

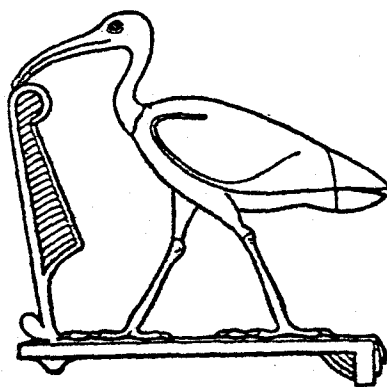
*BIBLIOTHECA AEGYPTIACA XVI*

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THE CHAPEL  
OF THE THRONE OF RE  
OF EDFU



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BRUXELLES-1975  
ÉDITION DE LA FONDATION ÉGYPTOLOGIQUE  
REINE ÉLISABETH

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## PREFACE

The temples of the Graeco-Roman Period in Egypt are extremely rich in texts that throw light on the kingship in Ancient Egypt. Hitherto this material has only been utilised in an incomplete and haphazard manner and no attempt has been made to treat it as a whole. This book is an attempt to remedy, in part, this deficiency but owing to the richness of the source material only the coronation, the most distinguished aspect of the kingship is dealt with here.

This book is a new study of some episodes of the coronation of the king, with special reference to the inscriptions of the Temple of Edfu.

Fortunately the fourteen scenes which we deal with, are united and represented in one place, that is "The Chapel of the Throne of Re", and for this reason, I have been encouraged to put them in one volume ; first as a complete unit from the Temple of Edfu, and secondly to throw more light on what was happening in the coronation of the king.

It has been possible to reconstruct much of the sequence of the episodes of the ritual, to establish the fact that the coronation ceremonies were not performed in a single part of the temple but in different parts of the temple area. The various places in the Temple of Edfu where these ceremonies were performed have been identified.

There will be, I hope, other volumes dealing with this subject, bearing the same idea of this volume i.e. a complete unit of the temple from one point, and dealing with the episodes of the coronation from the other point.

It is noteworthy to declare that the introduction given here is a very brief summary of some chapters of the first part of my Ph.D. Thesis "Aspects of Egyptian Kingship according to the Inscriptions of the Temple of Edfu" (Liverpool 1966), which I have done with Professor H. W. Fairman, who was very kind enough and helped me in every possible way in reading Ptolemaic Inscriptions during the four years of making my Ph.D in Liverpool University.

It is a pleasure to express my gratitude to Professor H. De Meulenaere, not only for encouraging me to do this work, but also for his innumerable kindnesses, and ever ready counsel.

For putting this work in print I am indebted to the Fondation Egyptologique Reine Elisabeth.

*Cairo 10.11.70*

Mohiy IBRAHIM

## NOTES

Plain Arabic numbers in the translation and the transliteration refer to line numbers in the plates of transcription.

Arabic numbers in round brackets refer to footnotes.

References in square brackets refer to the plates of transcription and to the photos, which appear at the end of the book.

## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Ann. Serv.</i>	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte.</i>
<i>BIFAO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.</i>
<i>BJRL</i>	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library.</i>
<i>Chr. d'Ég.</i>	<i>Chronique d'Égypte.</i>
<i>E</i>	E. CHASSINAT, <i>Le temple d'Edfou</i> , vols. I-XIV (Cairo 1892-1934)
<i>JEA</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.</i>
<i>Nachr. Göttingen,</i> <i>Phil.-hist. Kl.</i>	<i>Nachrichten von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse.</i>
<i>Pap. Berlin 3048</i>	MÖLLER, G., <i>Hieratische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin</i> , II (Leipzig 1905)
<i>Urk.</i>	STEINDORFF, G., and GRAPOW, H., (eds.) <i>Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums</i> , 8 sections (Leipzig and Berlin 1904-1958).
<i>Unt.</i>	<i>Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens</i> , ed. SETHE, K., later KEES, H.
<i>Wb</i>	ERMAN, A. and GRAPOW, H., <i>Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache</i> , 7 vols. (Leipzig and Berlin 1926-1963), and <i>Belegstellen</i> 5 vols. (1937-1953).
<i>ZÄS</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde.</i>

## PART I

### INTRODUCTION

# THE CORONATION OF THE KING

## CHAPTER I

### THE EVIDENCE FROM PHARAONIC TIMES

Scenes depicting a god placing the crown on a young sovereign's head are not uncommon, but verbal descriptions of the accompanying ceremonies are very rare.

The most interesting documents from pharaonic times are three :

1. The coronation inscription of king Horemheb on his statue in Turin <sup>(1)</sup> for its general account of the coronation and its preliminaries ;
2. The inscription of Hatshepsut inside Speos Artemidos <sup>(2)</sup> which is valuable for the proclamation of the king and the announcement of the divine decree ;
3. The Ramesseum Dramatic Papyrus <sup>(3)</sup>.

The coronation inscription of Horemheb is of a special interest because it is the only New Kingdom text that gives a relatively complete account of the coronation ceremonies. The earlier parts of the text are interesting for the way in which they attempt to demonstrate that Horemheb, though a usurper, was really legitimate and destined to rule. The slightly damaged description of the coronation ceremonies is to be found in lines 12-21 of the inscription.

Some of the inscriptions of Hatshepsut inside Speos Artemidos <sup>(4)</sup> throw important light on one or two points which are not mentioned in Horemheb's coronation inscription.

<sup>1</sup> GARDINER, *The coronation of king Horemheb*, in *JEA* 39, 13-31.

<sup>2</sup> FAIRMAN and GRDSELOFF, *Texts of Hatshepsut and Sethos I inside Speos Artemidos*, in *JEA* 33, 12-33, esp. 15-17.

<sup>3</sup> SETHE, *Dramatische Texte zu altägyptischen Mysterienspielen* (= *Unt. X "Leipzig 1928"*, 83-258).

<sup>4</sup> FAIRMAN and GRDSELOFF, *Texts of Hatshepsut and Sethos I inside Speos Artemidos*, in *JEA* 33, 12-33, esp. 15-17.

These scenes at Speos Artemidos are of no little interest and importance. Though they make no attempt to give a complete account of the coronation they nevertheless confirm and elaborate some points to which the inscription of Horemheb only makes passing mention.

It is evident that after the crowning, the king was led into the presence of the principal god (at Speos Artemidos it was Amen-Re) that he might recognise and proclaim his kingship. The principal god's recognition of the new ruler is then embodied in a decree which is read by Thoth to the Ennead and the assembled gods of Upper and Lower Egypt. The new king is officially proclaimed as the god's legitimate successor and the Ennead give their endorsement.

The third major source of information about the coronation in Pharaonic times is the Ramesseum Dramatic Papyrus. Ever since its first publication by Sethe (1) it has been interpreted as a coronation drama, though there are differing views as to the precise manner in which it is to be interpreted and reconstructed.

The papyrus on which the text is found is dated to the reign of Sesostris I but the text is clearly based on a much older tradition which may go back as early as the First Dynasty.

It contains forty six scenes illustrated by thirty one drawings. Each scene is introduced by a brief narrative followed by a dialogue between two or more divinities and finally by a variable number of stage directions. The dialogues are full of puns to make them magically more effective. Many of the articles presented to the king are equated with the life-giving Eye of Horus (2).

## CHAPTER II

### THE MODERN RECONSTRUCTIONS OF THE ANCIENT EVIDENCE

No complete and connected account of the coronation ceremonies has survived. Such reliefs as have survived in any Egyptian temple of the Pharaonic period give only a selection of the more significant items (3) and there is considerable doubt as to the precise order of the ceremonies. It is doubtful whether any Egyptian temple, when complete, ever recorded a complete coronation.

The first detailed attempt to reconstruct the coronation ceremonies was that of Moret (4). In making this reconstruction Moret relied principally on the scenes

<sup>1</sup> SETHE, *op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> Further details of the content of the papyrus and of modern attempts to explain it are given on p. 6 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. FRANKFORT, *Kingship and the Gods* (Chicago 1948), 107.

<sup>4</sup> MORET, *Royauté Pharaonique* (Paris 1902), 75-113.

of Hatshepsut at Deir-el Bahari, of Sethos I and of Ramesses II at Abydos and on miscellaneous scenes from different sites and of different date.

Moret's reconstruction is open to serious criticism in certain details (<sup>1</sup>). Nevertheless, Moret's study embodies a useful, pioneering collection of material but many of his conclusions are neither final nor acceptable.

Frankfort (<sup>2</sup>) for his part, in a careful and detailed study of the coronation, considered that the main features of the actual ceremony of the coronation could be reconstructed from three principal sources: (a) the temple reliefs of the New Kingdom; (b) the Pyramid Texts; and (c) the Ramesseum Dramatic Papyrus or, as Frankfort prefers to call it, the Mystery Play of the Succession.

The scenes in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir-el Bahari led Frankfort to suggest that these episodes (<sup>3</sup>) fall into three parts: Nos. 1-2 mark the accession; Nos. 3-4 record the visit to the principal towns of Egypt; Nos. 5-9 are concerned with the coronation.

Frankfort notes that the reliefs are more concerned with various purifications but they do indicate that Hatshepsut was brought to the Upper Egyptian and Lower Egyptian shrines and that Horus and Seth put the crowns on her head. He also remarks that the coronation is described not as part of the narrative but in a curious and archaic way in which, after the titulary of the queen and the date, we find mentioned "Union of the Two Lands. Procession round the walls. Festivals of the Diadem".

This is an ancient method of presentation shown even on ivory labels of the First Dynasty. It may be pointed out here that Montet (<sup>4</sup>) also has remarked that the same type of record is preserved on the Palermo Stone (<sup>5</sup>).

Frankfort (<sup>6</sup>) devotes some space to the evidence of the Pyramid Texts. There is little point in summarising here his views for the Pyramid Texts are essentially funerary and have little direct relevance to the coronation of the living king. Moreover, it has been claimed recently that the order and sequence of the Pyramid Texts as published by Sethe is the reverse of the true and logical sequence and that the ritual as preserved in the pyramid of Unas, for instance, is a resurrection ritual (<sup>7</sup>). These theories still need further testing and scrutiny, which would be out of place

<sup>1</sup> Moret confused the accession and the coronation scenes and amalgamated them. He also depended on scenes from various sources of different dates, which seems essentially unsound. Moreover, there is no evidence that the Reunion of the Two lands and the Procession round the Walls were ever directly connected with the coronation.

<sup>2</sup> FRANKFORT, *op. cit.*, 105.

<sup>3</sup> FRANKFORT, *op. cit.*, 105-107.

<sup>4</sup> MONTET, *Eternal Egypt* (London 1964), 39.

<sup>5</sup> *Cf. Urk. I*, 239, 12.

<sup>6</sup> FRANKFORT, *op. cit.*, 107-109.

<sup>7</sup> SPIEGEL, *Das Auferstehungsritual der Unaspyramide*, in *Ann. Serv.* 53, 339-439; *cf. FAIRMAN* in *Myth, Ritual and Kingship* (ed. Hooke, Oxford 1958), 95.



here, but it is evident that any supposed testimony of the Pyramid Texts to the coronation of the earthly, living king must be treated with the utmost discretion.

The third major source for the reconstruction of the coronation, as we have already seen (above, p. 2), has generally been assumed to be the Ramesseum Dramatic Papyrus. When Sethe first published and edited the papyrus (<sup>1</sup>), he took the 46 scenes which compose the papyrus in the exact order in which they occur and interpreted them as a drama that was performed when the king visited the principal cities of Egypt shortly after his accession. According to this interpretation the text consisted of the opening and preparatory rites (Scenes 1-25), the coronation of the king (Scenes 26-32) and the burial rites of the king's predecessor, culminating in a feast (Scenes 33-46). This explanation of the papyrus has hitherto met with more or less general approval (<sup>2</sup>).

Frankfort accepted the order of the scenes as given in the papyrus and also Sethe's translation in all essentials.

Frankfort gave an admirably clear summary of the various scenes but accompanied this by intensely speculative comments which are of doubtful validity. His conclusion was that the drama was a 'Mystery Play of the Royal Succession'; he refused to accept that the concluding scenes were in any way connected with burial and claimed, on the contrary, that their theme was the transfiguration of the new king's immediate predecessor.

In 1954 Helck published just such a critical study. The starting point of Helck's study is the claim that the scenes of the Ramesseum Papyrus occur, but in a different order, in the scenes of the jubilee of Amenophis III in the tomb of Kheruef at Thebes (<sup>3</sup>). In order to explain this Helck has put forward the theory that the text of the Ramesseum Papyrus is based on an early papyrus which in course of time had become so damaged that it needed to be put together again, but in the wrong order except for scenes 36-46, and that it is from this wrongly reconstructed papyrus that the scribe of the Ramesseum Papyrus made his copy.

Helck's opinion is that the Ramesseum Papyrus contains a very ancient ritual which was celebrated on the eve of the *sed*-festival. Originally, he claims, the *sed*-festival itself marked the accession and coronation of the king and immediately before this could take place the old king, who had been killed on attaining the traditional age limit or when his powers began to wane, had to be buried. The Ramesseum Papyrus perpetuates this ancient tradition but with the substitution of the statue for the killing of the old king (<sup>4</sup>).

<sup>1</sup> SETHE, *Dramatische Texte zu altägyptischen Mysterienspielen* (Unt. X), 83-258.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. for example, Blackman in HOOKE, *Myth and Ritual* (Oxford 1933), 29-32.

<sup>3</sup> FAKHRY, *A note on the Tomb of Kheruef at Thebes*, in *Ann. Serv.* 42, 449-508, pls. XXXIX-LII, especially pls. XXXIX, XL.

<sup>4</sup> On 'substitution', cf. WAINWRIGHT, *The Sky Religion in Egypt* (Cambridge 1938), 58-60; GADD, *Ideas of Divine Rule in the Ancient East* (Schweich Lectures, 1945, British Academy 1948), 95-96.

Some of Helck's identification of Ramesseum Papyrus scenes with those of the tomb of Kheruef may perhaps be considered to be a little optimistic; certainly further study of the papyrus and its purpose would be desirable, but such a study lies far outside the scope of this book. Nevertheless, Helck's ingenious theory goes far to remove many of the difficulties that are inherent in the traditional interpretation of the Ramesseum Papyrus and presents a development that is logical and seductive. We conclude therefore, as a working hypothesis, that it is not concerned with the coronation ritual but with some of its essential preliminaries.

### CHAPTER III

#### THE EVIDENCE OF THE TEMPLE OF EDFU

Now let us see what Edfu Temple tells us about these episodes of the coronation. Here in this chapter we shall put mainly the four parts of the temple which in general contain such material bearing on our subject.

The four parts are :

1. The inner surface of the enclosure wall (see *E VI*, 186, 12 - 190, 11 = *E X*, pl. 149 = *E XIV*, pl. 562 "divine figures only"); *E VI*, 243, 15 - 244, 7 = *E X*, pl. 151; *E VI*, 244, 9 - 15 = *E X*, pl. 151).
2. The Hypostyle Hall (see *E III*, 172, 10 - 18 = *E IX*, pl. 63).
3. The "couloir mystérieux" (the walls of the side-chapels but not the exterior of the sanctuary; the east and west sides of this 'couloir' are particularly relevant). The twelve scenes which concern us are the following, according to the order established below (pls, I, II).

Scene No. 1 : <i>E I</i> , 91, 18 - 92, 13	photo <i>E XI</i> , pl. 250.
Scene No. 2 : <i>E I</i> , 105, 11 - 106, 6	photo <i>E XI</i> , pl. 254.
Scene No. 3 : <i>E I</i> , 91, 5-16	
Scene No. 4 : <i>E I</i> , 104, 5 - 105, 9	photo <i>E XI</i> , pl. 253.
Scene No. 5 : <i>E I</i> , 95, 10 - 96, 6	photo <i>E XI</i> , pl. 252.
Scene No. 6 : <i>E I</i> , 109, 8 - 110, 4	photo <i>E XI</i> , pl. 256.
Scene No. 7 : <i>E I</i> , 94, 15 - 95, 8	photo <i>E XI</i> , pl. 251.
Scene No. 8 : <i>E I</i> , 108, 6 - 109, 6	photo <i>E XI</i> , pl. 255.
Scene No. 9 : <i>E I</i> , 100, 8 - 101, 2	
Scene No. 10 : <i>E I</i> , 113, 14 - 114, 9.	

Scene No. 11 : *E I*, 98, 14 - 99, 10.

Scene No. 12 : *E I*, 112, 4 - 17.

(For disposition of the scenes see *E IX*, pl. 18 'west wall'; pl. 19 'east wall' and our pls. I, II).

4. The 'Chapel of the Throne of Re' (it is L in Chassinat's plan, and it is published in *E I*, 281 - 299, 6; the scenes of our subject are from *E I*, 286, 8 - 299, 6 = *E IX*, pl. 29 a and b).

There are, of course, many other scenes in different parts of the temple which are concerned with kingship and which must be consulted to throw more light upon the episodes of the coronation. The most important of all are the twelve scenes of the 1<sup>st</sup> and the 2<sup>nd</sup> registers of the inner face of the north enclosure wall, which deal with "The Installation of the Sacred Falcon", see pl. IV.

We give below a list of the other scenes connected with kingship so that the reader may have a convenient survey of the principal Edfu sources concerning the subject.

1. *Coronation Scene*

*E I*, 456, 18 - 458, 2 (Hall of offerings = *E IX*, pl. 35 c)

2. *Horus offers the imyt-pr to the king :*

*E I*, 31, 18 - 32, 9 (Sanctuary, interior = *E IX*, pl. II)

3. *Mentu offers a sword to the reigning king :*

*E II*, 20, 2 - 12 (2<sup>nd</sup> Hypostyle = *E IX*, pl. 40 b)

4. *Thoth inscribes the years of the king :*

a) *E I*, 26 17 - 28, 4 (Sanctuary, interior *E IX*, pl. II = *E XI*, pl. 215)

b) *E I*, 522, 7 - 18 (Room of the west Stair = *E IX*, pl. 36 b)

c) *E III*, 120, 8 - 121, 8 (Outer Hypostyle = *E IX*, pl. 61)

d) *E IV*, 91, 18 - 93, 5 (Exterior of the Naos = *E X*, pl. 87 = *E XIII*, pl. 439)

e) *E IV*, 248, 9 - 249, 9 (Exterior of the Naos = *E X*, pl. 93 = *E XIII*, pl. 446)

f) *E VI*, 277, 2 - 11 (Inner Enclosure Wall = *E X*, pl. 150 = *E XIV*, pl. 59)

5. *Oblations offered to reigning king and queen :*

*E I*, 475, 7 - 18 (Hall of Offerings = *E IX*, pl. 35 a)

6. *Texts connected with the jubilee :*

a) *it hpt* : *E VI*, 288, 12 - 289, II (Inner Enclosure Wall = *E X*, pl. 152)

b) General : *E VI*, 289, 13 - 292, 4 Inner Enclosure Wall = *E X*, pls. 152-153 = *E XIV*, pl. 597)

*E VI*, 292,6 - 293, 13 (Inner Enclosure Wall = *E X*, pl. 153 = *E XIV*, pls. 598-599).

## CHAPTER IV

## ORDER OF SCENES

There is no absolute rule governing the order in which the scenes accompanying any rite are to be read. In any specific unit of the temple or in any section of the ritual there is a uniform order for that particular unit but the exact order of the succession of scenes has to be established room by room, unit by unit. In most parts of the temple the ritual develops from outside to inside, from the entrance to mid-point of the room or hall; this is the order in which the scenes of the Chapel of the Throne of Re are to be studied <sup>(1)</sup>. Sometimes the scenes on the wall follow each other successively along the register, as in the scenes "Coming forth from the palace", "Baptism of Pharaoh"; "Affixing of the Crowns" which are found on the inner face of the enclosure wall <sup>(2)</sup>. Sometimes they are to be read from wall to wall alternately while proceeding along each register, as in the Chapel of the Throne of Re <sup>(3)</sup>. Sometimes the scenes though following from wall to wall alternately also read upwards vertically and not horizontally along the register <sup>(4)</sup>.

Far less frequent is the practice in which the ritual and hence the order of the scenes proceeds from the interior to the outside. This is the rule in the Couloir Mystérieux <sup>(4)</sup>. Here the scenes above and accompanying the doors are not concerned with the main ritual but with the rooms into which the doors open. The ritual scenes of the "couloir" thus occupy two panels of three registers on the east and west walls, one panel between each door, and the decoration begins with the north scene of the first register on the west, then the north scene on the first register of the east wall, then the south scene of the first register of the west wall and so on; finally the southern panel of each wall is followed in a similar order, west to east alternately and upwards register by register <sup>(5)</sup>.

Everywhere the exact order of the scenes is governed by the development of the ritual and whether it proceeds from inside the temple to outside or *vice-versa*.

Finally, it should be noted that many scenes connected with kingship and coronation are of necessity double; it is frequently obligatory to repeat a rite for Lower Egypt and for Upper Egypt. Thus in some instances the various ceremonies develop

<sup>1</sup> See pls. III; III A, B, C, D, E.

<sup>2</sup> E X, pl. 151.

<sup>3</sup> Pls. III; III A, B, C, D, E.

<sup>4</sup> Couloir mystérieux, east and west walls; see pls. I, II.

<sup>5</sup> Pls. I, II.

as a series of pairs of parallel scenes ; this is the rule in the Chapel of the Throne of Re (<sup>1</sup>).

It is noteworthy that the scenes connected with Lower Egypt are always to be read before those connected with Upper Egypt (<sup>2</sup>), and are habitually on the left hand of anyone entering the room or hall.

## CHAPTER V

### THE EPISODES OF THE CORONATION

The episodes of the coronation according to Edfu Temple can be summarized thus :

*From the Inner Enclosure Wall :*

1. The coming forth from the palace.
2. The "Baptism of Pharaoh".
3. The imposing of the Crowns :
  - a) Crowning with the Red Crown.
  - b) Crowning with the White Crown.
  - c) Crowning with the Double Crown.

*From the "Couloir Mystérieux" :*

4. Presenting oblation to his noble father.
5. Presenting offerings to his father.
6. Induction into the presence of his father.
7. Induction into the presence of his father.
8. The proclamation of the divine decree to the gods.
9. The proclamation of the divine decree to the population.
10. Presenting *myrt* to his noble father.
11. Offering wine to his noble father.
12. Presenting myrrh to his noble father.
13. Inscribing the years of the king "in the presence of the principal god and the king's father and mother".

{ From the Inner  
Enclosure Wall

<sup>1</sup> Pls. III ; III A, B, C, D.

<sup>2</sup> E VI, 186, 12 - 190, II = E X, pl. 149 = E XIV, pl. 562 (divine figures only), esp. E VI, 187, 5, 8, 13 ; 188, 7, II ; 189, 2 ; E I, 456 18 - 458, 2 = E IX, pl. 35 c.

14. Presenting wine to his noble father.
15. Offering beer to his noble father.
16. Presenting myrrh to his noble father.
17. Years inscribed on the persea "in the presence of the principal god and the king's forefather i.e. the royal ancestors".

*From the Chapel of the Throne of Re :*

18. { Adoring his father.
19. { Adoring his father.
20. { Offering wine to his father.
21. { Presenting wine to his noble father.
22. { Offering incense and libation to the first primeval gods.
23. { Offering *mꜣꜣt* to his noble father.
24. { Presenting light blue and dark red cloth to his father.
25. { Presenting the white and the green cloth to his father.
26. { Receiving the sceptre and the flail from his father.
27. { Receiving the testament from the hand of his father.
28. { Inscribing the years of the king on the *išd*-tree.
29. { Years inscribed on the persea.
30. { Receiving the sword from the hand of its lord.
31. { Receiving the sword from the hand of its lord.
32. Bringing offerings i.e. "the banquet" (From the Inner Enclosure Wall).

## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUSION

If we attempt to summarize these varied ceremonies, it must be borne in mind that the making of the king involved first of all selection by the god. The scenes of the temple of Edfu show us how the king comes forth from his palace on this occasion. Thereafter the ceremonies were designed to purify the new king (Baptism of Pharaoh), to transfer to him divine honours and even divine nature by purification and by investiture with and presentation of crowns, first the Red Crown, secondly with the White Crown and finally with the Double Crown ; then an oblation has to be offered to the divinities, followed by the royal induction into the presence of the principal god, who recognizes the new ruler, blessing him and affixing his diadems, giving him his kingship. The king having thus been recognized and the kingship having been handed over to him, *'Iwn-mwt.f* proclaims the divine decree

to the gods and the goddesses of Egypt who give their endorsement and Thoth proclaims this divine decree to the whole population, who give their adoration and acclamation to the new sovereign. Afterwards the king has to offer *mꜣrt*, the charter of his rule to the god to indicate that all is and will be well; this is followed by the presentation of wine, which has been interpreted as a fertility rite. Then there was presentation of myrrh followed by the induction of the new king into the presence of the principal god and of his father and mother while Thoth inscribes his years, then there was another episode of presenting wine, then beer, followed by presentation of myrrh to the triad of Memphis, the place in which the actual coronation took place. Once again the king was led into the presence of the principal god and his forefathers that they might admit him as their legitimate heir and successor while Khonsu-Thoth inscribed his span of life on the *īšd*-tree.

After that there is adoration once again to the god, followed by offering wine, then offering incense and libation to the primeval gods, then once again the king offers *mꜣrt* to the principal god, then comes the presentation of the four coloured cloths, the light blue and the dark red cloth first, followed by the presentation of the white and the green cloth. The reward for this is giving the king his regalia and insignia of kingship which consist of the sceptre and the flail first, followed by presenting with the testament from the hand of the principal god. Then there was the inscribing of the king's years and life-span on the *īšd*-tree, followed by receiving the sword from the principal god in order to start his rule with the same power and strength of Horus himself. The final act will be the banquet as we have been told.

At what stage in this procedure the king became a god is never mentioned. Probably there was not a particular moment or rite of deification<sup>(1)</sup> and the effect was culminative, but if one has to select a particular point, it would seem that of all the ceremonies it was the actual affixing of the crowns and uraei that was really decisive<sup>(2)</sup>.

It will be noticed that the subsequent episodes are mostly confirmatory and protective<sup>(3)</sup> and henceforward the newly crowned sovereign, whatever his origin, was not only legitimate king, but a god, directly linked to all his royal predecessors (as in the scenes of the induction of the king into the presence of the principal god and his father and mother as well as his forefathers) the company of the ancestors that stretched in unbroken line to the first God-King, and his position and authority were unassailable.

<sup>1</sup> FRANKFORT, *Kingship and the Gods*, p. 5: "It is wrong to speak of a deification of Pharaoh. His divinity was not proclaimed at a certain moment. His coronation was not an apotheosis but an epiphany".

<sup>2</sup> MORET, *Royauté Pharaonique*, 101; FAIRMAN in *Myth, Ritual and Kingship*, 81.

<sup>3</sup> See BARGUET and LECLANT, *Karnak-Nord IV* (Cairo 1954), p. 73 ff., pl. 61 ff., esp. pp. 78, 84.

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