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The coronation ritual of the falcon at Edfu : tradition and innovation in ancient Egyptian ritual composition

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3 INTERTEXTUAL AND INTERICONOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS

3.1 SCENE 1

3.1.1 ANOINTING

The anointment is a central feature of the coronation ritual of the falcon. Besides its prominent place in Scene 1, where the falcon is depicted being anointed by the king,²²⁸ the anointment is also an important feature of Scenes 7 and 8. In Scene 7 the king is depicted presenting the falcon with “gs-ointment of the House of Life” which is said to be for the protection of its body (Text 75).²²⁹ In the accompanying ritual for the protection of the bedroom, the falcon is said to be anointed with spittle (Text 82).²³⁰ In Scene 8 the falcon is anointed twice as part of the ritual for the protection of the body (Text 98).²³¹ An investigation of the various contexts in which the anointment is important may explain the central role of the anointment in the coronation ritual of the falcon.

3.1.1.1 Anointing as a symbol of renewal and regeneration

Anointing formed an important aspect of the daily clothing ritual in the temple, during which the statue of the god was purified, clothed, provisioned with the royal regalia and anointed.²³² As David remarked: “It was thought that ointments used in embalming a human corpse would bind the limbs together, and imbue the mummy with renewed vigour; in the same way, it was believed that the image of the god would regain life through the potency of the sacred ointment”.²³³ Many ritual scenes in temples depict the presentation of ointments and unguents to the deities, referring to the use of these substances to anoint the gods. The importance of ointments in the temple cult is also clear from the presence of the so-called laboratories, where the ointments and unguents were kept. The recipes for the preparation of the ointments are written on the walls of the Edfu laboratory (Z).²³⁴

3.1.1.2 Anointing as a means of protection

Besides being a symbol of renewal and regeneration, ointment was also used as a means of protection. In the context of funerary ritual, the deceased was anointed not only in the context

²²⁸ See paragraph 2.1.1.

²²⁹ See paragraphs 2.7.2 and 3.7.2.2.

²³⁰ See paragraphs 2.7.3 and 3.7.3.2e.

²³¹ See paragraphs 2.8.3, 3.8.2.2f and 3.8.2.2l.

²³² Amongst the most important sources for the study of the daily clothing ritual are Abydos (see A.R. David, *A guide to religious ritual at Abydos*. Warminster 1981; A.R. David, *Religious ritual at Abydos (c. 1300 B.C.)*. Warminster 1973), Karnak (see H.H. Nelson “Certain reliefs at Karnak and Medinet Habu and the ritual of Amenophis I”, in: *JNES* 8 (1949), 201-229 and 310-345) and Edfu (E I 24-36 and 40-49), as well as P Berlin 3055 (P Amun) and P Berlin 3014/3053 (P Mut) (see M.A. Stadler, “Ein Spruch aus dem Amunsritual und seine Kom Ombo-Rezension”, in: V.M. Lepper (ed.), *Forschung in der Papyrussammlung. Eine Festgabe für das Neue Museum. Ägyptische und Orientalische Papyri und Handschriften des Ägyptischen Museums und Papyrussammlung Berlin, Band 1*. Berlin 2012, 241-260; W. Guglielmi and K. Buroh, “Die Eingangssprüche des Täglichen Tempelrituals nach Papyrus Berlin 3055 (I,1-VI,3)”, in: J. van Dijk (ed.), *Essays on ancient Egypt in honour of Herman te Velde*. Egyptological Memoirs 1. Groningen 1997, 101-166; U. Verhoeven and Ph. Derchain, *Le voyage de la déesse libyque: ein Text aus dem “Mutritual” des Pap. Berlin 3053*. Rites égyptiens 5. Bruxelles 1985; A. Moret, *Le rituel du culte divin journalier en Égypte: d’après les papyrus de Berlin et les textes du temple de Sêti Ier, à Abydos*. Bibliothèque d’Étude 14. Paris 1902).

²³³ David, *Guide*, 70.

²³⁴ See for example Chermette and Goyon, in: *SAK* 23 (1996), 47-82; Kurth, *Treffpunkt*, 115-116.

of the renewal of his body, but also to protect him from the dangers of the afterlife.²³⁵ The anointment is also important in the context of rituals associated with the epagomenal days and the New Year.²³⁶ For example, the ritual instructions accompanying a spell for protection during the epagomenal days in P Cairo 86637 prescribe that the individual using the spell should anoint himself.²³⁷ References to anointing or the offering of ointment to the deceased at the end of the year are also known from the Theban tombs of Neferhotep (TT 50) and Menkheperreseneb (TT 112).²³⁸ In a text from the latter tomb it is said: “The five epagomenal days of the year: anointing, painting the eyes, kindling a torch (and) receiving illumination in the path of darkness, the eye of Horus being vigilant for the protection of Osiris N.”²³⁹ The ritual act of anointing also recurs in P Cairo 58027, which describes a ritual for the protection of the king during the night, followed by a recipe for the preparation of an ointment to be used for the “protection of the year” (*s3 rnpt*), presumably against the “pestilence of the year” (*i3dt rnpt*).²⁴⁰ The text instructs that the ointment should be used to anoint the person to be protected as well as the windows of his house.

3.1.1.3 Anointing and the confirmation of royal power

Considering the prominent place of the anointment in the coronation ritual of the falcon it may be expected that the anointment is a prominent feature also of other rituals concerned with the transmission, renewal and confirmation of royal power.

Indeed, the offering of *mdt*-ointment – together with *mnht*-cloth – is often found in scenes depicting the king offering to his ancestors, guaranteeing his right to the inheritance of kingship.²⁴¹ The anointment also recurs in the rituals that took place in the *wabet* at the end of the year and on New Year’s Day (1 Thoth), in preparation of the rituals that took place in the kiosk on the roof of the temple. These rituals were aimed at the confirmation and renewal of divine kingship. In the *wabet*, the statues of the gods were purified, anointed, clothed and provisioned with protective amulets.²⁴² Next, the statues were brought to the roof of the temple, where they were renewed and revitalised through the *hnm-itn* ritual. The anointing of the statues seems to have been important not only for their renewal and rejuvenation, but also for their protection, as the ritual was carried out during the epagomenal days and New Year’s Day, i.e. a dangerous period of transition.

The anointment of the king is described in P Brooklyn 47.218.50²⁴³ as part of the rituals of the confirmation of royal power celebrated on the date of 1 Thoth. Verhoeven dated the

²³⁵ See S.E. Thompson, “The significance of anointing in ancient Egyptian funerary beliefs”, in: L.H. Lesko (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian and Mediterranean Studies in memory of William A. Ward*. Providence 1998, 231-239.

²³⁶ See Thompson, in: Lesko (ed.), *Studies Ward*, 239-240.

²³⁷ A. Bakir, *The Cairo calendar: no. 86637*. Cairo 1966, 51-52.

²³⁸ See Thompson, in: Lesko (ed.), *Studies Ward*, 240.

²³⁹ See Thompson, in: Lesko (ed.), *Studies Ward*, 240 with reference to N. de Garis Davies and N. de Garis Davies, *The tombs of Menkheperreseneb, Amenmosē, and another (nos. 86, 112, 42, 226)*. Theban Tomb Series 5. London 1933, 24; pl. 29.

²⁴⁰ P Cairo 58027 x+IV, 3b-8c; A.H. Pries, *Das nächtliche Stundenritual zum Schutz des Königs und verwandte Kompositionen: der Papyrus Kairo 58027 und die Textvarianten in den Geburtshäusern von Dendara und Edfu*. Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Ägyptens 27. Heidelberg 2009, 91-99.

²⁴¹ See for example E I 46, 2-10; E I 421, 17 – 422, 2; E III 140, 9 – 141, 8; E III 191, 9 – 192, 5; E IV 278, 11 – 279, 11. See E. Winter, “Der Herrscherkult in den ägyptischen Ptolemäertempeln”, in: H. Maehler and V.M. Strocka (eds), *Das ptolemäische Ägypten. Akten des internationalen Symposiums 27.-29. September 1976 in Berlin*. Mainz am Rhein 1978, 147-160.

²⁴² See F. Coppens, “Linen, Unguents and Pectorals: Instruments of Regeneration in Ptolemaic and Roman Temples”, in: M. Dolińska and H. Beinlich (eds), *8. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung: Interconnections between Temples. Königtum, Staat und Gesellschaft früher Hochkulturen 3*, 3. Wiesbaden 2010, 39-55.

²⁴³ See Goyon, *Confirmation*. A new edition of this papyrus is being prepared by J.F. Quack.

papyrus to the middle of the 6th century BC, i.e. the 26th dynasty.²⁴⁴ The first part of this papyrus describes “the ritual of the Great Place that is carried out at the festivals of the earth”, which consists of the rituals of the purification, adornment and anointment of the king.²⁴⁵ The second part of the papyrus describes “the rituals for the adoration of Horus” and “establishing the heir”.²⁴⁶ Quack suggested that the first part was performed during all the ‘feasts of the earth’ and that the second part was used only on more specific dates, probably in addition to the first part.²⁴⁷ The “rituals for the adoration of Horus” and “establishing the heir” as described in the second part of the papyrus consist of the ceremonies of the confirmation of royal power, which were probably carried out on the first nine days of the month Thoth.²⁴⁸ Certain passages from this papyrus can also be found in the temples of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, often in more elaborate versions. It seems that only the essential information on the rituals was provided in the papyrus, suggesting that it was designed as a liturgical handbook.²⁴⁹ The ritual of the confirmation of royal power as described in this papyrus focuses on the person of the king, but various elements of this text also appear in the coronation ritual of the falcon at Edfu, adapted to the cult of the sacred animal.²⁵⁰ The theme of anointing recurs several times in the Brooklyn papyrus. In the first part of the papyrus, which describes “the ritual of the Great Place that is carried out at the festivals of the earth”, the king is anointed with the nine unguents “of the Per-Wer and the Per-Neser”.²⁵¹ The main theme of the accompanying ritual formulae to these anointments is the protective function of the anointments as well as the exaltation of the legitimacy of the king.²⁵² As part of these protective recitations, the formula “Horus, Horus, sprout of Sakhmet, surround the flesh of the pharaoh with the completeness of life!” recurs several times.²⁵³ As it was shown in Chapter 2, this formula recurs in the coronation ritual of the falcon as part of Scenes 3, 5 and 6.²⁵⁴ The anointment of the king recurs again in the second part of the papyrus, which starts as follows: “The rituals for the adoration of Horus, establishing the heir. Ointment (*ibr*),²⁵⁵ protecting the limbs of the king therewith”.²⁵⁶ The theme of anointment recurs again at the end of the second part of the papyrus, where it is described that a series of birds is brought to the king and anointed with *‘ntyw* (*wrh n=sn ‘ntyw*), an aromatic resin.²⁵⁷ This ritual is referred to as “bringing the living birds to the king”.²⁵⁸ After the anointment it is said about each of the birds: “Giving it the direction to the back”. This somewhat enigmatic phrase seems to suggest that the birds are put in position to be set free, referring to the ritual of setting free the messenger-birds as known from various sources and discussed below. The first bird that is anointed as part of the ritual of “bringing the living birds” is a living falcon. The hymn

²⁴⁴ U. Verhoeven, *Untersuchungen zur späthieratischen Buchschrift*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 99. Leuven etc. 2001, 308-318.

²⁴⁵ P Brooklyn 47.218.50 I, 1 – XV, 26.

²⁴⁶ P Brooklyn 47.218.50 XVI, 1 – XX, 25.

²⁴⁷ Quack, personal communication.

²⁴⁸ Goyon, *Confirmation*, 41-46.

²⁴⁹ Goyon, *Confirmation*, 17.

²⁵⁰ See for example paragraphs 3.4.2 and 3.6.3.

²⁵¹ P Brooklyn 47.218.50 I, 17 – III, 18.

²⁵² Goyon, *Confirmation*, 21.

²⁵³ P Brooklyn 47.218.50 II, 3; II, 7; II, 14.

²⁵⁴ See paragraphs 2.3.4, 2.5.4, 2.6.4 and 3.3.4.

²⁵⁵ For *ibr* as an ointment, see Germer, *Handbuch der altägyptischen Heilpflanzen*. Philippika 21. Wiesbaden 2008, 23-24.

²⁵⁶ P Brooklyn 47.218.50 XVI, 1.

²⁵⁷ S.H. Aufrère, *L’univers minéral dans la pensée Égyptienne I*. Bibliothèque d’Étude 105. Cairo 1991, 213-215.

²⁵⁸ P Brooklyn 47.218.50 XX, 2 – XX, 25. This passage of P Brooklyn can be associated not only with Scene 1, which depicts the anointment of the falcon, but also with Scene 4, which depicts the fumigation of fragrant resin (*k3p ‘ntyw*) for the falcon.

associated with the anointment of the living falcon in the Brooklyn papyrus recurs as part of the coronation ritual of the falcon at Edfu, where it is associated with the fumigation of fragrant resin for the falcon (Scene 4, Text 39: E VI 307, 3-7), confirming the association of the ritual described in the Brooklyn papyrus with the coronation ritual of the falcon at Edfu in general and with Scene 4 in particular.²⁵⁹

Goyon suggested that the ritual of “bringing the living birds to the king” as described in P Brooklyn 47.218.50 may be related to a scene²⁶⁰ dating to the reign of Ptolemy IV and depicted on the thickness of the doorway to the second hypostyle hall (W) (Fig. 3.1). This scene depicts the king standing in front of Horus, holding an ointment-jar and extending his little finger towards the pot. Between the king and Horus, a falcon, vulture and ibis are depicted standing on pedestals. Depicted above them, flying in the opposite direction, are again a falcon (Horus), vulture (Nekhbet) and ibis (Thoth).²⁶¹ The theme of this scene is the anointment of the three messenger-birds, after which they are set free to announce the establishment of Horus as the legitimate heir. This ritual constitutes one of the main ceremonies of the rituals of the confirmation of royal power as celebrated on the date of 1 Thoth.²⁶² The accompanying inscriptions to the scene state that Ra has given the testament (*imyt-pr*) to Horus.²⁶³ The testament contained a list of the areas of Egypt and its inhabitants and was given to the king in order to establish him as the legitimate heir.²⁶⁴

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Figure 3.1 Edfu, thickness of the doorway to the second hypostyle hall (W). From: E II, 14.

Another text, written under the scene, describes the “decree of Ra”.²⁶⁵ This text lists the divine donation of Ra, consisting of the land of Egypt, the inundation, the fertile land, etc., to Horus. Above the scene three hymns are written that were recited as the falcon, vulture and

²⁵⁹ See further paragraph 3.4.2.

²⁶⁰ E II, 14; Goyon, *Confirmation*, 31, n. 1.

²⁶¹ For a discussion of this scene, see S. Schott, “Falke, Geier und Ibis and Krönungsboten”, in: ZÄS 95 (1968), 54-65; O. Keel, *Vögel als Boten: Studien zu Ps. 68, 12-14, Gen. 8, 6-12, Koh. 10, 20 und dem Aussenden von Botenvögeln in Ägypten*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 14. Freiburg/Göttingen 1977, 121-122; Cauville, *Essai*, 114-115; L. Martzloff, “Le rituel de la confirmation du pouvoir royal en images: le lâcher des oiseaux vivants”, in: J.F. Quack (ed.), *Ägyptische Rituale der griechisch-römischen Zeit*. Orientalische Religionen in der Antike 6. Tübingen 2014, 70-75.

²⁶² See Cauville, *Essai*, 114.

²⁶³ E II 14, 15.

²⁶⁴ See Derchain-Urtel, *Thot*, 14-17; Cauville, *Théologie*, 41 n. 3: “Le *mks* et l’*imyt-pr* sont les deux symboles de la royauté, les titres de propriété, cf. de Wit, *Opet*, III, 127 n. 93 et 142 n. 532. Ce sont les emblèmes que reçoit Horus quand il succède à son père, cf. E. VII, 197, 7; Urk. VI, 11, 13, etc.”; Kinnaer, in: *OLP* 22 (1991), 99.

²⁶⁵ E II 13, 1-14.

ibis were set free to announce the establishment of Horus as the legitimate heir.²⁶⁶ The hymn to the falcon recurs in Scene 2 as part of the coronation ritual of the falcon, where it is associated with the presentation of the *hh*-symbol and the *nh*-bouquet to the sacred falcon (Scene 2, Text 17: E VI 270, 10 – 273, 7).²⁶⁷ The scene of anointing the three messenger-birds on the thickness of the doorway to the second hypostyle hall forms part of a series of scenes illustrating the theme of confirmation of royal power, which is the main theme of the decoration of the second hypostyle hall and its doorway:²⁶⁸ for example, the coronation of the king is represented on the interior face of the lintel of the doorway giving access to the hypostyle hall²⁶⁹ (W) as well as on the interior face of the lintel of the doorway giving access to the offering hall (R).²⁷⁰

A similar scene²⁷¹ depicting the anointment of the three messenger-birds, dating to the reign of Ptolemy XII, is found on the thickness of the pylon gateway (K') (Fig. 3.2). Here, the king is depicted standing in front of Horus and Hathor, holding an ointment-jar and extending his little finger towards the pot. Between the king and Horus, a falcon, ibis and vulture are depicted standing on pedestals, facing Horus. Depicted above them, flying in the opposite direction, are again a falcon, ibis and vulture. The *mdt*-ointment which is used to anoint the birds is referred to as “the great eye of Horus, which makes your protection”, referring again to the protective function of the anointment.²⁷² The scene of anointing the three messenger-birds on the thickness of the pylon gateway forms part of a series of scenes on the pylon gateway in which the theme of confirmation of royal power is central.²⁷³ For example, the symmetrical scene depicts the presentation of the crowns of Upper- and Lower-Egypt.²⁷⁴ The scenes on the opposite wall depict the anointment of the sacred bull²⁷⁵ and again the presentation of the crowns of Upper- and Lower-Egypt.²⁷⁶

[Image under copyright restrictions]

Figure 3.2 Edfu, thickness of the pylon gateway (K'). From: Bartels, *Darstellungen*, pl. 8.

²⁶⁶ E II 14, 21 – 16, 13.

²⁶⁷ See paragraph 2.2.2.

²⁶⁸ See Cauville, *Essai*, 114-128.

²⁶⁹ E XV 40, 15 – 43, 6; pl. XLh.

²⁷⁰ E I 456, 18 – 458, 2; pl. XXXVc.

²⁷¹ E VIII 52, 3 – 53, 8; pl. DCLXII. For a discussion of this scene, see Martzloff, in: Quack (ed.), *Ägyptische Rituale*, 70-75; J.-Cl. Goyon, “Aspects thébains de la confirmation du pouvoir royal: les rites lunaires”, in: *JSSEA* 13 (1983), 2-9. This scene is not included in Keel, *Vögel*, nor in Schott, in: *ZÄS* 95 (1968).

²⁷² E VIII 52, 11-13. See also E VII 76, 4-8 discussed above.

²⁷³ See Cauville, *Essai*, 189-202; L. Martzloff, *La décoration des pylônes ptolémaïques d'Edfou et de Philae: étude comparative*. Paris 2011, 173-244.

²⁷⁴ E VIII 25, 3 – 26, 7; DCLVIII.

²⁷⁵ E VIII 60, 13 – 62, 3; pl. DCLXIII.

²⁷⁶ E VIII 32, 14 – 34, 2; pl. DCLX.

[Image under copyright restrictions]

Figure 3.3 Khonsu temple Karnak, thickness of the gateway of Euergetes. From: Clère, *Evergète*, pl. 41.

[Image under copyright restrictions]

Figure 3.4 Left and centre: Isis temple Philae, pronaos, columns 5 (photo no. 1530) and 7 (photo no. 1539). From: H. Beinlich, *Die Photos der Preußischen Expedition 1908-1910 nach Nubien, Teil 8: Photos 1400-1599*. Right: Linedrawing of column 5. From: L. Martzloff, in: Quack (ed.), *Ägyptische Rituale*, 80.

A similar scene²⁷⁷ on the gateway of Euergetes at Karnak²⁷⁸ (Fig. 3.3) depicts the king standing in front of Khonsu-Thoth, holding an ointment-jar and extending his little finger towards the pot. Between the king and Khonsu-Thoth, a falcon, vulture and ibis are depicted standing on pedestals. Depicted above them, flying in the opposite direction, are again a falcon, vulture and ibis. The accompanying inscriptions indicate that the falcon represents Hu

²⁷⁷ P. Clère, *La porte d'Évergète à Karnak*, II. Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire 84. Cairo 1961, pl. 41; *Urk.* VIII, 84-85 (99a-k). For a discussion of this scene, see Keel, *Vögel*, 119-120; Martzloff, in: Quack (ed.), *Ägyptische Rituale*, 70-75; Schott, in: *ZÄS* 95 (1968), 54-65; Goyon, in: *JSSEA* 13 (1983), 2-9.

²⁷⁸ For an analysis of the decoration of the gateway of Euergetes, see J.-Cl. Goyon, "Thèbes: Khonsou, Thot et la monarchie pharaonique après la Troisième Période de Transition. Fête de Thot du 19 du premier mois de l'année et les rites de confirmation du pouvoir royal à Karnak, Edfou et Philae(I), in: Chr. Thiers (ed.), *Documents de Théologies Thébaines Tardives. D3T2*. Montpellier 2013, 33-93; J.-Cl. Goyon, "Thèbes: Khonsou, Thot et la monarchie pharaonique après la Troisième Période de Transition. Fête de Thot du 19 du premier mois de l'année et les rites de confirmation du pouvoir royal à Karnak, Edfou et Philae (II), in: Chr. Thiers (ed.), *Documents de Théologies Thébaines Tardives. D3T3*. Montpellier 2015, 29-89.

and Sia, the vulture represents Nekhbet and Wadjet, and the ibis represents Iri and Sedjem.²⁷⁹ The birds are said to be anointed and adorned with *mḥ*-wreaths at their neck.²⁸⁰ The accompanying inscriptions to this scene suggest that the ritual took place during the principal festival (*ḥb wr*) of Khonsu-Thoth.²⁸¹ Another inscription from the same gateway provides more details and says that the festival took place on the date of 19 Thoth (I 3*ḥt* 19).²⁸² Goyon concluded that the decoration of the gateway of the Khonsu temple at Karnak represents the ceremonies of the festival of 19 Thoth, during which Horus was proclaimed victorious over Seth and received the symbols of royal power.²⁸³ He concluded: “Il s’agit de rites célébrant un épisode essentiel du cycle royal terrestre mais replacé dans un contexte spécifiquement lunaire et thébain”.²⁸⁴

Two more scenes depicting the anointment of the three messenger-birds, dating to the reign of Ptolemy VIII, can be found in the temple of Isis at Philae (Fig. 3.4).²⁸⁵ The scenes are located on column nos. 5 and 7 of the pronaos (M). The scene on column no. 5 depicts the king holding an ointment-jar. Due to damage to the scene it can not be ascertained whether the king extends his little finger towards the pot. Above, a falcon, ibis and vulture are depicted standing on pedestals. According to PM VI 236 (5c-d) the accompanying inscription consists of a “list of peoples”, which is in fact a part of the decree of Ra, which is also present in the same context in the scene at Edfu (W) discussed above. The scene on column no. 7 depicts the birds being set free. The accompanying inscription below is again identified in PM VI 236 (7a) as a “list of people”, also to be identified as a part of the decree of Ra.

Schott hypothesised that the tradition of this type of scene depicting the anointment of the three messenger-birds can be traced back to scenes dating to the New Kingdom, depicting the ritual of setting free four geese or four doves to report the coronation of the king to the four winds of heaven.²⁸⁶ This type of scene is found in the Ramesseum,²⁸⁷ at Medinet Habu,²⁸⁸ and at Karnak²⁸⁹ in the context of the Festival of Min, a harvest-festival in which the theme of the renewal of royal power is an important feature.²⁹⁰

²⁷⁹ *Urk.* VIII 84 (99c).

²⁸⁰ *Urk.* VIII 84 (99e and 99f).

²⁸¹ *Urk.* VIII 85 (99i).

²⁸² *Urk.* VIII 65 (78d).

²⁸³ In this respect it is interesting to refer to some scenes in the Chamber of the Leg (J) (E I 263; pl. CCXCIX) and the Chapel of Hathor (K) (E I 270; pl. CCCX and E I 276; pl. CCCXI) at Edfu, which also depict the anointment of sacred birds in the context of the rituals of 19 Thoth; see Goyon, in: Thiers (ed.), *D3T2*, 33-94.

²⁸⁴ Goyon, in: *JSSEA* 13 (1983), 3. See also Goyon, in: Thiers (ed.), *D3T2*, 33-94.

²⁸⁵ PM VI² 236 (5c-d and 7a). For a discussion of these scenes, see Keel, *Vögel*, 122-125; Martzolf, in: Quack (ed.), *Ägyptische Rituale*, 70-75; Schott, in: *ZÄS* 95 (1968), 54-65.

²⁸⁶ Schott, in: *ZÄS* 95 (1968), 65.

²⁸⁷ PM II 434 (10) I, 1; H.H. Nelson, *Festival Scenes of Ramses III. Medinet Habu IV*. The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications 51. Chicago 1940, pl. 213.

²⁸⁸ PM II 500 (98) I, 4; Nelson, *Festival Scenes*, pls. 205a and 206a.

²⁸⁹ PM II 29 (56) 3; H.H. Nelson, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak. Vol. I: Ramses III's temple within the great enclosure of Amon*. The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications 25. Chicago 1936, pl. 19.

²⁹⁰ See for example C. Graindorge, “Le taureau blanc du dieu Min et l’offrande de la gerbe de blé”, in: S. Georgoudi, R. Koch Piettre and F. Schmidt (eds), *La cuisine et l’autel: les sacrifices en questions dans les sociétés de la Méditerranée ancienne*. Bibliothèque de l’École des Hautes Études – Sciences Religieuses 124. Turnhout 2005, 47-76; B. Lurson, “Compléments à la représentation de la “Sorti de Min” du Ramesseum”, in: *JSSEA* 38 (2011-2012), 97-119; C. Larcher, “Min et la fête-sed: réexamen d’une scène du temple de Soleb”, in: *RdE* 62 (2011), 205-209; F. Feder, “Das Ritual *sḥꜥ k3 šḥn.t* als Tempelfest des Gottes Min”, in: R. Gundlach and M. Rochholz (eds), *4. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung, Köln 10.-12. Oktober 1996: Feste im Tempel*. Ägypten und Altes Testament 33. Wiesbaden 1998, 31-54; H. Refai, “Die Bestätigung im Fest: zur Rolle der thebanischen Feste bei der Erneuerung der Königsmacht”, in: *Memnonia* 9 (1998), 181-189; E. Brunner-Traut, *LÄ* IV, 1982, 141-144 “Minfest”.

3.1.1.4 Conclusions

The ritual act of anointment takes place as part of Scenes 1, 7 and 8 of the coronation ritual of the falcon and forms as such an important and recurrent feature of the ritual. An investigation of the various contexts in which the anointment takes place has shown that the anointment forms part of a wide variety of rituals, ranging from the daily clothing ritual (*Kultbildritual*) and funerary ritual to rituals for protection during the epagomenal days, for protection during the night, and to the rituals associated with the royal coronation ceremony. The common themes found in each of these ritual contexts are renewal and regeneration as well as the transmission, renewal and confirmation of royal power. The ritual act of anointment has an important position in each of these rituals, which can all be defined as rites of passage. Due to its protective character, the ritual act of anointing was an important feature of rites of passage. This also explains the important role of the anointment in the coronation ritual of the falcon.

The anointment of the sacred falcon in Scene 1 is reminiscent of the anointments as found in P Brooklyn 47.218.50 and in the various temple scenes associated with the setting free of the messenger-birds, discussed above. However, one must keep in mind that there are also some clear differences to be observed: the anointments form part of different rituals, i.e. the rituals of the month Tybi, the rituals of the month Thoth, and the rituals of the Min Festival. Furthermore, in the case of the ritual of 1 Tybi the falcon is not anointed in the form of a messenger-bird to announce the coronation, but as the sacred animal of the temple, taking the place of the king in the rituals for the renewal and confirmation of royal power. Based on the thematic similarities one might argue that the rituals share the same *Vorlage*. This is however not necessarily the case. It seems that the theme of anointing sacred birds is associated especially with the theme of confirmation and renewal of royal power. As such, the theme of anointing sacred birds is associated with a variety of rituals for the renewal and confirmation of royal power, such as the rituals of the months Tybi and Thoth, as well as those of the Min Festival. The thematic association between these rituals is further confirmed by the recurrence of the same hymns: the hymn in P Brooklyn 47.218.50 associated with the anointment of the living falcon in the context of the rituals of the month Thoth recurs in Scene 4,²⁹¹ the hymn from the scene on the thickness of the doorway to the second hypostyle hall (W) associated with the anointment of the three messengers-birds in the context of the rituals of the month Thoth recurs in Scene 2,²⁹² and a hymn associated with the Festival of Min at Edfu recurs in Scene 6.²⁹³

3.2 SCENE 2

3.2.1 PRESENTING THE *ḥḥ*-SYMBOL AND THE *ʿnh*-BOUQUET

The main theme of Scene 2 is the presentation of a double offering of the *ḥḥ*-symbol and the *ʿnh*-bouquet to the sacred falcon. In this paragraph the symbolism of the offering of the *ḥḥ*-symbol and the *ʿnh*-bouquet shall be further explored through an investigation of the sources in which these offerings are found.

²⁹¹ See paragraphs 2.4.2 and 3.4.2.

²⁹² See paragraphs 2.2.2 and 3.2.

²⁹³ See paragraph 2.6.5 and 3.6.3.

3.2.1.1 The destruction of enemies and an eternal reign

According to Dittmar the offering of the *ḥnh*-bouquet is known from only two instances in the temple reliefs of the New Kingdom, both from the Khonsu temple at Karnak.²⁹⁴ In the temples of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, *ḥnh*-bouquets are presented in two forms, either as *ms n ḥnh im3 išd* or as *ḥnk ḥnh n Rʿ*.²⁹⁵ The *ḥnh*-bouquet seems to have had a special status: only the bouquets that had been consecrated in the temples were referred to as *ḥnh*.²⁹⁶ Being consecrated bouquets, the *ḥnh*-bouquets are often presented in the name of a deity,²⁹⁷ as it is also the case in Scene 2: the accompanying hymn to this scene refers to the *ḥnh*-bouquets of Horus Behdeti, Ra, Hathor and Atum.²⁹⁸ The offering of the *ḥnh*-bouquet was considered a sign of loyalty. As such, *ḥnh*-bouquets were presented to the king on the occasion of a successful campaign.²⁹⁹ For example, the inscription of the victory stela of Piankhy describes the presentation of an *ḥnh*-bouquet to the king when he visited the temple of Heliopolis after his conquest of Egypt.³⁰⁰ Similar events are described by the Roman historian Suetonius (ca. 69 – after 122 AD) in his *De Vita Caesarum*: a bouquet was presented to Vespasian when he visited the Serapeum in Alexandria.³⁰¹ The presentation of bouquets was associated in particular with the destruction of enemies and the promise of an eternal reign. As such, they were presented to the king on the occasion of his accession to the throne, as illustrated for example in a scene in TT 75 (Amenhotep-Sise).³⁰² The accompanying inscriptions read: “(...) May he (i.e. Amun) praise you, may he love you, may he prolong your existence, and grant you life, stability and [wealth], power and victory over all lands ... [fear of] you in the hearts of foreign lands [...] your enemies under your sandals (...)”.³⁰³

The offering of the *ḥh*-symbol to a deity as a special rite is only attested in the temples of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods.³⁰⁴ In return for the presentation of *ḥh*, the king receives an infinite number of regnal years and jubilees, peace, the destruction of enemies as well as prosperity. As such, the offering of the *ḥh*-symbol is closely associated with the offering of the *ḥnh*-bouquet, which has similar connotations. As pointed out in paragraph 2.2.1 the *ḥh*-symbol is often referred to as *ḥnh n Rʿ*, the *ḥnh*-bouquet of Ra. The word *ḥnh* can thus be used to refer to the *ḥh*-symbol as well as to the *ḥnh*-bouquet, suggesting that both offerings represent the same concept.

²⁹⁴ Dittmar, *Blumen*, 83.

²⁹⁵ Dittmar, *Blumen*, 125-126, n. 1. For the *ḥnh*-bouquet in relation to the *im3*-, *b3k*- and *išd*-trees, see paragraph 3.2.1.2.

²⁹⁶ Dittmar, *Blumen*, 126.

²⁹⁷ Dittmar, *Blumen*, 126.

²⁹⁸ See paragraph 2.2.2.

²⁹⁹ Dittmar, *Blumen*, 127.

³⁰⁰ N.-Chr. Grimal, *La stèle triomphale de Pi('nkh)y au Musée du Caire: JE 48862 et 47086-47087*. Études sur la propagande royale égyptienne 1. Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire 105. Cairo 1981, 131-132 [36-37]; T. Eide, T. Hägg, R.H. Pierce and L. Török (eds), *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum: textual sources for the history of the middle Nile region between the eighth century BC and the sixth century AD*. Bergen 1994, 100; Ph. Derchain, “La visite de Vespasien au Sérapéum d'Alexandrie”, in: *CdE* 28 (1953), 265-269. For an analysis of the anointment and the presentation of the *ḥh*-symbol and the *ḥnh*-bouquet in the rituals of the confirmation of royal power, see C. van den Hoven, “Le rituel du couronnement du faucon à Edfou: les rituels de la confirmation du pouvoir royal”, in: Chr. Zivie-Coche (ed.), *Offrandes, rites et rituels dans les temples d'époque ptolémaïque et romaine. Actes de la journée d'études de l'équipe EPHE (EA 4519) « Égypte ancienne: Archéologie, Langue, Religion » Paris, 27 juin 2013*. Cahiers Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne 10. Montpellier 2015, 185-198.

³⁰¹ Derchain, in: *CdE* 28 (1953), 261.

³⁰² N. de Garis Davies and N. de Garis Davies, *The Tombs of Two Officials of Tuthmosis the Fourth (nos. 75 and 90)*. Theban Tomb Series 3. London 1923, pl. XI.

³⁰³ De Garis Davies and De Garis Davies, *Two Officials*, 13.

³⁰⁴ J.F. Borghouts, *LÄ* II, 1975, 1084-1086, “Heh, Darreichen des”.

3.2.1.2 The *ḥnh*-bouquet in relation to the *im3*-, *b3k*- and *išd*-trees

The double offering of the *ḥh*-symbol and the *ḥnh*-bouquet is also found in a scene³⁰⁵ on the thickness of the pylon gateway (K') (Fig. 3.5). As pointed out in paragraph 3.1.1.3 the theme of confirmation of royal power is especially important in the ritual scenes decorating the pylon gateway (K').³⁰⁶ The accompanying ritual text to this scene identifies the *ḥnh*-bouquet as consisting of the leaves of the *b3k*- and *išd*-trees: "Presenting the *ḥh*-symbol with *ḥnh*, *ḏd* and *w3s* and an *ḥnh*-bouquet of *b3k* and *išd*".³⁰⁷ The accompanying inscriptions to the scene explicitly state that the king shall be enduring (*ḏd*), living (*ḥnh*) and strong (*w3r*) because of the *ḥnh*-bouquet of *b3k* and *išd*: "Presenting the *ḥh*-symbol with *ḥnh*, *ḏd* and *w3s* and an *ḥnh*-bouquet of *b3k* and *išd*. <Words to be spoken:> Take the *ḥh*-symbol with *ḥnh*, *ḏd* and *w3s*, (and) the *ḥnh*-bouquet of *b3k* and *išd*. May you receive them with life (*ḥnh*). May you hold them to your nose, together with the Ennead that is with you. May your Majesty be enduring (*ḏd*) in your nome of Mesen, and may you live (*ḥnh*) and be strong (*w3r*) because of them".³⁰⁸ In this respect, the theme of the hymn which accompanies the offering of *ḥh*-symbol and *ḥnh*-bouquet in Scene 2 is very appropriate: as shown in paragraph 2.2.2, the hymn starts with the themes of taking royal power, strength and rule over Egypt, over foreign lands and over the entire world, as well as the themes of endurance and protection (E VI 270, 10 – 271, 5).

[Image under copyright restrictions]

Figure 3.5 Edfu, thickness of the pylon gateway (K'). From: Bartels, *Darstellungen*, pl. 9.

Numerous other inscriptions from the Edfu temple further confirm the identification of the *ḥnh*-bouquet as consisting of the leaves of the *im3*-, *b3k*- and *išd*-trees.³⁰⁹ An analysis of the accompanying inscriptions to the ritual scenes depicting the offering of the *ḥnh*-bouquet at Edfu shows that the *im3*-, *b3k*- and *išd*-trees are closely connected to the themes of the transmission of royal power, strength, the triumph over enemies, as well as endurance, prosperity and protection. For example, in a scene on the exterior face of the western

³⁰⁵ E VIII 64, 11 - 65, 10; pl. CLXXXV.

³⁰⁶ See Cauville, *Essai*, 189-202; Martzloff, *Décoration*, 173-244.

³⁰⁷ E VIII 64, 11-12.

³⁰⁸ E VIII 64, 11-15.

³⁰⁹ See for example E IV 356, 7-18 (*im3* and *išd*); E IV 387, 15 – 388, 11 (*b3k*, *im3* and *išd*); E V 74, 10 – 75, 3 (*im3* and *išd*); E V 92, 15 – 93, 11 (*im3*); E V 170, 10 – 171, 6 (*im3* and *išd*); E V 312, 2-4 (*im3*, *b3k* and *išd*); E VII 80, 10 – 81, 10 (*im3* and *išd*). For the ritual of presenting the leaves of the *im3*-, *b3k*- and *išd*-trees, see also Z. El-Kordy, "Présentation des feuilles des arbres *išd*, *im* et *b3k*", in: *ASAE* 69 (1983), 269-286.

enclosure wall (J') it is said: "Presenting *ḥnh*-bouquets (consisting) of *im3* and *išd*. Words to be spoken: these are the *ḥnh*-bouquets that make your Majesty strong (*wsr*), king of the gods in the *Hwt-bik* (i.e. Edfu). The *im3* is at your nose, your hand has grasped it; it has joined (*im3*) the lands together for you. The *išd* is for your *k3*, you have taken possession of your office upon your *nst*-throne, and your heart is rejoicing every day".³¹⁰ Horus says: "I let your Majesty be enduring (*sdd*) in the palace and I flood your palace with the catch (of fish and fowl)" (...) I protect your Majesty against all evil things, and I overthrow all your enemies in the place of slaughtering".³¹¹ Hathor says: "These *ḥnh*-plants grow in Behdet, they protect you and they repeat your protection".³¹² This scene forms part of the "Montée Royale" sequence,³¹³ the function of which is the divinisation of the king, who is first purified and crowned, and then received as the legitimate king by the god of the temple.³¹⁴

The *im3*- and *išd*-trees also appear at Edfu in the context of the royal *sd*-festival. For example, in the upper register of the north and south walls of the Throne of Ra (L), the ritual of writing the king's names on the leaves of the *išd*-tree is depicted.³¹⁵ The ritual is associated with the *sd*-festival of the king, being aimed at increasing the years of his reign and providing him with innumerable *sd*-festivals.³¹⁶ In the upper register of the west wall of the Throne of Ra (L), the king is kneeling before the *im3*-tree and receives the *hk3*-sceptre and *nh3h3*-flail from Horus in the scene on the right and the *mks* and a palm rib with suspending *hb-sd*-symbol in the scene on the left.³¹⁷ These scenes from the Throne of Ra (L) confirm the association of the *im3*- and *išd*-trees with the rituals of the transmission of royal power.

The *im3*- and *išd*-trees also appear at Edfu in the context of the New Year's ceremonies celebrated on the date of 1 Thoth. The scenes along the staircase giving access to the roof of the temple depict the priests carrying cult-equipment to be used in the ceremonies of 1 Thoth. The accompanying inscriptions to these scenes mention *ḥnh*-bouquets composed of the leaves of the *im3*- and *išd*-trees.³¹⁸

3.2.1.3 The *hh*-symbol in relation to the *ḥnh-dd-w3s*-symbols

In the ritual text accompanying the presentation of the *ḥnh*-bouquet in Scene 2 no reference is made to the leaves of the *im3*-, *b3k*- and *išd*-trees: "Offering the *hh*-symbol. Words to be spoken: the *hh*-symbol of life to your noble nose" (Text 12: E VI 269, 14-15). The presentation of *ḥnh*-bouquets is mentioned explicitly in the accompanying hymn to Scene 2 (Text 17: E VI 270, 10 – 273, 7), but also here no mention is made of the leaves of the *im3*-, *b3k*- and *išd*-trees. Instead, the hymn refers to the offering of the *hh*-symbol in relation to the *ḥnh-dd-w3s*-symbols: "Take the *hh*-symbol with *ḥnh*, *dd* and *w3s*, so that you shall rule the Two Lands in triumph! [Take] the *ḥnh*-bouquet of the Majesty of Ra to the nose of the lord of humankind and the long lifetime of Amun-Ra [that you spend] because of the Double Crown on your head. Take the *dd*-pillar, so that you are enduring like Ra, for it supports the sky for you like Shu, and it makes your name long on the *st*-throne of Horus, so that your lifetime is

³¹⁰ E VII 80, 10-15.

³¹¹ E VII 81, 3-6.

³¹² E VII 81, 8.

³¹³ *Montée Royale* sequence E VII 42, 7 – 86, 17. See Labrique, *Stylistique*, 133 ff.

³¹⁴ Labrique, *Stylistique*, 163.

³¹⁵ E I 291, 3 – 292, 2; pl. XXIXb and E I 297, 12 – 298, 12; pl. XXIXa.

³¹⁶ For the ritual of the writing of the king's names on the *išd*-tree, see W. Helck, "Ramessidische Inschriften aus Karnak", in: *ZÄS* 82 (1957), 117-140. According to Helck, the ritual is known since the time of Thutmose I, with depictions of the ritual being known since the time of Thutmose III (PM II 169 (34-36)).

³¹⁷ E I 290, 9 – 18; pl. XXIXb and E I 296, 18 – 297, 9; pl. XXIXb.

³¹⁸ E I 569, 9-10; pl. XXXVIIIo; Alliot, *Culte*, 398. The priests carrying the flowers mentioned in the texts are unfortunately not depicted.

the length of *dt*-eternity. Take the *w3s*-sceptre from the hand of Amun and strength from the hand of the gods!”

This close association between the *hh*-symbol and the *nh-dd-w3s*-symbols can also be observed elsewhere in the Edfu temple.³¹⁹ For example, in a scene on the second register of the exterior face of the western enclosure wall (J') the king presents the *hh*-symbol to Horus and Hathor.³²⁰ The accompanying inscription reads: “Presenting the *hh*-symbol. Words to be spoken: The *hh*-symbol for you with life (*nh*), endurance (*dd*) and dominion (*w3s*), so that you shall rule all the lands in triumph”.³²¹ In a scene on the third register of the exterior face of the western enclosure wall (J') the king is again depicted presenting the *hh*-symbol to Horus and Hathor.³²² The accompanying inscription reads: “Presenting the *hh*-symbol with life (*nh*), endurance (*dd*) and dominion (*w3s*)”.³²³

Scenes in which the offering of *nh*, *dd* and *w3s* is depicted are frequently found in close vicinity to scenes where the *hh*-symbol is presented. For example, in a scene on the third register of the south wall of the Treasury (B'), the king is depicted presenting the *hh*-symbol to Horus.³²⁴ In the neighbouring scene immediately to its right on the same wall, the king is depicted presenting Horus with the *nh-dd-w3s*-symbols.³²⁵ The association with the theme of the transmission of royal power is also made here: the two scenes in the third register of the north wall depict the presentation of the crowns to Horus³²⁶ and to Hathor.³²⁷ Another example of the close association between *hh* and *nh-dd-w3s* can be found in the exterior face of the naos (F'): in a scene on the fourth register of the western exterior face of the naos, the king is depicted presenting the *hh*-symbol to Shu.³²⁸ In the scene immediately to its right, the king is depicted presenting Khonsu and Sebeqet with the *nh-dd-w3s*-symbols.³²⁹ The close association between the presentation of the *hh*-symbol and the *nh-dd-w3s*-symbols can also be observed on the gateway of Euergetes at Karnak. In the third register of the south face, the king presents the *hh*-symbol to Khonsu-Shu and Rattawy.³³⁰ Immediately above, in the fourth register, the king presents *nh-dd-w3s* to Khonsu-Thoth and Khonsu.³³¹ Also here, the theme of the transmission of royal power is central: other scenes on the gateway depict for example the anointing of the falcon, vulture and ibis,³³² the presentation of the crook and flagellum,³³³ the *Ruderlauf*³³⁴ and the *Vasenlauf*.³³⁵

³¹⁹ For the association between *hh* and *nh-dd-w3s* in temples of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, see Winter, *Untersuchungen*, 91-97.

³²⁰ E VII 134, 4 – 135, 2; pl. CLXIX.

³²¹ E VII 134, 4-5.

³²² E VII 138, 15 – 139, 10; pl. CLXIII.

³²³ E VII 138, 15.

³²⁴ E II 288, 7-10; pl. XLVa.

³²⁵ E II 299, 5-10; pl. XLVa.

³²⁶ E II 285, 8-12; pl. XLVb.

³²⁷ E II 296, 8-13; pl. XLVb.

³²⁸ E IV 143, 12 – 144, 6; pl. LXXXVI.

³²⁹ E IV 142, 13 – 143, 10; pl. LXXXVI.

³³⁰ Clère, *Évergète*, pl. 8; *Urk.* VIII, 51-52 (63a-h).

³³¹ Clère, *Évergète*, pl. 10; *Urk.* VIII, 50-51 (62a-i).

³³² Clère, *Évergète*, pl. 41; *Urk.* VIII, 84-85 (99a-k). For a discussion of this scene in relation to the theme of anointing in the rituals of the transmission, renewal and confirmation of royal power, see paragraph 3.1.1.3.

³³³ Clère, *Évergète*, pl. 9; *Urk.* VIII, 55-56 (67a-i).

³³⁴ Clère, *Évergète*, pl. 33; *Urk.* VIII, 59-60 (72a-h).

³³⁵ Clère, *Évergète*, pl. 30; *Urk.* VIII, 61 (74a-h).

3.2.1.4 The *ḥnh*-bouquet in relation to the *ḥnh-dd-w3s*-symbols

The accompanying hymn to Scene 2 (Text 17: E VI 270, 10 – 273, 7) refers to the presentation of the *ḥh*-symbol together with the *ḥnh-dd-w3s*-symbols. However, the accompanying image to Scene 2 shows the presentation of the *ḥh*-symbol together with the *ḥnh*-bouquet. The same double offering of *ḥh*-symbol and *ḥnh*-bouquet is found in the scene on the thickness of the pylon gateway (K') mentioned above. It seems that in these scenes, the *ḥnh*-bouquet has taken the place of the *ḥnh-dd-w3s*-symbols.³³⁶ The accompanying inscriptions to the scenes on the west face of the east tower³³⁷ and on the east face of the west tower³³⁸ of the pylon (K') (Figs. 3.6 and 3.7) seem to offer an explanation for this apparent substitution of the *ḥnh-dd-w3s*-symbols with the *ḥnh*-bouquet.

[Image under copyright restrictions]

Left: Figure 3.6 Edfu, west face of the east tower of the pylon (K'). From: Bartels, *Darstellungen*, pl. 19.
Right: Figure 3.7 Edfu, east face of the west tower of the pylon (K'). From: Bartels, *Darstellungen*, pl. 19.

As mentioned before, the theme of the confirmation of royal power is central on the Edfu pylon.³³⁹ In the scene on the west face of the east tower Horus is depicted presenting the sacred falcon with a palm rib with suspending *ḥb-sd*-symbols in one hand, holding in the

³³⁶ The same conclusion was reached by F. Moyen-Gilbert, "L'offrande des feuilles de *baq*, *ima* et *ished* pour confirmer le pouvoir royal", in: *Kyphi: Bulletin du Cercle Lyonnais d'Égyptologie Victor Loret* 1 (1998), 92.

³³⁷ E VIII 147, 4 – 148, 12; U. Bartels, *Edfu: Die Darstellungen auf den Außenseiten der Umfassungsmauer und auf dem Pylonen: Strichzeichnungen und Photographien*. Die Inschriften des Tempels von Edfu. Abt. 2, Dokumentationen; Band 1. Wiesbaden 2009, pl. 19 (left).

³³⁸ E VIII 108, 16 – 110, 6; Bartels, *Darstellungen*, pl. 19 (right).

³³⁹ See Cauville, *Essai*, 189-202; Martzolf, *Décoration*, 173-244.

other hand the *ʿnh-dd-w3s*-symbols in the shape of a bouquet, the stem of which he has clenched in his fist. The inscription on the east face of the west tower refers to this offering: “Words to be spoken: the living *b3* of Ra has come from Punt, so that he is appointed as ruler forever. He will come from his *m3rw*³⁴⁰ in his *tnṯt*-litter so that his *k3* reaches the dappled of feathers, and so that he is given the *ḥḥ*-symbol with life (*ʿnh*), endurance (*dd*) and dominion (*w3s*), (namely) this *ʿnh*-bouquet of <the Ennead> and the span of time of *ḥḥ*-eternity in the window of the *si3*-falcon³⁴¹ and upon his *bḥdw*-throne in the *Pr-Bik-Ntry*.³⁴² <Come in haste> to *Msn*, <you with turquoise skin>, so that your Majesty is <united> with your statue”.³⁴³

Similarly on the west face of the east tower³⁴⁴ and the east face of the west tower³⁴⁵ of the first pylon of the Philae temple (Figs. 3.8 and 3.9).³⁴⁶ Also here, in the scene on the west face of the east tower Horus is depicted presenting the sacred falcon with a palm rib with suspending *ḥb-sd*-symbols in one hand, holding in the other hand the *ʿnh-dd-w3s*-symbols in the shape of a bouquet, the stem of which he has clenched in his fist. Also here, the inscription on the east face of the west towers refers to this offering: “Words to be spoken: the living *b3* of Ra has come from Punt, so that he is appointed as ruler forever. [...] his *m3rw* in his window of appearances so that his *k3* reaches the dappled of feathers, and so that he is given the *ḥḥ*-symbol with life (*ʿnh*), endurance (*dd*) and dominion (*w3s*), (namely) this *ʿnh*-bouquet of Ra”.³⁴⁷

[Image under copyright restrictions]

Figure 3.8 Philae, west face of the east tower of the first pylon. From: Ph I, pl. 38.

³⁴⁰ For a discussion of this locality, see paragraph 5.3.2.

³⁴¹ For a discussion of this locality, see paragraph 5.3.2.

³⁴² For a discussion of this locality, see paragraph 5.3.1.

³⁴³ E VIII 109, 15 – 110, 3.

³⁴⁴ Ph I 73, 12 – 75, 8; pl. 38; photo 208.

³⁴⁵ Ph I 77, 5 – 78, 19; pl. 40 ; photo 209.

³⁴⁶ For a comparison of the decoration of the pylons of Edfu and Philae, see Martzolf, *Décoration*, 245-277.

³⁴⁷ Ph I 77, 6-11. A similar inscription to those of E VIII 109, 15 – 110, 3 and Ph I 77, 6-11 can be found in the scene on the thickness of the pylon gateway depicting the presentation of the *ḥḥ*-symbol and *ʿnh*-bouquet (Fig. 3.5). The inscription reads: “Take for you the *ḥḥ*-symbol with *ʿnh*, *dd* and *w3s*, (namely) an *ʿnh*-bouquet (consisting) of the (leaves of the) *b3k* and *išd*-trees. May you receive them with life” (E VIII 64, 12-13). This example is slightly ambiguous however, as the preceding part of the same inscription reads: “Offering the *ḥḥ*-symbol with *ʿnh*, *dd* and *w3s* and (*ḥnʿ*) an *ʿnh*-bouquet (consisting) of the (leaves of the) <*b3k*> and *išd*-trees” (E VIII 64, 11-12).

[Image under copyright restrictions]

Figure 3.9 Philae, east face of the west tower of the first pylon. From: Ph I, pl. 40.

Another example of the identification of the *ʕnh-dd-w3s*-symbols with the *ʕnh*-bouquet is found in a scene in the first register of the south wall of the Court (H').³⁴⁸ Here, the king is depicted receiving the *hps*-sword from Ra Behdeti, with Ma'at standing to the left holding two palm ribs with suspending *hb-sd*-symbols. To the right of the king are depicted Atum,³⁴⁹ presenting the king with the *hh*-symbol and the *ʕnh-dd-w3s*-symbols, and Seshat, holding two palm ribs with suspending *hb-sd*-symbols. The accompanying inscription to Atum refers to the *hh*-symbol and "the *ʕnh*-bouquet of the Majesty of Ra".³⁵⁰ This scene forms part of a "Montée Royale" sequence, depicting to its right the king leaving the palace, the purification of the king by Horus and Thoth, and the coronation of the king by Nekhbet and Wadjet.³⁵¹ A very similar series of scenes is found on the exterior face of the naos of the Edfu mammisi (F). Here, three scenes depict again the "Montée Royale" sequence, showing the king leaving the palace, the purification of Harsomtut by Horus and Thoth, and the coronation of Harsomtut by Nekhbet and Wadjet.³⁵² The fourth scene depicts Montu-Ra-Horakhty presenting Harsomtut with the *hps*-sword and Atum presenting him with the *hh*-symbol and the *ʕnh-dd-w3s*-symbols.³⁵³ Also here, the *ʕnh-dd-w3s* symbols are identified with "the *ʕnh*-bouquet of Ra".³⁵⁴

3.2.1.5 Conclusions

Numerous inscriptions from the Edfu temple confirm the identification of the *ʕnh*-bouquet as consisting of the leaves of the *im3*-, *b3k*- and *išd*-trees. An analysis of the scenes depicting the offering of the *ʕnh*-bouquet at Edfu shows that the *im3*-, *b3k*- and *išd*-trees are closely connected to the themes of the transmission of royal power, strength, the triumph over

³⁴⁸ E V 139, 4-7; pl. CXVII.

³⁴⁹ It is interesting to note here that in the accompanying hymn to Scene 2 (Text 17), the fourth *ʕnh*-bouquet is presented by Atum, see paragraph 2.2.2.

³⁵⁰ E I 139, 5-7.

³⁵¹ E V 136, 1 – 140, 8; pl. CXVII.

³⁵² E Mamm 68, 10 – 69, 19; pl. XX.

³⁵³ E Mamm 70, 2-10; pl. XX.

³⁵⁴ E Mamm 70, 9-10.

enemies, as well as endurance, prosperity and protection. The presentation of *ḥnh*-bouquets is mentioned explicitly in the accompanying hymn to Scene 2 (Text 17: E VI 270, 10 – 273, 7), but no mention is made of the leaves of the *im3*-, *b3k*- and *išd*-trees. Instead, the hymn refers to the offering of the *ḥh*-symbol in relation to the *ḥnh-dd-w3s*-symbols. On the basis of a textual and iconographic comparison with the parallel scene of offering the *ḥh*-symbol and the *ḥnh*-bouquet on the pylon gateway (K') it was argued that in this case as well as in Scene 2, the *ḥnh*-bouquet has taken the place of the *ḥnh-dd-w3s*-symbols. An analysis of the ritual scenes of the west face of the east tower and on the east face of the west tower of the pylon (K') as well as number of other ritual scenes at Edfu which depict the offering of the *ḥnh*-bouquet confirmed this hypothesis. An investigation of the various contexts in which the offering of the *ḥh*-symbol and the *ḥnh*-bouquet (i.e. *im3*, *b3k*, *išd* / *ḥnh*, *dd*, *w3s*) has an important place has shown that these offerings were made as part of a variety of rituals, ranging from the New Year's rituals and the rituals of the confirmation of royal power of I Thoth to the rituals associated with the "Montée Royale" sequence and the royal *sd*-festival. The common theme found in each of these ritual contexts is the transmission, renewal and confirmation of royal power.

3.3 SCENE 3

3.3.1 PRESENTING CHOICE PORTIONS OF MEAT

3.3.1.1 *The destruction of enemies*

As pointed out in paragraph 2.3.1 the presentation of choice portions of meat to the falcon symbolises the destruction of its enemies. Although the association of sacrificial animals with the enemies of the gods became preponderant only in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods,³⁵⁵ the association between food-offerings and the destruction of enemies can be traced back to the Pyramid Texts.³⁵⁶ Here, the offering-ritual for the deceased king³⁵⁷ is introduced and concluded with purification rites aimed at the destruction of the enemies of the king.³⁵⁸ The association between the offering-meal and the destruction of enemies is also found in the opening of the mouth ritual.³⁵⁹ Similarly in the Coffin Texts, where the purification of the offering-table is accompanied by the ritual of breaking the red pots, which is associated with the destruction of enemies.³⁶⁰ In the temples of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods the ritualised annihilation of the enemies takes the form of stabbing, harpooning, butchering, etc.,³⁶¹ with the most common type being the killing of the antelope.³⁶² Precursors of this type of scene are known from very few instances, such a scene dating to the reign of Amenhotep III and depicting the killing of the antelope in the temple of Luxor.³⁶³

³⁵⁵ See S. Schoske, *LÄ VI*, 1986, 1009-1011 "Vernichtungsrituale"; Schoske, *Erschlagen*, 433-441.

³⁵⁶ See Quack, in: *MGAEU 27* (2006), 67-80.

³⁵⁷ See J.P. Allen, "Reading a pyramid", in: C. Berger-el Naggar, G. Clerc and N. Grimal (eds), *Hommages à Jean Leclant, vol. 1. Etudes Pharaoniques*. Bibliothèque d'Étude 106/1. Cairo 1994, 13.

³⁵⁸ PT Spells 23 and 244; Quack, in: *MGAEU 27* (2006), 67.

³⁵⁹ Quack, in: *MGAEU 27* (2006), 68.

³⁶⁰ CT Spell 926; Quack, in: *MGAEU 27* (2006), 72-74. For the ritual of breaking the red pots, see J. van Dijk, *The New Kingdom Necropolis of Memphis. Historical and Iconographical Studies*. Groningen 1993, 173-188.

³⁶¹ See for example H. Junker, "Die Schlacht- und Brandopfer und ihre Symbolik im Tempelkult der Spätzeit", in: *ZÄS 48* (1910), 69-77; Labrique, in: Quaegebeur (ed.), *Ritual*, 175-189.

³⁶² For this ritual, see Ph. Derchain, *Le sacrifice de l'oryx*. Rites égyptiens 1. Bruxelles 1962.

³⁶³ PM II, 327 (153); Derchain, *Sacrifice*, 12.

3.3.1.2 The annihilation of enemies and the confirmation of royal power

As Schoske remarked, rituals of annihilation are a feature of rituals that are carried out either regularly on specific occasions, such as the harvest rituals or the New Year's rituals, or as part of other occasions that take place irregularly, such as burials, royal jubilee festivals and coronation rituals.³⁶⁴ The destruction of enemies seems to be an essential apotropaic feature of a large variety of rites of passage. As such, scenes depicting the presentation of food-offerings of meat and of the annihilation of enemies have an important place in the decoration of structures where the confirmation of royal power is central.

For example, in the second hypostyle hall (W) and on its doorway³⁶⁵ we find the consecration of choice portions of meat (*ḥwi ʿ r stpwt*),³⁶⁶ as well as the annihilation of the hippopotamus,³⁶⁷ of Apophis,³⁶⁸ of the antelope³⁶⁹ and of the tortoise.³⁷⁰

On the pylon gateway and its passage (K')³⁷¹ we find the offering of geese and birds,³⁷² the annihilation of Apophis,³⁷³ of the hippopotamus,³⁷⁴ of the tortoise,³⁷⁵ of the crocodile,³⁷⁶ of the antelope³⁷⁷ and of Seth.³⁷⁸

Similarly on the first pylon of the temple of Philae, where we find the annihilation of the antelope³⁷⁹ and of the tortoise³⁸⁰ on the east face of the east tower and the killing of enemies³⁸¹ and of the sacrificial bulls³⁸² on the west face of the west tower.

As mentioned above, the theme of the confirmation of royal power is also central on the gateway of Euergetes at Karnak. Also here, the theme of the destruction of enemies takes a prominent position: amongst the ritual scenes are depicted the roasting of meat symbolising the enemies³⁸³ as well as the killing of enemies,³⁸⁴ of the snake³⁸⁵ and of the antelope.³⁸⁶ The scene in the second register of the west jamb of the north face of the gateway depicts the king making a burnt offering and fumigating it in front of Khonsu-in-Thebes-Neferhotep and Hathor.³⁸⁷ The accompanying inscriptions indicate that the burnt offering ritual depicted in this scene forms part of the rituals celebrated at Karnak in the context of the confirmation of

³⁶⁴ S. Schoske, *LÄ* VI, 1986, 1009-1011 "Vernichtungsrituale"; Schoske, *Erschlagen*, 455-464.

³⁶⁵ For the important place of the theme of the confirmation of royal power in the decoration of the second hypostyle hall and its doorway, see paragraph 3.1.1.3.

³⁶⁶ E II 5, 10 – 6, 2; pl. XLVI and E II 65, 8-17; pl. XLe.

³⁶⁷ E II 45, 2-12; pl. XLb.

³⁶⁸ E II 54, 11 – 55, 3; pl. XLb.

³⁶⁹ E II 74, 17 – 75, 8; pl. XLc.

³⁷⁰ E II 74, 4-15; pl. XLc.

³⁷¹ For the important place of the theme of the confirmation of royal power in the decoration of pylon and its gateway, see paragraph 3.1.1.3.

³⁷² E VIII 29, 8 – 30, 7; pl. CLXXX.

³⁷³ E VIII 20, 14 – 21, 5; pl. CLXXIX.

³⁷⁴ E VIII 19, 12 – 20, 11; pl. CLXXIX and E VIII 26, 10 – 27, 17; pl. CLXXX.

³⁷⁵ E VIII 12, 5-14; pl. CLXXIX.

³⁷⁶ E VIII 11, 7 – 12, 2; pl. CLXXIX and E VIII 34, 5 – 35, 8; pl. CLXXX.

³⁷⁷ E VIII 28, 10 – 29, 5; pl. CLXXX.

³⁷⁸ E VIII 35, 11- 36, 8; pl. CLXXX.

³⁷⁹ Ph I 68, 4 – 69, 9; pl. 35; photo 204.

³⁸⁰ Ph I 66, 12 – 68, 3; pl. 34; photo 203.

³⁸¹ Ph I 62, 12 – 64, 2; pl. 32; photo 206.

³⁸² Ph I 59, 12 – 60, 19; pl. 30; photo 205.

³⁸³ Clère, *Évergète*, pl. 66; *Urk.* VIII, 71-72 (86a-g).

³⁸⁴ Clère, *Évergète*, pl. 62; *Urk.* VIII, 73-74 (88a-h).

³⁸⁵ Clère, *Évergète*, pl. 11; *Urk.* VIII, 54-55 (66a-i).

³⁸⁶ Clère, *Évergète*, pl. 12; *Urk.* VIII, 49-50 (61a-i).

³⁸⁷ Clère, *Évergète*, pl. 23; *Urk.* VIII, 64-65 (78a-i).

royal power of 19 Thoth: “This *ʿ3bt*-offering that I have consecrated for your *k3* on the first (month) of the *3ht*-season, day 19 (...)”.³⁸⁸

A ritual symbolising the destruction of enemies also forms part of the rituals of the confirmation of royal power as described in P Brooklyn 47.218.50.³⁸⁹ In the second part of this papyrus, which describes “the rituals for the adoration of Horus” and “establishing the heir”, seven papyri and seven marsh-plants are brought to the king and he cuts off their tops.³⁹⁰ This reminded Goyon of the ritual of cutting the grain.³⁹¹ The grain symbolises the enemies of the king and by cutting it he destroys his enemies and takes control of Egypt.³⁹² The ritual of cutting the grain is associated in particular with the Festival of Min, a harvest-festival in which the theme of the renewal of royal power is an important feature.³⁹³ A scene in the Chamber of Min (O) at Edfu depicts the ritual of cutting the grain, performed by the king and accompanied by a hymn to Min.³⁹⁴ The rituals for “the adoration of Horus” and “establishing the heir” of the Brooklyn papyrus are introduced by precisely the same hymn as the one depicting the ritual of cutting the grain in the Chamber of Min at Edfu.³⁹⁵ The same hymn also forms part of Scene 6 of the coronation ritual of the falcon.³⁹⁶

3.3.2 THE HYMN TO SCENE 3

The beneficiaries of the accompanying hymn to Scene 3 are the sacred falcon and the king, as indicated by the final phrase: “This (i.e. the preceding hymn) is a secret of the king, this is a secret of the living *ʿhm*-falcon, namely a reversion of offerings that was brought by the servant of the *gmḥsw*-falcon in his form of Shu, the son of Ra”. Blackman suggested that the hymn “must originally have been a formula which the Pharaoh was to recite before partaking of a meal. (...) This fact is plainly indicated by the heading and finds further confirmation in the clause *sšt3 pw n nsw ... wdb* (E VI 155, 7), the words *sšt3 pw n p(3) ʿhm ʿnh* having been obviously interpolated by the scribe who adapted the text for use in the cult of the sacred hawk”.³⁹⁷ As for the name of the king being mentioned in the hymn, Blackman suggested: “The royal title and blank cartouche as well as ‘Son of Re’ followed by Ptolemaeus, etc. in the line below may be survivals from the original form of the ‘Grace’ as recited by the king”.³⁹⁸

Considering the fact that various constituent parts of the coronation ritual of the falcon can also be found in the context of rituals of the confirmation of royal power of the king, it seems plausible that the hymn originally formed part of a royal ritual and was adapted to the cult of the sacred falcon at Edfu as part of the coronation ritual of the falcon. At the same time, the appearance of the name of the king next to that of the falcon does not mean necessarily that the hymn derives from an older version in which the king was the sole beneficiary. Since the falcon was considered to be the substitute of the king in the coronation ritual of the falcon, it can be expected to find both the falcon and the king being mentioned as beneficiaries of the hymn. The falcon and the king are also mentioned together as

³⁸⁸ *Urk.* VIII, 65 (no. 78d). See also Goyon, in: Thiers (ed.), *D3T2*, 55-66.

³⁸⁹ See paragraph 3.1.1.3 for this papyrus in the context of the role of the anointment in the rituals of the confirmation of royal power.

³⁹⁰ P Brooklyn 47.281.50 XVI, 19.

³⁹¹ Goyon, *Confirmation*, 28, n. 3.

³⁹² E VI 281, 5-6.

³⁹³ See also paragraph 3.1.1.3.

³⁹⁴ E I 393, 11 – 394, 4.

³⁹⁵ P Brooklyn XVI 1-5.

³⁹⁶ Text 72: E VI 269, 8-12. For a further analysis of this hymn and its parallels, see paragraphs 2.6.5 and 3.6.3.

³⁹⁷ Blackman, in: *JEA* 31 (1945), 70.

³⁹⁸ Blackman, in: *JEA* 31 (1945), 68 n. 79.

beneficiaires in other parts of the ritual, for example in the invocations to the Good Year³⁹⁹ and in the invocations to Sakhmet.⁴⁰⁰

3.3.3 THE INVOCATION TO SAKHMET-WADJET

The hymn to the sacred falcon in Scene 3 is followed by an invocation to Sakhmet-Wadjet.⁴⁰¹ This invocation is also known from the temple of Esna,⁴⁰² where it is adapted to the cult of Khnum-Ra, as well as from the temple of Kom Ombo,⁴⁰³ where it is adapted to the cult of Haroeris and Sobek. At Esna and Kom Ombo the texts are written on the doorways through which the offerings passed.⁴⁰⁴ In this case, the invocations are preceded by a heading which suggests that they were aimed at the purification of the offerings.⁴⁰⁵ At Edfu, the invocation has been inserted into the coronation ritual of the falcon in the context of the presentation of choice portions of meat to the falcon. Here, the invocation is aimed at the protection of the sacred falcon and its nourishment.

3.3.4 THE FINAL APOTROPAIC FORMULA

The invocation to Sakhmet-Wadjet in Scene 3 is followed by a final apotropaic formula: “Horus, Horus, sprout (*w3d*) of Sakhmet, surround the flesh of the living *ḥm*-falcon with the completeness of life!” (Text 28: E VI 156, 3). The same formula is also used in conclusion to the invocations to the Good Year in Scene 5⁴⁰⁶ as well as to the invocations to Sakhmet in Scene 6.⁴⁰⁷

As mentioned in paragraph 2.3.4 Horus is equated in this formula with the son of Sakhmet for as her son he is safe from her destructive forces. The term *w3d* refers to the papyrus swamps where Isis hid her son Horus to protect him against Seth and as such symbolises the protection of kingship. In the invocations addressed to Sakhmet in Scene 6, she is referred to as “mistress of the papyrus” (Text 70: E VI 268, 5). In the invocation to Sakhmet-Wadjet in Scene 3 (Text 27), she is invoked as follows: “May you protect the living *ḥm*-falcon, the son of Ra, Ptolemy, with this papyrus-sceptre of life (*w3d n ḥh*) in your hand in this your name of Wadjet (*W3dt*)”.⁴⁰⁸ In the western half of the *soubassement*, below Scenes 1 and 5, a procession of nome deities is depicted. The 20th deity of the procession is Wadjet, who says: “I adorn Your Majesty with the noble papyrus and I drive away your enemies”.⁴⁰⁹

This protective connotation of the papyrus explains the final part of the formula, “surround (his) flesh with the completeness of life!” and its common use in medico-magical texts. As mentioned in paragraph 2.3.4, the phrase has many parallels in Egyptian texts, ranging from the Second Intermediate Period to Ptolemaic and Roman inscriptions, examples

³⁹⁹ Text 57: E VI 94, 15 – 99, 13. See paragraph 2.5.3.

⁴⁰⁰ Text 70: E VI 264, 1 – 269, 4. See paragraph 2.6.3.

⁴⁰¹ Text 27: E VI 155,8 – 156, 3. See paragraph 2.3.3.

⁴⁰² Esna II, no. 131, 8-15. See J.-Cl. Goyon, “Une formule solennelle de purification des offrandes dans les temples ptolémaïques”, in: *CdE* 45 (90) (1970), 267-281.

⁴⁰³ Kom Ombo I, no. 181, left. See Goyon, in: *CdE* 45 (90) (1970), 267-281.

⁴⁰⁴ Goyon, in: *CdE* 45 (90) (1970), 267-268.

⁴⁰⁵ KO I, no. 181 : “[Formula] of purification for every offering”. See Goyon, in: *CdE* 45 (90) (1970), 278.

⁴⁰⁶ See paragraph 2.5.4.

⁴⁰⁷ See paragraph 2.6.4.

⁴⁰⁸ E VI 155, 9-10.

⁴⁰⁹ E VI 51, 14.

of which are shown in Table 3.1. These data show that the formula is characteristic of all kinds of prophylactic texts. The earlier sources in which this formula is found, dating to the Second Intermediate Period and the New Kingdom, are concerned with medico-magical spells used by non-royal people for protection during the epagomenal days (e.g. P Edwin Smith, P Chester Beatty, P Leiden I 346). In P Chester Beatty VIII the final apotropaic formula is preceded by a hymn in which the name of Ramesses II is mentioned,⁴¹⁰ suggesting that he is the original beneficiary of the text, which was adapted later to a magical spell for the protection of non-royal people.⁴¹¹ In the later sources in which the apotropaic formula is found, dating to the Late Period and to the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, the apotropaic formula seems to have still been used in the same context, with the beneficiary being either the king or non-royal people (e.g. P Brooklyn 47.218.50, P Vienna 8426, P Louvre 3233). At the same time, in the temple inscriptions of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods, the same formula seems to have been adapted to the context of the temple cult with the beneficiaries being the king, the local deities and the sacred animal. This is especially clear in the case of the use of the formula in the context of the rituals for the protection of the new-born child (P Dem. Rylands 50, P Berlin 23031, 23032, 23033), with variants for the protection of new-born child-gods Harsomtut and Ihy in the mammisis of Edfu and Dendera.

Source ⁴¹²	Ritual context and beneficiaries	Date
P Edwin Smith XVIII, 9; 14-15; XIX, 9; XX, 10-11	Protection of non-royal people during the epagomenal days	Second Intermediate Period
P Chester Beatty VIII, vs. 10, 8-9;	Protection of non-royal people	New Kingdom
P Chester Beatty IX, rt. 17, 4	Protection in the context of a New Year's ritual	New Kingdom
P Leiden I 346, rt. II, 3-4	Protection of non-royal people during the epagomenal days	New Kingdom
P. Brooklyn 47.218.50 II, 3; 7; 14	Protection of the king during the rituals of I Thoth	Late Period
P Louvre 3233 B, 4	Protection of non-royal people during the epagomenal days	Late Period
P Dem. Rylands 50 ⁴¹³	Protection of a new-born child	Late Period
P Berlin 23031 ⁴¹⁴	Protection of a new-born child	Late Period
P Berlin 23032 ⁴¹⁵	Protection of a new-born child	Late Period
P Berlin 23051 ⁴¹⁶	Protection of a new-born child	Late Period
E I 171, 15	Protection of Osiris as part of the rituals of the Osiris Chamber (F)	Ptolemaic Period <i>Ptolemy IV</i>
E III 309, 2	Appeasing Sakhmet	Ptolemaic Period <i>Ptolemy VIII</i>
E III 317, 7	Appeasing Sakhmet	Ptolemaic Period

⁴¹⁰ P Chester Beatty VIII vs. 10, 1-8.

⁴¹¹ A.H. Gardiner, *Chester Beatty Gift*. Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, 3rd series. London 1935, 74-75, with reference to Erman, who showed that this was also the case for the hymns to the royal uraeus from a papyrus in the Golenischeff collection, which was adapted for use in the cult of Sobek of Crokopolis. See A. Erman, *Hymnen an das Diadem der Pharaonen: aus einem Papyrus der Sammlung Golenischeff*. Abhandlungen der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Jg. 1911, Nr. 1. Berlin 1911, 7-11.

⁴¹² All from J.-Cl. Goyon, "Sur une formule des rituels de conjuration des dangers de l'année: en marge du papyrus de Brooklyn 47.218.50", in: *BIFAO* 74 (1974), 77-80, unless cited otherwise.

⁴¹³ H.-W. Fischer-Elfert, "Papyrus demot. Rylands no. 50: ein in den Edfu- und Dendera-Mammisi wiederverwendeter hieratischer Zaubertext", in: *Enchoria* 22 (1995), 1-15.

⁴¹⁴ G. Burkard, "Drei Amulette für Neugeborene aus Elephantine", in: G. Moers, H. Behlmer, K. Demuß and K. Widmaier (eds), *in.t drw - Festschrift für Friedrich Junge*. Göttingen 2006, 114.

⁴¹⁵ Burkard, in: Moers et al. (eds) *Festschrift Junge*. Göttingen 2006, 119.

⁴¹⁶ Burkard, in: Moers et al. (eds) *Festschrift Junge*. Göttingen 2006, 120-121.

		<i>Ptolemy VIII</i>
KO I, no. 27, col. 12	Protection of Horus	Ptolemaic Period <i>Ptolemy VIII</i>
E VI 99, 14-15	Protection of the king and the sacred falcon during the rituals of 1 Tybi (Scene 5)	Ptolemaic Period <i>Ptolemy IX-X</i>
E VI 156, 3	Protection of the sacred falcon during the rituals of 1 Tybi (Scene 3)	Ptolemaic Period <i>Ptolemy IX-X</i>
E VI 269, 5-6	Protection of Horus Behdeti, the sacred falcon, the living ibis, the gods of the <i>Pr Bik</i> , Harsomtus, Ihy, and the king during the rituals of 1 Tybi (Scene 6)	Ptolemaic Period <i>Ptolemy IX-X</i>
E VII 177, 16-17	Protection of Horus of Edfu and his temple	Ptolemaic Period <i>Ptolemy X</i>
E VII 178, 3-4	Protection of the temple of Edfu	Ptolemaic Period <i>Ptolemy X</i>
E Mamm 114, 17	Protection of the new-born child-god Harsomtus	Ptolemaic Period <i>Ptolemy X</i>
E Mamm 118, 5-6	Protection of the living falcon and the living ibis in the context of a ritual for the protection of the new-born child-god Harsomtus	Ptolemaic Period <i>Ptolemy X</i>
D VIII 56, 3-5	Protection of Hathor of Dendera	Roman Period <i>Late Ptolemaic Period</i>
P Cairo 58027 x + IV, 7c	Protection of the king during the night	Transition Ptolemaic to Roman Period
D Isis 38, 12-13	Protection of the king	Roman Period <i>Augustus</i>
D Mamm 250, 2	Protection of the new-born child-gods Ihy and Harsomtus	Roman Period <i>Trajan – Hadrian</i>
D Mamm 250, 11-12	Protection of the new-born child-gods Ihy and Harsomtus and of the king	Roman Period <i>Trajan – Hadrian</i>
P Vienna 8426 x + I, 1	Protection of the king	Roman Period <i>AD 50-150</i>
P Vienna 8426 x + I, 22-23	Protection of the king	Roman Period <i>AD 50-150</i>
P Vienna 8426 x + I, 27 – x + II, 1	Protection of the king	Roman Period <i>AD 50-150</i>
P Carlsberg 646 vs. ⁴¹⁷	Protection of the king (?)	Roman Period <i>AD 1 – 299</i>

Table 3.1 Examples of parallels for the apotropaic formula “Horus, Horus, sprout of Sakhmet (...)”

3.4 SCENE 4

3.4.1 FUMIGATING FRAGRANT RESIN

Fumigating fragrant resin is a very common ritual scene and its place amongst the eight ritual scenes illustrating the coronation ritual of the falcon can be explained by the fact that the fumigation of fragrant resin is associated specifically with the presentation of food-offerings. The relation between the presentation of choice portions of meat in Scene 3 and the fumigation of fragrant resin in Scene 4 is made clear in the accompanying inscription to Scene 4: “Fumigating fragrant resin and bringing the god to his food-offerings. Words to be spoken:

⁴¹⁷ J.F. Quack, “Die hieratischen und hieroglyphischen Papyri aus Tebtynis – ein Überblick”, in: K. Ryholt, J.F. Quack and A. von Lieven (eds), *Hieratic texts from the Collection. The Carlsberg Papyri 7*. Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications 30. Copenhagen 2006, 4-5.

The scent of fragrant resin to your nose! When it unites with your nostrils, your heart receives its offerings because of its (i.e. the resin) fragrance” (Text 35: E VI 305, 2-4).⁴¹⁸

3.4.1.1 Fumigating fragrant resin and the rising of the renewed sun-god

The theme of the hymn to Scene 4 is very similar to that of the hymn to Scene 1: in both hymns the sacred falcon is praised as the renewed morning sun.⁴¹⁹ In the hymn to Scene 4 it is said about the falcon: “The *k3* of Horus Behdeti, the great god, the lord of the sky, and of the living *hm*-falcon is as a shining one upon the shorelands of the sky, while he has grasped the years as the shining one, when he proceeds striding to the west. It is [his] *b3* that passes the day and for whom the earth is broken up, in order to present him with offerings. He (i.e. the *b3*) rises in the sky because of the scent of fragrant resin and he descends to earth because of the scent of incense” (E VI 306, 12 – 307, 2). This last phrase suggests that it is the smell of the fragrant resin (*ntyw*) that brings the sun-god to the sky.

This same theme recurs in the Edfu temple in several other inscriptions associated with the fumigation of fragrant resin. For example, in a scene on the exterior face of the western enclosure wall (J') depicting the presentation of fragrant resin on the fire (*rd(t) ntyw hr sdt*) Horus is referred to as “the divine *bik*-falcon, who comes from Punt, [the winged disc], who enters the sky upon the smell of fragrant resin”.⁴²⁰ In another scene on the exterior face of the eastern enclosure wall (J') depicting the fumigation of fragrant resin (*k3p ntyw*) it is said: “Fumigating fragrant resin. Words to be spoken: fragrant resin for your *k3*, Behdeti, dappled of feathers. Your *b3* [...]. May you reach the horizon as the winged disc, after you have opened your wings [...]”.⁴²¹ In the accompanying *göttliche Randzeile* to this scene it is said: “Come in peace, ruler of [...]. I have [received] your fragrant resin and I unite with the sky upon its smell”.⁴²² The theme of the sacred falcon rising as the renewed morning sun in order to assume kingship recurs also on the east face of the west tower of the pylon (K'). Here the falcon is referred to as “the living *b3* of Ra has come from Punt, so that he is appointed as ruler, forever”.⁴²³ On the north face of the west tower of the pylon, it is said: “I have come to you, Behdeti, dappled of feathers, great *si3*-falcon on the *srh*, so that I bring you <your> things (i.e. the Double Crown that is being offered), that will increase fear for you, when you take into possession this land at your rising/appearing (*wbn=k*)”.⁴²⁴ On the west face of the east tower of the pylon the accompanying inscription to the falcon reads: “I surround Your Majesty with dominion (*w3s*), life (*nh*) and endurance (*dd*), every morning, when you are renewed”.⁴²⁵ Precisely the same text is repeated in Scene 4 in association with the fumigation of fragrant resin for the sacred falcon (Text 43: E VI 309, 4).

3.4.2 THE HYMN TO SCENE 4

Part of the hymn to the sacred falcon written to the right of Scene 4 (Text 39: E VI 305, 13 – 308, 8) can also be found in P Brooklyn 47.218.50.⁴²⁶ In the Brooklyn papyrus the text forms

⁴¹⁸ For a further analysis of the close association between Scenes 3 and 4, see paragraph 4.2.2.

⁴¹⁹ See paragraphs 2.1.2 and 2.4.2.

⁴²⁰ E VII 60, 7.

⁴²¹ E VII 324, 14-17.

⁴²² E VII 325, 10-11.

⁴²³ E VIII 110, 1.

⁴²⁴ E VIII 103, 13-14.

⁴²⁵ E VIII 148, 9.

⁴²⁶ E VI 307, 3-7 = P Brooklyn 47.218.50, XX 5-7; Goyon, *Confirmation*, 45 n. 1, 121 n. 329 and 122, n. 334. See paragraph 3.1.1.3 for this papyrus in the context of the role of the anointment in the rituals of the

part of the ceremony of the anointment of the living falcon.⁴²⁷ As such, one would expect the hymn at Edfu to have been associated with Scene 1, which depicts the anointment of the sacred falcon. However, at Edfu the hymn is associated with Scene 4, which depicts the fumigation of fragrant resin (*k3p ʕntyw*) for the sacred falcon.⁴²⁸ This can be explained by the fact that in the Brooklyn papyrus the hymn is associated with the ritual acts of burning resin of terebinth (*sntr*)⁴²⁹ on the fire and anointing the falcon with ʕntyw (*wrḥ n=sn ʕntyw*), an aromatic resin.⁴³⁰ As such the hymn is associated primarily with the act of burning resin rather than with the act of anointing, thus explaining the association of the hymn with Scene 4 rather than with Scene 1 at Edfu.

In the Brooklyn papyrus version the falcon is equated with Horus, who is addressed to the benefit of the living pharaoh: “Living pharaoh, Horus, heir of the Two Lands, may you let shine your *nst*-throne for pharaoh”.⁴³¹ In the Edfu version the hymn is adapted to the cult of the sacred falcon: “Living ʕhm-falcon, living *bik*-falcon, Horus, heir of the Two Lands, may you let shine your *nst*-throne for the son of Ra, Ptolemy”.⁴³² The version of the hymn at Edfu is much more elaborate and continues with a text that is also found at Edfu in the Chapel of Min in a scene of driving the calves⁴³³ as well as in the temple of Medinet Habu in the context of the Sokar festival.⁴³⁴

3.5 SCENE 5

3.5.1 THE SOULS OF PE AND NEKHEN AND THE CONFIRMATION OF ROYAL POWER

The accompanying images to Scenes 5 and 6 depict a procession with the sacred falcon and Horus seated under a baldachin in a carrying-chair supported by the falcon-headed souls of Pe and the jackal-headed souls of Nekhen. The carrying-chair is characterised by its base, which is shaped in the form of a basket.⁴³⁵ This type of carrying-chair was called *sp3*, and it appears especially in scenes associated with the *sd*-festival, perhaps because of the resemblance between the *sp3*-basket and the *hb-sd*-basket.⁴³⁶ Sethe suggested that the souls of Pe and Nekhen represent the royal ancestors and rulers of the archaic kingdoms of Hierakonpolis (Nekhen) in Upper-Egypt and Buto (Pe) in Lower-Egypt,⁴³⁷ a hypothesis that has often been

confirmation of royal power. See paragraph 3.3.1.2 for this papyrus in the context of the theme of the annihilation of the enemies in the rituals of the confirmation of royal power.

⁴²⁷ P Brooklyn 47.218.50 XX, 3-8.

⁴²⁸ See paragraphs 2.4.1 and 3.4.1.

⁴²⁹ See V. Loret, *La résine de térébinthe (sonter) chez les anciens égyptiens*. Recherches d'archéologie, de philologie et d'histoire 19. Cairo 1949 and more recent Chr.T. de Vartavan, “*Pistacia* species in relation to their use as varnish and “incense” (*sntr*) in Pharaonic Egypt”, in: *Bulletin of Parthian and Mixed Oriental Studies* 2 (2007), 63-92.

⁴³⁰ Aufrère, *Univers minéral* I, 213-215.

⁴³¹ P Brooklyn 47.218.50 XX, 7.

⁴³² E VI 307, 5-6.

⁴³³ E I 404, 4-7. For the performance of the ritual of driving the calves in the contexts of the Opet festival, the Osiris Mystery, the Sokar festival, the Min festival, the Valley festival and the festival of the Beautiful Visit at Edfu, see A. Egberts, *In quest of meaning: a study of the ancient Egyptian rites of consecrating the meret-chests and driving the calves*. Egyptologische Uitgaven 8. Leiden 1993, 382-384.

⁴³⁴ *Medinet Habu* IV, pl. 226, 51; G.A. Gaballa and K.A. Kitchen, “The Festival of Sokar”, in: *Orientalia* 38 (1969), 11-13. For these parallels, see Egberts, *Quest*, 293 and pl. 142-143.

⁴³⁵ See Kuhlmann, *Thron*, 14.

⁴³⁶ See Kuhlmann, *Thron*, 14.

⁴³⁷ K. Sethe, *Urgeschichte und älteste Religion der Ägypter*. Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes Vol. 18, No. 4. Leipzig 1930, 105-106 § 127.

repeated in other publications.⁴³⁸ These royal ancestors obtained a divine status and were closely associated with royalty from the 5th dynasty onwards: in the sun-temples of Niuserre and Sahure they appear for the first time carrying the royal litter.⁴³⁹ In the temples of the New Kingdom and of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods they appear frequently, carrying the royal litter at royal and religious festivals.⁴⁴⁰ At Karnak, they are depicted carrying the festival bark of Amun⁴⁴¹ and at Medinet Habu and Karnak they are depicted in the attitude of jubilation at the sides of the sacred bark of Amun.⁴⁴² The souls of Pe and Nekhen also appear in vignettes of the Book of the Dead and on the walls of the New Kingdom tombs, receiving the deceased in the afterlife.⁴⁴³ In the New Kingdom, the souls of Pe and Nekhen are depicted in scenes of the birth of the king,⁴⁴⁴ whereas in the temples of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods they appear in scenes associated with the birth of the child-god in the mammisis.⁴⁴⁵ The souls of Pe and Nekhen seem to be associated especially with the royal coronation ceremony⁴⁴⁶ and the royal *sd*-festival.⁴⁴⁷ At Edfu, the king is depicted in a litter carried by the souls of Pe and Nekhen and preceded by Thoth in a scene in the second register of the interior face of the eastern enclosure wall (I').⁴⁴⁸ The scene to the left depicts the ceremonies associated with the *sd*-festival, with Ra-Horakhty presenting three palm ribs with suspending *ḥb-sd* symbols to the king, Thoth presenting him with the *mks*, Nekhbet and Wadjet presenting him with the crowns of Upper- and Lower-Egypt, and Seshat engraving a palm rib with the royal annals.⁴⁴⁹

⁴³⁸ For example, Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, 129 and H. Frankfort, *Kingship and the gods: a study of ancient Near Eastern religion as the integration of society and nature*. Chicago 1978, 93-95. For an overview of the debate on the identification of the souls of Pe and Nekhen, see L.V. Žabkar, *A study of the Ba concept in ancient Egyptian texts*. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 34. Chicago 1968, 15-22.

⁴³⁹ Chr. Karlshausen, *L'iconographie de la barque processionnelle divine en Égypte au Nouvel Empire*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 182. Leuven etc. 2009, 220-221; Žabkar, *Ba concept*, 30 with reference to F.W. von Bissing and H. Kees, *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-Woser-Re (Rathures) III: Die Grosse Festdarstellung*. Leipzig 1928, Beiblatt A.

⁴⁴⁰ Karlshausen, *Iconographie*, 221.

⁴⁴¹ Žabkar, *Ba concept*, 30 with reference to G. Legrain and J. Capart, *Les temples de Karnak*. Brussels 1929, 221, fig. 131.

⁴⁴² Žabkar, *Ba concept*, 30-31 with reference to Nelson, *Festival Scenes*, pls. 229 and 231; Nelson, *Reliefs and inscriptions at Karnak I*, pls. 17b, 21, 56-58 and Nelson, *Reliefs and inscriptions at Karnak II*, pl. 90.

⁴⁴³ Karlshausen, *Iconographie*, 221; Žabkar, *Ba concept*, 33 with reference to N. de Garis Davies and A.H. Gardiner, *Seven private tombs at Kurnah*. Mond Excavations at Thebes 2. London 1948, pl. IX.

⁴⁴⁴ Karlshausen, *Iconographie*, 221; Žabkar, *Ba concept*, 32 with reference to A. Gayet, *Le temple de Louxor*. Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire 15/1. Paris 1894, pl. LXV, fig. 199; H. Brunner, *Die Geburt des Göttekönigs: Studien zur Überlieferung eines Altägyptischen Mythos*. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 10. Wiesbaden 1964, 102, 218, pl. 9; E. Naville, *The temple of Deir el Bahari. Part II: Plates XXV-LV: the ebony shrine, northern half of the middle platform*. Memoirs of the Egypt Exploration Fund 14. London 1896, pl. LI.

⁴⁴⁵ Žabkar, *Ba concept*, 32 with reference to E Mamm 22 and pl. XIII; D Mamm 8-9, 108 and pls. II, LIX.

⁴⁴⁶ Karlshausen, *Iconographie*, 221 with reference to P. Lacau and H. Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak, vol. I: Texte*. Cairo 1977, 62-63 and A.W. Shorter, "Reliefs showing the coronation of Ramesses II", in: *JEA* 20 (1934), 18-19; pl. III. See also E. Naville, *The temple of Deir el Bahari. Part III: Plates LVI-LXXXVI: end of the northern half and southern half of the middle platform*. Memoirs of the Egypt Exploration Fund 16. London 1898, pl. LX; Gayet, *Louxor*, pl. LXXV, fig. 184

⁴⁴⁷ Karlshausen, *Iconographie*, 221 with reference to M. Werbrouck, "L'esprit de Pe", in: *CdE* 53 (1952), 46-47 and R. Engelbach, "Statues of the "soul of Nekhen" and the "soul of Pe" of the reign of Amenophis III", in: *ASAE* 42 (1943), 71-73; pl. III. See also E. Hornung and E. Staehelin, *Neue Studien zum Sedfest*. Aegyptiaca Helvetica 20. Basel 2006, 48, 61, 74, 76; F.W. von Bissing and H. Kees, *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-Woser-Re (Rathures) II: Die kleine Festdarstellung*. Leipzig 1923, no. 44d and E. Naville, *The festival-hall of Osorkon II. in the great temple of Bubastis (1887-1889)*. Memoirs of the Egypt Exploration Fund 10. London 1892, pl. IX 3-4, 6. For a more recent study of the *sd*-festival scenes at Bubastis, see E. Lange, *Ritualepisoden. Das Sedfest-Tor Osorkons II. in Bubastis*. Leipzig 2013.

⁴⁴⁸ E VI 292, 5 – 293, 13; pl. DXCVIII.

⁴⁴⁹ E VI 294, 10 – 296, 7; pl. CLIII.

The souls of Pe and Nekhen are also depicted in the context of the royal coronation in the third register of the interior face of the northern enclosure wall (I'), i.e. in the register above the coronation ritual of the falcon.⁴⁵⁰ A scene from the temple of Esna, dating to the Roman Period, also depicts the souls of Pe and Nekhen carrying the royal litter in association with the *sd*-festival.⁴⁵¹ Karlshausen concluded that the souls of Pe and Nekhen appear in each of the important episodes in the life of the king, giving him protection and legitimation.⁴⁵²

Besides their important role in the royal sphere, the souls of Pe and Nekhen also have an important function in the context of the journey of the sun. In the New Kingdom they are mentioned in hymns as part of the cortege of divinities hailing the rising sun and accompanying the sun on its journey.⁴⁵³ In the Ramesside period, this same theme is found in temple and tomb decoration as well as in the vignettes of the Book of the Dead.⁴⁵⁴ When they carry the barque of the god in this function, the souls of Pe and Nekhen represent the divine assembly that accompanies the journey of the sun and that assures its safe passage.⁴⁵⁵ Considering the theme of the hymn to Scene 1, which is the rising of Horus as the renewed morning-sun, and the placement of the hymn being written immediately to the right of Scene 5, I would like to argue that this double function of the souls of Pe and Nekhen, both in the royal and in the solar sphere, is expressed here in Scene 5.

3.5.2 THOTH ENGRAVING THE PALM RIB

On the far left of Scene 5, Thoth is depicted as an ibis-headed human wearing the Atef Crown, engraving a palm rib with the royal annals.⁴⁵⁶ The accompanying inscription identifies the ritual as *smn gnwt* "assigning the annals".⁴⁵⁷ As such, the ritual is closely associated with the ritual of writing the king's names on the leaves of the *isd*-tree in the context of the coronation ritual and *sd*-festival of the king.⁴⁵⁸ Earlier representations of Thoth engraving the palm rib are found in the temples of the New Kingdom, for example at Karnak and the Ramesseum.⁴⁵⁹

At Edfu, the scenes depicting Thoth engraving the palm rib for the king or the royal couple are represented in the context of the royal cult.⁴⁶⁰ The same is true for a scene on the

⁴⁵⁰ For an analysis of this scene and its relations to the coronation ritual of the falcon, see paragraph 4.3.3.4.

⁴⁵¹ Esna II 252-254 (no. 141).

⁴⁵² Karlshausen, *Iconographie*, 221.

⁴⁵³ Karlshausen, *Iconographie*, 222 with reference to J. Assmann, *Egyptian solar religion in the New Kingdom. Re, Amun and the crisis of polytheism*. London 1995, 315, III4.

⁴⁵⁴ Karlshausen, *Iconographie*, 222 with reference to W. Guglielmi, *Die Göttin Mr.t*. Probleme der Ägyptologie 7. Leiden 1991, pl. X; E. Hornung, *Tal der Könige: die Ruhestätte der Pharaonen*. Zürich 1985, 91 and cover; Chr. Leblanc, *Ta Set Neferou. Une nécropole de Thèbes-ouest et son histoire, I: Géographie – toponymie, historique de l'exploration scientifique du site*. Cairo 1989, pls. LXXXVII, LXXXVIII, CCVI; H. Kischkewitz and W. Forman, *L'Egypte antique*. Paris 1988, no. 38.

⁴⁵⁵ Karlshausen, *Iconographie*, 223.

⁴⁵⁶ See paragraph 2.5.1.

⁴⁵⁷ E VI 94, 1.

⁴⁵⁸ For this ritual, see Helck, in: ZÄS 82 (1957), 117-140.

⁴⁵⁹ See Helck, in: ZÄS 82 (1957), 133-136.

⁴⁶⁰ Sanctuary (A): Thoth engraves the palm rib for Ptolemy IV and Arsinoe III (E I 26, 17 - 28, 4); Horus holds the palm rib and presents the royal couple with the testament (E I 31, 18 - 32, 9); the king censes and libates in front of Ptolemy III and Berenice II (E I 42, 4 - 18); the king offers ointment and cloth to Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II (E I 46, 2 - 10). Room of the Western Staircase (S): Khonsu-Thoth and Seshat engrave the palm rib for Ptolemy IV and Arsinoe III (E I 522, 7 - 18); the king makes an *3bt*-offering in front of Horus, Hathor, Harsomtut and the royal ancestors Ptolemy III, Berenice II, Ptolemy II, Arsinoe II, Ptolemy I and Berenice I (E I 526, 9 - 528, 1). First Hypostyle Hall / Pronaos (C'): Thoth engraves the palm rib for Ptolemy VIII and Cleopatra II/III (E III 120, 8 - 121, 8); the king censes and libates in front of Ptolemy V and Cleopatra I (E III 130, 13 -

gateway of Euergetes at Karnak, which depicts Khonsu engraving the palm rib for Ptolemy III and Berenike II⁴⁶¹ in the context of the series of scenes associated with the theme of the confirmation of royal power. This is in contrast to Scene 5, where Thoth is depicted engraving the palm rib with the royal annals for the sacred falcon.

The only other scene depicting Thoth engraving the palm rib for the sacred falcon at Edfu can be found on the west face of the east tower of the pylon (K') (Fig. 3.6).⁴⁶² In this scene Thoth is depicted standing to the right of the sacred falcon, holding a palm rib with three suspending *hb-sd*-symbols and a frog and *šn*-ring at the bottom, engraving it with the writing reed that he holds in the other hand. The accompanying inscriptions to the figure of Thoth read: "I give you that your office, your *nst*-throne and your kingship are enduring in the *Pr-Bik*.⁴⁶³ Words to be spoken by Thoth, the twice great, the lord of Hermopolis, the great of lifespan, <who calculates> the years, the great chief of all the gods, who supervises the *nst*-throne of the Ennead: millions of *sd*-festivals, hundreds of thousands of (regnal) years are upon your *srh* in *St-Wrt*. <Your> years are *nḥh*-eternity, your cycles are *dt*-eternity, while <your> Majesty is placed upon <your> possession'. <My> own fingers assign your annals, (according to) what Ra has said with his mouth together with his Ennead. The testament that Ra has given to his son Shu, he has given it to his son Geb, and Geb has done it for Osiris, justified, and he hands it over to his son Horus Behdeti, the great god, the lord of the sky. O living *hm*-falcon upon the *srh*, your *k3* will last forever".⁴⁶⁴

A very similar scene is located on the west face of the east tower of the first pylon of Philae (Fig. 3.8).⁴⁶⁵ Also here, Thoth is depicted holding a palm rib with a suspending *hb-sd*-symbol and a frog and *šn*-ring at the bottom, engraving it with the writing reed that he holds in the other hand. The accompanying inscriptions to the figure of Thoth read: "Words to be spoken by Thoth, the twice great, the lord of Hermopolis, the lord of lifespan, who counts the years, the great chief of gods and humankind, who prevails over the *nst*-throne of the Ennead, who assigns the annals to the *b3* of Ra, who gives that his kingship lasts forever: Millions of *sd*-festivals, hundreds of thousands of (regnal) years upon your *nst*-throne in the temple of the Noble One (i.e. Philae). Your years are the years of Ra at the horizon, while your Majesty eats from the offerings. Ten-thousands (of years) are assigned in your annals, according to the command of Ra and his Ennead"⁴⁶⁶ and "Words to be spoken: Your testament is for you, *b3* of Ra, which your father Atum has decreed for you, the office of Shu, [the heir of] Geb, the kingship of Onnophris, justified, the two uraei of Horus the son of Isis. <I> give them [...]. Horus [...]"⁴⁶⁷.

131, 11); the king offers ointment and cloth to Ptolemy IV and Arsinoe III (E III 140, 9 - 141, 8); coronation of Ptolemy VIII (E III 172, 10 - 18); the king censes and libates in front of Ptolemy III and Berenice II (E III 181, 12 - 182, 10); the king offers ointment and cloth to Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II (E III 191, 9 - 192, 5). Exterior Face of the Naos (F'): Thoth engraves the palm rib for Ptolemy VIII, Cleopatra II/III and their son (E IV 91, 18 - 93, 5); the king presents ointment and cloth to Ptolemy V and Cleopatra I (E IV 122, 4 - 123, 6); Thoth presents the palm ribs and the testament to Ptolemy VIII, Cleopatra II/III and their son (E IV 248, 9 - 249, 9); the king presents ointment and cloth to Ptolemy V and Cleopatra I (E IV 278, 11 - 279, 11). Interior Face of the Enclosure Wall (I'): Thoth engraves the palm rib for Ptolemy IX (E VI 277, 2 - 11); the king censes in front of Ptolemy VIII and Cleopatra II/III (E VI 311, 17 - 312, 11).

⁴⁶¹ Clère, *Évergète*, pl. 43; *Urk.* VIII, 83 (98a-h).

⁴⁶² E VIII 147-148; E XIV pl. DCLXXV; Kurth, *Edfou VIII Übersetzungen*, 270-274; Bartels, *Darstellungen*, pl. 19 (left).

⁴⁶³ For a discussion of this locality, see paragraph 5.3.1.

⁴⁶⁴ E VIII 148, 2-7.

⁴⁶⁵ Ph I, 73, 12 - 75, 8; pl. 38; photo 208. For a comparison of the decoration of the pylons of Edfu and Philae, see Martzloff, *Décoration*.

⁴⁶⁶ Ph I 74, 5-16.

⁴⁶⁷ Ph I 75, 3-8.

[Image under copyright restrictions]

Figure 3.10 Philae, building blocks from the Coptic church. From: Junker, in: WZKM 26 (1912), pl. II.

Another depiction of Thoth standing in front of the sacred falcon upon a pedestal, holding a palm rib and engraving it with the writing reed that he holds in the other hand, is found on two building blocks that were reused in the construction of the Coptic church at Philae, located between the Roman gateway and the rear wall of the Isis temple (Fig. 3.10).⁴⁶⁸ It is not clear where precisely these blocks were located originally, but Junker concluded: “Die ganze Szene stand, wie die Skulpturenreste des unteren Blockes zeigen, über einer Tür oder einem Fenster; die anschließende Darstellung hat nämlich eine bedeutend tiefer liegende Grundlinie”.⁴⁶⁹ The accompanying inscription to the falcon reads: “The living *ḥm*-falcon”. The accompanying inscription to the figure of Thoth reads: “Thoth, who gives life, the lord, the great god, I engrave for you the years of [...] every day while you are healthy in your house [...] is *nḥh*-eternity, your lifetime is *dt*-eternity, your years are counted in this house”. It is interesting to note here that a goose is offered to the sacred falcon, a theme comparable to the offering of choice portions of meat in Scene 3.

3.5.3 THE GOOD YEAR, RENEWAL AND PROTECTION

In Scene 5, the king is depicted standing in front of a procession with Horus and the sacred falcon, censuring before the goddess of the Good Year (*Rnpt Nfrit*).⁴⁷⁰ This goddess first appears in PT 965 and 883 as one of the manifestations of Sothis, associated with the beginning of the annual cycle of renewal.⁴⁷¹ Here, the regenerative aspect of Sothis is referred to as *Rnpt*, “she who rejuvenates (annually)”: “It is Sothis, your beloved daughter, who prepares yearly sustenance for you in this her name of Year (*Rnpt*) and who guides me when I come to you”

⁴⁶⁸ Junker, in: WZKM 26 (1912), 50-51, pl. II.

⁴⁶⁹ Junker, in: WZKM 26 (1912), 50.

⁴⁷⁰ See paragraph 2.5.2.

⁴⁷¹ Germond, *Invocations*, 79-80.

(PT 965)⁴⁷² and “You ascend from the east of the sky, being renewed at your due season and rejuvenated at your due time. Nut has borne you with Orion, the Year has put a fillet (*sšd*) on you with Osiris (...)” (PT 883). The Year also recurs in CT VI 319 as the regenerative aspect of Sothis associated with the beginning of the annual cycle of renewal: “(...) N, who is pure and young, and Sothis bore him, (even) she the young, she of the year, a goddess from her birth who is at the start of the year”. Being associated with the renewal and rejuvenation of the deceased, she appears as the protectress of the deceased in CT I 236:⁴⁷³ “The members of the two conclaves in On will kneel to you, the gods will come to you bowing with their faces to the earth through fear of you within the arms of the Good Year when you have appeared as Ra, lord of the horizon”. In these early sources the Good Year symbolises primarily the regenerative aspect of Sothis.

A personification of the Year, with a palm rib on her head, can be found on the north wall of the Second Hypostyle Hall of the temple of Seti I at Abydos.⁴⁷⁴ The title of the scene is “Adoring the god four times by the goddess”. In this scene, the Year is represented standing together with *M3ʿt* in front of Osiris. Behind him are Isis, the goddess of the West, and Nephthys. Behind the shrine in which these deities are depicted are nine mummiform gods, representing the Ennead of Rostau, the Ennead of the necropolis and the cavern-gods, lords of Abydos.⁴⁷⁵ The Year is referred to in the accompanying inscription as *Rnpt nbt nhh* “The Year, mistress of *nhh*-eternity”. The main theme of the First and Second Hypostyle Halls of the temple of Abydos is the coronation of the king as king of the gods, his acceptance by the gods and the Ennead, and the re-assertion of his kingship as Osiris, king of the dead.⁴⁷⁶

A personification of the Year is also known from an offering-stand in the Turin Museum, dating to the New Kingdom.⁴⁷⁷ Here, the name of the Year is mentioned as part of a list of deities, together with the Day, *nhh*-eternity and *dt*-eternity.

As a personal name, *Rnpt Nfirt* is known from the Old Kingdom onwards.⁴⁷⁸ For example, the name is known from a statue of Hetepi and his wife Renpet-Nefret found in the serdab of tomb G 1020 at Giza, dating to the late 4th or early 5th dynasty.⁴⁷⁹ The name is also known from reused blocks from the tomb of Seneb at Giza, dating to the 5th-6th dynasties, mentioning Kaʿaper and his wife Renpet-Nefret.⁴⁸⁰ The name seems to have been especially popular in the Late Period and the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods, as it appears on several sarcophagi, coffins, false doors, canopic jars, statues and stelae dating to this period.⁴⁸¹

The name or epithet *Rnpt Nfirt* appears in a number of ritual scenes in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari,⁴⁸² the temple of Hathor at Deir el-Medina,⁴⁸³ the Imhotep

⁴⁷² Parallel in CT VII 39.

⁴⁷³ Germond, *Invocations*, 80-81.

⁴⁷⁴ A.M. Calverley, M.F. Broome and A.H. Gardiner, *The temple of king Sethos I at Abydos, vol. IV. The Second Hypostyle Hall*. London/Chicago 1958, pl. 7; PM VI, 8 (86-87); David, *Guide*, 30, LR C (IV.7).

⁴⁷⁵ David, *Guide*, 31.

⁴⁷⁶ David, *Guide*, 54-56.

⁴⁷⁷ Turin, offering-stand no. 22053, see L. Habachi, *Tavole d'offerta, are e bacili da libagione, n. 22001-22067*. Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino 2-II. Turin 1977, 62-77, 152-153.

⁴⁷⁸ See H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen, vol. I*. Glückstadt/Hamburg 1935-1977, 224, 11; K. Scheele-Schweitzer, *Die Personennamen des Alten Reiches: Altägyptische Onomastik unter lexikographischen und sozio-kulturellen Aspekten*. Philippika 28. Wiesbaden 2014, 517 [2238].

⁴⁷⁹ PM III.1, 53.

⁴⁸⁰ PM III.1, 302.

⁴⁸¹ PM I.2, 675 (6); PM III.2, 612; 743; 764; 766; 771; 801; 813; 816; PM IV, 174; PM V, 61; PM VIII.2, 780 (801-733-470).

⁴⁸² D. Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep: Gottwerdung im alten Ägypten*. Münchner Ägyptologische Studien 36. Munich 1977, 225, pl. 61; E. Laskowska-Kusztal, *Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari*. Deir el-Bahari 3. Warsaw 1984, 48, Text 53, pl. 11.

temple at Philae,⁴⁸⁴ the Hathor kiosk at Philae,⁴⁸⁵ the gateway of Euergetes at Karnak,⁴⁸⁶ the temple of Deir el-Shelwit,⁴⁸⁷ as well as in the temples of Edfu⁴⁸⁸ and Dendera.⁴⁸⁹ The Good Year became an independent deity only in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, personifying the year and symbolising the annual renewal of the year.⁴⁹⁰ She appears prominently in the context of the rituals of the renewal and confirmation of royal power.⁴⁹¹ The role and functions of the Good Year in the context of the rituals of 1 Tybi are clearly illustrated by the invocations addressed to her as part of Scene 5.⁴⁹²

3.5.4 PRESENTING PALM RIBS AND THE *sšd* HEAD-BAND

In Scene 5, the Good Year represents the favourable aspect of Hathor. The king is depicted censuring before the Good Year. The ritual act of censuring for the Good Year is also mentioned in a scene on the north wall of Chapel E (*St-mshnt*) of the Hathor temple at Dendera.⁴⁹³ This scene depicts the presentation of the *sšd* head-band and incense to Isis and Harsiese: “Presenting the *sšd* head-band of receiving the Good Year for Isis (...) and censuring for the Good Year (...)”.⁴⁹⁴ The name of the fabric was not published in D II 110, 4-5, but may be read as follows: *rnpt nfrt, rnpt 3wt-ib, rnpt snb, rnpt hh, rnpt hfnw* “The Good Year, the Year of joy, the Year of health, the Year of millions, the Year of hundreds of thousands”.⁴⁹⁵ This same name is given in a scene on one of the columns in the Court (H’) at Edfu,⁴⁹⁶ where the *sšd* head-band is presented to Hathor: *rnpt nfrt, rnpt 3wt-ib, rnpt snb, rnpt hh, rnpt hfnw* “The Good Year, the Year of joy, the Year of health, the Year of millions, the Year of hundreds of thousands”.⁴⁹⁷ The exact same symbols *nfrt, 3wt-ib, snb, hh* and *hfnw* are attached to the five palm ribs that are held by the Good Year in Scene 5. The offering of the five palm ribs and the offering of the *sšd* head-band thus seem to have the same symbolic value.

As El-Kordy has shown, the *sšd* head-band is closely associated with the theme of birth and renewal.⁴⁹⁸ As such, it is depicted in New Kingdom sources the context of funerary ritual⁴⁹⁹ and birth ritual.⁵⁰⁰ In the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, it is mentioned in the

⁴⁸³ Wildung, *Imhotep*, 218, pl. 57; P. Du Bourguet, L. Gabolde and L. Ménassa, *Le temple de Deir al-Médîna*. Mémoires publiés par les Membres de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale du Caire 121. Cairo 2002, 135 (§ 151, l. 9).

⁴⁸⁴ Wildung, *Imhotep*, 159, pl. 30.

⁴⁸⁵ F. Daumas, “Les propylées du temple d’Hathor à Philae”, in: ZÄS 95 (1968), 6-7.

⁴⁸⁶ Clère, *Évergète*, pl. 48; *Urk.* VIII, 85 (100c).

⁴⁸⁷ Chr. Zivie, *Le Temple de Deir Chelouit. Vol. III: Inscriptions du Naos*. Cairo 1986, 137, 11.

⁴⁸⁸ E V 225, 20; E VI 93, 7; E VI 94, 12; E VII 136, 6.

⁴⁸⁹ D II 110, 7; D VI 89, 1; D VIII 15, 5; D VIII 16, 7; D VIII 48, 7.

⁴⁹⁰ Germond, *Invocations*, 89.

⁴⁹¹ See paragraph 3.5.5.

⁴⁹² See paragraph 2.5.3.

⁴⁹³ D II 110, 2-15.

⁴⁹⁴ D II 110, 2-5.

⁴⁹⁵ S. Cauville, *Dendara II: Traduction*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 88. Leuven etc. 1999, 170-171.

⁴⁹⁶ E V 226, 13 – 227, 9.

⁴⁹⁷ E V 227, 1.

⁴⁹⁸ Z. el-Kordy, “Le bandeau du Nouvel An”, in: A. Gutbub, *Mélanges Adolphe Gutbub*. Orientalia Monspeliensia 2. Montpellier 1984, 125-133.

⁴⁹⁹ El-Kordy, in: *Mélanges Gutbub*, 126 with reference to TT 82 (Amenemhat), cf. *Urk.* IV 1055, 10-15; N. de Garis Davies and A.H. Gardiner, *The tomb of Amenemhêt (no. 82)*. Theban Tomb Series 1. London 1915, 36, pl. 8; in TT 55 (Ramose), see N. de Garis Davies, *The tomb of the vizier Ramose*. Mond Excavations at Thebes 1. London 1941, pl. 26-27; in KV 62 (Tutankhamun), cf. Chr. Desroches-Noblecourt, *Vie et mort d’un pharaon: Toutankhamon*. Paris 1963, pl. 144.

⁵⁰⁰ El-Kordy, in: *Mélanges Gutbub*, 126 with reference to Gayet, *Louxor*, pl. LXIII, fig. 177.

context of the royal coronation ritual.⁵⁰¹ In the temples of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, the offering of the *sšd* head-band is still associated with the theme of birth and renewal. As such, the offering of the *sšd* is depicted in the mammisi and in the *St-mshnt* in the context of the birth of the child-god and in the kiosk on the roof of the Hathor temple in the context of the renewal of royal power at New Year.⁵⁰² In this respect, it is interesting to note that in P Brooklyn 47.218.50, describing the rituals of the confirmation of royal power of 1 Thoth,⁵⁰³ the king is crowned with the *sšd* head-band.⁵⁰⁴ The tying of the *sšd* head-band is also mentioned in Scene 8 as part of the rituals for the protection of the body: “I tie for you an inscribed knot, according to its time, made of *sšd*-band, *nwt*-yarn and fine *p3kt*-linen” (Text 98: E VI 299, 6 – 300, 10).⁵⁰⁵ In Edfu, the *sšd* head-band is worn by the king in several scenes associated with the *sd*-festival. For example, in a scene in the first register of the west wall of the Sanctuary (A), Thoth is depicted engraving the palm ribs for the king and queen.⁵⁰⁶ The king wears a robe that is often depicted in scenes associated with the *sd*-festival,⁵⁰⁷ and the *sšd* head-band is tied around his crown. Another example may be found in the second register of the west wall of the Room of the western staircase (S), where Khonsu-Thoth and Seshat are depicted engraving palm ribs for the king and queen.⁵⁰⁸ Also here, the king wears the robe associated with the *sd*-festival, and the *sšd* head-band is tied around his crown. Another example may be found in the second register of the interior face of the eastern enclosure wall (I’), where Thoth is depicted engraving palm ribs for the king.⁵⁰⁹ Also here, the king is wearing the robe associated with the *sd*-festival, and the *sšd* head-band is tied around his crown.⁵¹⁰

3.5.5 THE INVOCATIONS TO THE GOOD YEAR

The invocations addressed to Good Year in Scene 5 clearly illustrate her role and functions in the context of the coronation ritual of the falcon.⁵¹¹ No invocations to the Good Year are known prior to the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods, but contemporary parallels are known from a variety of monuments dating to the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods. This paragraph presents an overview of these parallel texts and an analysis of the various ritual contexts in which they were used.

Parallel texts for the invocations to the Good Year were found by Germond⁵¹² in the kiosk on the roof of the Hathor temple at Dendera,⁵¹³ in the mammisi at Edfu,⁵¹⁴ and in the

⁵⁰¹ El-Kordy, in: *Mélanges Gutbub*, 126 with reference to Urk. IV 262, 7-8 and 265, 5.

⁵⁰² El-Kordy, in: *Mélanges Gutbub*, 127-132; D Mamm 172, 2-9; 191, 15 – 192, 9; 161, 10-16; 177, 5-10; D VIII 24, 10-14.

⁵⁰³ For this papyrus, see also paragraphs 3.1.1.3, 3.3.1.2 and 3.4.2.

⁵⁰⁴ P Brooklyn 47.218.50 II, 15; Goyon, *Confirmation*, 55.

⁵⁰⁵ See paragraph 3.8.2.2h.

⁵⁰⁶ E I 26, 17 – 28, 4; pl. XI.

⁵⁰⁷ See Hornung and Staehelin, *Sedfest*, 75-76.

⁵⁰⁸ E I 522, 7-18; pl. XXXVIb.

⁵⁰⁹ E VI 277, 2-11; pl. CL.

⁵¹⁰ More similar examples may be found in the second register of the west wall of the Second Hypostyle Hall (W) (E II 40, 2-12; pl. XLb); in the second register of the west wall of the First Hypostyle Hall (C’) (E III 120, 8 – 121, 8; pl. LXI); in the second register of the west wall of the exterior face of the Naos (F’) (E IV 91, 18 – 93, 5; pl. LXXXVII); in the second register of the east wall of the exterior face of the Naos (F’) (E IV 248, 9 – 249, 9; pl. CXIII).

⁵¹¹ See paragraph 2.5.3.

⁵¹² Germond, *Invocations*, 4-6.

⁵¹³ D VIII 13; 55-64.

⁵¹⁴ E Mamm 111-125; 126-154.

Roman mammisi at Dendera.⁵¹⁵ As pointed out in paragraph 2.5.3, Germond's analysis of the invocations to the Good Year in the context of the coronation ritual of the falcon at Edfu is still valid today. However, he did not study the function and ritual context of the parallel texts. Furthermore, since the publication of his work in 1986, several new series of parallel texts have been published or discovered, namely in the mammisi at Philae,⁵¹⁶ in the pronaos of the Hathor temple at Dendera,⁵¹⁷ on building-blocks from the temple of Thoth at Amheida (Dakhla Oasis),⁵¹⁸ and in the Kellis mammisi (Ismant el-Kharab, Dakhla Oasis).⁵¹⁹

3.5.5.1 Dendera, kiosk on the roof

The complete series of 39 invocations is inscribed on the southern part of the exterior face of the kiosk on the roof of the temple of Hathor at Dendera, dating to the late Ptolemaic Period.⁵²⁰ Here, the invocations are adapted to the cult of Hathor, with the beneficiary being "Hathor, mistress of Dendera". In this case, the invocations to the Good Year were most probably recited in the context of the rituals of 1 Thoth. The inscriptions of the kiosk mainly refer to its function in the celebration of the New Year's ceremonies of 1 Thoth, in particular the ritual of the union with the sun-disc (*hnm itn*).⁵²¹ The date of 1 Thoth was considered to be the ideal date for the arrival of the inundation in Egypt and the heliacal rising of Sothis. Therefore this date was considered to be a suitable date for the beginning of the New Year and for the coronation of the king. The aim of the rituals of 1 Thoth was the renewal of the solar Horus and the king. The rituals celebrated the legitimacy of royal power as well as the transmission of royal power from the god (Horus) to his representative on earth (the king).⁵²²

3.5.5.2 Edfu, mammisi

In the mammisi at Edfu, dating to the reign of Ptolemy IX, the invocations to the Good Year are located in Vestibule G and Portico H. The invocations are adapted to the ritual context of the mammisi, with the beneficiaries being "Harsomtut, the son of Hathor", "Ihy, the son of Hathor", and "Horus, the son of Isis, the son of Osiris". In two cases the beneficiary is the king (Inv. nos. 8, 9; E Mamm 128, 16-18; E Mamm 128, 12-14). Invocations nos. 1-19 are placed in the southern part of the vestibule and portico, and nos. 20-37 are placed in the northern part.⁵²³ The main ritual that took place in the Edfu mammisi celebrated the birth-festival of Harsomtut in the month of Pachons,⁵²⁴ which celebrated the cyclical rebirth of the

⁵¹⁵ D Mamm 162-164; 177-179; pl. LXVI, LXVII, LXVIII, XLVIII.

⁵¹⁶ Ph Mamm 379, 1; 379, 5.

⁵¹⁷ D XV 56, 6 – 62, 10; 65, 1 – 70, 7.

⁵¹⁸ This material from Dakhleh Oasis remains unpublished so far. I would like to thank Prof. Kaper for allowing me to use this material.

⁵¹⁹ Kaper, *Temples and Gods*, 133-134; O.E. Kaper, "Pharaonic-Style Decoration in the Mammisi at Ismant el-Kharab: New Insights after the 1996-1997 Field Season", in: C.A. Hope and G.E. Bowen (eds.), *Dakhleh Oasis Project: Preliminary Reports on the 1994-1995 to 1998-1999 Field Seasons*. Dakhleh Oasis Project Monograph 11. Oxford 2002, 219. Part of this material from Dakhleh Oasis remains unpublished so far. I would like to thank Prof. Kaper for allowing me to use this material.

⁵²⁰ D VIII 13; 55-64.

⁵²¹ For a summary of the New Year's ritual in the temple of Dendera, see F. Daumas, *La civilisation de l'Égypte pharaonique*. Paris 1965, 362-367.

⁵²² For the festival of 1 Thoth, see Germond, *Sekhmet*, 196-199; Cauville, *Essai*, 90-93; 114-116; Goyon, *Confirmation*.

⁵²³ E Mamm 111-125; 126-154. It should be noted here that invocations nos. 14, 33, 34, 36, 38 and 39 are not attested in the Edfu mammisi.

⁵²⁴ E Mamm 6, 8-9; F. Daumas, *Les mammisis des temples égyptiens*. Annales de l'Université de Lyon. Série III. Lettres; Fasc. 32. Paris 1958, 262-265; Alliot, *Culte*, 295-296.

child-god.⁵²⁵ During this festival the legitimacy of royal power was celebrated, as well as the transmission of royal power from the god (Horus) to his son (Harsomtut), with whom the king was identified.⁵²⁶ Considering the important protective function of the Good Year and her association with the concepts of renewal and regeneration it is not surprising to find the invocations to the Good Year in the ritual context of the mammisi, where the protection of the new-born child-god and the theme of cyclic renewal are central.

3.5.5.3 Philae, mammisi

A scene on the exterior face of the naos of the Philae mammisi, dating to the reign of Augustus, depicts two goddesses of the Good Year (nos. 34 and 35)⁵²⁷ in the context of the birth and subsequent coronation of the new-born child-god.⁵²⁸ The invocations are adapted to the cult of the Philae mammisi with the beneficiary being “Horus, the son of Isis, the son of Osiris”. The scene depicts Isis suckling her son Horus sitting in front of Khnum who fashions the child on the potter’s wheel. Thoth is standing behind Khnum and engraves the palm rib with the years of reign of the child-god. Behind him stand two goddesses that assist at the birth of the child-god: *Rnpt rrt* (Year of nursing) and *Rnpt mshnt* (Year of the birth brick), followed by the king who offers the *wd3*- and *3wt-ib*-amulets to the child-god. The invocations form part of the accompanying inscriptions to the two goddesses that assist at the birth of the child-god. The main rituals that took place in the Philae mammisi were concerned with the birth-festival of Harpocrates,⁵²⁹ which celebrated the cyclical rebirth of the child-god.⁵³⁰ As in the Edfu mammisi, it is not surprising to find the invocations to the Good Year in the ritual context of the mammisi, where the protection of the new-born child-god and the theme of cyclic renewal is central.

3.5.5.4 Dendera, pronaos

The complete series of invocations to the Good Year is inscribed on the central architraves of the pronaos of the Hathor temple at Dendera, dating to the reigns of Caligula and Claudius.⁵³¹ The invocations are adapted to the cult of the temple of Dendera, with the beneficiaries being “Hathor, mistress of Dendera”, “Isis, mistress of *ʿBt-Di*”, “Horus of Behdet, lord of Dendera”, “Horus, the son of Isis, the son of Osiris”, “Osiris, the great god in *ʿBt-Di*”, “Harsomtut, who resides in Dendera”, “Harsomtut, lord of *H3di*”, “Harsomtut, lord of *ʿBt-Di*”, and “Ihy, the son of Hathor”. On the eastern part, Hathor receives 21 goddesses of the Good Year: nos. 1 and 2, followed by all the odd numbers from no. 3 onwards. On the western part, Isis receives another 21 goddesses of the Good Year: nos. 1 and 4, followed by all the even numbers from no. 4 onwards. They are preceded by an extra invocation to the nome *ʿBt-di* and followed by a

⁵²⁵ Daumas, *Mammisis*; A. Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux de la théologie de Kom Ombo I*. Bibliothèque d’Étude 47. Cairo 1973, 321-374. The events that took place are described in the festival-calendar at the temple of Esna. See Esna II, no. 77, 11-12; Esna III, no. 371, 17-18; S. Sauneron, *Les fêtes religieuses d’Esna aux derniers siècles du paganisme*. Esna V. Cairo 1962, 21-22.

⁵²⁶ Daumas, *Mammisis*, 262-265; 276-282; Alliot, *Culte*, 294-296.

⁵²⁷ Ph Mamm 379, 1; 379, 5. It is interesting to note here that a hymn to the Good Year is known from the Hathor temple at Philae, see Daumas, in: ZÄS 95 (1968), 6-7.

⁵²⁸ Ph Mamm 376 – 379.

⁵²⁹ Daumas, *Mammisis*, 310-339.

⁵³⁰ Daumas, *Mammisis*; Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux*, 321-374. The events that took place are described in the festival-calendar at the temple of Esna. See Esna II, no. 77, 11-12; Esna III, no. 371, 17-18; Sauneron, *Fêtes religieuses*, 21-22.

⁵³¹ D XV 56, 6 – 62, 10; 65, 1 – 70, 7. For an analysis of the decoration of the pronaos, see S. Cauville, *Dendara. Le pronaos du temple d’Hathor: analyse de la décoration*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 221. Leuven etc. 2013.

new version *Rnpt mrt R^c* “Year that loves Ra”. These two invocations were added here in order to get an equal number of 21 invocations on both the eastern and western parts.⁵³² The decoration of the ceiling of the pronaos is concerned with the solar and lunar cycles, the constellations and planets, the decades, and the hours of day and night.⁵³³ The invocations to the Good Year are written on the central architraves, whereas on the lateral architraves a series of *chronocrates* including lion-headed cobras is depicted, representing the protectors of the 12 months of the year.⁵³⁴ The accompanying ritual texts to the invocations to the Good Year on the central architraves refer their function related to New Year in the pronaos: “I have come to you, great young girl, on the day of the feast of Ra, on New Year’s day. The *sšd* head-band and the incense are in my right and left hands, (I) invoke the Good Year in all her names, in order to open the years, the months, the days, and each of their minutes, in perfection, because you are their mistress, it is the Good (Year) in all her names”⁵³⁵ and “I have come to you, noble one, mistress of the beginning of the year, during the great festival of the night of the child in his nest.”⁵³⁶ I bring you the *sšd* head-band purified with incense in order to open for you an infinity of good years, according to what Ra has decreed for you and to what Thoth has written for you, for you are the mistress of endless nurturing, Sothis, who rules the stars”.⁵³⁷ The decoration of the pronaos focuses on the four largest festivals of Hathor of Dendera, i.e. the festivals of drunkenness, the festival of the good reunion, and the New Year’s festival.⁵³⁸ Therefore, it is not surprising to find the invocations to the Good Year represented on the central architraves of the pronaos.

3.5.5.5 Amheida

A selection of the invocations to the Good Year (fragments of nos. 1, 9²-10², 13-15, 20-22, 25²-26) was found in the remains of the temple of Amheida in Dakhleh Oasis.⁵³⁹ The beneficiary of the invocations is the main local deity of Amheida, Thoth of *St-w3ḥ*. No *in situ* remains of the temple were found, which makes it difficult to ascertain the architectural context of the invocations. The blocks on which the invocations to the Good Year are written formed part of the *soubassement* of what was probably the main sanctuary of the Roman temple, decorated under Domitian.⁵⁴⁰ Archaeological and textual material from Dakhleh Oasis suggests that an important festival took place at the beginning of the month of Tybi in the oasis.⁵⁴¹ The first indication for the significance of the date of 1 Tybi in the oasis is the presence of a large number of *dipinti*, located on a secondary doorway in the temenos wall of the temple of Deir el-Hagar.⁵⁴² These *dipinti* consist mainly of Greek inscriptions and drawings of deities and their sacred animals. Two inscriptions date to 1 and 3 Tybi

⁵³² Cauville, *Dendara pronaos*, 465-473.

⁵³³ D XV, Avant-propos 7-14.

⁵³⁴ D XV 71-152; Cauville, *Dendara pronaos*, 473-481 with an index of the names of the cobras on pp. 792-803.

⁵³⁵ D XV 55, 7-9.

⁵³⁶ For this festival, see Chr. Leitz, “Die Nacht des Kindes in seinem Nest in Dendara”, in: *ZÄS* 120 (1993), 136-165, 181; D. Kurth and W. Waitkus, “Der Tag der Nacht des Kindes in seinem Nest: zur Lesung von Dendara IV 60, 11-13”, in: *GM* 140 (1994), 49-51; G. Harrison, “The position of the day *grḥ nḥnw m sš.f* – “the night the child is in his nest” within the epagomenal period”, in: *GM* 143 (1994), 77-79.

⁵³⁷ D XV 63, 5-7.

⁵³⁸ Cauville, *Dendara pronaos*, 34-46.

⁵³⁹ This material from Dakhleh Oasis remains unpublished so far. I would like to thank Prof. Kaper for allowing me to use this material.

⁵⁴⁰ O.E. Kaper, in: *Excavations at Amheida, 2005* [Preliminary excavation report], 3. Available online at: <http://www.amheida.org/inc/pdf/Report2005.pdf>.

⁵⁴¹ Kaper, *Temples and Gods*, 205.

⁵⁴² O.E. Kaper and K.A. Worp, “Dipinti on the temenos wall at Deir el-Haggar (Dakhla Oasis), in: *BIFAO* 99 (1999), 233-258.

respectively, suggesting that an important festival of Amun-Ra was celebrated at the beginning of the month Tybi at Deir el-Hagar. On this occasion, people would have visited the temple, adding *dipinti* on the small gateway next to the main entrance of the temple.⁵⁴³ The second indication for 1 Tybi being significant in the oasis is found on a stela from the temple of Deir el-Hagar (JdE 51943), which depicts Shu presenting two palm ribs to Thoth and Nehmetaway. The accompanying inscription reads: “I give you many *hb-sd*-jubilees”, indicating that the palm ribs are presented as symbols of the royal jubilee festival. On the base of the stela, a Greek inscription is added, dated “Year 11 of the emperor Caesar Vespasian Augustus, first day of (the month) Tybi”.⁵⁴⁴ As an additional support for the celebration of the festival of 1 Tybi in the oasis, Kaper referred to the seven goddesses of the Good Year depicted on the north wall of the Kellis mammisi.⁵⁴⁵ He concluded that these goddesses were selected from the larger group of 39 goddesses of the Good Year, based on their association with the theme of the offering of the *hh*-symbol.⁵⁴⁶ In Dakhleh Oasis, palm ribs were offered to the gods as a local variant of the offering of the *hh*-symbol.⁵⁴⁷ Based on the contents of the stela from Deir el-Hagar, the presence of the Good Year in the Kellis mammisi, and the thematic association of the *hh*-offering and the offering of palm ribs with the rituals of 1 Tybi, Kaper concluded that the ritual of the offering of palm ribs in the oasis took place most probably on the date of 1 Tybi.⁵⁴⁸

3.5.5.6 Dendera, Roman mammisi

In the Roman mammisi at Dendera, decorated during the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian, the complete series of 39 invocations is inscribed on the north, east and south walls of the Hall of the Ennead.⁵⁴⁹ Some of the inscriptions (nos. 25-30, 34-34 and 37) are now lost. The invocations are adapted to the ritual context of the mammisi, with the beneficiaries being “Ihy, the son of Hathor”, “Harsomtus, the son of Hathor”, and “Horus, the son of Isis, the son of Osiris”. The main rituals that took place in the Dendera mammisi celebrated the cyclic rebirth of Ihy.⁵⁵⁰ As in the case of the Edfu and Philae mammisis, it is not surprising to find the invocations to the Good Year in the ritual context of the mammisi, where the protection of the new-born child-god and the theme of cyclic renewal is central.

3.5.5.7 Ismant el-Kharab (Kellis), mammisi

A selection of the invocations to the Good Year is located in two separate series in the northern half of the mammisi of Tutu at Ismant el-Kharab (Kellis) in Dakhleh Oasis, dating to the early second century AD. The first group of six goddesses of the Good Year (nos. 1-6) is situated in the first register of the northern side of the vault.⁵⁵¹ The second group of seven

⁵⁴³ Kaper, *Temples and Gods*, 23-24; Kaper and Worp, in: *BIFAO* 99 (1999), 233-258.

⁵⁴⁴ O.E. Kaper and C. van Zoest (eds), *Treasures of the Dakhleh Oasis: an exhibition on the occasion of the Fifth International Conference of the Dakhleh Oasis Project*. Cairo 2006, 28.

⁵⁴⁵ For the invocations to the Good Year in the Kellis mammisi, see paragraph 3.5.5.7.

⁵⁴⁶ Kaper, *Temples and Gods*, 135: “The first two gifts: ‘life’ and ‘peace’ are two of the gifts closely associated with the Heh symbol [Borghouts, *LÄ* II, 1084, “Heh, darreichen des”]. The most important theme selected here is that of time, which is symbolised by the years of reign of Tatenen (no. 3), the figure of Heh himself (no. 4), the frog, which is usually combined with the palm ribs offered in Dakhleh (no. 5), and finally, the concept of eternity itself in its two aspects of *dt* and *nhh* (nos. 6 and 7)”.

⁵⁴⁷ Kaper, *Temples and Gods*, 177-179.

⁵⁴⁸ Kaper, *Temples and Gods*, 179.

⁵⁴⁹ D Mamm 162-164; 177-179; pl. LXVI, LXVII, LXVIII, XLVIII.

⁵⁵⁰ Daumas, *Mammisis*, 276-282.

⁵⁵¹ For a schematic plan of the Kellis mammisi, see Kaper, in: Hope and Bowen (eds.), *Dakhleh Oasis Project*, 218, fig. 1.

goddesses of the Good Year (nos. 7, 13, 15-19) is depicted on the north wall, below the springing of the vault.⁵⁵² The latter group of seven goddesses of the Good Year forms part of two large scenes depicting a *kheirismos*⁵⁵³ offering by the priests of Kellis to Tutu and Neith on the south and to Neith and Tapsais on the north.⁵⁵⁴ Kaper suggested that possibly these scenes depict the *kheirismos* being consecrated anew to the god after its official registration at New Year. This ritual may have taken place as part of the New Year's ceremonies, which celebrated the rededication of the temple and the reactivation of the cult. During these rituals, the god would be crowned anew and be reintroduced to his naos.⁵⁵⁵ As pointed out in paragraph 3.5.5.5 Kaper concluded that the goddesses of the Good Year depicted on the north wall were associated with the rituals of 1 Tybi. As these goddesses form part of the *kheirismos*-scene on the north wall, he also concluded that the *kheirismos* ritual at Kellis most probably took place in the oasis on the date of 1 Tybi.⁵⁵⁶ Kaper related the presence of both series of goddesses of the Good Year in the Kellis mammisi to the festival of 1 Tybi, based on their important role in the rituals of 1 Tybi at Edfu.

However, as shown above, the presence of the goddesses of the Good Year was not restricted to the ritual context of 1 Tybi. The goddesses also appear in the context of the rituals of 1 Thoth and in the context of the rituals for the child-god in the mammisis. The presence of the two series of goddesses of the Good Year in the Kellis mammisi is thus not necessarily related to the festival of 1 Tybi only, but may also be explained by the importance of the themes of protection of the new-born child-god and cyclic renewal that were central in the theology of the mammisis. In the mammisis of Edfu, Philae and Dendera, the invocations to the Good Year are closely associated with the rituals of Pachons, celebrating the cyclic rebirth of the local child-god. This may also be the reason for the presence of the goddesses of the Good Year in the Kellis mammisi. A closer analysis of the decoration of the north vault and north wall may provide more insight into the ritual context of the invocations to the Good Year in the Kellis mammisi.

Several scenes of the first register of the north vault have been preserved. To the right of the door, Neith, Tapsais and a protective goddess are facing a group of six goddesses of the Good Year (nos. 1-6), as a *pars pro toto* of the complete series of 39 goddesses known from Edfu. The goddesses of the Good Year are followed by the personifications of the twelve months of the year. In the first register of the southern side of the vault, to the left, Tutu is depicted being approached by 30 deities representing the days of the lunar month. To the right, Tutu and Tapsais are depicted facing the twelve deities representing the hours of the night.⁵⁵⁷ These time-units are also found in other mammisis.⁵⁵⁸ The presence of the twelve

⁵⁵² Kaper, *Temples and Gods*, 133-135 and figs. 56-57.

⁵⁵³ I.e. the cultic equipment of the temple that was under surveillance of the state. For a discussion of the property of Egyptian temples and the *kheirismos* as depicted in the Kellis mammisi, see Kaper, *Temples and Gods*, 117-132.

⁵⁵⁴ Kaper, *Temples and Gods*, 87-133.

⁵⁵⁵ Kaper, *Temples and Gods*, 136.

⁵⁵⁶ Kaper, *Temples and Gods*, 136.

⁵⁵⁷ Kaper, in: Hope and Bowen (eds.), *Dakhleh Oasis Project*, 219.

⁵⁵⁸ The twelve months of the year are found in the mammisis at Edfu (E Mamm 4, 7), Philae (Ph Mamm 206-211), Dendera (Nectanebo) (D Mamm 38, 16-18), and Kom Ombo (KO 46-49). They are also found in room D 2 of the temple of Athribis (Athribis II, 2: D 2, 7 and D 2, 13). Leitz pointed out that the decoration of Rooms D 1 and D 2 closely resembles that of a mammisi (Athribis II, 1, XXVIII-XXIX). For the goddesses of the months of the year, see also D. Mendel, *Die Monatsgöttinnen in Tempeln und im privaten Kult*. Rites égyptiens 11. Brussels 2005, 3 ff.. The days of the months are found in the Ptolemaic and Roman mammisis at Dendera (D Mamm 29; 119-121; 140-142; 176; 197-198; 210). See also S. Cauville, "La permanence de la protection (à propos des "chronocrates"), in: *JARCE* 46 (2010), 233-273). The hours of the night are found in the mammisis at Edfu (E Mamm 112, 7 – 113, 7), Philae (Ph Mamm 252-253), Dendera (D Mamm 203-206), and Armant (PM V, 155 (27) and (28)). See also Pries, *Stundenritual*, 14-15. The hours of the night are also found in Room D 1 of the

hours of the night, the 30 days of the lunar cycle and the twelve months of the year in the Kellis mammisi expresses the theme of cyclic rejuvenation, which is a central element in the theology of the mammisi.⁵⁵⁹ The theme of the decoration of the second and third registers of the south and north vaults respectively is associated specifically with the birth- and coronation-rituals of the child-god. In the second register of the south vault the divine potters at their wheels are depicted, and the offering of crowns. In the third register of the north vault the seven Hathors, four Meskhenets, and Ihy are depicted facing Tapsais and Neith.

On the north wall, below the springing of the vault, to the left of the door, a group of 27 priests is depicted bringing offerings to Neith and Tapsais. A group of seven goddesses of the Good Year (nos. 7, 13, 15-19) is depicted preceding the priests.⁵⁶⁰ Both the north and south walls contain a scene showing Libyan captives facing the local deities, as well as a *kheirismos*-scene. The seven goddesses of the Good Year that are associated with the theme of the offering of the *hh*-symbol and of palm ribs are included in the *kheirismos*-scene on the north wall. As mentioned above, the *kheirismos*-offering is closely associated with the notion of cyclic renewal, as it celebrated the rededication of the temple and the reactivation of the cult, during which the god would be crowned anew and reintroduced to his naos.⁵⁶¹

Based on the analysis of the decoration of the north wall and north vault I would like to propose the following hypothesis with regard to the ritual context of the two series of invocations to the Good Year in the Kellis mammisi.

The group of six goddesses of the Good Year depicted in the first register of the north vault forms a *pars pro toto* of the complete series of goddesses of the Good Year known from Edfu. This group forms part of a series of depictions of time-units on the first register of the north and south vaults. The presence of these time-units expresses the theme of cyclic rejuvenation, which is a central element in the theology of the mammisi. The decoration of the north and south vaults of the Kellis mammisi is concerned primarily with the birth- and coronation-rituals of the child-god. The presence of the group of six goddesses of the Good Year on the north vault may thus be explained in the ritual context of the celebrations of the cyclical rebirth of the child-god.⁵⁶²

The group of seven goddesses of the Good Year on the north wall is associated with two large *kheirismos*-scenes on the north and south walls. This ritual celebrated the rededication of the temple and the reactivation of the cult, and Kaper argued convincingly that this ritual most probably took place in Dakhleh Oasis on the date of 1 Tybi.⁵⁶³ As such, the presence of the group of seven goddesses of the Good Year on the north wall may be explained in the ritual context of the festival of 1 Tybi.

3.5.5.8 Conclusions

The data presented above and summarised in Table 3.2 show that the beneficiaries of the invocations to the Good Year are the king and the gods, which may vary according to the local cult and the ritual context. A comparison of the parallels shows that in the temples of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, the invocations to the Good Year are situated in the ritual contexts of the festivals of the months of Thoth, Tybi and Pachons, i.e. the first months of

temple of Athribis, the decoration of which closely resembles that of a mammisi (Athribis II, 2: D 1, 26 and D 1, 30).

⁵⁵⁹ Kaper, in: Hope and Bowen (eds.), *Dakhleh Oasis Project*, 221.

⁵⁶⁰ Kaper, *Temples and Gods*, 133-135 and figs. 56-57.

⁵⁶¹ Kaper, *Temples and Gods*, 136.

⁵⁶² Daumas, *Mammisi*; Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux*, 321-374. The events that took place are described in the festival-calendar at the temple of Esna. See Esna II, no. 77, 11-12; Esna III, no. 371, 17-18; Sauneron, *Fêtes religieuses*, 21-22.

⁵⁶³ Kaper, *Temples and Gods*, 136.

each of the three seasons *3ht*, *prt* and *šmw*. Each of these three festivals was associated with cyclic renewal and the transmission and confirmation of royal power. The festival of the month of Thoth celebrated the transmission of royal power from Horus to his representative on earth, the king. The festival of the month of Tybi celebrated the transmission of royal power from Horus to his living image, the sacred living falcon. The festival of Pachons celebrated the transmission of royal power from Horus to his son Harsomtus, with whom the king was identified. These events marked dangerous transitional periods which may be categorised as rites of passage, during which divine protection was needed. The invocations to the Good Year were aimed at obtaining protection for the king, his substitute the sacred falcon, and the newly born child-god during these dangerous transitional periods. In Scene 5, the invocations to the Good Year end with the following statement: “<The> living <*hm*-falcon> and the king of Upper- and Lower-Egypt (empty cartouche) are protected and guarded”, implying that the invocations to the Good Year are aimed at the complete protection of the falcon and the king, not only during the ritual but throughout the year. This is also clear from the invocations themselves, of which an important part refers to the protection of the Good Year during the days (No.27), the months (No.28), the seasons (No.29), the *3ht*-season (No.30), the *prt*-season (No.31), and the *šmw*-season (No.32). Following on this, the wish for eternal repetition of “all the good things” is expressed (No.33).

Source	Ritual context	Beneficiaries
Edfu, Horus temple, Int. face, n. enclosure wall <i>Ptolemy IX-X</i>	Tybi: transmission of royal power from Horus to the sacred falcon	Harsomtus; Ihy; Horus Behdeti; the sacred falcon; the king
Dendera, Hathor temple, Kiosk on the roof <i>Late Ptolemaic Period</i>	Thoth: transmission of royal power from Horus to the king	Hathor of Dendera
Edfu, mammisi, Vestibule G and Portico H <i>Ptolemy IX</i>	Pachons: transmission of royal power from Horus to the local child-god	Harsomtus; Ihy; Horus; the king
Philae, mammisi, Ext. face of the naos <i>Augustus</i>	Pachons: transmission of royal power from Horus to the local child-god	Horus
Dendera, Hathor temple, Pronaos, central architraves <i>Caligula – Claudius</i>	Thoth: transmission of royal power from Horus to the king	Hathor; Isis; Horus; Osiris; Harsomtus; Ihy
Amheida, Thoth temple, Soubassement <i>Domitian</i>	Tybi (?)	Thoth
Dendera, Roman mammisi, Hall of the Ennead <i>Trajan</i>	Pachons: transmission of royal power from Horus to the local child-god	Ihy; Harsomtus; Horus
Ismant el-Kharab, mammisi, N. vault and n. wall <i>100-150 CE</i>	Pachons and Tybi	Neith (and Tapsais)

Table 3.2 Parallel texts for the invocations to the Good Year.

3.6 SCENE 6

3.6.1 APPEASING AND INVOKING SAKHMET

As pointed out in paragraph 2.5.2, the Good Year in Scene 5 represents favourable aspect of Hathor, whereas the dangerous aspect of Hathor is represented in Scene 6 in the form of

Sakhmet. The king presents her with incense and a sistrum in order to appease her⁵⁶⁴ and she is invoked⁵⁶⁵ to not act unfavourably against the sacred falcon and the king. Rituals for the appeasing of Sakhmet (*štp Šmt*) are known from the Middle and New Kingdoms onwards⁵⁶⁶ and find their origin in the myths of the Distant Goddess and of the Destruction of Mankind.⁵⁶⁷ Rituals for the appeasing of Sakhmet are found rather commonly in the temples of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods.⁵⁶⁸ The ritual often consists of slaughtering four geese (*srw*)⁵⁶⁹ or four antelopes (*m3-ḥd*),⁵⁷⁰ and presenting beer or wine⁵⁷¹ to Sakhmet.⁵⁷² Other offerings presented for the appeasing of Sakhmet include the *wd3t*-eye, the sistra (*šhm* and *sššt*), the counterpoise (*mnʿt*), the papyrus-sceptre (*w3d*), incense and *M3ʿt*, and the clepsydra (*wnšb*).⁵⁷³ As a title of a magical handbook, “the appeasing of Sakhmet” (*štp Šmt*) is mentioned in the Edfu temple library (E’),⁵⁷⁴ together with the titles of various books of protection, such as “the protection of the bedroom” (*s3 hnkt*),⁵⁷⁵ “the protection of the city” (*s3 niwt*), “the protection of the house” (*s3 pr*), “the protection of the Upper-Egyptian crown” (*s3 ḥdt*), “the protection of the throne” (*s3 st*), and “the protection of the year” (*s3 rnpt*).⁵⁷⁶ A complete ritual for the appeasing of Sakhmet is preserved in the form of a series of hymns to Sakhmet on the architraves of the pronaos at Edfu (C’).⁵⁷⁷

The invocations addressed to Sakhmet in Scene 6 clearly illustrate her protective function in the context of the coronation ritual of the falcon.⁵⁷⁸ In the first 30 invocations she is invoked to not act unfavourably against the sacred falcon and the king. In the final eight invocations she is invoked to protect the sacred falcon and king against the arrows of the year.

A complete series of invocations to Sakhmet comparable to that of Scene 6 is not known from the Middle or New Kingdoms, but the practice of invoking Sakhmet for protection can be traced back to the Middle Kingdom at least.⁵⁷⁹ In P Ramesseum XVII⁵⁸⁰ and P Leiden

⁵⁶⁴ See paragraph 2.6.2.

⁵⁶⁵ See paragraphs 2.6.3 and 3.6.2.

⁵⁶⁶ For the practice of invoking Sakhmet for protection as attested from the Middle Kingdom onwards, see paragraph 3.6.2.

⁵⁶⁷ F. Daumas, *LÄ I*, 1975, 724-727, “Besänftigung”; Germond, *Sekhmet*, 252.

⁵⁶⁸ The SERaT database provides 34 search results for “Sakhmet zufriedenstellen”: D I 27; D I 29; D II 92; D III 184; D IV 162; D IV 175; D IV 227; D VII 44; D VIII 36; D VIII 144; D IX 17; D IX 88; D XII 102; D XII 246; D XIII 56; D XIII 245; D XV 201; D XV 229; D Isis 190; E III 129; E III 301; E III 304; E IV 311; E III 312; E III 315; E III 318; E III 320; E IV 342; E V 64; E V 163; E V 224; E VI 280; E VII 294; E Mamm 71. Further rituals for the appeasing of Sakhmet are known from D II 82; D III 174; D IV 224; Ph pylon 68; Ph Mamm 345; KO 300-301, Esna II 170, 9 and El-Kab I 58-64 with parallels at E III 290-291 and Ph pylon 57 (see F. Daumas, *LÄ I*, 1975, 724-727, “Besänftigung” and Germond, *Sekhmet*, 254-256).

⁵⁶⁹ See for example E IV 343, 12-13, where the slaughtering of geese is said to pacify Sakhmet.

⁵⁷⁰ See for example E II 74, 16, where the slaughtering of antelope is said to pacify Sakhmet.

⁵⁷¹ This offering to appease Sakhmet finds its origin without doubt in the myth of the Destruction of Humankind.

⁵⁷² See Germond, *Sekhmet*, 257-260.

⁵⁷³ See Germond, *Sekhmet*, 260-272.

⁵⁷⁴ E III 347, 13. For the catalogue of books listed in the scriptorium, see A. Grimm, “Altägyptische Tempelliteratur: zur Gliederung und Funktion der Bücherkataloge von Edfu und et-Tôd”, in: S. Schoske (ed.), *Akten des Vierten Internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses München 1985. Band 3: Linguistik, Philologie, Religion*. SAK Beihefte Band 3. Hamburg 1989, 159-169.

⁵⁷⁵ For the ritual of the protection of the bedroom in the context of the coronation ritual of the falcon, see paragraphs 2.7.3 and 3.7.3.

⁵⁷⁶ E III 347, 11-13.

⁵⁷⁷ Published by Goyon, *štp Šmt*.

⁵⁷⁸ See paragraph 2.6.3.

⁵⁷⁹ See Germond, *Sekhmet*, 11; J. Yoyotte, “Une monumentale litanie de granit: les Sekhmet d’Aménophis III et la conjuration permanente de la déesse dangereuse”, in: *BSFE* 87-88 (1980), 46-75.

⁵⁸⁰ A.H. Gardiner, *The Ramesseum Papyri: Plates*. Oxford 1955, 16.

I 346⁵⁸¹ Sakhmet is invoked for protection during the epagomenal days. In this case, the beneficiaries are non-royal people. P Edwin Smith XVIII, 1 – XX, 12⁵⁸² consists of eight spells against the pestilence of the year, associated with Sakhmet. In P Chester Beatty VIII the remains of two hymns to the uraeus are preserved.⁵⁸³ In this case, the original beneficiary seems to be the king: reference to Ramesses II is made in vs. 9, 10 and 10, 6. Gardiner concluded: “Of the first hymn only ends of lines remain (vs. 9, 1-10), showing an abundance of feminine divine names with which the uraeus was doubtless identified. One may even conjecture from the triple occurrence of the words *Tmt pw* ... “... is Temet” that the entire hymn consisted of a series of identifications with that rarely named goddess”.⁵⁸⁴ Parallels are known for the second hymn to the uraeus,⁵⁸⁵ namely in the Ptolemaic hemi-speos at el-Kab where it is entitled “Ritual for appeasing Sakhmet”,⁵⁸⁶ as part of the ritual for appeasing Sakhmet written on the architraves of the pronaos at Edfu (C’) mentioned above,⁵⁸⁷ and on the first pylon of the Philae temple.⁵⁸⁸ In P Brooklyn 47.218.50 a ritual of appeasing Sakhmet is described as part of the rituals of 1 Thoth.⁵⁸⁹ The association of the appeasing of Sakhmet with the end of the year and the rituals of 1 Thoth is confirmed in P Leiden T 32, where reference is made to a holocaust for Sakhmet in order to pacify her and her *h3tyw*-demons at the end of the year.⁵⁹⁰ Similarly in P Cairo 86637, which mentions for the date of 3 Thoth: “Festival of Sakhmet which Ra made for her when he pacified her”.⁵⁹¹ The same “Festival of Sakhmet” on the date of 3 Thoth is mentioned on O Turin 6415.⁵⁹² Rituals for appeasing Sakhmet also formed part of the rituals of the *wabet* and court associated with the confirmation of royal power of 1 Thoth.⁵⁹³ A further interesting case can be found in a series of scenes from the hypostyle hall of the Amun temple at Karnak which depict the rituals associated with New Year,⁵⁹⁴ and a parallel version in P Chester Beatty IX.⁵⁹⁵ The final ritual act to be carried out as part of the New Year’s rituals was to present incense to a lion-headed

⁵⁸¹ B.H. Stricker, “Spreuken tot beveliging gedurende de schrikeldagen naar P Leiden I 346”, in: *OMRO* 29 (1948), 55-70; M. Bommas, *Die Mythisierung der Zeit: die beiden Bücher über die altägyptischen Schaltage des magischen pLeiden I 346*. Göttinger Orientforschungen. Reihe 4, Ägypten 37. Wiesbaden 1999.

⁵⁸² J.H. Breasted, *The Edwin Smith surgical papyrus, vol. 1*. The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications 3. Chicago 1930, 472-487.

⁵⁸³ P Chester Beatty VIII vs. 9, 1-10, 8; Gardiner, *Chester Beatty*, 74-75.

⁵⁸⁴ Gardiner, *Chester Beatty*, 75.

⁵⁸⁵ P Chester Beatty VIII vs. 10, 1-8. For the parallels, see J. Vandier, “Quatre variantes ptolémaïques d’un hymne ramesside”, in: *ZÄS* 93 (1966), 132-143. See also paragraph 3.6.3.

⁵⁸⁶ Elkab I, 58.

⁵⁸⁷ E III 290-291. For the publication of this ritual, see Goyon, *shṭp Shmt*.

⁵⁸⁸ North face, west tower of the first pylon: Ph I, 56-58.

⁵⁸⁹ P Brooklyn 47.218.50 II, 2-14; Goyon, *Confirmation*, 56-57. For this papyrus, see also paragraphs 3.1.1.3, 3.3.1.2, 3.4.2 and 3.5.4.

⁵⁹⁰ P Leiden T 32, IV 4-5; F.R. Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l’éternité*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 58. Leuven etc. 1994, 57, 305-306, 344 and 433. Compare the presentation of choice portions of meat and the accompanying invocation to Sakhmet-Wadjet in Scene 3 as well as the burnt offering ritual in the context of the rituals of the confirmation of royal power of 19 Thoth at Karnak (see paragraph 3.3.1.2).

⁵⁹¹ P Cairo 86637, rt. 1, 4; Bakir, *Cairo Calendar*, 11; Chr. Leitz, *Tagewählerei. Das Buch h3t nh3 ph.wy dt und verwandte Texte. Textband*. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 55. Wiesbaden 1994, 430-431. The same festival seems to be mentioned in vs. 21, 4 which is now partly lost; see Bakir, *Cairo Calendar*, 57.

⁵⁹² O Turin 6415, rt. 5; G. Posener, “Ostraca inédits du Musée de Turin (recherches littéraires III)”, in: *RdE* 8 (1951), 186-189.

⁵⁹³ See F. Coppens, *The wabet: tradition and innovation in temples of the Ptolemaic and Roman Period*. Prague 2007, 201-202.

⁵⁹⁴ Nelson, in: *JNES* 8 (1949), 336-343.

⁵⁹⁵ P Chester Beatty IX, rt. 16, 12 – vs. 3, 4; Gardiner, *Chester Beatty*, 99-101; N. Tacke, *Das Opferritual des ägyptischen Neuen Reiches. Band I Texte*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 222. Leuven etc. 2013, 282-307.

Mut, identified with Sakhmet.⁵⁹⁶ The preceding scene is not represented in Karnak, but present in the version of P Chester Beatty, and consists of a “spell for libations”, a hymn in honour of Mut “in all her names, Sakhmet the great”.⁵⁹⁷

Another indication suggesting that the practice of invoking Sakhmet for protection can be traced back to the New Kingdom at least is formed by the presence of the hundreds of statues of Sakhmet from the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III at Kom el-Hitan in Western Thebes⁵⁹⁸ and from the temple of Mut at Karnak.⁵⁹⁹ These statues have convincingly been shown to have constituted a “litany in stone”, appeasing the goddess and invoking her not to use her negative powers.⁶⁰⁰ Each statue is inscribed with a different epithet of Sakhmet, comparable to the litany in Edfu. As Yoyotte concluded: “Si l’on tient compte des fluctuations qui avaient affecté la tradition, la parenté entre les Sekhmet d’Aménophis et les litanies recopiées dans les temples tardifs est manifeste. Dans ces dernières, on ne retrouve pas moins d’une soixantaine d’épithètes qu’on relève sur les premières, et souvent des plus caractéristiques”.⁶⁰¹ In the case of the Sakhmet statues of Amenhotep III, the king is the beneficiary. Bryan suggested that the presence of the Sakhmet statues in the temple of Amenhotep III at Thebes may be connected to the *sd*-festival and the cult of eternity of the king: “Given that Amenhotep III’s mortuary temple relief program contained numerous *Sed* festival scenes, and given that much of the statuary from the temple explicitly refers to the *Sed*, it seems not presumptuous to suggest that a litany to Sakhmet might have been associated with that festival as it approached Year 30”.⁶⁰²

3.6.2 THE INVOCATIONS TO SAKHMET

Parallel texts for the invocations to Sakhmet are known from a variety of monuments dating to the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods. This paragraph presents an overview of these parallel texts and an analysis of the various ritual contexts in which they were used.

Parallel texts for the invocations to Sakhmet were found by Germond⁶⁰³ on the doorway giving access to the room of the western staircase (S) at the temple of Edfu,⁶⁰⁴ in room U of the Hathor temple at Dendera,⁶⁰⁵ in the kiosk (W’) on the roof of the Hathor temple at Dendera,⁶⁰⁶ in the Roman mammisi at Dendera,⁶⁰⁷ and on the southern doorway giving access to the Offering Hall of the temple of Kom Ombo.⁶⁰⁸ As pointed out in paragraph 2.6.3, Germond’s analysis of the invocations to Sakhmet in the context of the coronation ritual of the falcon at Edfu is still valid today. However, he did not study the function and ritual context of the parallel texts. Furthermore, since the publication of his work in 1981 several new series of parallels have been published or discovered, namely on the doorway giving

⁵⁹⁶ P Chester Beatty IX vs. 2, 9 – 3, 3 (Gardiner, *Chester Beatty*, 100-101) = Karnak, Nelson scene 19 (Nelson, in: *JNES* 8 (1949), 341-343).

⁵⁹⁷ P Chester Beatty IX vs. 1, 12 – 2, 9; Gardiner, *Chester Beatty*, 100.

⁵⁹⁸ PM II, 1972, 451-452.

⁵⁹⁹ PM II, 1972, 262-263. For similar Sakhmet statues found at other sites in Thebes, see PM II, 1972, 568 (Index: Sekhmet: Statues).

⁶⁰⁰ See Yoyotte, in: *BSFE* 87-88 (1980), 46-75.

⁶⁰¹ Yoyotte, in: *BSFE* 87-88 (1980), 63.

⁶⁰² B.M. Bryan, “The statue program for the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III”, in: S. Quirke (ed.), *The temple in Ancient Egypt: new discoveries and recent research*. London 1997, 60.

⁶⁰³ Germond, *Sekhmet*, 13-16.

⁶⁰⁴ E I 509, 7 – 510, 3; 510, 9 – 511, 5; pl. XXXVb.

⁶⁰⁵ D VII 106, 13 – 107, 3; 107, 6 – 108, 3; 108, 5 – 109, 3; pl. DCXXXVII.

⁶⁰⁶ D VIII 13, 8-13; 66, 5-8; pls. DCXCVI and DCCXXXV.

⁶⁰⁷ D Mamm 97, 9-16; 97, 17 – 98, 6; pl. LVII.

⁶⁰⁸ KO I 277-281; 283-284. See paragraph 3.6.2.8.

access to the eastern staircase at the temple of Edfu,⁶⁰⁹ on the façade of the naos of the Hathor temple at Dendera,⁶¹⁰ on the doorways giving access to Room B, Room C and corridor D of the Isis temple at Dendera,⁶¹¹ and as part of a scene in passage A-B of East Crypt I of the Hathor temple at Dendera,⁶¹² in Room F1 of the temple of Athribis⁶¹³ and in the temple of Tôd.⁶¹⁴

3.6.2.1 Edfu, rooms of the western and eastern staircase

A selection of 30 parallel texts is located on the exterior face of the doorway giving access to the room of the western staircase (S) at the temple of Edfu.⁶¹⁵ Both jambs are decorated with 15 lion-headed cobras, each of which is accompanied by an inscription forming an epithet of Sakhmet. The list of epithets inscribed on the south jamb is the same as that of invocations nos. 1-15 (E VI 264, 1 – 265, 16), and the list of epithets inscribed on the north jamb is the same as that of invocations nos. 16-30 (E VI 266, 3 – 268, 1). In this case, only the epithets are mentioned, with no mention of specific beneficiaries. Germond mentioned these parallel invocations in his list of principal parallels, but he overlooked another series of seven epithets of Sakhmet, located on the exterior face of the doorway giving access to the eastern staircase (U).⁶¹⁶ Here, the north jamb is decorated with seven lion-headed cobras, each of which is accompanied by an inscription forming an epithet of Sakhmet, which are the same as those of invocations nos. 32-38 (E VI 268, 5 – 269, 3). Also here, no specific beneficiaries are mentioned. These seven epithets on the exterior face of the doorway giving access to the eastern staircase (U) form a sequence to the series of epithets engraved on the doorway giving access to the room of the western staircase (S), located in the opposite wall.⁶¹⁷ The accompanying inscriptions to these lion-headed cobras were not studied by Germond, but provide important information as to their context of use: “The names of Her Majesty in the month, from the first day to the thirtieth day, the great *snhyw* (i.e. protective uraei) of the divine winged disc, that appear in the sky with him [...], in/with her by daytime. The one hears the other when morning comes. They coil around the head of the king of Upper- and Lower-Egypt, Ptolemy IV, they preserve his body against the disease demons”⁶¹⁸ and “[...] in the morning at the head of [...] the great *sndmwt* (i.e. the ones that are installed as uraeus on the head of the king) of the great winged disc, who are born in heaven [...] in the body of Ra. The one hears the other, when the early morning comes. They shine on top of the head of the son of Ra, Ptolemy IV, they protect him against the slaughterer-demons”.⁶¹⁹

3.6.2.2 Dendera, façade of the Naos

The lower part of the cornice of the south wall of the pronaos (G') (i.e. the façade of the naos) of the Hathor temple at Dendera is decorated with 15 cobras on the eastern part and 15

⁶⁰⁹ E I 548, 10-16.

⁶¹⁰ D XIV 39, 14 – 40, 14; 82, 11 – 83, 11.

⁶¹¹ D Isis 137, 3 – 138, 4; pl. 133; D Isis 188, 7 – 189, 8; pl. 172; D Isis 45, 8.

⁶¹² D V 6, 18-19.

⁶¹³ Chr. Leitz, D. Mendel and M. el-Bialy, *Die Außenwände und westlichen Seitenkapellen des Tempels von Athribis. Band I: Text*. Athribis III. Cairo 2014, xxiii-xiv; 178-183.

⁶¹⁴ To be published by V. Rondot.

⁶¹⁵ E I 509, 7 – 510, 3; 510, 9 – 511, 5; pl. XXXVb; Germond, *Sekhmet*, 13.

⁶¹⁶ E I 548, 10-16; pl. XXXVb.

⁶¹⁷ Only invocation no. 31 is missing from this sequence.

⁶¹⁸ E I 509, 4-5.

⁶¹⁹ E I 510, 5-7.

cobras on the western part.⁶²⁰ Each of these cobras is accompanied by an inscription forming an epithet of Sakhmet that also recurs in the invocations to Sakhmet in Scene 6. The epithets written on the eastern part of scene IV of the cornice of the south wall recur in invocations nos. 1-15, and the epithets written on the western part of scene IV of the cornice of the south wall recur in invocations nos. 16-30.

3.6.2.3 Dendera, Room U

Both jambs of the exterior face of the doorway giving access to Room U of the temple of Hathor at Dendera⁶²¹ are decorated with 15 cobras. Each of these cobras is accompanied by an inscription forming an epithet of Sakhmet that also recurs in the invocations to Sakhmet in Scene 6. The epithets written on the south jamb recur in invocations nos. 1-15, and the epithets written on the north jamb recur in invocations nos. 16-30. The lintel is decorated with eight cobras, each of which is accompanied by an inscription forming an epithet of Sakhmet. The epithets of the second to the eighth cobras on the lintel recur in invocations nos. 32-38. It was expected to find the epithet of the first cobra to recur in invocation no. 31, but this is not the case; another epithet accompanies the first cobra.

3.6.2.4 Dendera, East Crypt I

The east and west walls of Passage A-B of East Crypt I of the temple of Hathor at Dendera⁶²² are decorated with the remains of several cobras, each of which was presumably accompanied by an inscription forming an epithet to Sakhmet that also recurs in the invocations to Sakhmet in Scene 6. On the west wall, the remains of the epithets of *Trt-R^c* are preserved, which recur in invocations nos. 1 and 2.

3.6.2.5 Dendera, kiosk on the roof

Invocations nos. 1-5 are located in the kiosk on the roof of the temple of Hathor (W') at Dendera.⁶²³ Invocations nos. 1-2 and the first part of invocation no. 3 form part of the inscription engraved on the north exterior reveal of the eastern doorway giving access to the kiosk. The second part of invocation no. 3 and nos. 4-5 form part of the inscription engraved on the soubassement of the adjoining Column X. The beneficiary of these invocations is Hathor.

3.6.2.6 Dendera, Roman mammisi

Both jambs of the interior face of the doorway giving access to the sanctuary of the Roman mammisi at Dendera⁶²⁴ are decorated with 15 lion-headed cobras, each of which is accompanied by an inscription forming an epithet of Sakhmet that also recurs in the invocations to Sakhmet in Scene 6. The epithets written on the right jamb recur in invocations nos. 1-15, and the epithets written on the left jamb recur in invocations nos. 16-30.

⁶²⁰ D XIV 39, 14 – 40, 14; 82, 11 – 83, 11.

⁶²¹ D VII 106, 13 – 107, 3; 107, 6 – 108, 3; 108, 5 – 109, 3; pl. DCXXXVII; Germond, *Sekhmet*, 13.

⁶²² D V 6, 18-19.

⁶²³ D VIII 13, 8-13; 66, 5-8; pls. DCXCVI and DCCXXXV; Germond, *Sekhmet*, 13.

⁶²⁴ D Mamm 97, 9-16; 97, 17 – 98, 6; pl. LVII; Germond, *Sekhmet*, 14.

3.6.2.7 Dendera, Isis temple

The west jamb of the doorway giving access to Room B (*pr nw*) is decorated with 15 lion-headed cobras,⁶²⁵ each of which is accompanied by an inscription forming an epithet of Sakhmet that also recurs in the invocations to Sakhmet in Scene 6. The epithets written on the west jamb recur in invocations nos. 1-15.⁶²⁶ The east jamb of the doorway giving access to Room C (*pr nsr*) is also decorated with 15 lion-headed cobras,⁶²⁷ each of which is accompanied by an inscription forming an epithet of Sakhmet. The epithets written on the east jamb recur in invocations nos. 16-30.⁶²⁸ Another epithet that forms part of the inscriptions located on the exterior face of the doorway giving access to Corridor D⁶²⁹ recurs in invocation no. 26.

3.6.2.8 Kom Ombo, Offering Hall

Both jambs of the interior face of the southern (left) doorway giving access to the Offering Hall⁶³⁰ are decorated with 15 lion-headed goddesses, each of which is accompanied by an inscription forming an epithet of Sakhmet that also recurs in the invocations to Sakhmet in Scene 6. The epithets written on the first register of the south jamb recur in invocations nos. 1-3; unfortunately the other registers are now lost. The epithets written in the first four registers of the north jamb recur in invocations nos. 4-15; the fifth register is now lost. The lintel is decorated with cobras and accompanying inscriptions forming epithets of Sakhmet as well. The epithets written on the northern (right) part of the lintel recur in invocations nos. 32-34; the southern (left) part of the lintel is now lost. On a loose block from the temple, another three cobras with accompanying inscriptions forming epithets that recur in invocations nos. 36-38 are depicted.⁶³¹

3.6.2.9 Athribis, Room F1

The only preserved text in Room F1 of the temple of Athribis consists of a hymn to Sakhmet. The text starts with a series of invocations to Sakhmet, each starting with *ind-ḥr=t Shmt wn n=t* (...), “Hail to you, Sakhmet, (...) is opened for you”.⁶³² As Leitz pointed out,⁶³³ the structure of this text is similar to E III 303, 4-7 on the architraves of the pronaos (C’).⁶³⁴ As for the contents of the invocations, Leitz noted some similarities with E III 303, 12-14 and 317, 6.⁶³⁵ After the invocations the text continues with the formula *mi=t r=t n* “Come to ...”, followed by the name of the king.⁶³⁶ Similar formulae form part of the invocations to Sakhmet in Scene 6, and Leitz also noted a similarity with E III 291, 2 on the architraves of the pronaos (C’).⁶³⁷ Next, the text continues with *ḥtp=t n=f Shmt m rn=t pfy n* “May you be merciful for him, Sakhmet, in this your name of ...”, followed by the names of goddesses who are equated

⁶²⁵ D Isis 137, 3 – 138, 4; pl. 133.

⁶²⁶ Inv. nos. 9 and 13 are now lost.

⁶²⁷ D Isis 188, 7 – 189, 8; pl. 172.

⁶²⁸ Inv. nos. 16-17, 19-20, 22, 25-26 and 28 are now lost.

⁶²⁹ D Isis 45, 8.

⁶³⁰ Gutbub, KO I nos. 277-281; nos. 283-284; Germond, *Sekhmet*, 14-15.

⁶³¹ Cat. Mon. 985; Germond, *Sekhmet*, 14-15.

⁶³² Athribis III, 1, 180-181 (Text F 1, 3, l. 1-21).

⁶³³ Athribis III, 1, xxiii.

⁶³⁴ For this ritual of appeasing Sakhmet, see paragraph 3.6.1.

⁶³⁵ Athribis III, 1, xxiii-xxiv.

⁶³⁶ Athribis III, 1, 181-182 (Text F 1, 3, l. 21).

⁶³⁷ Athribis III, 1, xxiii-xxiv.

with Sakhmet, i.e. Nekhbet, Bastet, Wadjet, Tefnut, Nephthys, Meskhenet and Sothis.⁶³⁸ The invocations end with the formulae *nḥm=t sw m-ꜥ* and *mk=t sw ḥr* (“May you protect him / preserve him from”).⁶³⁹ Similar formulae form part of the invocations to Sakhmet in Scene 6. The ritual context of the hymn is referred to in the final phrase. The hymn had to be recited during a reversion-offering for Sakhmet-Bastet on the “day of fear” (*ḥrw snd*),⁶⁴⁰ over seven billy goats.⁶⁴¹ Leitz noted interesting parallels with P Leiden T 32,⁶⁴² where it is said that the smell of the fat of goats and pigs appeases Sakhmet and her *ḥ3tyw*-demons at the end of the year, as well as with E III 298, 6 on the architraves of the pronaos at Edfu (C’), where offerings of billy goats and pigs are referred to in the context of the ritual of appeasing Sakhmet.⁶⁴³

Site	Ritual function	Invocations nos.
Edfu, Horus temple Entrances to w. and e. staircase	Apotropaic architecture: placement on the doorway	1-38, with the exception of 31
Dendera, Hathor temple Naos, façade, corniche	Apotropaic architecture: placement on the entrance to the naos	1-30
Dendera, Hathor temple Entrance to Room U	Apotropaic architecture: placement on the doorway	1-38, with the exception of 31
Dendera, Hathor temple East Crypt I, Passage A-B	Apotropaic architecture: placement in the passage	1-2; part of the inscriptions is now lost
Dendera, Hathor temple Entrance to kiosk on roof	Apotropaic architecture: placement on the doorway	1-5
Dendera, Roman mammisi Entrance to sanctuary	Apotropaic architecture: placement on the doorway	1-30
Dendera, Isis temple Entrance to Room B	Apotropaic architecture: placement on the doorway	1-15
Dendera, Isis temple Entrance to Room C	Apotropaic architecture: placement on the doorway	16-30
Dendera, Isis temple Entrance to Corridor D	Apotropaic architecture: placement on the doorway	26
Kom Ombo Entrance to Offering Hall	Apotropaic architecture: placement on the doorway	1-15 and 32-34; part of the inscriptions is now lost
Kom Ombo Loose block	Original location unknown	36-38
Athribis Room F1, south wall	Apotropaic architecture: placement in the room giving access to the staircase	Some similarities with E III 291, 2; 303, 12-14; 317, 6.

Table 3.3 Parallel texts for the invocations to Sakhmet.

It is interesting to note here that other series of demons are often represented in the vicinity of the cobras guarding passageways.⁶⁴⁴

On the exterior face of the doorway giving access to the room of the western staircase (S) at the temple of Edfu, six registers of three lion-headed demons holding knives in their

⁶³⁸ Athribis III, 1, 182 (Text F 1, 3, l. 21-23), followed by 178 (Text F 1, 2, l. 1-2).

⁶³⁹ Athribis III, 1, 178 (Text F 1, 2, l. 3).

⁶⁴⁰ Athribis III, 1, 178, Text F 1, 2, l. 3.

⁶⁴¹ Athribis III, 1, 178 (Text F 1, 2, l. 3).

⁶⁴² For this papyrus in the context of the rituals for appeasing Sakhmet, see paragraph 3.6.1.

⁶⁴³ Athribis III, 1, xxiii, n. 44.

⁶⁴⁴ For a complete overview of these demons, see Chr. Leitz, “Die Götter, die Ihre Majestät begleiten”, in: D. Kessler, R. Schulz and B. Magen (eds), *Texte – Theben – Tonfragmente. Festschrift für Günter Burkard. Ägypten und Altes Testament 76*. Wiesbaden 2009, 289-311. For the lion-headed demons holding knives, see also Goyon, *Dieux gardiens*, 66-79.

hands are depicted on the left (north) jamb.⁶⁴⁵ The seven arrows are represented on the right (south) jamb.⁶⁴⁶ In the first register of the lintel is represented a group of eight deities called *sdmw wdꜥw mdw hryw tm3w=sn* “The ones that hear, the judges who are on their mats”.⁶⁴⁷ In the second register of the lintel are depicted seven deities: the snake *ꜥnh-m-3hw=f*, the baboon *Hd-wr*, the mummy *Spd-wr*, *K3-pt*, *hnn it=f* and *i3ty*, and the snake *Phr-hr*. All of these deities are associated with the start of the New Year and the arrival of the inundation.⁶⁴⁸

A group of 18 lion-headed demons holding knives is depicted in the third and fourth registers of the north wall of the Offering Hall (T) at Dendera.⁶⁴⁹ The seven arrows are represented in the passageway from the Second Hypostyle Hall to the Offering Hall.⁶⁵⁰ The group of deities called *sdmw wdꜥw mdw hryw tm3w=sn* “The ones that hear, the judges who are on their mats” are depicted on the lintel of the doorway giving access to Room U.⁶⁵¹

In the recesses to the left and right alongside the façade of the naos of the Hathor temple at Dendera, 18 lion-headed demons are represented.⁶⁵²

On the exterior face of the kiosk on the roof of the temple of Hathor (W') at Dendera are depicted 14 lion-headed demons holding *w3s*-sceptres and *ꜥnh*-symbols.⁶⁵³

At Kom Ombo, remains of the original series of 18 lion-headed demons are located above the doorway in the Offering Hall giving access to the southern staircase.⁶⁵⁴ In this case, the 18 lion-headed demons are associated with the last 18 days of the Egyptian calendar, i.e. 18 Mesore (IV *šmw* 18) until the 5th epagomenal day.⁶⁵⁵

The accompanying inscriptions to these groups of demons clarify their nature and function.⁶⁵⁶ They are called *ntrw šmsw hmt=s* “the deities that accompany Her Majesty” or *ntrw ššmw hmt=s* “the deities that follow Her Majesty”. The names of the demons vary from *wpwtyw* “messengers”, *šm3yw* “wandering disease demons” and *s3wtyw* “guardians” to *sdmw* “listeners”, *dsw* “carriers of knives”, *rsw* “watchmen”, *h3tyw* “slaughterer demons”, *h3bw* “emissaries” and *kdftyw* “pickers”. Their main task seems to pacify Sakhmet and to carry out her orders.⁶⁵⁷ The material presented above suggests that the cobras guarding passageways and the other demons which are often represented in their vicinity are associated with the final half of the last month of the year, the epagomenal days, New Year and the arrival of the inundation.⁶⁵⁸

⁶⁴⁵ E I 512, 5 – 513, 9; pl. XXXVb.

⁶⁴⁶ E I 511, 9 – 512, 3; pl. XXXVb.

⁶⁴⁷ E I 507, 15 – 508, 8; pl. XXXVb.

⁶⁴⁸ L. Kákosy, “The Astral Snakes of the Nile”, in: *MDAIK* 37 (1981), 255-260; J.-F. Pecoil, “Les sources mythiques du Nil et le cycle de la crue”, in: *BSEG* 17 (1993), 97-110.

⁶⁴⁹ D VII 43, 6 – 44, 2; 81, 10 – 82, 14; 49, 4 – 50, 12; 87, 6 – 88, 14; pls. DCV and DCVI.

⁶⁵⁰ D VII 9, 12-14 and 10, 9-12; pl. DXCIII.

⁶⁵¹ D VII 105, 17 – 106, 6; pl. DCXXXVII.

⁶⁵² D XIV 87, 11 – 88, 3 and 88, 8 – 89, 2.

⁶⁵³ D VIII 39, 9 – 40, 3; 40, 11 – 41, 7; 41, 16 – 42, 6; 34, 1-16; pls. DCCXXIII, DCCXXIV, DCCXXVI, DCCXVIII.

⁶⁵⁴ KO 705 = Gutbub, KO I, 332-333.

⁶⁵⁵ Leitz, in: *Fs Burkard*, 306.

⁶⁵⁶ E I 512, 5-7; D VII 43, 13-14; 81, 15 – 82, 2; 49, 12-15; 49, 9-10; 87, 13 – 88, 2; 87, 10-12; D VIII 39, 9-10; 40, 1-2; 40, 9-10; 40, 11-13; 41, 5-6; 41, 14; 41, 16; 42, 5-6; 33, 14-15; 34, 1-3; 34, 14-16; KO 705 = Gutbub, KO I 332.

⁶⁵⁷ Leitz, in: *Fs Burkard*, 302-303.

⁶⁵⁸ For the relation between the lion-headed demons with the final half of Mesore and the epagomenal days, see Leitz, in: *Fs Burkard*, 306-311.

3.6.2.10 Texts closely associated with the invocations to Sakhmet

3.6.2.10.1 Appeasing Sakhmet in the pronaos

As mentioned in paragraph 3.6.1 a ritual for the appeasing of Sakhmet in the form of a series of hymns is written on the architraves of the pronaos (C'). In these hymns several epithets of Sakhmet are mentioned that also form part of the invocations to Sakhmet in Scene 6. Epithets recurring in invocations nos. 8-13, 16 and 19 are found in the bandeau-inscription of the first architrave of the eastern part,⁶⁵⁹ and epithets recurring in invocations nos. 21, 24, and 26-27 are found in the bandeau-inscription of the first architrave of the western part.⁶⁶⁰

3.6.2.10.2 The *chronocrates*

The listings of the 365 divinities associated with the days of the year (*chronocrates*) form an additional series of texts that are closely associated with the invocations to Sakhmet.⁶⁶¹ Exact parallels with the invocations to Sakhmet can not be found in these lists, but several of the epithets in the lists of *chronocrates* are very similar to those listed as part of the invocations to Sakhmet in Scene 6⁶⁶² and also their function is comparable: the *chronocrates* seem to represent a permanent wall-guard, protecting the entire temple-space as well as the king throughout the year, and especially during important festivals such as the New Year's festival.⁶⁶³ The *chronocrates* are found in the Offering Hall (frieze)⁶⁶⁴ and Pronaos (architraves)⁶⁶⁵ of the temple of Edfu, in the Naos (exterior face and frieze of surrounding chapels),⁶⁶⁶ Offering Hall (frieze)⁶⁶⁷ and Pronaos (architraves)⁶⁶⁸ of the Hathor temple at Dendera, in the Naos (frieze),⁶⁶⁹ Hall of the Ennead (frieze)⁶⁷⁰ and Offering Hall (frieze above the doorway)⁶⁷¹ of the Roman mammisi at Dendera, in the mammisi of Nectanebo at Dendera (fragment of a lintel),⁶⁷² in the Offering Hall (vestibule D, frieze) of the Isis temple at Dendera,⁶⁷³ in the Offering Hall of the temple of Kom Ombo,⁶⁷⁴ and in the temple of

⁶⁵⁹ E III 293, 12-15. See Goyon, *shṭp Shmt*, 27-28.

⁶⁶⁰ E III 308, 10-12. See Goyon, *shṭp Shmt*, 41-42.

⁶⁶¹ For an overview of the lists of *chronocrates*, see Chr. Leitz, *Studien zur ägyptischen Astronomie*. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 49. Wiesbaden 1989, 18-19 and Cauville, in: *JARCE* 46 (2010), 233-273.

⁶⁶² For example, D I 120, no. 4, D II 30, no. 52, D XV 92, no. 10 (*Nbt sndt*, mistress of fear), D I 120, no. 38 (*Nsr ḥ3swt*, she who sets fire to the foreign lands), D I 120, no. 50 and D XV 72, no. 12 (*Nbt nšn*, mistress of rage), D II 59, no. 34 (*Nsr=s*, she flames), D II 60, no. 58 and D XV 105, no. 4 (*Nbt sd3d3*, mistress of trembling fear), D XV 109, no. 48 (*Nbt šfyt*, mistress of terror), D XV 140, no. 6 (*Rdit sint*, who makes friction).

⁶⁶³ Cauville in: *JARCE* 46 (2010), 257.

⁶⁶⁴ E XV 45-62. See also Chr. Leitz, "Die Chronokratenliste von Edfu: ein Pantheon aus der zweiten Hälfte der 12. Dynastie", in: *RdE* 53 (2002), 137-156.

⁶⁶⁵ E III 290-327. For these texts and the associated ritual for appeasing Sakhmet, see Goyon, *shṭp Shmt*.

⁶⁶⁶ D I 119-122; D I 151-155; D II 29-31; D II 59-61. See also S. Cauville, *Dendara I: Traduction*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 81. Leuven etc. 1998, 10; Cauville, *Dendara II: Traduction*, 3-4, including a schematic plan showing the division of the protectresses of the six months on the walls.

⁶⁶⁷ D VII 54-64 and 93-102.

⁶⁶⁸ D XV 71-152. See also Cauville, *Dendara pronaos*, 473-481 with an index of the names of the cobras on pp. 792-803. See paragraph 3.5.5.4 for the 42 goddesses of the Good Year that are depicted on the central architraves (D XV 55-70; Cauville, *Dendara pronaos*, 465-473).

⁶⁶⁹ D Mamm 119-121 and 140-142.

⁶⁷⁰ D Mamm 176 and 197-198.

⁶⁷¹ D Mamm 210.

⁶⁷² D Mamm 29.

⁶⁷³ D Isis 243-251 and 264-269. It should be noted here that the months Pachons and Paoni as well as part of the month Epiphi are now lost.

⁶⁷⁴ KO I 407-422 (Gutbub scenes nos. 302-305 = De Morgan scenes nos. 701-704).

Athribis.⁶⁷⁵ The *chronocrates* in the temples of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods most probably derive from the statues of Sakhmet from the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III at Kom el-Hitan in Western Thebes⁶⁷⁶ and from the temple of Mut at Karnak,⁶⁷⁷ which seem to have constituted a “litany in stone”, appeasing the goddess and invoking her not to use her negative powers.⁶⁷⁸

3.6.2.11 Conclusions

The practice of invoking Sakhmet for protection can be traced back to the Middle Kingdom at least. In these early sources, dating to the Middle and New Kingdoms, the beneficiaries of the invocations were the king and non-royal people. In the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, the invocations to Sakhmet were incorporated into temple ritual, with the beneficiaries being the king and the local deity. From the data presented above it can be concluded that the invocations to Sakhmet seem to serve a general apotropaic function and that they do not belong to a specific ritual, although they had an important role especially in the context of major rites of passage, such as the passage of one year (of reign) to another. The general protective function of the invocations is expressed in particular in the cases where they form part of the series of scenes depicting cobras guarding passageways, i.e. on architectural elements with an important apotropaic function. The series of invocations to Sakhmet in Scene 6 were coupled with the invocations to the Good Year engraved in symmetrical position in Scene 5. Both series of invocations were essentially aimed at the protection of the king and the sacred falcon during the rituals of 1 Tybi, which can be categorised as a rite of passage during which divine protection was needed. At the same time, the enclosure wall forms a protective element around the temple, again stressing the placement of the invocations in relation to their apotropaic function as well as the protective function of the enclosure wall which separated and protected the sacred space inside the temple from the chaos outside. In the coronation ritual of the falcon, Sakhmet is invoked in 30 invocations, the theme of which is the protection of the sacred falcon and the king against the evil forces of Sakhmet. In eight final and additional invocations Sakhmet is invoked to protect the sacred falcon and the king against the arrows of the year which symbolise the destructive forces of the raging Sakhmet. The first of these final eight invocations is aimed at “any evil arrow of this year and of this month, in this season”, whereas the final seven invocations are each aimed specifically at one of the seven arrows of the year. The 30 invocations to Sakhmet seem to have been recited during the 30 days of the month, and as such, the same invocations may have been repeated each month. At the same time, the 365 divinities associated with the days of the year and the hundreds of statues of Sakhmet from the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III at Kom el-Hittan in Western Thebes suggest that similar invocations were known for every individual day of the year.

⁶⁷⁵ Athribis II, 2: Sanctuary, Room D3, *soubassement* (D 3, 1; D 3, 10; D 3, 16; D 3, 20); Athribis III, 1: Southern enclosure wall M2, *soubassement*.

⁶⁷⁶ PM II, 1972, 451-452.

⁶⁷⁷ PM II, 1972, 262-263. For similar Sakhmet statues found at other sites in Thebes, see PM II, 1972, 568 (Index: Sekhmet: Statues).

⁶⁷⁸ Yoyotte, in: *BSFE* 87-88 (1980), 46-75.

3.6.3 THE HYMN TO SCENE 6

The theme of the hymn to Horus in Scene 6 (Text 72: E VI 269, 8-12) is the glorification of Horus as the righteous heir. Parallels of this hymn are known from several other sources.⁶⁷⁹

A first parallel is found in the Chamber of Min (O) in the temple of Edfu. In the first register of the south wall the king is depicted cutting grain (*3sh it*) in front of Min of Coptos.⁶⁸⁰ The first part of the hymn is copied here as part of the king's address to Min, who is assimilated here to Horus.⁶⁸¹ The ritual of cutting grain (*3sh it*) forms one of the main constituents of the Festival of Min,⁶⁸² which was essentially a harvest festival celebrating the start of the harvesting season *šmw*.⁶⁸³ As part of the same ritual, four messenger-birds were sent out to announce the coronation of the god and the king,⁶⁸⁴ expressing the renewal of royal power as part of the same ritual. In the Chamber of Min at Edfu, the theme of sending out the four messenger-birds has been replaced with the theme of shooting four arrows.⁶⁸⁵ The main theme expressed through the hymns and ritual scenes depicted in the Chamber of Min is the celebration of Min as the guarantor of fertility as well as the celebration of his kingship as Horus of Edfu.⁶⁸⁶ This explains the recurrence here of two elements that are central to the rituals of the confirmation of royal power of 1 Thoth and 1 Tybi, i.e. the theme of announcing the coronation through the sending out of four messenger-birds or the shooting of four arrows and the hymn to Horus that forms part of the coronation ritual of the falcon (Scene 6).

The hymn also recurs in P Brooklyn 47.218.50, where it forms part of the rituals of the confirmation of royal power as celebrated on 1 Thoth.⁶⁸⁷ In this case the hymn continues,⁶⁸⁸ which shows that only the first part of the hymn was copied at Edfu as part of the coronation ritual of the falcon.

A complete copy of the hymn is inscribed in the Ptolemaic hemi-speos at el-Kab.⁶⁸⁹ In this case, the hymn to Horus continues with a hymn to Temet and a text entitled "Ritual for appeasing Sakhmet".⁶⁹⁰ As mentioned in paragraph 3.6.1 an earlier version of this text is known from P Chester Beatty VIII, with Ptolemaic parallels known from the architraves of the pronaos at Edfu (C') and from the first pylon of the temple of Philae.

A copy of the final part of the hymn is written on the exterior face of the doorway giving access to the Offering Hall (B) of the Edfu mammisi.⁶⁹¹ It seems that originally the complete hymn was copied here, but a large part of the inscription is now lost. The beneficiary of the hymn is Horus.

⁶⁷⁹ Goyon, *Confirmation*, 109-110, n. 238.

⁶⁸⁰ E I 393, 11 – 394, 4; pl. XXXIIa.

⁶⁸¹ E I 393, 14-17.

⁶⁸² For the Festival of Min, see for example Graindorge, in: Georgoudi, Koch Piettre and Schmidt (eds), *Cuisine*, 47-76; Lurson, in: *JSSEA* 38 (2011-2012), 97-119; Larcher, in: *RdE* 62 (2011), 205-209; Feder, in: Gundlach and Rochholz (eds), *4. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung*, 31-54; Refai, in: *Memnonia* 9 (1998), 181-189; Brunner-Traut, E., "Minfest", *LÄ* IV, 1982, 141-144.

⁶⁸³ See Schott, *Festdaten*, 104 nos. 137 and 138; R.A. Parker, *The Calendars of Egypt*. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 26. Chicago 1950, 47-48 § 238.

⁶⁸⁴ See Graindorge, in: Georgoudi, Koch Piettre and Schmidt (eds), *Cuisine*, 60-61.

⁶⁸⁵ E I 403, 8-18. The shooting of four arrows to announce the accession to the throne of Horus of Edfu is also known from E V 132, 10 – 133, 5 in the context of the rituals carried out on the first day of the feast of Behdet.

⁶⁸⁶ Cauville, *Essai*, 36-42.

⁶⁸⁷ P Brooklyn 47.218.50, Col. XVI 1-4; Goyon, *Confirmation*, 71. For this papyrus, see also paragraphs 3.1.1.3 and 3.3.1.2, 3.5.4 and 3.6.1. For a parallel of the hymn to Scene 4 in P Brooklyn 47.218.50, see paragraph 3.4.2.

⁶⁸⁸ Col. XVI 4-5.

⁶⁸⁹ Elkab I 54.

⁶⁹⁰ Elkab I 58-60.

⁶⁹¹ E Mamm 38, 2-4.

A complete copy of the hymn is inscribed on the west reveal of the doorway giving access to the Offering Hall (B) of the Philae mammisi.⁶⁹² In this case, the beneficiary is Horus the child. The hymn is introduced here as follows: “Adoration of Harpocrates, the son of Isis, the great first-born of Osiris, the lord of the Abaton and Philae, whose inheritance is established”.⁶⁹³

Part of the hymn is preserved on the north reveal of the doorway giving access to the Offering Hall of the temple of Kalabsha.⁶⁹⁴ A large part of the inscription is now lost. In this version at Kalabsha the hymn is adapted to the cult of Mandulis, who is praised as the son of Horus.

The first part of the hymn is preserved on two decorated blocks from the southern exterior face of the temple of Mussawwarat es-Sufra.⁶⁹⁵ Here, the beneficiary is Horus.

These parallels, and especially those from the Chamber of Min at Edfu and from P Brooklyn 47.218.50, show that the hymn belongs to the ritual context of the confirmation of royal power. This is again confirmed in the introductory text to the hymn in the Philae mammisi, where Horus is referred to as “whose inheritance is established”. At the same time, the parallel at el-Kab shows a clear connection with the ritual of appeasing Sakhmet: the hymn to Horus is followed by a hymn to Temet and a ritual for appeasing Sakhmet. Parallels for the hymn to Temet and for the ritual of appeasing Sakhmet are found on the architraves of the Pronaos of the Edfu temple (C’) and in P Chester Beatty VIII vs. 9-10. In the case of the coronation ritual of the falcon at Edfu, the hymn to Horus (Scene 6, Text 72: E VI 269, 8-12) is written immediately to the right of the invocations to Sakhmet and its final formula (Scene 6, Texts 70-71: E VI 264, 1 – 269, 7). In Scene 6, the hymn to Horus is introduced as follows: “Words to be spoken when Horus appears in the horizon of the sky, while the gods rejoice upon seeing him and his Ennead is in great praise”. It is interesting to note here that in P Chester Beatty VIII vs. [8, ...] – 10, 8, the two hymns invoking Sakhmet are also followed by a hymn to Horus, consisting of “the 12 names of Horus to be spoken in the early morning when Ra arises in the horizon”.⁶⁹⁶

3.7 SCENE 7

3.7.1 LION-THRONES AND THE CONFIRMATION OF ROYAL POWER

In Scenes 7 and 8, Horus and the sacred falcon are seated upon *mn-bit*-thrones. This type of throne is connected in particular with the themes of (re)birth and renewal. It is used by the child-god in the mammisi in the context of the festival of Pachons, which celebrated the birth

⁶⁹² Ph Mamm 134 – 135.

⁶⁹³ Ph Mamm 135.

⁶⁹⁴ Kal I 70.

⁶⁹⁵ MeS nos. 21 and 22, see F. Hintze, *Die Inschriften des Löwentempels von Musawwarat es Sufra*. Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst, Jg. 1962, Nr. 1. Berlin 1962, 40-42; F. Hintze, K.-H. Priese, S. Wenig, Chr. Onasch, G. Buschendorf-Otto and U. Hintze, *Der Löwentempel. Textband*. Musawwarat es Sufra (Sudan): die Ausgrabungen der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin 1960 bis 1970, 1. Berlin 1993, 83.

⁶⁹⁶ P Chester Beatty VIII, vs. 10, 8 – 13, 6; Gardiner, *Chester Beatty*, 75. For the invocation of the 12 names of Horus, see also A. Gasse, “La litanie des douze noms de Rê-Horakhty”, in: *BIFAO* 84 (1984), 189-227; J.F. Quack, “Anrufungen an Osiris als nächtlichen Sonnengott im Rahmen eines Königsrituals (Pap. Berlin P. 23026)”, in: V.M. Lepper (ed.), *Forschung in der Papyrussammlung. Eine Festgabe für das Neue Museum. Ägyptische und Orientalische Papyri und Handschriften des Ägyptischen Museums und Papyrussammlung Berlin*, Band 1. Berlin 2012, 165-187.

and subsequent coronation of the new-born god.⁶⁹⁷ Similarly in the scenes depicting the birth-myths of the New Kingdom, where the conception and birth of the ruler takes place on a lion-bed.⁶⁹⁸ In the context of the *sd*-festival, the lion-bed seems to have an important regenerative function as part of the so-called “Löwenmöbelfolge”.⁶⁹⁹ In the temple-inscriptions of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, the *mn-bit*-throne is frequently associated with the themes of taking royal power, the confirmation of royal power and the union of the Two Lands,⁷⁰⁰ as illustrated in the accompanying images to Scenes 7 and 8 as well as in Scene 2, Text 17: “Hail to you, you who rejoices upon the *mn-bit*-throne! You have united the Two Lands, the shorelands serve you because of the greatness of your might; they rejoice at the sight of you, when you open your wings as divine *bik*-falcon” (E VI 270, 10 – 273, 7).

3.7.2 PRESENTING THE *hh*-SYMBOL AND *gs*-OINTMENT

3.7.2.1 The *hh*-symbol as a protective amulet

In Scene 7, the king presents the sacred falcon and Horus with *gs*-ointment, whereas Thoth presents them with the *hh*-symbol and an object that is now lost. Considering the prominent role of the *snb* in the accompanying inscriptions to Scene 7, I hypothesised in paragraph 2.7.2 that originally Thoth was depicted holding the *hh*-symbol in one hand and the *snb*-cord in the other. As such, the *hh*-symbol was tied around the neck of the falcon by means of the *snb*-cord, as mentioned in the ritual text.

The protective function of the *snb*-cord most probably derives from a word-play with the verb *snb* “to be healthy”. In the context of the coronation ritual of the falcon at Edfu, the *snb* is mentioned repeatedly in the context of the ritual of the protection of the house and the body.⁷⁰¹ The protective function of the *snb* is also known from a variety of other sources.⁷⁰² For example, in the medical P Ebers the *snb* is used in a charm to be knotted in seven knots and used in a treatment of an affliction of the chest.⁷⁰³ In spell no. 10 of P Leiden I 348 the *snb* is used in a charm to be knotted in seven knots and to be applied at a man’s throat in a treatment against a headache.⁷⁰⁴ In P Louvre N 3079 – with an exact parallel in P BM

⁶⁹⁷ See for example D Mamm pls. XLIIb, LXV, XCIIIb and Ph Mamm 324-325. Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux*, 199-200 (m).

⁶⁹⁸ See Brunner, *Geburt*, 38-42.

⁶⁹⁹ See U. Rummel, “Weihrauch, Salböl und Leinen: Balsamierungsmaterialien als Medium der Erneuerung im Sedfest”, in: *SAK* 34 (2006), 385-388, with reference to W. Kaiser, “Die kleine Hebseddarstellung im Sonnenheiligtum des Neuserre”, in: G. Haeny (ed.), *Aufsätze zum 70. Geburtstag von Herbert Ricke*. Wiesbaden 1971, 101-105.

⁷⁰⁰ See Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux*, 199-200 (m) with reference to E II 88, 6; E IV 95, 13; E III 162, 1; E IV 119 – 120, 1; E VI 270, 10; E Mamm 119, 20; G. Bénédict, *Le temple de Philae*. Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire. Paris 1893-1895, 95, 11-12; Ph Mamm 325, 17-18.

⁷⁰¹ Text 75: E VI 143, 12-16; Text 79: E VI 144, 7-8; Text 93: E VI 298, 2-5; Text 98: E VI 299, 6 ff.; Text 99: E VI 301, 2 ff.. See also paragraphs 2.7.2, 2.8.2, 3.8.1.1 and 3.8.2.2a.

⁷⁰² See S. Schott, E. Schott and A. Grimm, *Bücher und Bibliotheken im alten Ägypten: Verzeichnis der Buch- und Spruchtitel und der Termini technici*. Wiesbaden 1990, 328, no. 1488; Koemoth, in: *GM* 103 (1992), 38-40; Ph. Derchain, *Le papyrus Salt 825 (BM 10051), rituel pour la conservation de la vie en Égypte*. Mémoires, Classe des Lettres, Collection in-8°; 2^e série, T. 58, fasc. 1a-b. Brussels 1965, 168-171

⁷⁰³ P Ebers 811 (95, 9 and 95, 13); H. von Deines, H. Grapow and W. Westendorf, *Übersetzung der medizinischen Texte*. Grundriß der Medizin 4/1. Berlin 1958, 284-285; H. von Deines and H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Drogennamen*. Grundriß der Medizin 6. Berlin 1959, 443-444.

⁷⁰⁴ P Leiden I 348, rt. 4, 5-9. J.F. Borghouts, *The magical texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348*. Leiden 1971, 19.

10208⁷⁰⁵ – it is said: “You are given the *snb* of Khemmis and all your enemies are overthrown.”⁷⁰⁶ In P Berlin 13242, a ritual for the purification of the king, it is said: “The protection of the *snb* at his feet and at his hands”.⁷⁰⁷ In P Salt 825, a ritual for “the preservation of life” in Egypt dating to the 26th Dynasty,⁷⁰⁸ Tefnut is said to make a knot of the *snb*, which should be placed at the neck of the god.⁷⁰⁹ The *snb* is also mentioned in the embalming ritual in the context of the protection of the deceased. In the instructions for embalming the left hand reference is made to the divine *snb* (*snb ntry*) in which 36 knots are made and which is to be placed in the left hand.⁷¹⁰ In the accompanying recitation, reference is made to “the divine *snb*, the best protection of the gods and goddesses” and “the amulet of the *snb*, the perfect protection of Horus himself”.⁷¹¹ The *snb* as a protective amulet is also attested in several papyri with rituals for the protection of the king from the temple library of Tebtunis.⁷¹² The tying of the *snb* for protection is also mentioned in the temple inscriptions of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. In E Mamm 119, 15 it is said: “The protective amulet for the protection of the body is made for him by his mother Isis. She ties for him the protection of the divine *snb*, in order to repel for him those that destroy his boundaries, and to repel for him the hostile forces. Protection upon protection, protection comes”.⁷¹³ The knotting of the *snb* is also mentioned in the ritual for the appeasing of Sakhmet written on the architraves of the pronaos (C’): “Tie the knot of the *snb*, your *wd3t*-eye is placed to your head”.⁷¹⁴ In the mammisi of Nectanebo at Dendera it is said by Wadjet: “You are protected, because I assure your protection through the knot of the divine *snb* at your neck.”⁷¹⁵ Two inscriptions from West Crypt no. 1 at the temple of Dendera further clarify the nature of the *snb*: “The *wd3*-amulet in gold, from the hand of Tenen, is for his neck, protecting by means of the *snb* of the mistress of Pe”⁷¹⁶ and “the *wd3*-amulet in electrum, held by the divine *snb* is knotted to her throat in all its beauty”.⁷¹⁷ Similarly in P Brooklyn 47.218.2, where the *snb* is mentioned in the context of a ritual for the protection of the bedroom of the parturient woman.⁷¹⁸ The accompanying ritual instructions read: “To be recited over a *wd3t* made of faience, fastened on a *snb* and placed at the throat of the woman in the birth-house”.⁷¹⁹ From these inscriptions, the *snb* may be identified as a cord which was used to tie protective amulets to the neck or throat.

⁷⁰⁵ P BM 10208 III, 24; F.M.H. Haikal, *Two Hieratic Funerary Papyri of Nesmin. Part 1. Introduction, transcriptions and plates*. Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 14. Brussels 1970, 80; F.M.H. Haikal, *Two Hieratic Funerary Papyri of Nesmin. Part 2. Translation and Commentary*. Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 15. Brussels 1972, 55.

⁷⁰⁶ P Louvre N 3079 col. 111, 90; J.-Cl. Goyon, “Le Cérémonial de Glorification d’Osiris du Papyrus du Louvre I. 3079 (Colonnes 111 à 112)”, in: *BIFAO* 65 (1967), 107.

⁷⁰⁷ P Berlin 13242 4, 5; Schott, *Reinigung*, 58.

⁷⁰⁸ Verhoeven, *Buchschrift*, 287.

⁷⁰⁹ P Salt 825 VII, 9-10; Derchain, *Salt*, 140.

⁷¹⁰ See S. Töpfer, *Das Balsamierungsritual. Eine (Neu-)Edition der Textkomposition Balsamierungsritual (pBoulaq 3, pLouvre 5158, pDurham 1983.11 + pSt. Petersburg 18128)*. Studien zur Spätägyptischen Religion 13. Wiesbaden 2015, 156 (x+7.10).

⁷¹¹ See Töpfer, *Balsamierungsritual*, 160 (x+8.8 and x+8.9).

⁷¹² As remarked by Töpfer, *Balsamierungsritual*, 144 (cy). Töpfer is preparing an edition of these papyri.

⁷¹³ For this spell for the protection of the body, which forms a parallel with E VI 301, 2-4, see paragraph 3.8.3.1.

⁷¹⁴ E III 311, 7; Goyon, *shpt Shmt*, 48. For this ritual, see also paragraph 3.6.1.

⁷¹⁵ D Mamm 20, 4-5.

⁷¹⁶ D VI 86, 9.

⁷¹⁷ D VI 99, 3.

⁷¹⁸ P Brooklyn 47.218.2, x+v, 2-6. See I. Guermeur, “Encore une histoire de sorcière (*š-ʿ-l.t*) ? Une formule de protection de la chambre dans le mammisi (pBrooklyn 47.218.2, x+v²⁻⁶)”, in: S.L. Lippert, M. Schentuleit and M.A. Stadler (eds), *Sapientia Felicitas. Festschrift für Günther Vittmann zum 29. Februar 2016*. Cahiers Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne 14. Montpellier 2016, 171-189.

⁷¹⁹ P Brooklyn 47.218.2, x+v, 6.

3.7.2.2 *Gs-ointment for protection during the night*

The “gs-ointment of the House of Life” which is presented by the king to the sacred falcon in Scene 7 is used to protect the body of the sacred falcon in the context of the ritual for the protection of the bedroom.⁷²⁰ This same “gs-ointment of the House of Life” is mentioned in a similar context in P Cairo 58027, which describes a ritual for the protection of the king during the night.⁷²¹ In addition to the spells to be recited during the hours of the night,⁷²² a recipe for making “the great, secret gs-ointment of the House of Life” is provided here,⁷²³ to be used to anoint the person to be protected as well as the windows of his house.⁷²⁴

3.7.3 THE RITUAL FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE BEDROOM

3.7.3.1 *The tradition of rituals for protection during the night*

The ritual for the protection of the bedroom starts with mentioning that the king arrives with the spells to be recited for the protection of the bedroom “when Ra sets in the land of life”, i.e. at sunset. At the end of the ritual text it is said: “I summon the gods, while making your protection, so that they make the protection of your house until the sky is opened”, i.e. until the morning. This suggests that the ritual was carried out during the night, which was considered to be a dangerous period of transition. In fact, the ritual for the protection of the bedroom as described in Text 82 forms part of a wider tradition of rituals for protection during the night. As mentioned in paragraph 3.7.2.2, a ritual for the protection of the king during the night is known from P Cairo 58027.⁷²⁵ Variants of this ritual, adapted to the cult of the child-gods in the mammisi, are known from the Edfu mammisi,⁷²⁶ the Roman mammisi at Dendera,⁷²⁷ and the Kellis mammisi in Dakhleh Oasis.⁷²⁸ A ritual for the protection of the bedroom of the parturient woman is known from P Brooklyn 47.218.2 mentioned above.⁷²⁹ It has been thought for a long time that the title of the ritual of P Cairo 58027 was *s3 hnkt* “the protection of the bedroom”, which lead Jankuhn to believe that a papyrus version of the ritual for the protection of the bedroom as known from E VI 144, 15 ff. was preserved in P Cairo 58027.⁷³⁰ However, Pries demonstrated that the title of the ritual of P Cairo 58027 was misread and should read *sh-hnkt n pr-nswt* “the bedroom of the palace”.⁷³¹ Pries concluded that precisely this title sets the ritual apart from the compositions entitled *s3 hnkt* “the protection of the bedroom”.⁷³² In fact, the majority of attestations of the ritual *s3 hnkt* are associated with the cult of Osiris and are thus used in a different ritual context from that of P Cairo 58027, which was originally aimed at the protection of the king in his bedroom in the

⁷²⁰ For the ritual for the protection of the bedroom, see paragraphs 2.7.3 and 3.7.3.

⁷²¹ See Pries, *Stundenritual*. For this papyrus in the tradition of rituals for protection during the night, see paragraph 3.7.3.1.

⁷²² P Cairo 58027 x+I, 1 – x+III, 11; Pries, *Stundenritual*, 20-80.

⁷²³ P Cairo 58027 x+III, 11-14; Pries, *Stundenritual*, 80-84.

⁷²⁴ For the ritual act of anointing as a means of protection, see paragraph 3.1.1.2, where reference is also made to P Cairo 58027.

⁷²⁵ P Cairo 58027 x+I, 1 – x+III, 11; Pries, *Stundenritual*, 20-80.

⁷²⁶ E Mamm 112, 7 – 113, 7.

⁷²⁷ D Mamm 203, 12 – 206, 9; Daumas, *Mammisi*, 376.

⁷²⁸ Kaper, *Temples and Gods*, 58-59; O.E. Kaper, *The Egyptian god Tutu: a study of the sphinx-god and master of demons with a corpus of monuments*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 119. Leuven etc. 2003, 275-276.

⁷²⁹ P Brooklyn 47.218.2, x+v, 2-6. See paragraph 3.7.2.1.

⁷³⁰ Jankuhn, *Schutz*, 142, n. 91.

⁷³¹ Pries, *Stundenritual*, 96.

⁷³² Pries, *Stundenritual*, 98, n. 562.

palace. As for the relation between the ritual *s3 hnkṯ* and P Cairo 58027 Pries concluded: “Zweifellos stehen diese Bezeugungen (i.e. of the ritual *s3 hnkṯ*) ihrer Verwendung nach in direkter Nähe zum nächtlichen Stundenritual (i.e. P Cairo 58027 and the *mammisi* variants). Ich sehe darin bislang aber keine Grundlage, die solide genug wäre, als dass man darauf bauend eine Gleichsetzung der Kompositionen rechtfertigen könnte”.⁷³³

In the context of the cult of Osiris, the ritual *s3 hnkṯ* is aimed at the protection of Osiris on his bier, and accordingly the title *s3 hnkṯ* may also read *s3 nmit* “the protection of the bier”. This is the case for example in P Louvre N 3079, dating to the Ptolemaic Period. The first 109 columns of this papyrus consist of a series of spells from the Book of the Dead, followed by a “ritual for the glorification of Osiris” to be recited during the Khoiak-festival.⁷³⁴ Col. 111, 58 reads: “O Osiris Khentimentiu, Osiris N, those who carry out the mourning are in tears, men and women lament. The protection of your bier is your protection at the moment of the protection of your body”.⁷³⁵ Another example of the ritual *s3 hnkṯ* known from the context of the cult of Osiris is P Louvre N 3176 (S), dating to the Roman Period.⁷³⁶ Also here, the ritual is mentioned in the context of the Khoiak-festival, in this case at Karnak. The first part of this papyrus consists of a text to be recited during the “going out in procession of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris”,⁷³⁷ whereas the second part of the papyrus consists of the texts to be recited during the festivals of Osiris during the month of Khoiak. The text of col. V is introduced as follows: “Words to be spoken by the lector-priest on the fourth month of the *3ht*-season: Reciting the book of the protection of the bedroom (*s3 hnkṯ*) in the House of Isis, during the fourth month of the *3ht*-season, from the 18th to the 23rd day. The 24th day, when Sokar-Osiris rests in the *h3yt* of the *3h-mnw*, reciting the rituals of ‘the leading in of Osiris’, ‘the protection of the bedroom’, (...)”.⁷³⁸ The ritual for the protection of the bedroom is again mentioned in cols. V, 19⁷³⁹ and VI, 15⁷⁴⁰ amongst the texts to be recited by the lector-priest as part of the rituals of the Khoiak-festival at Karnak. A “spell for enchanting the bed” is known from the Theban tomb of Neferhotep (TT 50): “The fourth month of the *3ht*-season, the 18th day, the day of moistening the seeds and installing a bed for the Osiris Neferhotep, from this day forward until the 25th day, eight days in total. Spell for enchanting the bed: O Osiris Neferhotep (...)”.⁷⁴¹ This text suggests that recitations for the protection of the deceased similar to those recited at Karnak as known from P Louvre 3176 (S) were also recited in earlier periods during the Khoiak-festival in the tomb-chapels of the deceased.⁷⁴² Another example of the ritual *s3 hnkṯ* being mentioned in the context of the cult of Osiris is found in two inscriptions from the First Chamber of Sokar (G) at the Edfu temple, aimed at the protection of the deceased Osiris during the hours of the night.⁷⁴³

A smaller number of attestations of the ritual *s3 hnkṯ* can not be attributed to the cult of Osiris. For example, the ritual *s3 hnkṯ* is mentioned in P Carlsberg I, a cosmological text

⁷³³ Pries, *Stundenritual*, 99.

⁷³⁴ P Louvre N 3079 cols. 111-112; Goyon, in: *BIFAO* 65 (1967), 89-156. A parallel of P Louvre N 3079 cols. 110-112 is preserved in P BM 10208 II, 21-22, dating to ca. 399 – 305 BC. See Haikal, *Nesmin*, I, 46-88.

⁷³⁵ Goyon, in: *BIFAO* 65 (1967), 102.

⁷³⁶ P. Barguet, *Le Papyrus N. 3176 (S) du Musée du Louvre*. Bibliothèque d’Étude 37. Cairo 1962. For the attribution of the date to the 1st – 2nd century AD, see J.F. Quack, “Ein übersehener Beleg für den Imhotep-Kult in Theben”, in: *RdE* 49 (1998), 255, n. 2.

⁷³⁷ P Louvre N 3176 (S), cols. I-IV; Barguet, *Papyrus N. 3176 (S)*, 3-14.

⁷³⁸ P Louvre N 3176 (S), col. V, 1-5; Barguet, *Papyrus N. 3176 (S)*, 15; 17-18.

⁷³⁹ Barguet, *Papyrus N. 3176 (S)*, 16; 19.

⁷⁴⁰ Barguet, *Papyrus N. 3176 (S)*, 21; 24.

⁷⁴¹ Barguet, *Papyrus N. 3176 (S)*, 51-52; De Garis Davies and Gardiner, *Amenemhēt*, 115.

⁷⁴² Barguet, *Papyrus N. 3176 (S)*, 51. De Garis Davies and Gardiner, *Amenemhēt*, 115.

⁷⁴³ E I 186, 8; E I 195, 18.

dating to the second century AD.⁷⁴⁴ In this papyrus the notion of the concept of the sun as a falcon rising from the primeval ocean is attributed to the book of the protection of the bedroom: “It is the figure of Ra, when he rises in the morning from the water. ‘He is a falcon [...] who comes forth [from the] primeval ocean’, so says the book *Protection of the Bedroom*”. The ritual *s3 hnkt* is also mentioned in the House of Books (E’) at Edfu as part of a text listing the sacred books that were kept in the scriptorium.⁷⁴⁵ In this case, the title of the book *s3 hnkt* is mentioned together with other books of protection: “the protection of the city” (*s3 niwt*), “the protection of the house” (*s3 pr*), “the protection of the Upper-Egyptian crown” (*s3 hdt*), “the protection of the throne” (*s3 st*), and “the protection of the year” (*s3 rnpt*), followed by some other titles of magical handbooks, amongst which “the appeasing of Sakhmet” (*shtp Shmt*).⁷⁴⁶ On the interior face of the northern enclosure wall (I’) the ritual *s3 hnkt* is mentioned three times in the context of the coronation ritual of the sacred falcon.⁷⁴⁷ An inscription from the Chapel of Mehyt (M) mentions the protection of the bedroom and of the throne of the king in the context of an invocation to the four uraei for the protection of the four cardinal points: “O you two *ntry*-uraei of Horus, hail you two *w3dty*-uraei of Horus! One among you is for heaven, one among you is for earth! One among you is for the south, one among you is for the north, one among you is for the west, one among you is for the east! One among you is in the house of the king of Upper- and Lower-Egypt, Ptolemy, another one among you is behind him as his protection, another one among you is as the protection of his seat, another one among you is as the protection of his bedroom in order to assign to him from day to night, and vice versa. Life, prosperity and health for the son of Ra, Ptolemy. May you save him from everything evil”.⁷⁴⁸

Spells for protection during the night are also known from contexts outside of the temple-cult. In a spell from P Chester Beatty VIII for the protection of a private home it is said: “N born of M has laid enchantment upon the window; he is a cat. N born of M has laid enchantment upon the chink (in the wall); he is a female falcon. N born of M has laid enchantment upon the bolts; he is Ptah. N born of M has laid enchantment upon the hole; he is Nehebka. N born of M has laid enchantment upon the hiding-place; he is hidden-is-his-name. N born of M has laid enchantment upon the leaves of the door; he is a master of secrets. He has laid enchantment upon his seat, his room, and his bed. He has laid enchantment upon the four noble ones in whose mouth(s) is their flame and accompanying whom is their blaze, in order to banish every enemy male and female and every dead person male and female who is in the limbs of N, born of M. They shall not come to fetch him by night or by day or at any time. They shall not fall upon the four noble ones [accompanying whom is their blaze and] in [whose] mouth(s) is their flame”.⁷⁴⁹ Another spell for protection during the night which is very close to P Chester Beatty VIII cited above is O Gardiner 363.⁷⁵⁰ The accompanying ritual instruction to this spell reads: “Recite over four [ura]ei made of pure [...] clay with flames in their mouths. One is placed in [each] corner [of every (bed) room] in which there is

⁷⁴⁴ P Carlsberg I, 1, 19-20; H.O. Lange and O. Neugebauer, *Papyrus Carlsberg No. 1. Ein Hieratisch-Demotischer Kosmologischer Text*. Historisk-filologiske Skrifter 1, 2. Copenhagen 1940, 19; A. von Lieven, *Grundriss des Laufes der Sterne: das sogenannte Nutbuch*. The Carlsberg Papyri 8. Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications 31. Copenhagen 2007, 16; 49-50.

⁷⁴⁵ E III 347, 11-13.

⁷⁴⁶ E III 347, 13 ff. For the catalogue of books listed in the scriptorium, see Grimm, in: Schoske (ed.), *Akten Ägyptologen Kongresses Band 3*, 159-169.

⁷⁴⁷ Texts 82 (E VI 145, 1), 83 (E VI 146, 2) and 84 (E VI 151, 3).

⁷⁴⁸ E I 312, 13 – 313, 4. A parallel of this text is known from P Vienna 8426 x+1, 18 ff., although the protection of the bedchamber is not mentioned explicitly in this text. See N. Flessa, “(Gott) schütze das Fleisch des Pharao”: *Untersuchungen zum magischen Handbuch pWien Aeg 8426*. Corpus Papyrorum Raineri Archeducis Austriae 27. Munich 2006, 84.

⁷⁴⁹ P Chester Beatty VIII vs. 1, 1 – 2, 1; Gardiner, *Chester Beatty I*, 71-72.

⁷⁵⁰ R.K. Ritner, “O. Gardiner 363: a spell against night terrors”, in: *JARCE* 27 (1990), 25-41.

a man or a woman [...] sleeping with a man [or woman (?)]”.⁷⁵¹ Paragraph 44 of P Brooklyn 47.218.138, dating to 399 – 320 BC,⁷⁵² consists of a spell for the protection of the bedroom of the king against venomous animals.⁷⁵³ A parallel spell is known from a statue of Ramesses III, which is inscribed with spells to be recited for the protection against snakes and scorpions.⁷⁵⁴ Besides spells for protection during the night, there are also spells for protection against nightmares. For example, spell no. 36 of P Leiden I 348 consists of a “Book of driving out terrors that come in order to descend upon a man during the night”.⁷⁵⁵ Spells for protection against bad dreams during the night are also known from P Chester Beatty III⁷⁵⁶ and from P Brooklyn 47.218.2.⁷⁵⁷

3.7.3.2 The protection of the bedroom

The ritual for the protection of the bedroom as described in Text 82 (E VI 144, 15 – 145, 11) consists of the following phases, which shall each be discussed in detail below:⁷⁵⁸

- a) Lighting torches
- b) Tying cloth
- c) Presenting protective amulets and stone beads
- d) Drawing protective images and reciting spells
- e) Anointing with spittle
- f) Tying and untying a knot
- g) Conclusion of the ritual

a) Lighting torches

Ritual text: “I light for you the torches in order to make the protection of your *srh*. I encompass your house with the noble ones” (E VI 145, 1-2).

The king lights the torches with the aim of protecting the *srh*. Jankuhn took this phrase as an indication that the ritual was carried out during the night of New Year: “Die spärlichen Kriterien, die hier zur Bestimmung derjenigen Nacht genannt werden, in der das Ritual vollzogen wurde, vor allem das Anzünden von Fackeln und das Bekleiden und Salben des Götterbildes sowie das Schmücken des Götterbildes mit Amuletten, deuten darauf hin, daß wir es hier mit der Nacht vor dem Neujahrstag (*wp-rnpt*) zu tun haben”.⁷⁵⁹ However, he added immediately: “doch kommen diese Handlungen auch im alltäglichen Ritual vor (Papyrus

⁷⁵¹ Ritner, in: *JARCE* 27 (1990), 26.

⁷⁵² J.-Cl. Goyon, *Le recueil de prophylaxie contre les agressions des animaux venimeux du Musée de Brooklyn. Papyrus Wilbour 47.218.138*. Studien zur Spätägyptischen Religion 5. Wiesbaden 2012, 5.

⁷⁵³ P Brooklyn 47.218.138, x + XV, 10-15; Goyon, *Recueil de prophylaxie*, 108-109.

⁷⁵⁴ Cairo JE 69771; J.-Cl. Goyon, “Un parallèle tardif d’une formule des inscriptions de la statue prophylactique de Ramsès III au Musée du Caire”, in: *JEA* 57 (1971), 154.

⁷⁵⁵ J.F. Borghouts, “The magical texts of papyrus Leiden I 348”, in: *OMRO* 51 (1970), 32-33.

⁷⁵⁶ P Chester Beatty III rt. 10, 10-19; Gardiner, *Chester Beatty*, 19.

⁷⁵⁷ P Brooklyn 47.218.2, x+viii. See I. Guernier, “Le papyrus hiératique iatromagique n° 47.218.2 du musée de Brooklyn”, in: *BSFE* 193-194 (2016), 26.

⁷⁵⁸ A detailed analysis of the ritual is also presented in Chr. Theis, *Magie und Raum. Der magische Schutz ausgewählter Räume im alten Ägypten nebst einem Vergleich zu angrenzenden Kulturbereichen*. Orientalische Religionen in der Antike 13. Tübingen 2014, 149-161. Considering the fact that this book arrived in the library at Leiden University just two days before the deadline for submitting this thesis, it was decided with Prof. dr. Olaf Kaper to limit ourselves here to some general remarks on Theis’ analysis, leaving aside for now the details, which shall obviously be included in the commercial edition of this thesis.

⁷⁵⁹ Jankuhn, *Schutz*, 26.

Berlin 3055)”.⁷⁶⁰ Illuminating a candle was indeed a standard procedure carried out at the start of any ceremony in the *St-Wrt*.⁷⁶¹ The lighting of candles or torches is known also from the context of the New Year’s rituals, in funerary as well as temple cult.⁷⁶² The act of lighting torches or candles was meant to drive away evil forces that were especially dangerous during the epagomenal days, such as the messengers of Sakhmet. The lighting of torches in the context of New Year is known for example from the tomb of Djefaihapi I at Assiut,⁷⁶³ the tomb of Neferhotep (TT 50),⁷⁶⁴ the tomb of Tjay (TT 23),⁷⁶⁵ the tomb of Menkheperreseneb (TT 112),⁷⁶⁶ the temple of Karnak,⁷⁶⁷ P Leiden T 32⁷⁶⁸ as well as from the festival calendar at the temple of Esna.⁷⁶⁹ Jankuhn concluded that the ritual for the protection of the bedroom as known from E VI 144, 15 ff. was a New Year’s ritual to be carried out during the last night of the year.⁷⁷⁰ Similarly Theis, who pointed out that the presence of the invocations to the Good Year in the register below implies that the ritual in E VI 144, 15 ff. may have been carried out at the start of the year.⁷⁷¹ However, the ritual of lighting torches or candles for protection is known from many other ritual contexts as well,⁷⁷² ranging from the funerary cult⁷⁷³ and temple cult⁷⁷⁴ to royal ceremonies such as the *sd*-festival scenes from the temple of Soleb.⁷⁷⁵ In all cases, torches and candles are lit for the protection of a throne, statue or tomb, for the protection of the deceased in the afterlife, or for the protection of Osiris on his funerary bed during the Khoiak-rituals. Considering the variety of contexts from which rituals for the protection during the night and/or of the bedroom are known, as discussed in paragraph 3.7.3.1, it seems that these rituals were not specific to the night of New Year. The rituals may even have been carried out in the temples every night for the nocturnal protection of the cult statue in the main temple and of the child-god in the mammisi.⁷⁷⁶

As for the second part of E VI 145, 1-2, Alliot suggested to read  as *špst s3w*, “the noble one of protections”, interpreting the phrase as an epithet referring to Hathor.⁷⁷⁷ However, the hieroglyphic text clearly reads *špswt*, “the noble ones”, followed by the

⁷⁶⁰ Jankuhn, *Schutz*, 26. Alliot, *Culte*, 60-64 also pointed out that the lighting of torches formed part of the daily temple ritual.

⁷⁶¹ See Alliot, *Culte*, 642.

⁷⁶² See Jankuhn, *Schutz*, 143 n. 92; J.F. Borghouts, *Nieuwjaar in het Oude Egypte*. Leiden 1986, 7-10.

⁷⁶³ G.A. Reisner, “The tomb of Hepzefa, nomarch of Siût”, in: *JEA* 5 (1918), 83; 85.

⁷⁶⁴ R. Hari, *La tombe thébaine du père divin Neferhotep (TT 50)*. Geneva 1985, 55; pl. 28.

⁷⁶⁵ F. Haikal, “Preliminary studies on the tomb of Thay in Thebes: the hymn to the light”, in: P. Posener-Kriéger (ed.), *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mohktar, Vol. I*. Bibliothèque d’Étude 97. Cairo 1985, 361-372.

⁷⁶⁶ De Garis Davies and De Garis Davies, *Menkheperreseneb*, 24; pl. 29. For more scenes depicting the presentation of candles and torches in the Theban tombs, see N. de Garis Davies, “A peculiar form of New Kingdom lamp”, in: *JEA* 10 (1924), 9-14 and the index of scenes in PM I, Part 1, 470.

⁷⁶⁷ Nelson, in: *JNES* 8 (1949), 201-232 and 310-345, fig. 37.

⁷⁶⁸ P Leiden T 32, IV, 28; Herbin, *Livre*, 59.

⁷⁶⁹ Esna II, no. 77, 18.

⁷⁷⁰ Jankuhn, *Schutz*, 8-9; 127-128.

⁷⁷¹ Theis, *Magie*, 145.

⁷⁷² A. Gutbub, “Un emprunt aux textes des pyramides dans l’hymne à Hathor, dame de l’ivresse”, in: *Mélanges Maspero I. Orient Ancien*. Mémoires publiés par les membres de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale du Caire 66. Cairo 1961, 41-42.

⁷⁷³ E.g. PT 362 § 606, CT Spell 414, BD Chapter 137a-b, and the inscriptions from the tombs at Assiut and Thebes cited above.

⁷⁷⁴ E.g. the two scenes from the hypostyle hall of the temple of Amun at Karnak, cited above; P Chester Beatty IX, rt. 16, 12 – 17, 14 and vs. 1, 1-10, cited above, both in the context of the New Year’s Festival; P Berlin 3055 I, 2 in the context of the daily temple ritual.

⁷⁷⁵ J.A. Wilson, “Illuminating the Thrones at the Egyptian Jubilee”, in: *JAOS* 56.2 (1936), 293-296.

⁷⁷⁶ See also J.F. Quack, “La magie au temple”, in Y. Koenig (ed.), *La magie en Égypte: à la recherche d’une définition. Actes du colloque organisé par le Musée du Louvre les 29 et 30 septembre 2000*. Paris 2002, 47 and 63, n. 17.

⁷⁷⁷ Alliot, *Culte*, 637 n. 1.

determinative of a hippopotamus holding the *s3*-sign for protection. Jankuhn suggested that *špswt* refers to the candle-bearing figures of the hippopotamus goddess Ipy.⁷⁷⁸ This hypothesis seems to be confirmed by an inscription from the Edfu mammisi, which reads: “The great Ipet with the flame of the torch drives away [the evil spirits] in the night”.⁷⁷⁹ In BD Spell 137b, which is a spell for kindling the flame, the hippopotamus goddess is again connected to the lighting of the torch: the vignette of this spell depicts “Ipy, lady of magical protection”.⁷⁸⁰ In the papyri of Nebseny (P BM 9900) and Ani (P BM 10470) she is depicted holding a torch in her hand, protecting the deceased during his journey in the afterlife.⁷⁸¹

An inscription from the sarcophagus-lid of Merenptah mentions “the four noble ones” in connection with the protective lighting of the torch: “I give that the four noble ones flame for you, that they light (you) in all your ways, that they repel for you your enemy every day, that they crush the rebels, the evil of character”.⁷⁸² In this case, the uraeus is used as a determinative of *špswt*. The “four noble ones” are mentioned in a similar context in a protective spell against scorpions from the Metternich stela: “The four noble ones are the protection of your body”.⁷⁸³ In this case no explicit determinatives referring to the nature of the “four noble ones” are used.

In the spell for the protection of a private home from P Chester Beatty VIII mentioned in paragraph 3.7.3.1, the “four noble ones” are said to have flames in their mouths: “He has laid enchantment upon the four noble ones in whose mouth(s) is their flame and accompanying whom is their blaze, in order to banish every enemy male and female and every dead person male and female who is in the limbs of N, born of M. They shall not come to fetch him by night or by day or at any time”.⁷⁸⁴ No explicit determinatives referring to the nature of the “four noble ones” are used here, but the fragmentary rubric of the following spell in vs. 3, 1-2 mentions “[ura]ei made of earthly clay [...] outward with noses (?) of fire”.⁷⁸⁵

The accompanying ritual instructions to the spell for protection during the night from O Gardiner 363, also mentioned in paragraph 3.7.3.1, reads: “Recite over four [ura]ei made of pure [...] clay with flames in their mouths. One is placed in [each] corner [of every (bed) room] in which there is a man or a woman [...] sleeping with a man [or woman (?)].”⁷⁸⁶ Ritner’s restoration “uraei” is based on parallels which represent fire-spitting serpents as protective entities. He argued that “the four noble ones” may be identified with the four protective uraei, guarding the cardinal directions, as known from a variety of spells and rituals. In spells for protection during the night such as P Chester Beatty III and P Leiden I 348, referred to in paragraph 3.7.3.1, the most effective weapon used for protection against nocturnal threats was fire, often depicted or referred to in the form of fire-spitting serpents or cobras.⁷⁸⁷ As Spakowska pointed out, the choice for fire-spitting cobras is not surprising, as the cobra represents the fiery power of the sun, illuminating the night and effectively

⁷⁷⁸ Jankuhn, *Schutz*, 144 n. 93. For Ipet / Ipy, see Leitz, *LGG* I, 218a-b.

⁷⁷⁹ E Mamm 57, 1. Ipet as an alternative spelling for Ipy.

⁷⁸⁰ See T.G. Allen and E.B. Hauser (eds), *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day: Ideas of the Ancient Egyptians concerning the Hereafter as expressed in their own terms*. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 37. Chicago 1974, 115 n. 232.

⁷⁸¹ C. Spieser, “Avaleuses et dévoreuses: des déesses aux démons en Egypte ancienne”, in: *CdE* 84 (167-168) (2009), 12-13.

⁷⁸² Cairo JE 85911; J. Assmann, “Die Inschrift auf dem äußeren Sarkophagdeckel des Merenptah”, in: *MDAIK* 28, 1 (1972), 52, 1. 59-62.

⁷⁸³ C.E. Sander-Hansen, *Die Texte der Metternichstela*. *Analecta Aegyptiaca* 7. Copenhagen 1956, 44-45.

⁷⁸⁴ P Chester Beatty VIII vs. 1, 1 – 2, 1; Gardiner, *Chester Beatty* I, 71-72.

⁷⁸⁵ P Chester Beatty VIII vs. 3, 1-2; Gardiner, *Chester Beatty* II, pl. 44; Ritner, in: *JARCE* 27 (1990), 36.

⁷⁸⁶ Ritner, in: *JARCE* 27 (1990), 26. For an investigation on the religious uses of actual clay cobras found at Amarna, see K. Szpakowska, “Playing with fire: initial observations on the religious uses of clay cobras from Amarna”, in: *JARCE* 40 (2003), 113-122.

⁷⁸⁷ P Chester Beatty III rt. 10, 10; P Leiden I 348 vs. 2, 5-6.

destroying enemies.⁷⁸⁸ The four protective uraei guarding the cardinal directions remind one of the four protective goddesses Isis, Nephthys, Neith and Selqet, who are placed at the corners of the royal sarcophagi of the New Kingdom.

The four protective uraei are also known from a number of monuments dating to the Saite Period in the context of guarding the fetish of Abydos, a theme which can be traced back to the New Kingdom.⁷⁸⁹ In an Osirian context, these uraei may be associated with the “four noble ones” that watch over Osiris during the first hour of the *Stundenritual* (E Mamm 112, 7).⁷⁹⁰ In this case, the sign for “noble ones” consists of the hippopotamus goddess holding the *s3*-sign. The “four noble ones” may also refer to the four goddesses called *3sbt* “the burning ones”, representing the personified torches.⁷⁹¹ The four *3sbt*-goddesses are depicted in the First Chamber of Sokar (G), where they are represented as hippopotamus goddesses holding torches.⁷⁹² In E I 195, 9-10 it is said that the *3sbt*-goddesses in their quality of “ladies of the torch” protect Osiris during the day and the night. In fact, a common epithet of these goddesses is *hryt tk3*⁷⁹³ and accordingly they may be depicted holding torches. In E VII 13, 6 their role is further explained: *3sbt 4 (hr) s3(t) nmit* “The four *3sbt*-goddesses protect his (i.e. Osiris) bier”.

An invocation to a group of four protective uraei is known from the inscription from the Chapel of Mehyt (M) mentioned in paragraph 3.7.3.1, which also refers to the protection of the throne and the bedroom of the king.⁷⁹⁴ Here, the parallel inscription consists of an invocation to the goddess with the four faces.⁷⁹⁵ Ritner concluded that “ultimately, this group of four uraei – however individually designated – are seen as extensions of Hathor Quadrifrons, “Hathor of the four faces”, whose faces are the protective uraei of the solar bark, turned to each cardinal point”.⁷⁹⁶

In P Salt 825, the four uraei are mentioned in an episode on the destruction of the enemies of Osiris and of Egypt.⁷⁹⁷ One of the accompanying images depicts a figure of bound enemies in a container, guarded by four uraei.⁷⁹⁸ The accompanying text reads: “Those who shoot their flame for him in the darkness”, referring to their protective function during the night. Ritner concluded: “The assemblage thereby constitutes an elaborate defense of the god’s resting place, corresponding in theme to the late temple rituals of “Protecting the House” (*s3-pr*) and “Protecting the Bedroom” (*s3-ḥnkt*), and to the private bedroom rite of O Gardiner 363”.⁷⁹⁹ The protective function of the uraeus is also a central feature of the coronation ritual of the falcon at Edfu, not only as part of ritual for the protection of the bedroom, but also in Scene 8, where the uraeus is tied with the *snb* to the head of the falcon

⁷⁸⁸ Szpakowska, in: *JARCE* 40 (2003), 122. For the role of fire in protective spells against nightmares, see K. Szpakowska, *Behind closed eyes: dreams and nightmares in ancient Egypt*. Swansea 2003, 169-171.

⁷⁸⁹ L. Coulon, “Les uraei gardiens du fétiche abydénien. Un motif osirien et sa diffusion à l’époque saïte”, in: D. Devauchelle (ed.), *La XXVIe dynastie: continuités et ruptures. Promenade saïte avec Jean Yoyotte. Actes du Colloque international organisés les 26 et 27 novembre 2004 à l’Université Charles-de-Gaulle – Lille 3*. Paris 2011, 85-108.

⁷⁹⁰ As mentioned in paragraph 3.7.3.1 E Mamm 112, 7 – 113, 7 is a ritual for the protection of the child-god during the night.

⁷⁹¹ See Leitz, *LGG* I, 80b-c.

⁷⁹² E I 195-196; pls. XXIVa and CCLXXXI. Here as part of the *s3 ḥnkt* ritual for the protection of Osiris during the night; see paragraph 3.7.3.1.

⁷⁹³ See Leitz, *LGG* I, 80c; Gutbub, in: *Mélanges Maspero I*, 37-41.

⁷⁹⁴ E I 312, 13-17, with a parallel known from P Vienna 8426 x+1, 18 ff., dating to the Roman Period. See Flessa, (*Gott*) *schütze*, 84-94.

⁷⁹⁵ E I 306, 4; Derchain, *Hathor quadrifrons*, 5-6.

⁷⁹⁶ Ritner, in: *JARCE* 27 (1990), 39.

⁷⁹⁷ P Salt 825 X-XIII; Derchain, *Salt*, 141-142. For this papyrus and the protective role of the *snb* in the rituals for the protection of the bedroom, see also paragraph 3.7.2.1.

⁷⁹⁸ Derchain, *Salt*, 22*, pl. XII.

⁷⁹⁹ Ritner, in: *JARCE* 27 (1990), 37.

for the protection of its body.⁸⁰⁰ In the final formula to the spells for the protection of the body in Scene 8, the uraeus is urged to protect the sacred falcon.⁸⁰¹ Similarly in the ritual text accompanying Scene 6, where Sakhmet is referred to as the uraeus that is invoked in order to protect the falcon and the king,⁸⁰² whereas invocations to Sakhmet form an important part of Scenes 3 and 6.⁸⁰³

b) Tying cloth

Ritual text: “I bind (a band of cloth around) your head, after I have adorned your neck with a band of royal *šs*-linen, adorned with images. I tie for you fine *p3kt*-linen with a piece of white *hdt*-linen and *h3tyw*-linen with black threads” (E VI 145, 2-3).

The use of black threads or black cloth is known from magical texts for the repulsion of enemies.⁸⁰⁴ For example, a version of the *Book of the protection of the god's barque* from the Osirian Chapel west no. 1 on the roof temple of Dendera⁸⁰⁵ mentions that the magical spells have to be pronounced over a figurine of Seth made of red wax around which a black thread is tied.⁸⁰⁶ The exact same phenomenon of a black thread being tied around wax figurines of foes is known from the spells for repelling Apophis in P Bremner Rhind.⁸⁰⁷ In paragraph 38 of P Brooklyn 47.218.138 a black thread is used in a magical spell for the protection of the king against venomous animals.⁸⁰⁸ The ritual instructions accompanying a “restraining [rite] for anything” in a Graeco-Roman magical papyrus specify that 365 knots should be tied in a black thread, each knot being accompanied by the recitation “Keep him who is bound”.⁸⁰⁹

Citing P Leiden I 344 and P Edwin Smith XX, Jankuhn pointed out that both *p3kt*-linen and *h3tyw*-cloth were used in ritual acts associated with New Year.⁸¹⁰ In P Leiden I 344 it is written: “It is however good, when fine *p3kt*-linen is spread out on the day of the New Year”.⁸¹¹ In P Edwin Smith XX *h3tyw*-linen is used in a spell against the pestilence of the year: “A man shall say this spell before a *nfrt*-flower, tied to a piece of *ds*-wood and rolled in (?) a piece of *h3tyw*-linen. Let them be made to pass over the things; the pest will be exorcised, and the passage of the disease-demons by everything that is eaten, likewise by the beds, will be prevented”.⁸¹² Instructions to make linen or papyrus charms decorated with images of deities for protection during the epagomenal days are in fact known from many

⁸⁰⁰ Scene 8, Text 93: E VI 298, 2-5 and Text 98: E VI 299, 6 – 300, 10. See paragraphs 2.8.2, 3.8.1.1 and 3.8.2.2a.

⁸⁰¹ Scene 8, Text 100: E VI 302, 3 – 303, 14. See paragraph 2.8.4.

⁸⁰² Scene 6, Text 61: E VI 262, 11-12. See paragraph 2.6.2.

⁸⁰³ Scene 3, Text 27: E VI 155, 8 – 156, 3; Scene 6, Text 70: E VI 264, 1 – 269, 4. See paragraphs 2.3.3, 2.6.3, 3.3.3 and 3.6.2.

⁸⁰⁴ Jankuhn, *Schutz*, 144, n. 96.

⁸⁰⁵ D X/1 296, 11 – 299, 11; D X/2 pl. 148; J.-Cl. Goyon, “Textes mythologiques. I. ‘Le livre de protéger la barque du dieu’”, in: *Kēmi* 19 (1969), 62.

⁸⁰⁶ D X/1 299, 4-5.

⁸⁰⁷ P Bremner Rhind (P BM 10188) XXVI, 3-4; S. Schott, “Totenbuchspruch 175 in einem Ritual zur Vernichtung von Feinden”, in: *MDAIK* 14 (1956), 185 n. 8; R.O. Faulkner, “The Bremner-Rhind Papyrus – III”, in: *JEA* 23 (1937), 171.

⁸⁰⁸ Goyon, *Recueil de prophylaxie*, 84-86.

⁸⁰⁹ PGM VII 450. For a translation, see H.D. Betz (ed.), *The Greek magical papyri in translation, including the Demotic spells*. Chicago etc. 1986, 130.

⁸¹⁰ Jankuhn, *Schutz*, 144, n. 95.

⁸¹¹ P Leiden I 344 rt. 14, 4; A.H. Gardiner, *The admonitions of an Egyptian sage from a hieratic papyrus in Leiden (Pap. Leiden 344 recto)*. Leipzig 1909, 90; W. Helck, *Die “Admonitions”: Pap. Leiden I 344 recto*. Kleine ägyptische Texte 11. Wiesbaden 1995, 63.

⁸¹² P Edwin Smith XX 5-8; Breasted, *Edwin Smith*, 485-486 (the translation has been slightly modified above). For this papyrus in the tradition of the practice of invoking Sakhmet, see paragraph 3.6.1.

sources, e.g. P Cairo 86637,⁸¹³ P Louvre 3233,⁸¹⁴ and P Edwin Smith XIX.⁸¹⁵ The same phenomenon is known from P Leiden I 346, from the context of spells to be recited for protection during the epagomenal days.⁸¹⁶ In this case the following ritual instructions are given: the spell has to be recited over a piece of fine linen, upon which twelve deities are drawn and in which have been put twelve knots. Next, the piece of linen should be tied around the neck of the individual to be protected. It is added that the ritual will give protection against the pestilence of the year, and that the spells should be recited during “the festival of the last day of the year (until) the festival of the opening of the year (i.e. New Year’s day), and during the *W3g*-festival⁸¹⁷ until the morning of the festival of Renenutet”.⁸¹⁸ The ritual use of tying a band of cloth on which are painted or drawn apotropaic images is also known from P Brooklyn 47.218.50 in the context of the rituals of I Thoth: “Tying the amulets of the Great Seat around the neck of the king by the (priest) in charge of the ointments: 30 white (crowns), 30 red (crowns), with a representation of Ptah in between them, painted with the ink of a scribe on a band of *idmi*-linen; placing it at the neck of the king with 60 knots”.⁸¹⁹

The use of linen charms to be put on the throat for protection is not restricted to rituals associated with the epagomenal days and New Year. In fact, the recitation of spells for protection over amuletic images that were painted or drawn on linen and which were placed on the sufferer’s body is known from many magico-medical texts of the New Kingdom and later. For example, in P Berlin 3027 *h3tyw*-linen is used in a magical spell for protection against illness. In this case, the following ritual instructions are given: the spell has to be recited while the child to be protected, or its mother, eats a boiled mouse. The bones of the mouse should be attached in a piece of *h3tyw*-cloth to the neck of the child, using five knots.⁸²⁰ Similar ritual instructions are given in a spell for protection against nightmares from P Leiden I 348: “Words to be said over the image which is in drawing, made upon a choice piece of linen, to be placed (on) the throat of a man until he is seen to be quiet”.⁸²¹ Instructions for drawing images on a piece of fabric are also known from paragraphs 7 and 23 of P Brooklyn 47.218.138 mentioned above, in the context of spells for the protection of the king against venomous animals.⁸²² The ritual instructions of many magico-medical texts also specify the use of linen or papyrus decorated with images of divinities for the preparation of charms, e.g. P Deir el Medina 36⁸²³ and P Chester Beatty.⁸²⁴ In a spell for protection against venomous animals from this papyrus it is said: “I have enclosed it (i.e. the poison) in seven

⁸¹³ P Cairo 86637 vs. XI, 5-7 and vs. XVI, 3-4; Bakir, *Cairo Calendar*, 51 and 55; Leitz, *Tagewählerei*, 425-426 and 417-418.

⁸¹⁴ Cf. J.-Cl. Goyon, “Un phylactère tardif: le papyrus 3233 a et b du Musée du Louvre”, in: *BIFAO* 77 (1977), 45-54.

⁸¹⁵ P Edwin Smith XIX, 9-14; Breasted, *Edwin Smith*, 481-482. For this papyrus in the tradition of the practice of invoking Sakhmet, see paragraph 3.6.1.

⁸¹⁶ See Stricker, in: *OMRO* 29 (1948), 70; Bommas, *Mythisierung*, 14-15. For this papyrus in the tradition of the practice of invoking Sakhmet, see paragraph 3.6.1.

⁸¹⁷ Schott, *Festdaten*, 82: the *w3g*-festival is known to have been celebrated on the 18th day of the first month of the *3ht*-season.

⁸¹⁸ Schott, *Festdaten*, 100, 103: the festival of Renenutet is known to have been celebrated on the first day of the fourth month of the *prrt*-season and on the first day of the first month of the *šmw*-season.

⁸¹⁹ P Brooklyn 47.218.50 I, 9; Goyon, *Confirmation*, 54. For this papyrus, see also paragraphs 3.1.1.3, 3.3.1.2, 3.4.2, 3.5.4, 3.6.1, and 3.6.3.

⁸²⁰ P Berlin 3027 VIII 2-3; N. Yamazaki, *Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind. Papyrus Berlin 3027*. Achet: Schriften zur Ägyptologie 2. Berlin 2003, 30-31.

⁸²¹ P Leiden I 348 vs. 2; Borghouts, in: *OMRO* 51 (1970), 32-33.

⁸²² For example P Brooklyn 47.218.138 x + I, 14-16 and x + VIII, 8-9; Goyon, *Recueil de prophylaxie*, 13-14; 46-48.

⁸²³ J.F. Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian magical texts*. Nisaba 9. Leiden 1978, 36-37 (no. 55).

⁸²⁴ P Chester Beatty V vs. 4, 10 – 6, 4; VII vs. 7 and 8; XV; Gardiner, *Chester Beatty*, 51; 65; 125-126.

knots”.⁸²⁵ The same concept is repeated in another spell from the same papyrus: “A knot is tied in a rag, and his forepart is bound, the enemy of Ra (...) You have been confined in the seven knots (...)”.⁸²⁶ In fact, the practice of knotting linen charms around the neck of the person to be protected was quite common, to the extent that even the word *s3* “(magical) protection”, “amulet” was written with the sign for a knotted cord. Actual linen and papyrus charms decorated with images of divinities to be knotted around the neck as described in the ritual instructions to these magical texts have in fact been found in Egypt.⁸²⁷ As the spell from P Chester Beatty VII suggests, the aim of the knotting of linen bandages was to immobilize the enemy and to obstruct his ability to act so that the wearer of the amulet would be protected. In addition, the tying of cloth around the head and the neck is associated with the protective notions of surrounding and encircling (*šn*), as well as with the notion of knotting together various parts. As such, the reef-knot amulet symbolises the safeguarding of the integrity and wholeness of the body,⁸²⁸ explaining its important role in apotropaic and curative magic as known from a variety of New Kingdom sources (e.g. P Leiden I 348, P Chester Beatty VII, P Berlin 3027). In the case of Scene 7, the ritual for the protection of the bedroom is primarily associated with tying the *ḥḥ*-symbol at the neck of the falcon by means of the *snb*-cord,⁸²⁹ whereas in Scene 8, the ritual for the protection of the body is associated primarily with tying the uraeus at the head of the falcon by means of the *snb*-cord and tying a piece of *idmi*-cloth around its neck.⁸³⁰

c) Presenting protective amulets and stone beads

Ritual text: “I apply for you the amulets (in the shape of) the *wḏ3t*-eye, the two eyes together with green beads made of precious stone. I tie gold amulets around your neck and a necklace made of carnelian stones around your throat. A falcon, [...], together with a lion, (all) made of faience, make your protection and repeat your protection. A Taweret made of faience, a Khepri-beetle made of turquoise, and the two children made of *b3k*-wood protect you. I make your Majesty strong against the rebels with the *w3s*-sceptre, while the White crown upon your head is made of ebony” (E VI 145, 3-6).

The use of protective amulets made of gold, lapis lazuli and turquoise to be put on the breast of the cult statue is known for example from P Harris I 26, 5.⁸³¹ It seems that precious stones were used not only for adornment, but also for purification purposes: “Presenting the vases of gold and the vases of silver containing all the true gems. Words to be spoken: take the divine material; you are purified by it, pure, purified, rejuvenated, your purification is done by Ra, he purifies your place like the temple”.⁸³² In the ritual for the protection of the bedroom of the sacred falcon at Edfu, the following protective amulets are used:

- The *wḏ3t*-eye representing the uninjured eye of Horus is the protective amulet *par excellence*.⁸³³ In the present ritual, the *wḏ3t*-eye is given to the falcon as a protective amulet, and it is also drawn as a protective image on the floor of the room where the ritual takes place.⁸³⁴

⁸²⁵ P Chester Beatty VII rt. 3, 7 – 4, 4; Gardiner, *Chester Beatty*, 58.

⁸²⁶ P Chester Beatty VII rt. 8, 1-7; Gardiner, *Chester Beatty*, 61.

⁸²⁷ See for example M.J. Raven, “Charms for protection during the epagomenal days”, in: J. van Dijk (ed.), *Essays on Ancient Egypt in Honour of Herman te Velde*. Egyptological Memoirs 1. Groningen 1997, 275-285; Goyon, in: *BIFAO* 77 (1977), 45-54.

⁸²⁸ W. Wendrich, “Entangled, connected or protected? The power of knots and knotting in ancient Egypt”, in: K. Szpakowska (ed.), *Through a glass darkly. Magic, dreams and prophecy in ancient Egypt*. Swansea 2006, 254.

⁸²⁹ See paragraphs 2.7.2 and 3.7.2.1.

⁸³⁰ See also paragraphs 2.8.2 and 3.8.1.1.

⁸³¹ Jankuhn, *Schutz*, 144-145, n. 100.

⁸³² D IV 250, 9-13; Cauville, *Offerings*, 127.

⁸³³ C. Andrews, *Amulets of ancient Egypt*. London 1994, 43 ff. (Nr. 46).

- Gold amulets are tied around the neck of the sacred falcon, as well as a necklace of carnelian stone. Carnelian was valued for its apotropaic properties and it was often used in necklaces.⁸³⁵
- An amulet in the shape of a falcon made of faience is also mentioned in P Brooklyn 47.218.50 in the context of the rituals of 1 Thoth.⁸³⁶ Here the text says that the amulets for the protection of the year should be placed at the neck of the king. Amongst the amulets mentioned in the Brooklyn papyrus are a falcon and a bee made of faience.⁸³⁷
- An amulet in the shape of a lion made of faience is also mentioned in § 44 of P Brooklyn 47.218.138, in the context of a spell for the protection of the bedroom during the night.⁸³⁸ The accompanying ritual instructions to this spell say that it should be recited over an amulet of a lion made of faience wrapped in *idmi*-fabric, which the individual to be protected should hold in his hand as an amulet for the protection of the bedroom.⁸³⁹ A parallel spell to § 44 of P Brooklyn 47.218.138, without the final ritual instructions, is known from a statue of Ramesses III, which is inscribed with spells to be recited for the protection against snakes and scorpions.⁸⁴⁰ Protective amulets in the shape of the lion-goddess Sakhmet are well known; they are often made of faience, a material which supports the appeasing effects of the amulet.⁸⁴¹
- An amulet of Taweret made of faience refers to the protective function of the hippopotamus goddesses, which was also referred to in the preceding part of the ritual text: “I encompass your house with the noble ones”.⁸⁴²
- An amulet of the scarab is mentioned twice in the *Stundenritual* for protection during the night.⁸⁴³ In the case of P Cairo 58027 an amulet of “the noble winged scarab” *ꜥpy šps* is used to protect the king and to overthrow the enemies.⁸⁴⁴ In the case of the variant in the Roman mammisi at Dendera, the scarab amulet is mentioned in the ritual instructions added to the protective spells of the 10th and 11th hours of the night: “To be recited over a scarab made of galena; it shall be put at the neck of this god”.⁸⁴⁵ The protective function of the scarab is also mentioned in the Horus-myth on the interior face of the western enclosure wall at Edfu.⁸⁴⁶ In this case, the scarab as a symbol of protection is drawn on the chest of the king.⁸⁴⁷ An amulet of a scarab is also used in the ritual for the protection of the body.⁸⁴⁸ The scarab as an apotropaicon⁸⁴⁹ is also known from earlier sources.

⁸³⁴ E VI 145, 8; see paragraph 3.7.3.2d.

⁸³⁵ G. Robins, “Color symbolism”, in: D.B. Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, vol. 1: A-F. Oxford 2001, 291-294.

⁸³⁶ For this papyrus, see also paragraphs 3.1.1.3, 3.3.1.2, 3.4.2, 3.5.4, 3.6.1, 3.6.3, and 3.7.3.2b.

⁸³⁷ P Brooklyn 47.218.50 XVI, 12; Goyon, *Confirmation*, 73.

⁸³⁸ For this papyrus in the context of the rituals for the protection of the bedroom, see also paragraphs 3.7.3.1 and 3.7.3.2b.

⁸³⁹ P Brooklyn 47.218.138, x + XV, 10-15; Goyon, *Recueil de prophylaxie*, 108-109.

⁸⁴⁰ Cairo JE 69771; Goyon, in: *JEA* 57 (1971), 154.

⁸⁴¹ Aufrère, *Univers minéral* 2. Cairo 1991, 531.

⁸⁴² E VI 145, 1-2; see paragraph 3.7.3.2a.

⁸⁴³ D Mamm 205, 16 – 206, 3 and P Cairo 58027 x+II, 1-4.

⁸⁴⁴ P Cairo 58027 x+II, 1-4; Pries, *Stundenritual*, 44 and 45-46 (a). For this papyrus in the tradition of rituals for protection during the night, see paragraph 3.7.3.1.

⁸⁴⁵ D Mamm 206, 3; Pries, *Stundenritual*, 64 and 68 (d).

⁸⁴⁶ H.W. Fairman, “The myth of Horus at Edfu - I”, in: *JEA* 21.1 (1935), 26-36; A.M. Blackman and H.W. Fairman, “The myth of Horus at Edfu - II: C. The triumph of Horus over his enemies - a sacred drama”, in: *JEA* 28 (1942), 32-38; A.M. Blackman and H.W. Fairman, “The myth of Horus at Edfu - II: C. The triumph of Horus over his enemies - a sacred drama (continued)”, in: *JEA* 29 (1943), 2-36; A.M. Blackman and H.W. Fairman, 1944. The myth of Horus at Edfu - II: C. The triumph of Horus over his enemies - a sacred drama (concluded)”, in: *JEA* 30 (1944), 5-22; A. Egberts, “The chronology of the Horus Myth of Edfu”, in: J. van Dijk (ed.), *Essays on ancient Egypt in honour of Herman te Velde*. Egyptological Memoirs 1. Groningen 1997, 47-54; A. Egberts, “Mythos und Fest: Überlegungen zur Dekoration der westlichen Innenseite der Umfassungsmauer im Tempel von Edfu”, in: R. Gundlach and M. Rochholz (eds), *4. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung, Köln 10.-12. Oktober 1996: Feste im Tempel. Ägypten und Altes Testament* 33. Wiesbaden 1998, 17-29.

⁸⁴⁷ E VI 131, 3.

⁸⁴⁸ See paragraphs 3.8.1.2 and 3.8.2.2b.

For example, it may be depicted on the Middle Kingdom “magic knives” used by pregnant women for protection of the unborn-child during child-birth.⁸⁵⁰ A scarab is also depicted on P Louvre 3233, which is a papyrus charm decorated with images of divinities to be knotted around the neck, a magical practice described in paragraph 3.7.3.2b.⁸⁵¹

- The amulet in the shape of two children⁸⁵² is also mentioned in Scene 3, Text 29: “I take care of your offering-table in the morning and in the evening, and the children make your protection” (E VI 156, 5). In the present text, the amulet is said to have been made of *b3k*-wood. In this respect it is interesting to refer to Scene 2, in which an *ʿnh*-bouquet composed of the leaves of the *im3*-, *b3k*- and *išd*-trees is presented to the sacred falcon. An analysis of the accompanying inscriptions to the ritual scenes depicting the offering of the *ʿnh*-bouquet has shown that the *im3*-, *b3k*- and *išd*-trees are closely connected to the themes of the transmission of royal power, strength and the triumph over enemies, as well as endurance, prosperity and protection.⁸⁵³
- The *w3s*-sceptre and the White crown are presented to the falcon as amulets of royal power. Similar amulets of royal power are mentioned in P Brooklyn 47.218.50 in the context of the rituals of 1 Thoth. Here, 30 White crowns, 30 Red crowns and an image of Ptah are drawn in red ink on a piece of cloth which is put around the neck of the king.⁸⁵⁴ In addition, the *w3s*-sceptre and the *ʿnh*-symbol, both made of faience, are presented to the king.⁸⁵⁵

d) Drawing protective images and reciting spells

Ritual text: “I make the protection of your *k3* with these gods that are drawn in the sand under your bed. I surround your bedroom with an arm-amulet made of tamarisk wood, and with the stick-amulet that strikes your rebels. I have drawn a *wd3t*-eye in ochre upon the ground so that your Majesty sleeps in it. I protect your bed and I have given the protection of your headrest with the protective spells for them according to this book” (E VI 145, 6-9).

The amulets of the arm and the stick no doubt represent the capability to strike down hostile forces.⁸⁵⁶ The use of the stick in the context of protective ritual is also known from P Salt 825⁸⁵⁷ and P Berlin 3027.⁸⁵⁸

The drawing of the *wd3t*-eye is mentioned in a similar ritual context in P Cairo 58027.⁸⁵⁹ In this case, it is said that the spells for the protection of the king during the night should be recited over the figures of deities that have been drawn in ochre around the bed. In addition, a *wd3t*-eye should be drawn in front of the bed, and a figure of a seated man should be drawn inside the iris of the eye.⁸⁶⁰ The practice of drawing protective images on the floor is also known from the magical P Harris VI: “Words recited <over> an image of Amun, with four heads <on> one neck. Drawn upon the ground, with a crocodile under his feet, and the

⁸⁴⁹ For the scarab as an apotropaicon, see M. Minas-Nerpel, *Der Gott Chepri. Untersuchungen zu Schriftzeugnissen und ikonographischen Quellen vom Alten Reich bis in griechisch-römische Zeit*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 154. Leuven etc. 2006, 326.

⁸⁵⁰ See H. Altenmüller, “Ein Zaubermesser aus Tübingen”, in: *Die Welt des Orients* 14 (1983), 30-45.

⁸⁵¹ See Goyon, in: *BIFAO* 77 (1977), 45-54.

⁸⁵² Perhaps representing Shu and Tefnut, see Leitz, *LGG* VI, 113b.

⁸⁵³ See paragraph 3.2.1.2.

⁸⁵⁴ P Brooklyn 47.218.50 I, 9; Goyon, *Confirmation*, 54. See paragraph 3.7.3.2b.

⁸⁵⁵ P Brooklyn 47.218.50 I, 10; Goyon, *Confirmation*, 54.

⁸⁵⁶ For amulets in the shape of the arm, see J. de Chanteloup, “Amulettes représentant la main dans l’Égypte ancienne”, in: *Varia Aegyptiaca* 2.1 (1986), 7-22.

⁸⁵⁷ Jankuhn, *Schutz*, 145, n. 106 with reference to P Salt 825 VI 1-4; Derchain, *Salt*, 139 and 165-166 (63). For this papyrus in the context of the protection of the bedroom, see also paragraph 3.7.3.2a.

⁸⁵⁸ P Berlin 3027 VI 8; Yamazaki, *Zaubersprüche*, 24 and 26 (t).

⁸⁵⁹ For this papyrus in the tradition of rituals for protection during the night, see paragraph 3.7.3.1.

⁸⁶⁰ P Cairo 58027, x + III, 11-14; Pries, *Stundenritual*, 80-84.

Ogdoad <on> his right and his left, and giving him adoration”.⁸⁶¹ In P Chester Beatty VIII it is said in the context of a protective spell which is now for the most part lost: “To be recited [over] a *wd3t*-eye drawn in ochre (?)”.⁸⁶² The apotropaic function of drawings of the *wd3t*-eye as a means of protection against the evil eye is known from a wooden amulet in Berlin⁸⁶³ and from a bronze bowl in Boston.⁸⁶⁴

The ritual for the protection of the bedroom involves the recitation of spells for the protection of the bed and the headrest. Spells for the headrest are known from a funerary context as well, e.g. CT Spells 232 and 823 and BD Spells 151 and 166. Images of guardians and spells for protection during the night were sometimes drawn and written on actual headrests.⁸⁶⁵

e) Anointing with spittle

Ritual text: “I anoint your body with the water of your mouth (i.e. spittle)” (E VI 145, 9).

A reference to spittle⁸⁶⁶ as ointment is also known from P Salt 825, where it is described how *mn*-unguent was created from the spittle of Ra, which Neith used in turn to anoint the god.⁸⁶⁷ As pointed out in paragraph 3.1.1.2 anointing as a means of ensuring protection is known from various ritual contexts, such as funerary ritual, the rituals for protection during the epagomenal days, and the rituals of the confirmation of royal power. The anointing of the sacred falcon is central in Scene 1⁸⁶⁸ and it also forms part of the ritual for the protection of the body in Scene 8.⁸⁶⁹

f) Tying and untying a knot

Ritual text: “I tie a knot in your *dr*-garment and untie it” (E VI 145, 9).

The act of tying a knot in the *dr*-garment is also mentioned in Scene 8, in the context of the rituals for the protection of the body: “I tie for you the knot at the top of your *dr*-garment, after I have loosened <it at> dawn” (Text 98: E VI 300, 3-4).⁸⁷⁰ As mentioned in paragraph 3.7.3.2b the use of knots for protection is also known from earlier sources such as P Chester Beatty VII, P Leiden I 346 and P Berlin 3027.

The word *dr* refers to a type of cloth. It is mentioned in E IV 355, 10 as part of a ritual scene depicting the presentation of the “garland of justification” (*m3h n m3c-hrw*) to Horus and Isis.⁸⁷¹ Here, the offering of the garland of justification, which symbolises the legitimate

⁸⁶¹ P Harris VI, 8-9; Chr. Leitz, *Magical and Medical Papyri of the New Kingdom*. Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum 7. London 1999, 39.

⁸⁶² P Chester Beatty VIII vs. 3, 4-9; Gardiner, *Chester Beatty*, 72.

⁸⁶³ S. Schott, “Ein Amulett gegen den bösen Blick”, in: ZÄS 67 (1931), 106-110.

⁸⁶⁴ H.-W. Fischer-Elfert, “Ein Spruch gegen den Bösen Blick in Meroe: Anmerkungen zur Bronzeschale Boston MFA 24.900 aus Grab S 155 der Süd-Nekropole”, in: *Orientalia* 83 (2014), 31-49.

⁸⁶⁵ See H.G. Fischer, *LÄ* III, 1980, 686-693, “Kopfstütze”; M. Perraud, “Appuis-tête à inscription magique et apotropaïa”, in: *BIFAO* 102 (2002), 309-326.

⁸⁶⁶ For the ritual use of spitting, see R.K. Ritner, *The mechanics of ancient Egyptian magical practice*. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 54. Chicago 1993, 74-88.

⁸⁶⁷ P Salt 825 (P BM 10051) III, 1; Derchain, *Salt*, 137. For this papyrus in the context of the protection of the bedroom, see also paragraphs 3.7.3.2a and 3.7.3.2d.

⁸⁶⁸ See paragraphs 2.1.1 and 3.1.1.

⁸⁶⁹ See paragraphs 3.8.2.2f and 3.8.2.2l.

⁸⁷⁰ See paragraph 3.8.2.2m.

⁸⁷¹ E IV 355, 9 – 356, 3; pl. CVI.

succession of Horus as well as his triumph over his enemies,⁸⁷² is closely connected to the ritual acts of clothing with *dr*-garment and anointing with *ibr*: “The garland for your head is from the hand of Atum, as you are clothed with the *dr*-garment and anointed with *ibr*”.⁸⁷³ Similarly in the present ritual for the protection of the bedroom in the context of the rituals of 1 Tybi: a band of cloth is tied around the head of the falcon (3.7.3.2*b*), it is anointed (3.7.3.2*e*), and knots are tied and untied in the *dr*-garment of the falcon (3.7.3.2*f*). In E IV 11, 12 it is said that the god of the temple “is clothed in a *dr*-garment, against anger”. Wilson concluded that “if the term is derived from *dr* “to drive away” then the garment may have been intended to drive away dangerous elements and, as with other garments protect the person or god wearing it”.⁸⁷⁴ This conclusion fits very well with the apotropaic character of the ritual for the protection of the bedroom.

g) Conclusion of the ritual

Ritual text: “I summon the gods, while making your protection, so that they make the protection of your house until the sky is opened. I do this continuously in the *Pr-Bik-Ntry*⁸⁷⁵ (so that) protection is made during the night until the end of *dt*-eternity. Thoth is with me, equipped with his protective spells, making the protection of your house with his spells”.

This final part of the ritual text indicates that the spells for the protection of the house were recited during the night “until the sky is opened”, i.e. until the morning.

3.7.3.3 Conclusions

The analysis of the ritual for the protection of the bedroom shows that a large variety of elements from this ritual are also known from other ritual texts. Based on P Louvre N 3176 (S)⁸⁷⁶ and P Louvre N 3079,⁸⁷⁷ in which the ritual for the protection of the bedroom and of the bier of Osiris respectively are mentioned in the context of the Khoiak-rituals, Jankuhn stated: “Der Titel “Schutz des Bettes” kommt nun mehrfach in der religiösen Literatur der Ägypter vor. Dabei zeigt sich, daß sich dieses Ritual ursprünglich auf den Schutz der Totenbahre des Osiris bezog, wie dies noch ein ptolemäischer Text aus Edfou besagt (Edfou I 189, 10)”.⁸⁷⁸ However, the sources presented above show that the ritual for the protection of the bedroom forms part of a wider tradition of rituals for protection during the night. The sources dating to the New Kingdom show that the rituals for the protection of the bedroom are known not only from the funerary cult of Osiris, but also from magical texts for the protection of individuals during day and night and for the protection against venomous animals.

In his analysis of the ritual for the protection of the bedroom Jankuhn repeatedly pointed out similarities with other rituals associated with New Year, which were aimed at giving protection during the transitional period of New Year and the epagomenal days. Based on E VI 93, 6-7, which he translated as “Seinem Vater räuchern, opfern von Weihrauch für ein gutes Jahr”, he concluded: “Es handelt sich also offenbar um ein Fest, das zum Jahreswechsel gefeiert wurde, vielleicht um den “Geburtstag” des Re-Harachte am Neujahrstag (*mswt-R*)”.⁸⁷⁹ As such, he did not recognise that the ritual for the protection of the bedroom in E VI

⁸⁷² Derchain, *CdE* 30 (1955), 230-233.

⁸⁷³ E IV 355, 10.

⁸⁷⁴ Wilson, *Ptolemaic lexikon*, 1203.

⁸⁷⁵ For a discussion of this locality, see paragraph 5.3.1.

⁸⁷⁶ See paragraph 3.7.3.1.

⁸⁷⁷ See paragraph 3.7.3.1.

⁸⁷⁸ Jankuhn, *Schutz*, 132.

⁸⁷⁹ Jankuhn, *Schutz*, 21.

144, 15 ff. is situated in the context of the rituals for the renewal and confirmation of royal power on the date of 1 Tybi. The same is true for Theis, who analysed the text in detail as part of a larger study on rituals for the protection of space. As a result he failed to analyse the ritual within its specific context, focussing only on the text of E VI 144, 15 ff., which resulted in his misidentification of the ritual as a ritual for the protection of the house. However, the associated inscriptions clearly refer to the ritual as being aimed at the protection of the bedroom and being carried out during the night.⁸⁸⁰ Theis also refrained from including an analysis of the accompanying imagery associated with the inscriptions,⁸⁸¹ which resulted in the fact that he did not recognise that the scene – and the ritual – form part of the larger group of scenes and rituals associated with the coronation ritual of the falcon.

Based on the presence of the invocations to the Good Year in the first register Jankuhn suggested that the ritual for the protection of the bedroom of E VI 144, 15 ff. was most probably a New Year's ritual.⁸⁸² Similarly Theis, who suggested on the basis of the same argument that the ritual may have been carried out at the start of the year.⁸⁸³ Jankuhn suggested that the ritual for the protection of the bedroom was carried out during the last night of the year:⁸⁸⁴ "Interessant ist auch der weitere Textverband, in dem unser Buch steht; so befindet sich unter unserem Text im ersten Register der Wand eine lange Litanei an das Jahr. So kann man also schon vom Äußeren annehmen, daß unser Ritual Beziehungen zum Neujahrsfest hat".⁸⁸⁵ However, as pointed out above, the invocations to the Good Year are not limited to the ritual context of the New Year's festival.⁸⁸⁶ Jankuhn took the reference to the lighting of torches (E VI 145, 1), the use of *h3tyw*-cloth (E VI 145, 2-3), the presentation of amulets (E VI 145, 3-6), and the anointment (E VI 145, 9) as indications for the ritual to have taken place on the last day of the year, citing other sources in which these ritual acts are carried out in the context of the epagomenal days and the New Year's rituals.⁸⁸⁷ Based on earlier sources in which rituals for the protection of the house are connected with the pestilence of the year, Jankuhn concluded that the Ptolemaic ritual for the protection of the house was also aimed at protection against the pestilence of the year.⁸⁸⁸ As for the meaning of the ritual, he concluded: "Wenn man die Epitheta des Horus aufmerksam betrachtet, wird einem die Bedeutung unseres Rituals deutlich. Horus wird hier "Herr des Lichts, der die Dunkelheit erhellt" oder "Horus, der Herr der Götter" genannt. Das vorliegende Ritual soll also die Erhaltung des Sonnenlichtes während der Nacht und hier besonders während des Neujahrsnacht, in der die Krankheitsdämonen, - die Boten der Sachmet -, ihr Unwesen treiben, gewährleisten. Daß Menschen und sogar Götter während der Nacht besonders hilflos den bösen Mächten der Dunkelheit preisgegeben waren, ist uns auch sonst mehrfach bezeugt. Da im vorliegenden Buch des öfteren vom Schutz des Bettes bzw. des Schlafgemachs die

⁸⁸⁰ E VI 144, 15 ff.: "Words to be spoken by his Majesty: I have come to you, great *bik*-falcon, dappled of feathers, when Ra sets in the land of life, equipped with the ritual (book) of the protection of the bedroom (...) I make the protection of your *k3* with these gods that are drawn in the sand under your bed. I surround your bedroom with an arm-amulet of tamarisk wood, and with the stick-amulet that strikes your rebels. I have drawn a *wḏ3t*-eye in ochre upon the ground so that your Majesty sleeps in it. I protect your bed and I have given the protection of your headrest with the protective spells for them according to this book. (...) I do this continuously in the *Pr-Bik-Ntry* (so that) protection is made in the night until the end of *dt*-eternity".

⁸⁸¹ Theis, *Magie*, 147-148 included a paragraph on "Bilder und Beischriften", but also here, the focus is mainly on the inscriptions. It should be pointed out here that he also misidentified *St-Wrt*, reading her name as *3st wrt*, "die große Isis".

⁸⁸² Jankuhn, *Schutz*, 8-9; 127.

⁸⁸³ Theis, *Magie*, 145.

⁸⁸⁴ Jankuhn, *Schutz*, 8.

⁸⁸⁵ Jankuhn, *Schutz*, 12.

⁸⁸⁶ See paragraph 3.5.5.8.

⁸⁸⁷ Jankuhn, *Schutz*, 26; 143, n. 92; 144, n. 95; 144-145, n. 100; 146, n. 117.

⁸⁸⁸ Jankuhn, *Schutz*, 26.

Rede war, ergeben sich Zusammenhänge und Gemeinsamkeiten mit anderen Schutzbüchern, die gerade diesen Schutz zum Inhalt haben. Alle diese Schutzrituale dienen letzten Endes, wie auch der Papyrus Salt 825 dazu, das Leben auf der Erde zu erhalten und gegen die Mächte der Dunkelheit zu schützen”.⁸⁸⁹

The analysis of the ritual presented above has shown that a large number of similarities are found in rituals that are not associated specifically with New Year or protection during the epagomenal days. In fact, the similarities are found in all kinds of apotropaic texts, such as spells for the protection of the deceased in the afterlife, for the protection of individuals during the night, for the preservation of life in Egypt, for the protection of the king as part of the rituals of the confirmation of his royal power on 1 Thoth, for the protection of individuals against illness, for the protection of the king during the night, and for protection of individuals against venomous animals. These similarities are certainly not coincidental, but suggest the existence of a corpus of apotropaic texts, with similar motifs recurring in a wide variety of sources.

3.7.4 THE SPELLS FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE HOUSE

As pointed out in paragraph 2.7.3 the magical practice associated with the ritual for the protection of the bedroom consisted of the recitation of 96 spells for the protection of the house.⁸⁹⁰ The recitation of the spells for the protection of the house ensured the protection of the god by means of magic of analogy: in each spell Horus, the sacred falcon, and the king are equated with a god to ensure their protection.⁸⁹¹ As for the contents of the spells, Theis concluded: “Es zeigt sich deutlich, dass man fast jedem Zauberspruch eine tiefere religiöse Komponente entnehmen kann, die sich aber nur den wissenden Lesern oder Famuli erschloss. Viele der genannten Objekte oder die Materialien, aus denen diese bestehen, stehen in direkten Zusammenhang mit einem Gott, der sich auch in anderen Texten als zaubermächtiges Wesen finden lässt”.⁸⁹²

The spells for the protection of the house as known from Text 83 are not known prior to the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods, but the magical practice associated with the protection of the house is well attested in earlier periods.⁸⁹³ The earliest textual references to the protection of the house can be found in spells for the protection of the royal tomb, such as PT 534 § 1264-1279 and PT 599-601 § 1649-1661.⁸⁹⁴ Similar spells are also known from Old Kingdom private tombs.⁸⁹⁵ From the New Kingdom onwards, the protection of the house is associated

⁸⁸⁹ Jankuhn, *Schutz*, 128.

⁸⁹⁰ A detailed analysis of these spells is presented in Theis, *Magie*, 149-161. As pointed out above, this book arrived in the library at Leiden University just two days before the deadline for submitting this thesis and therefore it was decided with Prof. dr. Olaf Kaper to limit ourselves here to some general remarks on Theis’ analysis, leaving aside for now the details, which shall obviously be included in the commercial edition of this thesis.

⁸⁹¹ See Kurth, *Treffpunkt*, 240.

⁸⁹² Theis, *Magie*, 235.

⁸⁹³ For an overview of non-textual and textual sources concerning the protection of the house prior to the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, see Jankuhn, *Schutz*, 1-9.

⁸⁹⁴ Jankuhn, *Schutz*, 2-5.

⁸⁹⁵ Jankuhn, *Schutz*, 5 with reference to H. Sottas, *La préservation de la propriété funéraire dans l’ancienne Egypte avec le recueil des formules d’imprécation*. Bibliothèque de l’Ecole des Hautes Études, Sciences Philologiques et Historiques 205. Paris 1913, 7-42; J. Sainte Fare Garnot, *L’appel aux vivants dans les textes funéraires égyptiens des origines à la fin de l’Ancien Empire*. Recherches d’archéologie, de philologie et d’histoire 9. Cairo 1938. See also more recent: D. Czerwik, “The magical or legal punishment for violators of the private Old Kingdom tomb inscriptions”, in: J. Popielska-Grzybowska (ed.), *Proceedings of the First Central*

primarily with magical spells for the protection against the ‘pestilence of the year’,⁸⁹⁶ such as P Edwin Smith XVIII, 1 – XX, 12 mentioned above.⁸⁹⁷ The ritual instructions for one of the spells in this papyrus read: “Let the words be spoken by a man having a stick of *ds*-wood in his hand, while he comes forth into the open and goes around his house. He cannot die by the pest of the year”.⁸⁹⁸ Similar spells for the protection of the house are known from P Chester Beatty VIII,⁸⁹⁹ P Leiden I 346⁹⁰⁰ and P Ramesseum IX.⁹⁰¹ P Cairo 58027 mentioned above lists the ingredients of an ointment used to anoint the person to be protected as well as the window openings of his house.⁹⁰² The theme of putting ointment on window openings in order to keep disease demons from entering the house is also found in P Berlin 3038.⁹⁰³ In P BM 10569 reference is made to “Nut who lights the torch and who makes the protection of the house”.⁹⁰⁴ Another reference to the protection of the house is made in P New York MMA 35.9.21 in the context of a ritual for the protection of Osiris.⁹⁰⁵ In this case, the protection of Osiris is equated with the protection of a list of deities, similar to the spells for the protection of the house in Text 83.

Similar listings of protective deities are also known from other sources, such as the spells for the protection of the body.⁹⁰⁶ Other examples are the lists of *chronocrates*, i.e. the 365 divinities associated with the days of the year, who seem to represent a permanent wall-guard, protecting the entire temple-space as well as the king throughout the year.⁹⁰⁷ A listing of protective deities associated with the hours of the night is also known from P Cairo 58027, mentioned above.⁹⁰⁸ In this case, twelve protective deities associated with the twelve hours of the night are invoked for the protection of the king during the night. In addition to being mentioned in the invocations for each hour of the night, the names of the deities are also listed in the papyrus and depicted in the accompanying vignette.⁹⁰⁹ A listing of protective deities is also found in P Louvre N 3079.⁹¹⁰ As noted in paragraph 3.7.3.1 cols. 110-112 of this papyrus consist of a “ritual of the glorification of Osiris”, to be recited during the Khoiak-festival. As part of this ritual, the sacred places associated with Osiris are listed, accompanied by

European Conference of Young Egyptologists: Egypt 1999: perspectives of research, Warsaw 7-9 June 1999. Światowit Supplement Series E: Egyptology, vol. 1. Warsaw 2001, 21-24.

⁸⁹⁶ Jankuhn, *Schutz*, 5-9.

⁸⁹⁷ See paragraph 3.6.1.

⁸⁹⁸ Breasted, *Edwin Smith*, 478.

⁸⁹⁹ P Chester Beatty VIII vs. 1, 1 – 2, 4; Gardiner, *Chester Beatty*, 71-72. See also paragraph 3.7.3.1.

⁹⁰⁰ P Leiden I 346 III, 4. See Stricker, in: *OMRO* 29 (1948), 55-70; Bommas, *Mythisierung*, 112-113. For this papyrus in the tradition of the practice of invoking Sakhmet, see paragraph 3.6.1.

⁹⁰¹ P Ramesseum IX, 2c; Gardiner, *Ramesseum Papyri*, 13.

⁹⁰² Jankuhn, *Schutz*, 6; Pries, *Stundenritual*, 88-89. For this papyrus in the tradition of rituals for protection during the night, see paragraph 3.7.3.1. For the ritual act of anointing as a means of protection, see paragraph 3.1.1.2, where reference is also made to P Cairo 58027.

⁹⁰³ P Berlin 3038, 6, 5; Jankuhn, *Schutz*, 7; Von Deines *et al.*, *Grundriß der Medizin* 4.1, 152; H. Grapow, *Die medizinischen Texte in hieroglyphischer Umschreibung autographiert*. *Grundriß der Medizin* 5. Berlin 1958, 266-267.

⁹⁰⁴ P BM 10569, 19, 10; R.O. Faulkner, *An Ancient Egyptian Book of Hours (Pap. Brit. Mus. 10569)*. Oxford 1958, 30* and 13. Faulkner translated *s3-pr* simply as “protection”. For the protective function of the lighting of torches in the context of the ritual for the protection of the bedroom, see paragraph 3.7.3.2a.

⁹⁰⁵ P New York MMA 35.9.21, col. 32, 7-13; J.-Cl. Goyon, *Le papyrus d’Imouthes fils de Psintaês au Metropolitan Museum of Art de New-York (Papyrus MMA 35.9.21)*. New York 1999, 72.

⁹⁰⁶ See paragraphs 2.8.3 and 3.8.3.

⁹⁰⁷ For the *chronocrates*, see paragraph 3.6.2.10.2.

⁹⁰⁸ For this papyrus in the tradition of rituals for protection during the night, see paragraph 3.7.3.1.

⁹⁰⁹ P Cairo 58027, x + III, 14 – x + III, 17 and x + IV; Pries, *Stundenritual*, 84-86.

⁹¹⁰ Goyon, in: *BIFAO* 65 (1967), 89-156.

references to protective deities: “Khnum protects you in *Kbhw* (...), Nekhbet protects you in Elkab (...), Isis protects you in *Ik* (...)”, etc.⁹¹¹

Parallel spells for the protection of the house were found by Jankuhn⁹¹² on the exterior architraves of Portico H of the Edfu mammisi,⁹¹³ in South Crypt no. 1 of the temple of Hathor at Dendera⁹¹⁴ and in West Crypt no. 1 of the temple of Hathor at Dendera.⁹¹⁵ Jankuhn did not elaborate on the function and ritual context of these parallel texts. In what follows, an overview is presented of these parallel texts as well as an analysis of the various ritual contexts in which they were used.

3.7.4.1 Edfu, mammisi

A selection of the spells for the protection of the house is inscribed on the exterior face of the architraves of Portico H of the Edfu mammisi,⁹¹⁶ dating to the reign of Ptolemy X.⁹¹⁷ In this case, the spells are written alternately on the northern and western parts, with the spells mentioning the gods of the four cardinal directions being written on the corners.⁹¹⁸ The beneficiaries mentioned in the spells are Harsomtus, Ihy and the king.

As noted in paragraph 3.5.5.2, the main ritual that took place in the Edfu mammisi celebrated the birth-festival of Harsomtus in the month of Pachons.⁹¹⁹ During this festival the legitimacy of royal power was celebrated, as well as the transmission of royal power from Horus to his son Harsomtus, with whom the king was identified.⁹²⁰ Considering the important protective function of the spells for the protection of the house it is not surprising to find these spells in the ritual context of the mammisi, where the protection of the new-born child-god and the theme of the transmission of royal power is central. As such, the ritual context of the spells for the protection of the house in the Edfu mammisi is very close to that of the interior face of the enclosure wall, where the spells are used in the context of the protection of the sacred falcon as part of the rituals of the confirmation and transmission of its royal power on the date of 1 Tybi.

3.7.4.2 Dendera, South Crypt I

The protection of the house is also mentioned in Passage D-E of South Crypt no. 1 of the Hathor temple at Dendera, dating to the reign of Ptolemy XII:⁹²¹ “Words to be spoken by Osiris, the Heliopolitan in the nome of Mendes, the protector; the followers of Seth are (left) in massacre:⁹²² The protection of Ihy, the great, the son of Hathor, the protection of his house,

⁹¹¹ P Louvre N 3079, Col. 111, 73 – Col. 112, 97; Goyon, in: *BIFAO* 65 (1967), 150-154; 105-107. A parallel of this same text is preserved in P BM 10208, see Haikal, *Nesmin*, I, 46-88.

⁹¹² Jankuhn, *Schutz*, 10-11.

⁹¹³ E Mamm 172-181.

⁹¹⁴ D V 151, 18; 152, 9-10.

⁹¹⁵ D VI 90, 20 - 91, 10.

⁹¹⁶ E Mamm 172-181.

⁹¹⁷ It is interesting to note here that parallels for the invocations to the Good Year are also attested in Portico H of the Edfu mammisi, see paragraph 3.5.5.2.

⁹¹⁸ It should be noted that only the spells mentioning the northern and the western gods (nos. 27 and 28) are attested in E Mamm; the spells mentioning the southern and the eastern gods (nos. 26 and 29) are not attested.

⁹¹⁹ E Mamm 6, 8-9; Daumas, *Mammisis*, 262-265; Alliot, *Culte*, 295-296.

⁹²⁰ Daumas, *Mammisis*, 262-265; 276-282; Alliot, *Culte*, 294-296.

⁹²¹ D V 151, 18 and D V 152, 10. W. Waitkus, *Die Texte in den unteren Krypten des Hathortempels von Dendera*. Münchner Ägyptologische Studien 47. Mainz am Rhein 1997, 150; S. Cauville, *Dendara V-VI. Traduction: les cryptes du temple d'Hathor, vol. 1*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 131. Leuven etc. 2004, 251.

⁹²² This phrase is very close to E VI 147, 9 (no. 25).

the protection of his seat, the protection of his bedroom, the protection of every room in which he is” and “Words to be spoken by Shu, the eldest son of Ra, who prepares the amulets for the child: The protection of Harsomtus, the child, the son of Hathor, the protection of his house, the protection of his seat, the protection of his bedroom, the protection of every room in which he is”. The spells accompanying these texts are very similar to the spells for the protection of the house as known from Text 83, but do not consist of exact parallels.⁹²³ As for the ritual context and the beneficiaries of the text, Jankuhn concluded: “Weshalb die Texte in die Crypten des Hathortempels von Dendera gelangten, ist mir leider nicht recht klar. Leider kann man auch nicht sagen, wer dort im Einzelnen geschützt werden sollte”.⁹²⁴ However, the translation of the text presented above shows that the beneficiaries are Ihy and Harsomtus. The spells for the protection of the house were obviously inscribed in the crypts because this was the place where the statues of the gods were housed.⁹²⁵ Spells for the protection of the house are also present in West Crypt no. 1 and therefore the ritual context of the spells in both crypts shall be further analysed in the following paragraph.

3.7.4.3 Dendera, West Crypt I

A selection of spells⁹²⁶ for the protection of the house is inscribed in Passage D-E of West Crypt no. 1 of the Hathor temple at Dendera, dating to the reign of Ptolemy XII.⁹²⁷

In both South Crypt no. 1 and West Crypt no. 1 the spells for the protection of the house are written in Passage D-E, i.e. the passage giving entrance to room E. As such, the access to rooms E of South Crypt no. 1 and West Crypt no. 1 is protected by the deities invoked in the spells. The inscriptions of both rooms refer mainly to the coronation ritual of Ihy, which took place on the date of 2 Thoth at Dendera.⁹²⁸ This ritual celebrated the transmission of royal power from Horus to his son Ihy at Dendera. Considering the similar nature and theme of this ritual and the coronation ritual of the falcon at Edfu, it is not surprising to find the spells for the protection of the house in the context of both of these rituals.

3.7.4.4 Conclusions

The data presented above and summarised in Table 3.4 show that the beneficiaries of the spells for the protection of the house are the king and the gods, which may vary according to the local cult and the ritual context. A comparison of the parallels shows that the recitation of the spells for the protection of the house is situated in the ritual context of the transmission and confirmation of royal power. At Edfu, the texts are recited in the contexts of the festivals of the months Tybi and Pachons, focussing on the transmission of royal power from Horus to the sacred falcon and to the local child-god respectively. At Dendera, the texts are recited in

⁹²³ For example, it is said: “Words to be spoken by Iunmuteḥ, the great god in [...], who overthrows the enemy of the Prince of the White Crown (i.e. Osiris). Words to be spoken by Nut, the great, who gives birth to [the gods], who embraces the chapel of the child (i.e. Ihy). Words to be spoken by Neith, the great, the god’s mother, who protects the child (i.e. Ihy) of the queen. Words to be spoken by the luminous falcon, who exists since the beginning, who preserves the temple of Ihy for eternity” and “Words to be spoken by Tefnut, the daughter of Ra in T3-rr, who protects the great power of the great god (i.e. Ihy). Words to be spoken by Harsiese, the son of Osiris, who protects the divine manifestations of the temple of the (royal) ritual. Words to be spoken by Ra in the land of Atum, who makes the protection of the child of the golden one (i.e. Ihy). Words to be spoken by Horus, the lord of the White Crown, impressive on the forehead, the lord of the Two Lands reunited in one”.

⁹²⁴ Jankuhn, *Schutz*, 12-13.

⁹²⁵ For the function and meaning of the crypts, see Waitkus, *Krypten*.

⁹²⁶ Nos. 52, 54, 60, 61, 64, 65, 80, 82.

⁹²⁷ D VI 90, 20 - 91, 10.

⁹²⁸ See R. Preys, “La fête de la prise de pouvoir d’Ihy “le grand dieu” à Dendara”, in: *ZÄS* 128 (2001), 146-166 and Cauville, *Fêtes*, 19-21.

the context of the festival of the month Thoth, celebrating the transmission of royal power from Horus to the local child-god. These events marked dangerous transitional periods during which divine protection was needed. The recitation of the spells for the protection of the house was aimed at obtaining protection for the king, his substitute the sacred falcon, and the local child-god during these dangerous transitional periods.

Source	Ritual context	Beneficiaries
Edfu, Horus temple, Int. face, n. encl. wall <i>Ptolemy IX-X</i>	Tybi: transmission of royal power from Horus to the sacred falcon	Harsomtus; Ihy; Horus Behdeti; the sacred falcon; the king
Edfu, mammisi, Portico H <i>Ptolemy IX</i>	Pachons: transmission of royal power from Horus to the local child-god	Harsomtus; Ihy; the king
Dendera, Hathor temple, S. Crypt 1, Passage D-E <i>Ptolemy XII</i>	Thoth: transmission of royal power from Horus to the local child-god Also: protection of the statues of the gods, which were housed in the crypts	Ihy; Harsomtus; the king
Dendera, Hathor temple, W. Crypt 1, Passage D-E <i>Ptolemy XII</i>	Thoth: transmission of royal power from Horus to the local child-god Also: protection of the statues of the gods, which were housed in the crypts	Ihy; Harsomtus; the king

Table 3.4 Parallel texts and texts closely associated with the spells for the protection of the house.

3.8 SCENE 8

3.8.1 PRESENTING THE URAEUS AND THE WINGED SCARAB

3.8.1.1 *The uraeus for the protection of the body*

In Scene 8 Thoth is depicted presenting a cord-like object and a uraeus to the sacred falcon and Horus. Texts 93 and 98 suggest that the main components of the ritual for the protection of the body consist of tying the *snb* and the uraeus at the head of the falcon and tying *idmi*-cloth around its neck. Based on the apparent prevalence of these ritual acts and the depiction of the uraeus being held by Thoth in the accompanying image, I hypothesised in paragraph 2.8.2 that the cord-like object held by Thoth can be identified as the *snb*.

An inscription in the Edfu mammisi may provide a further clue as for the function of the *snb* in relation to the tying of the uraeus: “The White crown with her uraeus, the *snb* that forms the headband around her (i.e. the White crown) belongs to you”.⁹²⁹ An example of such a headband with a uraeus tied around the crown of the king can be found in a scene on the interior face of the eastern enclosure wall, where Thoth is depicted engraving the palm rib for Ptolemy IX and offering him “millions of *sd*-festivals, hundreds of thousands of regnal years on your throne in *St-Wrt*”.⁹³⁰

Dittmar suggested that the *snb* is a type of papyrus which has protective qualities similar to the *w3d*-papyrus. As such, the *snb* is associated with Wadjet and the protection of Horus in the marshes of Khemmis.⁹³¹ In some inscriptions at Edfu, the *w3d*-papyrus is replaced by the

⁹²⁹ E Mamm 116, 18-19.

⁹³⁰ E VI 277, 2 – 11; E XIV, pl. DXCIV. For another depiction of the headband with the uraeus tied around the crown, see G. Jéquier, *Les frises d’objets des sarcophages du Moyen Empire*. Mémoires publiés par les membres de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale du Caire 47. Cairo 1921, 46, fig. 109.

⁹³¹ Dittmar, *Blumen*, 52-53; Guerneur, in: Lippert *et al.* (eds), *Sapientia Felicitas*, 182-183.

snb-plant in the *sm3-t3wy* ritual.⁹³² In this respect it is interesting to cite the following text from the *göttliche Randzeile* to Scene 4: “Behdeti (...) unites the *swt*-plant with the *snb*-plant” (Text 45: E VI 309, 6-7). Also here, the *snb*-plant has taken the place of the *w3d*-papyrus as the heraldic plant of Lower-Egypt. In fact, it is precisely this association with the uraeus and the marshes of Khemmis which is also stressed in Text 93. The same relation between Khemmis, the tying of amulets for protection and the *snb* can be found in the ritual for the appeasing of Sakhmet written on the architraves of the pronaos (C’).⁹³³ Here it is said: “Tie for you the knot of the *snb*, your *wd3t*-eye is placed to your head”,⁹³⁴ followed by further references to the tying of various kinds of fabrics for protection,⁹³⁵ after which it is said: “Take the *wd3t*-eye and place it at your front”.⁹³⁶ Goyon has shown that the hymns of the pronaos form part of a ritual of appeasing Sakhmet, the *wd3t*-eye of Ra.⁹³⁷ As such, it is the uraeus that is placed at the head of the king, in the form of the *wd3t*-eye,⁹³⁸ similar to the present Scene 8, where the uraeus is placed at the head of the sacred falcon.⁹³⁹

3.8.1.2 The winged scarab for the protection of the body

In Scene 8, the king is depicted presenting the sacred falcon and Horus with an object that is now lost. Based on Text 95 I hypothesised in paragraph 2.8.2 that the object originally held by the king was the winged scarab referred to in the inscription and said to be applied to the throat of the sacred falcon as a protective amulet. A Khepri-beetle (i.e. winged scarab) is in fact mentioned as one of the protective amulets in the ritual for the protection of the body.⁹⁴⁰ A “Kephri-beetle made of turquoise” is also mentioned as a protective amulet as part of the ritual for the protection of the bedroom in Scene 7, Text 82.⁹⁴¹ The protective function of the scarab-amulet is referred to in E Mamm 146, 13-14: “The tying of the scarab-amulet. Words to be spoken: The divine winged scarab is at your neck”. Khepri is also mentioned in spells for the protection of the body,⁹⁴² for example on the Metternich-stela, where it is said: “The protection of Horus is the noble Khepri-beetle, the great winged scarab, the first of heaven”,⁹⁴³ with a direct parallel in a text on a magical statue base now in Leiden.⁹⁴⁴

⁹³² See Koemoth, in: *GM* 103 (1992), 37 with reference to E III 38, 12; E III 118, 18; E IV 120, 1; E V 176, 14-15; E V 261, 3; E V 309, 7; D VI 126, 8-9.

⁹³³ For this ritual, see also paragraphs 3.6.1, 3.6.3 and 3.7.2.1.

⁹³⁴ E III 311, 7; Goyon, *sh̥tp Sh̥mt*, 48.

⁹³⁵ It is interesting to note here that in E III 311, 9 - after the tying of the *snb* - the tying of the *ntry* is mentioned, similar to Text 98 (E VI 299, 6 – 300, 10), where the tying of the *ntry* is mentioned in the introductory text for the ritual for the protection of the body: “The son of Ra, Ptolemy, is upon his *p*-throne as great ruler in *P-Msn*, and he ties the knot, he ties the *ntrw*-flowers and he makes the protection of Ra and his living *b3*”.

⁹³⁶ Cf. Goyon, *sh̥tp Sh̥mt*, 47-51; 57-61.

⁹³⁷ Goyon, *sh̥tp Sh̥mt*, v-viii.

⁹³⁸ Goyon, *sh̥tp Sh̥mt*, 121-123.

⁹³⁹ The presentation of uraei can also be found on the north face of the pylon gateway (K’), where the theme of the confirmation of royal power is central. Here, the king presents the uraeus of Upper-Egypt (*wrt-ḥk3w šmꜥw*) and the uraeus of Lower-Egypt (*wrt-ḥk3w mḥw*) in two symmetrical scenes to Horus and Hathor (E VIII 80, pl. DCLXVI; E VIII 120, pl. DCLXXIV).

⁹⁴⁰ See paragraph 3.8.2.2b.

⁹⁴¹ See paragraphs 2.7.3 and 3.7.3.2c.

⁹⁴² For the tradition of rituals for the protection of the body, see paragraph 3.8.2.1.

⁹⁴³ Metternich-stela, Spell XIV 227; Sander-Hansen, *Metternichstela*, 66 and 72.

⁹⁴⁴ Leiden F 1950/8.2 IV f 13; A. Klasens, “A magical statue base (Socle Behague) in the Museum of Antiquities at Leiden”, in: *OMRO* 33 (1952), 29 and 56.

3.8.2 THE RITUAL FOR PROTECTION OF THE BODY

3.8.2.1 *The tradition of rituals for the protection of the body*

The ritual of the protection of the body as described in Text 98 forms part of a wider tradition of rituals for the protection of the body. The series of spells for the protection of the body as known from Text 99 is not known prior to the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods, but spells for the protection of the body can already be found in the earliest funerary texts.⁹⁴⁵ In PT Spells 213, 215, 537 and 539 the various body parts of the deceased are associated with specific deities in order to ensure that they will participate in the immortality of these deities. In CT Spells 531, 761, 822 and 945 the same phenomenon may be observed. Also in BD Spells 42, 151, 172 and 181, body parts of the deceased are associated with specific deities with the purpose of immortality for the deceased. In the Litany of Ra, a religious composition dating to the New Kingdom, a list of body-parts of the king, who is equated with Osiris-Re, is enumerated, each body-part being identified with a god.⁹⁴⁶ As Piankoff concluded: “When dead, the king (...) becomes Osiris and Re and takes part with the sun in its cosmic movement (...) The king is blended with the All. He is one and many, he is a god, his members are gods”.⁹⁴⁷ Similarly in the inscriptions on the sarcophagus-lid of Merenptah mentioned in paragraph 3.7.3.2a, where Neith is identified with Nut, whereas the deceased king is identified with the sun-god who rises from Nut.⁹⁴⁸ An enumeration of body parts of Nut forms part of the inscription, which aims to identify the deceased king with the goddess personifying the sarcophagus; as he is placed in the sarcophagus, he is united with Nut.⁹⁴⁹ The inscriptions on the sarcophagus of Ankhnesneferibre, dating to the 26th dynasty, identify the deceased with a variety of deities with the aim of protecting the body of the deceased.⁹⁵⁰

Spells for the protection of the body can also be found in non-funerary magical texts, where the limbs of an individual are equated or associated with specific deities to ensure their protection against sickness and death. The purpose is different from that of the funerary texts, where the spells ensure the unification of the limbs.⁹⁵¹ Many of these magical spells start with the formula “My protection is the protection of heaven, my protection is the protection of the earth”, etc. The eldest known examples of such spells for the protection of the body are found in P Ramesseum VIII,⁹⁵² X, and XVI, dating to the Middle Kingdom. The spells of P Ramesseum X and XVI are concerned with the protection of the body against snakes.⁹⁵³ Later parallels⁹⁵⁴ of the same spells can be found on a prophylactic statue of Ramesses III⁹⁵⁵ and on a magical stela from the Karnak cachette.⁹⁵⁶ In these spells, the person to be protected is equated with Horus. The version of P Ramesseum X is the most extensive, having an introduction, followed by the spell itself and specific ritual instructions, which read: “To be recited over an amulet (?) of *itiw*-cloth made with two knots and given to a man in his right

⁹⁴⁵ Ghattas, *Schutz*, 1-20.

⁹⁴⁶ A. Piankoff, *The Litany of Re*. New York 1964, 38-39.

⁹⁴⁷ Piankoff, *Litany*, 50-51.

⁹⁴⁸ Cairo JE 85911; Assmann, in: *MDAIK* 28, 1 (1972), 51, l. 20 ff..

⁹⁴⁹ J. Assmann, “Neith spricht als Mutter und Sarg (Interpretation und metrische Analyse der Sargdeckelinschrift des Merenptah)”, in: *MDAIK* 28, 2 (1972), 115 ff..

⁹⁵⁰ C.E. Sander-Hansen, *Die religiösen Texte auf dem Sarg der Ankhnesneferibre*. Copenhagen 1937, 67, 126-136.

⁹⁵¹ Ghattas, *Schutz*, 21-29.

⁹⁵² Papyrus Ramesseum VIII, 1, 3-8; Gardiner, *Ramesseum Papyri*, 12.

⁹⁵³ P Ramesseum X 1,1-2,2 and XVI 7a.5-8.7; Gardiner, *Ramesseum Papyri*, 13, 15-16.

⁹⁵⁴ H. Altenmüller, “Ein Zauberspruch zum “Schutz des Leibes”, in: *GM* 33 (1979), 7-12.

⁹⁵⁵ Cairo JE 69771, spell VI; E. Drioton, “Une statue prophylactique de Ramsès III”, in: *ASAE* 39 (1939), 75-76.

⁹⁵⁶ Cairo JE 37508; M.G. Daressy, “Stèle de Karnak avec textes magiques”, in: *ASAE* 17 (1917), 194-196.

hand”.⁹⁵⁷ In P Berlin 3027 the body parts of the person to be protected, in this case a young child, are equated with various deities with the aim of protecting the child against sickness or death.⁹⁵⁸ Spell no. 3 of P Leiden I 348, dating to the 19th dynasty, consists of a spell against headaches, in which a mask is put on the head of the patient. Each of the parts of the mask are associated with a protective divinity.⁹⁵⁹ Spell no. 12 of the same papyrus also lists body parts protected by a particular god as part of a spell for protection against ailment.⁹⁶⁰ In P Chester Beatty VIII a list of limbs placed under the protection of a particular deity is enumerated as part of a spell for protecting the various parts of someone’s body.⁹⁶¹ In P Chester Beatty VII a list of limbs is enumerated as part of a spell against scorpion venom. Each of the limbs, in which the poison could hide, is placed under the protection of a particular deity.⁹⁶² The same ritual practice can be found in P Vatican 19a,⁹⁶³ P Geneva MAH 15274,⁹⁶⁴ P Turin 1995+1996,⁹⁶⁵ and P Leiden I 343 + I 345,⁹⁶⁶ all dating to the Ramesside period.

A later version of the spells for protection against scorpions and snakes such as those on the prophylactic statue of Ramesses III is written on a magical statue base now in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, dating probably to the beginning of the Ptolemaic Period.⁹⁶⁷ Here, in spell IV, the protection of the person to be protected is equated to the protection of Horus. In turn, the protection of Horus is equated to the protection of a variety of divine entities.⁹⁶⁸ A parallel is found in spell XIV of the Metternich stela, dating to the 30th dynasty.⁹⁶⁹ Also in spell VIII of the Leiden magical statue base the various body parts of the person to be protected are equated with a variety of deities, and in conclusion it is written: “No member of his is without a god; every one of them is the protection of his body, from his head to his foot-soles”.⁹⁷⁰ In spell X the various body parts of the person to be protected are associated again with Horus.⁹⁷¹ Parallels of this spell can be found in spell XII of the Metternich stela,⁹⁷² on a healing statue now in the museum of Beirut,⁹⁷³ and on Horus-cippus Cairo 9402.⁹⁷⁴ In spell III of the Metternich stela, which is a “spell for exorcising poison from a cat”, each limb of the patient, identified with a cat, is placed under the protection of a

⁹⁵⁷ Altenmüller, in: *GM* 33 (1979), 7-12.

⁹⁵⁸ P Berlin 3027 vs. IV, 6 – VI, 1; Yamazaki, *Zaubersprüche*, 48-51. For this papyrus in the context of the ritual for the protection of the bedroom, see paragraphs 3.7.3.2b, 3.7.3.2d and 3.7.3.2f.

⁹⁵⁹ P Leiden I 348, rt. I, 5 – II, 9; Borghouts, *Papyrus Leiden I 348*, 15-16. A fragmentary version of this spell is found on O Michaelidis 97; see H. Goedicke and E. Wente, *Ostraka Michaelides*. Wiesbaden 1962, pl. 32.

⁹⁶⁰ P Leiden I 348, rt. IV, 10 – VI, 4; Borghouts, *Papyrus Leiden I 348*, 19-20.

⁹⁶¹ P Chester Beatty VIII, rt. [VI, ...] – VIII, 9; Gardiner, *Chester Beatty*, 69-70.

⁹⁶² P Chester Beatty VII, vs. II, 5 – V, 5; Gardiner, *Chester Beatty*, 63-64.

⁹⁶³ P Vatican 19a, rt. II, 1 – IV, 11; P.E. Suys, “Le papyrus magique du Vatican”, in: *Orientalia, Nova Series* 3 (1934), 63-87.

⁹⁶⁴ P Geneva MAH 15274, rt. I, 1 – II, 6; A. Massart, “The Egyptian Geneva Papyrus MAH 15274”, in: *MDAIK* 15 (1957), 172-185.

⁹⁶⁵ P Turin 1995+1996, l. 5-11; W. Pleyte and F. Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin, vol. I*. Leiden 1869-1876, 160-162; W. Pleyte and F. Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin, vol. II*. Leiden 1869-1876, pl. 125; A. Roccati, *Magica Taurinensia. Il grande papiro magico di Torino e i suoi duplicati*. *Analecta Orientalia* 56. Rome 2011, 27.

⁹⁶⁶ P Leiden I 343 + I 345 rt. XXI-XXII; A. Massart, *The Leiden magical papyrus I 343 + I 345*. OMRO Supplement 34. Leiden 1954.

⁹⁶⁷ Statue Leiden F1950/8.2; Klasens, in: *OMRO* 33 (1952), 2.

⁹⁶⁸ Klasens, in: *OMRO* 33 (1952), 56-57.

⁹⁶⁹ Metternich stela spell XIV; Sander-Hansen, *Metternichstela*, 60-76.

⁹⁷⁰ Klasens, in: *OMRO* 33 (1952), 60.

⁹⁷¹ Klasens, in: *OMRO* 33 (1952), 62-63.

⁹⁷² Metternich stela spell XII; Sander-Hansen, *Metternichstela*, 56-59.

⁹⁷³ P. Montet, *Byblos et l’Égypte: quatre campagnes de fouilles à Gebeil, 1921-1922-1923-1924*. Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 11. Paris 1928, 249-252 (no. 948).

⁹⁷⁴ M.G. Daressy, *Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, nos. 9401-9449. Textes et dessins magiques*. Cairo 1903, 3-11.

deity.⁹⁷⁵ A parallel of this spell can be found on the healing statue of Djedhor, also dating to the 30th dynasty.⁹⁷⁶ A similar inscription in which body parts are associated with particular deities is written on a socle found at Dendera. Daumas argued that this socle may have belonged to a healing statue.⁹⁷⁷ Interestingly, the inscription ends as follows: “Make [the protection] that is in every limb of this living *ḥm*-falcon, this living *bik*-falcon, forever”.

As mentioned before, similar listings of protective deities are also known from other sources, such as the spells for the protection of the house⁹⁷⁸ and the lists of *chronocrates*, i.e. the 365 divinities associated with the days of the year, whose function seems to have been to protect the king throughout the year.⁹⁷⁹

At Edfu, the protection of the body (*mkt ḥꜥw*) is mentioned in the House of Books (E') as part of a text listing the sacred books that were kept in the scriptorium.⁹⁸⁰ In this case, the title of the book *mkt ḥꜥw* is mentioned together with other books of protection: “the protection of the king in his house” (*s3 nyswt m pr=f*) and “the spells for repelling the evil eye” (*r3w nw ḥsf irt bint*).⁹⁸¹ On the interior face of the northern enclosure wall (I') the ritual *mkt ḥꜥw* is mentioned three times in the context of the coronation ritual of the sacred falcon.⁹⁸² Here, the protection of the sacred falcon is equated with the protection of a particular deity.

Two inscriptions from Edfu mammisi which shall be further discussed in paragraph 3.8.3.1 also mention the protection of the body.⁹⁸³ The protection of the body is also mentioned in a scene on the pylon gateway (K'), where the king is depicted presenting Horus and Hathor with a *wḏ3*-amulet (*ts wḏ3*).⁹⁸⁴ Interestingly, this scene bears precisely the same title as Scene 8 on the interior face of the northern enclosure wall, in which the ritual for the protection of the body takes a central place. The ritual text accompanying the *ts wḏ3* scene on the pylon gateway reads: “I bring you the amulet that protects your body, your mother Isis who protects you.”⁹⁸⁵ The amulet is at your throat, the necklace is at your neck, preserving your body from evil. The heart-amulets are at your throat, increasing the fear of you, protecting your body and removing chaos”.⁹⁸⁶

3.8.2.2 The protection of the body

This ritual for the protection of the body as described in Text 98 (E VI 299, 6 – 300, 10) consists of the following phases, which shall each be discussed in detail below:

- a) [Tying a ...] and a uraeus to the head
- b) Presenting protective amulets
- c) Tying cloth around the neck
- d) Presenting protective amulets and stone beads
- e) Drawing protective images
- f) Anointing with myrrh and fragrant fat
- g) Protecting with reed and papyrus and with doum- and date palms

⁹⁷⁵ Metternich stela spell III; Sander-Hansen, *Metternichstela*, 20-29.

⁹⁷⁶ Statue Cairo JE 46341, l. 162-180; E. Jelinková-Reymond, *Les inscriptions de la statue guérissante de Djed-Her-le-Saveur*. Bibliothèque d'Étude 23. Cairo 1956, 78-84.

⁹⁷⁷ F. Daumas, “Le sanatorium de Dendara”, in: *BIFAO* 56 (1957), 43-46.

⁹⁷⁸ See paragraphs 2.7.3 and 3.7.4.

⁹⁷⁹ See paragraph 3.6.2.10.2.

⁹⁸⁰ E III 351, 9.

⁹⁸¹ E III 351, 9. For the catalogue of books listed in the scriptorium, cf. Grimm, in: Schoske (ed.), *Akten Ägyptologen Kongresses Band 3*, 159-169.

⁹⁸² Text 98 (E VI 299, 9 and E VI 300, 9) and Text 99 (E VI 301, 4).

⁹⁸³ E Mamm 108, 10-11 and E Mamm 119, 15.

⁹⁸⁴ E VIII 47, 20 – 48, 16; pl. CLXXXIV; Bartels, *Darstellungen*, pl. 11.

⁹⁸⁵ A figure of Isis is in fact depicted on the amulet held by the king, see pl. CLXXXIV.

⁹⁸⁶ E VIII 47, 20 – 48, 4.

- h) Tying a knot
- i) Purifying and spitting
- j) Drawing images on dishes
- k) [Purifying]
- l) Anointing with oil
- m) Tying and untying a knot
- n) Breaking painted [dishes]
- o) Presenting milk
- p) Conclusion of the ritual

a) [*Tying a ...*] and a uraeus to the head

Ritual text: “[... ..] your [...] <for> your head. He ties the *wrt-ḥkꜣw*-snake (i.e. the uraeus) around the top of your head” (E VI 299, 10).

In Text 93 the same ritual acts are mentioned: “Tying the amulet. Words to be spoken: The amulet is in front of you as (something) that I (i.e. Thoth) made myself, the one that came into existence in Khemmis (i.e. the uraeus) is in front of you. The *snb* is destined for your head, the uraeus belongs to the top of your head. The gods are united with you, the uraei are lifted up high. The piece of *idmi*-cloth is tied to your neck. Your protection is the protection of the gods.” (E VI 298, 2-5). Based on Texts 93 and 98 as well as the accompanying image to Scene 8 it was concluded in paragraph 3.8.1.1 that the main components of the ritual for the protection of the body consist of tying the *snb* and the uraeus at the head of the falcon and tying a piece of *idmi*-cloth around its neck. Unfortunately the first part of the present text is broken off, with only the last sign of the word (Gardiner M4) still being visible. Kurth suggests to complete the lacuna with *ntry*, based on E VI 299, 7.⁹⁸⁷ However, a reconstruction with *ntry* does not match with Text 93, where a description of the same ritual act is given, mentioning the *snb* instead of the *ntry*: “The *snb* is destined for your head, the uraeus belongs to the top of your head.” (E VI 298, 2-5). A solution may be found in Text 99, where it is said: “The protective amulet for the protection of the body is made for him by his mother Isis. She ties for him the protection of the divine *snb* (*snb ntry*), in order to repel for him those that overstep his boundaries, and to repel for him the hostile forces. Protection upon protection, protection comes” (E VI 301, 2-4). The tying of the *snb ntry* for protection is also mentioned in D Mamm 20, 4-5: “You are protected because I make your protection by the knot of the divine *snb* [at your neck]”. In an inscription from West Crypt no. 1 at the temple of Dendera, it is said: “The *wdꜣ*-amulet in electrum, held by the divine *snb* is knotted to her throat in all its beauty”.⁹⁸⁸ These examples suggest that the lacuna in our present text may be restored with *snb ntry*, “divine *snb*”, which is in line with Text 93 cited above, where the same ritual acts of tying the *snb* and the uraeus at the head of the falcon are mentioned.

As for the agent of the ritual act, Kurth suggested that the king is addressing the sacred falcon here.⁹⁸⁹ However, the ritual act described here is illustrated in the accompanying image to Scene 8, where Thoth is depicted presenting the *snb* and a uraeus to the sacred falcon and Horus. Therefore the lacuna in the text can be restored as *ts=f* “he ties”, with the agent being Thoth.

⁹⁸⁷ Kurth, *Edfou VI Übersetzungen*, 536, n. 6. It should be remarked here that the sign still visible in E VI 299, 10 does not match with the spelling of *ntryw* in E VI 299, 7.

⁹⁸⁸ D VI 99, 3. See also paragraph 3.7.2.1 for this inscription in relation to the analysis of the nature of the *snb*.

⁹⁸⁹ Kurth, *Edfou VI Übersetzungen*, 536, n. 5.

b) Presenting protective amulets

Ritual text: “I assemble for you a falcon made of [...] and a beetle made of faience” (E VI 299, 10)

The amulets presented here are a falcon (*bik*) and a scarab (*hpr*). In the accompanying image to Scene 8, the king is depicted presenting the falcon and Horus with an offering that is unfortunately now lost. As suggested in paragraph 2.8.2, the object originally depicted in the hand of the king may have been the scarab-amulet referred to in the accompanying inscription to the king as well as in the present text.

Amulets of a falcon and a scarab are also mentioned in Scene 7 as part of the ritual for the protection of the bedroom. In paragraph 3.7.3.2c it was pointed out that an amulet in the shape of a falcon made of faience is used in P Brooklyn 47.218.50 in the context of the rituals of 1 Thoth and that an amulet of the scarab is used in the *Stundenritual* (P Cairo 58027 and D Mamm) for protection during the night. The scarab as an amulet for the protection of the body is known from several other sources. As mentioned in paragraph 3.8.1.2 the protective function of Khepri is mentioned on the Metternich-stela as part of the spells for the protection of the body,⁹⁹⁰ with a direct parallel in a text on a magical statue base now in Leiden.⁹⁹¹

As for the agent of the ritual act, it is clear that the king addresses the sacred falcon. Perhaps the ritual act described here is illustrated in the accompanying image to Scene 8, where the king is depicted presenting the sacred falcon and Horus with an object that is now lost but that may be identified as the winged scarab.⁹⁹²

c) Tying cloth around the neck

Ritual text: “He (i.e. Thoth) gives you a piece of *idmi*-cloth around your throat” (E VI 299, 10-11).

As pointed out in paragraph 3.8.1.1, the tying of *idmi*-cloth is mentioned together with the tying of the *snb* and the uraeus in Texts 93 and 98 suggest that these ritual acts form the main components of the ritual for the protection of the body. As shown in paragraph 3.7.3.2b the tying of bands of cloth around the neck and the head of the falcon also forms an important part of the ritual for the protection of the bedroom in Scene 7. The tying of *idmi*-cloth adorned with images as mentioned in P Brooklyn 47.218.50 as part of the ritual of the confirmation of royal power was referred to in paragraph 3.7.3.2b.⁹⁹³ The protective qualities associated with *idmi*-cloth are also known from the ritual instructions added to the spell in § 44 of P Brooklyn 47.218.138, as mentioned in paragraph 3.7.3.2c.⁹⁹⁴ In CT 728 *idmi*-cloth has a central role in a spell for the protection of the bed of the deceased. Besides its protective qualities, *idmi* is also associated with regenerative properties. As such it has an important role in royal festivals associated with regeneration: the *sd*-robe made of *idmi*-cloth was worn by the king during the *sd*-festival,⁹⁹⁵ the Opet-festival⁹⁹⁶ and the royal coronation.⁹⁹⁷ Furthermore, the presentation of incense materials, ointment and *idmi*-cloth also formed an essential part of the *sd*-festival.⁹⁹⁸ Rummel concluded that the regenerative qualities of these products were essential in the

⁹⁹⁰ Metternich-stela, Spell XIV 227; Sander-Hansen, *Metternichstela*, 66 and 72.

⁹⁹¹ Leiden F 1950/8.2 IV f 13; Klasens, in: *OMRO* 33 (1952), 29 and 56.

⁹⁹² See paragraphs 2.8.2 and 3.8.1.2.

⁹⁹³ P Brooklyn 47.218.50 I, 9. See Goyon, *Confirmation*, 20.

⁹⁹⁴ P Brooklyn 47.218.138, § 44 (x + XV, 10-15); Goyon, *Recueil de prophylaxie*, 108-109.

⁹⁹⁵ Rummel, in: *SAK* 34 (2006), 387-395.

⁹⁹⁶ Rummel, in: *SAK* 34 (2006), 402 and 403, fig. 11. The Opet-festival celebrates the union of the king with his royal *k3* and his consequent rejuvenation and divinisation.

⁹⁹⁷ Rummel, in: *SAK* 34 (2006), 403, fig. 11 with reference to Deir el-Bahari III, pl. LXVI.

⁹⁹⁸ Rummel, in: *SAK* 34 (2006), 387-395.

preparation of the king for his regeneration and facilitated the renewal of kingship.⁹⁹⁹ The regenerative properties of *idmi* are also apparent from CT 728 mentioned above, where *idmi* is associated with the recovery of the body and the senses, as well as from its appearance in the opening of the mouth ritual¹⁰⁰⁰ and the embalming ritual, where the mummy wrappings made of *idmi*-cloth are used in order to bring about the deceased's rebirth.¹⁰⁰¹

d) Presenting protective amulets and stone beads

Ritual text: "I bring you a (figure of a) ram and a child made of lapis lazuli and a (figure/amulet of) Kherty and Khnum made of faience. [... ...] beautiful [...] made of semi-precious stone and papyrus-amulets made of lapis lazuli and turquoise. I string for you beads made of real semi-precious stone, a Taweret made of flint and copper, an image of Ra made of gold to which watches over your limbs and a baboon-amulet made of faience that makes your protection. [...] heart-amulets made of *s3wy*-gold, a frog-amulet made of silver, protective amulets made of [...] and lapis lazuli" (E VI 299, 11-14).

The following protective amulets are used:

- Amulets of a ram¹⁰⁰² and a child¹⁰⁰³ (*b3 hn̄ h*) made of lapis lazuli. Reference to the protection of "the child" is also mentioned in the spells for the protection of the body (Text 99: E VI 300, 10 – 302, 3): "His protection is the protection of this beautiful child, that was <conceived> yesterday and that was born <today>, and vice versa". Amulets of rams are associated with virility and creative powers and may represent a variety of deities, such as Amun-Ra, Khnum, Heryshef, and Banebdjet.¹⁰⁰⁴ The ram-amulet seems to be important in this ritual, as the next two amulets to be presented are Kherty and Khnum.
- Amulets of Kherty¹⁰⁰⁵ and Khnum¹⁰⁰⁶ made of faience. Kherty is mentioned in PT spell 539 as part of a spell for the protection of the body. Here, the chin of the deceased is equated with Kherty of Letopolis. Kherty is also mentioned in PT spell 534 as part of a spell for the protection of the tomb. Khnum is mentioned as part of a spell for the protection of the body on the sarcophagus of *T3y=s-nht*, where he is equated with the flesh of the deceased.¹⁰⁰⁷
- Amulets of [...] made of semi-precious stone.¹⁰⁰⁸
- Papyrus-amulets made of lapis lazuli and turquoise. The papyrus-amulet is a symbol for resurrection and new life. The papyrus as an amulet is first mentioned in CT spell 106. In BD spells 159 and 160 the papyrus is said to be placed at the throat of the deceased.¹⁰⁰⁹ Being the symbol of Lower-Egypt, the papyrus is associated with the goddess Wadjet, and as such it has great protective qualities.¹⁰¹⁰
- A string of beads made of semi-precious stone. It is interesting to note here that a necklace of carnelian is mentioned in Scene 7 as part of the ritual for the protection of the bedroom.¹⁰¹¹

⁹⁹⁹ Rummel, in: SAK 34 (2006), 395.

¹⁰⁰⁰ See E. Otto, *Das Ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual. Teil II: Kommentar*. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 3. Wiesbaden 1960, 118-119 (Szene 53).

¹⁰⁰¹ For *idmi*-cloth in the embalming ritual, see Töpfer, *Balsamierungsritual*, 102 (x+3.15) and 191 (x+10.5).

¹⁰⁰² For ram amulets, see Andrews, *Amulets*, 30-31 and figs. 20d, 21e, 27, 28a, 66h.

¹⁰⁰³ For child amulets, in particular Horus the Child, see Andrews, *Amulets*, 16 and fig. 10.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Andrews, *Amulets*, 30-31.

¹⁰⁰⁵ For the god Kherty, see Leitz, *LGG* VI, 48a-c; R. Weill, "Le dieu Hrtj", in: *Miscellanea Gregoriana. Raccolta di scritti pubblicati nel i centenario dalla Fondazione del Museo Egizio 1839-1939*. Vatican 1941, 381-391.

¹⁰⁰⁶ For Khnum amulets, see Andrews, *Amulets*, 30-31 and figs. 20d, 21e, 27, 28a, 66h.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Leitz, *LGG* VI, 25b-27c, with reference to A. Mariette and G. Maspero, *Monuments divers recueillis en Egypte et en Nubie*. Paris 1872-1889, pl. 62a.

¹⁰⁰⁸ For the use of semi-precious stone for amulets, see Andrews, *Amulets*, 102-104.

¹⁰⁰⁹ See Andrews, *Amulets*, 81-82 and fig. 83

¹⁰¹⁰ See also paragraph 3.3.4.

¹⁰¹¹ See paragraph 3.7.3.2c.

- An amulet of Taweret made of flint and copper.¹⁰¹² An amulet of Taweret made of faience is mentioned in Scene 7 as part of the ritual for the protection of the bedroom. The amulet refers to the protective function of the hippopotamus goddesses.¹⁰¹³
- An amulet of Ra made of gold.¹⁰¹⁴ In Text 95 reference is made to Ra in relation to the amulet of a winged scarab presented to the falcon: “The divine beetle is destined for your throat. These your limbs are the limbs of Ra. Protection upon protection; protection [comes]” (E VI 298, 8-11). Perhaps the object originally depicted in the hand of the king in Scene 8 was the scarab referred to in the inscription and said to be applied to the throat of the sacred falcon as a protective amulet.¹⁰¹⁵ Ra is mentioned twice in the spells for the protection of the body (Text 99: E VI 300, 10 - 302, 3): “His protection is the protection of Montu-Ra-Atum, and vice versa; his protection is the protection of Ra, the bull of his two heavens, and vice versa”. Ra is also mentioned in the final formula to the spells (Text 100: E VI 302, 3 – 303, 14). Here, the body of the sacred falcon is equated with the body of Ra-Horakhty and the falcon is said to be protected like Ra. It is also said that the uraeus, which came forth from Ra, belongs to the sacred falcon. The uraeus is equated with Sakhmet, the protectress of Ra and as such the protectress of the sacred falcon.
- An amulet of a baboon made of faience.¹⁰¹⁶ The baboon was associated with Thoth, who is mentioned three times in the spells for the protection of the body (Text 99: E VI 300, 10 - 302, 3): “His protection is the protection of Thoth, the twice great, the lord of Hermopolis, and vice versa” (...); his protection is the protection of Thoth, who separates the two fighters, and vice versa” (...); his protection is the protection of Isdes (i.e. Thoth), who indeed is not a human being, and vice versa”. In the final formula to the spells (Text 100: E VI 302, 3 – 303, 14), the sacred falcon is equated with Thoth.
- Heart-amulets made of gold.¹⁰¹⁷ A necklace with two heart-amulets is presented to Horus and Hathor in a scene on the pylon gateway (K’).¹⁰¹⁸ As mentioned in paragraph 3.8.2.1, this scene bears precisely the same title as Scene 8, in which the ritual for the protection of the body is central. The ritual text accompanying the *ts wd3* scene on the pylon gateway reads: “I bring you the amulet that protects your body, your mother Isis who protects you. The amulet is at your throat, the necklace is at your neck, preserving your body from evil. The heart-amulets are at your throat, increasing the fear of you, protecting your body and removing chaos”.¹⁰¹⁹
- A frog-amulet made of silver. The frog was associated with the goddess Heqet.¹⁰²⁰ As a symbol of new life and regeneration it was associated with the annual inundation and New Year.¹⁰²¹ In South Crypt I, room C of the temple of Dendera, a protective demon in the form of a frog-headed baboon holding two knives is depicted.¹⁰²² Heqet is mentioned several times as part of spells for the protection of the body.¹⁰²³ In PT 945 the hinder-parts of the deceased are equated with her, in CT spell 945 the anus is equated with Heqet, and in the inscription on the socle found at Dendera the legs are equated with Heqet and Selket.¹⁰²⁴
- Protective amulets made of [...] and lapis lazuli.

e) Drawing protective images

Ritual text: “I create images of gods in drawing” (E VI 299, 14).

¹⁰¹² For Taweret amulets, see Andrews, *Amulets*, 40-41 and figs. 31b-c, 39, 43e, 66i.

¹⁰¹³ See paragraph 3.7.3.2a.

¹⁰¹⁴ For Ra amulets, see Andrews, *Amulets*, 29, and fig. 25c, 26e.

¹⁰¹⁵ See paragraph 3.8.1.2.

¹⁰¹⁶ For baboon amulets, see Andrews, *Amulets*, 27, 66-67, and figs. 24, 66a.

¹⁰¹⁷ For heart amulets, see Andrews, *Amulets*, 72-73 and figs. 56, 61, 66b, 66k.

¹⁰¹⁸ E VIII 47, 20 – 48, 16; pl. CLXXXIV; Bartels, *Darstellungen*, pl. 11.

¹⁰¹⁹ E VIII 47, 20 – 48, 4.

¹⁰²⁰ Leitz, *LGG* V 490b – 491b.

¹⁰²¹ See Andrews, *Amulets*, 63 and figs. 28h, 93b; L. Kákossy, *LÄ* II, 1977, 334-336, “Frosch”.

¹⁰²² D V 141 and pl. CCCCXXXI. The demon concerned is *Wpwtj*, see Leitz, *LGG* II, 362b-c.

¹⁰²³ Text 99; E VI 300, 10 - 302, 3. For the spells for the protection of the body, see paragraphs 2.8.3 and 3.8.3.

¹⁰²⁴ For this socle in the context of the rituals for the protection of the body, see paragraph 3.8.2.1.

A similar ritual act is described in Scene 7 as part of the ritual for the protection of the bedroom. Here, images of apotropaic deities are drawn in the sand under the bed of the sacred falcon, and a *wḏt*-eye is drawn upon the ground.¹⁰²⁵

f) Anointing with myrrh and fragrant fat

Ritual text: “I anoint your head with myrrh from Punt. I anoint your body with fragrant fat” (E VI 299, 14-15).

The anointment of the sacred falcon also forms part of the ritual for the protection of the bedroom in Scene 7. In this case it is said that the body of the falcon is anointed with “water of your mouth”, i.e. spittle.¹⁰²⁶ As pointed out in paragraph 3.1.1.2 anointing as a means of ensuring protection is known from various ritual contexts, such as funerary ritual, the rituals for protection during the epagomenal days, and the rituals of the confirmation of royal power. The anointing of the sacred falcon is central in Scene 1 and also here, allusions to Punt are made in connection with the act of anointing.¹⁰²⁷

g) Protecting with reed and papyrus and with doum- and date palms

Ritual text: “I have made your protection with the reed of Upper-Egypt, with the papyrus of Lower-Egypt, and with the doum palms and date palms of Hathor” (E VI 299, 15).

The falcon is protected with the symbols of Upper- and Lower-Egypt, i.e. the *swt*-reed and the *wḏt*-papyrus.¹⁰²⁸ The word *swt* is a metaphor not only for the land of Upper-Egypt, but also for Upper-Egyptian kingship and the Upper-Egyptian crown or uraeus.¹⁰²⁹ The latter is illustrated in E VI 285, 4-5: “Offering the two uraei. Words to be spoken: ‘I have taken the *swt*-reed and I have seized the *wḏt*-papyrus; I join the two uraei’”. Similarly in E VI 286, 1-2: “The *bik*-falcon is mighty on his *bḥdw*-throne, seizing his inheritance in triumph, raising the *swt*-reed, seizing the *wḏt*-papyrus, uniting the two halves in the form of the two mistresses”. The protective function of the *wḏt*-papyrus is referred to also in the final apotropaic formula to the invocation to Sakhmet-Wadjet in Scene 3, to the invocations to the Good Year in Scene 5, as well as to the invocations to Sakhmet in Scene 6.¹⁰³⁰ In the present text, protection is given furthermore with the (leaves of the) doum palms and date palms. The doum palm is associated in particular with southern regions such as Nubia,¹⁰³¹ whereas the date palm is associated with Upper-Egypt.¹⁰³² The doum palm and the date palm are also the sacred trees of Hathor, which seem to have an apotropaic function in the present ritual.¹⁰³³

h) Tying a knot

Ritual text: “I tie for you an inscribed knot, according to its time, made of *sšd*-band, *nwt*-yarn and *pḏkt*-linen” (E VI 300, 1).

¹⁰²⁵ See paragraph 3.7.3.2d.

¹⁰²⁶ See paragraph 3.7.3.2e.

¹⁰²⁷ See paragraph 2.1.2.

¹⁰²⁸ For the protective function of the *wḏt*-papyrus, see paragraph 3.3.4.

¹⁰²⁹ Wilson, *Ptolemaic lexikon*, 814.

¹⁰³⁰ See paragraph 3.3.4.

¹⁰³¹ I. Wallert, *Die Palmen im Alten Ägypten*. Münchner Ägyptologische Studien 1. Berlin 1962, 79-81.

¹⁰³² Wallert, *Palmen*, 74-79.

¹⁰³³ N. Baum, *Arbres et arbustes de l'Égypte ancienne: la liste de la tombe thébaine d'Ineni (n 81)*. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 31. Leuven etc. 1988, 90-120.

As mentioned in paragraph 3.7.3.2*b* the tying of knots is also an important feature of the ritual for the protection of the bedroom in Scene 7. In the present case, a knot is tied of *sšd*-band, which was mentioned in paragraph 3.5.4 and where it was shown to be closely associated with the theme of birth and renewal. Therefore, it is found in the context of funerary ritual, birth ritual, the royal coronation ritual, the royal *sd*-festival, and the rituals of the renewal of royal power.

i) Purifying and spitting

Ritual text: “I purify your face, I spit for you on the ground, (while) you make the *rmn*-gesture four times and (while you) spit” (E VI 300, 1-2).

The ritual act of spitting is also referred to in Scene 7 as part of the ritual for the protection of the bedroom. Here, the body of the falcon is anointed with spittle.¹⁰³⁴ In the present text, the act of spitting is associated with purification. The purifying function of spittle is well known from other sources.¹⁰³⁵ For example, in CT spell 527 it is said: “My purification is the purification of the spittle which issued from the mouth of Ra-Atum”. As for the *rmn*-gesture, Kurth suggests that this gesture was probably meant to greet the god.¹⁰³⁶ He also pointed out that the combination of the ritual acts of washing or brushing against the face and spitting can be found in Text III, l. 420-424 in Papyri Graecae Magicae I.¹⁰³⁷ This corpus of magical texts found in Thebes and dating from the second century BC to the fifth century AD is written in Greek, but shows a strong influence of Egyptian religion.¹⁰³⁸ Here, the ritual instructions say: “Speak into your hand seven times in front of the sun, stroke your face, spit, move your thumb from your nose up to your forehead. Facing the sun, speak seven times into your hand, spit once, stroke your face, and go on to the procedure and gift”.¹⁰³⁹

j) Drawing images on dishes

Ritual text: “I draw for you images on dishes with ink and ochre, washed under jubilations” (E VI 300, 2).

The ritual act of drawing images on bowls or dishes reminds one of execration rituals such as the ritual of the breaking of the red pots (*sd dšrwt*).¹⁰⁴⁰ This ritual of annihilation is well attested as part of funerary ritual and it is mentioned as early as the Pyramid Texts. A scene in the Luxor temple depicts Amenhotep III performing the ritual of breaking the red pots before Amun-Ra. Cauville remarked that the ritual is not known from other temples.¹⁰⁴¹ Kurth translated the present passage as follows: “Ich zeichne für dich (Feind-)Bilder auf Gefäße mit Tinte und Ockerfarbe, abgewaschen unter Jubel”,¹⁰⁴² adding the word “enemies” between brackets, probably based on the subsequent mention of the breaking of objects that had been

¹⁰³⁴ See paragraph 3.7.3.2*e*.

¹⁰³⁵ Cf. Ritner, *Mechanics*, 78-82.

¹⁰³⁶ Kurth, *Edfou VI Übersetzungen*, 537, n. 9 with reference to B. Dominicus, *Gesten und Gebärden in Darstellungen des Alten und Mittleren Reiches*. Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Ägyptens 10. Heidelberg 1994, 38 and 182 ff..

¹⁰³⁷ Kurth, *Edfou VI Übersetzungen*, 537, n. 7.

¹⁰³⁸ Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri*, xli-lxiii.

¹⁰³⁹ Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri*, 29.

¹⁰⁴⁰ See S. Schoske, *LÄ VI*, 1985, 1009-1012, “Vernichtungsrituale”; J. van Dijk, *LÄ VI*, 1985, 1389-1396, “Zerbrechen der roten Töpfe”.

¹⁰⁴¹ Cauville, *Offerings*, 31.

¹⁰⁴² Kurth, *Edfou VI Übersetzungen*, 537.

painted with ochre, which in turn he interpreted as the ritual of breaking the red pots.¹⁰⁴³ However, the dishes mentioned in the present text are not the well-known *dšrwt*, but the *mḥwt*-dishes. The latter are mentioned twice in P Leiden I 348 as part of a spell against a disease of the belly (Spell 23) and in a spell for keeping the heart at its place (Spell 35).¹⁰⁴⁴ The ritual instructions accompanying Spell 23 read: “This spell is to be recited, being written on a new *mḥt*-dish <with> yellow ochre. To anoint with honey and to wash a man who suffers from his belly”. The ritual instructions accompanying Spell 35 read: “This spell is to be recited over a new *mḥt*-dish, inscribed with it”. It seems that the magical practice referred to here consisted of inscribing the *mḥwt*-dishes with protective spells, so that the liquid that was poured into the dishes acquired magical powers. The liquid was then used as a curative, to be used for washing the patient or to be drunk by the patient.¹⁰⁴⁵ *Mḥwt*-dishes are also mentioned in BD Spells 133b and 134, which are spells for helping the deceased to sail in the solar bark and to defeat his enemies in the afterlife. In the ritual instructions to these spells, it is said that images of various deities are to be drawn on new *mḥwt*-dishes.¹⁰⁴⁶ Interestingly, a dish is in fact depicted with this spell in P OIM 10486.¹⁰⁴⁷ The *mḥwt*-dishes are also mentioned in P Brooklyn 47.218.49 as part of a spell for the protection of the king: “To be recited when Ra rises in the horizon and draw all of these gods upon a new *mḥt*-dish, an image in colour smeared with honey, washed [...] with sweet beer, drunk by a man who is suffering illness in his head, who is suffering heat in his ears, and he draws upon a strip of fine *p3kt*-linen, a god in his image. Smear with fine oil, myrrh, place amulets at the throat of a man”.¹⁰⁴⁸ In this case, the curative liquid is to be drunk by the patient. Actual dishes inscribed with protective spells or protective images are rare.¹⁰⁴⁹ Cairo CG 18490 is a vase inscribed with a magical text also known from the Metternich-stela.¹⁰⁵⁰ A group of thirty ceramic dishes decorated with images of various deities is known from the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden.¹⁰⁵¹ These dishes are dated to the end of the Late Period and to the Ptolemaic Period.¹⁰⁵² Similar dishes

¹⁰⁴³ Kurth, *Edfou VI Übersetzungen*, 538 with n. 2.

¹⁰⁴⁴ P Leiden I 348, rt. 12, 11 – 13, 3 and vs. 11, 8 – 11, 11; Borghouts, *Papyrus Leiden I 348*, 26 and 31-32.

¹⁰⁴⁵ For this type of magical practice, see Ritner, *Mechanics*, 102-110.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Borghouts, *Papyrus Leiden I 348*, 132, n. 304.

¹⁰⁴⁷ T.G. Allen, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead: documents in the Oriental Institute Museum at the University of Chicago*. The University of Chicago Institute Publications 82. Chicago 1960, pl. 86.

¹⁰⁴⁸ P Brooklyn 47.218.49 col. XII, 10-13 (Spell N); P.F. O'Rourke, *An Egyptian Royal Book of Protection of the Late Period (P Brooklyn 47.218.49)*. S.I. 2002, 191.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Cf. Borghouts, *Papyrus Leiden I 348*, 132, n. 304. The practice of inscribing bowls with magical texts and signs is also known from the Islamic period, see for example, M. Morrigi, *A corpus of Syriac incantation bowls: Syriac magical texts from Late-Antique Mesopotamia*. Magical and Religious Literature of Late Antiquity 3. Leiden 2014; S. Shaked, J.N. Ford and S. Bhayro, *Aramaic bowl spells. Jewish Babylonian Aramaic Bowls, Vol. 1*. Magical and Religious Literature of Late Antiquity 1. Leiden 2013; D. Levene, *A corpus of magic bowls. Incantation texts in Jewish Aramaic from late antiquity*. London 2009; Chr. Müller-Kessler, *Die Zauberschalentexte in der Hilprecht-Sammlung, Jena, und weitere Nippur-Texte anderer Sammlungen*. Texte und Materialien der Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities im Eigentum der Universität Jena 7. Wiesbaden 2005; J.B. Segal and E. Hunter, *Catalogue of the Aramaic and Mandaic incantation bowls in the British Museum*. London 2000.

¹⁰⁵⁰ F.W. von Bissing, *Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, nos. 18065-18793. Steingefässe*. Vienna 1904, 97-98.

¹⁰⁵¹ Inventory nos. AT 98.A1, AT 98.A2, AT 98.A3, AT 98.A4, AT 98.A5, AT 98.B1, AT 98.B2, AT 98.B3, AT 98.B4, AR 98.C1, AT 98.C2, AT 98.C3, AT 98.C4, AT 98.D1, AT 98.D2, AT 98.D3, AT 98.D4, AT 98.E, AT 98.F, AT 98.G, AT 98.H1, AT 98.H2, AT 98.I1, AT 98.I2, AT 98.J1, AT 98.J2, AT 98.K1, AT 98.K3, AT 98.K4 and AT 98.L. Originally there were 32 dishes in the collection of the museum, but two dishes (AT 98.C5 and AT 98.K2) were sent to Leipzig in 1926 as part of an exchange. Unfortunately, these dishes were lost during the Second World War. The dishes were published by M.J. Raven and R.J. Demarée, “Ceramic dishes in the preparation of kyphi”, in: *JEOL* 39 (2005), 39-94.

¹⁰⁵² Raven and Demarée, in: *JEOL* 39, 69.

are known from the British Museum¹⁰⁵³ and from the Cairo Museum.¹⁰⁵⁴ Sherds belonging to similar dishes were found at Abydos.¹⁰⁵⁵ Raven and Demarée argued that the dishes now in Leiden and London originate most probably from inside the temple-precinct at Abydos. This may imply that the dishes were made for magical acts to be carried out in the temple for the local deity rather than for a private burial ritual.¹⁰⁵⁶ Several of the dishes now in Leiden are inscribed with hieratic dockets, referring to the ingredients for making *kyphi*, a scented paste used for censuring.¹⁰⁵⁷ Based on their study of the images and the dockets, Raven and Demarée argued that the dockets are secondary, suggesting a reuse of the dishes for the preparation of *kyphi* in the temple laboratory.¹⁰⁵⁸ The dishes probably first served for other cultic purposes. The ritual instructions accompanying BD Spells 133b and 134, as well as the ritual instructions in P Leiden I 348 mentioned above indicate that in earlier times, decorated or inscribed *mhwt*-dishes were used in magical practices as part of funerary ritual and curative magic. Raven and Demarée concluded that “the private funerary rites of the New Kingdom had been adapted to the requirements of the temple, and that the magic acts now aimed at strengthening the position of the local gods. (...) The Abydos finds thereby offer a fascinating glimpse behind the scenes of a large Ptolemaic temple. It is to be hoped that additional finds in the future may help us to interpret the magic or cultic reality of the painted dishes”.¹⁰⁵⁹ With the textual material from the ritual of the protection of the body at Edfu, the cultic reality of the magical use of *mhwt*-dishes in Ptolemaic temple ritual has now been ascertained.

k) [Purifying]

Ritual text: “[... ..][natron]” (E VI 300, 3).

The text is very much destroyed here, with only part of the word *bd* “natron” still visible, suggesting that reference is made here to purifications.

l) Anointing with oil

Ritual text: “(I) rub for you your limbs with the substance of god (i.e. oil)” (E VI 300, 3).

The anointment of the sacred falcon is central in Scene 1¹⁰⁶⁰ and it also forms part of the ritual for the protection of the bedroom in Scene 7. In the latter case the body of the falcon is anointed with “water of your mouth”, i.e. spittle.¹⁰⁶¹ As pointed out in paragraph 3.1.1.2, anointing as a means of ensuring protection is known from various ritual contexts, such as

¹⁰⁵³ BM EA 5135-5142. See Raven and Demarée, in: *JEOL* 39, 71.

¹⁰⁵⁴ CG 3171; Cairo Special Register no. 10697 (or 10698?); Cairo JE 34372. See Raven and Demarée, in: *JEOL* 39, 71-72.

¹⁰⁵⁵ D. O'Connor, “Abydos, a preliminary report of the Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition, 1967”, in: *Expedition* 10.1 (Fall 1967), 10-23; W.K. Simpson, *Inscribed material from the Pennsylvania-Yale excavations at Abydos*. Publications of the Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition to Egypt 6. New Haven 1995, 29-30, nos. D13-16 and Figs. 48-51. See Raven and Demarée, in: *JEOL* 39, 72-73.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Raven and Demarée, in: *JEOL* 39, 81. They are careful to point out, however, that the deposition of the dishes inside the temple-precinct may also be secondary.

¹⁰⁵⁷ See A. Lüchtrath, “Das Kyphirezept”, in: D. Kurth (ed.), *Bericht über drei Surveys. Materialien und Studien*. Die Inschriften des Tempels von Edfu, Begleitheft 5. Wiesbaden 1999, 97-145; L. Manniche, *Sacred luxuries, fragrance, aromatherapy, and cosmetics in Ancient Egypt*. Ithaca/London 1999, 47-59. Actual recipes for *kyphi* are known from the Edfu laboratory, see E II 203-204 and 211-212.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Raven and Demarée, in: *JEOL* 39, 93.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Raven and Demarée, in: *JEOL* 39, 94.

¹⁰⁶⁰ See paragraphs 2.1.1 and 3.1.1.

¹⁰⁶¹ See paragraph 3.7.3.2e.

funerary ritual, the rituals for protection during the epagomenal days, and the rituals of the confirmation of royal power. In the present text the falcon is anointed with *ih̥t n̥tr*, “the substance of god”, i.e. oil. In the medical P Berlin 3038, *ih̥t-n̥tr* is also mentioned as an ointment for protection against enemies and demons.¹⁰⁶² Perhaps the ointment was prepared in the *m̥hwt*-dishes mentioned in paragraph 3.8.2.2j, so that the substance used to anoint the sacred falcon acquired magical powers.

m) Tying and untying a knot

Ritual text: “I tie for you the knot at the top of your *dr*-garment, after I have loosened <it at> dawn” (E VI 300, 3-4).

The same concept of tying and untying a knot in the *dr*-garment is mentioned in Scene 7 as part of the ritual for the protection of the bedroom: “I tie a knot in your *dr*-garment and untie it”. As pointed out in paragraph 3.7.3.2f this garment may have been intended to drive away dangerous elements and protect the person or god wearing it.¹⁰⁶³ This conclusion fits very well with the apotropaic character of the ritual for the protection of the body.

n) Breaking painted [dishes]

Ritual text: “[I] have broken the [...] that are painted with ochre” (E VI 300, 4).

Unfortunately the object that is supposed to be broken as part of this ritual act is not known to us as the text is destroyed at this point. Kurth restored *d̥šrwt* “red pots” and interprets the ritual act as the breaking of the red pots, an annihilation ritual which is well attested in funerary context.¹⁰⁶⁴ The scene in the Luxor temple mentioned above is the only example of the ritual known from a temple context.¹⁰⁶⁵ It is tempting to see a relation with the text discussed in paragraph 3.8.2.2j, where dishes are said to be inscribed with images. However, as discussed above, these dishes are not the *d̥šrwt* associated with the ritual of breaking the red pots, but *m̥hwt*-dishes, associated specifically with curative powers, which fits very well in the context of the ritual for the protection of the body. Perhaps in the present case, the *m̥hwt*-dishes were broken ritually after they fulfilled their function as part of the ritual.

o) Presenting milk

Ritual text: “I have brought to your mouth (a) milk (vessel) that was <filled> over the edge” (E VI 300, 4).

The offering of milk is meant not only to nourish the god, but it also symbolises strength, protection and rejuvenation. As such it is regularly designated as *ḥnh-w̥s*, “the life-force”.¹⁰⁶⁶ In E VII 123, 10-15 the rejuvenating and protective qualities of milk are stressed: “Your body is rejuvenated by her (i.e. milk), the white eye of Horus (i.e. milk) protects you and repeats [your protection]. Protective force is in her, for millions of *sd*-festivals, when you drink her and it enters [into your body]”. These same qualities of milk are repeated in E VII 284, 16.

¹⁰⁶² P Berlin 3038 VIII, 8-9; Grapow, *Grundriss der Medizin* 5, 450; Von Deines *et al.*, *Grundriss der Medizin* 4.1, 263. For this papyrus and the use of ointment in the context of the rituals for the protection of the house, see paragraph 3.7.4.

¹⁰⁶³ Wilson, *Ptolemaic lexikon*, 1203.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Kurth, *Edfou VI Übersetzungen*, 538.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Cauville, *Offerings*, 31.

¹⁰⁶⁶ W. Guglielmi, *LÄ* IV, 1982, 127-128, “Milchopfer”; Cauville, *Offerings*, 52-55.

Here, the king offers milk to Harsomtut and Ihy, and Harsomtut replies: “I give for you that your limbs are free of all impurity, and I safeguard you from all evil”. Scenes depicting the suckling of the king are frequently associated with the royal coronation. As Leclant explained: “Le prince qui devient roi, naît à une vie nouvelle, celle de souverain. Cette naissance implique soins de nourrisson. Et ainsi les scènes d’allaitement royal prennent tout naturellement leur place dans la suite des représentations du couronnement dont la valeur symbolique tout entière est celle d’un rituel de passage”.¹⁰⁶⁷ The suckling of the king in the context of his coronation seems to bestow life, dominion and power on him, and as such Leclant refers to this type of scene as “allaitement de puissance”.¹⁰⁶⁸

p) Conclusion of the ritual

Ritual text: “I have triumphed over the confederates, so that you walk upon the foreign land of all the foreigners. I have preserved your limbs when you come out (in procession), so that your love is great among those who are upon earth. I invoke for you her Majesty (i.e. Sakhmet) at the start of (every) 30 days, so that she protects your Majesty against her (ominous) seal. I recite for you the spells of repelling the evil eye in the early morning without ceasing, as their magic is effective in it (i.e. in the early morning). Their protection makes your protection and repeats your protection. I do this, remaining and enduring in the *Pr-Bik-Ntry*, without end and without interruption, forever. Thoth is at my side, unfolding his papyrus-rolls, reciting for you the spells that belong to it as magic, invoking the magical creative power of the (spells for the) protection of the body, spitting out (i.e. uttering) his choice of creational words” (E VI 300, 5-10).

Reference is made here to the practice of invoking Sakhmet, which took place every 30 days.¹⁰⁶⁹ It is also said that the “spells of repelling the evil eye” are recited in the early morning. In an inscription in the House of Books (E’), where the sacred books that were kept in the scriptorium are listed,¹⁰⁷⁰ the title of the book *mkt hꜥw* is mentioned together with other books of protection: “the protection of the king in his house” (*s3 nyswt m pr=f*) and “the spells for repelling the evil eye” (*r3w nw hsfirt bint*).¹⁰⁷¹

The conclusion of the ritual for the protection of the bedroom in Scene 7 shows some interesting similarities with the conclusion of the protection of the body: both conclusions mention that the protective spells were recited continuously until the morning, that the rituals took place in the *Pr-Bik-Ntry*, and that the spells were recited by Thoth.¹⁰⁷²

3.8.2.3 Conclusions

The analysis has shown that – similar to the ritual for the protection of the bedroom – a large variety of elements from the ritual for the protection of the body are also known from other ritual texts. The sources presented above show that the ritual for the protection of the body forms part of a wider tradition of rituals having a similar aim. Earlier sources show that the rituals for the protection of the body are known not only from the funerary context, but also from non-funerary magical texts.

¹⁰⁶⁷ J. Leclant, “Sur un contrepoids de menat au nom de Taharqa: allaitement et “apparition” royale”, in: J. Sainte Fare Garnot (ed.), *Mélanges Mariette*. Bibliothèque d’Étude 32. Cairo 1961, 264.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Leclant, in: *Mélanges Mariette*, 267.

¹⁰⁶⁹ See paragraphs 2.6.3 and 3.6.2.

¹⁰⁷⁰ E III 351, 9.

¹⁰⁷¹ E III 351, 9. For the catalogue of books listed in the scriptorium, cf. Grimm, in: Schoske (ed.), *Akten Ägyptologen Kongresses Band 3*, 159-169.

¹⁰⁷² See paragraph 3.7.3.2g.

As for the function of the spells for the protection of the body, Ghattas concluded: “Dieses Kultgedicht ist somit mit einem Amulett zu vergleichen, auf das verschiedene Götterbilder zum Schutz aufgezogen werden”¹⁰⁷³ (...) Das Buch ist ein gutes Beispiel für die Tatsache, daß die Götterbilder im Mittelpunkt des Tempelkultes standen. Sie gelten als lebenden Formen des Gottes, von denen man sagen kann: “Er ist ja ein Mensch, er ist nicht ein Geist” (302, 2-3). Als das “lebende Bild” und der “lebende Falke” gelten sie als anfällig und werden wie Menschen durch Amulette z.B. gegen die “Pest des Jahres” (303, 2) geschützt”.¹⁰⁷⁴ As for the sacred falcon, Ghattas also stated: “Das Buch “Schutz des Leibes” im Tempel von Edfu schützt den Gott im Tempel, der “lebendes Bild” und “lebender Falke” genannt wird, also ein “Gottesleib” (Wb III 39, 3) besitzt. Das Tempelbild wird also als lebender Leib angesehen, behandelt, und geschützt, während in den Verklärungen der Einbalsamierungen, die einzelnen Glieder vergottet werden. So ist der “Schutz des Leibes” im Tempel von Edfu den in Kap. II behandelten Sprüchen zum Schutz des Leibes lebender Menschen und Wesen zuzurechnen”.¹⁰⁷⁵ It seems that Ghattas held the view that the falcon as depicted in the ritual scenes of the interior face of the northern enclosure wall was not the sacred living animal, but the cult statue that was considered to be a living image of the god.

As for the moment at which the spells were recited Ghattas concluded: “Das Gegenstück auf der westlichen Hälfte enthält die Texte zum “Schutz des Hauses”, die – der Anbringung auf der Sonnenuntergangsseite entsprechend – für die Nacht gedacht sind. Wie die Sprüche für Mutter und Kind, die zum anlegen eines Amulettes am Tage bestimmt sind, enthalten die Texte zum “Schutz des Hauses” eine zusätzliche Ritualhandlung”.¹⁰⁷⁶ However, the final part of Text 98 suggests that the ritual was carried out in the early morning, perhaps immediately after the ritual for the protection of the bedroom, which seems to have been carried out during the night.¹⁰⁷⁷ The inscriptions also say that the spells for the protection of the body were recited “to its time each month” (Text 98). The number of 29 spells together with the final apotropaic formula being 30, I would like to suggest that the spells for the protection of the body were recited throughout the month, similar to the invocations to Sakhmet.¹⁰⁷⁸ This is confirmed in Text 98, where it is said: “I invoke for you her Majesty (i.e. Sakhmet) at the start of (every) 30 days, so that she protects your Majesty against her (ominous) seal”. The allusion to the act of invoking Sakhmet refers to the final apotropaic formula to the spells for the protection of the body, which consists of an invocation to Sakhmet as the protective uraeus (Text 100: E VI 302, 3 – 303, 14).¹⁰⁷⁹

3.8.3 THE SPELLS FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE BODY

As mentioned above, the spells for the protection of the body as known from Text 99 are not known prior to the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods. Parallel spells for the protection of the body are inscribed in Vestibule G of the Edfu mammisi. Ghattas did not study the function and ritual context of these parallel texts. This paragraph presents an overview of these parallel texts and an analysis of the various ritual contexts in which they were used.

¹⁰⁷³ Ghattas, *Schutz*, 91.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Ghattas, *Schutz*, 93-94.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Ghattas, *Schutz*, 89.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Ghattas, *Schutz*, 90.

¹⁰⁷⁷ See paragraph 3.7.3.

¹⁰⁷⁸ See paragraph 2.6.3.

¹⁰⁷⁹ See paragraph 2.8.4.

3.8.3.1 Edfu, *mammisi*

Two spells for the protection of the body are inscribed on the exterior face of Vestibule G of the Edfu *mammisi*,¹⁰⁸⁰ dating to the reign of Ptolemy IX. One of the spells is written in the northern part, the other in the southern part. The beneficiaries mentioned in the spells are Harsomtus, Ihy and the king.

As noted in paragraph 3.5.5.2, the main ritual that took place in the Edfu *mammisi* celebrated the birth-festival of Harsomtus,¹⁰⁸¹ which celebrated the transmission of royal power from Horus to his son Harsomtus, with whom the king was identified.¹⁰⁸² Considering the important protective function of the spells for the protection of the body it is not surprising to find these spells, together with the invocations to the Good Year and the spells for the protection of the house, in the ritual context of the *mammisi*, where the protection of the newborn child-god and the theme of transmission of royal power are central. As such, the ritual context of the spells for the protection of the body in the Edfu *mammisi* is very close to that of the interior face of the enclosure wall, where the spells are used in the context of the protection of the sacred falcon as part of the rituals of 1 Tybi.

3.8.3.2 Conclusions

The data presented above and summarised in Table 3.5 show that the beneficiaries of the spells for the protection of the body are the king and the gods, which may vary according to the local cult and the ritual context. A comparison with the parallels shows that the recitation of the spells for the protection of the body is situated in the ritual context of the transmission and confirmation of royal power. At Edfu, the texts are recited in the contexts of the festivals of the months Tybi and Pachons, focussing on the transmission of royal power from Horus to the sacred falcon and to the local child-god Harsomtus respectively. These events marked dangerous transitional periods during which divine protection was needed. The recitation of the spells for the protection of the body was aimed at obtaining protection for the king, his substitute the sacred falcon, and the local child-god during these dangerous transitional periods.

Source	Ritual context	Beneficiaries
Edfu, Horus temple, Int. face, n. enclosure wall <i>Ptolemy IX-X</i>	Tybi: transmission of royal power from Horus to the sacred falcon	The sacred falcon
Edfu, <i>mammisi</i> , Vestibule G <i>Ptolemy IX</i>	Pachons: transmission of royal power from Horus to the local child-god	Harsomtus; Ihy; the king

Table 3.5 Parallel texts for the spells for the protection of the body.

3.9 CONCLUSIONS

In the preceding paragraphs the interrelations of the ritual texts and iconographic themes of the coronation ritual of the falcon with other textual and iconographic materials have been investigated. The ample material demonstrates that a large variety of textual and iconographic materials known from other sources and often dating to earlier periods was used in the

¹⁰⁸⁰ E Mamm 108, 10-11 and E Mamm 119, 15.

¹⁰⁸¹ E Mamm 6, 8-9; Daumas, *Mammisis*, 262-265; Alliot, *Culte*, 295-296.

¹⁰⁸² Daumas, *Mammisis*, 262-265; 276-282; Alliot, *Culte*, 294-296.

composition of the coronation ritual of the falcon. As such, the ritual composition is the product of a complex process of *intertextuality* and *intericonicity* in which tradition was important. As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the aim here is to identify the textual and iconographic parallels and variants in order to reach conclusions on the editorial processes to which the composition of the ritual was subjected. The available source material suggests that the coronation ritual of the falcon was a new composition of the Ptolemaic period and therefore it did not draw *exclusively* on traditional texts and iconographic themes.¹⁰⁸³ As shown in the preceding paragraphs, there are various new elements in the ritual composition which can not be found in sources predating the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods. The contemporary parallels and their ritual contexts were investigated in order to reach conclusions on the extent of originality of the ritual and the conceptualisation of innovation in ancient Egyptian ritual composition.

The examination of the textual and iconographic parallels and variants in the preceding paragraphs shows that similar or (almost) identical textual and iconographic materials recur in similar ritual contexts. For example, the invocation to Sakhmet-Wadjet in Scene 3 is also found in the temples of Esna and Kom Ombo. Here, the texts are written on the doorways through which the offerings passed and preceded by a heading which suggests that the invocation was aimed at the purification of the offerings. At Edfu the invocation was inserted into the coronation ritual of the falcon in the context of the presentation of choice portions of meat to the falcon in Scene 3, where it was aimed at the protection of the sacred falcon and its nourishment.¹⁰⁸⁴ The same is true for the hymn to Scene 4, which is recited in the context of the fumigation of fragrant resin for the sacred falcon. Part of this hymn is also found in P Brooklyn 47.218.50, where it is also associated with the ritual acts of burning resin of terebinth (*sntr*) on the fire and anointing the falcon with *ʿntyw* (*wrḥ n=sn ʿntyw*), an aromatic resin.¹⁰⁸⁵ These examples suggest that textual and iconographic materials were copied, either from one monument to another or from a common source, such as the archives of temple libraries. The observation that numerous elements known from New Kingdom sources were used in the composition of the coronation ritual of the falcon suggests that the composers of the ritual had age-old documents at their disposal, which were stored in temple libraries. The large group of fragmentary hieratic papyri found at Elephantine, including a diversity of material ranging from ritual texts, hymns and wisdom texts to medical texts,¹⁰⁸⁶ forms an example of such an archive.¹⁰⁸⁷ A similar archive is known from the temple library of Tebtunis.¹⁰⁸⁸

The analysis of the textual and iconographic parallels and variants in the preceding paragraphs also shows that the creation of ritual compositions such as the coronation ritual of the falcon was not the result of simply copying and inserting older materials into the new composition, but rather the result of a complicated process of editorial activities.

¹⁰⁸³ For the ability of the Ptolemaic priests to create new compositions, see also D. Kurth, “Zur Definition des Ptolemäischen”, in: *GM* 229 (2011), 65-79, in response to J.F. Quack, “Was ist das ‘Ptolemäische’?”, in: *WdO* 40 (2010), 70-92.

¹⁰⁸⁴ See paragraph 3.3.3.

¹⁰⁸⁵ See paragraph 3.4.2.

¹⁰⁸⁶ See G. Burkard and H.-W. Fischer-Elfert, *Ägyptische Handschriften, Teil 4. Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland Band 19.4*. Stuttgart 1994.

¹⁰⁸⁷ See G. Burkard, “Literarische Tradition und historische Realität”, in: *ZÄS* 121 (1994), 101-102.

¹⁰⁸⁸ See Quack, in: Ryholt (ed.), *Carlsberg Papyri* 7, 1-7.

The presence of similar or (almost) identical textual and iconographic materials suggests that processes of creative copying and borrowing¹⁰⁸⁹ of materials from similar ritual contexts were at work. This is the case for instance in Scene 1, where the theme of anointing the sacred falcon is reminiscent of the anointments as found in P Brooklyn 47.218.50 and in the various temple scenes associated with the setting free of messenger-birds. As argued in paragraph 3.1.1.4 one must however keep in mind that there are also some clear differences between these scenes, the most apparent being the fact that in the case of the ritual of 1 Tybi the falcon is not anointed as a messenger-bird to announce the coronation, but as the sacred animal which took the place of the king. Since the theme of anointing sacred birds was associated especially with the theme of confirmation and renewal of royal power, it can therefore be found in various forms in rituals for the confirmation and renewal of royal power. Another example of creative copying and borrowing of materials from similar ritual contexts is found in the case of the hymn to Scene 2. This hymn recurs in a more extensive form in the scene on the thickness of the doorway to the second hypostyle hall (W), where it is associated with the anointment of the three messengers-birds in the context of the rituals of the confirmation of royal power of the month Thoth.¹⁰⁹⁰

In some cases we find direct copies of earlier material in the coronation ritual of the falcon. This is the case for example for the final apotropaic formula in Scenes 3, 5 and 6. As pointed out in paragraph 3.3.4, the earlier sources in which this formula is used, dating to the Second Intermediate Period and the New Kingdom, are concerned with medico-magical spells used by non-royal people for protection during the epagomenal days. In the later sources in which the apotropaic formula is used, dating to the Late Period and to the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, the apotropaic formula seems to have still been used in the same context, with the beneficiary being either the king or non-royal people. At the same time, in the temple inscriptions of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods, the formula seems to have been adapted to the context of the temple cult with the beneficiaries being the king, the local deities and the sacred animal. Other examples of direct copies of earlier material inserted into the coronation ritual of the falcon are the hymns to Scenes 4 and 6. Earlier parallels of these hymns are known from P Brooklyn 47.218.50, from the context of the confirmation of royal power of the king on the date of 1 Thoth.¹⁰⁹¹ In Edfu the hymns recur in the context of the confirmation of royal power of the sacred falcon on the date of 1 Tybi. The selection of these hymns to be copied and inserted into the coronation ritual of the falcon again shows that also in the case of direct copies, materials from similar ritual contexts were used in the composition of the new ritual.

Also materials from different ritual contexts were used in the composition of the ritual. This is especially the case in the rituals for the protection of the bedroom and of the body in Scenes 7 and 8. As shown in paragraphs 3.7.3.2 and 3.8.2.2 numerous elements known from a variety of sources dating back to the Middle and New Kingdoms are found in these rituals, deriving from a variety of ritual contexts, ranging from funerary ritual to medico-magical texts and all kinds of apotropaic rituals. The presence of these elements in the coronation ritual of the falcon illustrates the complexity of the composition of the ritual. At first sight it may seem that these elements were all part of completely different contexts before. However, further analysis shows that these elements were actually carefully selected on the basis of

¹⁰⁸⁹ For the concepts of creative copying and borrowing in private tomb painting, see D. Laboury, "Tracking Ancient Egyptian artists, a problem of methodology. The case of the painters of private tombs in the Theban necropolis during the eighteenth dynasty", in: K.A. Köthay (ed.), *Art and society: ancient and modern contexts of Egyptian art. Proceedings of the International Conference held at the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, 13-15 May 2010*. Budapest 2012, 199-208.

¹⁰⁹⁰ See paragraph 3.1.1.3.

¹⁰⁹¹ See paragraphs 3.4.2 and 3.6.3.

their thematical suitability within the new composition. In addition, this shows the problem of modern classifications of ancient Egyptian text corpora. The production of new texts was the result of complex editorial processes which involved a constant interchange of textual and iconographic materials. The analysis of the processes of creative copying and borrowing in the composition of the coronation ritual of the falcon shows that textual and iconographic materials were not necessarily confined to a particular domain such as temple cult, mortuary cult or royal cult.¹⁰⁹² The materials were selected on the basis of their thematical suitability within the new composition and adapted to fit their new context. As such, the processes of creative copying and borrowing often went hand in hand with the recontextualisation of textual and iconographic materials. The linguist Per Linell defined the term ‘recontextualisation’ as “the dynamic transfer-and-transformation of something from one discourse/text-in-context (...) to another”.¹⁰⁹³ In the context of this research the term ‘recontextualisation’ may be used to describe a phenomenon inherent to the processes of transmission of textual and iconographic materials, where the latter are separated from their previous context and merged into a new context, where they may acquire new meanings. In the coronation ritual of the falcon this is the case for example for the series of invocations to Sakhmet in Scene 6. As pointed out in paragraph 3.6.1 the practice of invoking Sakhmet can be traced back to the Middle Kingdom at least in the context of the rituals for the protection of individuals during the epagomenal days. The practice of invoking Sakhmet was recontextualised in Ptolemaic and Roman times, with the incorporation into temple ritual of the series of invocations to Sakhmet as found in Scene 6, the beneficiaries in this case being the local deities, the king and the sacred animals. In the temples of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods the invocations seem to serve a general apotropaic function and do not belong to a specific ritual, although they had an important role especially in the context of major rites of passage, such as the passage of one year (of reign) to another. Another example of the recontextualisation of earlier materials is found in the case of the rituals for protection during the night. As shown in paragraph 3.7.3.1, rituals for protection during the night are known from New Kingdom sources, where they are aimed at the protection of individuals at nighttime. A ritual for the protection of the king during the night is known from P Cairo 58027, dating to the late Ptolemaic or early Roman period, with monumental versions of the same ritual known from the Edfu mammisi, the Roman mammisi at Dendera and the Kellis mammisi. In the monumental versions the ritual has been adapted to the temple cult, aimed at the protection during the night of the local child-god in the mammisi. The same phenomenon can be observed in the case of the spells for the protection of the house. As pointed out in paragraph 3.7.4, in earlier sources dating to the New Kingdom, spells for the protection of the house are aimed at the protection of a private home against the pestilence of the year. In the monumental versions of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, spells for the protection of the house have been adapted to the temple cult, aimed at the protection of the local deities and the

¹⁰⁹² For the interface between the domains of temple and tomb in the case of the Osiris liturgies, see the contributions of Altmann-Wendling, Coulon, Gill, Quack, Smith and Wagner in: B. Backes and J. Dieleman (eds), *Liturgical Texts for Osiris and the Deceased in Late Period and Greco-Roman Egypt*. Studien zur Spätägyptischen Religion 14. Wiesbaden 2015. See also M. Smith, “Bodl. MS. Egypt. a. 3 (P) and the interface between temple cult and the cult of the dead”, in: J.F. Quack (ed.), *Ägyptische Rituale der griechisch-römischen Zeit*. Orientalische Religionen in der Antike 6. Tübingen 2014, 145-155. See also for example D. Kurth, *Der Sarg der Teüris. Eine Studie zum Totenglauben im römerzeitlichen Ägypten*. Mainz am Rhein 1990. For the rituals for the benefit of the king as a source of funerary texts, see the contribution of Stadler in: Backes and Dieleman (eds), *Liturgical Texts*. For spells from the Book of the Dead in the temple context, see A. von Lieven, “Book of the dead, book of the living: BD spells as temple texts”, in: *JEA* 98 (2012), 249-267.

¹⁰⁹³ P. Linell, *Approaching Dialogue: talk, interaction and contexts in dialogical perspectives*. Amsterdam 1998, 154.

sacred animals. The same is true for the spells for the protection of the body, as discussed in paragraph 3.8.3.

It is clear from the analysis of ritual compositions such as the coronation ritual of the falcon that the Ptolemaic temples were strongholds of tradition, but one should keep in mind that they were not static. The editorial processes involved in the composition of new ritual texts as described above does not imply that the creation of new and unique texts and scenes was excluded. As shown in the preceding paragraphs a variety of new elements formed part of the ritual composition, which can not be found in sources predating the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods.¹⁰⁹⁴ The analysis has shown that in some cases, the new elements in the ritual composition may result from the processes of reinterpretation and recontextualisation inherent to the transmission of textual and iconographic materials, as described above. As such, they are to be identified as adaptations of existing phenomena which have acquired new meanings in their new ritual context. The ritual composition of the coronation ritual of the falcon as a whole was an innovation, with a variety of new elements forming part of the ritual composition, whereas at the same time a large part of the individual components of the ritual composition had their own history and traditions. The latter acquired new meanings in their new ritual context and can as such be considered as innovations in their own right. These conclusions lay the basis for giving some final thoughts in Chapter 6 on the question *why* the priests reverted to tradition in the composition of new ritual texts and on the conceptualisation of innovation in ancient Egyptian ritual composition.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Of course one should be careful here and keep in mind that there may have been earlier sources that simply have not survived.

