁵⁵ is located to the west of the sanctuary. (fig. 1, 17 and 18) A doorway in the west wall of the ‘hall of the ennead’ leads to the so-called ‘treasury’ or *pr HD* which functioned as a passageway both to the open court of the complex (to the south) and to the turning west staircase leading to the roof of the temple (to the north). The north–west corner of the open court contains an access to a crypt which runs alongside the west wall of the naos and consists of a series of six decorated rooms.¹²⁵⁶ The complex has survived in its entirety and provides the only example of a completely preserved decorative programme of the open court. The decorative scheme dates to the reign of Cleopatra VII, although the cartouches have not been inscribed.

The ensemble in Dendara is the oldest complex to have been studied in detail and has been the subject of a great many studies.¹²⁵⁷ The festivities and processions that occurred at the time of the New Year in the temple of Dendara have been traced and documented in great detail by various scholars and the place and function of the ensemble of *wabet* and court during this period has been amply demonstrated.¹²⁵⁸ The procession with the statues of the

¹²⁵⁴ See Chapters 1.5–1.7.

¹²⁵⁵ Dendara IV, 179–271, and plates ccxcviii–cccxcv. See also Chapter 1.8.

¹²⁵⁶ Dendara VI, 65–104 and plates dx–dxxxix; WAITKUS (1997:166–230), and CAUVILLE (2004a:28–34, and 341–393).

¹²⁵⁷ The most important studies on the complex in Dendara are MARIETTE (1870:43; 189–221, and 315–321); DAUMAS (1951; 1969:56–58); TRAUNECKER (1995:248–251); WAITKUS (1995); CAUVILLE (1995:60–62; 2001:22–34; 2002a:35–49), and CORTHALS (2003:114–179). A complete transcription and translation of the text from the complex can be consulted in CAUVILLE (2001:243–433).

¹²⁵⁸ The route of the festive procession on New Year’s Day has been reconstructed in detail by CAUVILLE (2002a:35–49). See also DAUMAS (1969:96–101), and CAUVILLE (1995:60–67).

gods departed in the *pr-nsr* chapel where the entrance to the south crypt no. 1 was located. The rooms of this crypt provided storage for the statues of the deities that participated in the festivities surrounding the arrival of the New Year.¹²⁵⁹ Waitkus' analysis of the inscriptions from the crypts underneath the ground level in the temple of Dendara has revealed that these crypts could be equated with the netherworld and that the statues residing there were seen to be in a lifeless state.¹²⁶⁰ The procession with the statues of the gods proceeded along the other chapels of gods surrounding the central sanctuary of Dendara until arriving in the ensemble of court and *wabet*. The nature of the rites performed on the statues in the complex, such as depicted and described on its walls, form the main part of this chapter. Following the events in the ensemble, the procession would on New Year's Day continue to the roof of the temple, taking both staircases, and arrive in the kiosk. (fig. 73) This construction was for instance known as the 'seat of the first feast' (*s.t Hb tpy*)¹²⁶¹ or the 'seat of seeing the sun disc' (*s.t mAA itn*),¹²⁶² and formed the setting for the climax of the entire feast: the 'union with the sun disc' which would revitalise the statues and reunite them with their *ba*.



*Fig. 73. The kiosk on the roof of the temple of Dendara
(photo by the author)*

¹²⁵⁹ WAITKUS (1997:94–165, and 251–253), and CAUVILLE (2002a:35–37; 2004a:12–20).

¹²⁶⁰ WAITKUS (1997:254–256; 258, and 265–272). See already Chapter 4.1.9g and Chassinat's introduction to Dendara VI, xxvi–xxx.

¹²⁶¹ For instance: Dendara V, 117, 1; Dendara VII, 172, 10 and 14; 175, 2; 177, 12; 178, 16; 187, 2–3; 200, 11–12 and 201, 5, and CAUVILLE (1990:95).

¹²⁶² For instance: CAUVILLE (1990:95).

Prior to the arrival on the roof, suggests Waitkus, the procession most likely halted in the *Hw. t-nbw* or the ‘goldhouse’¹²⁶³ which is located along the west staircase to the roof. (fig. 19) The three windows in the south wall of the *Hw. t-nbw* conspicuously look out over the open court and the *wabet*. (fig. 74) The ‘goldhouse’ is known as the space where the ritual of the ‘opening of the mouth’ could be performed both on the deceased and also on the statues made in the workshop in order to return their senses to them.¹²⁶⁴ The occurrence of rites and scenes inspired by or copied from the ritual of the ‘opening of the mouth’ in the decorative scheme of the complex of *wabet* and court has already been established in the chapters on the ensembles in the temples of Philae and Edfu.¹²⁶⁵ The location of the ‘goldhouse’ along the processional route from the *wabet* and court to the roof of the temple of Dendara is but another illustration of the existence of a close relationship between the rites in the ensemble and the ritual of the ‘opening of the mouth’. The aim of the ritual activities performed in both spaces was in essence one and the same: renewal of life.



*Fig. 74. The windows of the ‘goldhouse’ overlooking the open court of the complex in Dendara
(photo by the author)*

¹²⁶³ WAITKUS (1995; 1997:267–268). See also Dendara VIII, 127–145; DERCHAIN (1990), and AUFRERE (1991:374).

¹²⁶⁴ LdÄ II, 739–740; OTTO (1960:36–37), and AUFRERE (1991:374–376).

¹²⁶⁵ Chapters 4.1 and 4.2.

The open court of the ensemble was mainly known as the ‘court of the *wabet*/seat of the first feast’, and the elevated chapel as the ‘*wabet*’ or ‘seat of the first feast’.¹²⁶⁶ The strict division between the designations for the complex (*wabet* and court) and the kiosk on the roof of the temple (‘seat of the first feast’) in the temple of Edfu was clearly not kept in the temple of Dendara. In Dendara the term ‘seat of the first feast’ was applied both to the ensemble and to the kiosk, two of the main stages used during the processions at the time of the New Year. It could also imply that the ‘union with the sun disc’ might not on all occasions have taken place in the kiosk on the roof like on New Year’s Day.¹²⁶⁷ The other processions to the ensemble in the days preceding the New Year might simply have ended in the complex and the statues could have been exposed to the sun in the light of the open court. The many references to a ‘union with the sun disc’ in the inscriptions from the court, to which I shall return later in this chapter, certainly suggest this possibility.

4.3.2 The treasury – entrance to the complex and the staircase

The entrance gate to the treasury (pr-HD), from the ‘hall of the ennead’ forms the main entrance to both the ensemble of *wabet* and court and the west staircase leading to the roof of the temple.¹²⁶⁸ The doorjambs feature long hymns dedicated to the goddess Hathor, and also make reference to the procession of the goddess with her ennead and her ‘union with the sun disc’ at the time of the New Year.

– South doorjamb:¹²⁶⁹

nay Hm.t r HAY.t=T m Htp psD.t sSm=t m-itr.ty Hts.tw n=t tp-
rd n s.t-Hb-tpy Hr sxm.w m-pXr=T snsn=t itn hrw wp-rn.t Xnm
stw.t=f m Hr=t

‘The majesty (= Hathor) proceeds towards her chapel in peace, the ennead of your image is around, the ritual of the ‘seat of the first feast’ is completed for you, while the cult statues are around you, you unite with the sun disc the day of the opening of the year, its rays unite with your face’.

¹²⁶⁶ Consult Chapters 3.1 and 3.2 for these designations.

¹²⁶⁷ WAITKUS (1997:168, n. 11; 175, n. 2, and 250, n. 5) has also suggested the occurrence of a Xnm-itn on Paophi 5 in the open space in front of the pronaos of the temple. See also CAUVILLE (2004a:30).

¹²⁶⁸ Dendara IV, 147–178, and plates cclxxxviii–ccxcvii. For an introduction to the treasury of the temple of Dendara, consult DAUMAS (1969:56); TRAUNECKER (1995:248), and CAUVILLE (1995:60; 2001:22–26). In general on the treasury in temples, consult AUFRERE (1991:713–728).

¹²⁶⁹ Dendara IV, 149, 17–150, 1.

– North doorjamb:¹²⁷⁰

it=T Ra a.wy=fy HA=T sXkr tw=T *nn m Xkr.w nTr.w nTr.wt m
hnw n kA=t ibA=sn m nfr.w=t pr=T pr=t m nDm-ib Drtyw IA.t-di
m-itr.ty ir.tw n=t irw n s.t-Hb-tpy Hna psD.t nt.t m-Smsw=t
Xnm=t itn di=f sw m p.t sns stw.t=f ha.w=T

‘Your father Ra, his arms are around you, and Tenen adorns you with adornments, the gods and goddesses are rejoicing for your *ka*, and they dance because of your beauties/perfection, you enter your chapel in the sweetness of heart, and the ancestor gods of Iatdi¹²⁷¹ are around, the ritual of the ‘seat of the first feast’ is performed for you and the ennead that is in your service, you unite with the sun disc when it places itself (appears) in heaven, and its rays unite with your limbs’.

The doorpost of the same gate also provides information on the procession:¹²⁷²

sbA n sqd r s.t Hb tpy in Nb.t Hna psD.t=s r Xnm itn n it=s
m nn.t tp-rnp.t sp-2 n mrH

‘The door of going to the ‘seat of the first feast’ by the ‘Golden One’ (= Hathor) and her ennead to unite with the sun disc of her father in the sky at the beginning of the year, twice, unceasingly’.

The procession of the goddess Hathor, Horus of Edfu, Harsomtus and the ennead is also found in the hymn to Hathor in the thickness of the gate leading from the treasury to the open court.¹²⁷³ In the same hymn mention is made that ‘he (= the pharaoh) has made [this] beautiful feast for [you], and he [repeats] it annually forever’ (i r=f n [=t] Hb [pn] nfr [wHm]=f sw n [nry] r D.t).¹²⁷⁴

¹²⁷⁰ Dendara IV, 150, 5–7.

¹²⁷¹ A designation of Dendara – CAUVILLE (2001:470–471).

¹²⁷² Dendara IV, 151, 11–13. A similar inscription occurs on the doorpost of the west staircase: Dendara VII, 169, 3. AUFRERE (1991:722–723) did not recognise the designation *st Hb tpy* or ‘seat of the first feast’ in the inscription and translated ‘porte de se rendre vers la Place, lors de la fête du mois, par l’Or, Hathor, avec son Ennéade...’ instead.

¹²⁷³ Dendara IV, 184, 3–6.

¹²⁷⁴ Dendara IV, 184, 7–8.

4.3.3. The open court

The open court of the complex in Dendara provides the only fully preserved example of the decorative scheme applied to the walls of this type of space. On its lateral walls the 11 members of the pantheon of Dendara are depicted.¹²⁷⁵ According to Cauville, the pantheon consists of four manifestations of the goddess Hathor,¹²⁷⁶ accompanied by Horus of Edfu,¹²⁷⁷ two manifestations of Harsomtus,¹²⁷⁸ Horus of Mesen, who replaced a third form of Harsomtus,¹²⁷⁹ and the deities Osiris¹²⁸⁰, Isis,¹²⁸¹ and Ihy.¹²⁸² The pantheon reflects the two main triads of the temple: Hathor, Horus of Edfu and their offspring Harsomtus/Ihy, next to Isis, Osiris, and their child Harsiesis/Ihy. In keeping with the general decorative programme of the entire temple, Hathor usually occupies the east side of the complex, while her counterpart Isis the west side.¹²⁸³

The lower and upper bandeau inscriptions of the court identify this space as the ‘court of the seat of the first feast’ (wsx . t s . t Hb tpy)¹²⁸⁴. These inscriptions set the general tone for the ritual activities performed in the complex and mention the arrival of Hathor and other gods in procession, the performance of the ‘ritual of the seat of the first feast’ (tp-rd/i rw n s . t-Hb-tpy) in their honour, and their subsequent ‘union with the sun disc’.

¹²⁷⁵ CAUVILLE (2001:26–27). On the pantheon of Dendara, consult also DAUMAS (1969:21–27), and CAUVILLE (1995:7–15; 2002:35).

¹²⁷⁶ Dendara IV, 193; 195; 199; 209, and plates ccci–cccii.

¹²⁷⁷ Dendara IV, 194, and plate ccci.

¹²⁷⁸ Dendara IV, 209 (@r-smA-tA.wy nb xAdi), and 210 (@r-smA-tA.wy pA Xrd sA @.t-Hr), and plate cccii.

¹²⁷⁹ Dendara IV, 211, and plate cccii.

¹²⁸⁰ Dendara IV, 199, and plate ccci.

¹²⁸¹ Dendara IV, 205, and plate cccii.

¹²⁸² Dendara IV, 195, and plate ccci.

¹²⁸³ On the role of Isis in Dendara, consult: LdÄ II, 1029; DAUMAS (1969:24 and 26), and CAUVILLE (1995:11). Isis appears in the temple of Dendara as an aspect of Hathor Quadrifrons – for instance Dendara I, 74, 11–75, 2, and 75, 5–76, 2. For more information on Hathor Quadrifrons, consult DERCHAIN (1972a).

¹²⁸⁴ See Chapter 3.2.

East lower bandeau inscriptions:¹²⁸⁵

Xnm.n=f wsx.t n.t s.t-Hb-tpy m-sn.t-r nn.t Xr itn wbn ir.t-
Ra m HD=s Sps aq=s s.t=s m Aw.t-ib ir.tw n=s irw n s.t-Hb-
tpy Hna psD.t=s nt.t m Smsw=s psD=s m pr=s sAb-swt Hr sA=s
ist Hm.t=s m-pHr=s r Xnm-itn hrw wp-rnp.t r mAA it=s m wnb=f
snsn mAw.t n.t DfD-n-wDA.t Ax.t n.t kA=f xn.t Iwn.t

‘He has built the ‘court of the seat of the first feast’ in the likeness of the sky carrying the sun disc. The ‘Eye of Ra’ (= Hathor) appears in her noble shrine, she enters her place/chapel in joy, the ritual of the ‘seat of the first feast’ is performed for her and her ennead, which is in her presence, she shines in her chapel, the ‘dappled of feathers’ (= Horus of Edfu) is by her side, the company of her majesty is around her, to unite with the sun disc the day of the opening of the year, to see her father when he appears, the rays of ‘the pupil of the udjat-eye’ (= Hathor) unites with the eye of his *ka* in Dendara’.

West lower bandeau inscription:¹²⁸⁶

xws.n=f wsx.t n.t s.t-Hb-tpy twt-r Ax.t n.t p.t psD ity.t m
Dry.t=s Dsr.t aq=s s.t=s m mk ir.tw n=s tp-rd n s.t-Hb-tpy
Hna psD.t=s nt.t m sA=s xa=s xn.t xm=s %mA-tA.wy r-x.t=s
Snw.t=s m-itrtys r snsnt stwt m hrw wp-rnp.t [...] wbn=f Htp=s
xn.t HD=s m &A-n-Itm psD=s m pr=s tp rnp.t

‘He has built the ‘court of the seat of the first feast’, resembling the horizon of heaven, the sovereign shines in her sacred shrine, she enters her chapel under protection, the regulation of the ‘seat of the first feast’ is performed for her and her ennead, who is next to her. She appears in procession in her shrine, Somtus is behind her, her attendants/followers are around her, to unite with the rays on the day of the opening of the year [...] (when) he appears. She rests in her shrine in the ‘Land of Atum’,¹²⁸⁷ she shines in her chapel at the beginning of the year.’

The upper bandeau inscriptions also refer to the union with the sun disc: ‘Hathor who is in Dendara, she unites with his (= Ra’s) sun disc’ (@.t-Hr Xnty.t Iwn.t Xnm=s

¹²⁸⁵ Dendara IV, 185, 14–186, 2.

¹²⁸⁶ Dendara IV, 186, 5–7.

¹²⁸⁷ An expression for the temple of Dendara: WILSON (1997a:1119), and CAUVILLE (2001:881–882).

itn=f) or ‘they (Hathor and Horus of Edfu) unite with the rays’ (Xnm=sn stwt).¹²⁸⁸ Similar texts are found on the cornice of the lateral walls. The cornice depicts the goddess Hathor seated in the sun in the horizon–sign and being protected by Wadjet and Nekhbet. (figs. 75) In the accompanying inscription mention is made that Hathor and Horus of Edfu ‘shine to unite with their images, appear to unite with their forms’ (psD r sns n snn=sn wbn r Xnm xpr.w=sn) and ‘appear in procession to unite with their statues, and shine in heaven to see the ancestor gods’ (xa r Xnm Xnty=sn psD m p.t r mAA Drtyw).¹²⁸⁹ The designation Drtyw for the ‘ancestor gods’ is a term often used for the statues of the deities kept in the crypts of the temple.¹²⁹⁰ The union of Hathor with her statues or images is also occasionally mentioned in the treasury preceding the open court.¹²⁹¹

Both lower bandeau inscriptions mention the performance of the ‘ritual of the seat of the first feast’. An important part of that ritual must have been formed by the rA n rd.t Xnm Hm.t=s itn m Ax.t or ‘the chapter/spell of making her majesty unite with the sun disc in the horizon’.¹²⁹² The chapter is located on the second register of the north wall of the open court (fig. 75) and contains a hymn to the solar god Ra who travels through the sky in his bark and slays his enemies. At the end of the hymn mention is made of the ‘union with the sun disc’ and its result: the return of the senses to the statue of Hathor:

di=k wbA=s m irty=sy sDm=s m anx.wy=sy Sms=s nay=s mit.t
psD.t imyw-x.t=k mi r rn=s ir.t wnmy=k m Htp sns n=k sA.t pr

¹²⁸⁸ Dendara IV, 187, 1 and 4.

¹²⁸⁹ Dendara IV, 201, 12–17; 213, 13–17, and plates ccci–cccii.

¹²⁹⁰ WAITKUS (1997:269–270).

¹²⁹¹ For instance in the upper bandeau inscriptions of the treasury: Dendara IV, 155, 9–156, 1: wbn Hry.t-tp m p.t <m->aqA niw.t=s smA=s Hr smn=s m s.t=s or ‘the uraeus appears in the sky, opposite her city, and she unites with her image in her chapel’ or Dendara IV, 156, 8–9: iw.n bA n bik.t m nn.t xn=s Hr bs=s xnt xm=s or ‘the *ba* of the female falcon (= Hathor) has come in the sky, and she alights on her image in her chapel’. A similar passage is found in the long hymn to Hathor on the east wall of the treasury: Dendara IV, 169, 8–170, 2: mi=t m Htp r HAY.t=t m anx? @.t-Hr nb.t Iwn.t Xnm=t Hr ns.t=t Htp=T Hr=f sns n bA=t Hr sxm=t xn=T Hr bs=t m-xn.t H.t-sSS.t or ‘come in peace to your chapel alive(?), Hathor, mistress of Dendara. You place yourself on your throne, and rest upon it, and your *ba* unites with your statue and you alight on your image in the ‘temple of the sistrum’ (= Dendara)’.

¹²⁹² Dendara IV, 206, 13–208, 9. See also CORTHALS (2003:141–144).

im=k sDm=k Dd.t=s m hrw pn nfr Hb wp-rnp.t m 5 hrw Hryw
rnp.t, m rnp.t tn Xr.t=s

‘You make that she opens/sees with her eyes and hears with her ears, she advances, she voyages, like the ennead that is at your side. Come to her name, your right eye is in peace, that you may unite with the daughter, who came out of you, and listen to that what she says on this beautiful day of the feast of the opening of the year and the five days that are above the year, namely the year and that what is on it (= the epagomenal days)’.¹²⁹³

¹²⁹³ A similar text is found on the interior side of the eighth column of the kiosk or ‘seat of the first feast’ on the roof of the temple: Dendara VIII, 59, 2–7.

Two scenes on either side of the doorway from the court to the treasury also contain references to rites and ritual books. Upon entering the court, Hathor and her counterpart Isis are both greeted by the ruler performing the *dwA-nTr*.¹²⁹⁴ (fig. 75) The inscription accompanying the ruler on both occasions mentions that the pharaoh invokes a ritual for the goddess: ‘who recites/invokes the ritual service book for her majesty to make her form more impressive, and who adores her body with her spells’ (*nis Hb.t n Hm.t=s r swr s [aH]=s dwA D.t=s m sAx.w=s*),¹²⁹⁵ ‘who praises her forms with texts/teachings of wisdom’ (*swAs=i xprw=T m sp-n-siA*),¹²⁹⁶ and ‘who recites the ritual service book, effective of spells, perfect of praises’ (*Sd Hb.t spd DAis.w nfr sns.w*).¹²⁹⁷

The main theme of the aforementioned hymn to Ra in the second register of the north wall relates to his voyage in the bark through the sky and the destruction of his enemies who oppose this journey. Scenes in the second and third registers of the lateral walls of the open court portray both concepts in greater detail. (fig. 75) The two northernmost scenes in the third registers depict the presentation of the morning bark of Khepri to Hathor (east side) and the evening bark of Atum to Isis (west).¹²⁹⁸ The accompanying inscriptions refer to the course of the sun during the day and night and inform that Hathor guides and travels in the solar bark of Ra during the day through the sky to the horizon, while Isis travels in the bark at night through the Duat. The same barks form a part of two large offering scenes presented to Hathor and Isis respectively, depicted on the outside walls of the kiosk on the roof of the temple.¹²⁹⁹ The morning and evening barks are also mentioned in a hymn to Hathor in the thickness of the gate leading from the treasury to the open court: ‘your strides are unhindered in the *mesketet*-bark, your place is sacrosanct in the *manedjet*-bark’ (*wsTn=t nmtt m mskt.t Dsr st=t m-xn.t manD.t*).¹³⁰⁰ The goddess Hathor, in the guise of a cow, is depicted in the solar bark on the lintel of the gate that leads from the treasury to the west staircase.¹³⁰¹ The offering scenes and inscription are reminiscent of the scene on the ceiling of

¹²⁹⁴ Dendara IV, 190, 5–15; 204, 14–205, 7, and plate ccc.

¹²⁹⁵ Dendara IV, 190, 8–9.

¹²⁹⁶ Dendara IV, 204, 16.

¹²⁹⁷ Dendara IV, 205, 2.

¹²⁹⁸ Dendara IV, 198, 19–199, 3 (*Hnk mskt.t*); Dendara IV, 210, 16–211, 6 (*Hnk manD.t*), and plates ccci–cccii.

¹²⁹⁹ Dendara VIII, 36; 43, and plates dccxx–dccxxi, and dccxxvii.

¹³⁰⁰ Dendara IV, 184, 5.

¹³⁰¹ Dendara IV, plate ccxcii.

the *wabet* in Edfu, depicting the 12 hours of the day with Khepri in the *mesketet*–bark of the morning and Atum in the *manedjet*–bark in the evening.¹³⁰² (fig. 67)

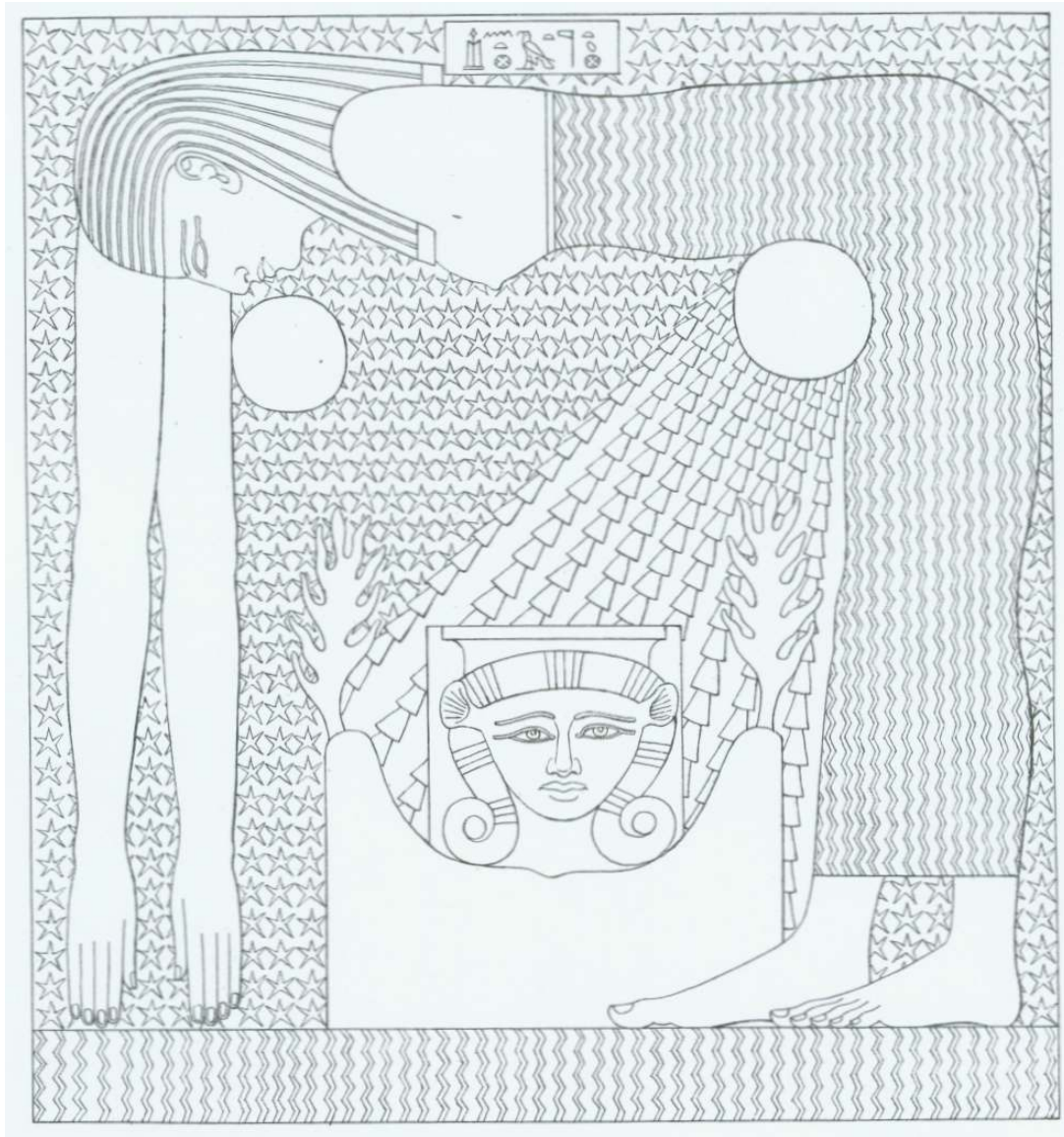


Fig. 76. The ceiling of the *wabet* in Dendara
(Dendara IV, pl. cccxv)

The course of the sun during the day and night is also depicted in a scene on the roof of the *wabet*.¹³⁰³ (fig. 76) The relief portrays the sky–goddess Nut in her typical pose, stretched out with her fingers in the west and her legs in the east. The evening sun is swallowed by the goddess in the west; it travels through her body at night, and re–emerges in the morning from

¹³⁰² Edfou I, plate xxxiiic.

¹³⁰³ Dendara IV, pl. cccxv.

her womb, while shining (ꜥꜥD) nine (ꜥꜥD) rays of sunlight on the face of the goddess Hathor. The face is placed in what appears to be the H. t or temple–sign on top of the horizon.¹³⁰⁴ The concept of Nut swallowing Ra or the sun in the evening and giving birth to the sun in the morning is nothing new. It already features in the Pyramid Texts, as utterances 606 (§1688) and 650 (§1835) indicate. On the two heights of the horizon features an iSd–tree, the sacred tree of Heliopolis. The tree evokes both a royal and a funerary context. Since the time of the New Kingdom it was depicted on the walls of the temples as the tree on whose leaves a deity inscribes the royal name. The act is closely linked with the sed–festival and carries with it the promise of a long and legitimate rule over the land.¹³⁰⁵ The tree is also the birthplace of Ra and brings with it the promise of new life.¹³⁰⁶ And in the temple of Edfu it is part of the products carried to the roof of the temple at the time of the New Year.¹³⁰⁷ The iSd–tree thus represents another iconographic element that expresses the ever recurring themes found in the decorative scheme of the ensemble of *wabet* and court.

The daily course of the sun is also indicated by the presence of the *ba*'s of the east and west in two small scenes that are located below the east and west windows of the 'goldhouse' on the north wall of the open court. (fig. 75) The *ba*'s of the east appear at sunrise, during the first hour of the day, while the *ba*'s of the west appear in the final hour of the day, at sunset.¹³⁰⁸ The recurring presence of a solar theme in the decorative scheme of the open court is not surprising. It is the only space in the core of the temple to which the sun had unlimited access and mention is regularly made in the inscriptions of the union of the statues of the gods with the sun disc. But the night sky is also depicted in the ensemble: the bottom part of the architraves above the east screen wall separating the court from the *wabet* and the entrance into the *wabet* depict the stars Sothis and Orion and five planets (Mars, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn and Mercury).¹³⁰⁹

¹³⁰⁴ The relief on the ceiling of the *wabet* was analysed in detail by DAUMAS (1951). See also DAUMAS (1969:57–58), and CAUVILLE (1995:61; 2001:29–30).

¹³⁰⁵ LdÄ III, 182–183; RÄRG, 84, and HELCK (1957:117–140). See also WELVAERT (1996).

¹³⁰⁶ LdÄ III, 183; RÄRG, 84, and SAUNERON (1952:38–39).

¹³⁰⁷ Edfou I, 569, 9–10, and ALLIOT (1949:398).

¹³⁰⁸ Dendara IV, 196, and plate ccc; WOODHOUSE (1997:137–140); WILSON (1997a:297); CAUVILLE (2001:29), and CORTHALS (2003:124).

¹³⁰⁹ Dendara IV, 215–216. The relief located on the bottom part of the architrave above the west screen wall has not been preserved.

The second aspect mentioned in the hymn to Ra in the second register of the north wall relates to the destruction of the enemies of the god, especially Apophis and Seth in his various guises, who threaten to obstruct the sun's journey. The ritual destruction of the opponents is depicted in four scenes, two in each second register of the lateral walls. On the east wall the pharaoh strikes the ball, representing the eye of Apophis,¹³¹⁰ and slays a crocodile,¹³¹¹ while on the opposite wall an Oryx antelope is slaughtered¹³¹² and a turtle speared.¹³¹³ The destruction of enemies is also referred to in the hymn to Hathor in the thickness of the gate leading from the treasury to the open court: 'victory of Ra over Apophis, four times, victory of Hathor, mistress of Dendara, over her enemies, four times' (mAa-xrw Ra r App sp fdw mAa-xrw @.t-Hr nb.t Iwn.t r xftyw=s sp fdw).¹³¹⁴

The southernmost scenes in the third register of the lateral walls link the solar theme developed in the decorative scheme of the open court with a second major theme present in this space: the presentation of the results of a perfect inundation. These reliefs depict the pharaoh censuring and performing a libation in front of Hathor and Ra-Harakhte (east) and Isis and Atum (west).¹³¹⁵ The two deities accompanying the goddesses, Ra-Harakhte and Atum, both appear as aspects of the solar god. The aim of the ritual is to rejuvenate the statue of the deity with water and purify it through the censuring, and in return the ruler is granted a perfect inundation.

The east scene in the second register of the north wall, next to the hymn to Ra and his union with Hathor, also introduces the other major theme of the decorative programme of the open court. (fig. 75) The relief contains a list of 24 products, mainly different types of food and

¹³¹⁰ Dendara IV, 193, 9–194, 2: sgr Hmwy. On the rite of hitting the ball and its relation to the eye of Apophis, consult BORGHOUTS (1973).

¹³¹¹ Dendara IV, 194, 4–12: smA mg. On the rite of slaying the crocodile in Ptolemaic and Roman temples, consult WILSON (1997b).

¹³¹² Dendara IV, 208, 12–209, 3. In the title of the scene, mn n=t sby.w nw wDa.t m thw or 'take for you the enemies of the udjat-eye in destruction', no reference is made to the Oryx-antelope that is depicted. On the rite of slaughtering the Oryx, consult DERCHAIN (1962c).

¹³¹³ Dendara IV, 209, 5–13: smA [StA]. On the rite of destroying the turtle, consult GUTBUB (1979).

¹³¹⁴ Dendara IV, 184, 8.

¹³¹⁵ Dendara IV, 199, 17–200, 12; 212, 4–16, and plates ccci–cccii: ir.t snTr qbHw.

beverages but also unguents and libation water.¹³¹⁶ The title of the scene reads *nis dbH.t-Htpw n.t ra nb ir.t Htp-di-nsw.t smAa aAb.t* or ‘reciting the menu of requirements of every day, performing the offering–which–the–king–gives, and presenting the great offering’. The offerings are regularly presented to the deities in the temple, but the *dbH.t-Htpw* and the *Htp-di-nsw.t* are in origin funerary offerings presented to the deceased.¹³¹⁷ The presence of these two offerings on the walls of the court perhaps reflects the underlying funerary character of several of the rites performed in the complex.¹³¹⁸ All three offerings also occur among the ritual activities performed during the annual re-consecration of the temple of Edfu.¹³¹⁹ The ritual of the re-consecration of the temple, which most likely took place on New Year’s Day, follows in general the sequence of the ritual of the ‘opening of the mouth’. The presence of these three types of offerings on the wall of the open court might refer to the occurrence of the re-consecration ritual in the temple of Dendara at the time of the New Year.

The offering of the products of the field – both food and beverages – is one of the recurring themes in the decorative programme of the open court but also features extensively on the walls of the preceding treasury. A royal hymn inscribed on both doorposts of the gate leading from the treasury to the open court describes the pharaoh bringing all types of offerings, including food, beverages and necklaces.¹³²⁰ The reliefs in the first and third registers of the doorjamb of the same gate also depict the products typical for the activities in the open court: a *aAb.t*-offering is presented by the pharaoh on the first register, while Renenutet presents food- and other general offerings in both scenes of the third register.¹³²¹ (fig. 77) The great or *aAb.t*-offering, consisting of all sorts of products, is also mentioned in a long hymn dedicated to Hathor on the east wall of the treasury.¹³²² The final passage of this inscription states ‘the bright/luxurious fresh plants, your face rejoices in seeing them, they are for your *ka* the moment of your appearance/that you appear to unite with the sun disc of your father in the sky, the beautiful feasts upon the year are repeated for you, without

¹³¹⁶ Dendara IV, 192, 5–193, 6. Similar inscriptions occur in the ‘hall of the offerings’ in the temples of Edfu and Dendara: Dendara VII, 79, 12–81, 6, and Edfou I, 493, 1–494, 6.

¹³¹⁷ OTTO (1960:155–157), and BARTA (1963:65–67; 1968:261–283).

¹³¹⁸ See my analysis of the decorative scheme of the ensembles in Philae and Edfu – Chapters 4.1.10 and 4.2.3.

¹³¹⁹ Edfou IV, 331, 1; 3, and 12, and BLACKMAN – FAIRMAN (1946:76–77; 81, and 89–90).

¹³²⁰ Dendara IV, 184, 16–185, 8.

¹³²¹ Dendara IV, 179–183, and plate ccxcvii.

¹³²² Dendara IV, 170, 4–171, 5.

interruption, unceasingly for eternity' (rnpwt THnwt mfk Hr=t n mAA.w iw=sn n kA=t tr m wbn=T r Xnm-itnn it=T m nn.t wHm n=T Hb.w nfr.w tp rnp.t nn sk n mrH n D.t).¹³²³

In the open court, the Ptolemaic pharaoh leads two series of fecundity figures carrying products of the land as a result of a perfect inundation to Hathor and Horus of Edfu (east wall) and to Isis and Harsomtus (west wall).¹³²⁴ The same dyads also receive the aAb.t, which fills the entire first register of both lateral walls of the open court.¹³²⁵ The sixth column of the large offering on the east wall depicts the ten sacred objects of the goddess, including the menat, sistra, the wnSb/wtT-symbol, a vessel of milk, a vessel of beer and the crown of electrum.¹³²⁶ These particular goods travelled with the procession of the statues of the gods to the kiosk on the roof of the temple, where they feature once again in the interior reliefs of the south screen walls of the kiosk.¹³²⁷ A final food-offering is presented to Hathor and Ihy (east) and Isis and Harsomtus (west) on the southernmost scene of the second register of both lateral walls.¹³²⁸

The scene in the middle of the third register of the west wall combines the two major themes in the decorative scheme of the open court: the destruction of the enemies and an abundant production of the field following a perfect inundation. (fig. 75) In this relief Horus of Mesen¹³²⁹ is presented with papyrus or plants of the field and water fowl or geese of the lake.¹³³⁰ The presentation of the water fowl commonly symbolised the destruction of the enemies,¹³³¹ and in combination with plants of the field also indicated fertility and

¹³²³ Dendara IV, 171, 3–5.

¹³²⁴ Dendara IV, 187, 11–189, 17; 202, 5–204, 10, and plate ccxcix.

¹³²⁵ Dendara IV, 190, 17–191, 15: 'I bring for you the great offering consisting of all good products' (in=i n=t aAb.t m ix.t nb.t nfr.t); 205, 10–206, 9: 'take for you the great offering consisting of all good products (mn n=t aAb.t m ix.t nb.t nfr.t), and plates cccii–ccciii.

¹³²⁶ On the sacred objects of Hathor in Dendara, consult DAUMAS (1970c).

¹³²⁷ Dendara VIII, 25–27, and plates dccvii–dccviii, and dccx.

¹³²⁸ The offering is entitled fA.t ix.t or 'raising up the offerings' (Dendara IV, 194, 14–195, 12; 209, 15–210, 10, and plates cccii–ccciii). See also LEITZ (2001:210–213).

¹³²⁹ For more information on Horus of Mesen, consult GUTBUB (1964), and CAUVILLE (1987a:222–229).

¹³³⁰ Dendara IV, 211, 8–212, 2, and plate cccii: xrp wAD.w rA.w.

¹³³¹ The title of the inscription mentions for instance: xbs.w nn ntyw sbyw or 'these birds that are the enemies' (Dendara IV, 211, 10–11), while Horus is referred to as dr(?) xfty.w=f ir sby.w m tm-wn bHn bin r-rwty BAK.t ir xfty.w=f m Tsty.w or 'the one who drives away his enemies,

abundance.¹³³² The opposing scene on the east wall portrays Osiris as the beneficiary of the ankh–sign, was–sceptre and djed–pillar.¹³³³ The rite is regularly performed by the pharaoh for Osiris and places the ruler in the position of Horus, son and heir of Osiris. The offering represents the legitimate kingship of the pharaoh.¹³³⁴ The general theme of the offering is reminiscent of the importance the confirmation of the kingship had in the decorative scheme of the complex in the temple of Edfu.¹³³⁵ Some of the epithets accompanying the deity make reference to the birth of Osiris from his mother Nut and undoubtedly refer to the first epagomenal day when his birth was celebrated.¹³³⁶ The general theme of the text is partly reminiscent of a scene in the third register of the north wall of the ‘seat of the first feast’ in the temple of Philae, most of which deals with the presentation of the djed–pillar and the birth of Osiris.¹³³⁷ Horus of Mesen and Osiris feature in relation to one another on several occasions in the temple of Dendara¹³³⁸ and both deities form part of the divine court of Hathor that accompanies the goddess in procession at the time of the New Year.¹³³⁹

A final theme developed in the open court, particularly along the transition from the court to the *wabet*, is the appeasement of Sekhmet and Hathor in their aspect of the distant and raging goddess. The rite of sHtp ꜥxm.t/@.t-Hr is depicted on the outside of the screen walls separating the open court from the elevated *wabet*.¹³⁴⁰ The same rite is also performed on the

who turns his opponents into those that do not exist, who cuts/drives the bad one (Seth) out of Egypt, and who turns his enemies into destruction/prisoners’ (Dendara IV, 211, 17–212, 1). On the term Tsty.w, consult WILSON (1997a:1176–1178).

¹³³² WILSON (1997a:573–574).

¹³³³ Dendara IV, 199, 5–15, and plate ccci: Hnk anx Dd wAs.

¹³³⁴ WINTER (1968:69–102), and GUTBUB (1973:442–447).

¹³³⁵ Chapter 4.2.3

¹³³⁶ Dendara IV, 199, 10: ms n mw.t=f Nw.t or ‘born from his mother Nut’, and 199, 13: bs m X.t mHnyt HA.t=f ir sSp n pr.n=f or ‘who emerges from the womb, the mehenyt–uraus on his forehead, who created light when he had not come out’. See also the reference to the birth of Osiris on the first of the epagomenal days in the calendars from Ptolemaic and Roman temples: GRIMM (1994:416, and calendars G71; H42, and L88).

¹³³⁷ See Chapter 4.1.6h, and document 16.

¹³³⁸ For instance in the war–xpr–XAt–chapel of Hathor (Dendara II, 82 and 92, and plates cix and cxiv) and in the southern crypt no. 3 (Dendara VI, 50 and 53, and plate cccxcvi)

¹³³⁹ Dendara II, 67, 10, and CAUVILLE (1999:6).

¹³⁴⁰ Dendara IV, 224, 16–225, 2; 227, 17–228, 7, and plate ccciii.

east façade of the kiosk on the roof of the temple,¹³⁴¹ where it is accompanied by the same type of offerings that are presented to the goddess in the *wabet*.¹³⁴² The rite of appeasing Sekhmet is performed at the time of the New Year and described in detail on the west interior doorframe of the entrance gate to the pronaos of the temple.¹³⁴³ The inscription includes a hymn to Sekhmet, an overview of offerings necessary to placate the goddess, a plea for the protection of the pharaoh against the powers of the goddess during the life-threatening period in the days prior to the New Year, the entrance of the ruler into the temple and his assimilation with Horus, and another hymn to the already appeased goddess.

In summary, it appears that the decorative programme of the court open to the light of day links a solar theme (the journey of Ra in his bark and the destruction of his enemies) with the results of a perfect inundation at the time of the New Year (an abundance of produce). Concomitantly the dangers threatening the land of Egypt and its inhabitants in the days prior to the arrival of the inundation and the New Year are dispelled by appeasing the raging goddess in her form of Sekhmet and Hathor.

4.3.4 The *wabet*

Only a few steps separate the open court from the elevated chapel or *wabet*. The ritual activities performed in this elevated chapel are in detail described on its upper and lower bandeau inscriptions:

– Upper East bandeau inscription:¹³⁴⁴

Sps.n=f HAY.t n Hm.t=s m Haa Ax.t n kA=s xn.t Iwn.t r DbA
D.t=s m DbA-n-Rnnwt.t m kA.t mnx.t n.t &Ay.t r ir.t n=s mD.t
m mD.t n ix.t-nTr m Ax.w wr.w m a.wy ^smw r Ts wDA n nbw r
xx=s m biA.w wr.w n *nn r rdi n=s wsx n gAbw.t psD.t Itm dmD
Hna msw=f xa=s m xm=s r Xnm stwt it=s nTr.w nTr.wt twt r
mAA[=s] p.t [m ...] tA m [...] ir.t-Ra Htp[=s] n pr[=s]

‘He has constructed a HAY.t-chapel¹³⁴⁵ for his mistress in joy, a horizon for her *ka* in Dendara, to adorn her body with the ‘cloth of Renenutet’¹³⁴⁶ as an excellent work of Tayt, to

¹³⁴¹ Dendara VIII, 36, and 43, and plates dccxx–dccxxi, and dccxxvii.

¹³⁴² CAUVILLE (2001:30–31).

¹³⁴³ CAUVILLE (2002a:121–140, and plates 18–24 and xxviii–xxxix).

¹³⁴⁴ Dendara IV, 233, 7–234, 1.

¹³⁴⁵ See Chapter 3.7 for this designation.

perform for her the anointing with the mD.t-unguent of the divine ritual as (one of) the great glories/abilities from the hands of Shesmu, to tie on the wDA-pectoral of gold to her throat as (one of) the great wonders of Tenen, to present to her the usekh-necklace of nine petals; (it is) Atum joined with his offspring. She appears in procession in her shrine to unite with the rays of her father, the gods and goddesses have assembled to see [her], heaven [is in ...], the land is in [...]. The ‘Eye of Ra’ (=Hathor), [she] rests in [her] house/shrine/chapel’.

– Upper west bandeau inscription:¹³⁴⁷

Xws.n=f xw.t n Iwn.t m Iwn.t <m->ab @r-smA-tA.wy nty r-gs=s
 r sXkr sStA=sn m-qAb=s m Hd.t wAD.t <m->ab irtyw idmi xntS
 xpr.tw xn.t &A-n-Itm m Abd 4 Smw sw 29 Hb sSp mnx.t n Ra-@r-
 smA-tA.wy nb #Adi Hr psD.t Iwn.t mi qd=sn xa=sn m pr=sn r
 Xnm-itn Axtty mH=sn tA m nqr-nbw nTr.w m Hb nTr.wt Hr nhm m
 Hb sSp mnx.t n nb.t Iwn.t m hrw pn nfr grH nxn m sS=f hrw Hb
 aA n tA <r> Dr=f

‘He has built a (protective) chapel¹³⁴⁸ for Iunet in Dendara, and Harsomtus, who is at her side, to adorn their secret images inside her (= the chapel) with the white cloth, the green cloth, and the red cloth and the dark-red cloth. Joy occurs in the ‘Land of Atum’ in the fourth month of summer, day 29 (Mesore 29), the feast of extending the mnx.t-cloth to Ra-Harsomtus, lord of Khadi, and the entire ennead of Dendara. They appear in procession in their shrines/chapels to unite with the sun disc of the Horizon god (Akhty) and they fill the land with ‘gold dust’.¹³⁴⁹ The gods are in feast, the goddesses are rejoicing on the feast of extending the mnx.t-cloth to the mistress of Dendara, on that beautiful day of ‘the night of the child in his nest’, a day of feast in/for the entire land’ (= the night from the fourth to the fifth epagomenal day).¹³⁵⁰

¹³⁴⁶ WILSON (1997a:1230–1231) suggests that it might be a white cloth.

¹³⁴⁷ Dendara IV, 234, 6–10.

¹³⁴⁸ See Chapter 3.7 on this designation.

¹³⁴⁹ A poetic description of the sun light – WILSON (1997a:551).

¹³⁵⁰ KURTH – WAITKUS (1994) and WAITKUS (1997:134–135, n. 33) have identified the ‘day of the night of the child in his nest’ (hrw grH nxn m sS=f) as the fourth epagomenal day, the ‘night’ referring to the night from the fourth to the fifth, while LEITZ (1993) has suggested the fifth epagomenal day. See however HARRISON (1994) and SPALINGER (1995:38–43) for additional arguments to equate the ‘day of the night of the child in his nest’ with the fourth epagomenal day.

The lower bandeau inscriptions in essence refer to the same type of ritual activities, but are written in the so-called ‘decorative’ Ptolemaic.¹³⁵¹

– Lower east bandeau inscription:¹³⁵²

Xws.n=f xw.t n nfr.t-Hr Hry.t-ib wiA m kA.t nfr.t n nHH r Tn
Hm.t=s m-xn.t=s m DbA-n-Rnnwt.t m hrw pn nfr wp-rnp.t r
sXkr(?) sxm.w=s m-qAb=s ra nb nr.t-nr.t n Ab

‘He has built a (protective) chapel for ‘the one beautiful of face’, who is in the *wia*-bark (of Ra), as a beautiful work of eternity, to distinguish her majesty inside it (= the chapel) with the garment of Renenutet on that beautiful day of the opening of the year, to adorn her images in its interior every day, year by year, without ending’.

– Lower west bandeau inscription:¹³⁵³

sip.n=f sbx.t n sanx-TAw=s m mnw wr m-xn.t &A-rr r wrH snn=s
m-qAb=s m ibr r DbA Hm.t=s m nfr.w=s r rd.t n=s sA n tfrr-
Sfy.t r xx=s r Xnm bA anx Ra m xw.t

‘He has constructed the screen-walled portico¹³⁵⁴ for ‘the one that makes live her progeny’ (= Isis) as a great monument in Dendara to anoint her statue in its interior (= the chapel) with the *ibr*-unguent, to adorn her majesty with her beautiful (linen), to present to her an amulet of lapis-lazuli to her throat, to unite with the living *ba* of Ra in heaven’.

The upper and lower bandeau inscriptions of the *wabet* in Dendara are in essence very similar to the bandeau inscriptions from the *wabet* in Edfu.¹³⁵⁵ The four inscriptions mention three main offerings presented to Hathor and her ennead: linen made by Tayt¹³⁵⁶, unguents produced by Shesmu, and pectorals and necklaces with protective powers from the hands of Tenen.¹³⁵⁷ These products are already mentioned along the entrance to the south crypt no.

¹³⁵¹ For a general introduction, consult KURTH (1983b), and LEITZ (2004:6, and 9–16). For similar bandeau inscriptions, consult for instance CAUVILLE (1990; 2002b).

¹³⁵² Dendara IV, 231, 11–232, 1.

¹³⁵³ Dendara IV, 232, 5–233, 3.

¹³⁵⁴ See Chapter 3.4 on this designation.

¹³⁵⁵ Chapter 4.2.3a.

¹³⁵⁶ For more information on the goddess Tayt and her role as the patron goddess of weaving and linen, consult LdÄ VI, 185–186, and RÄRG 764–765.

¹³⁵⁷ For more information on the god (Ta)Tenen and his role as the producer of objects from precious materials, consult LdÄ VI, 238–240; RÄRG 769–770, and SCHLÖGL (1980).

1,¹³⁵⁸ the starting point of the New Year's procession, and also feature among the goods carried to the roof of the temple along the staircases¹³⁵⁹ and in the decorative scheme of the kiosks.¹³⁶⁰ The presence of these products in the complex links it with the other stages of the New Year's procession. The decorative programme engraved on the east, west, and south walls of the *wabet* mainly depicts the ritual activities described in the bandeau inscriptions. The beneficiary of the rites on the lateral walls of the *wabet* is almost exclusively Hathor, once accompanied by Horus of Edfu,¹³⁶¹ once by Harsomtus,¹³⁶² and a single time replaced by Isis,¹³⁶³ while the northernmost scenes of the second and third registers of the east and west walls present the ruler offering to the four ka's.¹³⁶⁴ (fig. 78) The rear or south wall¹³⁶⁵ of the chapel also depicts Hathor as the main beneficiary, accompanied twice by Horus of Edfu,¹³⁶⁶ and once by Harsomtus¹³⁶⁷ and Ihy.¹³⁶⁸ The goddess Isis, followed by Harsomtus, takes her place on two occasions.¹³⁶⁹

¹³⁵⁸ Dendara V, 116, 1–119, 3. See also DAUMAS (1951:383–394); WAITKUS (1997:94–96, and 251–252), and CAUVILLE (2004a:13–14, and 206–211).

¹³⁵⁹ CORTHALS (2005:219).

¹³⁶⁰ CAUVILLE (2002a:47).

¹³⁶¹ Third register of the east wall, southernmost scene: Dendara IV, 250, 9–251, 6, and plate cccvii.

¹³⁶² Third register of the west wall, southernmost scene: Dendara IV, 269, 2–16, and plate cccxii.

¹³⁶³ Third register of the west wall, second scene from the south: Dendara IV, 268, 9–18, and plate cccxii.

¹³⁶⁴ Dendara IV, 243, 11–244, 4; 248, 9–12; 261, 8–13; 266, 14–18, and plates cccvii and cccxii.

¹³⁶⁵ Dendara IV, pl. cccxi.

¹³⁶⁶ Dendara IV, 241, 9–243, 7, and 247, 3–248, 4.

¹³⁶⁷ Dendara IV, 270, 3–271, 4.

¹³⁶⁸ Dendara IV, 251, 9–252, 9.

¹³⁶⁹ Dendara IV, 259, 9–261, 4, and 265, 7–266, 10.

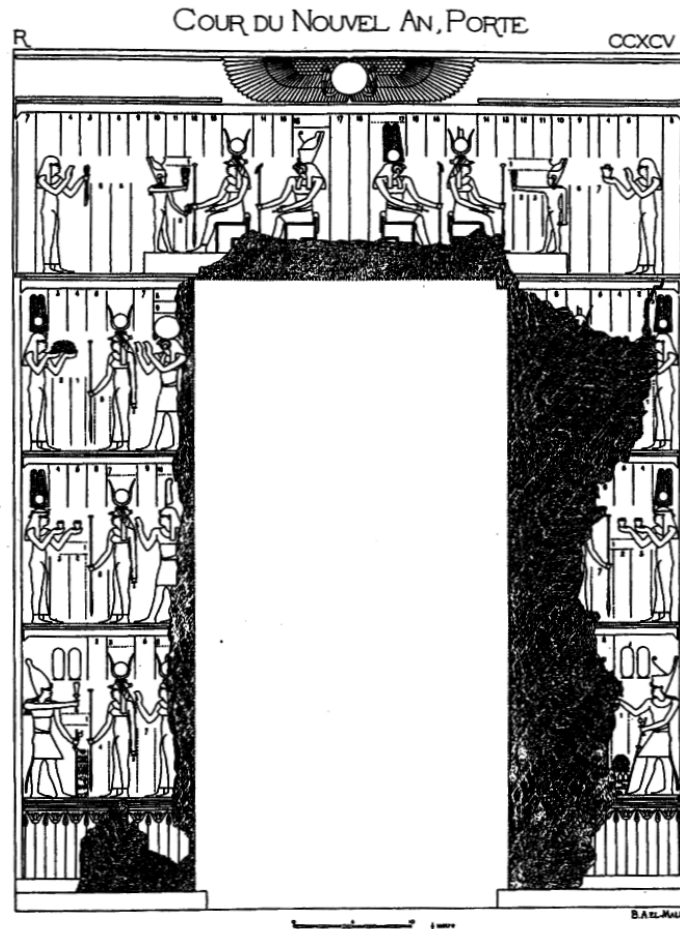


Fig. 77. The entrance gate from the treasury to the complex in Dendara
(Dendara IV, plate cxcviii)

The entrance gate to the ensemble from the treasury stresses the importance of the products mentioned in the bandeau inscriptions (linen, ointments and protective objects of precious materials) for the rites in the complex.¹³⁷⁰ (fig. 77) The lintel of the gate contains the offering of *mnx . t*—cloth by Tayt to Hathor and Horus of Edfu and the presentation of unguents by Hathor to Isis and Harsomtut.¹³⁷¹ The offering scenes on both doorjambs have been preserved only in part, but still depict the presentation by Renenutet of gold and silver to Hathor and Shu, and of lapis-lazuli and turquoise to Isis and a no longer identifiable god(dess) in the second registers of the east and west doorjambs, respectively.¹³⁷² Gold, silver, lapis-lazuli and turquoise are also offered to Hathor in the third registers of the lateral walls

¹³⁷⁰ Dendara IV, 179–183, and plate cxcvii. See also TRAUNECKER (1995:248).

¹³⁷¹ The unguents mentioned include *antyw*, *ti-Sps*, and *ibr*, while Hathor is called *nb.t mD.t* (Dendara IV, 180, 8–9). These unguents are also regularly mentioned in the complex at Philae and Edfu.

¹³⁷² AUFRENERE (1991:172–173).

of the *wabet*. These precious materials could be used to fashion the necklaces and other protective amulets that are presented to the goddess on the same walls. (fig. 78)

The initial act performed in the *wabet* – purification – appears not to have been mentioned in the bandeau inscriptions, but is depicted on the interior of the screen walls and in the procession with fecundity figures on the lowest level of the walls of the chapel. The scenes on the screen walls depict the pharaoh performing the purification with four desheret-vessels (east)¹³⁷³ and four nemeset vessels (west)¹³⁷⁴ in front of Hathor and Isis, respectively. (fig. 78) The bandeau inscription below the scene on the east screen wall provides information that is vital for the dating of the activities in the complex: ‘May the Seat-of-the-Joy-of-Ra (= the temple of Dendara)¹³⁷⁵ exist through its beautiful feasts on the five days that are above the year (the epagomenal days) and the ‘night of the child in his nest’ (wnn s.t-Aw.t-ib-n.t-Ra m Hb.w=s nfr.w m 5 hrw Hryw rnp.t grH nxn m sS=f).¹³⁷⁶

¹³⁷³ Dendara IV, 230, 8–14, and plate cccv: pXr HA sp-4 <m> dSr.t 4 n.t mw Dd-mdw sp=4 wab sp-4 or ‘going around four times with four desheret-vessels of water, recitation four times: pure four times’.

¹³⁷⁴ Dendara IV, 230, 19–231, 5, and plate cccv: pXr HA sp-4 <m> nms.t 4 n.t mw Dd-mdw sp=4 wab sp-2 or ‘going around four times with four nemeset-vessels of water, recitation four times: pure twice’.

¹³⁷⁵ CAUVILLE (2001:792).

¹³⁷⁶ I shall return to the issue of the number of occasions throughout the year during which the complex appears to have functioned in the temple of Dendara in the following subchapter.

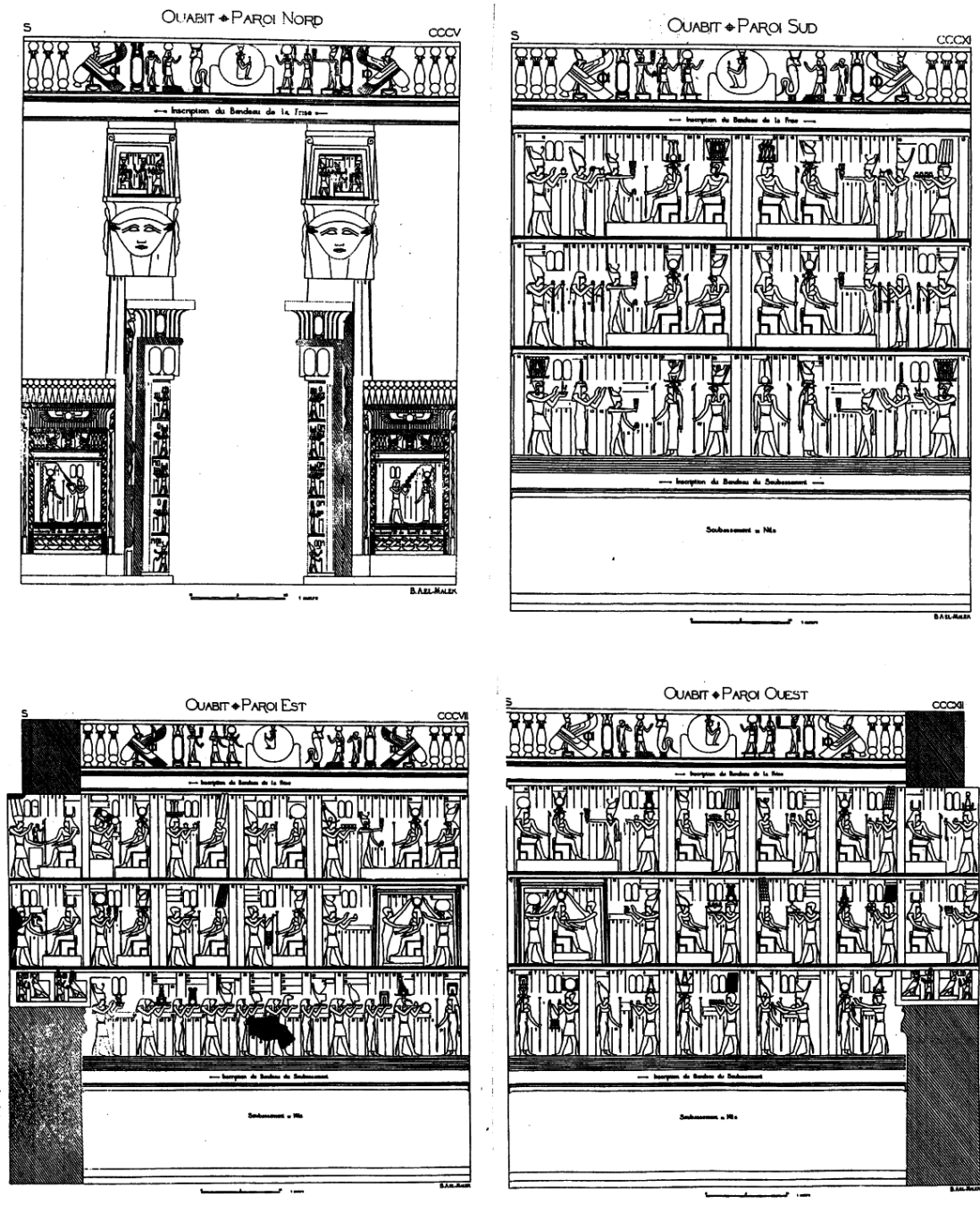


Fig. 78. The decorative scheme on the walls of the wabet of Dendara: the north (upper left), south (upper right), east (lower left), and west (lower right) walls (Dendara IV, plates cccv; ccvii, and cccxi–cccxi)

Two processions with fecundity figures proceed from the north end of the lateral walls to the centre of the south wall.¹³⁷⁷ Led by the pharaoh, the fecundity figures are directed towards

¹³⁷⁷ Dendara IV, 235, 5–238, 4; 252, 14–255, 10, and plate cccvi.

Hathor and Horus of Edfu (east), and Isis and Harsomtut (west). While their counterparts in the open court brought products of the field, the fecundity figures in the *wabet* bring the deities the life-giving and purifying waters of the Nile. The water is used to purify the temple, but also the statue of the goddess and the offerings brought to her, including the produce of the land presented to her in the open court or the linen and pectorals and necklaces that are used to adorn her in the *wabet*. The processions of fecundity figures bring to mind the New Years' processions with vases containing Nile water in New Kingdom representations.¹³⁷⁸

The clothing or adornment of the statue of the goddess Hathor is also depicted in the first register of the west wall of the *wabet*. (fig. 78) The five scenes depict the pharaoh as he removes the *mnx.t*-cloth from the statue,¹³⁷⁹ presents Hathor with the *nemes* cloth instead,¹³⁸⁰ and following purification with four *nemeset*-vessels,¹³⁸¹ he offers the *mnx.t*-cloth and *mD.t*-unguent,¹³⁸² and the protective *wDA*-pectoral.¹³⁸³ These five scenes unequivocally repeat a series of clothing-rites similar to those performed in the complexes in Edfu¹³⁸⁴ and are once again reminiscent of the clothing of the statues of the gods in the Daily Temple Ritual.¹³⁸⁵

The first register on the opposite east wall contains a single large scene depicting the presentation of the crowns to the goddess Hathor by Thoth and the Ogdoad of Hermopolis: Naunet, Nun, Hehet, Hehu, Keket, Keku, Niaut, and Niau.¹³⁸⁶ (fig. 78) Thoth leads the eight gods and presents the *m(A)H*-headband¹³⁸⁷ and wine to the goddess. The following deities present the naos-shaped headdress (*bxn*), the white crown (*HD.t*), the red crown (*DSr.t*), the *nemes* head cloth (*nms*), the blue crown (*xprS*), the double crown or *pschent* (*pA*

¹³⁷⁸ SCHOTT (1970), and TRAUNECKER (1972:233–234; 1995:250).

¹³⁷⁹ Dendara IV, 256, 2–9: *sfx mnx.t*.

¹³⁸⁰ Dendara IV, 256, 11–257, 3: *smar m nms*.

¹³⁸¹ Dendara IV, 257, 5–15: *pXr HA sp-4 m nms.t n.t mw*.

¹³⁸² Dendara IV, 257, 17–258, 11: *DbA mnx.t mD.t*.

¹³⁸³ Dendara IV, 258, 13–259, 6: *Hnk wDA*.

¹³⁸⁴ Edfou I, 420 (nakedness of the statue), 418–419 (*nemes* head cloth), 429–430 (purification with *nemeset*-vessels), 422–424; 428, and 432–433 (linen), 434–435 (*mD.t*-unguent), and 419–420, and 426 (pectoral).

¹³⁸⁵ For similar rites in the Daily Temple Ritual, consult for instance MORET (1902a:171–176; 190–199, and 238), and DAVID (1981:61 and 70). See also CAUVILLE (2001:32–33).

¹³⁸⁶ Dendara IV, 238, 12–241, 6, and plate ccvii. See also CORTHALS (2003:173–174).

¹³⁸⁷ The headband is sometimes also known as *mDH* – WILSON (1997a:451–452, and 483).

sxmty), the feather crown (Sw . ty), and finally the atef or rush–crown (At f). Last in line is the Ptolemaic ruler who on a neb–shaped basket offers the double crown with two ostrich plumes attached, on top of the horizontal ram horns, to the goddess. The accompanying inscription refers to this offering as the hepet–crowns or diadems (Hpw . t), a general term for the crowns of the kingship over Egypt.¹³⁸⁸ The latter crown is also presented to Horus in the *wabet* of Edfu, where it constitutes the highlight of the rites performed in the complex.¹³⁸⁹ In exchange for the presentation of the crowns, the pharaoh is given the white and red crowns of Egypt. Corthals’ study of the decorative programme of the complex has brought to light that Hathor is depicted with these various offered crowns, sometimes in combination, on the opposite wall.¹³⁹⁰ (fig. 78) In the first register the goddess is for instance dressed, from south to north, with the naos–shaped headdress, the white crown with feathers, a combination of the red crown with the atef crown, and the atef crown. The middle scenes in the second register depict her with the feather crown and white crown with ram horns, and in the same scenes in the third register, Hathor and Isis are adorned with the double crown (with feathers).

The inscription accompanying the presentation of the ostrich feather crown by Niaut sets the event at the time of the New Year: ‘you repeat the coronation¹³⁹¹ like the Horizon god, you shine in your shrine on the day of the opening of the year’ (wHm=T xaw mi Axt y psD=T m pr=T m hrw wp–rnp . t).¹³⁹² This clearly links the activities performed on the statues of the gods in the complex with the ritual confirmation of the pharaoh in his power at the time of the New Year.¹³⁹³

The depiction of the presentation of the crowns to Hathor is not the only scene on the lateral walls of the *wabet* that represents the act of coronation. The southernmost scenes in the second registers of the lateral walls depict a similar act.¹³⁹⁴ (fig. 78) Both scenes portray the

¹³⁸⁸ WILSON (1997a:639–640).

¹³⁸⁹ Edfou I, 426–427, and 435–436. On the hepet–crown, consult DERCHAIN–URTEL (1994).

¹³⁹⁰ CORTHALS (2003:174).

¹³⁹¹ The repetition of the coronation is also mentioned by Nun when presenting Hathor with the white crown: Dendara IV, 239, 6.

¹³⁹² Dendara IV, 240, 7–8.

¹³⁹³ I have already indicated the close association between both activities in the complex in the period surrounding the New Year for the temples of Philae and Edfu. See Chapters 4.1.10; 4.2.3b, and 4.2.4

¹³⁹⁴ Dendara IV, 246, 2–17; 264, 4–265, 4, and plates cccvii and cccxii.

pharaoh presenting the menu–beverage to the goddess. Hathor is seated underneath a baldachin and accompanied by two gods: Ptah of Memphis and Ra–Harakhte of Heliopolis. The gods are standing in front and behind the goddess respectively, with their hands raised towards her headdress.¹³⁹⁵ These two scenes depict the investiture of Hathor, the highlight of the ‘festival of intoxication’ (Hb tꜣ) in Dendara.¹³⁹⁶ One of the other main events of this festival, which gave it its name, is the presentation of the menu–beverage to the goddess at the time of the investiture.¹³⁹⁷ According to the festival calendars of the temple of Dendara the feast took place on Thoth 20.¹³⁹⁸ The hymn that was recited at the time of the presentation of the menu–beverage mentions that the feast continued until the fifth day of the next month (Paophi 5).¹³⁹⁹ Cauville has suggested with good reason that the ceremony of the enthronisation or investiture was repeated on the first day of the New Year (Thoth 1).¹⁴⁰⁰ Several inscriptions from the kiosk on the roof temple of Dendara and one text on the gate of the west staircase that provides access to the roof indicate that Thoth 1 is not only the first day of the New Year, but also the ‘first day of intoxication’ (hrw tꜣy n tꜣ).¹⁴⁰¹ The presence of the two investiture scenes on the lateral walls of the *wabet* might refer to the repetition of this feast and the confirmation of the investiture of the goddess on Thoth 1 when the statues of the gods residing in the temple and the temple itself were renewed and revitalised.

Most other scenes in the second and in part also in the third registers of the lateral walls are more closely linked with the rituals performed in the complex at the turn of the year and described in its bandeau inscriptions. (fig. 78) These reliefs depict the presentation of various objects made of precious materials to the goddesses Hathor and Isis. These items include the

¹³⁹⁵ A list of similar scenes from the temples of Edfu and Dendara is gathered in CAUVILLE (2002a:80–97).

¹³⁹⁶ On the ‘festival of intoxication’, consult CAUVILLE (2002a:50–56, and 68–97). The relation between the ‘festival of intoxication’ and the ritual activities in the ensemble at the time of the New Year will be the topic of further analysis in the following subchapter.

¹³⁹⁷ On the hymn that was recited at the time of the presentation of the menu–beverage, consult STERNBERG–EL–HOTABI (1992); QUACK (2001), and CAUVILLE (2002a:70–77, and plates 1–6, and i–viii).

¹³⁹⁸ Dendara VI, 158, 2; Dendara IX, 164, 5–7; GRIMM (1994: calendars J5 and K2), and CAUVILLE (2002a:5 and 7).

¹³⁹⁹ CAUVILLE (2002a:76–77, and plates 6 and viii). On the festivities at Paophi 5, consult WAITKUS (1993:108–109), and CAUVILLE (2002a:97–107, and plates 7–11, and ix–xx).

¹⁴⁰⁰ CAUVILLE (2001:34; 2002a:51).

¹⁴⁰¹ Dendara VIII, 9, 12; 45, 12–13; 66, 14, and 82, 5.

beb¹⁴⁰² and usekh necklace,¹⁴⁰³ a mirror,¹⁴⁰⁴ the sistra,¹⁴⁰⁵ the symbol of eternity (HH),¹⁴⁰⁶ and two bracelets.¹⁴⁰⁷ The most important offering in this category is undoubtedly the presentation of the *ba* bird in turquoise.¹⁴⁰⁸ The presentation of the *ba* to the goddess evokes the aim of the rites performed in the complex: preparing the statues of the deities for the union with the sun disc and their reunion with their *ba*. The inscriptions mention the union of the male *ba* (Ra) with the female *ba* (Hathor).¹⁴⁰⁹ The *ba*'s of presumably Hathor and Horus of Edfu (east) and Isis and Harsomtut (west) are also depicted on the first registers of the lateral walls, in the small area right above the place where the screen walls are attached to these walls.¹⁴¹⁰ No inscriptions accompany these two scenes.

The two scenes immediately above the depictions of these *ba*'s are quite remarkable and require a closer examination before other items presented to Hathor on the lateral walls are outlined. These northernmost reliefs in the second and third registers of the lateral walls depict four remarkable scenes: the pharaoh is portrayed presenting offerings to the four *ka*'s, usually identified as forms of the creator-god Ptah of Memphis. (fig. 78) On the east wall Shu receives a small child in lapis-lazuli, and Ihy-Remet the statue of an old man. The opposite wall has Hetep-Id as the beneficiary of all sorts of good products, while mD . t-unguent and mnx . t-linen are presented to Nedjem-Ankh.¹⁴¹¹ The four *ka*'s and the offerings presented to them by the pharaoh represent the four most desirable gifts one can hope to acquire during one's lifetime: a long life (Ihy-Remet), a happy material existence (Hetep-Id), posterity (Shu), and a beautiful burial (Nedjem-Ankh). In the temple of el-Qal'a the four *ka*'s are also associated with the complex of *nabet* and court where they feature two by two in two scenes placed one above the other in the passage of the door leading from the corridor surrounding

¹⁴⁰² Dendara IV, 263, 8–264, 2: Hnk bb.

¹⁴⁰³ Dendara IV, 245, 9–17: dt wsx.

¹⁴⁰⁴ Dendara IV, 248, 14–249, 3: Hnk wn-Hr.

¹⁴⁰⁵ Dendara IV, 244, 6–14: i.r.t sSS.t.

¹⁴⁰⁶ Dendara IV, 261, 15–262, 9: Hnk HH.

¹⁴⁰⁷ Dendara IV, 268, 9–18: Hnk hAdr . ty. On the rite of presenting the bracelets in the temples of Edfu and Dendara, consult AMER (1986).

¹⁴⁰⁸ Dendara IV, 244, 16–245, 7, and 262, 11–263, 6: ms bA m mfkA . t n . t mAa . t or 'Take the *ba* in real turquoise'.

¹⁴⁰⁹ Dendara IV, 263, 1: Xnm bA ab bA . t or 'uniting the male *ba* with the female *ba*'.

¹⁴¹⁰ Dendara IV, plates ccvii and ccxii. On the identification of these *ba*'s, consult TRAUNECKER (1995:249).

¹⁴¹¹ Dendara IV, 243, 11–244, 4 (ms x n xsbD m mAa . t); Dendara IV, 248, 9–12 (no title); Dendara IV, 261, 8–13 (Hnk ixw . t); Dendara IV, 266, 14–18 (Hnk mD . t mnx . t), and plates ccvii and ccxii.

the sanctuary to the complex.¹⁴¹² The lower pair is identified as Shu and Nedjem–Ankh, and the upper pair most likely consisted of Ihy–Remet and Hetep–Id. The four ka’s are mentioned and depicted in other Ptolemaic and Roman temples, such as the Opet temple in Karnak and the temples of Kom Ombo and Esna and on Late Period statues, and their association with the creator god of Memphis has been well established.¹⁴¹³

The presence of the four ka’s in the ensembles of Dendara and el–Qal’a has been duly observed by most scholars studying the decorative programme of the ensemble,¹⁴¹⁴ but little attempt has been made to try to explain the reason behind their presence on the walls of the complex.¹⁴¹⁵ The association of the four ka’s with the four most desirable things one could wish to acquire has been well established, and is even referred to in the accompanying inscriptions in Dendara, but it does not come close to revealing why the editor–priests decided to depict them in the ensembles in Dendara and el–Qal’a. The inscriptions provide little information to go on, but one must assume that the presence of these four ka’s in the complex is associated with the function the ensemble played in the temple. The *wabet* is the space where the statues of the gods in a lifeless state were prepared for their rejuvenation or renewal with life. The presentation of offerings to the ka’s in the ensemble is most likely associated with the state that the statues of the gods are in prior to their reunion with their *ba* through the rays of the sun. I tend to agree with Waitkus and Aufrère who suggested that the four ka’s in the *wabet* most likely represent the cycle to which the statues of the deities are continuously subjected: youth, fertility, old age and burial.¹⁴¹⁶ As Waitkus has clearly shown, the extended stay of the statues in the crypts of the temple, at times equated with the netherworld, deprives them of their essence and puts them in a lifeless state, but the cyclical exposure to the sun light rejuvenates them.¹⁴¹⁷

The offerings made to the four ka’s are probably another indication of the funerary context in which many rites performed in the complex are steeped. Following one’s death the *ka*

¹⁴¹² el–Qal’a II, no. 176 and 177. See also Chapter 4.5.

¹⁴¹³ For more information on the four ka’s and their occurrence on statues and in temples, consult: LdÄ I, 1067; WILD (1954:201–205); SAUNERON (1957), and MEEKS (1963).

¹⁴¹⁴ MEEKS (1963:37–38); TRAUNECKER (1995:249), and CORTHALS (2003:161 and 163). CAUVILLE (2001:30–34) does not mention the four ka’s in her description of the decorative scheme of the ensemble.

¹⁴¹⁵ For an overview, consult COPPENS (2008b).

¹⁴¹⁶ AUFRERE (1991:174), and WAITKUS (1997:268–269, n. 27).

¹⁴¹⁷ WAITKUS (1997:253, and 266–269).

separates from the body and goes ‘to rest’ (Htp), but man is reunited once more with his *ka* at the tomb when food–offerings are made following the ritual of the ‘opening of the mouth’.¹⁴¹⁸ The influence of the ritual of the ‘opening of the mouth’ and other funerary rites on the rites performed in the ensemble in the temple has already been established and the decision to present the most desirable or ideal offerings to the four *ka*’s on the walls of the *nabet* might reflect the funerary offerings made to the *ka* at the tomb of the deceased and indicate the reunion of the statue of the god with its *ka*. The four *ka*’s are usually identified as aspects of the creator god Ptah of Memphis.¹⁴¹⁹ But their number – four – also brings to mind Hathor Quadrifrons, the central deity of the temple of Dendara. This raises the question whether these four *ka*’s might not represent the four aspects of this four–sided or four–faced goddess instead. It is she, or rather her statues, that form the central subject of the renewal rites performed in the temple, including the activities in the ensemble, at the time of the New Year.

Following the offering of the regalia and precious objects to the goddess, Hathor is in the third register presented with the always recurring mD . t–unguent,¹⁴²⁰ well known for its regenerative powers, and the protective black and green eye paints.¹⁴²¹ The treasury or pr–HD in front of the complex of *nabet* and court appears to have functioned as the storage space for the amulets, necklaces and pectorals of precious materials, including the green and black eye paints, that were presented to the statues of the deities during the activities in the *nabet*. The scenes on the walls of this room depict among other rituals also the presentation of necklaces, pectorals, menat–counterweights, and even a golden lotus.¹⁴²² The important protective connotations that all these products embodied are regularly mentioned in the inscriptions.¹⁴²³

¹⁴¹⁸ SCHWEITZER (1956:45; 81–84, and 87), and JANÁK (2003:32; 37–38 and 43–45).

¹⁴¹⁹ MEEKS (1963:35, and 42–43).

¹⁴²⁰ Dendara IV, 269, 2–16: ir . t mD . t. The accompanying inscriptions also mention the following unguents: i br, wrH, Hknw, sTi–Hb, and nXnm.

¹⁴²¹ Dendara IV, 267, 2–10: Hnk wAD msdm . t.

¹⁴²² Dendara IV, 160, 2–162, 2; 171, 11–174, 11, and plates ccxc and ccxcii.

¹⁴²³ For example: Dendara IV, 155, 2–3: dmD r Dry . t=t r km kA . t n kA . t=t Hr st HAY . t=t r Hn Ha=t r mk [pr?] =t or ‘they (= the precious materials) are brought together for your chapel, to complete the work of your *ka*, your chapel is red/threatening to protect your limbs and to protect your [shrine]’; Dendara IV, 157, 14 = AUFREERE (1991:744): in=f n=t wDA r swDA D . t=t or ‘he brings to you the wDA–pectoral to safeguard your body’; Dendara IV, 159, 13–14 = AUFREERE (1991:746): Ssm . t m–qd=s r ir . t sA smn=t Hr Snbt n . t Hm . t=t m HAY . t=T or ‘malachite in its (rough) shape, to protect

Finally the third registers of the lateral walls depict four crucial purification scenes. (fig. 78) On the east wall the pharaoh presents two turquoise vases filled with myrrh to purify the goddess with it on the day of the opening of the year (ms a.wy ny mfkA.t mH m antyw swab nTr.t im=sn m hrw wp-rnp.t),¹⁴²⁴ a golden vessel filled with water of the river to purify the goddess on New Year's Day (ms a n nbw mH m mw n itrw swab nb.t Iwn.t im, pXr HA sp-4 m hrw wp-rnp.t),¹⁴²⁵ and two vases of gold and two of silver containing all sorts of precious stones to purify and rejuvenate the goddess (ms a.wy ny nbw a.wy ny HD Xr aA.wt nb.w n.t mAa.t Dd-mdw mn n=T nTr.t nTr=T im wab.tw nTry.tw rnp.tw).¹⁴²⁶ On the opposite wall the pharaoh offers a faience vessel filled with water from heaven to purify the goddess (Hnk a n THn.t mH m mw biA mAa m-xnw=f swab Nbw.t im) at the time of the New Year.¹⁴²⁷

These products of precious materials feature on more than one occasion in inscriptions and scenes on the walls of the temple of Dendara in relation to the New Year. The texts often refer to four precious materials – gold and silver, seen as a single entity,¹⁴²⁸ faience, turquoise, and lapis-lazuli – that make up the bodies of the deities and are known for their regenerative

your image and the throat of your majesty in your chapel'; Dendara IV, 160, 8: di=i n=k wDA n Ra <r> ir.t sA=k sA.w n @r Hr xw.t D.t=k or 'I (= Harsomtus) present to you the wDA-pectoral of Ra to protect you, and the protective amulet of Horus to protect your body', or Dendara IV, 167, 9–168, 3 = AUFREERE (1991:744): in=f n=t KS Xr HrSt HD.t tA-imnty Hr imy=f r ir.t sA=t m swyt n.t HrSt r sHry Dw HA Hm.t<=t> r mk D.t=t m [pr.t?] m nTr.t r nh Ha.w=t ran b r xw.t xpr.w n [...] m [pr?]=T r [...] smn=t m s.t-nfr r snb snn=t r swDA D.t [=t...] or 'He brings for you Kush under/carrying bright carnelian, the western land with what is in it, to protect you with pearls of carnelian, to drive away evil from <your> majesty, to protect your body with [that what comes out] of the divine eye, to protect your limbs daily, to safeguard the forms of [...] in your [...], to [...] your images in the beautiful seat, to make healthy your likeness, to safeguard [your] body [...]'.

¹⁴²⁴ Dendara IV, 249, 5–13, and AUFREERE (1991:177–178).

¹⁴²⁵ Dendara IV, 249, 15–250, 7, and AUFREERE (1991:175–176).

¹⁴²⁶ Dendara IV, 250, 9–251, 6, and AUFREERE (1991:173–174).

¹⁴²⁷ Dendara IV, 267, 12–268, 7, and AUFREERE (1991:176). The inscription continues: ii n=T Ra m aH tis=T im m hrw pn nfr wp-rnp.t or 'Ra comes to you in the palace/shrine, where you reside, on that beautiful day of the opening of the year'.

¹⁴²⁸ AUFREERE (1991:168).

and protective qualities.¹⁴²⁹ These materials already feature in the second registers of the doorjambs of the entrance gate from the treasury to the ensemble (fig. 77) and are part of the processions to and from the roof at the time of the New Year. Gold, silver, lapis-lazuli, turquoise and faience are mentioned together in the upper bandeau inscriptions along the east and west staircases.¹⁴³⁰ These staircases also contain four depictions of four priests, each carrying one of the precious materials in one hand and a sistrum in the other.¹⁴³¹ The ever recurring number four in association with these offerings – the four priests carrying four precious materials – led Aufrere to postulate that these products are clearly related to the main deity of the temple, Hathor Quadrifrons.¹⁴³² The depiction of these four products and of the precious objects made out of them, like the usekh- and beb-necklace, on the lateral walls of the *wabet*, is basically returning to Hathor what belongs to her in preparation for her rejuvenation by the rays of the sun.

The south or rear wall of the *wabet* depicts the most essential offerings made in the complex. (fig. 78).¹⁴³³ The first register portrays the presentation of the statue of maat by the pharaoh, preceded by the goddess Maat herself, to Hathor and Horus of Edfu (east side) and Isis and Harsomtus (west side).¹⁴³⁴ Although the most essential of all offerings, it is at first sight not typical of the rites performed in the ensemble. The presentation of maat, the ‘food of the gods’, is found in the first register of the rear wall in every single room in the naos of the temple of Dendara, with the exception of the so-called ‘laboratory’.¹⁴³⁵ The offering of maat on the rear wall of the *wabet* follows directly after the scenes inspired by the clothing rituals of the Daily Temple Ritual on the east wall. Within the Daily Temple Ritual, the presentation of maat formed the absolute climax of the rites performed.¹⁴³⁶ On the opposite side of the axis, the offering follows the presentation of the various crowns to the goddess. In exchange for the offerings, the pharaoh is handed over the rule over the land in the shape of the double

¹⁴²⁹ See AUFRERE (1991:463–517) on the regenerative powers of lapis-lazuli and turquoise.

¹⁴³⁰ Dendara VII, 176, 6–8; Dendara VIII, 86, 2–4, and 100, 15–101, 1, and AUFRERE (1991:162).

¹⁴³¹ Dendara VII, 182, 2–14; 194, 11–195, 8, and plates dclxx, and dclxxxiv–dclxxxv; Dendara VIII, 91, 14–92, 11; 109, 4–15, and plates dcclii; dcclvi–dcclix, and dcclxxix–dcclxxxv, and AUFRERE (1991:163–167).

¹⁴³² AUFRERE (1991:168).

¹⁴³³ Dendara IV, pl. cccxi.

¹⁴³⁴ Dendara IV, 241, 9–243, 7, and 259, 9–261, 4 (Hnk mAa . t).

¹⁴³⁵ Dendara IV, pl. dcccclxxxi.

¹⁴³⁶ MORET (1902a:138–165), and GUGLIEMI (1980).

crown. In the inscriptions accompanying the offering of maat, the pharaoh is subsequently given the means to rule justly – in accordance with maat – over Egypt.¹⁴³⁷

The ritual activities depicted in the second and third registers of the rear wall include the offering of linen and regalia and the purification with water and incense. The two scenes in the second register depict the presentation of the four coloured *mnx.t*-cloths. In the east scene the pharaoh and the goddess Wadjet present white and green linen to Hathor and Horus of Edfu.¹⁴³⁸ The opposite relief depicts the pharaoh and the goddess Tayt offering red and dark-red linen to Isis and Harsomtus.¹⁴³⁹ The uppermost register portrays two different offering scenes opposite each other. The ruler presents five pellets of incense and Nekhbet performs the censuring for Hathor and Ihy in the east scene.¹⁴⁴⁰ The west scene has the pharaoh performing purification with four *desheret*-vessels,¹⁴⁴¹ while Wadjet presents different types of *uraei* (*iaret*, *pakhet*, *weret*, and *akhet*),¹⁴⁴² aimed at protecting Hathor who is accompanied by Harsomtus, and at destroying her enemies.

The decorative scheme applied to the walls of the *wabet* follows in general the description of the rites performed in this chapel according to its bandeau inscriptions, although the purification rites in the lowest parts of the lateral walls and in the third registers of all three walls are not mentioned. The reliefs in the first register appear to form a separate entity and are very similar to the general nature of the decorative scheme applied to the walls in the complex of Edfu. The scenes on the west wall depict clothing rituals similar to the Daily

¹⁴³⁷ Dendara IV, 242, 10: *di=i n=k mAa.t rWD.tw m rk=k* or ‘I give you maat, firmly in your time’; Dendara IV, 243, 2: *di=i n=k ra nb apr.tw m mAa.t Hr wp.t sp.ty Hr Dd mAa.t* or ‘I give you the entire mouth filled with maat when opening both lips for saying maat/the truth’, and Dendara IV, 244, 5: *di=i n=k mAa.t rWD m tA* or ‘I give you maat, firmly on earth’. Similar concepts are also expressed in the opposite scene of the rear wall: Dendara IV, 260, 7 and 10, and 261, 2.

¹⁴³⁸ Dendara IV, 247, 3–248, 4, and plate cccxi: *Hnk mnx.t HD.t/wAD.t*.

¹⁴³⁹ Dendara IV, 265, 7–266, 10, and plate cccxi: *Hnk mnx.t irtyw/idmi*.

¹⁴⁴⁰ Dendara IV, 251, 9–252, 9, and plate cccxi: *ms 5 TAw n snTr* and *ir.t snTr*.

¹⁴⁴¹ Dendara IV, 270, 3–271, 4, and plate cccxi: *swab m dSr.t fdw.t n.t mw*.

¹⁴⁴² Dendara IV, 270, 9–11: *Hnk iar.t n nb.t=s Dd-mdw mn n=T pxA.t xa=s m HA.t=T wr.t wbn=s m wp.t=T Ax.t pw psD=s m-xn.t tp=T ir=s s.t=s imy-tw smd.wy=T* or ‘Presenting the *iaret*-uraeus to its mistress. Recitation: take for you the *pekhat*-uraeus, it appears before you/at your forehead, the *weret*-uraeus, it shines/appears at the top of your head, it is the *akhet*-uraeus, it shines at your head, it makes its place between your eyebrows’. On the four *uraei*, consult WILSON (1997a:17; 44–45; 246, and 365–366).

Temple Ritual and the opposite scene focuses on the coronation of the goddess and the confirmation of the pharaoh's power. The scenes in the second registers and in part also in the third registers focus mainly on clothing, adorning and protecting the goddess through the presentation of linen and objects of precious materials. The reliefs on the east wall exclusively depict the presentation of precious stones, such as gold, lapis-lazuli and turquoise, or necklaces and other regalia produced from these materials. The scenes on the opposite wall are more varied and include food-offerings, unguents and eye paints. Most scenes in the upper registers focus on the pharaoh offering goods that are known for their powers of purification, such as water and precious materials, and, which is most important, regenerate the goddess – the climax of the ritual for which the statues of the deities were prepared in the complex.

4.3.4. The New Year's feast and other festivals celebrated in the complex

The inscriptions on the walls of the complex and the preceding treasury provide crucial information on the dates during which the ensemble of court and *wabet* played its part in the religious festivals and processions that took place in the temple of Dendara throughout the year. The start of the year or *wꜥ-rnp.t*, the most ideal moment for renewal and rejuvenation, is referred to most often in the inscriptions.¹⁴⁴³ The festive calendar of Dendara, located in the open court in front of the pronaos of Edfu, also refers to the activities at the time of the New Year and even mentions the occurrence of a procession to the *wabet*. The inscription reads: 'Thoth 1. Feast of Harsomtus, lord of Khadi, on his beautiful feast of the birth of the sun disc. The coming out in procession of this god and his ennead in their shrines. Resting on/in his *wabet*, before/in front of the 'Temple of Ra', presenting bread, beer, meat and fowl, and all good things /// [performing] all [regulations] of the 'seat of the first feast' ...' (tpy Ax.t sw 1 Hb @r-smA-tA.wy nb xAdi m Hb=f nfr nmsw.t itn sxa ntr pn Hna psD.t=f m-Xnw HD.t=sn Htp Hr wab.t=f xft-Hr n pr-Ra r [s]mAa t Hnk.t iH.w Apd.w hw.t nfr.w nb.w /// [iri.t nty-a] nb n s.t-Hb-tpy...)¹⁴⁴⁴

In inscriptions from the ensemble, the goddess Isis is regularly addressed as Sothis or *%pd.t*,¹⁴⁴⁵ the dog-star Sirius. The star reappeared on the horizon at the beginning of the New Year – the so-called *pr.t %pd.t* or the 'coming out' or 'heliacal' rising of Sirius –

¹⁴⁴³ Dendara IV, 150, 1; 186, 1 and 7; 207, 16; 232, 1; 240, 7; 249, 6 and 16, and 267, 15.

¹⁴⁴⁴ Edfou V, 349, 5–8; ALLIOT (1949:222–223), and GRIMM (1994: calendar G10).

¹⁴⁴⁵ Dendara IV, 202, 6; 210, 5; 252, 15, and 260, 8.

and indicated the coming of the inundation and new life. In the epithets accompanying the goddess in the complex, reference is often made to her appearance in the sky and the arrival of the inundation:

– ‘Sothis the great, who appears in the sky’ (%pd.t wr.t wbn m biA)¹⁴⁴⁶

– ‘you are the one who appears in the sky at the beginning of the year’ (tw t wbn m biA tp-rnp.t).¹⁴⁴⁷

– ‘[who pours out] the inundation from both its caverns, who floods/inundates this land with all products’ ([st] Hapy m qrr.ty=fy baH tA pn m ix.t nb.t)¹⁴⁴⁸

– ‘who appears in heaven at her time of the year, and who pours out the flood to inundate the field’ (wbn m biA tp tr=s n rnp.t st srf r iwH Axt).¹⁴⁴⁹

– ‘who appears in heaven at her time of the year to flood/inundate the two lands with all products’ (wbn m biA tp tr=s n rnp.t r baH tA.wy m ix.t nb.t).¹⁴⁵⁰

– ‘who appears in heaven, who makes the inundation come to enliven the gods. I make that the flood comes to you at its time, while there is no impurity in it’ (wbn m biA ii Hapy r sanx nTr.w di=i ii n=k nww r nw=f n ab im=f).¹⁴⁵¹

The texts and scenes from the complex not only refer to New Year’s Day, but on occasion also mention the five days preceding the New Year or the epagomenal days.¹⁴⁵² The five days are referred to as a group, but at times the fourth epagomenal day or the ‘day of the night of the child in his nest’ (hrw grH nxn m sS=f) is singled out.¹⁴⁵³ Among the feasts

¹⁴⁴⁶ Dendara IV, 260, 8.

¹⁴⁴⁷ Dendara IV, 211, 3.

¹⁴⁴⁸ Dendara IV, 202, 6.

¹⁴⁴⁹ Dendara IV, 210, 5.

¹⁴⁵⁰ Dendara IV, 212, 12.

¹⁴⁵¹ Dendara IV, 252, 15–16.

¹⁴⁵² Dendara IV, 207, 17–208, 1, and 230, 6–7. An inscription on the gate leading from the ‘hall of the ennead’ to the treasury once mentions tp rnp.t or the beginning of the year (Dendara IV, 151, 12). ŽABKAR (1981:168) and SPALINGER (1995:41, n. 43, and 43–44) have indicated that this does not necessarily refer to the first day of the New Year (Thoth 1), but might also indicate the first of the epagomenal days.

¹⁴⁵³ Dendara IV, 234, 9–10. The five epagomenal days are also mentioned together with the night from the fourth to the fifth – Dendara IV, 230, 6–7: wnn s.t-Aw.t-ib-n.t-Ra m Hb.w=s nfr.w m 5 hrw Hryw rnp.t grH nxn m sS=f or ‘may the Seat-of-the-Joy-of-Ra (= the temple Dendara) exist through its beautiful feasts on the five days that are above the year (the epagomenal days) and the ‘night of the child in his nest (the night from the fourth to the fifth epagomenal day)’. On the identification of this expression with the fourth epagomenal day, see already note 1350.

organised in the temple of Dendara, the fourth epagomenal day not only features as part of the days preceding the New Year, but it is also the moment when the investiture of the goddess Isis is celebrated and renewed. A festive procession associated with this feast is explicitly mentioned in the so-called modern calendar of Dendara, but the inscription provides no detailed information on its course.¹⁴⁵⁴ In her study on the festivals celebrated in the temple of Dendara, Cauville has attempted to reconstruct the proceedings of this festival.¹⁴⁵⁵ The starting point appears to have been the south and west underground crypts where the statues that participated in the festival were kept.¹⁴⁵⁶ Room D in the west crypt no. 1,¹⁴⁵⁷ accessible through an opening in the court of the ensemble, even shares its name with the chapel of Isis or the H.t-mšxn.t¹⁴⁵⁸ where the gods Thoth and Khnum are depicted performing and renewing the investiture.¹⁴⁵⁹ The procession with the statues also involved the ‘chamber of linen’, the source of the cloth and ointments presented to the goddess, and the complex of *wabet* and court. According to the west upper bandeau inscription in the *wabet*, linen was presented in the latter on the ‘night of the child in his nest’: ‘The gods are in feast, the goddesses are rejoicing on the feast of extending the mnx.t-cloth to the mistress of Dendara,¹⁴⁶⁰ on that beautiful day of ‘the night of the child in his nest’, a day of feast in/for the entire land’ (nTr.w m Hb nTr.wt Hr nhm m Hb sSp mnx.t n nb.t Iwn.t m hrw pn nfr grH nxn m sS=f hrw Hb aA n tA <r> Dr=f).¹⁴⁶¹ The presentation of linen to the goddess and the ennead is also mentioned in one of the festival calendars of Edfu¹⁴⁶² and in the calendar of Dendara located on the walls of the court in front of the pronaos in Edfu.¹⁴⁶³ Both calendars also refer to the ‘seat of the first feast’.¹⁴⁶⁴

¹⁴⁵⁴ Dendara IX, 202, 11–12, and CAUVILLE (2002a:12).

¹⁴⁵⁵ CAUVILLE (2002a:22–24).

¹⁴⁵⁶ Dendara V, 118, 1 and 142, 8–9 and Dendara VI, 66, 11, and 87, 10–11.

¹⁴⁵⁷ Dendara VI, 85–90.

¹⁴⁵⁸ Dendara II, 95–128. On the relation between chamber D and the chapel of Isis, see WAITKUS (1997:237–238, 250–251, and 257), and CAUVILLE (2004a:32–33). In general on this chapel, consult DAUMAS (1969:51–52), and CAUVILLE (1995:48; 1999:6–8 and 149–197).

¹⁴⁵⁹ Dendara II, 104–105, and plate cxvii.

¹⁴⁶⁰ Isis appears in Dendara as a form of Hathor. See already footnote 1283.

¹⁴⁶¹ Dendara 234, 9–10.

¹⁴⁶² Edfou V, 359, 5: ir irw nb n Hb mnx.t or ‘performing all rituals of the feast of clothing’. See also ALLIOT (1949:238–239), and GRIMM (1994: calendar G74).

¹⁴⁶³ Edfou V, 395, 4: ir tp-rd nb n DbA mnx.t or ‘performing every regulation of clothing with linen’. See also ALLIOT (1949:214–215), and GRIMM (1994: calendar H44). The ritual is in this specific case performed for a god, most likely Horus.

The ultimate goal of the procession was the temple of Isis to the south of the temple of Hathor.¹⁴⁶⁵

The investiture of the goddess Isis on the fourth epagomenal day is not the only investiture celebrated in the temple of Dendara or associated with the rituals performed in the ensemble. Two scenes in the second registers of the lateral walls of the *wabet* provide indirect evidence of a link between the complex and the festivities of the investiture of Hathor and the ‘festival of intoxication’ or Hb tꜥ. These scenes portray the enthronisation of the goddess by Ptah of Memphis and Ra–Horakhty of Heliopolis, while the pharaoh presents her with the menu–beverage.¹⁴⁶⁶ The festival dates back at least to the Middle Kingdom, but its association with the investiture of Hathor appears to be a late development that is specific to the temple of Dendara.¹⁴⁶⁷ The festival is for instance not recorded in any other festive calendar of this time.¹⁴⁶⁸ The climax of the feast was set on Thoth 20 and took place in the war.t-xpr-XAt-chapel,¹⁴⁶⁹ located along the east side of the corridor surrounding the sanctuary. Neighbouring this chapel on the south is the h.t-msxn.t-chapel, the site where the investiture of Hathor’s counterpart, Isis, took place on the fourth epagomenal day. The chapels are not only adjacent, but the two festivals are also regularly placed in opposition to each other in text and image.¹⁴⁷⁰

The exact sequence of events of the festival of intoxication on Thoth 20 is not known,¹⁴⁷¹ but, as Cauville has shown, two other dates are also associated with these festivities: Thoth 1 and Paophi 5.¹⁴⁷² The presence of the two scenes on the lateral walls of the *wabet* could easily refer

¹⁴⁶⁴ Edfou V, 359, 6: ir nt-a n s.t Hb tꜥy or ‘performing the rituals of the ‘seat of the first feast’, and Edfou V, 395, 5: sxa Htp n/m s.t Hb tꜥy or ‘causing to appear in procession and resting in the ‘seat of the first feast’. In the temple of Edfu, the designation ‘seat of the first feast’ was exclusively used for the kiosk on the roof of the temple, while in the temple of Dendara the term could be used for the kiosk and the *wabet*. See Chapter 3.2.

¹⁴⁶⁵ CAUVILLE (2002a:24). In general on the temple of Isis, consult DAUMAS (1969:88–91), and CAUVILLE (1992; 1995:87–88).

¹⁴⁶⁶ Dendara IV, 246, 2–17; 264, 4–265, 4, and plates ccvii and ccxii. See already pages 355–356.

¹⁴⁶⁷ SPALINGER (1993:299–300).

¹⁴⁶⁸ GRIMM (1994:31).

¹⁴⁶⁹ Dendara II, 63–93, and plates cviii–cxiv, and CAUVILLE (1999:5–6, and 101–147).

¹⁴⁷⁰ For instance: Dendara VI, 112–114. See also CAUVILLE (2002a:81) for other examples.

¹⁴⁷¹ An overview of the main events is presented by CAUVILLE (2002a:50–56, and 68–97).

¹⁴⁷² CAUVILLE (2002a:50–51).

to rituals performed on Thoth 1 – the ‘first day of intoxication’. On the first day of the New Year (Thoth 1), when the statues of the gods residing in the temple and the temple itself were renewed, the investiture of Hathor might have been repeated and confirmed.¹⁴⁷³ The presentation of the various types of crowns by Thoth with the ogdoad of Hermopolis and the pharaoh to Hathor in the lowest register of the west wall of the *wabet* could well refer to this confirmation.¹⁴⁷⁴ In the accompanying inscriptions this act is set at the opening of the year.¹⁴⁷⁵ According to the hymn that was recited at the time of the presentation of the menu–beverage, the main part of the feast lasted from Thoth 20 until the fifth day of the next month (Paophi 5).¹⁴⁷⁶ The latter date is also mentioned on the south doorjamb of the entrance to the west crypt no. 1, accessible through an opening in the open court of the ensemble.¹⁴⁷⁷ It is placed opposite the inscription referring to the investiture of Isis on the fourth epagomenal day.¹⁴⁷⁸ The feast on Paophi 5 is known as the ‘day/feast of bringing the $\tau x w$ –plants¹⁴⁷⁹ ($h r w / H b s b \tau x w$).¹⁴⁸⁰ These plants were most likely used to produce the menu–beverage that was presented to the goddess at the time of her investiture.¹⁴⁸¹ Part of the statuary involved in the celebrations on Paophi 5 was housed in chambers A and F of the west crypt no. 1, accessible from the open court of the ensemble.¹⁴⁸² On the three days associated with the festival of intoxication a ‘union with the sun disc’ took place. On Thoth 1 and 20 on the roof of the temple,¹⁴⁸³ and on Paophi 5¹⁴⁸⁴ in the $w s x . \tau - w d n$, most likely the open court in front of the pronaos.¹⁴⁸⁵ The enthronisation scenes on the lateral walls of the *wabet* and the reference to Paophi 5 in the entrance to the west crypt no. 1, accessible from

¹⁴⁷³ CAUVILLE (2001:34; 2002a:51). See already pages 355–356 and notes 1394–1397.

¹⁴⁷⁴ Dendara IV, 238, 12–241, 6, and plate cccvii, and pages 354–355.

¹⁴⁷⁵ Dendara IV, 240, 8.

¹⁴⁷⁶ CAUVILLE (2002a:76–77, and plates 6 and viii). On the festivities at Paophi 5, consult WAITKUS (1993:108–109), and CAUVILLE (2002a:97–107, and plates 7–11, and ix–xx).

¹⁴⁷⁷ Dendara VI, 66, 1. See also WAITKUS (1997:166; 168, n. 2, and 250–251), and CAUVILLE (2002a:51; 2004a:29–30).

¹⁴⁷⁸ Dendara VI, 66, 11.

¹⁴⁷⁹ WILSON (1997a:1149).

¹⁴⁸⁰ Dendara VI, 97, 6, and CAUVILLE (2002a:98–99, and plates 7 and xi).

¹⁴⁸¹ GERMER (1979:347); WAITKUS (1993:108), and CAUVILLE (2002a:107).

¹⁴⁸² WAITKUS (1997:250–251, and 257), and CAUVILLE (2002a:51–52, and 105; 2004a:29–30, and 34).

¹⁴⁸³ For the $X n m - i \tau n$ on Thoth 20, consult Dendara IX, 164, 5–7; STERNBERG – EL–HOTABI (1992:107); GRIMM (1994:374, and calendar J5), and CAUVILLE (2002a:7 and 56).

¹⁴⁸⁴ Dendara VI, 66, 6.

¹⁴⁸⁵ WAITKUS (1997:168, n. 11, and 250–251, and n. 5), and CAUVILLE (2002a:106; 2004a:30).

the court of the complex, could indicate that the ensemble played a role in the festivities surrounding the investiture of Hathor. However the exact nature of the rituals performed in the ensemble during the investiture–festivities on Thoth 1 and 20 and Paophi 5 remains unclear.¹⁴⁸⁶

The inscriptions from the complex mention one more date in reference to the rites that took place within the ensemble: Mesore 29. The penultimate day of the twelfth month of the year features in the west upper bandeau inscription of the *wabet* which mentions the presentation of linen to Ra–Harsomtus and a ‘union with the sun disc’. The inscription reads: ‘joy occurs in the ‘Land of Atum’ in the fourth month of summer, day 29 (Mesore 29), the feast of extending the *mnx.t*–cloth to Ra–Harsomtus, lord of Khadi, and the entire ennead of Dendara. They appear in procession in their shrines/chapels to unite with the sun disc of the Horizon god (Akhty) and they fill the land with ‘gold dust’ (*xntS xpr.tw xn.t &A–n–Itm m Abd 4 Smw sw 29 Hb sSp mnx.t n Ra–@r–smA–tA.wy nb #Adi Hr psD.t Iwn.t mi qd=sn xa=sn m pr=sn r Xnm–itn Axty mH=sn tA m nqr–nbw*).¹⁴⁸⁷

The date, Mesore 29, is not mentioned in a single festival calendar of Ptolemaic and Roman times.¹⁴⁸⁸ The calendar of Dendara, located in the open court in front of the pronaos of Edfu, does mention the occurrence of a procession of Harsomtus, lord of Khadi, on the first day of the New Year (Thoth 1) to the *wabet*,¹⁴⁸⁹ but it is not possible to tell exactly what relationship there was, if any, between these two feasts of Harsomtus. Although the Edfu–calendar relates the festivities in the temple of Dendara, it is not that surprising that in the Edfu inscription a form of Horus (Harsomtus) takes the first place in the festivities at the time of the New Year. However in the temple of Dendara, where Hathor was at home, it would come as a huge surprise to have a feast dedicated to Harsomtus and not Hathor on the first day of the New Year. The festival of Harsomtus might therefore have been moved to the period immediately prior to the New Year – on Mesore 29.

¹⁴⁸⁶ In light of the activities performed in the complex during the New Year festivities and the investiture of Isis on the fourth epagomenal day, one could postulate that the ensemble played a similar role during the feasts surrounding the investiture of Hathor. Preparatory rites involving the purification, clothing and adorning of the statues of the gods could have taken place here prior to the main events of the feasts.

¹⁴⁸⁷ Dendara IV, 234, 7–8.

¹⁴⁸⁸ GRIMM (1994:141).

¹⁴⁸⁹ See page 363.

The inscription from the *wabet* leaves no doubt about the existence of a clothing ritual in the complex and the subsequent ‘union with the sun disc’ on Mesore 29. The location of the latter event is not specified and one can only speculate whether it took place in the open court of the ensemble, in the kiosk on the roof or in the open space in front of the temple. Another topic of speculation that cannot be resolved either is whether the rituals that were performed in the complex on Mesore 29 were already part of the New Year’s celebrations or not. In the temple of Edfu these celebrations started for instance already on Mesore 30.¹⁴⁹⁰ In light of this it is interesting to observe that according to the modern calendar of Dendara, the ‘union with the sun disc’ occurred in the temple on various occasions throughout the year.¹⁴⁹¹ The Xnm-*itn* rite also took place on Khoiak 26, Pachons 11, full moon in the month Pachons, and new moon in the month Epiphi. It is difficult if not impossible to establish whether and what sort of role the complex performed during these festivities, if any at all, since no mention of these dates is made in the inscriptions from or referring to the complex.

The complex of *wabet* and court in the temple of Dendara functioned, like its older counterparts in Philae and Edfu, as the site where the statues of the deities were prepared by means of purification, clothing and adornment, prior to their rejuvenation. The main ritual activities in the complex are dated to the period surrounding the arrival of the New Year, but the space also appears to have played a role at other times. In older examples of the ensemble indirect indications already suggested that the complex was not solely reserved for this period.¹⁴⁹² The texts from the temple of Dendara are already much clearer on this aspect of the complex. The two rooms also had a part to play during the renewal of the investiture rites of Hathor (Thoth 1 and 20 and Paophi 5) and Isis (fourth epagomenal day), and perhaps also on those other occasions throughout the year when statues would be marched out of the crypts for an invigorating ‘union with the sun disc’.

¹⁴⁹⁰ Chapter 4.2.2.

¹⁴⁹¹ Dendara IX, 162, 11–164, 7, and 202, 2–204, 6. For translations of this calendar, consult ALLIOT (1949:242–249); GRIMM (1994: calendar J), and CAUVILLE (2002a:6–12).

¹⁴⁹² See pages 301–304.

4.4. The ‘seat of the first feast’ in the temple of Shanhûr

The ‘seat of the first feast’ of the temple of Shanhûr consists of an open court and a slightly elevated and covered chapel. The complex is orientated south–north and accessible by means of a doorway in the east wall of the vestibule preceding the sanctuary (fig. 24, IV–V, and fig. 25).¹⁴⁹³ The open court remained without reliefs and inscriptions and only the walls of the elevated chapel received a decorative programme. These scenes were carved in high relief, with the exception of the astronomical relief on the ceiling. A layer of plaster and paint at one time covered the scenes and texts, but only a few traces remain to this day and every single scene has suffered extensive damage through time.¹⁴⁹⁴ The decorative scheme can be dated to the reign of Emperor Caligula. His royal titles – *Gaius Caesar Autokrator Sebastos*¹⁴⁹⁵ and *Gaius Caesar Sebastos Germanicus*¹⁴⁹⁶ – are found accompanying the different offering scenes and in the bandeau inscriptions.

In comparison with the previously studied complexes in Philae, Edfu and Dendara, the walls of the ‘seat of the first feast’ of the temple of Shanhûr contain only a very limited amount of scenes and inscriptions. The decorative scheme was limited to a total of eight scenes, divided over two registers on the north, east and west walls.¹⁴⁹⁷ (fig. 79, nos. 56–80) The north or rear wall of the ‘seat of the first feast’ is divided into four scenes, two on each register separated by a text column running down the centre of the wall. (nos. 73–78) The lateral walls both contain a single large scene in each register (nos. 62–63 and 67–68). The registers of the three walls are delimited both above and below by a bandeau inscription (nos. 60–61, 65–66, and 69–72). The north faces of the door jambs of the ‘seat of the first feast’, between which steps lead from the court to the chapel, received a hymn on both sides of the doorway (nos. 58–59). The inset of the door is engraved with a decorative pattern over at least four registers consisting of an ankh–sign with arms standing in the centre of a neb–sign and holding a was–

¹⁴⁹³ Detailed studies of the complex can be found in Shanhûr I, 93–132; TRAUNECKER (1995:260–267), and COPPENS (1999; 2003a). For the layout and excavation of the ensemble, consult Chapter 1.10.

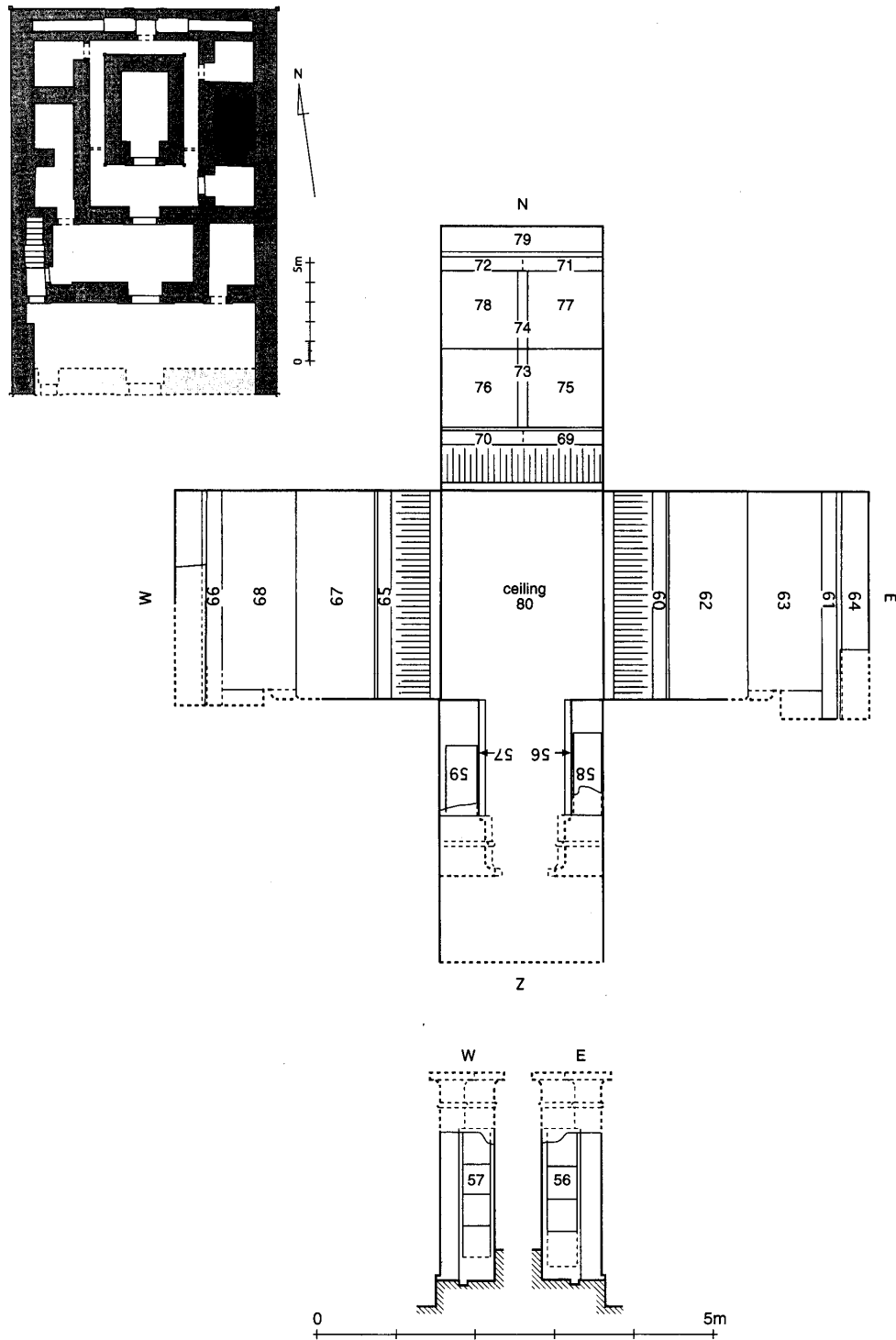
¹⁴⁹⁴ As elsewhere in the naos of the temple, the combined factors of the poor quality of locally quarried limestone used in the construction, the fire(s) raging through the monument in Late Antiquity, and the rising groundwater table over the last centuries, resulted in the destruction of large parts of the relief in the ‘seat of the first feast’. In general on the state of preservation of the temple, consult Shanhûr I, 12–14 and see figure 82.

¹⁴⁹⁵ Shanhûr I, nos. 61, 66, 75, 77 and 78. GRENIER (1989:24, type D).

¹⁴⁹⁶ Shanhûr I, nos. 60 and 65. GRENIER (1989:25, type F).

¹⁴⁹⁷ Shanhûr I, nos. 56–80.

sceptre in each hand (nos. 56–57). This group of signs is repeated twice in each register. Finally on the ceiling of the ‘seat of the first feast’, of which only one half remains in situ, an astronomical scene was engraved. (fig. 80, no. 80)



*Distribution of the scenes in the ‘seat of the first feast’ of Shanbūr
(Shanbūr I, plate 85)*

The general distribution of the deities and the pharaoh on the walls suggests a virtual orientation of the monument from west to east. This is the opposite of the virtual orientation elsewhere in the temple¹⁴⁹⁸ and brings to mind the decorative scheme of the ‘seat of the first feast’ in Philae, where the distribution of the deities and pharaoh indicated that this space was orientated perpendicular to the temple axis.

The lack of an extensive decorative programme in the ensemble of Shanhûr provides a unique opportunity for gaining a better understanding of the function of the complex and the role it played in the temple. One must assume that the priests who designed this minimalistic scheme for the complex undoubtedly decided to depict those scenes that were considered most essential. It suggests that the decorative scheme applied — and reduced to its most basic state — contained the very essential components of the complex at that particular period in time. But with the exception of the walls of the sanctuary and the doorways along the central temple axis, the ‘seat of the first feast’ is the only other chamber in the core of the temple whose walls received a decorative programme. This indicates the great importance the designers of the decorative programme of the interior of the temple must have attributed to this room.

The various bandeau inscriptions and hymns engraved on the walls of the chapel are crucial for our understanding of the function and role of this complex in the temple. The complex is first and foremost identified as a ‘seat of the first feast’ (s . t Hb tpy), but it is on occasion also called a ‘columned hall’ (wADy . t), a ‘place of rejuvenation’ (bw rnp) and the ‘horizon’ (Ax . t).¹⁴⁹⁹ The most essential information is provided by the upper bandeau inscriptions on the west and east walls of the chapel:¹⁵⁰⁰

– [anx ;r] [..... nsw.t] bit.y nb tA.wy Kys Kysrs sA Ra nb
 xa.w AwtgArtr nty xwi iri.n=f s.t Hb tp.y n mw.t<=f> nTr.t
 aA.t m ¥-n-;r r iri<.t> Hb tp.y im=f r nH[H]

¹⁴⁹⁸ The distribution of the deities elsewhere in the temple suggests a virtual orientation from east to west. See Shanhûr I, 98–99.

¹⁴⁹⁹ Consult Chapters 3.2, 3.4, 3.5, and 3.6 on the designations in use for the complex.



¹⁵⁰⁰ Shanhûr I, nos. 61 and 66. I already added a detailed study of the various problems related to the reading of the inscriptions from the ‘seat of the first feast’ in Shanhûr I, 112–129, which I will not repeat here.

[May Horus live.....the king of Upper] and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the Two Lands Gaius Caesar, the son of Ra, the Lord of the Crowns, Autokrator Sebastos, he has made the ‘seat of the first feast’ for <his> mother, the Great Goddess in Shanhûr in order to perform the first feast eternally in it.

– anx ;r T[mA]–a HqA HqA.w [sA Ra] nb xa.w Kys Kysrs [nsw.t–bit.y nb tA.wy AwtkArtr nty] xwi xws¹⁵⁰¹ wADy.t Atf s(y) mix.t n mw.t<=f> nTr.t aA.t <r> iri<.t> Hb m bw rnp <r> r–a D.t

May Horus live, the one whose arm is po[werful], ruler of the rulers, [the son of Ra], lord of the crowns, Gaius Caesar, [the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the Two Lands, Autokrator] Sebastos, who constructed the columned hall and provided it with offerings/products for <his> mother, the Great Goddess <in order to> perform the festival in the place of rejuvenation until eternity.

The first feast mentioned in the inscriptions and celebrated in the ‘seat of the first feast’ takes place at the end of the old year and the beginning of the New Year.¹⁵⁰² The partly preserved text column running down the centre of the north wall in the second register confirms this date: s[.t] Hb tp.y n nTr.w nTr.wt(?) [...] wp.t–rnp.t [...] or ‘the seat of the first feast of the gods and goddesses(?) [...] the opening of the year [...]’.¹⁵⁰³ (fig. 83)

¹⁵⁰¹ On the basis of the remaining traces, another reading is also possible: the bottom of a wAD–sign combined with the walking legs () for wD r or ‘who travels to’ (Wb I, 397). This reading is also suggested by the fact that the next word is based on a very similar consonantal root (wADy . t). My reconstruction of the remaining traces as the lower half of a man pounding a mortar () which can be read as xws (Wb III, 248–249), is suggested by the opposite bandeau inscription (Shanhûr I, 66). This inscription mentions in a similar manner how emperor Caligula constructed this room for the Great Goddess: iri.n=f s.t Hb tp.y n mw . t [=f] nTr . t aA . t or ‘he has made the seat of the first feast for [his] mother, the Great Goddess’.

¹⁵⁰² See Chapter 3.2 for a detailed overview.

¹⁵⁰³ Shanhûr I, no. 74.

The astronomical relief on the ceiling perhaps also contains a reference to the period surrounding the New Year.¹⁵⁰⁴ (fig. 80) It is not known when exactly the astronomical relief of the temple of Shanhûr was created. It might have been already engraved on the ceiling under the rule of Augustus when the temple was constructed and the main sanctuary decorated, but it most likely dates from the reign of Caligula when the walls of the ‘seat of the first feast’ received their decorative programme. The ceiling consisted of a block of limestone and a block of sandstone. Only the limestone block now remains in place, but several fragments of the sandstone block were discovered during the excavation of the court and the elevated chapel. On the preserved half of the ceiling one can still notice the feet and part of the legs of the sky goddess Nut above the horizon sign on the east side of the block, while her outstretched arms appear on the west side. Against a background of numerous five-pointed stars, two groups of representations can be discerned between the arms and legs of Nut. Near the bottom part of the block we find a representation of planets, stars and constellations, while on the upper part of the block six signs of the zodiac are still visible (from Leo to Capricorn). On the basis of the remaining part of the ceiling it is not difficult to imagine that the torso and head of Nut, enveloping the six other signs of the zodiac and another group of planets, stars and constellations, was once depicted on the now missing half of the ceiling.¹⁵⁰⁵ The ceiling thus contained a zodiac in its centre, with a depiction of stars and planets on both sides and the figure of Nut surrounding the entire sky.

¹⁵⁰⁴ Shanhûr I, 106–107, and no. 80. See also NEUGEBAUER – PARKER (1969:77–78 and plate 40A); TRAUNECKER (1995:266–267), and COPPENS (2003a).

¹⁵⁰⁵ The discovery in the complex of a sandstone fragment depicting Aquarius supports this suggestion. See Shanhûr I, no. 80c.

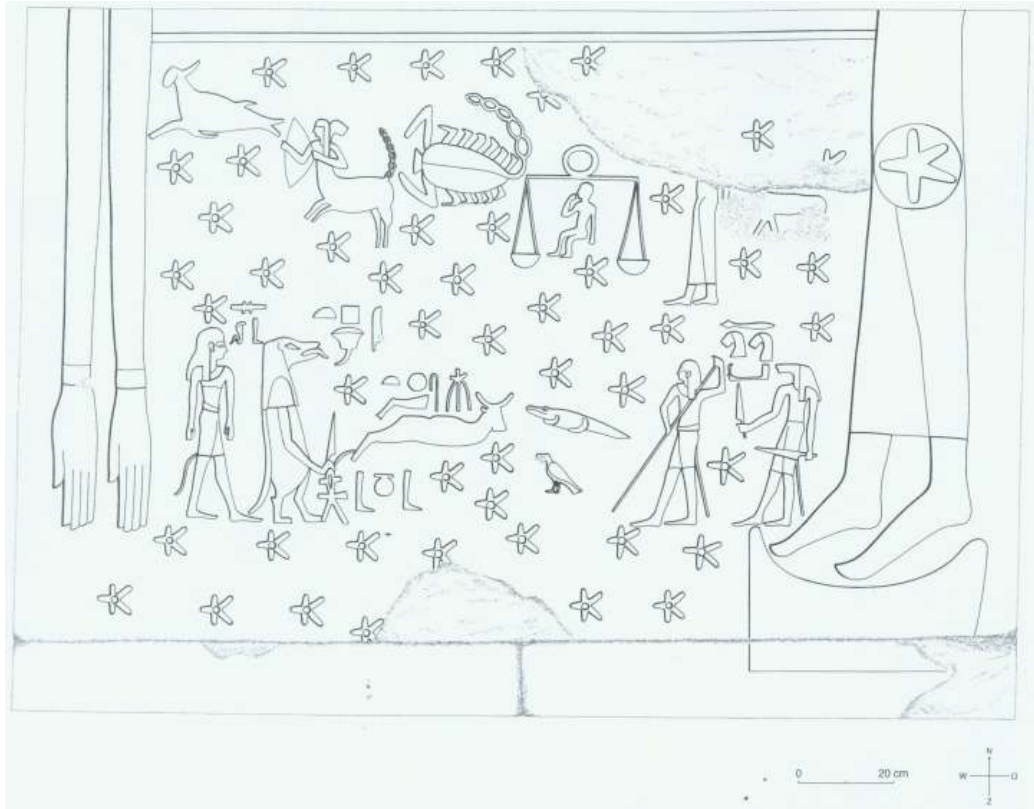


Fig. 80 The astronomical ceiling in the 'seat of the first feast' of Shanbûr
(Shanbûr I, plate 80A)

The division of the zodiac into two groups of six signs, with a division between Leo and Cancer on the one hand and Capricorn and Aquarius on the other, deserves further attention. Apart from Shanbûr it also occurs in the zodiac on the ceiling of the pronaos in Dendara.¹⁵⁰⁶ This ceiling dates to the reign of Emperor Tiberius and is very close in time to the astronomical relief of Shanbûr. Five sarcophagi, all dating to the end of the 1st century and the beginning of the 2nd century A.D. and all belonging to members of one and the same family, also show a similar representation of these signs. The sarcophagi of this family, consisting of grandfather Cornelios Pollios, his son Soter and his grandchildren Cleopatra, Sensaos and Petemenophis, were discovered together in a tomb in Gurnah (TT 32) in 1819–1820.¹⁵⁰⁷

¹⁵⁰⁶ BRUGSCH (1883:1–10); NEUGEBAUER – PARKER (1969:79–81); TRAUNECKER (1995:266), and CAUVILLE (1995:36).

¹⁵⁰⁷ Two of these sarcophagi were discussed by TRAUNECKER (1995:266–267, referring to NEUGEBAUER – PARKER (1969:doc. 67=Soter and 70=Petemenophis). Neugebauer and Parker noticed that three more sarcophagi of this family showed the same division between the signs of the zodiac (doc. 66=Cornelios Pollios, 68=Cleopatra, and 69=Sensaos) but did not think it significant (NEUGEBAUER – PARKER (1969:206). The sarcophagus of yet another family member, Heter (doc. 71), shows a slight difference in the division of the signs of the zodiac: in between Capricorn and Gemini on the one hand and Cancer and Sagittarius on the other. For

According to Traunecker, this specific division of the zodiac might be linked to the activities taking place in the ‘seat of the first feast’ at the time of the New Year. For the Egyptians the New Year began with the reappearance of the Dog Star Sirius on the horizon. Although it is at present not completely certain under which sign of the zodiac the heliacal rising of Sirius took place in the 1st and 2nd century AD, ancient scholars mention both the sign of Leo and Cancer.¹⁵⁰⁸ The recurring representation of the zodiac in two groups, with a clear division between Leo and Cancer, on reliefs in the temples of Dendara and Shanhûr and on the coffin lids of the family in Gurnah from the 1st and 2nd century AD could be a reference to the rising of Sirius and in consequence to the New Year and a new beginning. To my knowledge no attempt has been made so far to reconstruct the night sky at this particular period, leaving the matter unresolved for the time being.

The essential ritual act performed in the temples at the time of the New Year is the rejuvenation of the statues of the gods, and with it the temple and the entire land, through the rite of the ‘union with the sun disc’. It is no accident that the complex itself is once referred to as the *bw rnp* or ‘place of rejuvenation’¹⁵⁰⁹ and the partially preserved hymns written on the door jambs in between the chapel and the open court clearly refer to the *Xnm-îtn*:¹⁵¹⁰

[.... *wbn Nbw.t*]¹⁵¹¹ *m-xnt Ax.t=s psD Ax.ty.t m kAr=s n*¹⁵¹² [...]
 [....] *di.t.n Ra m s.t Hb-tp.y stw.t=f Xnm m Ha.w[=s]* [...]
 [....] *Ra.t tfy itn.t dmD=s* [...] *m [sp*¹⁵¹³ (?) ...]
 ‘[... illumine, the Golden One] in her horizon, shine forth, Akhet in her chapel of [...]
 [...] whom Ra has placed in the ‘seat of the first feast’, his rays united with [her] body [...]

more information on the family and the discovery of the sarcophagi: STRICKER (1942); KAKOSY (1995), and VAN LANDUYT (1995).

¹⁵⁰⁸ Consult LdÄ V, 1118 for an overview of the – often contradictory – ancient sources on this subject.

¹⁵⁰⁹ Shanhûr I, no. 61.

¹⁵¹⁰ Shanhûr I, nos. 58–59. The interior decoration of the naos-shaped pectoral, consisting of a sun disc in the centre of a bark and presented by Caligula to Isis and Mut on the rear wall of the complex, also has solar connotations. Shanhûr I, no. 77.

¹⁵¹¹ A very similar hymn can be found on the façade of the chapel in the temple of el-Qal’a II, no. 196.

¹⁵¹² The end of this line is unclear. At el-Qal’a the hymn continues as follows: *Twt îr=f Wr.t Hnw.t ît=s Ra Hnsk.ty.t bnr<.t> mr.wt* or ‘for indeed you are the Great one, the lady of her father Ra, the braided one, whose belovedness is sweet’. See also Chapter 4.5.

¹⁵¹³ For the expression *dmD m sp*, consult Wb. V, p. 459.

[...] that Ra.t, the sun disc, she unites [...] with [...].’

and

[.....] T xai.t[i] psD=T iwi n=T it=T

[.....]xpr nb im=f sti=T ¥n-wr PXR-wr

‘[...] [may] you [...], when you have appeared, and may you shine forth when your father comes to you

[.....] everything that came into existence in him, you illumine the *shen-wer* and the *pekber-wer*¹⁵¹⁴

The idea of the sun shining down on the statues of the deities might also have been expressed in the friezes bordering the scenes at the top of the elevated chapel. Above the upper bandeau inscriptions on these walls a frieze of kheker-signs was added, and a Hathoric face bordered by the two cartouches was located in the very centre of these friezes.¹⁵¹⁵ (fig. 79, nos. 64 and 79, and fig. 81) The face of the goddess is topped by a naos and hence has the well-known shape of the upper part of a sistrum.¹⁵¹⁶ The same form is also used for the representation of Hathor Quadrifrons.¹⁵¹⁷ The presence of this four-faced deity in the temple of Shanhûr, where Hathor is otherwise not attested, might be linked to the apparent tendency in Ptolemaic and Roman times to think of divinities in quartettes.¹⁵¹⁸ The leading role played by four goddesses — the Great Goddess, Nebet-Ihy (‘the mistress of joy’), Isis and Mut — in the temple of Shanhûr¹⁵¹⁹ might have led to the depiction of a four-faced goddess on the frieze representing these four divinities as one. The iconography of the upper part of a sistrum for the depiction of these four goddesses as a single, four-faced entity may have been

¹⁵¹⁴ The designation phr-wr is often used in combination with Sn-wr. The nouns are perhaps synonyms and designate the ocean that encircles all continents. (Wb I, 548, and Wb IV, 493–494).

¹⁵¹⁵ Shanhûr I, nos. 64 and 79. Although the west and south counterparts of this frieze no longer exist, it is likely that two further representations of this type occurred there.

¹⁵¹⁶ See for instance the picture of sistrum Louvre 4314 in LdÄ V, 962, or DAUMAS (1969:pl. 16).

¹⁵¹⁷ DERCHAIN (1972a:11–13 and 16–18).

¹⁵¹⁸ Next to the aforementioned Hathor Quadrifrons, QUAEGEBEUR (1991) and PANTALACCI (1998) already noted the existence of other quartets, in relationship to deities like Min, Montu and Tameret, in the Ptolemaic and Roman era. In the court of the nearby temple of el-Qal’a, the term ifd.t or ‘quartet’ accompanies both Isis and Tameret: el-Qal’a II, nos. 179 and 185. On the east wall of the small vestibule (el-Qal’a II, no. 268), Tameret is once more referred to as ifd.t.

¹⁵¹⁹ On the theology of the temple of Shanhûr, its development over time and the role played by the goddess Isis, Mut, the Great Goddess and Nebet-Ihy, consult Shanhûr I, 14–27, and 101–102; COPPENS (2002c:115–117; 2005a:19–23), and WILLEMS (2007).

inspired by similar representations of Hathor Quadrifrons in the nearby temple of Dendera.¹⁵²⁰



*Fig. 81. The Hathoric face on the frieze in the 'seat of the first feast' of Shanhûr
(photo by the author)*

The Hathoric faces in the 'seat of the first feast' of Shanhûr bring to mind a particular depiction in the *wabet* of Dendera. On the ceiling of the latter, the goddess Nut is portrayed devouring the evening sun while giving birth to the morning sun. (fig. 76) The rays of the latter are shown illuminating the head of Hathor.¹⁵²¹ According to Daumas, this depiction of Hathor in a square symbolises the temple; in other words, the morning sun is depicted shedding its light on the temple itself.¹⁵²² But this representation is also quite similar to the Hathor face depicted in the centre of the outside rear wall of the temple of Dendera¹⁵²³ and might be a depiction of Hathor Quadrifrons. In this case the sun would not just be shining down on the temple of Dendera, but on the main goddess of the sanctuary. Could it be that this two-dimensional depiction of the sun shining down on the principal resident of the temple of Dendera was transformed into a three-dimensional form in Shanhûr, where the

¹⁵²⁰ DERCHAIN (1972a:pl. 6a). In the temple of Dendera Hathor is at times closely linked with Isis, who appears as an aspect of Hathor Quadrifrons. See for instance Dendara I, 74, 11–75, 2 and 75, 5–76, 2.

¹⁵²¹ Dendara IV, pl. 315, and CAUVILLE (1995:61). See also Chapter 4.3. The ceiling of the sanctuary of the small temple of Isis in Dendera has a similar representation: DAUMAS (1951:373–374 and note 1(5)).

¹⁵²² DAUMAS (1951:379).

¹⁵²³ CAUVILLE (1995:86).

Hathor faces referring to the four main goddesses of the temple are located on a frieze beneath the ceiling, decorated with a representation of Nut similar to the one in Dendera?

The various bandeau inscriptions and the astronomical relief and decorative frieze suggest that the ‘seat of the first feast’ in the temple of Shanhûr served as the setting for the first feast or the place to rejuvenate the statues of the deities at the time of the New Year through the union with the sun disc.¹⁵²⁴ There are no indications that would confirm or deny the possibility that these ritual acts were performed at any other time of the year. The application of the designations ‘seat of the first feast’ and ‘place of rejuvenation’ to the complex and the hymns engraved on the doorjambs between the court and the chapel suggest that in the temple of Shanhûr, unlike in Edfu and Dendara, the actual $\text{Xnm-}i\text{tn}$ did not take place in a kiosk on the roof of the temple,¹⁵²⁵ but, as was the case in the temple of Philae, in the complex itself. The smaller size of the temple most likely forced its designers to abandon the extensive set of spaces associated with the renewal festivities in Dendara, which included next to the complex itself for instance the ‘goldhouse’ and the kiosk on the roof of the temple. Instead the designers focused on the essential parts of the rituals and their enactment in a single chamber of the temple: the architectural ensemble of the open court and elevated chapel.

The limited number of scenes and inscriptions does not allow for a detailed reconstruction of the rites performed in the complex, let alone of the exact sequence of the acts carried out, but it does throw important light on some of the essential elements in the decorative scheme of this ensemble. The reduced decorative scheme of the complex suggests that in early Roman times the essential rites to be depicted consisted of the presentation of several products used to cloth and adorn the god and of food-offerings. The four scenes on the lateral walls of the chapel represent the consecration by the ruler of the great offering or aAb.t aA.t to four groups of five deities. These groups of gods are associated not only with the temple of Shanhûr (Isis, Mut, the Great Goddess and Nebet-Ihy), but also with the nearby major religious centres of Coptos and Thebes.¹⁵²⁶ (fig. 82) This type of offering also occurs in all

¹⁵²⁴ The inscriptions from the complex in Shanhûr do not mention a single other date except the time of the New Year.

¹⁵²⁵ No trace of any construction can be recognised on the poorly preserved roof of the temple of Shanhûr.

¹⁵²⁶ On these deities and their identification, consult Shanhûr I, 97–101, and nos. 62, 63, 67, and 68. In relation to the presence of these numerous deities, TRAUNECKER (1995:270) suggested that the ensemble in Shanhûr was not exclusively reserved for the festivities surrounding the arrival of the New Year. Although I tend to agree

other examples of the ensemble studied thus far, although it is usually located in the open court and not in the elevated chapel. In the temple of Shanhûr the open court did not receive any decoration and the offering scenes appear to have been transferred to the chapel. The idea of the actual occurrence of an offering in the open court is suggested by the presence of an altar located against its south wall.¹⁵²⁷ (fig. 26) In presenting this offering to the deities the pharaoh shows his control over the land and all that it produces after a successful flooding of the land by the Nile.

The lower bandeau inscriptions on the lateral walls of the elevated chapel confirm that the produce of the land and other offerings are brought to the deities in the complex.¹⁵²⁸

– anx ;r wr pH.ty smn hp.w nsw.t–bi.ty nb tA.wy Kys Kysrs nty
xwi ini.n=f rd nb Hr sA Gb r sTHn Hr n Hnw.t=f m s.t–ib=s
isw=s n=f m HkA.t Hr s.t ;r D.t

May Horus live, who is great in strength, who establishes the laws, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the lord of the Two Lands, Gaius Caesar Sebastos, he has brought all that grows on the back of Geb to brighten the face of his mistress in her favourite place, her reward to him being kingship on the throne of Horus eternally.

– anx ;r wr pH.ty smn hp.w sA Ra nb xa.w Grmnyks ini.n=f x.t
n<.t> tA.wy nb r wADy.t n Hnw.t=f nTr.t aA.t is.w=s n=f m
anx wAs Hr [s.t ;r/ns.t Gb] D.t

May Horus live, who is great in strength, who establishes the laws, the son of Ra, the lord of the crowns, Germanicus, he has brought the goods of the two lands in their entirety to the columned hall of his mistress, the Great Goddess, her reward to him being life and power on [the throne of Horus/the seat of Geb] eternally.

with him that the ensemble functioned at other times in the year, the presence of these regional deities does not in any manner imply that this was the case (or not). The decorative scheme of the ensembles of the monumental temples of Edfu and Dendara was, in comparison, restricted to their main deities – Horus and Hathor and their respective enneads – but these monuments formed the theological centre of their region. The abundance of Coptite and Theban deities on the walls of the ‘seat of the first feast’ in Shanhûr is most likely due to the fact that this small temple was theologically linked with Coptos and, to a lesser degree, Thebes.

¹⁵²⁷ Chapter 1.10. For more information, consult TRAUNECKER–WILLEMS (1998:123–127 and plates 23B, 24, and 25A), and COPPENS–WILLEMS (1999:118 and fig. 51 and 52).

¹⁵²⁸ Shanhûr I, nos. 60 and 65.



*Fig. 82. The consecration of the great offering on the lower register of the east wall
(photo by the author)*

In return for performing these rites and presenting offerings to the gods, the pharaoh is rewarded by the gods. The two lower bandeau inscriptions are most eloquent and mention that the pharaoh is placed firmly and eternally on the throne of Horus or the seat of Geb.¹⁵²⁹ The eight offering scenes also contain the offerings returned by the deities, such as the two lands and the foreign lands, but only very little has survived to the present day and it would be unwise to draw any far-reaching conclusions on the basis of such scanty evidence. In general it does appear from the few remaining texts that the pharaoh receives gifts very similar to those he was given in the open court in the temple of Philae and is confirmed as a ruler.

The rear wall of the chapel was exclusively preserved for the four divinities of Shanhûr: Caligula presents the deities twice with unguent on the lower register,¹⁵³⁰ and with linen and a naos-shaped pectoral, the inside of which is decorated with a sun disc on a bark, in the upper

¹⁵²⁹ Shanhûr I, nos. 60 and 65.

¹⁵³⁰ On the scene depicting the pharaoh stretching one finger towards the deities and holding a vase with unguents in the other hand, and the relation of this act to the ritual of the 'opening of the mouth', consult ROTH (1993:66–69).

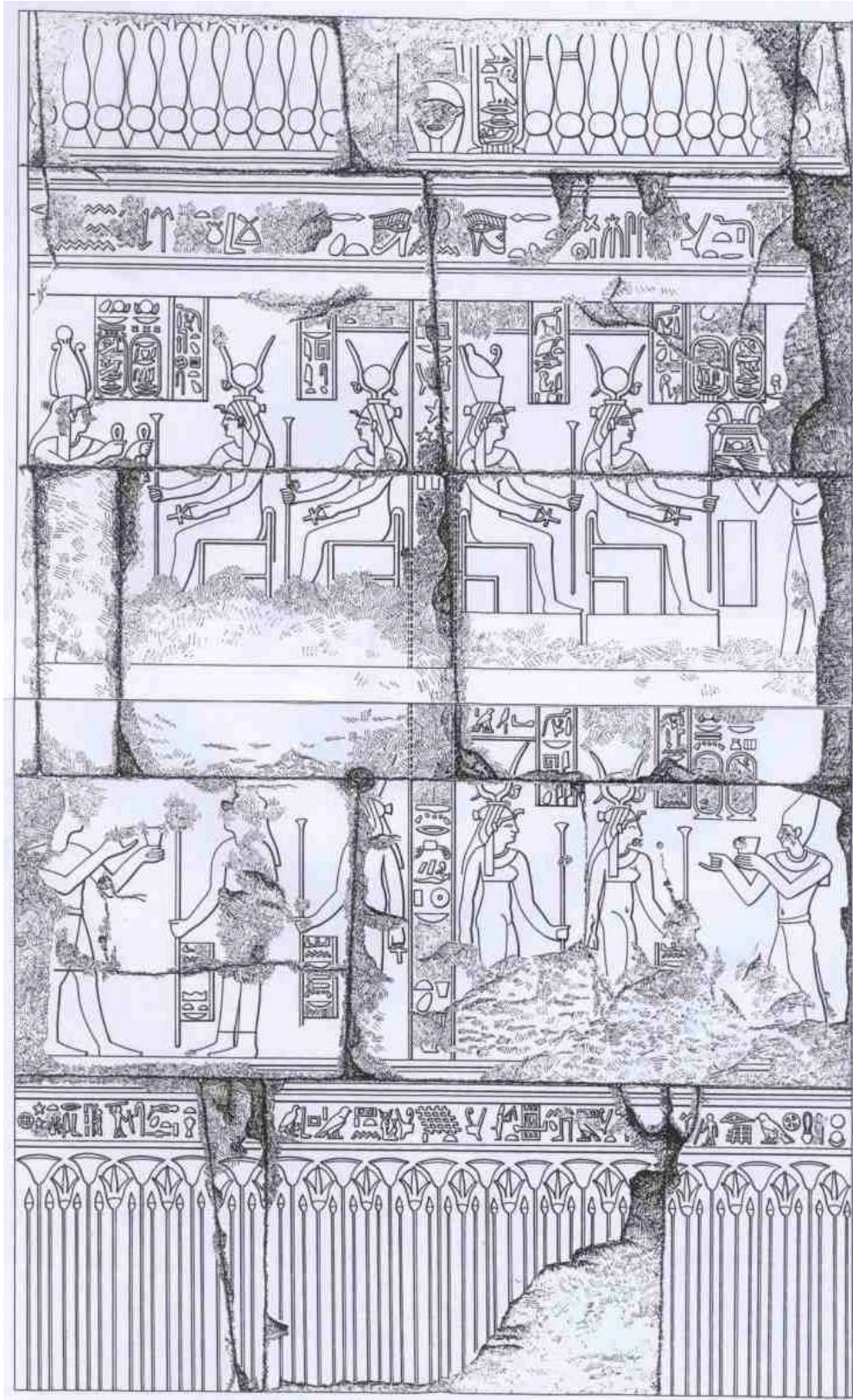
register.¹⁵³¹ (fig. 83) The offerings of unguent, linen and a pectoral are always found in the decorative scheme of the complex, and most often on its rear wall.¹⁵³² The presence of these products on the rear wall of other complexes already suggested their importance for the rites in the ensemble, and this is only augmented by them being the only goods offered to the deities in the ‘seat of the first feast’ of Shanhûr. I have already studied the close association of these offerings with the concepts of renewal, regeneration and, especially in the case of the pectoral, protection in detail when analysing the ‘seat of the first feast’ in the temple of Philae. These three offerings occur as a group in a large variety of royal, funerary and temple rites that deal with the passage from death or a similar lifeless state to new life and regeneration.¹⁵³³

The use of the designation *Ax . t* or ‘horizon’ for the ‘seat of the first feast’ in the temple of Shanhûr also defines it as a place of transition. In essence the decorative scheme on the walls of the complex in the temple of Shanhûr suggests the following: at the time of the New Year the statues of the goddesses are clothed, adorned and provided with protective equipment in the elevated chapel and rejuvenated by the rays of the sun in the preceding open court. In the latter the deities would be face to face with a great offering in their honour.

¹⁵³¹ Shanhûr I, 101–102, and nos. 75–78. The interior decoration of the pectoral is peculiar and one would rather expect the representation of a scarab instead of a sun disc in the centre of the boat. See FEUCHT (1971:4, and cat. nos. 34, 38–81, and 86).

¹⁵³² See Chapter 5.

¹⁵³³ Chapters 4.1.6 and 4.1.7 and especially documents 13, 18, 19, and 22, and Chapter 4.1.10.



*Fig. 83 The rear wall of the 'seat of the first feast' of Shanbûr
(drawing by Marleen De Meyer)*

4.5. The 'seat of the first feast' in the temple of el-Qal'a

The ‘seat of the first feast’¹⁵³⁴ in the temple of el-Qal’a consists of an open court and a slightly elevated chapel.¹⁵³⁵ The complex is accessible by means of a doorway in the south wall of the ambulatory that surrounds the sanctuary of Isis and it is orientated along an east–west axis. (fig. 29) The decorative scheme of the ensemble has survived for the most part and consists of three registers with scenes in the open court and two registers in the elevated chapel, delimited above and below by a bandeau inscription. (fig. 84) In the court the first two registers of the decorative scheme are completely preserved, but only the lower half of the third register is still present. The interior of the chapel was separated from the court by means of a screen wall, which most likely featured a column and a broken–door lintel on either side of the staircase. In the elevated chapel only the upper part of the second registers of the lateral walls and the upper bandeau inscriptions are missing. No trace of the ceiling that covered the chapel has been recovered. The walls of the small crypt, whose entrance was located in between chapel and court, were also provided with a decorative programme, which has not been published yet.¹⁵³⁶ The entire decorative scheme of the ensemble dates back to the reign of Roman Emperor Claudius. His titles – *Tiberius Claudius Caesar Sebastos Germanicus (Autokrator)*¹⁵³⁷ – are found in numerous places in the complex.

The main beneficiary of the rites performed in the complex, and for that matter the entire temple, is the goddess Isis. In the decorative scheme of the temple from the reign of Claudius,¹⁵³⁸ the so-called Great Goddess (ⲧⲀ ⲛⲦⲣ.ⲧ ⲁⲀ.ⲧ) was often placed opposite Isis. The Great Goddess was in origin an epithet of Isis in the temple but gradually developed into an independent goddess. This process or the use of epithets independently is referred to

¹⁵³⁴ The complex is almost exclusively referred to as the ‘seat of the first feast’: el-Qal’a II, nos. 174; 179; 183; 194a; 198, and 215–216. See also Chapter 3.2. On a few occasions the ensemble is also designated as the ‘horizon’ (Ⲁⲗ . ⲧ) – see Chapter 3.5.

¹⁵³⁵ el-Qal’a II, 165–167, and nos. 174–216; REINACH (1912:219–224), and Chapter 1.11. The only in–depth study of the decorative scheme of the ensemble has been carried out by TRAUNECKER (1995:251–260).

¹⁵³⁶ TRAUNECKER (1995:253) only mentions that Osiris, surrounded by protective deities, was depicted in the axis of the crypt, while the other scenes portray the pharaoh presenting offerings to the main deities of the temple.

¹⁵³⁷ el-Qal’a II, nos. 179–180; 182; 185–186; 194; 207–208; 210, and 212, and GRENIER (1989:29–30, type K).

¹⁵³⁸ The entire temple, with the exception of the sanctuary of Isis and the north sanctuary (Augustus), and part of the vestibule preceding the sanctuaries (Caligula), received its decorative programme during the reign of Claudius. See el-Qal’a I, 6; TRAUNECKER–PANTALACCI (1989:204), and TRAUNECKER (1997:169).

as ‘antonomasia’.¹⁵³⁹ In the temple of el-Qal’a Isis is usually depicted on the south side, while the Great Goddess predominates on the north side. The same pattern is also adhered to in the decorative scheme of the elevated chapel,¹⁵⁴⁰ while in the reliefs of the open court both goddesses are usually depicted together rather than opposite each other.¹⁵⁴¹ At times a child-god is associated with them: Harpocrates, the firstborn of Amun and wearing his father’s feather crown usually accompanies Isis,¹⁵⁴² while Horudja, the son of Osiris, is depicted with the double crown in the company of the Great Goddess.¹⁵⁴³ Other deities associated especially with Isis on the walls of the ensemble are her sister Nephthys and her mother Nut.¹⁵⁴⁴

The Great Goddess is regularly accompanied by some of the deities from the north sanctuary. This sanctuary was dedicated to desert goddesses or distant goddesses like Tameret and Taireperatum.¹⁵⁴⁵ These deities, originally manifestations of the raging, distant goddess, are presented in the complex of el-Qal’a as pacified, protective mother goddesses.¹⁵⁴⁶ The presence of this second sanctuary dedicated to desert goddesses in the temple of el-Qal’a has left its mark on the decorative programme of the entire temple, including the complex. A series of rites otherwise not encountered in the ensembles of other temples are found on the lateral walls of this temple’s complex. These offerings refer to the myth of the return of the distant and raging goddess and, especially, to her appeasement.¹⁵⁴⁷

¹⁵³⁹ The process of antonomasia is analysed in detail in TRAUNECKER (1997:171–176). Traunecker also refers to a secondary antonomasia or the development of the goddess Shepset (Sps . t) from an epithet of the Great Goddess. In the publication of the second volume of the inscriptions and reliefs from the temple of el-Qal’a he departed from the idea: initially read Sps . t, the name turned out to be Neith in one and Nut in the second of the two scenes in el-Qal’a where Shepset was thought to feature: el-Qal’a II, 3, and nos. 124 and 212. The 1997 article also refers to a similar development in the nearby temple of Shanhûr. For a more in-depth look at the origin and development of the Great Goddess and her relationship to Isis in Shanhûr, consult Shanhûr I, 18–24, and WILLEMS (2007).

¹⁵⁴⁰ For instance on the rear wall of the chapel: el-Qal’a II, nos. 205; 208; 211, and 214.

¹⁵⁴¹ For instance: el-Qal’a II, 6–7, and nos. 179–180, and 182–183.

¹⁵⁴² el-Qal’a II, no. 203. See also TRAUNECKER (1995:252).

¹⁵⁴³ el-Qal’a II, no. 206.

¹⁵⁴⁴ el-Qal’a II, nos. 184; 186 and 207, and TRAUNECKER (1995:253).

¹⁵⁴⁵ el-Qal’a II, nos. 181; 185, and 187.

¹⁵⁴⁶ For more information on these deities, consult el-Qal’a I, 11–13. On the theology of the temple, consult also TRAUNECKER – PANTALACCI (1984–1985:204–209; 1989:204–209)

¹⁵⁴⁷ On the myth of the return of the distant goddess, see in general: JUNKER (1911; 1917); SETHE (1912), and INCONNU–BOCQUILLON (2001).

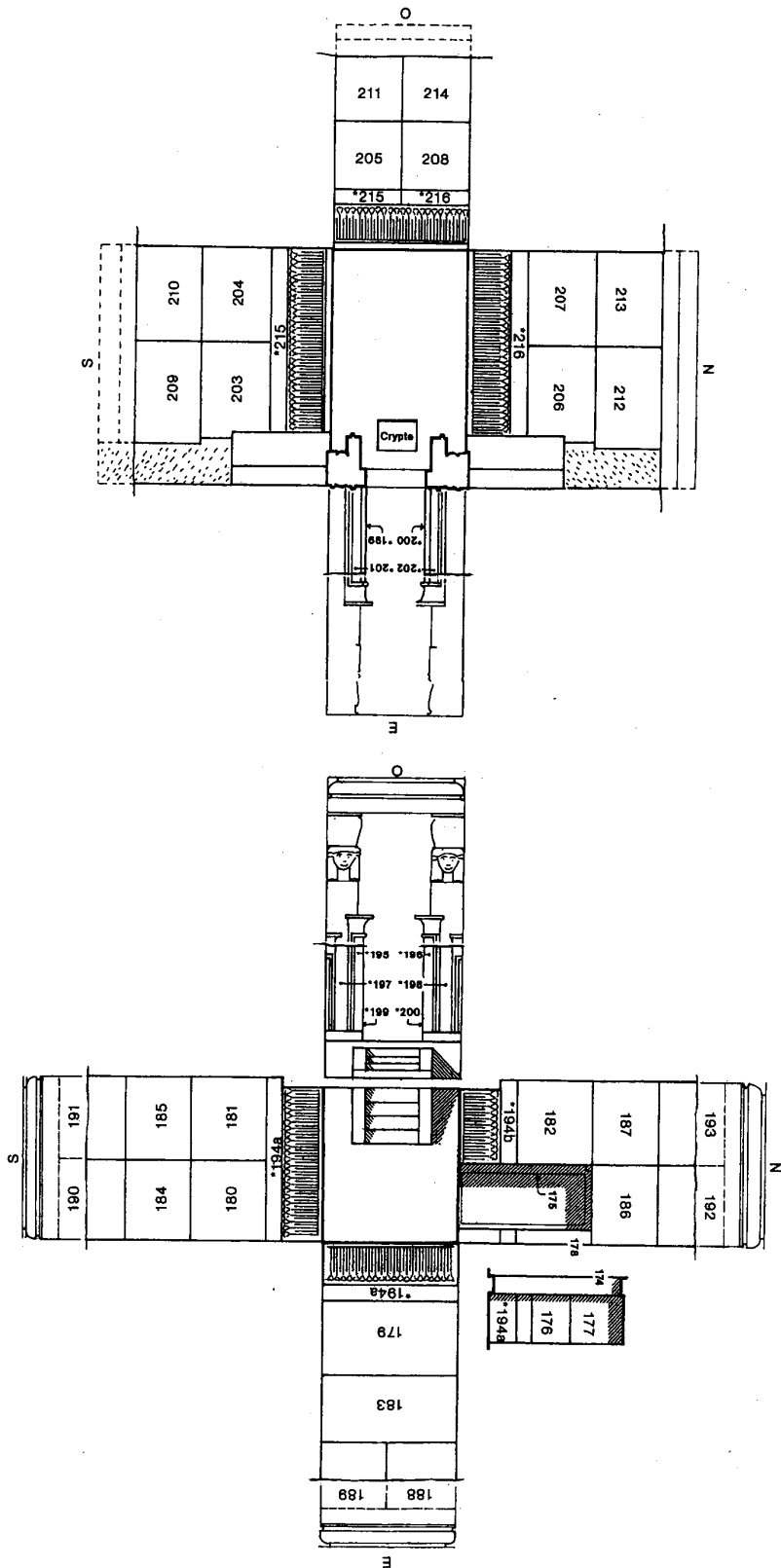


Fig. 84. The distribution of the scenes in the open court and 'seat of the first feast' of el-Qal'a (el-Qal'a II, plates III and IV)

The ensemble in the temple of el-Qal'a formed, like its counterparts in the temples of Philae, Edfu, Dendara, and Shanhûr, the destination of (one or more) processions that took place throughout the year. The entrance to the complex and the south wall of the ambulatory near the entrance gate testify to the existence of these processions. Immediately to the east of the gate a hymn welcoming Isis is located:¹⁵⁴⁸ 'Welcome to you, Isis, the great, [...] the great goddess, the noble one, the great one in Coptos, mistress of gods and goddesses, the mighty one/mistress in the two lands and the foreign lands, the god's mother [...]' (nD-Hr=t % .t wr.t [...] nTr.t] aA.t Sps.t aA.t m Gbtyw nb [nTr.w] nTr.wt HqA.t/wsr.t m tA.wy xAs.wt mw.t-nTr [...]).

The idea of a procession entering the court is also suggested by the two inscriptions on the insets of the door leading from the corridor into the complex. The texts consist of instructions to the priests carrying the statue and describe the joy in the land when the statue arrives in the 'seat of the first feast':¹⁵⁴⁹

– East inset:

Hm.w-nTr.w it.w-nTr.w imi a.wy=tn Xr @nw.t Ssp [sj m?] Htp Dd-m-rA [m-q]b nmтт=tn [...] Ax.ty.t hr rmn.w=tn [...]

Priests and god's fathers, place both your arms underneath the Lady, take possession/receive [her in?] peace, in continuation of the spell,¹⁵⁵⁰ [cool] of your strides, [...] Akhet (the Horizon goddess) is on your shoulders [...]

– West inset:

[...] ihy n [tA r] Dr=f Hry.w-Sa m nDm-ib nTr.t aA.t Htp.ti m s.t Hb tpy [it]=s Ra Ha [...]

[...] jubilation of the entire [land]. 'Those who are upon the sand/the sand-dwellers'¹⁵⁵¹ are in joy when the great goddess rests in her 'seat of the first feast'. Her [father] Ra rejoices [...]

Not only the goddess, but also some of the products that are meant to be presented to her in the course of the rituals, are brought in procession to the ensemble. Immediately to the east of the already mentioned hymn to Isis three small scenes spread over three registers in the

¹⁵⁴⁸ el-Qal'a II, 160, and no. 120.

¹⁵⁴⁹ el-Qal'a II, 165, and nos. 174–175. Compare with similar texts in Edfou I, 414–415, and 442–443.

¹⁵⁵⁰ For the expression Dd-m-rA, consult Wb V, 629 (8–9), and FAULKNER (1937:177, n. 28, 8).

¹⁵⁵¹ Wb III, 135.

ambulatory.¹⁵⁵² These scenes portray the gods Tayt and Hedjhotep bringing linen and an unidentified god, most likely Shesmu,¹⁵⁵³ carrying two vases with ointments or unguents towards the complex. (fig. 85) The presence of these scenes just outside the ensemble is reminiscent of similar scenes at or near the entrance to other complexes. In the temple of Dendara the lintel of the gate leading from the treasury to the open court contains two scenes presenting linen and unguents. (fig. 77) In Philae, the ‘chamber of linen’ preceding the open court has scenes depicting a procession bringing linen to the court and a relief of the ‘lord of the workshop’, the god Shesmu. (fig. 66)



Fig. 85 *Shesmu, Hedjhotep and Tayt bringing linen and unguents to the complex of el-Qal'a*
(*el-Qal'a II, nos. 117–119*)

The importance of these products, and of the protective amulets in the shape of a pectoral or necklace, is amply demonstrated in the lower bandeau inscriptions in the elevated chapel, and especially in the four scenes engraved on the west or rear wall of the ensemble. (figs. 85 and 86) The lower bandeau inscription on the east and south walls of the open court refers only generally to the presence of all ritual materials and objects necessary for the fulfilment of the rites in the ensemble:¹⁵⁵⁴

... ir.n=f mnw=f <n> mw.t<=f> %t wr.t tA nTr.t aA.t s.t Hb
tpy arq.ti m kA.t=s irw<=s>¹⁵⁵⁵ nb Hna irw nb nw sSm xs xt.ti

¹⁵⁵² el-Qal'a II, nos. 117–119.

¹⁵⁵³ TRAUNECKER (1995:253).

¹⁵⁵⁴ el-Qal'a II, 165, and no. 194a, and TRAUNECKER (1995:259).

¹⁵⁵⁵ The reading of irw<=s> nb.w ‘with all <its> material’ was suggested by Pantalacci and Traunecker (el-Qal'a II, 165, n. 40). In similar contexts the suffix =s often occurs: Edfou I, 158, 8 and Edfou II, 106, 10.

Hr sAwy m-xn.t=s sS.ti m sipt m Ssp.w=s Dsr.w im m-ab x.t-nTr n=s-imy¹⁵⁵⁶ sSm=s [...] mr(?)=s ir nfr n kA=s ...

‘... He (= Claudius) made his monument <for> <his> mother Isis, the great, the great goddess – a ‘seat of the first feast’, which is completed in its work¹⁵⁵⁷ (with) all <its> material and all material of conducting the ritual,¹⁵⁵⁸ which is engraved on the walls inside it, inscribed with the inventory of its divine images there and of its divine ritual, its leader [...] her beloved (?), who does good/perfect things for her *ka* ...’.

The two lower bandeau inscriptions in the elevated chapel clearly demonstrate the importance of linen, unguents, incense and protective amulets for the rites performed in the ensemble.

– South and west walls (south half):¹⁵⁵⁹

anx s.t Hb tp.y n %.t Spss.ti m irw=s apr.ti m dbH.w=s nb sA.w [...] wn im s(i)ar nTr.w nTr.wt mnx.t Sps.t n kA.t &Ay.t [...] in arq-ins n N.t wDA.w sA.w n nTr.w Sps.w r mk.t D.t n %.t wr.t ra nb sAx.w aSA.w xty.w Hr sAwy=s twt [...] kA=s

‘May the seat of the first feast of Isis live, provided with its requirements and equipped with all its needs, the sA-amulets [...] that are there. The gods and the goddesses lift up the noble mnx.t-cloth from the work of Tayt [...] ‘The one who ties on the ins-cloth of Neith¹⁵⁶⁰ brings the wD3-amulets and the sA-amulets of the noble gods to protect the body of Isis, the great, every day. Numerous sAx.w-spells are written on its walls, the image/statue [...] her *ka*’.

– North and west walls (north half):¹⁵⁶¹

¹⁵⁵⁶ The reading n.s.imy for this passage was suggested by Pantalacci and Traunecker without argumentation (el-Qal’a II, 165, n. 42). The reading of the hand copied Hkr.w-looking signs might lead to confusion, but most likely the signs intended were three trees and the reading would then be im (VP II, M 1, 3 and 5).

¹⁵⁵⁷ In the temple of Edfu, the expression arq m kA.t=s often refers to the completion of (part of) the temple. WILSON (1997a: 167 and 1083).

¹⁵⁵⁸ The first irw might refer to general requirements, and the second to the material required for conducting a specific ritual. In Edfu xs is a general term for a ritual written on a papyrus roll. WILSON (1997a:748).

¹⁵⁵⁹ el-Qal’a II, 167, and no. 215, and TRAUNECKER (1995:259–260).

¹⁵⁶⁰ A priestly title: Wb I, 100(9) and 211(20), and BERLANDINI-GRENIER (1976:126–129).

¹⁵⁶¹ el-Qal’a II, 167, and no. 216, and TRAUNECKER (1995:259–260).

anx s.t Hb tpy n N.t nTr.t wr.t DD [...] =s nb Htm.ti m sA.w
 arar r Ha.w-nTr nTry m kA.t <@D>Htp r Hbs Ha.w=s m nfr.w=s
 iry-xx wAD mnf(r).w.t r Xkr.w=s n Hm.t-nsw.t antyw Sw tpy
 Hkn¹⁵⁶² nTr m kA.t m-a ^sm m DbA.w=f [...]

‘May the seat of the first feast of Neith,¹⁵⁶³ the great goddess, live, enduring [...] all her [...],
 equipped with sA-amulets produced for the divine limbs, the nTry-cloth as the work of
 <Hedj>hotep to cloth her limbs in its perfection, the necklace of a green wAD-stone¹⁵⁶⁴ and
 the mnfr.w.t-bracelets as her adornments of royal wife,¹⁵⁶⁵ antyw, dry and of first
 quality,¹⁵⁶⁶ and the divine Hkn-unguent of the work of Shesmu with his fingers[...].’

The unguent and incense are also mentioned on the inner side of the broken door-lintels:

– Text column on south broken door-lintel:¹⁵⁶⁷

[....] pf wr HqA m tA-nTr bs.n=f¹⁵⁶⁸ antyw n kA=T hrw Hb mnx.t
 ‘[...] this great [...], the ruler in the god’s land, he pours out(?) myrrh to your *ka* the day of
 the feast of linen’.

– Text column on north broken door-lintel:¹⁵⁶⁹

[.... r]wy¹⁵⁷⁰ pf Hry-tp.n=f wtnt Sms.n=f Hkn n kA=T [....] Hb
 [....]

¹⁵⁶² VP II, M 225.

¹⁵⁶³ The goddess Neith features in the sanctuary of Isis and the so-called north sanctuary of the temple from the time of Augustus in the role of a protective mother-goddess: el-Qal’a I, nos. 2; 23; 32; 45; 56, and 66. TRAUNECKER (1995:260) has suggested that her presence in the bandeau inscription of the elevated chapel might be due to the fact that these inscriptions were already written at the time of Augustus. In the reign of Claudius, the decorative programme of the elevated chapel commonly placed the Great Goddess opposite Isis. One would therefore have expected to find the name of the Great Goddess and not Neith in the lower bandeau inscription of the ‘seat of the first feast’.

¹⁵⁶⁴ VP II, J 173 and 175, and Wb I, 269.

¹⁵⁶⁵ The title ‘royal wife’ (Hm.t-nsw.t) is associated with Isis and Nephthys in the temple of el-Qal’a: el-Qal’a I, no. 31 (Isis), and el-Qal’a II, nos. 123 (Nephthys) and 238 (Isis).

¹⁵⁶⁶ For the expression antyw-tp, consult WILSON (1997a:164).

¹⁵⁶⁷ el-Qal’a II, 167, and no. 201.

¹⁵⁶⁸ The exact reading of this verb is uncertain, but its sequence suggests that myrrh was presented to the *ka* of the goddess. The text column still contains a part of a bA-bird and perhaps the verb bs or ‘to pour out’ was intended. See Wb I, 477–478, and WILSON (1997a:333).

¹⁵⁶⁹ el-Qal’a II, 167, and no. 202.

¹⁵⁷⁰ This group of signs could also be read as mAi, another term for ‘lion’ – WILSON (1997a:395).

‘[...] this lion, who rules the land of Wetenet and who presents Hkn–unguent to your *ka* [the day?] of the feast [...]’

The importance of linen, unguents and protective amulets for the ritual activities in the ensemble is also amply illustrated by the four scenes that make up the decorative scheme of the rear wall of the elevated chapel. The first register depicts the pharaoh offering *nTrj*–cloth to Isis (south) and *mnx.t*–linen to the Great Goddess (north).¹⁵⁷¹ (figs. 84, nos. 205 and 208; 86 and 87)



Fig. 86 Emperor Claudius offering stripes of linen to Isis and the Great Goddess on the first register of the rear wall of the elevated chapel in the temple of el-Qal'a (photo by the author)

¹⁵⁷¹ el-Qal'a II, nos. 205: *mi n=T nTry m a.wy @D-Htp sXkr D.t=T m Hbs.w nfr.w* or 'take for you the netjery–cloth from the hands of Hedjhotep, adorn your body with beautiful linen'; 208: *mi n=T mnx.t m rsn.t mHn.t m r-a.wy n &Ayt @D-Htp* or 'take for you the *mnx.t*–linen from the resenet and mehenet–workshops as the handiwork of Tayt and Hedjhotep'. The *rsn.t* and *mHn.t* workshops are chapels or sanctuaries located in the temple precinct of Neith in Sais and are known for the production of linen that was used particularly during the embalming of the deceased. Consult EL-SAYED (1975:180–199).

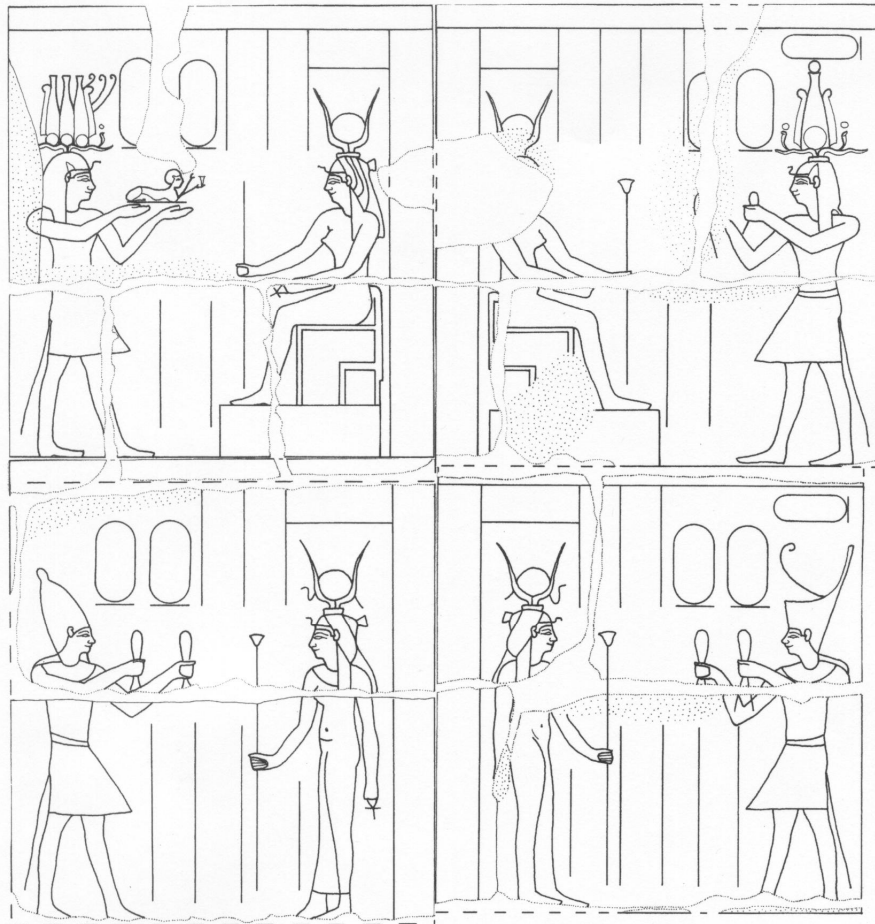


Fig. 87 *The decorative scheme on the west or rear wall of the elevated chapel of el-Qal'a*
(*el-Qal'a II, nos. 205; 208; 211, and 214*)

In the second register Isis is the recipient of a small figure of a human-headed sphinx with a pail-shaped vessel between its outstretched paws. The vessel most likely contained *antꜣw*, which could be used both as incense and in unguents.¹⁵⁷² (fig. 84, no. 211, and 87). In the opposite scene the *wDA*-pectoral is presented to the Great Goddess.¹⁵⁷³ (fig. 84, no. 214, and 87) These three types of offerings also fill the rear wall in the slightly older decorative scheme of the elevated chapel in *Shanhûr*.¹⁵⁷⁴ Their presence on the most important wall of an otherwise scarcely decorated ensemble suggested their importance for the rites performed in the complex. In the temple of *el-Qal'a* it is not only the rear wall that illustrates the central role these products played in the ritual activities in the 'seat of the first feast'. These particular offerings are also mentioned in the bandeau inscriptions in the elevated chapel and on the broken door-lintels in between the chapel and the court. And their divine producers – *Tayt*,

¹⁵⁷² A similar offering is presented on the west or rear wall of the 'seat of the first feast' in *Philae*: document 21 and figure 63.

¹⁵⁷³ *el-Qal'a II, nos. 211 and 214*. The beginning of neither title is preserved.

¹⁵⁷⁴ *Shanhûr I, nos. 75–76* (unguent); 77 (pectoral), and 78 (stripes of cloth).

Hedjhotep, and Shesmu – are portrayed in the ambulatory bringing linen and unguents to the court.

The wall opposite the rear wall of the chapel contains the only other type of offering scene that was also present in the temple of Shanhûr. The depiction of the consecration of a large heap of offerings has been a recurring scene in the open court of every ensemble studied up to this point. The presentation of these large amounts of offerings to the deities is also present in the decorative scheme of the court of the complex of el-Qal'a and occupies the entire lower register of its east wall. (figs. 84, no. 179, and 88) The beneficiaries of the offering are, once again, the main deities of the temple: Isis and the Great Goddess.¹⁵⁷⁵ The title of the scene is only partially preserved, but one can still read that it concerns a great offering (aAb . t) in the 'seat of the first feast'. A few of the products offered to the deities are still legible in the inscription which mentions 'mnx . t–linen to cloth the limbs' (mnx . t r sTAm Ha . w...) and 'beautiful adornments' (Xkr . w nfr . w). Food–offerings are also depicted in the third registers of the east, south and north walls.¹⁵⁷⁶ The east wall contains the offering of sr–geese and snw–bread.¹⁵⁷⁷ In the other two scenes (part of) the food–offering is still visible, but nothing remains of the titles accompanying this presentation. (fig. 84, nos. 189; 191, and 193).

¹⁵⁷⁵ el-Qal'a II, no. 179.

¹⁵⁷⁶ el-Qal'a II, nos. 189; 191, and 193. The northernmost scene in the third register of the east wall (no. 188) might also have contained a food–offering, but too little of the scene remains to identify the offering.

¹⁵⁷⁷ el-Qal'a II, nos. 189: mi sr snw n mw . t=f or 'bringing sr–geese and snw–bread for his mother'. Traunecker and Pantalacci suggested reading the goose as sAt, but in the temple of Edfu the offering of snw–bread is regularly made in combination with a sr–goose. See for instance Edfou II, 58, 2; Edfou III, 257, 4, and Edfou VII, 145, 9. On each occasion the bread and goose are presented to the goddess Neith.

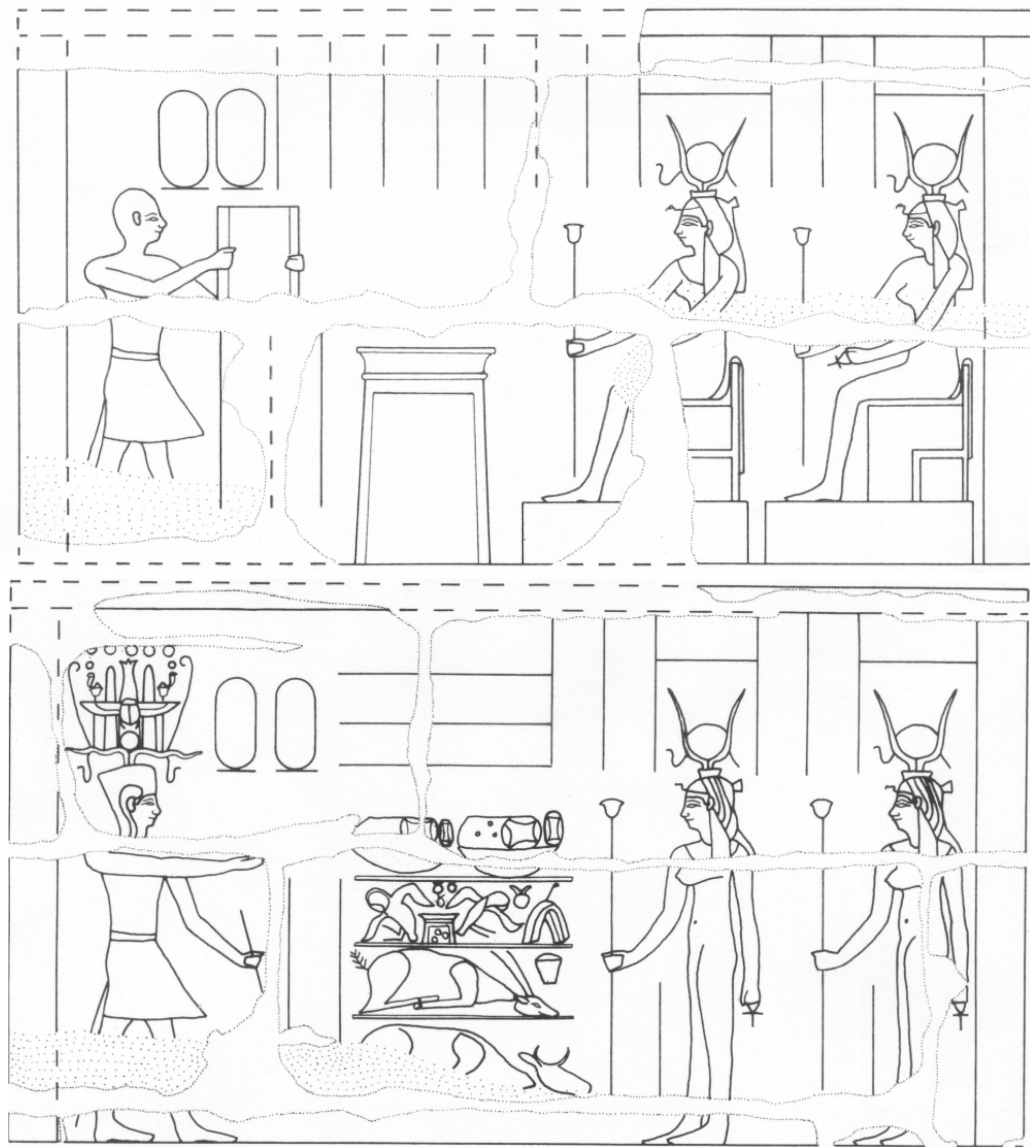


Fig. 88. The first and second register on the east wall of the open court in el-Qal'a
(el-Qal'a II, nos. 179 and 183)

Above the large food-offering on the east wall, the second register also features a single large scene.¹⁵⁷⁸ (fig. 88) Emperor Claudius is portrayed here as a priest holding a papyrus in front of the two main deities of the temple. Unfortunately the title of the scene is not preserved. The legend accompanying Isis mentions the execution 'for her of the regulation of the seat of the first feast' (n=s tp-rd n s.t Hb tpy). This regulation is also mentioned in the lower bandeau inscriptions of the open court in Dendara. The instruction apparently involves the

¹⁵⁷⁸ el-Qal'a II, no. 183.

performance of all necessary rituals to prepare the statues of the gods to be exposed to the sun disc and reunited with their *ba*.¹⁵⁷⁹ Several epithets accompanying Isis in this scene indicate how this instruction also refers to activities and rites steeped in a funerary sphere and especially refer to the death and resurrection of Isis' husband Osiris.¹⁵⁸⁰ The goddess is referred to as 'widow' or Shentayt (SntAy.t).¹⁵⁸¹ The goddess Shentayt, who at times was represented as a cow, belonged to the pantheon of Abydos and also had a cult at Busiris. Together with Merkhetes–Nephthys, Isis–Shentayt plays a crucial role in the resurrection and regeneration of her brother/husband Osiris.¹⁵⁸² In the divine *Randzeile* of the el–Qal'a–scene, reference is made to 'the protection of her brother Osiris' (nhp n sn=s Wsir).¹⁵⁸³ Another epithet mentions how the goddess 'presents Aw.t–offerings to her brother' (sf sf Aw.t n sn=s). In the temple of Edfu this presentation occurs mainly in libation and censuring offerings and it often figures in a funerary context.¹⁵⁸⁴ The presence of a priest reading a papyrus and the presence of a great offering below this scene brings to mind similar rites carried out at the entrance of the place of embalming and in front of the tomb. This act is for instance also depicted in the Old Kingdom tomb of Pepi–Ankh in Meir.¹⁵⁸⁵

In his study of the decorative scheme of the ensemble, Traunecker suggested that this scene does not relate to the rituals performed at the time of the New Year, but rather to a funerary feast presumably celebrated on another occasion.¹⁵⁸⁶ I do not agree with his conclusion. Scenes referring to mortuary or funerary practices, such as the ritual of the 'opening of the mouth' or the embalming ritual, occur regularly on the walls of the complex.¹⁵⁸⁷ These rituals all had the same aim as the rites performed upon the statue of the gods in the ensemble: to enable them to return from a lifeless state to new life. The relief depicting the pharaoh

¹⁵⁷⁹ Dendara IV, 185, 14–186, 2 and 186, 5–7. See also Chapter 4.3.3.

¹⁵⁸⁰ TRAUNECKER (1995:254), and COPPENS (2002b:313–314).

¹⁵⁸¹ See especially CAUVILLE (1981). Consult also Wb IV, 518; LdÄ V, 580–581; RÄRG, 404–405; CHASSINAT (1966–1968:16–17), and WILSON (1997a:1023–1024).

¹⁵⁸² Shentayt and Merkhetes are for instance depicted in the chapel on the roof of the temple of Philae while protecting the djed–pillar topped by the head of Osiris. See figure 56 in this volume = Philae Bénédite, plate XL, and PETERS–DÉSTERACT (1997:196–197). A recurring epithet of Isis–Shentayt places her in the *wabet* or 'place of embalming': Edfou I, 188, 13; Edfou II, 48, 14, and Philae Bénédite, 119, 3–5.

¹⁵⁸³ For a similar expression, see Philae Bénédite, 120, 9–10.

¹⁵⁸⁴ WILSON (1999:836).

¹⁵⁸⁵ BLACKMAN (1953: plates xlii and xliii).

¹⁵⁸⁶ TRAUNECKER (1995:270).

¹⁵⁸⁷ See already pages 327–331, and Chapter 5.3.

reading a papyrus in front of Isis–Shentayt and the Great Goddess is in my opinion but another example of the influence of funerary rites and practices on the activities that took place in the ensemble. This scene, and many others already analysed in the ensembles of Philae, Edfu and Dendara, raise the question whether the distinction that some egyptologists tend to make between funerary rites and temple rituals could be an artificial one...¹⁵⁸⁸

Two scenes need to be mentioned in this context. These are most likely related to the two scenes on the east wall of the court and are located one above the other in the doorway from the ambulatory into the open court. (fig. 84, nos. 176–177) The scenes, only partly preserved, depict the pharaoh presenting a no longer identifiable offering to Shu and Nedjem–Ankh (lower scene) and bringing a food–offering to – presumably – Ihy–Remet and Hetep–Id (upper scene) or the four ka’s.¹⁵⁸⁹ These four ka’s are usually identified as forms of the creator–god Ptah of Memphis.¹⁵⁹⁰ They can also be found on the lateral walls of the *wabet* in Dendara.¹⁵⁹¹ The four ka’s most likely represent the cycle to which the statues of the deities are continuously subjected: youth, fertility, old age and burial.¹⁵⁹² The offerings made to the four ka’s are probably another indication of the funerary context in which many rites performed in the complex are steeped. Following one’s death the *ka* separates from the body and goes ‘to rest’ (Htp), but one is reunited once more with one’s *ka* at the tomb when food–offerings are made following the ritual of the ‘opening of the mouth’. The decision to present offerings to the four ka’s on the walls of the ensemble might reflect the funerary offerings made to the *ka* at the tomb of the deceased and indicates the reunion of the statue of the god with its *ka*.

The other scenes depicted on the lateral walls of the open court do not seem to fall within the typical categories of ritual acts depicted on the walls of this space. Reliefs portraying and describing the destruction of the enemies of the god(s), which covered parts of the walls of the open courts in Edfu and Dendara, are completely missing in the court of el–Qal’a. In contrast, a series of reliefs belonging to the typical decorative scheme of the *wabet* in the

¹⁵⁸⁸ See also Chapter 5, and CRUZ–URIBE (1999:69 and 71–72) for a similar opinion.

¹⁵⁸⁹ el–Qal’a II, nos. 176–177.

¹⁵⁹⁰ WILD (1954:201–205); SAUNERON (1957); MEEKS (1963), and COPPENS (2008b).

¹⁵⁹¹ Dendara IV, 243, 11–244, 4; 248, 9–12; 261, 8–13; 266, 14–18, and plates cccvii and cccxii. See already Chapter 4.3.4. In the temple of Dendara the four ka’s might not have been considered the ka’s of the creator–god, but belonged perhaps to the main deity of the temple – Hathor Quadrifrons.

¹⁵⁹² AUFRERE (1991:174), and WAITKUS (1997:268–269, n. 27).

temples of Edfu and Dendara appear to have spilled from the walls of this chapel on the lateral walls of the open court. In the temple of Shanhûr the consecration of large offerings, characteristic for the decoration of the walls of the court, was transferred to the lateral walls of the elevated chapel. In the ensemble of el-Qal'a the opposite appears to have happened with a series of purification rites and offerings of regalia with protective powers.¹⁵⁹³ Concomitantly a series of scenes in the open court and elevated chapel refers to the appeasement of the desert goddesses to whom part of the temple of el-Qal'a was dedicated.

The purification scenes on the lateral walls of the open court include purification with nemeset and desheret-vessels, two types of natron and a censuring and libation. These ritual activities are also depicted on the walls of the *wabets* in Edfu and Dendara. In the open court of el-Qal'a the purification scenes with the nemeset¹⁵⁹⁴ and desheret¹⁵⁹⁵ vessels are located in the first register of the south and north walls of the open court respectively.¹⁵⁹⁶ (fig. 85, nos. 180 and 182) The beneficiaries of these purification rites are in both cases Isis and the Great Goddess. The purification scene with the four desheret vessels is located next to the entrance into the court from the ambulatory. The relief depicting the purification with four nemeset vessels is accompanied by another purification rite in the first register. In this scene the pharaoh is portrayed while performing a censuring and, according to the accompanying inscription, a libation for the goddesses Tameret and Tairetperatum.¹⁵⁹⁷ (fig. 85, no. 181) Two more purification scenes are located in the second registers of the lateral walls of the open court. (fig. 85, nos. 184 and 186) On the south wall, the pharaoh brings Upper Egyptian

¹⁵⁹³ TRAUNECKER (1995:254–255).

¹⁵⁹⁴ el-Qal'a II, no. 180: pXr HA sp-4 m 4 n.t nms [.t] n.t mw or 'going around four times with four nemes[et]-vessels of water'.

¹⁵⁹⁵ el-Qal'a II, no. 182: pXr HA sp-4 m [dSr] .t 4 n.t mw or 'going around four times with four [desher]et-vessels of water'.

¹⁵⁹⁶ In Edfu these rites are located in the first register of the lateral walls of the *wabet* (Edfou I, 418–419, and 428, and plates xxxiiiia). In Dendara the purification with nemeset and desheret vessels is depicted on the interior of the screen walls of the *wabet* (Dendara IV, 230, 8–231, 5, and plate cccv). The purification with nemeset-vessels also takes place in the centre of the first register of the east wall (Dendara IV, 257, 5–15, and plate cccxii), while the purification with desheret-vessels is engraved in the third register of the rear wall (Dendara IV, 270, 3–271, 4, and plate cccxi). See also Chapters 4.2.3b and 4.3.4.

¹⁵⁹⁷ el-Qal'a II, no. 181: i.r.t snTr xrp qbH or 'performing the censuring, conducting the libation'.

natron to Isis and Nephthys¹⁵⁹⁸ and on the opposite wall Lower Egyptian natron to Isis and Nut.¹⁵⁹⁹ The northernmost scenes of the third registers of the lateral walls, above the presentation of natron to the goddesses, depict another type of offering that usually occurs on the walls of the *wabet* and not in the open court. On the north wall the ruler presents a necklace to two deities that can no longer be identified.¹⁶⁰⁰ (fig. 85, no. 192) The lower part of the necklace, which is still visible, consisted of a series of strings. This suggests that the offering was most likely the usekh– or beb–necklace. The opposite scene depicts the offering of a no longer visible or identifiable object in faience, perhaps a menat–necklace with counterweight.¹⁶⁰¹ (fig. 85, no. 190)

Of the remaining two scenes, only one can be identified with certainty. In the second register of the south wall the pharaoh presents the *wnSb* or *wṯT*–symbol to the Great Goddess and Tameret.¹⁶⁰² (fig. 85, no. 185) The offering usually consists of a *hn*–container or chest against which a sitting baboon is leaning. It symbolizes the regular return of cosmic cycles, such as day and night, the seasons, or the cycles of the moon and the sun. The offering is regularly made to pacify (or to the pacified form of) the raging distant goddesses.¹⁶⁰³ The

¹⁵⁹⁸ el-Qal'a II, no. 184: [pXr HA] sp-4 m 4 TAw Sma n Nxb or '[going around] four times with four Upper Egyptian incense pellets from Elkab'. Compare with Edfou I, 427 (first register of west wall of the *wabet*). Incense pellets are also offered to Hathor on the rear wall of the *wabet* in Dendara: Dendara IV, 251, 9–252, 9.

¹⁵⁹⁹ el-Qal'a II, no. 186: pXr HA sp-4 m 4 TAw mHw n ^rp or 'going around four times with four Lower Egyptian incense pellets from Wadi Natrun'. Compare with Edfu I, 418 (first register of the east wall of the *wabet*).

¹⁶⁰⁰ el-Qal'a II, no. 192. Nothing remains of the title accompanying this scene.

¹⁶⁰¹ el-Qal'a II, no. 190. The beginning of the title of the scene is missing, but it appears an object in faience (THnt) was presented. Traunecker and Pantalacci have suggested that it might have been a menat–necklace: el-Qal'a II, 197, and TRAUNECKER (1995:255). In the second register of the exterior west wall of the sanctuary the presentation of a faience menat–necklace to Bastet precedes the offering of the usekh–necklace to Tairetperatum (el-Qal'a II, nos. 141–142). In Dendara the usekh–necklace is placed opposite the beb–necklace on the lateral walls of the *wabet* (Dendara IV, 245, 9–17; 263, 8–264, 2, and plates ccvii and ccxii), while in Philae the usekh–necklace is associated with the wDA–pectoral on the rear wall of the court, and with the menat–necklace with counterweight on the north wall (Chapter 4.1, documents 15; 17; 22, and 23).

¹⁶⁰² el-Qal'a II, no. 185.

¹⁶⁰³ LdÄ VI, 1156–1157; DAUMAS (1970c:70–71); HANDOUSSA (1979); SAMBIN (1988); GRAEFE (1993:146–148); INCONNU–BOCQUILLON (2001:227–230); LEITZ (2001:181–182), and PREYS (2002:328–329). The offering also occurs in combination with the aforementioned menat– and usekh–necklace in the second register of the exterior west wall of the sanctuary – el-Qal'a II, no. 136. The beneficiary is

opposite scene depicts the ruler in front of the Great Goddess and Tairetperatum. The offering he holds in his hands is no longer visible, but the accompanying inscription mentions a vessel (qbyw) that is known as a container for beer.¹⁶⁰⁴ Like the wnSb/wtT-offering pictured opposite, beer could also be used to pacify the raging goddess.¹⁶⁰⁵ In both instances the offer is made to the Great Goddess accompanied by one of the desert goddesses venerated in the north sanctuary: Tameret (south) and Tairetperatum (north).

The pacification of the distant goddess on the lateral walls of the open court is undoubtedly inspired by the theology of the temple of el-Qal'a. The presence of the goddesses Tameret and Tairetperatum and the offering of the wnSb/wtT and perhaps beer testify to this local development. The rite of pacifying a raging goddess is attested for the rituals performed in other complexes. The rite is also found on the walls of the open court of Philae¹⁶⁰⁶ and Dendara¹⁶⁰⁷ in relation to the dangerous period preceding the arrival of the New Year. The transition from the old to the new, and especially the time of the epagomenal days, was considered to be a period filled with dangerous and life-threatening events for both gods and men in ancient Egypt.¹⁶⁰⁸ But the frightening aspects of the raging and distant goddess that has returned in peace to Egypt could be used to drive off the evil and impurities that threatened the entire creation at this time of the year.¹⁶⁰⁹

Sekhmet. In the pꜣ-wꜣ the offering occupies the east scene of the rear wall (to Nephthys). The opposite scene is once again an offering of a necklace to the Great Goddess (el-Qal'a II, nos. 249 and 252).

¹⁶⁰⁴ el-Qal'a II, no. 187: ... qbyw n kA=T or '... vessel for your ka'. In the third registers of the doorjambs of the gate providing access to the sanctuary of Isis, the offering of nw-vessels is located opposite the presentation of the wnSb/wtT-symbol – el-Qal'a I, nos. 25–26. Pantalacci and Traunecker suggested in el-Qal'a II, 74, that in this scene in the 'seat of the first feast' the pharaoh was holding some sort of vase. Later on, TRAUNECKER (1995:255) apparently changed his mind and without argumentation proposed that the pharaoh performed an 'offrande litanique' instead.

¹⁶⁰⁵ LdÄ I, 791; LdÄ VI, 775, and LEITZ (2001:191–192).

¹⁶⁰⁶ See especially Chapter 4.1.6i and document 17.

¹⁶⁰⁷ The rite is depicted on the exterior of the screen walls: Dendara IV, 224, 16–225, 2; 227, 17–228, 7, and plate cccliii.

¹⁶⁰⁸ On the importance of protection from evil before the arrival of the New Year, see JANKUHN (1972:5–7); HOENES (1976:67–78); YOYOTTE (1980:64–67); GERMOND (1981:207–212), and ŽABKAR (1988:121–123). On appeasing Sekhmet (sHtp ꜥxmt) in her form of a raging goddess, consult especially CAUVILLE (2002a:121–140), and GOYON (2006).

¹⁶⁰⁹ SAMBIN (1988:284), and LEITZ (2001:182).

The walls of the elevated chapel also contain a series of reliefs typically found in other *wabets* together with the above mentioned scenes referring to the return and appeasement of the raging distant goddess. The walls of the chapel are divided into two registers, each containing two scenes. The already described rear wall is divided equally between Isis (south) and the Great Goddess (north).¹⁶¹⁰ The distribution of the divinities follows the pattern set elsewhere in the Claudian decorative scheme of the temple. The lower register of the south wall features Min and the child deity Harpocrates, and an adult Horus and Isis, representing the triad of nearby Coptos. The opposite register depicts Osiris and the child god Horudja, and an adult Horus with Nephthys.¹⁶¹¹ The second register has Isis with Nut, and Nephthys with Tameret (south), and The Great Goddess and Neith, and an unidentified goddess and Tairetperatum (north).¹⁶¹² (fig. 84)

The offerings of linen, myrrh and a pectoral on the rear wall of the chapel have already been discussed and fall among the typical products presented to the deities in the ensemble.¹⁶¹³ (figs. 86–87) A number of the offerings made to the deities on the lateral walls are also encountered in the *wabets* of other temples. The westernmost scenes of the south wall depict for instance the presentation of two ointments: the green and black eye paints in the first register¹⁶¹⁴ and probably some sort of unguent in the second.¹⁶¹⁵ These offerings are made to Horus and Isis and to Nephthys and Tameret, respectively. The exact nature of the unguent is not mentioned, since the title of the scene has not been preserved. The royal *Randzeile* of this particular scene mentions Shesmu, lord of the workshop, and the Hknw-unguent. A plausible unguent presented here could be the mD.t-unguent. In the *wabets* of both Edfu and Dendara it is closely associated with the offering of the black and green eye paints.¹⁶¹⁶ The mD.t-

¹⁶¹⁰ See already p. 389–391, and el-Qal'a II, nos. 205; 208; 211, and 214. In general on the distribution of the deities on the walls of the chapel, consult TRAUNECKER (1995:256–257).

¹⁶¹¹ el-Qal'a II, nos. 203–204 (south), and 206–207 (north).

¹⁶¹² el-Qal'a II, nos. 209–210 (south), and 212–213 (north).

¹⁶¹³ See already p. 389–391, and el-Qal'a II, nos. 205; 208; 211, and 214.

¹⁶¹⁴ el-Qal'a II, no. 204: mi n=k wAD.t r mk ir.t=k m D.t=f Hr msdm.t r mk ir=k m X.t=f or 'take for you the green eye paint to protect your eye in the morning, the black eye paint to protect your eye in the evening'. For the expression D.T=f X.t=f or 'morning, evening' consult WILSON (1997a:1250).

¹⁶¹⁵ el-Qal'a II, no. 210. The title of the scene has not been preserved.

¹⁶¹⁶ In the *wabet* of Edfu the offerings are located one opposite the other in the northernmost scenes of the third registers of the lateral walls – Edfou I, 434–435 (mD.t), and 425 (wAD msdm.t). In the *wabet* of Dendara,

unguent is also presented on more than one occasion together with linen on the walls of other complexes.¹⁶¹⁷ The combination of both items often occurs against a mortuary background, but the purpose of the products is first and foremost renewal and regeneration.¹⁶¹⁸ The offering of TAY.τ– or DAY.τ–linen to Osiris, accompanied by Horudja in the south scene of the first register on the east wall, most likely also falls within this general context.¹⁶¹⁹ (fig. 85, no. 206) This particular type of linen is regularly presented to Osiris,¹⁶²⁰ sometimes even together with the mD.τ–unguent,¹⁶²¹ on the walls of Ptolemaic and Roman temples.¹⁶²²

Another offering that could possibly refer to the activities taking place at the time of the New Year or other feasts celebrated in the temple is the presentation of two bouquets of lotus–flowers to the Great Goddess and Neith in the second register of the north wall.¹⁶²³ Flowers are usually presented at the time of feasts and festivals, including the time of the New Year.¹⁶²⁴ The scent and colour of the flowers could cause the deities to feel rejuvenated, and at the same time the flowers also suggested the idea of the land becoming fertile following a perfect inundation.¹⁶²⁵ Flowers and bouquets, together with trees and other plants, also feature extensively in a long hymn located in the passage of the south entrance to the temple.

both offerings are located in the third register of the west wall – Dendara IV, 267, 2–10 (eye paints), and 269, 2–16 (unguent).

¹⁶¹⁷ The rear wall of the ‘seat of the first feast’ in the temple of Philae has the presentation of linen and mD.τ–unguent opposite each other in the first register of the rear wall (Chapter 4.1, documents 18 and 19). In the *wabet* of Edfu mD.τ–unguent and mnX.τ–linen are presented by Ptolemaios IV and Arsinoe III to their deified parents, the *theoi energetai* or Ptolemaios II and Berenike II (Edfou I, 421–422). In the *wabet* of Dendara the two items are offered to Hathor in the first register of the west wall (Dendara IV, 257, 17–258, 11) and to one of the four ka’s in the third register of the same wall (Dendara IV, 266, 14–18).

¹⁶¹⁸ For instance: CAUVILLE (1983:174), and ROEDER (1996:96–114).

¹⁶¹⁹ el-Qal’a II, no. 206: mi n=k TAY.τ m kA.τ &AY.τ ... HAty m kA.τ @D–Htp or ‘take for you the TAY.τ–linen as the work of Tayt, ... the HAty–linen as the work of Hedjhotep’.

¹⁶²⁰ The association between Osiris and this type of linen apparently dates back already to the Pyramid Texts according to PT utterance 416.

¹⁶²¹ For instance: Edfou I, 187–188.

¹⁶²² For instance: Edfou VI, 148, 2; CHASSINAT (1966–1968:308; 585, and 751–752), and TRAUNECKER (1992:119).

¹⁶²³ el-Qal’a II, no. 212. Nothing of the title of the scene has been preserved.

¹⁶²⁴ LdÄ I, 834–840; DITTMAR (1986:75–79, and 117–123), and LEITZ (2001:224–225).

¹⁶²⁵ DITTMAR (1986:103).

The inscription most likely refers to a local celebration, but the date of the feast has not been preserved.¹⁶²⁶

Opposite the presentation of the protective green and black eye paints, the pharaoh is depicted offering an eye to Horus and Nephthys.¹⁶²⁷ The location of the eye opposite the protective eye paints is undoubtedly intentional, but there is more to this scene than first meets the eye. In the accompanying inscription the eye is identified as the *Baqet*-eye. This ‘bright’ eye is nothing else but the perfectly reconstituted *wDA . t*-eye of Horus. The term is also used to refer to Egypt, the ‘land of the filled eye’.¹⁶²⁸ In combination with the previous scene an interesting tale unfolds. The first scene in the lowest register of the north wall portrays Osiris, in the company of the child-god Horudja, receiving the *TAY . t*- or *DAY . t*-linen, which could be used for his embalming.¹⁶²⁹ In the following scene, Horus has reached adulthood and is given his reconstituted eye, which also symbolizes the land of Egypt. These two scenes evoke in general the death and embalming of Osiris, whose widow (*SntAY . t*) is depicted in the second register of the east wall, and the ascension to the throne of the land by his son and legitimate heir Horus.¹⁶³⁰

Two other rites depicted on the lateral walls of the chapel are commonly applied to pacify the rage of the distant goddess: the offering of wine and playing the sistra. In the second register of the south wall the pharaoh appears to offer an *mm*-vase with wine to Isis and Nut.¹⁶³¹ The title of the scene is only partially preserved, but it still contains the term *ir . t*-*Hr wAD*.

¹⁶²⁶ el-Qal’a II, 170, and no. 270, and TRAUNECKER (1995:258).

¹⁶²⁷ el-Qal’a II, no. 207: *mi n=k bq . t mh . tw m irw=s* or ‘take for you the baqet-eye filled with its requirements’. Compare for instance with Edfou III, 139, 1; 144, 4, and 237, 6.

¹⁶²⁸ Wb I, 425(10); LdÄ I, 76; DERCHAIN-URTEL (1981:29–36), and LABRIQUE (1992:249, and 260–261).

¹⁶²⁹ el-Qa’a II, no. 206.

¹⁶³⁰ The two scenes on the opposite wall also depict Horus coming to age. In the first scene Horus-the-child (Harpocrates) accompanies Min of Coptos to whom the pharaoh presents maat. The following scene shows an adult Horus receiving the black and green eye paints. It is at present not clear what might constitute the link between maat and the eye paint in these scenes. According to TRAUNECKER (1995:258) ‘la nature de l’offrande (= maat) est commandée par l’identité de la divinité’ (= Min). In the temple of el-Qal’a, Min is regularly the beneficiary of the offering of maat: el-Qal’a I, nos. 4; 29; 30, and 43.

¹⁶³¹ el-Qal’a II, no. 209.

The ‘green eye of Horus’ regularly occurs as a term for wine.¹⁶³² The use of wine to pacify the raging goddess is well-known,¹⁶³³ but the beneficiaries of the rite in this particular scene are Isis and Nut and not a distant goddess. The offering of wine, located opposite the presentation of the two bouquets of flowers, might perhaps also be associated with the celebrations that took place at the time of the arrival of the New Year,¹⁶³⁴ but like the bouquets of lotus flowers, wine is also offered during a large variety of rituals and festivals.¹⁶³⁵ In the second register of the opposite wall the ruler might have played the sistra to a no longer identifiable goddess¹⁶³⁶ and Tairetperatum.¹⁶³⁷ The musical instruments and the title of the scene have not been preserved, but the royal and divine *Randzeiten* both mention the child-god Ihy ‘making music’ (xn). The sistra are usually played to pacify the rage of the goddess.¹⁶³⁸

The final and ultimate offering depicted on the walls of the chapel is the presentation of maat to Min and Harpocrates in the first register of the south wall.¹⁶³⁹ In the context of temple rites, the presentation of the goddess Maat to the deities is the most crucial ritual act

¹⁶³² For instance: Edfou I, 71, 16 and 448, 6; Edfou II, 212, 1; Edfou VIII, 46, 6–7; Dendara II, 14, 12; 41, 4; 43, 10; 44, 7, and 200; 16; Dendara III, 120, 13; Dendara IV, 30, 2; 46, 10; 65, 13; 171, 2; 203, 13, and 238, 14, and Dendara V, 71, 5.

¹⁶³³ LdÄ VI, 1174–1175; DILS (1993:111–114, and 118–120); POO (1995:24–25, and 153–155), and LEITZ (2001:173–175).

¹⁶³⁴ TRAUNECKER (1995:258), and POO (1995:54, and 155–157). In some scenes, libation with wine can refer to the inundation of the Nile which flooded Egypt at the time of the New Year – DILS (1993:120).

¹⁶³⁵ POO (1995:51–55). TRAUNECKER (1995:269–270) has suggested that the ensemble of the temple of el-Qal’a had become a multi-functional complex that was used at various times throughout the year. I wholeheartedly agree that the offering of wine and bouquets of flowers can refer to a large variety of different festivals, next to the New Year one. But in my opinion the mere presence of the offerings of wine and flowers and his reference to the funerary context of the pharaoh reading a papyrus in front of the ‘widow’ Isis does not necessarily imply that the ensemble had become ‘un espace ferial polyvalent’ (see already my comments on pages 393–394 regarding the scene with Isis–Shentayt). The decorative scheme from the ensemble in Dendara clearly suggests that the complex was used several times throughout the year and I see no reason why this could not have been the case also for the ensemble in el-Qal’a. The preserved inscriptions and scenes however do not allow us to assert or negate this hypothesis.

¹⁶³⁶ TRAUNECKER (1995:257, n. 99) suggests that it might have been Anuket. The opposite scene depicts Nephthys and in the decorative programme of the temple from the time of Augustus, Anuket is sometimes placed in relation to Nephthys – el-Qal’a I, 12.

¹⁶³⁷ el-Qal’a II, no. 213. The title of the scene has not been preserved.

¹⁶³⁸ LdÄ V, 961; DAUMAS (1970c:72–73); LEITZ (2001:179–181). In general, consult REYNDERS (1998).

¹⁶³⁹ el-Qal’a II, no. 203: mi n=k mAa . t anx=k im=s or ‘take for you maat that you may live through it’.

performed in the temple.¹⁶⁴⁰ The offering is in fact archetypal; it was, according to the Berlin version of the Daily Temple Ritual and various New Kingdom depictions of the ritual, the most important offering as it incorporated the idea of all other offerings and could symbolise the food of the gods.¹⁶⁴¹

The decorative scheme applied to the walls of the open court and the elevated chapel in el-Qal'a is generally speaking composed of the same selection of scenes found in other ensembles. The depiction of the great offering, the purification of the gods (nemeset- and desheret-vases, natron, incense and libation), their adornment with different types of linen, and provision with protective amulets in the shape of necklaces and pectorals can be found on the walls of every ensemble.¹⁶⁴² The decorative programme of the complex did not escape certain influence of the local theology of the temple, as was also the case in Edfu and Dendara. The importance of the cult of the distant or desert goddesses in the small temple of el-Qal'a was also reflected in the decoration of the walls of the ensemble. The rites depicted focus clearly on the appeasement of the raging, distant goddess (sistra, beer, the *wnSb* or *wT*-symbol, and perhaps wine). These scenes bring to mind texts and scenes from other ensembles that deal with pacifying the rage of Sekhmet in the period prior to the New Year. Her rage appeased, the goddess turns into a peaceful and protective entity whose terrifying powers can now be turned against one's enemies. The general context of the decorative programme of the ensemble in el-Qal'a clearly follows that of older complexes and expresses themes related to the clothing and adornment of the gods and their protection.

The climax resulting from the ritual acts performed on the statues in the ensemble – the sun disc uniting with the statues and the joy it causes – is described on the exterior side of the columns and broken door-lintels separating the open court from the elevated chapel:

– 'Isis, the great, mother of the god, the great goddess. Her father Ra unites his divine rays with her limbs. Shine, shine, daughter of the All-Lord' (*% . t wr . t mw . t - nTr tA*

¹⁶⁴⁰ See for instance FAIRMAN (1958b); DERCHAIN (1962b); CAUVILLE (1987a:6–7); WILSON (1997a:397–398); LEITZ (2001:204–208), and PREYS (2002:101–102; 210–214, and 401–403) on the offering of maat in Ptolemaic and Roman temples.

¹⁶⁴¹ MORET (1902a:138–165), and GUGLIELMI (1980).

¹⁶⁴² See also Chapter 5.

nTr.t aA.t Xnm it=s Ra stwt=f nTry m Ha.w=s wbn.wy sA.t¹⁶⁴³
nb-r-Dr).¹⁶⁴⁴

– ‘Illuminate, the Golden One in the horizon! Shine forth, Akhet in her chapel! For indeed you are the great one, the lady of her father Ra, the braided one, whose belovedness is sweet’¹⁶⁴⁵ (wbn Nbw.t m-Xn.t Ax.t psD AX.ty.t m kAr=s Twt irf wr.t Hnw.t it=s Ra Hnsk.ty.t bnr(.t)-mrw.t).¹⁶⁴⁶

– ‘The great goddess Neith, who is resting in the seat of the first feast, which is purified of all evil/enmity [...] when you set/rest, you father Ra sets/rests in the horizon’ (tA nTr.t aA.t N.t Htp.ti m s.T Hb tpy wab.ti m DAit nb m [....] Htp.ti Htp Ra m Ax.t).¹⁶⁴⁷

– ‘[... The men?] are in praise, the women are in celebration, the children are dancing. Lady of offerings,¹⁶⁴⁸ [...] to whom all¹⁶⁴⁹ gods come [...]’ ([.... TA.w?]¹⁶⁵⁰ m iAw Hm.wt m wp.t Xrd.w Hr ibA wy @nw.t Htp.w [....] iw n=s nTr.w irw [....]).¹⁶⁵¹

The inscriptions describing the ‘union with the sun disc’ do not provide any information on the location where this act took place. It is at present impossible to establish whether the climax of the rites performed in the ensemble might have been set in the sun light of the open court, on the roof of the temple – of which almost nothing has been preserved – or in the court in front of the temple. Likewise, the scenes and inscriptions covering the walls of the ensemble do not provide any date for the occurrence of the rituals in the complex. The designation ‘seat of the first feast’ and the similarities in the ritual acts depicted on its walls

¹⁶⁴³ The reading is suggested in el-Qal’a II, 84, n. a.

¹⁶⁴⁴ el-Qal’a II, 166, and no. 195.

¹⁶⁴⁵ The same hymn, though less preserved, is also found on the interior of the screen wall in the temple of Shanhûr I, no. 59 and Chapter 4.4.

¹⁶⁴⁶ el-Qal’a II, 166, and no. 196.

¹⁶⁴⁷ el-Qal’a II, 166, and no. 198.

¹⁶⁴⁸ Traunecker and Pantalacci (el-Qal’a II, 166) translated this epithet as ‘dame de l’apaisement’. A more plausible reading might be ‘Lady of the offerings’. Although this epithet does not occur in el-Qal’a, it is well attested elsewhere as a reference to various goddesses: LÄGG V, 198.

¹⁶⁴⁹ Consult Wb I, 105, and WILSON (1997a:91) for the reading of irw as ‘all’.

¹⁶⁵⁰ Since the inscription continues with describing the joy of women and children, one might assume that the line opens with the men. In Edfu the term TA.w often features opposite Hm.wt – WILSON (1997a:1158).

¹⁶⁵¹ el-Qal’a II, 166, and no. 197.

and the walls of other complexes suggest that the ensemble functioned at the time of the New Year.

The inscriptions on the interior side of the broken door–lintel mention the ‘day of the feast of clothing’ (hrw Hb mnx . t) and another feast (...Hb...) that is not further identified.¹⁶⁵² According to the temple calendars from Edfu, Dendara and Esna the ‘feast of clothing’ (Hb mnx . t) or ‘providing clothing’ (iri . t/DbA mnx . t) takes place mainly in the period immediately preceding the New Year and on New Year’s Day.¹⁶⁵³ The feast is mentioned on Mesore 30,¹⁶⁵⁴ the first,¹⁶⁵⁵ second,¹⁶⁵⁶ and fourth epagomenal day,¹⁶⁵⁷ and Thoth 1¹⁶⁵⁸ in these calendars.¹⁶⁵⁹ The west upper bandeau inscription from the *wabet* of Dendara also mentions the ‘feast of extending the mnx . t–cloth’ (Hb sSp mnx . t) to Ra–Harsomtus on Mesore 29 and to the mistress of Dendara on the fourth epagomenal day.¹⁶⁶⁰ In light of this abundance of material pointing to the period surrounding the New Year for the day of the ‘feast of clothing’, its mention on the interior of the broken door–lintel in the ensemble at el–Qal’a most likely also refers to the same period. This suggests that the complex in the temple of el–Qal’a functioned, like its counterparts in other temples, first and foremost at the time of the New Year. It cannot be excluded that the ensemble also had a role to play at other times throughout the year, but due to the lack of any irrefutable textual evidence, this must remain a hypothesis for the time being.¹⁶⁶¹

¹⁶⁵² el–Qal’a II, 167, and nos. 201–202.

¹⁶⁵³ GRIMM (1994:368).

¹⁶⁵⁴ In Edfu: Edfu V, 395, 1 (Hb mnx . t).

¹⁶⁵⁵ In Edfu, Dendara (calendar in Edfu), and Esna: Edfou V, 359, 1, and 395, 3 (ir . t mnx . t); Esna II, 172, 2 (Hb ir . t mnx . t).

¹⁶⁵⁶ In Edfu: Edfu V, 395, 3–4 (Hb mnx . t).

¹⁶⁵⁷ In Edfu, Dendara (calendar in Edfu), and Esna: Edfou V, 359, 5 (ir . t irw nb Hb mnx . t), and 395, 5 (ir . t tp–rd nb n DbA mnx . t); Esna II, 172, 5 (ir . t mnx . t).

¹⁶⁵⁸ In Dendara: Dendara VI, 158, 2 (Hb mnx . t).

¹⁶⁵⁹ In the festival calendar of the temple of Dendara the ‘feast of clothing’ and the presentation of clothing is limited to the period of the New Year. The calendar of Edfu V, 401, 1 mentions DbA mnx . t on Pachon 19. For the similarities in the rites performed on Thoth 1 and Pachon 19 in Edfu, see already p. 304. The calendar of Esna also mentions ir . t mnx . t on Thoth 9; Ssp ins on Thoth 10 and Athyr 19; DbA ins on Thoth 10, and DbA . t mnx . t on Payni 26. See Esna II, 124, 2 and 5; 125, 15, and 170, 7.

¹⁶⁶⁰ Dendara IV, 234, 6–10.

¹⁶⁶¹ I can only speculate as to whether the two scenes in the lowest register of the north wall perhaps refer to the feast of Osiris in the month of Khoiak and the subsequent coronation of Horus at the beginning of the month

Tybi – el-Qal'a II, nos. 206 (linen to Osiris and a young Horudja), and 207 (baqet-eye to an adult Horus and Nephthys). TRAUNECKER (1995:270) was also convinced that the ensemble of el-Qal'a functioned at various times throughout the year, but his claim was mainly based on the presence of the scene depicting the pharaoh reading a papyrus in front of Isis, widow of Osiris (el-Qal'a II, no. 183). See however my comments on this proposal on page 394.

5. The standard decorative scheme of the complex of *wabet* and court

The decorative scheme applied to the walls of the complex of *wabet* and court has been preserved in five temples dating from early Ptolemaic times until the final decades of the Julio–Claudian imperial house. The study of the individual ensembles in the previous chapters has clearly revealed that each complex — despite intrusions of the local theology in the decorative scheme and function of each individual ensemble — contains a number of recurring characteristic components in the decorative scheme applied to its walls. Following the description and analysis of these individual decorative programmes in the previous chapters, this chapter brings together the common characteristics and essential components of all ensembles. It aims to define the standard components in the decoration of the complex throughout its occurrence in the temple in order to get a better understanding of its role in the temple and its development over time. Concomitantly I will also attempt to trace its origins and the influence of other rites and rituals in its conception.

5.1. The descriptive inscriptions.

A total of ten texts, mostly bandeau inscriptions, describe some of the activities depicted and performed in the complex. These inscriptions span a period of three centuries, from the end of the third century BC to the middle of the first century AD. These texts are unfortunately limited to three of the five temples that have their decorative scheme preserved – Edfu, Dendara and el-Qal'a. The three oldest inscriptions date back to the reign of Ptolemaios IV Philopator (221–204 BC, Edfu). This collection of inscriptions continues with a single text from the time of Ptolemaios X Alexander I (107–88 BC, Edfu) and three inscriptions from the era of Cleopatra VII (51–30 BC, Dendara), and ends with two inscriptions from the reign of Claudius (41–54 AD, el-Qal'a). These texts have already been dealt with in the previous chapters, but I find it more than worthwhile to take them out of the context of each individual ensemble and place them next to each other since the result of this chronological overview is rather remarkable.

Edfu – Ptolemaios IV

– Text 1: west column of the *wabet*:¹⁶⁶²

‘Ascending the staircase, revealing the face of the deity, presenting the wDA–pectoral and the beb/usekh–necklace, offering the white linen, the red linen, the dark–red linen, to wrap Horus with the container of clothing of? Horus [...] adornments/regalia, establishing the sSd–head band/diadem and the manx . t–counterpoise, repeating the libation by the Hry–sStA–priest, carrying out their duties by the Hm–nTr–priests, clothing the great ennead, clothing the small ennead: the great gods of the temple/sanctuary, performing all rituals of the clothing–ritual for Hathor, mistress of Dendara and Harsomtus, ...’.

– Text 2: east column of the *wabet*:¹⁶⁶³

‘Ascending the staircase, seeing the god in his shrine, adorning with the sAw–amulets, equipping with adornments/regalia, praising the red crown, establishing/affixing the white crown, performing the censuring of their [sSd–head band/diadem], anointing the divine ti–Sps–ointment on his sacred brow twice by the overseer (of priests?) [...] with/on his great (gods), clothing the limbs of the mistress of Dendara with her wab . t–linen, clothing her son Harsomtus and Ihy, the great, son of Hathor, who appeases his father and his mother. The [great?] ennead and the ennead of Hathor, their limbs are protected with the Ssp . t–cloth.

– Text 3: the inner east doorframe of the *wabet*:¹⁶⁶⁴

‘Horus–Behdety, the great god, lord of heaven, rests in his *wabet*, his noble chapel of adorning his body until the return to the sanctuary in sacredness, while Hathor, the mistress of Dendara, rests besides you in her shape/form of Maat, and the ennead of Edfu and the gods of the ‘seat of Ra’ (= Edfu) are all near you, clothed with their wt–wrappings, equipped with their adornments, and all the wDA–amulets as their protection’.

Edfu – Ptolemaios X Alexander I

– Text 4: lower bandeau inscription on the external part of the enclosure wall.¹⁶⁶⁵

‘Presenting mD . t–unguent, mnx . t–linen and the sAw–amulets of protection to cloth the god with his adornments, purifying his majesty (=Horus) with his incense–pellets and his

¹⁶⁶² Edfou I, 413, 12–16. See already page 306.

¹⁶⁶³ Edfou I, 414, 2–7. See already pages 306–307.

¹⁶⁶⁴ Edfou I, 416, 6–9. See already page 309.

¹⁶⁶⁵ Edfou VII, 16, 1–5. See already pages 307–308.

nemeset–vases to unite his *ba* with his image... Praising his *ka*, adoring his *ba*, slaying his enemies, providing his house with offerings’.

Dendara – Cleopatra VII

– Text 5: upper east bandeau inscription in the *wabet*.¹⁶⁶⁶

‘He has constructed a HAY.ṯ–chapel for his mistress in joy, a horizon for her *ka* in Dendara, to adorn her body with the ‘cloth of Renenutet’ as an excellent work of Tayt, to perform for her the anointing with the mD.ṯ–unguent of the divine ritual as (one of) the great glories/abilities from the hands of Shesmu, to tie on the wDA–pectoral of gold to her throat as (one of) the great wonders of Tenen, to present to her the wsx–necklace of nine petals; (it is) Atum joined with his offspring. She appears in procession in her shrine to unite with the rays of her father....

– Text 6: upper west bandeau inscription in the *wabet*.¹⁶⁶⁷

‘He has build a (protective) chapel for Iunet in Dendara, and Harsomtus, who is at her side, to adorn their secret images inside her (= the chapel) with the white cloth, the green cloth, and the red cloth and the dark–red cloth’.

– Text 7: lower east bandeau inscription in the *wabet*.¹⁶⁶⁸

‘He has built a (protective) chapel for ‘the one beautiful of face’, who is in the *wia*–bark (of Ra), as a beautiful work of eternity, to distinguish her majesty inside it (= the chapel) with the ‘garment of Renenutet’ on that beautiful day of the opening of the year, to adorn her images in its interior every day, year by year, without ending’.

– Text 8: lower west bandeau inscription in the *wabet*.¹⁶⁶⁹

‘He has constructed the screen–walled portico for ‘the one that makes live her progeny’ (= Isis) as a great monument in Dendara to anoint her statue in its interior (= the chapel) with the iBr–unguent, to adorn her majesty with her beautiful (linen), to present to her a sA–amulet of lapis–lazuli to her throat, to unite with the living *ba* of Ra in heaven’.

¹⁶⁶⁶ Dendara IV, 233, 7–234, 1. See already page 348.

¹⁶⁶⁷ Dendara IV, 234, 6–10. See already page 349.

¹⁶⁶⁸ Dendara IV, 231, 11–232, 1. See already pages 349–350.

¹⁶⁶⁹ Dendara IV, 232, 5–233, 3. See already page 350.

el-Qal'a – Claudius

– Text 9: lower bandeau inscription along the south and west walls (south half) of the *wabet*.¹⁶⁷⁰

‘May the ‘seat of the first feast’ of Isis live, provided with its requirements and equipped with all its needs, the sAw–amulets [...] that are there. The gods and the goddesses lift up the noble mnx . t–cloth from the work of Tayt [...] ‘The one who ties on the ins–cloth of Neith’ brings the wD3–amulets and the sA–amulets of the noble gods to protect the body of Isis, the great, every day’.

– Text 10: lower bandeau inscription along the north and west walls (north half) of the *wabet*.¹⁶⁷¹

‘May the ‘seat of the first feast’ of Neith, the great goddess, live, enduring [...] all her [...], equipped with the sA–amulets produced for the divine limbs, the nTry–cloth as the work of <Hedj>hotep to cloth her limbs in its perfection, the necklace of a green wAD–stone and the mnfr . w . t–bracelets as her adornments of royal wife, antjw, dry and of first quality, and the divine Hkn–unguent of the work of Shesmu with his fingers[...].’

An examination of these inscriptions describing the rites that took place in the complex reveals that the essence of the activities performed does not seem to alter greatly over time. An overview of the various offerings presented to the gods in these texts is gathered in table XII. This table clearly indicates that three types of offerings occur in almost every text: linen, protective amulets, and unguents or ointments. A variety of different types of linen is presented to the deities, from the (four–coloured) mnx . t–cloths to divine (nTry), beautiful (nfr), bright (Ssp) and pure (wab) linen and the ‘cloth of Renenutet’ (DbA–n–Rnnwt . t) and to the wt–bandages that are commonly used in the embalming. The protective amulets (sAw) often take the form of a wDA–pectoral or a wsx–necklace. And among the different types of unguents we find mD . t twice, and ibr, Hkn and ti–Sps a single time. The gum–resin or myrrh antyw is only mentioned once, in the very last example. I have kept it in table XII as a separate offering, but it is my opinion that antyw featured in the complex not only

¹⁶⁷⁰ el-Qal'a II, 167, and no. 215, and TRAUNECKER (1995:259–260). See already page 388.

¹⁶⁷¹ el-Qal'a II, 167, and no. 216, and TRAUNECKER (1995:259–260). See already pages 388–389.

as incense, but especially as an important ingredient in the production of the ointments and unguents that are so often mentioned and depicted.¹⁶⁷²

The ten texts are, with the exception of text 4, all located on the walls of the elevated chapel and describe solely the essential clothing and adorning rites that took place in this space. Text 4, from Edfu, provides a more detailed description of the activities in the ensemble and includes rites otherwise not mentioned in any of the other inscriptions (purification with incense and nemeset–vessels, a great offering and the destruction of the enemies). This particular text was composed more than a century after the decorative scheme was applied to the walls of the complex in the temple of Edfu, and it actually provides a detailed overview of most rites depicted on its walls, including the open court. The first two texts, which also come from the ensemble in Edfu, are the only inscriptions that mention the presentation of royal regalia (head band, counterweight, white and red crown) to the god. The presence of these offerings is partly connected with the general theology of the temple which focuses on the kingship of Horus and the confirmation and protection of his and his successors' rule (the pharaoh).¹⁶⁷³

The ten descriptive inscriptions do not contain any reference to a specific time for the ritual activities that were carried out in the ensembles. The analysis of the decorative scheme of the individual complexes in the previous chapters has however made it more than clear that the activities took place primarily at the time of the New Year. Although one certainly cannot exclude the possibility that the ensemble also functioned at other times throughout the year – and texts and scenes from the complex in Dendara seem to suggest as much¹⁶⁷⁴ – the main focus in all ensembles appears to be the period surrounding the transition from one year to the next. The exact timeframe certainly differed from one temple to another, but in general it seems to have revolved around the final days of the month of Mesore, the five epagomenal days, New Year's Day (Thoth 1) and the first days of the month of Thoth. The exact sequence of events, such as the dates and routes of the processions, was undoubtedly not the same for every temple and can be reconstructed for most sanctuaries only in a very hypothetical manner. The inscriptions, and the relief decoration that forms the subject of the

¹⁶⁷² LdÄ IV, 275–276; VASSILIKA (1989:111); CHERMETTE–GOYON (1996:48, n. 7), and LEITZ (2001:192–193). On the presentation of *an tyw* in the decorative scheme of the complex, see Chapter 5.2.2c.

¹⁶⁷³ In general: CAUVILLE (1987a:239–242). The scenes on the third register of the *wabet* depict mainly the presentation of royal regalia by the pharaoh to Horus. See already pages 319–321, and 330.

¹⁶⁷⁴ See in particular Chapter 4.3.4.

following subchapter, do not provide clear-cut answers to these problems, but do allow us to get a better understanding of the role the ensemble of an open court and elevated chapel played in the temple at this and, most likely, other times throughout the year.

5.2. The relief decoration

The ten inscriptions that describe the rites that took place in the ensemble focus almost exclusively on the central ritual acts performed in the ensemble: the clothing with linen, the adornment with protective amulets, and the anointing of the statue(s) of the god(s). These rites have also found their way onto the walls of the five complexes. The rear wall of the elevated chapel — the most important wall of the entire ensemble — is often for the most part reserved for the portrayal of these offerings.¹⁶⁷⁵ These types of ritual offerings are not the only scenes depicted on the walls of the complex nor the only reliefs recurring in the decoration of (almost) every ensemble. The study of the decorative programme of the individual complexes has revealed that it is possible to distinguish a number of recurring themes in the decoration of the complex's walls. I propose distinguishing three types of recurring themes in the decorative programme of the open court and the elevated chapel, respectively:

The open court

- a. The *aAb . t* (*aA . t*)—offering or 'great offering'.
- b. The journey of the solar bark of Ra and the destruction of the enemies of the god.
- c. The appeasement of the distant goddess.

The elevated chapel

- a. The entrance of the procession, the opening of the shrines, and the revealing of the face of the deity.
- b. Purification rites.
- c. The essential clothing rituals: the presentation of linen and protective amulets and the anointing with unguents and ointments.

A final category, which consists mainly of inscriptions, is most often found in the text columns on the broken door-lintels and columns that together with the screen walls separate the open court from the elevated chapel. These inscriptions regularly refer to the sun shining

¹⁶⁷⁵ Chapter 5.2.2c

down on the statues of the gods and the joy it creates in the land – the actual result of a perfect execution of the rites in the ensemble.

The categorisation of these various recurring themes in the decorative programme of the complex is by no means a codex set in stone, but rather a flexible working tool for gaining a better understanding of the decoration of these ensembles and the ritual activities performed in them. One has to keep in mind for instance that not all of these themes occur in every single individual complex.¹⁶⁷⁶ At times some theme might be only mentioned in the inscriptions, but not depicted, or could even be entirely missing. One should also never forget that the decorative scheme of the open court in the temple of Dendara is the only one of its kind that has been preserved in its entirety! And in the Roman ensembles scenes that elsewhere belong to the typical decorative pattern of the open court have been transferred on the walls of the elevated chapel (Shanhûr: great offering scenes) or vice versa (el-Qal'a: purification rites). Finally, it is important never to lose sight of the fact that the ensembles are no isolated monuments. The complex forms part of a temple and the theological organisation of this monument also influenced the decorative programme that was engraved on the walls of the complex.¹⁶⁷⁷ Despite these objections, the decorative schemes applied to the walls of the five ensembles still provide us with more than enough indications to allow us to distinguish the recurring themes in the decoration of every ensemble. In the following chapters I will take a closer look at these themes and attempt to provide an insight into the reasons behind their presence on the walls of the ensemble.

5.2.1. The open court

a. The **aAb . t (aA . t)**–offering or ‘great offering’.

The most typical and always present scene on the walls of the open court depicts the pharaoh consecrating the **aAb . t aA . t** or ‘great offering’ to the main deities of the temple. The offering usually consists of different types of foods and beverages, but often also includes linen, unguents and regalia.

¹⁶⁷⁶ Only the ‘great offering’ and the clothing rites occur in the decorative scheme of every single ensemble.

¹⁶⁷⁷ In Dendara, the many offerings of adornments to Hathor, such as the mirror, sistra or the vessels made out of precious materials, are not exclusive to the ensemble, but occur throughout the temple. See already Shanhûr I, 104, n. 74.

- The entire east wall of the ‘seat of the first feast’ in Philae is filled with a scene of the pharaoh censuring and performing a libation in front of a huge offering.¹⁶⁷⁸ (fig. 46)
- The walls of the open court of the ensemble in Edfu contain twice the consecration of the great offering. The scenes cover the entire lower register of the east wall and the west part of the first register of the south wall.¹⁶⁷⁹ (figs. 69–70)
- In the open court of the complex in Dendara the *aAb . t* is depicted in the lowest registers of the lateral walls.¹⁶⁸⁰ The two processions with fecundity figures below also bring the produce of the land to the main deities of the temple of Dendara.¹⁶⁸¹ The offering is mentioned, together with the *dbH . t-Htpw* and the *Htp-di-nsu . t*, in the title of a list of offerings of food, beverages, unguents and libation water in the second register of the north wall.¹⁶⁸² (fig. 75) Inscriptions and depictions on the gate leading from the treasury to the open court suggest that the offering was an important part of the rituals performed in the ensemble.¹⁶⁸³
- In the temple of Shanhûr the walls of the open court never received any decorative pattern, but four scenes depicting the great offering were transferred to the two registers on the lateral walls of the elevated chapel.¹⁶⁸⁴ (fig. 82) The lower bandeau inscriptions on these lateral walls also refer to the pharaoh bringing the produce of the land to the ensemble.¹⁶⁸⁵
- The *aAb . t* is depicted in the first register of the east wall of the open court of the ensemble in the temple of el-Qal’a.¹⁶⁸⁶ (fig. 88) In the third registers of the open court a series of similar food-offerings was engraved.¹⁶⁸⁷

¹⁶⁷⁸ PM VI, 240, no. 309; Philae Bénédictine, 19, 8–10, and pl. VI; JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: no. 711 and 1133), and VASSILIKA (1989: database no. 654).

¹⁶⁷⁹ Edfou I, 443–444, and plate xxxivc–d.

¹⁶⁸⁰ Dendara IV, 190, 17–191, 15, and 205, 10–206, 9.

¹⁶⁸¹ Dendara IV, 187, 11–189, 17, and 202, 5–204, 10.

¹⁶⁸² Dendara IV, 192, 5–193, 6.

¹⁶⁸³ The scenes in the first and third registers of the gate from the treasury to the open court (fig. 77) and the royal hymns on the doorposts refer to the *aAb . t* and the offerings of food and beverages: Dendara IV, 181, 10–16; 182, 9–183, 3; 183, 14–16, and 184, 16–185, 8. The great offering is also mentioned in a hymn on the east wall of the treasury – Dendara IV, 170, 5–171, 5.

¹⁶⁸⁴ Shanhûr I, nos. 62–63, and 67–68.

¹⁶⁸⁵ Shanhûr I, nos. 60 and 65.

¹⁶⁸⁶ el-Qal’a II, no. 179.

¹⁶⁸⁷ el-Qal’a II, nos. 188(?)–189; 191, and 193. The titles of these scenes have not been preserved, but in scenes nos. 191 and 193 part of the food-offering is still visible.

The central role the *aAb . t* must have played in the open court is indicated not only by the presence of one or more scenes featuring the *aAb . t* on its walls. In the temple of Edfu the court is – surely not accidentally – sometimes referred to as the *abA DfAw* or the ‘(court of) the food–altar of provisions’.¹⁶⁸⁸ During excavations in the open court of the temple of Shanhûr in the late 1990s a part of a column was discovered against the south wall of the open court. (fig. 26) The surface of the column had been smoothed and features a depression and discharge for libations, indicating that it had been reused at one point as an altar. The archaeological context in which this altar was discovered suggests that it predates the Coptic re–occupation of this monument,¹⁶⁸⁹ but it is not entirely clear whether the altar/column was originally a part of the temple inventory. The excavation revealed that the base of the column had not been placed upon the original paving of the floor in the open court, which had at some unknown point in time been removed, but upon the temple foundations. Tempting though it may be, the question whether at one point in time this altar functioned as the setting for the *aAb . t* in the open court must remain unanswered.

The abundance of texts and scenes depicting and describing the *aAb . t* in the open court indicates the importance of this offering. The main part of the offering consisted of breads in various shapes and sizes, a variety of flowers, vegetables, fruit and other plants, fowl, all kinds of meat and different vessels with alcoholic and non–alcoholic beverages. This suggests that the statue(s) of the god(s) would most likely look out from their position in the elevated chapel over a great offering in their honour in the open court.¹⁶⁹⁰ It is worth mentioning that in the temples of Philae, Edfu and el–Qal’a, where the main entrance to the open court is not located directly opposite the elevated chapel, the wall opposite this chapel always depicts the consecration of the *aAb . t*. In the temple of Dendara the entrance is located immediately opposite the staircase to the *wabet* and the depiction of the ‘great offering’ is moved to its lateral walls. But the *aAb . t* is mentioned, together with other offerings, at the head of a long list of products above the entrance door. A statue of a deity standing in the elevated chapel and looking out would thus always be confronted with a great offering consecrated in its honour. The abundant products in this ‘great offering’ are all the proceeds of a fertile land following a perfect inundation of the Nile at the time of the New Year. One wonders whether

¹⁶⁸⁸ Chapter 3.3.

¹⁶⁸⁹ TRAUNECKER–WILLEMS (1998:123–127 and plates 23B, 24, and 25A).

¹⁶⁹⁰ The drawing of MARTIN–MORALES (2000:35) that reconstructs the activities in the ensemble of Edfu might be spot on.

these products were placed before the deity not only as its sustenance, but also as a reminder to the deity to grant a perfect inundation and make the land fertile once more.

b. The journey of the solar bark of Ra and the destruction of the enemies of the god.

The arrival of the annual inundation and the daily return of the sun – to shed its light on the statues of the gods in the temples and revitalise them – was not a self-evident phenomenon for the ancient Egyptians. The journey of Ra in his bark during the day and night was fraught with dangers. Enemies, such as Apophis, lurked along the route in order to obstruct it. A series of inscriptions and reliefs on the walls of the courts – the only spaces in the core of the temple that were open to the rays of the sun – in the temples of Edfu and Dendara refer to the successful journey of Ra in his solar bark and the destruction of the enemies of the god that could hinder its progress. The safeguarding of Ra in his solar bark and the slaying of his enemies guaranteed the continuation of the daily cycle and, at the time of the New Year, the presence of the sun disc in the sky to revitalise and renew the statues of the gods in the temples.

In the open court of the ensemble in Edfu the destruction of the enemies of the god is both described and depicted. A long hymn on the west wall of the open court contains several passages dealing with the destruction of various enemies.¹⁶⁹¹ Similar ideas are also expressed in the lower east bandeau inscription in the open court and the upper east bandeau inscription in the *wabet*.¹⁶⁹² A single scene in the now largely missing second register of the south wall of the open court depicts the pharaoh spearing a snake – perhaps Apophis – in front of Horus.¹⁶⁹³ (fig. 70) The destruction of the enemies of the gods is depicted on no less than four occasions in the second registers of the lateral walls of the open court in the complex in Dendara. (fig. 75) The east wall portrays the pharaoh striking a ball representing the eye of Apophis and slaying the crocodile. The opposite scenes depict the slaughtering of an oryx and the spearing of a turtle.¹⁶⁹⁴ The victory of Ra over Apophis is also mentioned in a hymn to Hathor in the thickness of the gate leading from the treasury to the open court.¹⁶⁹⁵

¹⁶⁹¹ Edfou I, 442–443.

¹⁶⁹² Edfou I, 417 and 441.

¹⁶⁹³ Edfou I, 445, 12–19 and plate xxxivc.

¹⁶⁹⁴ Dendara IV, 193, 9–194, 12, and 208, 12–209, 13.

¹⁶⁹⁵ Dendara IV, 184, 8.

Unlike the presentation of the *aAb.t*, one can hardly imagine that the slaying of a crocodile or the spearing of a snake or turtle could have actually taken place in the open court. One could consider that the animal might have been slaughtered elsewhere and pieces of its meat presented to the deities in the court, or there could have been a re-enactment of the killing using small statues.¹⁶⁹⁶ The mere depiction of the acts on the temple walls might however already have sufficed for the rite to be effective.¹⁶⁹⁷

The texts and reliefs not only refer to the destruction of the enemies, but also to the journey of Ra in his solar bark. A hymn to the solar god Ra travelling through the sky and destroying his enemies is located in the second register of the north wall of the open court in the ensemble of Dendara.¹⁶⁹⁸ The two northernmost scenes in the third registers of the lateral walls depict opposite each other the presentation of the morning bark of Khepri to Hathor (east) and of the evening bark of Atum to Isis (west).¹⁶⁹⁹ The accompanying inscriptions refer to the course of the sun during the day and the night and state that Hathor guides and travels in the solar bark of Ra during the day, while Isis travels in the bark at night. The same morning and evening barks are mentioned once more in a hymn to Hathor in the thickness of the gate leading from the treasury to the open court.¹⁷⁰⁰ The journey of the sun is also depicted on the ceiling of the *wabets* of Edfu and Dendara.¹⁷⁰¹ (figs. 67 and 76) The ceiling of Edfu portrays the 12 hours of the day, represented by means of a bark, with Khepri in the *mesketet*-bark in the morning, Ra in the *wia*-bark at midday, and Atum in the *manedjet*-bark in the evening.¹⁷⁰² The ceiling at Dendara depicts the journey of the sun during the day and night. The relief portrays the sky-goddess Nut swallowing the evening sun which travels through her body at night and re-emerges in the morning from her womb.¹⁷⁰³

¹⁶⁹⁶ GRAEFE (1993:153–154).

¹⁶⁹⁷ The topic of the meaning of ritual scenes in Ptolemaic and Roman temples and their manner of (non-) execution has been studied in detail by GRAEFE (1993).

¹⁶⁹⁸ Dendara IV, 206, 13–208, 9. The title of this hymn is *rA n rd.t Xnm Hm.t=s itn m Ax.t* or ‘the chapter/spell of making her majesty unite with the sun disc in the horizon’.

¹⁶⁹⁹ Dendara IV, 198, 19–199, 3; 210, 16–211, and plates *ccci*–*ccci*. See also GRAEFE (1993:151–152).

¹⁷⁰⁰ Dendara IV, 184, 5.

¹⁷⁰¹ The partially preserved ceiling of the elevated chapel of Shanhûr shows the sky at night – Shanhûr I, no. 80 (= figure 80). The night sky is also depicted on the bottom of the architraves above the east screen wall and the entrance to the *wabet* in Dendara: Dendara IV, 215–216.

¹⁷⁰² Edfou I, plate *xxxiii*c.

¹⁷⁰³ Dendara IV, pl. *ccc*xv.

These references and depictions of the journey of the solar god and the destruction of his enemies are only found in the open court of the ensembles in Edfu and Dendara. It is not possible to conclude whether this theme was limited to these two complexes or not. One can only wonder whether similar scenes or texts might once have featured on the now almost entirely missing south wall of the ‘seat of the first feast’ in Philae or in the missing upper bandeau inscriptions of the ensemble in el-Qal’a. The scenes and inscriptions are all concerned with guaranteeing and safeguarding the natural movement of the sun through the sky during the day and night and the undisturbed continuation of this natural cycle.

c. The appeasement of the distant goddess.

Even with the journey of the solar god guaranteed and his enemies taken care of, the dangers threatening the course of events did not yet come to a close. The days prior to the arrival of the New Year, and especially the five epagomenal days, were considered to be the most life-threatening moment of the year. It was the time during which the raging goddess, often in the guise of Sekhmet, sent out her messengers to bring death and destruction to the land of Egypt. This dangerous goddess could however be appeased (sHtp), and what once presented a danger to one’s life could be turned around and used as protection.¹⁷⁰⁴ The important function the ensemble performed precisely at the turn of the year has already been made abundantly clear. It is no surprise that some of the texts and reliefs engraved on the walls of the court are devoted to appeasing the raging goddess during the most dangerous period of the year.

In the ‘seat of the first feast’ at Philae, the appeasement of the raging goddess at the end of the year is expressed most eloquently in a hymn in the third register of the north wall.¹⁷⁰⁵ (fig. 57) Similar thoughts are also expressed in the hymn in the second register, immediately below the previous inscription.¹⁷⁰⁶ (fig. 53) In the ensemble of Dendara, the rite of appeasing the raging goddess, in the form of Sekhmet and Hathor, is located on the exterior of the screen walls separating the court from the *wabet*.¹⁷⁰⁷ The rite of appeasing Sekhmet (sHtp ꜥxm.t)

¹⁷⁰⁴ On the importance of protection from evil before the arrival of the New Year, see for instance JANKUHN (1972:5–7); HOENES (1976:67–78); YOYOTTE (1980:64–67); GERMOND (1981:207–212), and ŽABKAR (1988:121–123). On appeasing Sekhmet, consult especially CAUVILLE (2002a:121–140), and GOYON (2006).

¹⁷⁰⁵ Chapter 4.1.6i = document 17. The scene depicts the presentation of the menat-necklace with counterweight to Isis.

¹⁷⁰⁶ Chapter 4.1.6f = document 14. The scene depicts the presentation of a mirror to Isis.

¹⁷⁰⁷ Dendara IV, 224, 16–225, 2, and 227, 17–228, 7.

took place in the temple of Dendara at the time of the New Year according to the inscriptions on the entrance gate of the pronaos.¹⁷⁰⁸ The greatest number of reliefs related to the pacification of the distant and raging goddess can be found on the walls of the complex of el-Qal'a. The temple was partly dedicated to the cult of the desert goddesses, and the occurrence of an abundance of scenes appeasing these distant deities, often still depicted with the face of a lioness, on the temple walls is not surprising. In the open court the scenes portraying the presentation of the *wnSb/wtT*-symbol and beer to the Great Goddess and one of the desert goddesses are located in the second registers of the lateral walls. Two scenes with a similar thematic background are also found in the second registers of the lateral walls in the elevated chapel and depict the offering of wine and the playing of the sistra, typically employed for the appeasement of this goddess.¹⁷⁰⁹

The typical decorative scheme applied to the walls of the open court seems to contain two different levels. Next to the 'earthly' depiction of the consecration of the great offering in the lower registers, the higher registers portray a series of rites of a more symbolic or cosmological nature. These scenes are concerned with averting the dangers that might threaten a successful conclusion of the rites taking place in the ensemble. With the great offering in place, the raging goddess appeased and the journey of the solar bark guaranteed, the rites central to the rituals performed in the ensemble could now take place in the elevated chapel.

5.2.2. The elevated chapel

a. The entrance of the procession and the opening of the shrines.

The elevated chapel, at times referred to as *wabet*, formed a crucial stage for the processions with the statues of the deities on their journey to rejuvenation and renewal. The inscriptions on the gates that provide access to the ensemble or on the columns and broken door-lintels in between the court and chapel regularly refer to the arrival of the shrines with the statues of the gods in the ensemble.¹⁷¹⁰ In the complexes of Edfu and el-Qal'a instructions are even given to the priests carrying the shrines.¹⁷¹¹ The ultimate aim of these processions – the

¹⁷⁰⁸ CAUVILLE (2002a:121–140).

¹⁷⁰⁹ el-Qal'a II, nos. 185; 187; 209, and 213.

¹⁷¹⁰ For instance: Edfou I, 412, 14–15; 415, 5–10; 416, 6–9; 417; 438, 12–439, 7, and 441; Dendara IV, 149, 17–150, 1; 150, 6–7; 151, 11–13; 184, 3–6; 185, 14–186, 2, and 186, 5–7, and el-Qal'a II, no. 120.

¹⁷¹¹ Edfou I, 414–415, and el-Qal'a II, no. 175.

exposure to the rays of the sun and the union of the *ba* with its statue – is continuously repeated in these same texts.

Following the arrival of the procession, the shrines containing the statues of the gods would undoubtedly be opened and the face of the deity revealed. This sequence of events was perhaps considered self-evident by the priests who designed the decorative schemes for most of the ensembles. The walls of the complexes of Dendara, Shanhûr and el-Qal'a do not contain a single depiction or description of these very specific ritual acts, and in Edfu it is merely mentioned.¹⁷¹² The decorative scheme on the north wall of the 'seat of the first feast' in Philae, the oldest preserved example of its kind, forms a remarkable exception. The first and second registers of this wall provide a most extraordinary visual overview of the initial events that took place in the chapel. The three scenes in the first register depict the pharaoh approaching the gods, while the actual opening of the shrines and the revealing of the face of the deities is portrayed in the second register.¹⁷¹³ The texts accompanying these scenes are copies or edited versions of (passages from) chapters detailing the opening rites of the Daily Temple Ritual.¹⁷¹⁴ These chapters also relate to the pharaoh opening the shrines, revealing the faces of the gods and approaching the statues.

b. Purification rites.

The editors of the decorative programme for the walls of the ensembles following the oldest known example in Philae no longer seem to have felt the need to depict the pharaoh opening the shrines of the gods and revealing the faces of the deities within. The initial ritual acts most often depicted in the lowest registers of the lateral walls of most other chapels deal with the purification of the deities.

The decorative schemes of the ensembles of Edfu and el-Qal'a provide a clear cut overview of the rites involved. In the *wabet* of Edfu the ritual purification of the statues of the gods is performed with natron and water, and through the burning of incense. The presentation of natron¹⁷¹⁵ and the purification with water streaming out of the nemeset and desheret-vases¹⁷¹⁶

¹⁷¹² Edfou I, 413, 12 (pꜣ r rd wn-Hr Hr nTr), and 414, 2 (Ts r xnd mAA nTr m HD.t=f).

¹⁷¹³ Chapter 4.1.6a-f = documents 9-14.

¹⁷¹⁴ In particular (parts of) Chapters 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 17, 24, 25, 27 and 28 according to the division of MORET (1902a). See my analysis of the texts in Chapter 4.1.6j.

¹⁷¹⁵ Edfou I, 418 and 427.

¹⁷¹⁶ Edfou I, 418-419, and 428.

are depicted in the first registers of the lateral walls. (fig. 68) The purification is also expressed by the presentation of a nemeset–vessel to Horus in the middle scene of the second register¹⁷¹⁷ and the burning of incense for the same god on the opposite wall.¹⁷¹⁸ A very similar combination of purification rites is also found in the ensemble of el–Qal’a. In the complex the scenes have been transferred from the elevated chapel to the first and second registers of the lateral walls of the open court. The purification scenes consist of the presentation of the nemeset and desheret–vessels¹⁷¹⁹ and two types of natron,¹⁷²⁰ and a censuring and libation.¹⁷²¹ These initial acts of purification are very reminiscent of the introductory acts performed during the ritual of the ‘opening of the mouth’ on the body of the deceased.¹⁷²² A more or less similar sequence can be observed in the re–consecration of the temple according to inscriptions from Edfu.¹⁷²³

The decorative programme applied to the walls of the *nabet* in Dendara also contains a variety of different purification rites, but their organisation differs in part from the previous examples in Edfu and el–Qal’a. The purification rites are clearly separated from one another and relate to two moments in time.¹⁷²⁴ The initial purifications, reminiscent of the rites in Edfu and el–Qal’a, are depicted on the interior of the screen walls and in the procession with fecundity figures on the lowest level of the walls of the chapel. The scenes on the screen walls depict the pharaoh performing the purification with four desheret–vessels and four nemeset vessels.¹⁷²⁵ (fig. 78) The two processions with fecundity figures bring the deities the life–giving and purifying waters of the Nile. The water is used to purify the temple, and also the statue of the goddess and the offerings brought to her, including the produce of the land presented to

¹⁷¹⁷ Edfou I, 431.

¹⁷¹⁸ Edfou I, 422.

¹⁷¹⁹ el–Qal’a II, nos. 180 and 182.

¹⁷²⁰ el–Qal’a II, nos. 184 and 186.

¹⁷²¹ el–Qal’a II, no. 181.

¹⁷²² OTTO (1960:37–52 and scenes 2–7).

¹⁷²³ Edfou IV, 330–331, and BLACKMAN–FAIRMAN (1946:76, and 87–89).

¹⁷²⁴ TRAUNECKER (1995:250) and CAUVILLE (2001:33–34) interpreted these purification rites in a similar manner.

¹⁷²⁵ Dendara IV, 230, 8–231, 5, and plate cccv. The purification with nemeset–vessels is also depicted in the first register of the west wall of the *nabet* (Dendara IV, 257, 5–15). The scene features here as part of a series of five reliefs depicting different phases in the clothing of the statues of the gods. See also CAUVILLE (2001:32–33).

her in the open court or the linen and pectorals and necklaces that are used to adorn her in the *wabet*.¹⁷²⁶

The third registers of the lateral walls depict four purification scenes that are all set at the time of the New Year. In these scenes the pharaoh presents vessels made of precious materials, like gold, silver, lapis–lazuli, turquoise and faience, filled with water or precious stones. The aim of these offerings is not only to purify, but also to rejuvenate the goddess Hathor.¹⁷²⁷ The third register of the rear wall depicts more ‘classical’ purification scenes. The ruler presents five pellets of incense and Nekhbet performs a censuring on one scene, while the pharaoh performs purification with the four desheret–vessels on the other.¹⁷²⁸ The location of these reliefs in the uppermost registers of the walls suggests that these rites would have been carried out towards the end of the activities in the chapel, most likely following the main clothing and adorning rites. The reliefs in the *wabet* of Dendara are the only example that depicts the final purification rites that might have taken place in the ensemble before the procession with the statues would continue on its way to renewal and rejuvenation.

c. Clothing rituals: the presentation of linen and protective amulets and the anointing with unguents and ointments.

The ten descriptive texts gathered together at the very beginning of this chapter leave no doubt that the central rites performed in the ensemble were concerned with the clothing, adorning and anointing of the statues of the gods. The importance of these activities – most often expressed through the presentation of linen (clothing), protective amulets in the shape of necklaces and pectorals (adornments), and different types of ointments and unguents (anointing) – is also stressed by their presence on the rear or most important wall in most ensembles. The following overview of their location on the walls of the different ensembles will make this all the more obvious.

The rear wall of the ‘seat of the first feast’ in the temple of Philae is almost entirely reserved for these products.¹⁷²⁹ (fig. 58) Linen is placed opposite the mD.ṭ–unguent in the first

¹⁷²⁶ Dendara IV, 235, 5–238, 4; 252, 14–255, 10, and plate cccvi. The processions of fecundity figures bring to mind the New Years’ processions with vases containing the Nile water in New Kingdom representations. Consult SCHOTT (1970), and TRAUNECKER (1972:233–234; 1995:250).

¹⁷²⁷ Dendara IV, 249, 5–215, 6, and 267, 12–268, 7.

¹⁷²⁸ Dendara IV, 251, 9–252, 9; 270, 3–271, 4, and plate cccxi.

¹⁷²⁹ Philae Bénédite, 23, 7–24, 7, and plate VIII, scenes i–vi = Chapter 4.1.7, and documents 18–23.

register, while the *wšx*-necklace and the *wDA*-pectoral are located in the third register.¹⁷³⁰ The middle register is reserved for the offering of *antȳw* and that ultimate offering that could be presented to the gods and incorporated all other offerings – Maat. In the two Roman examples the entire rear wall was dedicated to the presentation of the three offerings. In the temple of Shanhûr this consisted of the presentation of an unguent in the two scenes of the first register, and the offering of linen and a pectoral in the second register.¹⁷³¹ (fig. 83) In el-Qal'a, the first register on the rear wall of the elevated chapel was filled with two scenes depicting the Roman pharaoh offering linen,¹⁷³² while the second register contained the presentation of a pectoral¹⁷³³ and *antȳw*, respectively.¹⁷³⁴ (fig. 87) An unguent, possibly *md. ȳ*, was depicted in the second register of the south wall, adjacent to the rear wall, and the scene below it shows the presentation of another type of ointment: the green and black eye paints.¹⁷³⁵

The rear wall of the *wabet* in the temple of Edfu contains next to the three recurring offerings also items that relate to the local theology of the temple, such as the *hepet*-crown.¹⁷³⁶ (fig. 67 and table XI) The entire second register was filled with four scenes in which the Ptolemaic ruler presented the four coloured *mnx. ȳ*-cloths to Horus. The westernmost scenes of the first and second registers contained the presentation of the *wDA*-pectoral, while the easternmost scenes of the same registers depicted the pharaoh presenting *antȳw*.¹⁷³⁷ A few of the central offerings also found their way onto the lateral walls of the *wabet*. The *md. ȳ*-unguent is offered in the northernmost scene of the east wall, adjoining the *antȳw* offering

¹⁷³⁰ The necklace and pectoral also feature, together with a hymn about the *Dd*-pillar, in the third register of the north wall of the 'seat of the first feast' – Philae Bénédite, 20, 4–21, 3, and plate VII, scenes i–iii = Chapter 4.1.6g–i and documents 15–17.

¹⁷³¹ Shanhûr I, nos. 75–78.

¹⁷³² Linen is also presented to Osiris in the first register of the north wall: el-Qal'a II, no. 206.

¹⁷³³ The northernmost scenes in the third registers of the lateral walls of the open court depict the ruler presenting the *usekh*- or *beb*-necklace and a no longer identifiable object in *faience*, perhaps the *menat*-necklace with counterweight: el-Qal'a II, nos. 190 and 192.

¹⁷³⁴ el-Qal'a II, nos. 205; 208; 211, and 214. *antȳw* is also mentioned in a hymn in a text column on the interior of the broken door-lintel: el-Qal'a II, no. 201.

¹⁷³⁵ el-Qal'a II, nos. 204 and 210. The *Hkn*-unguent is mentioned in a hymn in a text column on the interior of the broken door-lintel: el-Qal'a II, no. 202.

¹⁷³⁶ Edfou I, 426–427, and 435–436, and plate xxxiii = Chapter 4.2.3b.

¹⁷³⁷ Edfou I, 419–420 (pectoral); 423–424 (linen); 426 (pectoral); 429 (*antȳw*); 432–433 (linen), and 435 (*antȳw*).

scene on the rear wall. The opposite scene portrays the pharaoh offering the green and black eye paints.¹⁷³⁸ Linen and *antyw* are presented elsewhere on the walls of the *wabet*. Both products are also offered to the other two main members of the Edfu-triad – Hathor and Harsomtus.¹⁷³⁹ An offering combining *antyw* and the *mnx.t*-linen for the ruling couple, the *Theoi Philopatores*, and the *mD.t*-unguent and *mnx.t*-linen for their deceased predecessors, the *Theoi Energetai*, is depicted in the second registers of the lateral walls.¹⁷⁴⁰

In the *wabet* of Dendara the entire second register of the rear wall was, like in Edfu, reserved for the presentation of the four coloured cloths. The other two main constituents of the clothing rites were in the Dendara ensemble moved to the second and third registers of the lateral walls.¹⁷⁴¹ The ruler presents the *usekh*- and *beb*-necklace in opposite scenes in the second registers,¹⁷⁴² in combination with other objects made from precious materials.¹⁷⁴³ In the third register of the west wall the goddess is presented with the *mD.t*-unguent and the protective black and green eye paints.¹⁷⁴⁴ (fig. 78)

The importance of linen, unguents and protective amulets in the rites performed in the elevated chapel is indicated not only by the abundance of scenes, especially on the rear wall, in which precisely these products are presented to the deities, but also by the pre-eminent place these offerings take in the inscriptions describing the main rites in the ensembles. It is also suggested by the presence of these items on or near the entrance gate into the complex in many temples:

– In the temple of Philae the ‘chamber of linen’ is located immediately to the north of the ‘seat of the first feast’.¹⁷⁴⁵ The decorative scheme applied to its walls reverses the general orientation of the temple decoration and indicates an orientation towards the open court. The

¹⁷³⁸ Edfou I, 425 (eye paints), and 434–435 (*mD.t*).

¹⁷³⁹ Edfou I, 419; 422–423; 428, and 431–432.

¹⁷⁴⁰ Edfou I, 421–422, and 430–431.

¹⁷⁴¹ The first register of the rear wall was reserved for the offering of *maat* (Dendara IV, 241, 9–243, 7, and 259, 9–261, 4), while the third register contained the purification scenes that I have discussed in the previous subchapter.

¹⁷⁴² Dendara IV, 245, 9–17 (*usekh*), and 263, 8–264, 2 (*beb*).

¹⁷⁴³ Dendara IV, 244, 6–14 (*sistra*); 244, 16–245, 7 (*ba* in turquoise); 248, 14–249, 3 (mirror); 261, 15–262, 9 (eternity-symbol); 262, 11–263, 6 (*ba* in turquoise), and 268, 9–18 (pair of bracelets).

¹⁷⁴⁴ Dendara IV, 267, 2–10 (eye paints), and 269, 2–16 (unguent).

¹⁷⁴⁵ PM VI, 242–243; Bénédite, Philae, 55–56, and plate xxi; JUNKER – SCHÄFER (1908–1910: nos. 1089–1097), and VASSILIKA (1989: database nos. 738–741) = Chapter 4.1.9.

decorative scheme of the entire room relates to the presentation of linen to the deities – with the exception of a single scene depicting the pharaoh in adoration before Shesmu, lord of the workshop and divine producer of unguents like *mD . t*. The east wall of the ‘chamber of linen’ even depicts a procession with linen towards the ‘seat of the first feast’. (fig. 66)

– A very similar concept is expressed in three small scenes in the ambulatory of the temple of el-Qal’a. These reliefs are located next to the entrance to the complex and depict Tayt, Hedjhotep and, presumably, Shesmu bringing linen and unguent to the court.¹⁷⁴⁶ (fig. 85)

– The treasury or *pꜣ-HD* in the temple of Dendara plays a similar role as the ‘chamber of linen’ in the temple of Philae. This space, which connects the complex with the west staircase to the roof, appears to have functioned mainly as the storage space for the amulets, necklaces and pectorals made of precious materials, including the green and black eye paints, that were presented to the statues of the deities during the activities in the *wabet*.¹⁷⁴⁷ Although the treasury was mainly dedicated to the protective amulets, the priests who put together its decorative programme did not lose sight of the other products that were of importance for the rites in the ensemble and brought it all together on the entrance gate that leads from the treasury to the open court.¹⁷⁴⁸ (fig. 77) The lintel of the gate contains the offering of *mnx . t* – cloth and the presentation of unguents.¹⁷⁴⁹ The offering scenes on both doorjambs have been preserved only partially but still depict the presentation of precious materials such as gold, silver, lapis-lazuli, turquoise and faience in the second registers of the doorjambs. These materials could be used for the fabrication of amulets or, in their pure form, to purify and rejuvenate the gods. The first registers depict another important theme in the decorative scheme of the ensemble: the presentation of the *aAb . t* or ‘great offering’, while another food-offering is depicted in the third registers.

– In Edfu the so-called annexe also precedes the ensemble and provides access to the east staircase to the roof and the complex. Unlike in the treasury in Dendara or the ‘chamber of linen’ in Philae, the decorative scheme of the annexe is not focused on the materials that were used to cloth and adorn the statues of the gods, but rather on the initial purification rites with water and incense.¹⁷⁵⁰ (fig. 69) Traces in the floor of this room suggest a possible presence of

¹⁷⁴⁶ el-Qal’a II, nos. 117–119.

¹⁷⁴⁷ The scenes on the walls of this room depict among others the presentation of necklaces, pectorals, and menat-counterweights: Dendara IV, 160, 2–162, 2; 171, 11–174, 11, and plates ccxc and ccxcii.

¹⁷⁴⁸ Dendara IV, 179–183, and plate ccxcvii.

¹⁷⁴⁹ The unguents include *antyw*, *ti-Sps*, and *ibr*, while Hathor is called *nb . t mD . t* (Dendara IV, 180, 8–9).

¹⁷⁵⁰ Edfou I, 585–591, and plates xxxix and xxxivb.

a libation table.¹⁷⁵¹ Next to censuring and libations, these inscriptions also occasionally mention provisions and food-offerings.¹⁷⁵²

The distribution and abundance of these offerings on the walls of the complex indicates their importance among the rites performed in the ensemble. The combination of these three types of offerings – linen, unguents and protective amulets – did not happen accidentally. These three types of offerings already appear together in various rites and rituals a long time before they feature in a combination on the walls of the Ptolemaic and Roman ensembles.¹⁷⁵³ Clothed, adorned and anointed, the statues would be on their way once more. They would depart from the ensemble to the climax of the festive procession: the ‘union with the sun disc’ that would reanimate and rejuvenate them. The walls of the ensemble contain various references to the sun (disc) shining down on the statues,¹⁷⁵⁴ and also feature texts¹⁷⁵⁵ and images¹⁷⁵⁶ which express the joy in the land of gods and men alike.

5.3. The main sources of inspiration for the decorative scheme

The typical and recurring decorative scheme the priests designed for the walls of the ensembles did not come about entirely by accident. It is a well thought out programme based on an extensive knowledge of various ritual practices. In order to express the function of the ensemble in the decoration its editors chose a (visual) language that was already well-known. They found inspiration in a series of rites that also expressed the themes which played a central role in the function of the complex – the transfer from death, or at least a lifeless or deathlike state, to new life. The editors found this in the rites that in their mind had been performed successfully for many centuries and in various contexts: in temple rites, in royal rituals and mortuary or funerary rites.

In this context I find it necessary to mention that the distinction scholars make between temple rituals and funerary rites is not self-evident, especially with regard to the rites performed in Ptolemaic and Roman temples. This categorisation might in the past have

¹⁷⁵¹ Edfou I, 585 and ALLIOT (1949:347).

¹⁷⁵² Edfou I, 589, 2.

¹⁷⁵³ See Chapter 5.3.

¹⁷⁵⁴ Dendara IV, 187, 1 and 4; 201, 12–17, and 213, 13–17; Shanhûr I, nos. 58 and 59, and el-Qal’a II, nos. 195–196, and 198.

¹⁷⁵⁵ Edfou I, 441, and 442, 5–6; Dendara IV, 150, 5–7, and el-Qal’a II, nos. 174 and 197.

¹⁷⁵⁶ Edfou I, 440: the seven Hathors play festively on the tambourine (fig. 71).

helped the egyptological community to gain a better understanding of various rites, but I believe it would be a mistake to maintain that the ancient Egyptians regarded these rituals as belonging to two distinct religious spheres. The cyclical nature of many of the rites, whether they were performed in the temple or at the tomb, reflects the Egyptian cyclical concept of time. In the daily rising and setting of the sun, the phases of the moon, the coming and going of seasons, or the ever recurring annual inundation of the Nile, the Egyptians observed the cyclical aspect of many natural phenomena. The world in which they lived – and in which we live – features many examples of the cyclical nature of natural events: not only of life and death, but also of the recurrence of new life after death in the ‘rebirth’ of the sun and moon or the return of the inundation, seasons and plant life. On the basis of these observations many rituals, festivals and ceremonies (whether funeral, royal or temple) appear to have been construed in ancient Egypt. The designers of the decorative scheme that was to be applied on the walls of the elevated chapel and open court of the ensemble certainly did not seem to make any distinction between these various categorizations of the rites as we know them from modern times.¹⁷⁵⁷ Instead the editor–priests borrowed from and used various elements from old traditions in an innovative and creative manner to express the central theme of the rites performed in the complex: new life out of death.

In this quest for the various ritual precursors of the rites and decoration of the ensembles, an important distinction needs to be made between the decorative schemes from the early Ptolemaic period in Philae and Edfu and the late–Ptolemaic — early Roman examples of Dendara, Shanhûr, and el–Qal’a. The influence of older rituals is, as one would expect, much

¹⁷⁵⁷ It is interesting to observe that the walls of the burial chambers and the sarcophagi of several owners of Late Period shaft tombs in the region of Abusir and Saqqara contain numerous texts in a context similar to the one in which these inscriptions are found in the temples of Ptolemaic and Roman times. PT Utterance 600, for instance, often accompanies the offering of the usekh–necklace on the walls of New Kingdom and Ptolemaic temples (for instance my document 15 in the ‘seat of the first feast’ in Philae, Chapter 4.1.6g). On the basalt inner sarcophagus of Iufaa (BAREŠ 2006:4), and on the walls of the burial chamber of Menekhibnekau (personal communication with professor L. Bareš on 11.10.2007) the same PT utterance features below a frieze of objects depicting crowns, necklaces(!) and regalia. In the tomb of Menekhibnekau, Chapter 155 of the Book of the Dead is also present below this frieze. In the ‘seat of the first feast’ in Philae, the same chapter also occurs, next to the PT Utterance 600, in the third register of the north wall (Chapter 4.1.6h and document 16). The study of the inscriptions from the shaft tombs of Iufaa and Menekhibnekau has not yet been completed, but this and other examples indicate that the same type of inscription could be used in the same context (in this particular case the presence of a necklace and regalia), no matter whether a particular scene was located on the walls of a tomb or temple.

more detectable in the decorative programme that dates from the early period in the development of the ensemble and its decoration. In later examples the editors kept the main decorative themes which derived from older rites and rituals, but their distribution and the inclusion of other themes in the decoration indicates a further development.

In the decorative scheme of the complex in the temples of Philae and Edfu the influence of two older rites is obvious: the Daily Temple Ritual and the ritual of the ‘opening of the mouth’. The decision of the editors of the Philae–texts to use chapters and extracts of chapters from the Daily Temple Ritual to express the idea of the pharaoh approaching the shrine containing the statue of the deity and revealing the face of the god was a very logical one. There are very striking similarities between some of the rituals performed on the statue of the deity at the onset of the Daily Temple Ritual in the sanctuary – when the statue is ‘awoken’ in the morning – and the initial activities involving the statue in the ensemble for its rejuvenation. These similarities undoubtedly led the composers of the texts to select and adapt appropriate chapters and extracts from the Daily Temple Ritual for the inscriptions in the ‘seat of the first feast’ in Philae.¹⁷⁵⁸

The rear wall of this early complex already contains the typical offering scenes of linen, unguents and amulets. The source of inspiration for this recurring combination of offerings could be manifold – as the decorative scheme from the ensemble in Edfu indicates. In the temple of Edfu, the initial stages of the Daily Temple Ritual were no longer depicted on the wall of the complex. The main focus of the ritual activities has shifted there towards the following stage of the ritual: the toilette of the statue of the god and in particular its purification, clothing with linen and anointment. The inspiration for the decorative programme on the walls of the *wabet* of Edfu appears to have been derived and adapted from three main sources: the Daily Temple Ritual, the embalming and the associated ritual of the ‘opening of the mouth’, and the confirmation of royal power according to Late Period pBrooklyn 47.218.50. The scenes on the walls of the *wabet* in Edfu depict almost all acts of the Daily Temple Ritual that deal with the clothing of the statue of the god according to the Berlin papyri (chapters 44 to 57)¹⁷⁵⁹ or the Abydene version of the ritual (chapters 13 to 31),¹⁷⁶⁰ without necessarily following the exact sequence of the ritual. The purification,

¹⁷⁵⁸ See already Chapter 5.2.2a.

¹⁷⁵⁹ Following MORET (1902:287).

¹⁷⁶⁰ According to DAVID (1981:60–61).

clothing, anointing and the provision of protective amulets for the statues of the gods is also reminiscent of several funerary rituals and activities, including the actual embalming of the bodies of the deceased or the subsequent ‘opening of the mouth’. The embalming entails a series of similar activities and has also the same aim as the rites performed on the statues of the gods in the *wabet*: the purification, anointment, and provision with linen (mummification) and protective amulets placed among the linen bandages is carried out in order for the body to be able to be revived and reunited with its *ba*.¹⁷⁶¹ These ritual activities are for a large part repeated during the ritual of the ‘opening of the mouth’. The preparatory purification rites performed on the statue in the *wabet* of Edfu form the opening rites of the ritual of the ‘opening of the mouth’ (scenes 2 to 7),¹⁷⁶² while the offering of linen, almost like the wrapping of the mummy with stripes of linen, and the anointing takes place after the senses of the deceased have been revived (scenes 48 to 56). The large offerings that are depicted on the walls of the open court are reminiscent of both the offerings gathered in the vestibule in front of the sanctuary during the Daily Temple Ritual¹⁷⁶³ and the offerings made to the deceased at the end of the ritual of the ‘opening of the mouth’ (scene 65 to 70).

In light of all of this, the decision of the priest–editors to designate the elevated chapel in the temple of Edfu for the very first time as a *wabet* is quite understandable. One should no longer ask whether the *wabet* in the temples refers merely to the elevated chapel of the complex, or also to a pure place, a (mortuary) workshop, a place of embalming, or a tomb.¹⁷⁶⁴ It is a modern distinction that the priests did not seem to make: the *wabet* in the temple is in fact all of these and much more. It is the workshop where the statues of the gods are prepared in a pure environment before being subjected to the ritual of the ‘opening of the mouth’. It is the place of embalming where the deceased, like the lifeless statues, was purified, clothed, anointed and adorned with protective amulets and insignia in a pure environment. And it is also the tomb in front of which the ritual of the ‘opening of the mouth’ took place in the light of the sun. The use of the designation *wabet* for the elevated chapel in the temple

¹⁷⁶¹ SAUNERON (1952); GOYON (1972b:35–38), and LdÄ I, 615–617.

¹⁷⁶² According to OTTO (1960:v–vii).

¹⁷⁶³ ALLIOT (1949:25–58).

¹⁷⁶⁴ Wb I, 284 contains two entries for the term. The first entry refers to a wide variety of different buildings: a workshop, a place of embalming, a sanctuary and even a tomb. The second entry designates the chapel in temples from the Thirtieth Dynasty and the Ptolemaic and Roman era. Even though at times the terms can be written in exactly the same manner, the editors of the Wörterbuch felt the need to separate the second term from the first.

by the priests was almost inevitable: all activities performed in this chapel contain references to all aspects that the term *wabet* represented to the ancient Egyptian priests.¹⁷⁶⁵

Finally, the presentation of royal regalia in the third registers of the walls of the *wabet* is also reminiscent of certain activities performed during the rite aimed at confirming the ruler in his power at the time of the New Year according to pBrooklyn 47.218.50. Following his arrival in the temple, the pharaoh is according to the papyrus provided with a series of protective amulets and royal regalia.¹⁷⁶⁶ These offerings and accompanying ritual acts are similar to some of the rites depicted on the walls of the complex in Edfu,¹⁷⁶⁷ and a similar combination of offerings (linen, myrrh and unguents) is also presented to the pharaoh during the sed-festival.¹⁷⁶⁸ The inclusion of ritual acts taken from the royal rites, and especially of the confirmation of the pharaoh's power, in the decorative scheme of the ensembles of Edfu and Dendara might also be linked with some of the rites performed in the New Kingdom and Late Period precursors of the Ptolemaic and Roman complexes. In the following chapter I take a closer look at the layout and function of these monuments.

The offerings of linen, pectorals and unguents and myrrh still remain the essential rites in the decorative scheme of younger ensembles in the temples of Dendara, Shanhûr, and el-Qal'a. The occurrence of the same combination of offerings in all these ensembles, but also in the clothing rites in the Daily Temple Ritual, the embalming and the subsequent ritual of the 'opening of the mouth' and royal coronation and confirmation rites, is no coincidence. Combined, the three types of offerings are used with the same aim in mind. The offering of linen, amulets and the anointment is used to assist the deceased or lifeless – whether human, statue or other object – in his/her passage from death to new life. The decision by the editors of the decorative scheme of the ensembles to focus precisely on these offerings as the essential rites carried out in the complex was only logical. A similar combination of items had already been successfully tried and tested for millennia in various funerary, temple and royal rituals. Clothed, anointed and provided with protective amulets, the statues of the deities could safely proceed from the ensemble towards the crucial stage of the festive procession: the 'union with the sun disc'.

¹⁷⁶⁵ See also COPPENS (2008a).

¹⁷⁶⁶ pBrooklyn 47.218.50, I, 1 – III, 20, and GOYON (1972a:19–21, and 53–63).

¹⁷⁶⁷ GOYON (1972a: 19, n. 7, and 34, n. 2). See also Chapter 4.2.3.

¹⁷⁶⁸ RUMMEL (2006).

	Text 1	Text 2	Text 3	Text 4	Text 5	Text 6	Text 7	Text 8	Text 9	Text 10
Linen	HD.t, irtyw, idmi nt-a n ir-mnx.t	wab.wt Ssp.t	STA m wt	mnx.t	DbA-n- Rnnwt.t	HD.t, wAD.t, idmi, irtyw Hb sSp mnx.t	DbA-n- Rnnwt.t	nfr.w	mnx.t	nTry
Amulets	wDA, bb/wsx	sAw, Xkrw	wDA, Xkrw	wDA	wDA, wsx	-	-	sA	sAw, wDA	sAw, wAD
Unguents	-	ti-Sps	-	mD.t	mD.t	-	-	ibr	-	Hkn
Myrrh	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	antyw
Libation	wHm qbHw	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Purification	-	-	-	TAw, nms.wt	-	-	-	-	-	-
Offering	-	-	-	aAb.t	-	-	-	-	-	-
Destruction	-	-	-	smA sbyw	-	-	-	-	-	-

Regalia	sSd, manx.t	Dsr.t, HD.t, [sSd]	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	mnfr.wt
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Table XII Overview of the offerings in the descriptive inscriptions of the ensembles in Edfu (1-4), Dendara (5-8), and el-Qal'a (9-10).

6. Architectural precursors of the complex of *wabet* and court

The analysis in the previous chapter of the decorative scheme applied to the walls of the ensemble in five temples from Ptolemaic and Roman times has shown that the decoration of these complexes and the ritual activities performed within them are deeply imbedded in the ancient rites of renewal and rejuvenation from different religious spheres (temple, funerary and royal). The architectural layout of the ensemble – the open court and elevated chapel – is not an innovation of the Ptolemaic and Roman period either. It appears to conclude a development that started at least as early as the New Kingdom Eighteenth Dynasty.

The *Sw.t Ra* of many New Kingdom temples is generally considered to be the most likely precursor of the complex of the court and elevated chapel in the temples of the Thirtieth Dynasty and the Ptolemaic and Roman period.¹⁷⁶⁹ The development of these New Kingdom solar courts is unfortunately extremely difficult to trace through the first millennium BC due to an almost total lack of well-preserved temples from this period. Several monuments from Nubian and Saite times might provide an insight into the general development in the layout and cult of the temples in between the New Kingdom and Ptolemaic times. These temples, specifically six chapels in the Amun temples in Nubia, the edifice of Taharqa near the sacred lake in Karnak, and a series of rooms on the roof of the temple of Amun–Ra in Hibis in the el-Kharga oasis, offer a brief and, unfortunately, rather unsatisfying glance at the plausible further development of the solar courts and cult in the temple. They do, however, provide some information: these monuments, as the following overview will illustrate, are similar in their layout to the younger ensembles of the Ptolemaic and Roman period. On top of that, the general nature of the rites performed within and the function of these spaces also indicates a link with the *wabet* and court of later times.

¹⁷⁶⁹ Numerous scholars have suggested a connection between the New Kingdom solar courts and the Ptolemaic–Roman ensemble. Consult for instance WERBROUCK (1949:109); DAUMAS (1980:266); ARNOLD (1999:277; 2003:234 and 255); NIEDERBERGER (1999:114, and 120); COONEY (2000:44), and Shanhúr I, 112.

6.1. The Sw.t RA.w of the New Kingdom Theban temples

The Sw.t Ra.w or Sw.t Ra.w @r-Axty, the so-called ‘Sonnenschatten’ or ‘sunshades’, are an architectural ensemble in the temple known since the Eighteenth Dynasty.¹⁷⁷⁰ This type of monument is archaeologically attested almost exclusively in the Theban region, and in particular on its west bank. It has been identified in the at least seven temples:

- The open court in the north half on the upper terrace of the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari.¹⁷⁷¹ (fig. 89)
- The open court in the north-east corner of the Akh-Menu of Thutmosis III in Karnak.¹⁷⁷² (fig. 91).
- The open court XLII to the north of the hypostyle hall in the temple of Seti I.¹⁷⁷³
- The hardly preserved court in the north half of the Ramesseum of Ramses II.¹⁷⁷⁴
- The north chapel or ‘Pylon-/Kioskheiligtum’ of Ra-Harakhte to the north of the great temple of Abu Simbel of Ramses II.¹⁷⁷⁵
- The barely preserved open court in the north-west corner of the temple of Merenptah.¹⁷⁷⁶
- The open court 18 and rooms 17 and 19 in the temple of Ramses III in Medinet Habu.¹⁷⁷⁷ (fig. 90)

¹⁷⁷⁰ The basic study of these monuments is by STADELMANN (1969). Consult also LdÄ V, 1103–1104; RÄRG 737–738; SPENCER (1984:119–125), and ARNOLD (1992:36–37; 2003:234). The references to individual monuments are given in the following footnotes.

¹⁷⁷¹ PM II, 125–126; NAVILLE (1895:2–8, and plates I–VIII); WERBROUCK (1949:109–112); VANDIER (1955:678–679); STADELMANN (1969:166–167); ASSMANN (1970:10–14), and KARKOWSKI (1976: 6–70; 1979:217–219).

¹⁷⁷² PM II, 45–46; KEES (1947); CHRISTOPHE (1954:254–258, and 264–266); BARGUET (1962:203–205, and 291–295); LAUFFRAY (1969:215–217); STADELMANN (1969:174–176); DAUMAS (1980:264–266), and ERNST (2000).

¹⁷⁷³ PM II, 146; VANDIER (1955:697, and 699–700), and STADELMANN (1969:167–169).

¹⁷⁷⁴ STADELMANN (1969:168). See also the reconstruction drawing of the temple in AUFRERE – GOLVIN – GOYON (1991:168).

¹⁷⁷⁵ PM VII, 99; MASPERO (1910); BARSANTI-MASPERO (1911:146–157, and plates CLV–CLXII); STADELMANN (1969:176–177), and DAUMAS (1980:272–273).

¹⁷⁷⁶ PETRIE (1897:12, and plate XXV); STADELMANN (1969:169); JARITZ (1992:79), and JARITZ – DOMINICUS – MINUTH – NIEDERBERGER – SEILER (1996:208–209). Petrie already in 1897 made the link with similar courts in the Theban temples of Hatshepsut, Seti I, Ramses II, and Ramses III.

¹⁷⁷⁷ PM II, 187; Medinet Habu VI, plates 418–429; STADELMANN (1969:169–174); ASSMANN (1970:7–8), and MURNANE (1980:49–52). See also the reconstruction in AUFRERE – GOLVIN – GOYON (1991:172–173).

The temples of other pharaohs from the New Kingdom on the Theban west bank might also have contained a similar structure. It has been suggested for instance for the temples of Siptah and Tausret,¹⁷⁷⁸ while an inscription on a stela confirms the existence of a Sw. t Ra in the temple of Amenhotep III.¹⁷⁷⁹ Finally, a relief in the tomb of Huya in Amarna provides a detailed depiction of this complex.¹⁷⁸⁰

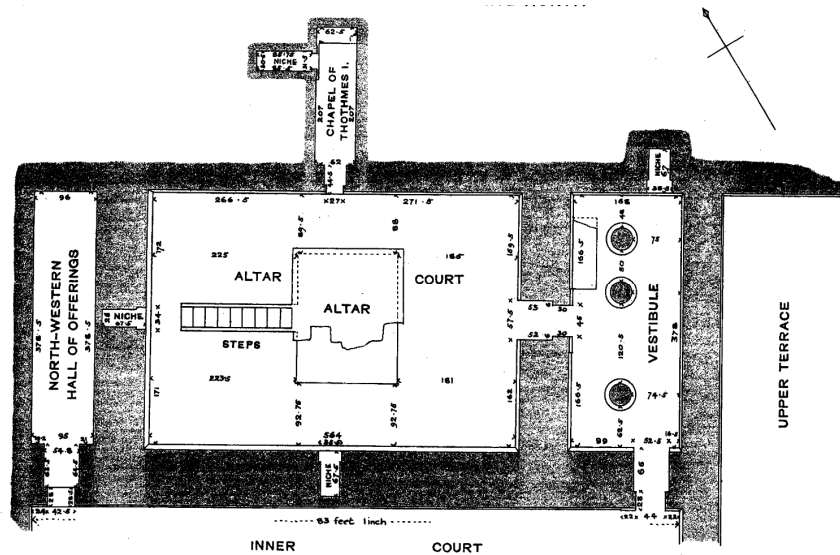
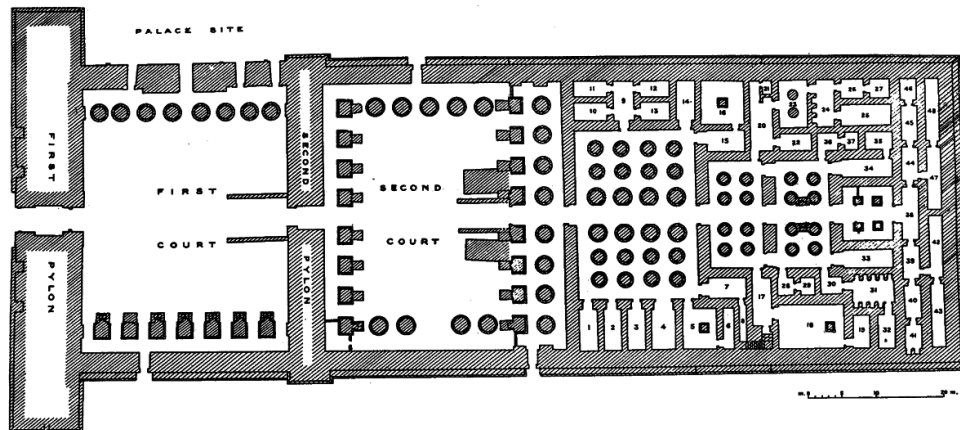


Fig. 89. The solar court of the temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari
(NAVILLE 1985: plate I)



¹⁷⁷⁸ STADELMANN (1969:169), and COONEY (2000:38). The excavations of PETRIE (1897:13–17, and plate XXVI) apparently did not reveal this type of structure in these temples.

¹⁷⁷⁹ Urk. IV, 1672, 11–18, and STADELMANN (1969:161).

¹⁷⁸⁰ DE GARIS DAVIES (1905:19–25, and plates VIII–XII), and STADELMANN (1969:162–165).

Fig. 90. *The Temple of Medinet Habu of Ramses III and the solar court (no. 18)*
 (MURNANE 1980:8)

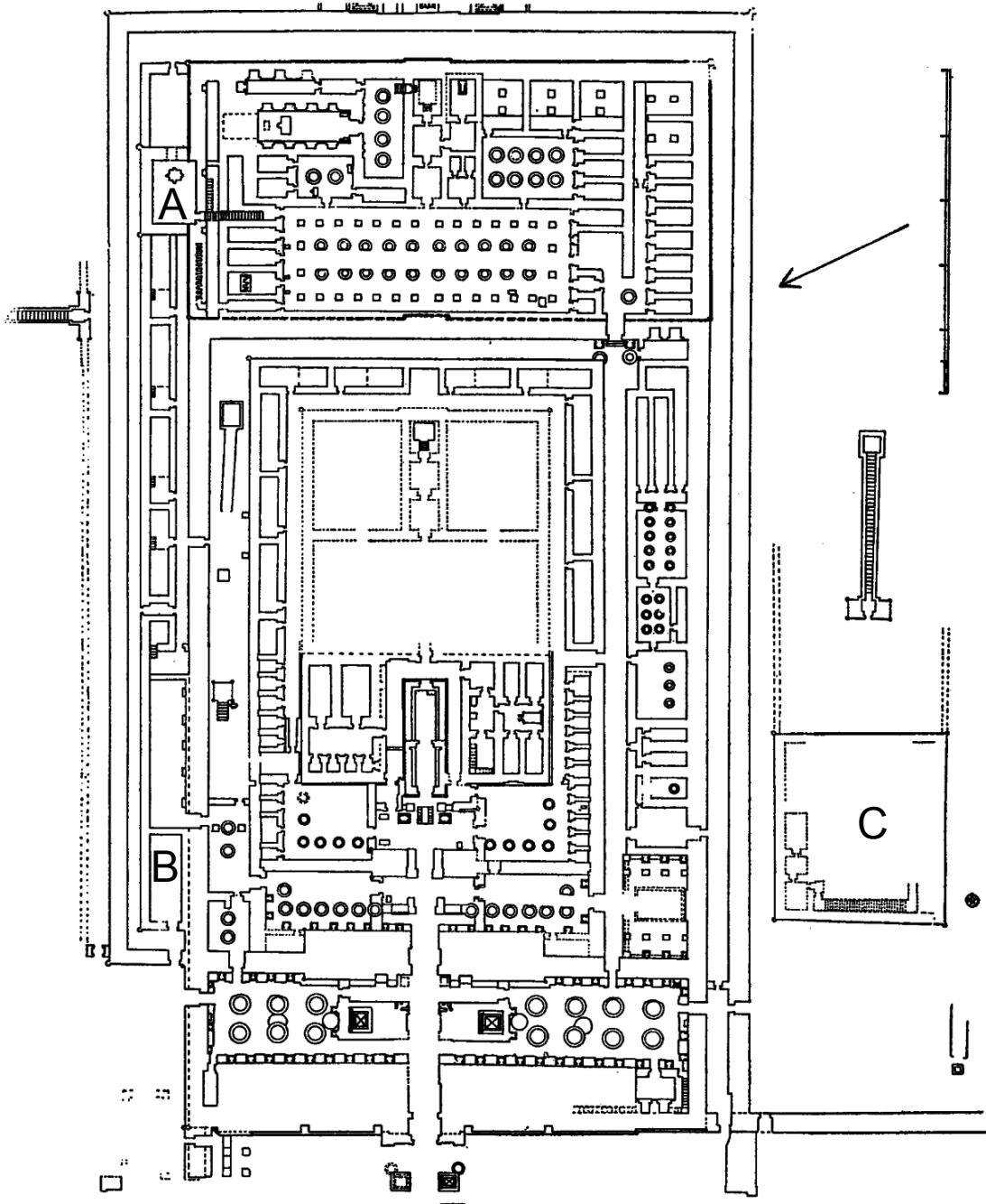


Fig. 91. *The location of the Sw. t Ra in the Akh-Menu of Thutmose III (A), the 'gold house' of Thutmose III (B), and the Edifice of Taharqa near the sacred lake (C).*
 (HAENY 1970:6)

On the basis of the remaining architecture and the preserved decorative scheme, R. Stadelmann identified the basic components of the *Sw.t Ra.w*.¹⁷⁸¹ The typical monument usually consisted of two distinctive parts: a court open to the light of day and a so-called ‘Hochheiligtum’.¹⁷⁸² The latter might have taken the shape of a kiosk and could have an entrance in the shape of a pylon, not unlike the chapel to the north of the temple of Abu Simbel. The ‘Hochheiligtum’ most likely contained a small altar. It was accessible by a staircase and often located on or near the roof of the temple.

The most typical feature of the open court was the presence of a large freestanding altar in its very centre. The walls of these courts usually contained a series of scenes depicting offerings to the gods, in particular to Amun–Ra and Ra–Harakhte. The altar was always orientated towards the east and the rising sun. The central role the solar cult played in these chambers is evidenced not only by the fact that the court was open to the light of day and by the orientation of the altar. The inscriptions, such as extracts from the Book of the Dead spell 15, and reliefs still preserved on the walls of the open courts in the temples of Hatshepsut, Seti I, Ramses II (in Abu Simbel) and Ramses III all contain references to the sun setting and rising and evoke the concept of its rebirth. The same idea is for instance expressed by scenes depicting baboons welcoming the rising sun and greeting the setting sun on the walls of these courts. The statues of four baboons in a similar body position also feature in all four corners of the altar discovered in the ‘Hochheiligtum’ in Abu Simbel.¹⁷⁸³ The ensemble is always incorporated in the north half of the temple. Its fixed location in the north is generally understood as a reference to the very centre of the solar cult in Heliopolis, to the north of Thebes.¹⁷⁸⁴

¹⁷⁸¹ LdÄ V, 1103–1104 and STADELMANN (1969:163; 165, and 177–178). For a similar interpretation, consult NIEDERBERGER (1999:114); COONEY (2000:38); ERNST (2000:54–55), and ARNOLD (2003:234).

¹⁷⁸² The oldest example, in the temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el–Bahari, is an exception. The open court is in this case already located on the highest terrace of the temple and there is no ‘Hochheiligtum’ – STADELMANN (1969:167).

¹⁷⁸³ See MASPERO (1910:92), and BARSANTI–MASPERO (1911: plate CLXI).

¹⁷⁸⁴ The expression ‘Heliopolis of the south’ (*Iwnw Sma*) could designate Thebes, but also the *Sw.t Ra.w* – KEES (1947), and STADELMANN (1969:174–176).

The pharaoh appears to have played a crucial role in the continual renewal of the sun that is depicted and described on the walls of the open court. According to the remaining inscriptions the pharaoh helped this renewal come about, or as Murnane puts it: *the sun god's own fate is inextricably bound up with that of the king in the netherworld ... all the major associations between the fate of the king and the periodic movements of the sun are covered and embodied in the very fabric of the building through the arrangement of the reliefs.*¹⁷⁸⁵ The return of the reborn sun and the renewal of the creation also implied the continuation and confirmation of kingship. At the same time these scenes also introduce a funerary theme and particularly the concept of rebirth following a death-like state.

The general architectural and functional concept of the Sw . t Ra . w in the New Kingdom temples resonates in the later ensembles in Ptolemaic and Roman times. The location, layout, and function are indeed similar in both ensembles. The Sw . t Ra . w are located in the north half of the temple, meaning to the right of the sanctuary in temples on the west bank (orientated east–west) and to the left in temples on the east bank (west–east). Although the temples that contain the complex in Ptolemaic times do not always follow the same general orientation of the aforementioned New Kingdom Theban temples (east–west or west–east), the distribution of the ensemble within the temple is kept.¹⁷⁸⁶ In a temple located on the west bank of the Nile (Edfu and Dendara)¹⁷⁸⁷ or on an island in the Nile (Elephantine and Philae), the complex is always located to the right of the sanctuary. In a temple erected on the east bank of the Nile (Kom Ombo), the ensemble is located to the left of the sanctuary. It seems that this orientation rule was no longer followed that strictly in Roman times.¹⁷⁸⁸

The location of the open court of the Sw . t Ra . w within the temple – in the immediate vicinity of the sanctuary – is also similar to the situation of the ensembles in Ptolemaic and Roman temples. The youngest example of the Sw . t Ra . w in the temple of Medinet Habu of Ramses III provides the most clear-cut example. (fig. 90) The temple of Medinet Habu,

¹⁷⁸⁵ MURNANE (1980:52).

¹⁷⁸⁶ Consult Table II. The different orientation of the temple however implies that the ensemble is not always located in the north half of the temple. In the temples of Khnum and Satet on Elephantine and the temple of Kom Ombo the ensemble is still positioned in the north half of the temple.

¹⁷⁸⁷ This is also the case in the temples of Behbeit el-Hagar and Athribis.

¹⁷⁸⁸ The rule still applies for the Roman temples of el-Qal'a and Deir Shalwât, but is no longer at work in Kalabsha and Komir (on the west bank, but complex on the left side), and Shanhûr (on the east bank, but ensemble on the right side). See also Table II.

together with the temple of Khonsu on the domain of Amun in Karnak, is generally considered as the prototype or precursor of the typical layout of many temples from Ptolemaic and Roman times.¹⁷⁸⁹ It might have also fulfilled this role in the specific case of the complex of *wabet* and court. The Sw.t Ra.w-ensemble in the temple of Medinet Habu consists of an open court (fig. 90, no. 18) and a small covered chamber (19) whose function is not entirely clear.¹⁷⁹⁰ The reliefs on the walls of the preceding room (17) depict the introduction of the pharaoh into the temple and his purification. The room also provides access to the staircase to the roof of the temple. The general disposition of these three rooms is very similar to the location of the ensembles and the nearby staircase in the temples of Edfu, Kom Ombo and Dendara. (figs. 11, 13 and 17).

The main feature of the open court of the Sw.t Ra.w is a centrally placed freestanding altar. Its counterpart in the ensemble in Ptolemaic and Roman times is on occasion identified as the '(court of) the food-altar'.¹⁷⁹¹ In the open court of the temple of Shanhûr a freestanding altar was discovered during the court's excavation.¹⁷⁹² The decorative scheme applied to the walls of the open court is known especially for the numerous depictions of the consecration of the aAb.t aA.t or 'great offering'.¹⁷⁹³ The typical decorative programme applied to the walls of the *wabet* and involving a series of purification, clothing and anointing rites¹⁷⁹⁴ does not feature on the remaining walls of the known Sw.t Ra.w. The general nature of the ideas expressed by the reliefs and inscriptions in these New Kingdom complexes does not differ much from the ensembles from Ptolemaic and Roman times. The ruling concept in both complexes is renewal, rebirth and rejuvenation, or a passage from a lifeless or death-like state to new life, and the confirmation of kingship that is associated with a successful renewal.

Finally, the so-called 'Hochheiligtum' or kiosk-like construction on the roof immediately brings to mind the elevated chapel or *wabet*, and perhaps even more so the kiosk on the roof in the Ptolemaic temples of Edfu and Dendara. (fig. 73) In this perspective it is worth mentioning W. Waitkus' observation that in Karnak in the time of Thutmosis III the

¹⁷⁸⁹ For instance: ARNOLD (1999:25–28), and NIEDERBERGER (1999:113–115).

¹⁷⁹⁰ MURNANE (1980:52) suggests that it housed the cult objects of the god.

¹⁷⁹¹ Edfou IV, 6, 2, and Edfou VII, 16, 1. See also Chapter 3.3

¹⁷⁹² TRAUNECKER–WILLEMS (1998:123–127 and plates 23B, 24, and 25A).

¹⁷⁹³ Consult Chapter 5.2.1a.

¹⁷⁹⁴ Consult Chapter 5.2.2c.

‘goldhouse’ (room D3N2) is located, together with a series of magazines that stored precious cult objects, immediately to the west of the Sw.t Ra.w of the Akh–Menu temple.¹⁷⁹⁵ (fig. 91, A and B) According to Waitkus this might indicate a close link between the store rooms, ‘goldhouse’ and the solar court. In the temple of Dendara and Edfu a similar situation occurs: the procession that involved the ensemble of *wabet* and court passed by the ‘goldhouse’ on their way to the kiosk on the roof. (fig. 19)

The many similarities in the location, distribution, layout and the function of the New Kingdom Sw.t Ra.w and the Ptolemaic and Roman complex of *wabet* and court in my opinion clearly indicate the existence of a connection between both ensembles. But a gap of almost a millennium separates the New Kingdom complexes from their Ptolemaic and Roman counterparts. Much is lost of the temples from the time in between, apart from a few monuments from Nubian and Saite times which provide an all too brief glance at how the complex of the court and elevated chapel in Ptolemaic and Roman temples might have developed from the New Kingdom Sw.t Ra.w.

6.2. The Edifice of Taharqa near the Sacred Lake in Karnak

A very plausible precursor of the ensemble from Nubian times is found in Egypt proper, within the temple precinct of Amun in Karnak.¹⁷⁹⁶ The sandstone monument is commonly referred to as ‘the edifice of Taharqa near the sacred lake’ where it replaced an older structure from the time of Taharqa’s predecessor Shabaka.¹⁷⁹⁷ The construction is only partially preserved and its reconstruction, in particular of the superstructure, is for the most part a mere hypothesis. (fig. 91, C, and 92) The edifice is located at the north–west corner of the sacred lake and its main entrance is from the east, near the entrance to the so–called ‘nilometer’. The edifice, sacred lake and ‘nilometer’ might have formed a separate complex, surrounded by a mud brick wall.¹⁷⁹⁸ A ramp provided access to the monument of which presently only a large rectangular platform (ca 29 x 25 m) remains on the surface. On the basis of the few remaining architectural elements J. Leclant tentatively reconstructed the superstructure of this platform as consisting of a covered entrance portico and a large court

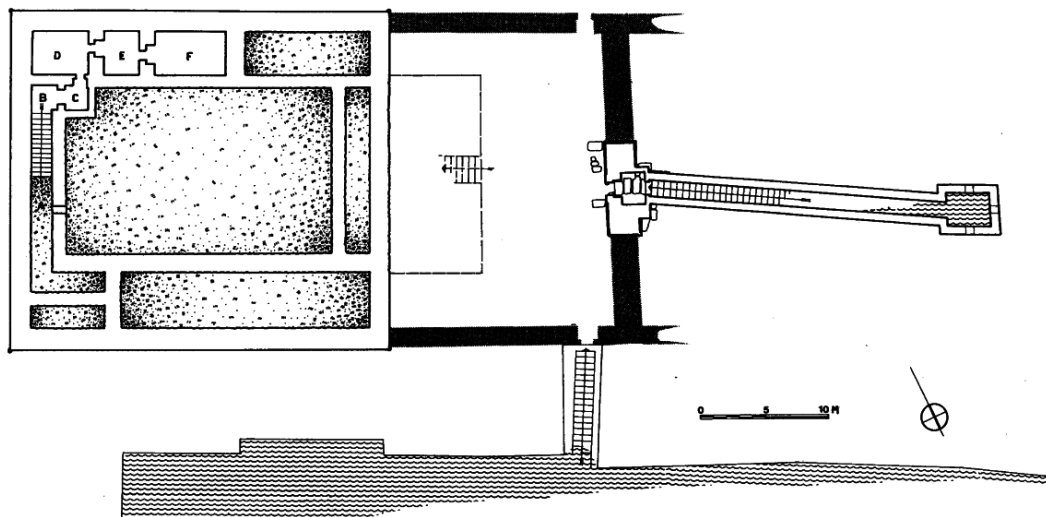
¹⁷⁹⁵ WAITKUS (1997:272). The ‘goldhouse’ was identified by TRAUNECKER (1989).

¹⁷⁹⁶ The main sources of information on the edifice are: PARKER – LECLANT – GOYON (1979), and COONEY (2000). See also LECLANT (1965:62–78, and plates XXXVIII–XLIX).

¹⁷⁹⁷ PARKER – LECLANT – GOYON (1979:5–8).

¹⁷⁹⁸ On the relation between the sacred lake and the edifice, consult GESSLER–LÖHR (1983:167–174). The existence of this complex was also suggested by Goyon in PARKER – LECLANT – GOYON (1979:81).

open to the light of day, surrounded on both sides by a series of covered rooms.¹⁷⁹⁹ The designation *wsx.t Hby.t* or ‘festival hall’ found on a fragment of an architrave might according to K. Cooney perhaps refer to this court.¹⁸⁰⁰ The substructure of the building is reasonably preserved in the north–west area of the edifice. The entrance to the substructure is located in the south–west corner of the monument and consists of a northbound descending staircase (fig. 92, A) that ends in a small square room (B). Another small room is located to the east (C) and provides to the north access to a group of three rooms lying along an east–west axis (D–F). The subterranean part of the edifice is often interpreted as a crypt or a tomb.¹⁸⁰¹ A pit to the east of room F contained a number of bronze figurines of Osiris.¹⁸⁰²



*Fig. 92. The Edifice of Tabarqa near the sacred lake at Karnak
(PARKER – LECLANT – GOYON 1979: plate 1A)*

A large part of the inscriptions and reliefs that decorated the walls of these six underground rooms has been preserved.¹⁸⁰³ The analysis of the decoration by Goyon and Cooney has indicated a close connection between this building and the return of Amun to Karnak from the West Bank at the end of the decade–festival.¹⁸⁰⁴ The decade festival brought the veiled

¹⁷⁹⁹ PARKER – LECLANT – GOYON (1979:5, and plate 1B).

¹⁸⁰⁰ COONEY (2000:15, n. 3). In general on the *wsx.t Hby.t*, consult SPENCER (1984:80–87).

¹⁸⁰¹ For instance: WAITKUS (1997:272), and COONEY (2000:19).

¹⁸⁰² PILLET (1924:75).

¹⁸⁰³ For a description of the decoration consult PARKER – LECLANT – GOYON (1979:10–79), and COONEY (2000:19–33).

¹⁸⁰⁴ For more information on the decade–festival, consult DORESSE (1971; 1973, and 1979). See also the overview of literature on the subject in COONEY (2000: footnotes 129 and 130).

statue of Amun in procession every ten days from his residence in Karnak to the other bank of the Nile and in particular to the small temple of Medinet Habu and the nearby Kom Djeme. At Djeme, the mythical burial place of the primeval ancestors (Amun Kamutef and the ogload), Amun as the demiurge was reunited with some of his creative powers and the creation of the world was commemorated.¹⁸⁰⁵ Upon its return to Karnak, the statue of Amun, who apparently took on the form of the solar god, would descend into the substructure of the edifice similar to an entry into a tomb or the setting of the sun. The decoration of the subterranean chambers of the edifice is focused on the rebirth of the god and the renewal of the kingship, or on Amun and his representative on earth, the reigning pharaoh.¹⁸⁰⁶ The scenes on the walls depict concepts of renewal and rebirth, such as the continual cycle of the sun setting and rising, the death of the solar deity and the rites to be performed to bring about his resurrection. The final result was the rebirth of Amun in the form of as the solar deity Ra. According to the decorative programme the pharaoh was a crucial component for the rites to be successful and the sacred act of creation to be renewed. The rebirth of the deity not only implied a restoration of the natural order, but also a confirmation and renewal of the kingship over Egypt.¹⁸⁰⁷

Following the rites in the subterranean part of the edifice the statue of the god might have been brought into the sunlight in the open court.¹⁸⁰⁸ The possible exposure of the deity to the rays of the sun in the open court has led scholars to suggest a connection between the New Kingdom *Sw.t Ra.w* and the edifice of Taharqa.¹⁸⁰⁹ The decorative scheme applied to the walls of the substructure of the edifice, and especially room D,¹⁸¹⁰ moreover shows remarkable parallels with the remaining decoration of the solar courts of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari and Ramses III in Medinet Habu (room 18). Room D like the *Sw.t Ra.w* is also located in the north half of the monument. This indicates that the designers of the decorative

¹⁸⁰⁵ It has been suggested that the edifice might even have functioned as a substitute cult place for the rites at Djeme on the opposite bank of the river: COONEY (2000:37).

¹⁸⁰⁶ The 'kingship' refers in this context not to the rule of a specific pharaoh, but to 'kingship' as a concept. Consult for instance BELL (1997:137–144).

¹⁸⁰⁷ PARKER – LECLANT – GOYON (1979:80–86), and COONEY (2000:34–47). See also GESSLER–LÖHR (1983:169–170), and FAZZINI (1988:23) for a brief but similar interpretation.

¹⁸⁰⁸ PARKER – LECLANT – GOYON (1979:83–84).

¹⁸⁰⁹ NIEDERBERGER (1999:121), and COONEY (2000:37–39).

¹⁸¹⁰ See in particular ASSMANN (1983). Several parallels are also presented in COONEY (2000:22–23).

scheme of Taharqa's edifice were clearly influenced by the New Kingdom solar courts and cult.

The general nature of the rites that took place in the substructure of the edifice and its identification with a crypt led Cooney to associate the monument of Taharqa also with the complex of *wabet*, court and crypt from Ptolemaic and Roman temples. She suggests that the superstructure of the edifice – Leclant's hypothetically reconstructed open court and a series of covered rooms – could be identified with the ensemble of *wabet* and court, while the subterranean chambers form the counterpart to the crypt that is always accessible from the ensemble in the Ptolemaic and Roman temples.¹⁸¹¹ One must keep in mind that almost nothing of the superstructure of the edifice remains and that our knowledge of the function of the monument is based almost solely on the reliefs from its subterranean rooms. But the general themes of the rites performed in the edifice of Taharqa – the rebirth of the god and the renewal and confirmation of kingship – are found not only in the decorative programme of the Sw . t Ra . w, but also occur in the ensemble in Ptolemaic and Roman times.

The decorative scheme of the edifice of Taharqa is also of immense importance because it bears witness to a general development that took place in the course of the first millennium BC. The cult of the divine rebirth, which features in such detail on the walls of this monument, combines elements from a solar context with aspects from the cycle of Osiris. The syncretisation of the solar deity Amun–Ra with Osiris has its roots in the New Kingdom, but it is especially in the Third Intermediate and the Late Period that Amun starts taking on many of the roles and concepts associated with Osiris.¹⁸¹² The presence of solar themes and funerary concepts, especially those related to death and the renewal of life, in the general decorative scheme of the ensemble in Ptolemaic and Roman times could be seen as a continuation of this syncretisation. The edifice near the sacred lake in Karnak appears to be just an earlier version of this general development in the course of the first millennium BC. It also provides, despite its ruinous state of preservation, some insight into the religious

¹⁸¹¹ COONEY (2000:43–44). Cooney also suggests that the location of the edifice to the south of the main axis of the temple of Karnak is similar to the location of the ensemble in Ptolemaic temples (i.e. to the right of the temple axis). My analysis of the location of the complex in Chapter 2 indicates that this only applies for temples built on the west bank of the Nile or on an island in the Nile. In temples on the east bank the ensemble is located to the left. No general rule appears to have been applied in Roman times. See also Table II.

¹⁸¹² NIWINSKI (1987–1988), and COONEY (2000:41–43). See also FINNESTAD (1997:215–216) for the presence of 'funerary' or 'mortuary' themes in temples from Ptolemaic and Roman times.

background and the type of building from which the ensemble of *wabet* and court would develop in later times.

A similar syncretisation of solar and osirian elements appears to have occurred at the same time in a series of tombs on the Theban west bank.¹⁸¹³ A large open court or ‘Lichthof’ is the most typical and recurring feature of the numerous monumental tombs that were built in the Assasif in the course of the Late Period, more specifically in the Twenty–Fifth and Twenty–Sixth Dynasty. D. Eigner’s study of these open courts revealed their function as the setting for offerings in the funerary cult, reminiscent of the offerings that were presented in the open court of the complex in the temple. His analysis also indicated that the ‘Lichthof’ was the place where a fusion between solar and Osirian elements took place.¹⁸¹⁴ The occurrence of these courts, open to the light of day, in both the temple and the funerary architecture from the Late Period is illustrative of the development that took place at this time and fused aspects of the solar cult with funerary concepts and ideas.

6.3. The Ra–Harakhte chapels of the Nubian temples

The so–called Ra–Harakhte chapels are a recurring space in Nubian temples of Amun from the Twenty–Fifth Dynasty (especially the reign of Taharqa) and early Meroitic times. These chapels might also constitute a link between the New Kingdom Sw.t Ra.w and the ensemble in the temples of the Thirtieth Dynasty and the Ptolemaic and Roman period.¹⁸¹⁵ This type of chapel has so far been identified in six Nubian temples:¹⁸¹⁶

- Chapel B520 in the great Amun temple of Piye and Taharqa at Gebel Barkal/Napata (temple B500).¹⁸¹⁷ (fig. 93)
- Rooms D and E in the temple of Amun from the reign of Taharqa in Sanam.¹⁸¹⁸ (fig. 95)
- Rooms D and E in the temple T of Taharqa at Kawa, dedicated to Amun.¹⁸¹⁹ (fig. 96)

¹⁸¹³ I would like to thank prof. L. Bareš for bringing this to my attention.

¹⁸¹⁴ EIGNER (1984:116–120; 169–174, and 185–192).

¹⁸¹⁵ See for instance ARNOLD (1999:277), and NIEDERBERGER (1999:116, and 120–121), but also TÖRÖK (2002:55, n. 56) for an opposite point of view. I will return to this topic later in this chapter.

¹⁸¹⁶ TÖRÖK (2002: 55, n. 57).

¹⁸¹⁷ PM VII, 220–221; REISNER (1917:224–225, and plates XLI; XLIII–XLIV, and XLVI); DUNHAM (1970: plan V); HAKEM (1988:109–112), and TÖRÖK (2002:54–55).

¹⁸¹⁸ PM VII, 200–201; GRIFFITH (1922:84; 112–113, and plates V, D–E; VIII; XXVI, and XLIX); HAKEM (1988:138–139), and TÖRÖK (2002:135).

- An unnumbered chapel in the Amun temple of Tabo on the island of Argo, dated to the reign of Taharqa.¹⁸²⁰
- Chapel 106 in the Amun temple of Naqa which dates from the reign of king Natakamani and queen Amanitore.¹⁸²¹ (fig. 97)
- Chapel 266 in the Late Amun Temple of Meroe City from the second half of the third century BC.¹⁸²² (fig. 94)

The chapel is usually found in a temple dedicated to the god Amun and appears to form a partly independent space. It is located in the immediate vicinity of the main sanctuary of the temple and is often accessible from the vestibule that precedes the sanctuary. It is a long but narrow room. A staircase leads at its west end to a platform or altar. The chapels are always orientated east–west, with the platform or altar in the west and facing the east, even if this implies that the decoration of the space has to be reversed in comparison with the rest of the temple.¹⁸²³ The west part of the chapel was apparently not roofed, allowing the morning sun rising in the east to throw its rays of light on the platform in the west. One or two rows of columns usually form part of the layout of this chapel. The columns are either placed symmetrically in two rows leading towards the altar (figs. 93–94),¹⁸²⁴ or form a single row in the east half of the space and separate a small annexe from the long hall.¹⁸²⁵ (figs. 95–96)

¹⁸¹⁹ PM VII, 190; LdÄ III, 378; MACADAM (1955:96–100, and plates XX–XXI; XXVIIa, and LX–LXI); HAKEM (1988:115–116, and 134–138); LOHWASSER (1995:168–171), and TÖRÖK (2002:109–113).

¹⁸²⁰ PM VII, 180; LdÄ IV, 1067–1068; JACQUET–GORDON – BONNET – JACQUET (1969:107, and fig. 1), and MAYSTRE (1969).

¹⁸²¹ PM VII, 269–271; WILDUNG – SCHOSKE (1999:70–73), and TÖRÖK (2002:241–253, esp. 244).

¹⁸²² PM VII, 236–237; GARSTANG – SAYCE – GRIFFITH (1911:14, and plates III and VIII); HAKEM (1988:173–174); TÖRÖK (2002:321), and GRZYMSKI (2003:17–18).

¹⁸²³ This is for instance the case in the temples of Kawa, Sanam, and Naqa.

¹⁸²⁴ For instance chapel B520 in temple B500 in Gebel Barkal or chapel 266 in the Amun temple in Meroe City.

¹⁸²⁵ For instance room D in the Amun temples of Kawa and Sanam.

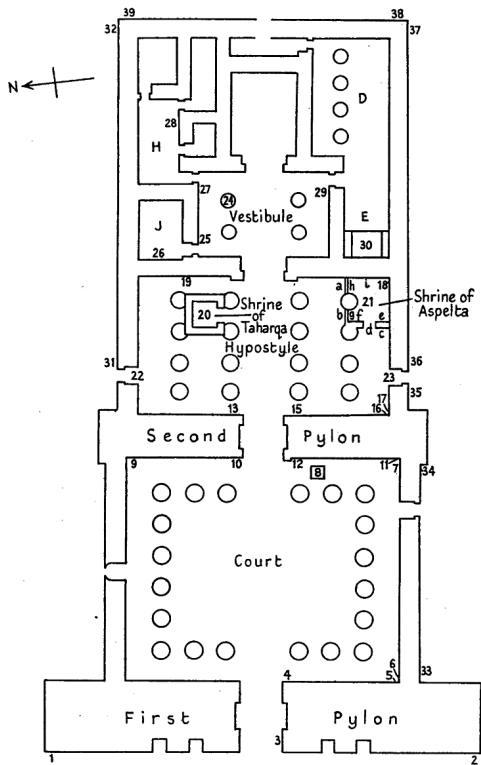


Fig. 95. Temple of Amun at Sanam with the Ra-Harakhte chapel (D-E)
(PM VII, 200)

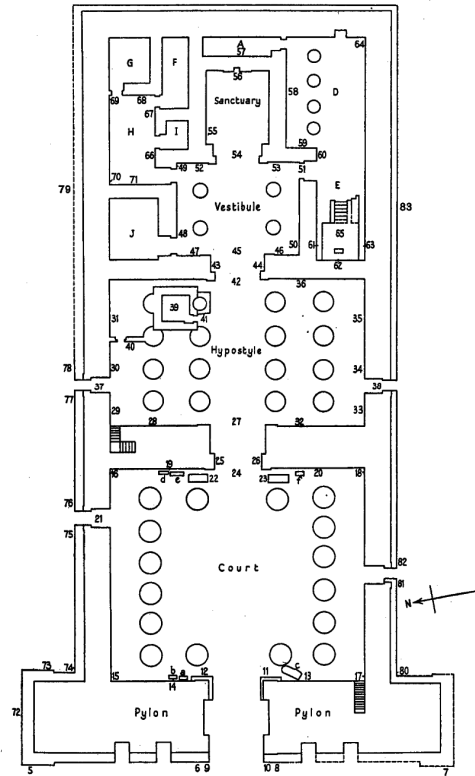


Fig. 96. Temple T of Amun in Kawa with the Ra-Harakhte chapel (D-E)
(PM VII, 186)

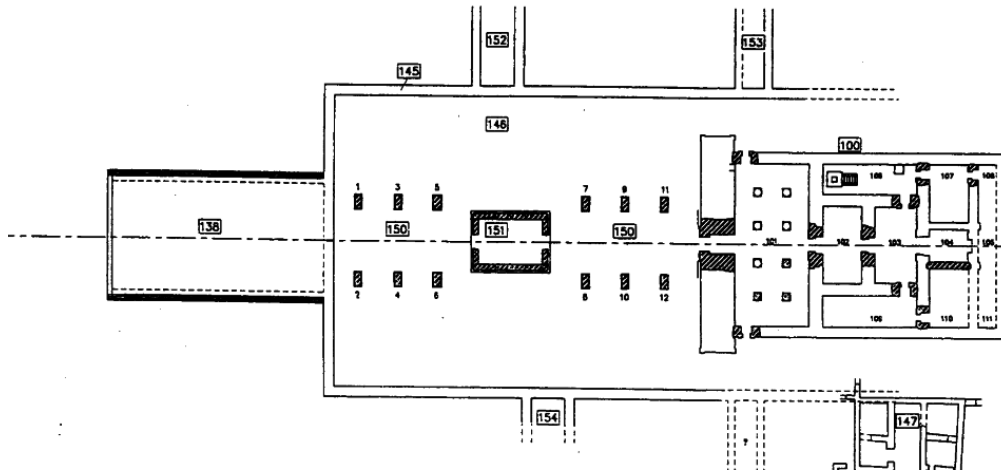


Fig. 97. The Amun temple of Naqa and the Ra-Harakhte chapel (no. 106)
(TÖRÖK 2002: figure 10)

The identification of this room as a chapel dedicated to the solar deity Ra–Harakhte is a matter of debate that has not yet been entirely resolved.¹⁸²⁶ The fact that in most temples the chapel has been raided and ruined and only very little remains of its decorative programme does not help. These complexes were initially identified as the ‘throne room’ of the temple and the steps leading to the platform at the west end of the chapel was seen as part of the throne. Texts and images referring to the coronation journey of the Nubian ruler mention the temples at Gebel Barkal, Kawa, and Sanam (and perhaps also Tabo) as crucial stages on this route.¹⁸²⁷ This undoubtedly led many scholars to search for and identify the chapel featuring the staircase to a platform with the throne room mentioned in the texts.¹⁸²⁸

L. Török has recently suggested that the ensembles are most likely chapels partly open to the sun and dedicated to the solar deity Ra–Harakhte. His identification is for a large part based on the decorative programme and finds from rooms D and E in Temple T in Kawa. Little remains of the decorative scheme applied to the walls of these rooms, but it is all a scholar has to go on since close to nothing has been preserved of the other chapels. In light of the possibility of a connection between this chapel on the one hand and the New Kingdom Sw.t Ra.w and the ensembles in Ptolemaic and Roman temples on the other, I will provide a brief description of the main elements of this decorative programme and the objects discovered on the platform in the west part of the chapel in Temple T in Kawa.¹⁸²⁹

The decoration was carried out in sunken relief, except for the rear or west wall where raised relief was applied. This rear wall contains the lower part of two similar scenes that depict Taharqa performing a libation in front of a seated deity. The identity of the deities cannot be established with certainty; it might have been Amun in both cases or Amun (north) and Ra–Harakhte (south).¹⁸³⁰ The westernmost part of the north wall, to the left of the door from the

¹⁸²⁶ TÖRÖK (2002:55, n. 56) provides a brief overview of the debate.

¹⁸²⁷ On the coronation journey of the Nubian ruler, consult HOFMANN (1971:18–25); HAKEM (1988:131–141); KORMYSHEVA (1994); LOHWASSER (1995), and TÖRÖK (2002:16–18).

¹⁸²⁸ See for instance HOFMANN (1971:22); HAKEM (1988:117–119); KORMYSHEVA (1994:206–207, and 210); LOHWASSER (1995:170); ERNST (1999:74–75), and GRZYMSKI (2003:18).

¹⁸²⁹ For a more detailed description consult MACADAM (1955:96–100, and plates XX–XXI; XXVIIa, and LX–LXI); LOHWASSER (1995:168–170); TRAUNECKER (1995:272–273), and TÖRÖK (2002:110–113)

¹⁸³⁰ Consult TÖRÖK (2002:110) for the identification of the deities as Amun and Ra–Harakhte. See for instance HAKEM (1988:115–116); LOHWASSER (1995:170), and TRAUNECKER (1995:272) for the identification of both deities as Amun.

‘hall of offerings’, is decorated with a relief depicting Taharqa offering wine to Amun accompanied by three deities, possibly Satet and two forms of Anuket.¹⁸³¹ To the right of the doorway four columns of inscriptions are still partly preserved. The hymn reads: ‘...Ankh–Tawy, ruler of the ennead, (when) you see ... those that are in the horizon, they are rejoicing ... praise, the great ennead is in jubilation ... Amun is in joy, receiving’ (...anx–tA.wy HqA psD.t dgi=k ... imy.w Ax.t ib=sn nDm ... iwAw psD.t aA.t m hy ... Imn m rSw Ssp ...).¹⁸³² Török has suggested that this inscription refers to events in the ‘hall of offerings’,¹⁸³³ but it is not unlike the hymns expressing joy among men and gods alike which were found on the walls of the complex in the temples of Edfu, Dendara, and el–Qal’a.¹⁸³⁴

The opposite south wall was decorated with a total of six scenes. The first three scenes, on the east half of the wall and opposite the four columns, can no longer be identified. The following three scenes depict Taharqa presenting an offering to Amun of Pnubs, and the usekh–necklace and an amulet, most likely a naos–shaped pectoral, to no longer identifiable gods. Interestingly, A. Lohwasser’s study of the depictions of the Nubian coronation has brought to light that the presentation of the necklace and pectoral refers to this coronation ceremony.¹⁸³⁵ These items – the necklace and pectoral – also feature among the most typical products presented to the gods in the younger ensembles of *wabet* and court,¹⁸³⁶ and one cannot but wonder whether this is a mere coincidence.

A final group of scenes is found on the north wall of the annexe separated from the chapel by four columns with palm capitals. This wall contains the remains of a hymn to the solar deity Ra–Harakhte with references to the confirmation of the ruler’s power.¹⁸³⁷ The hymn is part of a scene depicting the ruler, possibly accompanied by the queen–mother, in front of a seated deity, perhaps Ra–Harakhte. This scene brings to mind a similar relief in room 17, preceding the open court (18) in the temple of Medinet Habu, where the accompanying inscription also

¹⁸³¹ For the identification: MACADAM (1955:97), and TÖRÖK (2002:110).

¹⁸³² MACADAM (1955:96, and plate XXb), and TÖRÖK (2002:109–110).

¹⁸³³ TÖRÖK (2002:109).

¹⁸³⁴ Edfou I, 441, and 442, 5–6; Dendara IV, 150, 5–7, and el–Qal’a II, nos. 174 and 197.

¹⁸³⁵ LOHWASSER (1995). See MACADAM (1955: plate XXIc).

¹⁸³⁶ Chapter 5.2.2c.

¹⁸³⁷ MACADAM (1955:99, and plate XXIa), and TÖRÖK (2002:112).

confirms the pharaoh's power.¹⁸³⁸ The final scene, which continues on the west wall of the annexe, depicts the ruler being embraced by a god (Amun), followed by a god and goddess (Ptah and Sekhmet).¹⁸³⁹

On the platform or altar in the west part of the chapel the excavators of the temple discovered a total of four statues: fragments of a statue of the ruler standing and holding an offering table in his hands, two statues of a baboon with hands raised in a gesture of greeting, and a recumbent sphinx of Taharqa.¹⁸⁴⁰ These objects, particularly the two baboon statues, together with the architectural layout, the east–west orientation of the room, and the decorative scheme of the chapel have led K.–H. Priese and Török to suggest a relation between this chapel in Temple T at Kawa (and five similar chapels in other Nubian temples) with the Ra–Harakhte chapel at the north end of the terrace of the great temple of Abu Simbel.¹⁸⁴¹ This north chapel in Abu Simbel has been identified by R. Stadelmann as the only remaining example of the typical New Kingdom Sw. t Raw outside of Thebes.¹⁸⁴² This implies that the Ra–Harakhte chapels of the Nubian temples form a continuation of the New Kingdom solar courts.¹⁸⁴³

The question remains whether these Nubian Ra–Harakhte chapels link the Sw. t Raw with the younger ensembles of *wabet* and court. Török, for one, is not convinced of this connection. While on the one hand he accepts the link between the Ra–Harakhte chapels of the Nubian temples and the north chapel of Ra–Harakhte in Abu Simbel,¹⁸⁴⁴ he refutes the suggestion that the Nubian chapels link the New Kingdom Sw. t Raw with the complex in

¹⁸³⁸ Medinet Habu VI, plate 413.

¹⁸³⁹ For this identification: MACADAM (1955:99), and TÖRÖK (2002:111).

¹⁸⁴⁰ MACADAM (1955:97; 137; 139, and plates LXX, and LXXIII–LXXIV).

¹⁸⁴¹ PRIESE (1974:222), and TÖRÖK (1997:310; 2002:55). HAKEM (1988:113–119), apparently unaware of Priese's study, also considered the possibility that the chapels might have played a similar role in the temple as the solar court in the New Kingdom temples but dismissed it in favour of an association with the coronation journey and an identification as a 'throne room'. See also MASPERO (1910:92), and BARSANTI–MASPERO (1911: plate CLXI).

¹⁸⁴² STADELMANN (1969:176).

¹⁸⁴³ The Meroitic sun temple M250 in Meroe City might represent another example of a Nubian temple related to the New Kingdom solar courts: PM VII, 239; HAKEM (1988:191–212), and TÖRÖK (2002:212–225, esp. 219, and plate XX). See also RÄRG, 738.

¹⁸⁴⁴ TÖRÖK (1997:310; 2002:55).

the temples of the Thirtieth Dynasty and the Ptolemaic and Roman period.¹⁸⁴⁵ Already in 1975 A. Badawy suggested that these chapels in Nubian temples could have been the precursors of the ensemble in Ptolemaic and Roman temples.¹⁸⁴⁶ The idea was twenty years later taken up by Traunecker in his study of the development of the complex.¹⁸⁴⁷ He interpreted the platform at the west end of the chapel as the seat or throne of Amun who would transfer the kingship to his earthly successor.¹⁸⁴⁸

Although the final word on the identification and function of the chapels as either solar courts or throne rooms still needs to be said, one does not necessarily have to exclude the other. The themes of renewal through the rays of the sun and of the confirmation of the kingship feature extensively for instance on the walls of the ensemble in the temples of Edfu and Dendara in Ptolemaic times,¹⁸⁴⁹ and in the New Kingdom Sw.t Raw both themes are also intertwined.¹⁸⁵⁰ The texts describing the coronation journey of the Nubian ruler often relate it to the journey of Ra through the sky – the ruler was identified with the sun god.¹⁸⁵¹ In both Nubia and Egypt the time of the New Year was considered one of if not the most suitable moment in the year to confirm the ruler's power.¹⁸⁵² It was also the best suited moment for the renewal of the statues of the gods through their exposure to the rays of the sun. These facts suggest the existence of a connection between the confirmation and renewal of the kingship and the regenerative powers of the sun in the New Kingdom, Nubian, and Ptolemaic and Roman ensembles. Unfortunately due to the ruined state of many of the Ra-Harakhte chapels and the lack of most of the decorative schemes applied to the walls of these rooms scholars will never be able to settle once and for all the debate regarding their exact function.

¹⁸⁴⁵ TÖRÖK (2002:55) based on the remaining reliefs and inscriptions from the chapel in the temple of Kawa.

¹⁸⁴⁶ BADAWY (1975:90). The author referred to the chapels in the temples of Gebel Barkal, Kawa, and Sanam.

¹⁸⁴⁷ TRAUNECKER (1995:272–274). The author mentions the chapels in the temples of Sanam, Kawa and Argo.

¹⁸⁴⁸ For a similar interpretation consult MACADAM (1955:97).

¹⁸⁴⁹ See pages 319–322, 330, and 364–367.

¹⁸⁵⁰ BARGUET (1962:291–296); MURNANE (1980:52), and DAUMAS (1980:264–265).

¹⁸⁵¹ TÖRÖK (2002:17).

¹⁸⁵² On the importance of the New Year festivals and their association with the coronation and confirmation of the Nubian ruler, consult TRAUNECKER (1995:275). See also pages 279–281, 319–322, 330, 354–356, and 364–367 for the relation between both events in Egyptian temples of Ptolemaic and Roman times.

The layout and the location of the Ra–Harakhte chapels in the temples also provide a few indications that suggest a connection between the Nubian chapels and the Ptolemaic and Roman ensembles. The existence of a partly uncovered chapel in the very core of the temple, whether Nubian or Ptolemaic and Roman, already suggests a link between these spaces. Moreover, in both periods the open court was located in the immediate vicinity of the main sanctuary of the temple and often accessible through the vestibule that preceded the sanctuary.¹⁸⁵³ The strict adherence to an east–west orientation in the Nubian examples, even if it should have implied reversing the orientation of the decorative scheme, finds its counterpart in the temple of Philae. (fig. 8) The ‘seat of the first feast’ in the temple of Philae is also orientated along an east–west axis which is perpendicular to the axis of the temple (south–north).¹⁸⁵⁴ These indirect indications suggest that the Ra–Harakhte chapels of the Nubian temples and the ensembles in the Ptolemaic and Roman temples might not have been that different from each other. The ruinous state of the Nubian chapels unfortunately does not allow me to make an unequivocal statement on the exact nature of this relation.

6.4. Room E1 on the roof of the temple in Hibis (el–Kharga)

A possible final precursor of the ensemble of *wabet* and court in the temples of the Thirtieth Dynasty and the Ptolemaic and Roman period can perhaps be found on the roof of the temple of Amun–Ra, Mut and Khonsu in Hibis in the el–Kharga oasis. The very core of the temple, including the structures on its roof, dates to the Twenty–Sixth or Saite Dynasty. The temple was erected by Psamtik II on the site of an older New Kingdom monument and its decoration completed in the following Persian period under the reign of Darius I. The temple was further extended in the course of the Twenty–Ninth and Thirtieth Dynasty with a hypostyle hall (fig. 98, N) and entrance kiosk (Q).¹⁸⁵⁵ The axis of the temple of the Twenty–

¹⁸⁵³ MACADAM (1955:99) has identified a niche with the remnants of a staircase in the thickness of the east wall of the chapel, leading to the roof of temple T in Kawa. In temples of Ptolemaic and Roman times the ensemble of *wabet* and court often also features in the immediate vicinity of a staircase to the roof. See Chapter 2 or for instance figures 11 (Edfu), 13 (Kom Ombo), and 17 and 19 (Dendara).

¹⁸⁵⁴ Chapter 1.3. See also TRAUNECKER (1995:274). Remains of an altar of Taharqa have been found in Philae: FARAG – WAHBA – FARID (1979); and HAENY (1985:201–202).

¹⁸⁵⁵ The temple of Amun–Ra in Hibis has been excavated by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York since 1909 onwards – see especially WINLOCK (1941) and DE GARIS DAVIES (1953). The temple was originally dated to Darius I of the Twenty–Seventh Dynasty (WINLOCK 1941:7–9), but the research of CRUZ–URIBE

Sixth Dynasty leads from the pronaos (M) through the hypostyle hall (B) to the sanctuary of Amun-Ra (A). A series of other sanctuaries, side chambers and three staircases to the roof (E, H, and K) are located to the north and south of the hypostyle hall.

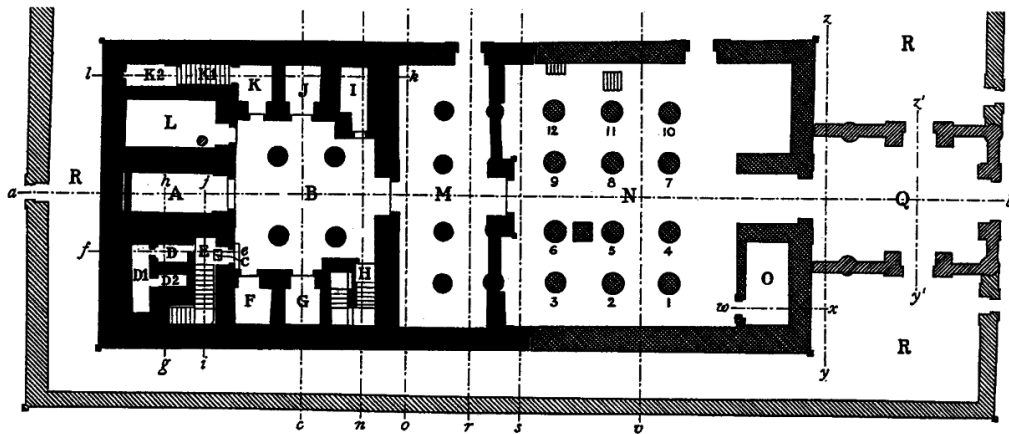


Fig. 98. The temple of Amon-Ra in Hibis

(WINLOCK 1941: plate 1)

The roof of the temple of Hibis contains two complexes of chambers (E and H). (fig. 99) The first series of rooms (H) is connected with the cult of Osiris.¹⁸⁵⁶ This complex resembles later chapels dedicated to his cult on the roof of the temples of Philae, Edfu and Dendara.¹⁸⁵⁷ The southwest corner of the roof is home to the second complex of chambers (E), accessible from the interior of the temple by means of its own stairway and clearly separated from the adjoining complex H.¹⁸⁵⁸ The complex consists of two rooms (E1 and E2) and provides

(1986:164–165; 1987:225–230) made it possible to attribute the construction of the temple to the reign of Psamtik II. For a description of the temple and an overview of its various building stages, consult also AUFRENER – GOLVIN – GOYON (1994:88–96), and ARNOLD (1999:77–79; 103–105; 113–115, and 134).

¹⁸⁵⁶ WINLOCK (1941:12), and DE GARIS DAVIES (1953:19–20, and plates 19 and 20). A translation of the remaining inscriptions can be found in CRUZ-URIBE (1988:85–90). For a study and interpretation of this complex and its association with the Osiris chapels on the roof of Ptolemaic and Roman temples consult WINLOCK (1941:12), and OSING (1986:513–515; 1990:754).

¹⁸⁵⁷ Philae Bénédite, 119–127, and plates xxxv–xlii; Edfou I, 552–553, and Dendara X. See also CAUVILLE (1997a), and WAITKUS (1999).

¹⁸⁵⁸ WINLOCK (1941:11).

access to an open space (E3) and a chamber that at one point in time was covered with a wooden roof (E4). (fig. 100)

Room E2 functioned according to Waitkus as the *Hw. t-nbw* or the ‘gold house’.¹⁸⁵⁹ The partly preserved decorative programme on the walls of Room E2 still depicts the pharaoh in front of a long list of offerings. The accompanying inscription mentions the ‘fashioning and opening of the mouth of the image in the ‘goldhouse’. Opening the mouth and eyes of Amun of Hibis..., which the pharaoh (Darius I) performed’.¹⁸⁶⁰ The text is very similar to the standard opening of the ritual of the ‘opening of the mouth’.¹⁸⁶¹ The location of the *Hw. t-nbw* on the roof of the temple is moreover reminiscent of the situation in the Ptolemaic temple of Edfu and it also brings to mind the ‘goldhouse’ near the roof of the temple of Dendara.¹⁸⁶² (fig. 19)

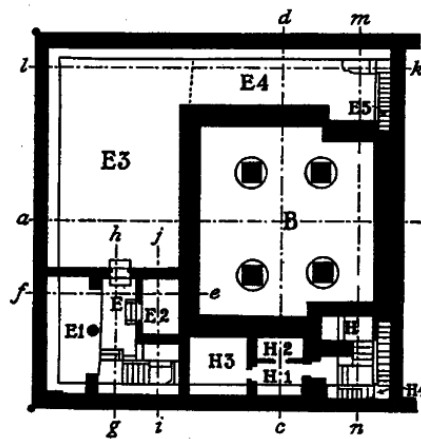


Fig. 99. The complexes on the roof of the temple of Amun–Ra in Hibis
(WINLOCK 1941: plate 1)

¹⁸⁵⁹ WAITKUS (1995:290–291).

¹⁸⁶⁰ The (remains of the) decorative programme of room E2 and a translation of its inscriptions can be found in DE GARIS DAVIES (1953:19, and plate 16) and CRUZ–URIBE (1988:77–79). On the offering list see also BARTA (1963:151).

¹⁸⁶¹ OTTO (1960:34–35).

¹⁸⁶² See for instance DERCHAIN (1990), and WAITKUS (1999).

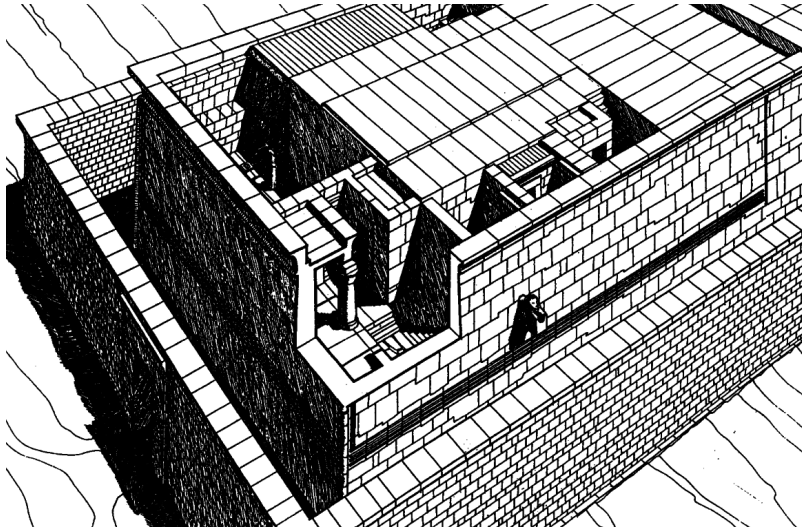


Fig. 100. Reconstruction of the complexes on the roof of the temple of Hibis
(AUFRERE – GOLVIN – GOYON 1994:92)

Room E1, opposite E2, is only partly preserved, but was reconstructed by H. Winlock as a slightly elevated room, one step higher than the floor of complex E. The room was open to the east and had a porch-like facade. A column in the very centre of the opening must have screened some of the activities carried out in the interior of room E1. A decorated pilaster was located in the north-east and south-east corner of the room.¹⁸⁶³ (fig. 99–101) The identification of room E1 as a possible precursor of the ensemble of *wabet* and court was suggested by Waitkus. He based it on the architectural appearance of the room (partly open to the sun, and the presence of a column and pilasters). The location of the crypts which spread across two floors underneath room E1 and are accessible through the staircase that connected complex E with the interior of the temple, reminded Waitkus of a similar distribution of rooms in the temple of Dendara. (fig. 19) Finally, he also saw parallels between the remaining decorative programme on the walls of room E1 and the typical relief decoration found in the ensembles of Ptolemaic and Roman temples.

Waitkus has suggested that the statues of the deities might have been taken out of the crypts along the staircase leading to complex E, subjected to the ritual of the ‘opening of the mouth’ in room E2, and purified, clothed and adorned in room E1 – in a series of rites similar to those carried out in the *wabet* in Ptolemaic and Roman temples. The ‘union with the sun disc’

¹⁸⁶³ WINLOCK (1941:11).

might have subsequently taken place in E3, an area of the roof open to the sky and accessible from complex E.¹⁸⁶⁴ (fig. 99–100)

In light of my own analysis of the typical decorative scheme of the ensemble of *wabet* and court in Ptolemaic and Roman temples in Chapter 5, a brief overview and analysis of the decoration on the walls of E1 is in order. The remaining decorative programme of room E1 consists of the following scenes:¹⁸⁶⁵

- The centre of the partly preserved pilasters on either side of the entrance to the room depicts Horus (south) and Thoth (north) performing a ritual purification with water. A priest recites a text accompanying the Htp–di–nsw.t offering. The pilasters also contain a depiction of the Wepwawet–standard. These two scenes are very similar to stages 2 and 3 of the ritual of the ‘opening of the mouth’ or the purification with nemeset and desheret–vessels.¹⁸⁶⁶ Similar purification scenes are also found in the decorative scheme of the elevated chapel in the temples of Edfu, Dendara, and el–Qal’a.¹⁸⁶⁷
- The west or rear wall of room E1 is decorated with a single large scene that depicts the pharaoh performing a censuring and consecrating a great offering consisting of different types of meat, bread, fruits, flowers, and vegetables to Amun–Ra, Mut, Khonsu, Osiris, Horus (as Harendotes) and Isis. The scene gathers the triad of Hibis (Amun–Ra, Mut and Khonsu) and their counterparts (Osiris, Isis and Harendotes),¹⁸⁶⁸ but the censuring and the hymn in the accompanying inscription is made for Ra–Harakhte.¹⁸⁶⁹ The scene and hymn are well–known from the ritual of the ‘opening of the mouth’ (scene 71).¹⁸⁷⁰

¹⁸⁶⁴ WAITKUS (1995:290–292). See also OSING (1990:763) for a similar reconstruction of events.

¹⁸⁶⁵ DE GARIS DAVIES (1953:18–19, and plates 15 and 16), and CRUZ–URIBE (1988:74–79) for a translation.

¹⁸⁶⁶ OTTO (1960:37–44); OSING (1990:761), and CRUZ–URIBE (1999:70).

¹⁸⁶⁷ Edfou I, 418–419, and 428; Dendara IV, 230, 8–14, and 230, 19–231, 5, and el–Qal’a II, nos. 180 and 182. See also Chapter 5.2.2b.

¹⁸⁶⁸ CRUZ–URIBE (1999:69).

¹⁸⁶⁹ Ra–Harakhte does not feature on the walls of complex E. See also OSING (1990:761), and CRUZ–URIBE (1988:75; 1999:70).

¹⁸⁷⁰ OTTO (1960:10, and 158–161). According to Otto the scene did not form part of the standard ritual of the ‘opening of the mouth’, but originated in the temple ritual. It would only have been inserted in the ritual of the ‘opening of the mouth’ in the course of the Eighteenth Dynasty. The consecration of the large offering is also an essential part of the decorative scheme of the open court, in which case it is not accompanied by a hymn to Ra–Harakhte. See already Chapter 5.2.1a.

– The lateral walls of room E1 portray the pharaoh offering to as many as 66 deities depicted across several registers. The study of E. Cruz–Uribe has shown that these gods represent the 59 decans of the dual year and a few additional deities like Ptah and Sekhmet. The decans have a protective function and offerings were presented to them at the time of the New Year in order to ensure their protection and to help the ruler to appease the raging Sekhmet.¹⁸⁷¹ The concept of offering to protective deities and appeasing Sekhmet at the end of the year brings to mind similar passages in the ensembles from Ptolemaic and Roman times, and is also a stage in the ritual of the ‘opening of the mouth’ (scene 59D).¹⁸⁷²

The presence of a great offering and the invocation of protective deities at the time of the New Year are reminiscent of some of the ritual activities that took place in the complex in Ptolemaic and Roman temples. But the main rites performed in the ensemble – clothing with linen, providing of protective amulets and anointing – do not figure in the decorative scheme of room E1. The identification of room E1 with the complex of *wabet* and court in younger temples, as proposed by Waitkus on the basis of the remaining decorative scheme, seems unsustainable to me. Complex E appears much more suited, in its entirety, as a precursor of the ‘goldhouse’ on or near the roof of the Ptolemaic temples of Edfu and Dendara. I fully agree with J. Osing and Cruz–Uribe who recognised in the decorative programme of both rooms E1 and E2 scenes and rituals from the ritual of the ‘opening of the mouth’.¹⁸⁷³ The scenes depicting the censuring of the great offering and the ritual purification (rear wall E1) and the standard opening phrase of the ritual of the ‘opening of the mouth’ and accompanying offering (rear wall E2) link the two spaces. A similar situation occurs on the walls of room V in the Nineteenth Dynasty temple of Seti I in Gurnah on the Theban West Bank¹⁸⁷⁴ and on a number of sarcophagi.¹⁸⁷⁵

The partly open room E1 might perhaps be closer to the function of the kiosk on the roofs of the temples in Edfu and Dendara rather than the ensemble of an open court and elevated chapel in its interior.¹⁸⁷⁶ This is not to say that the rites that would later on be performed in

¹⁸⁷¹ CRUZ–URIBE (1988:185–191).

¹⁸⁷² OTTO (1960:137–138). See also Chapter 5.2.1c.

¹⁸⁷³ OSING (1990:761–763), and CRUZ–URIBE (1999:70).

¹⁸⁷⁴ CHRISTOPHE (1950), and OSING (1990:762).

¹⁸⁷⁵ CRUZ–URIBE (1988:75).

¹⁸⁷⁶ WAITKUS (1995:292, n. 60) also considered the possibility that the function of room E1 was similar to that of the kiosk on the roof of the Ptolemaic temples of Edfu and Dendara. See also NIEDERBERGER (1999:121,

the ensemble did not take place in complex E, but the available textual and visual evidence simply does not allow us to either accept or refute such a hypothesis. Complex E on the roof of the temple of Hibis at any rate appears to have fulfilled the function of similar structures that one finds on or near the roof of Ptolemaic and Roman temples: it consisted of a series of spaces dedicated to the reanimation of the statues of the deities. Seen from this perspective, and keeping in mind the influence of the ritual of the ‘opening of the mouth’ on the decorative scheme of the later Ptolemaic and Roman complexes, complex E on the roof of the temple of Hibis does not differ so much from the ensemble of *wabet* and court. Together with complex H, these rooms provide important information on the general direction in which the temples were developing in the course of the Late Period. These complexes already show clear traces of the typical structures one finds on or near the roof of their better preserved and hence also better known counterparts from Ptolemaic and Roman times.

6.5. Conclusion

The previous analysis has made it crystal clear that the complex of *wabet* and court is situated at the end of a development that started at least a millennium earlier. At the same time it is not possible to pinpoint its exact origin or follow in detail its development from the time of the New Kingdom Sw.t Ra.w – let alone before this period of time – to the initial appearance of the complex in temples at the end of the Thirtieth Dynasty and the beginning of Ptolemaic rule over Egypt. The poor state of preservation of many temples from between the end of the New Kingdom and the beginning of the Ptolemaic period simply does not allow such an in-depth overview. But this brief analysis of the Sw.t Ra.w of the New Kingdom temples, the Ra-Harakhte courts or throne rooms of the Nubian temples, the Edifice of Taharqa near the sacred lake in Karnak, and even complex E on the roof of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty temple of Hibis in the present chapter indicates at least that the complex of an open court and elevated chapel and the standard and recurring decorative scheme applied to its walls did not appear out of thin air in temples of the Thirtieth Dynasty and the Ptolemaic and Roman period.

The presence of an open court, often accompanied by a platform or altar and a partly covered room, was a recurring architectural element in the layout of many temples of the New Kingdom, the Third Intermediate Period and the Late Period. Even if we keep in mind that

n. 724). The reveals of the stairway leading to complex E on the roof refer to the journey of Amun-Ra through the sky during the day and night – DE GARIS DAVIES (1953: plate 16), and CRUZ-URIBE (1988:79).

many temples from this era have not been preserved and only very little remains of the decorative scheme that was once applied on the walls of these open courts and associated spaces, a few very general themes and concepts can still be recognised in all these monuments. The presence of a court open to the light of day clearly points towards a solar cult and perhaps even to the ultimate ritual act in Ptolemaic and Roman temples: the exposure of statues of the deities to the rays of the sun for renewal and rejuvenation.

The origin of this typical architectural structure and its recurring decorative programme is perhaps located in the Theban region of the New Kingdom and of the cult of the creator god and solar deity Amun–Ra – which was in turn undoubtedly influenced by the much older solar cult and temple of Heliopolis.¹⁸⁷⁷ In the course of the first millennium BC the solar cults gradually assimilated with the funerary sphere and especially the god Osiris. One can witness, for example in the Edifice of Taharqa, a development towards the incorporation of funerary motives or themes from the sphere of Osiris into the solar cult. The recurring presence of a large court open to the sunlight in the monumental tombs of the Late Period in the Assasif at the same time appears to point towards a similar development in the funerary architecture. It is not the concept of death but the victory over death and especially the renewal, rejuvenation or reanimation of the deceased and their entry into a new life that is the central theme of the funerary rites and notions that became incorporated in the temple and solar liturgy at this time.

The remaining decorative schemes of these solar monuments also link the confirmation and the renewal of kingship with the events taking place in these rooms. The New Kingdom *Sw.t Ra.w* and the edifice of Taharqa near the sacred lake indicate the importance of the king for the continuity of the daily renewal of the sun and the world order. In Ptolemaic and Roman times the by then foreign ruler appears to no longer have such a prominent position.¹⁸⁷⁸ In these examples the ruler is still depicted performing the necessary rites for

¹⁸⁷⁷ See also STADELMANN (1969:178).

¹⁸⁷⁸ A similar development can be witnessed in the scenes depicting the divine birth. The New Kingdom examples in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el–Bahari and Amenhotep III in the temple of Luxor portray the divine birth of the ruler from the union of the queen–mother and the god Amun. As Amun’s son and heir, the ruler received his authority and power *directly* from his father, the god. In the birth temples of Ptolemaic and Roman times the scenes no longer depict the divine birth of the ruler, but that of the child–god. The child deity is only then in turn equated with the ruler, who thus *indirectly* received the authority to rule over Egypt. Daumas has suggested that this change took place as a result of the foreign domination over Egypt in the course of the

which he is for instance granted the kingship over the two lands, but the kingship of Horus (Edfu) and Hathor/Isis (Dendara) and its confirmation and renewal has taken the pride of place in the decorative schemes of these monuments.

All these facts indicate that the main themes in the decorative scheme of the *wabet* and court and its function in the temple in Ptolemaic and Roman times draw upon age old traditions that developed in the course of the preceding millennium. The idea of renewal and rejuvenation, the central theme running through the decorative scheme of the Ptolemaic and Roman ensembles, is in one way or another already present in these older structures. The themes and the typical architectural layout that is found in many temples of the previous periods appears to have crystallised in the course of the fourth century BC in the ensemble of *wabet* and court which would reach its standard format in the temple of Edfu in the early Ptolemaic times. Following this closer look at the possible precursors of the architecture and rites performed in the ensembles, conclusions should be drawn on the complex of *wabet* and court in temples of the Thirtieth Dynasty and the Ptolemaic and Roman period.

first millennium BC. The pharaoh still remained central to the Egyptian religious belief system and the well being of the Egyptian state, even when a foreigner was sitting on the throne of the two lands, but a direct connection between the foreign pharaoh and the god was apparently not suitable. See for instance LdÄ II, 473, or DAUMAS (1958:500–503). A comparison of the Ptolemaic and Roman temples with their New Kingdom and Nubian precursors highlights that a similar situation or a shift from the confirmation and renewal of the earthly kingship to the divine kingship appears to have taken place in the decorative scheme of the ensemble in the Ptolemaic and Roman temples.

CONCLUSION

The previous chapters have dealt with all relevant aspects of the layout and the decorative programme of the ensemble of *wabet* and court. This conclusion aims to provide a concise overview of the main results of the study and to present a minimal definition of the architectural complex of an open court and elevated chapel. This format evidently implies the use of some generalisations, but the analysis of the various ensembles in the previous chapters has clearly revealed that each complex – despite local variations in its layout (often related to the size of the temple) and in the decorative scheme applied to its walls (due to intrusions of the local theology) – contains a number of recurring characteristic components that make it possible to define the essential elements of the ensemble and the function it performed in the temple.¹⁸⁷⁹

The typical complex is a recurring architectural element in the very heart of at least nine temples in Upper Egypt, from Dendara in the north to Kalabsha in the south. Although the ensemble only features in temples from the end of the Thirtieth Dynasty (middle of the 4th century BC) to the turn of the 1st and 2nd century AD, its layout and decorative programme are the final stage – given the subsequent discontinuation of the Egyptian temple cult in late antiquity – of a development in Egyptian religious thought that started at least a millennium earlier. The origin of the ensemble's typical architectural structure and its recurring decorative programme most likely dates back at least to the New Kingdom and its roots are in the solar cult. The gradual incorporation of funerary motives or themes from the sphere of Osiris into the solar cult – a development that can be observed from the late New Kingdom onwards – appears to have played an essential role in the coming into being of the complex. It was not the concept of death itself, but the victory over death and especially the renewal or reanimation of the deceased deity, and the central role the pharaoh played in this process, that formed the main theme of the funerary rites and notions that became incorporated in the temple and solar liturgy in the course of the first millennium BC. The recurring association of these concepts with a space open to the light of day in an otherwise dark and closed temple, like the *Sw.t-Ra.w* in New Kingdom temples and in the Edifice of Taharqa near the sacred lake in Karnak or the Ra-Harakhte chapels in Nubian temples in the Late Period,

¹⁸⁷⁹ A more detailed study of the location, layout, orientation, designations, decorative scheme, origin and development, with an overview of the exceptions or variations to the general rule, can be found in the relevant chapters of this study.

appears to have crystallised in the course of the fourth century BC in the ensemble of *wabet* and court which would reach its standard format in the temple of Edfu in early Ptolemaic times.

In both its layout and decoration, this typical ensemble of Ptolemaic and Roman times consists of a series of characteristic and recurring components. The essential architectural layout of the complex is clearly defined by two distinct areas: a court open to the light of day and a slightly elevated and covered chapel. A small staircase located in the centre of the space connects both parts of the ensemble, while a facade, consisting of two screen walls attached to the lateral walls of the complex, two columns and two broken door lintels screens the chapel from the open court. An entrance to a crypt, most likely used for the storage of cultic equipment and/or statues of deities, was another essential element of the typical complex.

The central theme of all texts and reliefs engraved upon the walls of these ensembles focuses on notions of rejuvenation and renewal attained through the rite of the ‘union with the sun disc’ (Xnm-ıtn) or the exposure of the ‘lifeless’ statues of the gods to the rays of the sun. The complex functioned as a crucial stage, if not at times the final destination, during festive processions that would result in the renewal of the statues residing in the temple. The exact sequence of events, such as the routes of the processions, was undoubtedly not the same for every temple and can be reconstructed for most sanctuaries only in a very hypothetical manner. The exact timeframe of the rituals performed in the complex also differed from one temple to another, but in general it seems to have mainly revolved around the final days of the month of Mesore, the five epagomenal days, New Year’s Day (Thoth 1) – undoubtedly the best suited day for any act of renewal and rejuvenation – and the first days of the month of Thoth.

In the decorative scheme applied to the walls of these ensembles two general themes can almost always be recognised: a) the safeguarding of the natural course of events and b) the preparation of the deities for their rejuvenation. The first concept is expressed in a variety of scenes and inscriptions in the open court related to the perpetual and undisturbed journey of the solar bark and to the appeasement of the raging goddess, whose destructive powers reached their climax precisely during the epagomenal days preceding the New Year. The second theme in the decorative scheme is usually found on the walls of the elevated chapel. An extensive number of scenes and inscriptions focus on a series of ritual acts to be

performed prior to the actual rejuvenation of the statues of the gods: the festive procession of the statues in their shrines to the elevated chapel; the opening of the shrines and the revealing of the face of the deities; their subsequent purification with water, incense and natron, clothing with linen, anointment with various unguents, and finally the presentation of protective amulets in the shape of necklaces and pectorals. Next to these activities in the elevated chapel, large offerings of food and beverages appear to have been presented in the open court, judging by the always present scenes of the *ḥb . t* *ḥb . t* on its walls.

This typical and recurring decorative scheme which the priests designed for the walls of the ensembles is a well thought out programme based on an extensive knowledge of various ritual practices from a wide variety of religious spheres (temple, funerary and royal). The inspiration for a large number of the texts and reliefs was found in a series of ancient rites and rituals, such as the Daily Temple Ritual, the ritual of embalming, the ritual of the ‘opening of the mouth’, and the renewal of the pharaoh’s power at the time of the New Year and during the *heb-sed*. The reworked and edited elements from these various rituals, combined with new texts and imagery, resulted in the creation of a coherent decorative system that eloquently expressed the themes that played a central role in the function of the complex: renewal, or rather, the transfer from death, or at least a lifeless or deathlike state, to new life. The numerous texts and reliefs, copied, reworked and edited from much older rituals, made it possible for the renewal, rejuvenation and reanimation of the statues of the gods residing in the temple to take place. On top of that the editorial work carried out by the priests concomitantly gave new life to many of the old traditions and to the associated texts and scenes that were applied in an innovative manner on the walls of the complex.