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A New Analysis of the Titles of Teti on Statue BM EA 888

Marina Wilding Brown

(Taf. 33–34)

Abstract

In 1909 the British Museum acquired a red quartzite cuboid statue of unknown provenance, dedicated by a man named Hori to his father Teti. Previous interest in BM EA 888 has focused on the content of a dedicatory text on the back pillar that places Teti within the family of Ahmose Turoi, the first Viceroy of Nubia. The primary dedicatory inscription arranged across the front of the statue attributes to Teti a series of obscure and often unattested titles. This new examination of the primary text contends that the arrangement of the titles is structured to reflect the role of ritual festival in the integration of the cosmic and terrestrial spheres, particularly the mediatory role of statue cult within the context of jubilee ritual.

In 1909 the British Museum acquired a red quartzite statue of unknown provenance¹ – designated BM EA 888 – that had been dedicated by a man named Hori to his father Teti. The statue is of cuboid type, 60 cm high, 29 cm wide, and 39.5 cm deep.² It depicts a man, seated on a plinth with his knees drawn up to his chest and his arms crossed over his knees. His ankles are uncrossed and his feet are planted flat and pointing forward. He wears a shoulder-length wig, a short beard, sandals, and he is sheathed in the leopard skin of the *s(t)m*-priest, evident in the pattern of the leopard skin incised on the back of the statue, in the tails incised on the proper left of the statue base, and in the paws inscribed on the proper left side of the statue.³ The figure wears an incised *ḥnh-htp* symbol as a pendant (Taf. 33).⁴ The cartouche of Thutmose III is incised on his proper right shoulder. The hands of the figure bear additional emblematic symbols: his left hand holds a lotus bud,⁵ and an image of the red crown crossed by the lunar crescent is carved on the back of the hand; his right hand is

¹ For the ongoing debate on possible find spots see W.A. Budge, *By Nile and Tigris: A Narrative of Journeys in Egypt and Mesopotamia on Behalf of the British Museum Between the Years 1886 and 1913*, II, London 1920, 368–9; L. Habachi, *The First Two Viceroys of Kush and their Family*, in: *Kush* 7, 1959, 45–62; B. Porter-R. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*, II, 278–279; T.G.H. James, *Le Prétendu “Sanctuaire de Karnak” selon Budge*, in: *BSFÉ* 75, 1976, 7–30; M. Dewachter, *A propos de quelques édifices méconnus de Karnak-Nord*, in: *CdÉ* 54/107, 1979, 22–25; M. Eaton-Krauss, *The Fate of Sennefer and Senetnay at Karnak Temple and in the Valley of the Kings*, in: *JEA* 85, 1999, 116–122. Eaton-Krauss argues for a findspot inside the ‘chamber of Hatshepsut’ discovered by Budge and locates this chamber at North Karnak “outside the north gate in the wall giving access to the Montu Temple” (118). This is contra Habachi who has argued that the statue originally stood at Deir el-Bahari in close association with two statues of similar type and belonging to the same family that were discovered at that site. Eaton-Krauss notes that there is nothing concrete to suggest that the statues found in the chamber originally stood together.

² J. Vandier, *Manuel d'Archéologie Égyptienne*, III, Paris 1958, 456–457; R. Schulz, *Entwicklung und Bedeutung des kuboiden Statuentypus I*, *HÄB* 33, Hildesheim 1992, 377–378 (no. 218); *ibid* II, *HÄB* 34, Pl. 98a-b.

³ Habachi, in: *Kush* 7, 1959, Pl. XVI; Schulz, *Entwicklung und Bedeutung des kuboiden Statuentypus*, II, Pl. 98b.

⁴ H.G. Fischer, *More Emblematic Uses from Ancient Egypt*, in: *MMJ* 11, 1976, 125–128.

⁵ R.B. Parkinson, *Cracking Codes: The Rosetta Stone and Decipherment*, Berkley/Los Angeles 1999, 120; Schulz, *Entwicklung und Bedeutung des kuboiden Statuentypus*, I, 377; and contra Vandier, *Manuel d'Archéologie Égyptienne*, III, 457 who identifies a stylus.

empty and bears an image of the white crown and the sun disc. These symbols identify the dominion of Thutmose III as ‘all that the sun and moon encircle.’⁶

Teti’s face is rounded with high cheekbones and finely modeled features. The eyes are narrowly set and elongated with a gently upward curving lower lid. The upper lid curves more dramatically upward before sloping sinuously in to meet the canthus. The cosmetic line is absent but the upper outline of the eye is modeled as are the brows, which sit high above the eyes and slope upward from the bridge of the nose before arcing downward dramatically to approach the outer corner of the eye. The nose is almost straight in profile and shows a clearly marked distinction between the forehead and the slight slope of the nose itself, which has a narrow bridge with nostrils that flare to the width of the inner eye. The mouth is short and narrow, formed of two symmetrical bands that thin toward the corners, which are pointed and tilt up slightly.

Stylistically, the facial modeling of Teti’s statue shares elements with the royal portraiture of the period of Thutmose III’s sole reign prior to year 42,⁷ which together with the presence of the cartouche of Thutmose III on Teti’s shoulder has led previous researchers to date the statue to the reign of that king. Most recently, a fuller consideration of Teti’s features suggests that Teti’s face and features are softer and more rounded than those found in the late statuary of Thutmose III, perhaps indicating a date early in the reign of Amenhotep II.⁸ While many of Teti’s features resemble the statuary of Thutmose III, several show variation that anticipates the developments of Amenhotep II: Teti’s mouth is shorter than that of Thutmose III, with more pointed corners; the shape and placement of the eyes closely parallel the later statuary of Thutmose III in all but the absence of the cosmetic line, which marks Amenhotep II’s early reign; the bridge of the nose is clearly marked in profile and the nose is less aquiline; the face is rounded and youthful with a serene expression; and Teti’s wig is an early form of the double wig, introduced by Amenhotep II.⁹ Furthermore, the offering formula that frames Teti’s dedicatory text exhibits a form that dates to the reign of Amenhotep II (c.f. *infra*, note a). As the statue was dedicated to Teti by his son, Hori, it seems likely that the statue was commissioned early in the reign of Amenhotep II, while the cartouche carved onto Teti’s shoulder dates the ‘events’ of the statue to Teti’s service under Thutmose III.

⁶ Vandier, *Manuel d’Archéologie Égyptienne*, 456–457; Parkinson, *Cracking Codes*, 120–121 (and # 37).

⁷ D. Laboury, *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III. Essai d’interprétation d’un portrait royal dans son contexte historique*, *Ægyptiaca Leodiensia* 5, Liege 1998, 573–579, and compare, in particular, 154–155 (C35 = CG 42067), 169–175 (C40–41 = CG 594), 238–239 (C71 = CG 42069), 241–246 (C73 = JE 39260), 357–359 (A19 = BM EA 986); c.f. D. Laboury, *Royal Portrait and Ideology: Evolution and Signification of the Statuary of Thutmose III*, in: E.H. Cline-D. O’Connor (eds.), *Thutmose III*, 267–272.

⁸ E.R. Russmann, *Eternal Egypt: Masterworks of Ancient Art from the British Museum*, London 2001, 124.

⁹ K. Myśliwiec, *Le Portrait Royal dans le Bas-Relief du Nouvel Empire*, *Travaux du Centre d’Archéologie Méditerranéenne de l’Académie Polonaise des Sciences* 18, Varsovie 1976, 59–60; Russman, *Eternal Egypt*, 124.

Previous interest in BM EA 888 has focused on the content of one of its two dedicatory texts.¹⁰ The back pillar displays three columns of text oriented under a single line of horizontal text. Incised dividing lines outline all the columns and registers. The text records a genealogy for Teti, placing him within the family of Ahmose Turoi, who was probably the first Viceroy of Nubia:¹¹

¹ *sš-nswt hry-hb hry-tp s(t)m Tty*

² *sš sš [hṭp(.w)-ntr] n Imn [Tḥ]-ms(.w) Pš-tni
mš^c-hrw*

³ *sš sš-nswt imy-rš ḥšs.wt rsy.t Tḥ-ms(.w)
Twrš <i> mš^c-hrw*

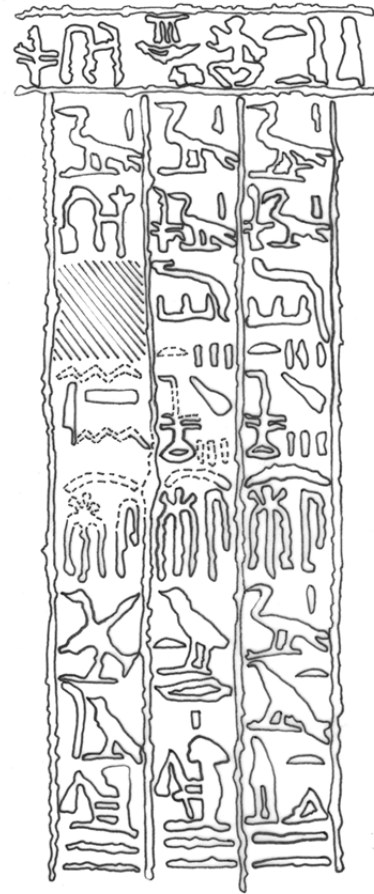
⁴ *sš sš-nswt imy-rš ḥšs.wt rsy.t Tḥ-ms(.w) Sš-tš-
iy.t mš^c-hrw*

¹ The royal scribe, chief lector priest, and *se(te)m*-priest Teti

² son of the scribe of the [divine offerings] of Amun, [Ah]mose Patjeni, justified

³ son of the viceroy and overseer of southern foreign lands, Ahmose Turo<i>, justified

⁴ son of the viceroy and overseer of southern foreign lands, Ahmose Satyt, justified.



That this genealogy attributes to Ahmose Turoi's father the standard viceregal titulary of the early Eighteenth Dynasty¹² – *sš-nswt imy-rš ḥšs.wt rsy.t* – dominates the scholarly discourse¹³ and obscures the significance of the primary, more esoteric, text. The primary dedicatory inscription¹⁴ on the statue consists of a well-carved hieroglyphic offering formula arranged across the front of the statue (Taf. 34). Nine columns of text, oriented right-to-left, are framed top and bottom with a single horizontal

¹⁰ W.A. Budge (ed.), *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, &c.*, in the British Museum, V, London 1914, 25; Habachi, in: *Kush* 7, 1959, 45–62; W. Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und neue Texte der 18. Dynastie*, I, KÄT 6, Wiesbaden 1975, 113 (126).

¹¹ This genealogy is confirmed through two other dedicatory statues, for which see E. Naville, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir El-Bahari*, III, EEF 32, London 1913, 2 and pl. viii (A), 8 and pl. ix (Ca-f); Habachi, in: *Kush* 7, 1959, 45–62; c.f. M.W. Brown, *Keeping Enemies Closer: Ascribed Material Agency in Ancient Egyptian Rock Inscriptions and the Projection of Presence and Power in Liminal Regions*, Ph.D. Diss 2015, 253–256 (§ 5.1.1) for a discussion of the career of Ahmose Turoi and the early viceroyship.

¹² See most recently Brown, *Keeping Enemies Closer*, 279–284 (§ 5.3.1) for an analysis of the development of this titulary spanning the late Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Dynasties.

¹³ Habachi, in: *Kush* 7, 1959, 45–62; idem, in: *LÄ* III, 630 s.v. *Königssohn von Kusch*; B. Schmitz, *Untersuchungen zum Titel sš-nswt „Königssohn“*, Bonn 1976, 269; Schulz, *Entwicklung und Bedeutung des kuboiden Statuentypus*, I, 377 n. 3; I. Müller, *Die Verwaltung Nubiens im Neuen Reich*, *Meroitica* 18, Wiesbaden 2013, 101–104; Parkinson, *Cracking Codes*, 120.

¹⁴ Habachi, in: *Kush* 7, 1959, 46–47; Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit*, 112–113 (126).

ation with mortuary cult.¹⁸ The final three elements – *ndm-ib imꜣh nfr* – never occur together in offering formulae. Within offering formulae *ndm-ib* occurs in a diverse range of contexts from simple lists of boons in non-royal inscriptions¹⁹ to references to the journey of the deceased.²⁰ The predominantly mortuary context of *imꜣh* is well-attested, the nisbe form (*imꜣhy*) following the identification of the deceased in tomb inscriptions, the underworld books, offering formulae, and the Letters to the Dead.²¹ While the use of the epithet need not indicate that a person is already deceased, given that the vast majority of contexts reflect mortuary overtones it is likely that Teti was deceased at the time of the statue dedication. The *imꜣh nfr* compound historically appears either as the subject or object of the offering, e.g. *wnn imꜣh nfr hr ntr ʕ3* ‘may good veneration exist under the great god’²² or in the New Kingdom *dī-sn wn imꜣh nfr* ‘may they cause that the good venerated one exist.’²³ This suggests that the two should be understood as a noun and adjective rather than two nouns (veneration and perfection). Alongside the general mortuary context for the other boons listed here the addition of the phrase *imꜣh nfr* would appear to designate Teti as deceased at the time of this offering.

1.2 Titles of the Cosmic Sphere



¹⁸ Budge (ed.), HT V, pl. 14; H.O. Lange–H. Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs, I, CG nos. 20001–20399, Berlin 1902, 334.

¹⁹ G. Bénédite, Scribe et babouin: au sujet de deux petits groupes de sculpture égyptienne exposés au Musée du Louvre, in: MonPiot 19, 1912, 17; P.E. Newberry, A Statue and a Scarab, in: JEA 19/1–2, 1933, 54 (ca. Thutmose III); G. Lefébvre, Fragment d’un “Éloge du Roi” sur une Statuette du Louvre, in: Mélanges Maspero I: Orient Ancien, II, MIFAO 66², 546 (no. 2); H. Wall-Gordon, A New Kingdom Libation Basin Dedicated to Ptah, Second Part: The Inscriptions, in: MDAIK 16, 1958, 170.

²⁰ H.E. Winlock, The Egyptian Expedition 1925–1927: The Museum’s Excavations at Thebes, in: BMMA 23/2.2, 1928, 41.

²¹ Wb, I, 81–82; A.H. Gardiner–K. Sethe, Egyptian Letters to the Dead, mainly from the Old and Middle Kingdoms, 5–7, Pls. V–Va (Berlin Bowl); C.J.C. Bennett, Growth of the *hṯp-dī-nswt* Formula in the Middle Kingdom, in: JEA 27, 1941, 79; Barta, Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel; J. Assmann, Maat: Gerechtigkeit und Unsterblichkeit, Munich 1990, 99, 107–108; D. Doxey, Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets in the Middle Kingdom: A Social and Historical Analysis, PÄ 12, Leiden/Boston/Köln 1998, 1, 80–81, 90, 94–102, 256–263 (for list of epithets based on *imꜣh*); R. van der Molen, A Hieroglyphic Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts, PÄ 15, Boston 2000, 36 (*imꜣhw* and *imꜣh.t*) for attestations in the Coffin Texts.

²² S. Hassan, Excavations at Giza II, Publications of Fouad I University Faculty of Arts 17/2, Oxford 1931, 175.

²³ LD I, Pl. 7.

² *n k3 n sš htp.w-ntr sn-nw n 'Imn^b Tty m3^c-hrw*

³ *n k3 n hry-sšt3 m pr 'Imn^c Tty m3^c-hrw*

⁴ *[n] k3 n s(t)m m pr Pth^d Tty m3^c-hrw*

² for the *ka* of the second degree scribe of the divine offerings of Amun, Tety, justified.

³ for the *ka* of the chief ritualist in the temple of Amun, Tety, justified.

⁴ [for] the *ka* of the *se(te)m*-priest in the temple of Ptah, Tety, justified.

1.2.1 Text Notes to the Cosmic Sphere Titles

^b. This title apparently designates Teti as a second degree scribe of the divine offerings of Amun. The ranking of scribes is relatively rare and only one other example of rank exists for the title *sš htp.w-ntr* – the *sš htp.w-ntr tpy n 'Imn Mn-hpr-R^c-snb*, the son of Rekhmire depicted in that tomb. This title occurs in the context of a mortuary offering dedicated by Menkheperreseneb to his parents, Rekhmire and Bat.²⁴ Although the orthography of *sn-nw* in this title best reflects a scribal rank, given that only a very few examples exist for rank associated with this title, it is possible that a double meaning was intended: a secondary allusion to *snw*-offerings – the redistributed offerings within a temple given to a statue enlivened through the Opening of the Mouth ceremony. Such a play on words would additionally evoke the realm of statue cult,²⁵ a hypothesis that finds support among the titles related to the Festival Sphere. In the Theban region from at least as early as the New Kingdom, the primary dedicant of *snw*-offerings was the syncretized Khonsu-Shu who journeyed daily, in the morning, to Medinet Habu in order to offer *snw*-loaves to the Ogdoad.²⁶ That the titles of the Festival Sphere evoke a morning setting and specifically reference Heh/Khonsu-Shu (c.f. *infra*, notes f and i) may support an understanding of a playful hybrid

²⁴ N. de Garis Davies, *Paintings from the Tomb of Rekh-Mi-Rē' at Thebes*, PMMA 10, New York 1935, Pl. XIX; idem, *The Tomb of Rekh-Mi-Rē' at Thebes*, I, PMMA 11, New York 1943, 14–15; idem, II, Pls. LXXV, CXV; A.R. Al-Ayedi, *Index of Egyptian Administrative, Religious and Military Titles of the New Kingdom*, Ismailia 2006, 570 (1910) though with caution about the reference listed there (P.E. Newberry, *The Life of Rekhmara, Vezir of Upper Egypt under Thothmes III and Amenhetep II (circa B.C. 1471–1448)*, Westminster 1900, Pl. 7.8) as the title does not appear to occur in that volume.

²⁵ The etymology of *snw* to refer to offerings of bread in temples is likely rooted in the fact the bread-stuffs were redistributed offerings originally made to the main god of a temple, for which see S. Sauneron, *Un hymne à Imouthès*, in: BIFAO 63, 1965, 81 (w); P. Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, OLA 78, Leuven 1997, 856–857; c.f. C. Traunecker, *Un Exemple de Rite de Substitution: Une Stèle de Nectanébo 1^{er}*, in: *Cahiers de Karnak* 7, 1982, 349; F.-R. Herbin, *Books of Breathing and Related Texts*, *Catalogue of the Books of the Dead and other Religious Texts in the British Museum*, 4, London 2008, P. 9995 I/14, P. 10048 II/10, P. 10116 21, P. 10201 II/1, P. 10260 I/x+9 and II/x+9 for the ability of the deceased to receive and consume the *snw*-loaves with the *bas* of the gods. For the role of the statue cult in the redistributive temple economy see Urk. IV, 768.4–770.3; c.f. A.P. Kozloff-B. Bryan, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun: Amenhotep III and his World*, Cleveland 1992, 239–240 for an interesting private example.

²⁶ Traunecker, in: *Cahiers de Karnak* 7, 1982, 347–350 citing the Middle Kingdom association in CT 563 between Khonsu, as Lord of Food, and the breath of the deceased in the afterlife, for which see G. Steindorff, *Grabfunde des Mittleren Reichs in den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, II: *der Sarg des Sebk-O – ein Grabfund aus Gebelên*, *Mittheilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlungen* 9, Berlin 1901, 19 and additional comments in G. Posener, *Philologie et archéologie égyptiennes*, in: *Annuaire du Collège de France* 66, 1966, 340–341; F.-R. Herbin, *Livre de Parcourir l'Éternité*, OLA 58, Leuven 1994, 145–147 (esp. 147); idem, *La Renaissance d'Osiris au Temple d'Opet*, in: RdÉ 54, 2003, 82; idem, *Books of Breathing*, 122; D. Klotz, *Caesar in the City of Amun: Egyptian Temple Construction and Theology in Roman Thebes*, MRE 15, Turnhout 2012, 102.

title that simultaneously reflects a scribal rank while also alluding to the specific nature of offerings within the context of statue cult, of which the object itself is a part.

^c Cosmically, the reference to the *pr 'Imn* situates the inscriptional context within Karnak, possibly during the morning when *snw*-offerings traditionally were made (c.f. *supra*, note b). That the statue explicitly specifies the reign of Thutmose III, the *pr 'Imn* reference may be intended to evoke the Akhmenu, in which context the dedication of the offering formula on behalf of Amun and Re-Horakhty reflects the syncretism of Amun, Atum, and Re-Horakhty at the Akhmenu in its capacity as a southern replica of the temple of Atum and Re-Horakhty at Heliopolis (c.f. *infra*, note d).²⁷ Thutmose III began building the Akhmenu – officially the *ḥw.t-ʿ3.t n.t ḥḥ n rnp.wt*, ‘mansion of millions of years’ – around year 24. Consisting primarily of a festival hall and a sanctuary of Amun, Haeny argues that the temple served a jubilee function.²⁸ Architecturally, the hall may represent a combination of jubilee kiosk and festival court and in year 33, Thutmose III added the Château de l’Or – a separate chapel decorated with scenes depicting the consecration of cult objects related to the second jubilee.²⁹ The decorative program of the Festival Hall establishes Amun-Re as the primary deity of the temple and aligns the creative activities of Thutmose III with those of Re and Ptah. Gabolde has suggested that during the reign of Thutmose III this complex served as the primary sanctuary of Amun at Karnak.³⁰ While still under debate,³¹ this compelling theory may provide support for understanding the title *ḥry-sšt3 m pr 'Imn* as a reference to Teti’s confidential duties within the Akhmenu as juxtaposed with his duties in the temple of Ptah, a roughly contemporary construction of Thutmose III at Karnak (c.f. *infra*, note d).

The *ḥry-sšt3* of the temple of Amun is a well-attested administrative office with apparent functions related to the receiving and release of goods from the temple storehouses.³² Although often translated ‘master of secrets’ in response to its associations with ritual practice,³³ a consideration of the duties associated with the title reveal that *ḥry-sšt3* was used broadly to denote expertise related to confidential matters, first in association with readying the king’s person for secular and ritual emergence (c.f. *infra*, note j), and later predominantly associated with temple administration and economy.³⁴ As a proper title this should indi-

²⁷ L. Gabolde, Le «Grand Château d'Amon» de Sésostris I^{er} à Karnak, *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 17, Paris 1998, 150–155.

²⁸ G. Haeny, Basilikale Anlagen in der ägyptischen Baukunst des Neuen Reiches, *BeiträgeBf* 9, Wiesbaden 1970, 7–17; idem, New Kingdom «Mortuary Temples» and «Mansions of Millions of Years, » in: B.E. Shafer (ed.), *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, Ithaca 1997, 99.

²⁹ Haeny, *Basilikale Anlagen in der ägyptischen Baukunst des Neuen Reiches*, 7–17; C. Traunecker, Le «Château de l'Or» de Thoutmosis III et les magasins nord du temple d'Amon, in: *CRIPPEL* 11, 1989, 89–111; P. Laskowski, Monumental Architecture and the Royal Building Program of Thutmose III, in: Cline-O'Connor (eds.), *Thutmose III*, 192–195.

³⁰ Gabolde, Le «Grand Château d'Amon» de Sésostris I^{er} à Karnak, 141–142 (§220–221).

³¹ See for example Laskowski, in: Cline-O'Connor (eds.), *Thutmose III*, n. 66.

³² The Vizier Rekhmire, in his capacity as *ḥry-sšt3*, received goods from the southern oasis and Lower Egypt, into the magazines of Karnak, for which see Urk. IV, 1140–1145; B. Bryan, Administration in the Reign of Thutmose III, in: Cline-O'Connor (eds.), *Thutmose III*, 76 (for interpretation).

³³ W.A. Ward, Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom, Beirut 1982, 119–123 (nos. 1004–1040); S. Quirke, Titles and bureaux of Egypt 1850–1700 BC, *Egyptology* 1, London 2004, 126.

³⁴ H.G. Fischer, Three Old Kingdom Palimpsests in the Louvre, in: *ZÄS* 86, 1961, 25–26; idem, Egyptian Titles of the Middle Kingdom. A Supplement to Wm. Ward's INDEX, New York 1985, 18–19; K.T. Rydström,

cate high-ranking administrative and managerial duties within the temple of Amun as well as those related to directing religious ritual. It seems likely that this was intended as a counterpart to the next title *s(t)m m pr Pth*.

^d *Pr Pth* probably denotes the temple of Ptah in the precinct of Amun at Karnak, which was rebuilt in stone by Thutmose III beginning around year 22 or 23.³⁵ The building and dedication inscription from the temple of Ptah references his first Syrian campaign (completed y. 23) but not his second (launched y. 24), suggesting that the renewal of the Ptah temple occurred prior to – or contemporary with – the construction of the Akhmenu at East Karnak.³⁶ Though Ptah is primarily known as the creator god of the Memphite cosmogony the coupling of the temples of Ptah and Amun draws a terrestrial parallel between the two contemporary monumental constructions of Thutmose III at Karnak and draws a cosmic parallel between the Akhmenu as the Theban site of the Heliopolitan syncretism of Amun, Atum, and Re-Horakhty with the identification of Ptah as the ‘father of the gods’ and primary creator god in the cosmogony of *ʿwnw šmʿ* – the southern Heliopolis.³⁷

The southern Heliopolis has been variously identified with Armant, with the roof sanctuary of Re-Atum at the Akhmenu of Thutmose III, and with the entire Theban nome during the New Kingdom.³⁸ Gabolde³⁹ argues persuasively for identifying Karnak as *ʿwnw šmʿ*, recon-

Hry sšt3, “In Charge of Secrets”: The 3000-year Evolution of a Title, in: *Discussions in Egyptology* 28, 1994, 53–94; Al-Ayedi, *Index of Egyptian Administrative, Religious and Military Titles of the New Kingdom*, 409–416 (1389–1415), esp. 413 (1404: *hry sšt3 m pr ʿmn*); Bryan, in: Cline-O’Connor (eds.), *Thutmose III*, 76; S.Z. Balanda, The Title “*hry-sšt3*” to the end of the New Kingdom, in: *JARCE* 45, 2009, 319–348. Although Balanda wishes to see the title as exclusively denoting expertise in confidential matters with little to no association with ‘secrets’ we cannot discount the cases in which the root word *št3w* translates as ‘restricted’ or ‘confidential’ (p. 326). Thus, while the present paper supports the broader identification of the title with expertise in confidential areas, the notion of ‘privy councilor’ perhaps best reflects the dual role of ‘advisor’ or ‘executor’ on a confidential matter with the expectation that the confidential matter will remain so.

³⁵ Urk. IV, 763; Ch. Thiers-P. Zignani, *The Temple of Ptah at Karnak*, in: *EA* 38, 2011, 20–24; S. Biston-Moulin, L’épithète *hḳ3 m3ʿ(.t)* et l’activité architecturale du début du règne autonome de Thoutmosis III, in: A. Gasse et al. (eds.), *Et in Aegypto et ad Aegyptum*, I, Montpellier 2012, 87–89; Ch. Thiers, *Le temple de Ptah à Karnak. Remarques préliminaires*, in: H. Beinlich (ed.), 9. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung: Kultabbildung und Kultrealität. Hamburg, 27. September–1. Oktober 2011, Wiesbaden 2013, 319–342.


³⁶ P. Barguet, *Le Temple d’Amon-Rê à Karnak. Essai d’Exégèse*, Cairo 1962, 296–297 and Urk. IV, 1251–1275.

³⁷ P. Clère, *La Porte d’Évergète à Karnak*, II, MIFAO 84, Cairo 1961, Pl. 28 (= Urk. VIII, 80i); E. Cruz-Uribe, *Hibis Temple Project I: Translations, Commentary, Discussions and Sign List*, San Antonio 1988, 42; Klotz, *Caesar in the City of Amun*, 116–117.

³⁸ A. Varille, *Inscriptions concernant l’architecte Amenhotep fils de Hapou*, BdÉ 44, Cairo 1968, 28–31; J. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott: Untersuchungen zur altägyptischen Hymnik*, I, MÄS 19, Berlin 1969, 311 and n. 47; M. Abd el-Raziq, *The Dedicatory and Building Texts of Ramesses II in Luxor Temple: I: The Texts*, in: *JEA* 60, 1974, 1B; idem, *The Dedicatory and Building Texts of Ramesses II in Luxor Temple: II: Interpretation*, in: *JEA* 61, 1975, 126; L. Bell, *Divine Kingship and the Theology of the Obelisk Cult in the Temple of Thebes*, in: H. Beinlich et al. (eds.), 5. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung. Würzburg, 23.–26. September 1999, ÄAT 33, Wiesbaden 2002, 25 n. 56; Klotz, *Caesar in the City of Amun*, 149–150 (esp. 149). For the obelisk inscription of Hatshepsut see Urk. IV, 164 (ll. 5–8). For the building inscription of Ramesses II at Luxor see KRI II, 346 (ll. 7–8). For the association of *ʿwnw šmʿ* with the sanctuary of Re-Atum at Karnak East see R. Stadelmann, *šwt-Rʿw als Kultstätte des Sonnengottes im Neuen Reich*, in: *MDAIK* 25, 1969, 173–174.

³⁹ Gabolde, *Le «Grand Château d’Amon» de Sésostri I^{er} à Karnak*, with references, presents perhaps the most comprehensive synthesis of the material on the relationship between Karnak and Heliopolis, including a discussion on the syncretism of Amun to Atum and Re-Horakhty and a meticulous architectural analysis. See particularly 143–158 for a detailed summary.

structing the *ḥw.t-ʕ.t n.t ʿImn* of Senwosret I and the *ḥw.t-ʕ.t n.t ḥḥ n rnp.wt* (= Akhmenu) of Thutmose III as southern replicas of the *ḥw.t-ʕ.t* temple of Atum and Re-Horakhty at Heliopolis. In addition to serving as venues for the celebration of divine cult the *ḥw.t-ʕ.t* at Heliopolis and those of Senwosret I and Thutmose III at Karnak were notably dedicated to aspects of royal cult, depicting elements of the royal coronation, the fixing of the titulary, and the Sed-festival. In his capacity as the lord of *ʿwnw šmʕ*, in later periods, Ptah appears in a relief at Hibis temple, pregnant and squatting to give birth to the *s3.ty* twins (c.f. *infra*, note f), a scene echoed in a cryptographic relief at Medinet Habu.⁴⁰ The depiction at Medinet Habu alludes to the role of the temple, during the Greco-Roman period, as a processional stop for the gods of *ʿwnw šmʕ*.⁴¹ Notably, the temple of Ptah foundation text explicitly designates the renewed temple as a processional stop for Amun of Karnak.⁴²

The title *s(t)m* appears four times on BM EA 888: once on the back pillar, once among the cosmic titles, and twice among the festival titles (ll. 6 and 10). The ‘cryptographic’ orthography displayed here () appears also on the back pillar while the two festival sphere attestations display the more conventional uniliteral orthography (/s/-crook + /m/-owl). Previously translated as *ḥmww*,⁴³ the odd sign actually seems to depict a *s(t)m*-priest wrapped in a hide and either seated on a chair or recumbant on a couch.⁴⁴ Iconographic parallels exist in the scenes and texts associated with the Opening of the Mouth depicted in the tombs of Rekhmire (TT 100), User (TT 21), and Djehutymose Paroy (TT 295).⁴⁵ In both TT 100 and TT 295, and probably also in TT 21, the image is associated with the well-known seclusion and meditation ritual of the *s(t)m*-priest, recorded in scenes 9–10 of the Opening of the Mouth.⁴⁶

⁴⁰ J. Baines, *Fecundity Figures, Egyptian Personification and the Iconology of a Genre*, Warminster 1985, 40 (figs 8 and 9), 41; J.C. Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity. Cryptographic Compositions in the Tombs of Tutankhamun, Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX*, OBO 198, Fribourg/Göttingen 2004, 376 and n. 371. For the cryptographic image at Medinet Habu see W.F. Edgerton, *Medinet Habu Graffiti Facsimiles*, OIP 36, Chicago 1937, Pl. 6, fig. 21; for the image at Hibis see W. Erichsen-S. Schott, *Fragmente memphitischer Theologie in demotischer Schrift* (Pap. demot. Berlin 13603), AAWLM 7, Mainz/Wiesbaden 1954, 372 and fig. 2 (= p. 74); N. de Garis Davies, *The Temple of Hibis in El Khāreh Oasis*, III, PMMA 17, New York 1953, 13–14, pl. 5 (V); Cruz-Uribe, *Hibis Temple Project*, I, 42.

⁴¹ Klotz, *Caesar in the City of Amun*, 150 and n. 901, citing *Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu I: Earlier Historical Records of Rameses III*, OIP 8, Chicago 1930, Pl. 115, line 3 (= KRI V, 306, l. 2).

⁴² Urk. IV, 768 (ll. 13–14).

⁴³ Habachi, in: Kush 7, 1959, 47; Schulz, *Die Entwicklung und Bedeutung des kuboiden Statuentypus*, I, 377.

⁴⁴ Many thanks to John Darnell for bringing this reading to my attention and to Phillipe Collombert and Andrés Diego Espinel for sharing their research, references, and thoughts on the reading; c.f. H-W. Fischer-Elfert, *Die Vision von der Statue im Stein*, 8–16; J. Berlandini, *Le «double-chaoubti gisant» des Princes Rameses et Khâemouaset*, in: RdÉ 53, 2002, 21–23; J.M. Serrano Delgado, *A Contribution to the Study of the tekenu and its Role in Egyptian Funerary Ritual*, in: ZÄS 138, 2011, 150–162, The title *ḥmww m pr Pth* is unattested while the title *s(t)m m pr Pth* appears a funerary cone, for which see N. de Garis Davies-M.F.L. Macadam, *A Corpus of Inscribed Egyptian Funerary Cones*, Oxford 1957, no. 412.

⁴⁵ N. de Garis Davies, *Five Theban Tombs* (being those of Mentuherkhepeshef, User, Daga, Nehemawäy and Tati), ASE 21, London 1913, 24–25, Pl. XXI; *ibid.*, *Paintings from the Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rē* at Thebes, Pl. XXV; E.-S.A. Hegazy-M. Tosi, *A Theban Private Tomb: Tomb No. 295*, AV 45, Mainz am Rhein 1983, Pl. 2.

⁴⁶ Serrano Delgado, in: ZÄS 138, 2011, 155–159 notes that in TT 295 the hieroglyph itself occurs as a determinative for the verb *sdr* (to sleep). This appears to be a slight variant on the more common depictions of the *s(t)m*-priest enveloped from neck to foot in bandages and seated upright on a short backless stool with inward angled legs (Fischer-Elfert, *Die Vision von der Statue im Stein*, 8–16).

Fischer-Elfert has clarified these initial events in the ritual of the Opening of the Mouth, examining scenes 9–13 as depicted in the tomb of Rekhmire.⁴⁷ The Opening of the Mouth usually took place within the ‘House of Gold’ within a temple. During Scene 9 of the rite, the *s(t)m*-priest was enveloped in a bull-hide or bandages that left only the head free, which symbolically replicated the entrapment and immobilization of the statue within the stone. The *s(t)m*-priest retreated in seclusion to an inner chamber called the *is* and conducted a meditation, sitting on a stool opposite the raw block of stone containing the statue, during which time the statue was revealed to him.⁴⁸ Through this detailed revelation the *s(t)m*-priest envisioned not only the final form of the statue but the specific process of its manufacture. Upon leaving seclusion the *s(t)m*-priest relates his vision to an *im.yw-ḥnt* priest who translates his recitations into the colloquial trade vocabulary of the craftsmen who then lay out the grid and mark the stone in accordance with the translated vision of the *s(t)m*-priest.

The significance of using the unconventional orthography may have been intended to indicate that Teti was the *s(t)m*-priest who performed the seclusion and meditation during the ritual. The particularly close association between Ptah and the Opening of the Mouth, especially during the reign of Thutmose III, may be tied to his identification as the cosmic craftsman⁴⁹ in the southern Heliopolitan cosmogony and may suggest that the temple of Ptah was the site for this event. Alternatively, the known existence of the Château de l’Or in the Akhmenu may indicate that this was the site of the meditation and subsequent Opening of the Mouth ritual. The inclusion of the title *s(t)m m pr Ptḥ* among the titles of the cosmic sphere suggests that the act of seclusion and meditation conducted by the *s(t)m*-priest was perceived as traversing the liminal boundary between the cosmic and terrestrial spheres – that the vision of the statue emerged from the cosmos into the mind of the priest.

⁴⁷ Fischer-Elfert, *Die Vision von der Statue im Stein*, 8–26.

⁴⁸ For the significance of revelation to the production of ritual images and buildings see Fischer-Elfert, *Die Vision von der Statue im Stein*, 30 n. 75 citing I. Shirin-Grumach, *Offenbarung, Orakel, und Königsnovelle*, ÄAT 24, Wiesbaden 1993, 140–141.

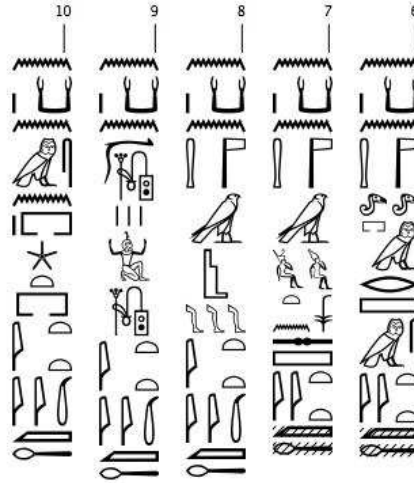
⁴⁹ Cruz-Urbe, *Hibis Temple Project*, I, 41 (south reveal, reg. 3); c.f. A. Erman, *Ein Denkmal memphitischer Theologie*, Berlin 1911, 942; A.M. Blackman, *The House of the Morning*, in: *JEA* 5, 1918, 159 and n. 8.

⁵ for the *ka* of the royal scribe, chief lector priest, and confidante of his Lord, Tety, justified.

e. These three well-attested titles indicate civil duties and ritual service to the king at court and focus the events of the statue now entirely upon the institution of kingship. The two regular titles – *sš-nswt* and *hry-ḥb hry-tp* – appear as well in the inscription on the back pillar, suggesting that these titles denote Teti's terrestrial professional identity and responsibilities.⁵⁰ The chief lector priest is active in a range of contexts; however, often alongside *hr.yw-sšt3*, the chief lector priest officiates during the rite of the *pr dw3.t* in both the palace and temple contexts.⁵¹ This association becomes particularly relevant given the reference to Teti's service in the *pr dw3.t* (c.f. *infra*, note j) and his *hry-sšt3* status in the Amun temple (c.f. *supra*, note c). The formulation *mḥ-ib n nb=f* is a variation on the *mḥ-ib n ḥm=f* formulation common in royal expeditionary contexts of the Middle Kingdom.⁵²

⁵² Doxey, Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets in the Middle Kingdom, 145; Brown, Keeping Enemies Closer, 270–271 (§ 5.2.2).

1.4 Titles of the Festival Sphere



⁶ *n k3 n ḥm-nṯr s3.ty^f m pr rš s(t)m Tty [m3^c-ḥrw]*

⁷ *n k3 n ḥm-nṯr H.wy-Ḥr^g sš-nswt Tty [m3^c-ḥrw]*

⁸ *n k3 n ḥm-nṯr Ḥr-s.t-rd.w^h Tti-ty m3^c-ḥrw*

⁹ *n k3 n imy-r3 sš.w Ḥḥⁱ sš Tti-ty m3^c-ḥrw*

¹⁰ *n k3 n s(t)m n pr dw3.ḥⁱ Tti-ty m3^c-ḥrw*

⁶ for the *ka* of the *hem-netjer* priest of Two Bird Children of Re in the House of Re-joining and *se(te)m*-priest, Tety, [justified].

⁷ for the *ka* of the *hem-netjer* priest of the Two Children of (Upper and Lower Egypt of) Horus and royal scribe, Tety, [justified].

⁸ for the *ka* of the *hem-netjer* priest of Horus-of-the-Processional-Stations, Tetity, justified.

⁹ for the *ka* of the overseer of the scribes of Heh/ Khonsu-Shu and scribe, Tetity, justified.

¹⁰ for the *ka* of the *se(te)m*-priest of the House of the Morning, Tetity, justified.

1.4.1 Texts Notes to the Festival Sphere Titles

^f This title is unattested elsewhere. Many of the individual elements are enigmatic and appear to be unique creations of the statue owner. The classic values of the vulture head are *nr* and *rmṯ*. A dual of *rmṯ* – itself already a collective form – is highly unlikely; however, the two vulture heads could represent a *pars pro toto* writing for two vulture signs, with a literal reading of *ḥm-nṯr nr.ty*, ‘the *hem-netjer* priest of the two vultures,’ or *ḥm-nṯr mw.ty*, ‘the *hem-netjer* priest of the two mothers,’ neither of which title is yet attested.⁵³ The *nr.ty* are attested twice: in PT 508,⁵⁴ a spell that assists the spirit in traveling through the Akhet,

⁵³ Ch. Leitz, LGG III, 271 s.v. *Mwty*; ibid, IV, 254 s.v. *Nrty*.

⁵⁴ Pyr 1118b.

the *nr.ty* appear in apposition to the term *mw.ty*; and in CT 684,⁵⁵ a spell that enables the deceased to receive gifts in the underworld, the *nr.ty* are hailed as having conceived Re at night and having borne him in the morning, in which context they might also be equated with the *mw.ty*. Apart from the appositive relationship to the *nr.ty* in PT 508 the *mw.ty* are attested in two additional sources: CT 66⁵⁶ refers to the *mw.ty m Nhb*, ‘the two mothers in Nekheb;’ and in an obelisk inscription of Hatshepsut⁵⁷ the *mw.ty* unite with Re in the divine solar barque. While Late Period texts sometimes associate Mut with Nekhbet based on a shared relationship to the vulture, an identification with the Wandering Goddess of the Eye of the Sun, and their guardianship of the white crown,⁵⁸ these older documents likely evoke the maternal qualities of the two crowns, and harmonize the two crown goddesses – Nekhbet and Wadjyt – into a divine pair with a shared vulture form,⁵⁹ further supported by the determination of *mw.ty* in the obelisk with two cobras atop *nb*-baskets.

Alternatively, the vulture heads may represent a *pars pro toto* cryptographic writing for *s3*: the vulture represents a substitution of kind for the *s3*-bird and the vulture head is the *pars pro toto* representation of the whole bird.⁶⁰ The *s3.ty*, usually translated as ‘the two bird children of Re,’ are Shu and Tefnut.⁶¹ They feature in the Heliopolitan cosmogony as the first offspring of Re/Atum/Re-Atum, following his creative act.⁶² Together with Re they form the triad ‘the souls of Heliopolis,’ for which see BD 115.⁶³ Notably, Shu and Tefnut as the *s3.ty* appear at Medinet Habu (fully zoomorphic) and at Hibis (human headed birds) as the dual offspring of Ptah in his guise as the father of the gods and Lord of *Iwnw šmꜥ* in the southern Heliopolitan cosmogony (c.f. *supra*, note d). The triad of Ptah, Shu, and Tefnut represent the symbolic guardians of the ancient Egyptian solar kingship in Thebes and as the cosmic children of Re-Atum emphasize the syncretism between Amun and Atum/Re-Horakhty, embodied within the Akhmenu. No priesthood associated with the *s3.ty* children is, as yet, attested.

⁵⁵ A. De Buck, (ed.), *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, VI, OIP 81, Chicago 1956, 313a; R.O. Faulkner (ed.), *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts: spells 1–1185 & indexes*, Oxford 2004, 250.

⁵⁶ De Buck (ed.), *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, I, 211; Faulkner (ed.), *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 61.

⁵⁷ Urk. IV, 366.8.

⁵⁸ Klotz, *Caesar in the City of Amun*, 167 and n. 1077, 272–275 (esp. 274) citing, in particular, Sethe, *Notizbuch* 4, 84.

⁵⁹ E. Otto, *Die Lehre von den beiden Ländern Ägyptens in der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, in: *Studia Aegyptiaca* 1, *Analecta Orientalia* 17, Rome 1938, 20–21; H. te Velde, *The Goddess Mut and the Vulture*, in: S.H. D’Auria (ed.), *Servant of Mut: studies in honor of Richard A. Fazzini*, Leiden/Boston 2008, 242–243; for the maternal roles of the crowns and their relationship to the vulture see K. Goebis, *Crowns in Egyptian Funerary Literature. Royalty, Rebirth, and Destruction*, Oxford 2008, 182–189 (esp. 182–183), 198–203.

⁶⁰ Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, 8, 587 (and examples of substitution of kind with bird-signs, 596–601).

⁶¹ Following Habachi, in *Kush* 7, 1959, 48 n. 9; c.f. A. Piankoff-N. Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI: Texts*, Bollingen Series 40/1, New York 1954, 104, n. 92; H. Sternberg, *Mythische Motive und Mythenbildung in den ägyptischen Tempeln und Papyri der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, GOF IV 14, Wiesbaden 1985, 92–93 and notes, 115; Cruz-Urbe, *Hibis Temple Project*, I, 42; J. Osing, *Etymologische Notizen*, in: D. Mendel-U. Claudi (eds.), *Ägypten im Afro-Orientalischen Kontext*, Köln 1991, 248 and n. 21; Schulz, *Entwicklung und Bedeutung des kuboiden Statuentypus*, I, 377; Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, 376 n. 371.

⁶² PT 527; c.f. J. Allen, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, *Writings from the Ancient World* 23, Leiden/Boston 2005, 164 (P 475).

⁶³ R.O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*, London 1985, 108, 113 and compare CT 154 (idem, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 132–133).

Given the relative rarity of the *nr.ty* and *mw.ty* and the overall context of the statue that evokes the Heliopolitan cosmogony it is likely that *s3.ty* was intended here. This argument finds additional support in the reduplicative orthography of the group and the association of the *s3.ty* with the the Souls of Heliopolis and the solar kingship of the Heliopolitan cosmogony, which together form a graphic and conceptual link to the succeeding title in the next line. Nevertheless, the connection of both the *s3.ty* and the *mw.ty* with the institution of the solar kingship and the royal crowns confirms that in either case this title focused specifically on the rejuvenation and rebirth of the solar kingship and the choice of the vulture head cryptographic orthography may, indeed, have been intended to simultaneously parallel the succeeding title and provide an intensified evocation of the royal crowns as symbols of the rejuvenated solar kingship.

Pr rš – literally translated the ‘House of Rejoicing’ – seems to be a unique formulation possibly intended to convey the concept of the *pr ḥꜥy*⁶⁴ but specific to the context of seclusion and meditation evoked in the last title of the cosmic sphere. The *pr ḥꜥy* features prominently in royal jubilee festival as the place where the king or the royal couple appears prior to beginning their processional to the ceremonial harbor.⁶⁵ The use of the term *ḥꜥy* aligns the presentational act with the visible rebirth of the sun god in the horizon. In temple contexts references to *ḥꜥ m 3ḥ.t* describe the jubilation with the entry of the sun god into the horizon, thus in jubilee contexts the house of rejoicing represents the venue of the assimilation of the king to the reborn solar god.⁶⁶ However, no other attestation of *pr rš* has yet been discovered and it may be that it represents a parallel formulation used intentionally to convey the symbolic context of the ‘house of rejoicing’ without specifically aligning this title with the terrestrial jubilee – a cosmic parallel to the terrestrial *pr ḥꜥy*. Given the previous suggestion that Teti functioned as the meditating *s(t)m*-priest who serves as the vehicle for the emergence of the statue from the cosmos the *pr rš* may be the cosmic venue from/within which the statue emerges – the cosmic equivalent of the terrestrial *īs*. This would align the moment of the emergence of the statue with the moment of the rebirth of the rejuvenated sun god. The focus

⁶⁴ For *pr ḥꜥy* see D. Meeks, in: AL 1, 1977, 132 (77.1425) and idem, in: AL 3, 1979, 97 (79.0995) who describes it as «annexes d’une maison».

⁶⁵ W.C. Hayes, Inscriptions from the Palace of Amenhotep III, in: JNES 10, 1951, 177–181; J.E. Walker, Aspects of the Primeval Nature of Egyptian Kingship: Pharaoh as Atum, Ph.D. Diss, Chicago 1991, 272–274; M. Leblanc, “In Accordance with the Documents of Ancient Times”: The Origins, Development, and Significance of the Ancient Egyptian Sed Festival (Jubilee Festival), Ph.D. Diss, New Haven 2011, 49–50 and nn. 11–12 with references. Reliefs in the tomb of Kheruef depict Amenhotep III with Hathor and Queen Tiye in the House of Rejoicing, and the palace at Malqata was referred to in relief inscriptions as “The Palace of the House of Rejoicing”, for which see Epigraphic Survey, The Tomb of Kheruef: Theban Tomb 102, OIP 102, Chicago 1980, Pl. 26; c.f. E.F. Wente, Hathor at the Jubilee, in: OI (ed.), Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson, SAOC 35, Chicago 1969, 84. At Amarna the “Great Palace” encompassed a Northern and Southern *pr ḥꜥy* such that Akhnaten and the Aten probably celebrated individual or simultaneous jubilees, for which see J. Assmann, Palast oder Tempel? Überlegungen zur Architektur und Topographie von Amarna, in: JNES 31, 1972, 150–152; D. O’Connor, Beloved of Maat, The Horizon of Re: The Royal Palace in New Kingdom Egypt, in: D. O’Connor-D.P. Silverman (eds.), Ancient Egyptian Kingship, PÄ 9, Leiden/New York/Köln 1995, 286, 288–289; Leblanc, ‘In Accordance with the Documents of Ancient Times’, 50.

⁶⁶ Wente, in: OI (ed.), Studies Wilson, 90 and J.C. Darnell, Two Notes on Marginal Inscriptions at Medinet Habu, in: B.M. Bryan-D. Lorton (eds.), Essays in Egyptology in Honor of Hans Goedicke, San Antonio 1994, 40–41 with references for the jubilee enthronement scene as the sacred marriage between Hathor and the king as sun-god and for the association between the temple and the horizon.

of the text on the institution of kingship suggests that titles describe rituals related to a statue of the king that focus on assimilating the king to the solar god.

The shift from a cryptographic orthography to a full, uniliteral, orthography for the writing of *s(t)m* in the title that follows may reflect a concomitant shift in the nature of the functions described in this and the following titles. Where the cryptographic writing of *s(t)m* manifested the particular meditative function of the *s(t)m*-priest through the characteristic depiction of the priest enveloped in the meditative garment and seated on a stool, in this second occurrence of the title any need for cryptography is dispelled by the literal depiction of Teti wearing the ritual leopard skin of the priest. Scenes 9–18 of the Opening of the Mouth deal with the preparatory events and the manual manufacture of the statue. Scenes 9–10 involve the aforementioned seclusion, meditation, and translation of the vision into technical terms. In scene 11 of the Opening of the Mouth, the *s(t)m*-priest, assumes the *kni*-bib and *mdw*-staff and acts as the model of the final statue for the craftsmen.⁶⁷ Scenes 12–18 treat the manual manufacture of the statue. It is only in scene 19 that the *s(t)m*-priest assumes the leopard skin, in conjunction with the beginning of the rituals that aim to erase the terrestrial manufacture of the statue and enliven it through the Opening of the Mouth rites.⁶⁸ The leopard skin depicted on Teti suggests that he conducted these rituals. The uniliteral orthography of the *s(t)m* title occurs in lines 6 and 10, the first and last lines of this section dedicated to titles related to elements of terrestrial ritual. Together, this suggests that at this point Teti has assumed the leopard skin and begins to conduct the enlivenment of the statue.

⁶⁸ If the *s3.ty* children evoke the cosmic realm of the solar kingship, the *H.wy-Hr*⁶⁹ represent their terrestrial counterpart, focused on the identification of the living ruler with Horus.⁷⁰ The *H.wy-Hr* are individually identified as Duamutef and Qebehsenuef⁷¹ or alternatively, in combination, as the Souls of Pe and Nekhen.⁷² This latter suggestion finds support in the

⁶⁷ E. Otto, *Das ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual*, II, ÄA 3, Wiesbaden 1960, 60; Fischer-Elfert, *Die Vision von der Statue im Stein*, 40–43.

⁶⁸ Otto, *Das ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual*, II, 2–4 60–73; Fischer-Elfert, *Die Vision von der Statue im Stein*, 6.

⁶⁹ For the reading see A.M. Blackman, *The Pharaoh's Placenta and the Mood-God Khons*, in: JEA 3, 1916, 244 (2) with reservations about the association with the royal placenta; H. Kees, *Kulttopographische und mythologische Beiträge*, in: ZÄS 64, 1929, 100–102; L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs S'A3Hu-Re II: Die Wandbilder*, Leipzig 1913, 77; Fr.W.F. von Bissing-H. Kees, *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-Re (Rathures)*, I, Berlin 1905, 4; W. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches*, ÄF 18, Glückstadt/Hamburg/New York 1954, 112–113, n. 5; P. Kaplony, *Die Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit*, II, ÄA 8, Wiesbaden 1963, 765 (n. 625); Fischer, *Egyptian Titles of the Middle Kingdom*, 21 (no. 926a); D. Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom*, II, BAR 866.2, Oxford 2000, 565 (no. 2086) with references. Kees (101) interprets the orthography on BM EA 888 as a variant of the Middle Kingdom orthography found in Kairo 20539 (c.f. A. Weil, *Die Zeziere des Pharaonenreiches*, Strassburg 1908, 39).

⁷⁰ This alignment also appears in the papyrus of Ani, which depicts BD 112 and its vignette alongside that of BD 113, for which see Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*, 108, 113; c.f. Blackman, in: JEA 3/4, 1916, 244; Kees, in: ZÄS 64, 1929, 100–2; V.A. Donohue, *The Vizier Paser*, in: JEA 74, 1988, 115.

⁷¹ This is based on a myth recounted in BD 113 (= CT 158), for which see Kees, in: ZÄS 64, 1929, 100–102.

⁷² BD 112 and 113 (= CT 158 and 157) (Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*, 108–109, 114 and Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 135–137) identify the Souls of Nekhen as Horus, Duamutef, and Qebehsenuef and the Souls of Pe as Horus, Imsety, and Hapy (c.f. L.V. Žabkar, *A Study of the Ba Concept*

depiction of the children here wearing the white and red crowns, respectively, and the alignment of the Souls of Pe and Nekhen in the Coffin Texts and in the Book of the Dead.⁷³ Together the *H.wy-Hr*/Souls of Pe and Nekhen are associated with the protection and carrying of both the living and deceased king. Well attested in the funerary literature and rites associated with the deceased ruler,⁷⁴ these figures also occur in scenes and texts associated with the royal birth,⁷⁵ the coronation,⁷⁶ and the Sed-festival,⁷⁷ often carrying the king in royal procession. In the Pyramid Texts, and later in New Kingdom and Greco-Roman temple relief, the biological sons of the king may assume this role and are explicitly identified with the sons of Horus.⁷⁸ Consequently, ‘Horus’ in this ritual title ideologically represents the living king.

The orthography of the *H.wy-Hr* here with the white and red crowns parallels the emblematic symbols on the back of Teti’s hands, emphasizing the totality of the domain of Thutmose III. This evocation of the totality of the king’s domain finds additional parallel in the significance of the topos of the Souls of Pe and Nekhen carrying the king. The Souls of Pe and Nekhen primarily occur in scenes acclaiming the rising sun, equated with the sun god in a variety of guises – Re, Amun-Re, Re-Atum, or Tatenen.⁷⁹ In scenes of royal palanquin processions the king is expressly identified with the reborn solar god: he is described as being the *twt R* ‘the image of Re’⁸⁰ and he simultaneously wears all the

in Ancient Egyptian Texts, SAOC 34, Chicago 1968, 29; P. Munro, *Bemerkungen zum Gestaltwandel und zum Ursprung der Horus-Kinder*, in: Luft et al. (eds.), *Festschrift zum 150Jährigen bestehen des Berliner ägyptischen Museums*, Berlin 1974, 195–204.

⁷³ Donohue, in: JEA 74, 1988, 116–117.

⁷⁴ Pyr. 619b (= PT 364).

⁷⁵ The Souls of Pe and Nekhen carry Amenhotep III in his birth scene at Luxor Temple and a similar scene appears for Hatshepsut in the birth relief at Deir el-Bahari, for which see A. Gayet, *Le Temple de Louxor*, Pl. LXXV (fig. 185); E. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari*, II, EES 14, London 1896, Pl. LI.

⁷⁶ Gayet, *Le Temple de Louxor*, Pl. LXXV (fig. 184); E. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*, III, EES 16, London 1898, Pl. LX; A.M. Calverley–M.F. Broome, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos II: The Chapels of Amen-Rē, Rē-Harakhti, Ptah, and King Sethos*, London/Chicago 1935, Pl. 36; S.R.W. Gregory, *The role of the *Iwn-mwt.f* in the New Kingdom monuments of Thebes*, in: BMSAES 20, 2013, 35.

⁷⁷ Von Bissing-Kees, *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-Re (Rathures)*, II, Leipzig 1923, Pls. 1 and 13, and fragments no. 44d, 45a-b, 48, 50a, 51, 52; *ibid.*, III, Beiblatt A, and fragment no. 284; H. Kees, *Der Götterglaube im alten Aegypten*, Leipzig 1941, 284; Žabkar, *Ba Concept*, 15–36 and esp. 20–21, 23–24, 30–32 for the role of the Souls carrying of the king in royal procession; Donohue, in: JEA 74, 1988, 115.

⁷⁸ Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu IV*, pls. 196–197; Kees, *Götterglaube*, 284; Žabkar, *A Study of the Ba Concept in Ancient Egyptian Texts*, 31–32. The caption for a depiction at Esna of Hadrian in royal procession, being carried by the Souls of Pe and Nekhen (Lepsius, *Denkmäler IV*, pl. 87a), reads:

b3.w P šms.w Hr m T3-Mh.w f3(.w) bity mi it-sn

b3.w Nhn sms.w Hr m T3-Šm^c.w f3(.w) nswt mi Hr-Bhd.t m hnw

The *Bas* of P, the Followers of Horus in Lower Egypt, carry the King of Lower Egypt like their father.

The *Bas* of Nekhen, the Followers of Horus in Upper Egypt, carry the King of Upper Egypt like Horus of Behdet in the Henu-barque of Sokar.

⁷⁹ Walker, *Aspects of the Primeval Nature of Egyptian Kingship*, 22–29.

⁸⁰ A relief in the barque shrine of Seti I at Abydos depicts the king in royal procession borne aloft by the Souls of Pe and Nekhen. The associated text identifies the king as the image of Re “who will make jubilees as one who appears in glory upon the earth” (*iry-k h3b.w-sd mi h^c hr-s3 t3*) – see Calverley-Broome, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos II*, Pl. 36. See also the image of Amenhotep III on the south wall of the birth room at Luxor Temple. He is carried on a palanquin by the Souls of Pe and Nekhen while the associated text identifies him as the *twt R* (Gayet, *Le Temple de Louxor*, Pl. 75, fig. 185; c.f. Walker, *Aspects of the Primeval Nature of Egyptian Kingship*, 23–24 for the discussion).

crowns of Re.⁸¹ In procession the pharaoh, as reborn sun god, is born aloft and, illuminating his domain, is perambulated as sun god through the circuit of the sun. The significance of the palanquin procession to the jubilee is drawn from this ideological association.⁸² The bearing aloft of the pharaoh signifies the pharaoh's assumption of the nature of the ritually rejuvenated sun-god, a central feature of Sed-festival ideology.⁸³

Notably, in scene 73 of the Opening of the Mouth, which marks the completion of the ritual, the *s(t)m*-priest enjoins nine *hry-hb* priests to 'Carry him on your arms!' (*smr.w/f3=t sw hr ʕ.wy=tn*)⁸⁴ at which time these nine *smr.w*, in the role of the Four Sons of Horus, bear the newly enlivened statue of 'their father' to the Henu-barque of Sokar and thence to the shrine in which the statue will take up residence.⁸⁵ This participation of the Four Sons of Horus in the Opening of the Mouth ritual extends the functions of the *H.wy-Hr*/Souls of Pe and Nekhen into the realm of statue cult.

The title *hm-ntr H.wy-Hr* appears in eight sources spanning the entire duration of pharaonic history.⁸⁶ The majority of these attestations date to the Sixth Dynasty with one for the Middle Kingdom (CG 20539, ca. Senwosret I)⁸⁷ and three for the New Kingdom (= BM EA 888, ca. Thutmose III-Amenhotep II; and two statues of the Vizier Paser, CG 42164 and Copenhagen AEIN 50, ca. Rameses II). From the Late Period a statue of a Montuhotep (Buffalo 27.14), possibly the Vizier of Taharqa, also preserves the title.⁸⁸ In the Sixth Dynasty sources the three individuals who hold the title *hm/hm-ntr n H.wy-Hr* display extended titularies that reflect a range of related ritual duties. The fullest of these titularies belongs to *Hw-n-wh*, a career priestly official.⁸⁹

⁸¹ Walker, *Aspects of the Primeval Nature of Egyptian Kingship*, 23 interpreting the texts associated with the procession of Rameses II on the enclosure wall at Karnak, for which see W. Helck, *Die Ritualszenen auf der Umfassungsmauer Rameses' II. in Karnak*, AA 18², Wiesbaden 1968, Pl. 9, figs. 1–2.

⁸² The text accompanying a palanquin procession of Rameses III on the exterior wall of his temple at Karnak (The Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak*, II, OIP 35, Chicago 1936, Pl. 101) reads:

¹⁵ *t3.w nb.w h3s.wt nb.w < t > h3.ty* ¹⁶ *Nw.t ir.t nb m33 Rʕ* ¹⁷ *ʃn.n ir.t tm hr* ¹⁸ *rd.wy n ntr nfr pn nb t3.wy*

¹⁵ [As for] all the lands and all the foreign countries ¹⁶ which Nut covers and [as for] every eye that sees Re,

¹⁷ what the eye has encircled is entirely under ¹⁸ the feet of this good god, the Lord of the Two Lands.

Walker, *Aspects of the Primeval Nature of Egyptian Kingship*, 24–26 interprets this passage as indicating that the king passes through the air with the sky and all that the sun illuminates under his feet.

⁸³ Walker, *Aspects of the Primeval Nature of Egyptian Kingship*, 26.

⁸⁴ Otto, *Das ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual*, I, 199–203; *ibid.*, II, 164–166, Scene 73 and esp. 166 for the association between the *smr.w* (the nine bearers of the royal statue) with the Four Sons of Horus.

⁸⁵ Otto, *Das ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual*, I, 199–203; *ibid.*, II, 164–166, Scene 73 and esp. 166 for the commentary; Fischer-Elfert, *Die Vision von der Statue im Stein*, 7; D. Lorton, *The Theology of Cult Statues in Ancient Egypt*, in: M.B. Dick (ed.), *Born in Heaven, Made on Earth: The Making of the Cult Image in the Ancient Near East*, Winona Lake 1999, 178.

⁸⁶ Donohue, in: *JEA* 74, 1988, 115–118 with references provides the most comprehensive analysis of the meaning and function of the *hm-ntr H.wy-Hr* within the context of daily royal ritual and the institution of kingship.

⁸⁷ Lange-Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, II, 153; H. Schäfer, *Die Mysterien des Osiris in Abydos unter König Sesostri III nach dem Denkstein des Oberschatzmeisters I-cher-nofret im Berliner Museum*, Leipzig 1905, 85–86; Donohue, in: *JEA* 74, 1988, 116 and n. 49.

⁸⁸ For CG 42164 see PM II, 145 (a); KRI III, 16 (13); Ch. Desroches-Noblecourt, *Ramesès le Grand*, Paris 1976, 92–5. For Copenhagen AEIN 50 see KRI III, 21 (4). For the statue of Montuhotep see W.K. Simpson, *Varia Aegyptiaca in American Collections*, in: *MDAIK* 37, 1981, 436.

⁸⁹ For the mastaba of *Hw-n-wh* and his titulary see J.E. Quibell, *Nécropole de la VI^e Dynastie à Koçeir el-Amarna*, II: *Rapport de M.J.E. Quibell*, in: *ASAE* 3, 1903, 254–258; A.B. Kamal, *Rapport sur les Fouilles Exécutées dans la Zone Comprise entre Dêirout au Nord et Dêir-el-Ganadlah, au Sud*, in: *ASAE* 12, 1913, 137;

hry-ḥb n dbꜣ.t, hry-ḥb ml.t Hr dꜣ.t Hr, ḥm-ntr Hkꜣ, ḥm-ntr dšr.t, ḥm bꜣ.w P, ḥm bꜣ.w Nḥn, ḥm-ntr H.wy-Hr, hry-sšꜣt n ntr nfr

The lector priest of the robing room, the lector priest of *Mit*-barque of Horus and the *Djat*-barque of Horus, the *hem-netjer* priest of Heka, the *hem-netjer* priest of the Red Crown, the servant of the *bas* of Pe, the servant of the *bas* of Nekhen, and the *hem-netjer* priest of the Two Children of Horus who is privy to the confidential business of the good god.

The titularies from the two other sources omit some of these titles and add others. *Wr-nw* does not hold the titles *hry-ḥb n dbꜣ.t, ḥm-ntr dšr.t, ḥm bꜣ.w P*, or *ḥm bꜣ.w Nḥn*; however, he held the additional titles:


ḥm-ntr ꜥꜣ mit Hr, hry-ḥb wr-id.t, sš mdꜣ.t-ntr, ḥm Hr Nḥn, ḥrp šmsw Hr, ḥrp wr.w Šmꜥ.w Mḥ.w, and ḥm s.t

The *hem-netjer* priest who enters the *Mit*-barque of Horus, the lector priest great of censuring, the scribe of the god's book, servant of Horus of Nekhen, director of the followers of Horus, director of the magnates of Upper and Lower Egypt, and servant of the throne.

Additionally, *Wr-nw* holds the variant *ḥm H.wy-Hr hry-sšꜣt n pr dwꜣ.t* (the servant of the Two Children of Horus privy to the confidential business of the robing room).⁹⁰ The final Sixth Dynasty source consists of a cylinder seal (Louvre 13441, ca. Pepi II) wherein the name of the owner does not survive.⁹¹ That individual's titulary closely parallels that of Wernu.

These Sixth Dynasty titularies reveal that titleholders of *ḥm/ḥm-ntr H.wy-Hr* frequently had duties within the *dbꜣ.t* and *pr dwꜣ.t*, both venues for the cleansing, fumigation and adornment of the king in preparation for daily civil activity as well as for temple or festival ritual (c.f. *infra*, note j). The ideological equation of the *ḥm-ntr H.wy-Hr* with the role of the Souls of Pe and Nekhen finds additional support in the presence of the titles *ḥm bꜣ.w P* *ḥm bꜣ.w Nḥn* in the titulary of *Hw-n-wh* while the associations with the *dbꜣ.t* and *pr dwꜣ.t*

A.M. Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir, I*, ASE 22, London/Boston 1914, 8; Blackman, in: JEA 3/4, 1916, 243–244; Donohue, in: JEA 74, 1988, 115; A. El-Khouli–N. Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna. The Tombs of Pepy-anh and Khewen-wekh*, ACE Report 1, Sydney 1989, 33–57, esp. p. 34 (10) and n. 145, pl. 36; R.A. Gillam, *Topographical, Prosopographical and Historical Studies in the 14th Upper Egyptian Nome*, Ph.D. Diss, Toronto 1991, esp. 183–198, 200–205.

⁹⁰ For the mastaba of *Wr-nw* see E. Drioton, *Description sommaire des chapelles funéraires de la VIe dynastie récemment découvertes*, in: ASAE 43, 1943, 497, fig. 67, pl. 42; W.V. Davies et al., *Saqqâra Tombs I: The Mastabas of Mereri and Wernu*, ASE 36, London 1984, 23 (18), 28, pls. 27–29; H. Junker, *Zu den Titeln des*  in: ASAE 49, 1949, 207–215; Donohue, in: JEA 74, 1988, 115; c.f. Gillam, *Topographical, Prosopographical and Historical Studies in the 14th Upper Egyptian Nome*, 188–191 for the equivalence between these two variants.

⁹¹ Fischer, in: ZÄS 86, 1961, 21–28; Donohue, in: JEA 74, 1988, 115; an image of the seal also purportedly exists in F. Cailliaud, *Travels in the Oasis of Thebes, and in the Deserts Situated East and West of the Thebaid: In the Years 1815, 16, 17, and 18*, II, London 1822, Pl. 37 (18) but I have not yet been able to gain access to this volume.

extend their duties to include the supervision of the adornment of the king in preparing for his presentation in the royal barque. Notably, both of the titularies of *Hw-n-wh* and *Wr-nw* display elements closely related to acts of carrying in the Sed-festival. Sed-festival reliefs in the Fifth Dynasty sun temple of Niuserre at Abu Ghurob depict the *hrp wr.w Šmꜥ.w Mh.w hm s.t* bringing the royal palanquin to the king.⁹² The same reliefs depict humans identified with the *hm bꜣ.w P* or *hm bꜣ.w Nhn* as the carrier of the Wepwawet standard during the *Königslauf*,⁹³ and as the carrier of the king in the *Schlußprozession*.⁹⁴ In an Eighteenth Dynasty addition to the temple their divine analogs carry Thutmose III in royal procession.⁹⁵ The title as it appears here would appear to describe Teti's duties related to carrying either the living king or, more likely, a statue of the king in a processional ritual related to Sed-festival celebrations. Themes related to the ceremonial adornment and carrying of the king, identified as Horus, recur among the remaining titles (c.f. *infra*, notes h-j).

^{h.} *hm-ntr Hr-s.t-rd.w*, 'the *hem-netjer* priest of Horus-of-the-Processional-Stations:' this particular formulation of the *hm-ntr Hr* priestly title in combination with *s.t-rd.w* is hitherto unattested. While the title could also be understood as *hm-ntr s.t-rd.w Hr*, 'the *hem-netjer* priest of the processional stations of Horus,' the meaning would change little and in support of the reading presented here are the many attestations of deities in forms specific to a particular city, cult center, shrine, or even small substructures within a temple complex.⁹⁶ The sense of *s.t-rd* here appears to be 'stopping place' rather than the more frequently attested courtly rank.⁹⁷ The use of *s.t-rd* to describe a processional stop appears at the temple of Deir Shelwit where an inscription on the pylon refers to the temple as *s.t-rd.wy n wnšnš* – 'the processional stop of he who hurries' – one of the stopping points along the processional route of Montu-Re-Horakhty during the Sokar Festival.⁹⁸ The Theban area was a stage for myriad such processional festivals and processional routes, upon which enlivened statues of the gods would travel to visit the other temples in the area, ran between the temples on both banks of the Nile.⁹⁹ Processional ritual also featured in the Sed-festival and in the

⁹² Von Bissing–Kees, *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-Re (Rathures)*, II, Pls. 3, 9, 12, 15, 16; *ibid.*, III, Pl. 5 (146), 9 (193); Gillam, *Topographical, Prosopographical and Historical Studies in the 14th Upper Egyptian Nome*, 191 and n. 192, 192 and n. 193.

⁹³ Von Bissing–Kees, *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-Re (Rathures)*, II, nos. 33b, 37.

⁹⁴ Von Bissing–Kees, *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-Re (Rathures)*, II, nos. 44d, 45a-b, 48, 50a, 51, and 52.

⁹⁵ Von Bissing–Kees, *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-Re (Rathures)*, III, Beiblatt A.

⁹⁶ Consider the *hm-ntr Hnsw-n-Bnnt*, 'the *hem-netjer* priest of Khonsu of the Benenet,' where the Benenet is either a designation for the temple of Khonsu itself or for a sanctuary within the temple (H. Jacquet-Gordon, *The Graffiti on the Khonsu Temple Roof at Karnak: A Manifestation of Personal Piety*, *The Temple of Khonsu III*, OIP 123, Chicago 2003, 7, 108 graffiti 318); a Late Period inscription preserves the title *hm-ntr Hr-shw*, 'the *hem-netjer* priest of Horus-of-the-Broad-Court' (P. Kaplony, *Eine Spätzeit-Inschrift in Zürich*, in: *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Festschrift zum 150jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums, Mitteilungen aus der ägyptischen Sammlung* 8, Berlin 1974, 142–146); and see also the many variants of Horus, such as *Hr-n-iw*, *Hr-n-mw*, *Hr-n-Bꜣk*, *Hr-Bhn*, *Hr-n-pr=f*, *Hr-n-pr-dꜣꜣꜣ*, *Hr-n-Mꜣꜥ.t*, *Hr-n-niw.wt*, *Hr-hw.wt-Nt*, *Hr-šn* (Leitz, *LGG V*, 243, 253, 25–259, 264, 273, 292).

⁹⁷ Wb. IV, 4.12; R.O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, Oxford 1962, 206.

⁹⁸ C.M. Zivie, *Le Temple de Deir Chelouit I: 1–55. Inscriptions du Propylône et de la Porte du Temple*, Cairo 1982, 66–67 (no. 25); Klotz, *Caesar in the City of Amun*, 394–397, esp. n. 82.

⁹⁹ Urk. VIII, p. 143 (10); E. Drioton, *Les dédicaces de Ptolémée Évergète II sur le deuxième pylône de Karnak*, in: *ASAE* 44, 1944, 154; A. Cabrol, *Les voies processionnelles de Thèbes*, OLA 97, Leuven 2001

Opening of the Mouth. At the completion of the Opening of the Mouth ritual, the enlivened statue would be carried in procession to its final place of rest (c.f. *supra*, note g). In Sed-festival ritual, after appearing in the House of Rejoicing the royal couple would process down to the ceremonial harbor accompanied by *hm-ntr* priests and *hry-hb hry-tp* priests carrying standards of Wepwawet, Nekhen-of-the-King, Thoth, Horus, and all the gods of the Sed-Festival in the retinue of the king.¹⁰⁰ This title further supports the hypothesis that the festival titles describe Teti's specific duties related to a procession associated with the living king or a statue of the king. The reasons behind the change in Teti's name to Tetity are unclear.

ⁱ. The *imy-r3 sš.w* is clearly written. The glyph completing this scribal title appears to depict a seated man with both arms lifted out to either side of his body, possibly grasping the register lines that delineate the column of text to the left and right. Together, these features suggest a rendering of */hh/*.¹⁰¹ *Imy-r3 sš.w Hh* is entirely unattested; however, the direct genitival construction¹⁰² and the ritual context of the preceding formulations suggest a reference to the god Heh and particularly his alignment with the god Khonsu-Shu in the cosmogony of *Iwnw šmʿ*. Khonsu-Shu is particular to the Theban region as a special formulation of Khonsu-in-Thebes-Neferhotep – the lunar god of justice with particular connection to – and duties within – Medinet Habu, bringing daily provisions of *snw*-offerings to the Ogdoad (c.f. *supra*, note b).¹⁰³ Ideologically, Khonsu-in-Thebes-Neferhotep, as the eldest son of Re-Atum, was often equated with Ptah/Ptah-Tatenen as an active creator god.¹⁰⁴ Khonsu-Shu appears as a manifestation of Ptah-Tatenen in the Khonsu cosmogony and in this creative capacity is described as ‘raising the sky.’¹⁰⁵ This may account for the assimilation between Heh and Khonsu-Shu.

provides an extensive analysis of the processional routes between the temples; Klotz, *Caesar in the City of Amun*, 383–401 provides a comprehensive overview of the Theban festival calendar and landscape.

¹⁰⁰ Epigraphic Survey, *The Tomb of Kheruef*, 49–51, pls. 42, 44; and see most recently Leblanc, “In Accordance with the Documents of Ancient Times”, 49, 56, 108–112 with extensive references.

¹⁰¹ Compare A. Diego Espinel, *Play and Display in Egyptian High Culture: The Cryptographic Texts of Djehuty (TT 11) and Their Sociocultural Contexts*, in: J.M. Galán et al. (eds.), *Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut*, SAOC 69, Chicago 2014, 306–307, 330.

¹⁰² Were “the overseer of millions of scribes” intended we would expect *imy-r3 hh n sš.w*, for which see A.H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 3rd ed., Oxford 1999, 194, § 262.2.

¹⁰³ The Khonsu chapel of Seti II at Karnak specifically identifies Khonsu-Neferhotep as the Theban Shu, for which see H. Chevrier-E. Drioton, *Le Temple Reposoir de Sêti II à Karnak*, Cairo 1940, 45–46: *is.w n-k p3 šw imy.t W3s.t/Hnsw-Nfr-htp/mry.t Psd.t*, “Greetings to you! The Shu who is in Thebes (is) Khonsu-Neferhotep, beloved of the Ennead.” See also Herbin, in: *RdE* 54, 2003, 82 and n. 34; F.-R. Herbin, *Trois Papyrus Hiéroglyphiques d'Époque Romaine*, in: *RdE* 59, 2008, 129, 132, 145; Klotz, *Caesar in the City of Amun*, 81–90 (Chonsu in Thebes Neferhotep), 101–109 (Chonsu-Shu).

¹⁰⁴ K. Sethe, *Amun und die Acht Urgötter von Hermopolis. Eine Untersuchung über Ursprung und Wesen des ägyptischen Götterkönigs*, APAW 4, Berlin 1930, 60–61 (§117).

¹⁰⁵ Clère, *La Porte d'Évergète à Karnak*, Pl. 8 (= Urk. VIII, 63b and h) for the assimilation of Heh to Khonsu-Shu. The relief depicts the king offering to Khonsu-Shu an image of Heh holding two *mp.t*-branches and sitting atop a *nb*-sign. The accompanying text aligns Khonsu-Shu with Heh as bearers of the heavens. A similar image of Heh also appears in a relief of the names of Rameses XI in the temple of Khonsu, for which see Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu II: Scenes and Inscriptions in the Court and the First Hypostyle Hall*, OIP 103, Chicago 1981, Pl. 158; C. Spieser, *Les noms du Pharaon comme êtres autonomes au Nouvel Empire*, OBO 174, Fribourg/Göttingen 2000, 336 (nr. 185).

In an extension of this role in Roman religion, the priests of Khonsu-Shu became naophorus priests of Amun.¹⁰⁶ Given the previous reference to the *ḥm-nṯr Ḥ.wy-Ḥr* (c.f. *supra*, note g), it may be in the capacity of ‘bearers’ or ‘carriers’ that this reference to Heh/Khonsu-Shu is intended. Many depictions of Heh/Shu¹⁰⁷ show him lifting or supporting some aspect of the king – either figuratively, holding aloft the royal name,¹⁰⁸ or quite literally supporting the physical body of the king on headrests or chairs.¹⁰⁹ In combination with the title *ḥm-nṯr Ḥ.wy-Ḥr* and *ḥm-nṯr Ḥr-s.t-rd.w*, this titular formulation may allude to Teti’s role as a bearer of some form of the living king – a statue or palanquin – in ritual procession. Khonsu at Medinet Habu is often identified with the god Thoth, patron god of scribes, in his role of provider of libations¹¹⁰ and the formulation of a scribal title and the assimilated Heh-Khonsu-Shu may also evoke the role of Thoth as an attendant to the king in the rites of cleansing and libation during the *pr dw3.t* ritual (c.f. *infra*, note j).

Notably, many representations of Heh depict him kneeling with his arms extended to either side, grasping two *rnp.t*-stalks – a semiotic expression of *ḥḥ n rnp.wt*, the desired eternal lifespan of ‘millions of years’ that is particularly associated with Sed-festival ritual.¹¹¹ That the text depicts the figure with its arms intersecting the two register lines delineating the column may reflect a playful and intentional representation of *ḥḥ n rnpw.t*, rather than scribal messiness. That the Akhmenu of Thutmose III was explicitly designated the *ḥw.t-ʿ3.t n.t ḥḥ n rnp.wt*¹¹² may further indicate that both an allusion to the Atlantid role of Heh/Khonsu-Shu and an invocation of the longevity of Heh was intended, again blending the practical aspects and cosmic aspects within these titles.

^j The formulation of the *pr dw3.t* with the priestly title *s(t)m* is unattested; however, the contextual associations of the preceding titular formulations again suggest an association with an Opening of the Mouth ritual. The *pr dw3.t*, translated as ‘House of the Morning’ or ‘Robing Room,’ is the room/rooms in which the king engages in his ritual or secular toi-

¹⁰⁶ A. Gutbub, *Textes Fondamentaux de la Théologie de Kom Ombo*, I, BdÉ 47, Cairo 1973, 439–41 n. d.; Klotz, *Caesar in the City of Amun*, 108–109 citing examples in Urk. VIII, 129f, 142.5 (and see especially the additional examples cited in notes 535–536); C. de Wit, *Les inscriptions du temple d’Opet à Karnak*, I, BA 11, Brussels 1958, 254 (= Urk. VIII, 132b); Clère, *La Porte d’Évergète à Karnak*, Pl. 8 (= Urk. VIII, 63b); S. Sauneron, *Le Temple d’Esna*, Esna II, Cairo 1963, 25–30 (nos. 11–12).

¹⁰⁷ Leitz, LGG V, 471 s.v. *Ḥḥ-Šw*.

¹⁰⁸ See the image of Heh/Shu bearing aloft the name of Tutankhamun (J.d’É 61900), in T.G.H. James, *Tutankhamun: The Eternal Splendour of the Boy Pharaoh*, Vercelli 2000, 215 and a similar image in the palace of Rameses III, for which see U. Hölscher, *The Mortuary Temple of Rameses III*, OIP 54, Chicago 1941, Pl. 7; Spieser, *Les noms du Pharaon comme êtres autonomes au Nouvel Empire*, 336 (Nr. 184).

¹⁰⁹ Heh is depicted as the primary decoration on the back of a chair found in the tomb of Tutankhamun and an ivory headrest of that same pharaoh is carved into the form of Shu supporting the king’s head, for which see James, *Tutankhamun*, 296, 300–301; Spieser, *Les noms du Pharaon comme êtres autonomes au Nouvel Empire*, 336 (Nr. 183).

¹¹⁰ Sethe, *Amun*, 61 (§117).

¹¹¹ An image of Heh from the Temple of Khonsu depicts the god kneeling with arms extended to either side grasping *rnp.t* stalks with two *ḥb-sd* symbols depending from his arms – Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu II*, Pl. 158.

¹¹² Gabolde, *Le «Grand Château d’Amon» de Sésostriis I^{er} à Karnak*, 148 and n. 170, citing Urk. IV, 607 (l. 4), 1261 (l. 14).

lette.¹¹³ The *pr dw3.t* is attested in a range of contexts – temples, palaces, and embalmer’s workshops – but in all contexts it is the place in which the king, attended by priests representing the embodiment of Horus and Thoth (or sometimes Horus and Seth), undergoes a lustration ritual consisting of cleansing, fumigation, and adornment.¹¹⁴ It is this ritual of the *pr dw3.t* that readies the king to officiate in temple ritual.¹¹⁵ Within the context of the burial, the ritual readies the deceased king to ascend to the horizon.¹¹⁶ It is also the rite of the *pr dw3.t* that daily prepared the king for his emergence into the court.¹¹⁷ The apparent function of the rite was to assimilate the king to the Heliopolitan Re-Atum reborn daily in the horizon.¹¹⁸

Traditionally, a *hry-hb* who might also be described as *hry-sšt3 n pr dw3.t* assisted the king in the ritual. Fischer considers the second title to be a qualification of the first, i.e. *hry-hb hry sšt3 n pr dw3.t*, ‘the lector priest who is privy to the secrets of the House of the Morning,’ and later depictions of the rite in temple relief only show *hry-hb* priests in attendance.¹¹⁹ During the Sixth Dynasty the *hm-ntr H.wy-Hr* were all *hry-hb* priests carrying the title *hry-sšt3 n pr dw3.t*¹²⁰ (c.f. *supra*, note c), which Donohue considers indicative that the functional role of the *hry-hb hry-sšt3 n pr dw3.t* aligned with the symbolic role the *hm-ntr H.wy-Hr*.

The only examples of *s(t)m*-priests performing duties analogous to the rite of the *pr dw3.t* are from statue or mortuary contexts associated with the Opening of the Mouth. An image from TT 51 depicts *s(t)m*-priests who are identified with the Sons of Horus performing a lustration ritual upon the deceased similar to the *pr dw3.t*.¹²¹ A depiction from the tomb of Djehutyhotep at El-Bersheh shows the sons of Djehutyhotep performing a *pr dw3.t* cleansing ritual where the

¹¹³ Blackman, in: JEA 5, 1918, 148, 152; A.H. Gardiner, *The Mansion of Life and the Master of the King’s Largess*, in: JEA 24/1, 1938, 84; Wb. V, 425.8; Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, 90; Meeks, AL 1, 1977, 132 (77.1430); Meeks, AL 2, 1978, 138 (78.1472); Meeks, AL 3, 1979, 97–98 (79.1000); Donohue, in: JEA 74, 1988, 6; Van der Molen, *A Hieroglyphic Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 135; R. Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I: Altes Reich und Erste Zwischenzeit*, Mainz am Rhein 2003, 455; idem, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch II: Mittleres Reich und Zweite Zwischenzeit, I, Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt 112.1*, Mainz am Rhein 2006, 903–904. J.F. Quack has also suggested the alternative translation ‘House of Adoration’ based on a unique orthography of *pr dw3.t* with an A30 determinative in P. Carlsberg 395 + PSI Inv. I 100, fragment E (Fragmente des Mundöffnungsrituals aus Tebtynis, in: K.S.B. Ryholt (ed.), *Hieratic Texts from the Collection, The Carlsberg Papyri 7*, CNI Publications 30, Copenhagen 2006, 114–115).

¹¹⁴ Blackman, in: JEA 5, 1918, 148, 152, 156; Donohue, in: JEA 74, 1988, 116.

¹¹⁵ J. Dümichen, *Baugeschichte des Denderatempels und Beschreibung der einzelnen Theile des Bauwerkes nach den an seinen Mauern befindlichen Inschriften*, Strassburg 1877, 10; H. Kees, $\overline{\text{𓅓}}$ und $\overline{\text{𓅓}}$, in: RT 36, 1914, 1–16; A.M. Blackman, *Some Notes on the Ancient Egyptian Practice of Washing the Dead*, in: JEA 5, 1918, 117; idem, in: JEA 5, 1918, 148.

¹¹⁶ Blackman, in: JEA 5, 1918, 117 on P.E. Newberry, *El Bersheh I: The Tomb of Tehuti-Hetep*, ASE 3, London 1893, Pl. X.

¹¹⁷ Gardiner, in: JEA 24, 1938, 84.

¹¹⁸ Blackman, in: JEA 5, 1918, 117–124; idem, in: JEA 5, 1918, 148–165.

¹¹⁹ Fischer, in: ZÄS 86, 1961, 25–26; c.f. Gillam, *Topographical, Prosopographical and Historical Studies in the 14th Upper Egyptian Nome*, 185 and compare Ikhnofret (Berlin 1204, l. 17–18): *db3.n=i ntr m hf.w=f m id.t n.t hry sšt3*; ‘In my office as *hry sšt3* I clothed the god for his appearances.’ For the titles of Ikhnofret see Schäfer, *Die Mysterien des Osiris*, 79–82 (esp. 81).

¹²⁰ One of the individuals was a *hry sšt3 n ntr nfr* rather than a *hry sšt3 n pr dw3.t*.

¹²¹ Blackman, in: JEA 5, 1918, 121–122, pl. XIX.

associated liturgy of the *hry-ḥb* parallels the ritual of the Opening of the Mouth.¹²² ¹*dd mdw iḥb n=k ʔks.wy=k tm ir.t=k*, ‘Recitation: Unite, for yourself, your bones. What relates to you is complete.’ Spanning scenes 58–68 of the Opening of the Mouth, the statue is dressed in fabrics, annointed and made-up, equipped with scepter and mace, fumigated, and libated.¹²³ During these events the *s(t)m*-priest and the *hry-ḥb* priest, respectively take on the divine roles of ‘loving son’ and Thoth, the primary officiants of the *pr dw3.t* ritual.

1.5 The Framing Device 2: The Signature



¹¹ *s3=f sš ḥtp(.w)-nṯr n ʾImn Hri ms.n nb.t pr Mw.t-nswt*

¹¹ his son, the scribe of the divine offerings of Amun, Hori, born of the mistress of the house, Mutnesut.

2.0 BM EA 888: Conclusions

The titles on BM EA 888 situate themselves within the context of an Opening of the Mouth ritual. However, the titles also convey an overwhelming focus on the institution of kingship and on the identification of the Horus-king with the reborn creator god of the cosmogonies of Heliopolis and the Southern Heliopolis. Several related finds support the hypothesis that the titles evoke the revelation, manufacture, enlivenment, and procession of a royal statue of Thutmose III, possibly during his second jubilee celebration, in which case, the organization of the text acts as a meta-commentary on the role of statue cult, as represented by the festival sphere titles, in the integration of the terrestrial and cosmic sphere, as represented by the titles of the royal and divine spheres.

The ritual of the Opening of the Mouth was a vital component of statue and mortuary cult. The rite consisted of seventy-five episodes that served to enliven a statue or mummy allowing it to accept offerings.¹²⁴ During the New Kingdom, the Opening of the Mouth occurs primarily in mortuary contexts; however, the ongoing presence of craftsmen in the New Kingdom rituals

¹²² Newberry, El Bersheh I, Pl. X; Kees, in: RT 36, 1914, 8; Blackman, in: JEA 5, 1918, 117–124, pl. XVIII.

¹²³ Otto, Das ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual, II, 130–152; Fischer-Elfert, Die Vision von der Statue im Stein, 7.

¹²⁴ A full discussion of the Opening of the Mouth and its associated scholarship is beyond the purview of this study. See the following selected bibliography: Blackman, in: JEA 5, 1918, 117; A.H. Gardiner, Ancient Egyptian Onomastica I, Oxford 1947, 39*–41*; Otto, Das ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual, II, esp. 1–4, 10–33; M. Smith, The Liturgy of Opening the Mouth for Breathing, Oxford 1993, 13–19; A.M. Roth, The *psš-kf* and the ‘Opening of the Mouth’ Ceremony: A Ritual of Birth and Rebirth, in: JEA 78, 1992, 113–147; idem, Fingers, Stars, and the ‘Opening of the Mouth’: The Nature and Function of the *nṯrwj*-Blades, in: JEA 79, 1993, 57–79; Fischer-Elfert, Die Vision von der Statue im Stein; Lorton, in: Dick (ed.), Born in Heaven, Made on Earth, 147–179; J.F. Quack, Ein Prätext und seine Realisierungen. Facetten des ägyptischen Mundöffnungsrituals, in: B. Dückers–H. Roeder (eds.), Text und Ritual. Kulturwissenschaftliche Essays und Analysen von Sesostris bis Dada, Hermeia, Grenzüberschreitend Studien zur Literatur- und Kulturwissenschaft 8/8, Heidelberg 2005, 165–185; and most recently Quack, in: Ryholt (ed.), Hieratic Texts from the Collection, 67–150 with references; Quack, Das *Mundöffnungsritual* als Tempeltext und Funerärtext, in: B. Backes–J. Dieleman (eds.), Liturgical Texts for Osiris and the Deceased in Late Period and Greco-Roman Egypt. Proceedings of the colloquiums at New York (ISAW), 6 May 2011, and Freudenstadt, 18–21 July 2012, Studien zur spätägyptischen Religion 14, Wiesbaden 2015, 145–159.

reveals the origins of the mortuary rite in the manufacture and activation of statues for temple cult.¹²⁵ Traditionally executed by a *s(t)m*-priest in his role as *ṭwn-mw.t=f*, several *im.yw-ḥnt* priests, and a *ḥry-ḥb* priest, these officiants perform rites that symbolically erase the statue's terrestrial manufacture; knit together the physical body and enliven the sensory organs of the statue; infuse the object with strength and consciousness; and offer the first meal.

Scenes¹²⁶ 2–7 depict aspects of the ritual purification of the House of Gold, a set of rooms within the temple where the statue manufacture and enlivenment occurs. In Scene 8, the *is* – an inner chamber of the House of Gold – is prepared for the meditation of the *s(t)m*-priest. Scenes 9–10 describe the seclusion and meditation of the *s(t)m*-priest, the revelation of the final form and process of manufacture of the statue, and the translation of this vision into the professional technical terms of the craftsmen. Scene 11 depicts the *s(t)m*-priest with the *ḳnī*-bib and *mdw*-staff, acting as the model of the final product for the craftsmen. The manual manufacture of the statue takes place over Scenes 12–18. Beginning in Scene 19 the actions take place outside the *is* and the *s(t)m*-priest assumes the leopard skin.¹²⁷ These events include the slaughter of a bull, whose heart and foreleg are offered to the statue (Scenes 23–25). The first mouth opening ritual takes place in Scenes 26–27 with a second mouth opening ritual following in Scenes 31–41, during which time the statue is treated with a range of diverse props (Scenes 34–41). Scenes 48–64 depict the physical preparation and adornment of the statue: it is given fabrics; anointed and made-up; equipped with scepter and mace; and fumigated and libated. Over Scenes 65–68 the first purified offering occurs. The final transfiguration takes place over Scenes 69–72A: the priests make an offering formula and erase the evidence of manual manufacture. The ritual concludes (Scene 73) when the statue is carried to the Henu-barque of Sokar and installed in its resting place (c.f. *supra*, note g) by nine *ḥry-ḥb* priests taking on the role of the Four Sons of Horus.

BM EA 888 evokes five primary aspects of the Opening of the Mouth rites just described: the seclusion and meditation of the *s(t)m*-priest (Scene 9); the translation of the vision (Scene 10); the mouth opening, beginning in Scene 19; the rites of adornment, anointment, lustration, and fumigation, beginning in Scene 48; and the transport and installation of the statue (Scene 73). Scene 9 is evoked by the title *s(t)m m pr Pth*, determined with the hieroglyph of the enveloped *s(t)m*-priest seated on the meditation stool (c.f. *supra*, note d). Conversely, the full, uniliteral, orthography of the *s(t)m* title in line 6 may juxtapose the mysterious ‘toponym’ *pr rš* to reflect the mediatory role of the *s(t)m*-priest in realizing the vision (Scene 10). *Pr rš* could be intended to describe the cosmic realm from which the statue emerges while the syllabic orthography reflects the mediatory terrestrial role of the *s(t)m*-priest as the vehicle through which the statue is communicated. The leopard skin that Teti is wearing on his statue alludes to the events beginning in Scene 19 with

¹²⁵ Otto, Das ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual II, 2–3.

¹²⁶ For the events of the Opening of the Mouth ritual see primarily Otto, Das ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual, II, 37–171; Roth, in: JEA 78, 1992, 113–147; idem, in: JEA 79, 1993, 57–79; Fischer-Elfert, Die Vision von der Statue im Stein, 5–7; Quack, in: Dückler-Roeder (eds.), Text und Ritual, 165–185.

¹²⁷ The skin briefly transfers to the “loving son” for a scene when the *s(t)m*-priest, and loving son seem to become two separate identities; however, the *s(t)m*-priest assumes both the mantle of loving son and the skin at the beginning of the next scene, see Otto, Das ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual, II, 10–14; Lorton, in: Dick (ed.), Born in Heaven, Made on Earth, 169–171.

the assumption of that garment, particularly as the the rites spanning Scenes 48–64 of the Opening of the Mouth so closely resemble those of the *pr dw3.t*, which are explicitly denoted by the titles in lines 7 (*ḥm-nṯr Ḥ.wy-Ḥr*) and 10 (*s(t)m m pr dw3.t*). Finally, the titles *ḥm-nṯr Ḥr s.t-rd.w* and *imy-r3 sš.w Ḥḥ* evoke the processional of Scene 73. This processional may precede or be part of a Sed-festival event, the Sed-festival environment being clearly established with the first title and firmly maintained throughout.

The titles of the Cosmic Sphere allude to a Sed-festival environment and locate the meditation of the *s(t)m*-priest within this context. In referencing the temples of Amun (= the Akhmenu) and Ptah not only does Hori draw attention to the two primary constructions of Thutmose III at Karnak that pre-date his jubilee celebrations he also evokes the two structures that were instrumental in rejuvenating the institution of kingship: the Akhmenu as a venue for the celebration of the jubilee and the royal ancestors, and the temple of Ptah as a venue for the worship of a royal statue of Thutmose III.¹²⁸ The invocation of the temples of Amun and Ptah reinforces a syncretism between Amun and Re-Horakhty – evoked in the offering formula itself – and with Ptah, thereby aligning the gods of the two temples of Thutmose III at Karnak with the gods of the southern Heliopolitan cosmogony. Sed-festival ritual texts invoke Heliopolis as the place in the horizon in which the king is reborn as the solar falcon.¹²⁹ This allusion combined with the possible duties of Teti with respect to *snw*-offerings, traditionally made at dawn, atmospherically situates the events within the horizon at the time of the rebirth of the solar falcon. The title *s(t)m m pr Pth* places the *s(t)m*-priest seclusion and meditation ritual into this environment, evoking the initiation of statue manufacture and suggesting that this act bridges the liminal boundary between the terrestrial world and the cosmic realms.

The titles of the Royal Sphere describes Teti's service to the person of the king. These focus the events of the statue upon the institution of kingship and places the king and the institution within the context of solar rejuvenation created by the titles of the Cosmic Sphere. Together, these two spheres evoke the moment of the king's rejuvenation via his rebirth as the solar falcon, foundational elements of the Sed-festival. That the titles of the Festival Sphere specifically revolve around the person of the king as Horus reflects this effective transformation.

The titles of the Festival Sphere juxtapose the terrestrial duties of Teti with their cosmic significance, emphasizing the role of festival ritual – in this case the revelation, manufacture, and enlivenment of a statue – in the integration of the two spheres.¹³⁰ First the refer-

¹²⁸ For the Akhmenu as a venue for royal ancestor worship see Urk. IV, p. 607.8–10; L. Troy, Religion and Cult during the Time of Thutmose III, in: Cline-O'Connor (eds.), Thutmose III, 136–137; For the jubilee statue see below and J.H. Breasted, Ancient Records of Egypt II: The Eighteenth Dynasty, Urbana/Chicago 2001, § 618; Urk. IV, 768 (15).

¹²⁹ Blackman, in: JEA 5, 1918, 155; Piankhi stele, l. 103, for which see Schäfer, Die Mysterien des Osiris, 38; c.f. Leblanc, "In Accordance with the Documents of Ancient Times," 18–25 for the association with the solar falcon. For the falcon feather iconography of Thutmose III see Barguet, Le Temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak, 191–192; PM II, 118 (385); E. Hornung–E. Staehelin, Neue Studien zum Sedfest, AH 20, Basel 2006, 58.

¹³⁰ Compare to the description of the manufacture of a ritual object for use in the Osirian mysteries by Iykhermofret — ANOC I:1 (= Berlin 1204), for which see G. Roeder, Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, I, Leipzig 1924, 169–175; M. Lichtheim, Ancient Egyptian Literature I, Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 1973, 123–125 and references; W.K. Simpson, The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: The

ences to the *s3.ty*-children of Re and to the *H.wy-Hr* reinforce the preceding textual focus on the transformative solar environment of the *ṯwnw šmꜣ* and on the institution of kingship by aligning the ancient seat of solar kingship with the divine guardians of the Horus king. In referencing the children of Re (or Ptah in the cosmogony of *ṯwnw šmꜣ*) alongside the Four Sons of Horus as the Souls of Pe and Nekhen the text also aligns the rejuvenated sun god Re with the Horian king. Terrestrially, the titles evoke rituals of royal cleansing, adornment, and the act of carrying the king in procession, elements that are found in both the Opening of the Mouth ritual and in the Sed-festival.

The next set of titles – *ḥm-nṯr Hr-s.t-rd.w* and *imy-r3 sš.w Hh/Hnsw-Šw* – reinforce the idea of the royal processional and establish the Horus king as the object of the event. The titles align the cosmic roles of Heh/Khonsu-Shu with the atlantid duties of Teti as a bearer of the king in procession. Heh is particularly associated with the Sed-festival as a divine representative of the much sought after ‘millions’ (of years).¹³¹ The previously established relationship between the *H.wy-Hr* as protectors and carriers of the Horus king confirms that *Hr*, in this context, refers to the king while the allusion to processional stops of ‘Horus’ (i.e. the king) enriches the picture of a Sed-festival royal processional as one that includes multiple stopping points at way stations.

The final title – *s(t)m n pr dw3.t* – evokes the moment of the emergence of the terrestrial king, united with the sun god, and the festival contexts in which *s(t)m*-priests appear emphasize this relationship. While no *s(t)m*-priests are directly attested for the rite of the *pr dw3.t* the purification of the rejuvenated solar king prior to his emergence probably took place in the *pr dw3.t* of the solar festival temple.¹³² In the reliefs of Niuserre, two *s(t)m*-priests are depicted dressing the king in the Sed-festival robe and equipping him with ritual paraphenelia¹³³ and *s(t)m*-priests also appear at the head of the royal palanquin procession in Sed-festival celebrations. That the rites of ritual adornment and purification from Scenes 48–64 of the Opening of the Mouth closely resemble the key features of the *pr dw3.t* ritual may reveal an intended double meaning.

Altogether, Teti’s titles on BM EA 888 suggest that in his role as *s(t)m*-priest Teti likely meditated in seclusion and received a vision of a Sed-festival statue of the king – an image of a reborn solar king in the horizon; communicated that vision to the craftsmen; conducted the rites of lustration, fumigation, and adornment of the statue; and carried the enlivened royal image during a palanquin procession. This context supports the possible reference to *snw*-offerings suggested in note b as well as the possible identification of the locational designation *pr rš* as the cosmic site from or into which the vision of the statue emerges. Scenes 69–72A of the Opening of the Mouth include the dedication of offerings as part of the transfiguration process of the statue. That the titles of Teti are framed by a dedicatory offering reveals that while the statue itself transcends the liminal boundary between the terrestrial and cosmic spheres by nature of its cosmic origin it is the ritual of offering that

Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13, PPYE 5, New Haven/Philadelphia 1974, 17, pl. 1; R.J. Leprohon, The Personnel of the Middle Kingdom Funerary Stelae, in: JARCE 15, 1978, 33–34.

¹³¹ Hornung–Stahelin, *Neue Studien zum Sedfest*, 10–12; Leitz, LGG V, 468–473 s.v. *Hh*.

¹³² Blackman, in: JEA 5, 1918, 155 citing the relief of a lector priest washing the feet of Niuserre, for which see Von Bissing–Kees, *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-Re (Rathures)*, III, Pl. 9.

¹³³ Von Bissing–Kees, *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-Re (Rathures)*, II, Pl. 16 (39).

allows the individual to communicate with those cosmic realms through the statue. Thus, by framing the events described through the titles within an offering formula carved onto a statue, Teti's son Hori embeds the statue of his father within the very context it describes.

Cult statues of the ruling king were placed in all temples so that he might receive of the redistributed offerings made to the temple deities.¹³⁴ Notably, the text describing the foundation, renewal, and provisioning of the temple of Ptah at Karnak by Thutmose III includes a short section of text that describes the installation of a royal statue in the temple.¹³⁵

ir m¹⁵-ḥt ḥtp ḥm n ntr pn špss m ḥ.t=f
k3.tw dī.tw pr ḥ^c n wdn(.w)
ḥpr(.w) m ḥ.t nb(.t)
n wn.w.t ḥw.t-ntr n.t it=i Imn m Ip.t-sw.t
¹⁶*ḥ^c n wdn(.w)*
ḥpr(.w) m ḥ.t nb(.t) t 6 m snw n pr.t
m-b3ḥ n p3 tw.t n ḥḥ [n rnp.t] n ḥm=i
šms(.w) r ḥw.t-ntr tn
nt.y ḥr ḥ^c{.t} n ḥm n ntr¹⁷ pn špss ḥr 3b.t tn
nt.y rn=f m Mn-ḥpr-R^c wr 3b.t

Now ¹⁵ after the majesty of this august god is satisfied with his offerings
 then one will cause that a heap of offerings,
 provided with everything
 be issued to the temple priesthood of my father, Amun of Karnak;
 and¹⁶ a heap of offerings
 provided with everything (including) six loaves from the *snw*-offerings of
 'the coming forth'
 (be issued) before the statue of millions (of years) of my majesty,
 which followed to this temple
 and which is in the district of the majesty of ¹⁷ this august god for the sake
 of this offering,
 the name of which is 'Menkheperre-is-Great-of-Offerings.'

The temple of Ptah foundation text clearly establishes a statue of Thutmose III as the recipient of *snw*-offerings of Amun, the primary god of the temple. That the temple of Ptah served as a way station for the barque of Amun of Karnak and of the statue of Thutmose III who followed Amun in processional is particularly analogous to the Sed-festival reliefs and the allusions of BM EA 888. An examination of the Sed-festival sources for Thutmose III provides additional support for understanding a context related to royal Sed-festival statue cult. Thutmose III celebrated a jubilee in years 30 and 33¹³⁶ and depicted elements of these events in several places:

¹³⁴ Troy, in Cline and O'Connor, eds, Thutmose III, p. 136.

¹³⁵ G. Maspero, La consécration du nouveau temple de Ptah Thébain par Thoutmosis III; communication lue à la séance du 26 janvier, in: CRAI(BL) 44/1, 1900, 113, 118–120; G. Legrain, Le Temple de Ptah Rîs-Anbou-F dans Thèbes, in: ASAE 3, 1902, 110; Breasted, ARE II, 247 (§618); Urk. IV, 768.11–769.2

¹³⁶ Hornung–Stahlin, Neue Studien zum Sedfest, 24, 34, 36.

1. The reliefs on the north wall of the main hall of the Akhmenu, which likely served as the festival temple for the celebrations beginning in year 30, primarily depict the *Königslauf* and vignettes of archery and bow-staff combat.¹³⁷

2. The decoration (ca. year 33) of the Château de l'Or – identified as a site for the consecration of ritual paraphenelia – depicts a Sed-festival vignette involving a nautical barque procession of a statue of Thutmose III.¹³⁸

3. The sun temple of Niuserre at Abu Ghurob, which provides the most complete depiction of the royal palanquin procession, yields a relief added by Thutmose III showing his own Upper Egyptian palanquin procession.¹³⁹ In these images, the Souls of Pe and Nekhen bring the palanquin to Thutmose III and subsequently carry the king in procession upon the litter.

4. The temple of Thutmose III at Semna depicts a rare scene in which Thutmose III acts as the primary ritualist during a Sed-festival barque procession of a statue of Senwosret III.¹⁴⁰

To these, we may add numerous additional statues, obelisks, stelae, and ritual objects that reference aspects of the jubilee events.¹⁴¹ Based on these sources, the jubilee activities of Thutmose III emphasize the rejuvenation of the king through assimilation to the solar falcon¹⁴² and show a particular alignment with the activities of Senwosret III and Niuserre. The depictions in the Château de l'Or and the temple of Semna are unique in their attention to the role of statue cult in the execution of Sed-festival ritual.

The relief on the south wall within the Château de l'Or depicts a scene in which Thutmose III stands on shore and performs an 'Opening of the Mouth' on the ram-headed prow figure of a barque of Amun, while Ptah presides over the ceremony. In the next scene a statue of the king rests within a barque shrine.¹⁴³ The statue in the shrine is depicted wearing a short robe and the white crown. Its hands are arranged in front of it, the right above the

¹³⁷ Barguet, *Le Temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak*, 163–167; Haeny, *Basilikale Anlagen in der ägyptischen Baukunst des Neuen Reiches*, 7–17 (and chapter 1–2); Haeny, in: Schafer (ed.), *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, 99; Hornung–Staehelin, *Neue Studien zum Sedfest*, 60–61; Leblanc, "In Accordance with the Documents of Ancient Times", 485–509 for a discussion of these scenes, their antecedents, and their significance.

¹³⁸ Traunecker, in: CRIPEL 11, 1989, 89–111, and esp. 96 (fig. 5, line 3) for the Sed-festival caption; Laszkowski, in: Cline–O'Connor (eds.), *Thutmose III*, 198–199; and see most recently Leblanc, "In Accordance with the Documents of Ancient Times", 569–571 for a discussion and analysis of the scene.

¹³⁹ Von Bissing–Kees, *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-Re (Rathures)*, III, Beiblatt A.

¹⁴⁰ LD, III, Pls. 48–51; D. Dunham–J.M.A. Janssen, *Second Cataract Forts I: Semna Kumma*, Boston 1960, Pls. 16–25; R.A. Caminos, *Semma- Kumma I: The Temple of Semna*, ASE 37, London 1998, 93–118, Pls. 49–60; J. Karkowski, *Pharaoh in the Heb-Sed Robe in Hatshepsut's Temple at Deir el-Bahari*, in: *Études et Travaux* 19, 2001, 101; Hornung–Staehelin, *Neue Studien zum Sedfest*, 20, 80–81; Troy, in: Cline–O'Connor (eds.), *Thutmose III*, 137; C. Karlshausen, *L'iconographie de la barque processionnelle divine en Égypte au Nouvel Empire*, OLA 182, Leuven/Paris/Walpole 2009, 61–62, 322–323; Leblanc, "In Accordance with the Documents of Ancient Times", 512, 600–602.

¹⁴¹ See the list compiled in Hornung–Staehelin, *Neue Studien zum Sedfest*, 23–24.

¹⁴² Epigraphic Survey, *The Tomb of Kheruef*, Pl. 46; Barguet, *Le Temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak*, 191–192; PM II, 118 (385); Hornung–Staehelin, *Neue Studien zum Sedfest*, 58; Leblanc, "In Accordance with the Documents of Ancient Times", 18–20. Solar falcon adornment in Sed-festival regalia appears first under Senwosret III and intensifies throughout the New Kingdom and into the Late Period. Thutmose III appears in a relief at the Akhmenu in a Sed-festival robe with a feather-shaped adornment.

¹⁴³ Barguet, *Le Temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak*, p. 210 n. 1; Traunecker, in: CRIPEL 11, 1989, 96–99; Leblanc, "In Accordance with the Documents of Ancient Times", 569–571.

left, holding a tow rope attached to the barque of Amun that processes behind the barque of the royal statue.

The decorative program of the temple of Thutmose III at Semna includes several reliefs depicting a Sed-festival royal procession of a statue of Senwosret III with Thutmose III performing the rituals for the regeneration of the *ka* of the deceased Senwosret III.¹⁴⁴ The seated statue is depicted within a portable barque shrine resting at a processional way station while Thutmose III presides over the provision of offerings, censings, libations and other ritual activities. These two scenes reveal that, at least during the reign of Thutmose III, statue cult played a part in the execution of royal processions during the Sed-festival, for both the cult of the living king as well as for the cult of divinized royal ancestors. Processing statues stopped at way stations to receive offerings and ritual action.

The archaeological record provides some titillating analogs for these Sed-festival depictions and the titular allusions of BM EA 888. Eight possible statues or statue fragments dateable to the reign of Thutmose III depict the king in Sed-festival regalia.¹⁴⁵ Of these, a single surviving example (JE 36911) preserves an image analogous to that depicted in the Château de l'Or.¹⁴⁶ JE 36911 depicts the king seated, wearing a short Sed-festival robe and the white crown, holding his hands before him with the right over the left. Although the arrangement of the hands differs from that depicted in the relief in the Château d'Or – the statue holds the flywhisk in its right hand and the crook in its left – the surviving statues/statue fragments and the reliefs from the Château de l'Or and the temple of Thutmose III at Semna suggest that the Opening of the Mouth ritual was a foundational element to Sed-festival ritual for the consecration of ritual paraphenelia including royal statuary that were necessary to the efficacy of the transformative events of the Sed-festival.

More than its problematic reference to the viceregal succession, BM EA 888 expands the extant sources on both the rituals of the Opening of the Mouth and, in particular, how these rituals functioned in the preparations for the Sed-festival celebrations of Thutmose III, presented from the point of view of one of its non-royal participants, albeit removed a generation. Although the obscure text does not specify the Sed-festival during which these events occurred, the text nonetheless reveals the important role that royal statue cult held within the celebrations. Teti was likely deceased when his son, Hori, commissioned and installed the statue of his father, possibly during the reign of Amenhotep II. Nevertheless, the depiction of Teti in *s(t)m*-priest garb, the inscription of the cartouche of Thutmose III on the shoulder of Teti, and the organization of the titular formulations in the primary text work to situate statue BM EA 888 within the events it describes. The use of a royal dedicatory offering as a framing device for the evocation of Teti's role with respect to the perpetuation and maintenance of royal statue cult, is therefore remarkable in that it essentially embeds Teti's statue within the very realm it evokes and functions as a commentary upon the effective function of the statue itself as a recipient of offerings and mediator between the terrestrial and cosmic spheres.

¹⁴⁴ LD, III, Pls. 48–51.

¹⁴⁵ Laboury, *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III*; H. Sourouzzian, *Inventaire Iconographique des Statues en Manteau Jubilaire de l'Époque thinite jusqu'à leur disparition sous Amenhotep III*, in: C. Berger et al. (eds.), *Hommages à Jean Leclant I*, BdÉ 106, Cairo 1994, 516–519; Hornung–Stahelin, *Neue Studien zum Sedfest*, 23–24, 81–82.

¹⁴⁶ JE 36911 (= CGC 42058), for which see Laboury, *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III*, 227–229, C 67; Sourouzzian, in: Berger et al. (eds.), *Hommages à Jean Leclant I*, 516.30.



Statue BM EA 888

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Statue BM EA 888

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