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

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4 STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS

4.1 DISCUSSION OF ALLIOT'S ANALYSIS OF THE RITUAL

The most elaborate study of the coronation ritual of the falcon that has been made so far was published in 1954 by Alliot in *Le Culte d'Horus à Edfou au temps des Ptolémées* as part of his extensive study of the festivals of Horus at Edfu.¹⁰⁹⁵ Based on the scenes and inscriptions of the interior face of the northern enclosure wall, he divided the ritual into three phases.

Alliot's first phase of the ritual consists of the procession with Horus from the main temple to the *Pr-Bik* and the events that took place in the *Pr-Bik*.¹⁰⁹⁶ Here, a number of falcons were introduced to Horus, from amongst which he chose the falcon that would incarnate his *b3*. Next, the selected falcon was presented to the public in the so-called 'window of appearances'.¹⁰⁹⁷

Alliot's second phase of the ritual¹⁰⁹⁸ starts with the procession from the *Pr-Bik* to the main temple. According to Alliot, the eight scenes of the first and second registers of the interior face of the northern enclosure wall illustrate the four principal ceremonies celebrated in the main temple. Alliot reconstructed the order of the ritual based on his view of the way in which scenes on temple walls should be read, i.e. from the edge of the register to the centre, and from the first register to the second register.¹⁰⁹⁹

Consequently, he proposed that Scenes 5 and 6 depict the arrival of Horus and the falcon in the main temple, where a ceremony of their reception by Hathor in the forms of Mut¹¹⁰⁰ and Sakhmet took place.¹¹⁰¹ According to Alliot, the first ritual act that took place in the main temple consisted of invoking Hathor. The aim of these invocations was to assimilate the king to the sacred falcon and to ensure the protection of the sacred falcon and the king.¹¹⁰² Alliot suggested that this part of the ritual may have taken place in the second hypostyle hall (W) or in the pronaos (C').¹¹⁰³ However, the directions into which the processions in Scenes 5 and 6 are facing suggest otherwise. Alliot concluded: "Tel est le caractère de la cérémonie initiale au grand temple. Les décorateurs de la paroi nord du mur d'enceinte en ont signalé la nature intermédiaire en renversant l'ordre habituel des personnages, aux bas-reliefs qui la représentent. En effet, bien qu'il s'agisse d'une *arrivée* au grand temple, la déesse (Hathor-) Mout-Sekhmet, qui reçoit l'adoration, est placée à l'extérieur. Au contraire, le prêtre du roi adorant, et les personnages de la procession qui le suivent, tournent le dos à la ligne médiane, donc à l'intérieur du temple, contrairement à la convention constante partout ailleurs".¹¹⁰⁴ This conclusion seems somewhat peculiar and perhaps one should rather conclude from the direction in which the figures are facing that the processions depicted in Scenes 5 and 6 do not represent the arrival of Horus and the falcon at the main temple. The figures being depicted 'facing out' of the temple rather suggests that the scenes are related to events moving away from the main temple or taking place outside of the main temple.¹¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁹⁵ Alliot, *Culte*, 561-676.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Alliot, *Culte*, 565-607. See paragraph 5.3.1 for an analysis of the location of the *Pr-Bik*.

¹⁰⁹⁷ See paragraph 5.3.2 for an analysis of the location of the 'window of appearances'.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Alliot, *Culte*, 609-664.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Alliot, *Culte*, 76, n. 1 and 612.

¹¹⁰⁰ In fact to be identified as the goddess of the Good Year, see paragraph 2.5.

¹¹⁰¹ Alliot, *Culte*, 613. See paragraphs 2.5 and 2.6 for an analysis of Scenes 5 and 6.

¹¹⁰² Alliot, *Culte*, 616 and 618.

¹¹⁰³ Alliot, *Culte*, 614. See paragraph 5.3 for an analysis of the locations where the various stages of the coronation ritual of the falcon were carried out.

¹¹⁰⁴ Alliot, *Culte*, 620.

¹¹⁰⁵ See paragraph 5.3.3.3 for an analysis of the location where the rituals depicted in Scenes 5 and 6 were carried out.

According to Alliot, the second ritual act that took place in the second hypostyle hall or the pronaos¹¹⁰⁶ is depicted in Scenes 1 and 2, and consisted of anointing the falcon and presenting it with a *hh*-symbol and an *nh*-bouquet, identified by Alliot as “trois branches de saule (?) (*tr.t*)”.¹¹⁰⁷ He proposed the following reconstruction: first the falcon was anointed, followed by the recitation of a hymn in which it was praised as the renewed morning sun (Text 6).¹¹⁰⁸ Next, the *hh*-symbol was presented to the falcon, followed by the recitation of the first part of another hymn to the falcon (Text 17).¹¹⁰⁹ Then, a bouquet was offered to the falcon, followed by the recitation of the second part of the hymn (Text 17). Next, a second, third and fourth bouquet were presented to the falcon, each of these offerings being followed by the recitation of the next part of the hymn (Text 17).

The third ritual act that took place in the main temple according to Alliot is depicted in Scenes 7 and 8.¹¹¹⁰ He suggested that this part of the ritual was carried out in the sanctuary (A).¹¹¹¹ The first ritual act that took place in the sanctuary consisted of “la cérémonie du *stp-s3*”,¹¹¹² i.e. the rituals for the protection of the bedroom and for the protection of the body, as described in Texts 82 and 98. Alliot concluded: “Il s’agit donc, une fois le couronnement proprement dit achevé, de protéger le *dieu conservé* et le *dieu renouvelé* par tous les moyens que la science religieuse mettait au pouvoir des hommes”.¹¹¹³ Then, according to Alliot, followed the recitation of the spells for the protection of the house and the protection of the body, i.e. Texts 83 and 99.

According to Alliot, the final ritual acts that took place in the sanctuary are depicted in Scenes 3 and 4: “C’est une présentation d’offrandes alimentaires qui termine l’office au grand temple, le 1er Tybi”.¹¹¹⁴ Alliot suggested that after the protective rituals were carried out in the sanctuary, Horus and the falcon were taken from their supports in the shape of lions. Thoth and Seshat left the scene. Next, meat-offerings were presented to the sacred falcon (Scene 3), followed by the recitation of a hymn (Text 26) and a text defined by Alliot as “une *secrète royale*”, which is in fact an invocation to Sakhmet-Wadjet (Text 27).¹¹¹⁵ Next, the fumigation of fragrant resin took place (Scene 4), followed by the recitation of a final hymn (Text 39).¹¹¹⁶ According to Alliot, these were the final rituals carried out in the main temple.

Alliot’s third and final phase of the rituals of 1 Tybi¹¹¹⁷ consisted of carrying the sacred falcon and Horus in procession from the main temple to the *Pr-Bik*. Here, the sacred falcon was enthroned and meat offerings were presented to it again. Horus was then brought back to the main temple.

It is clear that Alliot based his reconstruction of the ritual on his view of the order in which the scenes on temple walls should be read, i.e. from the edge of the register to the center and from the first register to the second register. However, the validity of this method can be disputed. A clear example which shows the inconclusive results of this method is the

¹¹⁰⁶ See paragraph 5.3.3.1 for an analysis of the location where the rituals depicted in Scenes 1 and 2 were carried out.

¹¹⁰⁷ Alliot, *Culte*, 621. See paragraphs 2.1 and 2.2 for an analysis of Scenes 1 and 2.

¹¹⁰⁸ Alliot, *Culte*, 622-625. See paragraph 2.1.2 for an analysis of this hymn.

¹¹⁰⁹ Alliot, *Culte*, 625-631. See paragraph 2.2.2 for an analysis of this hymn.

¹¹¹⁰ See paragraphs 2.7 and 2.8 for an analysis of Scenes 7 and 8.

¹¹¹¹ Alliot, *Culte*, 632 and 648. See paragraph 5.3 for an analysis of the locations where the various stages of the coronation ritual of the falcon were carried out.

¹¹¹² Alliot, *Culte*, 632-648.

¹¹¹³ Alliot, *Culte*, 634.

¹¹¹⁴ Alliot, *Culte*, 648.

¹¹¹⁵ Alliot, *Culte*, 648-656. For an analysis of the hymn and the invocation to Sakhmet-Wadjet, see paragraphs 2.3.2 and 2.3.3.

¹¹¹⁶ Alliot, *Culte*, 656-662.

¹¹¹⁷ Alliot, *Culte*, 665-673.

reconstruction of the daily temple ritual. Various attempts have been made to reconstruct the precise order of this ritual based on the order of the scenes as found on the temple walls, but these resulted in a variety of reconstructions.¹¹¹⁸ There is no consensus as to the precise order in which the ritual scenes should be read, and which seems to vary from one temple to another.¹¹¹⁹ This means that it is not possible to establish a conclusive reconstruction of the order of a ritual sequence on the basis of the order of the ritual scenes on temple walls alone. Additional information from other sources, such as ritual manuals preserved on papyrus, is needed.¹¹²⁰ However, in comparing ritual scenes on temple walls and papyrus manuscripts one should keep in mind the different nature and function of these sources. Papyrus manuscripts such as P Brooklyn 47.218.50 functioned as ritual handbooks that were preserved in the temple libraries and could be consulted during the performance of the rituals. As such, these papyrus manuscripts are not only concerned with the theological component of the ritual but also with the practical aspects in prescribing the way in which the ritual should be carried out. The ritual scenes on temple walls are concerned primarily with the cult of the gods rather than with providing practical directions. As the available space on the temple walls is limited, often only selections of the ritual are chosen to be represented. This is also the case for the coronation ritual of the falcon at Edfu. The rituals that took place at the start of the day in the *Pr-Bik* and in the ‘window of appearances’ are not depicted in the eight scenes on the interior face of the northern enclosure wall, but we know of their existence because they are referred to in the inscriptions summarising the events that took place.¹¹²¹ Another important aspect in temple decoration is the coherence of the decoration, resulting in relations between the individual ritual scenes as well as between individual walls and chapels (*grammaire du temple*).¹¹²² Therefore, in studying the eight scenes depicting the coronation ritual of the falcon, these should be studied in relation to the context in which they are incorporated. This means that the eight ritual scenes should not be studied independently from each other as it was done previously by Germond, Jankuhn and Ghattas, who each focused on a particular constituent part of the ritual¹¹²³ without taking fully into consideration the larger context of which these constituent parts form part. This also means that one should take into consideration the interrelations with the decoration of the soubassement and the third register. The next paragraph shall focus on the analysis of the spatial arrangement of the eight ritual scenes in the first and second registers, whereas in paragraph 4.3 the focus is especially on the position of the eight ritual scenes within the decoration-system of the interior face of the northern enclosure wall (I’).

¹¹¹⁸ For an overview of the various reconstructions, see David, *Religious Ritual*, 104-119. See also D. Arnold, *Wandrelief und Raumfunktion in ägyptischen Tempeln des neuen Reiches*. Münchner Ägyptologische Studien 2. Berlin 1962, 22-24 and C. de Wit, *Les inscriptions du temple d’Opet, à Karnak. T. 3: Traduction intégrale des textes rituels: Essai d’interprétation*. Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 13. Brussels 1968, 145.

¹¹¹⁹ Compare A. Mariette, *Abydos: Description des fouilles exécutées sur l’emplacement de cette ville. T. 1: Ville antique, Temple de Sêti*. Paris 1869, 17 ff.; A.M. Blackman, “The sequence of episodes in the Egyptian daily temple liturgy”, in: *JMEOS* 8 (1918-1919), 26-53; Alliot, *Culte*, 76, n. 1; G. Roeder, *Kulte, Orakel und Naturverehrung im alten Ägypten*. Die ägyptische Religion in Texten und Bildern 3. Zurich 1960, 72-141; W. Barta, “Die Anordnung der Wandreliefs in den Götterkapellen des Sethos-Tempels von Abydos”, in: *MDAIK* 21 (1966), 116-122; B. Altenmüller-Kesting, *Reinigungsriten im ägyptischen Kult*. Hamburg 1968, 176-184; H. Altenmüller, “Die abydenische Version des Kultbildrituals”, in: *MDAIK* 24 (1969), 16-25; David, *Guide*, 114-119.

¹¹²⁰ For the reconstruction of the daily temple ritual, comparison is made with various papyri, such as P Berlin 3055 (P Amun) and P Berlin 3014/3053 (P Mut), as well as P Berlin 8043.

¹¹²¹ See paragraph 5.1 for an analysis of these texts.

¹¹²² For the *grammaire du temple*, see paragraph 1.3.

¹¹²³ Germond focused primarily on the invocations to the Good Year and to Sakhmet, Ghattas focused primarily on the Book of the Protection of the Body, and Jankuhn focused primarily on the Book of the Protection of the House.

4.2 ANALYSIS OF THE SPATIAL ARRANGEMENT OF THE SCENES

As pointed out above, the decoration of temple walls constitutes primarily a visual composition made under the constraints of the *grammaire du temple* and does not form a direct reproduction or visualisation of a ritual handbook. A prime feature of the first and second registers of the interior face of the northern enclosure wall is their perfect symmetrical lay-out, resulting in four symmetrical pairs of scenes. In this paragraph an analysis shall be made of the complementarity of the four symmetrical pairs of scenes as well as of the relationship between the contents and themes of the pairs of scenes and their spatial arrangement on the wall.

4.2.1 SCENES 1 AND 2

Scenes 1 and 2 represent the transmission of kingship from Horus to the sacred falcon and form as such the core of the coronation ritual of the falcon. Therefore it is not surprising to find these two core ritual scenes represented as a symmetrical pair in the center of the wall in the first register.

The close association between the themes of of Scenes 1 and 2, i.e. anointment and presenting the *ḥḥ*-symbol and the *ʿnh*-bouquet can also be found elsewhere, for example in the scene on the thickness of the doorway to the second hypostyle hall (W) mentioned in paragraph 3.1.1.3. This scene depicts the anointment of the messenger-birds. Above this scene three hymns are written associated with the setting free of the messenger-birds to announce the establishment of Horus as the legitimate heir.¹¹²⁴ 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 *ḥḥ*-symbol and the *ʿnh*-bouquet to the sacred falcon. The use of this same hymn in the context of the coronation ritual of the falcon of 1 Tybi as well as in the context of the rituals of the confirmation of royal power of 1 Thoth confirms the close thematic relation between the two rituals. It also confirms the close relation between the themes of Scenes 1 and 2, i.e. the anointment and the presentation of the *ḥḥ*-symbol and the *ʿnh*-bouquet (i.e. the *ʿnh-dd-w3s*-symbols).

The close association between the themes of anointment and presentation of *ḥḥ*-symbol and *ʿnh*-bouquet is also made clear in the accompanying inscription to the scene on the thickness of the pylon gateway (K'), mentioned in paragraph 3.1.1.3, which shows the anointment of the messenger-birds. One of the accompanying inscriptions to this scene is located on the architraves of the portico of the court and reads: "Anointing (*ir(t) mdt*) of the living *b3*'s, slaying the cronies of the one that fails, presenting the wreath of justification that was brought from Pe, when Horus appears upon his *nst*-throne, (presenting) the bouquets of the *b3k*-tree, the *ḥḥ*-symbol (made) of gold, and the bouquets of the *im3*- and *išd*-trees, flying off, four times, by the birds that take their directions to the south, the north, the west and the east".¹¹²⁵

The close relations between the anointment and the presentation of the *ḥḥ*-symbol and the *ʿnh*-bouquet are also found elsewhere in the Edfu temple. For example, a scene in the fourth register of the south wall of the second hypostyle hall (W) depicts the king presenting Horus with the *ḥḥ*-symbol.¹¹²⁶ The accompanying text reads: "Offering *ʿnh*-flowers of the Majesty of Ra".¹¹²⁷ In the third register below, the king is depicted presenting Horus with

¹¹²⁴ E II 14, 21 – 16, 13.

¹¹²⁵ E V 312, 2-4.

¹¹²⁶ E II 50, 11 – 51, 1; pl. XLd.

¹¹²⁷ E II 50, 11.

mdt-ointment.¹¹²⁸ Both of these scenes are situated in the ritual context of the confirmation of royal power of 1 Thoth, which is the main theme of the second hypostyle hall.¹¹²⁹ Also in the court (H') we find various themes associated with the confirmation of royal power¹¹³⁰ being depicted in three symmetrical pairs in the second register: here, the king is depicted presenting Horus with *mdt*-ointment and fragrant resin,¹¹³¹ with protective amulets,¹¹³² and with *nh*-bouquets.¹¹³³

The close relation between the themes of anointment and presentation of *hh*-symbol and *nh*-bouquet/*nh-dd-w3s*-symbols in the context of the rituals of the confirmation of royal power is further confirmed by the presence of these scenes on the gateway of Euergetes at Karnak.¹¹³⁴ In the third register of the south face the king presents the *hh*-symbol to Khonsu-Shu and Rattawy.¹¹³⁵ Immediately above, in the fourth register, the king presents *nh-dd-w3s* to Khonsu-Thoth and Khonsu.¹¹³⁶ The anointment of the messenger-birds is depicted in the passage of the gateway.¹¹³⁷

The accompanying hymns to Scenes 1 and 2 are also complementary. The main theme of the hymn to Scene 1 is the daily cycle of the sun, focussing especially on the identification of the sacred falcon with the renewed morning sun in association with its anointment.¹¹³⁸ The hymn to Scene 2 starts with an exaltation of the solar aspects of the sacred falcon as a bird of prey. The main part of the hymn focusses on the course of the sun during the day, i.e. the sun reaching its zenith, in association with the presentation of the *hh*-symbol and the *nh*-bouquet and ends with the setting of the sun in the evening, and the course of the sun in the Netherworld.¹¹³⁹

4.2.2 SCENES 3 AND 4

As pointed out in paragraph 3.4.1 the fumigation of fragrant resin (Scene 4) is associated specifically with the presentation of food-offerings (Scene 3). This is clear from the accompanying inscription to Scene 4: "Fumigating fragrant resin and bringing the god to his food-offerings. Words to be spoken: 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). This explains why the presentation of food-offerings and the fumigation of fragrant resin are represented as a symmetrical pair in the second register.

The complementarity of the themes of Scenes 3 and 4 is also expressed in the accompanying hymn to Scene 4,¹¹⁴⁰ where reference is made to the meat presented to the sacred falcon in Scene 3: "The living *hm*-falcon, the living *bik*-falcon shall be mighty forever through its choice portions of meat in its (i.e. the falcon) body and through its cows and its fowl and through all its sweet food at each of its festivals that take place in it (i.e. the temple),

¹¹²⁸ E II 43, 6-15; pl. XLd.

¹¹²⁹ See Cauville, *Essai*, 154-165.

¹¹³⁰ Cauville, *Essai*, 156-158.

¹¹³¹ *hnk mdt* (E V 174, 6 – 175, 1; pl. CXX) and *šms ntyw* (E V 78, 2-14; pl. CXVI).

¹¹³² [*wḏ3*] (E V 171, 8 – 172, 2; pl. CXIX) and *ts s3* (E V 75, 5-16; pl. CXV).

¹¹³³ *ms nh* (E V 170, 10 – 171, 6; pl. CXIX) and *ms nh* (E V 74, 10 – 75, 3; pl. CXV).

¹¹³⁴ For an analysis of the decoration of the gateway of Euergetes, see Goyon, in: Thiers (ed.), *D3T2*, 33-93; Goyon, in: Thiers (ed.), *D3T3*, 29-89.

¹¹³⁵ Clère, *Évergète*, pl. 8; *Urk.* VIII, 51-52 (63a-h).

¹¹³⁶ Clère, *Évergète*, pl. 10; *Urk.* VIII, 50-51 (62a-i).

¹¹³⁷ Clère, *Évergète*, pl. 41; *Urk.* VIII, 84-85 (99a-k). For a discussion of this scene in relation to the theme of the confirmation of royal power, see paragraph 3.1.1.3.

¹¹³⁸ See paragraph 2.1.2 for an analysis of this hymn.

¹¹³⁹ See paragraph 2.2.2 for an analysis of this hymn.

¹¹⁴⁰ See paragraph 2.4.2 for an analysis of this hymn.

forever. Raise up your face together with your *k3*, living *ḥm*-falcon, living *bik*-falcon. Raise up your face together with your *k3* and your *b3*, and together with your *w3š*. Raise up your face to this your food in this your temple, which are a god's offering of beautiful choice portions of meat of cows and birds, food-offerings, sustenance, and all the good, pure, sweet things that a god lives by and that are offered to your *k3*, Horus Behdeti, the great god, the lord of the sky, and (for your *k3*), living *ḥm*-falcon, you (both) being perfect gods on this day!" (Text 39: E VI 305, 13 – 308, 8).

In the daily temple ritual the fumigation of fragrant resin is also closely associated with the presentation of food-offerings. Tacke's analysis of the sequence of episodes of the daily offering ritual¹¹⁴¹ shows that the presentation of the daily menu to the deity (episode 30) is preceded by a fumigation with fragrant resin (episode 29). After the presentation of the daily menu, the sequence continues with episodes concerning the incitement of the deity to accept the offerings presented to him: the proclamation of the offerings (episode 31) and the arrangement of the offering-table accompanied by a libation (episode 32), followed by the burning of fragrant resin (episode 33). In the accompanying spell to this episode the god is summoned to come to the offerings presented to him.¹¹⁴² This reminds one of the accompanying inscriptions to Scene 4, where it is said that the fumigation of fragrant resin brings the god to his food-offerings (Text 35: E VI 305, 2-4). The burnt offering of meat seems to have usually been accompanied by the burning of fragrant resin. As Eggebrecht remarked: "Aus der fortgeschrittenen 18. Dyn. Darstellungen, wo bei gleicher Handlung aus wertvollem Alabastergefäß, Myrrhen und Weihrauch auf Brandopferschale gegossen wird. (...) Diese Zutaten sind sowohl als Brennstoff neben Holzkohle wie zur Verhinderung des bei Fleischverbrennung entstehenden üblen Brandgeruches notwendig".¹¹⁴³ Considering this close association between the themes of food-offering and fumigation of fragrant resin, it is not remarkable to find these two themes together rather commonly in temple decoration,¹¹⁴⁴ often in axial, horizontal or vertical symmetry, but also together in a single ritual scene.¹¹⁴⁵

4.2.3 SCENES 5 AND 6

Scenes 5 and 6 both depict a procession, showing 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. To the far left and far right of both scenes, Thoth is depicted as an ibis-headed human wearing the Atef Crown. In Scene 5 he is depicted engraving a palm rib with the royal annals, whereas in Scene 6 he is depicted holding the *w3s*-sceptre and the *ḥh*-symbol.¹¹⁴⁶ The main texts associated with Scenes 5 and 6 are the invocations to two aspects of Hathor, i.e. the Good Year in Scene 5 and Sakhmet in Scene 6. The Good Year is invoked to be 'favorable' towards the sacred falcon and the king, to protect them, and to give

¹¹⁴¹ Tacke, *Opferritual*.

¹¹⁴² See Tacke, *Opferritual* II, 123.

¹¹⁴³ A. Eggebrecht, *LÄ I*, 1975, 849, "Brandopfer", with reference to S. Schott, *Das schöne Fest vom Wüstentale: Festbräuche einer Totenstadt*. Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Jg. 1952, Nr. 11. Mainz 1952, 781 ff..

¹¹⁴⁴ See for example in a scene on the southern gateway (L') which depicts the installation of an altar (*w3ḥ ḥh*) (E VIII 169, 5-17; pl. CCXII). The accompanying inscription reads: "The portions of meat of *iw3w*-cattle, *wndw*-cattle, gazelle, <antelope> and ibexes are on your altars. Fragrant resin (*ḥntyw*) is on the flame, incense is on the fire, and the festive scent has traversed your house" (E VIII 169, 5-8).

¹¹⁴⁵ See for example two scenes depicted on the Euergetes gateway, which combine the presentation of food-offerings with incense materials, such as the scene of making a burnt offering and fumigating (Clère, *Évergète*, pl. 23; *Urk.* VIII, 64-65 (78a-i) mentioned in paragraph 3.3.1.2, and a scene of making the great offering (*ḥ3bt*) and fumigating it (Clère, *Évergète*, pl. 23; *Urk.* VIII, 64-65 (78a-i).

¹¹⁴⁶ See paragraphs 2.5.1-2.5.2 and 2.6.1-2.6.2 for an analysis of these scenes.

rejuvenation and renewal, whereas Sakhmet is invoked not to unleash her destructive powers against the sacred falcon and the king.¹¹⁴⁷ As such, these two series of invocations thematically complement one another: both were essentially aimed at the protection of Horus, the sacred falcon and the king during the rituals of 1 Tybi, which can be categorised as a rite of passage during which divine protection was needed. This complementarity explains why Scenes 5 and 6 are represented as a symmetrical pair in the first register.

The close association between the invocations to the Good Year and to Sakhmet is also found elsewhere. The complete series of 39 invocations to the Good Year is inscribed on the southern part of the exterior face of the kiosk on the roof of the temple of Hathor at Dendera,¹¹⁴⁸ whereas a selection of the invocations to Sakhmet forms part of the inscriptions engraved on the north exterior reveal of the eastern doorway giving access to the kiosk and on the soubassement of the adjoining Column X.¹¹⁴⁹ Similarly in the Roman mammisi at Dendera, where the complete series of 39 invocations to the Good Year is inscribed on the north, east and south walls of the Hall of the Ennead,¹¹⁵⁰ whereas both jambs of the interior face of the doorway giving access to the Sanctuary 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 6.¹¹⁵¹

4.2.4 SCENES 7 AND 8

The symmetrically placed Scenes 7 and 8 both depict the sacred falcon and Horus seated upon lion-thrones. In Scene 7 they are accompanied by Thoth, the king, the queen and Seshat to the left, and Menbit and Set-Weret to the right. In Scene 8 they are accompanied by Thoth, the king, the queen and Seshat to the right, and Menbit and Wetjeset-Her to the left. To the far left and far right of both scenes, Onuris-Shu is depicted wearing his four feathers crown. In Scene 7 he is depicted piercing a snake, whereas in Scene 8 he is depicted stabbing the Seth animal.¹¹⁵² The main texts associated with these scenes are the ritual for the protection of the bedroom with the spells for the protection of the house (Scene 7) and the ritual for the protection of the body with the spells for the protection of the body (Scene 8).¹¹⁵³ The recitation of these spells was aimed primarily at ensuring the protection of Horus, the sacred falcon and the king during the rituals of 1 Tybi. As such, the spells for the protection of the house and for the protection of the body are complementary to one another. This complementarity is further stressed by the format of the spells: in both cases the protection of the beneficiaries is ensured by means of magic of analogy through equating them in each spell with a god. This complementarity explains why Scenes 7 and 8 are represented as a symmetrical pair in the second register.

The close association between the protection of the house and the protection of the body is also found elsewhere. Two spells for the protection of the body are inscribed on the exterior face of Vestibule G of the Edfu mammisi,¹¹⁵⁴ whereas a selection of the spells for the protection of the house is inscribed on a part of the mammisi that forms a direct continuation

¹¹⁴⁷ See paragraphs 2.5.3 and 2.6.3 for an analysis of these invocations.

¹¹⁴⁸ D VIII 13; 55-64. See paragraph 3.5.5.1.

¹¹⁴⁹ D VIII 13, 8-13; 66, 5-8. See paragraph 3.6.2.5.

¹¹⁵⁰ D Mamm 162, 5 – 164, 13; 177, 14 – 179, 3. See paragraph 3.5.5.6.

¹¹⁵¹ D Mamm 97, 9-16; 97, 17 – 98, 6. See paragraph 3.6.2.6.

¹¹⁵² See paragraphs 2.7.1-2.7.2 and 2.8.1-2.8.2 for an analysis of these scenes.

¹¹⁵³ See paragraphs 2.7.3-2.7.4, 2.8.3-2.8.4, 3.7.3-3.7.4 and 3.8.2-3.8.3 for an analysis of these rituals.

¹¹⁵⁴ E Mamm 108, 10-11 and E Mamm 119, 15. See also paragraph 3.8.4.1.

of Vestibule G, namely on the exterior face of the architraves of Portico H of the Edfu mammisi.¹¹⁵⁵

4.3 INTERRELATIONS WITH THE DECORATION-PROGRAMME OF WALL I' (NORTH)

4.3.1 SOUBASSEMENT

The decoration of the soubassement,¹¹⁵⁶ dating to Ptolemy IX-X (107-88 BC),¹¹⁵⁷ follows the perfect symmetrical lay-out of the first and second registers. The triad of Edfu consisting of Horus, Hathor and Harsomtus is depicted twice in the center of the wall, facing left in the western half and facing right in the eastern half. They receive offerings from 35 deities, consisting of the traditional nome deities followed by the deities of supplementary districts, which in turn are followed by the king and the queen.

The nome deities of Lower-Egypt are depicted in the western half of the soubassement (Table 4.1). The 20 nomes of Lower-Egypt are represented by 21 deities, the 14th Lower-Egyptian nome being represented by both Horus and Isis. Horus of Mesen was venerated as the main deity in *T3rw* (Greek Sile) in the 14th Lower-Egyptian nome.¹¹⁵⁸ Because of its close theological connections to Edfu, Sile is sometimes referred to as northern Edfu, which explains why the 14th Lower-Egyptian nome is represented here by both Horus and Isis. Similarly in the eastern half of the soubassement, the 2nd Upper-Egyptian nome (Apollonopolites) is represented by both Horus and Isis (see Table 4.3).

Nomes ¹¹⁵⁹		Nome deities
LE I <i>Inbw-ḥd</i>	Memphites	Ptah Tatenen, the father of the gods
LE II <i>Mḥꜥkt / Ḥm</i>	Letopolites	Horus, the lord of <i>Shm</i> (i.e. Letopolis), the great god, who resides in Behdet
LE III <i>Imntt</i>	Gynaikopolites	Hathor, the mistress of <i>Im3w</i> in <i>Wtst-Ḥr</i> (i.e. Edfu)
LE IV <i>Nt-rsyꜥ</i>	Prosopites	Isis, the great, the god's mother, who resides in <i>Nt-rsyꜥ</i> (i.e. southern Sais)
LE V <i>Nt-mḥtyꜥ</i>	Saites	Neith, the great, the god's mother in <i>St-Rꜥ</i> (i.e. Edfu)
LE VI <i>Ḥ3swꜥ</i>	Xoites	Ra, the lord of <i>Ḥ3swꜥ</i> , the great god, who resides in <i>Nḥn-nšny</i> (i.e. Edfu)
LE VII <i>Wꜥ m ḥww imntt</i>	Western harpoon-nome	Isis, the great, the god's mother, the mistress of <i>Bsid</i>
LE VIII <i>Wꜥ m ḥww i3btt</i>	Eastern harpoon-nome	Atum of <i>Tkw</i> , the great god, who resides in <i>Tkw</i>
LE IX <i>ꜥndty</i>	Busirites	Osiris, the lord of <i>Ddw</i> (i.e. Busiris)
LE X	Athribites	Hathor, the great, who resides in <i>Km-wr</i> (i.e. Athribis)

¹¹⁵⁵ E Mamm 172 – 181. See also paragraph 3.7.4.1.

¹¹⁵⁶ Western half: E VI 48, 8 – 54, 11; E X pl. CLVII. Eastern half: E VI 227, 14 – 234, 14; E X pl. CLX.

¹¹⁵⁷ E. Jambon, “Les soubassements de l'intérieur de mur d'enceinte d'Edfou. Réflexions préliminaires autour de la notion de “canon” dans les temples ptolémaïques et romains”, in: A. Rickert and B. Ventker (eds), *Altägyptische Enzyklopädien. Die Soubassements in den Tempeln der griechisch-römischen Zeit. Soubassementstudien I, Band 2. Studien zur Spätägyptischen Religion 7*. Wiesbaden 2014, 793-794.

¹¹⁵⁸ F. Gomaà, *LÄ V*, 1984, 946-947 “Sile”.

¹¹⁵⁹ For the nomes and their deities, see Chr. Leitz, *Die Gaumonographien in Edfu und ihre Papyrusvarianten. Ein überregionaler Kanon kultischen Wissens im spätzeitlichen Ägypten. Soubassementstudien III. Studien zur Spätägyptischen Religion 9*. Wiesbaden 2014.

<i>Km-wr</i>		
LE XI <i>Hsbw</i>	Pharbaïtes	Isis, the great, the god's mother, who resides in <i>Hsbw</i>
LE XII <i>Tb-ntr</i>	Sebennytes	Nephthys, the excellent, who resides in <i>Tb-ntr</i> (i.e. Sebennytos)
LE XIII <i>Hk3-ꜥ(n)d</i>	Heliopolites	Iusaas in <i>Hk3-ꜥndw</i>
LE XIV <i>Hnty-i3btt</i>	Tanites	Horus, the lord of <i>Msn</i> , the great god in <i>Db3-mḥty</i> (i.e. northern Edfu) Isis in <i>Msn</i>
LE XV <i>Hb</i>	Hermopolites	Thoth, the twice great, who separates the fighters
LE XVI <i>H3t-mḥyt</i>	Mendesios	Banebdjed, the great god, the life of Ra
LE XVII <i>Sm3-Bḥdt</i>	Diospolites	Amun-Ra, the lord of <i>Sm3-Bḥdt</i>
LE XVIII <i>Imt-ḥntt</i>	Bubastites	Bastet, the great, the mistress of <i>B3st</i> (i.e. Bubastis)
LE XIX <i>Imt-pḥt</i>	Pharbaïtes	Wadjet, the mistress of <i>Imt</i>
LE XX <i>Pr-Spdw</i>	Arabia	Sopdu, the lord of <i>T3btt</i> , the great god in <i>Ṣns</i>

Table 4.1 The nome deities of Lower-Egypt in the western half of the soubassement.

The nome deities of Lower-Egypt are followed by 14 deities representing supplementary districts (Table 4.2).

Supplementary district I	Horus Behdeti, the great god, the lord of the sky, the lord of <i>Pr-ꜥḥ3</i>
Supplementary district II	Sokar Osiris who resides in <i>Ṣtyt</i>
Supplementary district III	Nut, the great, who gave birth to the gods
Supplementary district IV	Harsiese, the [first of <i>St</i>]- <i>wrt</i> (i.e. Edfu)
Supplementary district V	Isis, the great, the god's mother, the mistress of <i>Smn</i>
Supplementary district VI	Sakhmet, the powerful of <i>Tp-Int</i>
Supplementary district VII	Ptah <i>Hry-B3k=f</i> , the first of <i>3ḥt-ḥwy</i>
Supplementary district VIII	Mut <i>ḥntt-ꜥbwy-ntrw</i> , the mistress of <i>Ṣns</i>
Supplementary district IX	Hathor, the mistress of <i>Mfk3t</i> in <i>Wtst-Hr</i> (i.e. Edfu)
Supplementary district X	[...]
Supplementary district XI	[...]
Supplementary district XII	Harsiese [...]
Supplementary district XIII	Haroeris [...]
Supplementary district XIV	[Har]siese, the first of [<i>Hr</i>]- <i>ꜥḥ3</i>

Table 4.2 The deities representing supplementary districts in the western half of the soubassement.

The nome deities of Upper-Egypt are depicted in the eastern half of the soubassement (Table 4.3). The 22 nomes of Upper-Egypt are represented by 21 deities, with the 2nd Upper-Egyptian nome (Apollonopolites) being represented by both Horus and Isis. The 10th and the 19th Upper-Egyptian nomes (Aphroditopolites and Oxyrhynchites) have been omitted because of their association with Seth.¹¹⁶⁰

¹¹⁶⁰ Compare for example the decoration of the columns in the Edfu pronaos, see D. Kurth, *Die Dekoration der Säulen im Pronaos des Tempels von Edfu*. Göttinger Orientforschungen. Reihe 4, Ägypten 11. Wiesbaden 1983, 292-309. For the proscription of Seth, see H. te Velde, *Seth, god of confusion: a study of his role in Egyptian mythology and religion*. Leiden 1967, 138-151.

Nomes ¹¹⁶¹		Nome deities
UE I <i>T3-sty</i>	Ombites	Khnum-Shu in <i>H3t-sp3wt</i> (i.e. the beginning of the nomes)
UE II <i>W1st-Hr</i>	Apollonopolites	Horus Behdeti, the great god, the lord of the sky, the falcon of gold, the son of Osiris Isis Hededet, the god's mother, who resides in <i>Bḥdt</i> (i.e. Edfu)
UE III <i>Nḥn</i>	Latopolites	Nekhbet, the white one of <i>Nḥn</i> , the one with the outstretched arm, the mistress of <i>Fṛg</i>
UE IV <i>W3st</i>	Pathyrites	Montu, the lord of <i>W3st</i> (i.e. Thebes), the great god, who lives in <i>Trt-Rṛ</i> (i.e. Thebes)
UE V <i>Ntrwy</i>	Koptites	Min of <i>Gbtīw</i> (i.e. Koptos), Horus with the raised arm
UE VI <i>Ik</i>	Tentyrites	Hathor, the mistress of <i>Twnt</i> (i.e. Dendera), the Eye of Ra in <i>T3-n-Itmw</i> (i.e. Dendera)
UE VII <i>B3t</i>	Diospolites	Nephthys, the excellent one in <i>B3t</i>
UE VIII <i>T3-wr</i>	Thinities	Onuris-Shu in <i>T3-wr</i>
UE IX <i>Mnw</i>	Panopolites	Min, the lord of <i>Ipw</i> (i.e. Panopolis) in <i>Hwt-(Hr)-Hrw</i> (i.e. Edfu)
UE X <i>W3dyt</i>	Aphroditopolites	<i>Omitted</i>
UE XI <i>Sth</i>	Hypselites	Khnum, the lord of <i>Š3s-ḥtp</i>
UE XII <i>3tft</i>	Antaiopolites	Horus, the great, the son of Osiris, the lord of <i>(T)3tft</i>
UE XIII <i>3tft-ḥntt</i>	Lykopolites I	Anubis, the lord of <i>S3wti</i> (i.e. Lykopolis)
UE XIV <i>3tft-phṯ</i>	Lykopolites II	Hathor, the mistress of <i>Kis</i> (i.e. Qusae) in <i>3tft-phwt</i>
UE XV <i>Wnw</i>	Hermopolites I	Thot, the twice very great, the lord of <i>Ḥmnw</i> (i.e. Hermopolis)
UE XVI <i>M3-ḥd</i>	Hermopolites II	Horus, the lord of <i>Hbnw</i> in <i>M3-ḥd</i> (i.e. the nome of the oryx)
UE XVII <i>Inpwt</i>	Kynopolites I	Anubis, the lord of <i>S3-k3</i>
UE XVIII <i>Dwn-ṛnw / Hrdi (?)</i>	Kynopolites II	Anubis, the lord of <i>Dwn-ṛnw</i> , the great god, who resides in <i>Bḥdt</i> (i.e. Edfu)
UE XIX <i>W3b(w)3b</i>	Oxyrhynchites	<i>Omitted</i>
UE XX <i>Nṛt-ḥntt / Hwt-nn-nsw</i>	Herakleopolites	Herishef, the king of the Two Lands, the lord of <i>Hwt-nn-nsw</i>
UE XXI <i>Nṛt ph</i>	Arsinoites	Khnum, the lord of <i>Smn-Hr</i>
UE XXII <i>Mdnit</i>	Aphroditopolites	Hathor, the mistress of <i>Tp-iḥw</i> (i.e. Atfih) in <i>Nst-Rṛ</i> (i.e. Edfu)

Table 4.3 The nome deities of Upper-Egypt in the eastern half of the soubassement.

The nome deities of Upper-Egypt are followed by 14 deities representing supplementary districts (Table 4.4).

Supplementary district I	Haroeris, the lord of <i>Nbit</i> (i.e. Kom Ombo)
Supplementary district II	Horus of <i>Nḥn</i> in <i>T3t-s3b-šwt</i> (i.e. Edfu)
Supplementary district III	Nephthys, the mistress of <i>Pr-mrt</i> (i.e. Komir)

¹¹⁶¹ For the nomes and their deities, see Leitz, *Gaumonographien*.

Supplementary district IV	Khnum, the lord of <i>Pr-t3w</i> (i.e. the House of the Chicks/Children)
Supplementary district V	Hathor, the mistress of <i>ʿgni</i> in <i>St-Rʿ</i> (i.e. Edfu)
Supplementary district VI	Amun, the lord of <i>Hf3t</i>
Supplementary district VII	Amun, the lord of <i>Hsfn</i> (i.e. Asphynis)
Supplementary district VIII	Hathor, the great, the mistress of <i>r3 Inrty</i> (i.e. the Door of Gebelein (?))
Supplementary district IX	Montu, the lord of <i>Twnw-šmʿw</i> (i.e. Armant)
Supplementary district X	Haroeris, the lord of <i>Gis</i> (i.e. Qus)
Supplementary district XI	Harsomtut, the lord of <i>H3-di-ntr</i>
Supplementary district XII	Horus Iunmutef, who resides in <i>Itb</i> (i.e. Edfa)
Supplementary district XIII	Horus Behdeti, the lord of <i>Sm3-Bhdt</i>
Supplementary district XIV	Horus, the first in <i>Hwt-nswt</i> (i.e. the Royal House)

Table 4.4 The deities representing supplementary districts in the eastern half of the soubassement.

As for the geographic processions that constitute the decoration of the soubassement, we have to distinguish between two main types of processions, namely the nome processions on the one hand and the nome-deity processions on the other.¹¹⁶² In the case of the first type, the nomes are represented or personified by fecundity figures, which bring the products of the land.¹¹⁶³ In the case of the second type, the main deities of the central (cult-)place of each nome are represented. From the overview of the sources from the Ptolemaic and Roman periods published by Leitz it can be concluded that the nome-deity procession is not depicted as frequently as the nome procession: in the case of Edfu for example, there are nine attestations of geographic processions in the soubassements, only three of which are nome-deity processions.¹¹⁶⁴ Considering the close interrelations between the individual ritual scenes as well as between individual registers, walls and chapels,¹¹⁶⁵ the decoration of the soubassement of the interior face of the northern enclosure was probably determined by the surrounding decoration and may as such be explained in the context of the decoration of the registers above. The presence of the nome-deities rather than the fecundity figures in the soubassement may have been determined by the theme of the first and second registers: similar to the royal *sd*-festival and perhaps the royal coronation ritual,¹¹⁶⁶ the confirmation and renewal of royal power of the sacred falcon of Edfu was supposed to be celebrated in the presence of all the gods of Egypt.

¹¹⁶² For this distinction, see H. Beinlich, *Studien zu den "Geographischen Inschriften" (10. – 14. O. Äg. Gau)*. Tübinger Ägyptologische Beiträge 2. Bonn 1976, 3-11; Chr. Leitz, "Geographische Soubassementtexte aus griechisch-römischer Zeit: Eine Hauptquelle altägyptischer Kulttopographie", in: A. Rickert and B. Ventker (eds), *Altägyptische Enzyklopädien. Die Soubassements in den Tempeln der griechisch-römischen Zeit. Soubassementstudien I, Band 1*. Studien zur Spätägyptischen Religion 7. Wiesbaden 2014, 70.

¹¹⁶³ For the fecundity figures, see J. Baines, *Fecundity figures: Egyptian personification and the iconology of a genre*. Warminster/Chicago 1985.

¹¹⁶⁴ See Leitz, in: Rickert and Ventker (eds), *Soubassementstudien I, Band 1*, 106-113. The nome-deity processions are located on the interior face of the northern enclosure wall (E VI 48, 8 – 52, 2 and E VI 227, 14 – 231, 13), on the exterior face of the towers of the pylon (E VIII 87, 13 – 88, 3; 93, 16 – 94, 15; 128, 3-15; 133, 10-16), and on the south, north and east walls of the sanctuary of the mammisi (E Mamm 8, 10 – 9, 14 and 11, 3 – 12, 9). For an analysis of the nome-deity processions in the soubassement of the sanctuary of the Edfu mammisi, see D. Budde, "Die Eine und die Vielen. Überlegungen zur Dekoration des Soubassements im Sanktuar des Mammisis von Edfu", in: Rickert and Ventker (eds), *Soubassementstudien I, Band 1*, 269-300.

¹¹⁶⁵ For the *grammaire du temple*, see paragraph 1.3.

¹¹⁶⁶ See Hornung and Staehelin, *Sedfest*, 91-95. Unfortunately not much is known about the royal coronation ritual, but based on what we know of the *sd*-festival, it may be assumed that also the royal coronation was carried out in the presence of the gods of Egypt. For the acknowledgement of the new king by the most important deities, see for example the Contendings of Horus and Seth (A.H. Gardiner, *The library of A. Chester Beatty: description of a hieratic papyrus with a mythological story, love-songs, and other miscellaneous texts*. The Chester Beatty Papyri 1. London 1931; J.G. Griffiths, *The Conflict of Horus and Seth, from Egyptian and classical sources: a study in ancient mythology*. Liverpool 1960).

The supplementary districts never seem to stand alone, but always form part of a nome-procession or nome-deity procession preceding them. In the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, the series of supplementary districts are only found in the large temples of Upper-Egypt, i.e. Athribis, Dendera, Tôd, Edfu, Kom Ombo, and Elephantine.¹¹⁶⁷ As for the function of the supplementary districts, Von Recklinghausen concluded: “Da in den Beschreibungen der kanonischen Gaue der Fokus auf die alten, traditionellen Kultorte gerichtet ist, scheint man es als eine Notwendigkeit empfunden zu haben, bei einigen Prozessionen weitere (lokal-)theologisch relevante Orte zu integrieren, da sie anderweitig nicht oder zumindest nicht ausreichend in eine sakrale Geographie Ägyptens eingebunden waren. In Anbetracht der großen Heterogenität des Materials können nur lokale Interessen für die Wahl der Orte ausschlaggebend gewesen sein. (...) In Edfu werden nur Orte genannt, die eine eindeutige Verbindung zu Horus ermöglichen. (...) Ausschlaggebend für die Anbringung eines Ortes in Form eines Zusatzgaues war also anscheinend die Möglichkeit, diesen mit den Ortsgöttern in Relation zu setzen bzw. Letztere mit den lokal verehrten Gottheiten identifizieren zu können. (...) Die Intention bei der Wiedergabe von Zusatzgauen könnte daher vielleicht als Wunsch verstanden werden, den Tempelgottheiten eine kultische Verehrung in ganz Ägypten zu garantieren”.¹¹⁶⁸ The conclusion that was drawn above for the presence of the nome-deities in the soubassement of the interior face of the northern enclosure wall may be extended to the presence of the deities representing the supplementary districts following these nome-deities: the confirmation and renewal of royal power of the sacred falcon of Edfu was supposed to be celebrated in the presence of all the gods of Egypt, including those of the supplementary nomes.

4.3.2 BANDEAU-INSCRIPTIONS AND FRIEZE

4.3.2.1 *Bandeaux du soubassement*

The inscription of the right half of the bandeau du soubassement starts in the centre of the interior face of the northern enclosure wall and continues to the right into the eastern part of the wall.¹¹⁶⁹ The inscriptions were probably engraved around 107 BC, in the period of transition between the reigns of Ptolemy X and Ptolemy IX.¹¹⁷⁰ The inscription of the eastern bandeau du soubassement is not related explicitly to the decoration of the first and second registers illustrating the coronation ritual of the falcon, but refers to a series of themes that are usually found in bandeau-inscriptions, namely the construction of the temple, followed by a list of names of the temple and the protection of the temple and of the gods by Horus Behdeti.

The inscription of the left half of the bandeau du soubassement starts in the centre of the interior face of the northern enclosure wall and continues to the left into the western part of the wall.¹¹⁷¹ Also here, the inscriptions were probably engraved around 107 BC, in the period of transition between the reigns of Ptolemy X and Ptolemy IX. On the northern part of the wall the inscription of the western bandeau du soubassement refers to the construction of the temple, followed by an extensive description of the temple building, whereas on the western part of the wall it refers to the Horus-myth (including references to various battle grounds

¹¹⁶⁷ See D. von Recklinghausen, “Die sogenannten Zusatzgaue – Ein Überblick”, in: Rickert and Ventker (eds), *Soubassementstudien I, Band 1*, 129, Table 1.

¹¹⁶⁸ Von Recklinghausen, in: Rickert and Ventker (eds), *Soubassementstudien I, Band 1*, 145.

¹¹⁶⁹ E VI 10, 3 – 13, 6.

¹¹⁷⁰ Egberts, in: *RdE* 38 (1987), 55-61.

¹¹⁷¹ E VI 5, 1 – 10, 2.

mentioned in the myth), to the festival of 25-27 Tybi which involved the performance of the divine ancestor cult in the necropolis, to the festival of victory celebrated on 21 Mechir, and to the pulling of the sledge of Sokar associated with 26 Khoiak. The bandeau-inscription ends with a reference to the king being granted eternal rule over Egypt as falcon upon the *srh*. The association between the themes of the inscription of the western bandeau du soubassement and the registers above is apparent. An important theme in the third register of the northern part of the wall is the cosmogony and the creation of the Edfu temple, whereas the decoration of the interior face of the western enclosure wall focusses mainly on the Horus myth and the festivities of 25-27 Tybi, as well as on the festivals celebrated on the dates of 21 Mechir and 26 Khoiak.¹¹⁷²

4.3.2.2 *Bandeaux de la frise*

The inscription of the right half of the bandeau de la frise starts at the centre of the interior face of the northern enclosure wall and continues to the right into the eastern part of the wall.¹¹⁷³ The inscription starts with the royal titulary of Horus Behdeti, referring to him as the primeval creator god as well as to various conceptions of creation, including the origination in the egg and the emergence from the lotus flower.¹¹⁷⁴ The text continues with a description of the protective function of the enclosure wall and of the divine protectors, followed by a cosmogonic inscription referring to the destruction of the snake and resulting in the construction of the temple.¹¹⁷⁵

The inscription of the left half of the bandeau de la frise starts at the centre of the interior face of the northern enclosure wall and continues to the left into the western part of the wall.¹¹⁷⁶ The inscription starts with the titulary of Cleopatra III and Ptolemy X, followed by a description of the function of the enclosure wall, the divine protectors and their role, the origin of the wall and its protection, the destruction of the snake, and a list of the sacred names of Edfu.¹¹⁷⁷

The inscription of the bandeaux de la frise are not related explicitly to the decoration of the first and second registers illustrating the coronation ritual of the falcon, but refer in particular to the apotropaic nature of the enclosure wall, the role of the divine protectors and the destruction of the snake, stressing as such the apotropaic function of the enclosure wall, which separated and protected the sacred space inside the temple from the chaos outside.

4.3.2.3 *Frieze*

The decoration of the frieze¹¹⁷⁸ is not related explicitly to the decoration of the first and second registers illustrating the coronation ritual of the falcon, and consists of the following repetitive pattern:

- a) two cartouches containing the names of Ptolemy XI, flanked by two solar falcons;
- b) three *hkr*-symbols;

¹¹⁷² See also Kurth, *Edfou VI. Übersetzungen*, 12, n. 8. For an overview of the decoration of the interior face of the western, northern and eastern enclosure wall, see Cauville, *Essai*, 166-175 and Figs. 49, 50.

¹¹⁷³ E VI 16, 1 – 18, 15.

¹¹⁷⁴ See also Kurth, *Edfou VI. Übersetzungen*, 28, n. 6.

¹¹⁷⁵ For an analysis of the cosmogonic text (E VI 17, 6 – 18, 10), see Goyon, *Dieux gardiens*, 21-25.

¹¹⁷⁶ E VI 13, 7 – 15, 18.

¹¹⁷⁷ For this inscription, see Goyon, *Dieux gardiens*, 26-34.

¹¹⁷⁸ Eastern half of the frieze: E VI 340,5-16. Western half of the frieze: E VI 190, 12 – 191, 5.

c) eastern half: two cartouches containing the names of Horus of Edfu, flanked by two falcons, one of which is snake-headed (ophiocephalus) and one of which is lion-headed (leontocephalus); western half: two cartouches containing the names of Horus of Edfu, flanked by two falcons, one of which is falcon-headed, one of which is bull-headed (bucephalus);

d) three *hkr*-symbols.

On the eastern half, the snake-headed falcon represents the head of the third unit of guardian deities,¹¹⁷⁹ whereas the lion-headed falcon represents the head of the second unit of guardian deities.¹¹⁸⁰ The role of the third unit of guardian deities is to protect the temple from the east,¹¹⁸¹ whereas the second unit of guardian deities protects the temple from the north.¹¹⁸² On the western half, the falcon-headed falcon represents the head of the first unit of guardian deities of the temple of Edfu,¹¹⁸³ whereas the bull-headed falcon represents the head of the fourth unit of guardian deities.¹¹⁸⁴ The role of the first unit of guardian deities is to protect the temple from the south,¹¹⁸⁵ whereas the fourth unit of guardian deities protects the temple from the west.¹¹⁸⁶

4.3.3 THIRD REGISTER

If one examines the three registers of the interior face of the northern enclosure wall as a whole, it is clear that the axial symmetry of the wall is the dominant organising principle. As visualised in Fig. 4.1, it is precisely the symmetry of the western and eastern halves of the wall that delimits the first and second registers from the third register: in the western half of the third register we find the same arrangement of scenes as in the first and second registers, whereas the arrangement of scenes in the eastern half deviates from that of the first and second registers. This deviant arrangement of scenes forms a natural line of demarcation between the first and second registers on the one hand and the third register on the other.

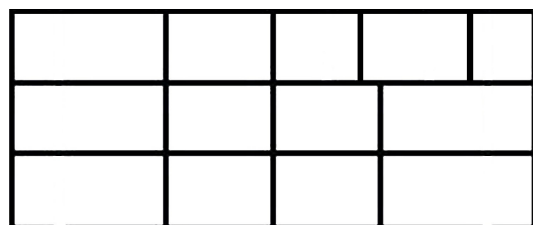


Figure 4.1 Decoration-structure of the three registers of the interior face of the northern enclosure wall.

Alliot concluded that the events depicted in the third register are not immediately related to those of the first and second registers: “Sa lecture (i.e. of the cosmological text in scene 2 of the western part) ne faisait pas partie de la cérémonie du 1er Tybi, selon toute vraisemblance. Il en est de même pour les autres tableaux du troisième registre. Ce sont des scènes de couronnement royal *humain*: elles semblent présenter certains détails spéciaux à Edfou, mais elles ne servent manifestement qu’à compléter la décoration du mur d’enceinte, et n’ajoutent

¹¹⁷⁹ Goyon, *Dieux gardiens*, 82-84.

¹¹⁸⁰ Goyon, *Dieux gardiens*, 50-52.

¹¹⁸¹ For role of the third unit of guardian deities, see E III 33, 12-16; Goyon, *Dieux gardiens*, 81-82.

¹¹⁸² For role of the second unit of guardian deities, see E III 8, 12-15; Goyon, *Dieux gardiens*, 68.

¹¹⁸³ Goyon, *Dieux gardiens*, 50-52.

¹¹⁸⁴ Goyon, *Dieux gardiens*, 96-98.

¹¹⁸⁵ For the role of the first unit of guardian deities, see E III 32, 17 – 33, 3; Goyon, *Dieux gardiens*, 48-50.

¹¹⁸⁶ For role of the fourth unit of guardian deities, see E III 9, 7-10; Goyon, *Dieux gardiens*, 95-96.

rien à notre connaissance des rites de la grande fête annuelle du *couronnement du dieu*".¹¹⁸⁷ Alliot based his conclusions on the following considerations:

a) The deviant arrangement of scenes in the eastern part of the third register.¹¹⁸⁸ As pointed out above, this deviant arrangement of scenes forms a natural line of demarcation between the first and second registers on the one hand and the third register on the other. However, the fact that the first and second registers are visually set apart from the third register does not mean automatically that the decoration of the third register is completely unrelated to that of the first and second registers. It rather shows the structure of the wall-decoration as it was implemented by the ancient Egyptians themselves. The decoration structure of the interior face of the northern enclosure wall shows that the first and second registers form a separate unit from the third register, suggesting that different, but not necessarily unrelated ritual units are concerned here.

b) Alliot concluded that the first and second registers were decorated under the first reign of Ptolemy VIII Soter II (116-108 BC) and that the third register was decorated under the reign of Ptolemy IX Alexander I (108-88 BC). He concluded furthermore: "Il y a eu interruption dans le travail entre les deux tiers inférieurs du mur et son dernier tiers supérieur".¹¹⁸⁹ As pointed out in Chapter 1, a precise dating of the decoration of the interior face of the northern enclosure wall is difficult since many of the cartouches on this wall have been left empty or have received neutral names which fit both Ptolemy IX with his coregent Cleopatra II and Ptolemy X with his coregent Cleopatra III. However, the cartouche of Ptolemy X figures in all the ritual scenes of the third register¹¹⁹⁰ and he is accompanied by Cleopatra III in scene 1 of the eastern half of the third register (see paragraph 4.3.3.3).¹¹⁹¹ Egberts argued that the distribution of the complete cartouches on the interior face of the enclosure wall suggests that they were filled in after the decoration of the wall was completed. Consequently, the names of Ptolemy X must have been engraved between 107 and 101 BC, during his coregency with Cleopatra III, whereas the names of Ptolemy IX were added later, during his second period of reign (88-80 BC). Egberts concluded that the interior face of the northern enclosure wall must have been decorated around 107 BC.¹¹⁹² This means that there was no interruption of the work between the decoration of the first and second registers and that of the third register, as suggested by Alliot.

c) Alliot's third consideration for concluding that the scenes in the third register are not immediately related to those in the first and second registers is the fact that the sacred falcon is depicted in only one of the scenes of the third register,¹¹⁹³ whereas it is depicted in each of the scenes of the first and second registers. However, the fact that the falcon is not depicted in all of the scenes of the third register does not mean automatically that the third register is unrelated to the scenes of the first and second registers.

As pointed out in paragraph 1.3, an important aspect in temple decoration is the coherence of the decoration, resulting in interrelations between individual ritual scenes, as well as between individual walls and chapels (*grammaire du temple*). As such, we can assume without doubt that the scenes of the third register were carefully selected to be depicted above the scenes in the first and second registers. In the following paragraphs each of the scenes of the third register shall be briefly presented, followed by an analysis of the relations between these scenes with those of the first and second registers.

¹¹⁸⁷ Alliot, *Culte*, 663-664.

¹¹⁸⁸ Alliot, *Culte*, 662.

¹¹⁸⁹ Alliot, *Culte*, 662.

¹¹⁹⁰ E VI 186, 12 (western half, scene 1); E VI 181, 6 (western half, scene 2); 339, 5 (eastern half, scene 1); 334, 9 (eastern half, scene 2); 336, 6 (eastern half, scene 2); 333, 14 (eastern half, scene 3).

¹¹⁹¹ E VI 339, 8-9.

¹¹⁹² Egberts, in: *RdE* 38 (1987), 60.

¹¹⁹³ Western half, scene 2, see paragraph 4.3.3.2.

4.3.3.1 Western half, scene 1

[Image under copyright restrictions]

Figure 4.2 Edfu, interior face of the northern enclosure wall (I'), third register, western half, scene 1. From: E X, pl. CXLIX.

Scene 1 on the western (left) part of the third register¹¹⁹⁴ depicts the king (Ptolemy X),¹¹⁹⁵ wearing the Double Crown, holding the *ḥnh*-symbol in one hand and the *ḥk3*-sceptre in the other. He is depicted in the form of a statue standing on top of a pedestal. The triad of Edfu, i.e. Horus Behdeti,¹¹⁹⁶ Hathor¹¹⁹⁷ and Ihy,¹¹⁹⁸ is depicted to the right. The falcon-headed Horus Behdeti is depicted sitting on a pedestal, wearing the Double Crown, holding the *ḥnh*-symbol in one hand and the *w3s*-sceptre with an *ḥnh*-symbol attached to it in the other, directing it towards the king. Hathor wears the sun-disc between horns, raising one hand in adoration and holding the *ḥnh*-symbol in the other. Ihy wears the *hemhem*-crown, holding the *ḥnh*-symbol in one hand and the *w3s*-sceptre in the other. A falcon-headed Harsiese¹¹⁹⁹ and an ibis-headed Thoth¹²⁰⁰ are depicted standing to the left of the king, facing him. Harsiese wears the Double Crown and presents the king with the Double Crown and the scimitar (*ḥps*), symbolising kingship and strength.¹²⁰¹ Thoth wears the moon-disc with crescent and engraves a palm rib with the royal annals.¹²⁰² The text written to the left of the scene describes the ritual actions that take place.¹²⁰³

The present scene depicts a coronation ritual, with the beneficiaries being the king – depicted in the form of a statue – and Horus Behdeti, accompanied by Hathor and Ihy. Being a coronation ritual, the theme of the present scene is similar to that of registers 1 and 2, where the coronation ritual of the sacred falcon is concerned. Harsiese is said to have come together with Thoth to Horus of Edfu, in order to install the heir of Horus, i.e. the king, as heir of the Two Lands (E VI 187, 3-5). As such, Harsiese is the intermediary between Horus Behdeti and his representative on earth, the king. Horus Behdeti is referred to as Ra, who started kingship, and the first king (E VI 190, 4-5). He presents Harsiese with the throne, the royal office and kingship, which he in turn transmits to the king (E VI 190, 4-5 and E VI 190, 10-11), as depicted in the accompanying image.

¹¹⁹⁴ E VI 186, 12 – 190, 11.

¹¹⁹⁵ E VI 186, 12-14.

¹¹⁹⁶ E VI 190, 4-5.

¹¹⁹⁷ E VI 190, 6-7.

¹¹⁹⁸ E VI 190, 8-9.

¹¹⁹⁹ E VI 186, 15-17.

¹²⁰⁰ E VI 187, 1-2.

¹²⁰¹ For the scimitar, see S. Schoske, *LÄ III*, 1980, 819-821 “Krummschwert”.

¹²⁰² See paragraph 2.5.1 for the ritual of engraving the palm rib with the royal annals.

¹²⁰³ E VI 187, 5 – 190, 3.

The text written to the left of the scene, which describes the ritual actions that take place, takes the form of a dramatical text in three acts. The following ritual actions are described:

- a) assembling the *hpt*-crown,¹²⁰⁴ establishing the *hpt*-crown, opening the doors of electrum of *St-Wrt* (i.e. the sanctuary);
- b) first act: appearing with the Red Crown, followed by a text to be recited by Thoth;
- c) second act: appearing with the White Crown, followed by a text to be recited by Harsiese;
- d) third act: appearing with the Double Crown, followed by texts to be recited by Thoth and Harsiese, referring to the appearance of Ptolemy X as king on the throne of Horus in Edfu and to the transmission of royal power from Ra (i.e. Horus-Ra) to the king, through his intermediary Harsiese
- e) adoration of the king on the throne, followed by a text to be recited by Thoth, referring to the wish for many years of reign;
- f) bringing offerings, followed by a text to be recited by Thoth, exalting the king as ruler and making reference to “the renewal of the First Occasion”, when the royal annals were first established and when kingship was first given to Ra (i.e. Horus-Ra in Edfu).

In the present scene the ritual actions are performed by the gods, suggesting that we are dealing here with a mythological representation. Indeed, as pointed out above, the subject-matter of the present scene is the transmission of the primordial kingship of Horus-Ra to his representative on earth, the king. As such, the theme of the transmission of primordial kingship in this scene in the third register forms the mythological background for the rituals of the transmission and confirmation of royal power of the sacred falcon in registers 1 and 2. Considering the dramatic nature of the accompanying text in three acts, it seems that the coronation ritual as depicted in the present scene was performed as a ritual drama. Considering the close thematic relation with the scenes in the first and second registers, I would like to suggest that the performance of this ritual drama took place as part of the rituals of 1 Tybi. A similar state of affairs seems to have been the case for the Myth of Horus, written on the interior face of the western and eastern enclosure wall. The text of the myth can be divided into five parts A-E,¹²⁰⁵ with Part C being written in the form of a dramatised text.¹²⁰⁶ Egberts argued that this “Horus play” may have been recited on the occasion of the Festival of Victory celebrated on the date of 21 Mechir.¹²⁰⁷

4.3.3.2 Western half, scene 2

[Image under copyright restrictions]

Figure 4.3 Edfu, interior face of the northern enclosure wall (I’), third register, western half, scene 2. From: E X, pl. CXLIX.

¹²⁰⁴ The *hpt*-crown is a composite crown composed of the Double Crown, the Double Feathers and ostrich feathers, which symbolises kingship over Egypt. For this crown, see M.-Th. Derchain-Urtel, “Die *hptj*-Krone in Edfu und ihre Varianten”, in: D. Kurth (ed), *Edfu: Studien zu Vokabular, Ikonographie und Grammatik*. Die Inschriften des Tempels von Edfu, Begleitheft 4. Wiesbaden 1994, 25-71.

¹²⁰⁵ See Fairman, in: *JEA* 21,1 (1935), 26-27.

¹²⁰⁶ See H.W. Fairman, *The Triumph of Horus. An ancient Egyptian sacred drama*. London 1974.

¹²⁰⁷ See Egberts, in: Gundlach and Rochholz (eds), *4. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung*, 17-29.

Scene 2 on the western (left) part of the third register¹²⁰⁸ depicts Horus Behdeti as the lord of *Db3*,¹²⁰⁹ i.e. the primeval falcon that has just landed on the first reeds that emerged from the primeval ocean at the time of creation.¹²¹⁰ The falcon is nourished by the *k3* in the shape of the flying *b3* (*B3-ḥdi*),¹²¹¹ which is depicted in front of it. The three reeds are stabilised by the Far One (*W3i*) on the left¹²¹² and by the Great One (ʿ3) on the right.¹²¹³ As such, the stabilised reeds assumed the function of a perch for the falcon. The reeds are referred to as *Db3* (“the perch”) and *Wtst-Ḥr* (“the uplifter of Horus”).¹²¹⁴ As such, the etymology for *Db3* and *Wtst-Ḥr* as names of Edfu is provided: these terms refer to the reeds on which the falcon landed, i.e. the original site of the creation of the cosmos and the Edfu temple. The Far One and the Great One are the commanders of the primordial creator-gods (*šbtyw*), who made the first mound appear.¹²¹⁵ Depicted to the left of the Far One is the sacred spear of Edfu (*sgmḥ*).¹²¹⁶ Depicted standing to the right of the falcon on the reeds are the personification of Edfu temple in the shape of the falcon-headed God of the Temple (*P(3) ntr n ḥwt-ntr*), wearing the *s3-t3*-snake on its head and holding the *mʿb3*-harpoon in its hand,¹²¹⁷ and the personification of the main canal of Edfu (*p3 ḥnw*) in the shape of a human-headed fecundity figure, wearing the name *p3-ḥnw* on its head and pouring out water from two libation-vases.¹²¹⁸ Depicted to the left of the falcon on the reeds are the king (Ptolemy X),¹²¹⁹ wearing the Blue Crown, and three groups of squatting deities holding ʿ*nh*-symbols.¹²²⁰ The first (upper) row of squatting deities consists of the snake- and frog-headed Ogdoad, i.e. *Nww*, *Nwwt*, *Ḥḥw*, *Ḥḥwt*, *Kkw*, *Kkt*, *Niw*, *Niwt*, representing the primordial state of the unformed beginning, whose task was to create the sun god.¹²²¹ The second (middle) row consists of Thoth of Hermopolis followed by seven

¹²⁰⁸ E VI 180, 15 – 186, 10.

¹²⁰⁹ E VI 185, 18.

¹²¹⁰ For earlier analyses and interpretations of the cosmogonies of Edfu, see E.A.E. Reymond, *The mythical origin of the Egyptian temple*. Manchester 1969; Goyon, *Dieux gardiens*, 3-44; Finnestad, *Image*; D. Kurth, “Über den Ursprung des Tempels von Edfu”, in: U. Verhoeven and E. Graefe (eds), *Religion und Philosophie im alten Ägypten: Festgabe für Philippe Derchain zu seinem 65. Geburtstag am 24. Juli 1991*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 39. Leuven etc. 1991, 189-202; Kurth, *Treffpunkt*, 179-188.

¹²¹¹ E VI 185, 17.

¹²¹² E VI 186, 1. Chassinat transcribed *Dw3*; however, this reading was corrected by Kurth, in: Verhoeven and Graefe (eds), *Festgabe Derchain*, 189-202. See also *Edfou VI, Übersetzungen*, 338. The reading *W3i* is supported by E VI 181, 13; 181, 15; 184, 3.

¹²¹³ E VI 186, 2.

¹²¹⁴ E VI 186, 1-2.

¹²¹⁵ For the *šbtyw*, see E.A.E. Jelinková, “The Shebtiw in the temple at Edfu”, in: ZÄS 87 (1962), 41-54; E.A.E. Reymond, “The children of Tanen (part 1)”, in: ZÄS 92 (1966), 116-128.

¹²¹⁶ E VI 185, 15-16.

¹²¹⁷ E VI 186, 3-5. For the “god of the temple”, see E.A.E. Reymond, “The Children of Tanen (part 2): the-god-of-the-temple in the Edfu tradition”, in: ZÄS 96 (1) (1969), 36-47.

¹²¹⁸ E VI 186, 6-8.

¹²¹⁹ E VI 181, 6-8.

¹²²⁰ E VI 185, 15-16. For the sacred spear, see E.A.E. Reymond, “The origin of the spear, I”, in: JEA 49 (1963), 140-146; E.A.E. Reymond, “The origin of the spear, II”, in: JEA 50 (1964), 133-138.

¹²²¹ E VI 185, 8-10 (nos. 17-24). For recent studies on the Ogdoad in Ptolemaic Thebes, see Chr. Zivie-Coche, “L’Ogdoade à Thèbes à l’époque ptolémaïque et ses antécédents”, in: Chr. Thiers (ed.), *Documents de théologies thébaines tardives (D3T 1)*. Montpellier 2009, 167-225; D. Klotz, *Caesar in the City of Amun. Egyptian Temple Construction and Theology in Roman Thebes*. Monographies Reine Élisabeth 15. Turnhout 2012, 174-185; Chr. Zivie-Coche, “L’Ogdoade à Thèbes à l’époque ptolémaïque II: Le périptère du petit temple de Médinet Habou”, in: Chr. Thiers (ed.), *Documents de théologies thébaines tardives (D3T 2)*. Montpellier 2013, 227-284; Chr. Zivie-Coche, “L’Ogdoade à Thèbes à l’époque ptolémaïque III: le pylône du petit temple de Médinet Habou”, in: Chr. Thiers (ed.), *Documents de théologies thébaines tardives (D3T 3)*. Montpellier 2015, 327-397. For the Ogdoad in Edfu, see Chr. Zivie-Coche, “Religion de l’Égypte ancienne”, in: *Annuaire, École Pratique des Hautes Études: Ve section - sciences religieuses* 121 (2012-2013), 82-83 and Chr. Zivie-Coche, “Religion de l’Égypte ancienne”, in: *Annuaire, École Pratique des Hautes Études: Ve section - sciences religieuses* 122 (2013-2014), 125.

falcon-headed deities referred to as *H-wr*, *H-hrd-ib*, *Hdb-mwt=f*, *Kbh-snw=f*, *Shpr-mw-smḥi-nww*, *B3k-b3k*, *Mn-kb*.¹²²² These are the *d3isw*-deities that record the procedure of the creation of the temple as instructed by Thoth. They are the personifications of the *d3isw* “words, spells” that are uttered by the *šbtyw* to perform the creation.¹²²³ The third (lower) row consists of Seshat followed by seven ram-headed deities referred to as *Nhp*, *Hnty-t3wy-ntw*, *Šht-sšp=f*, *Hnty-pr-ḥnh*, *Nb-t3-ḥnh*, *Hnty-ndm-ḥnh*, *Nbi*.¹²²⁴ These are the seven Khnum (*Hnmw*), the builder-gods that assist in the foundation and building of the temple, giving shape to the words (*d3isw*) uttered by the *šbtyw*.¹²²⁵ Above the three rows of squatting deities is depicted the winged *b3*, hovering with outstretched wings, holding *hwi*-sceptres with *šn*-rings. The winged *b3* is referred to as “ruler of the wing” (*ḥk3 ndb*)¹²²⁶ and “who settles the wing” (*ndm ndb*).¹²²⁷ The 30 deities present here¹²²⁸ are all closely associated with the creation, foundation and protection of the temple and can as such also be found in the scene showing the stretching of the cord in the third register of the interior face of the western enclosure wall¹²²⁹ and in the scene showing the transference of the temple to the gods in the third register of the eastern enclosure wall.¹²³⁰ On the far left of the scene, Thoth is depicted as an ibis-headed human wearing the *hemhem*-crown, holding a scroll which contains the text of the mythical cosmogony of Edfu.¹²³¹ This text, referred to as *šsr i3wt n p3t tpyt* ‘Specification of the mounds of the First Primeval Time’, is written to the right of the figure of Thoth.¹²³²

As for the relations between the present scene and those of the first and second registers depicting the coronation ritual of the falcon, Finnestad remarked: “The similarity between the falcon depicted sitting on the mythical resting place in the relief to the cosmogony text, and the falcon sitting on his cultic resting place in the reliefs to the texts, cannot be overlooked. The reason why the representations of the cosmogony and those of the coronation of the falcon are presented on the same spot, is nevertheless, obscure. There may have been an underlying religious connexion of some kind between the cosmogony and the coronation”.¹²³³

The time-perspective of the cosmogony is that of the mythical time of creation, focussing as such on the divine premises of historical time.¹²³⁴ The cosmic origin and primordial character as well as the solar nature of Horus Behdeti are central in the

¹²²² E VI 185, 5-8 (nos. 9-16).

¹²²³ For the *d3isw*, see M. Rochholz, *Schöpfung, Feindvernichtung, Regeneration. Untersuchung zum Symbolgehalt der machtgeladenen Zahl 7 im alten Ägypten*. Ägypten und Altes Testament 56. Wiesbaden 2002, 39-42 with a list of attestations on pp. 51-56; Cauville, *Essai*, 129; Reymond, in: *ZÄS* 92 (1966), 116-128.

¹²²⁴ E VI 185, 3-5 (nos. 1-8).

¹²²⁵ See Rochholz, *Schöpfung*, 42-44 with a list of attestations on pp. 56-63. For the *d3isw*, the *šbtyw* and the *hnmw* as the “children of Tanen”, see Reymond, in: *ZÄS* 92 (1966), 116-128.

¹²²⁶ E VI 185, 14 (line 69, written to the right of the winged *b3*).

¹²²⁷ E VI 185, 14 (line 70, written to the left of the winged *b3*).

¹²²⁸ I.e. the falcon on the reed, the two commanders of the *šbtyw*, the *k3* in the shape of the flying *b3*, the lord of the temple, the canal-god, the Ogdoad of Hermopolis, Thoth and the *d3isw*-deities, and Seshat and the *hnmw*.

¹²²⁹ E VI 168, 10 – 175, 11.

¹²³⁰ E VI 318, 15 – 327, 12. For an analysis of this “foundation trilogy” depicted on the third register of the interior face of the northern, western and eastern enclosure wall and the role of the 30 deities in each of these scenes, see D. Budde, “Dreißig Götter der Genese des Tempels”, in: W. Waitkus (ed.), *Diener des Horus: Festschrift für Dieter Kurth zum 65. Geburtstag*. Gladbeck 2008, 17-40.

¹²³¹ E VI 180, 15 – 181, 2.

¹²³² E VI 181, 9 – 185, 2. For translations of this text, see Finnestad, *Image*, 25-41; Kurth, *Edfou VI. Übersetzungen*, 321-336. Other cosmogony texts known from Edfu are written on the third register of the interior face of the western enclosure wall (E VI 176, 3 – 177, 18), on the bandeau de la frise of the interior face of the enclosure wall (E VI 14, 13 – 15, 11), on two columns in the pronaos (E III 7, 2-13 and 31, 11-15), and on the western side of the exterior face of the pronaos (E IV 358, 8 – 359, 8).

¹²³³ Finnestad, *Image*, 19.

¹²³⁴ For the time-perspective of the creation myth, see Finnestad, *Image*, 22-23.

cosmogony. In E VI 181, 2-4 and E VI 181, 10 he is described as “who came into being at the First Occasion”. He is *tpy mh* “the one that is over the flood” (E VI 181, 14), *ndb* “the wing”, *ndb dbnbn* “the wing of the circling one” (E VI 182, 1) and *hk3 ndb* “the ruler of the wing”, i.e. the winged creator-god that hovered over the primeval flood. The latter is also referred to as the *k3* (E VI 182, 2) that comes from heaven as *b3 hdi* “the flying *b3*” (E VI 185, 17).¹²³⁵ These denominations refer to the celestial aspects of the falcon as lord of the sky. At the same time, the falcon is also *htr hr* “the one with the compelling glance” (E VI 181, 14) and *nb Db3* “the lord of Djeba” (E VI 182, 8), i.e. the primeval falcon that settled upon the reed, the ruler of the sacred place where the Edfu temple is to be founded. The falcon that settled upon the reed is also repeatedly referred to as “the *bik*-falcon” (E VI 182, 2 ff.), a designation of the falcon that is also often encountered in the coronation ritual of the falcon. In E VI 182, 4-5 the dazzling appearance of the *si3*-falcon that comes from heaven (i.e. the flying *b3* mentioned above) is described: “The head is beautiful-faced, the tail-wing is a true wonder, the two side-wings are shimmering as lapis lazuli, the breast is (made) of small balls of gold”. When the falcon starts flying, *py* “the Winged Sundisc”, i.e. the solar falcon Horus-Ra, comes into existence (E VI 182, 7-8), completing the transition from primeval darkness to illumination and forming the start of the creation of the cosmos and the temple. As noted above, the focus of the cosmogonic scene is on the mythical time of creation, i.e. the divine premises of the historical time.¹²³⁶ During this mythical time the cosmos was ruled by the creator god Ra, who was then succeeded by a series of other deities. As such, the solar falcon Horus-Ra, who appears as the Winged Disc in the present cosmogonic scene, is not only the primordial creator god but also the guarantor of dynastic continuity. The divine kingship of Horus-Ra was transmitted from him through Shu, Geb and Osiris to Horus. The presence of the Ogdoad in the present scene seems to be significant in this respect. It should be stressed that in this case the Ogdoad forms part of a group of 30 deities associated in particular with the creation, foundation and protection of the temple, as pointed out above. At the same time, the presence of the Ogdoad seems to refer to their association in particular with the birth of the sun god on the First Occasion¹²³⁷ as well as to their presence at the coronation ceremony of the sun god Ra.¹²³⁸ As such, the Ogdoad is closely associated with guaranteeing the transmission of the primordial kingship of Ra,¹²³⁹ the latter being central also in the present scene. The presence of the Ogdoad in the present scene illustrates the primordial nature of the kingship of Horus-Ra, which is renewed each year on the date of 1 Tybi, as depicted in the scenes of the first and second registers. As such, the theme of the transmission of the primordial kingship of Horus-Ra to his representative on earth forms the mythological background for the rituals of the transmission and confirmation of royal power of the sacred falcon in the first and second registers.

Another important aspect accounting for the interrelations between the cosmogonic scene and the coronation ritual of the falcon are the notions of *sp tpy* “the First Occasion” and *nhh* “cyclical time”. In order to ensure the continuity of the creation, the First Occasion was continuously repeated and renewed in cycles, two of the most important being the daily rising of the sun and the annual inundation of the Nile. The former constituted a daily repetition of

¹²³⁵ For the identification of the *k3* as the flying *b3*, see also E VI 15, 1.

¹²³⁶ For the time-perspective of the creation myth, see Finnestad, *Image*, 22-23.

¹²³⁷ They are associated in particular with the praising of the new-born sun at its birth and rising. See Zivie-Coche, in: Thiers, *D3T I*, 172, 187, 191 (with reference to *Urk.* VIII, 145b and i and 149b and i), 204-205; Klotz, *Caesar*, 181 with reference to E III 312, 5-6; E IV 140, 8; E V 85, 7; *Urk.* VIII, 90c.

¹²³⁸ Klotz, *Caesar*, 181 with reference to *Urk.* VIII, 95c.

¹²³⁹ See especially F. Coppens and J. Janák, “The Ogdoad and divine kingship in Dendara”, in: F. Coppens, J. Janák and H. Vymazalová (eds), *Royal versus divine authority: acquisition, legitimization and renewal of power, Prague, June 26-28, 2013. 7. Symposium zur ägyptischen Königsideologie. Königtum, Staat und Gesellschaft früher Hochkulturen 4, 4*, Wiesbaden 2015, 83-94.

the appearance of the sun god at the First Occasion. As such, each sunrise constituted a new beginning of the creation. The annual inundation of the Nile constituted an annual repetition of the world being immersed in the primeval flood-waters of pre-creation. As the inundation receded, the land appeared again like the primeval mounds appeared on the First Occasion. The arrival of the inundation ideally marked the beginning of the New Year.¹²⁴⁰ On the date of 1 Thoth, the first day of the first season (*3ḥt*), the annual renewal of the creation came about, and with this the cosmic order of the world was restored. At the same time, the annual confirmation of royal power took place, in order to renew kingship and guarantee its continued existence.¹²⁴¹ As pointed out in paragraph 2.9, the date of 1 Tybi – being the first day of the sowing season *Prt* – was regarded by the ancient Egyptians as a second New Year's Day. As such, the celebration of the coronation ritual of the falcon on the date of 1 Tybi not only brought about the annual renewal of kingship, but also the annual renewal of the entire creation.

The cosmogonic text written to the right of the figure of Thoth, referred to as *šsr i3wt n p3t tpyt* 'Specification of the mounds of the First Primeval Time',¹²⁴² was pronounced by the king.¹²⁴³ The word *šsr* refers to "prescribed rituals which are read out to bring things into existence magically",¹²⁴⁴ suggesting that the cosmogonic text was recited as part of a ritual performance. Indeed, as Finnestad has shown, the text takes the form of a recital with narrative and invocal elements: as it was recited the creation came into being.¹²⁴⁵ As pointed out above, the date of 1 Tybi was regarded by the ancient Egyptians as a second New Year's Day, celebrating the annual renewal of kingship as well as the annual renewal of creation. Considering the interrelations between the cosmogonic scene in the third register and the coronation ritual of the falcon in the first and second registers, I would like to suggest that the cosmogonic text may have been recited in the context of the rituals of 1 Tybi. In this respect it is interesting to note that the practice of reciting the story of creation as part of the New Year's rituals is also known from the Babylonian *akītu*-festival, during which the cosmogonic myth *Enūma eliš* was recited.¹²⁴⁶ It has been suggested that the *Enūma eliš* was recited not only on the fourth day of the New Year's rituals, but on the fourth day of each month as a celebration of the creation of the world.¹²⁴⁷ Similarly in Egypt, the myth of creation may have been recited on the date of 1 Thoth, as part of the New Year's rituals, as well as on the date of 1 Tybi, as part of the rituals of the second New Year's Day.

¹²⁴⁰ Together with the heliacal rising of Sothis, the annual arrival of the inundation was a symbol of eternal renewal and of the cycle of life. See also Germond, *Sekhmet*, 194-195.

¹²⁴¹ For the rituals for the confirmation of royal power on the date of 1 Thoth, see Germond, *Sekhmet*, 196-199; Cauville, *Essai*, 90-93; 114-116; Goyon, *Confirmation*.

¹²⁴² E VI 181, 9 – 185, 2.

¹²⁴³ See Kurth, *Edfou VI. Übersetzungen*, 321, n. 2 who remarked: "Obwohl man auch aufgrund der Beischrift des Thot (E VI 181, 2-4) zunächst annehmen möchte, daß Thot der Sprecher dieser Rede ist, so spricht doch vor allem die Parallele E III 12, 8-10, für den König als Sprecher".

¹²⁴⁴ See Wb. IV 548, 8-13 and Wilson, *Ptolemaic lexikon*, 1031.

¹²⁴⁵ See Finnestad, *Image*, 68-77 for the ritual and cultic aspects of the cosmogony.

¹²⁴⁶ See J. Bidmead, *The Akītu festival. Religious continuity and royal legitimation in Mesopotamia*. Piscataway 2002, 59-70.

¹²⁴⁷ See Bidmead, *Akītu*, 67.

4.3.3.3 Eastern half, scene 1

[Image under copyright restrictions]

Figure 4.4 Edfu, interior face of the northern enclosure wall (I'), third register, eastern half, scene 1. From: E X, pl. CLIV.

Scene 1 on the eastern (right) part of the third register¹²⁴⁸ depicts the king (Ptolemy X),¹²⁴⁹ wearing the Blue Crown with the sun-disc between feathers and presenting Horus Behdeti with a lotus (*nhb*). The king is accompanied by the queen (Cleopatra III),¹²⁵⁰ wearing the double feather crown and the sun-disc between horns, raising one hand in adoration and holding the *nh*-symbol in the other. Horus Behdeti¹²⁵¹ is depicted sitting on a pedestal, wearing the sun-disc and holding an *nh*-symbol in one hand and the *w3s*-sceptre in the other. Hathor¹²⁵² and Harsomtut¹²⁵³ are depicted standing to the left of Horus, facing the king and the queen. Hathor wears the sun-disc between horns, raising one hand in adoration and holding the *nh*-symbol in the other. Harsomtut wears the *hemhem*-crown, holding the *nh*-symbol in one hand and the *w3s*-sceptre in the other.

The lotus-flower closes at night, sinks under water and emerges again the next morning. As such, it is a symbol of creation and regeneration, connected to the daily cycle of the sun.¹²⁵⁴ The lotus is central in the Hermopolitan cosmogony, in which the sun god in the form of a child emerged from the primordial lotus that appeared in the primeval ocean. As such, the lotus was an image of the first sunrise, with the child sitting in it representing the newborn sun. The young sungod is in most cases Harpocrates, Ihy or Harsomtut.¹²⁵⁵

The mythical birth of the sun god Ra was commemorated on New Year's Day.¹²⁵⁶ As such, the date of 1 Thoth is referred to as "the festival of Ra" in P Cairo 86637.¹²⁵⁷ In the

¹²⁴⁸ E VI 338, 13 – 340, 4.

¹²⁴⁹ E VI 339, 5-7.

¹²⁵⁰ E VI 339, 8-9.

¹²⁵¹ E VI 339, 12-15.

¹²⁵² E VI 339, 16-17.

¹²⁵³ E VI 339, 18 – 340, 2.

¹²⁵⁴ For the symbolism of the lotus, see E. Brunner-Traut, *LÄ III*, 1980, 1091-1096 "Lotos"; J.F. Borghouts, "Het aanbieden van de lotus: een laategyptische tempelrite", in: K.R. Veenhof (ed.), *Schrijvend verleden: documenten uit het Oude Nabije Oosten vertaald en toegelicht*. Mededelingen en verhandelingen van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux 24. Leiden/Zutphen 1983, 253-262; M.-L. Ryhiner, *L'offrande du lotus dans les temples égyptiens de l'époque tardive*. Rites égyptiens 6. Brussels 1986.

¹²⁵⁵ For the theme of the child emerging from the lotus, see Ryhiner, *Lotus*, 15 ff.; H. Schlögl, *Der Sonnengott auf der Blüte. Eine ägyptische Kosmogonie des Neuen Reiches*. Aegyptiaca Helvetica 5. Geneva 1977.

¹²⁵⁶ For the offering of the lotus in relation to New Year's Day, see Ryhiner, *Lotus*, 208-211.

¹²⁵⁷ P Cairo 86637, vs. XXI; Bakir, *Cairo Calendar*, 57; Leitz, *Tagewählerei*, 428-429.

same papyrus the date of 1 Thoth is referred to as the birthday of Ra-Horakhty.¹²⁵⁸ In D VI 121, 14 – 122, 4, the presentation of the lotus-flower to a falcon-headed Harsomtut takes place in the context of the “festival of the start of the year”.¹²⁵⁹ In another scene from the temple of Dendera, where a snake-headed Harsomtut is presented with the lotus-flower, he says: “I give you the appearance of Ra at the festival of the start of the year”.¹²⁶⁰ The accompanying inscription to an image of Harsomtut on the lotus in the Roman mammisi at Dendera refers to him as “the one that emerges from the lotus on this day of Ra”.¹²⁶¹ In E II 232, 7-8 New Year’s Day is described as the day “when Ra emerged from the lotus in the Great Lake”.

In the present scene, the lotus-flower is presented to Horus Behdeti, who is identified with the lotus-child: “I bring you this lotus-flower from the primordial water, making glad your heart with that from which you came forth”.¹²⁶² In the same text, Horus Behdeti is referred to as “Ra in Hermopolis, Behdeti in the temples (of Egypt)”. This suggests that Horus Behdeti is also Ra Behdeti here, the primordial creator god.¹²⁶³ As such, the offering of the lotus is associated here in particular with the first sunrise, i.e. the appearance of Ra Behdeti as the primeval creator-god on the First Occasion. Horus is referred to as “the king in the horizon”¹²⁶⁴ and “the noble Api”.¹²⁶⁵ The king is referred to as “the one that was created by Ra in Hermopolis”,¹²⁶⁶ i.e. as the direct descendant of the creator god. Horus addresses him as “my beloved successor to the throne” and he gives him “the entire circumference of the earth until (the place) where I rise and set”.¹²⁶⁷ As such, the subject-matter of the present scene is similar to that of the coronation scene in the western half of the third register,¹²⁶⁸ namely the transmission of the primordial kingship of Horus-Ra to his representative on earth, the king. Also here, the theme of the transmission of primordial kingship forms the mythological background for the rituals of the transmission and confirmation of royal power of the sacred falcon in registers 1 and 2.

4.3.3.4 Eastern half, scenes 2a and 2b

[Image under copyright restrictions]

Figure 4.5 Edfu, interior face of the northern enclosure wall (I’), third register, eastern half, scenes 2a and 2b. From: E X, pl. CLIV.

¹²⁵⁸ P Cairo 86637, rt. III; Bakir, *Cairo Calendar*, 13; Leitz, *Tagewählerei*, 13-14.

¹²⁵⁹ For this scene, see Ryhiner, *Lotus*, 83-84.

¹²⁶⁰ See Ryhiner, *Lotus*, 95-97, with reference to F.W. von Bissing, *Denkmäler ägyptischer Skulptur*, vol. II. Munich 1914, pl. 118 and PM VI, 53 (66).

¹²⁶¹ D Mamm 275, 1.

¹²⁶² E VI 339, 10-11.

¹²⁶³ In this respect it is interesting to refer to two cosmogonic scenes in the temple of Edfu, which show Horus Behdeti as a child emerging from the lotus (E IV 139, 11 – 141, 11; pl. LXXXV and E V 84, 12 – 86, 14; pl. CXIII). In both scenes, the king presents a lotus-flower to Horus Behdeti on the lotus, accompanied by the Ogdoad of Hermopolis and in both scenes, Horus Behdeti is referred to as Ra Behdeti. See. For these scenes, see also Ryhiner, *Lotus*, 36-41 and 45-49.

¹²⁶⁴ E VI 338, 13 – 339, 4.

¹²⁶⁵ E VI 339, 12-15.

¹²⁶⁶ E VI 339, 5-7.

¹²⁶⁷ E VI 340, 3-4.

¹²⁶⁸ See paragraph 4.3.3.1.

Scene 2 on the eastern (right) part of the third register was originally published by Chassinat as two separate scenes, the dividing line being placed in between the figure of Seshat and the souls of Pe and Nekhen.¹²⁶⁹ This division into two scenes was also followed in the SERaT database.¹²⁷⁰ The two parts should however be considered as a single ritual unit. Not only do the two parts form a close thematic unit, also the absence of *Randzeilen* to the right of the figure of Seshat and to the left of the souls of Pe and Nekhen as well as the orientation of the figures suggests that we are dealing with one large ritual unit here. Within this ritual unit, the king is depicted twice, illustrating the sequence of the two parts of the scene: to the right he is being led into the temple and to the left his coronation is depicted. As such, the arrangement of the scenes in the eastern half of the third register consists of one large scene of royal investiture in the center, framed by offering the lotus to the left¹²⁷¹ and offering the *wsh*-collar to the right.¹²⁷²

The right part of the scene shows the king (Ptolemy X),¹²⁷³ wearing the Double Crown, standing in between a falcon-headed Montu¹²⁷⁴ and Atum,¹²⁷⁵ who hold his hands, leading him into the temple. Montu is wearing the Double Feather Crown and holds an *ꜥnh*-sign to the nose of the king. Atum is wearing the Double Crown and holds an *ꜥnh*-sign in his hand. An ibis-headed Thoth is depicted to the right of Atum, facing left, wearing the *Atef*-crown and holding an open scroll. The accompanying inscriptions to Thoth refer to his protective function and his role in assigning the royal annals.¹²⁷⁶ Preceding the king are depicted the four standards¹²⁷⁷ and the souls of Pe and Nekhen.¹²⁷⁸ The four standards of kingship usually accompany the king on festive occasions, such as the *sd*-festival or the royal coronation.¹²⁷⁹ They are closely associated with the souls of Pe and Nekhen. As pointed out in paragraph 3.5.1 the latter seem to be associated especially with the royal coronation ceremony and the royal *sd*-festival, in most cases carrying the royal litter. The souls of Pe and Nekhen also have an important function in the context of the journey of the sun, hailing the rising sun and accompanying the sun on its journey, assuring its safe passage. Considering the central theme of the third register being the first sunrise, i.e. the appearance of Horus-Ra as the primeval creator-god on the First Occasion, and the transmission of the primordial kingship of Horus-Ra to his representative on earth, the king, 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 in the present scene.

The left part of the scene shows again the king (Ptolemy X),¹²⁸⁰ wearing the *Atef*-crown, holding the *hꜥ3*-sceptre and the flagellum, and kneeling on top of a *hb*-basket in front of a falcon-headed Ra-Horakhty¹²⁸¹ and Hathor.¹²⁸² Ra-Horakhty and Hathor are sitting on pedestals. Ra-Horakhty is wearing the sun-disc, holding an *ꜥnh*-symbol in one hand and a palm-rib with suspending *hb-sd*-symbols and a flagellum in the other. Hathor is wearing the

¹²⁶⁹ E VI 336, 6 – 338, 11 and 334, 9 – 336, 4.

¹²⁷⁰ SERaT scenes 901108 and 900223.

¹²⁷¹ See paragraph 4.3.3.3.

¹²⁷² See paragraph 4.3.3.5.

¹²⁷³ E VI 334, 9-10.

¹²⁷⁴ E VI 334, 11-12.

¹²⁷⁵ E VI 334, 13-14.

¹²⁷⁶ E VI 334, 15 – 335, 7.

¹²⁷⁷ E VI 335, 8-16.

¹²⁷⁸ E VI 336, 1-4.

¹²⁷⁹ For the standards, see Frankfort, *Kingship*, 89-93 and J. von Beckerath, *LÄ III*, 1980, 51-52 “Horusgeleit”.

¹²⁸⁰ E VI 336, 6-7.

¹²⁸¹ E VI 338, 4-7.

¹²⁸² E VI 338, 8-9.

sun-disc between horns, holding an *ʿnh*-symbol in one hand and embracing Ra-Horakhty with the other. Harsomtus,¹²⁸³ Nekhbet,¹²⁸⁴ Wadjet¹²⁸⁵ and Seshat¹²⁸⁶ are depicted standing to the right of the king, facing Ra-Horakhty and Hathor. Harsomtus wears the *hemhem*-crown, holding the *ʿnh*-symbol in one hand and raising the other hand in protection. Nekhbet is wearing the White Crown with side-feathers and presents the White Crown. Wadjet is wearing the Red Crown and presents the Red Crown. Seshat is wearing the Seshat-symbol and engraves a palm-rib with suspending *hb-sd*-symbols.

In the right part of the scene, where the king is depicted being led into the temple, he is referred to as the one “with great appearance in *Wtst-Hr* (i.e. Edfu)”.¹²⁸⁷ In the left part of the scene, which depicts his coronation, he is called “the lord of the (royal) office, the ruler of kingship, the lord of the *sd*-festival, who is upon the *st*-throne of his father”.¹²⁸⁸ In presenting the crowns reference is made repeatedly to the crowns being like the crowns of Ra. Harsomtus says to the king: “My arms are around you, protecting your body and establishing your crowns like (those of) Ra. You are given many, many *sd*-festivals as king upon the throne of Horus. You are given the office of Atum, the *nst*-throne of Ra, the sovereignty of Shu, the kingship of Geb, the testament of Onnophris, justified, as you are the *bik*-falcon, which is enduring upon the *srh*, the foremost of the *k3*’s of the living, forever”. Nekhbet presents the king with the White Crown, saying that the “crowns are firm upon your head like Ra in the sky”.¹²⁸⁹ Wadjet presents the king with the Red Crown, saying that “the great crowns are firm upon your head like those of Ra, when he shows himself in the early morning”. Seshat engraves a palm-rib, saying: “I give you the crown of Ra, so that you are enduring upon the *wtst*-throne of Horus”.¹²⁹⁰ These references to the crown of the king as being like the crown of Ra refer again to the central theme of the third register, i.e. the transmission of the primordial kingship of Horus-Ra to his representative on earth, the king. Ra-Horakhty gives the king “many, many *sd*-festivals as king of Upper- and Lower-Egypt upon the *st*-throne of Horus” and “hundreds of thousands of *sd*-festival years upon the *st*-throne of Horus, like Ra”.¹²⁹¹ As such, the king is given rule over the realm of the sun god Ra, i.e. the entire creation, as well as of Egypt. This is also confirmed in the göttliche Randzeile: “I establish your crowns, my beloved son, I make your kingship great in this land. I give that the south, the north, the west and the east and all the foreign countries are united under your might, while you as king are enduring upon the *hmr*-throne¹²⁹² as the foremost of the *k3*’s of the living, forever”.¹²⁹³

¹²⁸³ E VI 336, 8-12.

¹²⁸⁴ E VI 336, 13 – 337, 6.

¹²⁸⁵ E VI 337, 7-12.

¹²⁸⁶ E VI 337, 13 – 338, 3.

¹²⁸⁷ E VI 334, 9-10.

¹²⁸⁸ E VI 336, 6-7.

¹²⁸⁹ E VI 336, 13 – 337, 6.

¹²⁹⁰ E VI 337, 13 – 338, 3.

¹²⁹¹ E VI 338, 4-7.

¹²⁹² For the *hmr*-throne, see Wilson, *Ptolemaic lexikon*, 647-648; Kuhlmann, *Thron*, 13.

¹²⁹³ E VI 338, 10-11.

4.3.3.5 Eastern half, scene 3

[Image under copyright restrictions]

Figure 4.6 Edfu, interior face of the northern enclosure wall (I'), third register, eastern half, scene 3. From: E X, pl. CLIV.

Scene 3 on the eastern (right) part of the third register¹²⁹⁴ depicts the king (Ptolemy X),¹²⁹⁵ wearing the Double Crown and presenting the *wsh*-collar to a falcon-headed Horus Behdeti,¹²⁹⁶ accompanied by Hathor.¹²⁹⁷ Horus Behdeti is depicted sitting on a pedestal, wearing the Double Crown and holding an *nh*-symbol in one hand and the *w3s*-sceptre in the other. Hathor is depicted to the left of Horus, sitting on a pedestal, wearing the sun-disc between horns and holding a *w3d*-sceptre in her hand.

The *wsh*-collar is usually depicted in the form of several strands of leaves, usually nine, symbolising Atum and his Ennead.¹²⁹⁸ This symbolism is clearly expressed in the present scene, where the *wsh*-collar is identified with the primordial creator god of Heliopolis, Atum: “Giving the *wsh*-collar. Words to be spoken: Atum in Heliopolis, whose Ennead is in his entourage (i.e the *wsh*-collar), protects the god with his children. The great mighty beings adorn together with their father the breast of the *šnbty*-falcon”.¹²⁹⁹ Similarly in the *königliche Randzeile*: “I have come to you, Behdeti, dappled of feathers, *gmhsw*-falcon, who shines in the horizon. I bring you your father together with his children (i.e. the *wsh*-collar) and adorn your breast with his Ennead”.¹³⁰⁰ The king is referred to as “the son of Atum, the child of Khepri, the living image of the foremost of *Wh^c-t3* (i.e. Heliopolis)”,¹³⁰¹ i.e. as the direct descendant of the creator god Atum. The protective function of the *wsh*-collar is also stressed in the present scene: the *wsh*-collar is said to “protect the god with his children”,¹³⁰² and in return for the *wsh*-collar Horus says: “I give you that in every place over which I rise, those that are upon earth are granted your protection”.¹³⁰³ The theme of rebirth and renewal is also associated with the offering of the *wsh*-collar, although this theme is not referred to explicitly in the accompanying inscriptions to the present scene. As Riggs noted, the *wsh*-collar has strong Osirian connections and it appears as such frequently in ritual scenes related to the

¹²⁹⁴ E VI 333, 10 – 334, 7.

¹²⁹⁵ E VI 333, 14-15.

¹²⁹⁶ E VI 334, 1-3.

¹²⁹⁷ E VI 334, 4-5.

¹²⁹⁸ See Cauville, *Offerings*, 146-147.

¹²⁹⁹ E VI 333, 10-13.

¹³⁰⁰ E VI 333, 15-17.

¹³⁰¹ E VI 333, 14-15.

¹³⁰² E VI 333, 10-13.

¹³⁰³ E VI 334, 6-7.

Osiris cycle as well as in funerary contexts, where it is laid across the chest of the deceased, adorning and protecting the mummy, and at the same time referring to the renewal of life and rebirth.¹³⁰⁴ This association with the renewal of life also explains the presentation of the *wsh*-collar on the occasion of the New Year¹³⁰⁵ as well as in the context of the rituals of 1 Tybi, both of which celebrated the annual renewal of kingship as well as the annual renewal of creation. At the same time, the rituals of 1 Tybi formed part of the Osiris cycle: they took place immediately after the Khoaik festival and celebrated the succession of Horus to Osiris as king of Egypt.

The shape of the *wsh*-collar in the present scene is unusual. In the ritual scenes of the Edfu temple, the *wsh*-collar usually consists of the u-shaped collar composed of several strands of leaves.¹³⁰⁶ Two other common types of collar depicted in Edfu are the collar with Hathor-heads at both ends and the collar with falcon-heads at both ends. The latter types are not made of organic material, but are composed of gold, silver, and precious stones. In Edfu, these collars are designated only as *bbt* or *iry-hh*, and never as *wsh*.¹³⁰⁷ The shape of the *wsh*-collar in the present scene is exceptional: it is not the u-shaped collar composed of several strands of leaves, but instead it is depicted as a closed collar resulting in a circular shape, which is resting on a convex base which resembles the hieroglyph *dw*, ‘mountain’ (Gardiner N26). As such, the combination of the circular *wsh*-collar and the convex base resembles the hieroglyph *3ht*, ‘horizon’ (Gardiner N27).¹³⁰⁸ Egberts suggested that the reason for this deviant iconography of the *wsh*-collar may be found in the first and second registers, which depict the coronation ritual of the falcon. Text 7 refers indeed to the tying of the *wsh*-collar, but this ritual act is not depicted in the eight ritual scenes of the first and second registers. Egberts suggested that the presentation of the *wsh*-collar in the third register actually formed part of the coronation ritual of the falcon, which means that the *wsh*-collar was hung around the neck of the sacred falcon as part of the ritual. He concluded that the choice for depicting the round collar here was determined by the ritual practice: “Meiner Meinung nach liefert dies die Erklärung für die abweichende Form des Halskragens in der Szene der Nordwand. Der Kragen, welcher für den Falken benutzt wurde, war ein kleiner Rundkragen, der vielleicht aus Metall hergestellt war, aber die gleiche symbolische Funktion wie der Blätterkragen hatte” and “Vielleicht wurde der Falke nicht mit einem echten Blätterkragen versehen, weil dieser zu groß für einen Vogel war”.¹³⁰⁹ However, the present scene does not depict the presentation of the *wsh*-collar to the sacred living falcon, but to Horus Behdeti.¹³¹⁰ In order to strengthen his hypothesis that sacred birds were adorned with collars, Egberts refers to a scene on the gateway of Euergetes at Karnak, depicting the anointment of the messenger-birds.¹³¹¹ It is true

¹³⁰⁴ Chr. Riggs, “Forms of the *wesekh* collar in funerary art of the Graeco-Roman Period”, in: *CdE* 76 (2001), 61-68. For the association of the theme of rebirth and renewal with the *wsh*-collar, see also R. Beaud, “L’offrande du collier-ousekh”, in: S. Israelit-Groll (ed.), *Studies in Egyptology presented to Miriam Lichtheim*, vol. 1. Jerusalem 1990, 46-62.

¹³⁰⁵ T. Handoussa “Le collier ousekh”, in: *SAK* 9 (1981), 147 with reference to De Garis Davies, N., N. de Garis Davies and H.R. Hopgood, *The tomb of Ken-Amūn at Thebes I*. Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition 5. New York 1930, pl. XIII, XV, XIX; T. Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth dynasty tombs*. Private Tombs at Thebes 1. Oxford 1957, pl. 1-2, 72.

¹³⁰⁶ A. Egberts, “Substanz und Symbolik. Überlegungen zur Darstellung und Verwendung des Halskragens im Tempel von Edfu”, in: H. Beinlich *et al.* (eds), *5. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung, Würzburg, 23.-26. September 1999*. Ägypten und Altes Testament 33. Wiesbaden 2002, 71-72.

¹³⁰⁷ Egberts, in: Beinlich *et al.* (eds), *5. Tempeltagung*, 73.

¹³⁰⁸ This unusual iconography of the *wsh*-collar in the present scene was also noted by Egberts, in: Beinlich *et al.* (eds), *5. Tempeltagung*, 74.

¹³⁰⁹ Egberts, in: Beinlich *et al.* (eds), *5. Tempeltagung*, 75 and 76.

¹³¹⁰ It should be noted here that Horus Behdeti is referred to as *gmḥsw*-falcon in the *königliche Randzeile* (E VI 333, 15-17).

¹³¹¹ Clère, *Évergète*, pl. 41; *Urk.* VIII, 84-85 (99a-k). For a discussion of this scene, see paragraph 3.1.1.3.

that the accompanying inscriptions to this scene refer to the birds being anointed and wearing a collar around the neck, but the type of collar referred to here is the *mḥ*-wreath, a floral garland.¹³¹² This suggests that it was not unusual for sacred birds to be adorned with floral garlands or floral collars, but it can not be taken as evidence for the *wsh*-collar being worn by sacred birds. On the basis of the accompanying inscriptions I would like to offer another explanation for the unusual shape of the *wsh*-collar in the present scene, where reference is made repeatedly to the solar aspects of Horus Behdeti: “the *gmḥsw*-falcon, who shines in the horizon”, “who makes shine the entire circumference (of the earth) when he rises”,¹³¹³ and “the beautiful beetle, who comes forth from Nun”.¹³¹⁴ Also in the *göttliche Randzeile* Horus is referred to as the rising sun: “I give you that in every place over which I rise, those that are upon earth are granted your protection”.¹³¹⁵ As such, the allusions to the primeval appearance of the sun god Horus-Ra from Nun seem to have determined the choice for the unusual *3ḥt*-shaped *wsh*-collar in the present scene.¹³¹⁶

4.4 CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of the spatial arrangement of the eight ritual scenes on the wall shows that the division of the wall into two symmetrical parts, comprising four symmetrical pairs of scenes, is of prime importance. The perfect symmetrical lay-out of the first and second registers of the interior face of the northern enclosure wall, resulting in four symmetrical pairs of scenes and the expression of the symmetrical relations between the eight scenes was considered to be more important than representing the ritual acts associated with the eight scenes in a precise chronological order. Consequently, a reconstruction of the coronation ritual of the falcon can not be based on the order of the ritual scenes as they are represented on the temple wall, as Alliot proposed. Therefore, a reconstruction of the ritual shall be proposed in Chapter 5 on the basis of the textual evidence.

The analysis in paragraph 4.3 has shown that the decoration of the soubassement and the third register of the interior face of the northern enclosure wall is closely associated with that of the first and second registers. The subject-matter of each of the scenes in the third register is the first appearance of Horus-Ra as the primeval creator god and the transmission of the primordial kingship of Horus-Ra to his representative on earth, the king. As such, the third register forms the mythological background, or model, for the rituals of the transmission and confirmation of royal power of the sacred falcon in the first and second registers, which were carried out in the presence of the nomes-deities and the deities representing the supplementary districts depicted in the soubassement.

The date of 1 Tybi was regarded by the ancient Egyptians as a second New Year's Day, celebrating the annual renewal of kingship, the confirmation of royal power, and the annual renewal of creation. As Finnestad remarked “the time of creation is not the first moment in an eternally proceeding line of moments, but belongs within a time-cyclis according to which there are recurrent first times and repeated creations”, examples of the latter being the annual

¹³¹² *Urk.* VIII, 84-85 (99a-k).

¹³¹³ E VI 333, 15-17.

¹³¹⁴ E VI 334, 1-3.

¹³¹⁵ E VI 334, 6-7.

¹³¹⁶ For a similar reasoning, see Kurth, *Einführung* 2, 1021-1022, who adds that the predominance of the solar theme in this scene is also explained by the position of the scene being the first scene on the eastern part of the northern enclosure wall.

inundation of the Nile and the daily rising of the sun. Furthermore, the cosmogony as related in the western part of the third register is described in terms of cosmic and divine appearances. As Finnestad noted: “Appearance is a constitutive characteristic of the creation: that which is seen has come into being; a god who appears is a god who appears into life – having made the transition from latent existence into manifest existence”.¹³¹⁷ In fact, the notion of *hꜥi*, ‘to appear, to rise’ is central on various levels in each of the three registers of the interior face of the northern enclosure wall.

In three scenes of the third register¹³¹⁸ the verb *hꜥi* refers to a cosmic and cosmogonic phenomenon, i.e. the rising of celestial bodies, in particular the first appearance or rising of the primeval creator god, the appearance of the primeval mound from the primeval ocean, and the appearance of the lotus from the primeval ocean. The cosmogonic appearance is accompanied by light: as the sun god appears, the dark pre-creation universe changes into the illuminated post-creation world.¹³¹⁹ The first sunrise, i.e. the first appearance of Horus-Ra in Scene 2 of the western part of the third register is described in terms of luminosity and radiance: the divine body is made of precious materials such as gold and lapis lazuli,¹³²⁰ accounting for a dazzling appearance. These characteristics are also expressed in the iconography of the *hꜥi*-hieroglyph (Gardiner N28), which depicts the rising sun behind the primeval mound, and which is rendered as a semi-circle with coloured bands in gold, blue (lapis lazuli), green (turquoise) and red (carnelian), reflecting the radiance of the sunrise.¹³²¹ Also in Scene 1 of the eastern part of the third register the notion of *hꜥi* is central. The theme of this scene is the lotus as an image of the first sunrise, with the child emerging from it as the newborn sun. In most cases the verbs used to describe the appearance of the child in the lotus are *hꜥi* or *wbn*. The appearance (*hꜥw*) of the child in the lotus results in the god being *psd*, ‘to shine, to illumine’ in the lotus.¹³²² The notion of *hꜥ* is also central in Scene 3 of the eastern half of the third register, where it is expressed in particular through the special iconography of the *wsh*-collar, which takes the shape of the horizon, alluding as such to the first rising (*hꜥw*) of the sun. The dazzling appearance (*hꜥw*) of the creator god from the primeval ocean is also expressed through the material of the *wsh*-collar, which is made of gold and precious stones.

In two scenes in the third register¹³²³ the verb *hꜥi* refers to the royal coronation. In these scenes the theme of the transmission of primordial kingship from Horus-Ra through Harsiese / Harsomtut to the king is central. The expression *hꜥi nyswt hꜥi bity* “Appearing of the King of Upper-Egypt, appearing of the King of Lower-Egypt” is used since the Early Dynastic Period to denote the day of the king’s accession and his coronation. The same expression as a term denoting the royal coronation is known from the birth legend of Hatshepsut as described in the temple of Deir el-Bahari.¹³²⁴ In fact, the most extensive surviving description of a royal coronation is found in a sequence of scenes in Hatshepsut’s Chapelle Rouge at Karnak.¹³²⁵

¹³¹⁷ Finnestad, *Image*, 91.

¹³¹⁸ See paragraph 4.3.3.2, 4.3.3.3 and 4.3.3.5.

¹³¹⁹ Cf. Finnestad, *Image*, 94.

¹³²⁰ In E VI 182, 4-5 the dazzling appearance of Horus-Ra is described as follows: “The head is beautiful-faced, the tail-wing is a true wonder, the two side-wings are shimmering as lapis lazuli, the breast is (made) of small balls of gold”.

¹³²¹ For the colours of the *hꜥi*-hieroglyph, see M. Schunck, *Untersuchungen zum Wortstamm hꜥ*. Habelts Dissertationsdrucke, Reihe Ägyptologie 5. Bonn 1985, 6-9.

¹³²² See Ryhiner, *Lotus*, 199.

¹³²³ See paragraphs 4.3.3.1 and 4.3.3.4.

¹³²⁴ *Urk.* IV 254-265 (translation: K. Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Übersetzungen zu den Heften 1-4. Urkunden des Ägyptischen Altertums* 4, 1. Berlin 1914, 117-122); Naville, *Deir el Bahari III*, 60-64.

¹³²⁵ Lacau and Chevrier, *Chapelle*, 234-256; F. Burgos and F. Larché, *La chapelle rouge. Le sanctuaire de barque d'Hatshepsout*, vol. I. Paris 2006, 78-84, 124-127. For translations see T.J. Gillen, “The Historical Inscription on Queen Hatshepsut’s Chapelle Rouge. Part 2: Translation”, in: *BACE* 16 (2005), 15-28 and M. Müller, “Die Krönungsinschrift der Hatshepsut”, in: B. Janowski and G. Wilhelm (eds), *Staatsverträge*,

Here, a series of crowns is bestowed on Hatshepsut, as depicted in eight scenes on the south wall and in four scenes on the north wall of the sanctuary.¹³²⁶ Goebis has shown convincingly that the accompanying inscriptions to these coronation scenes refer to the crowns as the manifestations and crowns of Ra, evoking especially his forms of the morning sun (Akhty) and creator god (Atum) in association with the First Occasion. As such, the coronation (*hꜥw*) is associated with the first appearance/rising (*hꜥw*) of the sun, which explains the use of the term *hꜥw* as a designation of the royal coronation. With the actual bestowal of the crowns the king assumes the luminous appearance of the sun god and as such he is transformed into a divinised being.¹³²⁷

The analysis of the scenes of the third register confirms that this register is set apart from the first and second registers on a variety of levels: the scenes in the third register form part of the cosmic realm, they are set in the mythical time, and represent the origin of the rituals of the first and second registers, the central themes being the first appearance/rising (*hꜥw*) of Horus-Ra as the primeval creator god and the transmission of primordial kingship of Horus-Ra to the king. Here, the celestial, primordial and creative aspects of the falcon as Horus-Ra, the Winged Disc, the primeval creator god who first appeared from the Nun, are central. The scenes in the first and second registers form part of the earthly realm, they are set in the historical time, and represent the annual repetition of the events represented in the third register, with the central themes being the annual renewal of kingship, the annual transmission and confirmation of royal power, and the annual renewal of creation. Here, the royal aspects of the falcon as a symbol of kingship and representative of the reigning king are central. At the same time it is referred to as the *b3* of Ra, this theme being especially prominent in the hymn to Scene 1,¹³²⁸ where the primordial aspect of the sacred falcon is also stressed.¹³²⁹

Herrscherinschriften und andere Dokumente zur politischen Geschichte. Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments, Neue Folge 2. Gütersloh 2005, 197–211.

¹³²⁶ Unfortunately not all the scenes have been preserved and some crowns, like the White Crown and the Double Crown, are missing.

¹³²⁷ K. Goebis, “King as God and God as King. Colour, Light, and Transformation in Egyptian Ritual”, in: R. Gundlach and K. Spence (eds), *Palace and temple: architecture, decoration, ritual. 5th Symposium on Egyptian royal ideology.* Beiträge zur altägyptischen Königsideologie 4. 2. Wiesbaden 2011, 84–91.

¹³²⁸ See paragraph 2.1.2.

¹³²⁹ Text 6: E VI 100, 14 ff..