

65  
41  
.J6

JOURNAL OF  
**Near Eastern Studies**

---

*continuing*

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF  
SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

---

*Editor*

KEITH C. SEELE

*Consulting Editors*

RAYMOND A. BOWMAN      HELENE J. KANTOR  
MUHSIN MAHDI

The journal of the Department of Oriental Languages and Civilizations  
of The University of Chicago

VOLUME XXIV

January–October, 1965

EIGHTY-SECOND YEAR



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

## THE EGYPTIAN SED-FESTIVAL RITES

ERIC UPHILL, *University College, London*

THERE are two representations of the ceremonies celebrated by a king at his Sed-festival which are sufficiently comprehensive to be used as the basis for a study of the purpose and meaning behind this ancient festival. These are found in the reliefs from the chapel of the sun temple built by King Niuserrē<sup>c</sup> at Abu Gurob and the scenes showing King Osorkon II from the temple at Bubastis. A further series of scenes existed in the great temple built by Amenhotep III at Soleb, but these scenes are not only incomplete today but were also connected with the foundation and dedication of the building as well as with the festival. Hence, while many of the scenes must have taken place at the time of one of Amenhotep's three Sed-festivals, they do not appear to deal exclusively with the ceremonies themselves.

The Niuserrē<sup>c</sup> scenes were undoubtedly once the fullest and most important representation of which we have any evidence today, but they have unfortunately come down in so fragmentary a state that they are now less full than those of Osorkon. Because they were of a much earlier date they also had the additional advantage of showing the rites in what must have been the original form, an Old Kingdom representation and not one from the late period in what was probably a somewhat altered form.

In the account given in the following pages the Bubastis reliefs have formed the main source of material, but certain additional scenes and evidence have been included where they might help in the understanding of the actual rites.

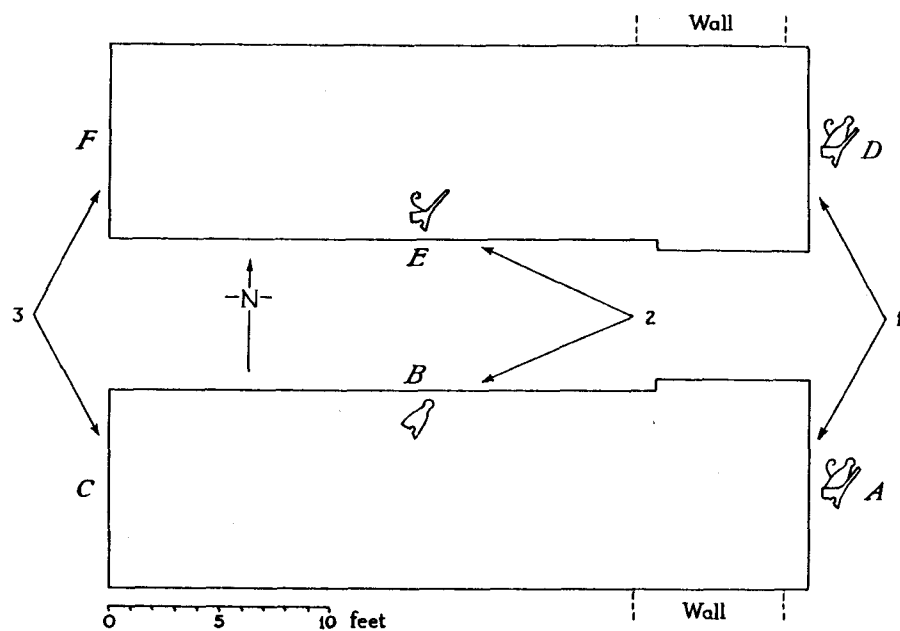
Before discussing the scenes at Bubastis a few general observations are necessary on the layout of the reliefs in the temple. In the first place the term used to describe them in the publication, i.e., "Festival Hall" is really a complete misnomer. Naville himself pointed out that, far from being in a hall or even a pillared court, the scenes were carved in reality on the sides of a granite gateway constructed between the two great courts or halls within the temple. He also compared this with the gateway between courts at Soleb.<sup>1</sup> This gateway of Osorkon was composed of large granite blocks, and Naville was definite about its original form and published a restoration of the gate as it may have looked when first completed. The position of the stones had to be worked out by a detailed study of the scenes carved on them; it may be of interest to quote Naville's own account of the finding of the gate.

"The form of the building could not be discovered at first sight. When its remains were unearthed, the hall of Osorkon II was a mere heap of huge granite blocks; each stone had to be rolled and turned, and paper casts were made of the inscriptions engraved on its sides. When the inscriptions had been copied, order could be brought into this confused mass of writing and figures; the contiguous parts could be put together; the angles, where they had been preserved, served as clues for the measures, and by degrees the form of the edifice could be recognized."

This gateway of Osorkon gave on to a court or hall measuring about 80 feet by 120

<sup>1</sup> E. Naville, *The Festival Hall of Osorkon II* (London, 1892), p. 3 plan.

which had been repeatedly rebuilt and which contained ancient material going back in some cases to the time of Pepi I. The walls of this court unlike the gateway were of limestone, and after a careful examination of the stones themselves Naville concluded that only the gate had had scenes illustrating the Sed-festival carved on it. The diagram illustrates the disposition of the scenes with regard to Upper and Lower Egyptian rites.



1. Public ceremonies

2. Private ceremonies

3. Secret ceremonies

Naville noted the fact that the representations on the walls marked *A* and *D* in the diagram converged on to the east entrance through which the king would have entered. These scenes, it should be noted, show only those rites which were of a more public nature and which were most probably performed at the beginning and end of the Sed-festival.

Certain alterations have been made in this diagram with regard to the way to read the ordering of the events shown. In general Naville's basic order is followed; however, the lowest scenes will be described first and the upper ones after, a sequence that the Egyptians themselves would almost certainly have followed, the highest being regarded by them as the furthest away.

Naville considered that the scenes should be followed in the horizontal direction by going right round each wall continuously, thus wall *A* leads to *B* and then to *C*. Only after completing this side of the gate does his method allow him to cross to the northern side and discuss the representation on walls *D*, *E*, and *F*.

This method makes no allowance for a combined set of ceremonies celebrated at the same time, but assumes that one of the representations took place *after* the other. A

with  
See

comparison of the two sets of scenes on opposite walls is thus not possible in such a reconstruction of the festival.

This argument also makes no allowance for the position of the viewer when looking at the scenes. It would surely be more natural for an observer to take each section of the gateway as he came to it, viewing as a whole first walls *A* and *D* on the exterior and then proceeding inwards to walls *B* and *E*. Similarly the walls *C* and *F* would be seen after this.

Furthermore, if the scenes are followed in this order the meaning becomes clearer and more logical in regard to the purpose of the ceremonies, and they can be more easily compared with other representations from different periods.

It is important to remember that the scenes are not only incomplete today but in any case never seem to have shown a complete representation of the full rites, but were intended only to be a kind of synopsis of them. Hence the opposite series of scenes on north and south walls were, it seems, not intended to follow one another in strict chronological order, but were rather each a series of scenes selected from the main events of the festival. They do not duplicate one another but show on opposite walls rites that were celebrated simultaneously on behalf of both parts of Egypt.

The public rites were succeeded by ceremonies of a much more private character, while those on the innermost walls were scenes showing the culmination of the whole festival, the secret rites which were celebrated in what may have been the royal tomb.

Some further evidence has been discovered since Naville published his account of the Osorkon blocks. During excavations on the site of the great temple at Bubastis, Labib Habachi found some fragments of the gate which were not included in the blocks that Naville had recovered. These are estimated to have formed only about a third of those which were decorated with scenes. Many of these blocks were parts of statues, architraves and columns that had been re-used in the gate. Some of them still bore the names of Ramesses II and earlier kings. In his reconstruction Naville missed an altar which was found concealed under a huge block. This was made of basalt and stood 80 cm. high and 78 cm. thick.<sup>2</sup> Another block had been formed from part of the double crown from a royal statue of an earlier reign. One side of this was polished in order to receive a scene of the Heb-sed. The king was here represented as wearing the crown of Upper Egypt and a short kilt. The inscription reads as follows: "The good god, User-ma'at-Rē<sup>c</sup>-setepen-Amūn, Son of the Sun . . . given life." Queen Karoama is shown behind the king dressed in a long robe and wearing a feathered crown. Above the royal couple there is shown a royal falcon representing Horus and a figure of a cow which is referred to as "Isis."<sup>3</sup> A uraeus frieze runs along the top of this scene. There are a number of indications that it must have come from near the upper limit of the gateway reliefs. The crown and dress worn by the king suggest a position near to a block mentioned by Labib Habachi as being very much like it in style (see note 3 below), and it is possible tentatively to place it somewhere near the upper edge of wall *B* near the eastern projection. However, a thorough restoration of the gate using all the available material is necessary before it would be possible to state precisely the positions of individual blocks.

<sup>2</sup> *Tell Basta* (Cairo, 1957), chap. v, p. 59 deals with the material from the Festival Hall. Cf. Pl. XV B. See also Pl. XVI for a general view of the ruins.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Fig. XVI. Labib Habachi draws attention to the similarity of this scene with one published by Naville, *op. cit.*, Pl. XIV, No. 1.

## I. THE PREPARATIONS FOR THE SED-FESTIVAL

For some years before the actual ceremonies were to be performed, the royal tomb and certain temples or parts of temples were prepared in readiness.<sup>4</sup> Again for months before the proclamation of the festival the country must have been a hive of industry. Small stone kiosks would have had to be constructed and decorated with scenes and reliefs, prior to being dismantled and shipped to the various towns of the realm where rites subsidiary to those of the capital would have taken place, there to be reassembled.

An interesting small shrine of this type, dated to the reign of Senusret I, was found by Chevrier inside the foundations of the third pylon at Karnak.<sup>5</sup> In form this was simply a square shrine raised on a platform, which was approached by eight steps leading up to front and rear entrances. The kiosk itself was open on all sides with a number of pillars supporting the roof but with no walls. It was a monumental form of the open pavilions of wood used by the king during the actual festival ceremonies.

Hermann Kees has discussed the purpose of this type of shrine in a long article<sup>6</sup> in which he noted that it was called "Throne (*wst*) of the crowns of Horus." He compared this name with one written on a chapel built by Queen Hatshepsut and used for the barque of Amūn, where the determinative of the name is that used for the Sed-festival pavilion. Borchardt had already described this type of shrine as one especially associated with the Sed-festival.<sup>7</sup> The pillars of the kiosk show Senusret with various gods, receiving life from Atum, the kingship of the two lands from Amon-Rē, and various other gifts. Most important of all is the reference, "He celebrates millions of Sed-festivals appearing on the throne of Horus," which gives strong support to the association of this type of chapel with the Sed-festival. It has also been suggested that these open shrines were used as temporary resting places for the sacred barque containing the image of the god; but this occurred only after their original purpose had been served. Vandier considers that in the first place they may have contained a double throne in the centre which might perhaps have been used for the royal statues enthroned. These would have been put on view during the Sed-festival period and perhaps even remained so for the rest of the reign. If this were so then possibly one statue with the white crown faced down the front stairway and the other with the red down the rear, or vice versa, a visible reminder of what took place in the capital.

Obelisks would also have had to be quarried and brought downstream to the temple in readiness for their erection at this time.<sup>8</sup> Provisions and various materials would also

<sup>4</sup> The so-called Festival Hall of Thutmose III provides one of the best examples of this type of building. It was added to an existing temple as a special unit and was not only closely connected with the Sed-festival rites of the king but was also decorated with scenes illustrating it. Many temples contained scenes derived from certain rites of the festival among which may be cited Karnak, Luxor, which shows a number from the reign of Amenhotep III, and Deir el Bahri.

<sup>5</sup> P. Lacau and H. Chevrier, *Une Chapelle de Sesostris I à Karnak* (Cairo, 1956). See also the article, *ASAE*, XXXVIII (1938), 567.

<sup>6</sup> "Die weisse Kapelle Sesostris I in Karnak und das Sedfest," *MDAIK*, XVI (1958), 194-213; Pl. 15.

<sup>7</sup> See J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, Vol. II, Pt. II (Paris, 1952), p. 796.

<sup>8</sup> The obelisk of Senusret I at Heliopolis was erected at the Sed-festival of Year 30, *LD*, II, 118*b*. See also Senmut's description of the work of cutting and erecting those of Hatshepsut at Karnak, *LD*, III, 23-24. This task took seven months in all, from Year 15 to Year 16.

pro  
feet  
ma;  
the  
34.  
Am  
beal  
cera  
82,  
amg  
king  
enou  
Two  
Nius  
visio  
Year  
30,00  
provi  
that  
were  
von

have to be obtained for use at the ceremonies. In both the Old and New Kingdoms these were used on a vast scale<sup>9</sup> and were no doubt also needed in very large quantities for the Osorkon festival.

Officials and representatives of the two kingdoms would have to be assembled, as described by Frankfort in his account of the Sed-festival,<sup>10</sup> and the gods and deities attending the festival would arrive by barge from the many towns of Egypt.<sup>11</sup> In addition, during the New Kingdom, subject princes of the empire and foreign envoys would also seem to have been invited to be present, at least at the more public rites of the festival.

The final task was the preparation of the special palace (or palaces) to be used by the king at the Sed-festival. This building would have had all the appurtenances of a normal royal palace and would have been used by the king while the most important rites were being enacted at the capital. Little can at present be said about Osorkon's palace in the Delta; doubtless it was within easy distance of the temple where the ceremonies took place. The king would need to retire to it between ceremonies lasting for some days' duration. The preparation and construction of the palace used by king Niuserrē<sup>c</sup>, unlike those of Osorkon, were illustrated in the representations found in the sun temple. The scenes began with Niuserrē<sup>c</sup> inspecting the work of building the palace<sup>12</sup> and show the king as he hoed the ground and hammered in the sticks for stretching the cord. In the New Kingdom the small temples within the funerary temples on the western bank at Thebes may have served a similar function, and it has been suggested that the king used these during his festival ceremonies.<sup>13</sup>

These preparations are best summed up by the account of Ramesses III in Papyrus Harris relating to his renewal of the Sed-festival buildings in the temple of Ptah at Memphis.

"I celebrated for thee (i.e. Ptah) the first Sed-festival of my reign as a very great festival of Tatjanen. . . . I made a renewing of thy temple and the Houses of the Sed-festival which were formerly in ruins since the (former) kings. I wrought upon thy Ennead, the lords of Heb-sed, in gold, silver, and precious stones as before."<sup>14</sup>

<sup>9</sup> The immensity of these can be seen from the provisions which were obtained for use at the Sed-festivals of Amenhotep III at Thebes. By far the majority of the labels and jar sealings found at the Malkata palace complex were dated to Years 30, 34, and 37, the years of the three festivals of the king. Among the commodities listed on these labels are beaten (potted) meat, wine, fat, oils, honey, fruits, cereals and incense. Hayes in *JNES*, X (1951), 35, 82, 156, 231 gives details of these. Probably a great amount of public entertainment was provided by the king at the festival, with mass meals on a scale large enough to include the whole population of the capital. Two interesting references in the reliefs from the Niuserrē sun-temple valley building mention the provision of "bread, beer, and offering cakes, at the New Year festival, consisting of 100,600 meals" and also 30,000 similar meals for another occasion. These were provided at the Sed-festival and it is hard to imagine that such elaborate and huge amounts of provisions were in ordinary use in this temple. See W. Freiherr von Bissing and H. Kees, *Das Re-Heiligtum des*

*Königs Ne-woser-re (Rathures)*, III (Leipzig, 1923), 54; Pl. 31, No. 461 and Pl. 29, No. 446. These amounts suggest huge public festivities such as were recounted in the Bible in connection with the dedication of the temple of Solomon and the great feast celebrated by king Ashur-nazir-pal II at Nimrud. See M. E. L. Mallowan, *Iraq*, XIV, 21.

<sup>10</sup> *Kingship and the Gods* (Chicago, 1941), chap. VI, p. 79.

<sup>11</sup> As in the inscription mentioning the part of the vizier Ta in the reign of Ramesses III, Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, p. 1129.

<sup>12</sup> Von Bissing and Kees, *op. cit.*, Pl. 1a and b; Pl. 2, Nos. 3-5.

<sup>13</sup> A. Moret, *Du caractère religieux de la royauté pharaonique*; chap. viii, sec. 4 has a discussion of this question.

<sup>14</sup> W. Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I* (Bruxelles, 1933), p. 49, ll. 10 and 12.

II. THE PROCLAMATION OF THE SED-FESTIVAL AND THE FIRST "APPEARANCE"  
OF THE KING

When the preparations were completed, the festival could be proclaimed. The Osorkon reliefs begin with a scene showing the king offering to various deities, most of their figures now destroyed and so unidentifiable. Wadjet gave the king "all life and dominion like Rē," while another deity before her awarded the same gifts in addition to Sed-festivals.<sup>15</sup> Above this scene there is one showing the king standing in a shrine on a stepped platform, offering a clepsydra to the goddess Nekhbet.<sup>16</sup> His queen Karoama stood behind him holding a fly-whisk. The clepsydra provides an important link between the Sed-festival and the measurement of time. This scene was entitled: "Giving the *sheb* to his mother Nekhbet, she gives life and dominion like Rē." A priest stood behind the queen and handed the *sheb* to the king.

A procession was now formed to go to the place of proclamation. At the head of this procession walked the learned men of the scriptorium (House of Life), who carried rolls of writings used for the rituals. Magicians (*hrw hkꜣw*) were also present. In the register above two men are shown who shout: "To the ground," and "Put (yourselves) on the ground," in similar fashion to the attendants shown in the Niuserrē<sup>c</sup> festival scenes. An important official called the *nꜥr r*, "the god's mouth," is shown at the head of the top register. He wore a robe similar to the king's Sed-festival robe and carried a scepter. Naville considered him to be the high priest of Bubastis, but this is not certain. Behind him walked two more men shouting "to the ground."

The procession then started to go to the first Sed-festival pavilion. The inscription before the king reads: "Appearing in the *pr wr*." The king was therefore leaving this hall after having celebrated the usual rites of *pr dwꜣt* in addition to those just described, and was then "proceeding to rest in the Sed-festival baldachino." (This word is used as being perhaps the best description of an open pavilion standing on a stepped platform.) An *r pꜣt* prince holding a curved wand led the procession, followed by two fan-bearers, each of whom was called a *smr*, "companion." Then there came several men shouting "to the ground" and two viziers, doubtless those of Upper and Lower Egypt. Another prince followed, also a prophet (*hm-nꜥr*) carrying an object which Naville thought might be the leg of a bull but which was more likely to have been the half-shrouded scorpion symbol that appears in the Niuserrē<sup>c</sup> reliefs. Two companions followed bearing on their shoulders what seem to be bags or rolls of cloth. This register ends with two fan-bearers.

At the head of the second register there is shown the "divine mother of Siut" walking before two prophets who carried standards. After this came the shrine of "Wepwawet, lord of Siut," carried by six men. By the shrine walked a priest dressed in a panther-skin. Naville suggested that this priest offered incense to the god, as was done in a funerary procession. By the shrine there is written the legend: "Proceeding, carrying the god to the court." The figure of the god would therefore seem to have been removed from the interior of the temple or shrine in which the first ceremonies were performed and taken then to the court beyond.

In the third register a prophet is shown holding a large bow; he was followed by several other prophets each bearing a small Wepwawet standard. One of these emblems was called the "Northern Wepwawet." The last prophet in the procession carried the

<sup>15</sup> Naville, *op. cit.*, Pl. III, Nos. 14-15.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 12-13.

l  
t  
f  
t  
s  
t  
tl  
l  
H  
al  
th  
of  
"K  
Bis  
the  
a c  
pav  
cou  
colu  
verj  
stru  
of r  
with  
thou  
take  
king  
pavi  
prob  
refer

"Khonsu" standard.<sup>17</sup> Behind walked the *hry-hb* or lector-priest carrying a roll of papyrus. At the rear came the king wearing the double crown, a robe with a tail attached to it, carrying crook and flail, and followed by the queen.

In the court (of the temple?)<sup>18</sup> there stood a platform with a pavilion on top, which was approached by staircases at the four cardinal points of the compass, called "staircase of the south," etc. In this pavilion there stood a low seat or throne, upon which the king now sat wearing the double crown. He then turned and faced in each direction, while two deities stood near him with their hands raised above his head as if in blessing. Tjanen and another god (perhaps Set) did this for the south. Atum and another god (Horus?) for the north, Kheprē and Geb for the west, and Isis and Nephthys for the east. Three *imy-hnt*-priests then mounted the steps of the throne-platform bearing a ram-standard (perhaps representing Amūn) a standard of Atum and a small royal sphinx. Behind these priests another priest recited a *dd mdw* formula: "Horus appears resting on his southern throne and there occurs a uniting of the sky to the earth." The phrase "four times" that comes at the end of this statement shows that the speech was repeated for each direction when the king turned. It is evident from this formula that some cosmic significance was attached to these rites.

In the top register queen Karoama and three princesses are shown watching, while five prostrate figures called *imy-hnt*-priests, "companions," and the "Great Ones of Upper and Lower Egypt" adore the king. (Naviile thought that the king may have stepped over them or between their lines, as the chieftains of certain African tribes used to do until recently.)

Below the throne platform stood a long line of prophets. By them is a reference to the *Šmsw Hr* or "Followers of Horus." They all carry standards, the first of which is *Imwt* or the skin fastened to a pole. Then follow the standards of the nome gods, Set, Horus, Thōth, etc., as well as the standards of the two Wepwawets (north and south) and of "Khonsu." In all nineteen of them are shown. The two viziers followed these.

### III. THE PROCESSION GOES TO THE SED-FESTIVAL PALACE

After this "appearance" in the baldachino in the court of the main temple of the city, the king continued in procession to the area that had been inclosed for the main rites of the festival. At Thebes in the New Kingdom this would have probably meant crossing

<sup>17</sup> For the identification of the standard as "Khonsu" see PleYTE, *ZAS*, VI (1868), 17. Von Bissing and Kees, *op. cit.*, III, 44, connects it with the god Dua mentioned in Pyr Texts, § 1155a.

<sup>18</sup> The term "broad hall" seems to be less likely as a description of the whereabouts of a dais and pavilion such as this, the translation here as "broad court" being surely preferable. A great hall of columns such as was suggested by Moret was not a very suitable place for the erection of a large construction of this kind. The public nature of this kind of royal "appearance" called for a great open space with an unimpeded view for the onlookers. Naviile thought that at this moment the god Wepwawet was taken into the hypostyle hall of the temple, while the king ascended by a stairway to the roof, where the pavilion had been erected on a platform. A more probable explanation seems to be afforded by a reference from the inscription of Sheshonk I at Gebel

Silsileh, which would help to clear up this point. "It was His Majesty who gave directions to build a very great pylon (gate) . . . to illuminate Nē by erecting its doors of millions of cubits, to make a festival hall for the House of his father Amūn, King of Gods, and to surround it with statues and a colonnade." This inscription refers to the construction of the first great court at Karnak and clearly links its ultimate use with the Sed-festival of the king. A great court such as this would have made an admirable setting for the erection of a platform and pavilion at the proclamation of the festival. A great many people would have had a perfect view, and the setting would have still been within a short distance of the sanctuary of the temple. Osorkon II might have used the court of a Delta temple in the same way. See R. A. Caminos, *JEA*, Vol. XXXVIII (1952), 51, Pl. XIII, lines 45-48.



er to the royal funerary temple on the western bank; at Osorkon's festival the re- show that it only involved a walk. "The king proceeds in order to rest in the baldachino of the Sed-festival, the lector priest when he goes towards the baldachino of the Sed-festival reads. . . ." <sup>19</sup> The pavilion is here of a different type, being a square structure ornamented with a frieze of uraeus heads.

The procession comprised much the same people as before, it was led by the *ntr* r and two musicians who clapped their hands and sang. Then there came men calling out "to the ground," a companion, an official called "great overseer of the palace," and a priest called *hr nws*, carrying an oar (perhaps the one to be used later in the running ceremonies). Next there came the two viziers followed by an *imy-hnt*-priest with a lotus scepter (?), the high priest of Heliopolis (*wr m3w*) and the high priest of Koptos (*w3b* or *s3t*), both of whom wore panther skins. The remainder of the procession is mostly lost, but it was again headed by the "divine mother of Siut" and contained the Wepwawet shrine and the standards of Wepwawet and "Khonsu." The king and queen followed as before. <sup>20</sup>

Higher up <sup>21</sup> in the reliefs an *ankh*-sign is shown carrying a Horus standard that itself holds a year-stick, a *djed*-sign follows holding a bow, and another missing sign carries a Wepwawet standard. Figures representing the spirits of Pe sat enthroned, while Wadjit, Nekhbet, Horus and Set appeared in the pavilion behind the king, who now wore a false beard. On the platform before Osorkon <sup>22</sup> stood the *Imtwt* standard, "he who is in his bandages." The *hr-nws*-priest knelt at the top of the steps holding a crook and scepters (?), while the *imy-hnt*-priests again brought forward the sphinx and standards. A figure with a staff standing by the chief lector-priest then says: "The announcing of the king by. . ." The kneeling woman shown above was probably a priestess, while the four standing women each shown holding a *menit* seem to be the queen and the princesses.

Naville noted that at this point in the ceremonies shown at Soleb the rite of lighting a lamp took place. This illumination was performed at the consecration of a new religious building. <sup>23</sup>

At this point the Bubastis scenes turn an angle and continue along the long wall on the southern side. (See plan on p. 366.)

#### IV. THE ROYAL "APPEARANCE" IN THE SED-FESTIVAL PALACE (PAVILION) AND THE VISITS TO THE ASSEMBLED GODS AND GODDESSES

The king is now shown wearing the white crown and carrying a flail and a scepter, outside the entrance to the palace. <sup>24</sup> The hieroglyphic column written by the representation of the palace reads: "The resting in the palace when (before) he goes to perform the rites in. . ." Bast is shown (as usual throughout these scenes) facing the king and observing what went on. Osorkon still has the queen behind him. The king then made offerings to the gods who had come to the festival. <sup>25</sup> There is written a short commentary on this in two registers: "The offering of all things good and pure by King Osorkon to all the gods of the *itr* (row of shrines) of the north," the same being repeated for the *itr* of the south. The king afterwards burnt incense in a censer before the shrines:

<sup>19</sup> Naville, *op. cit.*, Pl. I, No. 5.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 3-4.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, upper register, No. 5.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 1-2.

<sup>23</sup> See J. A. Wilson, *JAOS*, LVI (1936), 293-96.

<sup>24</sup> Naville, *op. cit.*, Pl. IV bis, Nos. 14-15.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 13.

"The burning of incense to all the gods and goddesses who are at the Sed-festival. He celebrates a given life." While this was done Queen Karoama stood behind the king and shook a sistrum.

Above this scene four Lower Egyptian shrines are shown with offerings before them. A figure of Anubis stood in one of these, while two others contained serpent stelas.<sup>26</sup> Anubis held an *ankh*-sign and a *was*-scepter. Above him there is written: "Anubis the lord of light, the lord of the sky. He gives all life, dominion, and all health."

Facing the shrines there were twelve prophets called the "spirits of Pe." Each of these held a small egg-shaped vase for libations. The inscription to the right reads: "The spirits of Pe and Nekhen, the north and south rows, give millions of years to the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Osorkon, and very many Sed-festivals." This text thus shows that a similar rite was enacted for the shrines of Upper Egypt by the spirits of Nekhen. The linking of the gift of millions of years with the gift of Sed-festivals establishes an interesting connection, which suggests the king's desire for a means to increase the length of his life and reign.

The king then retired to a building which was called the "Hall of Eating," which would therefore appear to have stood near to the court containing the shrines of the gods.<sup>27</sup> The bottom register<sup>28</sup> has the following inscription written to the right of Osorkon: "The appearing in the hall of eating . . . , in order to cause to appear the majesty of the august god Amon-rē, lord of Karnak, and the resting in his place (i.e. by the king) in the palace of the Sed-festival."

The figures of the gods shown in the shrines seem to belong to the previous scene.<sup>29</sup> The queen and the three princesses Tashakheper, Karoama, and Irmer did not go into the hall with the king but waited at the door outside.<sup>30</sup> The order of the scenes is not certain at the bottom of the main section of the south wall. Naville here placed some fragmentary scenes showing Osorkon being led by the hand by Thōth and other deities.<sup>31</sup> The spirits of Nekhen also appear on other fragments.<sup>32</sup>

In this hall of eating the king received gifts from the god from whom, as Frankfort said: he "expected most." Here the god was Amon-rē, king of the gods, whose shrine was then removed after he had promised the king: "(I) give to thee millions of Sed-festivals, thy years of eternity, . . . on the throne of Horus."<sup>33</sup>

The king himself had already left the hall before the god, and he now mounted a portable throne similar in form to that of Seti I as shown in the Abydos temple reliefs.<sup>34</sup> He was carried by six *imy-hnt*-priests. On either side of him there is carved a most important inscription which reads as follows: "Year 22, fourth month of Summer (Khoiak), day one, the appearance (of the king) in the temple (?) of Amūn which is in the festival inclosure, sitting on his litter, assuming the protection of the Two Lands and the kingship, the protection of the Harem of the House of Amūn, and the protection of all the women of his city who have been servants since the days of his fathers. They are servants in the house of the lord who are assessed in respect of their yearly labor. Behold his majesty is seeking a great deed of power for his father Amon-Rē, according

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 12.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. IV, Nos. 2, 4.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 3.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 1-2.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. XXVI, Nos. 1-2.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 4.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 5.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. VI.

(Amūn) foretold his first Sed-festival for his son who rests on his throne, and he (Amūn) foretells for him very many in Thebes, Mistress of the Nine Bows. Spoken by the king in the presence of his father Amūn: 'I have protected Thebes in her height and in her breadth, she being pure and ready for her lord, without interference with her by the agents of the Palace; her inhabitants are protected forever in the great name of the good god.'"

This decree is an interesting one. In return for the benefits that Amūn granted to him at his Sed-festival, Osorkon would release the inhabitants of Thebes from their dues, particular mention being made of women who were assessed respecting their yearly work. The references to Thebes are clear, although Naville considered that they were there merely because this was a copy of an old text so stereotyped that the names of the locations had remained unaltered. But in view of the dual nature of the festival, it would be wrong to rule out the possibility that Osorkon may have celebrated rites in both Thebes and the Delta.

Two "millions of years" signs are shown before the king. The horizontal inscription underneath reads: "... the overseer of the palace. Bearing the king who rests upon the litter. Proceeding to the royal palace." This statement is then repeated. The register below this scene<sup>35</sup> shows the shrine of Amūn, and by this there is a further fragmentary inscription that states: "The appearance of the majesty of this noble god . . . upon the road, to rest in the palace of the Sed-festival . . . Sed-festivals. His Majesty renewed . . . all its walls are in fine gold, its pillars. . . ." The king and the queen preceded the shrine of Amūn, behind which is written: "Words spoken by Amon-Rē Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands . . . for his beloved son User-ma'at-rē (setep-en)-Amūn . . . thy monuments as reward therefor consisting of millions of Sed-festivals . . . son of Rē Osorkon."

There now followed that part of the festival in which the king made offerings to all the assembled gods of both Upper and Lower Egypt, in order to obtain life and continued rule.

At this stage in the ceremonies the king must have changed into the Sed-festival robe (probably while he was in his palace), and this seems to have been the time when he performed the Circuit of the Wall ceremony and thereby ritually took possession of his funerary complex. The reliefs now show the king walking in procession and entering a pavilion<sup>36</sup> that Naville thought might be one of the palaces used by the king at the festival. But inside this structure stood the standard of Wepwawet lord of Siut, and behind this three prophets are shown holding smaller standards of the northern Wepwawet. The building shown may therefore be a religious chapel or shrine. On the right there is a reference to the scriptorium or "House of Life," and a statement about some persons "going round." At this point in the rites the magicians declaimed: "Hail to the Sed-festivals of Horus forever," and then repeated it. Above this a long procession of priests dressed in panther skins (over twenty-six of them in all) are shown bearing geographical emblem standards.<sup>37</sup>

Then Osorkon again burned incense to the gods, who were this time represented by a

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 10.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. IX, Nos. 11, 12. Von Bissing and Kees, *op. cit.*, III, note that the term used for the royal palace at the Sed-festival is almost always that

known as 'A. This term may be found both at Soleb and Bubastis.

<sup>37</sup> Naville, *op. cit.*, Nos. 11-13.

group of sacred cult pillars brought from their shrines.<sup>38</sup> The first of these is called "Wepwawet of the south." The explanation advanced by Naville (following Brugsch) that the twelve figures shown up the sides of the pillar represent the months, and the two Wepwawets the summer and winter solstices, seems to be very speculative.

The next pillar shown has a single Wepwawet figure at the top, with two long tails entwined hanging below it. Next there is shown a pillar with two forks at the top and with eight rams attached to it. Accompanying this there is a reference to the "great god who is in festival . . . who gives victory." After this there is a bull-headed pillar which has this inscription beside it: "The bull of Heliopolis, who is in the great house (the sanctuary of Heliopolis), the chief of all its gods, gives all joy like the lord Rē." A different type of bull-headed pillar is called: "The *Heb* (festival) of Heliopolis which is in the great house gives all stability and dominion to him like Rē forever."

Next there is depicted a pillar called: "The *Iun* (pillar) which is in Heliopolis and which is in the Sed-festival." What this pillar granted to the king is lost, as are the tops of several more pillars. Two of these were also from Heliopolis while two others granted the king Sed-festivals and "years of eternity." All these emblems have offerings placed before them, and it is significant that so many of them were connected with Heliopolis. Naville also noted that the bull could represent Nun or water as the great fertilizing power, which might explain the presence of the bull in this scene.

Behind Osorkon there stood the *Hrp nsty* or the high priest of Thōth (from Hermopolis), wearing a long robe like the king's Sed-festival robe. Next to him walked an official called the "Overseer of the treasurers of the palace." Above these figures appear three prophets with standards.

The shrines of all the gods present at the festival are now illustrated. These are continued in a line round the inner face or west wall of the gate (*C*).<sup>39</sup> The reference to suckling and nursing the young king noted by Moret appears here.<sup>40</sup> "I have nursed him to be king of the Two Lands and to rule what the sun encircles. Given all life."

In the top register fifteen great shrines are shown, each of these containing a god whose left hand is shown raised.<sup>41</sup> Although their heads and headdresses differ these gods are all called: "The great god who is foremost within the Sed-festival," or, "The great god who is lord of the Sed-festival." They must have represented various forms of Amon-Rē, Sebek, and Horus, and they granted the king all "life, dominion, health, strength, victory, offerings, and provisions."

Below this register are shown twenty-nine shrines of the Upper Egyptian *itr* and thirty-two shrines of the Lower Egyptian *itr*. In spite of this scene's being incomplete today, the number of shrines shown is greatly in excess of those found in Djoser's

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 7-10. These cult objects appear to be standing outside in the court in these scenes. It is not certain that this was so, however, given the sacred nature and importance of such pillars, they might have been within the chapels of the gods at the festival.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, Pls. VII, VIII, XII.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. VIII, No. 27.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 17, 19, 21. The form of these shrines, erected in light materials for the duration of the festival only, can be best illustrated by the permanent stone dummy buildings in the Heb-sed court

of the Step Pyramid of king Djoser. This court measured about 100 m. N-S. by about 25 m. E-W and contained two of the three main elements needed for this ceremony. These were: (1) Two lines of chapels on the east and west sides of the court; (2) A throne dais at the south end of the court consisting of a double pavilion standing on a platform approached by steps. See the detailed description in J.-Ph. Lauer, *La Pyramide à degrés*, Vol. I (Cairo, 1936), Plan IV on Pl. LV. The Osorkon court was probably laid out on these lines but on a more lavish scale as a very large number of deities are shown as present.

The Upper Egyptian *itr* included the goddess Weret-Hekau, Osiris Khenti-entiu, Hathor of Denderah, Mut of Asher, Monthu-Rē<sup>c</sup> of Medamud, Harmakhis of (southern?) Iun, Monthu of Thebes, Khonsu of Thebes, Khnum of Shashotep, Min-Amūn, Sebek (Ombos and the Fayum), Anubis, two Horuses (Edfu?), Imiut, Bebtet, Geb, Selket, Hor-merti, Nubti, the god of the nineteenth nome, the "South Wind" (?), and Set.

The Lower Egyptian *itr* included Ptah, Horus (of Letopolis), Depet (Wadjit?), Merky, Sebek, Hephep (Hapi?), Isis, Anhur, Neit, several forms of Horus, Pyt (Wadjit?), Set, Thōth, and Hekes.

All the gods present received huge quantities of offerings.

The king now went in procession to be enthroned in a baldachino which stood on a stepped platform, for he now seems to have appeared for the last time as the old king.<sup>42</sup> At the head of the procession walked a "companion" who was followed by three other "companions" carrying materials and what seems to be the scorpion symbol. Another man called the "divine brother" (?) carried a staff. A line of priests wearing panther-skins followed him, among whom were the high priest of Heliopolis and the Sem. Two men called *hṯp*, two *s; bṯt* (magicians), two scribes of the scriptorium, two more magicians (*hk3*), and a companion complete this register. The top register once again shows the train of the god Wepwawet of the south described above, behind which followed the lector-priest and the king himself wearing the Sed-festival robe.

#### V. THE SECOND ROYAL APPEARANCE AND THE GRANTING OF *hṯp dl nsw* GIFTS

Osorkon now approached the dais steps followed by many standards<sup>43</sup> carried by *ankh*, *djed*, and *was* signs. The Wepwawet standard was again the first of these, and it was followed by "Khonsu," Bast, Seshat, and several Horus standards. The spirits of Nekhen and Pe are shown seated beside the throne platforms,<sup>44</sup> which are ornamented with cobra heads. The northern *Merit* goddess, a figure representing "millions of years," and two sacred *h3st* cows complete this scene. At the right two great bows are shown together with the standards of Thōth, Horus, and Wepwawet.

Having completed the examination of wall *B* it is necessary at this point to go over to wall *E*, in order to reconstruct the ceremonies enacted at the second appearance. Although these reliefs are in a much more fragmentary state than those carved on the south wall, enough is preserved to give guidance.

The doorpost has an inscription relating to water and cultivated land.<sup>45</sup> Above this a procession is shown in which the king wearing the red crown is depicted followed by two fan bearers.<sup>46</sup> The *nṯr r*, the "royal friends(?)," and the prophets also took part in it.

The scene above this shows Osorkon appearing enthroned for the last time, before the most important rites were enacted, here as the king of Lower Egypt. He held a flail in his right hand, the other hand being empty. Before the pavilion stood four standards, of which Wepwawet, Horus, and Thōth remain distinguishable. These appear to be called the "followers of Horus." A priest facing the king then recited a speech which contained what seems to be a reference to the "top of the staircase." The meaning of this is obscure. Above this there is a scene showing a line of men bearing bird and fish offer-

<sup>42</sup> Naville, *op. cit.*, Nos. 22, 23; Pl. XII, No. 7.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. IX, Nos. 1-3.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 3-6.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. XVIII, Nos. 12-13.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. XXV, No. III.

ings, while some way below there was another scene whose upper register shows three women,<sup>47</sup> and whose bottom register depicts some prostrate *Imy-hnt*-priests and *Sshw*. In the middle register three women called "singers" are shown holding lotus flowers, and five men who appear to be magistrates are depicted with staves of office. The inscription here reads: "Horus appears, he has received the two plumes, he is King Osorkon. Hail to the Sed-festival, hail the Sed-festival of Ptaḥ (Tatjanen) takes place." Some pygmies or dwarfs called "guards" or "beadles" are shown here, probably acting as marshals during the ceremony.<sup>48</sup>

Above this there is a scene showing a man holding a bow before two other men.<sup>49</sup> one of whom was the Sem-priest. His part in the ceremonies remains rather uncertain. The accompanying text reads: "The coming of the king of Lower Egypt." Above this representation the *wpr* or "opener of the mouth" appears for the first time in these scenes. What he did now is not indicated, but his part in the funerary rites was to open the mouth of the mummy with a magical instrument. Another man shown in this scene was called: "The one who carries the *kni* (sash)."<sup>50</sup> This scene is continued above<sup>51</sup> and also on the north inner face of the gate.<sup>52</sup> The *hr-nws*-priest sat holding a knife and stick at the top of the steps of the baldachino, another role in the ceremonies that cannot be satisfactorily explained at present. Among the figures shown before the dais were the *hry-hb* (upper register), a man pouring out an oblation, two prostrate "brothers" (middle register), the "mouth opener" and the Sem-priest (bottom register). The "mouth opener" and another figure hold hands, "standing and turning towards the north." Naville noted that this was also done before a statue of the deceased, thus suggesting a funerary association again. Here the rite is applied to the king now enthroned. This may have been the time when *hṭp dī nsw* awards were made.

The king probably spent some time seated thus, for he is again shown leaving the "northern palace" in order to sit enthroned in the baldachino.<sup>53</sup> Before him went a procession consisting of the royal standards, a fan-bearer, an *Imy-hnt*-priest with a fly-whisk, and the Sem-priest. This scene is called, "Receiving the god in the house of the staircase." Above it there is shown what appear to be offerings of six-weave cloth. Three men now ran shouting "To the ground" in the direction of two others who carried maces. The princesses were also present when this episode took place.

#### VI. THE SECRET RITES IN THE TOMB

The king now went down into his tomb for what was to be the climax of the festival. The scenes of this part of the festival appear only on the inner south wall of the gate.

First Osorkon was purified "twice four times" by the *Sem*- and *Imy-hnt*-priests.<sup>54</sup> He then offered the clepsydra once more after having taken it from the Sem-priest. The procession continued (upper register), musicians being prominent, and a man is shown carrying a large round object that Naville identified as a drum.

The procession passed twelve men "smelling the ground." Behind these a man called

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, No. VI.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. XX, No. 5.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. XIX, No. 5.

<sup>50</sup> For a description of this garment see Frankfort, *op. cit.*, p. 134. It appears to be made from wickerwork or some kind of woven material and is mentioned a number of times as part of the equipment

used in the rites recounted in the Ramesseum Dramatic Text.

<sup>51</sup> Naville, *op. cit.*, Pl. XX, No. 6.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. XXIV.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. XXIII.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. XI; lower register.

raised an object shaped like a double hoop. Above this three figures called *shabti* are shown walking behind the Wepwawet standard. Perhaps they were chiefs invited to the festival, for they wear the two feathers of a ruler.

Higher up on the wall the procession is continued.<sup>55</sup> The Sem-priest was among four priests who are shown here, all wearing panther-skins. Then came the chief lector-priest, a man with a large knife and one of the men bearing a roll of cloth on his shoulders. Before Osorkon there walked over thirty men carrying standards with large *shabti* figures or statuettes of mummies used as their emblems. In the lower two registers these figures were given names, Nephthys, Bat, etc., but those in the upper register were not named. Osorkon then received some form of offering. Behind him there is written this statement: "Protection is about thee like Rē." The king now entered the tomb, shown here as a chapel or shrine building. Here Osorkon held a flail and a scepter and faced twelve deities in this shrine-shaped building, possibly his real tomb chamber.<sup>56</sup> These deities are shown grouped in three registers, the upper one consisting of Rē, Atum, Shu, and Tefnut (all Heliopolitan), the second of Geb, Nut, Osiris, and Horus, and the bottom of Set or Suty, Isis, Nephthys, and the king's own *ka*, which held a standard with a skin attached to it, perhaps representing Imiut. This scene is entitled: "Resting inside the tomb." Although Naville noted the funereal character of these rites, he considered that the word used here, *ts*, although a common word for tomb in the Old Kingdom inscriptions, did not here apply to Osorkon's actual grave but rather to a shrine of similar form to the shrines of the gods. While it is possible that at this period a shrine was used instead of the actual tomb, it would be wrong to dismiss the possibility that the word was meant to be taken literally.

The scenes shown here are in a very curtailed form and it may be helpful to compare them with the Niuserrē scenes, which are more detailed at this point of the ceremonies. These show an inclosed building<sup>57</sup> containing a bed ornamented with lion heads. Beside this bed there is written this statement: "Put on the ground skin(?) and foreleg(?)." Niuserrē having entered the room approached this bed (still holding his scepter and flail) beside which there stood two men with arms held low before them. By this scene there is written "*soft* oil 2 jars." This oil is often mentioned in the Pyramid Texts. Above the bed there is written: "The birth of a god(?) giving the head. . . ." This curious statement recalls certain passages in the Pyramid Texts dealing with the bodily restoration of a mummy. "I give to thee thy head; I fasten for thee thy head to the bones"

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. X, Nos. 4, 5.

<sup>56</sup> The location of this tomb chamber raises the question of the place in which the actual ceremonies were conducted, at Bubastis, as Naville thought, or elsewhere. The logical place for them to take place, or at least the most important rites, was at the capital itself, which at this period would appear to have been at Tanis. The discovery at this site of Osorkon's burial place would tend to confirm the view set out here that the Sed-festival was mainly celebrated at Tanis. See Montet, *Les constructions et le tombeau d'Osorkon II à Tanis* (Paris, 1947). The position of these tombs in such close relation to the great temple would therefore make them ideal for use at such a time for celebration of the rites within the courts and area of the temple. Similarly in the Old Kingdom the pyramid of Niuserrē was not very far from the

sun temple in which the *Heb-sed* was carried out. Montet has also identified the rebuilt temple of Tanis with Osorkon's "House of Millions of Years," i.e. his own funerary temple. See Naville, *Ahmas el Medineh* (London, 1894), Pl. IV C3.

Subsidiary rites were no doubt enacted at Bubastis, indeed the two towns are close enough to each other to constitute a single district for the main festival activities. If the festival had been entirely at Bubastis then the reference here to the tomb must have been purely an allusion to the actual vault at Tanis, or else to a dummy chamber. This alternative seems to be less probable, especially as further rites must have been taking place at Thebes if the references quoted above are genuine accounts of real events.

<sup>57</sup> Von Bissing and Kees, *op. cit.*, No. 56b.

(Pyr. § 9b). The Ramesseum Dramatic Papyrus also mentions the restoration of the head: "Horus says to Thôth: 'Give him his head (again).' The god will give him his head. 2 jars, to pour out on the floor" (Scene 12 line 43).

In the register below two men are again shown by the bed with a selection of samples of royal linen before them. "Idmi (red) 6-weave linen." The Sem-priest dressed in a panther-skin stands in front of these samples of linen.<sup>58</sup> Two prostrate *Imy-hnt*-priests are shown before what appears to be the base of a statue. Unfortunately the scene breaks off at this point before showing Niuserrê's next actions or what was the purpose of the bed and the other objects shown.

This was the supreme moment of the Sed-festival rites and was perhaps very rarely illustrated. A scene on the east side of the roof of the sarcophagus chamber in the tomb of Seti I at Abydos may give some guidance as to what happened now.<sup>59</sup> The lower register in this shows Seti dressed in a shroudlike garment (similar in form to the Sed-festival robe [?]) stretched out on a bed ornamented with lion heads like the one shown in the Niuserrê scenes. The king has turned from his back, and the posture resembles that of a sphinx rather than a mummy or a dead person. A god presents to him the symbols of life, stability, and dominion, fixed at the end of a staff. The king's face is shown painted green because he was considered dead.

Over the bed stands a square pavilion ornamented with a frieze of uraeus heads. Inside this there is written the one word, "Awake." Below the bed there are spread out the royal regalia, clothing, and weapons, of which the king would presently take possession after this rebirth. Above the shrine there are shown two pavilions shaped like the Sed festival baldachinos. Each of them contains a Horus-falcon and two eyes (of Horus).

Twelve figures are shown grouped at the left, in a manner very much like those shown in the Osorkon scenes, among them being Mesti, Hapi, and Anubis. Before these deities there is a seated Osirid figure, apparently a statue of the king of Upper Egypt dressed in a Sed-festival robe. At the right there are twenty more deities among whom Duamutef, Thôth, Shu, and Isis should be noticed. The writing between the two pavilions is enigmatic but refers to the magic rites performed for king Men-ma'at-Rê. Although the context of this scene is undoubtedly funerary, it also depicts a ceremony that would be difficult to enact unless the king was really alive. The appearance of the Sem-priest on the left, the Osirid statue (so similar to that buried by Neb-hepet-Rê), the objects beneath the bed; all these suggest that here is a mock funeral and burial, followed by a reawakening ceremony, taking place after the king had entered his tomb. At this point it may also be helpful to recall some of the series of ceremonies contained in the service of bodily restoration set out in the Pyramid Texts.

The latter involved the opening of the mouth with the foreleg of a bull and with a bronze adze,<sup>60</sup> the restoration of the "Eye of Horus,"<sup>61</sup> and the drinking of a jug of milk, perhaps to symbolize the suckling by Isis.<sup>62</sup> "Take thou the tip of Horus's own breast, take thou what belongs to thy mouth. A *mr* jug of milk of N, a jug of fine milk. Take thou the breast of thy sister Isis, the milk provider, which thou shalt take to thy

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 58.

<sup>59</sup> A similar scene exists in the tomb of Ramesses IX. E. Lefébure, *Mémoires Mission Archéologique Française* (Paris, 1890), III, Pl. XXI.

<sup>60</sup> Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte* (Leipzig, 1910), I, § 12-13.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, § 17-21.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, § 32.



1." Of these the foreleg appears in the Niuserrē<sup>c</sup> scene, and the eye(s) of Horus in the Seti scene.

The Pyramid Texts continue with the king receiving all kinds of food offerings,<sup>63</sup> and then taking a *tunt* bow, a tail, royal clothing, scepters, and maces.<sup>64</sup> These objects parallel those shown under the bed in this Seti scene, and the frequency with which these objects appear in Sed-festival scenes also indicates a connection with funerary rites. After this, in the Pyramid Texts, the king was anointed with sacred oils<sup>65</sup> and had his face painted with cosmetic, in a similar manner to the Seti scene.

#### VII. THE RAISING OF THE DJED-PILLAR AND THE CONCLUDING RITES IN THE FUNERARY COMPLEX

Once the king had concluded the tomb chamber ceremony, he discarded the Sed-festival robe and once more donned the usual royal dress, then he returned from the area of the tomb to the palace used for the festival, in order to perform rites connected with the new reign that was now considered to be commencing.

One of the first rites to be performed was the raising of the *Djed*-pillar at dawn, which is not shown at Bubastis but appears elsewhere, to symbolize the king's triumph over death, the victory of the new Horus over Set. The pillar must have been laid on the ground for the period when the funerary rites were enacted.<sup>66</sup>

Also at this time the king would need to perform the four running ceremonies in order to demonstrate his returned vigor and thus ensure continued prosperity for the country.<sup>67</sup>

These rites seem to have been performed in an inclosed area not far from the Sed-festival palace.

Before the procession left the funerary complex in the Osorkon scenes the royal fans were placed in the baldachino in which the king had last appeared before entering the tomb, which now must have contained statues.<sup>68</sup> These statues and others in the main cities of Egypt seem to have remained on view for some time after the conclusion of the ceremonies, and were, as Moret showed, objects for worship.

#### VIII. THE CONCLUDING CEREMONIES IN CITY AND TEMPLE

After this the procession returned to the city for the remaining public rites, including apparently the repetition of the coronation.<sup>69</sup>

The other portion of the Osorkon monument that remains to be described is wall *D*, the only outer face of the gate. The rites shown here were again public. In the two lower registers the scenes are only of a general character, the king wearing the blue crown is shown receiving life, years and Sed-festivals from Bast.<sup>70</sup> Between Bast and the king there is written: "She gives thee Sed-festivals of twelve years each . . . thou appearest on the throne of Horus . . . thou hast smitten the Libyans." The reference to twelve-year festivals is very interesting and bears out Moret's doubts as to the ex-

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, § 33-39.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, § 40-49.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, § 50-54.

<sup>66</sup> A. Fakhry, "A Note on the Tomb of Kheruef at Thebes," *ASAE*, XLII (1943), Pls. 39, 40.

<sup>67</sup> For an account of the Heb-sed running rite see H. Kees, *Der Opfertanz des ägyptischen Königs* (Leipzig, 1912).

<sup>68</sup> Naville, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXI.

<sup>69</sup> As suggested by Moret, who considered that the coronation was repeated at the Sed-festival and that this repetition formed an essential part of the scheme. Using the Abydos reliefs of Seti I as well as many other sources he gave an account of the coronation rites. *Op. cit.*, chap. iii, p. 75.

<sup>70</sup> Naville, *op. cit.*, Pl. XVII.

clusiveness of the thirty-year period. The appearance on the throne of Horus suggests that any funerary associations that these rites may have had were now a thing of the past and that the king ruled over the living again.

The king is again depicted offering the clepsydra. Outside the shrine stand musicians (lower register) the man carrying the drum or big roll (middle register), and the three princesses (top register).<sup>71</sup>

There now followed scenes of rejoicing in the city. The procession again passed by men shown standing, kneeling, and prostrate before the king.<sup>72</sup> Some of the men "smelling the earth" are again called Nubians. Nubian and desert chieftains were also shown kneeling and standing.<sup>73</sup> Above this<sup>74</sup> men called "peasants" take part in the festivities. Some women near them are shown holding jars in a scene that recalls the princesses shown in the tomb of Kheruef. The phrase, "go round in the fields" (bottom register),<sup>75</sup> suggests some form of agricultural ceremony. A priest in a panther-skin danced and was accompanied by a woman playing a flute.<sup>76</sup>

It is difficult to interpret the top registers of this wall. A large public reception appears to have taken place at the Sed-festivals of many of the New Kingdom rulers such as Amenhotep III, judging from scenes shown in the Theban tombs. This section of the Osorkon scenes may be the equivalent of that reception.

Two men are shown holding hoop-shaped objects,<sup>77</sup> while behind them is a man seated before a bull, followed by two men touching the ground with their hands like acrobats. The text above this scene says: "All their basins are of gold, their jars of fine gold." The words seem to refer to the vases carried by the women.

At the right a man appears kneeling and adoring a figure wearing a lion mask. Two kneeling men and two standing (one with a scroll) are shown between. Above there is written a reference to "Wꜣwꜣw wꜣwꜣ." Naville suggested that some form of magical incantation with non-Egyptian words was being used here, but the subject remains a mystery, and the significance of this scene is utterly lost today.

The scenes shown above this are clearer in their meaning.<sup>78</sup> In the next register three pairs of women kneel facing each other, chanting the words written above them, as they wave their hands: "Given life, all health, all joy every day, very many Sed-festivals like Rē forever."<sup>79</sup> Other women shown at the right clap their hands and beat a drum(?). The occasion for this rejoicing is indicated at the left of the register above: "All lands are yours; they bring their basins and their jars of fine gold." Next two men are shown, by whom there is written: "The return (northern going forth) of the king."

The king now seems to have made another and final appearance in the city. The three princesses are again shown here, followed by two men on the left of whom there is written:<sup>80</sup> "The gods on their standards are on the right of the king on his great throne." The prostrate figures of "companions," "great ones," and *Imy-hnt*-priests are shown, while behind them is written: "Hail to the baldachino, hail to the great throne." Another prostrate figure is shown adoring Tatjanen four times. To complete the scene more women appear with vases, and "great ones" with egg-shaped vases, while women with northern flowers on their heads declaimed: "Horus appears, he has received the two

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. XVI.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. XV, Nos. 8-9.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 6.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 4.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 6.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 7.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 4.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. XIV.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 3.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 1.

es, King Osorkon, given all life." The next occasion at which the royal appearance shown here might have taken place would seem to be after the re-enactment of the coronation. The festival was now at an end.

## CONCLUSION

There remains one question to discuss, the date of Osorkon's Sed-festival. The chronology of the earlier kings of the Twenty-second Dynasty can be worked out with some degree of accuracy, if evidence is considered from areas outside Egypt. In a full discussion of this chronology Drioton and Vandier<sup>81</sup> point out the value of the synchronism of the campaign by Sheshonk I in Palestine with the years recorded for the kings of Israel and Judah. This campaign is described in the Biblical account as having taken place in the fifth year of King Rehoboam and would thus have fallen within the dates 926/925 B.C.<sup>82</sup> The dates for the accession and death of Sheshonk I are not certain but the date at which his account of the campaign was carved must be closely linked with the period when the first great court and the Bubastite gate were being built at Karnak.

This event is again fixed towards the end of the reign by a reference in the great inscription at Gebel Silsileh which recounts the fact that stone was being quarried for this construction work in Year 21 of the reign.<sup>83</sup> This suggests that if this inscription was put up fairly soon after the campaign shown at the Bubastite gate at Karnak, then Sheshonk commenced to reign about twenty years previously, i.e. around 946/945 B.C. This date is so close to that suggested by Blackman<sup>84</sup> for the beginning of the Twenty-second Dynasty that 945 may be adopted as a convenient and probable date.

The reigns of the kings who followed Sheshonk I are known and also many of their year dates which were found by Legrain in a series of inscriptions relating to Nile levels. These were found on the quay wall at Karnak and from them it appears that Sheshonk I reigned about 21 years, Osorkon I 36, Takelot I 23; a total of 80 years in all.

From these data the accession of Osorkon II may be fixed at 865 B.C. with a probable error of a year or two either way. The Sed-festival is dated to Year 22 by the Bubastis reliefs, so that the date at which it was celebrated would fall in 844 B.C. Some further evidence also exists which may have a bearing on the chronology of the period. Among the dates found by Legrain at Karnak were some which mention a coregency between Osorkon II and his successor Takelot II.<sup>85</sup> The first year date for Osorkon in Legrain's list is numbered five and is for Year 3. Among the others which follow this are two of special interest. Inscription No. 12 states:

"The Nile, Regnal Year 22 of the king of Upper Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, User-ma'at-Rē<sup>c</sup>-setep-en-Amūn, Son of the Sun, Lord of Diadems, Osorkon beloved of Amūn."

The next one, No. 13, states:

"The Nile, Regnal Year 28 under the Majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, User-ma'at-Rē<sup>c</sup>-setep-en-Amūn, Son of the Sun, Osorkon, etc., divine ruler in Thebes,

<sup>81</sup> *L'Égypte* (3d ed.; Paris, 1952), p. 566. See table, p. 567. The date for the accession of Sheshonk I is placed slightly earlier than in the table in this article for reasons set out above.

<sup>82</sup> So E. R. Thiele, "The Chronology of the Kings of Judah and Israel," *JNES*, III (1944); table, p. 184.

In this article the death of Solomon is placed in the years 931/930 B.C.

<sup>83</sup> Caminos, *op. cit.*, p. 50, Pl. XIII, Nos. 39-48.

<sup>84</sup> *JEA*, XXVII (1941), 92.

<sup>85</sup> G. Legrain, *ZAS*, XXXIV (1896), 111, 119.

which is Year 5 of his son (name missing), Son of the Sun, Takelot, etc., divine ruler in Thebes, may he live forever."

This is the first text which gives a double dating. The association of the son Takelot on the throne with his father must have taken place after the Sed-festival of Year 22 when the only king mentioned was Osorkon. Another king Sheshonk II is also known by name as a coregent but apparently he died before his predecessor. He must thus be associated in this period as well. Osorkon's last year at Karnak is 29.<sup>86</sup> Using all the evidence set out above it is possible to compile the following table:

- ca. 945 B.C. Year 1 of Sheshonk I.
- ca. 865 B.C. Year 1 of Osorkon II.
- ca. 844 B.C. Year 22 of Osorkon II. Sed-festival celebrated.
- ca. 843 B.C. Year 23 of Osorkon II. Association of Sheshonk II. Year 1.
- ca. 842 B.C. Year 24 of Osorkon II. Association of Takelot II. Year 1.
- ca. 838 B.C. Year 28 of Osorkon II. Year 5 of Takelot II.
- ? 836 B.C. Year 30 of Osorkon II. Death of Osorkon II.

The period after a Sed-festival would have been an ideal time to associate a younger ruler on the throne, for in a sense a new reign might have been thought to have been starting, if the meaning of the rites discussed here is recalled.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 113.

#### THE PREDYNASTIC CEMETERY AT NAQADA

Over many years I have built up a card index of material from the original Petrie excavations at Naqada, and it is now planned to publish this index in the form of a tomb register. Preliminary work on the register is well-advanced. It covers the large collections in both Europe and America, and many small groups, but it is likely that further material still exists. If, therefore, any museum or private person has objects (bearing a tomb number) from the 1895 Naqada excavations, I should very much like to hear of them in time to include them in the register. Such information should be sent to me, c/o The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, England.

E. J. BAUMGARTEL

## BOOK REVIEWS

### *The Travels of Ibn Battuta, A.D. 1325-1354.*

Translated with revisions and notes from the Arabic text edited by C. DEFREMERY and B. R. SANGUINETTI by H. A. R. GIBB. Vol. II ["The Hakluyt Society," Second Series, No. CXVII.] Cambridge: Published for the Hakluyt Society by the Cambridge University Press, 1962. Pp. xii + 537. \$6.50.

The author of these travels was a fourteenth-century North African who had a modest share of learning and no pretense to literary accomplishment. He was seized by a passion to "travel through the earth," and he "encompassed the earth with attentive mind and travelled through its cities with observant eye." In a somewhat superficial, honest, strict, and narrow-minded way, he "investigated the diversities of nations and probed the ways of life of Arabs and non-Arabs." Having concluded his travels, he returned to Fez, where he was commanded by the sultan Abū 'Inān to dictate an account of them to the secretary Ibn Juzayy, who "put his work into elegant literary style" (Vol. I, pp. ix-x, 5-6). Whatever the virtues of the style of the original may be, there is little room for doubt that the English translation is a model of faithfulness, precision, and clarity, and a scholarly and literary accomplishment of the highest rank.

The first volume (published in 1958) included the account of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's initial journey from Tangier to Egypt, and his travels through Syria, his pilgrimage to Mecca, and his journey from Mecca to Kūfa. The present volume includes the account of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's travels through Southern Persia and Iraq; Southern Arabia, East Africa, and the Persian Gulf; and Asia Minor and South Russia. As in the earlier volume, the translator pursues the author as an accomplished detective follows the movements of an important suspect: he catches

and corrects errors, notes confusions, finds and notes corroborating or divergent evidence from other sources, and gives more precise data on proper names and place names whenever available. All this is of course essential for the proper appreciation of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's travels as a historical source. Finally, the translator provides in an Appendix (pp. 528-37) a provisional chronology of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's travels in Asia Minor and Russia, which involves a number of serious inconsistencies. This and other matters will probably be treated at length after the completion of the translation.

MUHSIN MAHDI

University of Chicago

### *Muslim Intellectual: A Study of al-Ghazali.*

By W. Montgomery Watt. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1963. Pp. viii + 215. \$5.00.

The author of *Islam and the Integration of Society and Islamic Philosophy and Theology* (reviewed in *JNES*, XXIII [1964], 285-89, and 139) presents here a "study of the struggle and achievement of al-Ghazālī" in an attempt "to look at his life and thought as a whole within the context of the times in which he lived" (p. vii). As in the earlier two books, the author writes from the general standpoint of "the sociology of knowledge—a discipline which, though in its infancy, is characteristic of our age and an expression of its spirit" (p. viii). By "intellectuals" or "intelligentia," he means "men of knowledge" in the broadest sense, including all "journalists, broadcasters or writers of books," "politicians and civil servants," as well as those engaged in the "creative handling of ideas." With regard to the last group, he distinguishes three aspects. (a) The "instrumental intellectual" who is the scientist. ("At the present time men are developing

tl  
p  
m  
se  
ca  
le  
tu  
wi  
an  
cer  
po  
pre  
chic  
as t  
is p  
not  
he i  
his  
auth  
of a  
socia  
to ex  
mate  
consc  
appro  
consci  
elemen  
the se  
(p. 2).  
The  
of al-  
politic  
death c  
and int  
the bac  
Madina  
Next, h  
of al-Gh  
This inc  
moveme  
of philo  
al-Ghazālī  
the *Deliv*  
tion of tl  
the *Phil*  
himself h  
of his at  
treating t  
the *Incol*  
*Criterion*

the social sciences, and thereby increasing the possibilities of controlling society and other men.") (b) The "systematizing trend" represented by "the philosopher, the philosophically-minded scientist, the theologian, the legal theorist . . ." (c) The "intuitive intellectual," who "may be said to be concerned with the values acknowledged in a society and their basis in reality." These include certain prophetic leaders ("like Muhammad"), poets, and other litterateurs, etc. In the present study, the author is concerned chiefly with the "intuitive aspect": "so far as the response to the situation is intuitive it is partly unconscious; the intellectual need not be fully aware either of that to which he is responding or of the precise manner of his response to it" (pp. 1-3, n. 2). The author's main objective is to give an account of al-Ghazālī's conscious response to the social situation that surrounded him, and to explain the ground ("the economic and material framework") of al-Ghazālī's unconscious response to that situation. His approach to this task is a combination of a conscious attitude to religion (p. 5) and "an element of intuition lurking in the results of the scientist, especially the social scientist" (p. 2).

The work begins with a summary account of al-Ghazālī's "world" (consisting of the political background, beginning with the death of Muḥammad in A.D. 632; the religious and intellectual background, beginning with the background of Muḥammad in Mecca and Madina; and al-Ghazālī's early life [pp. 7-24]). Next, he gives an equally summary account of al-Ghazālī's "encounter" with philosophy. This includes short accounts of the philosophic movement in Islam and of the social relevance of philosophic ideas as a background for al-Ghazālī's account of his "scepticism" in the *Deliverer from Error* and for his refutation of the philosophers in the *Incoherence of the Philosophers* (pp. 25-41). (Al-Ghazālī himself has concealed the "social" intention of his attack on the philosophers by not treating their views of politics and ethics in the *Incoherence*. He reserved this for the *Criterion of Action*, a book that is much

discussed but whose *contents* have never been carefully studied. Al-Ghazālī neither "condemns" nor "rejects" philosophical ethics [p. 68].) This is followed by a short account of al-Ghazālī's encounter with the Bāṭinis (pp. 74-86). Then comes a relatively long chapter on al-Ghazālī's reappraisal of theology (pp. 87-125), where the author makes a number of interesting remarks on the relation between theology, society, and politics in Islam up to al-Ghazālī's time. (Unfortunately, it is not always clear what the author means when he speaks of "philosophical or rational theology" ["scholar-jurists or ulema," "theologians"], "dogmatic theology," "abstruse rational theology," vs. "concrete forms of religious instruction," etc. [pp. 21, 71, 92, 109, 117, 119, *passim*].) The two chapters that follow deal with al-Ghazālī's retirement and return to writing and teaching (pp. 127-69), including a summary account of al-Ghazālī's chief practical or ethical work, the *Revival of the Religious Sciences*. Finally, there is a short chapter on al-Ghazālī's achievement, "based on the perusal of a few well-known works and on some obvious historical facts . . ." (pp. 171 ff.).

*Muslim Intellectual* is the latest installment of a series of studies by the author on al-Ghazālī's works and thought (see *JRAS*, 1949, pp. 5-22; 1952, pp. 23-45). These studies attempt to solve what has come to be known as the "Ghazālī-problem" (see, e.g., W. H. T. Gairdner, "Al-Ghazālī's *Mishkāt al-Anwār* and the Ghazālī-Problem," *Der Islam*, V [1914], 121-53). Initially, the solution was based on rejecting all of al-Ghazālī's works and statements that do not harmonize with three "general principles" that the author proposed in *JRAS*, 1952, pp. 25-30. But these general principles were clearly insufficient for solving the entire range of the difficulties presented by al-Ghazālī's works. "A little additional light on these questions of authenticity may come from further detailed studies, especially from the discovery of parallel passages. But much more is to be expected from an attempt to give an account of al-Ghazālī's intellectual and religious development as a whole" (*ibid.*, p.