

THE TEMPLE OF SETHOS I AT ABYDOS -

A STUDY OF ITS
DECORATION AND PURPOSE

VOL. I.

by

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PREFACE

My interest in the reliefs and inscriptions in the Temple of Sethos I at Abydos was first inspired by a discussion with Professor H.W.Fairman in the Spring of 1967; he has placed at my disposal the unpublished photographs and materials of the Temple of Abydos, and I am most grateful for the opportunity and privilege of studying under his direction. His kindness and patience, his enthusiastic interest in the work, and his generous guidance at all times have been a constant source of encouragement.

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I wish to express my gratitude to the University of Liverpool for their considerable financial support in the years 1968-71, in awarding me a University Research Studentship in Arts, and also for their generosity in assisting me to undertake a study-visit to Egypt, in order to examine the Temple of Sethos I at Abydos and other related sites. The award of a Leverhulme Travelling Scholarship for this purpose was much appreciated.

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I am indebted to Mr.R. Turner (Faculty of Arts Building, University of Liverpool) for his prompt action in dealing with a conflagration which threatened to destroy in its entirety the effort and work of three years of study.

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CHAPTER I

THE INTRODUCTION

A. THE EGYPTIAN TEMPLE

B. THE HISTORY AND ARCHITECTURE OF
THE TEMPLE OF SETHOS I AT ABYDOS

THE INTRODUCTION.

This study is an attempt to show how one particular Egyptian temple - a Pharaonic mortuary temple - functioned as a unit.

In an attempt to give as complete a picture as possible of the Temple of Sethos I at Abydos, the subject has been approached from two main angles. First, a purely descriptive summary of the history and architecture of the temple is given. Secondly, and in much greater detail and depth, the ritual use of each part of the temple is considered; it is our belief that the reliefs on the walls of each section of the temple are not primarily decorative in purpose, but, in fact, represent the ritual, often in an abbreviated form, which at one time was performed in that particular area of the temple. Thus, from a detailed study of the wall reliefs and accompanying inscriptions, and also from parallel material found in certain other Pharaonic and Ptolemaic temples, from the relevant papyrological sources, and from stelae, we hope to establish the use for which each section of the temple was designed, and, ultimately, to ascertain why a mortuary temple was built in this way, and how it functioned as a unit.

The Temple of Sethos at Abydos is admirably suited to this purpose, for not only have certain areas of the temple never before been studied in detail, but also the reliefs and inscriptions in some cases give detailed accounts of various important temple rituals; the six shrines in the sanctuary area, for example, provide us with one of our main sources for the reconstruction of the Daily Ritual in an Egyptian temple.

Whenever the Abydos material has been previously studied, we have attempted to include in this work a survey of these earlier results, and to suggest, where appropriate, our own alternative interpretation of the evidence.

In the Introduction, a brief survey is given of the evidence relating to the general development of a temple, both as an architectural and as a mythological concept, throughout Egyptian history. Then as a preliminary, the history and architecture of the Temple of Sethos at Abydos is outlined in general terms; this temple has several unique and interesting features, from an architectural point of view, and these, together with its situation in one of the most important and famous of ancient religious centres, will be noted in the second part of the Introduction.

A detailed survey of each section of the temple is then

made; architectural features of each area are outlined, especially where alterations in the structure have been introduced to accommodate the demands of the ritual; an account is given of the reliefs which decorate the walls of each chamber, and reference is made, wherever it is considered necessary, to the accompanying texts. Finally, a suggested reconstruction is given of the sequence of the ritual in each room or section of the temple.

In an Egyptian temple, we propose that each section, each architectural form was included for a specific purpose. From the examination of one temple-its layout, its reliefs, and inscriptions-we hope to establish a pattern of ritual order, which it will be possible to apply,with modifications, to the ritual scenes depicted on the walls of other Egyptian temples. Regarded in this light, the temples provide us with a source-book in stone of the religious rituals of Pharaonic and Ptolemaic Egypt.

THE EGYPTIAN TEMPLE.

The Egyptian Temple was the "House of the God" ; it provided a definite locality where the statue of the god could rest, where the needs of the deity could be attended to, and where the gods, otherwise formless, could be approached by the king, or mediator.

The living, the dead, and the gods were all considered to have the same basic physical needs;¹ the continuance of the form of existence enjoyed by the living (involving the basic requirements of food, drink, washing, rest, recreation, and a dwelling place) was assured for the gods and the dead by the performance of the divine and funerary cults. All three groups occupied "houses"; the living-king and subjects-occupied a palace and houses, the gods dwelt in temples ("mansions"), while the dead continued their existence in tombs, known as "mansions of the ka". Certain differences, of course, existed between the various types of buildings; the palaces and houses of the living continued to be built of wood and brick, while, from an early date, tombs and temples, built for eternity, were constructed of stone.² All three types of buildings, - tombs, temples, and houses, - however, were comprised of an area where the occupant lived, and, in addition, storerooms, where his possessions were kept. The main difference was that the temple, in addition to being a dwelling-place, was also a vehicle and setting for processions and festival celebrations, and thus, the necessary modifications were introduced into the plans of the temples; whereas a house was square in plan, in a temple, where the axis was of great importance, the temple was elongated in plan, to produce a processional way, down the centre of the building. Also, whereas in a house, the Master's bedroom was placed to one side, in the temple, the sanctuary, its equivalent, was placed on the main axis. The link between these three types of buildings was further accentuated by the names given to those people who were employed therein; for example, servants attended to the living, "god's servants" ministered to the gods, as priests, while "ka-servants", or funerary priests performed the cult for the dead.³

The key-point in a city, the "living organism",⁴ on which depended the stability of the social order,⁵ the temple was sited axial to the main roads and the river, and was usually orientated from east to west or vice versa; this facilitated travel between temples and gave access to the temple from the Nile. Always rectangular in shape, and consisting of four main sections, the temple stood in the midst of a large rectangular area, and was enclosed by a high wall of sun-dried brick;⁶ the

enclosure was entered by means of a gate, guarded by two towers - the Pylons.⁷ The stone Pylons of historical times developed from the towers of matting, strengthened by a core of mud, which were found in front of the original primitive shrines.⁸ The Pylon was variously regarded as a protective dwelling of a guardian spirit,⁹ the "Horizon of Heaven",¹⁰ and Isis and Nephthys,¹¹ lifting up the god to the sun every morning.

Beyond the Pylons were usually one or more colonnaded courts, open to the sky, whose decoration in the main appears to have been ritual or festival scenes, though exceptionally, as at Abydos itself, scenes of warfare could occur. It is probable that persons other than priests had restricted access to these courts on special occasions. Beyond the Courts lay the sacred roofed temple, the first element being a Hypostyle Hall behind which sometimes lay a smaller Hypostyle Hall. The Hypostyle Hall was often but not invariably lit by clerestory lighting by means of windows inserted on either side of the central rows of columns which were taller than the other columns in the hall.¹² Except for light that might enter when the doors were opened, there appears to have been no other method of natural illumination, for there is no certain evidence in Pharaonic temples of the existence of light shafts in the roof. There is of course no doubt that torches would be employed by priests during the performance of the ritual.

The Hypostyle Hall corresponds to the central living room in domestic architecture; behind it lay the shrine or sanctuary area, which, as the dark, private apartment of the god, was parallel to the Master's bedroom. All shrines were basically the same in appearance - simple, rectangular rooms, preserving the proportions of the original primitive reed shrine.¹³ They were completely dark, and, as one approached the sanctuary through the temple from the outer courts and hall, the level of the roof became gradually lower, while the level of the ground was raised.¹⁴ In each temple, where more than one god was worshipped, a shrine was provided for each subsidiary deity, and the shrine of the main deity was placed on the main axis of the temple.¹⁵ Basically, there were two types of shrine - a boat-shrine and a cult shrine - in which were kept the boat in which the statue of the god travelled on festival days, and the cult-statue of the god; the boat-shrine had a doorway at either end, to facilitate the transportation of the boat.

Around the shrine were rooms which contained the possessions of the god, and offices where administrative duties were carried out. Outside the temple itself, there were various other buildings which were connected with the business of the temple, and a Sacred Lake was invariably found here also; the whole complex was

enclosed by a thick brick wall, pierced by monumental gates.¹⁶ The temple usually had one main door, with additional side-doors, through which the food and water needed for the rituals could be brought.

In addition to being the god's house, the temple was also the owner of a considerable amount of land, and played an important part in the life of the community; it was not a religious centre where people came for community worship, but was more of a centre of learning, for artists, scribes and doctors, and was also a place where people sometimes came in search of miraculous cures. Therefore, although of considerable importance to the local community, the temples were never places where people took part in regular religious services;¹⁷ the ordinary man worshipped local household deities, visiting the temples only perhaps on great feast days, to watch processions. Never were the people permitted to advance beyond the outer courts; possibly, at the temple gates, they prayed, made offering and sought justice through the god's oracle; they played no part in the religious rituals; this was the prerogative of the priests. It was therefore understandable that the people felt a closer affinity with their local deities than with the remote state gods of the temples.

The earliest places of worship in Egypt were probably simple hut-shrines, situated at the rear of an enclosure, and containing the statue of a god.¹⁸ The god, envisaged as a being with human needs, was thus provided with a shelter, and his requirements were probably attended to by a priest-king. In pre-dynastic times, therefore, there were no temples, but there were doubtless present in tribal society all the elements - god, dwelling place, and attendant priest-king - from which eventually developed the Egyptian temple, and the ritual performed therein by the king for the god.¹⁹

The early shrines, it is believed, were constructed of reeds; they were adaptations of the houses of the people, the shrine itself being slightly larger than an ordinary dwelling, and it was encircled by a smaller court, where divine symbols could be set up, and animals sacrificed;²⁰ this, in turn, was surrounded by a low wall, and two poles were placed at the entrance. By Dynasty I these shrines represent the same basic form as that which is found later in the New Kingdom temples,²¹ being comprised of an enclosure (later the Forecourt), a reed hut (the shrine in the temple), and the area between the reed hut and the enclosing wall (the processional way). A good example of an archaic shrine is preserved on an ebony tablet of the reign of King Menes; this shrine, dedicated to the goddess Neith, dates to Dynasty I.²²

Eventually, the priest-king of early tribal society would have embellished his local, native shrine, and with his increase in power as a ruler, this would have come to house not merely local gods, but those deities which had become state gods.²³

Two major types of temples developed²⁴ - one, an independent structure, unattached to any tomb or other building, was a cultus temple, where the worship was performed on behalf of the god; the other, sometimes attached to a king's tomb, or acting as a substitute for a tomb chapel, was a mortuary temple, intended for the worship of a dead king. The latter could and did function, however, even while the king was still alive, and could also be dedicated to the chief god of the locality. From the time of Amenophis I onwards, a mortuary temple and the offering place at the king's tomb were separate. Indeed, in the New Kingdom, the cult of the dead king, and the rituals and festivals performed for the god were often carried out in different parts of the same temple.

Examples of Middle Kingdom ^{temple} architecture are few; a 12th Dynasty example exists at Tod, which is incorporated into the later Graeco-Roman temple; at Medinet Maadi a 12th Dynasty building survives, but this represents a chapel and not a proper temple. The Temple of Medamoud is the best example of Middle Kingdom temple architecture.²⁵

By the New Kingdom, the temples had become enormous structures, built to propitiate the gods, and resulting from the wealth and manpower which could now be employed for this purpose.²⁶

Later, Ptolemaic temples were built according to the same basic plan as the Pharaonic temples, but certain differences did occur; for example, in the later temples, the decoration of the walls, both because of the extent and nature of the reliefs, and because of their state of preservation, gives a more exact idea of the use and purpose of each section of the temple;²⁷ here, extensive inscriptions give the name, purpose, decoration and dimension of each chamber, and also record details of the various festivals which took place in the temple; thus, it is possible to trace the function of each area of the building. No clerestory lighting was provided in the Hypostyle Halls of Ptolemaic temples; sunlight penetrated the gloom through 30 feet windows in the Outer Hall; the reason for this change in the method of lighting remains obscure. Each Ptolemaic temple was built in two parts, the front section being built separately and constructed after the rear had been completed; the front section was wider than the rear section. Again, the reason for this method of construction

remains undiscovered. The Ptolemaic temples also had a different kind of boat-shrine from the Pharaonic temples. The Ptolemaic temples also were distinguished by the rooms or galleries built in the thickness of the walls of the original nucleus, though never in the Pronaos; these rooms were usually called crypts and there may be two or more series, one above the other, the lowest being below floor level. It should be noted that true crypts, small rooms under the floor of the temple itself, are extremely rare and have only been attested so far at Buhen and Sesebi. The Ptolemaic crypts seem to have been primarily secure store-houses for the more sacred and more valuable vessels used in the ceremonies; they were certainly too narrow for any normal cult purposes.

The Graeco-Roman temples, especially Edfu and Denderah, contain lengthy texts, which summarise the history of the building of the temple, and give a description of its individual halls and rooms, with their names, and sometimes give a hint as to their ritual purpose.²⁸ These inscriptions - the "Building Texts" - are both mythological and historical, and express the belief that each temple was the continuation and reflection of the earliest mythical temple, which came into existence at the beginning of the world, as the god's seat on the First Occasion. In many of the surviving temples of Egypt, the existing floor level is apparently not ^{the} original one, and in such temples as Karnak and Luxor for instance, it is not possible to be certain or precise about the floor itself or changes in the floor level. Nevertheless, it is now abundantly clear that many temples deliberately distinguished the construction of those parts lying between the front of the Hypostyle Hall and the extreme rear of the temple, from the outer courts. The distinction is one that has not hitherto received adequate attention, but it is important. Two methods seem to have been employed. In one, the whole temple, from and including the Hypostyle Hall to the rear of the temple, is built on a low platform which is clearly distinguished on the outside by a cornice and roll as though it were the top of a wall; this feature can clearly be seen in the Temple of Luxor, and in the Temple of Karnak. In other temples, there is a small but definite increase in the height of the floor level as one passes from hall to hall, from the Hypostyle to the Sanctuary, so that the sanctuary itself in such temples is always higher than those rooms and halls in front of it, and the floor level drops again behind the sanctuary; this feature is clearly to be seen in the Temple of Medinet Habu and is a regular feature in every Ptolemaic temple in Egypt. In all temples, there is a lowering of the ceiling level the further one penetrates from the Hypostyle to

the Sanctuary. It is commonly stated that the effect of this was to increase the sense of awe and oppressiveness the nearer one approached the god, and undoubtedly this effect was produced, but we consider that the basic reasons for both the pedestal-type of construction and the changing floor level were due to a deliberate attempt to reproduce architecturally the original Island of Creation; we make further reference to this point below.

A heavy brick wall enclosed each temple complex; this was sectionally built, probably in alternate units, and sections of these walls show that the courses are either concave or convex. These enclosure wall sections are linked with the variable level of the temple floor. According to the Edfu texts, there was once a time, before the gods existed, when Chaos reigned and there was no light, and the waters covered the earth. From these primaeval waters there emerged a low mud-island, and in the flotsam and jetsam at the edge of the waters, a piece of reed that drifted ashore was picked up by some demi-gods and stuck into the ground, near the water's edge. As this was done, out of the surrounding gloom came a falcon, which settled on the reed, and immediately made the area a sacred place. As a sacred place, it needed protection, and so a simple reed wall seems to have been built around the reed and the god who perched on it. As the waters receded, and the island grew bigger, it was possible to add rooms on either side of the first humble chamber and other rooms or halls in front of it, so that ultimately a complete temple of reed came to be built. It should be noted, however, that always the original room, in which the reed was first planted and on which the god first alighted, was at a slightly higher level than the rest of the temple, and that, as the first room, it was always situated at the rear of the temple; in developed temples, it still retains that position as the Sanctuary at the rear. The pedestal or rising floor level in Pharaonic or Ptolemaic temples is an attempt to reproduce in stone this original site of the creation of the first temple. The wavy lines which are shown on the concave and convex sections of the enclosure wall were placed there to represent the waves of the original mythological ocean which encircled the island.²⁹

Thus, the first shrine symbolised creation, and each "new" temple was regarded as a representation of the island where life was thought to have started; each religious locality in Egypt later claimed to be this exact island where creation had taken place. The sanctuary of each temple was envisaged as the primeval mound where the falcon had alighted, a centre of great sanctity and power.³⁰

The Egyptian temple, an imitation in stone of the original place of creation, sought to represent the world as it had appeared at the time of creation - as a great marsh, with a primaeval mound at its centre.³¹

Thus, the pedestal under the temple represented the actual primitive island, the roof and star-studded ceiling represented the sky, and the decoration of the temple was either ritual in meaning, or symbolised the plant forms which occurred on this mythological island.

The earliest shrines were built of reeds; later temples were built of stone, unlike the brick palaces and houses of men. The first known evidence of temple-building in stone occurs in Dynasty 3,³² and the stone-masons imitated in the new material the designs and patterns which had originated in the reed and brick structures.³³ In the stone temples, represented as reed columns to which were attached palm-fronds, lotus and papyrus flowers, stone columns were erected; these columns symbolised the plant forms present in the original mythological landscape; they also represented the fertility of the earth and undoubtedly their presence in the temples was thought to ensure protection, permanence and sustenance for the king, the land and the people.³⁴

The art forms utilised in Egyptian temples were intended to represent reality; they had a magical significance, and were not primarily designed to give aesthetic pleasure to the beholder.³⁵ Thus, these columns were conceived of, primarily, not as an architectural form, but as a symbol of life, which when the temple was magically brought to life, would themselves become life-producing plants and flowers. The stability and permanence which the thickness of these columns represented far outweighed, for the Egyptians, any suggestion of heaviness or clumsiness which they may have displayed as functional supports of the roof.³⁶

The shaft of the column was placed on a separate base, for in the original shrine, the bases would have been sockets of earth, or hollowed-out stones, into which the reed columns would have been set.³⁷ Also, the cavetto cornice and torus roll employed in temple architecture were imitations of earlier forms; in olden times, the walls of the shrines were constructed of interwoven palm-sticks or mats, thickly covered with mud, and the tops of the palm fronds were left free to bend over; this feature developed into the cavetto cornice in stone temples.³⁸

The corners of the lattice and mud walls had needed strengthening and this was done by lashing into place bundles of reeds or palm sticks and, later, in the stone buildings, this was represented by the torus-roll.³⁹ Similarly, the base of the temple walls is frequently decorated with reliefs showing plant forms, which, in mythological terms, are springing up from the "island" - the temple floor.

The possibilities of solid masonry were never fully developed or exploited by the Egyptians, for they were always limited by the need to translate the temple in terms of ritual and mythology. The reliefs, often executed with great care and skill, are frequently placed high on columns and walls, where they are inaccessible; even on the lower parts of the walls, the gloom of the temple prevents a true appreciation of their worth.⁴⁰ In addition, the architectural forms are perhaps somewhat heavy in style. The art of the temple was designed to fulfil specific practical requirements, and, beyond this, the Egyptians can have felt no desire to develop this art form. Thus, it remained fossilised, and limited by ritual and mythological demands.

As has been indicated, the temple was mythologically interpreted as the scene of creation, and was ritually regarded as the domicile of the god; every temple was also a living entity, which, when the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony had been performed therein, came to life, together with all the statues and reliefs which it contained; the temple became the "living body" of the god, or lord of the temple.

The temple was also a fortress, which protected Egypt from the onslaught of evil powers; the water-spouts decorating the exterior of the temple, as at Denderah, were designed as lions, which spat out all the evil (represented by the rainfall) from the temple (symbolising Egypt). The temple thus protected the sacred places within it, and symbolically drove evil out of Egypt. Certain other mystical interpretations of the temple have been suggested. For instance, it has been put forward that, in a temple, all the rooms to the left of the building were sacred to the god in his rôles in the eastern part of the sky, while all the rooms on the right were concerned with his rôles in the western regions of the heavens.⁴¹ At Edfu and Denderah, it has been suggested that the chambers around the central area became the different regions of the sky, in which various dramas are performed. Like the heavens, the temple had four corners and four quarters.⁴² As the sky - a reduction of the universe - the

temple kept out enemies, and hid its inner mysteries. The temple has also been regarded as a mountain in which the god rested, when the sun set.⁴³ The Pylons, it is suggested, gave the temple the appearance of a great coffin, within which the sun daily slept, died, and was re-born.⁴⁴

The cosmological interpretation of the Egyptian temple was, probably, however, a secondary development, when temples became more complex structures, and could be regarded as reflections of the universe; the simplicity of the primitive shrine, from which the later temple so clearly developed, can have had no such interpretation,⁴⁵ and cosmological significance can have determined neither the architectural form of the temple, nor the development of the Daily Temple Ritual.

Very little is known of the earliest form of ritual performed for the god; doubtless it consisted, in its earliest stages, of simple adoration and the presentation of offerings to the god. It has been suggested that possibly Memphis was the site of the first mythological reed temple, whereas the Daily Ritual perhaps developed its form at Heliopolis, the centre of the sun-cult.⁴⁶ In the stone temples, the walls were decorated with reliefs showing various rites in the different rituals performed in the temple; these ensured the continuance of the rituals, by magical means, if, at any time, the performance of the rituals was, in reality, neglected.⁴⁷

We believe that, in the Outer Courts, the decoration was descriptive, in that it showed the exploits of the king in battle and at home, in his relation with the gods; even here, however, as will be shown, a definite order can be established for the scenes, and often the battle scenes are placed in a geographical order upon the walls. In the inner rooms, however, we suggest that the decoration depicts, in each chamber, in a definite order, the rites which were once performed in that particular room; each section of the temple had a definite purpose, and a correct interpretation of the meaning and order of the reliefs in every part of the building will, we believe, establish the ritual use for which that room was employed. The decoration of all the inner chambers was deliberate, never haphazard, and each scene was allotted a certain place on the wall because the rite which it represented occurred at that specific point in the sequence of the ritual.

The worship of the god was based on the dramatisation of the ordinary events of everyday life; the daily service imitated the daily, human needs, while the religious festivals imitated

special occasions or social visits , such as occur in the lives of mortals. The king attended to the god's needs; upon this filial duty rested not only the prosperity and power of the king, but also the fertility and safety of the land and its inhabitants. Every temple, in theory, was built by the king, as his monument to the god, and he alone, as ruler and son of the gods, could perform the necessary ritual therein. As mediator between god and men, he served the gods and built their temples, and received, in return, eternal life, victory over his enemies and everlasting fame. The king was the last of the gods and the first of men,⁴⁸ the son, heir, and successor of the gods, who alone had the divine nature, and, because of this unique position, could make offerings to the god.⁴⁹ Offerings made by a private person could only achieve full efficacy if presented in the name of the king.⁵⁰ This unique position is reflected in the royal titles, where the king is represented as Horus incarnate and the son of Re'.⁵¹ Daily, the king restored the god to a state of renewed vigour, as Osiris had himself experienced after his bodily destruction.⁵² By so doing, the king brought life to the universe.

The temple reliefs support the theory that the king performed each ritual in every temple in Egypt, and that there were no priests present to assist him;⁵³ in practice, of course, although initially, the king would have acted as high-priest of the god, in time, as the number of temples increased, and the duties of the king became more onerous, it was essential that the religious duties of the king were delegated to the priests;⁵⁴ however, in theory, the king alone remained high-priest of all gods, and, in practice, doubtless performed the Daily Ritual in the main temple of the chief state god.

It has been stated that the temple was much more than a religious centre; the king went to great lengths to procure vast wealth for the temples, particularly during the New Kingdom. His military expeditions were partly directed towards this end. Revenue for the temples also came from the southern gold mines, and from the dues payable by the provinces.⁵⁵ At Abydos, fields, herds and men were transferred to the temple, as well as the revenue from the gold mines.⁵⁶ Several royal decrees are preserved to us, which safeguard the economic powers of the temples.⁵⁷

The temples utilised large numbers of priests, servants, singers, musicians, butchers, gardeners and cooks, who lived near the temple itself; in addition to their religious duties, the priests had administrative, educational and medical duties, while the high-priests administered the vast temple estates, as well as acting as the king's delegate in the religious sphere. The

priesthood often remained in certain families as a secondary profession,⁵⁸ so that a family of judicial officials might also hold the priesthood of Ma'at, physicians might be priests of Sekhmet, and artists might hold the priesthood of Ptah. The priesthood, "a body of men separated from the rest of the community for the service of a god",⁵⁹ were divided into grades, each section having special duties to perform.⁶⁰ It was essential for the priests to be ritually clean, since they came into contact with the god's personal clothing and belongings, and everything which appertained to the god within the temple was, of course, itself divine.

In this brief survey of the Egyptian temple, an attempt has been made to show that the temple appears to have been designed deliberately, both mythologically and ritually. In the following account of the Temple of Sethos I at Abydos, it is hoped that it will be possible to establish the exact ritual use of each section of the temple.

THE HISTORY AND ARCHITECTURE OF THE TEMPLE OF SETHOS I AT ABYDOS.

"A place may....become sacred through the memory of something that happened there in ancient times, or was supposed to have happened, and that had far-reaching consequences afterwards. In Egypt, this is especially the case with Abydos."¹

From earliest times, Abydos was a holy place; the name "Abydos" belonged originally to a town near the Hellespont; the Greeks transferred this name to the Egyptian town, whose name, in the time of the Greeks, was perhaps pronounced as "Ebot"; this, to them, sounded similar to "Abydos", a name with which they were familiar.²

The history of the site is considerably older; one of the early sacred places in Egypt, in the 1st and 2nd Dynasties, a temple existed there; the place retained its religious importance for almost three millenia, and, in the 2nd century A.D., Plutarch informs us that the Egyptian nobility still desired to be buried at Abydos, near the so-called burial site of the god Osiris.³

The historical importance of Abydos was, to some extent, assisted by the geographical position which it held; from earliest times, it lay at the centre of contact between the native population and the desert nomads.⁴ It has been suggested that the Nome which contained This and Abydos was entitled "The Oldest Land" because, possibly, this was a reference to the primaeval mound, the place of creation.⁵

The importance of Abydos was due to two main religious causes; first, the Royal Cemeteries of the early dynastic rulers and their continuing cult existed at Abydos;⁶ secondly, this was the site where it was said that Osiris was buried, and where his cult had particularly strong associations.

At the beginning of the Old Kingdom, a new temple was constructed on the site of the earlier building, and in the 6th Dynasty additions were made to the temple; texts on three stelae dating to the reign of Pepi II inform us that it was dedicated to Khentiamentiu, god of the necropolis of Abydos.⁷ His cult continued here, even when the kings were buried elsewhere. After the 6th Dynasty, the worship of Khentiamentiu was fused with that of Osiris; however, the two gods remained distinct at Abydos until the reign of Sesostris I, when the name of Osiris-Khentiamentiu is mentioned for the first time;⁸ eventually, Khentiamentiu becomes a secondary name of Osiris.

Mentuhotep Seankhkare' constructed a new temple,⁹ the older building being in a poor state of repair, and Sesostris I replaced

this by a new temple. During the 18th Dynasty, Tuthmosis I, II and III all built at Abydos.¹⁰ The Greek historian Strabo places Abydos in order of rank after Thebes, not so much on account of the city, but because of its sacred associations and temples.¹¹

The "House of Menmaetre"; the "Memnonium" of Strabo, was built in the 19th Dynasty; it was deserted at the end of the Christian period by inhabitants of any kind, and was only re-discovered in the 18th century A.D., when Granger, in February 1731, found the sanctuary of Abydos complete but covered by sand.¹² It is possible that in fact Makrizi, an Arab of Mediaeval times, perhaps visited Abydos, and confused it with the Temple of Akhmim, which he describes as having seven chapels, each with the name of one of the seven planets, and being painted in bright colours; he also mentions the List of Kings, which still exists at Abydos.¹³ The site of the Temple of Abydos was later uncovered and identified by Père Claude Sicard.¹⁴

The "House of Millions of Years"¹⁵ built by Sethos I at Abydos differed in several ways from the usual design of an Egyptian temple. First, contrary to normal custom, the temple was not built on one axis, but the chambers and service rooms, which were usually placed around or at the rear of the sanctuary area, were set at right-angles to the main block, thus forming an L-shaped temple, a feature unique in Egyptian temple architecture. The reason for this is obscure; one suggestion put forward is that this was necessary because of a lack of a sound and stable foundation at the rear of the main building, but the presence of the Osireion in this position indicates that in fact the soil was quite stable here.¹⁶ Another theory is that this site behind that part of the temple which we designate the "Osiris Complex" was left vacant, so that the Cenotaph of Sethos I, the Osireion, could be accommodated here.¹⁷ Yet another theory is that an underground spring, mentioned by Strabo,¹⁸ made it impossible to extend the temple along the main axis;¹⁹ possibly, this was a sacred spring connected in some way with the Cenotaph of Sethos. We suggest that the existence of the Osireion at the rear of the present temple building may have influenced the architect in his decision; possibly it was felt that the ground here was rendered unsafe, due to the existence of this building, and that it would have been dangerous to have built the temple storerooms and service-rooms in this position, at ground level. Mariette suggests²⁰ that a change in plan was necessitated by a need to avoid the excessive labour involved in cutting into the rock foundation, but it has since been ascertained that the

temple foundations were not cut into rock, and that there is no evidence that it was ever necessary to excavate to establish the foundations.²¹ Also, there is no evidence that the south wing was built at a later date than the main building, for all the walls are bonded together and the design is continuous.²² Another suggestion is that when the architects and builders started to lay the foundations of the temple, they discovered the remains of an older building, where the Cenotaph of Sethos is now situated.²³ However, no such remains have been found, to lend support to this theory, and it seems most likely that the temple was designed in this way from the beginning and that there was no radical change in plan once construction had been started; probably, it was intended that the Osiris Complex of the temple was to be thus situated at the rear of the temple from the beginning.

The Osiris Complex is itself a unique feature; its inclusion in this temple was necessitated, as will be seen, by the position of the temple at the site where the cult of Osiris held such sway. Another major difference between the Temple of Sethos and other temples is that most temples are provided with one shrine, dedicated to the chief god; this is sometimes accompanied by shrines dedicated to subsidiary deities - the god's consort and son. However, at Abydos, there are seven main shrines in the sanctuary area; these are dedicated to two triads - the imperial triad of the Ramessides, consisting of Amun, Re'-Harakhte, and Ptah, and the local triad of Osiris, Isis and Horus - in addition to the shrine where Sethos himself was worshipped as a dead, deified king. This arrangement was employed first because at Abydos the temple was obviously closely linked with Osiris and his family, since it was the centre of the god's cult, and secondly, because it was also essential for Sethos to include the major gods of the realm, to add support to his claim to rule Egypt. Thirdly, since this was his mortuary temple, accommodation had to be provided for the worship of the dead Sethos.

Thus, because of a possible need to situate the Osiris Complex at the rear of the temple, near the Cenotaph of Sethos, and perhaps because of the danger of subsidence if the storerooms had been built at the rear of the temple, on the ground which had possibly been rendered unsafe by the construction of the Cenotaph of Sethos, the Temple of Sethos was built in an unusual shape. Because of a need to placate various deities, the temple also was unique with regard to the number of shrines which it possessed; these were originally, of course, approached through seven doorways, whereas it was customary for the sanctuary of an

Egyptian temple to be approached through one main doorway only.

The Temple of Sethos I at Abydos is impressive both because of its architecture and because of the finely carved reliefs. In the lifetime of Sethos, the art, although attempting to return to conventional art forms, still did not entirely free itself from the influence of Amarna art, and, at Abydos, we perhaps have an example of this style at its best; it was a sophisticated and delicate art form, not yet decadent, and never surpassed by the reliefs found in the later temples. The bas-reliefs, completed in the reign of Sethos, provide a striking contrast to the bold relief work, executed en creux, which was added to the temple by Ramesses II after his father's death.

The temple, according to Mariette,²⁴ is built in three styles. The main edifice and part of the south wing, dating to the reign of Sethos, is decorated in one style, which Mariette states occurs in the Inner or Second Hypostyle Hall (Room D on his plan), the seven shrines in the sanctuary area (Rooms E to K), the rooms forming the Osiris Complex (Rooms L to S), the Nefertem-Ptah-Soker Complex (Rooms T,U,V), the Gallery of the Lists (X), and the Stairway Passage (Y'). After the death of Sethos, the style alters; relief en-creux now replaces the bas-relief. Sethos is still revered and honoured by his son at this time, and to this period dates the completion of the exterior of the temple - the First and Second Courts (A and B), and the little esplanade at the rear of the temple (marked "V" to "X" on Mariette's plan), the Corridor of the Bull (Y), and the Hall of Barks (Z). To the third period, when Ramesses II is effacing the memory of Sethos and overcutting his name, belongs the First or Outer Hypostyle Hall (Room C). Here, the craftsmanship is particularly poor.

The Temple of Abydos was built mostly by Sethos I, and the decoration was completed by his son Ramesses II; the names of Merenptah, Ramesses III and IV also occur here, and after these kings, the temple probably fell into disuse, being only partly occupied by Christians in the later periods.

The construction of the temple was almost certainly completed by Sethos; although the walls of the First and Second Courts were decorated by Ramesses II, the First Pylon was not built by him. A pair of cartouches at the south-east and south-west corners of the Pylon belong to Sethos I; these were originally hidden from view by the pavement, and it is suggested that these prove that he completed the construction of the temple.²⁵

Sethos probably built his temple in this position first

because the site was near to the Royal Tombs, and Sethos, to gain acceptance for his dynasty, wished to establish a direct link with the earliest ancestors; secondly, Abydos, as the cult centre and suggested place of the burial of Osiris, was an obvious situation for a temple. Caulfield suggests²⁶ that the king wanted to build a temple with priests' dwellings and store-rooms attached, and that, whereas the temple required large halls and high roofs, the priests needed only small rooms; convention demanded that the entrance to the temple should be on a lower level than the sanctuary; the site at Abydos fulfilled these conditions, since the natural slope of the desert surface would accommodate a temple with floor rising from front to rear, and would accommodate high courts and halls at the entrance to the temple, in addition to providing a convenient hill for the smaller halls at the rear. The site, with its proximity to the Royal Tombs, was, of course, particularly suitable for the location of a mortuary temple, with its connections with ancestor worship.

According to Caulfield, the floors of the chambers at the south-west end of the temple are 5.75m. higher than those at the north-east corner of the First Court. The foundations "float" on top of the sand, and the walls are very broad in comparison with their height, so that there was enough bearing surface to support the superstructure, without involving the need for special foundations. The temple is apparently not really accurately laid out; the diagonals from south-west to north-east are all shorter than the diagonals from north-west to south-east, and all the angles at the south-east and north-west corners of the courts and chambers are smaller than a right-angle, while all those at the south-west and north-east corners are larger. The north and south walls of the temple are not parallel, -they slope towards the east. The walls are built without mortar, and the stones are regularly bonded; the main east wall is built with a thickness of three stones, and the gaps are filled in with rubble; elsewhere, the walls have a thickness of two stones. The outside faces of the stones are smooth-finished; the top and bottom surfaces and the ends are carefully dressed, while all the principal walls and beams are tied together with dovetailed ties of granite and ebony. Most of the doorposts are cut from solid blocks of stone, and are not comprised of separate stones. The roof is made of grey sandstone, and sandstone is also used for many walls and pillars in the temple; others are constructed of limestone.

At the rear of the temple (marked 'V' to 'X' by Mariette), there is an esplanade, bordered with stone and paved with bricks, piled up to a thickness of 2m., in order to prevent the sand

from encroaching on the outer doors.

Strabo²⁷ mentions a canal at Abydos, leading down from a great river; Père Claude Sicard²⁸ also gives an account of a canal at Abydos, twenty-five to thirty paces long, which was full of water all the year, and was named "Abou homar."

Before the modern restoration of the façade of the temple was completed, it was possible²⁹ to ascertain that the temple had subsided in the centre; this was due to the presence, underneath the temple, of a canal, excavated to facilitate the conveying of stone blocks, and later filled in with sand; this pre-dated the construction of the temple foundations, but, in time, severely affected the temple.

A well is also mentioned by Strabo,³⁰ made of large stones, which was approached by means of a passageway leading down into the ground. Mariette suggests³¹ that, because, at the south side of the temple, the water is 12m. more in depth than on the north side, the well was probably situated on the south side. He suggests two possible sites for the well, -near the doorway leading into the temple from the Butchers Hall (Cour A), or in the middle of the esplanade at the rear of the temple. The site of the well still remains unidentified, and may, in fact, be situated outside the temple itself, somewhere in the enclosure.

From a historical point of view, the temple is of some considerable interest, with regard to the suggested co-regency of Sethos I and Ramesses II. The Abydos material appears to corroborate the evidence given at Beit el-Wali and at Qurnah.³² The Great Dedicatory Inscription at Abydos is the first document which states the existence of a co-regency³³, and it appears that Ramesses II was made crown prince at an early age, and later was crowned as co-regent in the presence of his father.³⁴ Even while he was still co-regent, he enclosed his name in a cartouche;³⁵ during this period of an unknown number of years, until his accession, he used the shorter version of the pre-nomen Wsr-m3't-R', - in preference to Wsr-m3't-R'-stp-n-R'.³⁶

The two forms of the pre-nomen were noted by Mariette,³⁷ and he makes the suggestion that Ramesses II acted as co-regent with his father, based on the Abydos evidence.³⁸ In the Gallery of the Lists, Ramesses is shown three times as Crown Prince, and his nomen is carved without a cartouche. In the scene accompanying the List of Gods in this Gallery, Sethos is shown as king, but Ramesses is co-regent. As he is still a child in these reliefs, these scenes possibly represent the very earliest examples of his appearance as co-regent.³⁹

In the Stairway Passage, Sethos and Ramesses are shown together as co-regents. Probably this area was decorated in part by Ramesses while he was still co-regent, and was later completed after the death of Sethos. Sethos appears to be deified in the two scenes here, but possibly he was still alive at this time, since the short form of Ramesses' prenomen, which he used when he was co-regent, occurs here.⁴⁰ Mariette's suggestion⁴¹ that by this time, Sethos was too aged to rule alone and needed the active support of his son, is, however, argued against by Seele⁴² who regards the co-regency as a delegation of duty which occurred even when the reigning monarch enjoyed perfect health.

Further information regarding the Temple of Sethos I at Abydos is provided by the Abydos Decree of Sethos I at Nauri,⁴³ in which the rights of this great royal foundation, and all the individuals and property connected with it, are safeguarded. This dates to Year 4 of the reign of Sethos, and since the temple at Abydos would then have been in a very early stage of construction, possibly this Decree was written rather as a vision of the future than as a statement of reality. On the other hand, it has been suggested⁴⁴ that, as Frankfort has shown that Sethos I built the Osireion, it is possible that he also built his own residence at Abydos, and re-built and re-furnished the ancient central temple before he started work on his mortuary temple, and the Nauri Decree may therefore be referring to these foundations.

Other inscriptional material provides an insight into the working of the estates of the temple. From wine-jar inscriptions from Abydos and Reqaqnah⁴⁵ we learn that there were at least two different vineyards attached to the temple, and from the Ramesseum,⁴⁶ two jar sealings indicate that the oil-estates of the Sethos Temple at Abydos were being used by the Ramesseum.⁴⁷ An inscription of gold-washing for the Abydos temple occurs at Kanais.⁴⁸ References also occur to the domains and staff of the temple.⁴⁹

This brief account of the history and architecture of the temple has attempted to summarise the opinions and theories held by various scholars; in dealing with each section of the temple, we will include a brief survey of any new evidence, relating to architectural features, which has been omitted in the above account.

Any description, however brief, would, we feel, be incomplete without giving some attention to the two most important buildings which lie in close proximity to the Temple of Sethos - the Palace of Sethos and the Osireion.

The Palace of Sethos I. (SEE PLAN 55.)

Near the Temple of Sethos, on the south side, was situated a building, which today is known as the Palace of Sethos I.⁵⁰ Here, a Reception Hall and magazines, used for storage possibly, have been found. It is likely that Sethos stayed here for short periods of time, to supervise the construction of his neighbouring temple. Similar establishments existed, such as at the funerary temple of Ay,⁵¹ the Palace at the Ramesseum,⁵² the funerary temples of Merenptah at Memphis and Thebes,⁵³ and of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu.⁵⁴ The magazines at Abydos may well have been used to store provisions and equipment which belonged to the Temple of Sethos.

The Cenotaph of Sethos I. (SEE PHOTO. C - p. LXXII)

The Osireion lies directly behind the Temple of Sethos I at Abydos. Designed as a subterranean hill, or island, imitating a god's tomb, it was surrounded by water-carrying channels, and the canal which flowed under the temple in fact turned the artificial island into a reality. The building is unique in Egyptian architecture, and, at first, because of the style in which it is built, it was thought to date to the reign of Chephren.⁵⁵ Excavation has, however, shown that this building dated from the reign of Sethos I, and not before;⁵⁶ both the temple and the Osireion were probably under construction at the same time, and neither was completed during the lifetime of Sethos.⁵⁷ The retaining walls join the Osireion to the temple, and these walls are parallel.⁵⁸ The purpose of the building appears to have been two-fold; probably built as a cenotaph for Sethos, who attempted to revive the old beliefs, vindicated by the collapse of the Aten movement, and, like the earlier kings, wanted a second resting place at Abydos, the building appears to be an attempt to copy the tomb of Sethos at Thebes⁵⁹; the corridor which leads to the "island" is reminiscent of the entrances to some of the Royal Tombs. The building is also an attempt to resemble the mythical grave of Osiris;⁶⁰ however, although in architectural form, it imitates the tomb of the god, it appears to be not so much the tomb of Osiris, but the cenotaph of Sethos I, the dead king, as Osiris.⁶¹ Sethos, by building it, showed his desire to be assimilated to the gods of the dead, and it was doubtless connected very closely with his neighbouring mortuary temple.

CHAPTER II

THE FIRST AND SECOND COURTS

THE FIRST AND SECOND COURTS.

The Temple of Sethos I at Abydos is approached through two large, open forecourts, which are now both in a poor state of preservation; each court is entered through a pylon. The pylons, First and Second Courts, and the façade of the temple were built by Ramesses II, and the work here is a typical example of his style; similar work is to be found in his own nearby temple at Abydos, and it is characteristic of the period just after the death of Sethos I.¹ The figures are large in size, and the hieroglyphs are well-carved. Sethos himself is mentioned only as a dead king.

The pylons are built of sandstone, and are now badly damaged; the names of Isis, Osiris, Ramesses II and the titulary of Merenptah have been preserved; on the interior face of the left side of the pylon in the First Court, there are the remains of the niches in which stood Osirid statues of the king. The right side, now completely destroyed, presumably was similarly ornamented.

The scenes in the First Court, for the most part, represent the battles of Ramesses II. On the west wall, however, at the left side, there is a procession of princes, - thirty-three, according to Mariette, and twenty-nine, according to Lefebvre, - whose names, except in a few cases, are no longer distinguishable. At the right side, there are, according to Mariette, thirty-two princesses, and, according to Lefebvre, twenty-nine princesses. The two sides, north and south, of this wall are ornamented with niches, similar to those in the west wall of the Second Hypostyle Hall. In this court, the niches are 88cm. high, and 1m.2cm. in depth;² only one niche remains on the south side, while four still exist on the north half of the wall. On this wall, two instances occur of the name of Sethos I, suggesting that perhaps the wall separating the two courts was built by Sethos and decorated by Ramesses.³ Before the wall, on a ramp, are twelve square pillars, similar to those in the Second Court, but now in a very poor state of preservation. The central doorway in this wall bears the name of Ramesses II, and is 2m. 62cm. wide.⁴ Another side-door also joins the two courts, and is 1m. 64cm. wide, and has, preserved in its lintel, one of the original sandstone blocks.⁵ Other doorways exist in the north and south walls of the First Court, enabling easy access to this court, without involving entry through the main doorway.

In the First Court, there are two wells, both of comparatively modern construction. When the temple was transformed into a

village, these wells were introduced; they have no immediate connection with the well mentioned by Strabo.⁶

The Second Court is similarly decorated, but here the scenes deal more with the relationship between Ramesses and the gods. Again, we find the processions of royal children; on the left side of the east wall, there is a procession of twenty princesses, bringing offerings of meat, fruit and bread; on the right side, ten princes are still visible.

The Second Court, in the same way as the First, has side entrances, to make the court easily accessible from the temple enclosure. A raised portico occurs in front of the entrance from the Second Court into the First Hypostyle Hall and the temple proper. This portico is approached by a flight of stairs, and it is supported by twelve square pillars;⁷ these are limestone, and were presumably placed in front of the facade to relieve the monotony, as well as to support the portico; they are decorated with scenes showing the king in the presence of various deities.

The facade itself was constructed of limestone, by Sethos, but was decorated by his son. It was originally composed of a wall surmounted by a cornice, and pierced by seven doorways, the main and central one being the widest. This design of Sethos was changed by Ramesses II, who filled in the doorways with sandstone blocks, leaving open the main entrance and two side doorways on the north side. This was completed before the large figures and inscriptions were cut on the facade itself. In the scenes on the north side of this wall, Sethos appears as a dead king. On the south side of the wall, the Great Dedicatory Inscription occurs; it was to include this inscription in the Court that Ramesses was obliged to change his father's original design, and so accommodate the inscription here on the west wall.

When Sethos died, the facade, the Courts, the First Hypostyle Hall and the rear portions of the temple were incomplete; in front of the facade the pillars were not in position. According to the Great Inscription, Ramesses II decides to complete the building of the temple, in honour of his father; this, from the evidence of the temple-remains, appears to be a distortion of the truth, for, as will be seen, the work executed by Ramesses is very often an alteration of his father's work, to suit his own purpose of self-glorification, rather than a pious completion of his father's plans.

Sethos perhaps died while the main entrances were being completed, and the facade pillars, which had not yet been placed

in their sockets, were then set up by Ramesses, who also made alterations to the façade, and decorated the two Courts with reliefs of his own children and campaigns.

DESCRIPTION OF THE SCENES IN THE FIRST AND SECOND COURTS.

THE TERRACE. (BEFORE THE PYLON OF THE FIRST COURT, SOUTH WING, EAST FACE.)¹

Only the lower parts of the scenes are preserved.

Scene A. (second scene from the south.)

The king in a chariot, facing left, and accompanied by a prince in a chariot, charges the foe. The accompanying inscription reads, - "[.....] Ramesses, making the vile chiefs fall."

Scene B. (first scene from the south.)

The king, facing left, attacks a fort. The inscription reads, - "[.....] like his father Montu, Lord of Thebes."

Scene C. (at north end of the Terrace.)

The king, facing left, followed by a row of soldiers, and a row of chariots and grooms, receives prisoners and a pile of severed hands, presented to him by three dignitaries, the first of whom is a prince. The king's speech is badly damaged.

Scene D. (north end, at the entrance to the temple.)

Two rows of officials are shown.

Here, the order of scenes does not read directly from left to right, or vice versa. The sequence begins in the middle of the wall, with the king attacking his foes, and then continues towards the south, with the king attacking a fort, and then returns to the scene at the north end of the Terrace, where the king receives spoil and prisoners; the sequence culminates with the badly damaged scene showing the rows of officials.

Thus, here, on this wall, we have two stages in the order of events, - the king in battle, and the aftermath of battle. The scenes are read in two directions, from the centre of the register on this wall.

THE FIRST COURT.
SOUTH WALL, WEST END.²

THE PROCESSION OF PRINCES.

On this wall, there are five names, -

- | | | | | | |
|----|---------------------|----|-------------------|----|---------------|
| 1. | <u>Hr-hr-wnmy.f</u> | 2. | <u>'Imn-m-ipt</u> | | |
| 3. | <u>Mnt-m-w3st</u> | 4. | <u>s3-'Imn</u> | 5. | <u>s3-Pth</u> |

WEST WALL, SOUTH SIDE.³

A. South corner to Niche 1. - five names, one now lost.

- | | | | |
|----|----------------------|----|-------------------------|
| 6. | <u>[Sn]ht.n-'Imn</u> | 7. | <u>R'-ms-sw-s3-'Itm</u> |
|----|----------------------|----|-------------------------|

8. [Mntw]-n-hk3w

9. Lost.

10. [...]-Mntw

The procession of princes in this court is badly damaged; originally, it probably included twenty-nine princes, of whom only the ten above are visible. Originally, the procession was interspersed by niches, as on the north side of the wall, but now only one niche remains, showing the king offering to a god. Along the base of the wall runs a horizontal inscription, which gives the titulary of Merenptah.

WEST WALL, NORTH SIDE.

THE PROCESSION OF PRINCESSES⁴

The daughters of Ramesses carry menits and sistra.

A. Between the central door and 1st niche. - 3 princesses, 2 lost.

1. Wr(t)-hk3w-nbt-t3wy 2. Lost. 3. Lost.

B. Between the 1st and 2nd niches. - 5 princesses.

4. [....]-kdt-mrt 5. [....]-nbt-¹wnt 6. [....]-wr-n-r3
7. Nfirt-¹iry 8. 3st-nfirt

C. Between the 2nd and 3rd niches. - 5 princesses, 4 lost.

9. [....]-nht 10. Lost. 11. Lost.
12. Lost. 13. Lost.

D. Between the 3rd niche and the side-door. - 5 princesses, 1 lost.

14. hnwt-¹Iwnw 15. hsbd 16. spsy-hr-¹it.s
17. hnwt 18. Lost.

E. Between side-door and 4th niche. - 5 princesses.

19. mrt-mi-¹h¹py 20. Mryt-¹it.s 21. Nbw-m-¹Iwnt
22. Hnwt-shmw 23. Hnwt-p3-hr

F. Between 4th niche and North Wall. - 1 princess, lost.

24. Lost.

NORTH WALL, WEST END. - 5 princesses.

25. Py-pwy 26. B3k(t)-mwt 27. Rnpt-nfirt
28. Nfrw-R¹ 29. Mryt

The princesses, of whom there appear to have been twenty-nine originally, comprise a procession which is also interspersed by niches - four in number - in which the king makes offering to various deities. The upper part of both processions is lost. The base inscription here also gives the titulary of Merenptah.

THE DOORWAY BETWEEN THE FIRST AND SECOND COURTS.

On this central doorway, set into the West Wall, the decoration on the two thicknesses is preserved only in the lower part. Here, four horizontal bands of inscription occur, dating to the

reigns of Merenptah (top bands), Ramesses III and Ramesses IV.

EAST WALL, SOUTH SIDE. (The inside face of the First Pylon.)

The north side of this wall is entirely destroyed; only the base of the south side remains. Here, originally, there were seven Osirid statues, placed in niches, and accompanied by inscriptions; between the niches, there were pilasters, eight in all, which were also decorated with inscriptions.⁵ The north side presumably was originally similarly decorated.

The inscriptions, of which little remains, give the names of Sethos as beloved of various deities; on the 2nd, 4th and 5th statues, however, the name given is that of Ramesses II; the 3rd and 6th statues give the name of Sethos accompanied by the words "vindicated".

NORTH WALL.

The west end of the wall is occupied with the continuation of the procession of princesses, which has already been described above. The remainder of the wall is decorated with scenes depicting Ramesses' battle exploits.

Scene A.

The king, attended by a god, is commissioned by two gods.⁶ The gods, according to the inscriptions, give the king the necessary strength and provisions; on the right side, the text reads, - "[.....] Retjnu, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usimaresetepenre'....."

Scene B.

The king rides with a hps-sword, in a chariot;⁷ over his horse are the words, -

"Great first horse of his Majesty, "Victory-in-Thebes", of the great stable of Ramesses [Meriamun]."

Behind the king are the words, -

"May all protection, life, stability, and dominion, joy, bravery and strength be around him, like Re'."

Scene C.⁸

The king rides out in preparation for war; he is shown in his chariot, before the princes and behind the troops and the Standard of Amun. The prince is entitled, -

"King's bodily son, [...?] Crown Prince, scribe of the King, [...]."

The speech of Amen-Re', "King of Gods, who is before his son", is badly damaged.

SOUTH WALL.

Apart from the part of the Procession of princes which occurs

on this wall, there are also battle scenes.

The Second Hittite Marriage Stela occurs between the pylon and the side-door; this is a later addition to the wall, which is made obvious by the difference in the levels of the stone.

Scene A. (nearest the east end) ⁹

This shows the spoil of battle being presented to the king. A trace of the wheel of the chariot in which the king sits can still be seen, and also a trace of the king's foot.

The chariot faces towards the right, but the king is turned about within the chariot, and faces towards the left. An official counts the hands of the slain, which are brought to the king, to celebrate victory; a scribe records the number of hands.

The inscription, badly damaged, reads,-

"[.....] the rebels, they are dragged to Egypt, [his father] Amun, even as he commanded for me, valour and victory over every foreign land."

Before the Hittite Marriage Stela was inserted, this scene would have continued towards the left.

DOORWAY.

Around this side-doorway is engraved the titulary of Ramesses II.

Scene B. ¹⁰

Ramesses II, accompanied by his son, attacks an unnamed, Syrian(?) fort, and pursues the Asiatic foe. He is "Lord of strength, like Montu."

Scene C. ¹¹

Ramesses, in a chariot, pursues Asiatic foes; he tramples down the Canaanites under his horses and chariots. The scene is entitled,- "[.....] Ramesses, trampling down the vile leaders of Retjnu."

Scene D. ¹²

With his sons in chariots, Ramesses drives Asiatic captives before him, into captivity.

Scene E. ¹³

The king presents prisoners and spoil to Amun and another god, perhaps the deified Sethos. The prisoners are racially mixed.

THE ORDER OF SCENES IN THE FIRST COURT - NORTH AND SOUTH WALLS.

The order in which the scenes on the North and South Walls are to be read is, we suggest, as follows. On the North Wall, we have the preliminaries to the campaign, and on the South Wall, the campaign itself and the triumphal return. The North Wall is therefore to be read first, and the scenes cannot be read alternately from North to South Walls. The order of scenes on the North Wall thus reads,-

1. King is commissioned by the gods. Here, he faces towards the rear of the temple, because the gods are emerging from the temple to meet him.
2. King steps into his chariot, equipped with Amun's sword. He now faces right, to ride out into battle.
3. King rides out, facing right, behind Amun's standard.

These scenes represent the preparation for war. The last scene on this wall is entirely lost. The order of the scenes here, therefore, moves from west to east.

On the South Wall, we do not have a similar direct order of scenes; there is a change in orientation in the middle of the wall; in the scenes to the left of the break, the king faces towards the left, and in the scenes to the right, he faces towards the right. This same method of changing the orientation of the figures in the middle of a register in order to indicate the succession of the different stages in a campaign, is also found at Karnak, where the Northern wars of Sethos are depicted.¹⁴

Thus, at Abydos, we have,-

1. OUTWARD JOURNEY. (King's back is towards rear of the temple on outward journey.)
 - a) King pursues Asiatic foe (faces left).
 - b) King attacks fort (faces left)
2. AFTERMATH OF BATTLE.
 - a) Presenting spoils to the King (his chariot faces right, he faces left.)
3. KING RETURNS IN PEACE. (King faces rear of temple on return)
 - a) Triumphal return with captives (he faces right).
 - b) Presents spoil to gods (he faces right).

Thus, this wall shows two main categories of scenes, - the king at war, and its aftermath, and his return in peace, and receiving the thanks of Amun.

THE SECOND COURT.

EAST WALL.

South side.

Here, also we have another procession of the sons of Ramesses II; eight names are still discernible, and ten of the figures still remain. Starting from the centre, these read,-

- | | | |
|---------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. <u>S3-Itm</u> | 2. [.....]-p3-[...] | 3. [.....]-mi-R' |
| 4. <u>Wsr-hps</u> | 5. <u>R'-ms-sw-mry-[Imn]</u> | 6. <u>R'-ms-sw-mry-Hpri</u> |
| 7. [.....]-mry-m3't | 8. [...]-t-r'tt | 9. Lost 10. Lost. |

North side.

Here, we have a procession of princesses. Twenty figures are still preserved; reading from the central doorway, these are,-

- | | |
|---|--------------------------|
| 1. Lost. | 11. [...]-mryt-Shmt |
| 2. Lost. | 12. 'h [...] |
| 3. <u>[St-nbt]-Iwnt</u> or
<u>[Nbt]-Iwnt</u> | 13. <u>mry-it.s</u> |
| 4. <u>[Wr]-n-r3</u> | 14. [...]-mrwt |
| 5. <u>Nfirt-iry</u> | 15. [...]-H'py |
| 6. <u>3st-nfirt</u> | 16. Lost. |
| 7. Lost. | 17. [...]-mr-r?-mn? |
| 8. [...]-ini-[mry]-nht | 18. <u>hnwt-p3-[...]</u> |
| 9. [...]-y | 19. <u>hnwt-[.....]</u> |
| 10. [...]-h[...] | 20. [...]-m[...] |

On the north jamb of the central doorway in this wall, there is a scene in which Ramesses stands before Osiris and a goddess; only the lower part of the scene is preserved.

SOUTH WALL. (starting at the west end)

Scene A.¹⁵

This scene is badly damaged, as are all the scenes on this wall. The king runs towards Amen-Re', who stretches out his arm. The god's speech is partly preserved,-

"[.....] like Horus [...] who unites [...], thou strikest the heads of those who rebel against thee, the chiefs of the foreign lands(?)."

Between the king and Amun are faint traces of a figure, and the name of Sethos I.

A doorway breaks into the wall at this point, on the jambs of which occurs the titulary of Ramesses II.

STELA OF RAMESSES II.¹⁶

At the top of this stela, Ramesses II presents Ma'at to Osiris,

behind whom stands Isis and two other deities.

Scene B.

The king stands before two gods; he holds an 'ankh-sign and a censer.

Scene C.

This scene is completely destroyed,

In the following four scenes, only the legs and the feet of the figures remain.

Scene D.

The king stands before a god; between them is an altar.

Scene E.

The king stands before a god. The inscription reads,-
"[.....] terror of him in the heart of every foreign land, forever and ever."

Scene F.

The king offers to a god, before an altar.

Scene G.

The king stands between two figures, one of which is a god.

Scene H.

The remainder of the wall is destroyed.

NORTH WALL. (starting at the west end.)

Scene A.

The king stands before Osiris with a censer.

Title.

"Making-a-boon-which-the-king-gives for his father Osiris, that he may make a granted life."

Scene B.

This scene is partly damaged; Ramesses II slays Asiatics before Amen-RE', who holds a scimitar. The god grants the usual benefits of strength and dominion over all lands; Amen-Re', "Lord of the thrones [of the Two Lands], foremost in Karnak", says,-
"[.....] overthrow for thee, I [.....] the foreign lands."

Scene C.

Here, another stela of Ramesses II occurs;¹⁷ at the top of the stela, the king offers to Osiris, Isis and two deities.

To the left of the stela is a scene showing Ramesses bending forward, slaying a captive, in the presence of a small hawk-headed god on the gold-sign.

At the top of the scene, there are the remains of a group of legs. This scene is an example of palimpsest. Originally, there

appears to have been a seated, human-headed figure, facing to the right, probably Sethos; the inscriptions, still evident, belong to this stage,-

"[...] strong of arm and victorious against the Nine Bows, like Re' every day; ^{all} protection, life, stability and dominion around him, like Re'."

The figures of Ramesses slaying captives and the hawk-figure were not part of the original scene; they were cut over the earlier figure. Eventually, the cartouches of Ramesses were added, and his titulary was cut over his body.

Scene D.

This scene is badly damaged; the king offers ointment to the deified Sethos, who wears the sun's disk upon his head, surrounded by the ram's horns.

Scene E.

The king presents flowers to a god, possibly Horus; the scene is badly damaged.

Scene F.

Again, the scene is in a poor state of preservation; Ramesses presents Ma'at to "Great Mut, the god's mother, [Mistress] of Akhmim(?)".

Scene G.

A damaged scene, the king presents milk to a god, "Lord of Abydos."

Scene H.

The king offers flowers to Nut.

Scene I.

The king anoints Amen-Re'.

Scene J.

This scene, badly damaged, shows the king standing before a god, to whom he presents a collar.

Scene K.

The king stands between two figures; to one of these he makes an offering.

WEST WALL,
SOUTH SECTION.

Scene A.

This shows Ramesses II, with one arm outstretched, standing before the Great Dedicatory Inscription.¹⁸

To summarise this inscription, which is the longest inscription of Ramesses' reign, and, together with the Kubban Stela, has been regarded as the most important source for his early life, we will now give a brief account of the contents.

The king journeys to Thebes, in his first year as king, and erects a statue of his father there; he then sails to Abydos, where he finds his father's temple unfinished and the endowments violated. He summons his courtiers and announces his intention of completing the temple. At this point, he tells the Court how his father had him crowned as co-regent while still a child, and describes his administration as co-regent. The courtiers eulogise the dutiful son, and then the workmen are summoned to complete Sethos' temple. The king re-organises the endowments for the maintenance of the temple and its mortuary service.

Ramesses II then addresses the deceased Sethos, and reminds him of all the pious works which Ramesses is undertaking on his behalf, in return for which he hopes Sethos will induce the gods to grant Ramesses a long reign; the mortuary offerings for Sethos will continue as long as Ramesses reigns. Sethos replies that the gods have agreed to give Ramesses a long reign, and that he is well-pleased with Ramesses' provision for his well-being.

Several historical points arise from this inscription. Ramesses is very anxious to show how his father chose him, as a young man, to be his co-regent; if it is presumed that the inscription was put up at the start of Ramesses' reign, then this statement was apparently intended to support the legitimacy of his reign. However, it is also possible that the inscription was put up later in his reign, when the long period of rule mentioned in the inscription was already an established fact. Whichever is the case, it appears that Ramesses wanted to establish his father's approval of his reign, at least in the records, and so ensure the acceptance of his rule.

Scene B.

Ramesses presents Ma'at to Osiris, behind whom stand Isis and Sethos I. Ramesses says to Osiris,-

"I greet thee, like thy son Horus; I have acted according to what should be done; I have renewed for thee monuments in the necropolis; I double offerings for thy Ka; I take vengeance for

my father, when he is in the underworld, subject to the authority of [.....]."

He also says,-

"I know that thou lovest [.....] for thy beauty; I raise it upon my hand before thee, may it give to me the land in peace, may she give to me eternity as king, and eternity as ruler of the Two Lands. Behold, I do what thy heart loves, every day, without cessation."

Osiris, "Lord of Eternity", says to Ramesses,-

"My heart is pleased with what thou hast done for me, being happy at [thy] decree, having offered to me truth, even as I live on its beauty, the reward for thee being the lifespan of the sky, the years [.....] like [.....], as long as thou existest, so long shall Atum exist, thou having appeared in glory upon his throne."

He continues,-

"As Re' flourishes while sailing across the sky, thou art King of Upper and Lower Egypt, of the Two Lands, thy beauty is in [.....], and thy counsels are excellent in my heart; that which thou hast done is loved in the horizon; the shrine is in great joy; I hear thy call, I recall thy beauties [.....], [he gives] to thee hundreds of thousands of years."

Great Isis says to Ramesses,-

"....Horus, even as thou art, so is he who came forth from my womb, all glory to him who is like him, [.....] the lifespan of the sky, the kingship of the Lord of All [.....], the years of the Two Lords as king, they are bequeathed for thee upon earth."

Osiris, King Menmaestre', vindicated, says,-

"May thy heart be glad, King of Upper and Lower Egypt....Re' gives thee eternity, Atum, rejoicing (at) thy name of Horus, rich in years. Behold, I am in joy every day; I come, repeating life. I am glad at doing [.....], I am appointed to triumph [.....]; Onnophris, he has made me great."

THE MAIN ENTRANCE.

Lintel.

There are four scenes here; on the left, in the outer scene, the king is led into the palace by Khonsu, while, in the outer scene on the right, this action is performed by Horus. In the two inner scenes, the king runs with a flail to Amen-Re' and Mut (left), and to Osiris and Isis (right.)

Door-jambs.

On the left side, the king recites the menu for a god, presents incense, and Ma'at; on the right, the king presents incense and

libation to Anubis, incense to Horus, and Ma'at to Osiris. Thus, on the right side of the doorway, the scenes are devoted to the Osirian deities, and on the left, to the divinities connected with Amen-Re'; thus both great gods of the temple- Amun and Osiris- are represented on this the main entrance.

The base inscriptions give the name of the doorway as,-
1st and 2nd rows.

"Renewing the monument for his father [Men]maet[re'], Lord of the Two Lands, Usimare' Meriamun, beloved of Osiris(left jamb;) "beloved of Isis"(right jamb.)

3rd row.

Lord of diadems, Ramesses, beloved of Osiris(left jamb;) "beloved of Horus"(right jamb.)

NORTH SECTION.

Scene A. (nearest main entrance.)

Sethos, Isis and Horus walk in procession; the figure of Horus is badly preserved.

THE OSIRIS ENTRANCE.

Scene B.

Ramesses receives his insignia from Re'-Harakhte, followed by Osiris;Ptah records the king's name on the isd-tree, and Thoth records his jubilees. Behind Thoth is the standard of Wepwawet. Behind Osiris are the remains of a destroyed figure, of which only a hand is now visible.

Together with scene C, this represents the Induction of the king in order to receive his insignia, and the recording of his years. Each god relates that he is performing his particular deed for the king.

Scene C.

Ramesses is led into the palace by Horus and Khnum.

Title.

"Induction of the king into the Mansion of his father, Re'-Harakhte."

THE HORUS ENTRANCE.

The doorway is surrounded by the titulary of Ramesses II, partly engraved in palimpsest. Above the doorway, a scene shows Ramesses presenting a tray of offerings to Horus, Isis and Sethos.

PILLARS.

The twelve pillars in the Second Court are well preserved; the corresponding pillars in the First Court would originally have been similarly decorated. The four sides of each pillar are decorated with reliefs showing the king in the presence of

various divinities, -Amen-Re', Nefertem, the deified Sethos, Thoth, Wepwawet, Atum, Isis, Sekhmet, Horus, Ptah, Osiris, Nebet-Hetepet.

THE ORDER OF THE SCENES IN THE SECOND COURT.

The order of the scenes in the Second Court must now be considered; the scenes appear to deal with the acceptance of Ramesses II as king, an account of his deeds in the Great Dedicatory Inscription, and a series of offerings made by him to the gods.

We suggest that the North and South walls give parallel sets of offering scenes, and should be read separately from east to west in each case; the king faces towards the rear of the temple on both walls, to offer to the gods, coming out from the temple. On the west wall, beginning on the north side, the scenes read from right to left, with the Induction of the king, the presentation of insignia, and recording of years, and the procession of deities and the deified Sethos, (possibly representing the acceptance of Ramesses by the gods and his father,); then, on the south side, Ramesses presents Ma'at to the deities and his dead father in thanks for their acceptance of him as ruler, and finally, in the Great Inscription, he recounts the achievements of his reign.

THE PURPOSE AND USE OF THE FIRST AND SECOND COURTS,

The outer courts of a temple were put to a different use from those sacred chambers which lay beyond. Here, in the outer courts, open to the daylight, the ordinary people were permitted to enter, to ^{offer} prayer to the gods, to bring their offerings, and, on the festival days, to watch the procession of the god's bark. Thus, the scenes on these walls had no ritual significance; it was inconceivable that sacred rituals should be displayed in scenes before the eyes of the people. So, the scenes in the outer courts gave glory to the honour and exploits of the king who decorated the walls; they in no way represented the religious observances which took place in this area. Here, in the Second Court, the acceptance of Ramesses as rightful ruler, his pious deeds, and his offerings to the gods are depicted; in the First Court, and on the Terrace, the scenes show his exploits in battle and his offering of booty to the gods. In both courts, his children are shown, bearing offerings. Thus, in the courts, Ramesses summarised the events of his life which he considered would bring him acceptance, honour and glory in the eyes of his subjects who came to worship there.

Despite his claims to be a pious son, in his completion of these outer courts of his father's temple he concentrates entirely upon his own exploits, and his father appears only as a dead, deified ancestor, giving full approval to his son's rule.

These courts, then, provided the only area of the temple where the ordinary man might approach the temple deities; the niches in the west wall of the First Court were probably used as depositories for the offerings which the people brought; also, the side-entrances let into the walls of the courts provided the people with a means of access to the courts, without enabling them to use the main sacred processional entrance of the gods.

Even here, however, where the scenes are not ritual in nature, their order upon the walls follows a certain pattern and sequence, which we hope to show is true of all reliefs found in an Egyptian temple.

CHAPTER III

THE FIRST AND SECOND HYPOSTYLE HALLS

THE FIRST AND SECOND HYPOSTYLE HALLS.

It is considered advisable to treat the First and Second Hypostyle Halls as one unit, because, both ritually and architecturally, it appears that they were conceived of as such, and that they merely comprised one large hall, which was divided into an inner and outer section.

The Hypostyle Hall of an Egyptian temple was a large hall containing a varying number of columns, placed relatively close together in order to support the roof. One of its principle functions was to provide a processional way from the sanctuary at the rear of the temple to the Forecourt and the outer world. For this reason, the central aisle of the normal hypostyle hall was wider than the other aisles, and, in many temples, the columns on either side of this central aisle were higher than those in the rest of the hall, and advantage was taken of the difference in the roof-level to insert clerestory lighting, which was normally the only means of illumination, apart from any light which penetrated through the doorways.

In the Temple of Sethos, the plan differs from this theoretical ideal type of a Hypostyle Hall. In the first place, instead of a single large hall, we have a division into an Outer and Inner Hypostyle Hall, which we call respectively the First and Second Hypostyle Halls. Secondly, there is no clerestory lighting, because the columns of the central aisle leading to the Chapel of Amen-Re' are of the same height as the others in the hall. At Abydos, therefore, illumination was provided by funnel-shaped holes cut through the roofing blocks, with the wider end uppermost.¹ Thirdly, Abydos differs from the norm in that there are seven processional alleys, leading from the Forecourt through both the First and Second Hypostyle Halls to the seven chapels at the West end. The central alley, that of Amen-Re', is wider than the rest. Thus, the architectural design of the Hypostyle Halls at Abydos was planned to provide a separate processional alley to each of the seven chapels.²

This was the original intention, but in the reign of Ramesses II, some of the doorways in the East Wall of the First Hypostyle Hall were blocked up³, leaving a main doorway leading directly to the wider central alley of Amen-Re', and two subsidiary doorways on the processional alleys leading to the Chapels of Osiris and Horus; the latter doorway was very small. This provided Ramesses with the necessary long, flat wall space in the Second Court on which he could carve his Great Dedicatory Inscription.

THE FIRST HYPOSTYLE HALL.

The First Hypostyle Hall is wide and shallow, with two rows

of twelve papyrus-bud columns, arranged in pairs to make seven aisles, leading to the seven doors of the Second Hall. These Columns are all complete and appear to be the work of Ramesses II at first glance; however, on closer examination, it can be seen that they were partly decorated in bas-relief by Sethos I before his death, and that Ramesses II's name is merely superimposed. In this Hall, there is no mention of the name of Sethos' temple, and he is not depicted at all. The work of this Hall does not, however, appear to correspond closely to the type of decoration found on the façade in the Second Court.⁴

The columns which carry the roof are 7.5m. high, 4.40 m. in circumference, and they swell out at the shaft and stand on shallow bases. Four flat strips run the whole length of each column, and divide the surface into four flat areas. The columns are arranged in two parallel lines of twelve, but are further arranged in six groups, each containing four columns; this gives clear access to the doors.

The wall separating the First from the Second Hypostyle Hall has seven entrances; the names of these doorways were engraved by Sethos I, and then later effaced by his son.⁵ Over each doorway, there is a cartouche, supported by uraei, and standing out from a cornice, which runs the whole length of the wall.

The walls of this Hall were of sandstone, except for the facing of the North Wall, which was made of limestone; similarly, this stone was used for the blocking up of the entrances in the East Wall. The reliefs, dating to the reign of Ramesses II, are worked en-creux.

THE SECOND HYPOSTYLE HALL.

This Hall is similar to the First Hall, except here the Hall is deeper, and there is a different grouping of the columns. The ground level gradually slopes upwards from the outer gate, and rises suddenly just before the third row of columns in this Hall (Row A), thus forming a broad terrace on which Row A stands. This terrace forms a portico in front of the seven chapels. Thus the columns in the two Halls are arranged in the same way, with the addition of this portico in the Second Hall.

Before the modern restoration of this temple was completed, certain architectural features were evident in this Hall. First, the East and West Walls of the Second Hypostyle Hall were dislocated, particularly at the aisles leading to the Chapels of Ptah and Isis; secondly, the ceiling towards the centre of the Hall is

still well preserved, whereas the outer-most aisles of Horus and Ptah were, before the restoration, roofless. These two occurrences were the result of a structural feature of the temple. From the roof-line of the main building, before modern restoration, it could be seen that subsidence had occurred in the centre; this was due to the fact that, originally, a canal had been excavated here, to transport granite blocks to the Osireion. After this canal had served its purpose, it was filled in, and when the Temple of Abydos was later built, the site of the canal ran under the east-west axis of the temple.

The foundations of the temple were disturbed, and the east and west walls eventually broke at the junctions of the solid and disturbed foundations. Also, the roof collapsed as a result of the inward pressure.⁶

Also, in the first row of columns, (Row C), Column 11 developed an outward tilt to the west in the base, and this caused first a gap to occur on the east side, and secondly, a serious flaking on the west side, which was due to the pressure, and threatened the collapse of both the column and the ceiling. This appears to have resulted from a foundation trench which had been filled in before the column was set up. Therefore, it appears that originally the temple was designed so that the east wall of this Hall was intended to occupy the position which was subsequently occupied by Row C. In fact, the plan must have been changed almost at the beginning of construction, because the other columns in this row do not seem to have been affected in this way, by an earlier foundation trench.⁷

The Second Hypostyle Hall is the last chamber in this direction to be decorated during the reign of Sethos I, although, in the First and Second Courts, there is some evidence of his work, which Ramesses has attempted to erase. In the Second Hypostyle Hall, the painting was not completed at the time of Sethos' death; the West Wall was completely painted, and here, the quality of the work was better than in any other part of the temple; on the North Wall, an attempt was made to complete the work, but this stopped at the west side of the Pilaster. The decoration obviously started at the west side of the temple, and proceeded eastwards, for only the Osiris Complex, and the most important chapels of Osiris and Amen-Re' are completed.

In this Hall, all the walls, ceilings and columns are decorated with bas-reliefs, and the base (soubassment) of the walls in both this and the First Hypostyle Hall, below the First Register, is decorated with a series of personifications of geographical regions

and other Egyptian concepts.

The East and West Walls were of sandstone, but the North and South Walls have facings of limestone. Along the aisle leading to the Amen-Re' Chapel, the undersurface of the architraves was constructed of limestone on sandstone, which had a much softer effect when painted. On the central entrance to Amen-Re's Chapel, mutilation was also found, which corresponds to the destruction found in the First Hypostyle Hall, where the sculpture of Sethos was obliterated and the walls recarved with relief en-creux by Ramesses.

The West Wall is interrupted by seven doorways, between each of which is a niche. The niches are framed like doorways, and have three internal scenes, which show the king making offerings either to the deity to whom the adjoining chapel is dedicated, or to a related deity. In the niche next to the Sethos Chapel, however, the gods perform the rite for the king. Wherever possible in these scenes, the king is shown entering the chapel and the god emerging from it. This wall, with the niches, differs from the East Wall, which has no such feature.

The doorways in this wall are less than its full height; those of Amen-Re' and Osiris are higher than the others, and that of Amen-Re' is also broader. The lintels and jambs are made of coarse sandstone, and were originally painted yellow, perhaps to imitate an overlay of gold foil. Here again, structural damage, which was caused by the filled-in canal, can be noticed. This can be seen at the Entrances of Isis and Ptah, and also, in all but the Horus Entrance, damage to the door-jambs is evident. Vertical breaks and fractures occur; these resulted from the use here, in an upright position, of the stone quarried and intended for architraves or ceiling blocks, when it would have lain in a horizontal position. The doorways are designed in the usual way, with a cornice.

In the Second Hypostyle Hall, there are three rows of twelve columns to support the roof. The level of the floor changes, forming a raised portico at the west end of the Hall, in front of the seven sanctuaries. Easier access is given to this terrace by means of ramps, and, in the case of the Amen-Re' Chapel, a flight of steps. Along this terrace is a row of columns which are of a different design from the other columns in this Hall and the First Hall. They are, of course, shorter than the other two rows of columns in this Hall, and they have plain cylindrical shafts instead of being papyrus-headed. The bases of these columns were mutilated by the Christians when the temple was used as a church. The three rows of columns in this Hall are made of sandstone.

The second and third rows (B and C) are the usual papyrus-bud type found in other New Kingdom temples. They have thickly rounded bases and severe outlines. On both types of column, on the north and south surfaces, the deity to whom the offering was made turns his back to his own chapel, and only in the Amen-Re' Chapel aisle were the scenes and designs completed in colour. On the east and west surfaces of the columns to the north of the axis, the deities usually face inwards from their alleys, and on the columns to the south of the axis, they face outwards^{towards} their alleys. On the columns in Row A, the pattern is interrupted by part of a vertical inscription, which runs the full length of the column; this consists of the royal titulary and the assurance of the deity of the relevant chapel that the king is beloved of him. In the other two rows, the design is continuous. The scenes on the columns are of interest; the epithets of each deity are given and each column has four scenes; along the aisles leading to the chapels of the gods, the scenes on the columns show the king performing offerings on behalf of the relevant deity, except in the case of Re'-Harakhte's aisle, where there is one instance of the rite being performed for 'Iw.s-'3.s, and in the case of the Ptah aisle, where one scene shows Mut; in the Sethos aisle, the rites are performed for Sethos by Horus 'Iwn-mwt.f. The plan⁸ shows more clearly the distribution of the scenes on the columns, and from this, it can be seen that there appears to be no definite pattern of episodes on the columns. It can merely be stated that the gods who appear on the columns along the aisles correspond to the deities in the chapels, thus suggesting that the Hypostyle Halls were, to some extent at least, introductory chambers leading to the chapels of the sanctuary area.

In Rows B and C the horizontal inscription found on each column again gives the royal titulary. The designs on the dado vary; at the bottom is found a design of aquatic plants, showing on the columns to the north of the aisles, the papyrus of Lower Egypt, and, on the columns south of the aisles, the reed of Upper Egypt. Above this, on Row A, a lapwing is shown, symbolising the rhyt, in adoration of the king, who is represented by a cartouche; the lapwing always faces an aisle, and the whole design is enclosed here by an imitation of wooden panelling. In the other two rows, the design is enclosed by large sheaths of plant stalks.⁹

In the following description of the First and Second Hypostyle Halls, in order to simplify an inevitably somewhat complex arrangement of alleys, doorways and wall-surfaces, we have numbered each alley serially from south to north, and we refer to them as Alley I, Alley II, etc. Thus, Alley I is that leading to the Chapel of Sethos, and Alley VII to that of Horus.

Further, since it is necessary to refer, in each Hall, to the decoration of the doorways in these alleys, we refer to Door IE or IW etc., according to whether that door is in the East or the West Wall of the Hall that is being described.

In order to distinguish between the doors in the two Halls, in the First Hypostyle Hall, the doors are marked thus:- IE^a, IW^a and so forth,- while in the Second Hypostyle Hall, they are indicated as follows;- IE^b, IW^b, etc.

The Plans of the Hypostyle Halls show clearly how the numbering has been organised. (Plans 4, 5).

THE FIRST HYPOSTYLE HALL.¹

NORTH WALL.

Upper Register. (Beginning at east end.)

Scene A.

This scene is damaged; the king runs, clutching a bird, towards Horus.

Title.

"Seizing the oar for his father, that he may make a granted life."

Scene B.

Also damaged, this scene shows the king standing between a god and a goddess who embrace him. There are no inscriptions.

Scene C.

Horus 'Iwn-mwt.f stands before the Ennead; the names of the gods are, for the most part, destroyed, but the following restoration can be made:-

In the top row, [Re'], [Shu], Tefnut, and [Geb], and in the second row, Osiris, Horus, Isis, Wepwawet, and Nut.

'Iwn-mwt.f addresses the Ennead with these words,-

"Unite with a single purpose for thy excellent son, protect his mansion for futurity, let it exist like the horizon of the sky [in which Re' is]".

Scene D.

Ramesses II kneels before Thoth, who inscribes his name on an isd-tree. Behind the king is a seated deity, possibly Re'-Harakhte.

Thoth says,-

"(I) have established thy name as King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Usimare'-setepenre'."

Behind the other god are the remains of his speech,-

"[I have established ?] thy Majesty as king, [I have put the land in?] thy grasp, thy activity not being repulsed."

Lower Register. (Beginning at east end.)

Scene A.

The king is in the presence of Thoth and Horus, who pour water over him; this represents the Baptism of Pharaoh.² Horus says,-

"Making purification for the son of Re', Ramesses, by Horus... thy purifications are the purifications of Thoth and vice versa. Thy purifications are the purifications of Dwn-'nwy, and vice versa. To be recited four times."

Thoth's speech is identical except that Horus and Geb replace Thoth and Dwn-'nwy as the gods mentioned.

Thoth, "Master of Hieroglyphs", says,-

"I will perform thy purification. I will purify thy flesh with the libations which come forth from Nun."

Horus says,-

"My purification is thy purification, and vice versa; Geb, foremost of the generation of the Great Ennead, purifies thee; the Ennead which is in Abydos purify thee; may they make salutation for thee with their arms, so great is thy glory to them."

Scene B.

This scene represents the ceremonial induction of the new king into the temple and the presence of Osiris at the beginning of his reign. Here, Ramesses II is led by Wepwawet and Horus; Hathor is also in attendance.

Title.

"The ceremonial appearance of the king, Lord of the Two Lands, Usimare'-setepenre', given life, in order to see his father Osiris who resides in Abydos."

Horus says,-

"Enter thou and see thy father Osiris."

Wepwawet of Upper Egypt says,-

"Proceed thou to thy great house, that thou mayest see thy father Onnophris, that he may rejoice through love of thee and may endue thy flesh with life, stability and dominion."

Scene C.

The king presents a small statue of himself clasping a hn-pillar³ to Osiris, behind whom stand Isis and Harsiesi. Before the king is a shrine upon which crouches a figure of Wepwawet. Above the king are the words,-

"May the good god live, who makes great the nome of Abydos, who equips it for the future (with) a long life-span."

Osiris says,-

"How beautiful are the sayings of thy Majesty when equipping thy noble mansion; that which comes forth from thy mouth is firmly established, like the sky for futurity, and for eternity forever,"

Title.

"Presenting the hn-symbol of my noble mansion to my father, Osiris, that he may cause it to exist unto the duration of the sky, forever and ever,"

It is to be noted that in this scene, Ramesses II is the officiating king, but that on the shrine bearing Wepwawet, the cartouches of his dead father, Sethos I, are engraved.

SOUTH WALL.

Upper Register. (Beginning at the east end.)

Scene A.

The king runs with a bird clasped in his hand towards Upper Egyptian Mert, Amun and Sekhmet. As Upper Egyptian Mert is here represented on the South Wall, this may indicate the order in

which these scenes should be read.

Scene B.

This scene shows a figure, whose legs are preserved, standing before the Ennead, which consists, in the top row, of [Shu and Tefnut] and Geb and Nut, and, in the second row, of Osiris and Isis, Horus and Hathor, and Nun and Tht.

The following inscription can be restored,-

"[Horus, Lord] of joy, of the Great Ennead who is in the palace, your veritable son, [.....] [Lord] of the Two Lands, Usimare'-setepenre', has appeared as king, exercising his Lower Egyptian kingship....he has seized hold of the sceptre and the flail, every land being under his feet."

This scene is parallel to the corresponding scene on the North Wall.

Lower Register. (Beginning at the east end.) Scene A.

Horus and Thoth perform the Baptism of Pharaoh. Thoth says,-

"Thy purifications are the purifications of Horus and vice versa. Thy purifications are the purifications of Dwn-'nwy and vice versa. Thy purifications are the purifications of Thoth and vice versa. Thy purifications are the purifications of Geb and vice versa. Pure, pure is king Usimare'-setepenre', like Re'. To be recited. The Eye of Horus is united for thee, thy head is united for thee [.....]."

Horus says,-

"Thy purifications are the purifications of Thoth and vice versa. Thy purifications are the purifications of Geb and vice versa. Pure, pure is the Lord of the Two Lands."

Scene B.

The king is suckled by four different forms of Hathor⁴, and is nursed in the arms of Isis. The first Hathor is entitled "Lady of Denderah," and says,-

"Thou hast sucked my milk, thou having appeared as King of Upper and Lower Egypt."

Hathor, "Lady of the Mansion of Sekhmet," says,-

"I cause my arms to embrace thy beauty; it is I who nurse thee."

The third Hathor and her speech are mostly destroyed; she is entitled "Mistress of Kis." Hathor, "Lady of Tp-ihw, says,-

"I am thy mother, who created thy beauty; I am Isis, who bore thee, when thou came forth from me; thou appearest, the nms-cloth [.....] as a seed of Onnophris; he places thy Majesty as the heir upon his throne; the diadems [are established upon thy head.] Behold, I am together with thee upon the seat...."

This scene represents the rite of the Royal Induction.

At the end of the scene, Isis nurses the king; the accompanying

speech is badly damaged, but appears to have related the four forms of Hathor represented here.

Scene C.

The king, as a child, is modelled by Khnum before Ptah. Khnum says,- "I model thy flesh with my two hands on the potter's wheel; thou art the divine seed, and I make strong thy arm, like Montu, in order to be ruler of every land."

Ptah says,- "Receive for thyself [the diadems] upon thy head. Lo, I fashioned thy body."

He continues,-

"I am thy father, great one in the Ennead. Behold, I [fashion] thy body, I give thee strength to thy strong arm, and dominion to thy power, I establish thy diadems in every form of thine, like Sekhmet."

EAST WALL.

DOOR IE^a.

The Lintel.

On the left, the scene is almost destroyed; Thoth stands with a burning censer before the king, whom he addresses with these words,- "(I) come to thee, because thy glory is so great, in as much as thou art divine as king, in as much as thou art powerful, [.....] in as much as thy kingship abides upon earth, in as much as thou makest great the gods, and hast constructed their shrines upon earth; thou coverest their secrets and hast fashioned the images who rest upon their places, by the craftsmanship of He-who-is-south-of-his-wall. Behold, I am together with thee at the place where thy Majesty is establishing that which thou hast done."

On the right, the scene is damaged; 'Iwn-mwt.f stands before an offering table, in front of the king.

On this lintel, the two figures of the king were placed with their backs to each other, with the gods facing them on the outer half of each scene.

Door-jambs.

On the left side, the king is seated and holds two ointment jars, he holds three vessels, and a tray of offerings; in the bottom scene, the Mistress of Writing, accompanied by another figure, records the jubilees.

On the right side, the scenes are identical, except that possibly Thoth replaces the Mistress of Writing in the damaged bottom scene.

BETWEEN DOORS IE^a and IIE^a.

Upper Register.

The king, dragging the Bark of Soker, appears in the White Crown. The speech of Soker is badly damaged, but he asserts his fatherhood of the king, and his rôle as his protector.

Lower Register.

The king stands before ithyphallic Min-Amun, in front of whom is a baboon-god.

Title.

"Making a-boon-which-the-king-gives for his father, that he may make a granted life."

DOOR IIE^a.

The Lintel.

On the left, the damaged scene shows the king running with an oar to Lower Egyptian Mert and Great Sekhmet, "[beloved of Ptah.]" On the right, the scene is repeated and the king is in the company of Mert, Ptah, "King of the Two Lands," and Great Sekhmet.

Door-jambs.

On the left, Ptah, "the august djed-pillar," is seated, holding the 'ankh, was and djed-symbols; Ptah-Soker holds the same symbols and Mut, "pre-eminent in the House of Ptah", grants jubilees. The Mistress of Writing, accompanied by another figure, records the jubilees.

On the right, Great Ptah, "who-is-south-of-his-wall" appears, Nefertem replaces Ptah-Soker, and Sekhmet the Great grants the jubilees. Thoth, "Lord of Eshmunain", records the titulary with another figure.

BETWEEN DOORS IIE^a AND IIIIE^a.

Upper Register.

The king kneels in the presence of Wepwawet and Horus, who perform the rite of sm3 t3wy. Wepwawet of Upper Egypt says,-
"I tie for thee Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt. Every foreign land and every flat land is united under thee, (and grasped) in thy grasp, and trampled under thy sandals."

Horus, "Protector of his father", says,-

"I am thy father, who created thy beauty. Behold, I make strong thy strength; I tie for thee the Nine Bows, united and conjoined."
This scene represents the Installation of the Living King, Ramesses II, as ruler.

Lower Register.

The king holds the Nefertem Symbol in front of Ptah. A noteworthy point here is the representation of the god's eyebrows; unlike the usual depiction of this feature, here they are characteristically negroid.

DOOR IIIIE^a.

The Lintel.

On the left, the scene is "Seizing the oar for his father", and the king, wearing the Lower Egyptian Crown, appears with Lower

Egyptian Mert, Atum, and 'Tw.s-'3.s. On the right side, the scene is repeated, except that here the king wears the White Crown, and is in the company of Mert, Re'-Harakhte and Nebet-Hetepet.

Door-jambs.

On the left side, Atum, Shu and Tefnut occur; at the bottom, the Mistress of Writing and "Hearing" record the titulary. On the right side, Re'-Harakhte, Khepri and Hathor-Nebet-Hetepet⁵ occur, and Thoth and "Seeing" in the bottom scene.

BETWEEN DOORS IIIE^a AND IVE^a

Upper Register.

The king, wearing the White Crown, stands before Amen-Re', who is shown with a ram's head. The king holds two libation vessels.

Title.

"Dedicating a libation to his father."

Lower Register.

The king stands between Amen-Re' and Atum, who grant him the Breath of Life. Atum, "Lord of Heliopolis", says,-

"I induct thy Majesty in order to rule the Two Lands as king; I unite for thee every land under thy feet."

This scene represents the rite of the Royal Induction; although it is similar to the Baptism of Pharaoh in layout and design, this scene is not intended to represent this rite, as the water usually used in this ceremonial purification is not shown here. This scene obviously, from the speech of Atum, symbolises the Induction of the King as ruler into the temple.

DOOR IVB^a

The Lintel.

On the left side, the king runs with an oar towards Lower Egyptian Mert, Amen-Re', and Khonsu. Behind the king are the jubilee symbols, perhaps to be interpreted as expressions of dominion; the "living royal Ka" also appears behind the king. On the right side, the scene is repeated, except that here the gods are Mert, Amen-Re' and Mut.

Door-jambs.

On the left, Amen-Re', Mut and Khonsu grant the king benefits; in the bottom scene, the Mistress of Writing, accompanied by "Hearing", writes the king's titulary. On the right, the scenes are repeated, except that Thoth and "Seeing" occupy the bottom scene.

BETWEEN DOORS IVE^a and VE^a

Upper Register.

The king offers a vase and a burning censer to Amen-Re'; the king wears the Red Crown. The god assures the king of the abundance of food which he will provide for the temple.

Lower Register.

The king stands between Amen-Re' and Osiris; the former grants him the Breath of Life, and Osiris gives him "very many jubilees!"

DOOR VE^a.

The Lintel.

On the left, the king runs with an oar to Lower Egyptian Mert, Osiris and Isis; the scene on the right depicts the same rite.

Door-jambs.

On the left, Wepwawet of Upper Egypt, Isis and Osiris grant the usual benefits; in the bottom scene, the Mistress of Writing and "Hearing" record the titulary. On the right side, Horus, Nut, and possibly Geb grant benefits; a destroyed figure and "Seeing" occur in the bottom scene.

BETWEEN DOORS VE^a AND VIE^a. ⁶

Upper Register.

The king, wearing the Red Crown, hacks up the ground before Osiris.

Title.
"Hacking up with a hoe by the king in person, fashioning the [bricks] for his Mansion of millions of years."

The roughness of the surface of this wall suggests that this scene was re-cut on top of an earlier one, although there is no actual indication of a change in the layout of the scene.

Lower Register. ⁷

The king and Sefkhet-'Abwy measure out the temple building in the presence of Osiris. The "Lady of Writing, pre-eminent in the Library" says,-

"It is Ptah who lays out ^{its} foundation in person; it is thy father Re' who establishes it like his horizon."

Osiris says,- "(I) cause thy mansion to abide like the sky...."

Title.

"Stretching the cord in the Mansion of Usimare'-setepenre', near to the necropolis. Offering the decapitated goose."

The Upper and Lower Registers here form two consecutive stages in the Foundation of the Temple Ritual.

DOOR VIE^a.

The Lintel.

On the left, the king, wearing the Red Crown, runs with an oar to Lower Egyptian Mert, Isis and Shentayet.

On the right, the king wears the White Crown, and runs to Mert, Isis and Upper Egyptian Wepwawet, and performs the same rite.

Originally, this lintel appears to have been decorated with four scenes, two on either side, and there are clear traces of earlier inscriptions giving the names of Isis and the cartouches of Sethos I.

This earlier work of Sethos was probably erased by Ramesses II , and most of the scenes along this wall give evidence of palimpsest work, especially on the lintels of the doorways. They have been completely re-worked by Ramesses and provide us with valuable evidence concerning the decoration executed by Ramesses in this temple. Previously, it has been suggested that Sethos I failed to complete the decoration throughout the temple and that this was completed by his pious son, but this can no longer be considered valid, as even the work which was finished during the reign of Sethos was in fact later erased by Ramesses, and the spaces adorned with completely different compositions of Ramesses' own choice.

Door-jambs.

On the left, Wepwawet of Lower Egypt, Geb, and possibly Khepri grant benefits; in the bottom scene, the Mistress of Writing and "Hearing" record the titulary. On the right, Horus, Osiris and Isis grant benefits, and Thoth and "Seeing" occur in the bottom scene.

BETWEEN DOORS VIE^a AND VIIE^a.⁸

Upper Register.

The king presents wine to Horus.

Title.

"Making offering with wine to his father, [that he may make] a granted life."

Lower Register.⁹

The king offers the temple, enclosed in a small shrine, to Horus, son of Isis. The shrine appears to be attached to a lasso which the king holds, but this is in fact an attempt to depict the king throwing bsn into a trench around the temple in the shrine. This is borne out by other representations of the rite, which occur in other temples.

Title,

"Scattering gypsum."

The gypsum was the white substance which was used to delineate the foundation trench at the building ceremony.

DOOR VII^a.

The lintel.

On the left, the king, wearing the Red Crown, runs to Lower Egyptian Mert, Horus and Isis; he seizes the oar for his father. On the right, the king wears a White Crown and brings a libation to Mert, Horus and Isis.

Door-jambs.

On the left, Horus, Nut, and Wepwawet of Lower Egypt grant benefits.

In the bottom scene, the Mistress of Writing and "Hearing" write the titulary. On the right, Osiris, Isis and Wepwawet of the South occur; Thoth and "Seeing" record jubilees in the bottom scene.

WEST WALL.

DOOR IW^a.

The Lintel.

A destroyed scene occurs, showing Ramesses II and 'Iwn-mwt.f.

Door-jambs.

On the left, the king receives jubilees from a goddess, is purified by Khnum, and receives uraei-sceptres from a goddess. On the right, the king is before divinities and receives the Breath of Life from Hathor.

BETWEEN DOORS IW^a AND IIW^a.

Upper Register.

The king stands before a shrine containing Soker in his bark; the god rejoices at the king's beauty.

Lower Register.

The king makes an offering to Ptah, who inscribes his name on a tablet;¹⁰ the offering is destroyed; Mut stands behind the king, and Sekhmet pours out a libation behind Ptah; Ptah says,-
"Oh, Usimare'-setepenre', (I) cause thy name to remain in thy mansion, by means of the writings of my own fingers."

DOOR IIW^a.

The Lintel.

(A double scene in which the king runs with an oar to divinities?)

Door-jambs.

On the left, the king offers to Sekhmet, Nefertem, and Ptah; on the base, Thoth and "Hearing" occur.

BETWEEN DOORS IIW^a AND IIIIW^a.

Upper Register.

The king presents a small statue of Ma'at to Amun, behind whom stands Hathor-Nebet-Hetepet,

Title.

"Offering [truth to the Lord of Truth.]"

Lower Register.

The crown is fixed upon the head of the king by Re'-Harakhte; behind the king stands 'Iw.s-'3.s,¹¹ holding a jubilee staff, and behind her, Hathor-Nebet-Hetepet is shown, holding a menit and jubilee staff. Re'-Harakhte says,-

"(I) establish for thee the Crowns of Re' upon thy head, in order to assume the kingship of Re'."

Nebet-Hetepet says, -"(I) give thee the kingship of Atum, oh, my son, Lord of the Two Lands...Ramesses...great god, Lord of Heaven, Ruler of Heliopolis."

DOOR IIIW^a

No record exists, except that at the base of one of the jambs, a dedication text of Sethos has been usurped by Ramesses II.

BETWEEN DOORS IIIW^a AND IVW^a

Upper Register.

The king presents incense and a nmst-vessel to Amen-Re' and Mut, who holds a menit.

Title.

"Making incense and libation for his father."

Lower Register.

The king presents ointment to Amen-Re', behind whom stands Mut.

Title.

"Presenting md-ointment to his father, that he may make a granted life..."

DOOR IVW^a

The Lintel.

This is a double scene (damaged); the king is conducted by divinities (outer), and runs with an oar and hpt to Mert, a god, and a goddess.

Door-jambs.

The king is before a deity in three registers on each jamb, and on the bases, Thoth writes, accompanied by "Seeing" and "Hearing" respectively.

BETWEEN DOORS IVW^a AND VW^a

The direction in which the figures face now changes.

Upper Register,

The king presents incense and a libation to Amen-Re', behind whom stands Khonsu "in Thebes". Khonsu's speech enumerates the promises of kingship which he will make to the king.

Title.

"Presenting incense and a libation."

Lower Register.

The king presents a small statue holding two animal-headed jars to Amen-Re', behind whom stands Mut.

Title.

"Offering md-ointment to his father, that he may make a granted life."

DOOR VW^a

The Lintel.

A double scene occurs, in which the king runs with an oar to Osiris.

Door-jambs.

No record is available, except that a dedication text of Sethos on the base has been usurped by Ramesses.

BETWEEN DOORS VW^a AND VIW^a

Upper Register.

The king stands between Osiris and Thoth; Thoth inscribes the king's name on his shoulder, and says,-

"I give thee the years of Re' and the kingship of Atum...."

The king here appears to be deified and receives the cult from Thoth.

Lower Register.

The king receives the jubilee staff from Osiris; behind the king stand Horus and Isis, holding a sistrum and a jubilee staff.

Horus says,- "I establish the crowns."

Osiris says,- "Receive for thyself the years and jubilee festivals as my well-doing son, even as I have decreed for thee, for thou hast founded the house of the gods of the Thinite Nome, surpassing in beauty."

DOOR VIW^a

The Lintel.

A double scene occurs here; the king is conducted by divinities and runs with a hpt and oar to Isis.

Door-jambs.

In three registers, the king appears before divinities; on the bases, Thoth writes, in company with "Hearing" on one jamb, and "Seeing" on the other. A dedication text of Sethos has been usurped by Ramesses. On the thicknesses, names and titles of divinities are given.

BETWEEN DOORS VIW^a AND VIIW^a

Upper Register.

Isis suckles the king in the presence of Horus. She says,-

"Lord of the Two Lands, Usimare'-setepenre', thou hast sucked from my milk, may they enter to thee as life and dominion; mayest thou spend [.....] a lifespan like Re' in the sky, mayest thou be young like Atum."

Horus says,-

"[Take?] for thyself the crook of thy father and the flail of Kamutef; thou art the seed of the Lord of Abydos, and he grants thy victories like my Majesty."

He also enumerates the benefits he bestows on the king, which include the throne and kingship, and strength against his enemies. Palimpsests occur throughout this scene. The wall was probably inscribed originally for Sethos I, and then re-carved under the direction of Ramesses II.

Lower Register.

Left scene.

Isis presents the menit, sistrum and the uraeus to the king;

she says,-

"Take for thyself upon thy brow the uraeus, and life and dominion for thy nose. I will play the sistrum to thy beautiful face, the menit to thy heart."

Right scene.

The king receives the crowns from Horus, who says,-

"Receive for thyself thy Double Crown, and my diadem. Seize the two portions. I unite for thee the reed and the papyrus, as a testament in thy grasp."

In this register also, it is evident that the decoration here was first executed on behalf of Sethos, and later re-cut by his son.

DOOR VIIW^a.

The Lintel.

No record of this is available.

Dedication texts of Sethos occur on the base of a jamb, and on a thickness; these too have been usurped by Ramesses II.

On all the thicknesses of these doorways, Sethos' work has been overcut by that of Ramesses; the earlier work is executed in bas-relief; the later inscriptions are worked en-creux.

THE NOMES.

The nomes in the First Hypostyle Hall differ from those found in the Second Hypostyle Hall.¹ All the nomes in the First Hall are Upper Egyptian. On the North and South Walls, as in the Second Hall, the direction in which the procession of nomes moves is from east to west, whereas the geographical numbering of the nomes proceeds from west to east. On the North Wall, Nomes 1 to 18 inclusive appear, while, on the South Wall, the sequence runs 1,2,(3), 5,(6?), (7?), (8?), (12?), lost, (12?), lost, (11?), lost, last eight lost. Nomes 4,9,10 appear to be missing from the early part of this list, but these in fact may have been represented by some of the damaged nomes.

On the East Wall, the figures face inwards to Door IVE^a; however, geographically numbered, the nomes are to be read outwards from Door IVE^a. The plan² shows the orientation of the nomes, while the small diagram gives the direction of the geographical numbering of the nomes in this Hall. Beginning at the north end of the East Wall, Nomes 15-11,9-7, 5-1 are present, up to Door IVE^a. On the other side of Door IVE^a, reading from the south end of the East Wall, the nomes read lost, 10, lost,(9?), (7?),6,lost,lost,2,1. Thus nomes 3,4,5,8,11, and 12 are missing, although, again, some of these may have once occupied the spaces now destroyed on the wall.

On the West Wall, similarly, the figures face inwards to Door IVW^a, but, from the geographical numbering, are to be read in two processions, both starting at Door IVW^a, and proceeding to the northern and southern corners of the West Wall respectively. Beginning at the north end, the order reads thus as far as Door IVW^a:- 15,14,lost,13,lost,lost,lost,18,10,lost,11,9,8,(6?),5,4,3,2,1.

Beginning at the south end, the order reads thus, continuing as far as Door IVW^a - 18,lost,lost,14,15,14,13,lost,11,lost,9,8,lost,(6?),lost,4,3,(2?),1.

Thus, the North and South Walls are numbered from the west to the east, and the East and West Walls are to be read in two processions which both start at Doors IVE^a and IVW^a. Later, it will be necessary to return to these facts to ascertain whether the order and orientation of the nomes in fact bears any relation to the suggested order of scenes which occur above the soubassment.

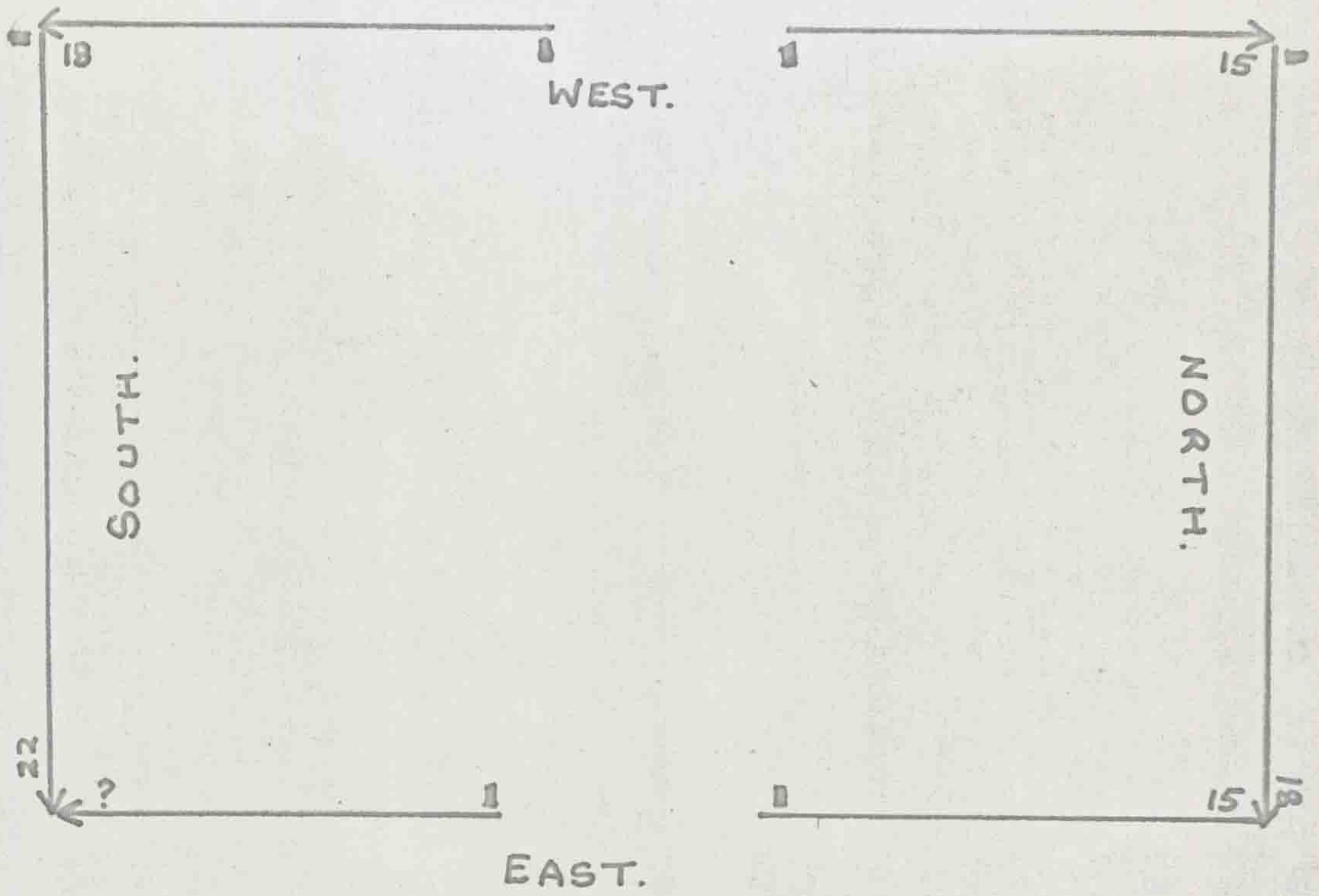


DIAGRAM SHOWING THE DIRECTION OF THE
GEOGRAPHICAL NUMBERING OF THE NOMES
IN THE FIRST HYPOSTYLE HALL, - EAST,
WEST, NORTH, AND SOUTH WALLS.

NOME.

TIMES IT OCCURS ON EACH WALL.

	<u>NORTH.</u>	<u>SOUTH.</u>	<u>EAST.</u>	<u>WEST.</u>
<u>UPPER.</u>				
1.	1.	1.	2.	2.
2.	1.	1.	2.	1.+ (1?)
3.	1.	(1?)	1.	2.
4.	1.	-	1.	2.
5.	1.	1.	1.	1.
6.	1.	(1?)	1.	(2?).
7.	1.	(1?)	2.	-
8.	1.	(1?)	1.	2.
9.	1.	-	2.	2.
10.	1.	-	1.	1.
11.	1.	(1?)	1.	2.
12.	1.	(2?)	1.	-
13.	1.	-	1.	2.
14.	1.	-	1.	3.
15.	1.	-	1.	2.
16.	1.	-	-	-
17.	1.	-	-	-
18.	1.	-	-	2.

THE SECOND HYPOSTYLE HALL.

NORTH WALL.

Upper Register. (Beginning at east end.)

Scene A.¹

This scene is partly destroyed; the king offers Ma'at(?) to Amen-Re' (partly destroyed), behind whom stands a goddess (also partly destroyed); behind the king is a representation of his Ka. In front of the Ka are the words,-

"[The living Ka] of the Lord of the Two Lands, pre-eminent in the Robing Room."

Title.

"Offering truth to his father Amen-Re', Lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, who is residing in the Mansion of Menmaetre', may he make a granted life, like Re'."

Scene B.²

The king stands with a censer before an offering table, in the presence of a god and goddess. The accompanying inscription gives an offering list, in which an offering is dedicated to "Horus(?), the speedy runner(?)", "Horus(?)", great of forms", "Horus(?), dappled within the womb of Nut", "Horus(?), the proud-breasted one", "Great Isis, god's mother", "Isis, great-of-magic", "Isis-Shentyt".

The offering, in each case, is "to Osiris", and is donated "as the gift" of King Sethos.

Scene C.³

The king pours out a libation from two vessels, in the presence of Atum and Isis(?). The inscriptional material is mostly destroyed.

Scene D.⁴

This scene is partly destroyed; the decoration has never been completed and the figures have been painted in the upper half of the scene only; the original limestone occurs only below the waistline. Certain areas of these figures have been coloured in the appropriate flesh-coloured tones, but others, where the same colouring might have been expected, are still painted in yellow hues; possibly the yellowish colour was an undercoat given to all figures before the final tones were filled in on top. This scene constitutes evidence that the scenes in this part of the temple were in fact painted and inscribed from the ceiling downwards, in a horizontal manner. The scene shows the king before Horus, from whom he receives the hps-sword. Behind Horus is a seated goddess, probably Isis, while behind the king stands another goddess, holding a staff decorated with jubilee symbols. The accompanying inscriptions are destroyed.

Lower Register. (Beginning at the east end.)

Scene A.⁵

The king stands before Osiris, behind whom stands Horus, "Protector of his father"; Sethos offers a burning censer to Osiris, and pours out a libation, in return for which the god causes his years to endure.

Scene B.⁶

The king stands with burning censer before an altar. An Offering List occupies the remainder of the scene. This is entitled, - "Making-a-boon-which-the-king-gives for Osiris, by the king, Lord of the Two Lands, Menmaetre', given life."

The Table is divided into seven columns; in each column, the formula is the same, except that different forms of Osiris are given; thus, in the first column, we read, -

"An offering⁷ for Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, as the gift of King Menmaetre'; an offering for Osiris Sep⁸ as the gift of the son of Re', Sety Merenptah, given life, like Re'."

The succeeding columns give, -

- 2) "Osiris Onnophris" and "Osiris, Foremost of Ta-tenenet."
- 3) "Osiris the living" and "Osiris, Fashioner of Millions."
- 4) "Osiris, Lord of Life" and "Osiris mh nrt⁹".
- 5) "Osiris, Lord of All" and "Osiris, the Double Ba of Princess Rpyt."
- 6) "Osiris hnty n pw¹⁰ and "Osiris-Ptah, Lord of Life."
- 7) "Osiris-Orion" and "Osiris, Foremost of Ro-stau."

Scene C.¹¹

Ma'at and Renpet stand before Osiris, behind whom are three goddesses, - Isis, "The West who hides her lord", and Nephthys. These deities are all enclosed in a golden shrine, the doors on both ends of which are shown in profile. Behind this shrine, in three registers, stand nine mummiform gods. The gods in the top register are "The Ennead which is in Ro-stau"; the middle register is occupied with "The Ennead who are in the necropolis", and the third register contains "The Cavern-gods, Lords of Abydos."

Title.

"Adoring the god four times by the goddesses."

Scene D.¹²

This scene was never painted; the king stands before Osiris and presents him with a statue of Ma'at; behind Osiris stands Isis, embracing the god, and behind her, stands Horus. The three deities are enclosed in a shrine.

Title.

"Offering Ma'at to the Lord of Truth."

It is possible that here "Ma'at" represented food, and that the presentation of this small figure to Osiris signifies a food offering made by the king.

The Pilaster¹³

The reliefs on the Pilaster are decorative rather than ritual in purpose; on the centre panel there are two representations of the king, both wearing the Red Crown, and these support the central djed-pillar, decorated with horns, wedjat-eyes, uraei and a pectoral collar. The inscriptions are formal, and the king is beloved of Osiris and of Horus.

WEST WALL.

DOOR IW^b 14

The Entrance to the Chapel of Sethos is quite different from those leading to the other six chapels; in these reliefs, the gods act as priests, performing the rites for the deified Sethos; in each scene, the king appears in the inside position, as the god performs the ritual for him. Here, Sethos is in his capacity as an Ancestor, and is being worshipped as a god.

The Lintel.

The Induction scenes show the king led by Horus, son of Isis, and Thoth(left), and by Horus and Thoth(right). The inner scenes are partly destroyed, but differ from the usual jubilee scene which is found in this position; Nekhbet and Edjo attend the osirianised king(left), and appear on either side of the osirianised king (right); an Osirian symbol (mostly destroyed) divides the two scenes down the centre.

Door-jambs.

On the left, Thoth pours water over the king from a kbhw-vessel; the water is represented by 'ankh- and was-signs, and this scene symbolises the Baptism of Pharaoh; Wepwawet of Upper Egypt presents a staff topped with a was- and an 'ankh-sign, and a staff crowned with a djed-symbol and double plumes to the king, who wears the White Crown.

The king receives a staff from Horus, and Thoth and Sefkhet-'Abwy record the jubilees. The base inscription reads,-
"Menmaetre', who founded Abydos."

On the right, Horus replaces Thoth in the top scene.¹⁵

Wepwawet of the North performs the rite in the second scene, and the king wears the Red Crown, and the other two scenes are parallel to the left side.

Door thicknesses.

On the south side, Horus lays hands upon the king, wearing the

White Crown, Re'-Harakhte gives the king the Breath of Life, and the king receives a jubilee staff from Wepwawet of Upper Egypt. In the bottom scene, a small figure, the king's Ka, gives the Breath of Life to a crouching sphinx, wearing the atef-crown, who represents Sethos himself. The base inscription gives the name as "...Menmaetre', who founded the Thinite Nome."

The north side corresponds exactly to the south side, as far as can be seen from the scanty remains.

BETWEEN DOORS IW^b AND IIW^b 16

Upper scene.

The king presents flowers to Ptah, behind whom stands Sekhmet. Behind the king are the words,-

"The king...has arisen upon the seat of Horus of the Living, forever and ever."

Sekhmet says,-

"...I am thy mother, (I) give thee the kingship, for I know thy excellence. Behold, I am with thee in all that thou hast done, [making strong thy arms], thy strength. I place myself before thee, as thy uraeus, my protection being thy guardian, my breath is a flame against thy enemies forever and ever."

Lower scene.

Left scene.

Nefertem embraces the king.

Right scene.

The king holds a lapwing; Mut presents him with a menit and a jubilee staff.

DOOR IIW^b 17

The Lintel.

The Induction is performed by Soker, "Lord of Shetyt", (left), and Nefertem (right). The inner scenes show the king seizing the oar for Ptah; a bull runs alongside the king (left); on the right side, the king runs towards Ptah, holding two libation vessels; part of a running bull is still visible, and the scene has the double title of "Seizing the oar and presenting the libation vessel."

Door-jambs.

On the left side, the king presents Ma'at to Ptah, a water clock to Sekhmet, ointment to Ptah; in the fourth scene, Thoth and Sefkhet-'Abwy record the jubilees. The base inscription reads,-
"...Menmaetre', great of strength."

On the right side, the scenes are the same."

Door thicknesses.

On the south side, the king offers a vessel to Ptah, the king

adores Ptah, and presents him with flowers; in the bottom scene a kneeling figure of Upper Egyptian Mert appears, with her arms upraised; an unusual feature here is that her foot is drawn in true perspective; she causes the king to celebrate jubilee festivals. On the north side, the scenes are identical, except that Lower Egyptian Mert is represented, and she says,-

"...mayest thou rule on earth as he (the Aten) rules the sky, forever and ever."

BETWEEN DOORS IIW^b AND IIIW^b 18

Upper Register.

The king presents jubilees to Ptah, who inscribes a tablet; behind the king is a tree upon which Horus inscribes the jubilees.

Lower scenes.¹⁹

Left scene.

Sekhmet and the king clasp hands and the goddess holds out the 'ankh-sign to the king; this is entwined in her menit; she says,-
"(I) praise thee in life, for thy nose, I protect thee a million times, over all the foreign lands, being under thy feet like Re' forever."

Right scene.

Hathor-Nebet-Hetepet²⁰ gives the king the Breath of Life.

DOOR IIIW^b 21

The Lintel.

This is mostly destroyed; in the outer scenes, the king is led by Thoth; the inner scenes at one time showed the usual jubilee scenes.

Door-jambs.

On the left, the king presents ointment to Re'-Harakhte, truth to Atum, elevates the offerings to Re'-Harakhte, and, in the bottom scene, Thoth and "Seeing" record the jubilees. The base inscription reads,-

"...Menmaetre', who causes Re'-Harakhte to be at peace in Abydos."

On the right, the scenes are parallel to those on the left jamb, except that "Hearing" occurs in the bottom scene.

Door thicknesses.

On the south, the king presents Ma'at, ointment to Khepri, and a nmst-vessel to Re'-Harakhte; in the bottom scene, the king kneels with a statue of Ma'at. The base inscription gives,-

"Menmaetre', who satisfies Re'-Harakhte in [Abydos]."

On the north side, the king presents Ma'at, ointment, and a vase of burning incense to Re'-Harakhte.

BETWEEN DOORS IIIW^b AND IVW^b

Upper scene.²²

The king, wearing the atef-crown kneels to receive a scimitar and hd-mace from Amen-Re', who is seated and holds a jubilee staff. Behind the king is seated the ram-headed Re'-Harakhte. Amen-Re' says,-

"[I give thee the scimitar] in thy right hand, and the mace into [thy left hand], united with bravery....I place thee upon my throne, in order to be ruler of every land, every foreign land being consigned to thy knife, there being none who transgress thy boundaries, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menmaetre'."

Again, this scene appears to have connections with kingship rituals.

Lower scenes.²³

Left scene.

The king stands before 'Iw.s-'3.s²⁴ who embraces him, and gives him the Breath of Life.

Right scene.

The king is suckled by Mut; behind him is his Ka. Mut says,-
"My beloved son....I am thy mother, who created thy beauty, thou hast sucked at my milk."

DOOR IVW^b.²⁵

This is badly damaged.

The Lintel.

The Induction is performed by Horus and a goddess, wearing the White Crown, (probably Nekhbet), on the left side, and by Atum and a goddess wearing the Red Crown (perhaps Edjo), on the right side. The inner scenes show the rite of Seizing the Oar, in the presence of Amen-Re', Upper Egyptian Mert, and another goddess, on the left, and the rite of running with a libation in the company of Amen-Re', Lower Egyptian Mert, and another unidentified goddess, on the right.

Door-jambs.

On the left, the king offers ointment, and on the right, he is before Amen-Re'; the rest of the scenes are lost.

Door thicknesses.

On the south, the king offers incense to Amen-Re', ointment to Min, and receives a jubilee staff from Amen-Re'; in the bottom scene, a Soul of Pe makes jubilation before the "beautiful face" of the king. On the north side, the king stands before Amen-Re'; presents him with ointment, and stands before him with a jubilee symbol.

BETWEEN DOORS IVW^b AND VW^b 26

Upper scene.

The king kneels to receive the royal insignia from Amen-Re'.

Behind the king sits Osiris. Amen-Re' says,-

"Receive for thyself the sceptre and the flail [....]. I am thy father who causes thee to appear in glory [.....], [who installs thee?] [.....]I have assigned thee [...], every foreign land, [fear of thee] pervading the h3w-nbwt; the River Euphrates and the Ocean are in obeisance, carrying all the products of their lands, in order to crave peace from the Lord of Breath, which is blocked in their noses."

This rite also appears to be connected with the kingship series.

Lower scenes.²⁷

Left scene.

Khonsu gives the king the Breath of Life.

Right scene.

Isis caresses the king as a child upon her knee; behind him stands his Ka. Isis says,-

"Thou art my son, thou hast come forth from (me), I have nursed thee, in order to be Ruler of the Two Banks. I made thy body to be strong in victory against every land that assails thee. Thy Majesty is King of Eternity, a falcon, abiding for eternity."

DOOR VW^b 28

The Lintel.

Two Induction scenes occur again; in the right scene, Horus, son of Osiris, leads the king, accompanied by the name of Wepwawet (who is not represented, however) - he is mistakenly entitled "Controller of Upper Egypt" instead of "Lower Egypt"; in the left scene, Isis and Wepwawet, "Controller of Upper Egypt" (again not shown) lead in the king.

The inner scenes show the king running with the oar to Osiris Onnophris, behind whom stands Isis (left); here, he wears the White Crown; on the right, the king, wearing the Red Crown, runs with a libation vase to Osiris.

Door-jamb.

On the left side, the king offers ointment, the funerary meal, and elevates the offerings to Osiris; in the bottom scene, Thoth and "Seeing" record the years and jubilee festivals. The base inscription gives,-

"....Menmaetre', who causes Abydos to be powerful."

On the right side, the scenes correspond to the left jamb; "Hearing" replaces "Seeing" in the bottom scene.

Door thicknesses.

The south side is mostly destroyed; the north side shows the king

offering incense, ointment, and incense to Osiris; in the bottom scene, the king offers a nmst-vessel to Anubis.

BETWEEN DOORS VW^b AND VIW.^b 29

Upper scene.

The king kneels with a burning censer before Osiris; behind the king is Isis, holding a jubilee staff.

Title.

"Making incense before thy beautiful face, festival perfume for thy brow;³⁰ oh, noble god, prince of gods, Onnophris, Lord of Eternity, come to my mansion, receive thou what I have made; thy Majesty is resting within it."

Isis addresses the king with these words:-

"I am thy mother who suckled thee at the breast, thou seed of Onnophris; he begat thee in order to exalt [Thinis] Behold, my arms are around thee, affixing thy crown as ruler [upon thy throne]. I give thy years for the lifespan of the sky, Re' shining therein."

This scene appears to represent a Coronation rite, performed for Osiris as king of the dead.

Lower scenes.³¹

Left scene.

Wepwawet embraces the king.

Right scene.

The king and Horus clasp hands and the god gives him the Breath of Life.

DOOR VIW^b 32

The Lintel.

This again shows the Induction of the king by Isis-Shentyt and Wepwawet of the South (Left side), and by Wepwawet of Lower Egypt and a destroyed goddess (Right side); the inner scenes represent the rites of "Seizing the oar" (left), and running with a kbhw-vessel (right) - these are performed in the presence of Isis.

Door jambs.

On the left, the king presents wine, elevates the offerings, and offers flowers to Isis. In the bottom scene, Sefkhet-'Abu records the jubilees of the king, accompanied by "Seeing".

The name of the door, given in the base inscription, is "...Menmaetre', enduring of monuments."

On the right, the scenes correspond to those on the left jamb.

Door thicknesses.

On the south side, the king offers a nmst-vessel to Isis, and also wine jars; in the bottom scene, a figure of Upper Egyptian Mert is shown. In the base inscription, the doorway is entitled "...Menmaetre' the Obelisk."

On the north side, the goddess gives the king the Breath of Life, a nmst-vessel is offered to her, she gives the king a menit, and in the bottom scene, Lower Egyptian Mert is shown.

BETWEEN DOORS VIW^b AND VIIW^b.

Upper scene.³³

The king receives the sceptres of Upper and Lower Egypt and a staff decorated with jubilee symbols from Horus; behind the king stands Isis. The king states,-

"I am thy son, (I) have come forth from thy body, I have received thy kingship upon earth."

Isis tells him to receive his jubilees, and continues,-

"...Thou makest thy mansion in order to magnify our nature, and in order to provision [our shrine(?)] with all kinds of excellent stone-work.³⁴ The reward to thee for them shall be the life-span of the sky, even as long as Abydos shall exist."

Horus urges him,-

"...Receive for thyself thy kingship as King of Upper and Lower Egypt...the nms-headdress and the atef-crown are united upon thy brow(?), the hk3t-sceptre, the 'wt-sceptre,³⁵ the 3ms-sceptre the flail and the sm't-sceptre³⁶ are grasped in [thy fist].

Thou seizest my office, my throne and my seat upon earth since I appeared on the seat of my father. I give it to thee to rule the Two Lands³⁷ like a well-doing son like unto thee."

The Lower scenes and the framing of the niche.³⁸

The lintel and jambs of this, and every niche in this wall, are decorated with the titulary of Sethos I. On either side of the niche is a scene under which is part of the soubassment of nomes which decorates this Hall; two more nomes are represented on either side.

Scene on the left side.

The king stands before Isis, who gives him the Breath of Life. It is the king who is receiving the cult in this instance, so perhaps this scene represents part of a cult performed on behalf of a dead, deified ruler, for, in a mortuary temple such as this one, the ritual would be performed for both the

dead and living king, in various instances.

Scene on the right side.

The king stands before Horus who embraces him.

DOOR VIIW^b 39

The Lintel.

The lintel is decorated with four scenes.

Left side.

Outer scene.

Wepwawet and Thoth lead the king into the Palace. Wepwawet is entitled "Controller of the South."

Inner scene.

The king, wearing the White Crown, runs with a hpt-oar to Horus; behind the king are the jubilee signs.

Title.

"Seizing the oar for his father Horus."

Right side.

Outer scene.

The Induction scene is repeated; this time, Wepwawet is entitled "Controller of the North."

Inner scene.

The king, wearing the Red Crown, runs, holding a kbhw-vase, to Horus.

Title.

"Presenting a libation vessel to his father."

Door-jambs.

On the left side, the king elevates the offerings, presents bread and wine to Horus; in the bottom scene, Thoth records the jubilee festivals for Menmaetre'; he is accompanied by "Seeing". At the base of the scene is the following inscription:-
"Long live the King of Upper and Lower Egypt....beloved of Horus. He has made as his monument for his father Horus, son of Isis, who resides in the mansion of Menmaetre', the making for him of a great seat, glittering in the faces (of men), like the stars, its doorway being like shd-wr⁴⁰ at the side of his mother, Isis. Menmaetre', the Protector of his father."

On the right side, the king elevates the offerings, offers bread and a libation; in the bottom scene, the episode corresponds to the left side, except that here Thoth is accompanied by "Hearing". The base inscription is the same as that on the left jamb.

Door thicknesses.

On the south side, the king offers ointment, incense, and a nmst-vessel to Horus; in the bottom scene, the king kneels with a shw-wand and a burning censer before an altar, and the title reads:-

"Making incense before thy beautiful face, offering libation for thy Ka, good god, Lord of the Two Lands, Menmaetre', Sety Merenptah."

On the north side, the scenes correspond to those on the south thickness.

THE NICHEs IN THE WEST WALL.

BETWEEN DOORS IW^b AND IIW^b 41

In these scenes the dead, deified king is receiving veneration from the gods.

South scene.

Thoth gives the king the Breath of Life, and tells him to receive his staff.

Centre scene.

Horus 'Iwn-mwt.f makes incense for the king.

North scene.

Thoth presents the king with jubilee symbols.

BETWEEN DOORS IIW^b AND IIIIW^b

South scene.

The king presents flowers to Sekhmet.

Centre scene.

The king stands before Ptah, and adores the god.

North scene.

The king offers incense and a libation to Re'-Harakhete.

BETWEEN DOORS IIIIW^b AND IVW^b

South scene.

The king presents Ma'at to Re'-Harakhete.

Centre scene.

The king presents ointment to Amen-Re'.

North scene.

The king presents incense to Mut.

BETWEEN DOORS IVW^b AND VW^b 42

South scene.

The king makes salutation with a nmst-vessel to Mut.

Centre scene.

The king anoints the brow of Amen-Re' with ointment.

North scene. 43

The king offers incense to Khonsu.

BETWEEN DOORS VW^b AND VIW^b 44

South scene.

The king makes salutation with a nmst-vessel before Nut.

Centre scene. 45

The king offers incense to "his father."

North scene.

The king offers ointment to Isis.

BETWEEN DOORS VIW^b AND VIIW^b

South scene.

The king receives the menit from Isis.

Centre scene.

The king elevates the offerings to Osiris Onnophris.

North scene.

The king presents a nmst-vessel to Horus, son of Osiris.

SOUTH WALL.

Upper Register. (Beginning at east end.)

Scene A.⁴⁶

Only the lower half of the scene remains.

The king drives four calves (of which three are still preserved,) towards Osiris(?), behind whom is a goddess. The king's staff ends in the form of a snake's head.⁴⁷

Scene B.

Only the lower half of this scene is preserved.

The king brings in four caskets to Osiris; it is customary to show four caskets, -here, two are intact and the remains of a third are visible. Behind the king comes his Ka.

Scene C.⁴⁸

This scene extends to form the lintel decoration of the Entrance to the Gallery of the Lists.

The king stands with a burning censer before a Bark of Soker which is contained in a shrine. The appearance of Soker at the Entrance to the Gallery of the Lists reinforces the belief that the Gallery had a mortuary connection. Once again, it seems that the scenes on the Entrance are linked more closely with the ritual in the rooms beyond than with the Hypostyle Hall itself.

The speech accompanying Soker is mostly destroyed, but the Table of Offerings in front of the king is preserved; it is entitled, - "Performing a censuring, making offering⁴⁹ to Ptah-Soker by the king."

The Table is divided into six columns, in each of which offering is made to Soker in a certain location, as the gift of the king. The locations mentioned are "The Mansion of Menmaetre'," "The Sanctuary of Soker", "The Necropolis"⁵⁰ "Tz-Tennenet" and "The Booth of the West."

Above the doorway, the titulary of Sethos I occurs.

Lower Register. (Beginning at east end.)

Scene A.⁵¹

This scene represents the Baptism of Pharaoh.⁵² It is not well preserved, but the king is shown standing in a shrine, while Horus 'Iwn-mwt.f pours a libation over him. Thoth stands behind him. Horus says,-

"Pure, pure [.....] the king Menmaetre', the Eye of Horus is united for thee, thy head is united for thee, thy nms-cloth and all that pertains to thee is complete. To be recited four times."⁵³

Thoth says,-

"It is thy father (?) the Ennead of gods who are in the Mansion

who command⁵⁴ thy purification in life, stability and dominion. It is 'Iwn-mwt.f , Lord of the Great Mansion, who shall make stable thy kingship, like Re', that thou mayest be youthful like the Double Horizon."

Scene B.

Thoth stands with one arm upraised before an offering table. A List of Offerings occupies the rest of the scene.

Title.

"Utterance by Thoth, Master of Hieroglyphs, who establishes the offerings of the gods for Osiris the King, Menmaetre'. I establish thy offerings in the Mansion of Menmaetre'."

This Table of Offerings is in fact a scribal error. Columns 11 to 5 should be read backwards, from left to right (top half), to give the titulary of the king. Columns 11 to 5 (bottom half) should also be read backwards (left to right), to give the major gods (Amen-Re' etc.) at the beginning of the List. Each column ends with the words "as the gift of" a particular god. Columns 1 to 4 should be read from right to left all the way-down (normal procedure), giving the offering of each diadem through the agency of Thoth. By reading straight down each column the important goddess Isis then precedes the minor gods of the Ennead.

Thus,-

- 1) The scribe has given the titulary backwards, the original inscription starting in Column 11 with the Horus-name, and ending in Column 5 with the "son of Re'" name.
- 2) wdn n at the top of each line is merely placed at the top of each column in the way that dd mdw occurs in other lists, and is not to be translated.
- 3) The scribe probably completely omitted the last part of the Table.

A. COLUMN 11 to 5 (Top). (Left to right.)

Reading from the left to the right side, this gives the titulary of Sethos I.

B. COLUMN 1 to 4. (Right to left.)

Here, the offerings are,-

1.his wrrt-crown in his noble mansion, as the gift of Isis...
2.his atef-crown upon his great seat " of the Ennead who are residing in the Thinite Nome.
3.his Double Plumes in his glorious mansion [as the gift of] the gods of the underworld....
4.the front of his uraeus upon his great seat, as the gift of the gods who are in the necropolis....

C. COLUMN 5 to 11. (Bottom). (Right to left.)

- 5. as the gift of Tennenet by the agency of Thoth.
- 6. " Horus, Protector of his father, by the agency of Thoth.
- 7. " Min, Protector of Horus, by the agency of Thoth.
- 8. " Osiris, [Foremost of the Westerners, by the agency of Thoth.]
- 9. " Ptah, Lord of Truth, by the agency of Thoth.
- 10. " Re'-Harakhte, great god, by the agency of Thoth.
- 11. " Amen-Re', king of gods, "

In the adjoining speech, Thoth, "Master of Hieroglyphs, Bull of Truth, who judges pleas...." says,-

"Pure, pure are thy offerings, thy provisions and thy daily offerings are lifted up. I establish for thee the offerings for the gods; thy mansion remains, enduring forever."

The accompanying chart shows the reconstruction of the Table of Offerings, indicating the order in which the columns should be read. (p. 76)

Scene C.

Horus presents a jubilee sign on a djed-pillar to the king; behind him stands Wepwawet of Upper Egypt.

These scenes represent rites performed by deities for the dead, deified Sethos.

Underneath the Lower Register is a section of the soubassment of nomes.

ENTRANCE TO THE HALL OF NEFERTEM-PTAH-SOKER.⁵⁵

Lintel.⁵⁶

In the left scene, the king, wearing the White Crown, runs with an oar towards Soker, in the presence of Mert of Lower Egypt; the scene is entitled "Seizing the oar for his father."

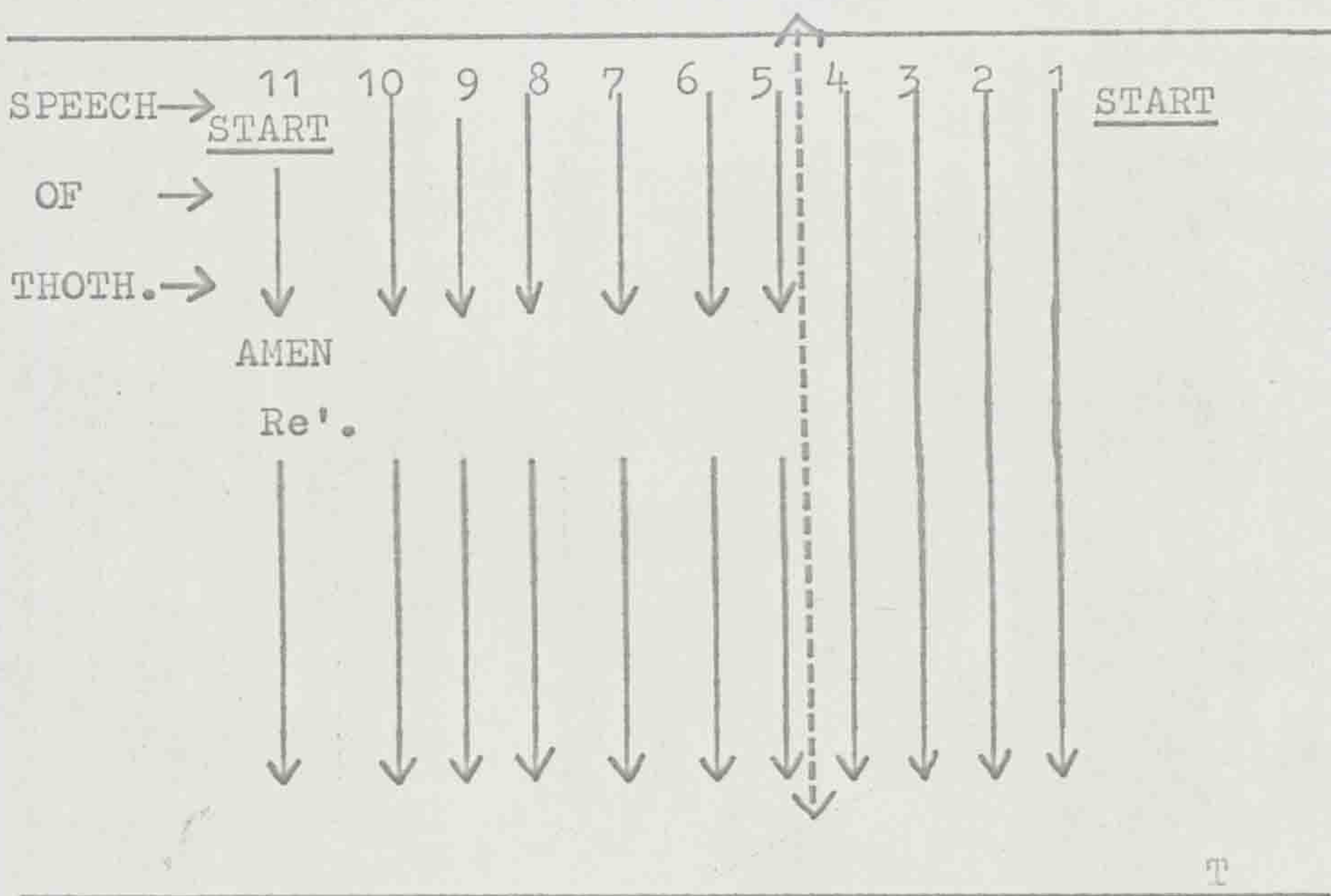
In the right scene, the same rite appears to have been depicted, but the wall is now badly damaged.

Door-jambs.⁵⁷

On the east side, the king offers incense and a libation to Soker, wine to I'h, and stands before Nefertem, adoring the god; in the bottom scene, Sefkhet-'Abwy and Thoth record the jubilees; the door is entitled, "Great door of the king, Menmaetre', whom Re! made, beloved of Soker."

On the west side, Soker-Osiris is represented in the top scene, and the second and third scenes correspond to those on the east jamb, as does the bottom scene.

RECONSTRUCTION OF THEO TABLE



The scenes on this entrance, by their subject matter, appear to form part of the decoration of the rooms which lie beyond, rather than of the Hypostyle Hall itself.

ENTRANCE TO THE GALLERY OF THE LISTS.

The Lintel has already been discussed.

Door-jambs⁵⁸

On the left, the king stands with a staff and a hd-mace, with one arm upraised.

Title.

"Everyone entering this house is pure, four times."

The door is named "The door Menmaetre', great of provisions in Abydos."

On the right jamb, the scene is badly damaged, but repeats the episode on the left.

THE PILASTER⁵⁹

This is decorative rather than ritual in purpose; two figures of the king support a djed-pillar; the inscriptions are formal.

EAST WALL.

DOOR IE^b 60

Scenes above the Entrance.

Left scene.

Thoth pours a libation over Sethos, and says,-

"Thy purifications are the purifications of Horus and vice versa. To be recited four times."

Right scene.

Horus 'Iwn-mwt.f says,- "Thy incense is the incense of thy Ka, Osiris Menmaetre'."

Hapy brings offerings and provisions to the king; here, the rite is being performed for the dead king who is also present.

BETWEEN DOORS IE^b AND IIE^b 61

These scenes may be divided down the centre, vertically; the scenes to the left are connected with the rites performed on behalf of Ptah, for in these Ptah is represented with his back to the centre of the panel, as if he were emerging from the rear of the temple. Here, the ritual is performed by a living king for the god.

The scenes to the right are connected with the cult performed in the Chapel of Sethos, and, as the king appears in the position of a god, the ritual is being performed by a god on behalf of the dead, deified king. The arrangement is as follows,-

ENTRANCE

TO
ALLEY
II



GOD
←
(recipient)



KING
←
(recipient)

ENTRANCE

TO
ALLEY
I.

Upper Register.

Left scene.

The king offers Ma'at to Ptah, who says,-

"(I) have given thee the throne of Geb and the Office(?) of Atum, like Re'."

Title.

"Offering truth to [its lord], that he may make a granted life."

Right scene.

The king receives the jubilees from Mut.

Lower Register.

Left scene.

The king censures Ptah, "beautiful of face."

Title.

"Making offerings ⁶² for his father Ptah...."

Right scene.

Sekhmet presents the king with two staffs entwined with two serpents wearing the White and Red Crowns. She says,-

"Receive for thyself my Upper Egyptian Crown, together with my Lower Egyptian Crown ⁶³, they being set firm upon thy brow forever. Grasp for thyself the crook and flail, this land being under thee like Re'."

DOOR IIE.^{b64}

Scenes above the Entrance.

Left scene.

The king presents Ma'at to Ptah.

Title.

"Offering truth [to his father, given life.]"

Right scene.

This scene is damaged; it shows the king before Ptah.

Title.

"Consecrating the white bread for his father, that he may make a granted life."

BETWEEN DOORS IIE^b AND IIIE^b. ⁶⁵

These four scenes, and indeed all the sets of scenes between the doorways along this wall, may be divided vertically down the centre, with those scenes on the left referring to the adjacent alley (in this instance, IIIE), and those scenes on the

right referring in turn to their adjacent alley (IIE, in this case.)

Upper Register.

Left scene.

The king kneels and presents two milk jugs to Atum. The king says,-
"Atum is inundated with milk, [.....], the sweet milk⁶⁶ which is in the breasts of [.....], on account of what he has done, I give (thee) bulls and cows, together with their milk, that thou mayest be inundated (with them) in this thy name of Inundation Flood."

Right scene.

The king presents wine to Ptah. The king announces,-
"The gardens flourish, oh, Ptah, Lord of Truth....the flood rejoices, those which are in him, the two eyes are filled with its milk. Ptah, Lord of Truth, is pure."⁶⁷

Lower Register.

Left scene.

The king offers Re'-Harakhte ointment jars, which are supported by a small figure of himself.

The king says,-

"Making an offering of md-ointment....the heart of Re'-Harakhte rejoices at meeting the bodily eye of Horus; it adorns thee in this its name of Edjo!"

Title.

"Offering md-ointment to his father Re'-Harakhte."

Right scene.

The king offers a nmst-vessel to Ptah. Sethos says,-
"Oh, Ptah, Lord of Truth, take to thee thy head, join for thee the Eye of Horus, bring for thyself that which comes forth from Nun, the front portion which came forth from Atum, in this its name of nmst-vessel."

DOOR IIIE^{b 68}

Scenes above the Entrance.

Left scene.

The king offers flowers to Khepri, "Lord of the Palace."

Title.

"Offering flowers that he may make a granted life."

Right scene.

The king offers bread to Re'-Harakhte, "great god, Lord of Heaven."

Title.

"Offering s'yt-bread, that he may make a granted life."

BETWEEN DOORS IIIE^b AND IVE^b 69

Upper Register.

Left scene.

The king kneels in adoration before Amen-Re'. The inscription reads,-
"Adoring the god by the king....Hail to thee, Amen-Re'....Come to me, [turn thyself to thy] field,⁷⁰ thy ksbt-trees,⁷¹ gold, turquoise, lapis-lazuli,⁷²....(I) give to thee the Ka of the living king Menmaetre'....Acclamation to thee, Amun, Lord of Sehenet, lofty one, Horus, Lord of Sehenet. Be gracious, Amun Lord of Sehenet; may thy heart be gracious to the son of Re', Sety Merenptah."

Right scene.

The king presents incense to Re'-Harakhete. The inscription reads,-
"Spell for incense to Re'-Harakhete....The incense comes, the divine perfume comes, its perfume comes towards thee, the perfume of the Eye of Horus is for thee, the perfume of Nekhbet which comes forth from el-Kab, may she wash thee, may she adorn thee, and may she take up her position upon thy arms. Greetings to thee, incense, greetings to thee, incense, greetings to thee, oh, Mnwr."⁷³

Title.

"Making incense for his father Re'-Harakhete...."

Lower Register.

Left scene.

The king holds a censer before the face of Amen-Re'.

Right scene.

The king elevates the offerings before Re'-Harakhete.

Title.

"Elevating the offerings to Re'-Harakhete...."

DOOR IVE^b 74

Scenes above the Entrance.

Left scene.

This scene is damaged; the king presents Ma'at to Amen-Re', and behind the king stands Mut, "Lady of Heaven", who says,-
"(I) set in place for thee the atef-crown upon thy head like Re'."

Right scene.

This is damaged; the king presents Ma'at to Amen-Re', and a goddess stands behind the king. The inscriptions are almost entirely lost.

BETWEEN DOORS IVE^b AND VE^b 75

Upper Register.

Left scene.

The king offers incense to Osiris Onnophris. The inscription reads,-

"Making incense for Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners....Take to thee the Eye of Horus; its perfume comes towards thee, to be recited four times. Pure, pure is Osiris....thy Ka is pleased with regard to the incense upon thy great seat, [.....], as the gift to thee of thy [beloved] son, Lord of Diadems, Sety Merenptah."

Right scene.

The king kneels in adoration before Amen-Re'. The inscription reads,-

"Adoring Amen-Re', King of Gods, by his beloved son....Hail to thee, who came into being on the First Occasion. I have come to thee, that I may adore thy beauty, for I know thy beneficence towards me...."

Lower Register.

Left scene.

The king elevates offerings to Osiris.

Title.

"Elevating the offerings to Osiris; setting out the provisions for his spirit. Thy bread belongs to thee, thy provisions belong to thee. (I) am pure, that he may make a granted life."

Right scene.

The king stands with a censer before Amen-Re'. The king says,-
"The incense comes, the god's perfume comes towards thee, the perfume of the Eye of Horus comes towards thee, the perfume of Nekhbet which comes forth from el-Kab, it washes thee, it adorns thee."

DOOR VE.^b 76

Scenes above the Entrance.

Left scene.

The king offers a nmst-vessel to Osiris "Lord of Heaven."

Title.

"Making salutation with a nmst-vessel to his father Osiris, that he may make a granted life."

Right scene.

The king offers ointment to Osiris, "Lord of the Necropolis."

Title.

"Offering ointment to his father Osiris."

BETWEEN DOORS VE.^b AND VIE.^b 77

Upper Register.

Left scene.

The king offers ointment to Isis. The inscription reads,-

"Making an offering of mq-ointment....the heart of Isis, the god's mother, rejoices at the approach of the bodily Eye of Horus."

It adorns thee with this its name of Edjo."⁷⁸

Title.

"Presenting md-ointment to Isis."

Right scene.

The king presents Ma'at to Osiris.

Title.

"Offering Truth to the Lord of Truth, that he may make a granted life."

Lower Register.

Left scene.

The king censes Isis, and pours a libation over the table of offerings. He says,-

"Pure, pure is Isis, the god's mother, with what Re'-Harakhte creates,⁷⁹ with what the great and ancient Ennead creates, with what the Conclave of Upper and Lower Egypt create; the pure incense, sweet of perfume, which is in accordance with the writings of Thoth, which is in the House of Sacred Writings;⁸⁰ the two arms, they give; Re', he purifies; and the King Menmaetre', he makes offering to Isis."⁸¹

Right scene.

The king elevates the offerings to Osiris. Between the king and the god is a Table of Offerings, which is divided into six columns. It is entitled,-

"Presenting (irt) the Menu, making offering thereof by the king Menmaetre'."

Columns.

1. Osiris, seize for thyself the Eye of Horus to thy brow, pouring [water] upon the altar. A vessel, 1.
2. Osiris, take to thee the Eye of Horus, whereby thou art fed (dbh.k htp(w)). Funerary meal (dbhw-htp), 1 container.
3. Osiris, take to thee the Eye of Horus. Assemble for thyself the water which is in it. Water-vessels, 2.
4. Osiris, take to thee the Eye of Horus, which censes thy mouth. Bd-natron, 2 vessels.
5. Osiris, take to thee the Eye of Horus, which thou [hast taken?] to thy face. Ht3-bread [.....].
6. Osiris, take to thee the Eye of Horus [.....] Pr.sn-bread, 1 vessel.

DOOR VIE^b 82

Scenes above the Entrance.

Left scene.

The king presents wine to Isis, the god's mother.

Title.

"Making offering with wine to his mother, Isis."

Right scene.

The king presents fresh flowers to Isis, the god's mother.

BETWEEN DOORS VIE^b AND VIIE^b⁸³

Upper Register.

Left scene.

The king greets with a nmst-vessel Horus, son of Isis, who grats him the "throne of Geb and the office of Atum..."

Title.

"Greetings with a nmst-vessel, that he may make a granted life."

Right scene.

The king kneels with a vase of incense before Isis.

Lower Register.

Left scene.

The king presents a wsh-collar to Horus "Protector of his father."

The inscription reads,-

"Offering the wsh-collar by the king....Greetings! Atum, greetings! Khepri, lofty in respect of thy Red Crown, upon the stairway, when thou shinest forth in the Benben."

Right scene.

The king pours a libation over Isis, who rattles a sistrum.

He says,-

"Pure, pure is great Isis....with this libation which comes forth from Nun, thou being pure. Four times. Geb purifies thee, at the head of the company of the Great Ennead."

DOOR VIIE^b⁸⁴

Scenes above the Entrance.

Left scene.

The king presents incense to Horus "Protector of his Father."

Behind the king comes Hapy, wearing the Lower Egyptian symbol on his head, and bringing in a pile of offerings, which he gives, saying,-

"Come, I bring to thee the offerings and provisions upon the arms of thy son, [Menmaetre], given [life?]."

Right scene.

The king presents incense to Horus.

As will be discussed below, above each entrance, the god is shown with his back to the centre of the panel, as if he were coming out from the rear of the temple. These scenes are connected with the ritual performed in the seven chapels, rather than with

the sequence of scenes in the Second Hypostyle Hall.

THE THICKNESSES OF THE DOOR-WAYS IN THE EAST WALL.

On each thickness the titulary of Sethos I is inscribed.

EXTREME NORTH AND SOUTH ENDS OF EAST WALL.⁸⁵

At either end of this wall, there is a scene which shows a figure, surmounted by a ka-banner, carrying a standard which is topped with a representation of the king's head; the accompanying inscriptions in both these scenes are formal, and under the scenes, in each case, a nome is depicted.

First, on the right side, (Niches 5 and 6), the main deities in both niches, who should be Isis and Horus, are replaced by Osiris. Now, in these niches, the central gods are coming forth not only from their own chapels beyond, but from the Osiris Complex at the rear of the temple. Because of the limited space available on this wall, it was possible only to attribute niches to five of the deities, and Osiris, as the main god of the triad, obviously took precedence over his consort and son, and appears as central god in both niches dedicated to the Osirian triad. This group of niches forms a distinct unit and has a logical explanation for the orientation of its gods.

In the two central niches (Niches 3 and 4), Amen-Re' is shown in both central scenes, in each case with his back to the centre. As principal god, it was desirable to provide him with two niches, and because of this, the niche which would otherwise have accommodated Re'-Harakhte, was forfeited to Amen-Re'.

We now face the problem of the orientation of the central gods in the Niches of Ptah and Sethos.

Sethos is not represented as coming forth from the rear of the temple. He is connected only with his own chapel, from which he is emerging to receive the god's offering. The niche, in the same way as the Chapel of Sethos behind, is connected only with the cult of the Dead King, and forms a separate unit.

The problem of the orientation of the Ptah niche remains; there are two possibilities. First, it may be suggested that the god is orientated thus in order to provide a balance for Amun in Niche 4. However, this is unlikely; here the artistic and symmetrical considerations are not important, and it is the cultic significance which is dominant. Secondly, Ptah appears to be depicted as though emerging from the Chapel of Sethos and not from the rear of the temple. The needs of the cult, however, dictate that Ptah should look out from the interior of the temple to the officiant who is coming in. Ptah does not have any connections with the Sethos Chapel; he is not linked with it in any way, and, in the scenes in Niche 2, it is the living king who is officiating. Therefore, Ptah must be emerging not from the interior of the temple, but from his own chapel.

This statement would hold true for all the gods in the niches except in Niche 3, where Amen-Re' emerges from the Amen-Re' Chapel and not from the Re'-Harakhte Chapel, but here this is perfectly logical.

Thus, the general principle would appear to be that each god emerges from his own chapel, and that two niches are devoted to Amen-Re', who, in both cases, emerges from the one chapel. On the north, two niches are connected with the Osirian triad. On the south, the king's niche is connected with his own chapel. Therefore, we have,-

- 1) A central group of Amen-Re'.
- 2) A northern group. Two Osiris niches orientated either
 - to a) The Osiris Complex,
 - or b) The Chapels of Osiris and Horus/Isis.
- 3) The Sethos niche orientated on the Sethos Chapel.
- 4) Ptah's niche.

A statue of each god was probably placed in each niche, and the niches are undoubtedly connected not with the cult in the Second Hypostyle Hall, but with the seven chapels which lay beyond.

If the niches had been associated with the cult in the Hypostyle Hall, the figures of the gods would have all been orientated in the same direction, facing inwards, and we would have had this pattern,-



However, the position of the gods, we have shown, can only be interpreted in connection with the related chapels which lie behind.

THE NOMES.

In the First and Second Hypostyle Halls, the nomes of Egypt appear personified as kneeling, hermaphrodite figures, forming a soubassment at the base of the four walls. Each figure is basically male, with the breast of a woman (symbolising fecundity), and on its head there is an emblem which indicates the name of the nome. These figures offer jars of wine and water which they carry to present to the gods. The display of nomes in these two halls must have been intended to represent all the sections of Egypt offering their wealth to the gods. In all, there are two practically complete sets of the nomes of Upper and Lower Egypt in the Second Hypostyle Hall, as well as a third, incomplete set, and fifteen other personifications which have no connection with the nomes.

These personifications¹ fall into three main classes; first, there are personifications of geographical concepts - Lower Egypt, the Inundation, The Water of Pre', the Water of Menmaetre', and the Water of Ptah; then there are the more abstract ideas - Provisions, the Ka, Authoritative Utterance, and the representation of some of the five senses, -Fingers (the sense of touch), Hearing, and Seeing; finally, we have a specific section, where the Desert God and the Nile God are personified. These, as well as the nomes, were believed to increase the prosperity of Egypt, no doubt, and, for this reason, were included here.

The nomes of Upper Egypt occupy the greatest area in the Second Hypostyle Hall. As can be seen from the plan,² they occur on the South Wall, and, except for a small section at the eastern end, they also stretch the full length of the North Wall. On the East Wall, they occur only at the southern end, and, on the West wall, occupy the northern half.

The Lower Egyptian nomes, on the other hand, occupy only a small space at the eastern end of the North Wall, and three sections of the East Wall, while, on the West Wall, these nomes occur only in the southernmost half of the wall.

The other personifications occupy two wall sections along the East Wall.

NORTH WALL.

The figures face towards the west; although the movement of the procession on this wall appears to be from east to west, the reading of these nomes (in a geographical sense) is from west to east - the southernmost nomes of Egypt here occur at the north end of the East Wall. The plan³ shows the direction in which the figures actually face, while the small diagram

below gives the geographical direction of the nomes. (p. 92)
The Upper Egyptian nomes which occur on this wall, beginning at the west end, are Nomes 2 to 21 inclusive⁴; then, finally, there appears to be a misplaced Lower Egyptian nome (Imnt), which perhaps, however, is a mistake for an inclined feather, representing Mntwt (Nome 22 of Upper Egypt).

This set of nomes is complete except for Nomes 1 and possibly 22.

The rest of the wall is occupied by Lower Egyptian nomes 1, 2, 3, 5, and 7. Thus, here, nomes 4 and 6 are omitted.

EAST WALL.⁵

On the East Wall, the figures face away from the central alley. Between the north end of the wall and Door VIIE^b, we have Lower Egyptian nome 8. Between Door VIIE^b and Door VIE^b, Lower Egyptian nomes 6, 9, 11, 12, 3, 15, 16 and 14 occur. Between Doors VIE^b and VE^b, L.E. 13 and the Personifications of Lower Egypt, a destroyed figure, the Inundation, Provisions, the Ka, Authoritative Utterance, and the Nile God occur. Between Doors VE^b and IVE^b, the Desert God, Seeing, Hearing, Feeling(?), the Water of Ptah,⁵ the Water of Menmaetre' and the Water of Pre' occur. Between Doors IVE^b and IIIIE^b, there are the Lower Egyptian nomes 9, 11, 10, 3, 16, 14, and 13. Between Doors IIIIE^b and IIE^b, there is the Upper Egyptian nome 22, and then, the Lower Egyptian nomes 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, and 6. Therefore, we here have two incomplete sets of Lower Egyptian nomes, separated by the Personifications;⁶ the first set is complete except for nomes 4 and 10, and nome 3 is duplicated. The second set, from 1 to 16, is complete except for nomes 12 and 15; the 22nd Upper Egyptian nome is an intrusion in the middle of this list. Neither of these sets have a consecutive order.

The Upper Egyptian nomes begin again between Doors IE^b and IIIIE^b; here, we find Upper Egyptian nomes 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, and 21. At the south end of the wall is Upper Egyptian nome 14.

SOUTH WALL.⁷ (Beginning by the Entrance to the Gallery of the Lists)

The Upper Egyptian nomes 1 to 13 inclusive are given here.

The order of these Upper Egyptian nomes appears to run from the South Wall, starting at the west end, and continuing with the nome (14) at the south end of the East Wall, and then going back again to the wall between Doors IIIIE^b and IE^b reading from north to south; this gives us an order of Upper Egyptian nomes from 1 to 21 consecutively.

The orientation of the nomes on the South Wall, as on the North Wall, appears to move from east to west, but, in a geographical

sense, the reading of these nomes goes from west to east.

WEST WALL.⁸

On each section of the wall, between the doorways, the nomes turn back to back, and face the doorways.

Between Doors IW^b and IIW^b, on the left side, there are Lower Egyptian nomes 12 (far left) and 11, and on the right side, L.E. nomes 9 and 1 (far right); between Doors IIW^b and IIIW^b there are L.E. nomes 10 and 4 (left), and L.E. nomes 15 and 13. Between Doors IIIW^b and IVW^b, there are L.E. nomes 2 and 4 (left), and U.E. nomes 2 and 1 (right). Between Doors IVW^b and VW^b, there are U.E. nomes 3 and 5 (left) and 6 and 7 (right). Between Doors VW^b and VIW^b, U.E. nomes 9 and 10 (left), and 14 and 13 (right) occur; between Doors VIW^b and VIIW^b, the Upper Egyptian nomes 15 and 16 occur (left), and 19 and 17 on the right.

Thus, here we have a sequence of Lower Egyptian nomes, running from 1 to 15, and omitting nomes 3,5,6,7,8, and 14, while duplicating 4. The sequence is not consecutive. The Upper Egyptian nomes run from Nome 1 to 19, omitting 4,8, 11,12 and 18. These again are not consecutive in order.

THE ORDER.

To summarise the position of the nomes in this Hall, it is fair to say that, on the North and South Walls, both as regards the Upper and Lower Egyptian nomes, their geographic numbering does not comply with the orientation of the processions.

On the East Wall, the figures face outwards from the central Alley IV. Geographically, at the north end of this wall, they continue, with Nome 8, from the series of Lower Egyptian nomes found at the eastern end of the North Wall; then, on each section of the East Wall, between the doorways, the nomes appear to work inwards from the two outside points, giving L.E. nomes 6,9,11,12 on the north side, and 13,14,16,15 on the south side, with Lower Egyptian nome 3 in the centre.

We then have the Personifications, which, if similarly read - from two outer points inwards - give us a neat and logical grouping,-

From north end inwards.

1. Lower Egypt.
2. Destroyed figure.
3. The Inundation.

From south end inwards.

14. The Water of Pre'.
13. The Water of Menmaetre'.
12. The Water of Ptah.



- | | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| 4. Provisions. | 11. Fingers. (the sense of to ^u gh) |
| 5. The Spirit. | 10. Hearing. |
| 6. Authoritative Utterance. | 9. Seeing. |

-
8. The Desert god.
7. The Nile God.

The next group of nomes may be read in a similar fashion, thus giving us firstly L.E. nomes 13,14,16, ? on the north side, and nomes 9,11,10 on the south side, with L.E. nome 3 in the centre again.

The order is again repeated in the next group:-

L.E. nomes 6,8,7,5 on the north side, and L.E. nomes 1,2,4 on the south side. This gives a fairly logical and symmetrical layout.

At the end of the East wall, we have a continuation of the Upper Egyptian nomes which start on the South wall, and, here, working from the south corner inwards, we read U.E. nomes 14 to 21.

Thus, allowing for the intrusion of the Entrances to the Gallery of the Lists and the Nefertem Hall on the south wall,- thus lessening the number of Upper Egyptian nomes which could be accomodated on this wall and causing them to overflow on to the east wall-here we have a fairly straightforward pattern of the geographical order of the nomes.

On the west wall, there appears to be no continuation of a pattern, possibly because the introduction of the niches here destroys any formal plan. All that can be said is that the geographical numbering of the nomes does not correspond to the order in which the figures face (towards the entrances to the chapels); that is, one would expect, from the orientation of the figures, a geographical numbering such as this,-



This does not occur. This wall is, of course, divided into a southern and northern section; the Upper Egyptian nomes occur in the northern half, and the southern half is occupied by Lower Egyptian nomes.

The accompanying diagram shows clearly the geographic orientation of the nomes on the north, south and east walls.

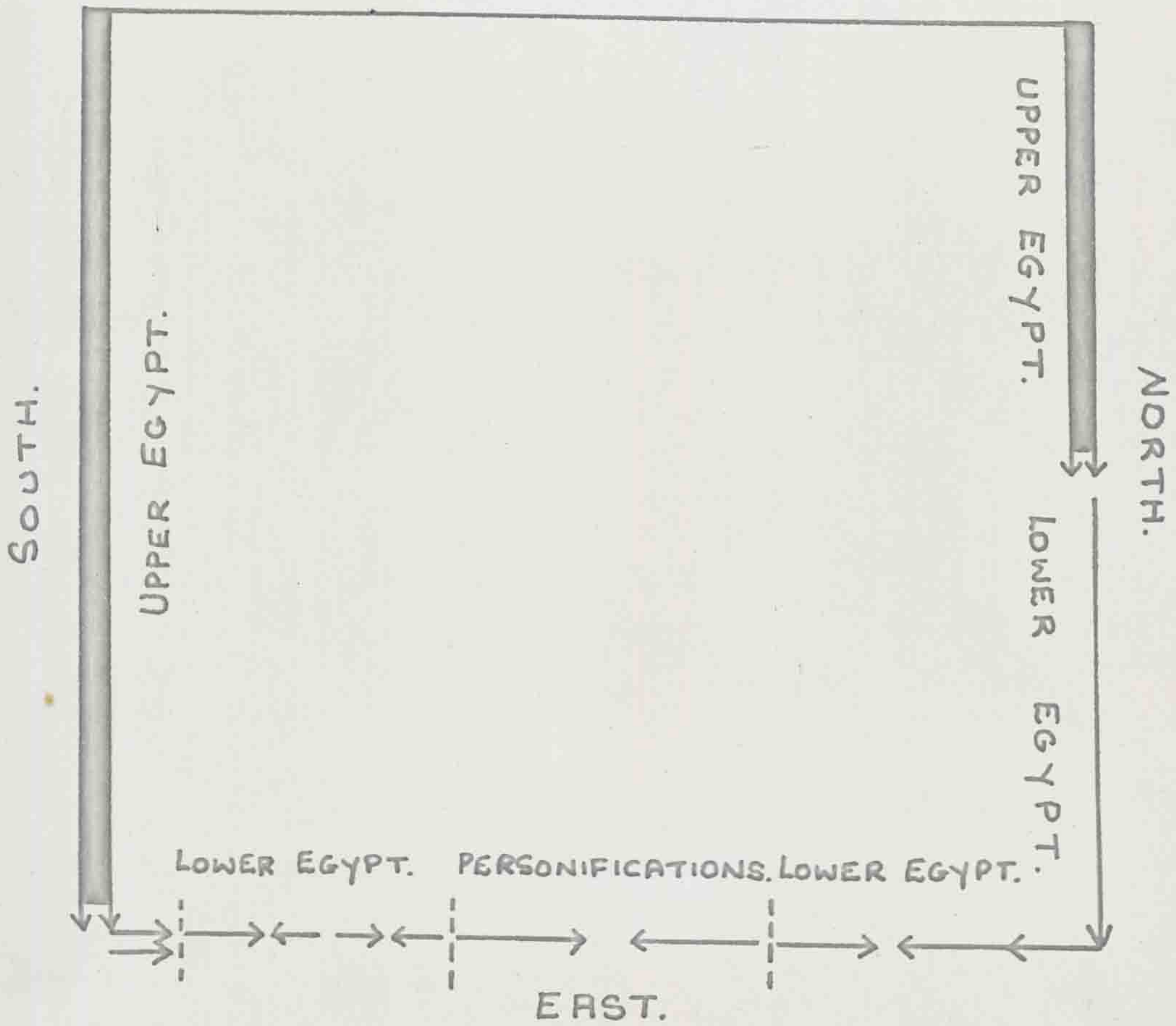


DIAGRAM SHOWING THE DIRECTION OF GEOGRAPHICAL
NUMBERING OF THE NOMES IN THE SECOND
HYPOSTYLE HALL, ON THE NORTH, SOUTH
AND EAST WALLS.

<u>NOME.</u>	<u>TIMES IT OCCURS ON EACH WALL.</u>			
	<u>NORTH.</u>	<u>SOUTH.</u>	<u>EAST.</u>	<u>WEST..</u>
<u>UPPER.</u>				
1.	-	1.	-	1.
2.	1.	1.	-	1.
3.	1.	1.	-	1.
4.	1.	1.	-	-
5.	1.	1.	-	1.
6.	1.	1.	-	1.
7.	1.	1.	-	1.
8.	1.	1.	-	-
9.	1.	1.	-	1.
10.	1.	1.	-	4.
11.	1.	1.	-	-
12.	1.	1.	-	-
13.	1.	1.	-	1.
14.	1.	-	1.	1.
15.	1.	1.	1.	1.
16.	1.	-	1.	1.
17.	1.	-	1.	1.
18.	1.	-	1.	-
19.	1.	-	1.	1.
20.	1.	-	1.	-
21.	1.	-	1.	-
22.	?	-	1.	-
<u>LOWER.</u>				
1.	1.	-	1.	1.
2.	1.	-	1?	1.
3.	1.	-	2.	-
4.	-	-	1.	2.
5.	1.	-	1.	-
6.	1.	-	1.	-
7.	1.	-	1.	-
8.	-	-	2.	-
9.	-	-	2.	1.
10.	-	-	1.	1.
11.	-	-	2.	1.
12.	-	-	1.	1.
13.	-	-	2.	1.
14.	-	-	2.	-
15.	-	-	1.	1.
16.	-	-	2.	-

Before cōsidering the order of scenes in the First and Second Hypostyle Halls, some reference must first be made to the ritual significance of various scenes in these Halls. They will be dealt with in two main sections, - those scenes which relate to Kingship and the Coronation Ritual, and those which are connected with the Foundation Ritual of the Temple.

From a brief discussion of these scenes, it is hoped to show how the Halls were designed for specific ritual purposes and, in the case of the foundation rites, it is hoped to establish a definite order in which the scenes may be read. Later, it will then be possible to see if this order of scenes may be applied to all the scenes in the Halls, or if this order only holds true for the set of foundation scenes.

Firstly, therefore, we shall outline the Foundation Ceremony, and compare the evidence at Abydos with the material which exists elsewhere.

FOUNDATION RITUALS.

Sacred foundation ceremonies are amongst the oldest and most important of the rites performed by ancient peoples; such rites were practised by the Babylonians, the Etruscans, the Romans and the Hindus,¹ In Egypt, records were kept in the temple archives, explaining the stages by which a temple should be built, thus ensuring that the temples of the Graeco-Roman period were constructed on the same basic plan as those of the 6th Dynasty, which were themselves based on plans of pre-dynastic temples.²

At the beginning of Egyptian history, it has been suggested that there was one definite type of temple which was reconstructed in many places throughout Egypt.³ When the solar-type temple was built, the first mention occurs of a specific foundation ritual, including the rites of "Stretching the Cord" and "Setting out the four sides of the Enclosure." When the temple was finished, the Consecration of the building took place, when the Enclosure wall was named, as well as the temple itself. This act was performed by the god Tanen, and it brought the temple to life, so that it could be handed over to its lord. Once named, the temple afforded protection to the resident god, and this was perhaps the main purpose of the Consecration Rites which continued to be performed in historical times.

The ceremonies were completed when Tanen invited the god, the lord of the temple, to enter his sanctuary. The Building Texts in the Temple of Edfu suggest that the earliest ritual was, in fact, Heliopolitan in nature and origin, and primarily connected with the solar temples, although the first temple was itself in existence before the foundation of the solar temples or the emergence of the Heliopolitan ritual.

The rites connected with the temple may perhaps be sub-divided as follows.

First, a ritual was performed representing the construction of the temple, and then, once the building was completed, another series of rites brought it to life, and it was dedicated to its lord. Here, we are concerned first with the rites representing the stages of construction, namely the Foundation Ritual.⁴

In various temples, scenes depicting the rites of foundation are found in the Hypostyle Halls.⁵ The scenes and the accompanying texts cannot have been included in the temples for the same reason as the other rites depicted there, for, unlike the scenes of other rituals - such as the Daily Ritual - it would not have been necessary to include the foundation rites to serve as a reminder to the priest of the order of this particular ritual;

the ritual accompanying the foundation of a temple would have been enacted only once, and would surely not have been repeated. It is most likely, therefore, that the foundation texts and reliefs were represented on the walls to impart to the temple the protection which these rites afforded to the original sacred building.

The position of the temple, it is suggested,⁶ was astronomically fixed the previous night, by orientating the south axis of the temple from north to south between the constellations of the Great Bear and Orion.

It would seem that the ritual was performed by the king accompanied by various deities. It is likely that the king in person performed these rites at the foundation of each temple, unlike the Daily Ritual, for instance, when he was replaced by a priest. It was of course possible for him to attend the foundation ceremonies which were comparatively few in number. In the ritual, he would have been assisted in reciting the formulae by priests who impersonated Ptah and Thoth, and possibly by the Queen impersonating Seshat. Probably the king would have limited his activities to staking out the constructional diagram of the plan.⁷

The King, in his position as son of the gods, was fulfilling one of his most important duties, by caring for the temples, since, in Egypt, nothing was more important than the tombs and the temples, and, in the same way as the cult of the family was performed by the son at the tomb, so the cult of the State was performed by the Pharaoh for the gods in the temples. The tomb was the house of the dead, and the temple was the house of the god, so the establishing and equipping of the god's house was one of the king's most important tasks;⁸ in return for this, the king received his inheritance - the land of Egypt.

The kings appear to have shown a keen personal interest in the work of temple-building; Tuthmosis III, for example, ordered the foundation ceremony to take place at the approach of the Festival of the New Moon, and we learn from the inscriptions that "...the Majesty of this revered god desired to do the stretching of the cord himself."⁹

The king, from earliest times, was assisted in these rites by the goddess Seshat. She is called "Lady of Builders"¹⁰; as one of the most ancient of Egyptian goddesses,¹¹ one of her most important duties was to assist the king in measuring out the ground plan of temples. She was responsible for the reckoning of the measurements of the building, while the actual construction remained the province of the gods Ptah and Khnum. Occasionally,

the goddess of architecture and reckoning was replaced in this capacity either by Thoth, god of science, or Ptah, god of crafts.

The very earliest example of the performance of this rite of staking out the ground dates back to the Second Dynasty.¹² The rite itself, however, was probably in existence in the Pre-historic Period. The first known representation occurs on a gate-jamb from Hieraconpolis, dating to the reign of Kha'sekhemui. Two scenes are shown-

1. The king, holding a stick or mace, stands before his people; a serekh name appears above his head, and four ranks of smaller figures stand before him, facing him and holding sticks.
2. The king (on the right of the scene) and the goddess Seshat are engaged in hammering boundary poles into the earth. The inscriptions accompanying this most ancient foundation scene are too badly damaged to enable a translation to be made.

Before discussing a possible order for the rites of the ritual, a brief account of some of the technical terms used in the rites will be given.

1. PD SS.

As stated above, this rite is known to have been practised since the Second Dynasty. Translated as "Stretching the Cord", this was the first phase of the process of laying out the ground plan, when the axis on the plan was marked out on the ground with a 12-knot cord.¹³

2. WH' W3W3T.

Translated as "Releasing the Cord", this rite is often found accompanying the previous rite in the title of one scene. The size and position of the temple were determined by means of four stakes and a length of rope.¹⁴

3. B3 T3.

The land on four sides of the site was hacked up with a hoe, to form trenches which would hold the foundation blocks of the building. Pits were excavated in the foundation trench at the points required.

4. SHT DBT.

This episode refers to the making of the bricks which were used in the foundation of the temple.

5. WS3 S'.

The ditch was filled with sand, mixed with sherds, for

sand protected the walls against the infiltration of water.

6. RDIT DBT.

At various points under the walls, foundation deposits were placed containing small models of tools and implements.¹⁵ At the four corners of the temple four bricks were placed. This was a very ancient, symbolic rite,¹⁶ and in some cases, the bricks were made of materials other than mud.¹⁷ At Edfu, a series of Foundation rites are depicted, and here, sixteen bricks are mentioned and depicted.¹⁸

7. WPS BSN.

The king, carrying a long stick and mace, "whitewashed" the building with bsn, which was probably chalk. In later periods, this represented a form of purification.

8. OFFERINGS.

At some point in the ceremony, offerings - the heads of geese and a bull - were placed in the ground.

In some temples, the Foundation and Consecration rites are combined in the same series of scenes. In the Temple of Sethos I at Abydos, the two sets of rites appear to be separate, with the Foundation Rites occurring in a very abbreviated form in the First Hypostyle Hall, and a representation of the Consecration Rites perhaps occupying the walls in the Stairway Passage.¹⁹ Since the following list of rites in other temples shows, in some cases, the series of both foundation and consecration rites together, it will here be relevant to consider briefly the second ritual,- the consecration of the temple.

When the building of the temple was completed, the temple was handed over to the god; this rite was repeated every year at a ceremony on New Year's Day, when the consecration was renewed, and a new life was granted to the temple itself and to all its reliefs and religious furnishing and equipment. This was brought about by the performance of the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony, which gave life to all inanimate articles and identified them with the beings they represented;²⁰ this rite was performed throughout the rooms of the temple. The renewal of life for the temple was further ensured by inscribing the relevant formulae of the rite upon the temple walls.

When all the necessary purifications had been completed, the king handed over the temple to the god to whom the sanctuary had been dedicated. The rite is entitled rdit pr n nb.f, and this concluded the ceremonies after the building of the temple

In reconstructing the order of episodes in the various temples we can safely assume that this is one of the final rites; also, the purifications of the temple must occur towards the end of the ceremony, when the building had been constructed and could then be purified. In some parts, at Edfu, however, a scene of adoration of the completed building should be read after the episode of rdit pr. Also, the meal which was given for the craftsmen who had built and decorated the temple and for the priests, this too would have succeeded the handing over of the temple to the god.

At Edfu, the foundation ritual is represented in four sets of scenes, which are listed below (TABLE I). List A is comprised of the scenes which occur on the South Wall (west and east sections) of the Inner Hypostyle Hall, and the East and West Walls. The scenes are listed as they occur alternately on west and east sections of the wall, and on the West and East Walls; where a particular rite is repeated, or where two rites are similar, the scenes are bracketed together, to show that this rite was performed both for Upper and for Lower Egypt. The wall on which each scene occurs is given on the chart, and also a number giving the position of the scene on each particular wall.

List B comprises scenes occurring on the west and east sections of the North Wall of the Outer Hypostyle Hall. Once again, the scenes are read alternately from wall to wall, and their relative position on the walls is shown on the charts.

In List C, the scenes occur on the West and South-west Walls in the Outer Hypostyle Hall. In the first episode, the title is lost, but it has tentatively been restored as h' m 'h. The scenes on the South-west Wall are read before those on the West Wall.

List D gives the scenes found on the Exterior of the Enclosure Wall (west side), Register 1. Episode 4 is destroyed, but is here restored as db3 snjyt, parallel to (7) in List A. Episodes (1) to (8) are directly concerned with the building of the temple; Episode (9) to (13) give a full list of the purifications of the temple, which is then handed over to its lord (Episode 14).

The order of the scenes in other temples is given by Kees²¹ and is set out in TABLE II below.

His order of episodes is given as follows;-

BUILDING.

1. Stretching the cord; releasing the plan-net.
2. Hacking up the earth.

3. Inauguration of the building work.
4. Smoothing the bricks.
5. Laying the first brick.
6. Making the bricks of precious materials.
7. Depositing the first blocks of stone.

DEDICATION RITES.

1. Purification of the temple.
2. Handing it over to the gods.

From TABLE II his order at Abydos reads as follows:-

1. Hacking up the earth.
2. Making the bricks.
3. Stretching the cord.
4. Offering wine.
5. Purification with bsn.
6. Offering four caskets.
7. Driving the calves.

From a brief survey of TABLE II, it will be seen that no clear ritual order emerges from such a classification of scenes. Two points are clear; first, the making of bricks must precede the laying of the bricks as a foundation deposit; secondly, the actual building episodes must precede the purification rites, the handing of the temple to the gods, and the banquet. Noting these requirements, we would suggest that the following order of episodes is logical:-

1. Stretching the cord. Releasing the plan-net.
2. Hacking up the ground.
3. Inauguration of the building work.
4. Making the bricks.
5. Laying the bricks.
6. Depositing the first blocks of stone.
7. Purification rites. (Either wps^v bsn or other purificatory rites.)

-
8. Giving the temple to its lord.
 9. A banquet.

²²
At Abydos, where an abbreviated version of the ritual occurs, we would suggest the following order, which corresponds to our sequence above.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Stretching the cord. | <u>PD SSR.</u> |
| 2. Hacking up the earth. | <u>B3 T3.</u> |
| 3. Making the bricks. | <u>SHT DBT.</u> |
| 4. Purification with <u>bsn</u> . | <u>WPS^v BSN.</u> |
| 5. Offering wine. | <u>HNK M IRP.</u> |

If the ritual at Abydos is reconstructed in this way, the scenes are read alternately from the Lower and Upper Registers, starting with the scene (PD [∇]SSR) in the Lower Register. This gives a logical sequence, and also corresponds to the suggested order in other parts of this temple, where the scenes are read from Lower to Upper Register respectively.

It now remains to be seen whether the order of reading the scenes alternately from Lower to Upper Register (which appears to be a satisfactory solution for the reconstruction of the Foundation Ritual at Abydos) can also be applied as a general rule to the remaining sets of scenes which occupy the walls of the First and Second Hypostyle Halls in this temple.

TABLE I.

LIST A.

Inner Hypostyle Hall, South Wall, west and east sections, East and West Walls.

	<u>WALL.</u>
1. <u>h' m 'h.</u> A. } 2. <u>h' m 'h.</u> B. } 3. <u>'k pr.</u>	S.W.1. S.E.1. S.W.2.
4. <u>b3 t3.</u>	S.E.2.
5. <u>pd s̄sr.</u>	S.W.3.
6. <u>sht dbt.</u>	S.E.3.
7. <u>db3 sntyt.</u>	W.1.
8. <u>hws st-wrt.</u>	E.1.
9. <u>rdit dbt.</u>	W.2.
10. <u>wp̄s bsn.</u> (west) } 11. <u>wp̄s bsn.</u> (east) }	W.3. E.2.
12. <u>rdit st-wrt n</u> } <u>nb.s</u>	W.4.
13. <u>rdit wtst.</u> }	E.3.
14. <u>dw3 st-wrt.</u> }	W.5.
15. <u>sw3s st nd</u> } <u>it.f.</u>	E.4.

LIST C.

Outer Hypostyle Hall, South-west and West Walls.

1. (<u>h' m 'h.</u>)	S.W.1.
2. <u>pd s̄sr</u>	S.W.2.
3. <u>b3 t3.</u>	W.1.
4. <u>db3 sntyt.</u>	W.2.
5. <u>hws st-wrt.</u>	W.3.
6. <u>wp̄s bsn.</u>	W.4.
7. <u>rdit pr n nb.f.</u>	W.5.
8. <u>irt hts hb.</u>	W.6.

LIST B.

Outer Hypostyle Hall, North Wall, west and east sections.

	<u>WALL.</u>
1. <u>h' m 'h.</u> A. } 2. <u>h' m 'h.</u> B. } 3. <u>sht dbt.</u>	N.W.1. N.E.1. N.W.2.
4. <u>b3 t3.</u>	N.E.2.
5. <u>pd s̄sr.</u> } 6. <u>pd s̄sr.</u> }	N.W.3. N.E.3.
7. <u>phr t3-mr.</u>	N.W.4.
8. <u>hwt Bhs w.</u>	N.E.4.
9. <u>phr sht.</u>	N.W.5.
10. <u>hnp kbhw.</u>	N.E.5.

LIST D.

Exterior Enclosure Wall, West side, Register 1.

1. <u>h' m 'h.</u>	
2. <u>pd s̄sr.</u>	
3. <u>b3 t3.</u>	
4. (<u>db3 sntyt</u>) Parallel to (7) in LIST A.	
5. <u>rdit dbwt.</u>	
6. <u>sht dbwt.</u>	
7. <u>hws st-wrt.</u>	
8. <u>wp̄s bsn.</u>	
9. <u>sw'b m sntr.</u>	
10. <u>sw'b m nmst 4.</u>	
11. <u>sw'b m d̄srt 4.</u>	
12. <u>sw'b m 5 t3w sm'.</u>	
13. <u>sw'b m 5 t3w Mhw.</u>	
14. <u>rdit pr n nb.f.</u>	

TABLE II.

<u>EPISODE.</u>	<u>KEES, PL. I.</u>					
	<u>RE'-HEILIGTUM</u>	<u>Tut. III.</u>	<u>Tut. III.</u>	<u>SETI.</u>	<u>R. II</u>	
	<u>ABUSIR.</u>	<u>Karnak.</u>	<u>M.H.</u>	<u>Amada.</u>	<u>Abyd.</u>	<u>Karnak.</u>
<u>pd s^vsr.</u>	1.	4.	1.	-	3. 1.*	1.
<u>b^v3 t^v3.</u>	2.	2.	3.	-	1. 2.*	3.
<u>ws^v3 s^v3.</u>	3.	-	-	-	-	-
<u>sht dbt.</u>	4.	3.	4.	-	2. 3.*	4.
<u>rdit dbt.</u>	5?	-	-	-	-	-
King enters temple.	-	1.	-	-	-	-
Purification of temple.	-	5.	2.	-	-	2.
<u>rdi pr n nb.f.</u>	-	-	-	-	-	5.
Offering wine.	-	-	-	-	4. 5.*	-
<u>wp^vs bsn.</u>	-	-	-	-	5. 4.*	-
Four caskets.	-	-	-	-	6. 6.*	-
<u>hwt B_hsw.</u>	-	-	-	-	7. 7.*	-

Our own suggested order of episodes at Abydos is shown here, and marked *. Kees' version of the Abydos episodes is given also.

THE ORDER IN THE TWO HYPOSTYLE HALLS.

We must now consider the order of the scenes which occur in the Hypostyle Halls and in order to do so it will be necessary first to discover the purpose for which the two Halls were originally built.

There are certain possibilities; first, they may have been constructed to serve as processional ways leading directly to the seven chapels of the Sanctuary area. Secondly, they may have been built with the idea of using them for other rituals of quite a different nature. Thirdly, they may have been intended to serve both of these purposes.

First, we shall consider the evidence for regarding the Halls as processional ways leading to the chapels. Another question which immediately presents itself is whether the Halls should be regarded as two separate units or whether they can be regarded as a single, complete entity. In our discussion of them as a processional way, it is logical, it is felt, to treat them as one continuous unit.

Before progressing any further, it is necessary now to enumerate the scenes in these two Halls which have any connection with the use of the Halls as a processional way. We have already indicated that the niches in the West Wall of the Second Hypostyle Hall were connected with the seven chapels which lay beyond rather than with the ritual in the Hall itself. One might have expected that the West Wall itself would be decorated with scenes of a similar nature; however, they in fact appear to have no connection with the processional routes to the chapels. On Alley I, for instance, where one would have expected the scene on the adjoining wall to refer to a rite performed on behalf of the dead, deified king, in this position on the West Wall, the scene has no link with that chapel, but shows Ptah receiving flowers from the living king. Apart from the niches, the West Wall shows scenes which belong to another ritual.

It has also been shown how the columns in the Second Hypostyle Hall were decorated in such a way as to form seven processional aisles, leading to the respective chapels.

Apart from this, it appears that only the doorways on the aisles (east and west in both halls) and the East Wall in the Second Hypostyle Hall had in fact any direct connection with the idea of the Hypostyle Halls as processional ways leading to the chapels. The scenes on the doorways along the aisle leading to the Sethos Chapel (Alley I), for example, are decorated

in quite a different manner from those on the doorways along the aisles leading to the other six chapels; the scenes on these doorways are definitely linked with the chapels at the end of each aisle, and probably provide either an introduction, conclusion, or supplement to the events in each chapel. Each aisle appears to be a self-contained unit, not linked horizontally with its neighbours, and, since the main entrance to the temple leads into the First Hypostyle Hall, it is logical that these processions lead in each instance from the main entrance to the chapels, from east to west; all the scenes in the Hypostyle Halls which relate to the processions were therefore representations of rites which, at least in theory, preceded the Daily Temple Ritual.

The East Wall of the Second Hypostyle Hall must therefore now be considered. As has already been shown, on this wall, the panels of scenes which occur between each of the chapels can be divided vertically down the centre, so that the Upper and Lower scene on each side of the dividing line can then be read in connection with the adjoining doorway. If this pattern is followed, as can be seen, the scenes become grouped into rites performed on behalf of the seven deities; a series of offerings are made to each divinity before the procession moved forward towards the chapels. Thus, we have on the East Wall,- (See PLAN 11)

A. THE SETHOS CHAPEL.

(On the left side of DOOR IE.^b)

1. Lower Register.
Sekhmet presents two staffs to the deified king.
2. Upper Register.
Sethos receives jubilees from Mut.
3. Above Entrance. (left side.)
Thoth baptises Sethos.
4. Above Entrance. (right side.)
'Iwn-mwt.f censes Sethos; Hapy brings offerings.

These scenes are all performed for the dead king, proving that they are connected ultimately with the Chapel of Sethos. All the following scenes attached to the worship of the other deities are performed by the living king for the gods.

B. THE PTAH CHAPEL.

(On either side of DOOR IIE.^b)

1. Lower Register.(right panel.)
King censes Ptah.
2. Upper Register.(right panel)
Offers Ma'at to Ptah.

C. THE RE'-HARAKHTE CHAPEL.

(On either side of DOOR IIE.^b)

1. Lower Register.(Right panel.)
Offers ointment to R.H.
2. Upper Register.(right panel).
Offers milk to Atum.

3. Lintel. (right)
Presents Ma'at to Ptah.
4. Lower Register. (left)
Presents nmst to Ptah.
5. Upper Register. (left)
Presents wine to Ptah.
6. Lintel. (left)
skr t-hd. Ptah.

D. THE AMEN-RE' CHAPEL.

(On either side of DOOR IVE^b)

1. Lower Register. (right)
Censing. Amen-Re'.
2. Upper Register. (right)
dw3 ntr. Amen-Re'.
3. Lintel. (right)
Offering Ma'at. Amen-Re',
and a goddess.
4. Lower Register. (left)
Censing. Amen-Re'.
5. Upper Register. (left)
dw3 ntr. Amen-Re'.
6. Lintel. (left)
Offers Ma'at. Amen-Re' and
Mut.

F. THE ISIS CHAPEL.

(On either side of DOOR VIE^b)

1. Lower Register. (right)
Censing and libation. Isis.
2. Upper Register. (right)
rdit md. Isis.
3. Lintel. (right)
Presents flowers. Isis.
4. Lower Register. (left)
Offers libation. Isis.
5. Upper Register. (left)
Offers incense. Isis.
6. Lintel. (left)
Offers wine. Isis.

3. Lintel. (right)
Presents B'yt-bread to R.H.
4. Lower Register. (left)
f3i ht to R.H.
5. Upper Register. (left)
irt sntr for R.H.
6. Lintel. (left)
Presents flowers. Khepri.

E. THE OSIRIS CHAPEL.

(On either side of DOOR VE^b)

1. Lower Register. (right)
f3i htpt. Osiris.
2. Upper Register. (right)
irt sntr. Osiris.
3. Lintel. (right)
hnk md. Osiris.
4. Lower Register. (left)
irt dbht-htp. Osiris.
5. Upper Register. (left)
Offers Ma'at. Osiris.
6. Lintel. (left)
Nmst-vessel. Osiris.

G. THE HORUS CHAPEL.

(On right side of DOOR VIIE^b)

1. Lower Register. (right)
rdit wsh. Horus.
2. Upper Register.
nd.hr m nmst. Horus.
3. Lintel. (right)
Presents incense. Horus.
4. Lintel. (left)
Presents incense to Horus;
Hapy brings offerings.

Thus, the pattern is the same for all sections, except those of Sethos (IE^b) and Horus (VIIE^b) at either end, where the wall space limits the number of scenes which could be attached to each god.

Thus, in the two Halls, the only material which is relevant to their use as processional ways is found first along the columns (Second Hypostyle Hall) forming each aisle, secondly on the doorways (east and west in both halls) along each aisle; on the East Wall in the Second Hypostyle Hall, and in the niches in the West Wall in the same Hall.

As can be seen from this analysis, apart from the scenes on the doorways, the First Hypostyle Hall appears to supply us with scenes which have no connection with the processional ways. Perhaps it was originally intended that these scenes should occur in both Halls, but the First Hypostyle Hall was decorated by Ramesses, who possibly discarded his father's scheme (if such a scheme ever in fact existed.)

Since so little of the decoration of these two Halls now appears to bear any relation to the seven chapels, we must therefore attempt to ascertain which ritual or rituals it in fact does represent, and, also, whether, in connection with these rituals, the First and Second Hypostyle Halls may be regarded as a unit, or as two separate chambers.

If the North and South Walls of both these Halls are considered, it is evident that they have no connection with the Daily Temple Ritual. In the First and Second Halls, on the North Wall, the king faces the rear of the temple in all the scenes; on the South Walls, the king faces the rear of the temple in all except the top west scene in the First Hall, and the two scenes in the Lower Register in the Second Hall. We hope to show that the scenes on the South Walls of both Halls form a consecutive series; also, that this is true of the two North Walls. We would suggest that, in this case, the Second Hall is a continuation of the First; although these scenes move in the same direction as the processions which led the king to the deities of the chapels, and although the two outer processions would have progressed past these scenes, we do not consider that the North and South Walls were connected with the ritual of the aisles.

In the First Hall, the scenes on the North and South Walls are obviously parallel, and they appear to represent two separate series of rites, based on the same theme; both sets of scenes are connected with kingship rituals. In the Second Hall, on the South Wall, the king is shown as the recipient of the cult, and on the North Wall, he appears as the officiant performing rites for Osiris. The scenes on the South Wall are connected with the Sethos Chapel, the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors, and the Gallery of the Lists; we would suggest that, here, the king, already

dead, and a god, was being installed as the King of the Dead.

The scenes on the North Wall are connected with the Osiris Chapel and the Osiris Complex; we would suggest that, here, ultimately, the king is installed as a king, an Osiris, and King of the Gods.

Thus, these scenes progress from the main Entrance, in an east to west direction, along the North and South Walls of the First and Second Halls.

The next problem is to ascertain how, first, the East and West Walls in the First Hypostyle Hall, and, secondly, the West Wall in the Second Hypostyle Hall, fit into the scheme. With regard to the East and West Walls in the First Hall, there are several possibilities; they are divided into northern and southern sections; they may represent a separate ritual (or two separate rituals) from those scenes found on the North and South Walls, or they may be connected with the scenes on the North and South Walls.

Several facts are at once apparent; the four scenes at the north end of the East Wall are concerned with the Foundation Ritual which has already been discussed, and these have no connection with the remainder of the scenes. The other scenes on the West and East Walls have very definite links with kingship rituals; they divide into two sections, a southern and a northern, on both walls, on either side of Amen-Re'Doorway (DOORS IVE^a and IVW^a). Similar scenes occur in both the northern and the southern halves; it appears that the southern half is concerned with the creation of the king as an Upper Egyptian ruler, while the northern section deals with his coronation as a Lower Egyptian ruler.

We would tentatively suggest that the scenes on the East and West Walls do form part of the sequence of rituals of which other rites occur on the South and North Walls. Not only are the series of scenes on both South and North Walls apparently incomplete without the addition of the rites found on the East and West Walls,-for all four walls supply us with episodes in kingship rituals,- but also evidence can be found that the South Wall is connected, like the southern end of the West and East Walls, with Upper Egypt, while the North Wall is linked, like the northern portion of the West and East Walls, with Lower Egypt.

We now therefore give a table of our reading of the order of these scenes, before attempting to show their connection with the scenes in the Second Hypostyle Hall.

PROPOSED ORDER OF SCENES IN THE FIRST HYPOSTYLE HALL. (PLAN 10)

SOUTH WALL, LOWER REGISTER.

A. PREPARATION RITES.

- I. Modelling the king.
- II. Suckling the king.

B. PRELIMINARY RITES.

- III. Baptism of Pharaoh.

EAST AND WEST WALLS.

C. OFFERINGS.

BETWEEN IVW^a AND IIIW^a

LOWER.

- IV. RDIT MD.

BETWEEN IVW^a AND IIIW^a

UPPER.

- V. IRT SNTR KBHW.

D. FIXING CROWNS.

BETWEEN IIIW^a AND IIW^a

LOWER.

- VI. FIXING CROWNS.

E. POST-CORONATION OFFERING.

BETWEEN IIIW^a AND IIW^a

UPPER.

- VII. HNK M3'T.

F. RECORDS NAME.

BETWEEN IIW^a AND IW^a

LOWER.

- VIII. RECORDS NAME.

G. EXIT.

BETWEEN IIW^a AND IW^a

UPPER.

- IX. DRAGS BARK OF SOKER.

NORTH WALL, LOWER REGISTER.

- 1. Offers hn-symbol.

B. PRELIMINARY RITES.

- 2. Induction.
- 3. Baptism of Pharaoh.

EAST AND WEST WALLS.

C. OFFERINGS.

BETWEEN IVW^a AND VW^a

LOWER.

- 4. HNK MD.

BETWEEN IVW^a AND VW^a

UPPER.

- 5. IRT SNTR KBHW.

D. RECEIVES INSIGNIA.

BETWEEN VW^a AND VIW^a

LOWER.

- 6. RECEIVES INSIGNIA AND JUBILEES.

E. RECORDS NAME.

BETWEEN VW^a AND VIW^a

UPPER.

- 7. RECORDS NAME.

F. RECEIVES CROWNS AND INSIGNIA.

BETWEEN VIW^a AND VIIW^a

LOWER.

- 8. RECEIVES MENIT.

BETWEEN VIW^a AND VIIW^a

LOWER.

- 9. RECEIVES CROWNS.

G. NOURISHMENT.

BETWEEN VIW^a AND VIIW^a

UPPER.

- 10. SUCKLING THE KING.

SOUTH WALL, UPPER REGISTER.

H. ACCEPTANCE BY THE GOD.

X. RUNS WITH A BIRD.

(King wears White Crown.)

I. DECREE TO THE ENNEAD.

XI. ADDRESSES ENNEAD.

EAST WALL.

J. INDUCTION AS A DEAD KING.

BETWEEN IVE^a AND IIIE^a

LOWER.

XII. INDUCTION.

K. OFFERING.

BETWEEN IVE^a AND IIIE^a

UPPER.

XIII. HRP KBHW.

King wears White Crown.

BETWEEN IIIE^a AND IIE^a

LOWER.

XIV. OFFERS NEFERTEM SYMBOL.

L. INSTALLING THE KING.

BETWEEN IIIE^a AND IIE^a

UPPER.

XV. SM3 T3WY. Upper Egyptian Wepwawet.

M. THE BANQUET.

BETWEEN IIE^a AND IE^a

LOWER.

XVI. IRT HTP-DI-NSW.

N. EXIT.

BETWEEN IIE^a AND IE^a

UPPER.

XVII. DRAGS SOKER.

King wears Upper Egyptian Crown.

NORTH WALL, UPPER REGISTER.

H. ACCEPTANCE BY THE GOD.

11. RUNS WITH A BIRD.

12. GODS EMBRACE KING.

I. DECREE TO THE ENNEAD.

13. ADDRESSES ENNEAD.

King said to be exercising his Lower Egyptian kingship.

J. RECORDS NAME.

14. Writes king's name.

EAST WALL.

K. INDUCTION AS A KING WHO WILL ULTIMATELY BE AN OSIRIS.

BETWEEN IVE^a AND VE^a

LOWER.

15. INDUCTION.

L. OFFERING.

BETWEEN IVE^a AND VE^a

UPPER.

16. CENSING AND LIBATION.

King wears Red Crown.

We would therefore suggest that the scenes in the south half of the Hall represent the Introduction of the King (South Wall, Lower Register), his coronation (West Wall, Lower and Upper Registers), and his acceptance by the gods and the Ennead (South Wall, Upper Register). He is now the Upper Egyptian king. Then, as a dead king, he is again inducted and his kingship re-asserted, (East Wall, south end, Upper and Lower Registers), before, as we will see in the Second Hypostyle Hall, he is translated into the King of the Dead.

In the First Hall, on the north side, the scenes represent the Induction of the King (North Wall, Lower Register), his coronation as Lower Egyptian King (West Wall, north side, Upper and Lower Registers), his acceptance by the gods and the Ennead (North Wall, Upper Register), and his Induction to be made an Osiris (East Wall, Upper and Lower scenes). Here, the sequence is interrupted by the Foundation scenes at the north end of the East Wall. Thus, in this way, we have a logical order of scenes, which, reading the scenes first in the Lower and then in the Upper Registers, corresponds to the order we have already suggested for the reading of the Foundation scenes in this Hall.

The rituals now continue into the Second Hypostyle Hall, where, on the South Wall, we hope to show that the king (already dead) becomes King of the Dead, and on the North Wall, the king ultimately becomes an Osiris. The order which we suggest for these parallel sets of scenes is as follows.

PROPOSED ORDER OF SCENES IN THE SECOND HYPOSTYLE HALL. (PLAN 11)

SOUTH WALL, LOWER REGISTER.

PRELIMINARY RITES.

- I. BAPTISM OF PHARAOH.
- II. OFFERING TO KING BY GOD.
- III. PLACING ON HANDS.

WEST WALL, UPPER AND LOWER.
(SOUTH)

MAKING A KING; PROTECTING AND NOURISHING HIM.

BETWEEN IVW^b AND IIIW^b
UPPER.

- IV. PRESENTS INSIGNIA.

BETWEEN IVW^b AND IIIW^b
LOWER.

- V. SUCKLES KING.

- VI. GIVES BREATH OF LIFE.

BETWEEN IIIW^b AND IIW^b
UPPER.

- VII. INSCRIBES JUBILEES.

BETWEEN IIIW^b AND IIW^b
LOWER.

- VIII. GIVES BREATH OF LIFE.

- IX. GIVES THE BREATH OF LIFE.

BETWEEN IIW^b AND IW^b
UPPER.

- X. PRESENTS FLOWERS. (A POST-CORONATION OFFERING.)

BETWEEN IIW^b AND IW^b
LOWER.

- XI. RECEIVES MENIT.

- XII. LAYS ON HANDS.

SOUTH WALL, UPPER.

POST-CORONATION RITES.

(The scene of offering to Soker at the west end of this wall is connected with the Gallery of the Lists, over which Entrance it extends.)

- XIII. OFFERS CASKETS.

- XIV. DRIVES CALVES.

NORTH WALL, LOWER REGISTER.

PRELIMINARY RITES.

- 1. PURIFICATION. (INCENSE, LIBATION)
- 2. OFFERING TO OSIRIS BY KING.
(IRT-HTP-DI-NSW.)
- 3. DW3 NTR.
- 4. HNK M3'T.

WEST WALL, UPPER AND LOWER.
(NORTH)

MAKING A KING; PROTECTING AND NOURISHING HIM.

BETWEEN IVW^b AND VW^b
UPPER.

- 5. PRESENTS INSIGNIA.

BETWEEN IVW^b AND VW^b
LOWER.

- 6. GIVES BREATH OF LIFE.

- 7. NURSES KING.

BETWEEN VW^b AND VIW^b
UPPER.

- 8. IRT SNTR N HR N NTR.

BETWEEN VW^b AND VIW^b
LOWER.

- 9. LAYS ON HANDS.

- 10. GIVES BREATH OF LIFE.

BETWEEN VIW^b AND VIIW^b
UPPER.

- 11. RECEIVES STAFFS AND JUBILEES.

BETWEEN VIW^b AND VIIW^b
LOWER.

- 12. GIVES BREATH OF LIFE.

- 13. LAYS ON HANDS.

NORTH WALL, UPPER.

- 14. RECEIVES INSIGNIA.

POST-CORONATION RITES.

- 15. OFFERS LIBATION.

- 16. OFFERING LIST.

- 17. OFFERS TRUTH.

Thus, in this Hall, on the North and South Walls, Lower registers, we have the preliminary rites to the Coronations of the king as King of the Gods, as an Osiris, on one hand, and as King of the Dead, on the other. Then, on the West wall, Upper and Lower registers, on the north side, the King receives his insignia in the upper register, and his nourishment to sustain him in this new rôle, in the lower register; on the south side, the same pattern is followed to make Sethos King of the Dead. In the Upper registers on the North and South walls, the post-deification rites occur.

Thus, in the two halls, within each hall the ritual of kingship is, to some extent, self-contained, as would be expected since the halls were decorated at different times and by different rulers. However, on the other hand, the ritual is conceived of as continuing from the First to the Second Hall, giving a complete version of the creation of a king as ruler of the Two Lands, and also, as King of the Dead, and ^{as} Osiris. Elsewhere, as in the Hypostyle Halls at Edfu, the Coronation scenes occur, but in such a temple, they occur only in relation to the living king; at Abydos, in its rôle as a mortuary temple connected with the Ancestor cult, and in its relation to the cult of Osiris, the kingship scenes are of a more complex nature. In the kingship scenes, here, the main emphasis is of course directed towards these two main aspects of the temple.

The rituals which are included within these two halls may thus be summarised:-

1. The Foundation Ritual. (North end, East wall, First Hall)
2. Processional rites, leading to the seven chapels.
(Door-jambs, First and Second Halls; Columns, East Wall, and Niches in West wall, Second Hall.)
3. Special forms of the kingship rituals. (First Hall, North, South, East and West walls; Second Hall, North, South and West walls.)

The Foundation Ritual, the scenes of which appear to have been cut over earlier carving, was perhaps included here because no other space could be found to accommodate it; such episodes had, of course, to appear fairly near the main entrance of the temple, and so it was included here in a very abbreviated form. It cannot, however, be regarded as the main decoration of the hall. Neither, we feel, can the main purpose of the two halls have been their use as processional ways leading to the chapels. Because of the number of scenes devoted to the ritual, and because of their obvious connection with the main mortuary and Osirian uses of this temple, it is most likely that the

kingship rituals were the most important elements in the two halls. The processional use of the Halls was a secondary consideration. Even in the scenes on the West and East Walls in the First Hall and the West Wall in the Second Hall, however, which are connected with the kingship rituals, the deities who perform the rites are, in most cases, the divinities on the aisle of whose chapels the scenes occur. Thus, it seems that in the kingship ritual itself, the gods of the six chapels are still given a prominent position in the creation of the new king.

Earlier it was mentioned, when considering the nomes in these two halls, that a further examination of their orientation with regard to the scenes above the soubassment would be given. Their processional orientation, (and even less their geographical orientation) appears to bear but little relation to the scenes found above the soubassment, in the Lower and Upper Registers of each wall. The nomes on the East and West Walls of the Halls are, for the most part, too confused in their numbering to be of any assistance; in the First Hall, on these two walls, the nome processions appear to move in the opposite direction from our reading of the scenes above. On the North and South Walls of the two Halls, the processions of nomes move from east to west, in the same direction as our reading of the Lower Registers on these two walls, and in the same direction in which we read the progression of scenes from one hall to the next, -from east to west. From the distribution of the nomes, one might have expected that the First Hall would have been devoted entirely to Upper Egyptian rituals, and the Second Hall to Lower Egyptian rituals, or a mixture of both; this is not the case; the division into Upper and Lower Egyptian rites occurs only in the First Hall and it is a division into north and south sections. Thus, the evidence of the nomes is of little assistance in ascertaining the sequence of the ritual, and it must be supposed that their inclusion in these halls was merely to ensure the fecundity of the land and the abundance of the food-supplies during the king's reign, throughout Egypt.

One last comment must be made on the decoration of the doorways in both halls. Each of the doorways on the processional aisles (except in the East Wall, Second Hall) is divided vertically into an Upper and Lower Egyptian section; the Upper Egyptian section occurs on the south side, and the Lower Egyptian on the north side, thus corresponding to our division of the First Hall into such areas. (See plan, p. 116)

The other doorways in the Second Hall, such as those

leading into the Gallery of the Lists and the Nefertem Complex, are decorated with scenes which are obviously not connected with the rituals of the Second Hall, but with the chambers to which they lead.

CHAPTER IV

THE SIX CHAPELS

OF THE SANCTUARY AREA

GENERAL FEATURES OF THE SANCTUARY AREA AT ABYDOS.

As has been already stated, the sanctuary of a temple was regarded as a place of great spiritual potency, for it was the resting-place of the god's statue, situated at the rear of the temple, where the cultus-image was hidden from the gaze of all except the king or the high-priest.

In the Temple of Sethos I at Abydos, the sanctuary area was comprised of seven chapels, - a unique feature in temple architecture, - and the scenes and inscriptions in all except the Chapel of Sethos were closely related. The Chapel of Sethos was designed for a different purpose, and its use will be discussed below. In the other six chapels, the reliefs, for the most part, depict episodes performed in the Daily Temple Ritual, on behalf of the deity to whom the chapel was dedicated. The reliefs are arranged in two horizontal registers in each chapel, and are interrupted only by the doors and false doors which occur in the East and West Walls of the Chapels.

Architecturally, the seven shrines are identical, apart from one or two minor variations. Built in the shape of primitive hut-shrines, they are small, rectangular rooms, roofed with corbelled slabs of stone;¹ these ceilings are curved in imitation of the hooped roof of a primitive hut-shrine,² and are remarkable because they are carved from single blocks of stone.³ According to one account,⁴ from the outside, these rooms, which are vaulted and rectangular, resemble enormous sarcophagi.

Each chapel has a doorway at the east end; at one time, no doubt, wooden door-leaves would have been attached to these stone doorways. At the west end of all the chapels except that of Osiris, there is a stone wall, carved to represent a shut and bolted double wooden door topped by panelling.⁵ In the Osiris Chapel, however, at the west end, there is a true door, which is the sole means of access to the Osiris Complex. The double false doors at the west end of each of the six chapels were probably each intended to provide the spirit of the deity of the chapel with a means of entry into the chamber, so that, at the appropriate moment in the ritual, the god's spirit could enter the cultus-image.

The false doors in the Chapels of Re'-Harakhete, Horus, Isis, Ptah and Amen-Re' are all decorated with borders which give the titulary of Sethos I, and on both leaves of each carved door, there is a scene showing the king presenting wine to the relevant deity. On the false door in the Sethos Chapel, however, on each of the two door-leaves, there is a scene which shows the king

accompanied by his Ka. On the left side, the scene is decorated with an inscription which reads,-

"Appearance in glory of the king, like Re', forever."

On the right side, the inscription reads,-

"Appearance in glory of the king in the Great House."

In each of the six chapels, representations of boat-shrines occur; these sacred barks would have been used to carry the portable statues of the gods around the temple during festival processions. In the Chapels of Isis, Horus, Re'-Harakhte and probably Ptah (although one wall is destroyed), a boat-shrine is illustrated on both the North and South Walls; in the Chapel of Amen-Re', a boat-shrine is depicted on the North and South Walls, accompanied in each case by two smaller barks; in the Chapel of Osiris, a boat-shrine is shown only on the North Wall. In each instance, the boat-shrine is being censed by the king, and the door-leaves of the shrine enclosing the boat are shown to be open in the Chapels of Isis (South Wall), Amen-Re' (North and South Walls), Re'-Harakhte (North and South Walls), Ptah (North Wall), and Horus (South Wall), while they are shown to be closed in the Chapel of Osiris, the Chapel of Isis (North Wall), and the Chapel of Horus (North Wall); the scene of the bark on the South Wall in the Chapel of Ptah is destroyed.

In each of these chapels, the rites of censing these barks represent episodes in the Daily Temple Ritual. We believe that these barks, shown in parallel positions on the North and South Walls, are not depicted in the chapels for purposes of decoration, but because, at one time, replicas of these boat-shrines actually rested in these chapels and formed the central feature in the performance of the ritual here. There was probably one such boat-shrine in each chapel, except in the Chapel of Amun, where, according to the reliefs, three barks occurred, dedicated perhaps to the triad of Amun, Mut and Khons.

In some Egyptian temples, a sanctuary was provided to accommodate a cult-shrine, containing a stationary cultus-image which was probably made of metal overlaid with gold and stood several feet high; another sanctuary also existed, open at both ends, to house the boat-shrine, containing the sacred bark, which was used to convey a smaller, lighter cultus-image on processions; the stationary image was too heavy for purposes of transportation.

In other temples, however, it is thought that a separate cultus-image and boat-shrine were sometimes placed together in the one sanctuary.

In the chapels at Abydos, it is apparent that there is insufficient space to accommodate both a separate cultus-image and a boat-shrine in each chapel, and no provision is made for secondary sanctuaries to contain either the cultus-images or the boat-shrines. Since boat-shrines are depicted on the walls of the chapels, we would suggest that it was a boat-shrine, containing a small image of the god, which replaced a cultus-statue in each chapel, and that, in each case, the boat-shrine played a double rôle. This is borne out by the fact that a separate shrine containing a stationary statue is not illustrated in any of the chapels.

Thus, we believe that, at Abydos, the boat-shrines and their portable statues were the central feature in the Daily Temple Ritual. On the North Walls of the chapels, the scene depicting the boat-shrine represents the episode for "Offering incense, when uncovering the face, with a censer." The fact that the reference to "uncovering the face" of the god's statue occurs here, in connection with the representation of the boat-shrine, affords further proof that, in the ritual at Abydos, the free-standing cultus-image was replaced by a boat-shrine which contained a small, portable image of the god, upon which the rites were performed.

It has been mentioned that some slight differences exist between the seven chapels, with regard to their architectural features. The Chapel of Amen-Re' is larger than the other chapels, and is situated on the main axis of the temple, as befitted the chapel of the most important deity. This chapel is approached by means of a flight of steps and not by an inclined plane, as in the case of the other six chapels.⁶ Originally, these chapels, one of the few areas built and almost completed in the reign of Sethos, were approached through seven entrances in the First and Second Halls; in addition, the columns in these halls were so arranged as to form seven processional ways leading up to the chapels. However, the doorways which were between the Second Court and the First Hypostyle Hall were later blocked up by Ramesses II, who left open only the entrance to the Chapel of Amen-Re'. It is possible, therefore, that this main chapel on the axis was the only chapel where the daily ritual was actually performed, the other chapels being merely "dummy" chapels, which served a symbolic purpose. This, however, cannot be stated with any certainty, for it is equally possible that the ritual was performed either simultaneously or consecutively in five of the chapels.⁷ If this latter suggestion is true, then perhaps the entrances and processional routes in the Hypostyle Halls were only intended

for use during the great festivals, and since Ramesses II needed this wall space for other reliefs, he considered the entrances which were between the Second Court and the First Hypostyle Hall to be an unnecessary feature, and removed all except the central one, which would provide a means of access for the priests entering to perform the daily ritual, not only to the Chapel of Amen-Re', but to the four other chapels as well.

THE DAILY TEMPLE RITUAL.

The Daily Temple Ritual, performed for every temple deity in Egypt, incorporated both early solar and Osirian rites; at one time, the liturgies of the sun-god and of Osiris had been separate rituals, celebrated independently, but by the 18th Dynasty, they had gradually influenced each other to such an extent that they combined to form one ritual.¹

According to solar belief, the sun-god died at night, and was born anew each morning; in order that this theory could be applied to every temple deity without appearing to be too inconsistent, all gods, for the purpose of this ritual, were likened to the sun-god.

The mythological origin of the temple is thought to have been Memphite, but the daily ritual performed in the temple was probably Heliopolitan in origin.² Originally, it was believed that the sun-god underwent lustration every morning before he appeared in the eastern horizon; from this developed the Heliopolitan toilet of the ancient kings, who embodied the sun-god. This ritual was preserved in the Rite of the House of the Morning, and the Ceremony of Opening the Mouth;³ the Daily Temple Ritual was also based on this early Heliopolitan toilet. The cultus-image symbolised the god, for the purposes of the ritual, and the toilet and purification performed on behalf of the statue were thought to represent the re-birth of the sun-god, the rising of the sun out of the water each morning. The ritual act of washing the body of the god, or cult-statue, was based upon a Heliopolitan rite, and symbolised new birth and immortality; this was an essential act in many rituals, for the Ancient Egyptians always associated water and life.⁴

In addition to representing the daily re-birth of the sun-god, the Daily Temple Ritual in time became influenced by the cult of Osiris. Thus, the original solar ritual eventually combined certain funerary elements as well, and the ritual also became regarded as the imitation of the death and resurrection of Osiris; it daily symbolised the restoration to life of Osiris by his son, Horus, after he had been slain by Seth. The cultus-image represented the body of Osiris, which Seth had dismembered, and it was the daily duty of the king(or high-priest), representing Horus, to renew this body and restore to the god his life-spirit, which was thought to be contained within the "Eye of Horus". This Eye, it was believed, represented the creative force of the universe, and gave the god the power to live and create;⁵ the officiant, impersonating Horus, restored life to the god each morning; thus,

the Daily Temple Ritual took place to enable the god to live.

For cult purposes, every divinity, as well as being regarded as Re', was now also considered to represent Osiris; the perfume, make-up, and coloured cloths presented to the statue were similar to those which constituted the costume of Osirian mummies;⁶ the crown and insignia were believed to be charged with super-human powers,⁷ and the meal which was presented to the statue⁸ was supposed to imbue the god with magical and divine powers. Certain similarities also exist between the texts associated with the rites of the Daily Ritual and the Pyramid Texts of the Old Kingdom.

Despite the Osirianisation of the ritual, the form of the ritual nevertheless remained basically solar, although new interpretations were now given to many of the rites. This association of ideas was easily introduced, since, in both the solar and Osirian beliefs, the god was re-born at frequent intervals after a brief period of non-existence.

The Daily Temple Ritual provided a means of frequent communication between the god and the king, who was both high-priest and son of the god, in his rôle of Horus, for it is thought to have been performed three times daily, at dawn, midday, and in the evening. The part which the king played in temple worship has already been outlined in the Introduction to this work, and it need only be stated here that, as the bodily son of Osiris, in theory, the king alone was qualified to perform the ritual to restore his father to life; in return for this, he was assured of his inheritance, - the land of Egypt.

To the Ancient Egyptians, the Daily Temple Ritual was a rational representation of two separate beliefs, originally contained in the solar and Osirian concepts; these elements were combined, to symbolise the re-birth of the god and the eternal relationship between god and king. Above all, the performance of the ritual was thought to ensure the continuing prosperity of the Two Lands.

The sources for our knowledge of the rites found in this ritual must now be discussed. The reliefs in the six chapels of the sanctuary area in the Temple of Abydos provide us with a more complete set of episodes of the ritual than is found in any other temple where this ritual is represented. Even at Abydos, however, we do not have a complete version of the ritual.

However, in the Berlin Papyrus,⁹ we are given a more extensive list of episodes; this papyrus is believed to be a condensed version of another, as yet undiscovered, service-book, from which both the Abydos and this liturgy were taken. The Berlin Papyrus dates from Dynasty 22, and sets out a list of episodes of the

Ritual of Amun which was performed in the Temple of Karnak. In the six chapels of Abydos, there are twenty-nine episodes which are also found in the Berlin Papyrus; thus, the Abydos version would appear to be a shortened version of the corresponding series in the Karnak Liturgy, which contains sixty-six episodes. According to Blackman,¹⁰ this is explained by the fact that, whereas the Karnak Liturgy was written on papyrus and could therefore be as extensive as was necessary, the Abydos series was limited to a certain number of scenes, because of the limitations of the wall space. In his work on the subject, Moret¹¹ divides the episodes which form the Karnak Liturgy into the following sections and sub-sections:-

1. PURIFICATION OF THE SANCTUARY AND OF THE PRIEST.

Chapters 1 to 6.

(These preliminary episodes do not occur at Abydos.)

2. OPENING OF THE SHRINE; THE GOD RECEIVES HIS SPIRIT.

A. FIRST OPENING OF THE SHRINE.

- a) The Doors of the Shrine are opened.
(Chapters 7,8,9.)
- b) Appearance of the god.
(Chapters 10,11.)
- c) Prostrations before the god.
(Chapters 12 to 17.)
- d) Hymns to Amon.
(Chapters 18, 19.)
- e) Anointing and censuring.
(Chapters 20, 21.)
- f) The priest embraces the god and imbues him with his spirit.
(Chapters 22 to 24.)

B. SECOND OPENING OF THE SHRINE.

- a) Opening of the doors of the shrine.
(Chapter 25.)
- b) Appearance of the god.
(Chapters 26 to 28.)
- c) Prostrations before the god.
(Chapters 29 to 34.)
- d) Censuring.
(Chapters 35,36.)
- e) Hymns to Amon.
(Chapters 37 to 41.)
- f) The offering of Ma'at.
(Chapter 42.)

C. CENSING OF THE ENNEAD OF GODS.

(Chapter 43.)

3. TOILET OF THE GOD.

- a) Preliminaries.
(Chapters 44, 45.)
- b) Purification with water and incense.
(Chapters 46 to 48.)
- c) Dressing the statue of the god.
(Chapters 49 to 53.)
- d) Anointing with unguent.
(Chapters 54 to 57.)

4. REPLACING THE STATUE IN THE SHRINE.

Chapters 58 to 59.

5. FINAL PURIFICATIONS.

Chapters 60 to 66.

In the Abydos Liturgy, certain episodes occur which are not present in the Karnak Liturgy.¹² These are as follows:-

1. r n sfh mnht.

Moret compares this with Chapter 9 of the Karnak Liturgy - r n sfh db'wt.¹³

2. r n dfw pr-wr.¹⁴ Moret equates this with Chapter 22 of the Karnak Liturgy, - r n 'k r hwt-ntr.

3. r n rdit md.¹⁵ According to Moret, this corresponds to Chapters 54, 55, and 20 of the Karnak Liturgy.

4. r n int rd m h3dn.¹⁶

5. r n 'k r shm.¹⁷

6. r n sntr n 'r't.¹⁸

7. dw3 ntr sp 4.¹⁹

8. irt sntr hft wn hr m shtpy.²⁰

9. dw3 ntr sp 4 irt sntr hft 'k r stp-s3.²¹

Moret,
Chapters 31-42.

10. r n sm'r h'w m nms.²²

11. r n rdit w3s hk3 nh3h3.²³

12. smn swty m tp.²⁴

13. r n rdit sspt m'nhht.²⁵

14. r n rdit wsh.²⁶

Before discussing the various interpretations of the ritual as it occurs at Abydos, we must now give a brief summary of the material which occurs on the walls of the six chapels at Abydos.

DESCRIPTION OF SCENES IN THE SIX CHAPELS OF THE SANCTUARY.

Since it is our belief that there was a separate ritual performed inside each unit of a temple, and the episodes of each ritual are reflected by the arrangement of the scenes on the walls, it will be necessary in the six chapels, as elsewhere, in the temple, to establish a correct order in which to read the reliefs. Before this can be established, it will be necessary firstly to give a detailed description of the content of the reliefs, and to quote, wherever it is thought to be advisable, from the accompanying text.

The reliefs in the six chapels are well-preserved, except in the Chapel of Ptah, in which both the roof and many of the scenes are badly damaged. In the four chapels of Isis, Horus, Re'-Harakhte and Ptah, the scenes and inscriptions are more or less identical, both with regard to content and their relative positions upon the walls. The Chapels of Amun and Osiris show certain differences; in the Chapel of Amun, for instance, the order of the scenes, to some extent, departs from the pattern found in the four afore-mentioned chapels, whereas, in the Chapel of Osiris, there are no exit or entry scenes, and there are additional episodes which are not shown in the other five chapels.

Since so many of the scenes in the six chapels are repetitions of each other, it has been decided that, instead of describing every scene in each of the chapels, one particular chapel will be chosen, in which the reliefs will be described in detail, and the variant versions which occur in the other five chapels will be indicated.

The Chapel of Re'-Harakhte has been chosen for this purpose, since the scenes found there are, for the most part, duplicated in the Chapels of Isis, Ptah and Horus, and, in addition to this, the reliefs and inscriptions in this chapel are, for the most part, well preserved.

We have given a number to each scene as it occurs on the walls of this "pattern" chapel of Re'-Harakhte; in all future discussion and reference to scenes, this system of numbering will be consistently adhered to, for both this and the other five chapels. Thus, the relief on the East Wall, North Half, Lower Register, in the Chapel of Re'-Harakhte will be numbered SCENE 1, and, although in another chapel, the relief depicting the identical rite may occur on a different wall and in a different register, nevertheless, within that Chapel also, it will still be referred to as SCENE 1.

The Chapels of Amen-Re' and Osiris present some difficulties in connection with the order of the scenes, and this problem will be discussed in some detail below. However, with regard to the system of numbering scenes, in both these chapels, the reliefs are numbered according to the above method; in the Osiris Chapel, where additional rites occur which are not present in the Re'-Harakhete Chapel, these are given serial numbers following on the main series. These additional episodes are described in detail in the section of this chapter which deals with the ritual in this Chapel.

The order in which we will deal with the scenes in the Re'-Harakhete Chapel is as follows:-

<u>SCENE</u>	<u>TITLE OF SCENE.</u>	<u>POSITION ON WALL.</u>
1.	<u>r n 'k r wn hr m hnw n hwt-'3t</u> <u>hn' prw-ntrw r-gs pr-wr.</u>	East Wall, North Half, Lower Relief.
2.	<u>r n sd sin.</u>	East Wall, North Half, Upper Relief.
3.	<u>r n sfh db'wt.</u>	North Wall, Lower Register, Relief 1.
4.	<u>r n st3 s.</u>	North Wall, Upper Register, Relief 1.
5.	<u>irt sntr n 'r't.</u>	North Wall, Lower Register, Relief 2.
6.	<u>r n wn '3wy.</u>	North Wall, Upper Register, Relief 2.
7.	<u>r n 'k r shm.</u>	North Wall, Lower Register, Relief 3.
8.	<u>r n m33 ntr.</u>	North Wall, Upper Register, Relief 3.
9.	<u>r n 'k r st-wrt.</u>	North Wall, Lower Register, Relief 4.
10.	<u>r n sn.t3 rdit hr ht r sn.t3</u> <u>m db'w.</u>	North Wall, Upper Register, Relief 4.
11.	<u>r n dfw pr-wr.</u>	North Wall, Lower Register, Relief 5.
12.	<u>irt sntr hft wn hr m shtpy.</u>	North Wall, Upper Register, Relief 5.
13.	<u>r n rdit 'wy hr ntr.</u>	North Wall, Lower Register, Relief 6.
14.	<u>r n sfh md.</u>	North Wall, Lower Register, Relief 7.
15.	<u>r n sfh' mnht.</u>	North Wall, Lower Register, Relief 8.

- | | | |
|------|--|---------------------------------------|
| 16. | <u>dw3 ntr spw 4 irt sntr hft 'k r</u>
<u>stp-s3.</u> | North Wall, Upper Register, Relief 6. |
| 17. | <u>r n db3 mnht hdt.</u> | South Wall, Lower Register, Relief 1. |
| x18. | <u>irt 'bw m t3w 4 n bd.</u> | South Wall, Upper Register, Relief 1. |
| 19. | <u>r n db3 mnht w3dt.</u> | South Wall, Lower Register, Relief 2. |
| 20. | <u>irt 'bw m t3w 4 sm'y n Nhb.</u> | South Wall, Upper Register, Relief 2. |
| 21. | <u>r n db3 mnht insy.</u> | South Wall, Lower Register, Relief 3. |
| 22. | <u>irt 'bw m t3w 4 mhwy n Sr-pt.</u> | South Wall, Upper Register, Relief 3. |
| 23. | <u>r n rdit wsh.</u> | South Wall, Lower Register, Relief 4. |
| 24. | <u>irt 'bw m hnt n kbhw m 4 t3w nw</u>
<u>sntr.</u> | South Wall, Upper Register, Relief 4. |
| 25. | <u>r n rdit sspt m'nht.</u> | South Wall, Lower Register, Relief 5. |
| 26. | <u>dw3 ntr sp 4 irt sntr hft 'k r</u>
<u>stp-s3.</u> | South Wall, Upper Register, Relief 5. |
| 27. | <u>smn swty m tp.</u> | South Wall, Lower Register, Relief 6. |
| 28. | <u>r n rdit w3s hk3 nh3h3.</u> | South Wall, Lower Register, Relief 7. |
| 29. | <u>r n rdit md.</u> | South Wall, Lower Register, Relief 8. |
| 30. | <u>irt ws3 sy.</u> | South Wall, Upper Register, Relief 6. |
| 31. | <u>r n sm'r h'w m nms.</u> | West Wall, North Half, Lower Relief. |
| 32. | <u>dw3 ntrt sp 4.</u> | West Wall, North Half, Upper Relief. |
| 33. | <u>r n hbs m mnht '3t hr s3 nn.</u> | West Wall, South Half, Lower Relief. |
| 34. | <u>irt 'bw m sntr hr sdt phr h3 sp 4.</u> | West Wall, South Half, Upper Relief. |
| 35. | <u>r n int rd m h3dn.</u> | East Wall, South Half, Lower Relief. |
| 36. | <u>irt 'bw m sntr hr sdt phr h3 sp 4.</u> | East Wall, South Half, Upper Relief. |

The following scenes in the Osiris Chapel are not found in the other chapels:-

- | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------------|---|
| 37. | Offering incense. | East Wall, North Half,
Lower Register. |
| 38. | Offering incense and libation. | East Wall, North Half,
Upper Register. |
| 39. | <u>irt sntr n Wsir.</u> | North Wall, Upper Register,
Relief 4. |
| 40. | Laying hands on Osiris. | North Wall, Lower Register,
Relief 6. |
| 41. | Offering bouquet to Osiris. | North Wall, Upper Register,
Relief 5. |
| 42. | Laying hands on Osiris. | South Wall, Lower Register,
Relief 6. |
| 43. | <u>irt sntr n Wsir.</u> | South Wall, Upper Register,
Relief 4. |
| 44. | <u>(r n skr t-hd n it.f Wpw3wt.)</u> | East Wall, South Half,
Lower Register. |
| 45. | Censing and purifying Osiris. | East Wall, South Half,
Upper Register. |

The following diagram gives a concise account of the occurrence of the scenes in each of the chapels.

At the top of the Table, the letters indicate the six chapels;

thus,

P = Ptah.	O = Osiris.
R = Re'-Harakhte.	I = Isis.
A = Amen-Re'.	H = Horus.

The numbers given in the columns indicate the position upon the walls of the chapel, of each episode. Where an episode is omitted from the chapel, it is indicated by "X". Where a variant version occurs it is indicated by "V". When an episode occurs in a chapel but it is found in a position upon the walls other than that in which it might have been expected to occur, it is marked by a "D"; the exact position of such episodes is given in our description of the scenes in the chapels, at the end of the detailed account of each scene. If a scene is badly damaged or completely destroyed it is indicated thus:- (Number) - with a restoration of the number of the scene which is likely to have occurred in this position.

LIST OF EPISODES IN THE SIX CHAPELS

<u>EAST WALL,</u> <u>NORTH HALF</u>	Registers		P	R	A	O	I	H
	Lower	Upper						
	1		1	1	1	X	1	1
		2	2	2	D	X	2	X
<u>NORTH WALL</u>	3		3	3	X	X	3	3
		4	4	4	D	X	4	4
	5		5	5	5	D	5	5
		6	6	6	D	D	6	6
	7		7	7	7	D	7	7
		8	8	8	D	D	8	8
	9		9	9	9	D	9	9
		10	10	10	D	D(2)	10	10
	11		11	11	11	D	11	11
		12	12	12	12	X	12	12
	13		13	13	13	D	13	13
		14	14	14	14	D	14	14
	15		15	15	15	X	15	(15)
		16	(16)	16,	D	X	16	(16)
				26				
<u>SOUTH WALL</u>	17		17	17	17	X	17	17
		18	18	18	D	X	18	18
	19		19	19	19	D	19	19
		20	20	20	D	D	20	20
	21		21	21	21	D	21	21
		22	(22)	22	D	X	22	22
	23		23	23	23	D	23	23
		24	(24)	24	D	X	24	24
	25		25	25	25	D	25	25
		26	(26)	V	V	D	26	26
	27		27	27	27	X	27	27
		28	28	28	28	D	28	28
	29		(29)	29	29	X	29	29
		30	(30)	30	D	X	30	30
<u>WEST WALL</u>	31		(31)	31	31	X	(31)	(31)
		32	(32)	32	32	X	32	32
	33		(33)	33	33	X	33	33
		34	(34)	(34)	34	X	34	34
<u>EAST WALL,</u> <u>SOUTH HALF</u>	35		35	35	35	X	35	35
		36	36	36	X	X	36	36

SCENE 1.- EAST WALL, NORTH HALF, LOWER REGISTER,¹

Title.

"Spell for entering in order to uncover the face (in the interior of the palace and the chapels which are beside the sanctuary.)"²

Sethos offers a vase of incense to the seated Atum. He says,-

"I have come before thee, the great one following me, my purification upon my arms. I have passed by Tefnout, Tefnout having purified me. Assuredly, I am a prophet, the son of a prophet of this temple. I shall not linger, I shall not turn back. I am a prophet. I have come to perform the ritual. Indeed, I have not come to do that which is not to be done."

Thus, the king explains the purpose of his arrival, and assures the god of his intentions. He continues by praising the gods, and says that he has come "to place the god upon his seat."

In the Chapel of Isis,³ the relief and inscription are the same, in the Chapels of Amun,⁴ Ptah,⁵ and Horus,⁶ only the figure of the king is shown, and in the Horus Chapel, a shorter version of the formula is given. In the Osiris Chapel⁷, this episode is omitted, and is replaced on the wall by SCENE 37.

SCENE 2.-EAST WALL, NORTH HALF, UPPER REGISTER.⁸

Title.

"Spell for breaking the clay seal."⁹

The king (partly destroyed) kneels, with hands upraised in adoration, before the doors of a shrine containing Re'-Harakhte. The inscription here is badly destroyed, and so the King's speech is given from the text accompanying this episode in the Isis Chapel. He addresses the deity thus,-

"The clay seal is broken, heaven is opened for you, the flesh of Isis is pulled off. Indeed, I have not come to destroy this goddess in her place. It is I who introduce the gods."

In the Chapel of Isis,¹⁰ the scene is similar except that the king is shown attempting to break the seal of the shrine; in the Horus Chapel,¹¹ this episode is omitted and is replaced by a relief showing Horus embracing the king. In the Osiris Chapel,¹² this episode is omitted, and replaced by SCENE 38. In the Chapel of Ptah,¹³ the scene is badly damaged, but appears to correspond to the scene in the Re'-Harakhte Chapel. In the Amen-Re' Chapel,¹⁴ the episode occurs on the North Wall, Lower Register, Relief 1, and the king is shown breaking the seal, and the formula is longer than the Re'-Harakhte version.

SCENE 3.-NORTH WALL, LOWER REGISTER, RELIEF 1.¹⁵

Title.

"Spell for unfastening the seal."¹⁶

The king kneels before a shrine containing the god, and raises his hands in adoration. The inscription informs us that the king is "Breaking the string, removing the seal, in order to open this door." It continues,-

"For I have completely cast out all evils that pertained to me. I have come and I have brought your eye;Horus, your eye belongs to you. Oh, Horus, I am Thoth, while assessing the sound eye."

The reference in this text to the king returning the eye of Horus to the god indicates that he is returning his life-spirit to him.¹⁷ According to Moret,¹⁸ the god is here addressed as "Horus", because the Osirian and solar elements compounded in the Daily Ritual had become so confused that the name of "Horus" was given to all gods assimilated to Osiris-Re'.

In the Chapel of Isis,¹⁹ the king is shown in the act of unfastening the seal, and the formula here is slightly shorter; in the Horus Chapel,²⁰ the king unfastens the seal, and the formula is shorter, while, in the Osiris Chapel,²¹ the episode is omitted. The relief and inscription in the Ptah Chapel²² are the same as the Re'-Harakhte version. In the Amun Chapel,²³ the episode is omitted.

SCENE 4.-NORTH WALL, UPPER REGISTER, RELIEF 1.²⁴

Title.

"Spell for pulling back the bolt."²⁵

Re'-Harakhte stands in the shrine, in front of which kneels the king, drawing back the bolt of the door.He says,-

"The finger of Seth is withdrawn from the Eye of Horus, and it is well. The finger of Seth is unloosed from the Eye of Horus, and it is well. The cord is undone from Osiris, the sickness is unloosed from the god. Re'-Harakhte, receive for thyself thy two white plumes, (your) right one on your right, (your) left one on your left. Oh, naked one, dress thyself, oh, bandaged one, bandage thyself."

Moret suggests that the bolt of the door is described as the finger of Seth because Seth was the enemy of Osiris, and the bolt represents an obstacle which bars the priest's entry into the sanctuary in order that he may renew the god's life. The reference to the "bandaged one" reminds one that, for the purposes of ritual, each god was envisaged as an Osiris, mummiform, and swathed in the customary bandages.²⁶

The inscription ends with the words,-

"Indeed, I am a prophet; it is the king who has commanded me to see the god. I am that great phoenix who is in Heliopolis."

Again, this reassures the god of the king's right to gain access

to the sanctuary, and shows that the high-priest as the king's delegate is also permitted to enter the sanctuary.²⁷

In the Isis Chapel,²⁸ the text gives a more extensive version, while, in the Horus Chapel,²⁹ a shorter version of the formula is given. In the Osiris Chapel,³⁰ this episode is omitted, and in the Ptah Chapel,³¹ there is a shortened version of the formula. In Amun's Chapel,³² this episode occurs on the East Wall, North Half, Upper Register, where the scene and text correspond to the Re'-Harakhte version.

SCENE 5.-NORTH WALL, LOWER REGISTER, RELIEF 2.³³

Title.

"Spell for incense to 'r't."³⁴

The king kneels with incense before the god. In the inscription, the king invokes Edjo and various other deities to be purified, as the Crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt are purified,-

"Your purification is the purification of the Upper Egyptian Crown; the Upper Egyptian Crown has touched the stars of heaven. Your purification is the purification of the Lower Egyptian Crown; the Lower Egyptian Crown has touched the stars of heaven."

In the Isis Chapel,³⁵ part of the formula is omitted; in the Horus Chapel,³⁶ the formula is again shortened; in the Osiris Chapel,³⁷ the episode occurs on the North Wall, Lower Register, Relief 1, and the king is shown censuring and pouring out a libation before the god; the text gives an abbreviated form of the formula. The Ptah Chapel³⁸ has a shorter formula, while the Amun Chapel³⁹ corresponds to the Re'-Harakhte version.

SCENE 6.-NORTH WALL, UPPER REGISTER, RELIEF 2.⁴⁰

Title.

"Spell for opening the doors."⁴¹

The king kneels before the shrine containing the god, and opens the leaves of the door. He says,-

"The two door leaves of the sky are open, the two door leaves of the earth are undone! Greetings to Geb, the father of the gods.. the two door leaves are opened, the Ennead shines, Re'-Harakhte is elevated in his cavern."

In the Isis Chapel,⁴² the relief and texts are identical; in the Horus Chapel,⁴³ this is also true; in the Osiris Chapel,⁴⁴ the episode occurs on the North Wall, Upper Register, Relief 1, and the inscription gives a shorter version of the formula. The Ptah version⁴⁵ shows no variants, and in the Amun Chapel,⁴⁶ the episode occurs on the North Wall, Upper Register, Relief 1, and the scene and text correspond to the Re'-Harakhte version.

SCENE 7.-NORTH WALL, LOWER REGISTER, RELIEF 3.⁴⁷

Title.

"Spell for entering the sanctuary."⁴⁸

The king kneels before Atum and presents him with burning incense; the shrine around the god is not depicted. The king says,-

"There wait for thee the great ones of the sky, who have come from heaven, who descend from the horizon....you enter into the hall as Osiris, having appeared as Lord of All."

In the Isis Chapel,⁴⁹ and the Horus Chapel,⁵⁰ the versions of the formula are shortened; this is also true of the Osiris Chapel,⁵¹ and the Chapels of Ptah⁵² and Amen-Re'.⁵³ In the Osiris Chapel, however, the episode occurs on the North Wall, Lower Register, Relief 2.

SCENE 8.-NORTH WALL, UPPER REGISTER, RELIEF 3.⁵⁴

Title.

"Spell for seeing the god."⁵⁵

The king kneels and offers incense to Re'-Harakhte. He says,-

"I have opened the two doors, in order that you may allow me to pass. It is the king who commanded me to see the god....I kiss the ground, I embrace Geb, I have offered praises for Re'-Harakhte that I may be pure for him thereby."

Again, it is apparent that it is a delegate who is performing the rite on behalf of the king.

In the Chapel of Isis,⁵⁶ the version is the same, in the Horus Chapel,⁵⁷ there is a shortened version of the formula; in the Osiris Chapel,⁵⁸ the same version is given, and the Ptah version⁵⁹ has a shorter formula, while in the Amun Chapel,⁶⁰ this episode occurs on the North Wall, Upper Register, Relief 2, where the contents correspond to the Re'-Harakhte version.

SCENE 9.-NORTH WALL, LOWER REGISTER, RELIEF 4.⁶¹

Title.

"Spell for entering the Great Place."⁶²

The king kneels before Re'-Harakhte and presents him with incense. He says,-

"May the god be in peace (twice), living spirit who strikes his enemies. Thy ba is with thee, thy power is at thy side. I have brought for thee, the king, Lord of the Two Lands, Menmaetre', given life, thy living image associating with thee."

As will be explained below, the "st-wrt" was probably the shrine of the god, whereas the "shn" was the sanctuary itself.

In the Isis Chapel,⁶³ the same relief and formula are given; in

the Horus⁶⁴ and Osiris⁶⁵ Chapels, the formula is shorter; in the Osiris Chapel, Isis is shown accompanying the god, and the episode occurs on the North Wall, Lower Register, Relief 3. The Ptah version⁶⁶ corresponds to the Re'-Harakhte formula, and in the Amun Chapel,⁶⁷ the formula is longer.

SCENE 10.-NORTH WALL, UPPER REGISTER, RELIEF 4.⁶⁸

Title.

"Spell for kissing the ground, putting oneself upon one's belly in order to touch the ground with one's fingers."⁶⁹

The king kneels with upraised hands before Atum; he says,-

"I kiss the ground, my face bowed. I offer Ma'at to its lord, and offerings to their Maker. There is no god who hath made what thou hast made, Re'-Harakhte, and I will not present my face towards the sky, and I will not commit impurity and I will not make thy grace like that of any other god. Greetings to thee! I have brought thy heart for thee in thy body. I have placed(it) for thee in its place."

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According to Moret,⁷⁰ the bowing of the head is an act of reassurance to the god that the king comes with only good intentions, and not as a traitor who performs the ritual for another god also.

In the Chapel of Isis,⁷¹ and the Chapel of Horus,⁷² the formula is longer, while in the Chapel of Osiris,⁷³ the episode occurs twice, once on the North Wall, Upper Register, Relief 2, where Isis accompanies Osiris and a shorter version of the formula is given, and also on the South Wall, Upper Register, Relief 2, where a shorter formula is given. In the Chapel of Ptah,⁷⁴ the relief and text are the same as the Re'-Harakhte version, while, in the Chapel of Amun,⁷⁵ the episode occurs on the North Wall, Upper Register, Relief 3, and a longer version of the formula is given.

SCENE 11.-NORTH WALL, LOWER REGISTER, RELIEF 5.⁷⁶

Title.

"Spell for provisioning (?) the sanctuary."⁷⁷

The king kneels before Atum; he holds a censer, and a cloth with which he sweeps the dais upon which the god is enthroned. He says,-

"I am Horus; I have come seeking for my two eyes; I shall not allow that it should be far from thee, Re'-Harakhte. Atum, Lord of the Great Mansion, who resides in the Mansion of Menmaetre', behold me carrying it! May you come in peace! It has driven out all thy impurities, for thou hast assembled it, Atum, father of the gods, who resides in the Mansion of Menmaetre'."

In the Chapel of Isis,⁷⁸ a shorter version of the text is given, in the Chapel of Horus,⁷⁹ the scene is badly damaged, but appears

to correspond to the Re'-Harakhte version, while, in the Chapel of Osiris,⁸⁰ the episode occurs on the North Wall, Lower Register, Relief 4, and corresponds to the given formula. In the Chapel of Ptah,⁸¹ a shortened version of the formula is given, and in the Amun Chapel,⁸² the scene is identical except that here the king stands.

SCENE 12.- NORTH WALL, UPPER REGISTER, RELIEF 5.⁸³

Title.

"Offering incense when uncovering the face, while presenting the censer."⁸⁴

The king, holding a censer and a vessel containing water, sprinkles a pile of food-offerings; the rite is directed at a statue of the god contained in the boat shrine which is represented on the adjoining section of the wall. The king says,-

"How beautiful to see, how satisfying to gaze upon, how beautiful to see the flame!"

Then he continues,-

"Welcome, thou awakenest in peace, Re'-Harakhte, the incense is in peace, thy awakening is peaceful, and thou arisest in peace... the white eye of Horus is in peace, the sweet perfume of the incense enters the river in peace."

He then continues to pray that the god may be great and victorious as his ka desires and concludes thus,-

"Re' has made thee beautiful, according to that which Re' did on the first occasion of searching for the corpse without finding it. It was the shadow only which was found."

In the Isis Chapel,⁸⁵ the inscription is shorter, in the Horus Chapel,⁸⁶ this is also the case, and in the Osiris Chapel,⁸⁷ on the North Wall, Upper Register, Relief 4, this is replaced by a variant - SCENE 39, irt sntr n Wsir - which is also performed before the boat shrine of Osiris. In the Ptah version,⁸⁸ the formula is the same as the Re'-Harakhte version, and in the Amun Chapel,⁸⁹ this is also the same version.

SCENE 13.-NORTH WALL, LOWER REGISTER, RELIEF 6.⁹⁰

Title,

"Spell for laying hands upon the god."⁹¹

The king stretches out his hands to touch the god. In the text, the king greets Re'-Harakhte, Soker and Osiris, and continues,-

"Thoth is come to see thee, his nms-cloth at his throat, his tail at his buttocks. Awake thou, that thou mayest hear his voice. Oh, greetings to thee, Re'-Harakhte, with that which thy father Atum has judged thee. My arms are upon thee as Horus, my arms are upon thee as Thoth, my fingers are upon thee as Anubis."

This spell is thought to be funerary in origin⁹², and represents the embalming of Osiris; here, the king assimilates the roles of Horus, Thoth and Anubis, the gods who embalmed the body of Osiris in the Osiris Myth.

In the Isis Chapel,⁹³ the inscription is longer; in the Horus Chapel,⁹⁴ although damaged, the version appears to be the same as that of Re'-Harakhte, and, in the Osiris Chapel,⁹⁵ the episode occurs on the South Wall, Upper Register, Relief 5, where a shortened version of the formula is given. In the Chapel of Ptah,⁹⁶ the formula which corresponds to the Re'-Harakhte version is given, while in the Amun Chapel,⁹⁷ the king is shown standing.

SCENE 14.-NORTH WALL, LOWER REGISTER, RELIEF 7.⁹⁸

Title.

"Spell for wiping off the md-ointment."⁹⁹

The king, holding a jar of ointment, wipes the ointment off the uraeus of the god, with his finger. He states the purpose of his arrival,-

"I am come, and anoint thee with unguent which came out from the Eye of Horus....may it bind thy bones, may it re-unite thy limbs, may it reassemble thy flesh. It releases all thy evil fluids."

He then continues to say that the gods of the horizon are gracious to the god when he leaves his horizon, and finally urges him,-

"Come thou! seize the crown thereby, at the command of Horus himself, Lord of generations."

In the Isis Chapel,¹⁰⁰ the same version is given; in the Horus Chapel,¹⁰¹ the scene is damaged, but the episode appears to have corresponded to the given version, except that the outline of a goddess appears behind the god. In the Osiris Chapel,¹⁰² the episode occurs on the North Wall, Lower Register, Relief 5, and a shorter version of the formula is given; Horus stands behind Osiris. In the Ptah Chapel,¹⁰³ the usual version is given, and in the Chapel of Amun,¹⁰⁴ the scene is the same except that the king is shown standing.

SCENE 15.-NORTH WALL, LOWER REGISTER, RELIEF 8.¹⁰⁵

Title.

"Spell for taking off the clothing."¹⁰⁶

The king unwinds the clothing from the god's body; he says,-

"Thy beauty belongs to thee, thy m'r-cloth is around thee, Re'-Harakhte, who resides in the Mansion of Menmaetre'. I have seized for thee this eye of Horus. Adorn thyself with it. Thou possesseth thy beauty, thou possesseth thy raiment, thou art a god, oh, Re'-Harakhte...."

In the Isis Chapel,¹⁰⁷ the same version is given; in the Horus

Chapel,¹⁰⁸ the scene is badly damaged, and in the Osiris Chapel,¹⁰⁹ the episode is omitted; in place of it, in the last relief on the Lower Register of the North Wall, SCENE 40 occurs. In the Ptah version¹¹⁰ the usual scene is given, although this is partly destroyed; in the Amun Chapel,¹¹¹ the king is shown standing. SCENE 16.-NORTH WALL, UPPER REGISTER, RELIEF 6.¹¹²

Title.

"Adoring(the god) four times, offering incense when entering the palace."¹¹³

Re'-Harakhte stands before the king who presents him with a vase of burning incense. He says,-

"Greetings to thee [in] peace, Re'-Harakhte. Greetings to thee on behalf of the great gods in peace. [The great gods rejoice at] meeting thee, as they rejoice at meeting Horus, who is in the Eastern Mountain."

It then continues,-

"Mayest thou see that which Horus [who is in the Eastern Mountain] saw, mayest thou gaze upon that which Horus [who is in the Eastern Mountain] gazed upon; Neith, who is in Sais, and Hathor, who is in her horizon, they pacify Re'-Harakhte, who resides in the Mansion of Menmaetre', according to all the words uttered by the king Menmaetre', given life, on this day."

In the Chapel of Re'-Harakhte, a duplication of this scene occurs on the South Wall, Upper Register, Relief 5. In the Chapel of Isis,¹¹⁴ this corresponds to the given version, and in the Horus Chapel,¹¹⁵ the scene is badly damaged; in the Osiris Chapel,¹¹⁶ the episode is omitted and is replaced by SCENE 41. In the Ptah version,¹¹⁷ the scene is damaged, and in the Chapel of Amun,¹¹⁸ this scene is omitted in this position, to make room for the large scene of the boat-shrines, but it occurs on the South Wall, Upper Register, Relief 5, adjoining the representation of the boat-shrine, and corresponding to the Re'-Harakhte version of the episode given above.

SCENE 17.-SOUTH WALL, LOWER REGISTER, RELIEF 1.¹¹⁹

Title.

"Spell for arraying with the white cloth."¹²⁰

The figure of the king is almost obliterated; only the lower part of his body, once in a position of obeisance before the god, can still be seen. However, it is almost certain that this scene, when complete, would have shown both the god and the king in the same postures as in the other two scenes in this register, where the king presents rolls of cloth to the deity. The god is seated upon a throne. The inscription is preserved,-

"Oh, Re'-Harakhte, take for thyself this thy shining cloth! Take for thyself this thy beautiful cloth! Take for thyself this thy

m'r garment! Take for thyself this thy mnht-cloth! Take for thyself this Eye of white Horus, coming forth from Nekhen, that thou mayest shine in it, that thou mayest be splendid in it, in this its name of mnht, that it may cleave to thee, in this its name of idmi."

The god was thought to absorb all the qualities pertaining to the cloth.

In the Chapel of Isis,¹²¹ the scene is damaged, but appears to correspond to the given version; in the Horus Chapel,¹²² the same version is given, and in the Osiris Chapel,¹²³ this episode is omitted. In the Ptah Chapel,¹²⁴ the same version is given as in the Re'-Harakhte Chapel, and in the Amun Chapel,¹²⁵ the king and the god both stand, and a longer version of the formula is given.

SCENE 18.-SOUTH WALL, UPPER REGISTER, RELIEF 1. ¹²⁶

Title.

"Making purification with 4 pellets of bd natron." ¹²⁷

The king kneels before the god Re'-Harakhte, and offers him a vase containing four pellets of bd natron; the inscription reads,-
"Making purification with four pellets of bd natron. Thy natron is the natron of Horus the natron of Horus is thy natron, thy natron is the natron of Thoth and vice versa, thy natron is the natron of Soker and vice versa. Thou art established amongst them. To be recited four times. Thou art pure (twice), Re'-Harakhte."

This rite assured the god of his rightful position amongst the other gods, and, as a fumigation rite, removed from him any impurity. ¹²⁸

In the Isis Chapel,¹²⁹ this scene is partly destroyed, but appears to be identical; in the Horus Chapel,¹³⁰ the king stands before the god and the formula is the same, while, in the Osiris Chapel,¹³¹ the episode is omitted. In the Ptah Chapel,¹³² the same version is found, and in the Amun Chapel,¹³³ this episode occurs on the East Wall, South Half, Upper Register, and gives the same version as the Re'-Harakhte Chapel.

SCENE 19.-SOUTH WALL, LOWER REGISTER, RELIEF 2. ¹³⁴

Title.

"Spell for arraying with the green cloth." ¹³⁵

The king (partly destroyed) is depicted kneeling before the god, and offering him two rolls of cloth. He says,-

"May Edjo appear, the Mistress of Nebyt is excellent, whom none can approach in the sky, or on earth. She hands over Re'-Harakhte, who resides in the Mansion of Menmaetre', to her powers. She

makes him excellent with these his cloths. She hands him over to those who are in her papyrus-wands. He becomes young again like fresh plants."

The colour of this cloth symbolises growth and life, and is associated with the goddess Edjo.¹³⁶

In the Isis Chapel,¹³⁷ the scene is partly destroyed, but appears to correspond to the given version; in the Horus Chapel,¹³⁸ the king stands and the inscription gives a shortened version of the formula; in the Osiris Chapel,¹³⁹ the episode occurs on the South Wall, Lower Register, Relief 1, where the same version is given. In the Ptah Chapel,¹⁴⁰ the scene corresponds to the above version, and in the Chapel of Amun,¹⁴¹ the king is shown standing.

SCENE 20.-SOUTH WALL, UPPER REGISTER, RELIEF 2.¹⁴²

Title.

"Making purification with four pellets of Upper Egyptian natron of el-Kab."¹⁴³

The king kneels before the god and offers him a vase containing natron. He says,-

"Thy purifications are the purifications of Horus, and vice versa, thy purifications are the purifications of Thoth, and vice versa, thy purifications are the purifications of Soker and vice versa. Mayest thou be established amongst thy brothers the gods, oh, Re'-Harakhte."

In the Isis Chapel,¹⁴⁴ the same version is given, in the Horus Chapel,¹⁴⁵ the king stands, and in the Osiris Chapel,¹⁴⁶ the episode is replaced by SCENE 10(duplicated), and SCENE 20 occurs on the South Wall, Upper Register, Relief 3, where the king is shown standing, and the god Thoth occurs, accompanying Osiris; a shortened version of the formula is given. In the Ptah Chapel,¹⁴⁷ the version corresponds to the Re'-Harakhte scene, and in the Chapel of Amun,¹⁴⁸ the episode occurs on the South Wall, Upper Register, Relief 1, where the formula combines elements of both SCENES 18 and 20.

SCENE 21.-SOUTH WALL, LOWER REGISTER, RELIEF 3.¹⁴⁹

Title,

"Spell for arraying with the red cloth."¹⁵⁰

The king kneels and presents the god with two rolls of cloth. He says,-

"(May)the eye of Re', Lord of the Two Lands, appear, the ruler of the island of flame, great of rage, Mistress of her Maker, who issues commands to the Ennead of gods. She gives her papyrus-wand (to) Re'-Harakhte, she makes him excellent with these mnht-cloths, she hands him over to those who are in her papyrus-wand.

Come before him, appear thou upon his brow, and protect him from the Akeru. Grant fear of him and that his strength may be great...."

Moret states that here the red cloth is identified with Edjo, for red is the colour of flame, and the goddess Edjo represents the uraeus spitting forth flames upon the brow of both gods and kings. The god is also here identified with Re', when he receives his eye; in the same way as Re', the king thus daily receives renewed vitality.¹⁵¹

In the Isis Chapel,¹⁵² the king stands and a longer version of the formula is given; in the Horus Chapel,¹⁵³ the king stands, and a shorter version of the formula is given. In the Osiris Chapel,¹⁵⁴ the episode occurs on the South Wall, Lower Register, Relief 2, where it corresponds to the Re'-Harakhte version. In the Ptah Chapel,¹⁵⁵ the same version is also found, and in the Amun Chapel,¹⁵⁶ the king stands and a longer version of the formula is given.

SCENE 22.-SOUTH WALL, UPPER REGISTER, RELIEF 3.¹⁵⁷

Title.

"Making purification with 4 pellets of Lower Egyptian natron of Wadi en-Natrun."¹⁵⁸

The king kneels and offers a vase containing natron to the god. He says,-

"Oh, Re'-Harakhte, who resides in the Mansion of Menmaetre', the smn, the smn, which opens thy mouth. Oh, Re'-Harakhte, who resides in the Mansion of Menmaetre', mayest thou taste its taste, who art chief of the god's booth."

Moret states that this is one of the most important rites in the cult of Osiris, for this perfume was believed to have the effect of opening the mouth of the god, and this rite was believed to restore to the god the use of both his limbs and his senses.¹⁵⁹

In the Isis Chapel,¹⁶⁰ the king stands; in the Horus Chapel,¹⁶¹ also, the king stands, and in the Osiris Chapel,¹⁶² this episode is omitted. In the Ptah Chapel,¹⁶³ this scene is partly destroyed, and in the Amun Chapel,¹⁶⁴ this episode occurs on the South Wall, Upper Register, Relief 2, where the king is shown standing.

SCENE 23,-SOUTH WALL, LOWER REGISTER, RELIEF 4.¹⁶⁵

Title.

"Spell for presenting the broad collar."¹⁶⁶

The god Atum stretches out to touch the wsh-collar with an 'ankh-symbol; the king kneels and offers the collar to the god. He says,-
"Hail to thee, Atum! Hail to thee, Khepri!-Thou at elevated upon

the stairway, thou risest in the Benben in the House of the Benben in Heliopolis!"

The king then implores the god to give his protection to Atum, even as he has poured forth his spittle over Shu and Tefnout. He concludes by invoking the Ennead of gods,-

"Oh, great Ennead of gods, who are in Heliopolis, Atum, Shu, Tefnout, Geb, Nut, Osiris, Isis, Seth and Nephthys; Children of Atum, who turns his heart to his children in these their names of the Nine Bows, let him not turn his back to you, in order that your name of the Ennead may be pronounced. May he protect Atum from his enemies, and when he protects, no evil thing shall come to him forever and ever."

In the Isis Chapel,¹⁶⁷ the formula is shorter; in the Horus Chapel,¹⁶⁸ this is also the case, while in the Osiris Chapel,¹⁶⁹ the episode occurs on the South Wall, Lower Register, Relief 3, where a goddess stands behind Osiris and enfolds him with her wings; a shortened version of the formula is given. In the Ptah Chapel,¹⁷⁰ the inscription is partly destroyed, and in the Amun Chapel,¹⁷¹ the formula is longer.

SCENE 24.-SOUTH WALL, UPPER REGISTER, RELIEF 4.¹⁷²

Title.

"Making purification with a bowl of libation water, and with four pellets of incense."¹⁷³

The king offers a vase of incense to Re'-Harakhete, and sprinkles him with water. He says,-

"Take for thyself the Eye of Horus, pure for thee is the water which is in it....Thy incense is the incense of Horus, and vice versa. Mayest thou be established amongst thy brothers the gods."

A regular feature of the Heliopolitan liturgy appears to have been the washing or sprinkling with water of the live or dead king. The sun-god's image (whom it was thought was born anew every day at dawn, out of the watery abyss) was regularly bathed by human officiants impersonating Horus and Thoth. The ritual act of washing the corpse of the king (when he came to be regarded as an Osiris) symbolised new birth, and thus became an essential rite in many rituals, especially in the Rite of the House of the Morning and the Ceremony of Opening the Mouth. As a ritual act, it symbolised new life and immortality.

In the Isis Chapel,¹⁷⁴ both the scene and the formula are the same; in the Horus Chapel,¹⁷⁵ this is also the case, and in the Osiris Chapel,¹⁷⁶ the scene is omitted, while in the Ptah Chapel,¹⁷⁷ the scene is completely destroyed, and in the Amun Chapel,¹⁷⁸ this episode occurs on the South Wall, Upper Register, Relief 3, where it corresponds to the Re'-Harakhete version.

SCENE 25.-SOUTH WALL, LOWER REGISTER, RELIEF 5.¹⁷⁹

Title.

"Spell for presenting the sspt and counterpoise."¹⁸⁰

The king kneels before Re'-Harakhete and presents him with the sspt and counterpoise. In the inscription, the king invokes the uraeus-goddess,-

"Oh, great uraeus-goddess, oh, she who prays against her enemies, oh, divine eye, for whom the making of the judgement of pleas is made by Re', (for whom) terror is inspired by Re', and mourning dispelled by Isis. Nephthys has made you prosperous, Thoth has gratified you on account of her needs, and Geb has refreshed you with the inundation which is in his head."

In the Isis Chapel,¹⁸¹ Horus accompanies the goddess, and in the Horus Chapel,¹⁸² there is a shortened version of the formula, while in the Osiris Chapel,¹⁸³ the episode occurs on the South Wall, Lower Register, Relief 4, where a shortened version of the formula is given. In the Chapel of Ptah,¹⁸⁴ the inscription is partly destroyed, and in the Amun Chapel,¹⁸⁵ the scene corresponds to the Re'-Harakhete version.

SCENE 26.-SOUTH WALL, UPPER REGISTER, RELIEF 5.¹⁸⁶

Title.

In the Re'-Harakhete Chapel, a duplication of SCENE 16 occurs in this position, entitled,-

"Adoring the god four times, offering incense when entering the palace."

Also, this episode occurs in this position (South Wall, Upper Register, Relief 5) in the Chapel of Amen-Re'.¹⁸⁷

However, in the Chapels of Isis¹⁸⁸ and Horus,¹⁸⁹ the episode found in this position is entitled,-

"Making purification with incense upon the fire, walking around 4 times." This is the rite which has been accepted as the correct version, and is the one given in this position in all the reconstructions of the order of the ritual; the Re'-Harakhete and Amen-Re' versions are considered to be deviants. In the Ptah Chapel,¹⁹⁰ the whole scene is destroyed, while in the Osiris Chapel,¹⁹¹ the episode is replaced by SCENE 43; the rite for "Making purification with incense upon the fire walking around four times" is found on the South Wall, Upper Register, Relief 1.

SCENE 27.-SOUTH WALL, LOWER REGISTER, RELIEF 6.¹⁹²

Title.

"Fixing the two plumes upon the head."¹⁹³

The king attaches the Double Plumes to Atum's crown, and says,-

"The great crown is on the head of Atum, who resides in the Mansion of Menmaetre'. Isis establishes it for thee upon thy head, Soker adorns it for thee, and Re' glorifies it, when he makes thee triumphant over thy enemies, for Atum is more sacrosanct than gods and spirits. Thy two plumes are on thy head, having appeared upon

thy forehead."

According to Moret,¹⁹⁴ when the god received the crown, he also came into possession of his spirit, and could then triumph over his enemies and receive the offerings which were made to him; he could also rule over the Two Lands to which he was heir.

In the Isis Chapel,¹⁹⁵ there is a shorter version of the inscription, and in the Horus Chapel,¹⁹⁶ a shortened version of the formula is also given. In the Chapel Of Osiris,¹⁹⁷ the scene is omitted, and in the Amun Chapel,¹⁹⁸ the god stands, and in the Ptah Chapel¹⁹⁹ the version corresponds to the Re'-Harakhte version.

SCENE 28.-SOUTH WALL, LOWER REGISTER, RELIEF 7.²⁰⁰

Title.

"Spell for giving the w3s-sceptre, crook, flail, bracelets and anklets."²⁰¹

The king kneels before the god and presents him with the insignia; behind Re'-Harakhte is the goddess Iw.s-'3.s. The king implores the god to receive the Eye of Horus and his rightful inheritance of the land, and then continues,-

"I have given thee thy Horus Eye, I have bound for thee thy bones, I have made thy limbs to grow for thee. May he give the life-span of his body in the sky, and love of him in the hearts of the patricians to the sons of Re'...."

In the Isis Chapel,²⁰² the formula is slightly different, and in the Horus Chapel,²⁰³ Isis accompanies the god and the inscription gives a shorter version of the formula. In the Osiris Chapel,²⁰⁴ the episode occurs on the South Wall, Lower Register, Relief 5, where Horus accompanies Osiris, and a shorter version of the formula is given. In the Ptah Chapel,²⁰⁵ a goddess accompanies the god, and the inscription is mostly destroyed. In the Amun Chapel,²⁰⁶ the same version is given.

SCENE 29.-SOUTH WALL, LOWER REGISTER, RELIEF 8.²⁰⁷

Title.

"Spell for presenting unguent."²⁰⁸

The king presents the god with two jars of ointment. The formula contains a list of various types of ointment with which the god is presented. It begins,-

"Oh, Re'-Harakhte, I have filled for thee the eye of Horus with md-ointment. Festival perfume."

It continues, in a similar fashion, to give the names of ten different types of perfumes and unguents; two of these are:-

"Oh, Re'-Harakhte, take to thee the Eye of Horus, with which he cut up Seth. Safet oil."

"Oh, Re'-Harakhte, I have brought to thee the Eye of Horus, which he has put upon his brow. Finest quality perfume of cedar."

It was thought that ointments used in embalming a human corpse would bind the limbs together, and imbue the mummy with renewed vigour; in the same way, it was believed that the image of the god would regain life through the potency of the sacred ointment. In the Isis Chapel,²⁰⁹ a different version of the spell is given, and in the Horus Chapel,²¹⁰ a different version of the formula is also given, while in the Osiris Chapel,²¹¹ this episode is omitted, and is replaced by SCENE 42; in the Ptah Chapel,²¹² the scene is mostly destroyed, and in the Amun Chapel,²¹³ a longer, fuller version of the formula is given.

SCENE 30.-SOUTH WALL, UPPER REGISTER, RELIEF 6. ²¹⁴

Title.

"Spell for performing the scattering of sand."²¹⁵

The king stands before Re'-Harakhte and holds a container from which he pours out sand on to the ground. The inscription is badly damaged; after the usual address, the king continues,-

"Oh, Re'-Harakhte, who resides in the Mansion of Menmaetre', take to thyself the Eye of Horus. Thou hast rescued it, thou hast sprinkled with sand thine eye...."

In the Chapel of Isis,²¹⁶ the scene corresponds, and once again, the inscription is badly damaged; in the Horus Chapel,²¹⁷ the same scene occurs, and in the Osiris Chapel,²¹⁸ this episode is omitted, while in the Ptah Chapel,²¹⁹ this scene is completely destroyed; in the Amun Chapel,²²⁰ this episode is omitted in this space, to make room for the representation of boat-shrines, but it occurs on the South Wall, Upper Register, Relief 4, where it corresponds to the Re'-Harakhte version.

SCENE 31.-WEST WALL, NORTH HALF, LOWER RELIEF. ²²¹

Title.

"Spell for arraying the body with nms-cloth!"²²²

The king stands before Hathor-Nebet-hetepet; he drapes a cloth around her shoulders. He says,-

"The White Cloth comes (twice), the white eye of Horus comes, having left el-Kab, the cloth in which the gods are covered, in this its own name of adornment....Mayest thou array Nebet-hetepetmayest thou adorn her, mayest thou assume thy position upon her arms in [this name of thine of White One] of Nekhen, Nekhbet, who has come forth from Nekhen."

In the Isis Chapel,²²³ the scene is partly destroyed, but appears to be the usual representation; in the Horus Chapel,²²⁴ the scene is again partly destroyed, but appears to correspond to the given version, while in the Osiris Chapel,²²⁵ this scene is omitted.

In the Ptah Chapel,²²⁶ this wall is entirely destroyed, and in the Amun Chapel,²²⁷ this corresponds to the Re'-Harakhte version.

SCENE 32.-WEST WALL, NORTH HALF, UPPER RELIEF.²²⁸

Title.

"Adoring the goddess four times."²²⁹

The king kneels with upraised arms before Re'-Harakhte. He says,-
 "Hail to thee, Rait, Mistress of the Two Lands, Hathor who resides in Denderah. The royal headcloth of gold is bright, the wig is radiant with electrum, thou having shone forth. Men rejoice when you shine, the rhyt live, and every god is under awe of you." He then continues with further praises, and concludes his speech with the plea,-"Oh, female falcon, Mistress of oxen, and sacrificial beasts, far-striding mistress of the gods, may thy fair face be gracious to the King Menmaetre', on this day."

In the Isis Chapel,²³⁰ the king stands, and in the Horus Chapel,²³¹ the king also stands, while in the Osiris Chapel,²³² this episode is omitted, and in the Ptah Chapel,²³³ the scene is destroyed. In the Amun Chapel,²³⁴ the king is shown standing and the inscription is badly destroyed.

SCENE 33.-WEST WALL, SOUTH HALF, LOWER RELIEF.²³⁵

Title.²³⁶

"Spell for putting on the great cloth after these!"

The king places a cloth around the goddess, 'Iw.s-'3.s, and says,-
 "His raiment is the cloth which 'Iw-s-'3-s, who resides in the Mansion of Menmaetre', received. Her raiment is the idmi-cloth from the arms of Tait....The god approaches his god, that he may array the god in this his own name of idmi....Isis has woven it, Nephthys has spun it. Mayest thou make the cloth to shine on the day of 'Iw.s-'3.s. Mayest thou triumph against thy enemies."

Moret says²³⁷ that the cloth which was wrapped around the statue was thought to give the statue magical protection, for the cloth assumed the same magical properties as those possessed by the goddess Tait.

In the Isis Chapel,²³⁸ the same version is given, in the Horus Chapel,²³⁹ a shorter version of the formula is given. In the Osiris Chapel,²⁴⁰ the scene is omitted, and in the Amun Chapel,²⁴¹ the same version is given, while in the Ptah Chapel,²⁴² the scene is destroyed.

SCENE 34.-WEST WALL, SOUTH HALF, UPPER RELIEF.²⁴³

Title.

"Making purification with incense upon the fire, walking around four times."²⁴⁴

In the Chapel of Re'-Harakhte, the complete inscription and part of the figures depicted in this scene are destroyed; the kneeling figure of the king, offering a vase of burning incense to the god, remains intact, but the head of the god is almost completely lost. The inscription accompanying this episode is therefore taken from the corresponding scene in the Chapel of Horus. The king says,-

"Take for thyself the Eye of Horus, its perfume comes towards thee, the perfume of the Eye of Horus (comes) towards you."

In the Isis Chapel²⁴⁵ the scene and part of the inscription are badly damaged; in the Osiris Chapel²⁴⁶, the scene is omitted. In the Ptah Chapel,²⁴⁷ the scene is destroyed, and in the Amun Chapel,²⁴⁸ this version occurs, although the inscription is badly destroyed.

SCENE 35.-EAST WALL, SOUTH HALF, LOWER RELIEF.²⁴⁹

Title.

"Spell for wiping out the footprint with the hdn-plant."²⁵⁰

The king stands alone, his body bent slightly forward, facing in the direction of the east door; in one hand, he holds a censer, while in the other, he holds a bundle of hdn-plants, which he trails behind him on the ground. At Abydos, the formula accompanying this scene reads as follows,-

"Thoth comes, he has recued the eye of Horus from his enemies, and no enemy, male or female, enters into this sanctuary. Closing the door by Ptah, fastening the door by Thoth, closing the door and fastening the door with a bolt."

A full discussion of this rite is given by Gardiner,²⁵¹ and Nelson;²⁵² Nelson suggests that this scene represents the withdrawal of the priest from the sanctuary, and that a more accurate rendering of the title would be "Bringing the Foot." He does not believe that the rite represents the actual obliteration of the priest's footprints.

In the Isis Chapel,²⁵³ and the Horus Chapel,²⁵⁴ the same versions occur, while in the Osiris Chapel,²⁵⁵ the episode is omitted and replaced by SCENE 44. In the Ptah Chapel,²⁵⁶ the same version is given, and in the Amun Chapel,²⁵⁷ the same version also occurs.

SCENE 36.-EAST WALL, SOUTH HALF, UPPER RELIEF.²⁵⁸

Title.

"Making purification with incense upon the fire, walking around four times."²⁵⁹

The scene is partly destroyed, but the figure of the king appears kneeling and making an offering to the god, Atum. The text is badly preserved, but from the corresponding inscriptions in the

other chapels, it has been possible to reconstruct the following translation,-

"Take to thee the Eye of Horus [its perfume comes towards you, the perfume of the Eye of Horus comes towards you. Spoken four times. You are pure (twice)]."

In the Isis Chapel,²⁶⁰ a complete version of the text accompanies the scene, in the Horus Chapel,²⁶¹ this is also the case, and in the Osiris Chapel,²⁶² the episode is omitted, and is replaced by SCENE 45. In the Ptah Chapel,²⁶³ the usual version is given, and in the Amun Chapel,²⁶⁴ the episode is omitted, and replaced by SCENE 18.

RECONSTRUCTIONS OF THE ORDER OF THE RITUAL AT ABYDOS.

Various attempts have been made to discover a solution to the problem of the correct order of the scenes in the six chapels in the sanctuary area of the Temple of Sethos at Abydos. Here, it is possible only to outline the results obtained in each case, and to give the necessary references to the publications in which they occur.

The first attempt to establish an order was made by Mariette.¹ His sequence reads thus:-

MARIETTE'S SEQUENCE.

A. FIRST ENTRY.

East Wall, North Half, Lower Relief.

B. OPENING THE SHRINE.

North Wall, Lower Register, Reliefs 1-5.

C. PURIFYING THE SANCTUARY.

North Wall, Lower Register, Relief 6.

D. TAKING THE STATUE FROM THE SHRINE.

North Wall, Lower Register, Relief 7.

E. REMOVING ARRAY OF PREVIOUS DAY.

North Wall, Lower Register, Relief 8,9.

F. ARRAYING THE STATUE.

West Wall, North Half, Lower Relief, South Half, Lower Relief.
South Wall, Lower Register, Reliefs 8-1.

G. FIRST EXIT FROM THE SANCTUARY.

East Wall, South Half, Lower Relief.

H. SECOND ENTRY.

East Wall, North Half, Upper Relief.
North Wall, Upper Register, Reliefs 1-5.

I. ACTS OF ADORATION.

North Wall, Upper Register, Relief 6.
West Wall, North Half, Upper Relief

J. CENSING.

West Wall, South Half, Upper Relief.

K. SETTING UP THE STATUE.

South Wall, Upper Register, Relief 6.

L. CENSING AND PURIFYING.

South Wall, Upper Register, Reliefs 5-1.

M. FINAL CENSING.

East Wall, South Half, Upper Register.

Blackman,² however, attempts to show that a definite connection existed between the Daily Temple Ritual depicted on the walls at Abydos, and the Karnak Liturgy in the Berlin Papyrus, and also between the Daily Temple Ritual and certain other rites, namely, the Rite of the House of the Morning, and the Ceremony of the Opening of the Mouth. He attempts, in his reconstruction of the Daily Temple Ritual at Abydos, to find an order which relates closely to the sequence of episodes in the Rite of the House of the Morning, and he claims that Episodes 10-17, according to his reconstruction of the Abydos Liturgy, correspond closely to Nos. 1-8 of the toilet episodes in the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony. His sequence reads as follows:-

BLACKMAN'S SEQUENCE.

1. PRE-TOILET EPISODES.

FIRST SERIES.

East Wall, North Half, Upper Register.

North Wall, Upper Register, Reliefs 1-6.

West Wall, North Half, Upper Relief; South Half, Upper Relief.

SECOND SERIES.

East Wall, North Half, Lower Relief.

North Wall, Lower Register, Reliefs 1-8.

2. TOILET EPISODES.

South Wall, Upper Register, Reliefs 6-1

East Wall, South Half, Upper Relief.

West Wall, North Half, Lower Relief.

South Wall, Lower Register, Reliefs 1-3.

West Wall, South Half, Lower Relief.

South Wall, Lower Register, Reliefs 5-8.

3. EXIT.

East Wall, South Half, Lower Relief.

According to Blackman's sequence, however, several problems arise. Firstly, his Episode 28, on the south half of the east wall, (which should be Episode 18 if a logical progression were maintained), is the rite of r n int rd m h3dn, one of the final episodes of the ritual, associated with the departure of the priest. Therefore, since this exit rite had, from necessity, to be placed near the east door, Blackman suggests that the rite r n sm'r h'w m nms was consequently depicted elsewhere, i.e. on the West Wall, North Half, Lower Register.

Again, his Episode 22 should logically follow on his Episode 21, on the South Wall, but Episode 22 is found on the West Wall, South

Half, Lower Register; he explains this misplacement by suggesting that the space by the west door was limited, and this rite, because of the suitable brevity of its accompanying formula, was thus chosen by the sculptor to occupy this narrow space.

The First and Second Series of the Pre-Toilet Episodes are considered by Blackman to be alternative versions of the same rites. Thus, he discards the theory, held by Mariette and others, of two entries by the priest during the ritual. With the above order, therefore, Blackman obtains a sequence which corresponds closely to that of the Karnak Liturgy, and also preserves within it, with some minor variations, the order of the toilet episodes in the Rite of the House of the Morning and the Ceremony of Opening the Mouth. However, in order to do this, Blackman is obliged to abandon any regular pattern of scenes around the walls, and to misplace Episodes 18 and 22. Further consideration will later be given to the theory held by Blackman that the Daily Ritual and the other rites mentioned above were, to a large extent, parallel in order of episodes. The evidence provided by the Ptolemaic Temples with regard to the Daily Ritual, will be discussed in connection with this problem. From his argument that the Daily Ritual and the other rites are connected, Blackman refutes Mariette's given order, which does not correlate with the other rituals.

The order suggested by Roeder³ is complicated, and, therefore, we would suggest, the most unlikely solution of the problem. The Egyptians did attempt, wherever possible, to arrange the scenes in each area of the temple in a symmetrical and orderly pattern; however, apart from the fact that Roeder places the entry rites on the East Wall, North Half, and the North Wall, and the exit rites on the East Wall, South Half, there appears to be no logical development of the ritual, either along the walls, or from register to register. His suggested order reads thus:-

ROEDER'S SEQUENCE.

A. ENTRY.

- East Wall, North Half, Lower Relief
- North Wall, Lower Register, Relief 1.
- East Wall, North Half, Upper Relief.
- North Wall, Upper Register, Reliefs 1-4.
- North Wall, Lower Register, Reliefs 2-4.

B. CENSING AND ADORATION.

- North Wall, Upper Register, Reliefs 5,6.
- West Wall, North Half, Upper Relief
- North Wall, Lower Register, Relief 5.

C. TOILET PRELIMINARIES.

- North Wall, Lower Register, Reliefs 6-8

West Wall, North Half, Lower Relief.

West Wall, South Half, Upper Relief.

D. TOILET OF THE GOD.

South Wall, Lower Register, Reliefs 1-8.

West Wall, South Half, Lower Register.

E. FINAL PURIFICATIONS.

South Wall, Upper Register, Reliefs 6,5, 1-4

East Wall, South Half, Upper Relief.

East Wall, South Half, Lower Relief.

In his scheme, Alliot⁴ maintains the belief that his Episodes 1-5 represent the First Entry of the priest into the Sanctuary; he then left and returned to make a Second Entry. The rite r n dfw pr-wr, according to Alliot, represented the offering of the divine meal to the god, and, according to his scheme, preceded the Toilet of the god. His scheme reads as follows,-

ALLIOT'S SEQUENCE.

A. FIRST ENTRY.

East Wall, North Half, Lower Register.

North Wall, Lower Register, Reliefs 1-4.

B. SECOND ENTRY.

C. PRESENTING MEAL TO GOD.

North Wall, Lower Register, Relief 5.

D. TOILET EPISODES.

North Wall, Lower Register, Reliefs 6-8.

West Wall, North Half, Lower Relief.

South Wall, Lower Register, Reliefs 1-8.

West Wall, South Half, Lower Relief.

East Wall, South Half, Upper Relief.

E. FINAL PURIFICATIONS.

South Wall, Upper Register, Reliefs 1-6.

West Wall, South Half, Upper Relief.

East Wall, South Half, Lower Relief.

EPISODES COMPLEMENTARY TO EPISODES 1-5.

East Wall, North Half, Upper Relief.

North Wall, Upper Register, Reliefs 1-6.

West Wall, North Half, Upper Relief.

Yet another sequence is suggested by Fraulein Barta:⁵

BARTA'S SEQUENCE.

A. THE OPENING OF THE SHRINE.

East Wall, North Half, Upper Relief.

North Wall, Upper Register, Reliefs 1-6.

West Wall, North Half, Upper Relief.

VARIANTS OF EPISODES 1-8.

East Wall, North Half, Lower Relief.

North Wall, Lower Register, Reliefs 1-4.

B. THE TOILET.

1. PREPARATION.

Chapters 44 and 45 of the Karnak Liturgy.

2. CLEANSING.

West Wall, South Half, Upper Relief.

South Wall, Upper Register, Reliefs 1-5.

3. TAKING THE STATUE FROM THE SHRINE.

South Wall, Upper Register, Relief 6.

East Wall, South Half, Upper Relief.

4. CLEANSING THE SHRINE.

North Wall, Lower Register, Relief 5.

5. CLEANSING THE STATUE.

North Wall, Lower Register, Reliefs 6-8.

6. CLOTHING THE STATUE.

West Wall, North Half, Lower Relief.

South Wall, Lower Register, Reliefs 1-3.

7. HANDING OVER THE INSIGNIA.

South Wall, Lower Register, Reliefs 4-7.

8. ANOINTING AND MAKING-UP.

South Wall, Lower Register, Relief 8.

9. PUTTING ON THE GREAT CLOTH.

West Wall, South Half, Lower Relief.

C. EXIT.

East Wall, South Half, Lower Relief.

Although this sequence progresses more logically around the walls, than those attempted by Roeder and Alliot, a certain amount of digression from a consecutive order is nevertheless apparent.

Another scheme has been put forward by Altenmüller⁶; it gives the following order:-

ALTENMÜLLER'S SEQUENCE.

A. ENTRY.

East Wall, North Half, Lower Relief.

North Wall, Lower Register, Relief 1.

East Wall, North Half, Upper Relief.

North Wall, Upper Register, Reliefs 1-4.

B. ADORING THE GOD.

North Wall, Upper Register, Reliefs 6,5.

West Wall, North Half, Upper Relief.

North Wall, Lower Register, Relief 2.

C. ENTERING THE SHRINE.

North Wall, Lower Register, Reliefs 3,4.

D. CLEANSING THE SANCTUARY.

North Wall, Lower Register, Relief 5.

E. REMOVING GOD'S APPAREL.

North Wall, Lower Register, Reliefs 7,8.

F. TAKING GOD FROM SHRINE.

North Wall, Lower Register, Relief 6.

G. CENSING.

West Wall, South Half, Upper Relief.

South Wall, Upper Register, Reliefs 1,7

East Wall, South Half, Upper Relief.

South Wall, Upper Register, Reliefs 2-4.

H. SCATTERING THE SAND.

South Wall, Upper Register, Relief 6.

I. CENSING.

South Wall, Upper Register, Relief 5.

J. ARRAYING THE STATUE.

West Wall, North Half, Lower Relief.

South Wall, Lower Register, Reliefs 1-3.

K. PRESENTING INSIGNIA.

South Wall, Lower Register, Reliefs 4, 5, 7, 8, 6.

L. PRESENTING THE GREAT CLOTH.

West Wall, South Half, Lower Relief.

M. EXIT.

East Wall, South Half, Lower Relief.

OUR SUGGESTED RECONSTRUCTION OF THE SEQUENCE OF
EPISODES IN THE CHAPELS AT ABYDOS.¹

The various suggestions which have been made with regard to the order of reading the scenes in the six chapels have now been described; we now will attempt to outline our own reconstruction of the order. Further explanation of our scheme, and discussion of possible criticisms of the sequence will be treated more fully below. Here, it is our aim merely to outline the sequence, to show how it follows a logical order, and how it may be neatly sub-divided into eight main sections.

For some time, scholars have accepted the theory that the reliefs in the six chapels at Abydos served to remind the priest performing the ritual of the precise order in which each episode was to be enacted. It is therefore somewhat disconcerting to discover that, in some of the previously suggested schemes, either certain episodes have to be displaced from their logical position within the order, so that they may fit in with the sequence as a whole, or we find that the sequence is one which would certainly have involved the priest in a complicated and therefore unlikely progression around the sanctuary.

It can, of course, be argued that the need for a logical and symmetrical order within the six chapels, or indeed within any particular section of an Egyptian temple, devoted to a certain ritual, is a modern belief and one which was not present in the minds of the Ancient Egyptians. However, from the proof afforded to us by other temples, which will be discussed below, it would appear that the reliefs in each separate section of the temple do in fact follow a definite pattern, and that this order was both logical and simple in sequence.

Therefore, it is most unlikely that, within the six chapels at Abydos, the idea of a straightforward scheme should have been abandoned; thus, in the reconstruction of the order set out below, our aim has been to produce a sequence which is both logical and symmetrical, and which involves no displacement of episodes.

Previous suggestions have provided an order which applies to all of the six chapels; no provision has been made for the fact that the scenes which occur in the Chapels of Re'-Harakhte, Isis, Horus and Ptah are found in almost identical positions upon the walls in the four chapels, but that, in the Chapels of Amen-Re' and Osiris, not only are certain episodes omitted which occur in the other four chapels, but also, the order of the scenes which are present in the two chapels differs somewhat from the order found in the other four chapels; also, additional episodes which do not occur in the Daily Ritual appear in the Chapel of Osiris.

In our attempt to discover a solution to the problem of the order of episodes in the six chapels, therefore, we have taken into account the differences which exist between the four chapels on one hand, and, on the other, the Chapels of Amun and Osiris, and, for the first time, the Chapels of Amun and Osiris are treated as separate entities, which cannot be considered identical with the other chapels. Therefore, we now suggest a sequence for the episodes which occur in the Chapels of Re'-Harakhte, Isis, Horus and Ptah; the Chapels of Osiris and Amen-Re' will be given consideration in a later section. (p. 160-4)

Our sequence starts with the rite shown in the Lower Register on the East Wall, North Half, where it is obvious that the ritual order begins; our reason for beginning with the scene in the Lower Register is that, in this reconstruction, Episodes 2 to 6 are thought to illustrate certain specific actions relating to the opening of the shrine, and the scene in the Lower Register of the East Wall therefore appears to represent a general entry episode which precedes the opening of the shrine. The same pattern is followed along the North Wall, with the scenes being read alternately from Lower to Upper Register. This order is maintained until Episode 13 is reached, when, instead of being followed by the scene in the Upper Register, it is followed by Episode 14 in the Lower Register, adjacent to Episode 13; this is explained by the fact that the position in the Upper Register, which Episode 14 might have been expected to occupy, is filled by Episode 12, - a large scene showing the king before a boat-shrine. The order is once again resumed with Episode 15 occurring in the Lower Register, followed by Episode 16 in the Upper Register.

The sequence now continues along the South Wall, starting with the scene in the Lower Register, nearest the east end of the chapel. Once again, the episode in the Lower Register is read before the episode occurring in the Upper Register, until Episode 28 is reached, when, because it is displaced from its expected position in the Upper Register by a large scene (Episode 26), showing the king before a boat-shrine (corresponding to the arrangement on the North Wall), Episode 28 occupies a place in the Lower Register, adjacent to the previous episode. Episodes 29 and 30 then complete the sequence along the South Wall, in the usual way.

The main axis of the chapel runs from east to west, and until this point in the sequence, the reading of the episodes has progressed firstly along the North Wall, and then along the South Wall, on either side of the axis; the entry episodes are found on the North Half of the East Wall, while the exit and post-exit episodes occupy corresponding positions on the South Half of the

East Wall. The main axis, running from the east door to the west (false) door of the chapel, therefore appears to divide the scenes into two separate sections. We are thus confronted with the problem of the position, within our sequence, of the scenes on the West Wall, for, according to this scheme, Episodes 31 and 32 should be placed after Episode 16, while Episodes 33 and 34 should occur after Episode 30, but if this were done, the sequence of the Robing Episodes would then be broken. We have therefore decided to treat the four scenes on the West Wall as a unit, although it is difficult to determine their correct position within the sequence, since no parallel material is provided by the reliefs depicting the Daily Ritual in other temples. However, since these episodes do not appear to fit into the sequence if they are placed at the beginning of the Robing Ceremony, between Episodes 16 and 17, we have included them after Episode 30- rw3 s'y. Here, they form a separate unit of culminating rites which take place after the image of the god has been dressed, adorned with insignia and duly anointed; a purificatory rite then occurs, when the ground is strewn with sand, and then these final and most sacred rites can be performed.

The ritual has now been completed and the priest leaves the sanctuary. The episode representing his exit is placed on the Lower Register, East Wall, South Half (Episode 35); in the same way as Episodes 1-4 of the Karnak Liturgy provide us with a set of purification rites which were performed before the priest entered the sanctuary, we consider that Episode 36 on the Upper Register, East Wall, South Half, is a final act of purification which the priest performed after he left the Holy of Holies, in order to ensure the safety of the god by eliminating all the evil believed to lurk around the doorway of the chamber.

The sequence of episodes given above is both logical and symmetrical; there are no complicated progressions, and no episode is displaced within the order; the scenes along the north-eastern section of the room form a complete unit, as do the scenes in the south-western half of the chamber; the scenes on the West Wall, behind the shrine, represent the culminating rites of the ceremony, before the exit at the east door. There is no Second Entry of the priest into the sanctuary; neither does the sequence contain alternative versions of the Entry and the Opening of the Shrine episodes. It seems unlikely in a sanctuary such as these chapels, where wall space was at a minimum, that the alternative versions of the same rites would actually have been allotted places on the walls; if alternative versions existed, they would surely have occurred only in the papyrus liturgy, where there was unlimited scope for listing additional episodes.

It will be shown below how our order corresponds not only with the Karnak Liturgy, but also with the order of episodes found in the Temples of Edfu and Denderah. The following brief account summarises the actions of the priest within the four chapels at Abydos, according to our suggested reconstruction.

Episode 1, representing the entry of the priest into the chapel, was possibly enacted, and its accompanying formula recited, before the priest penetrated the chapel. He then proceeded to open the shrine within the chapel, which contained the sacred boat. He broke the clay seal which held together the door-leaves of the shrine, and then unfastened the seal, before drawing back the bolt of the door; on the threshold of beholding the god, the priest made a preliminary offering of incense to the uraeus-goddess, probably to ensure purity, before opening the doors of this outer shrine. He then entered the shn, which we would regard as being this outer shrine which contained the boat; he saw the god whose statue was perhaps enclosed in yet another shrine situated on the boat-the st-wrt. The priest now gained access to the st-wrt and prostrated himself in an act of obeisance. A ritual purification of the chapel and of the image of the god in his boat now took place before the statue could be removed from the shrine and the clothing and the unguent of the previous day removed. Another prayer and purification with incense preceded the main part of the ritual. The preparation of the image completed, the priest now adorned it with new clothing and insignia, before anointing the face with unguent. Arrayed firstly in the white cloth, the image was then purified with natron; the green cloth was then presented and another purification took place, and finally, a red cloth was presented, followed by yet another purification. Insignia was then presented, -the wsh-collar, followed by a purification, and the sspt and m'nh, again followed by a purificatory rite. Thus, each stage in the god's toilet was accompanied by a purification, and, in our opinion, at this point, the statue was returned to the shrine.

The Two Plumes were then fixed upon the statue's head, and the emblems of kingship, -the flail, the crook, the w3s-sceptre, bracelets and anklets - were all presented to the god. Finally, the preliminary adornment was completed with the presentation of md-ointment. Sand was now scattered around the chapel (in our opinion, another purificatory rite), and the cultus-image, dressed for the day, received the final and most sacred rites of the Robing Ceremony. The nms or white headcloth was placed on the statue, and a prayer was addressed to the goddess, before the priest arrayed the statue in the great cloth, and uttered a final prayer with a censuring.

After this, the priest then left the sanctuary by the

East Door, and with a post-exit purification rite, sealed off the Holy of Holies from any evil which might harm the god. The Daily Ritual was then completed.

It now only remains to show, by means of a concise table, the sections into which we have divided the episodes in our sequence.

A. ENTRY.

1. Spell for entering in order to uncover the face in the palace and the chapels which are beside the sanctuary.

B. OPENING OF THE SHRINE.

2. Spell for breaking the clay seal.
3. Spell for unfastening the clay seal.
4. Spell for drawing back the bolt.
5. Spell for incense to 'r't.
6. Spell for opening the two doors.

C. ADORATION OF THE GOD.

7. Spell for entering the shn.
8. Spell for seeing the god.
9. Spell for entering the st-wrt.
10. Spell for kissing the ground, placing oneself upon the belly to touch the ground with one's fingers, when entering in upon the god.

D. PURIFICATION.

11. Spell for cleansing the sanctuary.
12. Offering incense in front of the god with a censer.

E. PREPARING THE GOD.

13. Spell for laying hands upon the god.
14. Spell for wiping off the unguent.
15. Spell for taking off the clothing.
16. Adoring the god four times, offering incense when entering the palace.

F. ROBINING. 1. OUTSIDE THE SHRINE.

17. Spell for putting on the white cloth.
18. Making purification with 4 balls of bd natron.
19. Spell for putting on the green cloth.
20. Making purification with 4 balls of Upper Egyptian natron of el-Kab.
21. Spell for putting on the red cloth.
22. Making purification with 4 balls of Lower Egyptian natron of Wadi en-Natrun.

23. Spell for giving the broad collar.
24. Making purification with an '-vessel of cool water, with 4 balls of incense.
25. Giving the sspt and counterpoise.
26. Making purification upon the fire with incense, encircling four times.

2. THE STATUE IS RETURNED TO THE SHRINE. RITES PERFORMED INSIDE THE SHRINE.

27. Spell for fixing the Two Plumes upon the head.
28. Spell for giving the w3s-sceptre, crook, flail, bracelets, and anklets.
29. Spell for presenting unguent.
30. Performing the pouring out of sand.
31. Spell for adorning the body with nms.
32. Adoring the goddess four times.
33. Spell for putting on the great cloth after these.
34. Making purification with incense upon the fire, encircling four times.

G. EXIT.

35. Spell for removing the foot-prints with the brush of the hdn-plant.

H. POST-EXIT PURIFICATION.

36. Offering incense upon the fire, encircling four times.

THE CHAPEL OF AMEN-RE'¹.

As has already been stated, certain differences exist between the Chapel of Amun, and the Chapels of Isis, Horus, Ptah and Re'-Harakhte. For some unknown reason, it was decided to depict two small barks in place of Relief 6 in the Upper Register of the North Wall, and of Relief 6 in the Upper Register of the South Wall in the Chapel of Amen-Re'; as a result of this, there was insufficient space on both these walls to illustrate the complete set of scenes, and so it was decided to omit the episode entitled r n sfh db'wt from the North Wall, and the rite entitled irt 'bw m 4 t3w n bd from the South Wall. Some of the episodes are found in positions in the Amun Chapel which differ from those which they occupy in the other four chapels; this is partly due to the fact that the order of the episodes in the Upper Registers of the North and South Walls has been disturbed.

Nevertheless, within the broad outlines of the scheme, the same basic divisions found in the other four chapels can still be retained for the Chapel of Amen-Re', and, apart from a brief alteration in reading the scenes at the beginning of the sequence - on the East Wall, North Half, and the east end of the North Wall, - the same pattern of reading the scenes, - alternately, from Lower to Upper Register, along each wall, - can be applied to this chapel also. Thus, we suggest that the scenes in the Amen-Re' Chapel are read as follows:-

A. ENTRY.

- | | | |
|----|---|------------------------------------|
| 1. | <u>r n 'k r wn hr m hnw n hwt-'3t hn' prw-</u>
<u>ntrw r-gs pr-wr.</u> | East Wall, North
Half, Lower. ✓ |
|----|---|------------------------------------|

B. OPENING OF THE SHRINE.

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------|---|
| 2. | <u>r n sd sin.</u> | North Wall, Lower
Register, Relief 1. |
| 3. | <u>r n st3 s.</u> | East Wall, North ✓
Half, Upper Relief. |
| 4. | <u>irt sntr n 'r't.</u> | North Wall, Lower
Register, Relief 2. |
| 5. | <u>r n wn '3wy.</u> | North Wall, Upper
Register, Relief 1. |

C. ADORATION OF THE GOD.

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------|--|
| 6. | <u>r n 'k r shm.</u> | North Wall, Lower
Register, Relief 3. |
| 7. | <u>r n m33 ntr.</u> | North Wall, Upper
Register, Relief 2. |
| 8. | <u>r n 'k r st-wrt.</u> | North Wall, Lower
Register, Relief 4. |

- 9. r n sn.t3 rdit hr ht r sn.t3 m db'w. North Wall, Upper Register, Relief 3.*
- 10. dw3 ntr sp 4. irt sntr hft 'k r stp-s3. North Wall, Upper Register, Relief 4.

D. PURIFICATION.

- 11. r n dfw pr-wr. North Wall, Lower Register, Relief 5.
- 12. irt sntr hft wn hr m shtpy. North Wall, Upper Register, Relief 5.

E. PREPARING THE GOD.

- 13. r n rdit 'wy hr ntr. North Wall, Lower Register, Relief 6.
- 14. r n sfh md. North Wall, Lower Register, Relief 7.
- 15. r n sfh[†]mnht. North Wall, Lower Register, Relief 8.

F. ROBING.

1. OUTSIDE THE SHRINE.

- 16. r n db3 mnht hdt. South Wall, Lower Register, Relief 1.
- 17. irt 'bw m t3w 4 sm'y n Nhb. South Wall, Upper Register, Relief 1.
- 18. r n db3 mnht w3dt. South Wall, Lower Register, Relief 2.
- 19. irt 'bw m t3w 4 mhwy n Šr-pt. South Wall, Upper Register, Relief 2.
- 20. r n db3 mnht insy. South Wall, Lower Register, Relief 3.
- 21. irt 'bw m hnt n kbhw m t3w nw sntr. South Wall, Upper Register, Relief 3.
- 22. r n rdit wsh. South Wall, Lower Register, Relief 4.
- 23. irt wš3 š'y. South Wall, Upper Register, Relief 4.
- 24. r n rdit sšpt m'nhht. South Wall, Lower Register, Relief 5.
- 25. dw3 ntr sp 4 irt sntr hft 'k r stp-s3. South Wall, Upper Register, Relief 5.

2. THE STATUE IS RETURNED TO THE SHRINE. RITES PERFORMED INSIDE THE SHRINE.

- 26. smn swty m tp. South Wall, Lower Register, Relief 6.

27. r n hnk w3s hk3 nh3h3. South Wall, Lower Register, Relief 7.
28. r n hnk md. South Wall, Lower Register, Relief 8.
29. r n sm'r h'w m nms. West Wall, North Half, Lower Relief.
30. (dw3 ntrt sp 4). West Wall, North Half, Upper Relief.
31. r n hbs m mnht '3t hr s3 nn. West Wall, South Half, Lower Relief.
32. (irt 'bw m sntr hr sdt) phr h3
sp 4. West Wall, South Half, Upper Relief.

G. EXIT.

33. r n int rd m h3dn. East Wall, South Half, Lower Relief.
- H. POST-EXIT PURIFICATION.
34. irt 'bw m hnt n bd. East Wall, South Half, Upper Relief.

Thus, the main sections, - Entry, Opening the Shrine, Adoring the God, Purification, Preparing the God, Robing (outside and inside the shrine), Exit and Post-Exit Purification, - according to this scheme, are the same in the Amen-Re' Chapel and in the Chapels of Re'-Harakhte, Ptah, Isis and Horus.

In the Robing Ceremony, the same sequence is followed, where an offering of a cloth or a piece of insignia is accompanied by a purificatory rite, although, in the Chapel of Amen-Re', the purificatory episodes which accompany the robing and insignia rites differ to some extent from the equivalent rites in the other four chapels, in the order in which they occur. Also, the replacing of the statue in the shrine is accompanied, in the Amun Chapel, by the episode entitled dw3 ntr sp 4 irt sntr hft 'k r stp-s3, which represents an adoration and purification of the image as it is being returned to its shrine; in the other four chapels, however, in the Chapel of Re'-Harakhte, the same episode occurs at this point, but in the Chapels of Isis and Horus, the episode which we believe accompanied the act of replacing the image is entitled irt 'bw m sntr hr sdt phr h3 sp 4. In the Chapel of Ptah, this scene is destroyed.

Nevertheless, apart from these minor differences, the basic order of the scenes in the Chapel of Amen-Re' and the divisions into which these episodes fall appear to relate to the sequence and divisions which have already been proposed for the other four chapels.

THE CHAPEL OF OSIRIS.

The scenes which occur in the Osiris Chapel, and which are additional to those representing episodes in the Daily Temple Ritual in the other chapels, are as follows:-

SCENE 37.-EAST WALL, NORTH HALF, LOWER RELIEF.

The king offers burning incense to Wepwawet, who says,-

"How beautiful are the monuments which Horus in Thebes makes for thee. They shall be established and flourish forever and ever (twice)."

There is no title accompanying this scene.

SCENE 38.-EAST WALL, NORTH HALF, UPPER RELIEF.

The king pours out a libation and offers burning incense to Osiris-Onnophris. There is no accompanying formula or title.

SCENE 39.-NORTH WALL, UPPER REGISTER, RELIEF 4.

Title.

"Making incense for Osiris."

The king holds a censer before a sacred bark. There is no accompanying formula.

SCENE 40.-NORTH WALL, LOWER REGISTER, RELIEF 6.

The king lays hands on Osiris, behind whom stands Isis. There is no accompanying title or formula.

SCENE 41.-NORTH WALL, UPPER REGISTER, RELIEF 5.

The king presents bouquets to Osiris, behind whom stands Isis. There is no accompanying formula.

SCENE 42.-SOUTH WALL, LOWER REGISTER, RELIEF 6.

The king embraces Osiris, who is supported by Isis. There is no accompanying spell.

SCENE 43.-SOUTH WALL, UPPER REGISTER, RELIEF 4.

Title.

"Making incense for Osiris."

The king, holding a censer into which he throws pellets of incense, stands before the gods on their stands,- Wepwawet of Upper Egypt, Wepwawet of Lower Egypt, Thoth, Horus and Inw-Shu.

SCENE 44.-EAST WALL, SOUTH HALF, LOWER RELIEF.

Title.

[Spell for consecrating the white bread for his father Wepwawet.]¹

The king offers a conical loaf to Wepwawet, and says,-

"Oh, greetings to thee, Atum, greetings to thee when thou arisest upon the staircase."

SCENE 45.-EAST WALL, SOUTH HALF, UPPER RELIEF.

The king offers a vase of incense and sprinkles the god with water

from a vase; the god is Osiris, "Lord of the Necropolis."
There is no title and no formula.

WEST WALL.

On this wall, there are no scenes; on either side of the doorway which leads into the Osiris Complex, there are panels bearing the titles and titulary of Sethos I.

The Chapel of Osiris², with no exit or entry scenes, no scenes on the West Wall, and additional episodes which occur in only this chapel, demands a different interpretation from the other five chapels already discussed.

We would suggest that, unlike the other five chapels in the sanctuary area, this chapel was never used for purposes of cult, and that the Daily Temple Ritual was never in fact performed in the Chapel of Osiris. We would suggest that it merely served as a gangway, leading into the Osiris Complex, but, because of the ancient Egyptians' love of symmetry, it was essential that this chapel should appear to correspond to the other five chapels in the sanctuary area, where the Daily Temple Ritual was performed. Thus, an abbreviated version of the Daily Temple Ritual was put on the South and North Walls of this Chapel, although in fact the ritual was probably never celebrated here. Other additional rites included in the chapel were perhaps performed when the image of the god was carried out of the Osiris Complex. The sacred image of the god, we would suggest, was located not in the Osiris Chapel itself, but in the Osiris Complex situated behind the Chapel, for, if this chapel acted as a processional route leading to the Complex, it is obvious that there would have been insufficient space in the chapel to accommodate a shrine. Thus, unlike the other five chapels, it would appear that the boat-shrine was not kept in the Osiris Chapel.

Thus, the Daily Temple Ritual was probably only celebrated in five of the six chapels, and indeed, it is a debatable point whether Osiris, as god of the dead, ever received a morning ritual in the same way as the other gods, in this or any other temple. It is our opinion that the Chapel of Osiris served merely as the only means of access to the Osiris Complex as a whole, and that its decoration in this manner was performed solely for reasons of symmetry, so that it would appear to correspond to the other five chapels of the sanctuary.

EVIDENCE FROM OTHER EGYPTIAN TEMPLES WHICH RELATES TO THE
ORDER OF THE DAILY RITUAL.

It is now necessary to examine reliefs depicting the Daily Ritual within other Egyptian temples; from this it will be possible to ascertain the extent to which the sequence of episodes in other temples supports our suggested order at Abydos.

The temples which are suitable for this purpose are limited in number, and most of the evidence is derived from two of the Ptolemaic temples, - the Temple of Horus at Edfu, and the Temple of Hathor at Denderah. Other Ptolemaic temples have been investigated for the purpose of providing comparative material, but the scenes depicting the Daily Ritual in these temples have either been omitted from the walls, or completely destroyed, so that no traces of them are visible today. It has been possible, however, to incorporate certain scanty information from the Temple of Ramesses III at Medinat Habu, in addition to the two Ptolemaic temples.

Our reasons for relying almost entirely upon the temples of the Ptolemaic era, for further information relating to the Daily Ritual, can best be summarised by the following passage:-

"Most of the many temples of Pharaonic Egypt now lie in ruins. Most of them were being built, modified, or added to over so many centuries that they preserve little homogeneity and it is difficult for the ordinary visitor to gain any fair idea of their original nature and condition, still less to imagine how they could have been used for worship. The latest temples to be built in Egypt (those of the Ptolemaic period, and especially the Temples of Edfu and Denderah) differ from those of Pharaonic times by their preservation, and by the nature and extent of the reliefs and inscriptions that cover the walls."¹

Thus, in the late temples, it is easier both to reconstruct the general layout of the building and to ascertain, from the texts, the purpose and decoration of each section of the temple; the reliefs and accompanying inscriptions, essential for our purpose, are in a good state of preservation.

Some consideration has already been given to the architectural changes which occurred in the Ptolemaic temples, in our Introduction. Here, it need only be added that, in the late temples, the reliefs were cut very deeply into the stone, and were heavily coated with paint; the effect was more definite if less pleasing than the delicate carving of the New Kingdom temples.

Apart from the architectural changes and the stylistic differences, however, the temples of the Ptolemaic era appear to

preserve the basic characteristics of the Pharaonic temples; the reasons for this traditionalism has been thus explained by one author:-

"Because of the inherent conservatism of the culture and the desire of a new dynasty to strengthen its position before the native population, the architects went back, whenever possible, to prototypes sanctified by a venerated past."²

From the reliefs, it is apparent that the Daily Ritual continued to be performed within the temples, and it is unlikely that it differed largely, if at all, from the version which existed in Pharaonic times. However, although, in the central sanctuaries of the Ptolemaic temples, the reliefs depicting the Daily Ritual are very similar to those found in the six chapels at Abydos, it must be admitted that there is no definite evidence, such as late papyri versions of the Ritual, which prove that the form of the daily service was identical in the Ptolemaic and Pharaonic temples.

Nevertheless, the differences between Ptolemaic and Pharaonic temples would appear to be of a mainly architectural nature, for "There is evidence that in general the texts are based on sound ancient tradition, that in vocabulary and content, they often go back to the early days of Egyptian civilisation, and that, if used with due care and discretion, they provide us with a unique and exceedingly rich source book of Egyptian religious practice."³

Therefore, although the Ptolemaic evidence produced in this chapter is of a considerably later date than that of the material provided by the reliefs in the Temple of Abydos, it is reasonable to assume that there was a sufficient similarity between the religious rituals of these two eras to enable us to use the evidence from the later source to support our proposed reconstruction of the ritual in the 19th Dynasty at Abydos.

THE TEMPLES OF EDFU⁴ AND DENDERAH.⁵

The series of reliefs which occur upon the walls within each section of a Ptolemaic temple appear to have followed a definite sequence, although the order of these scenes has to be established separately for each area of the building.

At both the Temples of Edfu and Denderah, it is possible to establish such an order for the scenes which depict episodes in the Daily Ritual, and the sequences obtained are both logical and symmetrical.⁶ Indeed, in each of these temples, a similar sequence of scenes can be established, enabling us to list for each temple almost identical series of episodes.

In both temples, there was insufficient wall space within the

sanctuaries to facilitate the representation of complete sets of episodes, such as are listed in the Karnak Liturgy. At Edfu, only 19 episodes from the Daily Ritual occur, whereas, at Denderah, 18 episodes are shown. As in the Pharaonic temples, these scenes were probably not intended to provide a comprehensive version of the ritual performed within the sanctuary, but illustrated only the more important episodes of the liturgy.

A suggested reconstruction is given of the sequence of these episodes within the sanctuaries of these two temples; charts of the sanctuaries are provided, showing the position of the scenes on the walls.⁷ The numbers written on the scenes indicate which episode each scene is thought to represent within the sequence of the ritual.

THE TEMPLE OF HORUS AT EDFU.⁸

Work commenced on this temple in 237 B.C., in the time of Ptolemy III, and it reached its completion in 57 B.C.⁹ It is the best preserved example of an Egyptian temple, and has provided us with considerable information relating to religious architecture in the Late Period.

As the chart indicates, the sequence begins with the first scene in the Lowest Register on the West Wall; the scenes are to be read from wall to wall alternately, while proceeding along the Lowest Register, and thus we find that Scene 2 occupies the position at the beginning of the Lowest Register on the East Wall.

With Scene 7, the sequence continues along the Middle Register of the West Wall, and Scene 8 is found directly above Scene 7, in the Top Register on the West Wall. Scenes 9 and 10 repeat this pattern in the Middle and Top Registers of the East Wall; the sequence continues in this way, with a scene being read firstly in the Middle and then in the Top Register on the West and East Walls alternately. The scenes are always read from south to north. If the scenes are read in this way, they form the following sequence:-

ENTERING.

1. pr r rwt.

OPENING THE SHRINE.

2. st3 idr.

3. sfh db'.

ADORING THE GOD.

4. wn hr hr ntr.

5. m33 ntr.

6. dw3 ntr sp 4.

PURIFYING AND PREPARING

THE GOD.

7. šms 'ntyw n it.f

8. sw'b m nmst 4 nt mw.

ROBING.

9. db3 mnht hdt.

10. sw'b m 4 dšrt nt mw.

11. db3 mnht irtyw.

12. phr h3 sp 4 m 5 t3w mh
nw Šrp.

ROBING (cont.)

13. db3 mnht hdt. (this is possibly a mistake for w3dt.)
14. phr h3 sp 4 m t3w sm' nw Nhb.
15. db3 mnht idm'.
16. phr h3 sp 4 m 5 t3w nw bd.
17. hnk md n it.f.
18. phr h3 sp 4 m 5 t3w nw sntr.

POST-EXIT PURIFICATION.

19. phr h3 sp 4 m sntr hr sdt.

THE TEMPLE OF HATHOR AT DENDERAH.¹⁰

This temple was built between 116 B.C. and 34 A.D.; some of the reliefs were completed as late as 117 A.D.¹¹

If the suggested reconstruction of the order is adopted, the scenes are read in the same way as those in the sanctuary at Edfu.¹² The sequence of the 18 episodes is then as follows:-

ENTERING.

1. 'k r rd.

OPENING THE SHRINE.

2. st3 idr.
3. sfh db'.

ADORING THE GOD.

4. wn hr....
5. m33 ntr.
6. dw3 ntr.
7. hnk md.

PURIFYING AND PREPARING THE GOD.

8. sw'b m nmst 4.

ROBING.

9. hnk mnht.
10. sw'b m 4 dsrt.
11. hnk wn'sb.
12. irt 'bw m 5 t3w sm'.
13. hnk wd3t.
14. irt 'bw m 5 t3w mh.w.
15. irt ssst.
16. hnk mn'it.
17. hnk wn.hr.wy.
18. hnk wsh.

Later, it is hoped to show how these episodes in the sanctuaries at Edfu and Denderah, when arranged in the above order, are parallel to our reconstruction of the sequence of scenes in the four chapels at Abydos.

MEDINET HABU, THE TEMPLE OF RAMESSES III.¹³

Further evidence which supports the suggested scheme at Abydos is provided by the reliefs which occupy the Upper Register on the North Wall of the First Court in the Temple of Rameses III at Medinet Habu. The information is, however, scanty, and

relates only to the first group of episodes found in each chapel at Abydos. There are, in all, eleven scenes; from the fifth scene onwards, these scenes are accompanied by spells which are parallel to certain episodes found in the Ritual of Amenophis I.¹⁴

However, the first three scenes at Medinet Habu depict episodes which belong to the early stages of the Daily Ritual. These are:-

1. Incense to the uraeus-goddess.
2. Breaking the seal.
3. Drawing back the bolt.
4. Destroyed.

From this brief survey of the evidence from other temples, we now hope to show, by means of a chart, how this material may be correlated with our reconstruction at Abydos.

Firstly, however, our attention must be given to the claim that the Daily Temple Ritual and its order of rites corresponded closely to certain other related rituals.

EVIDENCE PROVIDED BY RELATED RITUALS.

The evidence to be discussed in the section is provided by three separate rituals,-

- a) The Ritual of Amun.
- b) The Opening of the Mouth Ceremony.
- c) The Rite of the House of the Morning.

THE RITUAL OF AMUN.

The Ritual of Amun, as preserved to us in the Berlin Papyrus, has already been briefly outlined in a previous section of this chapter,¹ but now we intend to examine more closely the sequence of episodes which occurs in the Papyrus and to suggest a scheme, other than that proposed by Moret,² into which the sixty-six spells may be divided; these new subdivisions will then be compared with those which are set out in our reconstruction of the ritual at Abydos. Twenty-nine episodes are common to both the Ritual of Amun and the chapels at Abydos; the Ritual of Amun thus has thirty-seven more episodes than the Abydos version; however, fourteen episodes occur at Abydos which are not present in the Berlin Papyrus.

Most of the previous reconstructions of the order of the ritual at Abydos have attempted to correlate the sequence of the scenes on the walls of the six chapels at Abydos to the list of episodes found in the Berlin Papyrus. In doing this, more importance has been attached to comparing the Ritual at Abydos with the Ritual of Amun, than to producing a logical and symmetrical scheme at Abydos. In order to achieve this parallelism between the two rituals, scenes have been displaced and sequences have become confused; even then it has been impossible to produce a scheme correlating the twenty-nine episodes common to both rituals.

The scenes representing the Daily Ritual in the Temples of Edfu, Denderah and Abydos, and the list of spells found in the Berlin Papyrus provide us with four separate versions of the Daily Liturgy. Some of the episodes are common to all the four versions, some occur in two or three of the sequences, and some are found in only one record.

In order to produce an ideal solution to the problem of the order of the ritual at Abydos, it would be necessary to devise a scheme in which every episode in the ritual at Abydos corresponded exactly to the parallel episode listed in the Berlin Papyrus and also to the parallel episodes depicted in the reliefs of the two Ptolemaic temples; at the same time, this sequence at Abydos would have to follow a logical and symmetrical pattern of progression around the walls of the chapels.

Since such a scheme appears to be impossible, we suggest

that the episodes in each of the four versions should be subdivided into sections, and that these main sections should then be compared throughout the four versions.

If a parallelism could then be established between the sequence of these sections in the Ptolemaic temples, the Ritual of Amun, and the newly reconstructed order of reading the scenes at Abydos, in the four chapels, then this would provide additional support for our suggested order at Abydos.

We have already shown how the episodes in the Ptolemaic temples may be sub-divided, and it is now necessary to devise a scheme whereby the episodes in the Ritual of Amun may be similarly arranged in sub-sections. Moret³ has already suggested a classification of these episodes under five main headings, but we now abandon this scheme; instead, on the following chart, we propose a different method of arrangement for these episodes.

THE RITUAL OF AMUN.

PURIFICATION BEFORE ENTERING THE SANCTUARY.

1. Spell for lighting the fire.
2. Spell for taking the censer.
3. Spell for placing the brazier on the censer.
4. Spell for putting incense upon the fire.

Episodes 1-4 of the Karnak Liturgy represent the ritual purification of the priest and the sanctuary; these were necessary preliminaries before the priest could enter the Holy of Holies to perform the Daily Ritual. These episodes are not represented amongst the scenes in the six chapels at Abydos.⁴

ENTRY.

5. Spell for advancing to the holy place.
6. Another spell.

Episode 5 represents the priest's entry into the sanctuary; Episode 1 of the Abydos ritual corresponds to this spell.

OPENING THE SHRINE.

7. Spell for breaking the net.
8. Spell for breaking the clay seal.
9. Spell for undoing the bolt.

Episodes 7-9 represent the performance of opening up the shrine; this is represented by Episodes 2-6 at Abydos.

ADORATION OF THE GOD.

10. Spell for uncovering the face.
11. Spell for seeing the god.

12. Spell for kissing the ground.
13. Spell for putting oneself upon the belly.
14. Spell for putting oneself upon the belly, for stretching (oneself) out flat.
15. Spell for kissing the ground, prone.
16. Another.
17. Another.
18. Spell for adoring Amun.
19. Another adoration of Amun.

Episodes 10-19 of the Karnak Liturgy give a considerably longer version of this section, which is represented at Abydos by Episodes 7-10.

SET OF EPISODES PERFORMED ON SPECIAL OCCASIONS .

A. PURIFICATION BEFORE ENTERING THE SANCTUARY.

20. Spell for festival perfume with honey.
21. Spell for incense.

B. ENTRY.

22. Spell for entering the temple.
23. Spell for entering the sanctuary of the god.
24. Another spell.
25. Spell for mounting the stairway.

C. ADORATION OF THE GOD.

26. Spell for uncovering the face at festivals.
27. Spell for uncovering the face.
28. Spell for seeing the god.
29. Spell for kissing the ground.
30. Spell for putting (oneself) upon the belly.
31. Spell for putting(oneself) upon the belly, for stretching (oneself) out flat.
32. Spell for kissing the ground, prone.
33. Another.
34. Another,
35. Spell for incense.
36. Another.
37. Adoration of Amun.
38. Another.
39. Another.
40. Another adoration of Amun.
41. Another adoration of Amun at dawn.
42. Spell for presenting Ma'at.

We suggest that Episodes 20-42 represent a sequence of spells which were used as a replacement for Episodes 1-19 on special occasions, such as festivals. Amongst these episodes, two of the

spells make specific mention of the word "festival". These are Episodes 20, which is entitled "Spell for festival-perfume with honey", and Episode 26, entitled "Spell for uncovering the face at festivals."

This suggestion would explain why Episodes 20-42 appear to repeat Episodes 1-19; also, Episodes 20-42 may be sub-divided into roughly the same sections as Episodes 1-19, -Purification before entering the sanctuary, Entry, and Adoration of the god. This special set of festival episodes is not found at Abydos, probably because, owing to the limited wall space, only the most basic and necessary episodes could be recorded there.

PURIFICATION.

43. Spell for incense to the Ennead.

Episode 43 represents this section in the Berlin Papyrus, and corresponds to Episodes 11 and 12 in the Abydos version.

PREPARING THE GOD.

44. Spell for laying hands upon the god.

45. Spell for laying hands upon the box, in order to perform the purification.

46. Spell for purification with four nmst-vessels of water.

47. Making purification with four dsrt-vessels of water.

48. Making purification with incense.

Episodes 44-48 place more emphasis upon the ritual cleansing of the statue with water than upon the removal of the clothing and ointment of the previous day, as occurs in Episodes 13-16 in the Abydos version.

ROBING.

49. Spell for the white cloth.

50. Spell for putting on the cloth.

51. Spell for putting on the green cloth.

52. Spell for putting on the red cloth.

53. Spell for putting on the dark red cloth.

54. Spell for presenting the unguent.

55. Spell for presenting the unguent of daily offering.

56. Spell for presenting green eye-cosmetic.

57. Spell for presenting black eye-cosmetic.

58. Spell for scattering sand.

59. Spell for smn-perfume, marching four times around the statue.

60. Spell for the vessel of natron.

61. Spell for the vessel of incense.

These episodes correspond to the Robing Episodes (17-34) at Abydos.

POST-EXIT PURIFICATION.

62. Making purifications.

Episode 36 at Abydos corresponds to Episode 62 in the Karnak Liturgy. The episode representing the actual exit of the priest from the sanctuary⁵ is omitted from the Berlin Papyrus, and neither does it occur in the sanctuary of either the Temple of Edfu or of Denderah.

ALTERNATIVE VERSIONS OF EPISODES 59-62.

- 63. Spell for smn-perfume.
- 64. Spell for the vessel of water.
- 65. Spell for using incense.
- 66. Spell for burning incense.

Possibly, the final episodes (63-66) give an alternative version of Episodes 59-62. Thus, both the Entry and Exit rites recorded in the Berlin Papyrus would be accompanied by a set of replacement episodes which could be employed for special occasions.

Thus, the Ritual of Amun may be neatly classified under ten main sub-headings. Apart from the two categories containing special festival episodes in the Ritual of Amun, and the episode which represents the exit of the priest at Abydos, the main divisions in each of the rituals correspond to one another.

THE OPENING OF THE MOUTH CEREMONY AND THE RITE OF THE HOUSE OF THE MORNING.

We will now consider the theory, proposed by Blackman,¹ in which he claims that the Daily Ritual contained episodes which were also present in the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony and the Rite of the House of the Morning, and that, in order to arrive at the correct solution to the order of the daily ritual at Abydos, it would be necessary to arrange the scheme in such a way that it corresponded as closely as possible with the order of episodes in these two related rites. Before considering this theory in detail, the main outline of Blackman's argument will be quoted:-

"....the preparation of the dead Egyptian king's body for burial, the Opening of the Mouth and the daily funerary liturgy were all based upon the ceremonial toilet of the Heliopolitan king, performed daily at dawn in the so-called House of the Morning, an adjunct of the Heliopolitan palace and sun-temple, before he entered that temple to officiate as high-priest. This toilet was in its turn based upon the lustration which the sun-god, of whom the Heliopolitan king was the embodiment, was supposed daily to undergo, before he appeared above the eastern horizon.

"The ceremonial toilet of the ancient Heliopolitan kings is probably preserved in what is nearest to its original form in the closely related Opening of the Mouth, a rite performed in the first instance on behalf of the dead king's statue...."²

Blackman then continues,-

"....the original order of the episodes in the ceremonial toilet of the Pre-Dynastic King of Heliopolis is shown by the representations we possess of the Rite of the House of the Morning and also by the inscriptions accompanying the representations or occurring independently of them....None of the representations of the Rite of the House of the Morning now preserved in any completeness are earlier than the 18th Dynasty, when the rite was just a purification undergone by the Pharaoh before he officiated in any temple."³

Then, he remarks that, in a previous article,⁴ he has shown that "a large part of the daily temple liturgy bears a close resemblance to the Rite of the House of the Morning," and that "the reason for this resemblance is that both rites imitate the same performance, the supposed daily matutinal lustration of the sun-god,-the cultus-image of the god undergoing lustration every day at dawn, as the god himself was said to do. That the other toilet episodes of the Rite of the House of the Morning,-robing, anointing, crowning, etc.,-had their equivalents in the daily temple liturgy is due to the fact that the god was regarded as a king, indeed as the prototype of all Heliopolitan kings."⁵

Blackman then attempts to show how the purifying, robing, anointing and crowning episodes depicted in the chapels at Abydos can be arranged in an order which corresponds not only to the order of episodes in the Karnak Liturgy, but also to the list of episodes which comprise the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony. In so doing, he arrives at a complicated sequence of reading the scenes on the walls at Abydos, and even then, is forced to admit that the daily ritual and the other two rituals differ in some respects.⁶ For instance, instead of the four nmst-vessels and dšrt-vessels used for purificatory purposes in the Rite of Opening the Mouth, at Abydos an 'vessel was employed for washing the cultus-image; at Abydos, according to Blackman's scheme, after lustration, the image was fumigated with burning incense, whereas in the Opening of the Mouth, this act was omitted. At Abydos, the purification with natron of Lower Egypt preceded the purification with natron of Upper Egypt; in the Opening of the Mouth, these episodes were reversed. In the Abydos Liturgy, the statue is presented with four balls of bd-natron, whereas in the Opening of the Mouth, five balls of incense are

offered to the god.

In the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony, several episodes are omitted which occur at Abydos; these are the presentation of the sspt and m'nht, placing the Two Plumes on the statue's head, and offering the bracelets and anklets to the god. At Abydos, the statue is firstly invested with all the insignia before the anointing rite takes place; however, in the other ritual, the anointing of the statue is performed after the presentation of the broad collar, but before the investiture with the rest of the royal insignia.

In some respects the Karnak Liturgy resembles the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony more closely than does the Abydos Liturgy;⁷ for instance, in both the Karnak Liturgy and the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony, nmst-vessels and dsrt-vessels are employed in purification episodes, and the episodes for painting the eye-lids of the statue are contained in both these rituals. However, even these two rituals are not identical, for the Karnak Liturgy does not follow the lustral washing with the episodes for purifying with natron; also, the episode for scattering sand occurs towards the end of the Karnak Liturgy, and Blackman equates this with the placing of the statue upon a mound of sand in the Ceremony of Opening the Mouth. At Abydos, according to his scheme, the episode for scattering sand occurs at the beginning of the Robing Ceremony, and he therefore is obliged to explain its position at the end of the Karnak Liturgy as a scribal error.⁸

Since the daily ritual and these related rituals appear to contain certain episodes which are similar, but which cannot be arranged in an order so that the episodes in the Abydos version form exact parallels with the episodes in the Opening of the Mouth, it is doubtful that the daily ritual was performed in an order which was identical with the other rituals.

For the first time in attempting to reconstruct an order for the scenes in the six chapels at Abydos, we have taken into account evidence from other temples, and in order to test Blackman's theory, we will now attempt to examine the evidence from the Temples of Edfu and Denderah, in order to see if it is possible to obtain a logical order for the episodes in the sanctuary of either temple which will correspond to the sequence of episodes in the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony. Firstly, it will be necessary to list the rites in this Ceremony:-⁹

1. Placing the statue upon a mound of sand with its face to the south.
2. Preliminary censuring of the statue.
3. Sprinkling of the statue with the water of four nmst-vessels.

4. Sprinkling of the statue with the water of four dsrt-vessels.
5. Presentation to the statue of 5 balls of Upper Egyptian natron of el-Kab, for the purification of the mouth.
6. Presentation to the statue of 5 balls of Lower Egyptian natron of Wadi en-Natrun, for the same purpose.
7. Presentation to the statue of 5 balls of incense.
8. Fumigation of the statue with burning incense.

(A number of episodes occur at this point which are peculiar to this ritual.)

9. Arraying the statue in the white headcloth called nms.
10. Arraying the statue in the si3w cloth.
11. Arraying the statue in the white cloth.
12. Arraying the statue in the green cloth.
13. Arraying the statue in the red cloth.
14. Arraying the statue in the great cloth, or dark red cloth.
15. Arraying the statue in the broad collar.
16. Anointing the statue with unguent.
17. Painting the statue's eye-lids with green eye-cosmetic.
18. Painting the statue's eye-lids with black eye-cosmetic.
19. Presentation of the sceptre called 3ms.
20. Presentation of the sceptre called hb (called hd in other versions).
21. Presentation of the flat-topped mace called mnw.
22. Final censuring of the statue, first by the sem-priest and then by the "courtiers"!

In order that the episodes in the sanctuary of the Temple of Edfu¹⁰ may be read in the same order as those in the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony, it would be necessary firstly to proceed along the lowest registers of the East and West Walls, reading the episodes from wall to wall alternately - these represent the actions of the priest when entering the sanctuary (Scenes 1-6 on the plan.) After this, in order to place the episodes for purification with nmst and dsrt-vessels before the purification with natron, the robing, and presentation of insignia, it would be necessary to move directly from the Lowest Register on each wall to the Top Registers, completely omitting the Middle Registers (Scenes 8 and 10). The episodes for purification with different types of natron would then follow along the Top Registers, reading alternately from the West to the East Walls (Scenes 12-19), but, even then, the types of Upper and Lower Egyptian natron here occur in reverse order from those given in the Rite of the Opening of the Mouth.

After the purification with incense (Scene 19), the episodes for arraying the statue with various coloured cloths in the Middle

Registers would then have to be taken; following this pattern, the presentation with unguent would precede the Robing Ceremony (Scene 17) and the order of the cloths differs from that found in the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony and also the Karnak Liturgy; at Edfu, they would be read in the following order:-blue, white (possibly a mistake for green), dark red and white. (Scenes 11, 13, 15 and 9).

So, in an attempt to arrange the episodes at Edfu in such a way that they would correspond to the sequence of the rites in the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony (i.e. purification with water preceding purification with natron and incense, preceding the Robing Ceremony,), not only do we have to abandon a logical progression around the walls, by moving directly from the Lowest Registers to the Top Registers and then returning to the Middle Registers, but also we must accept a reverse order for the presentation of the natron of Upper and Lower Egypt and a change in the order in which the different coloured cloths are presented to the god; in addition to this, according to this scheme, the presentation of unguent would have to precede the Robing Ceremony.

Thus, even when the sequence is disturbed in an attempt to establish an order at Edfu which will correspond with the other ritual, it is still impossible to obtain a list of episodes which are parallel with the rites in the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony. It is most unlikely that this complicated system of reading the episodes at Edfu is correct, and it must surely be admitted that, in this instance, the daily ritual, as depicted by the reliefs in the sanctuary at Edfu, did not correspond with the Ceremony of Opening the Mouth.

Further evidence which argues against a direct link between the two rituals is provided by the reliefs in the sanctuary in the Temple of Denderah,¹¹ depicting the Daily Ritual. The Lowest Registers once again contain reliefs which represent the entry of the priest into the sanctuary, and his adoration of the god (Scenes 1-6). In order to introduce the episodes for purification with water before the episodes for purification with natron, for robing, and for presentation of insignia, it would again be necessary to read the episodes in the Top Registers on the East and West Walls before reading those occupying the Middle Registers. The episodes for purification with natron would then follow, this time in the right order, (Scenes 12 and 14), but the last scene in the Top Register on each wall represents the presentation of insignia (Scenes 16 and 18), and thus, two insignia episodes would precede the Robing episodes occupying the Middle Registers. This is extremely unlikely and the order of episodes in the Middle Registers now becomes impossible. In reading the episodes

in this way, the order is as follows:-

Insignia.	16. <u>hnk mnit.</u>	Top Registers.
	17. <u>hnk wsh.</u>	
Anointing.	7. <u>hnk md.</u>	Middle
R	9. <u>hnk mnht.</u>	
o	11. <u>hnk wnšb.</u>	
b	13. <u>hnk w3dt.</u>	Registers.
i	15. <u>irt sšst.</u>	
n	17. <u>hnk wn.hr.wy.</u>	
g		

It is obvious that this sequence does not correspond to the version given for the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony; this progression places the presentation of insignia before the anointing of the statue and before the Robing ceremony, thus reversing the order of rites in the Opening of the Mouth Ritual.

Therefore, it appears to be impossible to reconstruct an arrangement of the scenes in either of the Ptolemaic temples which will correspond to the order of rites in the Opening of the Mouth.

In order to obtain a sequence at Abydos which compares closely with the rites of the Opening of the Mouth Ritual, Blackman is obliged to produce a tortuous reconstruction of the Daily Ritual at Abydos; divergencies exist between both the Karnak Liturgy and the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony, and the Abydos version and the Opening of the Mouth Ritual (even according to Blackman's reconstruction at Abydos); at Edfu and Denderah, insurmountable difficulties are encountered when one attempts to reconstruct sequences of scenes which would form parallels with the rites in the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony.

We would suggest that, although the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony, the Rite of the House of the Morning and the Daily Temple Ritual were closely related rites, based upon the fundamental concept of preparing the god or king, and arraying him with clothing and insignia, nevertheless, by the New Kingdom, they were entirely separate rituals, each with its own particular order of episodes, although many of the episodes were in fact common to these three rituals. In order to reconstruct a correct sequence of scenes in the chapels at Abydos, we do not therefore consider it necessary to produce a scheme which will correspond to the order given in the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony; we prefer to base our assumptions upon the evidence provided by the material from the Ptolemaic temples, which, although of a later date than the Abydos version, at least refers to the same ritual.

The following chart lists the episodes which occur in the Karnak Liturgy, sub-divided according to our given scheme, the episodes in the four chapels of Re'-Harakhte, Isis, Horus and Ptah at Abydos, according to our suggested sequence, and the episodes in the Temples of Edfu and Denderah, as well as the material from the Temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu; thus, it attempts to show^{how} the various versions of the Daily Ritual compare with each other and particularly how they correspond to the newly suggested order of the Daily Ritual at Abydos.

Our suggested order at Abydos is thus shown to correspond to the sequences given in the comparative material provided by different sources, in addition to fulfilling the condition that, in the four chapels at Abydos, it produces a logical and symmetrical progression around the walls.

MEDINET HABU. KARNAK LITURGY. ABYDOS EDFU. DENDERAH.

A. PURIFICATION BEFORE ENTERING THE SANCTUARY.

- 1. r n shi st3.
- 2. r n t3w shtpy.
- 3. r n w3h 'bw
3m hr shtpy
- 1. sntr n W3dt. 4. r n rdit sntr
hr sdt.

B. ENTRY.

- 5. r n nmt r bw 1. r n 'k r 1. pr r rwt. 1. 'k r rd.
dsr. wn hr m
hnw n hwt
'3t....
- 6. r ky.

C. OPENING OF THE SHRINE.

- 7. r n sd i3dt. 2. st3 idr. 2. st3 idr.
- 2. sd sin. 8. r n sd sint. 2. r n sd sin.
- 3. sfh db'. 9. r n sfh 3. r n sfh 3. sfh db'. 3. sfh db'.
db'wt db'wt.
- 4. r n st3 s.
- 5. r n sntr n
'r't.
- 6. r n wn '3wy.

D. ADORATION OF THE GOD.

- 7. r n 'k r shm.
- 10. r n wn hr 4. wn.hr hr 4. wn.hr hr
ntr. ntr. ntr.
- 11. r n m33 ntr. 8. r n m33 5. m33 ntr. 5. m33 ntr.
ntr.
- 9. r n 'k r
st-wrt.
- 12. r n sn t3. 10. r n sn t3.. 6. dw3 ntr 6. dw3 ntr.
- 13. r n rdit hr sp 4.
ht.
- 14. r n rdit hr
ht n dwn.
- 15. r n sn.t3 iw
hr m hr.
- 16. ky.
- 17. ky.
- 18. r n dw3 'Imn.

MEDINET KARNAK LITURGY. ABYDOS. EDFU. DENDERAH.

HABU. 19.ky dw3 Imn.

(7.hnk md.)

This is possibly
misplaced.

E. SET OF EPISODES PERFORMED ON SPECIAL OCCASIONS.

a) PURIFICATION BEFORE ENTRY.

20.r n sty hb m bit.

21.r n sntr.

b) ENTRY.

22.r n 'k r hwt.

23.r n 'k r shm
n ntr.

24.ky r.

25.r n pr r hnd.

c) ADORATION OF THE GOD.

26.r n wn hr hbw.

27.r n wn hr.

28.r n m33 ntr.

29.r n sn.t3.

30.r n rdit hr ht.

31.r n rdit hr ht
n dwn.

32.r n sn.t3 iw hr
m hr.

33.ky.

34.ky.

35.r n sntr.

36.ky.

37.dw3 'Imn.

38.ky.

39.ky.

40.ky dw3 'Imn.

41.ky dw3 'Imn hr tp
dw3yt.

42.r n hnk m3't.

F. PURIFICATION AND PREPARATION OF THE GOD.

11.r n dfw pr-wr.

43.r n sntr n psdt. 12.irt sntr hft 7.sms 'ntyw
wn hr m shtpy. n it.f.

44.r n rdit 'wy.f 13.r n rdit 'wy
hr ntr. hr ntr.

MEDINET KARNAK LITURGY

ABYDOS.

EDFU.

DENDERAH.

HABU.

45. r n rdit 'wy.f
hr ntr.

14. r n sfh md.

15. r n sfh mnht.

46. r n 'bw 4 tn
nmst nt mw.

8. sw'b m nmst
4 nt mw.

8. sw'b m nmst
4 nt mw.

47. irt 'bw m 4tn
dsrt nt mw.

48. irt 'bw m sntr. 16. dw3 ntr sp 4
irt sntr hft
'k r stp-s3.

G.ROBING.

a) CLOTHING.

49. r n mnht hdt. 17. r n db3 mnht 9. db3 mnht hdt 9. hnk mnht.
hdt.

18. irt 'bw m t3w 10. sw'b m 4 10. sw'b m 4
n bd. dsrt nt mw. dsrt.

50. r n db3 mnht.

11. db3 mnht
irtyw.

11. hnk wn^vb.

12. phr h3 sp 4 12. irt 'bw
m 5 t3w mh^w m 5 t3w
nw Srp. Sm'.

51. r n db3 mnht 19. r n db3 mnht 13. db3 mnht hdt 13. hnk w3dt.
w3dt. w3dt. (w3dt?)

20. irt 'bw m 4 14. phr h3 sp 4 14. irt 'bw m
t3w Sm'y n m t3w Sm' ~~nw~~ 5 t3 mh^w.
Nhb. nw Nhb.

52. r n db3 mnht 21. r n db3 mnht
insy. insy.

53. r n db3 mnht 15. db3 mnht idmⁱ.
idmⁱ.

22. irt 'bw m t3 16. phr h3 sp 4 m
4 mhwy n Sr-pt 5 t3w nw bd.

b) PRESENTING INSIGNIA.

23. r n rdit wsh.
24. irt 'bw m hnw
n kbhw m t3 4
n sntr.
25. r n rdit s^vpt
m'nh^t.

15. irt s^vst.
16. hnk mnⁱt.
17. hnk wn.hr
wy.
18. hnk wsh.

CHAPTER V

THE CHAPEL OF SETHOS

THE NEFERTEM-PTAH-SOKER COMPLEX

THE GALLERY OF THE LISTS

AND

THE CORRIDOR OF THE BULL

THE STAIRWAY PASSAGE

THE RITUAL OF THE ROYAL ANCESTORS

It has already been shown ¹ how the chapels which comprise the sanctuary area in the Temple of Abydos were regarded as being one of the most sacred and important parts of the temple complex, for it was here that the high-priest, as the king's delegate, daily performed the ritual which renewed the life and strength of the god; in return for this service, the king received the divine support which enabled him to bestow peace and prosperity upon his Egyptian subjects. The episodes of this daily service were, however, only the preliminary stages of a longer and even more elaborate daily service.

Ancestor-worship in ancient Egypt was probably as old as the monarchy,² and, at first, the Ancestors were probably worshipped collectively, with each king becoming part of this collective worship at death. The kingly office was derived from, and was inherent in, the king's ancestors, and it was they who supported the living ruler, for in his link with his predecessors lay the king's claim to rule Egypt. Their presence at such important ceremonies as the Coronation, where they acknowledged the king's right to rule, signifies the powerful position which they held.

It was the filial duty for every man to perform the funerary ritual and maintain the subsequent mortuary cult for his father, and, in the same way, the king, even as Horus had done for Osiris, was also required to honour the cult of his ancestors, by continuing to perform the necessary ritual and supply his predecessors with adequate provisions for the after-life. His predecessor, the dead king, in time merged with the other Royal Ancestors, and indeed, it is thought that the very stability of the Egyptian kingship may have rested upon this collective worship of the Royal Ancestors, and each king,³ whether he had usurped the throne, or whether he was the direct heir of the previous king, considered his predecessors as his ancestors, for his claim to rule Egypt rested upon his acceptance by these Ancestors. Only by maintaining a direct link with the earlier kings could the living king ensure the stability of the line of succession.⁴ Thus, in addition to his unique relationship with his god, there also seem to have been certain obligations which the king was expected to fulfil on behalf of his Royal Ancestors, and the ritual which provided this link, we designate "The Ritual of the Royal Ancestors."⁵

This ritual, performed by the king or high-priest, consisted of the presentation of certain offerings to the Royal Ancestors;

these oblations had previously been offered up to the god at the conclusion of the Daily Service. As will be shown below, the episodes which comprise the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors (the Reversion of Offerings from the god's table and the preparatory rites which preceded this) continued immediately after that part of the service was concluded which was performed exclusively on behalf of the god.

According to Fairman, there were two Reversions of Offerings.⁶ The first - wdb ht - translated simply as "The Reversion of Offerings", refers to the First Reversion, made to the Ancestors at the conclusion of the Daily Service; it had a predominantly mortuary association, was used in all the versions of the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors where the Reversion is mentioned, and was celebrated only within the sacred area of the temple proper. Earliest examples of the occurrence of this rite can be traced to the Giza tombs of the Fifth Dynasty. The Second Reversion, - wdb htpw ntr - the "Reversion of the Divine Offerings", was celebrated at the end of the entire service; the food offerings, which had reverted this time from the table of the Ancestors, were taken outside the sacred area of the temple, and distributed amongst the priests. In this way, the god's food was never wasted, but provided the priests with their daily food ration. A definite differentiation is made between the two reversions in the Graeco-Roman temples, and also, from the evidence provided by the position of the scenes in these temples, it is evident that the wdb ht followed immediately after the Daily Temple Ritual, and preceded the wdb htpw ntr.⁷ This is also borne out by a certain passage from the Stela of Amenophis, son of Hapu, where an explicit description of the First and Second Reversions of Offerings is found,⁸

"His Majesty gave to me divine offerings, which had gone up before his statue in his house of United-with-Ptah, which his Majesty made in the western basin of Het-ka-Ptah. When, moreover, the god was satisfied with his offerings and this statue had received its meal (This refers to the First Reversion of Offerings, a funerary reversion to the Royal Ancestors) then, provisions shall be caused to go up before this humble servant, by the hand of the lector-priest, who is in the house, and the w'b-priest of the hour shall institute offerings upon my tomb, according to the ritual of every day." (This is the Second Reversion of Offerings, made to the priests.)

The Ritual of the Royal Ancestors is preserved to us in various papyri, and is depicted in the reliefs found on the walls of

certain temples. Our sources are as follows,-

PAPYRI

1. Papyrus Chester Beatty IX.⁹

This papyrus contains a set of rites which are entitled by modern sources "Ritual of Amenophis I". Amenophis I and sometimes Ramesses II perform the ritual for Amun of Opet, who had connections with the Ancestor cult; in this version of the ritual, "Amenophis I and Ramesses II are treated exactly as if they were contemporaries performing together the same ritual, although in fact they were separated by some two and a half centuries. This extraordinary situation must imply not merely that the king celebrated the cult of his ancestors, but that, even in life, he was one of them."¹⁰

Nelson¹¹ states that this papyrus dates to the reign of Ramesses II.

2. Cairo-Turin Papyrus.¹²

These two papyri, found in the Sanctuary of Amenophis I, are in fact two halves of what was once a complete book, giving a version of the ritual similar to that found in the above papyrus, and dated to the reign of Ramesses II. In this version, Ramesses II performs the various rites for a deified Amenophis I. When it was discovered, the papyrus roll was divided into two sections, and the lower and upper halves were acquired by the Turin¹³ and Cairo¹⁴ Museums respectively.

TEMPLE RELIEFS

1. The Hypostyle Hall of the Temple of Amun at Karnak.¹⁵

The twenty-three reliefs which occupy the north half of the East Wall in the Hypostyle Hall date to the reign of Sethos I; of these, three depict episodes found at the beginning of the daily service, and for the most part, the other episodes correspond closely with those episodes which comprise the papyri versions of the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors. Perhaps these above versions, which, in general, observe the same sequence of rites, both derive from an earlier original document.

2. The Medinet Habu Reliefs.¹⁶

A series of eleven scenes occupies the Upper Register of the North Wall of the First Court in the Temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu. Some of the scenes represent the early stages of the daily ritual, as in the Karnak reliefs, but, from the fifth scene onwards, the rites represented are selected from those which occur in other versions of the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors; here, Episodes 16 to 35 are depicted.

3. Ptolemaic Temples.

In the temples of Edfu,¹⁷ Denderah,¹⁸ Kom Ombo,¹⁹ and Philae²⁰ it is possible to perceive a general similarity in plan; in all these temples, as well as the entrance situated on the main axis, through which the king or high-priest entered the temple in ceremonial processions, there were also certain side-entrances, through which the priests brought into the temple the food which was to be offered to the god every day, and through which the same food was later carried out of the building and distributed amongst the priests. In these temples, the side-entrance/exit was always separated from the Sanctuary by a vestibule.

At Edfu, in this vestibule (The Hall of Offerings), certain scenes occur on the walls which are also found in the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors; in fact, these scenes representing this ritual form the most important feature of the decoration of at least the east section of this Hall,²¹ and, at Edfu, a third of the episodes have been identified either with exact duplicates, or with very close parallels; some episodes also occur which are not found in the earlier versions of the ritual, but which must have formed part of it. However, from the position of certain episodes "Offering the 4th libation", "Offering the 3rd libation," "Offering the 2nd libation", and "Offering the 1st libation," - it appears that the scenes are to be read in an order which is contrary to the usual Egyptian practise of reading the scenes from the entrance to the rear of a room, based upon the assumption that the god occupied a position in the innermost part of the room. Thus, the First Libation Offering is here in a position in which one would have expected to find the Fourth Libation Offering, and so on; the position of the scenes appears to have been completely reversed, the sequence beginning with the scenes nearest the Sanctuary and proceeding around the walls to the Inner Hypostyle Hall.

At Denderah, Philae, and Kom Ombo, scenes representing the rites of the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors are found in the corresponding chamber in each temple, with the scenes being arranged in the same order and reading from the inside to the entrance of the room. Therefore, in the four temples, in approximately the same halls, where the main decoration represents episodes from the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors, the order of these scenes develops from the north to the south of the room, from the inside to the exit from the room. What was the reason for this diversion from the customary process of decoration?

At Edfu, in the Hall of Offerings, on the East Wall (Register IV, middle scene), the relief is accompanied by the title,-

'k m hm wdb ht shtp ntrw m sty idt.sn.

The rite 'k m hm (Entering while retreating) occurs elsewhere as one of the concluding rites in the Daily Ritual. Blackman²² was the first to suggest that this rite did not represent a second entry into the sanctuary, but occurred at the conclusion of the rites performed in the Sanctuary. At Edfu, this rite forms the preliminary rite to the Reversion of Offerings,²³ and its position here explains the unusual order of the scenes in these temples. When the ceremonies were completed in the Sanctuary, the officiant withdrew backwards from the god's presence, and then "entered while retreating" into the adjoining vestibule, where he proceeded to perform the Reversion of Offerings to the Royal Ancestors.

This reconstruction of the ritual would explain both the unusual arrangement of these scenes in all the Graeco-Roman temples, and the occurrence of the rites of the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors in the corresponding room in each of these temples. Consequently, it can be deduced that the Reversion of Offerings in an Egyptian temple took place immediately after the Daily Temple Ritual had been completed in the Sanctuary, thus forming part of the normal daily service. While the Morning Service was continuing in the Sanctuary, possibly other preparatory rites were being carried on in the Hall of Offerings (or equivalent room); then, the priest withdrew backwards from the Sanctuary, entered the Hall of Offerings, and the Reversion of Offerings took place.

At Karnak, and Medinet Habu, the position of the relevant scenes on the north half of the East Wall in the Hypostyle Hall, and the North Wall of the First Court, do not, when first considered, appear to support the theory suggested to explain the position of the scenes in the Graeco-Roman temples. However, on re-examining the position of the scenes at Karnak, it becomes apparent that these reliefs, situated as they were on the west face of the north wing of the Third Pylon, were on the natural route of proceeding from the sanctuary area to the outside by way of the north door in the Great Hypostyle Hall. Similarly, at Medinet Habu, an explanation is possible; there were certain difficulties involved in construction, for it was necessary to have an exit which was easily accessible from that part of the temple where the scenes representing the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors occurred, and on the south side, it would have been impossible to have had such an exit, since it would have opened directly upon the palace. On the north side, however, an exit would provide easy access to the priests' quarters, and, since it would have been inappropriate to have located it

elsewhere, a side-exit was placed here. Therefore, wherever possible, these scenes were inscribed in a consistent position in all these temples - between the Sanctuary and a side-exit.

The Ptolemaic texts preserve the 18th and 19th Dynasty rites and also provide us with additional texts. The variety in the selection of scenes was due to the fact that the presentation of scenes depended very largely upon the amount of space which was available in any particular temple. Also, it is possible that, by Ptolemaic times, the ritual had been extended, and the increased number of rites were depicted more fully than in earlier temples.

STELAE.

In addition to the evidence provided by the papyri and temple versions of this ritual, certain episodes are also preserved on FOUR STELAE which were found in the Nuri Pyramids. These are the Stelae of AMLAMANI, ASPELTA, AMANIASTABARQA and SI'ASPIQA.²⁴

Thus, the various versions of this ritual, occurring in the Temples of the 18th and 19th Dynasties, and the Ptolemaic Period, as well as at Nuri, together span a considerable period of time; earliest parallel texts found exclusively on royal monuments of the 12th Dynasty, suggest that here we are concerned with a ritual which is of an early date.

It would seem that the episodes contained in the two papyri versions of the ritual complete the ritual found in the Berlin Papyrus (The service book of the Daily Temple Ritual). These versions are more comprehensive than those presented by the reliefs, for the papyri, although in themselves incomplete, would have been intended as a service book for use in the temple, whereas it was the purpose of the reliefs to summarise the main aspects of the ritual and provide the priest with a selection of rites which would illustrate the general sequence of episodes in that particular ritual.

It has been suggested that possibly all these versions were derived from an original document which itself did not give the complete temple liturgy, but which was -"a source containing merely excerpts from the probably much larger body of texts that existed and could be used not only in the daily presentation of food offerings and in the Reversion of Offerings that followed, but also in the great Festival of Amun, the Monthly Feasts, the New Year Festival, and the Festival of Mut."²⁵

In Papyrus Chester Beatty IX, the rites are particularly adapted to the cult of Amenophis I, the first king to be buried

in the Theban Necropolis. This cult existed at Deir el Medina where the workmen worshipped Amenophis I in various forms, for he was their patron and benefactor.²⁶ However, those rites which occur in the Cairo-Turin Papyrus were performed in the great Temple of Amun at Karnak, on behalf of the Royal Ancestors in general. At Edfu, also, oblations were made to Ptolemy IV, III and II, who, in this chamber, represent the Royal Ancestors. Although one version has been given the name "Ritual of Amenophis I" in modern works, the other sources of the ritual do not specifically state the name of this king; for instance, it is omitted from the Temple of Medinet Habu, (dated to the reign of Ramesses III), and from Karnak (where the reliefs date to the reign of Sethos I), in addition to the Ptolemaic temples of Denderah, Edfu, Kom Ombo and Philae. Although certain episodes are common to all these representations of the ritual, it is evident that none were performed exclusively in honour of Amenophis I in his mortuary temple; neither was it celebrated only on particular occasions in the year. This ritual was primarily an act of worship dedicated to the collective body of the Royal Ancestors of the king - the dead kings of Egypt. It is true that it was probably performed at certain times of the year specifically for Amenophis I, and also in individual mortuary temples, but, as the presence of such reliefs in certain temples show us, it was also performed in temples which were not of the mortuary type and for kings other than Amenophis I. The fact that this ritual was performed in five cultus temples (Karnak, Edfu, Denderah, Philae, and Kom Ombo), as well as at Medinet Habu and in the Temple of Sethos I at Abydos, shows that it was not a mortuary ritual performed only in mortuary temples, but was part of the daily temple ritual in cultus-temples, and also probably formed part of many, if not all, great annual festivals.

In the Temple of Sethos I at Abydos, although a certain amount has already been written about the daily worship of the god, as depicted in the reliefs in the chapels in the sanctuary area,²⁷ no attempt has been made to study the final stages of the daily service, as represented by the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors, in this temple.

In any Egyptian temple, it was essential that the area of that temple which was devoted to the celebration of the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors should be easily accessible from the sanctuary, and also closely connected with a side-exit, whence the offerings could be carried out of the building and presented to the priests.

In planning the temple complex, therefore, the Egyptians had to ensure that any hall or group of rooms in which the final stages of the daily service were to be performed, in fact fulfilled both these conditions. Thus, in attempting to explain the use of any unit of rooms in an Egyptian temple, in addition to the evidence provided by the reliefs and inscriptions on the walls, the actual position of such a unit within the temple complex as a whole is of the utmost importance.

A mortuary temple such as the Temple of Sethos I at Abydos was a cult centre for the worship of the dead, deified king, for whom the temple had been built. When the temple was completed before the king's death, the chief god, until that king's death, was the deified, living king, anticipating his ultimate ancestral form; he was thus, for a time, performing the ritual for his own anticipated ancestral form.

In the following chapter, the theory is put forward that, at Abydos, upon leaving the chapels of the sanctuary area where the Daily Ritual had been completed, the king (or High-priest) then progressed to the Chapel of Sethos, where a meal was offered to the deified Sethos, who must, for a time, as a living king, have presented offerings to his own future ancestral form. This part of the ritual completed, the priest then entered the Nefertem-Ptah-Soker Hall, where episodes occurred which are found in the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors. Here, in the Nefertem Complex, the ritual is performed before Memphite gods; thus, although this temple is a funerary monument, with particular emphasis on its Osirian connections, the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors is nevertheless performed before Memphite gods who were mortuary in nature. As the earliest kings were Memphite, consequently the earliest ancestors were also Memphite, thus making these Memphite gods a particularly suitable choice as recipients of a ritual designed to honour the Royal Ancestors.

On leaving the Nefertem-Ptah-Soker Complex, the procession made its way along the Gallery of the Lists, where the First Reversion of Offerings was made before the List of Kings on the West Wall. On the opposite wall is found the formula which was recited when the Second Reversion was performed. Finally, the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors completed, the offerings were taken to the Hall of Barks, where they were apportioned to the priests, before the food was carried out of the temple, along the Corridor of the Bull and up the Stairway Passage, and out of the side-door in the West Wall of the Passage.

Because lack of space prevented the ritual from being

completed in one room at Abydos, we suggest that the sequence of scenes occurs throughout the temple in the above-mentioned order.

In order to examine this theory in detail, it is now necessary to study more closely the evidence provided by the wall reliefs and inscriptions found in each of the afore-mentioned sections of the temple. Below, we have attempted to give a brief description of each scene, including, wherever it is thought necessary, quotation from the accompanying inscriptional material, and also to suggest an order in which the reliefs are to be read in each section. We have taken first the Chapel of Sethos, since, according to this theory, the reliefs therein follow immediately after those in the other chapels of the sanctuary area. Following this order, the Nefertem-Ptah-Soker Complex will then be discussed, and finally, an account of the scenes in the Gallery of the Lists will be given. It is not thought that the reliefs found in the Corridor of the Bull and the Starway Passage form any part of the daily service, but, because it is thought that they formed an exit for the daily procession, the content of the scenes will be discussed in this section of the thesis.

THE CHAPEL OF SETHOS.

The Chapel of Sethos lies between the complex of rooms dedicated to Nefertem and Ptah-Soker, and the Chapel of Ptah in the Sanctuary. Together with the other six chapels which have already been discussed in some detail, it forms the sanctuary area of the Temple of Abydos, although the reliefs which decorate the walls of this particular chapel are quite unlike those found in the other six chapels.¹

Architecturally, the seven chapels are almost identical, (for minor differences, see previous chapter) and the Chapel of Sethos displays the same main features as the other six chapels. Today, this chapel is partially ruined.

DESCRIPTION OF SCENES IN THE CHAPEL OF SETHOS.

EAST WALL, NORTH SIDE.

Lower register.¹

This scene is partly damaged; the king stands with a staff in one hand. The accompanying inscription is a purification speech addressed to the door-keepers of the temple, to assure them of the purity of the king, thus enabling him to gain access to the chapel. Part of the speech reads as follows,-

"Oh, door-keepers of this temple, who repel every impurity for the King Menmaetre', without allowing them to enter behind him into this temple, their faces being turned outward, as they retreat;² the purifications of the son of Re', Sety Merenptah, are the purifications of Horus....the son of Re', Lord of Diadems, Sety Merenptah, given life, has come, carrying the Eye of Horus for Thoth. A boon-which-the-king-gives. The king Menmaetre', son of Re', Sety Merenptah is made pure for the Great Ennead, who are in his palace eternally."

Title.

"Spell for entering by the first door of the Great Place."

Upper register.

The king holds a staff and faces Horus Iwn.mwt.f, who raises a censer before him; the title and most of the inscription are destroyed.

EAST WALL, SOUTH SIDE.

Lower register.

The king stands before a small figure of Mrt-šm' who has her arms upraised in adoration; this scene is accompanied by a short speech in which the king once again affirms his purity,-

"May the god be in peace (twice), living spirit, who strikes his enemies. Thy ba is with thee, thy power is at thy side, I have brought for thee thy living image, associating with thee. An offering which the king gives. I am pure."

Title.

"Spell for entering the Great Place."

Upper register.

The king holds the w3s-staff in one hand, the crook and flail in the other; he wears the atef-crown, and behind him walks his Ka. There is no title and no inscription.

NORTH WALL, EAST SECTION,

Lower register.³

Scene A. (Nearest the east end.)

Iwn.mwt.f stands before the Ennead-Amun, Mut, Khonsu; Re'; Shu;

Tefnut; Osiris, Thoth and Isis. Each god relates briefly the benefits which he will bestow upon the king.

The purpose of this scene is to show 'Iwn-mwt.f' introducing the king to the Ennead;⁴ this is clearly brought out in his speech,-

"Oh, Great Ennead.....behold your son, Menmaetre', is seated upon the throne of Re'-Harakhte. Pleasing indeed are his counsels to your hearts, you rejoice at seeing his beauty, he renews births again like the sun's disk in the sky, and he abides, who is at the front of the living. The Lady of Writing inaugurates for him, thou being renewed with life, prosperity and health. The Lady of the Crown of Upper Egypt, the Lady of the Crown of Lower Egypt, may they assume their position, abiding upon his brow, as King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Menmaetre'."

To this the assembly of gods replies,-

"How beautiful is the monument which has been made for thee beside She-who-conceals-her-lord (the necropolis of Abydos). It shall exist conformably with thy lifetime, thou abiding and remaining forever."

Scene B.

Seshat, Mistress of the Library, holding writing equipment, records the kingship of Menmaetre',-

"Behold, it is commanded to record his kingship, my hand writing it, namely his great lifetime, according to that which comes forth from the mouth of Re'; my reed pen forever, and paint for eternity, and the bowl of water⁵ forever, with millions of very many jubilee festivals for the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menmaetre'."

Scene C.

The dead king is installed upon the throne; Nekhbet and Edjo are seated on either side of him, supporting and protecting him, while Horus and Thoth bind the Two Lands under his throne; these two gods here represent the two masters of Egypt - usually Horus and Seth are thus shown, but here Thoth replaces Seth.⁶

The goddesses assure the king of their protection; Horus the Behedtite says,-

"There come to thee the Nubians and Sm'yw of Nubia. Thy Majesty is abiding on the serekh, even as Atum is firmly established in Heliopolis...."

Thoth, "Lord of Hermopolis", says,-

"My son, Lord of Diadems....I bind for thee Upper and Lower Egypt, that thou mayest take possession of the Two Lands in triumph. All the lands and all the foreign countries are under the feet of

thy Majesty forever."

Title.

"Horus, son of Isis, binds Upper Egypt to Lower Egypt, under the throne of his son Menmaetre' eternally."

NORTH WALL, WEST SECTION.

Lower Register?

'Iwn-mwt.f stands before a List of Offerings⁸ in the presence of the king and a smaller figure. The List is divided into two registers, each containing 30 items of food; these consist of offerings of various joints of meat, fowl, figs, fruit, bread, honey, milk and fresh vegetables. Each item is followed by a formula which usually exhorts the king,-

"Take to thee the Eye of Horus", and then continues with a phrase which is often a pun upon the name of the offering itself; for example,-

"Natron (2 jars). Oh, Osiris, son of Re'.....take to thee the Eye of Horus that purifies thy mouth."

Bd (2) h3 Ws'ir s3 R'.....m n.k irt Hr bd r.k

Title.

"Utterance by the sem-priest Horus 'Iwn-mwt.f. Presentation (irt) of the Menu to his beloved son, Lord of the Two Lands, Menmaetre', ruler of Heliopolis....Take to thee the Eye of Horus, on account of which thou hast performed thy offering...."

NORTH WALL, EAST SECTION.

Upper Register.

At the east end of the register, Atum and Montu, accompanied by a goddess, lead the king forward for purification; this is the Induction into the palace. They are preceded by the jackal-headed Souls of Nekhen and the falcon-headed Souls of Pe;⁹ these Souls were thought to give the king protection and assist the royal ascent to heaven.

The final scene in this register is damaged; here, the king is seated in a kiosk; before him stands Thoth, who introduces a third person to the king, possibly his successor.

The speech of Atum and Montu explains the significance of the first scene,-

"Oh, our beloved son....enter thou together with the two of us into the Great Palace. Sit thou upon the throne of thy father in the Mansion of Millions of years. The Souls of Heliopolis, they have made a way for you, that you may pass by, being pure. Thy Ka is pure, that which thou speakest is pure; pure, pure are all those things which come forth from thy mouth; watch over

the earth in Heliopolis. The Ka of Horus rejoices, his face is the face of Demedj, the son of Re', Sety Merenptah, like Re'. Thy purifications are the purifications of the unique child, thy purifications are the purifications of Anubis who created Hesat, thy purifications are the purifications of Osiris, together with his Ennead. They have received their Double Plumes in triumph. Horus put Anubis behind the king Menmaetre', he being pure for all the gods of his temple."

Only a portion remains of the inscription which accompanies the scene where Thoth presents a third person to the king; it reads as follows,-

"[....]Mayest thou abide upon earth, even as Re' shines, mayest thou enter in joy into the Great Mansion, may the entire Ennead receive thee, and mayest thou come forth, loved, from the Great Seat, in the presence of Amun. May the gods say to thee, "Welcome, be praised, receive thy oblation, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menmaetre', given life like Re'" "

NORTH WALL, WEST SECTION.

Upper Register.

This register is almost completely destroyed.

WEST WALL, NORTH SIDE.

Lower Register.¹⁰

This is also destroyed.

Upper Register.

This is destroyed.

WEST WALL, SOUTH SIDE.

Lower Register.

The king wearing the White Crown, holds the mace in one hand and the sceptre in the other. The accompanying inscription reads,- "The august Mansion of Millions of Years of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menmaetre', beloved of Osiris, Lord of the Necropolis."

Upper Register.

This is completely destroyed.

SOUTH WALL, WEST SECTION.

Lower Register.¹¹

Thoth recites the Menu for the king, who is seated on his throne. Behind him stands a smaller figure carrying a standard, probably his Ka. The Offering List, as on the North Wall, is divided into two registers, each containing 30 items of food and drink; these are parallel to those on the North Wall.

The speech of Thoth, "Master of Hieroglyphs", is here quoted in full, because of its importance in establishing the order of scenes in this chapel (see below).

"The King Menmaetre' comes before thee, Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, that he may endow thy Table of Offerings, that he may fill thy house with fresh greens, that he may present libation vessels to thee, assembled for thee, that he may please thee with food offerings, that he may purify for thee the provisions, that he may assemble for thee the libation offering and the libation stand,¹² he making libation¹³ with his vessel of pure gold. He comes to thee, he greets thee, he calls thee to thy fine meal, that thou mayest live when thou hast tasted his libation. He gives incense to thee for thy Ka, he fumigates thee with thine eye, thou being sound. He censes thee with what comes forth from thee; the Ennead smell thy scent, namely, the fragrance which comes forth from thy flesh. He lustrates thy head with a nmst-vessel, and he purifies thee with incense and with natron. He adorns (thee)¹⁴ with the Eye of Horus, the uraeus which is within the uraeus goddess. He puts for thee a collar at thy neck. May thy voice be loud, and mayest thou become Khepri. His Majesty has made scent which is more valuable than that of the gods. He gives to thee myrrh, which pleases thy heart; satisfy thyself with the divine exudation. He presents to thee his offerings, which cause to flourish what they create. Oh, Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, thy heart is glad at the adoration of thy beauty. He gives to thee all life, stability, dominion and joy, that come from thee. He is thy son, who was born to thee. He gives to thee thy Ka, who is happy with thee, millions of jubilee festivals, and he leads the land as Lord of the Living forever. (Twice.)".

Title.

"Utterance by Horus 'Iwn-mwt.f. Presentation (irt) of the Menu for his beloved son, Lord of the Two Lands, Menmaetre', son of Re', Sety Merenptah, like Re'."

SOUTH WALL, EAST SECTION.

Lower Register.¹⁵

The king is borne in a litter by the Souls of Pe and Nekhen; Horus 'Iwn-mwt.f goes before them, and turns to purify the oncoming procession with a censer. At the east end of the register, and heading the procession, eight gods are depicted upon their standards; each one proclaims the benefits which he will bestow upon the king.

The Souls of Nekhen assure the king of their protection,-

"Our arms are under thee, that we may lift thee up, that thou mayest be exalted as the Two Lords and the Two Ladies. Thou sittest upon the throne of eternity; thou hast grasped the sceptre and the flail; thou hast appeared upon earth like Re'. When he shows himself,¹⁶ thou illuminest the Two Lands as the sun's disk. The Ennead receive thee in peace. Their arms are in obeisance before thee, even as for Re', forever and ever."

The Souls of Pe continue,-

"Oh, image of Re', Lord of Heaven, Lord of Earth, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, we carry thee [...], we give thee the earth in peace, [we give thee the throne of Atum as king and the seat of Horus?] as king. Thy kingship is the kingship of the Two Lords; mayest thou celebrate jubilee festivals like Re'. Appear thou upon earth, oh, our unique son, and rest upon our throne."

The speech of 'Iwn-mwt.f is concerned with the purification of the king,-

"Horus is purified; he has censed himself with his bodily eye. King Menmaetre' is pure; he has censed himself with the bodily Eye of Horus. He is pure and abiding; he has censed himself with the bodily Eye of Horus. He has caused him to equip himself therewith in this his name of pd-incense and incense....The mouth of the son of Re', Sety Merenptah, like Re', is the mouth of a calf (suckling) on the day on which its mother gave birth to it."

Title.

"Utterance for purifying the king with incense."

SOUTH WALL, WEST SECTION.

Upper Register.

Scene A.(nearest west end.)

This is badly damaged; it shows 'Iwn-mwt.f before another standing figure. Only the title of the scene is preserved to us in part,-

"Utterance for the calf at milk on the day on which its mother gave birth to it."

Scene B.

'Iwn-mwt.f and Thoth stand with arms outstretched before a table piled high with offerings, and a shrine containing a sacred bark. The speech of Thoth reads as follows,-

"Hail, son of Re', Sety Merenptah, thy enemies are turned back, thy father Atum has repelled them. Horus turns himself on account of his Eye, in its name of Reversion of Offerings. Thy perfume belongs to thee, oh, gods, thy sweat belongs to thee, oh, gods. [I am Thoth] and I have come to perform the ritual for the king Menmaetre', given life, and his Ennead. Oh, that the Eye of Horus that is before thee might flourish for thee."¹⁷

The inscription continues,-

"Making a-boon-which-the-king-gives for the king Menmaetre' given life, by Horus 'Iwn-mwt.f, Lord of the Great Mansion, with bread and beer, and [oxen?] and all kinds of fowl, and every pure thing."

Title.

"Spell for entering for the Reversion of Offerings to the king, Lord of the Two Lands, Menmaetre', given life."

SOUTH WALL, EAST SECTION.

Scene A. (nearest the east end.)

This shows the king, crowned and supported on either side by Horus and Thoth, accompanied by Edjo and Nekhbet. Thoth says,-
"I engrave (thy) annals for thee anew in order to exercise the kingship of Atum forever and ever."

Nekhbet says,-

"Thou shalt possess Upper Egypt; it is thy portion to the ends of the four pillars of the sky. I am with you forever, overthrowing thine enemies before thee, and putting terror of thee amongst all lands, and fear of thee throughout every foreign land."

Horus tells the king to "Receive for thyself the crowns of Re' , that thou mayest rule the Black Land and the Red Land."

Finally, Edjo tells the king,-

"I have come before thee, in order to give thee Lower Egypt, their arms working in unison for thee. My Majesty rests upon thy brow forever and ever."

Scene B.

'Iwn-mwt.f issues a decree to the Great Ennead, consisting of three rows of gods,- Osiris, Horus, Isis; Re', Shu, Tefnut; Geb, Nut and Wepwawet. Each god announces the benefit he will bestow upon the king. 'Iwn-mwt.f says,-

"I have come, I have come, having acted according to what you have commanded for the King Menmaetre', your veritable son, who rests upon the seat of thy heir, who is established upon your throne, the crowns of Re' fixed upon his head, he has united with the Great-of-Magic and has grasped the sceptre and flail, that he might rule over the land like Re', having been recognised as Upper Egyptian king, and his Lower Egyptian kingship having been initiated, and his titular being

"He who causes the Two Lands to live. " Thoth inscribes his annals, and Horus affixes his crowns. The Crown of Upper Egypt and the Crown of Lower Egypt are his companions, giving him their portions. Assembled is that which he who made him who does what pleases your Kas has made."

The Ennead in turn replies in unison,-

"He shall exist,¹⁸ they abiding and enduring forever, oh,
beautiful son, beneficent protector, whose deeds of beneficence
are numerous."

Title.

"Issuing a decree to the Ennead of gods by Horus 'Iwn.mwt.f.'"

THE CHAPEL OF SETHOS-PURPOSE AND ORDER OF SCENES.

PURPOSE.

Mortuary temples were built for a three-fold purpose—they were used for the cult of the gods, the cult of the Ancestors, and the cult commemorating the king after his death. At Thebes these temples were built primarily for the worship of Amun, and secondly, as cult-centres for the remembrance of the dead king; at Abydos, the temples of Ramesses I, Sethos I, and Ramesses II were somewhat different, for these kings, like their predecessors of the 18th Dynasty, were interred at Thebes. However, in the same way as men wished to dedicate stelae to Osiris at Abydos, so these kings wished to have cenotaphs set up in this religious centre. In this sense, these were truly mortuary temples, although their owners were buried far away at Thebes.

Many mortuary temples were completed before the death of the kings who designed them and for whom they were built; in these cases, the temples appear to have been brought into use as soon as they were finished, and the mortuary services for the king were performed immediately, although the king was still alive.¹ The question arises as to whether the Pharaoh was ever worshipped as a living king, as opposed to being worshipped as a dead king during his lifetime; one opinion² is that as soon as Pharaoh had been crowned, he received divine worship, and sanctuaries existed for his worship as a living king; an attempt has been made to prove that Amenophis I and Nefertari, his mother, were worshipped in this way during their lifetimes; however, others would disagree with this viewpoint³ and would maintain that there was no cult of the living king in Egypt, and that Amenophis I and Nefertari were worshipped in their lifetimes as a dead king and queen, in anticipation of the event.

Under the Empire,⁴ therefore, the mortuary temple had two purposes,— it was a private oratory where the king could worship the gods in his lifetime; it also contained the shrine where the king's statue received daily offerings, both before and after his death. In prehistoric times, this chapel had been represented by a niche, where the offerings were placed. This simple original rite had now become an established ritual.

The Temple of Sethos I at Abydos was a mortuary temple, and the Chapel of Sethos was also mortuary in nature; this is shown by the presence on the walls of a scene representing the Reversion of Offerings—a meal presented to a dead king. We must now consider the use and purpose of this chapel in relation to these facts.

The scenes in this chapel have usually been interpreted as representing either the Coronation of a living king, or the Jubilee Festival, renewing this Coronation Ritual.

The rite of sm3 t3wy, which occurs in this chapel, was thus thought to be included in the Coronation Ritual;⁵ however, no other similar example of this is found in any religious documents relating to the Coronation, and other evidence that this rite was ever directly linked with the Coronation is missing.⁶ Possibly this scene represents the installation of the dead king upon the throne.

Moret believed that these scenes represent the jubilee festival, when the living king renewed his divinity, not for a few hours, but for eternity.

However, as we have stated, Abydos was a mortuary temple, and it seems unlikely that this specialised chapel in a mortuary temple should have been used for rites connected with the coronation, or the jubilee festival of a living king. The existence of a set of Coronation rites in the Hypostyle Halls also makes their duplication in this small chapel rather unlikely. Because of its isolation from the other six chapels, and its position within a mortuary temple, it is possible that the Chapel of Sethos was the setting for the ritual performed for a dead king who had become a god; perhaps the purpose of such a ritual was to ensure that the king-Sethos I-entered the next world as a king.

Despite the similarity between certain scenes in the chapel and others found elsewhere which are part of the Coronation Ritual (such as the procession scene, where the king is carried by the Souls of Pe and Nekhen, and the issuing of the decree to the Ennead, in addition to the actual crowning of the king)⁷, these probably do not indicate a coronation ritual, but merely confirm that Sethos was king on earth, in order that he might continue as king in the next life. Certain scenes occur in this chapel which, as in the case of SM3 T3WY, appear to have no direct connection with the coronation, and these again argue against any suggestion that this ritual was a representation of the Coronation or the Jubilee Festival.

The ritual here, we would therefore suggest, is concerned primarily with the king's rightful claim in the next world, and is closely linked with the Ancestor Cult. We believe that the ritual which was performed in this chapel formed the introduction to the rites which continued in the adjoining Nefertem-Ptah-Soker Complex and the Gallery of the Lists, and culminated in the Hall of Barks. In this chapel of Sethos, the ritual established the kingship of Sethos after his death, thus enabling him to receive, as a dead king in his mortuary temple, the offerings which were made daily to his deceased being.

ORDER.

In attempting to establish the order of scenes in the Chapel of Sethos, there are three main points to be considered.

First, the sequence of scenes must follow a logical and symmetrical progression around the walls, as far as it is possible. Secondly, although it is thought that these scenes do not represent the Coronation of a living king, there are definite similarities between certain scenes in other temples, which do in fact depict coronation rites, and some of those which decorate the walls of the seventh chapel at Abydos. Therefore, although, at Abydos, the purpose of this particular ritual appears to be of rather a different nature, the sequence of events may, to some extent, be parallel to that of the coronation ritual, and, in suggesting an order of scenes in the Chapel of Sethos, reference will be made to the corresponding sequence found in the Coronation rites. Finally, the order of certain episodes in the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors is also of some assistance in establishing a sequence and this will be discussed in more detail below.

On the East Wall¹ of the Chapel, on the south side, Lower Register, the king is shown entering, while Mert Šm' greets him; the scene is entitled "Spell for entering the Great Seat by King Menmaetre'." On the north side, Lower Register, there is apparently only an almost completely destroyed figure of the king entering; the scene is entitled "Entering by the first door of the Great Seat."

We suggest that the scene on the south side is a general spell for the entry into the chapel and that the scene on the north side is the specific spell for passing the doorway. Hence, we suggest that the due order is:—

1. Scene in the Lower Register (South side.)
2. Scene in the Lower Register.(North side.)

Above these two scenes is an Upper Register; on the south side, the king is shown facing the entrance of the chapel (i.e. leaving the chapel), and is accompanied by the Royal Ka. We assume, therefore, that this marks the final act after every rite in the chapel has been performed, as the king leaves to perform the rest of the ritual. On the north side, however, although the upper part of the scene is almost completely destroyed, it is evident that the king is shown on the right, entering the chapel, and that before him is 'Iwn-mwt.f who is censuring him with incense. This must therefore have been some form of purificatory rite or fumigation, and the position of the king indicates that it must have been connected with the king's entry into the chapel and cannot be considered to be parallel to the scene in the Upper Register to the south of the door.

Our interpretation of the East Wall, therefore, is that

we first find in the Lower Register on the south side the entry of the king; this is followed by the Lower Register on the north side, where the king passes through the doorway. This in turn is succeeded by the scene in the Upper Register to the north, where the king is purified as he enters to celebrate the ritual. The scene in the Upper Register, south side, represents the exit of the king at the conclusion of the ritual.

The scenes in the chapel appear to follow a sequence which begins at the east end of the room and progresses towards the west end; this is the pattern which occurs in the other six chapels. In this chapel, the rites depicted on the eastern sections of the south and north walls are concerned mainly with the establishment of kingship which Sethos had held on earth, and to which he wished to lay claim in the next world; the west sections of these walls are occupied by episodes which are linked with the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors.

SOUTH WALL, EAST SECTION, LOWER REGISTER.

Having entered the chamber, the king was led forward in a litter, supported by the Souls of Pe and Nekhen; 'Iwn-mwt.f' preceded the procession and purified the king with incense. The processional scene at Edfu, which occurs in the series of scenes representing the Installation of the Divine Falcon,² - the annual renewal of the king's coronation - is identical with this particular scene, except that at Edfu, it is the god and not the king who is borne in a litter. The litter was carried by masked priests, wearing falcon and jackal masks, who represented the Ancestors, the kings of the archaic kingdoms of Hieraconpolis in Upper Egypt and of Buto in Lower Egypt. This procession was probably very similar to that which took place at the New Year Festival; in this, the king (here replaced by 'Iwn-mwt.f') continually burnt incense in front of the god, in order to purify the way along which the procession advanced, and the sacred standards which preceded the god (Sethos at Abydos) were also present to drive away evil.

NORTH WALL, EAST SECTION, UPPER REGISTER.

Scene 1.

The king is then shown receiving the necessary purification rites,³ so that he may enter the temple. He is led forward by Atum and Montu. This corresponds to the Induction and Baptism in the Coronation.

Scene 2.

This scene, partly destroyed, has already been described (p.196). In the accompanying, but damaged inscription, Thoth perhaps invokes the king to receive his oblation, and voices his hope

that the king will enter the Great Mansion and be received by the Ennead.

SOUTH WALL, EAST SECTION, UPPER REGISTER.

Scene 1.

The king is crowned; it was the custom for him to receive both the Red and the White Crowns, representing his power over the Two Lands, and, finally, the Double Crown. The Crowns had their own magical properties, and it was believed that this power would thus be transferred to the king at the time of his Coronation. He now possessed the divine power and nature.

Scene 2.

The divine decree proclaiming that the king is the legitimate successor to the throne is then read by 'Iwn-mwt.f' to the Ennead who give their endorsement, thus establishing the rightful claim of the new king.

The scenes along the Upper Register of the South Wall represent the coronation and acceptance by the gods of the living king; the parallel scenes on the North Wall perhaps confirm the right of the king to continue as legitimate ruler in the next world.

NORTH WALL, EAST SECTION, LOWER REGISTER.

In the scene entitled sm3 t3wy, the dead king is installed upon the throne, assisted by Edjo and Nekhbet, while Horus and Thoth unite the lands for him underneath his throne.

In the next scene, Seshat records the lifetime and kingship of Sethos; the third scene in the register shows 'Iwn-mwt.f' issuing a decree to the Ennead, in which he asks them to behold their son upon the throne of Re'-Harakhte. In the same way that, on the opposite wall, Sethos was declared to be king of the living, possibly this is a declaration to the gods that he is also king of the dead. This scene is similar to one described in an article dealing with the Speos Artemidos Inscription,⁴ where a decree issued by Amen-Re' to all the gods is proclaimed by Thoth to the Great Ennead, announcing the accession of Queen Hatshepsut.

In representations of the Coronation Ritual found in other temples, once the actual crowning of the king had taken place, a series of confirmatory and protective rites was performed, - for instance, the king presented a figure of Ma'at to the god, which symbolised the qualities of righteousness, truth and justice, which as a king he was now expected to express; he also offered myrrh to the god, and wine and beer - this symbolised the stability and righteousness which the king needed to enable him to rule well - and, in return for this presentation, it was thought that he would secure for himself and the country

prosperity and increased benefits. In return for these offerings, the god invested the king with his regalia - the sceptre, flail and testament of kingship.

It was necessary for the coronation of a mortal to be supplemented by such protective formulae, for he was not yet a god; however, in the Chapel of Sethos at Abydos, these scenes appear to have been omitted from the walls, and it has been suggested⁵ that here the king did not have need of them, since he is represented as a dead king and thus is already a god. However, the scenes on the West Wall (except one - south side, Lower Register) and the Upper Register of the North Wall, west section, are almost completely destroyed, and it is just possible that some of these missing episodes at one time occupied positions upon these walls. If, in fact, the protective rites were omitted from this particular ritual, then perhaps the scenes on the West Wall represented the presentation of regalia to the king, since, in the only remaining scene on that wall, he wears the White Crown and holds the mace and sceptre.

NORTH WALL, WEST SECTION, UPPER REGISTER.

The Upper Register of the North Wall, West section, was perhaps occupied by scenes connected with the recording of the kingship and his acceptance by the Royal Ancestors, since this rite is omitted elsewhere in this chapel. In this case, the scenes on the West Wall would be read immediately after the Introduction of the Dead King to the Ennead (North Wall, east section, scene nearest the east end) and then the scenes on the North Wall, east section, Upper Register would be taken, before proceeding with the episodes at the west end of the chamber, which are connected with the Reversion of Offerings. However, it must be stated that the scenes along these walls may be of an entirely different nature, and, like the sm3 t3wy and the episode entitled "Utterance for the calf at milk on the day on which its mother gave birth to it" (South Wall, west section, Upper Register), may have no direct connection with any other representations of the Coronation Ritual.

In attempting to establish an order for the scenes on the South Wall, we are assisted by certain connections which exist between the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors, and the scenes on the South Wall of this chapel.

On the South Wall, west section, Lower Register, a large area of the wall is occupied with a list of offerings which are being presented to the king. At one end of this register, the figure of Thoth is accompanied by a speech in which he offers incense and a libation to the king. On the South Wall, west

section, Upper Register, directly above the afore-mentioned speech of Thoth, there is another scene in which Thoth and 'Iwn-mwt.f stand before the sacred bark; 'Iwn-mwt.f is accompanied by the inscription,-

"Making a-boon-which-the-king-gives for the King Menmaetre'..."

This scene is entitled,-

"Spell for entering for the Reversion of Offerings to the king..."

In his speech, Thoth announces that he has come to perform the ritual for the king.

The speech of Thoth which occurs in the Lower Register combines the Episodes 36 and 37 of the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors,⁶ - the Offering of Libation, and the Offering of Incense. At Edfu,⁷ the title for the parallel episode is "Offering libation and incense after the Reversion of Offerings", and therefore, we can establish that, at Abydos, this episode came after the rite immediately above it in the Upper Register,- that is, the rite for entering to perform the Reversion of Offerings.

The following Table gives our suggested order of scenes in the Chapel of Sethos.

ORDER OF SCENES IN THE CHAPEL OF SETHOS.

A. ENTRY EPISODES.

- 1. r n 'k r st-wrt EAST WALL, South side, L.R.
- 2. r n 'k hr sb3 tpy n st EAST WALL, North side, L.R.
- 3. Purification. EAST WALL, North side, U.R.

B. PROCESSION OF THE KING.

SOUTH WALL, East section, L.R.

C. PURIFICATION.

The Induction.

NORTH WALL, East section, U.R. 1.

D. INTRODUCTION.

Thoth introduces a third person to the king.

NORTH WALL, East section, U.R. 2.

E. THE CORONATION.

SOUTH WALL, East section, U.R. 1.

F. DECLARATION TO THE ENNEAD.

SOUTH WALL, East section, U.R. 2.

G. sm3 t3wy.

NORTH WALL, East section, L.R. 1.

H. RECORDING THE LIFE-TIME OF THE KING.

NORTH WALL, East section, L.R. 2.

I. DECLARATION TO THE ENNEAD.

NORTH WALL, East section, L.R. 3.

J. (PRESENTATION OF OFFERINGS?)

DESTROYED. (WEST WALL, 4 scenes)

K. (RECORDING OF KINGSHIP BY THE ANCESTORS?) (PRESENTATION OF REGALIA?)

DESTROYED.
(NORTH WALL, West section, U.R.)

L. r n bhs r irtt hrw mss mwt.f im

SOUTH WALL, West section, U.R.1

M. THE REVERSION OF OFFERINGS.

- 1. r n 'k r wdb-ht irt htp-di-nsw SOUTH WALL, West section, U.R.2
- 2. Purification of Sethos. NORTH WALL, West section, L.R.1
- 3. Presentation of the Menu. { NORTH WALL, West section, L.R.2
Parallel tables on N. and S. { SOUTH WALL, West section, L.R.1
Walls. .
- 4. Offering incense and libation, SOUTH WALL, West section, L.R.2
after the Reversion of Offerings.

N. EXIT.

King leaves chapel.

EAST WALL, South side, U.R.

This table not only gives a logical progression around the walls of the Chapel of Sethos, but, as can be seen below, the Coronation episodes closely follow the order of scenes representing the Coronation at Edfu. Dr. M.A. Ibrahim, in a study of the coronation scenes at Edfu, has attempted a reconstruction of the general sequence of events at an Egyptian Coronation.⁸ For comparative purposes, this suggested sequence is included in the Table below.

In the Chapel of Sethos, therefore, we suggest that the rites which occupied the eastern end of the South Wall represented the Coronation and Acceptance of Sethos as an earthly king, thus establishing his immediate claim to the throne, and forming the introduction to the scenes on the North Wall, immediately opposite, where his enthronement and acceptance as a dead king is shown.

We have already mentioned that the scenes, or at least, certain scenes within the Chapel of Sethos formed part of the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors, which followed immediately after the ritual performed daily in one or several of the other six chapels. It is unlikely that, every day, the priest would have included the complete ritual as contained in the Chapel of Sethos in his devotions. In the speech entitled "The Spell for entering for the Reversion of Offerings" (South Wall, west section, Upper Register), there are certain references both to the Reversion of Offerings for the King, and also to pacifying the gods with the scent of perfume. There are parallel texts at Medinet Habu, Karnak, and Edfu, and, at Edfu in particular, the title of the parallel scene is 'k m hm - "Entering backwards;"⁹ it is the first scene after the conclusion of the Daily Service.

Therefore, we would suggest that, at Abydos, the scene entitled r n 'k r wdb-ht represented the rite that occurred immediately after the conclusion of the Daily Service.¹⁰

Every day, the priest left the other chapels, having completed the morning service, and entered the Chapel of Sethos, where he passed immediately to the west end of the room; omitting the rites at the east end of the chapel, which were part of a longer ritual ensuring the king's acceptance as a dead king, so that he could receive the offerings, the priest proceeded to perform Episodes 17 to 20,-

1. r n 'k r wdb-ht

2. Purification of Menmaetre'.

3. Presentation of the Menu.

4. Offering libation and incense after the Reversion of Offerings.

The Reversion of Offerings to Sethos in his Chapel was the first in a series of rites, which, it is hoped to show, now continued in the adjoining complex of rooms dedicated to Ptah-Soker and Nefertem.

COMPARATIVE CHART OF EPISODES IN CORONATION RITUAL.

<u>ABYDOS.</u> <u>CH. OF SETHOS.</u>	<u>EDFU.</u> <u>ORDER OF</u> <u>CORONATION RITES.</u>	<u>AFTER IBRAHIM.</u> <u>SUGGESTED ORDER OF</u> <u>EVENTS IN CORONATION.</u>
<u>ENTRY.</u>	-	-
<u>PROCESSION.</u>	<u>PROCESSION.</u>	<u>PROCESSION.</u>
<u>PURIFICATION.</u>	<u>BAPTISM OF</u> <u>PHARAOH.</u>	<u>BAPTISM OF PHARAOH.</u>
<u>INTRODUCTION OF</u> <u>PERSON TO KING.</u>	-	-
<u>CORONATION OF LIVING</u> <u>KING.</u>	<u>CORONATION.</u>	<u>CORONATION.</u>
-	<u>OFFERING TO GODS.</u> <u>LED INTO GODS'</u> <u>PRESENCE.</u>	<u>OFFERING TO GODS.</u> <u>LED INTO GOD'S</u> <u>PRESENCE.</u>
<u>DECLARATION TO</u> <u>ENNEAD.</u>	-	<u>PROCLAMATION OF</u> <u>DECREE TO ENNEAD.</u> <u>THOTH PROCLAIMS THIS</u> <u>TO WHOLE POPULATION.</u>
-	<u>OFFERS MA'AT.</u> <u>PRESENTS WINE.</u> <u>" MYRRH.</u>	<u>OFFERS MA'AT.</u> <u>PRESENTS WINE AND</u> <u>MYRRH.</u>
<u>CORONATION OF DEAD</u> <u>KING.</u>		
1. <u>SM3 T3WY</u> 2. <u>INSCRIBES LIFE.</u> 3. <u>DECLARATION TO</u> <u>ENNEAD.</u>	-	-
<u>POSSIBLY</u>	<u>FATHER AND MOTHER</u> <u>AND ANCESTORS</u> <u>RECOGNISE NEW RULER</u> <u>AS LEGITIMATE HEIR.</u>	<u>INDUCTION OF NEW</u> <u>KING INTO PRESENCE</u> <u>OF GOD, FATHER</u> <u>MOTHER.</u> <u>THOTH INSCRIBES</u> <u>YEARS.</u>
<u>EPISODES</u>		
<u>11 TO 15.</u>		
<u>(now destroyed).</u>		

POSSIBLY

OFFERS WINE AND BEER - 2 EPISODES.
PRESENTS MYRRH.

PRESENTATION OF WINE, BEER, MYRRH.

EPISODES

-

LED BEFORE GOD, FATHER AND MOTHER.

-

THOTH INSCRIBES HIS SPAN OF YEARS ON ^{2y}ISD-TREE.

-

ADORATION OF GOD.

-

PRESENTATION OF WINE, INCENSE, LIBATION,

11

-

OFFERING MA'AT AND FOUR COLOURED CLOTHS.

-

GIVEN HIS REGALIA.

TO

YEARS INSCRIBED ON PERSEA IN PRESENCE OF ANCESTORS.

LIFESPAN INSCRIBED ON ^{2y}ISD-TREE.

15

-

RECEIVES A SWORD FROM GOD.

r n bhs r irbt hrw
mss mwt.f im.

-

-

THE REVERSION OF OFFERINGS
4 EPISODES.

-

THE BANQUET.

EXIT.

-

-

THE NEFERTEM-PTAH-SOKER COMPLEX.

We must now turn our attention to a group of chambers which lie in the southern section of the temple, situated between the rooms which comprise the main section of the temple, on one hand, and, on the other hand, those rooms which, at one time, must have been used for storage and service purposes.¹ The reliefs which decorate the walls of this set of rooms represent Sethos I engaged in certain rites which are performed, for the most part, in the presence of the gods Nefertem, and Ptah-Soker, and the goddess Sekhmet; thus, we shall in future refer to these rooms as the "Nefertem-Ptah-Soker Complex."²

The gods to whose worship this set of rooms was devoted were Memphite deities; Soker, sometimes represented as a man with the head of a sparrow-hawk, was a deity of very ancient origin. Primarily a god of the dead, particularly of the necropolis at Memphis, he was worshipped at Memphis as well as at Abydos, and in time united with Ptah and Osiris.³ The god of darkness and decay on earth, he was a member of the Memphite triad and consort of Sekhmet. This goddess, the daughter of Re', was the uraeus serpent upon the brow of her father, where she acted as the protectress of the sun-god. Usually represented as a woman with the head of a lioness, wearing the solar disk and uraeus, she was the goddess of the scorching destructive power of the sun, and defender of the divine order.⁴ She was also the mother of Nefertem, the third member of the Memphite triad. An ancient god of Lower Egypt, Nefertem was early adopted as the son of Ptah and Sekhmet, and was worshipped at Memphis. According to mythology, Nefertem was thought to have sprung from a sacred lotus which floated upon the waters of Nun; he played an important part in creation legends, and it was said that from his tears sprang mankind. Represented as a lion-headed man, or alternatively as a human-headed man, he wore a headdress consisting of a lotus, two plumes, and two menats - the symbols of fertility; his own particular symbol was the lotus.⁵ These gods, Memphite in origin, also had certain mortuary connections, and it seems probable that, in a mortuary temple such as this, a set of rooms was devoted to the Memphite aspect of Ramesside theology, because of these connections.

The main hall (the Nefertem-Ptah-Soker Hall) is entered by a doorway set into the North Wall, leading from the Second Hypostyle Hall (this provides the only entrance to the complex from the other parts of the temple); the room is rectangular in shape, and the four walls are decorated with reliefs in which

the king, Nefertem, and Ptah-Soker are represented. Four niches are let into the South Wall, - these were at one time probably occupied by statues of the deities to whom the room was dedicated.

A row of three columns divides the chamber down the centre; unlike the walls, which are covered in limestone to facilitate the delicate carving of the reliefs, these columns are of sandstone, with no outer casing. At the west end of the room, there are two doorways through which two smaller chapels are accessible; these are both narrow, rectangular rooms, the southern one being slightly wider in measurement. The reliefs found in the right-hand chapel represent certain rites which the king enacts in the presence of Ptah-Soker, while the scenes in the left-hand chapel depict a ritual which the king performs for Nefertem. These scenes enable us to suggest the tentative names of "Chapel of Ptah-Soker" and "Chapel of Nefertem" respectively for the two rooms.

Throughout, the complex is lit only by means of the sunlight which filters in through the shafts inserted in the roof for this purpose.

An important architectural feature of the Nefertem-Ptah-Soker Hall has not hitherto been adequately or conclusively described in previous accounts of the temple, although it has been mentioned by Caulfeild,⁶ Daressy,⁷ and Zippert.⁸ It is possible to see, embedded in the fabric of the South Wall of the Hall, the cut-down remains of three columns and their bases, which are in alignment with the three existing columns in the Hall. Before the repair of the wall, these columns were more apparent than they are today; nevertheless, it is still possible to trace the remaining outline of each column in the reliefs both in the Corridor of the Bull and in the Nefertem Hall (it is possible to discern these details in the photographs of these reliefs, which will eventually appear in the as yet unpublished Volume V of The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos.) A photograph of one of these residual columns in the Nefertem Hall will be found on p. LXXiii (PHOTO. F)

We would suggest that, originally, the Nefertem Hall was planned to comprise the whole area from the present North Wall of the Hall to the present South Wall of the Corridor of the Bull,⁹ and that the two parallel rows, each consisting of three columns, formed a central aisle down the middle of the Hall (these columns being the three which today stand in the centre of the Hall, and those which are now embedded in the South Wall of the Hall.) It is impossible to decide whether the present east door into the Corridor of the Bull formed part of the original plan, but one suspects that in fact the present entrance to the Nefertem Hall was the only doorway in existence in the original plan, and provided

the sole means of access to the Nefertem-Ptah-Soker Complex. There is no reason to suspect that the original chamber extended further eastwards also, for no remains of embedded pillars can be seen either in the East Wall of the Nefertem Hall, or in the West Wall of the Gallery of the Lists.

During the reign of Sethos I, this original plan was altered, probably before the decoration was far advanced. The southernmost row of columns were cut down and roughly squared up, to enable them to fit properly into what is now the South Wall of the Hall.

A consequence of this discovery is that evidently there was no westward exit from the temple at this point, and the original plan must surely have envisaged three and not two chapels on the west side of the Nefertem-Ptah-Soker Hall, the southernmost occupying the area now occupied by the Stairway Passage. No trace of the original decoration of this "chapel", if it ever existed, has survived, and hence it cannot be stated with any certainty to whom the third chapel was dedicated, but it seems likely that it was dedicated to Sekhmet, the third member of the Memphite triad, who today occurs in the reliefs on the walls of the Nefertem-Ptah-Soker Hall, in company with her consort Ptah-Soker and son Nefertem, whose chapels have survived intact. Originally, the floor level in the three chapels was probably of an equal height, but when it was decided to make the necessary alterations, the level of the floor in the "Chapel of Sekhmet" would have been built up into a new stairway; also, the width of the Stairway Passage today is probably slightly wider than that of the original chapel. Our plan (28) indicates the suggested width of the original "Sekhmet Chapel", which equalled that of the northernmost chapel - the Ptah-Soker Chapel - thus indicating that the architect had at first planned three chapels, the centre one - that of Nefertem - being slightly wider in measurement than the chambers on either side of it. Possibly, during the period of alteration, the walls of the "Sekhmet Chapel" were cut away, giving the Stairway Passage its present dimensions, and also obliterating any trace of the reliefs which perhaps once covered the walls of the chapel.

With the completion of the alterations, the original "Chapel of Sekhmet" and that section of the original Nefertem-Ptah-Soker Hall which had led into this chapel now comprised a separate unit; a doorway was cut into the east end of this corridor, joining it to the Gallery of the Lists, and, at the other end, in the original west wall of the "Chapel of Sekhmet", another doorway was inserted, providing an additional exit from the main temple building.¹⁰

If this reconstructed alteration in the plan of the temple is correct, two questions must now be asked. First, when was this major alteration carried out, and, secondly, for what reason was it necessary to undertake such a change in structure? It is not possible to place the date of this alteration with any great accuracy, but several factors are of some assistance in solving this problem, at least in part. The Nefertem-Ptah-Soker Complex was the only part in the south area of the temple which was completed by Sethos; the other parts were built by Sethos, but decorated by Ramesses II, and even Merenptah, and in certain cases, the work was never finished. The reliefs which occupy the South Wall of the Nefertem-Ptah-Soker Hall represent Sethos worshipping deities; the cartouches which appear above and upon the jambs of the doorways along the length of the Corridor of the Bull and the Stairway Passage are those of Sethos, although there are instances where Ramesses has superimposed his own cartouche over that of his predecessor. However, although the decoration of the walls of the Stairway Passage may be the work in part of Sethos, the reliefs in the Corridor of the Bull, and also perhaps in the Stairway Passage, date to the reign of Ramesses II.

Therefore, although the structural alteration and some of the more immediately essential relief work must have been completed in the time of Sethos, the final completion of the reliefs in the newly constructed corridor was not executed until the time of his son. This would suggest that the major alteration had been completed by the end of Sethos' reign, but that his son completed the decoration in this part of the temple.

The main use of an Egyptian temple was for purposes of ritual. The necessity for architectural change, we would suggest lay in the fact that the original plan of the Temple of Abydos was found to be inadequate for the satisfactory performance of certain important rituals. We have already indicated that it is our belief that the Daily Ritual at Abydos was performed in the gods' chapels in the sanctuary area, and was followed by the ritual performed for the dead Sethos in his Chapel, and then by the Ritual for the Royal Ancestors in the Nefertem-Ptah-Soker Complex and the Gallery of the Lists, after which the priest entered the Hall of Barks for the partitioning of the food, before leaving the temple by means of the side-door situated at the west end of the Stairway Passage. At first, when the Temple of Abydos was originally constructed, the rituals cannot have followed this course. It is uncertain whether or not the original Nefertem Hall and its three

adjoining chapels were included by the priest in his daily progression, or whether they formed a separate unit in the temple which had no immediate connection with the performance of these rituals. Because of the funerary nature of these gods, it was an obvious choice to include a set of rooms devoted to their worship in the mortuary temple of Sethos. Also, in addition to the mortuary connection, Sethos, in seeking to establish a direct link with the distant past and ensure his claim to rule Egypt, wished to include in the Temple of Abydos in Upper Egypt a set of rooms devoted to these early Memphite Lower Egyptian deities. Also, since the Ramessides appear to have been Lower Egyptian in origin, the inclusion of these gods in the temple provided a connection with the place of the family's origin.

However, the reliefs in the Nefertem-Ptah-Soker Complex represent certain episodes which are parallel to those found elsewhere in the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors and this complex of rooms is so situated within the Temple that it is easily accessible from the sanctuary area, and also adjoins the entrance to the Gallery of the Lists. The priest performing the rituals probably progressed directly from the sanctuary to that part of the temple where he then enacted the rites relating to the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors, and finally left the temple by the side-exit. Thus, from its position, it would seem that the original Nefertem Hall and three chapels might well have been included in the original plan as that section of the temple which was devoted to the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors. Indeed, the Memphite deities who adorn its walls, by reason of their primitive origins, are most suitable as gods to whom a ritual connected primarily with the ancestor-cult should be devoted. As will be discussed below, the ritual was probably adapted to suit the worship of these particular deities.

In answer to the second question as to why it was necessary to make this major structural alteration, we would suggest that, when the original plan was carried out, the door in the Butchers' Hall in the East Wall was envisaged as the exit where the priest could leave the temple at the conclusion of the ritual in the Gallery of the Lists. This doorway, at that time, we would suggest, gave access to a large court-yard, which was perfectly suitable for the purpose of distributing the partitioned food-offerings amongst the priests. However, we assume that then it was decided to build on this piece of ground the Palace of Sethos and the adjoining magazines, and so the exit from the Butchers' Hall would now have opened on to these new buildings and thus became unsuitable for the purpose for which it had been intended.

Thus, it must have been realised that another exit was needed which would enable the priest to leave the temple at the conclusion of the rites, but which did not open on to the palace complex, and, in order to fulfil these requirements, the new exit had to be situated on the west side of the temple, opening on to the open area at the rear of the temple. It was in order to provide such an exit and to link it by means of a passageway with the Gallery of the Lists, we would suggest, therefore, that this major architectural alteration was carried out.

DESCRIPTION OF SCENES IN THE NEFERTEM-PTAH-SOKER HALL.

THE NEFERTEM-PTAH-SOKER HALL.¹

ENTRANCE FROM THE SECOND HYPOSTYLE HALL.

Entering the Hall from the Second Hypostyle Hall, on either side of the entrance is the titulary of Sethos I; on the left-hand side, there is also a longer inscription, giving the king's names and the names of the Temple; on the right-hand side is a scene entitled "Entering the Mansion of Sokaris; adoration of the god." In this relief, the king holds a censer before Soker, who gives him the Breath of Life; the god greets Sethos thus, - "Welcome to thy august mansion, that thou mayest see he who created thy heart, and he who proclaimed for thee the kingship of Atum, in the sight of the (whole) land yet again...."

On either side of the doorway, there are more texts giving the titulary of the king.

NORTH WALL.

LOWER REGISTER.

Scene A. (nearest the entrance from the Second Hypostyle Hall).

The king presents a conical loaf of bread to Soker.

Title.

"Consecrating the white bread for his father, that he may make a granted life."

This rite corresponds to EPISODE 9 in the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors.²

Scene B.

The king presents a p3t-cake and milk to Soker. He addresses the god with these words, -

"Take to thee this Eye of Horus, that thou mayest eat (of it), and a-boon-which-the-king-gives, which (I) have given to thee. Take to thee the flame of Horus which comes forth from thee.... be pleased with the Eye of Horus, which I have made for thee..."

Title.

"Making an offering of p3t-cakes and milk to his father, that he may make a granted life."

This rite possibly corresponds to EPISODE 10 in the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors,³ combined perhaps with EPISODE 13.⁴

Scene C.

The king stands before Soker, and pours out a libation, and offers incense. The inscription reads, -

"Thy heart belongs to thee, thy libation belongs to thee, thine is thy heart(?); thine is thy libation, the efflux of Osiris, the Inundated(?)." ⁵

Possibly the rite corresponds to Episode 14 of the Ritual.⁶

Scene D.

The king pours out a libation before Soker; the accompanying inscription gives a Table of Offerings, above which is the title,-

"Entering the temple to lay out on the ground and dedicate the choicest meats to his father Soker."

Above the offerings are the words,-

"Descending to the lakeside by the fowlers, the spst-vases being in their hands."

In the columns underneath, six different types of wine are listed.⁷

Title.

"Making offering with a nmst-vessel for thy beautiful face, Soker-Osiris, who resides in the 'Mansion of Menmaetre'."

Here, we appear to have a rite combining two elements; possibly the title of the scene corresponds to Episode 17 of the Ritual,⁸ whereas the content of the scene and inscription suggests that it is related to Episode 12.⁹

Scene E.

The king holds a censer and a hrp-wand before Soker; between the two figures is a List of Offerings. Across the top of the List is the title,-

"Giving thin cakes and setting up the altar in the Mansion of Soker."

The List itself is divided into two registers, each containing six columns; at the top of each the name of a locality, - "the Double Gates of the Tomb", "the Bark of Soker", "the Palace of Sekhmet", etc., - is given; underneath this is a representation of the altar, and, at the bottom, a number is given.

At the far end of the scene, an inscription relates the benefits which the god will grant the king.

Across the top of the List are the words,-

"Utterance by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menmaetre', to his father Ptah-Soker, who resides in the Mansion of Menmaetre'. Just and pure for thy Ka and for the Ennead that is in thy train."

From the heading across the List of Offerings, it is possible that this represents a combination, adapted for the worship of Soker, of Episodes 2¹⁰ and 10.¹¹

NORTH WALL, UPPER REGISTER.Scene A. (Nearest east end of the room.)

The king stands with one arm upraised, holding a censer, before a table piled high with offerings; the remainder of this scene is occupied with a list giving the titles of Soker. The title of the list is destroyed; there are 43 columns altogether, and at the top of each is the name "Soker" followed by the determinative of the Soker bark; underneath, there is a representation of the altar, and then in the first column, the following formula occurs,-

"Utterance four times to Soker in Shetayet, by the Lord of the Two Lands, Menmaetre', King of Upper Egypt."

In the second column, we find the following formula,-

"Utterance four times to Soker in the Residence, by the Lord of Diadems, Sety Merenptah, King of Lower Egypt."

These two versions are used throughout the list in alternate columns; in each column, however, a different location is introduced, so that, in all, 43 different place-names are recorded as residences of Soker; many of these names are found in a litany of the forms of Soker, which occupies a position in the Upper Register on the South Wall of the Second Court of Ramesses III's temple at Medinet Habu, and which here forms part of the Festival of Soker.¹²

Scene B.

The second scene in this register has no title. It shows the king laying his hands upon an altar piled high with offerings; in front of this is another table laden with various delicacies. At the far end of the scene is a representation of the sacred bark, containing the figure of Soker. At the top of the scene there are the remains of an inscription which is now obliterated.

EAST WALL.LOWER REGISTER.Scene A. (Nearest the Entrance from the Hypostyle Hall.)

The king stands with head bowed before Soker.

Title.

"Good god, sm-priest of his father Soker. Adoring the god four times, that he may make a granted life."

Scene B.

The king kneels in obeisance before Soker,

Title.

"Chief Controller of Workmen (i.e. the High-priest of Ptah at Memphis) of his father by(?)¹³ the king. Adoring the god four

times, that he may make a granted life."

Scene C.

The king kneels before Soker and presents him with two jars. Soker says,-

"I grant for thee that the duration of thy temple shall be like (that of) the sky, abiding upon its supports; its provisions shall be new every day, its servants being young generations for futurity."

Title.

"The sm-priest of his father by(?) the king. Making offering with two dsrt-vessels."

Scene D.

The king kneels before Nefertem, to whom he presents meat; the god, "Lord of food, Horus the Rejoicer" says,-

"(I) grant thee that the odour of thy Majesty be that of the Nfr bloom, which is in my grasp."

Title.

"Offering swt-meat." 14

EAST WALL.

UPPER REGISTER.

This register is badly damaged.

The king holds a censer and stands before an Offering List.

The list is to a large extent destroyed, but it appears to have been comprised originally of 44 columns, each of which contained a formula such as either,-

"Utterance. Take to thee the Eye of Horus¹¹, (a pun on the item mentioned underneath), name of the offering, number of vessels offered, "from the Lord of the Two Lands, Menmaetre', King of Upper Egypt."

or, in the alternate columns,-

The same formula, except for the ending, -"from the Lord of Diadems, Sety Merenptah, King of Lower Egypt." 15

Title.

"Performing the Menu for his father, that he may make a granted life like Re'."

This rite corresponds to EPISODE 20 in the Ritual. 16

WEST WALL.

The two doors set into the West Wall of the Nefertem Hall lead into the Chapel of Ptah-Soker and the Chapel of Nefertem respectively. There are three panels of decoration on the West Wall,- that which occupies the space between the northernmost end

of the West Wall and the door leading to the Ptah-Soker Chapel, the panel which occupies a similar position between the southernmost end of the wall and the entrance to the Nefertem Chapel, and, between the doors leading to these two chapels, another central panel occurs, itself divided into three sections. Across the top of each doorway another scene occurs.

CENTRAL PANEL.

In the centre of this panel, figures of the king support a Hathor-headed pillar, and above each figure is inscribed the titulary of Sethos.

On the right-hand side of the panel, there are four scenes,- the king offers ointment to Soker, (twice) and makes salutation to him with a nmst-vessel; at the base, Anubis is shown on a stand, and the name of the doorway is given as,-

"The door of Menmaetre', the beloved of Soker, granted life."

On the left side, the king presents ointment to Nefertem, offers a libation and incense to the god, and adores him four times; on the base, a sphinx is shown, making offering with incense. The name of the door is given as,-

"The door of Menmaetre' for the offering of provisions for Nefertem."

RIGHT PANEL. (Between North Wall and Entrance to Ptah-Soker Room.) The king offers ointment, incense and a nmst-vessel to Ptah-Soker; at the base, Anubis is shown on a stand, and the doorway is,-
"The doorway of Menmaetre', beloved of Soker, given life."

LEFT PANEL. (Between South Wall and Entrance to Nefertem Room.) The king offers incense, libation and incense to Nefertem, and the god gives him the Breath of Life; at the base, a sphinx offers truth to Nefertem (not shown), and the title of the doorway is,-
"The doorway of Menmaetre', for the offering of provisions to Nefertem."

Above the doorway leading into the Ptah-Soker Room, the king runs with an oar to Ptah-Soker, in the presence of Lower Egyptian Mert (right side), and the title reads,-

"Seizing the oar for his father".

On the left side, the scene is repeated, but here is entitled,-
"Running around the field four times, that he may make a granted life."

These two scenes are divided by a panel decorated with the titulary of Sethos.

Above the doorway leading into the Nefertem Room, on the right side, the king runs towards Nefertem, in the presence of Lower

Egyptian Mert, and this scene is entitled,-

"Running around the field four times."

In the left scene, the king runs towards Nefertem, and the scene is again entitled "Running around the field."

The titulary of Sethos also divides these scenes.

It is noteworthy that the scenes on the West Wall are divided into two separate sections - those on the panel to the right of the Entrance to the Ptah-Soker Room and on the right-hand section of the Central panel all represent the king performing certain rites for Ptah-Soker, while the scenes on the panel to the left of the Entrance to the Nefertem Room and those which occupy the left-hand section of the Central panel all depict the king in relation to the god Nefertem. Thus, it would appear that the scenes which occupy the West Wall of the Nefertem Hall in fact pertain to the Ptah-Soker and Nefertem Rooms which lie beyond, rather than to the rites in the Nefertem Hall; the West Wall of the Hall is to be regarded as the Entrance to the two smaller chapels, rather than a fourth wall of the Nefertem-Ptah-Soker Hall.

SOUTH WALL.

The South Wall, which was constructed after the change in plan of this Hall, has two registers; the Upper Register is mostly destroyed, while niches are let into the Lower Register at regular intervals.

LOWER REGISTER.

Scene A. (nearest the east end of the wall).

The king stands before Soker; the scene is accompanied by a speech of the king, entitled,-

"A-boon-which-the-king-gives."

A List of Offerings is given, which includes items such as,-

"1,000 of bread, 1,000 of beer, 1,000 of cattle, 1,000 of fowl, 1,000 of incense...."

This rite is parallel to Episode 21 in the Ritual.¹⁷

Scene B.

This scene is partly destroyed; the king presents offering to six gods; the names of two of these are destroyed; the others listed are Horus, Osiris, Sekhmet, and Thoth. Part of the title of the scene is preserved,-

"[....] Elevating the offerings to his fathers, all the gods and goddesses [....] by the King Menmaetre', given life."

This rite is parallel to Episode 44 in the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors.¹⁸

Scene C.

This scene is also partly destroyed; the king offers bread to six gods; the names of two of these are destroyed; the others are Wr-phty in Sb3, Smsw in the tomb, Thoth, and Wrdw in Tp-sht.
Title.

"Consecrating a present of white-bread to his father, that he may make a granted life, like Re'." 19.

Scene D.

The scene shows the king standing before Nefertem and Sekhmet, to whom he offers incense; Nefertem says,-

"I give to thee my seat, my throne and my office, as ruler of the living; thou art my beneficent son, my beloved, who performs the coming forth of my Ka (?), thou living like Re' every day."

Scene E.

A small figure is shown carrying a large nfr-symbol; this is Nefertem, "Lord of food, Horus the Rejoicer."

The niches in this wall are four in number, and each one contains three scenes.

Niche 1. (Nearest east end of room.)

The king presents ointment to Nefertem (left), Nmst-vessels to Thoth (centre), and nmst-vessels to Soker. (right).

Niche 2.

The king presents flowers to a god (perhaps Osiris or Amun), he greets Ptah? with nmst-vessels, and presents ointment to a god.

Niche 3.

The king presents bread to Soker, Ma'at to Ptah-phty, and anoints Soker.

Niche 4.

The king presents ointment to Osiris, cloth to Nefertem, and the wsh-collar to Horus.

THE CHAPEL OF PTAH-SOKER.

This chapel is a narrow, rectangular room, with a curved ceiling.

EAST WALL. (The thicknesses of the doorway.)

Each thickness is decorated with ten small scenes, showing the king, either alone, or in company with Ptah-Soker or Nefertem; there are no accompanying inscriptions.

WEST WALL.

The scene which once occupied this wall is now mostly destroyed; the figure of the king is shown standing before a goddess. The inscription is completely lost.

SOUTH WALL.

LOWER REGISTER.

Scene A.

The king kneels and makes offerings to Geb, "Deputy of Ptah"; the inscription behind the king reads,-

"All life that issues from him, all stability that issues from him, all dominion that issues from him, all joy that issues from him are for the king Menmaetre', given life. He has given them¹ (to) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt....he celebrated a festival for Ptah-Soker who-is-south-of-his-wall, he is satisfied with that which the king....has given and he gives it (to) the son of Re', Lord of Diadems....Making-a-boon-which-the-king-gives for his father, Soker, by the king." A list is given, consisting of Bread, beer, cattle, fowl, incense, etc.

Title.

"Elevating the offerings to his father Ptah-Soker, by his son, the sem-priest, Lord of the Two Lands, Menmaetre'...."

Here, the title of the rite corresponds to that for EPISODE 44 in the Ritual,² but the inscription appears to give a version of EPISODE 21.³

Scene B.

The king pours out a libation before Soker. The king's speech is as follows,-

"The field flourishes for this god, the inundation rejoices at what is in him, at the filling of the Eye of Horus with its milk, it being pure for Ptah-Soker....Drink, it being pure. Open thou the two doors of the sky; closed are the doors of the earth for Ptah-Soker....Thoth is upon the arm of Hapy; Re'-Harakhete, he causes Ptah-Soker.... to drink his libation, his wine and his water, even as Geb prevails⁴ on that day when he seized the Two Lands.

Greetings to thee, Ptah-Soker....I have come to thee on this day. Come, that I may make for thee these things which Horus did for his father Osiris, who resides in the Mansion of Menmaetre!"

Title.

"The gardens flourish for this god; presenting the nmst-vessel."

This rite is a version of Episode 12 of the Ritual.⁵

Scene C.

The king kneels before a shrine which contains two hawks on stands,- "Soker, who is foremost in the Mansion of the god", and "Soker who is upon his hill-country."

The king pours out a libation and burns incense; he is accompanied by the formula,-

"Thy heart is thine, thy libation is thine....the efflux of Osiris the Nile."

Scene D.

The west end of the scene has been seriously damaged. The central feature is a small shrine in which there is a bier on which lies the mummiform body of Osiris, whose head is towards the west. A falcon with outstretched wings stands at the head and foot of the bier. At the foot-end is Horus, and at the head-end is Isis; behind her, outside the shrine, is a mummiform figure, whose identity is uncertain. Below the bier, from left to right, crouch Thoth, two cobras named respectively Mut and Mennwt, and the standing figure of a baboon named Ifet. The mummy of Osiris is ithyphallic, the erect phallus of the god having burst through the bandages, and on it is perched a female falcon which represents Isis. The scene undoubtedly represents the posthumous conception of Horus.⁶

SOUTH WALL.

UPPER REGISTER.

Scene A.

The king kneels before a Table of Offerings, holding a censer; on either side of him there is part of an offering list, which is headed by the words,-

"Utterance by the lector-priest to his father Ptah-Soker, Lord of the Two Lands, Menmaetre'...."

The List is divided into 51 columns,⁷ and at the top of each column is the name of a god, and, in some cases, of two gods; sometimes, the name of the god is preceded by the name of a locality.

Title.

"Utterance. A boon-which-the-king-gives; arranging the offerings upon the altar, namely that which the king Menmaetre'...gives."

Here, the title of the rite combines Episodes 21 and 22 of the Ritual.³

Scene B.

This shows Osiris, Anubis and the White One of Nekhen (Nekhbet); in front of each deity, there kneels a small figure of the king, presenting ointment; behind Nekhbet are three seated deities; one (ram-headed) clasps a lizard in each hand, the next holds a snake and a lizard, and the figure on the extreme right clasps a snake in each hand.

NORTH WALL,

LOWER REGISTER.

Scene A.

A small figure of the king kneels before Apet; he offers two jars of ointment.

Scene B.

This scene, which is obviously a companion to the scene on the South Wall, depicts a small shrine in which is a bier on which lies a human figure, naked except for wig, collar, pectoral, armlets and wristlets. The right hand grasps the erect phallus, and the left hand is raised to the face. At the head (west) end stands Isis, at the foot-end stands Horus. Under the bier there were originally the figures of the four sons of Horus, before each of whom is a kneeling statuette of Sethos presenting a vase. Only the names of the last two figures are preserved - [Dw3]-mwt.f and Kbh-snwj. Over the figure on the bier are the words "Soker-Osiris who is in his bark", but on the pectoral, we find the words "Sety Menmaetre", and there can be no doubt therefore that the figure on the bier represents the dead Sethos. The name of "Soker-Osiris" over him must surely mean that now the dead king is being identified with Soker-Osiris. Hence, in this scene, we have the identification of the king with the god of the dead, and, on the opposite wall, we have the post-mortem conception of Horus, son of Osiris and Isis.

Scene C.

The king kneels and holds a libation vessel before a shrine containing two hawks; before each hawk stands a small figure of the king; the first hawk is "Horus who is in his bark" and the second is "Isis, who is in her bark."

Scene D.

The king kneels with a censer before Soker; behind him is a list of offerings.

Title.

"Utterance by the sem-priest to his father Soker, Lord of the

Two Lands, Menmaetre'....Making-a-boon-which-the-king-gives in the Pr-hnw."

The List contains the usual items - bread, beer, oxen, fowl, incense, ointment, linen, clothing and wine; however, this list has an unusual arrangement - although the items are written in vertical columns, they are to be translated horizontally, and, in translating them in this way, they occur in the same order as do the items given in Episode 21⁹ of the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors. The unusual layout of this Offering List is probably due to a scribal error.

Scene E.

The king kneels and presents ointment to Ptah-Soker and Sekhmet. Behind the king is the Menu.

Title.

"Utterance by the lector-priest to his father Ptah-Soker, Lord of the Two Lands, Menmaetre'....Making a boon-which-the-king-gives for Ptah-Soker; assembling the offerings. To be repeated four times."

The Offering List is divided into 9 columns; in the first column, the formula reads,-

"Utterance. Oh, Horus, take to thee the water which is in thy two red eyes. Water in dšrt-vessels from the Lord of the Two Lands, Menmaetre', King of Upper Egypt."

In the second column,-

"Utterance. Oh, Horus, take to thee thine eye that purifies thy mouth. Natron (2) from the Lord of Diadems, Sety Merenptah."

This pattern is repeated throughout the nine columns, with different versions of the formula being given.

At the end of the register is the following inscription,-

"He who is satisfied with his abundance is satisfied. Soker is satisfied with his abundance. Oh, thou who belongs to the sky, thy arm is towards the earth and vice versa. The king Menmaetre' is endued with life. I am pure. Ptah-Soker....come to this thy bread which the son of Re', Sety Merenptah, has given you."

In this rite, the title and offering list correspond to Episode 20¹⁰ of the ritual, and the formulae given are similar to those given under Episode 42 for the Festival of Amen-Re'.¹¹

The inscription at the end of the register corresponds to Episode 19 of the Ritual.¹²

UPPER REGISTER.

This is almost entirely destroyed, but a part of the List of Offerings remains, above Scene E in the Lower Register. Four

columns are still partly preserved, and the formulae are addressed to Soker, and the items listed are given by Sethos.

At the end of the register, another inscription is partly preserved,-

"Oh, Soker, come to this thy bread, which the son of Re', Lord of Diadems, [Sety Merenptah][.....] has given thee. Grant me all life and dominion, that I may live, that I may be joyful, and that I may unite with thee, thy power [.....] a great many jubilees, I being ^{at the} head of the living forever."

This inscription corresponds to Episode 25 of the Ritual.¹³

THE CHAPEL OF NEFERTEM.

This is a rectangular room with a curved ceiling.

EAST WALL.

SOUTH THICKNESS OF THE ENTRANCE FROM THE NEFERTEM-PTAH-SOKER HALL.

The king stands before Nefertem. The inscription reads,-
"....Adoration of the god. Rest, rest upon his abundance of offerings; may Nefertem be content with his offerings, oh, guardian of the sky, may thy arm be over the earth and vice versa. A htp-di-nsw; may the king be endued with life. I am pure."

This corresponds to the EPISODE 19¹ in the Ritual.

NORTH THICKNESS OF THE ENTRANCE.

An inscription gives the titulary of the king.

WEST WALL.

This scene is badly damaged. The king stands before Nefertem, in the act of adoring the god, or presenting him with an offering. Behind Nefertem is Sekhmet.

SOUTH WALL.

UPPER REGISTER.

Scene A.

The king kneels before Soker. A long inscription accompanies the scene; the relevant part of the speech by the king reads,-
"....Come to this thy bread which is warm, to this thy beer which is warm, to these thy choice joints which the king Menmaetre' has made for thee from oxen and fowl."

Title.

"Utterance by the lector-priest to his father, Soker, Lord of the Two Lands, Menmaetre', who brings the god to his food; he invokes the god, offering him gifts with his voice."

This rite corresponds to EPISODE 25 in the Ritual.²

Scene B.

The king kneels before Soker; he addresses the god thus,-
"Oh, Soker, come to this thy bread, which the Lord of Appearances, Sety Merenptah, gives you. May all life and dominion from thee be for....Menmaetre'. May his heart rejoice, when he embraces thy soul, and when he embraces thy power. Grant thou that he celebrates very many festivals, while he is King of Upper and Lower Egypt, at the head of the living forever."

Title.

"[....] for his father by the king. Adoring the god four times."

The text of this rite, but not the title, corresponds to EPISODE 25 in the Ritual.³

Scene C.

The king kneels before an offering table in front of Tjenenet, Amun (disk-headed) and Osiris-Onnophris (Djed-headed). The inscription reads,-

"...he is content with his superabundance;⁴ Soker is content with his superabundance. Oh, thou who belongest to the sky, thy arm is towards the earth, and vice versa. A boon-which-the-king-gives, endowed with life. I am pure."

Title.

"Setting down offerings for his father that he may make a granted life."

Here, the title of the rite corresponds to EPISODE 35 of the Ritual,⁵ but the text corresponds to EPISODE 19.⁶

Scene D.

A small sphinx figure of the king is lying on a dais before Sekhmet.

Title.

"Offering the wtt-emblem to his mother Sekhmet, by the king ... that he may make 'given life, stability and dominion', like Re'."

SOUTH WALL.

LOWER REGISTER.

Scene A.

The king holds a censer before a List of Offerings; Min is at the other end of the scene, enclosed in a shrine. The List is divided into 12 columns; in each column an invocation is made to Horus, in the form of a pun upon the name of the offering which follows. For example,-

"Horus, take to thee the bs3-water which is in the breasts of thy mother Isis. Water. Menta-vessels (2), from the Lord of the Two Lands, Menmaetre'."

The items mentioned include various types of vessels, containing milk, and water, white bread, Y't-cakes, roast meat, oil and natron.

Title.

"Making a boon-which-the-king-gives for his father Min-Re', who resides in the Mansion of Menmaetre', by the lector-priest of his father, Horus the Rejoicer."

This rite has the title of EPISODE 21,⁷ but the text corresponds to EPISODE 42, the Menu for the Festival of Amun.⁸

Scene B.

The king kneels before Nefertem, Ptah-Soker, Shu, Horus who-is-

upon-his-papyrus-wand (represented as a hawk), Isis, another goddess (name lost), and Nephthys. The final figure in this scene is that of the goddess Hathor, represented with a hawk-figure upon a stand, in front of whom kneels a small figure of the king offering her two jars of ointment.

A long inscription accompanies the scene, in which the gods are called upon to rejoice, and their protection for the king is called for. The inscription begins,-

"Adoring the god...."

NORTH WALL.

UPPER REGISTER.

Scene A.

The king kneels and cuts up a haunch of meat, in the presence of Re'-Harakhte. A List of Offerings is also shown on the wall; this is divided into 14 columns, the first of which reads,-

"Thoth, establish thyself against him. Butcher's knife⁹(1), from the Lord of the Two Lands, Menmaetre'."

In each column, either Horus or Thoth is addressed, and the items listed include water, wine, milk, roast meat, rib-flesh, rump-flesh, mid3-flesh and a foreleg of meat. These are given as the gift of the king.

Title.

"Cutting up four times."

This is perhaps a rite which is similar to EPISODE 5¹⁰ of the Ritual, but it is not an identical title or text.

Scene B.

In this scene, the king pours a libation over an offering table,, in the presence of Soker. The king's speech to the god lists four items - milk, wine, h3 snd and mns3-vessels - each preceded by the usual type of formula.

Scene C.

The king makes food-offerings to Soker, Nefertem and Thoth; behind Thoth is a representation of the Nfr-symbol. The king's words are as follows,-

"A boon-which-the-king-gives (to) Soker, arranging the offerings upon the altar (repeated four times), as the gift of the king who performs beneficent deeds, Lord of the Two Lands, Menmaetre', son of Re', who satisfies the heart of him who bore him, Lord of Appearances, Sety Merenptah, who makes a granted life, like Re'."

This rite is a combination of EPISODES 21 and 22¹¹ of the Ritual.

Scene D.

A sphinx figure of the king is shown before Nefertem.

NORTH WALL.

LOWER REGISTER.

Scene A.

The king offers bread and pours out a libation to Nefertem; the accompanying list is divided into eight columns; the formula employed in each column is the same as in the previous lists, - "Horus, take to thee (a pun), name of the item, and number of containers, from the Lord of the Two Lands, Menmaetre'", or "...from the Lord of Appearances, Sety Merenptah." The items include various types of bread, cakes, wine and different sorts of vessels.

Title.

"Utterance, Laying the funerary meal, pouring the libation upon the offering stand,¹² presenting bread to his father, Nefertem, by the king, Lord of the Two Lands, Menmaetre', son of Re', Sety Merenptah, given life."

This corresponds to EPISODE 20¹³ in the Ritual.

Scene B.

The king kneels with a censer before a table of offerings, in front of Nefertem (lion-headed, surmounted by a hawk crowned with a lotus), Nu, Khepri, Thoth, Neith, and Edjo. Before each figure kneels a small figure of the king, offering ointment. The king's speech is long, and here we give the relevant parts, - "...Bringing the god to his meal....Bring thou thy magic, thy soul, thy power and thy honour to this thy bread, which is warm, to this thy beer which is warm, to these thy roasts which are warm, namely, choicest meats, consisting of forelegs of beef and hearts of the disaffected."

The inscription relates the offerings which have entered the god's house,^{and} the king, as Thoth, lists the various offerings which he brings to the god.

Title.

"Bringing the god to his meal."

This is an abbreviated form of EPISODE 25 of the Ritual.¹⁴

THE ORDER OF THE SCENES IN THE NEFERTEM-PTAH-SOKER COMPLEX.

The scenes in the chambers of the Nefertem-Ptah-Soker Complex in some cases show rites which correspond to certain episodes in the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors; other scenes depict rites which appear to have no parallels in the aforementioned ritual, but are concerned specifically with a ritual dedicated to the Memphite gods of the Complex.

We hope to show that, after the priest had performed the ritual for Sethos in his chapel, he then progressed to the Nefertem-Ptah-Soker Complex where he carried out the rites which can be identified as episodes in the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors.

There are various possibilities concerning the ritual in this Complex; the priest (in theory, of course, the king) possibly either entered the Nefertem-Ptah-Soker Hall from the Sethos Chapel, and performed preliminary rites in this Hall before entering the Nefertem and Ptah-Soker Rooms, where he continued the ritual, or he performed the rituals in both the smaller rooms before he enacted the rites in the outer Hall. Another possibility is that subsidiary rites had already been carried out in the Nefertem and Ptah-Soker Rooms, in anticipation of the High-priest's arrival; possibly these rites and those carried out in the Sethos Chapel were performed simultaneously, and the priest now only performed the main ritual in the Nefertem-Ptah-Soker Hall.

The rites in the Nefertem and Ptah-Soker Rooms which can be identified with episodes in the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors are often repeated in the Nefertem-Ptah-Soker Hall. Rather than being a mechanical dittograph, the reason that the rites which occurred in the outer Hall were repeated in the two smaller chapels was possibly because, in both of the chapels, appropriate rituals were performed which were specialised to accommodate each deity, while, in all the three chambers, some basic elements of the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors were included.

This evidence provided by the repetition of rites in the three chambers suggests that in fact, in each of the two chapels, independent rituals connected with the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors, but adapted to suit the individual gods, were in progress possibly while the main ritual continued in the Sethos Chapel. It is, of course, impossible to establish whether these subsidiary rituals were performed daily, or only at certain times of the year. The priest then entered the Nefertem-Ptah-Soker Hall after leaving the Sethos Chapel, and here performed the preliminary stages of the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors, before leaving the Complex to enter the Gallery of the Lists, where the

culminating rites of the Ritual, are found.

In the Nefertem Room, the rites which can be identified with episodes in the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors occur on the East, South and North Walls. We suggest that the rites on the North and South Walls are parallel versions which should be read independently; the relevant rites occur at the east end of both walls. The rite on the East Wall, we suggest, is to be read before the series of rites on the South Wall.

We give this suggested reading of the order,-

(See PLAN 34)

NORTH WALL.

1. Upper Register, Scene A.

EPISODE 5?

2. Lower Register, Scene A.

EPISODE 20.

3. Upper Register, Scene C.

EPISODES 21 and 22.

4. Lower Register, Scene B.

EPISODE 25.

EAST WALL.

1. South thickness.

EPISODE 19.

SOUTH WALL.

1. Lower Register, Scene A.

EPISODE 21.

2. Upper Register, Scenes
A and B.

EPISODE 25.

3. Upper Register, Scene C.

EPISODE 35.

In the Ptah-Soker Room, similarly, parallel rites occur on the North and South Walls; the rites connected with the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors are found at the east end of the walls; at the west end, parallel scenes occur on these two walls, showing the king before two hawks, and the Resuscitation of Osiris. The order of scenes, we suggest, is as follows,-

SOUTH WALL. (See PLAN 35).

1. Lower Register, Scene B.

EPISODE 12.

NORTH WALL.

1. Lower Register, Scene E.

EPISODES 19, 20.

SOUTH WALL.

2. Upper Register, Scene A.
EPISODES 21 and 22.

3. Lower Register, Scene A.
EPISODE 44.

NORTH WALL.

2. Lower Register, Scene D.
EPISODE 21.

3. Upper Register, Scene E.
EPISODE 25.

In the outer Hall, only three walls have any ritual significance; the fourth, or west wall, merely provides an entrance into the two chapels which lie beyond. The scenes on the other three walls are not parallel to each other, and also, it seems unlikely that the rites are to be read alternately from wall to wall. We would suggest that the rites along the Lower Register of the North Wall be read first, starting at the east end; these provide the preliminary stages of the ritual,- (See PLAN 36).

NORTH WALL. Lower Register.

1. skr t-hd. EPISODE 9.
2. hnk m p3t irtt. EPISODES 10? and 13?
3. Libation and incense. EPISODE 14?
4. hnk m nmst. Possibly represents EPISODE 12.
5. rdit p3kt sk' h3y. Possibly combines EPISODES 2 and 10.

Although these episodes do not correspond exactly to the order given in the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors, the identification of these rites with the rites in the Ritual is only tentative, and we suggest that this wall formed the introduction to the Ritual. The Upper Register on this wall is concerned specifically with a rite performed for the god Soker.

The ritual then continued, we suggest, along the East Wall, Lower Register, reading from north to south, before continuing in the Upper Register.

EAST WALL. Lower Register. (See PLAN 36).

1. dw3 ntr sp 4.
2. " " "
3. hnk m dšrwty.
4. hnk swt.

After the preliminary offerings, the sequence then continues,-

EAST WALL. UPPER REGISTER. (See PLAN 36.)

1. irt dbht-htp n it.f. EPISODE 20

The sequence now continues along the South Wall, Lower Register. The Upper Register, now mostly destroyed, appears to have had no particular connection with the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors, but probably formed part of the rites devoted to the god Soker.

The scenes are read from east to west,-

SOUTH WALL. LOWER REGISTER. (See PLAN 36)

1. irt htp-di-nsw. EPISODE 21.
2. f3i ht n itw.f.. EPISODE 44.
3. skr t-hd.. (EPISODE 9).
4. Censing god and
 goddess.

The last episodes appear to be out of order here, but, in order to read the first and second episodes in this register, it is essential to read the register in this way, - from east to west; possibly the last two rites formed culminating offering rites, since it is impossible to accommodate them earlier in the ritual sequence.

Thus, on the North Wall, (Lower Register) we have the preliminary rites, continued on the East Wall (Lower Register), before progressing with rites connected with the actual presentation of the meal, on the East Wall (Upper Register), and the South Wall (Lower Register), perhaps followed by culminating rites on the South Wall (Lower Register.)

CHART SHOWING EPISODES IN THE RITUAL OF THE ROYAL ANCESTORS.

The following chart shows the occurrence of the episodes of the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors in the Cairo-Turin and Chester Beatty IX Papyri, in the Hypostyle Hall of the Temple of Amun at Karnak, in the Temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, in the Nuri Stelae of Anlamani, Aspella, Amaniastabarqa and Si'aspiqa, and in the Temples of Philae and Edfu, in addition to showing the exact location of these episodes in the Temple of Sethos I at Abydos.

In indicating the position of the episodes at Abydos, the following abbreviations are used:-

N.H. = Nefertem Hall.
N.R. = Nefertem Room.
P.S.R. = Ptah-Sokar-Room.
G.L. = Gallery of the Lists.
S.C. = Sethos Chapel.

WALLS.

S. = South.
N. = North.
E. = East.
W. = West.

REGISTERS.

U. = Upper.
L. = Lower.

In the Chart, the Nuri Stelae are thus abbreviated:-

1. Stela of Anlamani = NURI 209.
2. Stela of Aspella = NURI 210.
3. Stela of Amaniastabarqa = NURI 211.
4. Stela of Si'aspiqa = NURI 212.

and the following abbreviations are also used:-

EDFU A. = Edfu, Stundewachen (5).
EDFU B. = Edfu, Hall of Offerings.

The numbers given in the various columns indicate the number of times each episode occurs in each source.

THE RITUAL OF THE ROYAL ANCESTORS.

<u>EPISODE.</u>	<u>LIST OF EPISODES.</u>	<u>CAIRO-</u>	<u>CHESTER-</u>	<u>KARNAK.</u>
		<u>TURIN.</u>	<u>BEATTY.</u>	

OPENING THE SHRINE.(DAILY RITUAL.)

A.	Spell for incense to the uraeus goddess.	-	-	-
B.	Spell for breaking the seal.	-	-	1.
C.	Spell for drawing the bolt.	-	-	1.
D.	Spell for opening the door.	-	-	1.
E.	-	-	-

PRESENTATION OF ROAST MEAT OFFERING.

	Introductory heading.	1.	-	-
	Spell for.....	1.	-	-
1.	Spell for	1.	-	-
2.	Spell for setting up the fire-altar.	1.	-	-
3.	Spell for putting incense upon the fire.	1.	-	1.
4.	Spell for placing fat upon the fire.	1.	-	1.
5.	Spell for meat upon the altar.	1.	-	-
6.	Spell for the spit.	1.	-	-
7.	Spell for the fan.	1.	-	-
8.	Spell for libation with beer.	1.	-	1.

PRESENTATION OF FOOD OFFERINGS.

9.	Spell for consecrating the white bread.	1.	-	-
10.	Spell for presenting cake.	1.	-	-
11.	Spell for presenting beer.	1.	-	-
12.	Spell for presenting wine.	1.	-	1.
13.	Spell for (inundating? with milk)	1.	-	-
14.	Spell for purifying the divine offerings.	1.	-	-

THE GOD'S DAILY REPAST.

15.	Spell for the First Libation.	1.	-	-
16.	Spell for the Second Libation.	1.	-	-
17.	Spell for salutation with a <u>nmst</u> -vessel.	1.	-	-
18.	(Spell for) making incense.	1.	-	-
19.	Spell for thurification with ' <u>ntyw</u> .	1.	-	-
20.	<u>Dbht-htp</u> of every day.	1.	-	-
21.	<u>'Irt-htp-di-nsw</u> .	1.	1.	-
22.	Spell for arranging the offerings.	1.	1.	-

<u>MEDINET</u>	<u>NURI</u>	<u>NURI</u>	<u>NURI</u>	<u>NURI</u>	<u>PHILAE</u>	<u>EDFU</u>	<u>EDFU</u>	<u>ABYDOS.</u>
<u>HABU.</u>	<u>209.</u>	<u>210.</u>	<u>211.</u>	<u>212.</u>		<u>A.</u>	<u>B.</u>	

1.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Six Chapels.
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1.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	"
----	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

1.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	"
----	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	"
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

1.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
----	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
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-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	NH,N.L.
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---------

-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	NR,N.U.
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---------

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-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	NH,S.L,N.L.
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-------------

-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	NH,N.L.(2).
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-------------

-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

-	-	1.	1.	1.	2.	-	-	PSR,S,L;NH,N.L.
---	---	----	----	----	----	---	---	-----------------

-	-	-	-	-	1.	-	-	NH,N.L?
---	---	---	---	---	----	---	---	---------

-	1.	2.	2.	2.	-	1.	1.	GL,Door;NH,N.L.
---	----	----	----	----	---	----	----	-----------------

-	-	1.	2.	2.	-	-	-	-
---	---	----	----	----	---	---	---	---

1.	-	1.	2.	2.	-	-	-	-
----	---	----	----	----	---	---	---	---

1.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	NH,N.L.
----	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---------

1.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
----	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	-	-	NR,E;S,U.
----	----	----	----	----	----	---	---	-----------

-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	NH,E,U;NR,N.L;SC,N,S,L;PSR,N.L.
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---------------------------------

-	-	1.	1.	1.	-	-	-	NR,S,L;N,U.PSR,N,L(2);S,U,L;NH,SL
---	---	----	----	----	---	---	---	-----------------------------------

-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	NR,NU; PSR,SU,NL; NR,NU.
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	--------------------------

EPISODE. LIST OF EPISODES.	CAIRO-	CHESTER-	KARNAK.	MEDINET	NURI	NURI	NURI	NURI	PHILAE.	EDFU.	EDFU.	ABYDOS.
	TURIN.	BEATTY.		HABU.	209.	210.	211.	212.		A.	B.	
44. Spell for the Elevation of Offerings.	1.	1.	1.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	PSR,SL;NH,SL; GL,E(2).
<u>MORNING HYMN.</u>												
45. Song of the Two Regions at Morning.	1.	1.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
46. What is said to the god in acclamation.	1.	1.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
47. What is said to the god after the the two stanzas.	-	1.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<u>THE FIRST AND SIXTH DAY FEASTS.</u>												
48. [Spell for presenting the bouquet of the First-Day Feast.]	-	-	1.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
49. Spell for presenting the bouquet of the Sixth-Day Feast.	-	1.	1.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
50. <u>Dbht-htp</u> for the Sixth-Day Festival.-	-	1.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<u>THE NEW YEAR FESTIVAL.</u>												
51. To be said on the New Year Morning (Possibly two spells.)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
52. Spell for the torch of the New Year.	-	1.	1.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
53. Spell for making the torch endure.	-	1.	1.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
54. Spell for [illuminating] the house.	-	1.	1.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
55. Salutation with a <u>nmst</u> -vessel for the New Year Festival.	-	-	1.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<u>FESTIVAL OF MUT.</u>												
56. Spell for the Water Festival of Mut.-	-	1.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
57. Spell for incense to Mut.	-	1.	1.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES IN THE GALLERY OF THE LISTS.

The Gallery of the Lists is a stone passageway which connects the main section of the temple with the service rooms in the south wing of the building.¹ Access to the Gallery is gained from the Second Hypostyle Hall, and at the opposite end of the passageway, a doorway leads into one of the service rooms known as the Butchers' Hall. Two doors are also set in the West Wall of the Gallery; the first opens into a stone corridor and stairway which lead to the side-exit of the temple; the second doorway gives access to a chamber known as the Hall of Barks. The walls of the Gallery of the Lists are decorated with reliefs which extend as far as the entrance to the Hall of Barks on the West Wall, and just slightly beyond this point on the opposite wall. This Gallery is thus named in modern times because here is found a list of gods, and the famous Abydos King List, giving the names of 76 kings in two rows.

In studying various plans of the layout of the Temple of Sethos, a hitherto unmentioned feature of this Gallery was noted. In certain plans of the temple,² the East Wall of the Gallery of the Lists was shown to be continuous, with no doorway occurring in the length of this wall; however, in other plans,³ a doorway is shown to have existed at the northernmost end of the East Wall of the Gallery, leading out into the courtyard. A closer observation of the photographs of this part of the wall in the Gallery of the Lists⁴ showed that the reliefs appeared to be continuous at this point, and there is no evidence of a break in the wall or traces of an earlier doorway which had later been filled in.

From a previous visit to the temple, no such doorway or traces of a doorway could be recalled, and so, in order to establish which plans were correct, a request was sent to the Department of Antiquities in Egypt, in an attempt to acquire further information on the subject.⁵

The evidence produced showed that the "doorway" shown on some of the plans was not a doorway at all; an opening did occur in this position, but it is not at ground level; it is rather like a very large window which occurs in what would have been an upper chamber, situated above the Gallery of the Lists; this opening appears to have had no connection with the Gallery itself, and the threshold of the opening is about 6 metres higher than ground level; there are signs that originally there were stairs which led up to the opening, on the east side. (See p. LXXIV, PHOTO G.)

A feature of architectural interest, its identification solves the problem posed by the variant plans; some plans correctly did

not include it , since it does not occur at ground level, whereas the other plans indicate an opening at this point as if it existed at ground level, although in fact it is situated in the upper storey, and should not be introduced into these plans at all.

The purpose of this opening, overlooking the king's palace and magazines, and the courtyard, is obscure. It is obvious, however, that the opening was never used as an exit from the Gallery by the priests performing the ritual, either before or after the construction of the side-exit at the west end of the Stairway Passage, for the opening has no connection with the Gallery, and therefore, its existence in this position in no way affects our reconstruction of the order of events in this area of the temple.

DESCRIPTION OF SCENES IN THE GALLERY OF THE LISTS.

THE ENTRANCE TO THE GALLERY OF THE LISTS FROM THE SECOND HYPOSTYLE HALL.

Leading from the Second Hypostyle Hall, on the thickness of the doorway, on the left-hand side, there is a panel giving a long titulary of the king in six columns; on the right side, there is a partly destroyed scene, showing the king before Isis who gives him the Breath of Life. Behind Isis, mostly destroyed, there is another figure, possibly that of Osiris. Isis addresses the king thus,-

"Come! [.....] to the temple that thou mayest see thy father Onnophris-Osiris, Lord of the Necropolis, [given?] life, stability and dominion."

On the jambs of the doorway, on the right, the scene is lost, and on the left, the titulary of the king is given.

On either side of the doorway, in the Gallery of the Lists, there is a scene; on the west side, a figure of the king is shown, holding a censer; the title reads,-

"Purifying the god's offering for his fathers, Lords of the Necropolis."

On the other side, there is a similar scene; the king holds a censer, and the title reads,-

"Purifying the god's offering for his fathers, that he may make a granted life."

On the lintel, an inscription gives the titulary of Sethos I.

These scenes on either side of the doorway appear to correspond to Episode 14 in the Ritual.¹

WEST WALL.

Scene A. (nearest the northern end of the Gallery.)

The king and Prince Ramesses stand before a table of offerings, in front of a shrine containing Soker and Sekhmet. The king holds a burning censer and pours out a libation. Above the figure of the prince are the words,-

"Making a boon-which-the-king-gives by the king's eldest son, heir apparent, Ramesses."

Title.

"Performing a censuring for his father Soker by the king, Lord of the Two Lands, Menmaetre', Sety Merenptah."

The title probably corresponds to Episode 37 of the Ritual, and from the action of the king in this scene, the rite shown is probably intended to represent a combination of Episodes 36 and 37.²

Scene B.

This scene shows the king and Prince Ramesses standing before a List of Kings; the king holds a censer in one hand, and outstretches his other hand towards the list; Prince Ramesses holds a papyrus roll. The inscription reads,-

"Reciting praises by the hereditary prince, the eldest, bodily, beloved son of the king, Ramesses, vindicated."

Across the top of the Offering List are the words,-

"Making a boon-which-the-king-gives for Ptah-Soker-Osiris, Lord of the Sanctuary of Soker, who resides in the Mansion of Menmaetre'. Depositing an offering for the Kings of Upper Egypt and the Kings of Lower Egypt, by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Menmaetre', son of Re', Sety Merenptah. A thousand of bread, a thousand of beer, a thousand of cattle, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of incense, a thousand of unguent, a thousand of linen, a thousand of cloth, a thousand of wine, a thousand of god's offering, as the gift of the king, Menmaetre'."

The King List is divided into 38 vertical columns, sub-divided into three registers. In the first two registers and reading register by register from left to right (south to north), a list of kings is given, from Menes (as the first name in the Upper Register) to Menmaetre' (as the last name in the Lower Register.) The pattern of these is identical,-

"To the King of Upper Egypt, Name."

Each column in the third register is occupied alternately by the words,-

"as the gift of King Menmaetre', King of Upper Egypt",

or

"as the gift of King Sety Merenptah, King of Lower Egypt."

The List of Kings is therefore a continuation of the horizontal line at the top of the list which reads,-

"An offering which the king gives to king Name."

Altogether, the names of 76 kings are given. This List may be compared with other lists³- the Palermo Stone, the Karnak and Saqqara Lists, the Turin Canon, and the List found in the Temple of Ramesses II at Abydos. These lists, although they form one of the basic sources of Egyptian history as it is possible to reconstruct it today, have certain limitations. Only such kings were named who were considered legitimate or deserving of honour; thus, the Hyksos rulers of Dynasties XV to XVII were excluded, as were Akhenaten and his three immediate successors; in the Abydos List, the rulers of the First Intermediate Period were omitted; between the 6th and 12th Dynasties, the 9th, 10th, and first

half of the 11th Dynasties were omitted, and the List resumes with Mentuhotep II. Therefore, from Pepy II to Mentuhotep II, 17 other Royal names, mostly otherwise unknown, are included as numbers 39 to 56 in this List. These kings Stock⁴ assigns to a phantom 8th Dynasty and considers that they embody an essentially Abydene tradition and were local rulers, since they are not represented in any of the other King Lists, not even those which are roughly contemporary with the Abydos List.

This is not the place in which to give a lengthy discussion of these chronological questions, but whatever explanation may be offered, it appears unlikely that Stock's theory in its entirety is correct.⁵

In this list, the rulers of Dynsties XIII to XIV are omitted, and the lists in general only extend to the reign of Ramesses II, and provide no information for the later period. However, it is certain that the Lists found within the temples were placed there not simply as historical records; their main purpose was to represent the Royal Ancestors in the ritual which was performed on their behalf.

Title.

"Utterance by the King Menmaetre'. Bringing the god to his food, depositing an offering for the kings of Upper and Lower Egypt. Greetings to thee, Ptah-Soker-Osiris, who-is-south-of-his-wall; come, that I may carry out for thee these (things) which Horus carried out for his father Osiris."

This rite corresponds to Episode 34 in the Ritual.⁶

ENTRANCE TO THE CORRIDOR OF THE BULL.

The doorway which leads from the Gallery of the Lists to the Corridor of the Bull has a scene on each of the jambs. Above the door, on the lintel, an inscription gives the titulary of Sethos I.

On the right-hand jamb, the king is represented holding the mace and hrp-wand. The inscription reads,-

"Thou enterest into the temple. I am pure."

On the left side, the scene is repeated, but the inscription is omitted.

Scene C.

This scene shows the king before Ptah, who stands in a shrine; the king offers four vessels to the god, who is sprinkled with the streams of water which issue forth from the vessels.

Title.

"Making purification with four nmst-vessels for his father Ptah, Lord of Truth, that he may make a granted life."

This rite appears to correspond to Episode 17 of the Ritual.⁷

ENTRANCE TO THE HALL OF BARKS.

The doorway is decorated with two scenes, and on the lintel, the titulary of Sethos I is given. On each door jamb, a figure of the king is shown; the one on the right wears the Crown of Lower Egypt, and the one on the left, the Crown of Upper Egypt. The inscriptions give the titulary of Sethos I, and the main work on this doorway was carried out in his reign, but, at the base of each of the jambs, Ramesses II has added his cartouche.

EAST WALL.

Scene A. (nearest to the north end.)

The king and Prince Ramesses present offerings to Osiris-Onnophris. Isis is also present. The inscription reads,-

"....Extending the arm four times over choicest meat, bread, cattle, fowl, long-horned cattle, short-horned cattle, ibex and oryx, purified for thy Ka."

Title.

"Elevating the offerings to his father by the eldest son of the king, the hereditary prince, Ramesses."

This rite corresponds to Episode 44 of the Ritual.⁸

Scene B.

The king holds a censer, and he and Prince Ramesses stand before an Offering List; Ramesses pours out a libation on an offering stand. The speech of the king is as follows,-

"Pure, pure, Ptah-Soker-Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, who resides in the Mansion of Menmaetre', and the Ennead who are therein....the pure incense is sweet of perfume which is in accordance with the writings of the Divine Book which is in the temple. Their two arms they place (around) Re'; he purifies Ptah-Soker-Osiris in this his house and in this his temple, in his nomes which are in Upper Egypt and in his tomb, [which is in?] Lower Egypt, and upon his offering tables, which are in the sky and upon earth and in his temples. To be recited four times, pure, (pure?)."

Above the List of Offerings are these words,-

"Making a boon-which-the-king-gives for Ptah-Soker-Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, who resides in the Mansion of Menmaetre', and the Ennead who are in attendance upon him, by the king, Menmaetre' son of Re', Sety Merenptah. Come to me, Ptah-Soker-Osiris.... oh, ranger of the gods, come, at thy invocation; oh, ye swift gods, come to me; oh, Ptah-Soker-Osiris, come, oh, ranger of the gods, to King Menmaetre', thy Majesty, thy servant, who

does not forget thy body, with all these thy provisions(?). Thou enterest into this thy bread, into thy beer, namely, choicest meat portions of cattle and fowl, in millions and hundred thousands, tens of thousands, thousands and hundreds. Thou hast filled thy house with all good things. Thoth is pleased with the White Eye of Horus, that thy face may be white thereby, in its name of bread(?)."

The List of gods to whom the offerings are made is divided into 60 columns, each separated into three registers. In the top register of each column are the words,-

"To (god's name) in (a city or sanctuary)."

In the second register, this formula is repeated for another god; in the third register, in alternate columns, are either the words

"as the gift of the King Menmaetre', King of Upper Egypt",
or

"as the gift of the son of Re', Sety Merenptah."

Altogether, the names of 120 deities and sanctuaries are given in this List.

Title.

"Making a boon-which-the-king-gives, the Reversion of Offerings by his beloved son, the king's eldest bodily son, hereditary prince, Ramesses, life, prosperity, health."

The formula which occurs here as the title of this scene - wdb-ht ntr - is that which is employed in the Second Reversion of Offerings. It is also noteworthy that this rite is being performed by Prince Ramesses, as though the king were being treated as a "dead" god, although in fact Sethos I was still alive at this time.

Scene C.

The king elevates the offerings to Re'-Harakhte. The god says,-
"Receive for thyself the years of the jubilees, united in life and dominion. I give to thee the hk3t-sceptre and flail, which are in my grasp, according as thou hast done what pleases me upon earth, in thy temple of Abydos."

Title.

"Utterance by....Sety Merenptah, in elevating the offering to his father Re'-Harakhte, in front of his face, by the king himself, in his temple, which is in Abydos. He receives the White Crown, he uplifts its beauty, it abides upon his head, it appears in glory upon his brow, he worships Re' with life, his Ennead acclaim him with joy forever. He serves the Great One with what

she loves, she has seized the oar in the sacred bark, she presents the [King Men]maetre' with [it?] [that he] may be glad together with his Ka, forever."

This rite corresponds to Episode 44 in the Ritual.⁹ According to Nelson,¹⁰ the text employed in this rite is not that which occurs in the Ritual of Amenophis I when the offering was made to a god, but that which, in the Chester-Beatty Papyrus IX and the Cairo-Turin versions of the ritual, was addressed to the reigning Pharaoh. The Abydos rite in fact conforms to the purpose of the spell as given in the papyrus versions, for it is stated that this rite is performed at Abydos so that the benefits from it "may accrue to Seti who performs the act and not to the deity."¹¹

Scene D.

The king lays hands on a table piled high with offerings, in the presence of Amen-Re'. The king says,-

"Establishing the god's offering for his father Amen-Re', who resides in the Mansion of Menmaetre', by the king himself. Hail to thee Atum-Khepri! thou hast come into being on the primeval hill, thou shinest forth on the pyramidion in the Het-Benu in Heliopolis, thou spewest forth as Shu, thou vomitest as Tefnut, thou placest thy arms around the King Menmaetre', as thy Ka exists therein, established forever. The god's offering for Amen-Re', together with his Ennead of gods, endures even as the name of Atum, Lord of the Two Lands, (as) endures the name of Shu in Upper Mensat in Heliopolis, enduring forever (as) endures the name of Tefnut in Lower Mensat in Heliopolis, enduring forever even as endures the name of every god and goddess, enduring forever."

Title.

"Causing the god's offering to endure for his father Amen-Re', King of gods, who resides in the Mansion of Menmaetre', upon his throne, that he may make a granted life."

This rite corresponds to Episode 40 in the Ritual.¹²

THE ORDER OF SCENES IN THE GALLERY OF THE LISTS.

In suggesting an order in which the scenes on the walls in the Gallery of the Lists are to be read, it is necessary, in addition to establishing an order which is logical, also to compare this series with the list of episodes found in the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors, for, at Abydos, it is our contention that the final stages of this ritual were performed in this area of the temple.

We would suggest that the sequence begins with the two scenes which occur on either side of the doorway leading into the Gallery from the Second Hypostyle Hall. These scenes, we have suggested, correspond to "The spell for purifying the divine offerings" (EPISODE 14).

The sequence then continues, according to our scheme, with Scene C on the West Wall - this possibly corresponds to "The spell for salutation with a nmst-vessel" (EPISODE 17).

The First Reversion of Offerings to the Royal Ancestors (here represented by the King List) then takes place and this is shown on the West Wall, Scene B; this, of course, corresponds to "The rites performed upon the altars of the kings." (EPISODE 34).

Scene A on the West Wall represents a censuring and a libation, and possibly this is a combination of the "Spell for the First Libation after the Reversion of Offerings", (EPISODE 36), and the "Spell for making incense (after) the Reversion of Offerings," (EPISODE 37).

The sequence now continues along the East Wall. Scene A shows the Elevation of Offerings before Osiris-Onnophris and Isis. Although this is EPISODE 44 in the ritual sources, and therefore might be expected to occur before EPISODE 40 (Scene D on this wall), this rite also represented a stage which occurred in the presentation of any meal to a god, following immediately after the Recitation of the Menu and the Laying out of Offerings on the Table. Thus, it is quite in order to read it in this position here.

The next scene on this wall (Scene B) is entitled "wdb-ht", and this represented the Second Reversion of Offerings, when the food was removed from the altar of the kings and divided among the priests.

Continuing along this wall, (Scene C), the king elevates the offerings again, the usual procedure after the htp-di-nsw has been recited. Finally, in Scene D, a rite occurs which corresponds to the "Spell for making the divine offerings endure" (EPISODE 40).

In the other sources also, this rite occurs at the end of the set of episodes devoted to the Reversion of Offerings.

Thus, we have the order,- (See PLAN 38)

<u>Position.</u>	<u>Title of rite.</u>	<u>Corresponds to</u>
1. ENTRANCE.	<u>sw'b htpw-ntr...</u>	Episode 14.
2. WEST WALL SCENE C.	Making purification with four <u>nmst</u> -vases.	Episode 17.
3. WEST WALL SCENE B.	1st Reversion of Offerings.	Episode 34.
4. WEST WALL SCENE A.	Performing a censuring.	Episodes 36 and 37.
5. EAST WALL SCENE A.	Elevating the offerings.	Episode 44.
6. EAST WALL SCENE B.	2nd Reversion of Offerings.	
7. EAST WALL SCENE C.	Elevating the offerings.	Episode 44.
8. EAST WALL SCENE D.	Causing the offerings to endure.	Episode 40.

After completing the ritual in this Gallery, it is our belief that the priests entered the Hall of Barks, where the food was divided out into portions for the priests, before the ritual procession made its exit through the Corridor of the Bull and the Stairway Passage and the side door leading into the enclosure.

In reconstructing the order in the Gallery in this way, the sequence is logical and also corresponds closely to order given for the relevant parallel rites contained in the comparative sources of the ritual.

THE CORRIDOR OF THE BULL AND THE STAIRWAY
PASSAGE.

The passage and stairway which lead to the side exit of the temple were not included in the original design of the building; the possible explanation of this change in plan is discussed in a previous section of this chapter. As it appears today,¹ that part of the temple which, on account of the reliefs on the walls, is known as the "Corridor of the Bull", is a fairly wide stone passage-way leading westward from the Gallery of the Lists; the reliefs which decorate the walls date to the reign of Ramesses II. At the west end of this corridor is the Stairway Passage which occupies the position of the presumed original third chapel in the Nefertem-Ptah-Soker Complex.² This stairway lead to an exit at the rear of the temple. The walls of this stairway passage are also decorated with reliefs which do not appear to have any connection with the Daily Ritual or the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors. Therefore, these scenes are discussed here separately and compared with similar reliefs which occur elsewhere in other temples.

It is noteworthy that, although the scenes on the walls of the Corridor of the Bull date to the reign of Ramesses II, the door-jambs and certain scenes which occupy the thicknesses of these doorways, (between the entrance from the Gallery of the Lists and the connecting doorway between the Corridor of the Bull and the Stairway Passage,) as well as those which are found along the walls of the Stairway Passage, - these are the work of Sethos, sometimes superimposed with the cartouche of Ramesses. The decoration carried out under the later Pharaoh is an example of relief en-creux, and, although the representations of the figures are bold and vigorous, they lack the delicacy of the earlier work attributed to Sethos.

The Corridor and the Passageway originally had vaulted ceilings, carved in the over-lapping slabs of the roof. The construction of this complete passageway was finished in the reign of Sethos, and it was probably used as an exit for the priests at the conclusion of the Daily Ritual; it would appear that Ramesses II later decorated the walls of the Corridor of the Bull with scenes which were neither part of nor essential to the daily ritual use of the temple. It is impossible to say whether these scenes were in fact planned by Sethos and merely executed by his son, or whether Ramesses himself determined the decoration of this part of the temple.

THE CORRIDOR OF THE BULL.

ENTRANCE FROM THE GALLERY OF LISTS.

The decoration of the doorway leading from the Gallery of the Lists has already been described in the relevant section of this chapter. (p. 248)

On the right-hand side as one enters from the Gallery of the Lists, the thickness is inscribed with a panel of text giving the titulary of Ramesses II. On the opposite side, there is a scene showing Ramesses II embracing Osiris, Lord of Abydos.

The doorway which is set in the East Wall of the Corridor of the Bull, and gives access to the Gallery of the Lists, has the titulary of Ramesses II inscribed on each door jamb, and above the door are two partly destroyed scenes of the king running with an oar towards the god (seated).

NORTH WALL. EAST SECTION.

SCENE A. (Nearest east end.)

This is a well-known scene in which Ramesses II and Prince Amenhirshopshef are in the act of lassoing a bull, in the presence of Wepwawet and another god, mummiform, the upper part of whose body has been destroyed.

The king's words are as follows,-

"I have lassoed (for thee) the bull of Upper Egypt, while thou hast grasped the Lower Egyptian sacrificial bull. I slaughter for thee the cattle in the slaughter-house, the young and the long-horned cattle in the slaughter-house, the oryxes and ibexes and the gazelles are slaughtered in thy temple, the short-horned cattle upon the altar for thy meat, the pick of the stables³, in order to present the oblation to thy ka, and to endow thy daily offerings."

Title.

"Lassoing an Upper Egyptian bull by the king."

The inclusion in this scene of Prince Amenhirshopshef is of some importance; the prince is described here as "Great heir-apparent of the entire land, king's eldest bodily, beloved son, fan-bearer upon the king's right-hand, who marshals the bowmen, a man of good counsel in the *malée*, who fights upon his legs, without peer, Amenhirshopshef, vindicated."

The eldest and most celebrated son of Ramesses II was Khaemwese, and yet here Amenhirshopshef is given the title of Crown Prince and heir-apparent. According to Petrie,⁴ Amenhirshopshef occurs in the lists of princes at Abu Simbel, Karnak and the Ramesseum.

It is thought that Amenhirshopshef and Amenhirwenemef are in fact the same person, and the elder brother of Khaemwese, who later became heir-apparent, for, at Beit-el-Wali, Amenhirwenemef and Amenhirshopshef appear as alternative names for the same prince. It would seem that Khaemwese was adopted as heir in about the thirtieth year of the reign of Ramesses II and he was succeeded by Merenptah in Year 55. Therefore, as it is Amenhirshopshef who is named as heir-apparent, and not Khaemwese, this Corridor was presumably decorated before Year 30 of the reign of Ramesses II. Thus, this scene enables us to establish a definite chronological point by which to fix the completion of this part of the temple.

SCENE B.

This scene is almost completely destroyed; the king cuts the throat of a sacrificial animal on an altar, in the presence of a god. There are no inscriptions.

NORTH WALL, WEST SECTION.

SCENE A.

Ramesses II runs towards Thoth and Sethos I, dragging behind him the sacred bark, in which is seated Soker. Behind the bark runs a smaller figure, mostly destroyed, who probably represents Prince Amenhirshopshef.

The inscriptions are badly damaged; the god's speech begins, - "Ramesses Meriamun, greetings to thee, as to thy son, [...]; mayest thou eat of thy pure food offering, which the king Usimare'-setepenre', of his father, has given to thee. He is thy protector, like Re', forever."

SCENE B.

Ramesses II holds a burning censer over a table of offerings, before Ptah and Sekhmet. The inscriptions are almost completely destroyed, but it is possible to reconstruct that Ptah, in his speech, grants the king the usual benefits.

SOUTH WALL, EAST SECTION.

SCENE A.

Ramesses II drives four calves towards Khons and Sethos I. The head of the staff with which Ramesses II drives the calves is formed in the shape of a snake. The calves are [dappled], red, white and black.

Title.

"Driving calves for his father."

SCENE B.

This scene is almost entirely destroyed; the king is shown

running, holding two nmst-vessels, towards a seated deity. This scene is obviously connected with jubilee rites. The inscriptions are mostly lost; only a few lines of the king's speech remain, - "[Utterance by the king]. Hail to thee! I adore thee [...].] pure, which (I) offer to thy ka, namely provisions. Mayest thou live forever."

Title.

Only the first word remains- iti .

These two scenes appear to have formed the lower register on this wall, for directly above, although almost totally destroyed now, was another register, in which it is possible to reconstruct a scene in which the king is represented before a table of offerings, in the presence of a deity. The remainder of the register is taken up with a list of some kind, of which only the bottom line of each column, showing the King of Upper Egypt, is preserved.

SOUTH WALL. WEST SECTION.

SCENE A.

A goddess (only the lower half of this figure is preserved) stands clasping a rod; to this are attached the ends of a net, which ensnares various kinds of fowl. Five figures grasp the rope at the other end of this net and drag the net behind them; at the head of this procession runs Ramesses II; behind him comes a jackal-headed figure, behind whom come a hawk-headed, a ram-headed, and another hawk-headed figure. The king is described as performing the act of "Closing the net....for his father Amen-Re' and the gods, who are in the House of the Benben. Bringing to him various kinds of birds in millions and hundred thousands [from?] the gods [his?] brothers."

The inscription at the top of this scene is partly damaged, and only the speech of Horus remains, -

"I am with thee. Thou hast disported thyself(?) with all kinds of fluttering and flying birds. [...]."

The scene is entitled, -

"Fixing firmly the pole of the net."

At the other end of the register, but still part of the scene, Ramesses II, accompanied by Prince Amenhirshopshef, presents birds to Amen-Re', behind whom stands Mut, Lady of Heaven. Accompanying the prince are the words, -

"Marching through the marshes by the heir, eldest son of the king, Amenhirshopshef, vindicated,"

The king says to Amen-Re', -

"I cause to tarry for thee the nestlings in the marshes, and in

the meadows of Egypt. I have clapped tight the net for thee in
the Delta marshlands, I hve dragged forth for thee the marsh-birds,
I bring for thee hundred-thousands of st-geese and millions of
w3d-h3t-geese."

THE PURPOSE AND ORDER OF SCENES IN THE CORRIDOR OF THE BULL.

The scenes in the Corridor of the Bull can, for the most part, be identified with scenes found elsewhere.

The scene in which the king drives four calves towards Khons and Sethos (South wall, East end, Scene A) represents the rite of hwt bhs n it.f, and is based upon an earlier Osirian rite; this is discussed more fully in an article by Fairman and Blackman.⁵

This ceremony is depicted at Deir el-Bahri,⁶ Luxor,⁷ the temple of Hatshepsut at Buhen,⁸ the Pyramid Temple of Sahure;⁹ on the Portal of Euergetes I at Karnak,¹⁰ in the Temple of Horus at Edfu,¹¹ and on a New Kingdom coffin,¹² as well as in the Corridor of the Bull at Abydos. All these representations show the king driving calves (white, black, red and dappled) into the presence of a male divinity, sometimes accompanied by a goddess in Ptolemaic examples, and, at Abydos, by Sethos I, the deceased king. In these scenes, the king holds in one hand the coiled ends of four ropes and a rod; in the other, he holds another rod. Each of the four ropes is attached to a calf's foreleg, in all the older scenes; at Abydos, it is fastened to a hindleg. On the scenes on the New Kingdom coffin, the "Driving of the Calves" is connected with jubilee scenes,¹³ - the king drives four calves towards a fetish of Abydos, behind which come the jubilee scenes. It is noteworthy that, in the Corridor of the Bull, the partly destroyed scene which adjoins that representing the "Driving of the Calves" is also a scene which has connections with jubilee rites.

The ceremony, -to ensure a plentiful harvest-was originally a harvest rite, in which the cattle were driven over the threshing floor; this was conducted by the king, in the presence of the harvest god, originally Min, later the ithyphallic Amun, and, at Abydos, Khons. The wands carried by the king are reminiscent of pythons severed in half¹⁴ (the wavy rod held along with the rope ends in the king's left hand represents the tail portion of the snake, whereas the straight rod in his right hand represents a snake's head,), and , although pythons no longer existed in Egypt by the time the reliefs were carved on the temple walls, they were to be found there in predynastic times, before the land began to dry up, when the rite originated. The snakes would have been found around the edges of the threshing floor, where they were a considerable danger to the animals taking part in this rite.¹⁵

From this, it appears that, although the representation of this rite in the Pyramid Temple of Sahure' shows that it dates back to the 5th Dynasty, in fact, in its earliest form, the

ceremony had definite connections with predynastic rites, when perhaps it was designed to ensure the fertility of a pastoral people and their herds; the presiding deity was possibly regarded as a fertility god. In time, like most Egyptian ceremonies, this rite became Osirianised, which, as Osiris was so connected with grain and agriculture, was a natural development; the threshing floor was now thought of as the site of the grave of Osiris, in his role as dead corn-god, and the ceremony became "Treading on the grave of Osiris by four calves." It was now performed to protect the god's grave, and prevent its violation by the god's enemies, in addition to symbolising the destruction, by trampling underfoot, of the king's enemies.

However, although the rite is now connected with Osiris, only once in the reliefs does Osiris replace earlier gods, and the god is still regarded as a fertility god primarily, providing grain and cattle, and the king is still the herdsman; this conservatism is typical of Egyptian religious beliefs.

It is probable that this was a Lower Egyptian rite, perhaps having its origin in the Delta at a very early date; here, the cattle-keeping section of the population was settled. Later, after the Unification, the rite was perhaps adopted by the Upper Egyptians, who identified the original deity with their own fertility god, Min.¹⁶

Eventually, the ceremony was employed as a funerary ceremony for the dead divinities of Edfu, and possibly for the dead kings of the Old Kingdom; it is possible that its appearance at Abydos may be connected in some way with funerary rites performed for Sethos, but it also seems that by this time, the rite had become almost meaningless, and had fallen into disuse, except perhaps on certain days in the year. Probably, it only survived here at Abydos for traditional rather than functional purposes, because custom demanded that it should appear amongst the reliefs, in much the same way that it appears at Edfu, in certain instances, to have very little ritual meaning.

Another scene which must be briefly accounted for in this Corridor occurs on the South wall, west section,¹⁷ where the trapping of birds in a clap-net and their presentation by the king to Amen-Re' is represented.

This ceremony was directed against the rebels and enemies of the king; a magical rite, it was designed to protect the king against his enemies, and to reinforce his authority over his subjects. Similar scenes, representing the "Subduing of the Nobility", are also to be found in the Festival Hall of Tuthmosis

III at Karnak,¹⁸ on the East and West Walls of the encircling wall at Edfu,¹⁹ on the South Wall of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak and on the north interior face of the Great Hypostyle Hall of Khnum at Esneh (Roman Period).²⁰

These scenes show an enormous clap-net, which is set up in the marshes and which contains birds of various types; at Edfu, fish and animals are shown, and each of the two scenes also depicts four bound human figures in the net.²¹ The net is being pulled tightly shut by the king, in the presence of two or three gods. These creatures represent the enemies of the king and foes of the gods, who are being captured and magically prevented from doing harm.²² Thus, the king and the gods are being mutually protected from danger. Other earlier examples of this type of rite occur.²³ This scene is accompanied by the ceremony of presenting the fettered creatures to the god of the temple. The god then ate them, and, in accordance with the principles of sympathetic magic, this would have a two-fold effect; the destruction of the evil which the creatures symbolised would be ensured, and also, the god would absorb certain desirable qualities from eating the sacrifice. This ceremony included both sacrifice and offering - they, however, bore no implication of atonement, but served the purely practical purpose of protecting the king and gods, and ensuring the destruction of the foes. As well as being included in rituals which were connected with fertility rites, the ceremony was perhaps primarily political in nature, and was perhaps performed when danger threatened, either from inside or outside the country. The inclusion of such a rite in the temple reliefs was obviously intended to ensure continual protection for the king and the gods of the temple.

The scene representing the "Running of the Bull" must also be considered. A clay sealing of King Udimu found in the tomb of Hemaka, an official in his reign, may help to throw some light on this scene at Abydos (North Wall, East section, Scene A.) The sealing displays two scenes, which together summarise an important act in the jubilee drama.²⁴ On the left-hand side, a figure of the king is shown wearing the Red Crown, running behind a bull and carrying a flail in his left hand. It is thought that the bull here depicted is the Apis, and it has been suggested that this scene, from which the 18th and 19th dynasty reliefs are derived, possibly originated at a very early date, especially as the Palermo Stone mentions the "Running of the Apis." Kees suggests that, from early times, the running with the bull was associated with fertility rites - the fertilisation of meadows and herds; this is indicated in later texts, which represent the Apis as a "runner who brings all good things."²⁵ The scene of the

Running of the Apis, it is thought, was an ideal representation in the temples, and by this time, was never actually performed as a rite. Otto considers this rite to be part of a hunting ritual²⁶ and states that a similar scene occurs in the mastaba of Ptah-hotep at Saqqarah.²⁷ He suggests that the order of this ritual can be reconstructed as "Lassoing the bull", "Fettering the animal", and, finally, "Cutting up the animal" (either preceded by the ritual slaughter, or itself representing the actual killing). The lassoing of animals, here shown as a ritual act, occurs originally as an action of ordinary life in predynastic carvings.²⁸

The rite appears to have a Lower Egyptian origin; at Abydos, the king wears the Lower Egyptian crown; the term for the bull, however, is given as "Upper Egyptian bull", but Otto suggests²⁹ that this means "nomadic" rather than Upper Egyptian in a geographical sense.

This rite occurs less frequently, as does the fettering rite, than the actual slaughtering scene, which Otto would group with these scenes to form a complete ritual.³⁰

In this Corridor, therefore, the scenes along the south wall are connected with rites pertaining to kingship, and, in particular, the protection of the king from his enemies; on the north wall, the rites are also connected with kingship and perhaps the jubilee festival. It is unfortunate that the Upper registers are destroyed on both these walls, and it is thus difficult to establish the order of scenes here. Possibly the scenes on the New Kingdom coffin, showing the king driving the calves, immediately followed by the king running with the vessels, can be taken as a pattern for the reading of the scenes on the South wall, where, using this as a guide, we tentatively suggest that the scenes be read as a unit, taking first perhaps the Lower register, and beginning with the first scene at the east end of the Corridor. It is impossible to decide whether the sequence progressed directly along the Lower register first, before continuing in a similar manner along the Upper Register, or whether the scenes were read alternately from each register. Perhaps, once again using the information provided by the New Kingdom coffin, a better argument can be put forward to support the former suggestion in which the continuity of the scenes in the lower register then corresponds to the order of scenes which occurs on the coffin.

It is probable that the same sequence was followed along the North Wall, with the Lower Register being read first, and then the

Upper Register, although, because of the poor state of preservation of the Upper Register, any suggested order must necessarily be open to question. It is equally possible to reconstruct a sequence in which the Lower Register was read after the Upper Register, or in which the registers were read alternately.

(See PLAN 40).

Whatever the original order of the scenes was in this Corridor, it is almost certain that they did not comprise part of the daily worship in the temple. Possibly, this Corridor was decorated with scenes which ensured the protection of the king and gods, and the fertility of inhabitants of the land.

Although, we would suggest, the daily procession used this Corridor, together with the Stairway Passage, as a means of exit from the temple every day, when the ritual, performed in the Gallery of the Lists and the Hall of the Barks had been completed, the rites found in this Corridor formed no part of either the Daily Ritual, or the subsequent Ritual of the Royal Ancestors.³¹

It seems most probable that the purpose of these scenes was primarily traditional—they were included in the temple because they were protective, and because, from time immemorial they had been given a place in the Egyptian temple,—but, unlike most scenes depicted in the temples, it is doubtful that they were actually performed, even on special occasions, at Abydos. They summarise events which, at first, were aspects of daily, secular life, but which, in time, became associated with magic, protective rituals, and which, eventually, in the Pharaonic temples, became representations of such rituals which had probably ceased to be performed.

THE STAIRWAY PASSAGE.

A doorway in the west wall of the Corridor of the Bull leads into the Stairway Passage. On each door jamb there is the titulary of Ramesses II; above the doorway there are two scenes divided by a panel bearing the cartouche of Menmaetre'. These scenes show the king (Sethos I) holding the flail, and running towards a god in each case - one of these gods is hawk-headed; they are entitled "Seizing the oar for his father Osiris," and "Seizing the oar for his father Soker." In the scene on the right, the king is wearing the Lower Egyptian crown, and, in the scene on the left, the Upper Egyptian crown.

The thicknesses of the doorways are inscribed with texts dating to the reign of Sethos I. On the east face of the doorway leading out of the Stairway Passage into the Corridor of the Bull, the titulary of Sethos is inscribed on each jamb; above the doorway is a scene showing Sethos kneeling, with hands raised in adoration, before a bark, containing a figure, who rows the bark, and Soker, and possibly another figure; behind the bark stands a goddess. The accompanying inscription is mostly destroyed.

The thicknesses of this doorway are inscribed with longer titularies of Sethos; at the base of each jamb, there is a superimposed cartouche of Ramesses II. On the jambs of the west face of this doorway is engraved the titulary of Ramesses II; above the doorway is the titulary of Sethos I.

SOUTH WALL. (Nearest the east end.)SCENE A.

This scene shows Thoth, "great tongue of Re", Lord of Hieroglyphs, Prophet of Truth" seated upon his throne.

The accompanying inscription is partly damaged; it gives the speech of Thoth, which is addressed to Sethos. The god begins by praising the king and stating that he will establish the offices of the king and his kingship. He then continues,-

"....I found that thou hast united it (i.e.Egypt), thou hast established truth within it, it has joined everyone, thou hast pacified all the gods, thou hast endowed their altars, thou hast doubled for them the bread, by a hundred-thousand in excess of their daily offerings. Thou hast purified the chapels and temples thou hast replenished their offering table, thou hast strengthened Egypt for its lord, thou spreadest thyself over its rhyt, thou art for it like a wall of copper, its roof being of flint, thy seal being engraved upon it in copper.... Thou givest command to

the Lords of the Underworld; the Westerners are in joy, thou having assumed the garments of Horus, since the great interment. Thou actest as protector of Onnophris, thou washest away his wrongdoings of yesterday, thou causest him to become as Re' very early, at the side of every god; thou releasest him, thou causest his nose to inhale, thou ledest to him the north wind, thou hast caused the great Ba to rest upon his corpse, his shadow being the sun's disk....thou hast placed his children at his side, thou hast equipped him with his adornments...."

The god continues to enumerate further deeds and then follows with the words,-

"Thou appearest for him, oh, Re', in the west over against his crypt, the adornments of the doer of good, his name is established upon earth. Every good thing and every beneficent thing of the sky and of the earth and of the underworld, - they are thine for thee; they are assembled for thee, thou art the beautiful heir. When eternity comes, it is thine also, and everlasting is made high, under what is firmly established. Thy mansion shall remain like the hills, thou being like Re' in it...."

SCENE B.

This scene is badly damaged. It shows the figure of the king standing before a seated figure, and Isis and the Ennead.

Title.

"Bringing the good god, Menmaetre', to his food."

The Ennead declare that the king, Menmaetre', is their son.

NORTH WALL. (nearest east end.)

SCENE A.

This scene shows Sefkhet-~~Abu~~ seated upon a throne; an accompanying speech occupies the remainder of the space in this scene. It takes the form of a hymn addressed to Sethos I by Sefkhet-'Abu, "Mistress of Writing, who is pre-eminent in the Mansion of the Trap."¹

The goddess describes the foundation of the temple.

"Thy house is completed, thy monument is embellished, those who are in it are in joy, mayest thou rest in thy august temple, every god being thy protection, who is in thy mansion of triumph in the west of Abydos. I have founded it together with Soker; it is Ptah who performs work on it. I have stretched out the cord in the interior of its walls, my utterance is for it, containing the great spells of glorification. Thoth is therein with his scrolls; Khnum has established its works; T3-tnn, he levels its foundation soil; Atum is upon it(?) forever. The head of the baton of gold is in my hand; I struck the rod therewith, thou

being together with me in thy forms of Soker, thy hands holding the hoe. He has set in place its four walls,² which are fixed to perfection like the four supports of the sky. Nut uttered her magical spells; its protection is effected by Neith, Selkis being satisfied with the eternal work. Its walls are in their (proper) places.

Mayest thou come anew. The columns are firmly fixed, all its doors being of copper; Hw is in it, bearing provisions; Sia proclaims its beauty, every good god resting within it, under thy supervision,³ together with Osiris. Mayest thou cause him to rest (on) his seat in its Great Mansion, his sacred image being distinguished(?), Amun is in it, as head of them all. How divine is thy temple! his face and his dignity being a protection round about [it][.....] in obeisance. Re' is born for thee in his forms, in order to appear therein; the sun's disk flourishes while crossing the sky, his mysterious image being in thy mansion, Horus and Isis, their seats are therein, they unite in joy; Ptah-Soker who fashions in the bark of Nefertem, being beside them, Geb being in its prow, together with his children, the Ennead of the sky and of the [earth].

Shu and Tefnut rest in their shrines, which thou hast made in their names, all gods and goddesses whom thou hast fashioned in thy temple, the idols and secret images upon their stands and who are in the barks, and in the shrines, - every one of them exalts thy excellence to the horizon, and to the sky, to he who is in his sun-disk, and to the Underworld of Osiris. They establish thy annals like heaven in these millions of years. Mayest thou lead all the living, (thou being) at the head of the spirits upon the throne of Horus. Lo, thou art king upon the throne of Re'. Thou hast handed over the earth to the balance, thou associatest it with every beneficent act. Men know thy beauty, the sky is pregnant with thy beauty, the Two Lands are filled with thy Ka, the Underworld is hidden and joyful through thy counsels, thou awakenest those who are slumbering. Thou givest light to those who are in darkness, He-who-is-tired-of-heart⁴ is in joy, the cavern-dwellers, they lift up their faces because⁵ thou hast pronounced their names; thou rememberest them in order to magnify their deeds, in order to set down for them these offerings and cakes, being ever for them in thy mansion.

The land of the necropolis has been inundated for thee, opposite thy shrine; the gods rejoice in thy time. How joyful is Abydos when thy name is proclaimed throughout eternity, thou being together with eternity! Thy counsels are glorious, flourishing are thy monuments for the p't and the rhyt. All men

adore thee in unison and extol thee,⁶ namely thy rectitude. The gods approach thee, thou art one of them; thou art here like Re' in the sky, like Onnophris in the Underworld, like the Majesty of Amun in Thebes, like Geb on this earth.

Thou renewest thyself when thou beginnest to grow young, & like the moon as a child; thou becomest youthful continuously like Neñew at his time. Thou art born at the renewal of jubilees, all life is at thy nose, thou art king of the entire land for eternity. As long as thy temple exists, thou shalt appear upon the land as Orion at his season, thou living like Soped. Numerous are thy Kas, when it approaches thy seat; [. . .] men make thee strong, men approach thee; although one generation has passed away, another brings thy name into existence, remaining in their mouths as when thou art glorious for the gods, and nurse of the rhyt. I establish thy beauty in writing, even as Re' has commanded. The potent utterances of my mouth are thy protection, my words to thee being prosperous; my hand records thy beneficent deeds, like (my) brother Thoth. Atum himself speaks to us; it is I who am content with thy counsels. We have united for thee Upper and Lower Egypt, they being placed under thy sandals. We united for thee the sedge to the papyrus plant, thou having become King of Upper and Lower Egypt.

Thou sailest upstream as King of Upper Egypt, and thou sailest downstream as King of Lower Egypt, when thou hast taken possession of the Two Lands, by virtue of the Double Crown. Mayest thou sit down in thy shrine, and join with thy palace, like Atum in his horizon; thou sittest upon thy throne like Horus, who is upon his step. Thou appearest in glory upon thy jubilee litter, like Re' annually.⁷ Thy small is for every god, like Nefertem. Men pray to see thee every day, whom thy Ennead loves. May the rays of the sun's disk come to thee, that Shu may illumine thy mansion, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menmaetre', son of Re', Sety Merenptah, given life."

SCENE B.

Ramesses II stands before a table of offerings, in the presence of Sethos I, Isis and the Ennead. He addresses his father with these words,-

"A boon-which-the-king-gives and which Geb gives, and which the Ennead give."

He then lists the offerings "which Hapy brings from his cavern", which include a thousand each of "bread, beer, [oxen], [fowl], incense, ointment, provisions and libations, all pure and good things, and all beautiful and sweet things."

The Ennead declare,-

"Lord of the Two Lands, Menmaetre', thou art Horus, who protect's his father, successor of Geb, the eldest one. We have seen thy exploits to be beneficial to us, thy beauty has appeared in our sight; behold, our hearts are exceedingly glad, when thou repeatest our names, thou being renewed and reinvigorated...."

Title.

"Making -a-boon-which-the-king-gives; arranging the offerings upon the altar."

WEST WALL.

Occupying the west wall of the Passage, on either side of the doorway, there is a scene; on the right side appears the figure of Sethos I, holding a rod and a hd-mace, and extending one arm towards the doorway. This scene is entitled,-

"Entering the temple. (I) am pure."

On the left side, the scene is badly destroyed, but probably represented a similar pose.

On the thickness of the doorway, on the right-hand side, a partly damaged scene shows the king standing with a censer before a seated god.

THE PURPOSE AND ORDER OF SCENES IN THE STAIRWAY PASSAGE.

The scenes on the walls of the Stairway Passage, we would suggest, represent a ritual which was connected with the foundation of the temple. According to one authority,¹ the speech of Sefkhet-'Abu in the Stairway Passage in fact is thought to represent the actual foundation ritual of the temple, although the rites themselves are not shown.

In other temples, series of scenes often depict the actual sequence of rites which occurred at the foundation ceremony of a temple such as Abydos, and, at Abydos also, in the First Hypostyle Hall, a set of scenes represents the stages in the foundation of the temple. The content of the speeches of Sefkhet-'Abu and Thoth in the Stairway Passage would suggest that here we have a ritual which commemorated a previous completion of the whole complex, or perhaps of a certain area of the temple. The position of these scenes,² on the walls nearest the side entrance of the temple, is noteworthy. The need for such an exit, according to our theory,³ was one of the main reasons for the structural alterations which were carried out in this area of the temple. Only this part of the newly reconstructed passage was decorated in the time of Sethos⁴, and we would suggest that the speeches of Thoth and Seshat which accompany these scenes were building inscriptions in which was commemorated the completion of the temple according to the revised plan. These scenes, occupying the position nearest the new side-exit, were most suitably placed, partly because, as a formal divine enactment commemorating the foundation of the temple, they were the first and last texts which were read on entering and leaving the building. Also, in this situation, they formed the decoration of that part of the temple which had been most recently altered and completed, and, as a concluding title deed, summarised the final stage in the construction of the temple. These scenes formed that part of the ritual which we call the "Consecration of the Temple", and which, in other temples, sometimes appeared together with the actual foundation rites, but which, at Abydos, is separated from them. As the scenes of the Foundation rites in the First Hypostyle Hall are the work of Ramesses II, and therefore later than these Consecration rites, it is possible that Sethos had himself decided to include the Foundation Ritual in the First Hall, but had died before being able to do so, and this work was then executed by his son.

In the Stairway Passage, the depiction of Thoth and Sefkhet-'Abu in these particular scenes further supports our theory that

these were the inscriptions commemorating the foundation, building, and completion of the temple. Sefkhet-'Abu, as the female counterpart of Thoth, is described elsewhere as the "Lady of Writings", and the "Lady of Builders";⁵ it is usually she who, in temple scenes representing the separate rites in the foundation ritual, is shown performing the foundation ceremony, assembling the structure of the building, and assisting the king to stake out the constructional diagram of the plan.

Thoth, as god of learning, was thought to represent the deity who supervised these matters, and, here, he is represented holding the papyrus rolls which contained the plans of the temple.

Sefkhet-'abu's speech at Abydos may be compared with the building inscriptions found in the Ptolemaic temples; for instance, at Edfu, on the exterior wall of the naos, and the external face of the encircling wall,⁶ certain texts are preserved, which provide us with a historical record of the temple. Details are given of the structure, measurements, decoration and use of the various chambers of the building; mention is also made of the temple fittings, such as doors, and the images of deities which once occupied the temple.

In the corresponding foundation ritual, Sefkhet-'Abu, goddess of architecture, is represented as assisting the king to lay out the foundation of the temple; the memory of this ritual is preserved in her speech in the Stairway Passage, and, here, embedded in this historical record, we can trace the sequence of events which occurred in the foundation ceremony. She informs Sethos that "...Thy house is completed, thy monument is embellished, those who are in it are in joy," and continues, "I have founded it, together with Soker, and it is Ptah who performs work on it."

Then, in the correct order, she relates the list of rites which it was customary and necessary to perform at the commencement of such a project,- stretching out the cord, levelling the soil, marking out the site with a baton, setting up the four walls, in their correct places, and the Hall of Columns with "all its doors being of copper."

At Edfu, similarly, in one of the building inscriptions, the steps are described by which the gods assemble the structure of the temple,-

"...stretching [the measuring cord?] in the Great Place, the Sages and Thoth plotting its halls while burning incense, its foundation being exact from afore-time, the Builder-gods building, He-who-is-south-of-his-wall controlling [the work], the Ogdoad

rejoicing round about it."⁷

As well as transmitting to mankind the original designs of the buildings, the inscriptions seek to show that it was also the gods themselves who performed the various stages in the construction of the building. In this way presumably it was hoped to demonstrate that every step in the development of such an edifice, from the design to the foundation, was the result of divine calculation and enactment, thus establishing the purity and sacredness of the god's house. Sefkhet-'Abu's speech enumerates the deities who have assisted in the construction of the Temple of Abydos; these include Soker, Ptah, Khnum, T3-tnn, Atum, Nut, Neith, and Selkis. In addition, this inscription also provides us with the names of the gods and goddesses who reside in the House of Menmaetre'; these, we are told, are Thoth, Hw, Sia, Osiris, Shu, Tefnut, Amun, Re', Horus, Isis, Ptah-Soker, Nefertem, Geb, the Ennead of the sky, and the Ennead of the earth.

The other scenes in the passage are also of interest; Thoth in his speech, recounts the good deeds which Sethos has performed on behalf of the gods, and, in particular, for Onnophris. In return for these bounties, the king is assured,-

"Thy mansion shall remain like the hills, thou being like Re' in it; offering is made to thee from all its provisions."

In another scene, Ramesses II, in company with the Ennead and Isis, performs a htp-di-nsw for his father Sethos; the Ennead acknowledge the protection and beneficial deeds which Sethos has afforded them.

On the opposite wall, Sethos, Isis and the Ennead are before Ramesses II; the scene is "Bringing the good god, Menmaetre', to his food."

In both these scenes, Sethos I is represented as a king already dead, united with the Ennead, in the presence of his son and successor.

The four scenes which decorate the Stairway Passage at Abydos, we suggest, represent a declaration that the construction and such decoration of this part of the temple as was undertaken in the reign of Sethos, was at last completed. (It is noteworthy that the inscriptions are couched in the Past Tense, enumerating the rites of the foundation ceremony, which, we must presume, was performed on some previous occasion.) This final act of dedication - the consecration of the temple to the god - was accompanied and solemnised by a meal, in the presence of the Ennead who acknowledge Sethos as their son, in return for the numerous bounties which he has bestowed on them. Outstanding amongst these

is the gift of the Mansion of Menmaetre', completed and sanctified, which will now accommodate the images of the gods.

A historical point is raised by the presence in two of these scenes of Ramesses II as officiating king; since the style of the work is so similar to that known to have been completed in Sethos' reign, this perhaps suggests that these scenes were in fact executed by Ramesses II shortly after his father's death, to complete the series of scenes which his father had already begun here. However, according to Mariette,⁸ at the Temple at Qurneh, a doorway gives the names of Ramesses II and Sethos I; Ramesses here takes precedence over his father, and since this dates to the same period as the Stairway Passage at Abydos, he suggests that the two kings were in fact both living at this time, but that Ramesses, on account of his father's age, appears in both instances as chief king.

The use and decoration of this passage are once more not strictly connected - the passage was used as an exit for the priests performing the daily rituals, whereas the decoration depicted the act of consecrating the temple to the god.

CHAPTER VI

THE OSIRIS COMPLEX

ROOM K

THE OSIRIS COMPLEX.

In the following section, we will examine in detail that complex of rooms in the temple which, according to the reliefs found there, were dedicated to the worship of Osiris and his associates. A brief description and survey of the architectural features of this set of rooms will be followed by an account of the scenes which adorn the walls and a translation, wherever necessary, of the accompanying inscriptional material.

Before any attempt is made to explain the ritual use of this complex, it will be necessary to consider it in relation to the worship of Osiris in general; thus, in the third section, we will attempt to present briefly an outline of the career of this most popular of Egyptian deities.

In the fourth section, an order will be suggested for the scenes in the First Osiris Hall and its adjoining shrines, and an interpretation of the ritual, based on what is already known of the rites connected with Osiris, and also with the deified founder of the temple, will be given.

A further explanation of the use of the Second Osiris Hall is finally offered, and a brief description of Room K, the purpose of which remains open to speculation.

ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES.

As has previously been stated, the Temple of Sethos I at Abydos was partly designed and arranged for the celebration of certain rites and ceremonies connected with the worship of Osiris, and, in studying the plan, it is clear that the series of chambers referred to as the "Osiris Complex" are entered from the Chapel of Osiris which forms part of the Sanctuary. In architectural terms, therefore, the Osiris Complex may be considered as a continuation of the Osiris Chapel; whether this statement is true in terms of the ritual is a problem which will receive further consideration.

However, by thus designing the temple, the architects achieved two basic aims,- firstly, Amun, as the chief god of Egypt, possessed the largest central shrine in the Sanctuary; secondly, Osiris, who, because of his particular connections with Abydos, and his position of unrivalled power as King of the Dead, warranted a complex of rooms in this temple which ~~wass~~ worthy of his status, -he, too, was provided with a suitable set of chambers. From the inscriptions and reliefs which occur on the walls of these rooms, it is apparent that this unit was dedicated primarily to the rites of Osiris, and thus today, for convenience, it is designated "The Osiris Complex."

To enter the complex, one passes through the door in the west wall of the Chapel of Osiris, which provides the sole means of access to the eight interconnected rooms. These rooms form an oblong rectangle, 57m. in length and 13m. in breadth, which lies immediately behind the seven chapels of the Sanctuary; the Osiris Complex is the westerly termination of the halls and rooms which lie on the main axis of the temple. The area on which these rooms are built has sunk towards the west, because it was originally built on earth filled into a canal, used in the construction of the Osireion. The walls lean outwards, the floor slopes, and several blocks in these rooms are no longer in situ, while fissures have appeared in the North and South walls.

The first hall one enters is today known as "The Inner or First Osiris Hall"; it forms the centre of this complex, and is the largest of these eight rooms. Here, the walls are decorated with 47 reliefs in two registers, and the ceiling is supported by ten cylindrical columns, arranged in two rows; of these, eight are in a fair state of preservation, the ninth is partly preserved, but the scenes and inscriptions on the tenth are completely destroyed.

The scenes in this hall depict rites in the Osiris Mysteries, and

some of the emblems and signs associated with his worship occur here.

Two of the ceiling blocks are still in situ¹ over the east aisle, but the other two blocks² - one lying outside the west or back wall of the temple, the other lying in the adjoining Second Osiris Hall,- seem to be of the same type as the blocks which are in situ; the measurements of the band of inscription and the ribbon border on all these blocks are the same. The fallen blocks, therefore, probably formed the decoration of another part of the ceiling, and the winged goddess, Seshmet, who appears on Block A, perhaps originally occupied the central aisle of the ceiling.

At the northern end of this hall, three doorways give access to shrines dedicated to the worship of Horus, Sethos and Isis. The central shrine was originally called the "Osiris Shrine",³ but, although this is to some extent a correct identification, in that, the whole group of shrines being dedicated to the Osirian triad, the inclusion of a shrine to Osiris would have been expected, nevertheless, from the inscriptions which occur in the shrine, it appears that Osiris is here identified with the dead, deified Sethos. So, the room was renamed "The Sethos Shrine."⁴ This shrine, as will be shown later, has definite connections not only with Osiris as King of the Dead, but also with Sethos as an Osirianised king and with the related Royal cult.

The doorways which lead from the First Osiris Hall into these three shrines are wider at the top than at the bottom, according to Egyptian custom; this device was employed to hide from sight the actual door when this was open. The inscriptions on the doorposts and the thicknesses are identical, except where the names of the deities are mentioned. These doorways are noteworthy because they are an exception to the usual practise of working en creux the side covered by the door when open, and completing the other side in raised relief.; this was carried out only on single doors. However, here, on both sides of the door, the inscriptions are executed in shallow relief en creux.

Passing through another doorway, in the south wall of the First Osiris Hall, one enters a smaller square hall, which in turn gives access at its south end to three small, square shrines. This we call the Second Osiris Hall. It has two rows of two cylindrical columns. and, originally, there were five niches in each of the East and West walls. This chamber, and the terminal shrines are severely damaged. It has been possible to restore the general appearance of this group of rooms, although the scenes which once decorated the walls, carved and painted, are

are now almost completely obliterated. However, fragmentary though the evidence is, it is possible to deduce from it that this room also was dedicated to Osirian rites. The niches which have been restored in the East Wall are based on definite evidence, - portions of three scenes within the niches still remain, and small portions of the outside shelf and of the frame are preserved. On the West Wall, the same scheme was repeated. The limestone block above the central niche is not in its original position. Above the decoration of the outer frame of the niches, there is space for an inscription and frieze, like that over the entrance to the Shrine of Horus, but, of these, nothing remains. At one time, these niches presumably contained statues of the deities.

The three southern shrines counterbalance the three well-preserved shrines at the northern end of the rectangle. In order to allow the First Osiris Hall to lie absolutely in the centre of the rectangle, and to be bisected by the main axis, the Second Osiris Hall was included between the three shrines and the First Osiris Hall; the whole rectangle of the Complex is symmetrically terminated at both north and south ends by the small chapels.

The decoration of this Complex was completed, - both carved and painted, - in the lifetime of Sethos, and, although much of the painting has suffered from fire damage and mutilation since then, the work is of a high standard, and the colours are still clear and bright. Apart from this set of rooms, only the main shrine of Amen-Re' in the sanctuary has been completed; from this, it would appear that the most important parts of the temple - those dedicated to the chief gods - were completed first, and that the decoration proceeded from the extreme rear (west) to the front of the temple (east.)

A noteworthy feature, to be discussed below, is the astronomical ceiling which occurs in the Second Osiris Hall. It is regrettable that so little remains, thus denying the possibility of further study and comparison with other similar ceilings in other Egyptian temples.

THE FIRST OSIRIS HALL.

NORTH WALL.

The North Wall of the First Osiris Hall consists of three doorways, which lead into the adjoining shrines of Horus, Sethos and Isis. The posts and lintels of these doorways are of limestone, whereas all the other lintels throughout the temple are of sandstone.¹ Above each doorway is a winged disk surmounted by a frieze,² which continues around the whole of the First Osiris Hall.

ENTRANCE TO THE HORUS SHRINE.³

The doorway has three scenes on each jamb, which are fairly well preserved; they show the king presenting offerings, -flowers, bread, ointment and milk, -to various deities. The lintel is badly destroyed; the king appears to be making offering to Horus, and censuring him.

At the base of each jamb, the name of the doorway is given as, - "Doorway of Menmaetre', great of provisions in the House of Horus."

ENTRANCE TO THE SETHOS SHRINE.⁴

This doorway has three scenes on each jamb, and two scenes on the lintel; between this doorway and the two adjoining doorways to the Isis and Horus shrines, the wall is occupied with larger scenes, two between the Horus and Sethos doorways, and two between the Sethos and Isis doorways. The jamb scenes on the Sethos doorway show the king offering incense, libation, flowers and ointment to various deities; in both the lintel scenes, the king presents Ma'at to Osiris. In the scenes between the doorways, the king presents incense to Osiris, (west side, top scene), and Ma'at to the god (lower scene); these scenes are repeated on the east side. On the jambs, the name of the doorway is given as, "Doorway of Menmaetre', his Mansion of Millions."

ENTRANCE TO THE ISIS SHRINE.⁵

Again, this doorway has three scenes on each jamb, and two on the lintel. The jamb-scenes show the king presenting incense, bread and wine to Isis⁶ and Osiris. In the lintel scenes, he is elevating the offerings to Isis. The name of the doorway is given as, - "Doorway of Menmaetre', great of provisions in the House of Isis."

EAST WALL.

This wall will be described in two registers, both being read from north to south; the Lower Register will be taken first.

LOWER REGISTER.

SCENE A. (Between the Entrance to the Chapel of Osiris and North Wall.)⁷

The king is before Horus, son of Osiris, to whom he offers a

libation.

Title.

"Performing a libation for his father [that he may make] a granted life."

EAST WALL.

SCENE B.⁸

The king stands before a shrine containing Horus in the form of a hawk, to whom he presents Ma'at.

Title.

"Presenting truth to the Lord of Truth, that he may make a granted life, like Re'."

SCENE C.⁹

The king stands before 'Ir-rn.f-ds.f, to whom he offers wine; in front of the god kneels a small figure of the king, offering two small jars of wine, while behind the god is a lotus flower.

Title.

"Presenting wine to his father, that he may make a granted life like Re', forever."

The god gives him "...the Double ^Crown, upon thy brow, as the King of Upper and Lower Egypt...." and causes his monuments "to exist as the sky, thy image like the horizon-dweller, very firmly established forever and ever."

SCENE D.¹⁰

The king stands before a shrine containing the hawk-god Horus; the god grants the king eternity, and causes him to be beloved of the gods.

Title.

"Performing the rite of unveiling the face upon the god."

SCENE E.¹¹

The king offers a vase of burning incense to Osiris-Andjeti and Isis.

Title.

"Presenting incense to his father."

SCENE F.¹²

The king presents two nmst-vessels to Mrhy¹³ and Isis. Isis grants the king "the sceptre and the flail which are in my grasp, that thou mayest rule the land, and rule the Two Banks, that thou mayest enjoy an excess of happiness."

The Mrhw-bull, depicted with a bull's head, causes the king's name to abide in his mansion for ever.

SCENE G.¹⁴

The king kneels before Osiris and offers him a conical loaf; Osiris grants him an eternity of years, and Isis, who accompanies them, renews his strength and health.

Title.

"Consecrating the white bread."

SCENE H.¹⁵

The king stands before Geb and Nut and presents them with flowers.

Title.

"Offering fresh flowers to his father, that he may make a granted life."

SCENE I.¹⁶

The king stands before a shrine containing Min-Horus, "son of Isis."

The king opens the doors of the shrine.

SCENE J.¹⁷

The king offers incense to the goddess Shentyt, in the form of a cow, whose headress consists of a sun's disk, two horns, and the Double Plumes.

Title.

"Making incense."

SCENE K.¹⁸

The king kneels before a shrine and presents a nmst-vessel to Osiris, behind whom is Sethos, as a dead king, "Menmaetre", great god." This scene shows the living Sethos worshipping himself as a dead, deified king.

Title.

"Salutation with a nmst-vessel, that he may make a granted life."

UPPER REGISTER.

SCENE A. (Between the Entrance to Chapel of Osiris and North Wall.)¹⁹

The king stands before Horus and presents him with wine. The god grants the king "my seat and my throne, that thou mayest rule this land like me."

Title.

"Presenting [wine] to his father, that he may make a granted life."

THE THICKNESSES OF THE ENTRANCE DOOR FROM THE FIRST OSIRIS HALL TO THE CHAPEL OF OSIRIS.²⁰

Both the north and south thicknesses are decorated with identical inscriptions; these are carved in shallow relief en creux. They give the titulary of Sethos I, and refer to building work completed by Menmaetre' for his father Osiris. These inscriptions face inwards, in the direction in which the king would have entered the Osiris Complex from the Osiris Chapel.

SCENE B.²¹

In this scene, the king stands before a shrine, containing the god Wepwawet, to whom he offers bread.

Title.

"Consecrating the white bread to his father, that he may make a

granted life."

SCENE C.²²

The king stands before Horus-upon-his-papyrus-plant. He presents the god with incense. Horus, in the form of a hawk, is perched upon a column fashioned in the shape of a papyrus stalk, supported at the base by a small, kneeling figure of the king. The god gives the king incense and says,-

"(I) give thee thy beauty as king, my lifespan as ruler of the living, thou being the unique lord, who seizes the White Crown, the Two Banks of Horus being under thy plans."

Title.

"Making incense for Horus hry-w3d."

SCENE D.²³

The king presents two jars of ointment to Osiris, on either side of whose throne a jackal crouches on a shrine. Isis is also present, assuring the god of her protection.

Title.

"[Spell for] offering md-ointment²⁴.....by the king."

SCENE E.²⁵

The king presents flowers to a baboon-headed god, "lord of the West", who grants him eternity, and many jubilee festivals.

Title.

"Offering fresh flowers,"

SCENE F.²⁶

The king offers incense to Osiris, who is accompanied by Isis, who gives the king the land, and binds up his enemies.

SCENE G.²⁷

The king stands before Anubis, and presents him with incense. The god, pre-eminent in the divine booth", grants him the "lifetime of Re'."

SCENE H.²⁸

The king stands before a shrine containing Hapy, represented as a two-headed goose god, and the goddess Nephthys. The king is shown opening the doors of the shrine.

Title.

"Opening the two doors for his father, that he may make a granted life, like Re'."

SCENE I.²⁹

Here, the king presents two jars of wine to the frog-goddess, Hekat, "Mistress of the Two Lands."

Title.

"Presenting wine to the Lady of the Two Lands, that he may make a granted life."

SCENE J.³⁰

The king stands before Horus, to whom he makes an offering (the offering itself is destroyed, but was probably a statue of Ma'at) Behind Horus is a speech made by Isis, in which she gives the king the kingship of Atum, although she herself is not depicted in the scene.

SCENE K.³¹

The king kneels in adoration before a shrine enclosing Isis and Osiris; in front of Osiris "Foremost of the Westerners, Onnophris on his great seat", is a small kneeling figure of the king, presenting jars of ointment.

Title.

"Adoring Osiris Onnophris, son of Nut, by the king...."

SOUTH WALL.

WEST OF ENTRANCE TO THE SECOND OSIRIS HALL.³²

SCENE A.

This scene is almost entirely destroyed. The king(?) kneels before a deity behind whom there are two kneeling crocodile gods. Possibly, originally, there were two lion-headed gods above these.

SCENE B.

Only the standing figure of the king, presenting a bunch of flowers, is preserved. Underneath this scene, the name of the doorway is given as,-

"Great door of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menmaetre', protector of him who gave birth to him."

EAST OF THE ENTRANCE TO THE SECOND OSIRIS HALL.³³

SCENE A.

The king stands before a deity. At the bottom of the scene, an inscription repeats the name of the doorway.

SCENE B.

The king kneels in adoration before a pillar-perhaps the pillar of the Thinite Nome, or a Hathor-headed column (the top part of the scene is completely destroyed). The pillar is flanked on either side at its base by two crouching figures of Wepwawet. Isis stands at the other side of the pillar, and grants the king the usual benefits. Behind the king, as in the scene on the west side of this wall, there are four gods, ranged in two registers; in the upper register, there are two lion-headed gods, each holding two knives, and in the lower register, there are two crocodile gods.

Title.

"Adoring the god by the king; I please him with that which he loves."

WEST WALL.

This wall will be described in two registers, both being read from south to north; the Lower Register will be taken first.

LOWER REGISTER.

SCENE A.³⁴

This scene is badly preserved; the king kneels before a seated deity.

SCENE B.³⁵

The king offers Ma'at to a goddess, who grants him the kingship.

SCENE C.³⁶

The king stands before a god and a goddess; before the king kneels a small figure of himself, presenting two jars of ointment.

Title.

"Elevating the offerings to He-who-performs-the-ritual, by the king. Utterance:—All life is thy portion, all strength is thy portion, all offerings, all stability are thy portion, all joy is thy portion, being given by the king Menmaetre', Horus, strong bull."

SCENE D.³⁷

The king stands before Osiris and anoints him with md-ointment. Isis also accompanies Osiris and grants the king all monuments.

Title.

"Presenting md-ointment to his father, that he may make a granted life."

SCENE E.³⁸

The king stands before Hapy and Ma'at, enclosed in a shrine, and presents to them a bunch of flowers. Hapy is represented as an anthropomorphic, two-headed goose god, while Ma'at appears in her usual form. They grant the usual benefits, and Hapy gives the king "high Niles every day, like Re'."

SCENE F.³⁹

The king anoints Osiris with md-ointment. Behind the god stands Isis. Osiris and Isis grant the king the usual benefits.

SCENE G.⁴⁰

The king stands and offers a tray of provisions to two gods, enclosed in a golden shrine. These two deities are both clad in loin-cloths, and the first, Ms-pw-sp.f,⁴¹ wears a blue, close-fitting cap, while the other, Wenti,⁴² wears a wig. Wenti and Ms-pw-sp.f were Lords of the Thinite Nome, and grant the

king joy and life.


Title.

"Elevating the offerings to his fathers,⁴³ the Lords of the Thinite Nome."

SCENE H.⁴⁴

The king, assisted by Isis, raises the Djed-pillar. A small figure of the king, wearing the White Crown, kneels at the base of the pillar. Isis is entitled "Lady of Heaven, Mistress of the Two Lands", and grants the king her protection. This scene has no title, but obviously represents the rite of "Raising the Djed-pillar."

SCENE I.⁴⁵

The king stands and offers two rolls of cloth to a djed-pillar which is decorated with a skirt. A pair of eyes is shown between the ribs of the pillar, and it is surmounted by two feathers and two uraei. The base of the pillar is supported by a small, kneeling figure of the king, wearing a White Crown, which has been almost entirely obliterated by mutilation. The king wears an unusual dress, for, at the front of the skirt, he has an apron comprised of hexagonal links, to the bottom of which are attached the signs .⁴⁶ The only other example of this which occurs in the temple is found in the scene west of the entrance to the Second Osiris Hall, leading from the First Osiris Hall.⁴⁷ The Djed-pillar⁴⁸ here represents "Osiris, noble of the Djed-pillar", who grants the king the lifespan of Re', and millions of jubilees.

Title.

"Giving cloth to his father, Osiris, that he may make a granted life."

SCENE J.⁴⁹

The king stands before a shm-pillar, offering a conical loaf. The shm-pillar is supported at its base by a small figure of the king; the upper part of the pillar is decorated with two eyes. The accompanying inscription informs us that this pillar represents "Thoth, mighty one of the gods." Behind this stands another standard supported at its base by a similar kneeling figure of the king; on top of this standard Horus is represented as a hawk, around whose body is bound a red cloth. He gives the king "Thy monument, abiding as the sky, thy lifespan being like that of the sun's disk therein."

Thoth grants the king "the kingship of Re' forever, upon his throne upon earth", and in the accompanying inscription, he says,-
"How beautiful is the monument which thou hast made for thy father Onnophris."

Title.

"Consecrating the white bread for his father."

SCENE K.⁵⁰

The king offers a vase of burning incense to Thoth, who appears in the form of an ibis, standing on top of a standard, supported by two small figures of the king, wearing the Upper Egyptian Crown. The standard rests on a golden shrine, whose base is shown as a sledge. Behind Thoth are the words,-

"Utterance by Thoth, Bull of truth, who judges pleas....Our flesh is awake, our arms receive all the monuments which thou makest for us. Thou art Re' in his name of King of Upper and Lower Egypt. these things are pleasing to our hearts, we give to thee eternity, while celebrating the jubilee-festivals, thy kingship being like(that of) him who is in the sky, thy annals are towards the lifetime of the sky, thy monument being like the heavens. Thy Majesty is King of Eternity, the falcon who abides forever."

Title.

"Making incense for Thoth, by the king himself. Utterance. Oh, incense, oh, god's perfume, its perfume is for thee, the perfume of the Eye of Horus is for thee, Thoth...."

SCENE L.⁵¹

This scene is in a good state of preservation, except for the mutilation of the face, arms and legs of the king and Isis, which has been carried out by means of a pronged instrument, and differs from the methods of destruction employed elsewhere in the temple.

Isis and the king stand on either side of a representation of the Abydene Symbol.⁵² Isis, who has \perp on her head, touches the upper part of the Abydene Symbol, which appears here as a column, supported at its base by two, kneeling figures of the king; at the top of the column is the head of the king, bearded and wearing the wig with the two uraei on his brow. The remaining part of the symbol appears to be constructed of some material superimposed with a regular, raised circular design, originally coloured blue. Above the head are the remains of a high feathered crown. In front of the king is a small golden altar on which are ranged five ointment vessels identical to the one which he himself holds.

Isis and Osiris, "Foremost of the Westerners!" confers certain benefits upon him, and the lower portion of a Table of Offerings of perfumes is preserved to us.⁵³ This lists Festival perfume, Hknw ointment, Safet oil, Nhnm oil, Twzt ointment, best quality cedar oil, unguent of Libya, ladanum, md-ointment, and moringa-oil.

WEST WALL.

UPPER REGISTER.

SCENES A,B, C ⁵⁴ and SCENES D,E,F ⁵⁵ are destroyed.

SCENE G. ⁵⁶

Very little remains of this scene. The king kneels before a deity, possibly a mummiform Osiris, behind whom can be seen the remains of a Djed-pillar. According to one suggestion, ⁵⁷ this figure of Osiris was probably originally shown protected by a winged Djed-pillar; another instance of this occurs in a niche in the west wall of the Temple of Ramesses II at Abydos.

SCENE H. ⁵⁸

The king stands before another figure. (Both are badly damaged.)

SCENE I. ⁵⁹

Only the legs and feet are preserved; the king stands in front of a seated goddess.

SCENE J. ⁶⁰

This scene is also badly damaged. The king kneels before a seated god, to whom he offers a nmst-vessel. The god causes the king to celebrate jubilees like Atum.

Title.

"Greetings with a nmst-vessel!"

SCENE K. ⁶¹

This scene is very badly damaged. The king (of whom only the legs and feet remain) stands before what was possibly a standard supported by two small figures (only the feet are preserved). The base of this standard rests on a shrine similar to the one in the scene immediately below this one. The king's words are mostly destroyed; part of another speech is preserved,-

"[.....] thou(?) Atum, thy father, who created thy beauty. I distinguish thy flesh, [.....] the rebellious foreign lands being placed before thee, guiding all [.....] for thee, I give the rebels to thy knife and all lands to fear of thee, for ever and ever."

SCENE L.

This scene is completely destroyed.

THE COLUMNS IN THE FIRST OSIRIS HALL.

The First Osiris Hall has ten columns arranged in two rows; these columns are comprised of shafts of sandstone, resting on limestone bases. According to Calverley, ⁶² a rough step has been cut away in the central aisle from the limestone base,

possibly during the Coptic period, when this chamber was used as a church. The height of the columns from floor to ceiling is less high than in the Hypostyle Halls, and so the columns appear heavy. The capitals have long cartouches on all four surfaces, and form one piece with the topmost drums.

The inscriptions which decorate the columns occur on flat surfaces parallel to the four sides of the Hall, and occupy the full space between the capital to the base of the sandstone shaft. The dado is identical in design on all the columns, and two forms of the frieze occur, one giving the king's nomen, the other giving his pre-nomen. Six types of long cartouche were employed to decorate the capitals of the columns.

The inscriptions⁶³ give the titulary of Sethos I and list the various monuments which the king has made for Osiris. In the scenes, the king makes offering to Osiris; these consist of presentations of flowers, wine, incense, ointment, truth, nmst-vessels and bread to the god; the elevating of offerings is also present.

THE SHRINES.

The shrines leading off from the First Osiris Hall each display three separate ritual acts on each of the West and East walls; in each sanctuary, there is one scene on the North Wall. Throughout the shrines, the rites are represented as taking place inside a golden inner shrine; in each case, this is decorated with a frieze, and an elaborate cornice of uraei; the doors of each shrine are standing open at either end.¹

THE SHRINE OF HORUS.

EAST WALL, SOUTH PORTION.²

Scene A.

The king censes the god and offers a libation; Horus, enthroned, says,-

"My sole son, my heir upon earth, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of strength....I rejoice greatly at seeing thy beauty. I am pleased with the deeds which thou hast performed for me; mayest thou endure upon earth as king of eternity, mayest thou be stable, like the Double Horizon."

Scene B.

The king presents unguent jars to Osiris. Isis accompanies the god, who tells the king that his monuments shall endure forever.

Title.

"Presenting myrrh to his father."

NORTH PORTION.³

The king presents a collar to Horus. The accompanying inscription reads,-

"Hail to thee, Atum, hail to thee, Khepri; mayest thou be elevated upon the high hill, mayest thou arise in the Benben, in the House of the Benben, in Heliopolis. Thou spittest out as Shu, thou vomitest as Tefnut."⁴

Title.

"Spell for presenting the wsh-collar to Horus, son of Isis...."

NORTH WALL.⁵

The king is presented with the flail and hk3-sceptre by Horus. Behind the king, protecting and supporting him, stands Isis. The inscription behind Horus reads,-

"[.....] thy father Onnophris, who gives to thee his seat and his throne, thou being the sole lord, who takes possession of the Two Lands, the Double Crown abiding on thy brow."

The god says,-

"(I) give thee the sceptre and the flail, that thou mayest rule the land as my Majesty. They are assembled for thee as thy inheritance."

WEST WALL.⁶

Scene A.

The king stands before Horus, and places his hands upon an altar. The accompanying formula reads,-

"Spell for washing the brazier by the king Menmaetre'. I wash thee, oh brazier, I cense thee, oh brazier; thy washing is that of Horus, thy censing is that of Thoth, thy fumigation is that of Nekhbet, who comes forth from El-Kab, in order to perform the ritual, they being⁷ very pure for Horus, the Protector of his Father,...."

Title.

"Washing the brazier by the king himself."⁸

Scene B.

The king is before Osiris, to whom he offers incense and pours out a libation. Isis stands behind the god's throne. Osiris says,-

"My eldest son, my first-born, I am thy father, who created thy beauty, I bore thee to do that which pleases me. I have established thee as the abiding falcon, in thy name of Horus. I have caused thy power to be overwhelming in thy name of strag bull, thou being upon my throne forever and ever."

Title.

"Performing the incense and libation rite for his father Osiris that he may make a granted life."

Scene C.

The king throws pellets of incense into a censer, in front of Horus, who says,-

"Oh, my beloved son, who performs glorious deeds, the great heir of Onnofris, Lord of the Two Lands, Menmaetre', (I) have received this thy beautiful monument. I am satisfied with what thou hast done; there shall be for thee this reward, consisting of millions of years, while thou art upon earth, acting as we wish, like Re' every day."

THE SHRINE OF SETHOS.

EAST WALL, SOUTHERN PORTION.⁹

In this shrine, Sethos appears as the dead, deified king, and the gods perform the ritual for him.

Sethos stands before Horus, son of Isis, who pours a libation over him, from three libation vessels. The water which cascades over the king's head is represented in the form of 'ankh and was signs; another stream of water pours down over four small mummiform figures of the king, which stand on an altar.

Horus says,-

"Thy purifications are the purifications of Horus and vice versa, thy purifications are the purifications of Thoth and vice versa."

Above the god are the words,-

"Pure is King Menmaetre', given life; he has censed him with his bodily eye and his flesh is pure and his image is divine."

CENTRAL PORTION.¹⁰

The god Thoth (holding two staffs whose heads terminate in papyrus and lotus flowers, and around which are twined two serpents wearing the White and Red Crowns) stands before Sethos. He grants the king the Breath of Life; behind the king is his ka.

Thoth says,-

"(I) give thee life to thy nose, and the two uraei for thy beautiful face."

Thoth, "Lord of Eshmunain", continues,-

"Receive for thyself life, oh, thou good god, Horus, who appears in Thebes, the sm'.s crown and the mhw.s crown are affixed upon thy brow, the Two Banks are united for thy portion by Re', who says with his mouth, My Majesty writes it down in writing; moreover, thou art my son upon the throne of his father, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, who cannot be excelled."

NORTHERN PORTION.¹¹

According to the note,¹² the markings on the leopard skin of Iwn-mwt.f differ in treatment from those in Calverley, Vol. III, pl. 40, as does the Lock of Youth, which, in the other plate, consists of three tresses bound together, whereas here he has the usual single plait.

Horus 'Iwn-mwt.f is before Sethos; the inscription reads,-¹³

"Utterance by Horus 'Iwn-mwt.f....to the King Menmaetre', in the presence¹⁴ of the Great Ennead and the Little Ennead, the Conclaves of Upper and Lower Egypt. The pure incense, sweet of scent, which is according to the writing which is in the Temple Library. The two arms, they give; Re', he purifies the King Menmaetre', in this his house, in this his temple, in his nomes which are in Upper Egypt, in his tomb, which is in Lower Egypt, upon his

altars, which are in the sky, and which are on earth [.....]
his temple. To be recited four times. Pure, pure is this
altar of the king Menmaetre', they being pure."

Title. "Making a-boon-which-the-king-gives, by Horus 'Iwn.mwt.f.'
NORTH WALL.

This scene shows the king being led into the presence of Osiris
by Horus and Isis. Isis says,-

"Come thou to thy temple, that thou mayest see thy father Onnofris,
that he may give thee eternity as king of the Two Lands, and
everlasting upon the seat of Horus."

This scene represents the Induction of the king.

WEST WALL, NORTHERN PORTION.¹⁵

In this scene, the decoration of the doorpost of the inner
shrine on the right has never been finished.¹⁶

Thoth stands before Sethos, who wears the Double Crown, and
holds the kingly insignia. Thoth enumerates the benefits,- a
thousand of bread, beer, oxen, fowl, incense, oil, offerings
and provisions,- "which Hapy brings from his cavern. The two
arms give, and Re', he purifies the king Menmaetre'. Come thou
son of Re', Sety Merenptah, to the swift-striding god, to this
thy bread."

Title.

"A boon-which-the-king-gives [to]Geb and the Ennead of gods."

This scene corresponds to EPISODE 21 of the Ritual of the Royal
Ancestors. Possibly such an episode is found in this Complex
because it forms a preliminary stage in making Sethos a deified
Ancestor.

CENTRAL PORTION.¹⁷

Here, attempts have been made to obliterate the inscription on
the jar above the altar.¹⁸

Horus 'Iwn.mwt.f' stands before Sethos and offers him incense.
Sethos is mummiform and wears the Atef-crown and holds the kingly
insignia..Behind 'Iwn.mwt.f' stands Isis, holding a menit and a
sistrum, which she rattles. The accompanying inscription reads,-
"Shaking the sistrum before thy beautiful face forever and ever."

'Iwn.mwt.f' says,-

"The incense comes, the god's perfume comes, its perfume comes
to thee, Lord of the Two Lands, Menmaetre'."

Title.

"Making incense for the king Menmaetre', given life."

SOUTHERN PORTION.¹⁹

Wepwawet stands before the king, and offers him a crook and
flail, and gives him the Breath of Life.

Wepwawet, "of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands", says,-
"(I) come to thee, bearing life and dominion; mayest thou be young like Horus as king; I hand over to thee the sceptre and flail, and the beneficent office of Onnophris; may thy name endure by reason of what thou hast done. As long as the sky shall exist thou shalt exist."

He continues,-

"Receive for thyself the sceptre and flail which are in the hand of thy father, Osiris."

The king says,-

"...Menmaetre' has appeared upon the seat of Horus, pre-eminent in the House of the Morning, that he may guide all the living like Re', forever."

SOUTH WALL.

This plate²⁰ shows the decorative scheme around the doorways, forming the South Wall in each of the shrines. The jambs give the names of Sethos as the beloved of Osiris, and Isis.

The thicknesses of the doorways leading into the shrines have identical inscriptions; they are an exception to the general rule that "in the case of single doors, only the side covered by the door when open was worked en creux, while the other side is in raised relief."²¹

THE ISIS SHRINE.

EAST WALL, SOUTHERN PORTION.²²

Scene A.

The king offers incense to Osiris, behind whom stands Isis.

Sethos says,-

"The incense comes, the perfume of the god comes, the perfume of Nekhbet is come forth from el-Kab."

Title.

"Making incense for his father, Osiris, that he may make a granted life."

Scene B.

The king offers incense and a libation to Isis. The king says,

"Be thou purified, be thou censed, oh, Great-of-magic, Edjo, Lady of the shrine of Upper Egypt, who resides in the shrine of Lower Egypt."

Title.

"Performing the incense and libation rite for Isis, god's mother."

NORTHERN PORTION.²³

The king stands before Isis, and elevates a tray of offerings.

He says,- "Come, ye servants, elevate offerings to Isis; all life that issues from thee, all dominion that issues from thee."

Title.

"Elevating the offerings to his mother Isis, that she may make a granted life."

NORTH WALL.²⁴

Isis presents the sistrum and the counter-poise to the king, in addition to a jubilee staff. Behind her stands Horus, who says,-

"My son,²⁵ welcome, my beloved son, Lord of the Two Lands, thy mother [Isis] receives thee, [she gives thee] jubilee-festivals, in order to exercise the kingship which I have exercised."

Title.

"Receive for thyself the counterpoise and sistrum ,oh, son of Re', Sety Merenptah, that they may unite with thy limbs in health."²⁶

WEST WALL.²⁷

Scene A.

The king stands before Isis and elevates a tray of offerings.

She says,- "Come, ye servants, elevate the offerings to Isis, god's mother, all life comes from thee, all d^minion comes from thee forever."

Title.

"Elevating the offerings to his mother."

Scene B.

The king stands before Isis, and presents her with wine.

Title.

"Giving wine to Isis, god's mother, that he may make a granted life."

Scene C.

The king presents ointment to Osiris, behind whom stands Isis.

The king says,-

"Come to me, I have filled thee with ointment, which comes forth from the Eye of Horus. I have filled thee therewith; it joins together thy bones, it unites thy limbs, it pulls together thy flesh, it removes all thy bad effluxes. (twice.)"

Title.

"Offering md-ointment to Osiris."

THE SECOND OSIRIS HALL.

NORTH WALL.¹

East of the door.

The remains of a scene are preserved, showing the king kneeling and presenting two jars to a god and goddess. At the base of the scene, a decorative frieze gives the titulary of Sethos I.

West of the door.²

In this scene only the feet of the king remain, and the base of an altar. Behind the altar is a dais, on which a deity originally was enthroned. The scene probably showed the king presenting wine to Osiris, for the name of the god is given on the doors of the shrine enclosing the god.

According to the note,³ "The wall from which these scenes are taken was covered with thick lime-wash, which, when removed, revealed faint painted inscriptions with the name of Ramesses (II) on the door-posts of the shrine. A similar inscription, ~~in~~ but in the name of Sethos, is upon an altar. It is clear that these texts are original, not later additions."

The Niches in the East Wall.⁴

The surround of each niche is comprised of inscriptions giving the titulary of Sethos. There were originally five niches, but of these, very little remains.

In the first niche, the king offers incense⁵ and wine⁶ to Osiris and Isis; these scenes are in situ.⁷ In the second niche, the king presents cloth to Osiris.⁸ This fragment has been placed in position during restoration.⁹

SOUTH WALL. BETWEEN ROOMS 11 AND 12.¹⁰

According to the note, this fragment appears to represent the king before Osiris; Isis kneels before the god. On either side of this scene are the remains of two other scenes; in the lower scenes, the king kneels with trays of offerings. The remains of the upper scenes show the king (left side) and a god (right side).

WEST THICKNESS OF DOORWAY FROM THE FIRST TO THE SECOND OSIRIS HALL.¹¹

The lower part of the king is preserved. According to the note, "The thickness of the doorways into the Second Osiris Hall and its inner shrines differ in their decoration from those shown previously in this volume, but are not without parallels elsewhere in the temple."

THE CEILING.¹²

The ceiling of the Second Osiris Hall is decorated with designs which are of an astronomical nature; of these blocks, only that

of the east aisle is in situ; the other blocks lie on the ground. The original arrangement of the ceiling can therefore only be conjectured. All the blocks are of sandstone, and some show traces of paint.

THE BLOCK IN THE EAST AISLE. (in situ.)

This shows '3 Ptah, Hekaes¹³ and Hepui,¹³ and Dw3.mwt.f, who are crowned with the sun's disk.

These represent Decans, but the material is too scanty to be of very much use.

SECOND BLOCK. (not in situ.)

This gives, in the top register, the names of personified Decans, and, in the second register, the names of the Four Sons of Horus and, in the third register, the gifts of the Decans to the king.¹⁴

The Decan list of Senmut and the Osireion Star Clock both appear to have connections with the astronomical ceiling at Abydos. The mortuary nature of these clocks-occurring as they do on coffins and in the Sarcophagus Chamber of the Cenotaph of Sethos I - is echoed by the ceiling at Abydos, which occurs in the mortuary complex of rooms dedicated to Osiris. Unfortunately, because of the poor state of preservation of this ceiling, further discussion of the fragmentary evidence would be of little benefit.

THE COLUMNS.

The design of the columns in this Hall is exactly the same as the design of the columns in the First Osiris Hall; here, however, there are only four columns. The inscriptions which occupy the four flat surfaces of each column, extend from the capital to the sandstone shaft in each case, and define the position of the temple. It is possible that the Pr-wr referred to in the inscription on the east side of Column 4, the south side of Column 3, and the north side of Column 1 in fact refers to the Pr-wr depicted on Pl.52a, in the scene on the east side of the door in the North wall of the Second Osiris Hall.

The column scenes¹⁵ show the king offering libations, incense, bread, ointment, flowers to Osiris.

THE SHRINES.

These three small rooms leading off the Second Osiris Hall are in a particularly poor state of preservation; it will be possible to give only a very brief description of the remaining reliefs.

ROOM 10.

The most westerly of the three shrines, the reliefs found here are finely carved and painted.

On the West Wall,¹ the king kneels before Osiris; behind the king stands another god, and behind Osiris stands Isis. The king embraces a small shrine, in which are two small figures of the king presenting ointment to two cows. On the East Wall,² the king embraces a throne; behind stands another god.

On the North Wall,³ (east of the door) there are the remains of two seated figures, and, on the west side,⁴ the remains of feet.

On the east thickness,⁵ a figure remains, and the title, "[Greetings] with a nmst-vessel."

On the South Wall,⁶ the king anoints Osiris, behind whom stands Isis. A small figure of the king supports a pole, the top of which is destroyed. This is entitled "Making md-ointment for his father."

ROOM 11.

The scene on the West Wall⁷ appears to represent the Conception of Horus; Osiris lies on a bier, and Isis, in the form of a hawk, hovers above the dead king. Nephthys kneels at the head of the bier. Another figure leans over the corpse of Osiris, while behind him are a god, a goddess, and another kneeling figure.

On the East Wall,⁸ the scene is repeated; on the South Wall⁹ the scene is mostly destroyed; two figures, the king, and a goddess appear; the king is carrying a very long wand, and it is possible that this scene represented the rite of "Driving the Calves," described elsewhere in the temple.¹⁰

ROOM 12.

On the East Wall,¹¹ the king stands before a sacred bark, a scroll in one hand, the other hand upraised. On the West Wall,¹² the king kneels before a god (Osiris?), behind whom are two figures, one of them a goddess; these three figures stand in a boat. In front of Osiris, also in the boat, kneels a small figure of Sethos, presenting ointment, and, behind him, on top of a standard, crouches the god Wepwawet. On the South Wall,¹³ the king stands before a god and a goddess; behind the goddess, a small kneeling figure of the king supports a pole.¹⁴

Certain fragments lying in the Second Osiris Hall may belong either to this Complex, or to the Nefertem Complex.¹⁵

ASPECTS OF THE GOD OSIRIS.

Before an attempt is made to suggest a reconstruction of the ritual which occurred in the Osiris Complex at Abydos, it will be necessary firstly to consider certain aspects of the nature and worship of the god.

Many attempts have been made to interpret the nature of Osiris,¹ and it is beyond the scope of this thesis to give more than the briefest summary of some of these theories. Most authorities would agree that he was considered to be a god of vegetation, and resurrection, in addition to his rôles as King and Judge of the Dead.

Originally, it was suggested that he was primarily a god of vegetation, the source of life and fecundity, whose yearly death and resurrection coincided with the seasons of the Egyptian agricultural year.² From his rôle as a vegetation god, Osiris became, in particular, a god of corn,³ to whom simple rites would doubtless have been performed by the Egyptian peasant, from the earliest times;⁴ these rites to Osiris would have coincided with the seasons every year.⁵ From his personification of the re-birth of vegetable life following the flooding of the land, Osiris became the symbol of life persisting through death, of the victory of good over evil.⁶ According to this theory, it was a natural development that vegetation gods, who die annually and pass some time in the Underworld, should come to be regarded as gods of the dead, and, in this rôle, Osiris was hardly less important than as god of vegetation.

The suggestion has also been made that Osiris originated as a human king,⁷ since he is shown as a dead ruler, wrapped in a long white cloak, wearing the Upper Egyptian crown, and carrying the kingly insignia.⁸ As an early ruler, he was envisaged as one who did much to advance agriculture and civilisation amongst the people, and thus, in time was deified as a dead king.⁹ Although there is more evidence in sculpture and hieroglyphs for his kingly nature than for his character as a nature god and source of vegetable life,¹⁰ and he is only identified as a nature divinity in the later Pyramid Texts, (although, from the Middle Kingdom onwards, his main function appears to be that of a nature god¹¹), nevertheless, his rôle as a human king, a civilizer and bringer of culture - the rôle attributed to him in the Classical sources¹² - is a Greek rather than an Egyptian tradition,¹³ and is due to his identification with Dionysus.¹⁴ Several aspects of Osiris, - his rôles as judge and ruler of the dead,¹⁵ and his crook, flail and crown,¹⁶ - he appears to have acquired by virtue of his more important rôle as King of the Dead.

In addition, there is nothing in cult topography or in the royal titulary, to suggest that Osiris and his cult played a historical role, and neither does it appear that he was the indigenous god of any one nome.¹⁷

A more recent theory has been advanced¹⁸ that, to the Egyptians of the Old Kingdom, Osiris was a god and King of the Dead, who, in time, became invested with powers of fertility, since, as King of the Dead, Osiris had power over the water and the Inundation, and over vegetation;¹⁹ through this power, he could guarantee life to his believers, and he could also promise triumph in judgement after death, because he had achieved this himself, and because he was also the god in charge of the tribunal.²⁰ His suggested origin as king of the dead is perhaps shown by his mummiform appearance,²¹ and his name in the Pyramid Texts was not originally accompanied by the "god" determinative.²²

It is therefore suggested that Osiris should not be identified primarily with the Nile or with the flood,²³ but that it was because of his association with Orion that he was brought into contact with the Inundation and renewal of growth.²⁴ It was as a god of the dead also that he took over the attributes of supplying bread and water,²⁵ rather than as a vegetation god. In this connection, his role as a corn-god is of interest; it is believed²⁶ that Osiris probably adopted the rôle as corn-god, as an expression of the symbolism of his re-birth in the grain. The rôle of corn-god was originally attributed to Neper, a personification of the corn, with no local cult.²⁷ Corn-beds were also thought to be non-Osirian in origin²⁸ and were later adopted by Osiris. His earliest association with corn occurs in the Dramatic Ramesseum Papyrus;²⁹ an article³⁰ shows that Osiris was probably actually thought to "make corn,"³¹ in addition to being identical with the grain, and Neper, the corn-god.³²

The origin of the god's name is of interest. Many explanations of his name - "Wsir" - have been offered,³³ and one of the most recent and convincing suggestions is that it derives from "wsr", meaning the "Mighty One", in the same way as "Amun" can be translated as the "Hidden One", and Sekhmet as the "Powerful One."³⁴

The similarity between Osiris and other Near Eastern nature deities, such as Attis, Adonis and the Greek Dionysus, has been stressed.³⁵ His similarity to Adonis-Tammuz is apparent;³⁶ Helck observes³⁷ that both Osiris and Adonis are shepherd-gods, (this is indicated by the crook of Osiris), and, in both myths, a goddess searches for the god, ritually bewails him, and buries him. In both myths also, the continuing life of the deceased in the earth showed itself in the sprouting vegetation. Also, Helck argues that the name "Osiris" is non-Egyptian, and suggests that his

possible origin in the Eastern Delta would make affinities with Syria possible. Schärff, however, regards Osiris originally as a vegetation deity, who took over the attributes of a "shepherd-god" from Andjety, and thus acquired his shepherd's crook in this manner.³⁸ Also, as an argument against their identification, Osiris, unlike Adonis, was a ruler of the dead, and was not resurrected as a young god. Both Gardiner³⁹ and Kees⁴⁰ have in fact criticised Frazer's coupling of Osiris, Adonis and Tammuz.

By the Middle Kingdom, Osiris had replaced Re' as supreme god in the affections of the people.⁴¹ Possibly the changes in outlook occurred after the troubles of the First Intermediate Period, when people came to look upon Osiris as the epitome of past rulers, and to look to him for help and guidance, instead of to the king.⁴² Thus, he came to represent a promise of eternal life to the Egyptian; by the Middle Kingdom, the belief arose that every man became an Osiris when he died, with the hope of resurrection in the afterlife. Every Egyptian cherished the idea that, if the rites performed for Osiris were performed for him, then his resurrection would be assured.⁴³ It was from the rite of mummification that the continuation of life was obtained.⁴⁴ Some people set up stelae at Abydos, and made every effort to be buried at Abydos, or, at least, to have their mummies transported there before returning for burial in their home-towns. In this way, it was hoped that they would share, at least in part, in the resurrection of Osiris.⁴⁵

From the belief in Osiris as a risen, deified king arose the idea that every dead Egyptian Pharaoh in fact became an Osiris, and that every living king was Horus, his son and the avenger of his death; this concept underlies the whole funerary cult of the Egyptian kings and the Daily Temple Ritual, for the king had to become Osiris in order to perpetuate his sovereignty, and, by this, could continue as king after his death.⁴⁶

To briefly summarise the position of Osiris, it may be said that he was perhaps firstly identified as king of the living, and, as a ruler in a primitive community, he would be accredited with having power of control over natural phenomena and vegetation; eventually, it was perhaps this aspect of his nature which was stressed more than his rôle as king, and he passed from being a deified king to being a symbol of resurrection of nature, -animal, vegetable, and human.⁴⁷ On the other hand, it is possible that it was his characteristics as a god of vegetation which gave rise to his acceptance as King of the Dead. Yet again, he may have originated as King of the Dead, and it was through this rôle, and his association with Orion, that he became god of vegetation.

It must also be stated that some would envisage him perhaps not so much in terms of a vegetation god, but as a force, already dead, from which new life, represented by Horus, conceived after the death of Osiris, could spring.⁴⁸ As one author expresses it,-- "Osiris was life caught in the spell of death." 49

This posthumous generation is embodied in a Hymn of Amenmose to Osiris, dating to Dynasty 18, and a relief in the Temple of Sethos at Abydos.⁵⁰

Yet another opinion is held that Osiris was believed only to sleep and to be resurrected, rather than to die.⁵¹

In whichever way the nature and rôle of Osiris is to be interpreted, he became the most popular god of the Egyptians, of both king and people; he was clearly distinguished from the other gods of the Egyptian pantheon by the fact that, as a god and a dead king, he was only concerned with the dead, and with justice and dominion in the Underworld, whereas Horus and the other deities were all concerned with the world and the living.⁵² Because his characteristics as a local god, if they had ever existed, soon disappeared, his cult, although connected, to some extent, with Abydos and Busiris, could spread unchecked, because it was not tied down to one definite locality. Any Egyptian could worship Osiris as a god of the dead, in addition to his own local god, and, in this sense, he never became an outright rival to another god, although his territorial expansion was often accompanied by his assimilation of other gods' attributes and ceremonies.⁵³ His worship thus spread freely throughout Egypt, and he was never supplanted as the most popular god of the Egyptians, for, unlike any other, he could offer the chance of life after death, and justice in the tribunal.⁵⁴

THE SOURCES OF EVIDENCE RELATING TO THE CULT OF OSIRIS.

Our knowledge of the myth and ritual which attended the worship of Osiris is based on three main sources. Firstly, the well-known Myth of Osiris is preserved to us in Plutarch's account of the death and resurrection of the god.¹ This story contains elements which are of Greek, Egyptian and Near Eastern origin, and, in the form in which it has come down to us, it is more essentially a Greek tradition than an Egyptian myth.² Osiris, according to this version, was an earthly king who reclaimed the Egyptians from savagery, gave them laws, taught them to use the fruits of the earth and abandon their former practise of cannibalism, and to worship the gods. In its intellectual content, however, Plutarch does not appear to give a true concept of the original Egyptian beliefs and traditions.³

The second source of evidence is the Pyramid Texts,⁴ in which the oldest mention of the myth of Osiris occurs.

The third group of evidence is derived from the Festivals of Osiris; these can be reconstructed in part from the reliefs and inscriptions which occur on the walls of certain temples, illustrating the ritual which attended the annual period of devotion accorded to Osiris. As well as the material which occurs in the Temple of Denderah, (which will be discussed below,) in the Temple of Horus at Edfu, the Crypt, the Mansion of the Prince, and the Privy Chamber of the Crypt are all connected with this cult and its Mysteries;⁵ in addition, Osirian rites occurred at Karnak in the month of Khoiak,⁶ and, in the Graeco-Roman era, the island of Philae was one of the leading centres of the cult.⁷

This last source of evidence has direct bearing upon the reliefs in the Osiris Complex at Abydos, but before considering either this evidence or a possible interpretation of the meaning and use of the Osiris Complex, it will be necessary firstly to outline certain aspects of the cult and ritual which grew up around the worship of this god, in order to place in context the ritual of Osiris at Abydos.

THE FIRST CENTRES OF THE CULT.

The origin of Osiris is obscure; he does not occur on the tribal standards of Pre-dynastic palettes.¹ Ricke² believes that it was Sneferu, in Dynasty 4, who accepted the Osiris-myth into the royal funerary dogma, and it is possible that the cult of Osiris had in fact begun in or before Dynasty 1, in connection with the royal funerals at Abydos.³ In the late 5th Dynasty, the Pyramid Texts of Wenis at Saqqara give the god's name, as do the private mastabas of the dynasty.⁴

Memphite theology places his drowning in the neighbourhood of Memphis, or in the neighbourhood of the Nome of Atfih,⁵ and in Spell 184b in the Pyramid Texts,⁶ most place-names connect the god with the North-west Delta. However, other indications lead one to suppose that Osiris had his original cult-centres at Abydos and Busiris.

The origins of the cult prior to the Unification are obscure,⁷ but most evidence indicates that Abydos, rather than Busiris, was the first centre of the cult. The evidence from the Pyramid Texts supports Abydos as the first cult-centre;⁸ no reference is made to Busiris or Djedu in this instance, and only once is Osiris addressed as the "Busirite".⁹ On the Stela of Ikhnofret, and indirectly in the Pyramid Texts, Abydos is referred to as the god's burial place.¹⁰ At Abydos, the Osireion is believed to be

an imitation of the burial-place of Osiris,¹¹ and from Dynasty 18, the First Dynasty tomb of Djer at Abydos was treated as the cenotaph of Osiris, and this continued as a cult-centre until Dynasty 26.¹²

However, since the Fifth Dynasty, Osiris was called "Master of Ddw"¹³ and outside the Pyramid Texts, he is frequently called "Lord of Busiris."¹⁴ The name "Busiris" has its origins in the words "Pr-Wsir" - "House of Osiris" - and, in the Piankhi Stela, it is twice referred to as "The House of Osiris, Lord of Ddw." (Pr Wsir nb Ddw.)¹⁵

Some, such as Kees,¹⁶ hold the opinion that Osiris had his original cult-centre at Busiris, although, at Busiris, he was in fact at first only secondary to the god Andjeti. Plutarch¹⁷ states that Osiris was born in Busiris, but this is not supported by the Egyptian texts, which refer to him only as "Lord of Busiris." Thus, an Upper Egyptian origin for the cult appears, on the evidence, to be perhaps the most feasible explanation, but a thorough discussion of the conflicting theories is beyond the scope of this thesis.¹⁸

The original god of Busiris was Andjeti, a deity who was represented in human form, as a ruler with royal insignia, who wore a two-feathered crown. It is possible that, at an early date, Osiris absorbed the personality of the earlier deity, and in time his name became a mere epithet of Osiris. Possibly the two feathers on the Crown of Osiris may derive from the early headdress of Andjeti.¹⁹ Andjeti, however, in his earliest form, was unlike Osiris, in that he represented a living ruler, and not a dead, deified king, but the fact that both deities had human faces and forms doubtless facilitated their association, and eventually, their complete union. Another belief is put forward²⁰ that possibly Osiris did not take over his insignia directly from Andjeti, but that the king took it over from Andjeti, and then when the dead king became associated with Osiris, he in turn took over the king's insignia.

The question is also asked whether Osiris began his career as a subordinate deity at Busiris, or whether he came there from another centre, either Abydos, or yet another place.²¹

The original god of Abydos was "The First of the Westerners", the necropolis god, who was associated with the ancient jackal god, the "Opener of the Ways." By the end of the Old Kingdom, Osiris had become identified with the jackal-god at Abydos; in one of the Pyramid Texts (2108a-b), he is addressed as having the face of a jackal.²² In time, he completely absorbed the epithets

of the earlier god, and, by the Middle Kingdom, Osiris appears in the temple at Abydos, identified for the first time with the "First of the Westerners."²³

The worship of Osiris became widespread because of the human appeal which it held. At Abydos, within the worship of Osiris, the royal burial rites and associated cults of earlier gods whom Osiris had absorbed, were preserved and continued, even when the kings' funerary rites were held elsewhere, and the earlier gods had become mere historical memories. A cult to Osiris developed at Abydos, which no longer needed to be linked directly with the Royal Cemetery,²⁴ and a ritual ceremony came to be celebrated at Abydos, which was also performed in temples throughout Egypt in the month of Khoiak.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CULT OF OSIRIS AT ABYDOS.

By the Middle Kingdom, the cult of Osiris had developed greatly, and ordinary people set up stelae at Abydos, the centre of numerous pilgrimages. From this period, details of the cult at Abydos are made known to us from a grave stela of the chief treasurer Ikhernofret, who lived under Sesostris III, and was sent to Abydos to reorganise the cult of Osiris and restore his image and other temple furnishings. He surveyed the works for the preparation of the Osiris-feasts in the "Gold-House" of the temple.¹ From the twelfth dynasty onwards, every year at Abydos, a Mystery Play was performed in honour of Osiris, re-enacting the events of the life and death of the god.² The plays are recorded on the Ikhernofret Stela,³ and it is thought that the acts mentioned on this stela are given in the right order, since they are compatible with what is known of the Osiris Myth.⁴ This play was enacted by priests and attended by pilgrims; it was celebrated in part in the temple, and the ceremony was performed for the benefit of the deceased king and for the eternal resurrection of all worshippers of Osiris. In the Temple of Denderah, the ritual reliefs show the mysteries of Osiris as they were performed in Ptolemaic times, and it can be supposed that they differed little from those performed previously at Abydos.

The great festival took place in the last month of Inundation, and, at Abydos, the celebration was represented in part by a Mystery Play of eight acts.⁵ At the conclusion of the festival, a new statue was dedicated to Osiris and a presentation of offerings was made. Many humble people attended the festival at Abydos, as is shown by the illiteracy of some of the votive tablets; these, together with all the other pilgrims, became known as "Followers of Thoth", as Thoth was one of the chief actors in the Mysteries.⁶ As will be discussed later, all the

essential rites to ensure the resurrection of the god were performed prior to the festival in private chambers within the temples.

By the nineteenth dynasty, Theban-type mortuary temples were erected at Abydos; with this duplication, it was perhaps hoped to propitiate both Amun at Thebes and Osiris at Abydos.⁷ By this time, the cult of Osiris had reached its zenith; Sethos I founded the largest mortuary temple of the period, which is still well preserved today. Osiris now visited the king's temple during his procession, and sojourned there, in the same way that Amun stayed in the Theban mortuary temples in the Valley Festival processions. This innovation was perhaps introduced in the reign of Sethos I, to give the temple at Abydos a ritual similar to that of the Theban temples.⁸

In the Temple of Sethos I at Abydos, the complex of rooms dedicated to Osiris must surely have constituted the secret place where the resurrection of the god was experienced; here, the dramatic ritual reached its climax. In these rooms, Sethos I is himself represented as Osiris. The temple is built in such a way that not only does its main axis run through the Cenotaph of Sethos I at the rear of the site, but it can also be aligned with the Royal Cemetery which contains the cenotaphs of the kings of the First and Second dynasties, and which lies away across the desert. There can be little doubt that the building was constructed with the desire to associate it very closely with the worship of Osiris, which had already existed at Abydos for so long, and also with Ancestors.

THE ANCIENT SYMBOLS OF ABYDOS AND BUSIRIS.

In the Temple of Sethos I at Abydos, in the Osiris Complex, certain religious symbols are depicted on the walls which are of some considerable significance in the interpretation of the Osiris ritual as a whole.

At Abydos, a symbol existed which came to be regarded as a representation of Osiris; similarly, at Busiris, another type of symbol had the same significance.

The Abydene Symbol¹ appeared to represent a box, decorated with a serpent and two feathers. The fetish itself consisted of a pole, which was surmounted by the box in the shape of a bee-hive; this was inlaid with faience and precious stones and decorated with ribbons, and crowned with the two tall feathers.² Possibly it was a wig which was decorated with ribbons. In some examples, a face is shown behind the wig, thus, in belief, enabling the symbol to speak. In the later examples, as in the nineteenth

dynasty reliefs, the basic form of the symbol is very much augmented with decoration and temple furnishing. Replicas were made for each temple, and we know that, in the Temples of Sethos I, Ramesses I and Ramesses II, the rite of erecting the symbol was performed.³ Various interpretations have been suggested for the symbol; it has been thought to be an idol, a fetish of great antiquity, in which the god lived. In time, it would have become imbued with the god's personality and would be regarded as the god himself. In the nineteenth dynasty, the worshipper would have regarded the symbol as Osiris himself, although the modern opinion is that the symbol was worshipped as the reliquary of Osiris,- the box in which his head was believed to be preserved at Abydos. However, this cannot have been the original significance of the symbol, since, in the earlier accounts, Osiris is shown intact, and it is only later that the story of his dismemberment and the burial of his separate parts is included; possibly this was a later addition by the priests, since, because so many places were claiming to be the burial place of Osiris, a story had to be invented to account for the fourteen cemeteries which claimed to be his last resting-place.

So, at first, the Abydene Symbol was not the reliquary of Osiris, and, indeed, probably had nothing to do with the worship of the god. Possibly, originally, it was the sacred fetish of Abydos, at first belonging to the cult of the earliest gods of the locality, perhaps to the cult of the "First of the Westerners."

The symbol appears to have been Abydene in origin, and it doubtless became a manifestation of Osiris only after his cult was introduced at Abydos. The crown in which Osiris is usually depicted is perhaps either an adaptation of that worn by Andjeti,⁴ or of the feathered symbol of Abydos.

It can only be said that the origin of the symbol, as well as its significance, remain, to a large extent, a mystery.

The Busirite Symbol, better known as the Djed-pillar, is also depicted on the walls of the Osiris Complex at Abydos. Much has been written concerning its possible origin and significance, but only one point is fairly certain,-that, to the ancient Egyptians, it represented a pillar, a symbol of strength and support. It has been suggested that, in the same way as the Abydene Symbol was thought to represent the reliquary of Osiris, in which his head had been kept, the Djed-pillar was considered to be the reliquary of the backbone of the god, or the backbone itself.⁵ Other suggestions as to its origin include an altar, a tool-rack, a Nilometer, four superimposed columns, an architectural support without any meaning, a sculptor's stand, a painter's

stand, an altar with four superimposed tables, a pedestal bearing four door-lintels, a series of four columns placed one behind another, a symbolic representation of the four regions of the world, or a bundle of truncated stems of an unidentified plant.⁶

According to Plutarch, a box in which Osiris was buried was washed up at Byblos; a tree sprang out of it, and the King of Byblos cut it down, and made a pillar from it. Isis begged him to give her this pillar, which she anointed and returned to the King and Queen of Byblos; this pillar is sometimes identified with the Busirite Symbol.⁷

Another suggestion is that Osiris was originally a god of the cedar-tree, imported into Egypt from Lebanon, and that the Djed-pillar is a lopped cedar-tree. Possibly, it is a tree, a fancifully decorated log of wood, which entered Egypt from abroad with the cult of Osiris. (This theory, of course, is based on the assumption that Osiris was of foreign origin, and also, that the symbol was connected with the god rather than with Busiris from earliest times.) In Firmicus Maternus, we are told that a pine-tree was cut down, hollowed out, and an image of Osiris made from the wood; this was then buried in the hollow of a tree, and kept for a year before it was burnt.⁸ Similarly, in the ritual to Attis, a pine-tree was cut down, and brought to the sanctuary of Cybele, where it was dressed in woollen bands, and wreaths of flowers, and treated as a divinity.⁹

On the other hand, the symbol may well have been an ancient wooden fetish, which was adopted by the Osiris cult from an earlier local deity, and finally came to be regarded as the spine of Osiris, preserved as a relic, which was kept in the town of "Didu." Possibly, the original deity, native to the town, whom the symbol represented at one time, was at first simply called "The One of Didu."¹⁰

It has also been stated that the symbol was the representation of the sacrum of Osiris¹¹, or, indeed, that it represented the mother-goddess, Hathor, pregnant with the god or king, for, in a late text, Hathor is called "the female Djed-pillar, who concealed Re' from his enemies", and, in the Myth of Osiris likewise, Osiris was concealed in a pillar.¹²

Whatever interpretation may be found for this symbol, it was a traditional Egyptian cult-object, a fetish of primitive significance, which developed to become the accepted symbol of Osiris.

The Djed-pillar was, at an early date, associated with the symbol of Isis, known as the tit-symbol,¹³ and it was used as a frieze decoration motif from the Third Dynasty.¹⁴ According to Schäfer,¹⁵ the two symbols signify stability and life; the symbol also occurs in the names of ancient towns, -Djedon(Busiris), and Djedet(Mendes.)¹⁶ According to Vandier,¹⁷ from the First Dynasty, the tit-symbol and the Djed-symbol were associated with Isis and Osiris, and in the Old Kingdom, the Djed-symbol was associated with the worship and cult of Ptah,¹⁸ and later with that of Ptah-Soker-Osiris. From Dynasty 5 onwards, it became a cult-object at Memphis; a hm-ntr dd sps¹⁹ is found at this period, and the two men who bear this title are also recorded as being High-priests of Ptah.¹⁹ In a hymn to Osiris, the god is associated with the Djed-pillar as "the venerable Djed-pillar, who resides in Abydos";²⁰ the two are connected in the Book of the Dead, Chapter 155,²¹ and, in the Pyramid Texts (719), Osiris and the Djed-pillar are again associated; at Abydos, the pillar is referred to as "Osiris, the sacred Djed-pillar."²² Later, the symbol and Osiris are not so frequently associated; certain examples occur, however, such as the representations of Horus erecting an Osirian Djed-pillar in company with Thoth,²³ and the dressing of the Djed-pillar by a human being, possibly the deceased, in the presence of a mummiform Osiris.

As a divine fetish, the symbol was early adopted at both Memphis and Busiris, but neither the manner in which it was adopted, nor the first place into which it was introduced, can be definitely stated. Certain evidence favours its early introduction into Memphis, -the symbol was represented on material found at Helwan, dating to the First Dynasty, and it also appeared as a decorative motif on certain monuments of Djoser in the vicinity of Memphis.²⁴ It is, in fact, likely that it was associated at first with Ptah at Memphis, as a symbol of endurance, and was then assimilated as an Osirian emblem.²⁵

The Djed-pillar, a replica of which was kept at Abydos, was probably made of gold, and set in a plinth of sycamore wood, which had been shaped in perfumed water;²⁶ on New Kingdom coffins, the symbol is decorated with eyes, and is shown holding royal insignia and wearing the Osirian crown.²⁷

These two symbols, the Abydene and Busirite Symbols, were, to some extent, similar,²⁸ in that both were at first ancient fetishes which came to be regarded as representations of Osiris, and, which, in time, were considered to contain his complete personality. At Abydos, the Abydene Symbol represented Osiris

in his Mysteries, and, at Busiris, and later, throughout Egypt, the Djed-pillar symbolised the god in the celebration of his resurrection. Because of their adaptability, the two symbols soon lost their original meaning and became indissolubly linked with the worship of Osiris.

An account of the symbols depicted at Abydos in the Osiris Complex would not be complete without the inclusion of the third symbol which occurs here; this is shown as a sh-wand,²⁹ and appears to be a unique adaptation of a local emblem, designed to represent Thoth;³⁰ its upper part was covered with a gold case, which was inscribed with a human face.³¹

With the conclusion of this brief summary of the symbols found in the Osiris Complex, we must now consider the rite known as the "Erection of the Djed-pillar," which, in certain circumstances, came to represent the god's victory over death, for its occurrence in the First Osiris Hall at Abydos is of the utmost importance to our interpretation of the use and significance of this set of rooms.

THE ERECTION OF THE DJED-PILLAR.

Before giving attention to the Festival of Osiris, in which this rite was the culminating act, the origin and significance of this rite itself must firstly be considered.

The rite was entitled s'h dd - "The Erection of the Djed-Pillar."¹ It consisted of raising with the arms or cables the pillar, in a way similar to the erection of other sacred fetishes, such as obelisks; similar examples occur in connection with the Abydene Symbol, as is shown, for example, in a bas-relief from Meroë, where the goddesses of the North and South are shown setting up a standard, topped by a box containing the head of Osiris.²

The rite is mentioned in, amongst other places, the Calendar at Edfu,³ at Esna,⁴ at Denderah,⁵ and in the Calendar of Offerings of the Funeral Temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu,⁶ where it is shown that this rite followed the conclusion of rites held in the last part of the month of Khoiakh, which are thought to have been funerary rites or stages in the passion and burial of Osiris. The rites began on the 21st and ended on the 30th of the month of Khoiakh; by the New Kingdom, the Erection of the Djed-pillar, symbolising the resurrection of the god, had become an annual fête, celebrated on 30th of Khoiakh, and dedicated either to Osiris or to Sokaris, with Osiris being given prominence in the New Kingdom.⁷

This rite appears to have originated in Busiris; for instance, the Denderah inscription describes the 30th day of the fourth month as the "day of raising the djed-pillar in Busiris, the day of the interment of Osiris."⁸ Its existence is first known in the Middle Kingdom from a document (The Dramatic Papyrus in the Ramesseum), dating to the time of Sesostris I.⁹ Here, the rite occurs in connection with the enthronement of the king, and is possibly a reproduction of a very ancient rite connected with the Coronation; however, it is not alluded to in either the Pyramid Texts or the Coffin Texts.¹⁰ Without doubt, the rite occurs later in the Osiris Ritual at Abydos, for it is represented on the wall in the First Osiris Hall in the Temple of Sethos I.¹¹ Similarly, in the mortuary temple of Ramesses I at Abydos, which was dedicated to Osiris, there are also scenes representing the adoration of and the offering of oblations to both the Abydene and Busirite Symbols.¹² Ramesses I had no mortuary temple at Thebes and this temple was probably intended for the celebration of the king's mortuary cult. A stela found there shows that the temple was dedicated to Ramesses I by his son Sethos I; this stela, in fact, places the foundation of this temple after the death of Ramesses I, and it was perhaps constructed after the neighbouring Temple of Sethos.¹³ The rites to Osiris and to Ramesses I are all depicted in one small chamber; thus, in one room, diverse rituals are shown, which, in a larger building, would have been divided between separate rooms. Here, the celebration of the royal funerary cult occurs next to the representation of the ritual which would have been performed before the statue of Osiris; this would have stood in this chamber.¹⁴

As well as occurring at Abydos, the rite of erecting the Djed-pillar is found as part of an interesting series of scenes in the Tomb of Kheruef (Tomb 192 in the Theban Necropolis), dating to the reign of Amenophis III.¹⁵ Here, on the North Wall, Kheruef is shown presenting Amenophis III and Queen Tiye with golden vessels and ornaments, on the occasion of the third jubilee festival of the king; the king makes offering to the Djed-pillar, and Kheruef assists in erecting the Djed-pillar, in the company of Queen Tiye, sixteen princesses and two Iwn-mwt.f priests. Below, there are three registers of scenes, showing fighters, dancers, and people bearing offerings for the feast, in addition to the representation of herds of oxen and cattle making four circuits around the walls of Memphis. On the South wall, other scenes occur, which depict ceremonies in the jubilee-festival. Therefore, in this tomb, a series of scenes occur which, at one glance, give several episodes of the festival, which must, in fact, have taken place over several days, for, from other documents,

it is known that the encircling of the walls of Memphis fell on the day of the Festival of Soker (Khoiakh 26th), while the Erection of the Djed-pillar was performed on Khoiakh 30th.¹⁶

We must now attempt to estimate the significance of, in particular, the rite of Raising the Djed-pillar, and, also, in a more general sense, the Festival of Khoiakh as a whole. Before this can be examined, the position of the rite within the context of the festival must be considered, and perhaps it will be advisable firstly to give a brief outline of the evidence bearing upon the origins of the festival itself.

THE FESTIVAL OF KHOIAKH.

The Festival of Khoiakh appears to have been essentially Memphite in origin; certain elements also seem to have intruded from other religious centres, such as Busiris, where the rite of Erecting the Djed-pillar perhaps originated.¹ Evidence exists to support the theory of a Memphite origin for the festival. Firstly, a close connection is known to have linked Osiris with the funerary god of Memphis, and, on Khoiakh 26th, a Festival of Soker took place, in which Soker was associated with both the kingship and the resuscitation of Osiris. In the introduction to the Medinet Habu Calendar,² it is affirmed that Ramesses III received the rites of Ptah-Soker-Osiris at the "House of Ptah"; it is therefore suggested that Ramesses III had adopted for the cult of Ptah-Soker-Osiris the liturgy used in Memphis, the suggested place of the god's origin.³

It has already been stated that one school of thought supports a Busirite origin for the rite of Erecting the Djed-pillar. However, another theory offers the possibility that Memphis was the home of this rite. The ritual of Khoiakh inscribed in the Chapel of Osiris in the Temple of Denderah states that the erection of the pillar was performed at both Memphis and Busiris, and it would appear to be referring here to the two centres of the cult where the ceremonies were first born.⁴ No adamant statement can be made concerning the actual birth-place of the rite, but it must be admitted that Memphis, as the Old Kingdom capital, has certain evidence in its favour. One suggestion is that here it was introduced into the Coronation ritual and the jubilee festival, and that, in its connection with the jubilee festival, it came to be associated with the Osirian Mysteries.⁵

Another piece of evidence put forward to support a Memphite origin for the Festival and the rite, is that the High-priest of Memphis in Ptolemaic times carried also the title "Second of the king in the Erection of the Djed-pillar", implying that, as part

of his duties as high-priest of this city, he was also expected to perform the associated rite.⁶

A representation of this rite occurs also on a series of pillars from the funerary chapels of the Memphis necropolis. These seem to date to the Ramesside period, and show the owner of the tomb holding or lifting a djed-pillar, and reciting formulae in which he is associated more with Ptah than with Osiris.⁷

As has been shown, in the Tomb of Kheruef, the rite is clearly seen to be connected with a series of ceremonies which are definitely royal and Memphite in nature.⁸ In this instance, the rite is seen to be closely associated with the jubilee festival, and celebrated by the king and the high-priest of Memphis before the Royal Court and Family. One explanation of the ceremonies of the sham fight between the inhabitants of Buto and the procession around the walls of Memphis is that they represented the resurrection of Osiris and his burial, and the triumph of his son and successor, Horus.⁹

The origin of the Festival of Khoiak and also of the rite of Erecting the Djed-pillar remains a matter of conjecture.

With regard to the performance of rites within the Festival, in the Chapel of Osiris at Denderah, we are provided with one of the main sources of evidence bearing upon the Festival of Khoiak.¹⁰ In the chamber associated with the Osiris Mysteries, scenes depict two lines of priests advancing to assist at the Festival of Osiris; the accompanying inscriptions give details of the preparations undertaken for the Mysteries of Osiris, and provide us with an account of the measurements and requirements for the equipment for the festivals. The evidence derived from Denderah does not, however, appear to list a connected series of rites, as we hope to show existed at Abydos, but only gives the stages of preparation for the Mysteries; none of the ceremonies described at Denderah is mentioned by Ikhernofret, who assisted at the Osiris ceremonies at Abydos, for, whereas he describes only those events which were performed in public, the Denderah evidence enumerates the rites which the priests carried out beforehand in secret.

At Denderah, it is the preparation and burial of the god which figures prominently in the inscriptional material, whereas the resurrection is merely implied. However, in the accompanying reliefs, the god is shown as a mummiform figure; Isis, in the guise of a bird, is shown conceiving Horus by the dead Osiris, and, in another scene, the resuscitation of Osiris is depicted.¹¹ At Philae, the rejuvenation of Osiris is again illustrated; the dead body of Osiris is shown, sprouting stalks which are watered

by the priest.¹² Osiris here is obviously regarded as representing a personification of the corn which springs from the fields after it has been brought to fruition by the Inundation.

The Festival was celebrated, by Ptolemaic times, in all the major towns of Egypt; at Denderah and in the list given in the Temple of Edfu, the list of places containing relics of Osiris show how widespread was the worship of Osiris throughout Egypt. It lasted for 18 days, according to this account, from 12th to the 30th of Khoiakh, and it commemorated the death of Osiris, being mostly concerned with the rites of embalming and the interment of the god's body.¹³

The texts at Denderah may be divided into two main categories;¹⁴ the first five chapters deal with a description of the accessories needed to open the Festival; the succeeding chapters deal with a description of the ceremonies in which these accessories were used.

The Festival of Khoiakh perhaps recalled events in the life and death of Osiris, and culminated in his resurrection; he returned, not as a vigorous vegetation god, but as a dead king recalled to life. The Festival, although its rites varied from town to town, in fact attempted to represent Osiris in his three main aspects as a deity, -dead, dismembered, and re-united.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FESTIVAL OF KHOIAKH.

A thorough discussion of the significance of the Festival, a complex sequence of rites, is beyond the limits of this thesis. A brief indication of its interpretation will be given, merely to enable the Osiris Complex at Abydos to be seen in relation to the Festival.

It appears that the Osirian ritual was performed to reproduce firstly, in a dramatic form, the disappearance of vegetation due to the Inundation, and the renewal of growth after the subsidence of the Nile waters. Secondly, it was performed to equip the god with vital force, to rejuvenate him, and so to secure a high Nile and good harvest.

The rites simulated the death and interment of Osiris; the dead vegetation god was buried and hidden out of sight, and every attention was given to securing the renewal and growth of the deity. Rites of purification, -washing, sprinkling and fumigation, -were undertaken, in order to cleanse and rejuvenate his limbs. Mourning accompanied the ritual, to assist Osiris in his struggle against death;¹ it was hoped thus to please him, and so to win his

favour for deceased relatives and friends of the mourner; the lamentations would also bring about a good harvest and a high Nile. Food and drink were offered to him, because it was believed that these increased the power which the gods and the dead possessed to assist mankind in general.

Finally, the erection of the Djed-pillar was performed. This rite occurs in various contexts, and is open to different interpretations, but always it symbolised the renewal of life, the re-birth of the person on whose behalf the rite was being performed. It was a symbol of stability, and the act of erecting the pillar on this occasion appears to have been performed to ensure the renewal and growth of Osiris and the re-birth of the new king, for another aspect of the Festival was that, in addition to dramatising the death, burial and resurrection of Osiris, it also appears to have dramatised the kingship² and the accession to the throne of the son and heir of Osiris. Every Horus-king was a potential Osiris, and therefore, the renewal of the reign of Osiris was a most suitable occasion on which to place the king's accession or the anniversary of his accession³.

Osiris died and was resurrected as King of the Dead, and Horus⁴ ascended the throne as his heir; thus, on the First⁵ day of the Season of Germination, the Feast of Neheb-kau was held, which celebrated the coming of the divine heir.

The Festival of Khoiak had connections with the two great events in the life of a king,⁶-the Coronation and the Jubilee Festival,-and perhaps the importance of the Festival lay not so much in that it represented the Resuscitation of Osiris, as that it symbolised the Accession of Horus.

THE ORDER OF SCENES IN THE OSIRIS COMPLEX.

It now remains to consider the order of the ritual which was performed in the rooms comprising the Osiris Complex at Abydos. An attempted interpretation of this ritual will be given below, showing how this may be related both to the cult of Osiris as represented in other sources, and to the ritual purpose and use of the Temple of Abydos as a whole; in this section of the chapter, however, we shall merely set forth a suggested order of rites which are depicted on the walls of this complex.

Here, unlike previous sections of the temple which have been dealt with, we are faced with two main problems, in attempting to reconstruct a logical sequence of scenes. Firstly, whereas elsewhere in the temple, the reliefs are often accompanied by extensive inscriptional material, which assists in the identification of the rite and may enable us to find a parallel in another temple or papyrus, here the accompanying inscriptions provide us with little more than the titles of scenes, names and epithets of deities and formalised speeches.

In addition to this, reliefs in certain parts of the Complex, such as in the Second Osiris Hall and its adjoining shrines, are so badly damaged that it is impossible to reconstruct from the fragmentary remains any definite logical sequence of scenes on these walls. We must therefore rely upon the material which occurs in the First Osiris Hall and its three adjoining shrines, in order to reconstruct a tentative ritual sequence in this area of the temple.

A third difficulty also arises in connection with this ritual; in the Daily Temple Ritual and the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors, parallel rites occurred elsewhere; these could, to some extent, be regarded as sources which would provide us with a comparative sequence of rites. However, because of its very nature and unique connection with the cult of Osiris, the Temple Of Abydos was built partly for the specific worship of this god, and the set of rooms dedicated to Osiris at Abydos were designed to accommodate a special version of the Osirian Mysteries. Thus, the reliefs on these walls are likely to represent a unique form of the ritual. It is true that reliefs depicting some of the stages in the Osirian Mysteries are found elsewhere, as in the Temple of Denderah, but it is impossible to use such scenes for comparative purposes, in order to establish a sequence of rites in the unique set of rooms at Abydos. Thus, at Abydos, we must attempt, despite scanty relief and inscriptional material and scarcity of comparative evidence from other sources, to reconstruct an order

of scenes which gives a logical ritual pattern and can be related to what is already known of the Osirian cult.

The purpose and use of the Second Osiris Hall will be discussed below; the damaged condition of the three southernmost shrines renders impossible any reconstruction of their ritual use. Our attention must therefore be turned to the First Osiris Hall and the three adjoining shrines. It has already been stated that the only entrance to this complex of rooms is through the Osiris Chapel, itself one of the seven shrines of the sanctuary area. For reasons discussed below, it is suggested that the ritual was performed firstly in the First Osiris Hall, then in the three northernmost shrines, before the priest finally left the complex.

In the First Osiris Hall itself,¹ it would seem that the scenes on the North and South Walls show the introductory rites leading into the chambers which lie beyond - the shrines of Horus, Sethos and Isis, and the Second Osiris Hall respectively; the rites appear to be more directly connected with these rooms than with the ritual performed in the First Osiris Hall. It is in the scenes on the East and West walls, therefore, that any important indications of the sequence of the ritual performed in this chamber will occur.

It must now be considered whether the scenes on these two walls are to be read directly along each wall in turn, from north to south (or vice versa), or whether the sequence progresses from wall to wall alternately; it must also be decided whether the scenes are to be read firstly along the Upper Register and then the Lower Register (or vice versa), or whether they should be read from each register alternately.

In deciding upon an order, the scenes themselves afford us certain definite guide-lines. Firstly, the scenes along the East Wall of the room are all concerned with the ritual preparation of a series of gods whose shrines must have originally been kept in the temple; these deities are being aroused for the ceremonies which are depicted on the West Wall of the room. Secondly, at the northern end of the West Wall, in the Lower Register, two scenes occur, showing, in the scene nearer the south end, the rite of Raising the Djed-pillar, and, adjacent to this scene, the rite of arraying the erected djed-pillar. Logically, therefore, the scenes on the West Wall must be read from south to north, and the reliefs must be read firstly along the East Wall, and secondly along the West Wall, and not from the East wall to the West wall alternately, since this would split the sequence of scenes depicting the raising and arraying of the Djed-pillar.

Thus, the scenes along the East Wall, we would suggest, are to be read first; these rites form the preparatory stages of the ritual. The West Wall reliefs illustrate rites in the Osiris Mysteries, culminating in the Djed-pillar scenes, and the presentation of offerings to other cult symbols. Since the scenes on the West Wall must be taken from the south end of the room to the north, we would suggest that, on the East Wall, the sequence of scenes began at the north end and progressed towards the south. In this way, the order of scenes continues around the walls in a logical fashion.

Many of the scenes in the Upper Register are destroyed, and it is not possible to state with any certainty the order in which the scenes are to be read from register to register, but we would tentatively suggest that, as proposed elsewhere in the temple, the sequence of reliefs starts in the Lower Register, and that the scenes are to be read from Lower to Upper Register alternately, along each wall.

The order of scenes in the First Osiris Hall would therefore read as follows:-

EAST WALL. (Starting nearest the north end.)

1. King offers libation to Horus. (Lower Register.)
2. " " wine to Horus. (Upper Register.)
3. " " Ma'at to Horus. (L.R.)
4. " " bread to Wepwawet. (U.R.)
5. " " wine to 'Ir-rn.f-ds.f (L.R.)
6. " " incense to Horus hry-w3d. (U.R.)
7. " uncovers the face of Horus. (L.R.)
8. " offers md-ointment to Osiris, Lord of Abydos. (U.R.)
9. " " incense to Osiris Andjet. (L.R.)
10. " " flowers to a baboon-god. (U.R.)
11. " " nmst-vessels to Mrhy and Isis. (L.R.)
12. " " incense to Osiris. (U.R.)
13. " " bread to Osiris. (L.R.)
14. " " incense to Anubis. (U.R.)
15. " " flowers to Geb and Nut. (L.R.)
16. " opens the doors of a shrine containing Hapy and Nephthys .
(U.R.)
17. " " " " " " " Min. (L.R.)
18. " presents wine to Hekat. (U.R.)
19. " " incense to Shentyt. (L.R.)
20. " " [truth] to Horus. (U.R.)
21. " makes salutation with a nmst-vessel to Osiris. (L.R.)
22. " adores Osiris-Onnophris. (U.R.)

WEST WALL.

(Starting nearest the south end.)

1. King adores a seated god. L.R.
2. Destroyed. U.R.
3. King offers Ma'at to a deity. L.R.
4. Destroyed. U.R.
5. Elevating the offerings to a god and a goddess. L.R.
6. Destroyed. U.R.
7. King presents md-ointment to Osiris. L.R.
8. Destroyed. U.R.
9. King presents flowers to Hapy and Ma'at. L.R.
10. Destroyed. U.R.
11. King anoints Osiris. L.R.
12. Destroyed. U.R.
13. King elevates the offerings to Wenti and Ms-pw-sp.f. L.R.
14. King before Osiris(?), protected(?) by a Djed-pillar. U.R.
15. King and Isis raise the Djed-pillar. L.R.
16. King before a deity. U.R.
17. King arrays the raised Djed-pillar. L.R.
18. " before a deity. U.R.
19. " consecrates bread before Thoth in the form of a shm-wand.
L.R.
20. " greets god with a nmst-vessel. U.R.
21. " presents incense to Thoth. L.R.
22. " before a deity in a shrine. U.R.
23. " anoints the Abydene Symbol. L.R.
24. Destroyed. U.R.

Osiris, in the form of a djed-pillar, has been raised to be king of the dead, and the way is now clear for his son to be installed as king of the living. This section of the ritual, we would suggest, is represented by the scenes in the three northernmost shrines.

THE HORUS SHRINE²

The scenes on the doorway leading into this shrine show formal offerings made by the king to the deities Horus, Osiris and Min. Within the chapel itself, the scenes appear to represent a kingship ritual. It is suggested that the scenes are to be read alternately from wall to wall, starting on the East Wall; the culminating rite would then occur at the rear of the shrine, on the North Wall. Thus, the suggested sequence reads as follows,-

1. EAST WALL. (South end.)

King offers incense and a libation to Horus.

2. WEST WALL. (South end.)

King censures Horus.

3. EAST WALL. (Centre).
King presents myrrh to Osiris.
4. WEST WALL. (Centre).
King presents incense and libation to Osiris.
5. EAST WALL. (North end.)
King presents the wsh-collar to Horus.
6. WEST WALL. (North end.)
King washes the brazier before Horus.
7. NORTH WALL.
King receives insignia from Horus.

THE SETHOS SHRINE.³

The central shrine, here referred to as the Shrine of Sethos, is entered through a doorway, the scenes on either side of which show the king making offerings to Osiris. On the jambs, he makes presentation to Horus, Isis and Wepwawet. The scenes within the chapel are to be read in the same order as the scenes in the Shrine of Horus, we would suggest.

1. EAST WALL. (South end.)
Horus purifies the Osirian Sethos with water.
2. WEST WALL. (South end.)
Wepwawet presents insignia to Sethos.
3. EAST WALL. (Centre.)
Thoth grants the king the Breath of Life.
4. WEST WALL. (Centre.)
Horus Iwn-mwt.f presents incense to the king.
5. EAST WALL. (North end.)
Horus Iwn-mwt.f performs the htp-di²-nsw for the dead Sethos.
6. WEST WALL. (North end.)
Thoth performs the htp-di²-nsw for the dead king.
7. NORTH WALL.
Sethos is led into the presence of Osiris, by Horus and Isis.

In this shrine, Sethos appears as a dead, deified king, and by his position in each scene, it is apparent that he is acting as a god, while the ritual is performed on his behalf by the various deities. In this way, the shrine differs from the two adjoining chapels, where the ritual is performed by Sethos in honour of the gods.

THE ISIS SHRINE.⁴

The doorway leading into this shrine is decorated with reliefs showing Sethos presenting offerings to Isis and Osiris. Inside the shrine, we would suggest that the sequence of scenes is parallel to the order given for the other two shrines.

1. EAST WALL. (South end.)
King presents incense to Osiris and Isis.
2. WEST WALL. (South end.)
King offers ointment to Osiris and Isis.
3. EAST WALL. (Centre.)
King offers incense and libation to Isis.
4. WEST WALL. (Centre.)
King presents wine to Isis.
5. EAST WALL. (North end.)
King elevates offerings to Isis.
6. WEST WALL. (North end.)
King elevates offerings to Isis.
7. NORTH WALL.
Isis presents the menat, sistrum and jubilee-stick to Sethos.

AN INTERPRETATION OF THE RITUAL IN THE OSIRIS COMPLEX.

An attempt must now be made to interpret the evidence which exists in the Osiris Complex. We would suggest that here, during the yearly period devoted to the Mysteries, the preparations were completed upon the so-called corpse of Osiris, before the final resurrection of the god took place. It was in this set of rooms, we suggest, that the most secret of the rites of the Mysteries were performed.

If the ritual is reconstructed in the way which we have previously suggested, the preparatory rites occurred in the First Osiris Hall. Here, (East Wall), the various deities are removed from their shrines to receive offerings from the king; these perhaps symbolise the deities who were present at the Mysteries, and these preparatory stages are reminiscent of the series of rites which were carried out at Denderah.

We would suggest that the ritual then proceeded into the Second Osiris Hall, and into the three adjoining shrines; although the scenes are so badly destroyed, in the Central Shrine, there are two parallel scenes representing the Conception of Horus by Isis, who hovers above the dead Osiris in the form of a hawk. Possibly the ritual proceeded along the East Wall of the Second Osiris Hall, then continued in the three shrines in turn, and finally progressed along the West Wall of the Second Osiris Hall, before continuing once again along the West Wall of the First Osiris Hall, where the ritual culminates with the Erection of the Djed-pillar and the presentation of offerings to other cultus symbols. These, then, we suggest, comprise the basic rites symbolising the death and resurrection of Osiris.

Osiris has arisen as King of the Dead, and now the second part of the Mysteries can take place. In the three northernmost

Shrines, we suggest, the ritual represents the installation of the king as heir of Osiris, as King of the Living, and also, because this temple was of a mortuary nature, the installation of Sethos as an Osirian king.

The Horus shrine has scenes which, if read as we suggest, comprise preliminary rites leading up to the episode in which the king receives his kingly insignia from Horus. Similarly, in the Isis shrine, the king makes offerings to the goddess, in return for which she finally rewards him with a jubilee staff. In the central shrine, the gods perform various duties for the dead, deified Sethos, and then the htp-di-nsw is performed for the dead king, before he is finally led into the presence of Osiris, and formally acknowledged as King of the Dead.

Thus, in these three shrines, we have the three members of the Osirian triad represented, with the acceptance of the king of the living by Isis and Horus in the two outer shrines, and the representation of Sethos as an Osirianised king in the central shrine.

This complex of rooms, as far as can be deduced from the scanty evidence, appears to represent, in one compact unit, the place where the ritual was performed yearly, which ensured the resurrection of Osiris and the Accession of Horus, his son and heir, as King of the Living.

The order and interpretation, we suggest, reads as follows:-

- | | | |
|------------------------------|---|---------------------------------|
| A. Preparatory Rites. | - | First Osiris Hall.(East Wall.) |
| B. Destroyed. | - | Second Osiris Hall.(East Wall.) |
| C. Conception of Horus. | - | Central Southern Shrine. |
| D. Destroyed. | - | Second Osiris Hall.(West Wall.) |
| E. Final rites, | - | First Osiris Hall.(West Wall.) |
| culminating with the | | |
| Erection of the <u>Djed-</u> | | |
| pillar, etc. | | |
| F. Accession of King. | - | Shrine of Horus. |
| G. Granting of jubilees. | - | Shrine of Isis. |
| H. Making Sethos King | - | Shrine of Sethos. |
| of the Dead. | | |
| I. Exit. | | |

THE SECOND OSIRIS HALL.

The condition of the scenes in the Second Osiris Hall renders impossible any attempt to reconstruct from these reliefs an order for the ritual which took place in this chamber; however, from certain evidence, it is possible to offer a tentative suggestion concerning the use of this room.

In his article,¹ Gardiner defines the "House of Life" as a department of the temple where medical and magical, as well as religious books were compiled and written;² sometimes, this institution was situated inside the temple building itself, and elsewhere, it probably formed part of the group of out-buildings which were included within the temple precinct. Very little is known of the House of Life; possibly many such institutions existed, and perhaps every large town possessed one;³ certainly, they are known to have existed at el-Amarna, Edfu and Abydos.⁴ These scribal departments were supplied with their own equipment, but do not seem to have possessed libraries; in the temples where such libraries existed, they were situated in a room known as the Pr-md3t. Gardiner suggests that the library in the tomb of Osymandyas, described by Diodorus,⁵ was perhaps the first eight-columned room lying behind the Hypostyle Hall of the Ramesseum; this room possessed an astronomical ceiling. He believes that perhaps Champollion⁶ and Porter-Moss⁷ were misled into identifying the Library not with the Astronomical Room, but with the adjacent room, following towards the west.

At Edfu, also, there is a Library at the rear of the entrance to the Vestibule,⁸ and at Philae,⁹ a similar chamber exists; both rooms possess a small niche cut into the wall.¹⁰ However, only once in these temple-libraries is the House of Life specifically mentioned.¹¹ This is in the Temple of Edfu, where it occurs in an epithet of Osiris Khentiamentes, Lord of Abydos, "who initiated the House of Life in the work of its lord." Gardiner suggests that here "his lord" refers to Thoth, whom Osiris appointed as his scribe and to whom he showed special favour.¹²

It would appear that the House of Life perhaps had a deeper religious significance than that of being merely the scriptorium of the temple. According to Gardiner,¹³ a belief existed that "the primary purpose of literary composition was to maintain life, whether that of the gods, of the king, or of mankind generally." Connected as it was with magic and medicine, the House of Life was also the symbolic representation of life-giving forces. The scribes of the House of Life were the "servants" or "followers of Re"; as such, they embodied in their compositions the creative power to maintain life, which was the prerogative

of the god Re'.

Gardiner further suggests¹⁴ that the House of Life had a particular connection with Osiris. The title of this department, he proposes, may in fact refer to the power of life which was embodied in the divinely inspired writings composed and copied there; it was believed that, with this power, it was possible to resuscitate the dead. As the prototype of all dead men, it was Osiris who would be considered to receive most benefit from the revivifying potency of the works composed in the House of Life. In one instance,¹⁵ the House of Life is actually associated with the idea of food; in a certain passage,¹⁶ it is said of the owner of the papyrus,-

"..thy hw-food finds achievement beside the library, thy [provisions] come into being in the House of Life."




Here, the books appear to have power "not only to bestow life, but also to produce food, the means of life."¹⁷

The existence of a House of Life at Abydos is attested by two sources; firstly, in a Saitic inscription of Peftu'auneit,¹⁸ the chief physician of Apries, extensive restorations in the Temple of Osiris at Abydos are recorded. He recounts that he re-established the god's estates and vineyards, and then continues,-

"I restored the House of Life after (its) ruin. I renewed the sustenance of Osiris, and put all his (or its) ordinances in their proper place."

In the religious book SALT 825,¹⁹ a particular passage relates to the House of Life as an ideal structure to be built in Abydos, "with the gods on all its sides, and gods serving as priests within it."²⁰

It reads as follows,-

"As for the House of Life, it shall be in Abydos. Build it in four bodies, the inner body being of covered reeds(?). As for the four  and the  -as for the 'nhy (the living one), he is Osiris, and for the four  (they are) Isis, Nephthys, Horus and Thoth, Isis being on one side, and Nephthys on the other; Horus on one (side) and Thoth on the other. These are the four sides. Geb is its ground, (i.e. floor), and Nut its heaven (i.e. ceiling). The hidden one who rests within it is the Great God. The four outer bodies consist of a stone that contains two wings, and its lower part (i.e. its floor?) is sand, and its outside has severally four doors, one south, one north, one west and one east. It shall be very hidden and very large. It shall not be known, nor shall it be seen, but the sun shall look upon its mystery. The people who enter into it are the staff of Re' and the scribes of the House of Life. The people who are in it,

the fkty-priest is Shu, the slaughterer is Horus, who slays the rebels for his father Osiris, and the scribe of the sacred books is Thoth, and it is he who will recite the(ritual) glorifications in the course of every day, unseen, unheard. Hale of mouths, and secret of body and mouths, they are far removed from sudden cutting-off. No Asiatic shall enter into it, he shall not see it. Thou art very far removed. The books that are in it are the emanations of Re', wherewith to keep alive this god and to overthrow his enemies. As for the staff of the House of Life, who are in it, they are the followers of Re', protecting his son Osiris every day."

The position of this institution at Abydos is not, however, stated. It is possible that, as at el-Amarna, the House of Life lay some distance from the temple.²¹ However, as Gardiner states,²² "It seems clear that from such epithets as "scribe of the sacred books in the House of Amun" that the administration of the House of Life was not wholly divorced from that of the temple, but since the former was apparently only a workshop, it may usually have been localised outside the temple precincts."

In summarising the evidence, it may be stated that a House of Life existed at Abydos, and would appear to have been closely connected with the temple building. If the description given in the Salt Papyrus is not merely an account of an idealised institution, the House of Life at Abydos is stated to have close connections with the god Osiris, and also to be situated in a fairly inaccessible area of the temple.

It can be argued that the House of Life was closely related to the processes of revivification and it was through this association of ideas that it came to be linked with Osiris, god of the dead.

The situation of the House of Life at Abydos has never been ascertained; it is impossible to state with any certainty that it occupied any one chamber within the temple building. It is feasible that it was situated outside the main temple, amongst the other buildings which comprised the temple complex. However, another possibility is that it occupied the chamber which we have called the Second Osiris Hall. This room is closely connected to the complex of chambers dedicated to the Osirian cult; it is also situated in a part of the temple accessible only through the Osiris Chapel.

At Edfu and Philae, libraries existed which were supplied with niches in the walls. In the Second Osiris Hall, along the east and west walls, the remains of niches occur. If the

identification of the Astronomical Room in the Ramesseum with a library is accepted, the ceiling of this chamber may also be compared with the astronomical ceiling which occurs in the Second Osiris Hall at Abydos. However, it must be admitted that the lack of a niche in the wall of this room in the Ramesseum perhaps argues against its identification as a library.²³ Possibly, the rooms at Philae and Edfu were used as libraries, whereas the Astronomical Room at the Ramesseum was used as a scriptorium.

It must also be stated that, from the remains of the reliefs in the Second Osiris Hall, no direct connection can be established between the rites they illustrate and those depicted in the scenes on the walls in the Edfu chamber, or the room in the Ramesseum. However, these rooms were decorated at different periods, and therefore, the reliefs can perhaps be expected to show some variance over this length of time; secondly, and of more direct importance, is the fact that, at Abydos, because of its unique connection with the cult of Osiris, it is surely to be expected that any decoration of this complex of rooms will be of a very different nature from rooms, even with similar uses, found elsewhere.

At Abydos, the centre of the Osirian cult, the idea of the revivifying influence believed to exist in the House of Life would naturally be expressed in reliefs showing the resuscitation of Osiris and the various stages in the god's life which led up to this rite. Such rites are depicted in the fragmentary reliefs found in the Second Osiris Hall.

It is our contention, therefore, that, throughout the year at Abydos, the Second Osiris Hall was used as a scriptorium; possibly the niches present here were used as storage space for scrolls. Here, in this House of Life, both by means of the reliefs which decorated the walls and by the activity of writing books which perpetuated life, sufficient vivifying force was created to enable Osiris to return to life. Possibly, during the period of the year when the Osirian Mysteries were being performed, the chamber was employed for more definitely ritualistic uses, in connection with the rites executed in the adjoining First Osiris Hall. However, for most of the year, the main purpose of the Second Osiris Hall, we would suggest, was to accommodate the House of Life at Abydos.

ROOM K. (CALVERLEY ROOM 13.)

To the right of the rooms forming the Osiris Complex, in the north-west angle of the temple, there are a pair of superimposed chambers,¹ which are quite isolated from the other rooms. These rooms have stone floors, and, in each, two square pillars support the roof. The stone floor in the upper chamber is made of limestone; the stones of the lower chamber are rough, whereas those used for the upper chamber have a smooth surface.² There are no doors, no windows, and consequently, no air filters through into the chambers; they are roofed in with enormous horizontal slabs of stone.³ The walls are unadorned with either inscriptions or reliefs, and the purpose of these rooms is a mystery.⁴ In the corner of the lower room, several steps of an abandoned staircase appear, which possibly were intended to lead to an underground passage which was never in fact constructed.⁵ The two chambers are therefore reminiscent of superimposed caves. It is possible that these rooms were included at Abydos merely to square off the general plan of the temple.⁶ Other suggestions have been made concerning their purpose. For instance, one proposal is that they were in fact the wells mentioned by Strabo. It is also conceivable that they were employed as corn-bins, a Treasury, or as dungeons.⁷

In support that these were the wells of Strabo is the fact that, when the chambers were excavated, the rubbish removed from the upper room was comprised very largely of fragments of vases and vessels used for carrying water; since there is no nearby source from which to obtain water, it was feasible that these chambers were themselves the wells, but, although they were completely excavated, no evidence was found to suggest any more conclusively that this was the original site of the wells.

According to Mariette,⁸ in other temples, similar souterrains have been found, blocked in a similar manner, after they had been filled with certain sacred objects. Perhaps, therefore, the readily acceptable explanation is that these rooms were used as a depository for sacred objects, possibly placed there when the temple was consecrated at the relevant ceremony. Early investigators appear to have held the opinion that these rooms contained treasure. At the north end of the Sarcophagus Room in the Cenotaph of Sethos I at Abydos, which lay at the rear of the temple, a hole was excavated in the wall; this had been quarried out from the inside of the room, and was about 1.60c.m. above ground, and was about 0.70 c.m. high and wide. It is suggested that it was made by treasure-hunters and is orientated to come out exactly underneath the room labelled "K" by Mariette, in the Temple of

Sethos. The attempt at plunder, it would seem, failed, however, since the hole was once more quickly filled in with sand.⁹

CHAPTER VII

THE SERVICE ROOMS:-

HALL OF BARKS

BUTCHERS HALL

ROOMS 14, 15, 16

ROOM 17 (ROOM WITH FOUR COLUMNS)

STOREROOMS

OUTER WALL OF THE TEMPLE

THE HALL OF BARKS.

At the far end of the Gallery of the Lists, a doorway leads into a chamber from which a staircase leads up on to the roof of the temple. This roof exit made it possible for the priests to attend to their duties - concerned with astronomical observations which were carried out on the roof, without entering the main sacred area of the temple.

A bench, made of sandstone blocks 45cm. wide and 8cm. thick, progresses around the walls of this chamber.¹ This shelf was probably used as a depository for the sacred barks and offerings. A similar shelf existed in the Temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, in Room 24, and was doubtless used for a similar purpose.²

Because it was thought that the barks which were used in temple processions were kept here, the chamber is now designated "The Hall of Barks." The barks were depicted on the walls of this room; this was the depository for the sacred barks, and also possibly other offerings. Nine barks are still preserved on the walls, of which the names of three are now lost; the others are the barks of Horus (decorated with hawk-heads), Isis, Osiris, Amen-Re' (decorated with ram's heads), Re'-Harakhte, and Ptah (decorated with two bas on a djed-pillar.) Around the shelf is a long inscription which contains further information concerning the use of the room.

The decoration of the room has not been completed; large sections are carved with relief en-creux in the style of Ramesses II, but very often the details have not been inserted but may be detected in faint paint. On the East and South Walls, however, there are considerable areas where only the painted scenes can be seen. The cartouches of Ramesses II are found here; when Sethos is mentioned, he is "vindicated". However, on the doorway, which leads to the stairway to the roof, the hieroglyphic inscription gives the name of Sethos, so this must have been partly completed in his reign. Also, the roof is supported by six columns which are decorated in the style of Sethos I. The decoration is in a poor state of preservation; it consists of a hieroglyphic design now very faint, in which the signs have merely been painted and not carved. It would appear, therefore, that here as elsewhere, the construction and preliminary work was completed by Sethos and the decoration executed by his son. Similar chambers exist in other temples;³ as well as its primary use as a bark-room, this Hall at Abydos was, as we have stated, an exit to the roof; a later use of this room was as a place where the oracle of the god Bes could be consulted.⁴ Before discussing another and most important use of this Hall, a brief description will now be given of the scenes which occur here.

DESCRIPTION OF SCENES IN THE HALL OF BARKS.⁵

WEST WALL.

Left scene.

Ramesses II pours out a libation and offers to the god; he holds three censers over a table piled high with offerings. Occupying the rest of the scene is a bark, containing a shrine; the ends of the bark are decorated with rams' heads (one is now destroyed). From the fragmentary inscription, it appears that the bark belonged to Amen-Re', "King of gods".

Right scene.

The king elevates a tray of offerings before a bark of Re'-Harakhte (partly destroyed).

EAST WALL.

ENTRANCE FROM THE GALLERY OF THE LISTS TO THE HALL OF BARKS.

North thickness.

Ramesses II, wearing the White Crown, "the good god, who performs glorious deeds for his father, Lord of Lands", performs an offering for Osiris, behind whom stands Sethos "good god, Lord of the Two Lands, vindicated".

Title.

"Making an offering for his father Osiris, that he may make a granted life."

South thickness.

This scene is the same as its opposite number, except that here Ramesses II wears the Red Crown, and censes and purifies the oblations.

Scene A.

The king, wearing the Blue Crown, holds a censer before a bark containing the shrine of a god. The king says,-

"[Utterance] [cartouche] Greetings to thee, Re', every day. Mayest thou[....] for the king Menmaetre', mayest thou be gracious to his Ennead[....] they(?) speak to him, they(?) hearken to him they make thee for him happily, they stand at the portal(?) of his mansion(?). Geb, the heir apparent of the gods, has commanded the Great Ennead to cause the son of Re' [cartouche] to be vindicated; Atum has commanded that his Ennead be caused to hearken(?) [to?] him...."

Above the bark are the words,-"Utterance by [.....] in Abydos to his father Thoth....Come, thou thyself, establish thou [.....]"

The bark is entitled,-"The processional bark of Menmaetre', who resides in the Mansion of Menmaetre'."

There are also the remains of the inscription,-

"[.....] the offerings of cakes, thou providest my daily offerings,

thou protectest them like the god's offerings of the gods of my mansion."

Scene B.

The king, wearing the Red Crown, offers ointment before a bark; the inscriptions are very badly damaged,-

"....the moon-god, who resides in the Mansion of Menmaetre', [by the King] Menmaetre' [....] the moon rejoices, those who are in it are flooded and the Eye [of Horus] is filled, [those who enter], let them be pure. The moon, it has power over them, the moon [....] they being pure. Open(?) [.,.,.] are the doors of Kebehu, the moon [....] Harakhte, he causes him to drink his libations and his wine. Geb is powerful on that day on which the Two Lands were given to him."

A further inscription gives a salutation to Re'.

NORTH WALL.

This wall is badly damaged.

Scene A. (west end.)

Only the feet of a figure of the king remains, standing before a table of offerings. A bark occupies the rest of the scene, and this bark belonged to Ptah.

Scene B.

The king stands before a table of offerings, and possibly a shrine supported by a small figure, whose feet alone survive. This scene is badly damaged - only the feet of the king remain.

Scene C.

The king stands before a pile of offerings; he holds a nmst-vessel and before him is a shrine (mostly destroyed), bearing the words,- "Usimare'-setepenre' Ramesses, given life, like Re' [....], beloved of Horus the Rejoicer."

Behind the king are the words,-

"I received it in my two arms. I greet he who is in them, Nefertem, Lord of Food, Hrus the Rejoicer, who resides in the Mansion of Menmaetre', in all his names, that he may make a granted life."

SOUTH WALL.

Scene A. (nearest the east end.)

This scene, next to the entrance to the staircase, is badly damaged. Thy ithyphallic god Min appears in a bark, supported by standing figures of whom three are still discernible. The wall is crudely painted with thick brushwork and red paint, which conceals in part a finer original drawing.

Scene B.

The king offers a conical loaf before a bark of Horus, which

contains a shrine, on which is written the name of Sety Merenptah. Above the king are the words,-

"Consecrating the white bread for his father, Horus, Protector of his father, who resides in the Mansion of Menmaetre', by his son....Usimare'-setepenre'....Oh, Horus, Protector of his father, take to thee the Eye of Horus(?) that thou mayest be pleased with it. Thoth, he comes to thee, carrying it, as an invocation - offering; Thoth, who comes forth, carrying the Eye of Horus for Horus, son of Isis. Peace, peace, oh, Horus, protector of his father. [Take to thee the Eye of] Horus, that thou mayest be pleased with it; Thoth gives thee thy head [for thee]; mayest thou taste thy libation; he establishes for thee thy head with thy bones. Oh, Horus, Protector of his father."

Scene C.

The king lays hands on a pile of offerings; before him is the bark of Isis. Above him are the following words,-

"Causing the god's offering to endure for Isis....by the king.... Greetings to thee, Atum-Khepri! When thou art elevated upon the stairway, thou risest and shinest forth in the Benben, in the House of the Benben in Heliopolis. Thou spittest forth as Shu, thou vomitest as Tefnut."⁶

Scene D.

The king stands with a censer before a bark of Osiris, "Lord of Abydos....great god, ruler of the West." The king says,-

"Making offering to his father, Osiris [....]by his son.... Ramesses....[....]the two Enneads[....], thousands of beer and cattle, thousands of all good and pure things for thy Ka."

DOORWAY TO THE STAIRCASE.

The room was never completed, and only the ceiling of the stairway leading to the roof is decorated; it is painted in black paint, and shows a design comprised of stars and hieroglyphic signs. A hieroglyphic band runs along the underside of the doorway leading to the Stairway, giving the name of Sethos I; this inscription occupies the centre of the ceiling and progresses from north to south.

On the north thickness of the doorway, the titulary of the king, now almost illegible, is outlined in paint.

THE INSCRIPTIONS ALONG THE LEDGES. - HALL OF BARKS,

These inscriptions run along the ledges for the barks, which are placed along three walls of the chamber.

SOUTH WALL. (East end.)

" [....] subduing the Nine Bows, Horus, repeating appearances, strong of bows in all lands, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menmaetre', son of Re', Sety Merenptah, given life, good god, who founded [...], who fashioned⁷ the statues which rest upon their seat in the beautiful handiwork of Ptah,⁸ the processional bark of the lords of Abydos, gilded in pure gold, their barks of silver⁹ out of which the gods' barks are fashioned, overlaid with gold of Asia, those who are in the barks in their august forms, in their forms in which they occur. He sets down for them the god's offering in excess of their daily offerings. The festivals of the sky and of the earth on their days

WEST WALL.

and all the seasonal feasts at their due season, their many offering tables being of gold and silver, without limit, and with incense to purify the offerings for their kas, Amen-Re' being at their head, the reward for these being life, stability, and dominion for the son of Re', Usimare-setepenre' [?BROKEN?].

NORTH WALL.

[Osiris], Foremost of the Westerners, Isis the great, god's mother, Horus, Protector of his father, Soker-Osiris, who is in Shetyt, Nefertem, Lord of food, Horus the Rejoicer, Min, Bull-of-his-Mother, I'H-Horus, who is in the sky, the ka of the King Menmaetre', gods and goddesses who reside in the Mansion of Menmaetre', - the making for them of a place for pure, divine offerings, for the unveiling of the face, [....], offering to them as their daily offering upon their pure offering table, within their mysterious palace for the reception of offerings¹⁰ after the bringing of the god to his food,¹¹ together with the pure, divine offerings which are offered to their kas daily upon their great seat, and to the sacred image,¹² to the processional bark of their Majesties in

WEST WALL.

performance of their cultus duties, at the correct moment every day [LOST]. "

The inscription along the ledges may be subdivided into two main sections, each of which affords us different information:-

- 1) SOUTH WALL and part of WEST WALL.

This refers to the cultus images and materials used in connection with the ritual of the gods.

2) NORTH WALL and part of WEST WALL.

This section deals with the gods present in the temple, and the rituals and ritual offerings which are made to them.

Part of this inscription corresponds to Episode 25 of the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors (see note II). The ledge inscriptions tell us that the reception of offerings took place after the bringing of the god to his food. As well as at Abydos, at Edfu and the other Ptolemaic temples, the rite of bringing the god to his food preceded that of causing the food to endure (Episode 40-srwd htpw-ntr); according to the papyri versions, this Episode 40 was the last spell of the reversion rites. Here, therefore, in this particular inscription, the rite of srwd htpw-ntr appears to be equivalent to the reception of the offerings (sm3-ht).

The inscription also tells us that "...the pure divine offerings ...are offered to their (i.e.the gods') kas daily..." This would appear to confirm that the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors, performed as a sequel to the Daily Ritual, was in fact carried out every day, in the same way as the Daily Ritual.

We would suggest, from the evidence which this inscription provides, that the Hall of Barks, in addition to its function as a storage place for the sacred barks, and a room from which access to the rooftop could be gained, had in fact a far more important purpose. We consider that the Hall was, as the inscription informs us, the place where the "reception of the offerings" took place daily. After the daily ritual had been performed in the six chapels of the Sanctuary, and the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors had succeeded it in the Chapel of Sethos, the Nefertem-Ptah-Soker complex, and, finally, along the Gallery of the Lists, the priests, we would suggest, then entered the Hall of Barks, bearing the food offerings, and here performed the culminating stages of the entire ritual, before the food was apportioned between the priests themselves.

Further proof that the Hall of Barks is the chamber where the ritual ends is afforded us by the position of the reliefs in the Gallery of the Lists. The scenes in this Gallery only continue along the walls as far as the Entrance to the Hall of Barks; the southernmost part of the Gallery has never been decorated. If the ritual had proceeded along the full length of the Gallery, and the priests had used the exit leading from

the Butchers' Hall into the temple enclosure, then surely the relevant ritual scenes would have occupied the southernmost parts of the walls in the Gallery. On the other hand, if the ritual procession had left the Gallery of the Lists as soon as the Entrance to the Corridor of the Bull had been reached, then it also seems unlikely that the wall area between this entrance and the next entrance to the Hall of Barks would have been decorated. However, the wall scenes in this Gallery continue as far, and only as far, as the entrance to the Hall of Barks. Therefore, in taking these two factors into account,- the ledge inscriptions, giving the use to which the room was put, and the position of the scenes in the Gallery outside, -we would conclude that this Hall was used as a final reception hall and depository for the food offerings of the Daily and Ancestral Rituals.

THE BUTCHERS' HALL.

The Butchers Hall (Court A in Mariette's plan)¹ is a rectangular courtyard, bordered on three sides by a colonnade. Two doorways give access to the hall; one leads from the Gallery of the Lists and the temple proper, the other, in the east wall, opens directly into the so-called palace area. Four other doorways in the West and South Walls lead into various rooms, the purpose of which will be discussed below.

The purpose for which this hall was built was undoubtedly as a slaughter-house, where animals were killed and the meat was jointed and prepared for offering to the gods of the temple. A decorative soubassment below the wall reliefs in this yard shows clearly that this was the type of work which was undertaken in this area of the temple. The aforementioned door in the East Wall was obviously included here so that the animals could be brought directly into the Hall from the outside stables.

A slaughter-house was probably included in all temple complexes; it would either be situated near the temple, among the cluster of out-buildings which surrounded the temple, or actually enclosed within the temple building itself, but set apart from the main block. Because of the impure nature of the slaughtering activities, it was necessary to separate the yard from the temple in some way. At Abydos, the slaughter-yard and the adjoining rooms form a separate complex of buildings, within the temple building, but removed from the sacred areas.

The relief work in this hall is of a mediocre standard; as far as the entrance to Room 17 (the room with the four columns), the scenes are executed in relief en-creux; beyond this point, to the south, the figures are merely outlined in paint, and the carving of the figures has never been completed. The cartouches of Sethos occur in the reliefs, but the work does not seem to have been completed by his successor, an understandable omission when the insignificant location of this hall is taken into account.

Other architectural features include the columns and a set of storage vessels located here. Altogether, there are seven columns in the hall; these, like the walls, are constructed of sandstone; the column which faces the entrance from the Gallery of the Lists is attached to the East Wall of the hall² thus hiding the slaughtering activities from the pure and sacred places which occupied that part of the temple.

In front of this column, in the ground, a small hole can still be seen, which was presumably made there to catch the

blood running down from the slaughtered animals³. The yard, it is said, was drained by a series of channels as in the slaughterhouse at the sun sanctuary of Abusir.⁴

In front of the east wall, the remains can still be seen of three storage vessels, set in a sandstone base⁵. Many broken water-pots were also found here, and it has been suggested that this was the site of Strabo's well.⁶ Two red brick pits existed, one in the hall, the other outside, several metres from the wall; these however appear to have been of fairly modern construction, and were thought to have been used either when the hall was made into a Coptic church, or when the temple itself was taken over and used as a village. The first of these wells was in a bad state of preservation, the second was in a better condition, in Mariette's day⁷.

The Butchers Hall may be connected in some way with the magazines attached to the palace of Sethos I.⁸ This outbuilding is bounded on the north and west by thick mud-brick walls, which run parallel to the south wall of the temple, and the east wall of the Butchers Hall. A door in the magazines gives easy access to the Butchers Hall. In the magazines, a large number of animal bones occur, mostly belonging to oxen and rams⁹; possibly, they are the remains of animals slaughtered in the temple for sacrifice. They were apparently discovered^{together} with Roman pottery, and the magazines themselves were already ruined when these burnt bones were placed there; however, it is feasible that at an earlier date the magazines were perhaps used as stables in which the animals were kept until they were led out of the magazines and into the Butchers Hall through the door in the east wall, to be killed. The burnt animal bones of the Roman Period were perhaps a memory of the connection which had once existed between the magazines and the Butchers Hall. If other food offerings, and vessels and utensils used in the preparation of the meat offerings in the Butchers Hall were also stored in these magazines, they, being impure, were probably brought into the temple by this doorway, thus avoiding the necessity to take them through the sacred areas of the building.

Before dicussing the reliefs in the hall and their ritual interpretation, a brief list¹⁰ will be given to show in which temples known instances of slaughterhouses occur:-

- 1) Tuthmosis IV in Karnak.
- 2) Temple of Sethos I, Qurna, Room XXXIX * XLI.
- 3) Temple of Ramesses III, Medinet Habu, Rooms 5 and 6.

DESCRIPTION OF THE SCENES IN THE BUTCHERS HALL.¹¹

NORTH WALL.

The Entrance from the Gallery of the Lists.

Lintel.

On the left, King Sethos, wearing the White Crown, runs with two vessels towards Wepwawet "of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands."

Title.

"Offering a libation that he may make a granted life."

On the right, the scene is partly destroyed, but the king is seen running with an oar and flail to Horus.

Title.

"Seizing the oar for his father that he may make a granted life."

Door-jambs.

On the left side, Sethos offers ointment to Osiris, incense to Horus, while on the right, the king offers a nmst-vessel to Osiris, and appears before Isis (almost destroyed).

EAST WALL.

The scenes on this wall are badly damaged. One scene can still be discerned, in which the king stands before a seated god.

NORTH WALL.

Upper Register.

This scene shows the king standing with a censer in one hand, while in the other, he holds a hrp-wand¹² which he extends over a pile of offerings; he is in the presence of Osiris, Isis, Horus and Wepwawet. Osiris Onnophris says,-

"My heart rejoices, [I receive?] thy oblation, I rejoice at thy beauty, I am joyful at what thou hast done, [Master of the Ritual? Protector of his father.]"

Wepwawet says,-

"How beautiful is thy Mansion of Abydos, how excellent is it and its apartments; all gods and goddesses rest in its shrine, the Kings of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Ancestors and the glorious ones and the dead, they are united with the offerings which thou givest, with the provisions of thy temple. I am thy father, who leads to thee all the lakes and all the marshlands."

Lower Register.

This soubassment is decorated with scenes showing the activities which occurred in this hall. Nearest the west end, two gazelles are shown, trussed ready for slaughter; these are followed by a scene in which a butcher cuts joints of meat off a slain bull;

he is supervised in this work by a lector-priest (hry-hb), and the scene is entitled,-

"Slaughtering a young bull."

The next scene shows two men holding down and killing an oryx.

The scene is entitled,-

"Slaughtering an oryx. Digging along the choice portions of an oryx."

The butchers are inspected in the work by a Prophet (hm-ntr.)

Various men now carry joints of meat into the temple proper; the scene is entitled,-

"Bringing in the choice meats."

At the front of the procession marches the god's father (it ntr), followed by a lector-priest, another god's father, and a second lector-priest. At the front of the procession stand two men; the first, his name barely discernible, holds up a censer to purify the meat offerings; above him are the words "Making incense". Behind him, with one arm raised, stands a "Minstrel."¹³

WEST WALL.

BETWEEN THE NORTH END AND ENTRANCE TO ROOM 17.

Upper Register.

The king pours a libation over a pile of offerings; before him stands Ptah, behind whom is Sekhmet, holding a staff decorated with jubilees. The king says,-

"Oh, Ptah, Lord of Truth....take to thee these thy libations which are in this land, which engender all living things, all things which this land gives."

Lower Register.

This comprises another section of the Butchers' soubassment.

Nearest the south end, two men, watched by a supervisor (the lector-priest) tie up a bull. Above the bull are the words,-

"Dragging [a bull] to the slaughterhouse."¹⁴

Behind one of the butchers are the words,-

"Dragging a long-horned ox to the slaughterhouse."

The next scene shows two men also trussing up a bull. Above one man is the word "Slaughtering"; and above the bull, "Lassoing an ox." These butchers are supervised by a third man, who raises one arm. He appears to be dedicating the offering.¹⁵

ENTRANCE TO ROOM 17.

Lintel.

On the left, the king offers two jars to Nefertem.

Title.

"Offering a libation to his father, that he may make a granted life."

On the right, the king offers wine to Horus.

Title.

"Offering wine to his father, that he may make a granted life."

Door-jambs.

On the left, the king, "beloved of Min, Lord of Akhmim", wearing the White Crown, holds a staff and hd-mace. Accompanying him are the words,-

"Everyone who enters into this temple, let them be very pure."

On the right, the scene is the same, except that here, the king wears the Red Crown, and is "[beloved] of Re'-Harakhte."

BETWEEN THE ENTRANCE TO ROOM 17 and ENTRANCE TO ROOM 16.

From this point onwards, the scenes are painted and not carved, and the reliefs are thus badly preserved.

The king stands and makes an offering in front of a pile of offerings, to an enthroned god, who is accompanied by a standing goddess.

BETWEEN ENTRANCE TO ROOM 16 and ENTRANCE TO ROOM 15.

The king makes offering to an enthroned god and a standing goddess; before the king is a pile of meat and game offerings. No texts are preserved.

SOUTH WALL.

Here, the paintings are in a poor state of preservation. Two scenes can, however, still be seen; on the left, the king, standing with his back to the Entrance to Room 14, makes offering before a pile of meat and game offering, to an enthroned god and goddess. In the second scene, the king makes an offering; here, sufficient space exists for the inclusion of a seated god, but no trace of such a figure can be seen. The legs and feet of a standing goddess still remain, but, again, on this wall, no texts are visible.

INTERPRETATION OF THE RELIEFS.

There are two types of scenes in the Butchers Hall. First, in the Upper Registers, various kinds of offerings are being presented to the gods; these scenes, it has already been stated, were possibly placed here to ensure that the meat offerings were purified; in one scene, the king is censuring the offering.

The Lower Registers were occupied with a soubassment showing the animals being led in and slaughtered, before the carcasses were jointed and the meat taken from the hall to the kitchens to be prepared as offerings at the god's table.

We now face the problem of whether these representations of animal sacrifice were in fact included on these walls merely as a form of decoration indicating the use of the hall, or whether they indeed comprised part of a ritual which was performed in this chamber. Such a ritual would ensure the purity of this area, despite the nature of the activities which took place here.

A ritual for slaughtering animals existed in Ancient Egypt; the most important representations of this have been found in the Re'-temple of Ne-woser-re', in the dramatical texts of the Ramesseum Papyrus of the Middle Kingdom, and in the Book of the Opening of the Mouth in the New Kingdom as preserved in various sources, including a tomb and temple.¹⁶ Only the sacrifice of a bull is dealt with in the above versions, but other rituals undoubtedly existed for other species. However, the sacrifice of the bull is thought to have had its origin in an earlier hunting tradition,¹⁷ and the bull-hunting and bull-slaughtering rituals were probably the original sources from which developed slaughtering rituals for all animals.

Otto¹⁸ considers that the slaughtering scenes are only part of a longer ritual, which included originally rites for lassoing a wild bull, fettering the animal, and finally cutting it into pieces, after it had first been killed or had its heart cut out at the same time as its dismemberment.¹⁹ He considers that the rite entitled "Lassoing the male Upper Egyptian bull by the king" in the Corridor of the Bull was at one time part of this ritual. The rites are never given anywhere consecutively in this order, and in fact it is mostly the slaughtering scenes which occur alone. Thus these slaughtering scenes now appear to represent daily activities rather than the definite stage in a longer ritual, which they perhaps once indicated.

Another interpretation of animal sacrifice, as we have already seen,²⁰ is when the slaughtering is identified with the pursuit

and destruction of an enemy; the sacrificial animal is thus taken to represent traditional adversaries. The purpose of these butchering scenes could thus be to ensure that the king's enemies, by the processes of sympathetic magic, would be utterly destroyed.

We thus have three interpretations of these scenes; either the scenes are merely decorative, or they ensured the defeat of the king's enemies, or they formed part of an earlier, more complete ritual which served to transform an undeniably impure action into a rite which could form part of the temple cult. If the position of these scenes is taken into account, and also the fact that elsewhere in this temple it has been our contention that reliefs always have a ritual significance and are not merely decorative in purpose, it must be assumed that the soubassment showing the butchering scenes was in fact representing an earlier ritual which rid the slaughtering activities of some of their impurity. Perhaps because of this, the Slaughterhouse, entitled in the inscriptions "the pure hall", was sometimes included in the main temple complex, instead of being completely banished to the outside area. Even this seemingly impure process, it appears, once translated into terms of ritual, could be tolerated within the temple building, and the Butchers Hall at Abydos, rather than being just a slaughter-yard, was also a place for ritual.

THE STORE-ROOMS LEADING OFF THE BUTCHERS HALL.- ROOMS 15 and 16.

Rooms 15 and 16¹ (J and C in Mariette's plan)² both lead off the Butchers Hall, and both are supported by two columns. According to Mariette's plan, there was no entry into Room 15 (J) from the Butchers Hall, but a door connected Room 15 with Store-room B (Room H). This connecting doorway was probably built at a later date, when the Christains were living in parts of the temple; at the same time, a doorway was also made to connect Rooms 15 and 14 (Rooms J and D.)

Rooms 15 and 16 have references to slaughtering, and were probably subsidiary slaughter chambers, or places where the equipment used in the slaughtering halls was kept.

ROOM 14 (ROOM D.)

This small room also leading off the Butchers Hall was possibly a purifying chapel, where the priests were prepared and cleansed in readiness for the rituals.³

Since the relief and inscriptional material in these rooms is negligible, it is impossible to discuss their use in greater detail.

ROOM 17.

Leading off the Butchers Hall, there is a room with four columns - Room 17 on the Calverley plan.¹ This room is square in shape, and the walls are decorated with painted reliefs, which indicate that this was used as a subsidiary slaughterhouse². The columns in this room are made of sandstone, but the walls have a limestone coating on top of which are painted the reliefs. In the west wall, near the southern end, a doorway was later constructed, which gave access to the Anteroom(RoomE) and the adjoining complex of storerooms.³

ROOM 17.

THE ROOM WITH THE FOUR COLUMNS.

EAST WALL.

Right side.

Only the upper scene is preserved. A male figure, wearing the side-lock of youth, stands before a pile of offerings; he is in the presence of the gods of the Ennead. The face of the wall is badly destroyed, and only three words- "Lord of Joy"-⁴ are discernible.

Left side.

Lower scene.

Because of the rubbish which today lies piled against this wall, it is almost impossible to trace any outlines on this register. The lower part of the register is probably blank, but at the top, traces of three heads remain.

Upper scene.

A male figure stands before a pile of offerings, and nearby⁵ are the gods of the Ennead. The following inscription remains,-
"Utterance by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (cartouche) son of Re', to his father OSIRIS, Geb [...] in Abydos [...], Bull-of-his-Mother, Soker-Hnw, Nefertem, [Anubis?], Lord of the necropolis, the Ennead who are in the Mansion of Manmaetre'. Presenting the pure things to your ka upon earth, in the festivals which are in my house, things at all their seasonal festivals, and at their appropriate days,- cattle, oxen, assembled in the pure slaughterhouse, [...], bulls for the workshop, oxen [...]. Presented in the broad-hall,-short-horned cattle slaughtered upon the ground, antelopes, ibex, and gazelles, united as an offering, ro-geese [... for Amen-Re'.] in his festival of 'Ipet, and of the Valley, and at the New Moon Festival of Amun-Re'-Khepri, as his oblation at the beginning of the year, and all his feasts of heaven and earth, being in my house of millions, and every periplus of Ptah, Lord of Truth, in the Festival of Memphis, the Festival of Raiment, of He-who-is-south-of-his-wall, in this festival in Tanenet, every festival of the Lord of Abydos, Wepwawet of Resnet, the neteryt festival of Ptah-Soker, and the erection of the Djed-pillar in Moeris (?). I am thy son, thy heir upon earth, who acts as thou wishes, the cattle, my house [...], abiding in my cartouche, and glorified in thy names, in order that thy face may be purified."

Between the upper and lower registers of these two scenes, there is a horizontal band of hieroglyphic inscription,

which also occurs between the upper and lower registers on the other three walls. This will be discussed below.

Both these scenes represent the king offering slaughtered cattle to the Ennead; the piles of offerings in the reliefs are comprised of carcasses of cattle.

SOUTH WALL

Upper Register.

Scene A. (nearest the east end.)

The king, in the presence of Geb, lassoes a bull. Near the king are the words,-

"Utterance by [Sety Merenptah], Lord of [the Two Lands], to his father, Geb, Prince of the gods. (I) have come to [thee], to see thy beauty resting in thy palace, to thee [.....] to thee, oh, great [.....], lord of [.....], who lassoes [.....] who grasps with [.....], his sword in his left [hand].⁶

Between the figures of the king and Geb are the words,-

"Appearance of the king in full speed [in his form] of Montu with his weapons [.....]. " ⁷

Scene B.

The king ties up a bull in the presence of Wepwawet, who grants him the usual favours. The king addresses the god, "who runs speedily", with these words,-⁸

"My arms hold the lasso to, lasso the bull on his horns; I have seized him with my right hand around his upper foreleg and the shanks⁹ with my left arm. [.....] Thou piercest him as Wenti.¹⁰

Accompanying the king are the words,¹¹

"Appearance of the king in his forms of Montu; he seizes the oar, [.....], he is like the falcon, equipped and renowned, Lord of Behdet, variegated of feathers, [.....] his arms, smite like [.....], he has caught sight of his enemies, and he has overthrown [.....] of Upper Egypt, before the Lord of the necropolis, lassoed by his lasso, his strong arm grasps [.....] of Lower Egypt, who fall....Menmaetre', he has overthrown his enemies."

Scene C.

The king is engaged in killing an antelope, in the presence of Re'-Harakhte.

Title.

"Striking an antelope for his father."¹²

Scene D.

The king, wearing the Red Crown, stands with a libation and censer before a seated goddess. He censes a pile of gazelles. This scene is in a poor state of preservation.

Scene E.

The king stands with a censer before Ptah (seated.)

Lower Register.

This register is badly destroyed, and the scenes are barely discernible. They consist of various butchering activities, and this soubassment is similar to that found in the Butchers Hall. Men are engaged in cutting up animals, and conveying the joints to the god's table. The inscriptions tell us that the oxen are for the Festival of Ipet, and one animal is named,-

"First ox for the Festival of Ipet, who is in the Mansion of Menmaetre', made from fat and [...], made of 'dr, 53, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{64}$." ¹³

The scene is entitled "Subduing the cattle." ¹⁴

WEST WALL.

Upper Register.

Scene A. (nearest south end.)

The king makes a htp-di-nsw to Re'-Harakhte (enthroned). The king's words are as follows, - ¹⁵

"A-boon-which-the-king-gives to Re'-Harakhte, sole lord, who came into existence beforehand, King of Heaven, he shines forth upon earth, and strides forth at the voice of [...]. It is I who call to thee, and thou marchest around at my cry; receive thy offerings, and be content with thy food. I am thy son, whom thou hast loved; place me before thee, in thy bark, that I may sail the heaven with thee. Grant that I may be [one of the im]-perishable ones."

The god replies, -

"How beautiful is thy oblation upon earth in thy mansion of Abydos. Thou hast given more than what the ancestral gods have made; thou hast given for futurity." ¹⁶

Scene B.

The king is before Amun (seated) and Mut, "Lady of Asher" ¹⁷ (standing). He is "beloved of Amen-Re', King of gods." ¹⁸ The god addresses him with these words, -

"I am thy great father in the Ennead. It is I who bore thy Majesty, I am together with thee in all the foreign lands, making thy power stronger." ¹⁹

Scene C.

The king stands before Osiris and Isis "the great, god's mother." ²⁰ Near the king are the words, -

"....a-boon-which-the-king-gives for his father Osiris [....]."21

A separate inscription reads,-

"Utterance by the gods and goddesses who are in the Mansion of [Menmaetre']. We give [....] all [....] and joy forever."22 Thy annals for the lifetime of the sky, thou appearing as ruler of the living like Re', forever."

Scene D.

This scene shows the king before Ptah; the inscription is destroyed.

Lower Register.

This again shows butchering scenes. At the north end a w'b-priest is involved with the bringing in of the joints. The title above the animals reads,-

"Oxen of the New Moon Festival and Periplus, which are in the Mansion of Menmaetre'."23

Also in this register, involved in these activities, is a "scribe in the god's house."24

At the southern end of the register, the inscription reads,-

"Vase weighing 1,065 deben, 2 kite."25

NORTH WALL.

Upper Register.

Scene A. (nearest west end.)

This scene is mostly destroyed. A throne base remains, on which originally sat a god. The king stands before the enthroned god and behind him stands a goddess (the feet only of these two figures remain.)

Scene B.

The king and three men stand before a field goddess; the three men are pulling a net.

Title.

"Marching through the marshes."26

Behind the king are the words,-27

"[....] Pe and Depet, Mistress of Ntryt, who is in Sais, Mistress of Thebes, [....] who bore my beauty...."

In front of the king is the inscription,-28

"Lord of Eshmunein [....] Osiris. Utterance. My arms are outstretched at thy coming, I spread out the net.....for thee in the land, I traverse the marshes, I trap for thee thy booty [.....] I bring to [thee hundreds of thousands] of geese (st) and thousands of ducks, in the midst of the gods."

The field goddess says,-29

"I have come to thee.....I assemble for thee the wild birds together for the bird-pools of thy Mansion of Menmaetre'."

Lower Register.

Here again the register is occupied with scenes of butchering. The inscriptions read,-

"Lassoing the bull."³⁰

"Slaughtering the bull and ibex."³¹

"Bringing in the bull."³²

"Ox for the Festival of the New Moon of Isis, who resides in the Mansion of Menmaetre'."³³

On this wall is a later Coptic inscription.

HORIZONTAL INSCRIPTION RUNNING BETWEEN THE UPPER AND LOWER REGISTERS ON THE WALLS OF ROOM 17.³⁴

This inscription describes the building of a slaughter-house and also the animals killed there.

"(Titulary) The making for him of a monument, for [his father] Amen-Re', King of gods, Re'-Harakhte, Ptah, the Lord [who-is-south-of-his-wall], Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, [who rules] Abydos, the gods and goddesses, who are in the Mansion of Menmaetre', - the making for them of a pure hall, of beautiful white limestone of Turah, [.....] [black, in quartzite], its courts and its storehouses, with its pillars, walls and their doors in cedar-wood of Lebahon, [banded with] Asiatic copper, painted on the walls and engraved in the great name (cartouche), Lord of the Two Lands, Menmaetre', [in order to offer] pure meat portions, for [all] his fathers, the gods who are in the Mansions, [feasts] at their appropriate days, consisting of long-horned cattle, calves, [bulls], short-horned cattle, oryxes, gazelles, and mrwt-bulls, abiding in their festivals in the Mansion of Menmaetre' [in Abydos], on behalf of the life, prosperity and health of the son of Re', (cartouche.)"

Here the scenes are similar to those found in the Butchers Hall; we have a soubassment showing butchers engaged in ceremonially slaying animals and preparing the meat; these presumably are introduced here on account of the reason for which they were included in the scenes in the Butchers Hall - in order to purify the slaughtering activities which took place in this chamber, by transforming the actions into a ritual. Other scenes which occur higher on the walls show the king purifying the meat and offering food to the gods.

One scene is of particular interest; this is the relief showing the trapping of creatures in a net, which occurs on the North Wall, in the Upper Register. A similar scene, in the Corridor of the Bull,³⁵ represents the "Subduing of the Nobility", which was primarily a magic rite designed to protect the king against his enemies, and to establish his authority over his subjects. Since one aspect of animal sacrifice was that by magical transformation, it was considered to imbue the king with additional powers of the slain victim, and to give him greater protection, it is therefore logical that this scene should be included here. From the slain animal victims, the king, it was thought, would receive some of their strength, and this rite also represented the ensnarement of creatures, who were identified with the king's enemies, and who, when finally slain, would magically increase the king's power. Both the slaughtering activities which occurred here, and this wall relief would ensure that the king was supreme.

THE STOREROOMS IN THE SOUTH-WEST SECTION OF THE SOUTH
WING.

These rooms - the Anteroom, Storerooms A,B,C, and D, according to the Calverley plan, and Rooms E,F,G,H,and I on Mariette's plan- are on a higher ground level than any other group of rooms in the temple. Together, they form a separate group of rooms, which can be entered from the temple enclosure, and which does not rely upon any means of communication with any other part of the temple. From the outside entrance into the Stairway Passage right down to the south-western corner of the south wing of the temple, the temple wall is of a higher level, and the doorway situated at the top of the Stairway Passage and the doorway which gives access to the Anteroom (E) from the temple enclosure are in fact on the same level.¹ This area of the temple is the work of Sethos I, and there are also indications that some work was carried out here by Merenptah. The walls are, for the most part, painted, and the name of Sethos occurs in the inscriptions given on painted objects. This part of the temple was never, however, completed and carved.

THE ANTE-ROOM. (ROOM E).

This room² gives access on its north and south walls to the four storerooms.

NORTH WALL.

Doorway to Room C.

The lintel and door-jambs are blank; on the left side of the doorway there are vague traces of paint and a few hieroglyphic signs.

Doorway to Room D.

Around the lintel and the doorjambs of this doorway are the titulary and cartouches of Merenptah. He is described as "Beloved of Nefertem, Ptah who-is-south-of-his wall, Ptah, Lord of truth, and of Sekhmet."

To the left of the doorway are traces of paint (yellow), which once probably formed a framing band to the doorway.

To the right of this doorway are some very faint traces of paint, showing that this wall was decorated with painted work.

SOUTH WALL.

A few traces of red paint survive, but these are barely discernible.

Doorway to Room B.

Above the doorway to Storeroom B, there are traces of the titulary of Merenptah, who is described as

"Beloved of Inw, Re'-Harakhte, Atum and Iw-s-33-s".

Between the doorways to Rooms A and B there are the remains of two designs comprised of heb-sed symbols, in addition to the tail worn ceremonially by a king or god, who would have faced towards the left.

Doorway to Room A.

The lintel and jambs are blank. To the right of the doorway there is a repetition of the heb-sed design mentioned above.

WEST WALL.

All traces are in paint, and these are very faint. On the north side of the doorway there are faint traces of line drawings in red paint. The north thickness of the west doorway gives the titulary of a king, probably Sethos I. The south thickness gives the words,-

"....good god, Lord of the Two Lands, Menmaetre', son of Re', lord (cartouche)."

To the south side of the doorway, there are faint traces of a standing figure with the head of a cobra, who is facing to the right.

EAST WALL.

Here, four scenes are discernible.

Scene A. (north side.)

A half-carved, unfinished figure faces towards the left. At the bottom of the wall is a step or shelf which may have run along all four sides of this room.

Scene B.

The king (facing right), in relief en creux, adores an enshrined god.

Scene C.

A god (facing right), who is enshrined, is adored by the king. Both figures are executed in relief en creux.

Scene D.

A standing figure, with uplifted arms, sketched in red paint, but never completed and carved, stands before Thoth (who faces right and who is carved in relief en creux).

A doorway was at some time cut into this wall in Scene D, joining the Anteroom with Room 17; it was probably cut during the later period, when the Christians occupied the temple, and was possibly walled up again in modern times - the outer facing of the blocks is definitely of modern mortar.

STOREROOM A.

EAST WALL.

Here, there are no texts; beginning from the northern end, there are extremely faint traces of a lion-headed goddess, who faces towards the left; before her is a golden stand, and beyond this are traces of the façade of a building, worked in red and yellow paint. A little further along, a painted door can be discerned.³ Next to this door are three shrines; the writing between the first and second shrines is illegible; between the second and third are the words,-

"[.....] of granite, creating(?) a statue from gold."⁴

Another door,⁵ painted with a yellow background and red paint designs, is placed after this shrine. Then, after this door, there are three more shrines. Between the third and fourth are the words,-⁶

"[.....] of stone, the two doors of copper, creating the statue beaten out of gold."

The writing between the fourth and fifth shrines is illegible. Remains of the fourth shrine⁷ are to be seen; it has three registers, each divided into four scenes, some of which are broken and some of which are not completed.

The first scene in the second register. (reading from left to right)

This shows Sethos I (on the left) facing Mut "Lady of Heaven". It is entitled,- "Offering incense to his mother."

The second scene in the second register.

This shows the king (on the left) facing Khonsu "in Thebes, Neferhotep, Lord of Heaven", who grants all health. The scene is entitled,- "Offering md-ointment to his father."

The second scene in the lowest register.

This shows the king before Amenet "Lady of Heaven". It is entitled,- "Making incense and libation for his father."⁸

In the fifth shrine, only two registers, each divided into four scenes, are preserved; all of these are partly destroyed or incomplete, except one - the second scene in the lower register, where the king is before Mut "Lady of Heaven."

At the end of this section of the wall, there is another faintly painted doorway.⁹ At the southernmost end of the wall, the face of the wall is almost completely destroyed.

WEST WALL.¹⁰

Here, at the southern end, the wall is destroyed; in the centre, in the Upper Register, there are very faint traces of three figures, and in the Lower Register, the king faces left

before two gods. One god has a ceremonial tail; behind the king is a kneeling man. At the northernmost end, there is the following inscription,-¹¹

"Utterance by Thoth, Foremost of the Two Mounds of the Hare Nome, who resides in the Mansion of Menmaetre'. May the Mansion of [Menmaetre'] remain, may the spirits rest in its interior. It is thy father Amen-Re' who has given command to thee to create [.....] he grants that thou mayest be [.....] with riches, measured in quadruple hekats, its silver in what is said [.....] of earth, joined in a number of millions [.....] forever and ever."

This scene shows men kneeling with bowls in their hands; behind them are vases and harps, while at the top of the scene, pectorals, gold collars and metal vases are shown. One other reference to harps and musical instruments exists in the temple,- in Storeroom D, on the West Wall. The harps have two sets of strings, apparently to be played with both hands; this form with crossing strings is hitherto unknown.¹² Here also is a wine-press, such as is seen in Old Kingdom tombs.¹³

At the northernmost end of the scene, a figure of the king is shown standing, with a staff, in the company of Thoth.

SOUTH WALL.¹⁴

This wall is almost entirely destroyed. Only the blocks at the bottom of the wall remain, and the face of these is lost.

NORTH WALL.¹⁵

All traces of this wall are very faint.

Scene A. (to the left of the doorway to the Anteroom.)

The king, wearing the White Crown, and facing to the right, stands before a seated god,¹⁶ and between the figures is an offering table. The inscription on this door-jamb reads,-¹⁷

"Everything that enters into the Treasury of this Treasury of millions and millions [of years] of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (cartouche), being of gold and silver and lapis-lazuli, turquoise and all sorts of precious stones of all lands, of the god's land, all [the gifts] of the [Two Lands] and the foreign lands, created for Re', in the first occasion, flooding therein [.....] millions and millions, they remain [.....], his [.....] son of Re', (cartouche), given life, (cartouche)."

Scene B.

On the right side of the door, the scene shows the king, wearing the Red Crown, before a seated god.¹⁸ The jamb inscription reads,-

"[.....] of this Mansion of millions [.....] all [.....] all offerings of the flat lands and the hill countries [.....] [created by the sky and made by the earth]"¹⁹

STOREROOM B.²⁰

SOUTH WALL.²¹

The face of this wall is completely destroyed.

WEST WALL.

The traces of paint on this wall are very faint. At the north end of the wall, the king stands facing left, before traces (yellow) of vases and stands of various shapes, all of which are faintly outlined. Behind the king stands Thoth, holding out a scribal palette, and saying to Amun,-²²

"[Hundreds of thousands?] [.....] for the Lord of the monument, in offering to the lord of the offering table, silver and [.....]."

NORTH WALL.

Jambs of the doorway leading to the Ante-room.²³

Here, there were perhaps once some hieroglyphic inscriptions which are now completely destroyed.

Lintel.

Left scene.

A sphinx faces left on a pedestal; the rest of the scene is destroyed.

Right scene.

A similar seated sphinx faces to the right. The accompanying inscription reads,-

"[.....] King, Lord of the Two Lands, (cartouche) in creating for thee a sanctuary in the [.....] of Abydos, the Great Mansion like the horizon[of the sky?]."²⁴

Scene A. (to the left of the doorway.)

A standing figure faces right.

Scene B. (to the right of the doorway.)

A standing figure faces left.

The lintel inscription is preserved,-

"Everything that enters into the Treasury of this Mansion of Millions of Years (of) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (cartouche), namely gold, silver, and all precious metals, being the tribute of every foreign land, united in millions, hundred thousands, ten thousands, thousands, hundreds and tens, by Thoth, Lord of Hieraconpolis...."²⁵

EAST WALL.

All traces are in paint. At the northernmost end, there are the traces of the tail and kilt of a standing figure, facing left. In front are the words,-

"[.....] in order that he may make a granted life, like Re'." ²⁶

Next to this are two shrines, and in front of these, a door or shrine, painted solidly with red paint, with no golden bands. ²⁷

We now have remains of another painted shrine, bearing the words

"Offerings (to) Atum in the Mansion of Menmaetre'." ²⁸

The second adjoining shrine has three registers, each divided into four scenes.

Top register.

Scene 1, (left). ²⁹

The king (facing right) before Re'-Harakhte.

Title.

"Placing the arms upon his father Re'-Harakhte, that he may make a granted life."

Scene 2.

The king (facing right) offers to a god.

Title.

"Offering ointment to his father...."

Scene 3.

The king (facing left) offers to Atum.

Title.

"Offering md-ointment to his father Atum, Lord of the Two Lands, the Heliopolitan."

Scene 4.

The king faces left.

Title.

"Offering the Menu, that he may make a [granted life]."

Second register.

Scene 1.

Thoth (facing right) sits on the ground. The inscription is lost.

Scene 2.

The king (facing right) makes an offering.

Title.

"Offering incense to his father that he may make a granted life."

Scene 3.

The king (Sethos I) faces left and offers to Re'-Harakhte, "Lord of Heaven."

Title.

"Offering incense to his father."

Scene 4.

Thoth sits on the ground and says,-

"(I) establish thy annals for thee, in [writing] like Re', who acted before thee [....]."

Lowest register.

The titulary of Sethos I is given.

Between the second and third shrines are the words,-

"[....] Re' in the Thinite Nome."

Next to this are the remains of a painted door,³⁰ bearing two scenes. Both scenes show Sethos I (on the left) offering to Re'-Harakhte, "great god."

Title.

"Offering truth to the Mistress³¹ of truth, given life."

Between this and the next shrine are the words,-

"[...].in the Mansion of Menmaetre', [like] Re'." ³²

Next to this are two more stands, and then we see the tail and legs of an enthroned figure.

At the southernmost end of this wall is a doorway, sunk below ground level, cut after the wall was finished, but still constructed in ancient times; this door led into Room 15, and was probably one of those doors made by the Christians who occupied the temple.

STOREROOM C.³³

SOUTH WALL.

Scene A. (to the left of the doorway to the Anteroom).

Part of this scene is broken and is replaced by modern cement. The king (wearing the Red Crown) faces to the right before Osiris (enthroned), "who resides in the Mansion of Menmaetre'."³⁴

Part of the lintel inscription remains,-

"Entering of goods to the Treasury [.....] thy provisions. [.....] hundreds of thousands and tens of thousands [.....]."³⁵

Scene B.

The king (wearing the White Crown) faces left and stands before Osiris "great god, Lord of Abydos",³⁶ and the accompanying inscription reads,-

"[May he grant to] thee all life, and dominion and all health like Re'."³⁷

NORTH WALL.

Only the base of the wall is preserved. There are traces of a doorway cut through the wall at the west end, but this was constructed at a later date.

EAST WALL.

Starting from the north end, there are vague traces of yellow paint; all work in this room is executed in red or yellow paint and nothing has been carved.

Next to this, there is a doorway leading into Room D, and this appears to be Pharaonic, but it was not built at the same time as the wall.

A series of seven shrines occurs in this room.

SHRINE A.³⁸

This representation of a shrine is hardly visible and the inscription is destroyed.

SHRINE B.³⁹

Adjoining this is a second shrine, with three registers, each containing four scenes. In the top register, the first two scenes (from the left) are destroyed; the third has the inscription,- "[.....] [Offering] md-ointment."

The title of the fourth scene is lost.

In the second register, the first scene is destroyed; the second scene shows "Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners" facing to the left. In the third scene, Osiris "Foremost in the West" faces to the right before the king, and the scene is entitled,-

"Offering lettuce."

In the fourth scene, Osiris "Foremost of the Westerners" faces

right before the king; the scene is entitled,-

"Presenting the Menu...."

In the lowest register, in the first scene, Thoth faces right and is accompanied by this speech,-

"(I) ordain for thee [millions] of years, the throne of Geb, and the office of Atum, under the authority of thy [.....] like Re' forever."

In the second scene, Osiris "Foremost of the Westerners" faces left; the next scene is destroyed, and finally in the last scene, Thoth faces to the right. The inscription is lost.

SHRINE C.⁴⁰

The next shrine has five registers; the registers each contain four scenes; the whole of the two upper registers is destroyed. In the first of the scenes in the third register, the king stands before Osiris, (facing left) and the scene is entitled,-

"Offering md-ointment."

In the next two scenes, the inscriptions were never completed; in the last scene, Osiris "Foremost of the Westerners" stands before the king, and the scene is again entitled,-

"Offering md-ointment...."

In the fourth register, the first scene shows the king before Osiris, "Foremost of the Westerners," and the second scene shows the same two figures; this scene is entitled,-

"Offering truth to the Lord of Truth."

The third scene shows Osiris before the king, and so does the last scene, which is entitled,-

"Offering wine."

The first three scenes of the bottom register are destroyed.

The last scene shows the king before Thoth, who says,-

"(I) establish thy annals in writing like Re', who acted in the beginning."

SHRINE D.⁴¹

The next shrine has two scenes; one is destroyed, the other shows the king before Osiris.

SHRINE E.⁴²

At the top lefthand side, the king (left) stands before a god; the inscription has disappeared, except for traces of the cartouches of Sethos I.

On the righthand side, there are the remains of the inscription,-

"[.....] to Atum."

Underneath, on the lefthand side, the king stands before Isis "Lady of Heaven....Mistress of the gods."

On the righthand side, Isis (facing right) "the god's mother, Lady of Heaven" is before the king.

SHRINE F.⁴³

The texts here are destroyed.

SHRINE G.⁴⁴

The cartouches of Sethos I remain. At the southern end, the face of the wall is badly damaged and nothing is discernible.

WEST WALL.

At the south end of the wall, there are vague traces of a standing figure, facing right. Next to this, there are the words of Thoth "to the son of Re', [Sety Merenptah]." ⁴⁵

Facing to the right is a large figure of the king with uplifted arms. Between this and the next set of figures is a group of assorted vases and stands. Next, facing left, are the throne and legs of an enthroned deity, and the legs and feet (facing left) of a large standing female figure. Then come the remains of a small standing male figure (facing right), and a small female (?) standing figure (facing left). Behind, one can see a small standing figure of a goddess (facing left). Adjoining this scene is the inscription,-

"[.....] [the Mansion of Menmaetre] he gives all life, stability, [.....] all [.....] all joy and all food [.....]." ⁴⁶

Finally, at the end of the wall, are the words,-

"[.....] which is pleasing to Osiris." ⁴⁷

STORE ROOM D.⁴⁸

NORTH WALL.⁴⁹

Only the base of this wall is preserved; there are no traces of the paint on this wall.

SOUTH WALL.

Scene A. (to the left of the doorway to the Ante-room.)

The king faces right; at the top of the scene are the traces of a stand with flowers. Part of this wall has been broken away and restored with modern cement. The lintel inscription reads, - "Everything that enters into [the temple] of Ptah, Lord of Truth, residing in the Mansion of Menmaetre', being of silver and gold, the total being [.....]." ⁵⁰

Scene B. (to the right of the doorway.)

The king faces left; there are traces of his Upper Egyptian Crown, and of a stand with flowers. The lintel inscription reads, - "Utterance by the king (cartouche). Oh, my father Ptah, who-is-south-of-his-wall, my lord [.....] thy heart to my great mansion [.....] as heaven is firm upon [its supports]." ⁵¹
In this scene, Ptah gives all life, stability and dominion to the king. ⁵²

Doorway to the Ante-room.⁵³

Only the west thickness exhibits traces of texts; in black paint, the titulary of Sethos I is given. Only a portion of the roof is still extant here.

WEST WALL.

The traces of paint here again are very indistinct. Reading from the southern end, we see a pair of legs and the end of a ceremonial tail belonging to a figure facing towards the right; next come two harps, similar to those on the West Wall of the Storeroom A, and the base of a throne, the legs of a female standing figure (facing left), ⁵⁴ the legs of a male figure, probably the king, (facing right), and the throne and legs of a god (facing left). ⁵⁵ Next come the legs of the king (facing right) ⁵⁵ and the legs of an enthroned deity (facing left). ⁵⁵
Inserted in the wall at this point is a later addition, - a doorway leading into Storeroom C.

EAST WALL.

All the traces are in paint. At the north end of the wall is a block on which are painted two stands; this block possibly does not belong here. ⁵⁶

There are a series of eight shrines in this room.

SHRINE A.⁵⁷

Sethos I is described as "beloved of Ptah, Lord of Truth."

SHRINE B.⁵⁸

Here only the words "son of Re" remain.

SHRINE C.

Nothing remains of this shrine.

Only the word "electrum" can be seen.⁵⁹

SHRINE D.

Nothing remains of this shrine,

SHRINE E.⁶⁰

On the left side are the words,-

"[.....] Lord of Diadems, Menmaetre', Ruler in Thebes, given life like Re'. He has made as his monument for his father Osiris, the making for him of a Mansion of Millions for the sacred statue which is in Abydos."

On the right side are the words,-

"Live the god [.....], he has made as his monument [for Osiris?] in electrum [.....]."

SHRINE F.⁶¹

On the right side are the words,-

"[.....] Osiris, the making for him of doors of electrum [.....] statue of the House of [.....] for the sacred statue [.....]."

SHRINE G.⁶²

Here, the following words are inscribed,-

"[.....] doors in [copper], created of [.....]."

SHRINE H.⁶³

This inscription reads,-

"(Cartouche) who causes the Two Lands to live, from limestone of [.....], the doors being of copper, created[by?] [.....]."

Next to this shrine come two stands on which stand two vessels.

Above, a horizontal inscription occurs, which reads,-

"Striking 4 times, in order to dedicate the monument."⁶⁴

Next to the stands comes a male figure who faces left.

Finally, a standing figure of the king (facing left) occurs at the end of the wall; before him are the words,-⁶⁵

"He dedicates for thee very many monuments, thou givest life, stability and dominion forever, as [leader?of] the living [.....]."

PURPOSE OF THE ROOMS A, B, C, AND D, AND THE ANTE-ROOM.

The Ante-room led into a series of rooms, which were quite separate from the rest of the temple. From the inscriptions which are found here, and from their isolated position, it appears that they constituted the temple Treasury.⁶⁶ On the door-jamb of the doorway leading from Store-room A into the Ante-room, for instance, the inscription specifically states,-

"Everything that enters into the Treasury of this Treasury of millions and millions [of years].....being of gold, and silver and lapis-lazuli, turquoise and all sorts of precious stones of all lands...."

Similar inscriptions occur in the other rooms, providing evidence of their usage as a temple Treasury.

Probably the precious equipment of the temple was kept in these rooms; in the one room-Store-room A-on the west wall, there is a scene showing men kneeling with bowls in their hands, and behind them are vases and harps, while above this, there are representations of pectorals, gold collars and metal vases. It seems that such treasures of the temple were stored here in safety.

OUTER WALL OF THE TEMPLE.¹

BETWEEN THE ENTRANCE TO THE STAIRWAY PASSAGE AND THE ENTRANCE
TO THE ANTE-ROOM TO THE STORE-ROOMS.

ENTRANCE TO THE STAIRWAY PASSAGE.

Left of the Entrance.

There are the remains of a scene showing a large figure running towards the left, and followed by a small figure.

Doorway.

Left jamb.

There are the remains of "[cartouche of Ramesses II], beloved of Osiris."

Right jamb.

There are the remains of "[cartouche of Ramesses II], beloved of Amen-Re'."

The lintel is constructed of modern cement.

Right of the Entrance.

The upper part of the scenes are destroyed.

Scene A.

This shows the king offering a tray to Wepwawet and a goddess. Behind the king are the words,-

"[.....] arising upon the seat of Horus of the living."

Title.

"Making the funerary menu for his father, that he may make a granted life like Re'."

Here, the doorway which led to the stair to the roof has been blocked up, and the figure of Wepwawet carved over it. Possibly Ramesses II caused this door to be blocked up, and from then on the stairway ceased to be used.

Scene B.

The king stands before two gods. Behind him are the words,-
"[.....] performing glorious deeds [.....] for his father forever."

Before him are the words,- "[.....], great god, that he may make a [granted life], like Re'."

The first god grants him "the lifetime of Re' as king, forever and ever."

Scene C.

The king is before an altar, in the presence of a god and a goddess; the inscription behind the king reads,-

"[.....][cartouche], Lord of Appearances, Ramesses, making greeting for his father forever."

Behind the god are the words,-

"[.....] being strong against the south, being strong against the north."

Scene D.

The king stands before a god and goddess; behind the king are the words,-

"[cartouche] arising upon the throne of [.....]."

Before him are the words,-

"[.....] for his father, Horus, son of Isis, that he may make a granted life like Re'."

In front of the god are the words,-

"[.....] for thee, my sword is strong, like Re' forever."

The goddess says,-

"(I) grant thee strength, thy strong arm being against every foreign land."

DOORWAY TO THE STORE-ROOMS.

On the left, the king wears the White Crown. The inscription above him is partly destroyed; it reads,-

"[cartouche of Sethos I] vindicated,"

On the right, facing Sethos, is a figure of Ramesses II; above him are the words,-

"[.....] beautiful of purification for his father."

Behind Ramesses are the words,-

"[cartouche], son of Re', Lord of diadems, Ramesses, making greeting for [.....]."

Originally, there was no doorway here; this was a complete scene showing Ramesses before the dead Sethos; the figure of Sethos had one arm outstretched, holding a staff. Later, possibly in the reign of Merenptah, a doorway was cut here, and the position of the outstretched arm of Sethos was altered. The lower half of the arm was re-cut, and shown to be bending back across his chest. This alteration was essential, since, otherwise, the original outstretched arm would have been partly obliterated by the newly cut doorway. Obviously, this doorway did not exist in the time of Sethos, and, at least, in the earlier part of the reign of Ramesses II.

Scene to the right of the doorway.

A goddess stands before the king; she grants him the foreign lands. Behind the king are the words,- "[.....] making a

monument for his mother."

Title.

"Offering a clepsydra to his mother, Lady of Heaven."

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION

The Temple of Sethos I at Abydos may be divided into six parts, according to the ritual uses for which they were employed.

1. The Seven Chapels of the Sanctuary, the Nefertem-Ptah-Soker Complex, the Gallery of the Lists and the Hall of Barks.

The six chapels of the gods in the sanctuary area at Abydos give an abbreviated version, on the walls, of the Daily Temple Ritual. It is reasonable to suppose that this ritual was performed in five of these chapels; the sixth chapel, that of Osiris, we would suggest, was a "dummy-chapel", its true purpose being to act as a passage leading to the Osiris Complex.

Once this ritual had been completed, we believe that the second part of the performance, which we have called the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors, was taken up and developed in the seventh chapel - that of Sethos - and then in the Nefertem-Ptah-Soker Complex, and finally, in the Gallery of the Lists, where the reversion of offerings was made to the Ancestors. Because of its nature as a mortuary temple, this Ritual of the Ancestors receives a greater degree of attention in the Temple of Sethos I at Abydos than in other Pharaonic temples, which have been studied.

However, in each of the temples of the Ptolemaic Period, an abbreviated version of the Daily Temple Ritual is given in the sanctuary, and the development of the ritual continues with the occurrence of the episodes from the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors; these are found in their logical position - in the Hall of Offerings, adjacent to the sanctuary. Thus, the order of the daily ritual procedure which we find at Abydos is reflected in these temples of the later period.

At Abydos, the ritual culminates in the Hall of Barks, where the final division of food for distribution amongst the priests appears to have taken place. It must be stated, however, that the Hall of Barks had another use - as a storeroom for sacred barks - and, in this capacity, it may be classified with the other service-rooms.

2. The Osiris Complex.

This complex of rooms held a unique position in the Temple of Sethos at Abydos; here, in the rear halls, important and elaborate ceremonies were celebrated for Osiris; however, the incomplete nature of the decoration unfortunately renders difficult or even impossible a detailed and final reconstruction of the ritual, in this section of the temple.

3. The First and Second Hypostyle Halls.

These two halls comprise a unit of the temple which appears to have had a dual purpose.

First, the halls provided a means of entry and processional routes which led up to the seven chapels of the sanctuary area. Secondly, these halls are decorated in a purely formal manner, the reliefs illustrating both the Foundation and Coronation Ceremonies.

4. The First and Second Courts.

As far as can be established from the fragmentary remains of the reliefs in these two Courts, they appear merely to have been used as an approach to the main temple building; no evidence occurs which would suggest that the courts had any ritual significance, or that the activities which took place here had any direct connection with those which occurred in the main temple.

5. The Service Rooms.

The Store-rooms, the Butchers Hall and Rooms leading off the Butchers Hall, and the Hall of Barks.

These chambers, situated in the south wing of the temple, were used for practical purposes, -to store the temple treasure, as a place where the animals were slaughtered and prepared for the gods, and as a storage-room for the sacred barks.

6. The Corridor of the Bull and the Stairway Passage.

As we have previously suggested, these two passageways provided the means of exit from the temple for the priests after the daily rites had been completed. The decoration, however, appears to have no connection with the Daily Temple Ritual or the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors; the reliefs were probably purely formal, representing, in the Corridor of the Bull, rites to protect and enhance the power of the king, and, in the Stairway Passage, illustrating the Dedication of the Temple.

In our study of this temple, we have attempted to use comparative material from other temples, both Pharaonic and Ptolemaic. It would be of further assistance if a comparison could be drawn between the Temple of Sethos I at Abydos, and the neighbouring Temple of Ramesses II. However, lack of a publication of the latter temple, and the considerably more incomplete state of its preservation, at present render impossible any useful study.

Obvious differences exist between the two temples with regard to layout; also, it is suspected that originally, in the inner parts of the Temple of Ramesses II, although it is possible that fundamentally the same basic rituals were performed here as in the neighbouring Temple of Sethos I, there doubtless existed differences between the rituals in emphasis or in degree; at present, it is impossible to determine how important these differences were.

From our study of the Temple of Sethos I at Abydos, it has been possible to reach conclusions both with regard to the decoration and the purpose of this temple.

In our opinion, sufficient evidence exists at Abydos to support the theory that the decoration of an Egyptian temple was never haphazard, but was executed with a definite purpose in view. We maintain that each section of the temple had a specific use, and that, with the aid of the wall reliefs and inscriptional material, it is possible, in most parts of the temple, to reconstruct the rituals which were once performed in each section of the building.

The purpose of the Temple of Sethos I at Abydos appears to have been basically two-fold. First, it was a centre where the main gods of the realm could be approached through the medium of the Daily Temple Ritual, and also where the Royal Ancestors, including the deified Sethos, could be worshipped with the appropriate ritual. Secondly, it was built for the celebration of the Osiris Mysteries in a complex of rooms which appears to be unique.

This temple was unique both in architectural design, and, to some extent, in purpose. It is therefore necessary to ascertain to what extent this temple was typical of its kind, for it differs from the Theban mortuary temples, and in particular, from the temple built by Sethos at Qurnah. The reason why such differences exist between the Theban mortuary temples and the Temple of Sethos I at Abydos may basically be explained by the fact that, whereas the Theban temples can be classified as true mortuary temples, since they are closely associated with the Theban burial sites, the Temple of Sethos I at Abydos, completely detached as it is from the site of Sethos I's burial, should be regarded not so much as a mortuary temple, but as the Cenotaph of Sethos I. Thus, it cannot be considered to be a typical mortuary temple of the Pharaonic period.