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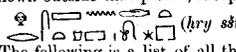
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## "THE HOUSE OF THE MORNING" ✓

BY AYLWARD M. BLACKMAN, D.LITT.

As I have pointed out in a recent article<sup>1</sup>, the Pharaoh had to undergo purification before officiating in a temple. Inscriptions in the temples of Edfu<sup>2</sup> and Philae<sup>3</sup>, and two passages in the famous Piankhi Stele inform us that the purification took place in a special chamber of the temple called  (pr-dwît). The two last mentioned passages are as follows:—"His majesty proceeded to the House of [Ptah], his purification was performed in the pr-dwît, there were performed for him all the ceremonies that are performed for a king. (Then) he entered into the temple<sup>4</sup>." "(He) came in procession to the House of Re<sup>5</sup>, and entered the temple with loud acclaim, the chief lector praising the god and repelling those hostile to the king. The (Rite of the) pr-dwît was performed, the sdb-vestment was fastened on, and he (the king) was purified with incense and cool water<sup>6</sup>." See also the following passage in the so-called Papyrus of the "Hathorienne Sais":—

 N.       "O Hathor N., thy purification is performed in the pr-dwît of the king, and thou livest<sup>7</sup>." Reliefs depicting the purification of the Pharaoh in the pr-dwît occur in a number of temples<sup>8</sup>. They show that he was robed and crowned as well as purified; in fact the pr-dwît was a ceremonial Toilet-chamber.

A not uncommon title in the Old Kingdom, but not known outside that period, except in the archaic inscriptions of the XXVIth Dynasty<sup>9</sup>, is  (hry sstj n pr-dwît), Supervisor of the Mysteries of the pr-dwît. The following is a list of all the persons I know of who bore this title. The other titles that are closely associated with it follow each name in the order of their occurrence.

<sup>1</sup> *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. XI, pp. 57—66, 85—91; see also this volume of the *Journal*, pp. 117 foll.

<sup>2</sup> KEES, *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. XXXVI, pp. 4 foll.

<sup>3</sup> DÜMICHEN, *Baugeschichte*, p. 10.

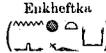
<sup>4</sup> SCHÄFER, *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums*, vol. III, p. 35 = *Piankhi Stele*, line 98.

<sup>5</sup> SCHÄFER, *op. cit.*, p. 38 = *Piankhi Stele*, line 103.

<sup>6</sup> SCHIAPARELLI, *Libro dei Funerari*, vol. II, p. 138.

<sup>7</sup> See *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. XI, p. 87, with note 91.

<sup>8</sup> E.g., DÜMICHEN, *Der Grabpalast des Tutanchamun*, Pl. III, above seated figure.

NO.	DYNASTY	NAME	TITLES
1.	IV-V.	Kenöfer	Unique Friend (var. Friend), Controller of the Palace, Supervisor of the Mysteries of the <i>pr-dwft</i> ( <i>Egyptian Stelae in the Brit. Mus.</i> , Part I, Pl. 4). K. was a son of Snofru, a Vizier and Chief Justice, and superintendent of that king's pyramid.
2.	IV.	Thenti	Unique Friend, Controller of the Palace, Supervisor etc. (L, D, <sup>1</sup> , Part II, Pl. 30).
3.	IV.	Debhen	(a) Unique Friend, Chief Nekhebite <sup>2</sup> , Supervisor etc., Keeper of the Crown (  ) <sup>3</sup> , Who adorns Horus (L, D, <sup>1</sup> , Part II, Pl. 35). (β) Friend, Controller of the Palace, Supervisor of the Contributions in the House of Life ( <i>hry wdb<sup>3</sup> m ht-ent</i> ), doing what his lord loves, Debhen, Supervisor etc., Debhen, Unique Friend, Keeper of the Crown ( <i>op. cit.</i> , Pl. 36, c). (γ) Unique Friend, Chief Lector, Supervisor etc., Keeper of the Crown, Who adorns Horus, Supervisor of the Contributions in the House of Life ( <i>op. cit.</i> , Pl. 37, a).
4.	IV.	Iunmin	Unique Friend of his Father, Supervisor etc. ( <i>op. cit.</i> , Pl. 34, g). He was a "king's eldest son" and also bears the titles of Vizier, Chief Justice, Controller of the Palace, and Lector.
5.	IV-V.	Niuti (  )	Favourite Unique Friend, Controller of the Palace, Supervisor etc. ( <i>op. cit.</i> , Pl. 89, a).
6.	IV-V.	Sethu	(a) Unique Friend, Controller of the Palace, Chief Nekhebite,  , Supervisor etc., Supervisor of the Contributions of the House of Life ( <i>op. cit.</i> , Pl. 86, b). (β) Unique Friend, Controller of the Palace, Supervisor etc., Supervisor of the Contributions of the House of Life ( <i>ib.</i> , Pl. 87). (γ) Unique Friend, Supervisor etc., Controller of the Palace ( <i>op. cit.</i> , Pl. 86, b).
7.	V.	Khnemhotep	Friend, Controller of the Palace, Supervisor etc., Chief Nekhebite, Keeper of the Crown, Supervisor of the Contributions in the House of Life ( <i>MAR., Mast.</i> <sup>4</sup> , p. 312; see also <i>Egyptian Stelae in the Brit. Mus.</i> , Part I, Pl. 26). K. was also an Inspector of the <i>wdb</i> -priests of the sun-temple of Userkaf.
8.	V.	Enkheftka (  )	Friend, Controller of the Palace, Supervisor etc., Supervisor of the Contributions of the House of Life ( <i>MAR., Mast.</i> , p. 307 foll.). He was also a Superintendent of the King's Linen, Superintendent of the King's Adornment, Superintendent of the Bathroom of Pharaoh, a <i>wdb</i> -priest of Rē in the sun-temple of Userkaf, an Inspector of <i>wdb</i> -priests of the pyramid of the same king, and a <i>wdb</i> -priest of the pyramid of Sahurēf.

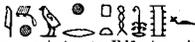
<sup>1</sup> = LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*.

<sup>2</sup> See GARDINER, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, vol. 45, p. 126. The stele of Khentemsemti the Younger, line 7 foll. (*Egypt. Stelae in the Brit. Mus.*, Part II, Pl. 9), closely associates this title with the priesthood of the royal diadems viz., "supporting the white crown in the *pr-wr*, chief Nekhebite, servant of the red crown in the *pr-nw*, .....cautious in his goings when putting on the red crown, when causing Horus lord of the palace gloriously to appear (m sht Hr nb Ch)."

<sup>3</sup> See SETHÉ, *Ber. Sächs. Ges. d. Wissenschaften*, vol. LXIII, p. 149.

<sup>4</sup> = MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*.

NO.	DYNASTY	NAME	TITLES
9.	V.	Sekhemkeré <sup>c</sup>	(a) Unique Friend, Controller of the Palace, Supervisor etc. (L., <i>D.</i> , Part II, Pl. 41, b). (β) Chief Lector of his Father, Unique Friend, Supervisor etc. ( <i>op. cit.</i> , Pl. 41, c). He was a king's son, Vizier, and Chief Justice, and also bore the title "Amubis the Embalmer" ( <i>op. cit.</i> , Pl. 42).
10.	V.	Weshtah	Unique Friend, Keeper of the Crown, Supervisor etc. (MAR., <i>Mast.</i> , pp. 269 foll.). He was also a Vizier, Chief Justice, Chief Lector, and Scribe of the God's Book.
11.	V.	Kemrōmet (I). 	Unique Friend, Chief Nekhebite, His Lord's favourite Controller of the Palace, Supervisor etc., Supervisor of the Contributions in the House of Life (MAR., <i>Mast.</i> , p. 176). He was also a prophet of the pyramid of Nuserré <sup>c</sup> .
12.	V.	Tepem <sup>c</sup> onkh	Keeper of the Crown, Supervisor etc., Controller of the Palace, Servant of the Throne (BORCHARDT, <i>Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-User-ré<sup>c</sup></i> , p. 120).
13.	V.	Ti	(a) Unique Friend, Supervisor etc. (STREINDORFF, <i>Das Grab des Ti</i> , Pl. 27). (β) Beloved Unique Friend, His Lord's favourite Keeper of the Crown, Unique Friend, Lector, His Lord's favourite Supervisor etc. ( <i>loc. cit.</i> ). (γ) Unique Friend, Keeper of the Crown, His Lord's favourite Chief Nekhebite, Supervisor etc. ( <i>op. cit.</i> , Pl. 80). (δ) Unique Friend, Keeper of the Crown, Chief Nekhebite, Superintendent of all the King's Adornment, Director of the Wig-makers of the King, Supervisor etc. ( <i>op. cit.</i> , Pl. 82). (e) Director of Pharaoh's Wig-makers, Supervisor etc., Chief Nekhebite, Controller of the Palace ( <i>op. cit.</i> , Pl. 95). (ζ) Unique Friend, Keeper of the Crown, Director of the Wig-makers of Pharaoh, Supervisor etc., Lector ( <i>op. cit.</i> , Pl. 136). Ti was also a superintendent of the pyramid of Neferikeré <sup>c</sup> , superintendent of the prophets of that pyramid, and superintendent of the pyramid of Nuserré <sup>c</sup> . He was moreover superintendent of the sun-temple of Sahuré <sup>c</sup> , Neferikeré <sup>c</sup> , Nefruré <sup>c</sup> , and Nuserré <sup>c</sup> ( <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 6).
14.	V.	Perneb	Unique Friend, Chief Nekhebite, Keeper of the Crown, Supervisor etc., He who adorns the King ( <i>The Tomb of Perneb</i> , published by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, fig. 34, p. 60).
15.	V.	Isi <sup>c</sup> onkh	Unique Friend, Supervisor etc., Superintendent of Pharaoh's Two Pools ( <i>Egyptian Stelae in the Brit. Mus.</i> , vol. 1, Pl. 24).
16.	V.	Khenu	Superintendent of the <i>sâr</i> (  ) <sup>c</sup> , Superintendent of the <i>mt</i> (  ) <sup>c</sup> of the King, Friend, Supervisor etc. (MAR., <i>Mast.</i> , p. 135). He was also Superintendent of the <i>hst</i> (a royal head-dress) and Superintendent of the Chamber of the <i>ms</i> -sceptre.
17.	V—VI.	Sethu	King's son of his body, Unique Friend, Supervisor etc. ( <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 303).

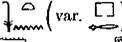
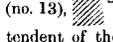
NO.	DYNASTY	NAME	TITLES
18.	VI.	Mereruka	Royal House-Superintendent of the Lord of the Palace, Supervisor of the Mysteries of what only one sees, Lector, Supervisor etc. (DARESSY, <i>Mera</i> , p. 537). He was also inspector of the prophets of the pyramid of Toti, and, moreover, a Vizier and Chief Justice.
19.	VI.	Meriteti	Lector of his father, Supervisor etc. ( <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 569).
20.	VI.	Ihimhorof	Lector, Supervisor etc. ( <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 573).
21.	VI.	Isésikha <sup>c</sup>	Inspector of the Great House, Supervisor etc. (MAR., <i>Mast.</i> , p. 456). He was also a "superintendent of the distribution" ( <i>opt</i> ) of the pyramid of Piópi I.
22.	VI.	Sósi	Unique Friend, Supervisor etc. ( <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 420). He was also Vizier and Chief Justice, was connected with the domain attached to Piópi I's pyramid, was an inspector of the prophets of that pyramid and of the establishment called <i>Meret-Meryré</i> .
23.	VI.	Merinó <sup>c</sup> nófer	Unique Friend, Lector, Supervisor etc. ( <i>Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte</i> , vol. XVII, p. 131). He was a Memphite official (cf.  <i>loc. cit.</i> ) who had been sent on a mission to Edfu ( <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 136) where his stelo has recently been found.
24.	VI.	Pepíonkh the Middle	Unique Friend, Lector, Supervisor etc. ( <i>op. cit.</i> , vol. XV, p. 214).
25.	VII—VIII.	Emróri 	Nomarch ( <i>Hty</i> - <i>c</i> ), Supervisor etc., Chief of the Transport of Hathor Mistress of Denderah,.....Superintendent of the Prophets (PETRIE, <i>Denderah</i> , Pl. VIII). He was also supervisor of the mysteries of the Treasurer of the God and Hardsman of the <i>Tutt</i> -cows ( <i>loc. cit.</i> ; cf. BLACKMAN, <i>The Rock Tombs of Meir</i> , vol. 1, p. 2).

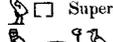
As the list shows, the title Supervisor of the *pr-dwyt* is closely associated with the well-known one  Unique Friend (var.  Friend)<sup>1</sup>. It was sometimes borne by persons of the highest rank, as in the case of nos. 1, 4, 9, 10, 17, 18, all of whom held the offices of Vizier and Chief Justice, and four of whom were sons of kings. The Supervisor of the *pr-dwyt* was evidently, therefore, a functionary whose relations with the Pharaoh were of an intimate nature.

Since this title is also closely associated once with that of Royal House-Superintendent of the Lord of the Palace (no. 18), once with that of Inspector of the Great House (no. 21), and in the greater number of instances with that of  Controller of the Palace<sup>2</sup> (nos. 1—9, 11—13 e), one would suppose that the *pr-dwyt* in this connection was a department of the palace or an annex thereof.

<sup>1</sup> This has already been remarked on by GARDINER, *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*, p. 109.

<sup>2</sup> See GARDINER, *loc. cit.*

Again, we find this title standing next, or in close proximity, to those of  Keeper of the Crown (nos. 3, 7, 10, 13, 14),  He who adorns Horus, i.e. the king (no. 3; cf. no. 14),  Superintendent of all the adornment of the King (no. 13; cf. no. 8),  (var. ) Director of the wig-makers of the King, var. Pharaoh (no. 13),  Superintendent of the *sšrw*, Superintendent of the *tm* of the King<sup>1</sup> (no. 16). These three last offices, as the determinative  shows, were connected with the care of the royal wardrobe.

Though not closely associated with it in the respective enumerations of their offices, it should be noted that, in addition to the title Supervisor of the *pr-dwyt*, Enkheftka (no. 8) bore among other titles those of  Superintendent of the King's linen,  Superintendent of the King's adornment, and  Superintendent of the Pharaoh's bath-room; and Khenu (no. 16) those of  Superintendent of the (royal head-dress called) *hšw*, and  Superintendent of the chamber of the *ims*-sceptre.

The fact that the office of Supervisor of the *pr-dwyt* is combined with the care of the king's diadem, wigs, ornaments, apparel, and the superintendence of his bath-room, indicates that *pr-dwyt* has the same meaning here as in the inscriptions referred to at the beginning of the article, namely that of Toilet-chamber,—in other words the *pr-dwyt* of this Old Kingdom title was the apartment or group of apartments in his palace wherein the Pharaoh was assisted at his daily toilet by specially privileged courtiers<sup>2</sup>.

What is the literal meaning of the compound *pr-dwyt*? Most authorities seem to connect the element *dwyt* with  *dwyt* "to adore," and translate the whole by "House of Adoration." But no word *dwyt* with the meaning "adoration" is to be found in the lexicons; indeed, so far as I can ascertain, no feminine derivative of *dwyt* "to adore" occurs at all, except of course in the title  *dwyt-ntr* "Votress of the God," where  must be the fem. imperfect active participle and should really be transcribed *dwyt*. *Dwyt* in the compound *pr-dwyt* cannot be the infinitive of *dwyt* "to adore," for that verb, being a trilateral, has a masculine infinitive<sup>3</sup>.

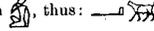
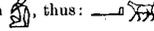
<sup>1</sup> See MACE-WINLOCK, *The Tomb of Senebti*, pp. 43 foll.

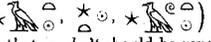
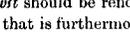
<sup>2</sup> See GARDINER, *op. cit.*, p. 110 and the writer's art. PURIFICATION (Egyptian), in HASTINGS, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. x, p. 476<sup>b</sup>, § III.

<sup>3</sup> KEES, *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. XXXVI, p. 3; ERMAN, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 70; MORET, *Des Caractères religieux de la Royauté pharaonique*, p. 212.

<sup>4</sup> See the writer's art. PRIEST, PRIESTHOOD (Egyptian), in HASTINGS, *op. cit.*, p. 296<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> *E.g.*, GARDINER, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, vol. 45, p. 126; GRIFFITH, *Sitt und Dér Kitch*, Pl. 11, line 1; see also below p. 154, note 8.

The only support for the rendering "House of Adoration" is afforded by two writings of the compound, the one occurring in the passage from the very late *Papyrus of the Hathorienne Sais*,<sup>1</sup> quoted in full on p. 148, and the other in a passage in the *Story of Sinuhe*.<sup>2</sup> In the former instance *pr-dwt* is determined with ; viz., ; in the latter the parallel compound *chnwtj-dwt* is determined with  thus: . In all other instances that I know of, except one, the determinative of *pr-dwt* is , or else there is no determinative at all. In that one exceptional instance *pr-dwt* is determined with , thus: .

But *dwt* written without a determinative (thus: ) or more usually determined with  (thus: , , ) is a quite usual word for morning.<sup>3</sup> I would suggest, therefore, that *pr-dwt* should be rendered, not "House of Adoration," but "House of the Morning," a rendering that is furthermore supported by the fact that the exceptional writing  is very early, dating from the Fourth Dynasty; and, as we shall see, it agrees with all we know about the origin of the rite performed in the *pr-dwt*.<sup>4</sup>

I have shown in the articles already referred to that the priests of the Heliopolitan sun-god Rē-Atum represented him as reborn every morning as the result of his undergoing lustration, his lustrators being, according to one conception, the gods Horus and Thōth.<sup>5</sup> The Pharaoh was regarded as the embodiment of the sun-god, a view that was doubtless held in the first instance about the predynastic king of Heliopolis.<sup>6</sup> The Heliopolitan king would also have been high-priest of the sun-god,<sup>7</sup> and officiated, or was supposed to officiate, in the sun-temple every day.<sup>8</sup> Before he could officiate, however, he had to undergo lustration, as the result of which he was believed to be reborn like his divine prototype.<sup>9</sup>

The natural time for the king-priest to have entered the sun-temple in order to officiate was at sun-rise, especially in view of his close association, or indeed practical identity, with the sun-god. Then the regenerative lustrations undergone by the king would have taken place simultaneously with those believed to be undergone by the god, a fact that would have made those of the king, who impersonated the god, seem all the more real and effective.

There are a good many indications of the correctness of my suggestion that the king entered the Heliopolitan sun-temple at dawn.

<sup>1</sup> GARDINER, *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*, p. 108.

<sup>2</sup> LEPsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, Part II, Pl. 35.

<sup>3</sup> BRUGSCH, *Wörterbuch*, p. 1621; ERMAN, *Aegyptisches Glossar*, p. 149.

<sup>4</sup> When this paper was more than half written I found that GRIFFITH (*apud* PETRIE, *Denderah*, p. 48<sup>b</sup>) also favours the rendering "House of the Morning."

<sup>5</sup> Thus an inscription at Philae, which is concerned with the lustral washing of the Pharaoh, the embodiment of the sun-god, speaks of Thōth as "the Thōth of Rē" (DÜMICHEN, *Baryeschichte*, p. 10).

<sup>6</sup> See BLACKMAN, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. XL, p. 60 foll.

<sup>7</sup> See the writer's art. PRIEST, PRIESTHOOD (Egyptian) in HASTINGS, *op. cit.*, p. 293<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> See BLACKMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 90, note 107, and cf. the lustration formula which states that the water "bears the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, N., like Rē every day" (*ibid.*, p. 89).

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For example.—Hymns to the sun-god are commonly prefaced by the following or similar words: "Praise (⊛ ) of Re<sup>c</sup>, when he ariseth in the eastern horizon of heaven, by N., who saith," and then follows the actual hymn<sup>1</sup>.

Piankhi informs us that he went at dawn "very early" (*dwṯ dwṯ*) to make offering to Atum at Kher<sup>c</sup>epa<sup>2</sup>, and that on another occasion he "went to the High Sand(-hill) in Heliopolis and made a great offering on the High Sand(-hill) in Heliopolis in the presence of Re<sup>c</sup> at his rising." It is most significant that before making this offering to Re<sup>c</sup> at dawn "he purified himself in the Cool Pool, and washed his face in the Stream of Nun, in which Re<sup>c</sup> washes his face<sup>3</sup>."

The temple of Abu Simbel, dedicated to Re<sup>c</sup>-Harakhte of Heliopolis and Amun-rē<sup>c</sup>, the solarized god of Thebes, has been so orientated that the rising sun sends its rays straight into the sanctuary<sup>4</sup>. To enable the rays to enter the priests must have opened the doors of this temple at dawn,—an indication that it was customary in all sun-temples for the daily service to begin at that hour<sup>5</sup>.

It is not, I think, inappropriate to point out in this connection that the song beginning "Thou awakest in peace," which was addressed to the sun-god and then to other divinities (doubtless by the same process as that by which they came to have ascribed to them the solar quality of righteousness<sup>6</sup>), was very possibly addressed in the first instance to the king<sup>7</sup>. If this greeting was used to arouse the king at dawn, it naturally enough came to be employed as a welcome to the sun-god, with whom the king was so closely associated, when, awaking from his night-long sleep, he appeared at dawn above the eastern desert hills.

It is also to be borne in mind that the word *dwṯ* "to adore" may well be etymologically connected with *dwṯ* "to do something in the morning," "to arise early," to which root *dwlt* "morning" of course belongs. *Dwṯ* "to adore" may originally have meant "adore in the morning," and have come into existence because it was his priests' custom to adore the sun-god at dawn; it should be observed that *dwṯ*, as already pointed out, is often the first word in hymns to the sun-god. The suggested connection of *dwṯ* "to adore" with *dwṯ* "to arise early" finds a parallel in the Arabic *صباح* *ṣabah* "to get up early in the morning" and *صباح* *sabbah* "to greet in the morning."

That the Heliopolitan king's ablutions and entry into the sun-temple took place at

<sup>1</sup> BUDGE, *Book of the Dead*, Hieroglyphic Text, pp. 1, 3, 6, 8, 39; cf. p. 11, line 5 foll.; DAVIES, *El-Amarna*, vol. VI, p. 28<sup>b</sup>, Pl. XXV.

<sup>2</sup> SCHÄFER, *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums*, vol. III, p. 37.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 37 foll.

<sup>4</sup> See BARDEKEN, *Ägypten und der Sūdān*, ed. 1913, p. 387.

<sup>5</sup> The modern *fellāh* still arises at dawn to pray, and before praying squats upon the bank of the Nile or of a canal to perform his ablutions. May we not recognise in these acts a survival from the days of his sun-worshipping ancestors?

<sup>6</sup> See the writer's art. *RIGHTHOUSNESS (Egyptian)* in HASTINGS, *op. cit.*, p. 797<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> See ERMAN, *Hymnen an das Diadem der Pharaonen*, p. 18; BREASTED, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, p. 17.

<sup>8</sup> E.g., ⊛  ⊛  ⊛  ⊛  ⊛  ⊛  ⊛  ⊛  ⊛  ⊛  ⊛  ⊛  ⊛  ⊛  ⊛  ⊛  ⊛  ⊛  ⊛  ⊛  ⊛  ⊛  ⊛  ⊛



is employed to denote the toilet-chambers in the house of a Middle Kingdom prince<sup>1</sup>. But not a vestige of any religious significance seems to have been attached to this "cabinet"; it was simply a place where a person bathed, dressed, and was shaved<sup>2</sup>.

Though the daily morning toilet of the Pharaoh had lost its religious significance before the XIIth Dynasty, the Heliopolitan sun-temple, as is shown by line 103 of the *Piankhi Stele*<sup>3</sup>, still possessed its *pr-dwt*; and the Rite of the *pr-dwt* (i.e. the ceremonial purifying and robing of the king before officiating in that temple) continued to remain a feature of the Heliopolitan sun-cult.

But, as we have seen on p. 148, temples other than those of the sun-god possessed their *pr-dwt*, and for the following reason. In order, doubtless, to enhance their political prestige a number of the local gods of Egypt were identified with the sun-god<sup>4</sup>, with the result that certain accessories of solar ritual were imported into their cult, and in process of time into the cult of all the greater Egyptian divinities. Thus apparently every temple possessed its *pr-dwt*<sup>5</sup>, in which the Pharaoh had to undergo purification before he could enter the presence of the divinity to whom the temple was dedicated. Not only so, but the water used for purifying the Pharaoh was brought from the sacred pool with which every temple seems to have been provided, and which seems regularly to have been associated, not with the presiding deity of the temple, but with the sun-god<sup>6</sup>. The shrine in the form of a boat was also probably in the first instance a feature of the sun-cult<sup>7</sup>, as also the offering to a divinity of a figure of the goddess M<sup>3</sup>et in the daily temple service<sup>8</sup>.

A detailed discussion of all the episodes that formed the Rite of the *pr-dwt*, whether in the palace or the temple, must be reserved for another article. It should, however, be pointed out here that the characteristic feature of the rite as performed before entering a temple (originally the Heliopolitan sun-temple) was the lustral washing of the king, with which were nearly always associated two other subsidiary episodes, viz. fumigating him with burning incense and presenting him with balls of natron to chew. According to the reliefs and inscriptions on the walls of the *pr-dwt* at Edfu<sup>9</sup> the rite began with these three episodes, as no doubt did the actual daily ceremonial toilet of the king as originally carried out in the *pr-dwt* of Heliopolis. The reliefs depicting the lustration, which are to be found in most Egyptian temples, represent the king being washed either by Horus and Th<sup>3</sup>th, the bath-attendants of the sun-god with whom the king was identified, or by Horus and S<sup>3</sup>th, the patron gods of Lower and Upper Egypt respectively<sup>10</sup>. Actually the king would have been washed by two officials impersonating either pair of gods, and wearing appropriate masks<sup>11</sup>. The water was brought, as already stated, from a tank or pool sacred

<sup>1</sup> GARDINER, *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*, pp. 108 foll.

<sup>2</sup> GARDINER, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 148.

<sup>4</sup> See the writer's art. RIGHTBOUSNESS (Egyptian), in HASTINGS, *op. cit.*, p. 797<sup>a</sup>; ERMAN, *Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, p. 56 f.

<sup>5</sup> See the writer's art. PURIFICATION (Egyptian), in HASTINGS, *op. cit.*, p. 478<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> BLACKMAN, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. XI, p. 88, with note 97.

<sup>7</sup> E.g. SCHÄFER, *op. cit.*, p. 39 = *Piankhi Stele*, line 104.

<sup>8</sup> The formula that the priest recited when he offered the figure is clearly of solar origin; see MORET, *Rituel du culte divin journalier en Égypte*, pp. 138 foll.

<sup>9</sup> KRES, *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. XXXVI, pp. 7-9.

<sup>10</sup> See above, p. 117.

<sup>11</sup> See above, pp. 118 foll., where, in discussing the wearing of masks by priests, I might have referred

to the sun-god and was identified with Nūn, the primæval ocean out of which the god had in the first instance been born<sup>1</sup>. By means of the lustration the king was, as we have seen (p. 153), thought to be reborn and at the same time to be endowed with solar qualities<sup>2</sup>. The lustrators, as they poured the water over the king, repeated formulæ which represent him as imbued with life and good fortune and rejuvenated like the sun-god<sup>3</sup>, or which assert that his purification is that of the gods Horus, Thóth, and Sêth themselves, and also that of a god called Sepa<sup>4</sup>, who was closely connected somehow or other with the Heliopolitan sun-cult<sup>5</sup>. The incense-smoke not only purified the king<sup>6</sup>, but through its medium he was brought into communion with the four above-mentioned gods and their *kas* and also with his own *ka*<sup>7</sup>. The natron, so one of the formulæ pronounced at its presentation informs us, is that of those same four gods<sup>8</sup>, indeed it has been chewed and spat out by Horus and Sêth<sup>9</sup>, and when the king himself has chewed it his mouth becomes "like the mouth of a calf of milk on the day it was born"<sup>10</sup>. The natron also divinized the recipient<sup>11</sup>. The king was thus regenerated, brought into contact with the gods and imbued with their unearthly qualities, and his mouth was made fit to pronounce the formulæ that accompanied the various ritual acts and to chant the hymns in praise of the god<sup>12</sup>. So much for the Rite of the *pr-dwît* in so far as it concerned the living king.

Before the dead king could ascend to heaven, where he was assimilated to, or identified with, the sun-god, or else held the position of the god's son, it was thought necessary for him to undergo the same lustration as that undergone by the living king in the *pr-dwît*, and at the hands of the same gods<sup>13</sup>. The rite of preparing the dead king's body for burial was therefore as nearly a replica as possible of the ceremonial toilet of the living king. This comes out clearly in the scene representing the purification of the dead Dḥutḥotpe<sup>14</sup>, whose place in the archetype of that scene would have been occupied by a figure of the Pharaoh; cf. also the passage already quoted on p. 148 which speaks of the deceased as being "purified in the *pr-dwît* of the king,"—a statement which suggests that *pr-dwît* could be used to denote the embalmer's workshop, viewed as the place in which the body was

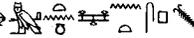
to the statement of the historian Appian about a certain Volusius, who escaped arrest by assuming the garb of a priest of Isis, which consisted of a long linen garment and a mask in the form of a dog's head (FRAZER, *Adonis Attis and Osiris*, vol. II, p. 85, note 3).

<sup>1</sup> BLACKMAN, *op. cit.*, pp. 88 foll.; especially note the lustration formula quoted from JUNKER, *Stundenwachen*, p. 67, and referred to in note 8, p. 153 of this article.

<sup>2</sup> BLACKMAN, *op. cit.*, pp. 87 foll.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> KEES, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

<sup>5</sup> See "His majesty proceeded to Heliopolis upon this hill of Kher'eha,  upon the road that Sepa takes to Kher'eha," SCHÄFER, *op. cit.*, p. 37; see also VON BISSING, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, vol. 53, p. 145.

<sup>6</sup> SCHÄFER, *op. cit.*, p. 38, line 16; KEES, *op. cit.*, vol. XXXVI, pp. 12 foll.

<sup>7</sup> *Pyr.*, § 17 foll.; cf. §§ 376 a—378 a; BREASTED, *Development of Religion and Thought*, p. 126.

<sup>8</sup> KEES, *op. cit.*, p. 9; *Pyr.*, § 27.

<sup>9</sup> *Pyr.*, § 26 c, d.

<sup>10</sup> KEES, *loc. cit.*; *Pyr.*, § 27, d.

<sup>11</sup> *Pyr.*, § 25 a, b.

<sup>12</sup> The purification undergone by the priests before they entered upon their course comprised the "drinking" of natron. Likewise the wailing women who bemoaned Osiris not only purified themselves four times but also washed their mouths, chewed natron, and fumed themselves with incense, so that both they and the lamentations with which they "beatified" the dead god might be pure (see the writer's art. PURIFICATION (Egyptian), in HASTINGS, *op. cit.*, p. 480<sup>b</sup>).

<sup>13</sup> BLACKMAN, *op. cit.*, pp. 61 foll.; see also above, p. 117 with note 5.

<sup>14</sup> See above, Pl. XVIII, pp. 117 foll. and pp. 123 foll.

washed before or during embalment. This suggestion is possibly further supported by part of an inscription that accompanies one out of the numerous representations of funerary ceremonies in the tomb-chapel of Rekhmiré<sup>1</sup>. Some of these ceremonies may well have taken place while the body was being prepared for burial; they do not appear to be arranged with any particular regard for the order of their actual occurrence<sup>2</sup>.

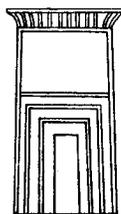


Fig. 1. The funerary *pr-dwst* in the Tomb-Chapel of Rekhmiré<sup>1</sup>.

Beside a lector, standing book in hand, are the words in question:—*“Going on land by the lector in front of the pr-dwst.”* Beyond the inscription stands a group of mortuary officiants, consisting of a *sem*-priest, a father-of-the-god, an *imikhan*t, the two female mourners who impersonated Isis and Nephthys, and lastly the lector himself. Immediately in front of them is a building which the two female mourners are fumigating with incense. This building is doubtless the *pr-dwst* mentioned in the neighbouring inscription. The embalmer's workshop is usually called *w<sup>cbt</sup>*, the Place of Purification, or *pr nfr*, the Good House, or else more fully the Place of Purification of the Good House<sup>3</sup>. It is perhaps worth pointing out that the representation of the funerary *pr-dwst* in this scene in Rekhmiré's tomb-chapel (Fig. 1) closely resembles the representation of the *w<sup>cbt</sup>* in a scene in the tomb-chapel of the youngest of the three Pepi<sup>o</sup>nkhs at Mèr<sup>4</sup> (Fig. 2).

Through the lustral washing, so we learn from a number of religious texts, the dead like the living king was reborn and acquired solar qualities and characteristics<sup>5</sup>. He was supposed, however, to be reborn not only once, *i.e.* before his body was buried, but, like the sun-god himself with whom he was closely associated, he was believed to undergo lustration and be reborn every day<sup>6</sup>. Accordingly one would expect the performance of a rite based upon that of the *pr-dwst* to have taken place daily in the chapel or temple attached to the king's tomb. Apparently this is exactly what did occur.

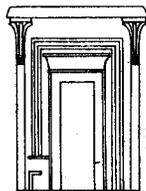


Fig. 2. The *w<sup>cbt</sup>* in the Tomb-Chapel of Pepi<sup>o</sup>nk.

But it was impossible to wash the corpse itself at this daily performance, as it lay inaccessible in the vault at the bottom of the burial-pit. Accordingly a libation of water poured out in the cultus-room of the tomb-chapel or pyramid-temple took the place of the lustration (see below, pp. 161, 163). When the corpse decayed, or if

it were destroyed, the rite would have lacked reality; it would have been felt that there must be an intact body to which the officiants might direct their thoughts and acts<sup>7</sup>,—indeed if the body were not intact the daily rebirth, and therefore the continuance of the posthumous existence, of the deceased would have been regarded as seriously imperilled if

<sup>1</sup> VIREY, *Le Tombeau de Rekhmara*, Pl. XXV foll., bottom register; see also KEES, *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. XXXVI, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> DAVIES-GARDINER, *The Tomb of Amenemhât*, pp. 55, 57.

<sup>3</sup> See the writer's art. PRIEST, PRIESTHOOD (Egyptian), in HASTINGS, *op. cit.*, p. 301<sup>b</sup>, § XIV, (b).

<sup>4</sup> See DAVIES-GARDINER, *op. cit.*, p. 45, note 4; BLACKMAN, *The Rock Tombs of Mèr*, vol. I, p. 6.

<sup>5</sup> BLACKMAN, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. XL, pp. 62 foll.

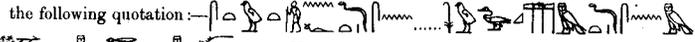
<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 61 with note 39 and p. 63.

<sup>7</sup> For a somewhat similar idea see W. S. BLACKMAN, *The Magical and Ceremonial Uses of Fire*, in *Folk-Lore*, vol. XXVII, pp. 376 foll.

not rendered impossible. Hence, perhaps, originated the practice of artificially preserving the body<sup>1</sup>. But the early mummies were extremely perishable and also had a most unlife-like appearance. These circumstances prompted the making of a new body for the deceased, more durable and more lifelike than the corpse, viz. a portrait-statue<sup>2</sup>.

The statue had to be identified with the body of the dead king. The rite by which that was accomplished was the so-called Opening of the Mouth, which, apart from certain episodes, was, like the rite performed on the corpse itself, based upon that of the *pr-dwt*. The Opening of the Mouth was supposed to take place in the sculptors' workshop (the House of Gold) where it had been fashioned<sup>3</sup>. The statue was first washed and then, after its mouth had been purified with natron, it was fumigated with incense<sup>4</sup>. After a number of episodes of doubtful significance, followed by the slaughter of an ox and the presentation to the statue of its heart and foreleg, came those from which the whole performance derived its name. To the accompaniment of appropriate formulae the mouth and eyes of the statue were touched with adzes and other implements and thereby opened<sup>5</sup>. After this interruption the episodes based upon the royal toilet continued<sup>6</sup>. The proceedings terminated in presenting the king, now immanent in the statue, with a meal.

The practical identity of the Rite of the Opening of the Mouth with that of the *pr-dwt* was fully realized by the Egyptians themselves. Thus in an inscription of the Nineteenth Dynasty the name *pr-dwt*, House of the Morning, is assigned to the place in which the Opening of the Mouth of an Apis-bull was performed<sup>7</sup>.

How closely the Egyptians connected a statue with the person it represented appears in the following quotation:— "He (Ptah) formed their (the gods') body<sup>8</sup>.....Then the gods entered into their body<sup>9</sup> of every kind of wood, every kind of stone, every kind of metal (?)"

<sup>1</sup> The view that mummification was of Solar rather than Osirian origin finds some support in the tradition that it was the sun-god Rē who sent Anubis to embalm Osiris (BREASTED, *Development of Religion and Thought*, p. 26). Again according to *Pyr.*, §§ 721 c, 1500—1504, Osiris was raised to life by Rē, and a passage in a text published by JUNCKER, *Götterdekret über das Abaton*, p. 57, connects the mummification and burial of Osiris with the gods of Heliopolis.

<sup>2</sup> See ELLIOT SMITH, *The Migrations of Early Culture*, p. 36; *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, vol. 4, p. 211.

<sup>3</sup> *Egyptian Stelae in the Brit. Mus.*, Part II, Pl. 8, line 10; BUDGE, *The Book of Opening the Mouth*, vol. II, p. 1; DAVIES-GARDINER, *op. cit.*, pp. 57 foll.

<sup>4</sup> According to the version on the coffin of *Beth-Hannu* incense was also burnt before the lustration (BUDGE, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 2).

<sup>5</sup> BUDGE, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 66 foll.; vol. II, pp. 23 foll.; DAVIES-GARDINER, *op. cit.*, pp. 58 foll.

<sup>6</sup> BUDGE, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 40 ff. It is significant that the toilet ends with the burning of incense to the uraeus, i.e. the royal diadem (*ibid.*, p. 66).

<sup>7</sup> CHASSINAT, *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. XXI, p. 72.

<sup>8</sup> ERMAN, *Ein Denkmal memphitischer Theologie*, in *Sitz. d. kön. preussisch. Akad. d. Wissenschaften*, vol. XLIII [1911], pp. 942. JUNCKER, *Götterdekret über das Abaton*, pp. 42 foll., quotes a text in which is mentioned a ceremony for making a god enter an image. See also JUNCKER, *Stundensachen*, p. 6; *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. I, p. 253; ERMAN, *Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, pp. 43, 134—136; BLACKMAN, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. III, p. 253 with note 2. A model mummy of Osiris was, of course, used in the annual rite of re-enacting his embalment,—the rite which forms the subject of JUNCKER'S *Die Stundensachen in der Osiris-mysterien*. Through the ceremonial bandaging of the model mummy to

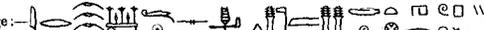
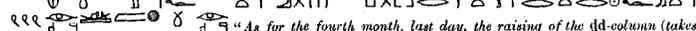
In Old Kingdom times the portrait-statue (there were often several statues) was placed for safety's sake in a walled-up chamber that generally adjoined the cult-room<sup>1</sup>. No doubt this practice dates from the time when portrait-statues were first employed in the funerary cult. The only communication between the statue-chamber and the cult-room was a narrow slit or squint; sometimes, as in the mastabeh of Ti, there were as many as three squints. As to the purpose for which the squint served see the writer's article in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. III, pp. 253 foll.

Infinitely older than the Heliopolitan theory of the daily rebirth of the dead king identified with the sun-god, was the idea that somehow or other the dead continued to exist and that in order to maintain this posthumous existence they needed to be supplied with food and drink. Accordingly the oldest Egyptian funerary rite of which we have any written record was in the form of a banquet<sup>2</sup>. It began with the pouring out of water over an officiant's hands and the burning of incense; these acts represented the washing of the banqueter's hands and his fumigation with incense-smoke<sup>3</sup>, the prelude to every Egyptian feast. Next came three acts representing the anointing of the banqueter, the giving to him of a pair of table-napkins, and a final censuring of him. The act immediately preceding the bringing in of the viands was the pouring out of a libation of water. Does this represent the washing of the banqueter's mouth before the partaking of food? The fact that the first items of the repast are called a "mouth-wash" (☞) supports this suggestion.

When the theory was accepted that the dead king was daily reborn through lustration, the old funerary repast just described was not abolished, but, with the conservatism so characteristic of the Egyptians, the newer Heliopolitan rite was combined with it.

The earliest example of the newer rite that we possess is in the form of this combination. It dates from the end of the Fifth Dynasty, occurring in the pyramid of king Unis<sup>4</sup>. By that time the custom had long been established of setting up in his mortuary temple a portrait-statue of the dead king as a substitute for his perishable corpse. Hence the version of the Rite of the *pr-dwt*, employed for the daily funerary liturgy, contains certain episodes, in an abbreviated form, that belong to the Opening of the Mouth. It is true that the operation of Opening the Mouth of the statue had been fully carried out in the House of Gold, but on the other hand repetition is a feature of most sacramental performances; the virtue they have imparted is liable to become impaired and therefore needs constantly to be replenished.

the accompaniment of the prescribed formulae the god was thought to become immanent in the figure, as appears in the following passage:—

  
  
  
 "As for the fourth month, last day, the raising of the dd-column (takes place) in Busiris, on this day of interring Osiris in the Region of Bah in the vault under the Ished-tree, for it is on this day that the divine body (h<sup>c</sup>) of Osiris enters into him after the bandaging of Osiris" (LORET, *Recueil de Travaux* vol. IV, p. 32).

<sup>1</sup> E.g. see STEINDORFF, *Das Grab des Ti*, Blatt I.

<sup>2</sup> See e.g. MURRAY, *Saggara Mastabas*, Part I, Pl. XVIII, p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> For the impersonation of the dead by an officiant cf. *Nature*, vol. 99, p. 491<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> *Pyr.*, §§ 16 foll.

The pouring out of water over the officiant's hands and the burning of incense had become the traditional way of beginning the daily or periodical service for the dead. In the combination of the older and newer rites these two acts retained their customary position. But after them were inserted two episodes, which, as we have seen, were characteristic marks of the Rite of the *pr-dwt*, episodes representing the lustral washing of the king and the purification of his mouth with natron. The rite was performed in front of the so-called false door (through which the dead had access to the world of the living) and not, as in the case of the daily temple liturgy, in the presence of a cultus-statue<sup>1</sup>; for, as we have seen, the statue was placed in a walled-up chamber<sup>2</sup> and was almost as inaccessible as the corpse. The lustral washing, therefore, as already stated on p. 158, took the form of a libation<sup>3</sup>. The burning of incense, which usually followed directly after the lustration<sup>4</sup>, was omitted here (probably because incense had been burnt just previously), and the officiants passed straight on to the offering of natron for the purification of the mouth<sup>5</sup>. In recognition of the presence of the statues in the adjoining compartment, the officiants next produced certain implements that were used at the Opening of the Mouth<sup>6</sup>. After the presentation of food and drink, by means of which the Opening of the Mouth was completed<sup>7</sup>, the dead king, according to the texts in the pyramid of Neferkeréç, was furnished with various ceremonial garments and with royal insignia<sup>8</sup>. The next series of episodes, the offering of unguents, cosmetics, and napkins<sup>9</sup>, are preliminaries of the old funerary banquet. But, together with the acts immediately preceding, they also bear a general resemblance to what must have followed the purifying of the king's mouth at his daily toilet in the *pr-dwt*<sup>10</sup>. The rite ended with the serving up of the banquet.

<sup>1</sup> It might have been expected that when the use of a portrait-statue was introduced into the funerary cult, the rite, as in the case of divinities, would have been performed in its presence, and that the lustral water would have been sprinkled on it. But it must be borne in mind that there was this difference between the cult of divinities and the cult of dead kings: if the cultus-statue of a divinity were to have been destroyed or to have perished with age it would have been replaced, for the worship of a divinity was for the benefit of the community; the maintenance of the cult of dead kings, however, was in most cases for their own benefit only, and their successors could hardly, therefore, be expected to renew their statues if any mishap befell them, whence the only safe course was to wall them up.

<sup>2</sup> In certain mastabas at Gizeh there was no statue-chamber, the persons buried therein apparently not being furnished with statues. Instead, a stele with a figure of the deceased carved upon it was erected in the cult-room. The continued existence of the deceased was evidently thought to be as much bound up in these cases with the stele as, in other cases, with the statue. Hence it too was walled up with blocks of stone to preserve it from damage or destruction (JUNKER, *Vorbericht über die zweite Grabung bei den Pyramiden von Gizeh*, pp. 4 foll., with Pl. III).

<sup>3</sup> *Pyr.*, § 23 foll.

<sup>4</sup> See KEES, *Recueil de Travaux*, p. 8; cf. MORET, *Rituel du culte divin journalier*, pp. 171—177. In the Opening of the Mouth the statue was fumigated with incense after the presentation of the natron (BUDGE, *The Book of Opening the Mouth*, vol. II, p. 10). For fumigation with incense as the ordinary sequel to a bath see *Pyr.*, §§ 1164 c, 1180 a—1181 b, 2066 a, b. The burning of incense, it should also be noted, is the regular accompaniment of a libation (e.g. BLACKMAN, *The Temple of Derr*, Pls. XXXVI, XLII, LVII, LXIII; JUNKER, *Gitterdekret*, p. 20, fig. 6).

<sup>5</sup> *Pyr.*, §§ 26 foll.

<sup>6</sup> *Pyr.*, § 30 a, b.

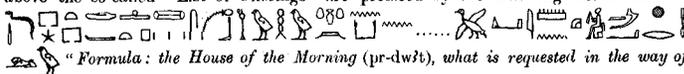
<sup>7</sup> *Pyr.*, §§ 31—40.

<sup>8</sup> *Pyr.*, §§ 41—49.

<sup>9</sup> *Pyr.*, §§ 50—57.

<sup>10</sup> After his actual purification the king would have been anointed, clothed, adorned with his jewelled collar, bracelets, etc., presented with the *ims*-sceptre and arrayed in a wig or in the *nms*- or *ht*-head-cloth, or else crowned with the royal diadem; see above, pp. 148 and 150, and cf. BUDGE, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 40—63; MORET, *op. cit.*, pp. 179 foll. and 238 foll.

We can now understand why in the tomb-chapel of Petamenôpe the formulae written above the so-called "List of Offerings" are prefaced by the following line of text:—



"Formula: the House of the Morning (pr-dwbt), what is requested in the way of offerings, the purifying of the banquet-table, for the ka of.....Petamenôpe the justified." The reason is that into the "List of Offerings," which is really a collection of directions for the due celebration of the funerary banquet, has been incorporated a version of the Rite of the *pr-dwbt*.

Thus when Dhutnakht of El-Bersheh prays that the southern and the northern *itrt* may make for him a *pr-dwbt*, he is merely asking for a regular performance of the mortuary service in his tomb-chapel, i.e. the presentation of offerings preceded by episodes that represent what was originally the daily royal morning toilet.

The Rite of the *pr-dwbt* closely resembles the daily service performed in all Egyptian temples in historic times. After certain preliminaries, which included opening the doors of the shrine and making prostrations<sup>1</sup>, the officiating priest took the cultus-image out of the shrine. He first sprinkled it with water, fumigated it with incense<sup>2</sup>, and purified its mouth with natron<sup>3</sup>; after which he arrayed it in various coloured wrappings<sup>4</sup>, decked it with ornaments<sup>5</sup>, crowned it<sup>6</sup>, and finally presented it with a meal<sup>7</sup>. The fact is, as I propose to show in a future article, that the daily temple liturgy, as we know it, is based upon the rite that was performed every day on behalf of the cultus-statue of the Heliopolitan sun-god. Indeed the purificatory performances in the *pr-dwbt* are themselves derived from that rite,—the king identified with the sun-god being treated in the same manner as the god's image. After undergoing lustration, the image of the sun-god was robed, anointed, and crowned etc., because the god was regarded as a king, or rather as the prototype of all Egyptian kings. Accordingly, both in the case of the king and of the sun-god, the toilet-episodes that followed the lustral washing were practically identical.

As we have seen, several of the local divinities were identified with the sun-god. Now the king in one aspect was regarded as the son of the sun-god<sup>8</sup>; he was therefore regarded as the son of the gods identified with the sun-god. This idea of sonship would soon affect the relationship of the king with all divinities whether male or female. The king was also the high-priest of the sun-god, and he became high-priest of the local divinities by the same process as that by which he came to be regarded as their son. The local high-priesthoods also, of course, devolved upon the Pharaoh as the supreme head of the centralized government of Egypt, in whom were united all the political and religious

<sup>1</sup> DEMICHEN, *Der Grabpalast des Petamenep*, Pl. V.

<sup>2</sup> Offerings of food and drink were also regarded as purificatory in a secondary sense, viz. they imbued the recipient with mysterious vital force and divine qualities. See the art. PURIFICATION (Egyptian), in HASTINGS, *op. cit.*, pp. 478<sup>a</sup>, 479<sup>b</sup> = § v, 1, (d), and 3. Hence the priest in the daily temple service (e.g. MORET, *op. cit.*, pp. 9, 19, 37 and *passim*) prefaces the constant assertion "I am pure" with the words "An offering which the king gives,"—a formula to which at an early date great magical potency was ascribed and which mysteriously brought into existence offerings of food and drink for the person on whose behalf it was repeated; see DAVIES-GARDINER, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

<sup>3</sup> MORET, *op. cit.*, pp. 9—66.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 171—177.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 202 foll.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 178 foll.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 238 foll.

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 238, 240.

<sup>9</sup> ERMAN, *Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, p. 46.

<sup>10</sup> BLACKMAN, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. XI, pp. 60 foll.

functions that once belonged to the local chiefs<sup>1</sup>. As their son and high-priest he, or his deputy<sup>2</sup>, would naturally have performed the same rite on behalf of the local divinities as in the first instance on behalf of the sun-god.

When the dead king was identified with Osiris the posthumous lustration and the funerary cult in general acquired a different significance, though there seems to have been little change in the exterior forms, which had doubtless become stereotyped. The significance of the Osirianized washing of the dead in the embalmment and other funerary rites is sufficiently set forth in my previous article on p. 118 of this volume of the *Journal*.

The cult of Osiris, whether this god is to be regarded as actually a dead king or as the personification of dead kingship, would have been the same in form as that of any dead Egyptian king. Now the living king was Horus, and Horus according to the myth was the son of Osiris, with whom, certainly by the end of the Fifth Dynasty, every dead king was identified. Since the living Pharaoh Horus was regarded as the son of all Egyptian divinities, his relationship with them naturally enough came to be regarded as that of Horus with his father Osiris, especially as the rite celebrated by him on behalf of these divinities so closely resembled that celebrated by him on behalf of his dead father. Accordingly for cult-purposes every Egyptian divinity came to be regarded as an Osiris, the king or his deputy the priest, playing the part of Horus. Thus the daily temple liturgy, that was based upon that performed for the Heliopolitan sun-god, underwent the same process of Osirianization as the funerary rites based upon the Rite of the *pr-dwt*. Naturally the Opening of the Mouth was Osirianized, for by it the portrait-statue was identified with the body of the dead king, i.e. the body of Osiris. Lastly the Osirianization of the rites derived from that of the *pr-dwt* led to the Osirianization of that rite itself, as we see in the texts attached to the representations of it that date from the Ptolemaic epoch<sup>3</sup>.

It would be as well, perhaps, to give a few examples of the Osirianization of these originally solar rites.

The daily service on behalf of the dead king had, as is shown by *Pyr.* §§ 16 foll., been completely Osirianized by the end of the Fifth Dynasty. Accordingly the water used for the libation which preceded the offering of natron and which was substituted for the lustral washing of the king's body, is not identified with the water of a sacred solar pool nor associated with Horus, Thôth, Seth, and Sepa, but is said to be the moisture that has exuded from Osiris<sup>4</sup>. By means of this water the dead king identified with Osiris receives back his vital fluid and his heart is no longer still (*wrt*), but beats again. That this libation actually does represent the old Heliopolitan lustration is shown by the fact that it is followed by the offering of natron (which act represents the purification of the mouth by the chewing of that substance), and also by the fact that the formulae pronounced when the natron was offered are the same as those recited when natron was offered after lustration in the Rite of the *pr-dwt*, and in the closely connected Opening of the Mouth and daily temple liturgy. In these two last-mentioned rites, and in the version of the Rite of the *pr-dwt* preserved at Edfu, the formula pronounced during the lustration was likewise Osirianized. The water used for sprinkling the living king and the dead king's portrait

<sup>1</sup> See the writer's art. PRIEST, PRIESTHOOD (Egyptian), in HASTINGS, *op. cit.*, p. 293<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 294<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> E.g., KRES, *Recueil de Travaux*, pp. 7 foll.; CHASSINAT, *Mammisi d'Edfou*, pp. 69, 85; BÉNÉDITE, *Élé de Philae*, pp. 9, 82 foll.

<sup>4</sup> *Pyr.*, § 22 foll.

statue, is still associated with Horus, Thôth, Sêth, and Sepa<sup>1</sup>, but it is also said to unite the bones, adjust the head to the bones, and make the person, statue, or divinity "complete" (*tm*) in every particular<sup>2</sup>. Thus, to the Heliopolitan formula that ascribed the washing of the king etc. to divinities associated with the sun-cult, was tacked on an Osirian formula which represented the object of the lustration as a dismembered corpse that was being revived. A similar Osirian formula was repeated at the lustral washing of the dead king, as I have shown on p. 119 of this volume of the *Journal*.

There are a few more points that I want to draw attention to before bringing to a close what is, I fear, a rambling and disconnected article.

The Old Kingdom Supervisor of the *pr-dwyt* not only officiated at the Pharaoh's daily morning toilet, but also, I would suggest, (a) at the performances in the temple *pr-dwyt*, and (b) at the washing of his royal master's corpse.

(a) We have seen that the title Supervisor of the *pr-dwyt* is closely associated with that of Unique Friend (var. Friend). In the relief referred to on p. 155, which depicts the washing of king Nuserrê's feet in the *pr-dwyt* of his sun-temple, it is a Friend who holds the can for feet-ablutions. Khnemhotpe (no. 7), a Friend, Controller of the Palace, Keeper of the Crown etc., was an Inspector of the *wēcb*-priests of Userkaf's sun-temple, while Enkheftka (no. 8), also a Friend and Controller of the Palace, besides being a Superintendent of the king's linen, the king's adornment, and the bath-room of Pharaoh, was a *wēcb* priest of Sahurê's sun-temple. Again Ti (no. 13) in addition to being a Unique Friend, Controller of the Palace, and the courtier responsible for the care of the Pharaoh's wigs and diadem, was Superintendent of the sun-temples of Sahurê, Nefirikerê, Nefrurê, and Nuserrê. It is most probable, therefore, that these three functionaries not only supervised the mysteries in the *pr-dwyt* of the palace, but those in the *pr-dwyt* of the temples to which they were attached. Lastly Emrôri of Denderê (no. 25), apart from that of Nomarch (*hnty*-), bears no titles that are not priestly, most of them being connected with the cult of Hathor. A purely local notable, as Emrôri appears to have been, could hardly have officiated at the toilet of his sovereign in distant Memphis or Herakleopolis. In his case, therefore, Supervisor of the *pr-dwyt* possibly means that he took part in the ceremonies of the *pr-dwyt* in Hathor's temple at Denderê, when the Pharaoh came to visit the goddess and to exercise before her his high-priestly office.

(b) Kenôfer (no. 1) certainly assisted the king at his daily morning toilet, as the association of the title Supervisor of the *pr-dwyt* with those of Unique Friend and Controller of the Palace indicates. But his being a Superintendent of his father king Snefru's pyramid suggests that he also officiated at the funerary Rite of the *pr-dwyt*. The same funerary function may also be assigned to Enkheftka (no. 8; see also above under a), who was a *wēcb*-priest of the pyramid of Sahurê; Kemrômet (; no. 11), a prophet of the pyramid of Nuserrê; Ti (no. 13), superintendent of the pyramid of Nefirikerê, superintendent of the prophets of that pyramid, and superintendent of the pyramid of Nuserrê; Isêsikha (no. 21), an official of the pyramid of Piôpi I; Sési (no. 22), an inspector of the prophets of the same pyramid; Mereruka (no. 18), an inspector of the prophets of Teti's pyramid; and above all to Sekhemkerê (no. 9), who bore the title of  Anubis the Embalmer, i.e. he was the chief officiant at the Rite of Embalment.

<sup>1</sup> BUDGE, *Book of Opening the Mouth*, vol. II, pp. 3 foll.; KEES, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Loc. cit.*; MORET, *op. cit.*, pp. 171 foll.

The above-mentioned Kenöfer and Sekhemkerê<sup>c</sup>, also Iummin (no. 4) and Sethu (no. 17), were sons of kings, in which connection it should be remembered that it is his sons who are represented as assisting at the washing of the dead Dhuthotpe of El-Bersheh<sup>1</sup>, and who, on the analogy of the procedure followed at the court, would have acted in the same capacity when he was alive.

It would appear, therefore, that the same courtiers who assisted the king at his daily morning toilet in the *pr-dwît* of the palace, assisted both at his purifying, robing etc., in the *pr-dwît* of the temple and at the derived performance that took place at the embalmment of his corpse.

It will be observed that Meriteti (no. 19), the son of the great noble and official Mereruka, is entitled in the latter's tomb-chapel, Lector of his father, Supervisor of the Mysteries of the *pr-dwît*. The addition of the words "of his father" to the title Lector, and the close association of this title with that of Supervisor of the Mysteries of the *pr-dwît*, suggest that the *pr-dwît* here mentioned is not that of the king, but that the mysteries of the *pr-dwît* denote in this case the lustral washing etc. of Mereruka's corpse.

It is highly probable that the posthumous washing of the deceased to ensure his rebirth had ceased to be an exclusively royal funerary rite by the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty, the period when Mereruka flourished. The closely connected Rite of Opening the Mouth was performed on statues of subjects as early as the end of the Third Dynasty, as we learn from reliefs in the tomb-chapel of Methen<sup>2</sup>. Moreover by the end of the Sixth Dynasty<sup>3</sup> portions of the *Pyramid Texts* were inscribed on the coffins of subjects, thus ensuring for them the celestial destiny that, according to the earlier conception, *viz.* that of the Heliopolitan priesthood, was reserved for the dead Pharaoh.

N.B. The title "Supervisor of the Mysteries of the House of the Morning," when quoted in this article, is generally, for convenience sake, abbreviated to "Supervisor of the House of the Morning."

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 118, 123.

<sup>2</sup> LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, Part II, Pl. 4 foll. Methen's statue is in the Berlin Museum, as are also the reliefs from his mastaba (LEPSIUS, *loc. cit.*, and MASPERO, *The Dawn of Civilization*, ed. 1894, p. 293).

<sup>3</sup> See MACE-WINSTOCK, *The Tomb of Senebtisi*, pp. 50 foll. and 114 foll.