



Contents lists available at [EKB](https://ejournals.ekb.eg/)

Minia Journal of Tourism and Hospitality Research

Journal homepage: <https://mjthr.journals.ekb.eg/>



The King is Dead; immortalize the King! Supporting “Royal Piety” in Thebes and Abydos during the New Kingdom

Younna Adel Zaki Nasr ^a

^a Lecturer, Tourist Guiding Department, Faculty of Tourism and Hotels, Alexandria University

Keywords

Cult
Living
Dead
King
Worship

Abstract

Being the most sacred places in New Kingdom Egypt, Thebes and Abydos participated in reviving the memory of the dead kings by their ruling descendants. From one generation to another, the two religious sites of Thebes and Abydos served as the most important memorial areas supporting the funerary cults of the deified royals. Thebes was regarded as the earliest prominent cult center for worshipping the dead monarchs in New Kingdom Egypt. Starting from the Eighteenth Dynasty, it became a holy place of pilgrimage and the spiritual hub of the funerary cults of the deified kings. King Thutmose III was the first to dedicate a special place in Thebes to establish the cult of his royal deified forebears. Afterwards, King Ramesses II of the Nineteenth Dynasty and King Ramesses III of the Twentieth Dynasty also experienced Thebes as a consistent place of worship and a space for the spiritual care of the cult of the dead kings. Abydos rose as another main city supporting the mortuary cult of the royals only during the Nineteenth Dynasty. Meanwhile, King Seti I and King Ramesses II played a significant role in utilizing Abydos as a new commemorative space, enhancing the cult of the deified departed sovereigns of Egypt. During the New Kingdom, two of the most important deities in the ancient Egyptian pantheon, including the composite god Ptah-Sokar-Osiris and god Min-Kamutef, made a great contribution to supporting the personal cult of the dead royals in the sacred temples of Thebes and Abydos.

Printed ISSN 2357-0652

Online ISSN 2735-4741

Introduction

As the ancient Egyptians were concerned with life and the living, so were they concerned with death and the dead. D’Avennes and Steindorff remarked that the Egyptian kings were sons of the sun, so they were generally deified after death and their worship subordinated to that of the principal god of the temple.¹ The concept of the divine kingship and the reaching of the royals to the rank of the deities after death was applied in a number of scenes accompanying the king lists that have been recorded in the New Kingdom temples at Thebes and Abydos. The royal lists could be considered as a kind of individual cult based on glorifying the deified kings after death by the living king to appease them and invoke their divine powers.

According to Wiedemann, after the death of the kings and the cessation of their personal cults that originated during their lifetimes, the reigning king becomes more interested in his own cult and neglects that of his predecessors.² However, starting from the reign of King Thutmose III in the Eighteenth Dynasty, adoring the departed kings became a tradition that extended over all the dynasties of the New Kingdom until the reign of King Ramesses III of the Twentieth Dynasty. In the meantime, the ruling kings did not omit the significant custom of presenting offerings to their dead royal ancestors to appeal for their protection and assistance. Through worshipping the dead kings and giving offerings to them, the living king became a god, with all the attributes and superhuman powers of the great divinities.³ His divine power and ability also began to be regarded as effective by others. Moreover, he merged with the spiritual power of his royal fathers, who had supported him since time immemorial, and the emergence of the monarchy in Egypt.⁴

Methodology

The aim of this paper is to present the general characterization of the funerary cults of the departed kings during the New Kingdom in the two prominent sites of Thebes and Abydos. Several considerations relating to the appropriate behavior towards the cults of the deified kings will be analyzed. To do so, the researcher will rely on the textual and iconographical sources from Thebes and Abydos to highlight the significance of participating the living sovereign of Egypt in honoring the dead king as a divine entity in the New Kingdom temples.

Worshipping the Departed Kings in the New Kingdom Temples: A Mortuary Cult

At Thebes and Abydos, the living kings adored the deified kings after their death in special places called the Chamber/ Gallery of the Ancestors. In such special memorial locations, the living sovereigns, King Thutmose III of the Eighteenth Dynasty and King Seti I of the Nineteenth Dynasty, established the funerary cult of their royal predecessors separately as a way of blessing their divine right of kingship and legitimizing their ascension to the throne. In the two Ramesside Temples of the Ramesseum and Medinet Habu at Thebes, the reigning kings, Ramesses II and Ramesses III, preferred to exalt the dead monarchs while celebrating the religious festival of fertility.

¹ (D’Avennes, 1845-1846, 6, pl. 23; Steindorff, 1905, 161).

² (Wiedemann, 1887, 180-181).

³ (Wiedemann, 1887, 183).

⁴ (Frankfort, 1948, 91).

The following part of the article includes scenes of reviving the private cult of the dead kings in the New Kingdom Temples at Thebes and Abydos. The reference sources for the cult scenes could be categorized according to the chronological order as follows:

Scene 1:

Location and Date: At Karnak, worshipping the dead kings is portrayed in an interior of a small memorial cult hall called the Chamber of the Ancestors. The chamber situated in the southwest corner of the Festival Hall of King Thutmose III, to the east of the Great Temple of Amun-Re.⁵ This cult scene dates back to the reign of King Thutmose III of the Eighteenth Dynasty, who decided to dedicate a special space at Karnak to perpetuate the memory of his dead predecessors after their deification. The scene is depicted in the vicinity of the so-called Karnak king list, which is considered the oldest of the king lists composed during the New Kingdom (Fig. 1).⁶

Description: The Chamber of the Ancestors at Karnak was designed as a memorial portion to worship the royal forebears of the reigning king, Thutmose III.⁷ According to Blyth, this divine chamber was dedicated to the perpetuation of the divine power of the deceased king that had been given to him after his death and deification.⁸ The Karnak king list was well described and explained by several scholars. It consists of sixty-one cartouches with royal names beginning with King Sneferu from the Fourth Dynasty until the end of the Seventeenth Dynasty. In 1843-1844,⁹ the original list was moved to the National Library of Paris then to the Louvre Museum (E 13481) in 1919, where it is preserved now. Instead, there is a replica standing in its original place to preserve the identity of the chamber as a sacred space commemorating the memory and the mortuary cult of the prominent dead kings.¹⁰

Karnak king list consists of four registers superimposed on the left wall and continued on the back and right walls of the Chamber of the Ancestors.¹¹ It is accompanied by four representations of the living king, Thutmose III, glorifying the dead kings. The royal predecessors are shown sitting before him, and he makes collective offerings to their spiritual representations. They are seated one behind the other on cushioned thrones like gods and receive the offerings of the reigning king, Thutmose III, throughout the four registers. They are accompanied by their cartouches, written above them. The figure of King Thutmose III, which is repeated at the beginning of each of the four registers, depicts him standing in an invocation gesture and greeting the dignified dead kings. The position of his hands in his four figures is identical and

shows him carrying the  'nh-sign for life¹² in one hand and extending his other hand forward to exalt the departed kings. Before each figure of the king, there are two small

⁵ (Boreux, 1932a, 134; Redford, 1986, 29, 176-177; Blyth, 2006, 8).

⁶ (Burton, 1825, pl. I; Young, 1828, pl. 96 (2); Cullimore, 1834, 1st pl. at end (A, D, H); L'Hôte, 1840, 195-196; Lepsius, 1842, pl. I; D'Avennes, 1845-1846, pl. 23; D'Avennes 1847, 1, pl. I; De Rougé, 1847, 7-10, pl. 46; Lepsius, 1852, 430, Tf. I; Sethe, 1909, 608-610: 1-5; Hall, Salt, Wilkinson and von Bunsen, 1915, 152-153, pl. XIX; Boreux, 1932a, 134-136; Vandier, 1970, 18; Schwaller de Lubicz, 1982, pl. 187).

⁷ (Redford, 1986, 173).

⁸ (Blyth, 2006, 77).

⁹ (D'Avennes, 1847, 1; Redford, 1986, 29; Blyth, 2006, 73).

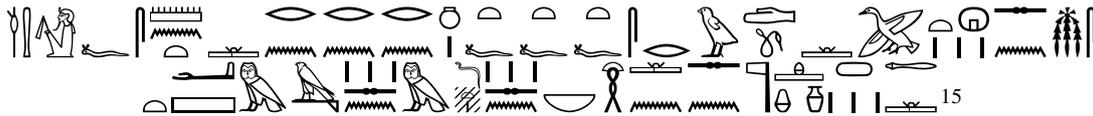
¹⁰ (Boreux, 1932a, 134).

¹¹ (Redford, 1986, 177).

¹² (Gardiner, 1927, 508, 557, Sign-list S-34; Faulkner, 1962, 43-44; Erman and Grapow, 1971: I, 14: 13; Wilson, 1997, 156; Hannig, 2003, 272-275; Hannig, 2006, 534-537).

offering tables loaded with different kinds of oblations. The dead kings extend one hand forward to receive the funerary meal of their funerary cult.

Accompanying Texts: The whole theme at Karnak could be conceived as a kind of exaltation of the departed kings by the living king, Thutmose III, whose main intention was to invoke the energetic state of his dead ancestors through making offerings to them.¹³ The living king made such a list and performed an offering formula in the greatest religious building of the New Kingdom in memory of his predecessors in order to revive their personal cult after death. This motif is described in the accompanying dedication inscription, which is written on a frieze adjoining the place from which the Karnak king list was removed. This caption says:¹⁴



wḏ ḥm.f smnt rnw (i)t(y)w srwḏ p3wt.sn msūt š(3) m ḥrw.sn m ḏw(t).sn nb w3ḥ n.sn ḥtp-nṯr ʿ3

*“His Majesty has commanded the endurance of the names of the fathers, the perpetuating of their offerings, the fashioning of all their images and their bodily forms and the making of offering to them of great divine oblations”.*¹⁶

There is also an additional accompanying inscription repeated four times before each of the four figures of the king, saying:¹⁷



irit ḥtp-di-nsw n ns(y)w-bityw

“Making an offering, which the king gives to the Kings of Upper and Lower Egypt”.

Due to worshipping the deified kings and ancestors of the living king Thutmose III and his making offerings to their spiritual forms and images, he was given divine gifts, including eternal life, stability, dominion, and health, just like the sun-god Re. This is confirmed in the accompanying text, which is also repeated four times before each figure of the king and says:



ḏi 'nḥ ḏḏ w3s snb mi R' ḏt nṯr nfr Mn-ḥpr-R'

“Giving life, stability, dominion, and health like Re forever (to) the Great God, Thutmose III”.

Analysis: At Karnak, the main intention was to adore and glorify the energetic forms of the dead kings as a kind of reviving their funerary cults. This commemorative and honored cult was conceived at Karnak by performing two significant procedures related to each other. In the first procedure, the king had decided to dedicate a special

¹³ For the concept of the energetic state of the  *zh*-spirit, see: (Tatomir, 1997-1999, 69).

¹⁴ (Mariette, 1866, 74; Redford, 1986, 177).

¹⁵ (Sethe, 1909, 607: 8-11).

¹⁶ (Nelson, 1949, 314).

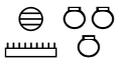
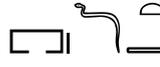
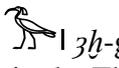
¹⁷ (D’Avennes, 1845-1846, 5, pl. 23; Redford, 1986, 29).

¹⁸ (Sethe, 1909, 608: 5).

¹⁹ (Lepsius, 1842, Tf. I).

chamber to commemorate the names and forms of the dead forebears of the living king, Thutmose III, and then he made offerings to their spiritual representations there as a sort of glorifying them.²⁰ The two procedures formed a unity, leading to the establishment of the personal piety of the dead kings as follows:

The appropriate place of the Chamber of the Ancestors at Karnak in the southwest corner of the Festival Hall of King Thutmose III enhances the worshipping of the deified kings and the perpetuation of their forms and names therein. The chamber is opened onto a festival hall and it faces the divine barque shrines.²¹ It is also situated in the way by which the statues of the dead kings pass during the celebrations of the festivals (Fig. 2). Consequently, the location of the Chamber of the Ancestors at Karnak fits very well with its use as a cult hall for exalting the dead monarchs and reviving their personal piety.²²

According to Haeny,²³ naming the festival hall of the living king, Thutmose III, as   *zh-mnw* i.e., “*Resplendent of Monuments*”²⁴ is reminiscent of the designation of the tomb as  *pr-dt* i.e., the “*House of Eternity*”.²⁵ Thus, the cult Chamber of the Ancestors within it might be regarded as the sacred functional equivalent of the tomb. In both structures, the  *zhw*-spirits²⁶ of the justified dead, or more likely spiritual strength, were known by names and divine life-forms and exalted by the living successors by presenting offerings to them in order to ensure their resurrection in the next world.²⁷ In the ancient Egyptian point of view, preserving and perpetuating the name of the deceased was an important procedure required for the funerary cult and the transformation into  *zh*-glorified spirit after death.²⁸ This concept is clearly indicated in a text written in the Theban tomb of Rekhmire (TT 100) talking about the transformation of the deceased into a glorified spirit as a result of immortalizing his name. The text says:²⁹



wnn rn.f mn r nhḥ iw.f r zh ikr m t3-dsr

“*His name will endure forever. He (will be) an excellent ancestral spirit in the necropolis*”.

It seems that the practice of offering to the dead forebears by the living successors started in the private sector during the Old Kingdom.³¹ However, the ritual cult of

²⁰ (Redford, 1986, 32).

²¹ (Porter and Moss, 1972, pl. XII: 2).

²² (Redford, 1986, 32).

²³ (Haeny, 1970, 15).

²⁴ (Erman and Grapow, 1971: I, 14: 13; Wilson, 1997, 13).

²⁵ (Erman and Grapow, 1971: V, 510: 5; Wilson, 1997, 356; Hannig, 2003, 455-457; Hannig, 2006, 904).

²⁶ (Gardiner, 1927, 550; Faulkner, 1962, 4; Erman and Grapow, 1971: I, 15:1-2; Wilson, 1997, 12-13; Hannig, 2003, 13-15; Hannig, 2006, 27-32).

²⁷ (Kitchen, 1980, 6: 9-10; Hornung, 1992, 184).

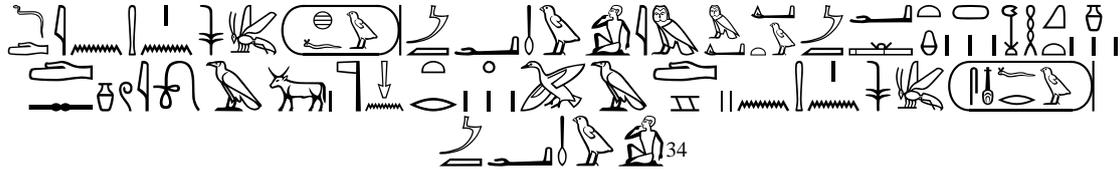
²⁸ (Wente, 1975, 595-598).

²⁹ (Assmann, 2005, 327).

³⁰ (Otto, 1960, 194: 71 gg; Davies, 1973, pl. XCVII).

³¹ The evidence of that can be seen in the Old Kingdom biographical inscription of Nekhebu, which is inscribed on a limestone block preserved in the Egyptian Museum (*JdE* 44608), talking about the presenting

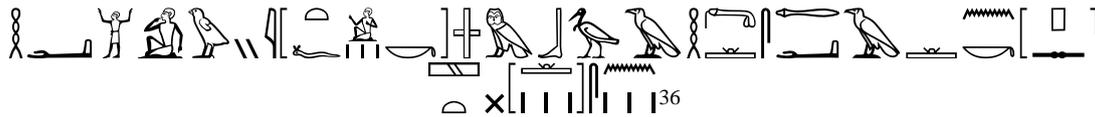
making offerings to the dead kings began to be recorded to revive the funerary cult of the dead kings only by the Middle Kingdom.³² Significant evidence of that is inscribed on the Papyrus Westcar (Berlin 3033) from the Middle Kingdom, which narrates some events happened in the past and describes the participation of King Khufu in making offerings to his dead father, King Senefru. The inscription says:³³



dd in hm nsw-bity H(w)fw m3'-hrw im m diditw m3' t h3 h(n)kt dsw iw3 sntr p3d 2 n hm n nsw-bity Snfrw m3'-hrw

“A speech by the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khufu, the justified: (Let) there (be) given an offering of loaves, a thousand jars of beer, an ox, and two measures of incense to the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, King Senefru, the justified”.

Another evidence is written in a hymn to King Senouset III of the Twelfth Dynasty, referring to the rejoicing of the dead ancestors of the reigning king because of increasing the portion of their offerings. The hymn says:³⁵



h'wy i(tyw.k) imy(w)-b3h s'3.n.k ps3wt.sn

“Your fathers, who existed aforetime, (are) joyful (when) you have increased their portions”.

The same situation of making offerings to the dead kings by the living king probably happened at Karnak to revive the cult of the royals after death. Most likely, the ruling king, Thuthmose III, decided to make his royal forebears delighted by establishing their personal piety, making offerings to them, commemorating their names, and reviving their spiritual images and forms. It is not striking then that, through such a practice, the

of offerings to the ancestors, and it can be read as follows:

prt-hrw.tn m t h(n)kt mi irit.n.(i) n iwyt.tn ds.tn i.e. “You make an invocation offering of bread and beer as I have done for your fathers themselves”. (Sethe, 1903, 218: 1; Dunham, 1938, 5; Strudwick, 2005, 268). For other examples, see: (Pierret, 1879, 70-71; Davies, 1902, pl. XX; Boreux, 1932b, 154; Hassan, 1975a, fig. 39 facing page 76; Hassan, 1975b, 77-78, pl. LVI, fig. 39; Badawy, 1978, 3-4, 8, pl. 7, fig. 8; Kanawati, 1986, 11-12, pl. 1 (a-b), figs. 2, 3; Kanawati, 1989, 55, pl. 6 (b); Ziegler, 1990, 193-196, fig. on page 196 (31); Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, 2001, 12, 20-21, pls. 1 (a), 37; Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, 2004, 40-41, pls. 29, 53 (a); Kanawati, 2005, pls. 20, 21 (a), 49, 64; Kanawati, 2007, 2, fig. 7).

³² (Redford, 1986, 32, no. 109).

³³ (Lichtheim, 1973, 215-217).

³⁴ (Sethe, 1928, 28: 11-13).

³⁵ (Lichtheim, 1973, 199).

³⁶ (Sethe, 1928, 66: 15-16).

“Making an invocation praise by the heir, the son of the king, (who has been) delivered from his body, his beloved, Ramses, justified”.⁴³

The inscription, which is written on the ceiling of the Gallery of the Ancestors at Abydos, gives the reason for the dedication of a special space by the reigning king, Seti I, in his Mortuary Temple to worship his dead ancestral kings and make offerings to them. The caption says:



iri.n.f mnw.f n (i)t(y)w

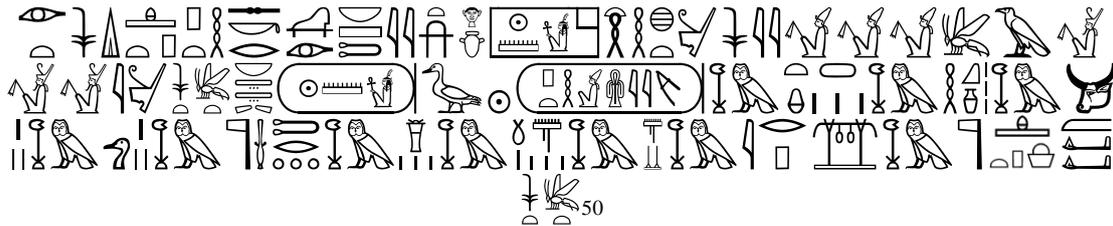
“He (i.e. the king) has made his monuments to the fathers”.⁴⁵



šsp ḥtpt dfz m k3w n w3h.n.f dw3.sn

“(The ancestors may) receive the offerings, provision of food and offerings which he (i.e. the king) has consecrated to them”.⁴⁷

In the company of the representations of the living king, Seti I, and his hereditary prince, Ramesses II, there is another list of offerings consecrated to the cartouches of their pious fathers.⁴⁸ The accompanying offering formula was devoted to the dead sovereigns on behalf of god Ptah-Sokar-Osiris and it can be read as follows:⁴⁹



irt ḥtp-di-nsw Pth-Skr-Wsir nb Štyt ḥr(y)-ib ḥwt Mn-M3't-R' w3h-ḥt n nsyw-bityw in nswt-bity nb-t3wy Mn-M3't-R' s3-R' mry-n-Pth Sty ḥ3 m tw ḥ3 m ḥ(n)kwt ḥ3 m k3w ḥ3 m 3pdw ḥ3 m (s)nṯrw ḥ3 m mrḥwt ḥ3 m šsrw ḥ3 m mnḥwt ḥ3 m irp ḥ3 m ḥtp-nṯr m didi nswt-bity Mn-M3't-R'

“Making a royal offering (of) Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, the Lord of Shetit, who is in the middle (of) the temple (of) Seti I and making offering to the Kings of Upper and Lower Egypt by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the Two Lands, the Son of the Sun, the beloved of Ptah Seti I. A thousand of bread, a thousand of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of poultry, a thousand of incenses, a thousand of oils, a thousand of

⁴³ (Mariette, 1866, 76).

⁴⁴ (Mariette, 1869, pl. 42: b).

⁴⁵ (Mariette, 1866, 74).

⁴⁶ (Mariette, 1869, pl. 42: b).

⁴⁷ (Mariette, 1866, 74).

⁴⁸ Kings Ramesses II and Ramesses III were influenced by the custom of presenting offerings to the ancestral cartouches that appeared for the first time in the era of King Seti I. They repeated the same act as in their temples at Beit el-Wali, to the south of Aswan, and the Temple of Madinat Habu. (Roeder, 1938, pl. 60; The Epigraphic Survey, 1963, pl. 452).

⁴⁹ Consecrating offerings on the name of this complex of gods refers to the power of the oblations in incarnating the concepts of life, death, and rebirth. (De Morgan, 1903, 101, fig. 147; Sethe, 1909, 1030: 4; Roscher, 1909-1915, 1132; Holmberg, 1946, 138-139; Leitz 2002a, 176-177).

⁵⁰ (Mariette, 1869, pl. 43: a).

clothing, a thousand of grain, a thousand of wines, (and) a thousand of sacred offerings, (are) given from the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Seti I.⁵¹

Analysis: In reference to the dedication text that accompanies the scene of establishing the cult of the dead kings at Abydos, it seems clear that the living king, Seti I, aimed to glorify the memory of his ancestral kings after death by dedicating a monument in his temple to make offerings to them and worship them as well. According to Mariette, King Seti I had founded in his temple the service of offerings to be made not only to certain gods but also to certain dead kings representing his predecessors as a kind of perpetuating their cult beyond death.⁵²

The intention of the living king, Seti I, to show honor, respect, and gratitude to his dead fathers at the same time of making offerings to them in the name of the triune god, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, who was a personification of the life cycle and closely related to the concepts of rebirth and fertility, has a great significance. According to Holmberg, the three gods, including, the creator-god Ptah, the mortuary-god Sokar, and the resurrection-god Osiris, who formed this combined divine being, were identical and shared a common character.⁵³ The new composite god became a personification of the natural life cycle, which consisted of creation, death, and rebirth (Fig. 5). In this context, making offerings by the living king, Seti I, to the dead kings of his predecessors on behalf of a complex deity identified with three gods forming together an incarnation of the life cycle signifies the importance of the offerings to the two different generations: the departed kings and the living kings of their ruling successors, as follows:

In one respect, the dead kings belong to the category of the receivers, who await the offerings to establish their personal piety after death and protect their descendants from any possible danger by their divine magical power.⁵⁴ In other respect, the living king and his hereditary prince aimed to appease their predecessors and presented offerings to them as a way of creating a new generation of powerful rulers who would inherit the throne of Egypt after the death and rebirth of their powerful ancestors.

Because of their funerary nature, it seems that the two gods Osiris and Sokar personify together the death and rebirth of the forebears of the ruling king, Seti I, and his heir, Prince Ramesses II. Since he was the major divine guarantor of the rebirth in the afterlife,⁵⁵ god Osiris would allow the dead kings to enjoy eternal life as the receivers of the offerings.

In addition to being conceived as a mortuary god, owing to his relation to Rosetau and the Memphite necropolis, god Sokar was also a fertility and earth god, from whom all

⁵¹ (Mariette, 1866, 76; Holmberg, 1946, 139; Nelson, 1949, 314; Redford, 1986, 18-19).

⁵² (Mariette, 1866, 74-75).

⁵³ The assimilation between god Ptah and god Sokar has occurred in the ancient Egyptian religion since the Old Kingdom. The Old Kingdom also witnessed the close relation between god Sokar and god Osiris, particularly in the Pyramid Texts, as was indicated in Utterance 532 (Spell § 1256c). (Sethe, 1910, 211 §1256c; Mercer, 1952, 328 §1256c; Faulkner, 1969, 200 §1256). As for the relationship between god Ptah and god Osiris, it seems that god Ptah was the earthly functional equivalent of god Osiris on earth. He was the creator god, according to the creation myth of Memphis. As a creator god, he was responsible for creating all the creatures in the universe. On the other hand, god Osiris was the lord of the underworld and the one who was responsible for the resurrection of the dead in the next world. The functional shared point between the two gods is that they were both in charge of creating new life and bringing beings into existence, whether on earth or in the netherworld. (Holmberg, 1946, 31-63, 138; Te Velde, 1982, 1179).

⁵⁴ (Bruyère, 1926, 133-135, fig. 90).

⁵⁵ (Demarée, 1983, 288-289, no. 42).

earthly beings came.⁵⁶ His contribution to reviving the funerary cult of the dead kings at Abydos might also refer to the royal genealogical line of descent from the ancestral kings to the present monarch, Seti I, and then to his hereditary prince, Ramesses II. As for god Ptah, in addition to his role as a creator god, he also played a great role in imposing the control of the king over the Two Lands of Egypt, as was recorded in the stela of King Ramesses II in the Temple of Abu Simbel. The stela was dedicated to god Ptah-Tatenen, who was a royal creator god.⁵⁷ In the stela, the speech of the god is directed to the king and says:



diw.i n.k h'py wr hnm n.k t3wy

"I give to you a great Nile, (and) unites the Two Lands for you".⁵⁹

Harrington viewed establishing the mortuary cult of the dead forebears through making offerings to them during the celebrations of the rituals as stemming from the desire of the ancient Egyptians to legitimize rights and social identity through association with the past.⁶⁰ In this context, the living king, Seti I, preferred to consecrate offerings to the dead kings of his ancestors on behalf of a deity personifying their death and rebirth and having the ability to create a new ruler inheriting the throne of the Two Lands of Egypt from his powerful royal fathers. This was already the case in the Gallery of the Ancestors at Abydos. The living king made offerings to the cartouches of the ancestral dead kings on behalf of the composite god Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, who personifies the concepts of life, death, and rebirth, as an allusion to establishing the mortuary cult of the dead on one hand and legitimizing the rule of the living king on the other hand.

Scene 3:

Location and Date: There is another scene from the Nineteenth Dynasty representing the supporting of the funerary cult of the dead kings in the Mortuary Temple of King Ramesses II at Abydos (Fig. 6).⁶¹

Description, Accompanying Text, and Analysis: This relief has been moved to the British Museum (EA117), and, unfortunately, it is in a very bad state of preservation. Even the offering formula that has been written in the company of the scene was completely lost.⁶² The fragments of the relief show the remains of a mummiform god, sitting at the left and facing thirty-four cartouches of the dead kings of the ancestors of King Ramesses II, in addition to his own name.⁶³ On the right side, the living king, Ramesses II, was probably portrayed worshipping the cartouches of his dead predecessors.

Scene 4 and Scene 5:

Location and Date: During the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties, scenes of establishing the funerary cult of the dead kings could be traced in the temples of the Ramesseum (Fig. 7) and Medinet Habu (Fig. 8), respectively. Statues of the dead kings in the Ramesseum is portrayed on the upper register of the western face of the second

⁵⁶ (Roscher, 1909-1915, 1120; Kees, 1956, 94-95).

⁵⁷ (Kees, 1956, 294; Leitz, 2002a, 178).

⁵⁸ (Lepsius, 1972, pl. 194: 10).

⁵⁹ (Holmberg, 1946, 39).

⁶⁰ (Harrington, 2013, 29, 62).

⁶¹ (Redford, 1986, 20-21).

⁶² (Kitchen, 1979, 539: 12).

⁶³ (James, 1970, 13-14, pl. VIII; Porter and Moss, 1991, 35).

pylon in the Memorial Temple of King Ramesses II.⁶⁴ In Medinet Habu Temple, the dead kings appear on the north and east walls of the second court in the Mortuary Temple of King Ramesses III.⁶⁵

Description: In the temples of the Ramesseum and Medinet Habu, the statues of the living kings, Ramesses II and Ramesses III, are carried, respectively, together with the statues of the dead kings of their predecessors in the same processions.⁶⁶ All of the royal statues are carried on palanquins on the shoulders of the priests in the company of the procession that participated in the harvest festival of the fertility-god Min-Kamutef.⁶⁷ All the royals carrying the  'nh-symbol for life in the right hand and leaning on a long staff grasped by the left hand.⁶⁸

The ritual scene in the Ramesseum Temple is divided into two registers, including a total of fourteen royal statues. There are five royal statues carried by the priests on the upper register and nine carried in the same position on the lower register, near the ritualistic act of releasing the four birds, which symbolizes creating a new powerful monarch inherited his divine rule on earth from his royal fertile predecessors, who had been deified after their death.⁶⁹ All the statues are surmounted by the royal cartouches of their owners. A chief lector-priest leads all the statues.⁷⁰ There is also another group of probably six or more representations of the dead kings walking before the living king, Ramesses II, and participating in the celebration of god Min-Kamutef adjacent to the ritual scene of cutting sheaves of grain as a symbol of the continuous fertility of the royals and the god.⁷¹

Just like in the Ramesseum Temple, a total of seven royal statues are again grouped in two registers in the Temple of Medinet Habu. On the upper register, there are four royal statues, and there are another three grouped on the lower register.⁷² A chief lector priest again heads each group as in the Ramesseum. Additional nine royal statues of the dead kings are shown walking adjacent to the figure of the living king, Ramesses III, while performing the ritual of cutting sheaves of grain, in much the same context as in the corresponding relief of the Ramesseum.⁷³

⁶⁴ (Young, 1828, pl. 98: 2-3; Felix, 1830, pl. 2, 3rd and 4th lines; Burton, 1825, pl. II (top); Gauthier, 1931, 38, pl. I; Rosellini, 1832, Tav. II opposite to page 205 (upper middle); Ideler, 1841, Tab. XX (upper middle); Champollion, 1844, 589; Rosellini, 1844, pls. LXXXV-LXXXVII; Champollion, 1845, pls. CXLIX, CL; The Epigraphic Survey, 1940, pls. 213-214; Lepsius, 1972, pls. 162-163; Redford, 1986, 34).

⁶⁵ (Commission des sciences et arts d'Égypte, 1821, pl. 11; Gauthier, 1931, pls. II-VII; Champollion, 1844, 733-734; Rosellini, 1844, pls. LXXXV-LXXXVI; Champollion, 1845, pls. CCXIII-CCXIV; The Epigraphic Survey, 1940, pls. 196: a-b, 206-207; Redford, 1986, 36).

⁶⁶ (Redford, 1986, 195).

⁶⁷ (Frankfort, 1948, 89; Redford, 1986, 35). God Min in his form as Kamutef refers to the powerful bull of his mother, goddess Isis and gathers the essential unity of the divine father and son in himself. In this form, he experienced his sexual potency with his mother, who in turn became his wife as well. (Erman, 1927, 137-138; Frankfort, 1948, 188-189; Kees, 1956, 152, 200-201, 350; Goyon, 1972, 66; Moens, 1985, 70).

⁶⁸ (Redford, 1986, 35).

⁶⁹ (Gauthier, 1931, 204; Clark, 1959, 107; Keel, 1977, 129).

⁷⁰ (Redford, 1986, 35).

⁷¹ (Gauthier, 1931, 247; Redford, 1986, 35-36).

⁷² (Redford, 1986, 36).

⁷³ (Redford, 1986, 37).

All the statues of the dead kings in Medinet Habu Temple appear in the same attire and with the same royal symbols as in the Ramesseum. There are only two differences between the statues in the two temples. The first difference is that only in Medinet Habu, the statue of the living king, Ramesses III, is carried twice at the beginning of each of the two superimposed registers. The second variation is that the royal statues are arranged according to the chronological order of the represented kings only in the Ramesseum Temple, where at the head is that of the living king, Ramesses II, and at the end is that of the dead king, Narmer. On the other hand, at the head of the procession of the ancestral statues in Medinet Habu, there is also the statue of the reigning king, Ramesses III, but the historical order is no longer respected in the rest of the statues.⁷⁴

Accompanying Text: In the Temple of Medinet Habu, there is an explicit text giving a clear indication about the main reason for participating the dead kings in the festival of god Min-Kamutef.⁷⁵ The text is written above the royal statues and it alludes to the generative power of the dead kings, and their ability to give a legitimate life to the living king, Ramesses III. This inscription can be read as follows:⁷⁶



*twtw n ns(y)w-bityw nty hr-hzt ntr pn špsw Mnw-k3-mwt.f hr dit 'nh nswt-bity nb-t3wy
Wsr-M3 't-R' -mry-n-Imn*

“The statues of the kings of Upper and Lower Egypt, which (are) before this noble god, Min-Kamutef, (are) concerned (with) giving life (to) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the Two Lands, Ramses III”.

Analysis: On the right side of the cult scenes in the Ramesseum and Medinet Habu temples, there are scenes of four birds released, two priests raising the standards in front of the king, and the cutting of the sheaves of grain.⁷⁸ Thus, it seems that the main theme in the two temples is to emphasize the mortuary cult of the dead kings at the same time of celebrating the re-coronation and legitimization of the reigning kings, Ramesses II and Ramesses III. It also gives a sense of celebrating the fertility of the royals during their lifetime and after their death, which might enhance the establishing of the personal cult of the living kings and the mortuary cult of the departed kings as well.

Most probably, the total number of royal statues carried in the temples of the Ramesseum and Medinet Habu has great significance as follows:

⁷⁴ (Gauthier, 1931, 204).

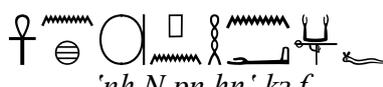
⁷⁵ God Min was considered an independent deity, and one of his functional titles was Kamutef, particularly during the Middle and New Kingdoms. (Rossi and Pleyte, 1869, pl. CXXV; Gauthier, 1931, 135-137; The Epigraphic Survey, 1940, pl. 201: 1; The Epigraphic Survey, 1957, pl. 261 (B) Middle; Grumach, 1972, 21; Goyon, 1972, 66; Kitchen, 1975, 102: 2; Nylson, 1981, pl. 223: 6; Kitchen, 1982, 199: 2; Kitchen, 1983b, 15: 16; Ritner, 1994, 210; Leitz, 2002b, 258-260; Najovits, 2003, 85). In his form as Kamutef, god Min gathered the essential unity of the divine father and the divine son in himself because he was the virile bull of his mother, goddess Isis, with whom he experienced his sexual vigor and impregnating power. (Erman, 1927, 137-138; Frankfort, 1948, 188-189; Kees, 1956, 152, 200-201, 350; Goyon, 1972, 66; Moens 1985, 70).

⁷⁶ (Gauthier, 1931, 205-206).

⁷⁷ (Kitchen, 1983a, 205: 5-6).

⁷⁸ (Porter and Moss, 1972, 434).

According to Redford,⁷⁹ the fourteen royal statues that have been carried in the festival of the fertility god in the Ramesseum witnessed the celebration of the legitimate ruling king. Their number might refer to the fourteen  *k3w*-vital essence⁸⁰ of the solar-god Re.⁸¹ It goes without saying that because of being gods on earth, kings were born with their  *k3*-energy from their birth.⁸² After death, the  *k3*-energy of the deceased king did not perish.⁸³ In this context, Greven thought the ancient Egyptians had seen in the *k3*-statue a revivification of the personal cult of the deceased king.⁸⁴ The religious texts also give several references to the role of the  *k3*-energy in keeping the deceased king alive after his death, so emphasizing the continuation of his mortuary cult after death. This conception was discussed in Utterance 469 (Spell § 908b) in the Pyramid Texts, which says:⁸⁵


'nh N pn hn' *k3.f*
“This N. lives with his ka-energy”.

Since fourteen is the multiple of seven, most probably, the group of fourteen royal statues, who walk in a festive procession in the Ramesseum, has been reduced to its half before King Ramesses III in Medinet Habu Temple. This reduction is worthy of attention owing to the mythical symbolism of number seven, which refers to the seven  *b3w*-souls⁸⁶ of the solar-god Re.⁸⁷ It is through his  *b3*-soul that the king would be alive in the next world and his cult would be established after death. This concept was inscribed in Utterance 667A (Spell §1943b) in the Pyramid Texts, which says:⁸⁸


'nht m *b3.k*
“(You may) live as your soul”.

Definitely, there is a close relationship between the divine  *k3* and  *b3*,⁸⁹ explaining the carrying of seven royal statues in Medinet Habu Temple and their multiples in the Ramesseum Temple. Textual evidence of this relationship was firstly recorded in Spell 45 in the Coffin Texts, which refers to the day when the  *k3* and

⁷⁹ (Redford, 1986, 35).

⁸⁰ (Erman and Grapow, 1971: V, 86: 10-89: 11; Gardiner 1927, 453, Sign-list: D 28; Wilson 1997, 1073-1074; Faulkner 1962, 283; Hannig 2003, 1346-1350; Hannig 2006, 2543-2554).

⁸¹ (Meeks, 1963, 35).

⁸² (Mercer, 1949, 43).

⁸³ (Sethe, 1908, 85 §149d, 373 §1653d; Mercer, 1952, 61 §149d, 253 §1653d; Faulkner, 1969, 43 §149, 246 §1653).

⁸⁴ (Greven, 1952, 32-33).

⁸⁵ (Sethe, 1910, 2 § 908b, Mercer, 1952, 165 § 908b, Faulkner, 1969, 158 § 908).

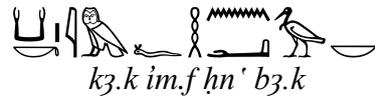
⁸⁶ (Gardiner, 1927, 470, 563, Sign-list S-29; Faulkner, 1962, 77; Erman and Grapow, 1971: I, 411: 1; Wilson, 1997, 293-294; Hannig, 2003, 404-405; Hannig, 2006, 775-781).

⁸⁷ (Wilkinson, 1994, 136; Wilson, 1997, 299).

⁸⁸ (Sethe, 1910, 468 §1943b, Mercer, 1952, 289 §1943b; Faulkner, 1969, 281 §1943).

⁸⁹ (Žabkar, 1968, 7).

the  *b3* are united together in eternity to establish the private cult of the deceased. The spell says:⁹⁰



“Your vital essence (is) in it with your soul”.

The previous spell and the seven royal statues, together with their fourteen counterparts that have been carried in the cult scenes of the Ramesseum and Medinet Habu temples, respectively, have implied significances. It is apparent that the two groups of carried

statues in the two temples probably symbolize the  *k3*-energy and the  *b3*-soul that would be required for the resurrection of the deceased king in the hereafter and the revivification of his memorial cult on earth after his death. Since establishing the funerary cult of the departed king depended on the unity between his vital essence and soul, the statues in the Ramesseum and Medinet Habu might serve as reminders of the fourteen vital essences and seven souls, which he might own as the son of the sun-god Re and inheritor of his eternal throne.⁹¹ In this context, Clark explained that ancient Egyptian kingship dependent on the concept of duality and based on the relationship between the living king and his dead ancestors.⁹² In addition, Bell viewed the king as a “twin born” in the sense that he gathers in himself the nature of humans and the characteristics of the gods at the same time.⁹³ Accordingly, because of his deification after death, the departed king becomes the link between the gods and his successors and is in charge of transferring his divine and spiritual energy to the next king in order to emphasize his personal cult on earth.⁹⁴ On the other hand, he certainly needed his royal successors to establish his funerary cult after death in order for his existence to continue on earth after his death.

Noteworthy is also that Frankfort explained the reason for carrying the statues of the dead kings together with the statues of the ruling kings in their mortuary temples of Ramesseum and Medinet Habu as no more than an anticipation of the future.⁹⁵ He meant the prediction of the succession of kings Ramesses II and Ramesses III on the throne of Egypt. Gauthier suggested the royal character of the whole ceremony.⁹⁶ He added that carrying the statues of the dead kings in the Feast of Min-Kamutef indicates that this annual ceremony is intended to celebrate the glory of the fertility god, celebrate the fertility of the ancestral kings, whose cult would continue on earth even after death, and commemorate the advent and coronation of the reigning king.⁹⁷

The text that accompanies the carrying of the royal statues of the dead kings in Medinet Habu Temple talks about their role in giving life to the living king, Ramesses III, in the presence of the fertility god Min-Kamutef.⁹⁸ This inscription suggests the

⁹⁰ (De Buck, 1935, 193 (f); Faulkner, 1973, 39).

⁹¹ For the concept of the divine solar king in ancient Egypt, see: (Baines, 1995, 9, 14; Quirke, 2001, 17-22).

⁹² (Clark, 1959, 107).

⁹³ (Bell, 1985, 294).

⁹⁴ (Clark, 1959, 107).

⁹⁵ (Frankfort, 1948, 89).

⁹⁶ (Gauthier, 1931, 206).

⁹⁷ (Gauthier, 1931, 206).

⁹⁸ (Frankfort, 1948, 97).

immortal generative power of the dead kings,⁹⁹ which might be obtained by them either as a kind of attaining the rank of the gods or more likely because of their deification and revivification of their cult on earth after their death. Now, it becomes clear that the primary significance of the whole iconography was to celebrate the fertility of the living kings, who also inherited their fertile character from their royal ancestors. In addition, it was probably intended to commemorate the coronation of the new ruler, Ramesses III, and of course, King Ramesses II before him, in the presence of their royal predecessors, whose participation perpetuates their memory and confirms the establishing of their funerary cult after death.

In the ancient Egyptian religion, the cult statue of the private dead would be carried from the tomb to the temple in order to be fed from the offering table of the god only in certain festivals.¹⁰⁰ After that, the statue should be returned to the tomb in order to receive the daily offerings of the family members to establish the memorial cult of the dead. Similarly, the cult statues of the dead and living kings were carried together during the celebration of the festival of god Min in the Ramessuem and Medinet Habu temples as a kind of establishing their personal cults, during their life and after their death.

Conclusion:

The relationship of the living kings with the departed kings, who had been glorified after death, had prominent significances and considerations. An important expression of royal piety took shape in the funerary cult of the departed kings during the New Kingdom. In the meantime, the reigning kings found a way to express their own feelings of gratitude towards the mortuary cults of their ancestors, particularly at Thebes and Abydos. These mortuary cults reveal that royal worship was as much a part of the wider personal religion in the New Kingdom Egypt. In these funerary cults, the living kings worshipped the dead kings and making offerings to them. It was through such royal devotions that the living king would be able to seek the help of the dead kings of his predecessors. Furthermore, he would appeal to them to legitimize his reign and protect him.

Worshipping the pious forebears of the reigning king in the New Kingdom temples depended on reviving their funerary cults to ensure the perpetuation of their names in addition to their spiritual forms and statues after death. In this context, the living kings, Thutmose III of the Eighteenth Dynasty, Seti I and Ramesses II of the Nineteenth Dynasty, and Ramesses III of the Twentieth Dynasty brought back the memory of those who had been honoured by their monuments before them in the so-called king lists at Thebes and Abydos. These lists ignored the names of the invaders. This might explain the fundamental intention of the king lists in perpetuating only the names of the dead kings, who left a great imprint in the ancient Egyptian history and deserve to receive offerings and to revive their mortuary cults after death. Moreover, the ancient Egyptians also realized from the beginning of their civilization on earth that the foreign rulers

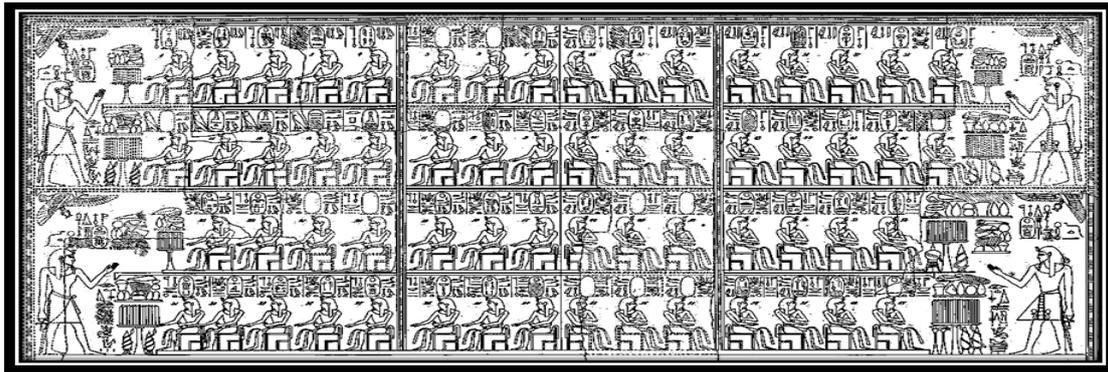
⁹⁹ It seems that power, either generative or destructive, might be magically acquired by the dead as a kind of ensuring a perpetual life free from dangers. (Ritner, 1993, 25). In addition, the king was often prescribed as being endowed with the eternal life of the supreme gods Re and Horus. Several texts address our inquiry, including, for example, the stela that have been inscribed in Wadi Hamamat during the reign of King Mentuhotep II of the Eleventh Dynasty. The stela describes the association of the king with god Min and the endowment of an immortal life to him because of satisfying the vital essence of the fertility god. (Kuentz, 1920, 121-123).

¹⁰⁰ (Haeny, 1970, 615).

brought disorder and chaos to their lands; thus, they promised them to fall into oblivion and to establish no funerary cult for them.

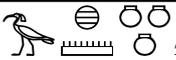
The ancient Egyptians differentiated between the personal cults of the living kings in their lifetimes and the funerary cults of the dead kings after their death. The Egyptians also assumed that their own life was a cycle that moved from birth to death to rebirth through offerings. Therefore, the reigning king was sometimes interested in making offerings to the departed kings on behalf of a deity personifying the cyclic life, like the composite god Ptah-Sokar-Osiris. It was through this life cycle that the royal cult would continue to exist. Consequently, the living kings worshipped the dead kings as a kind of continuation of their cult on earth after their death. In return, the predecessors of the departed monarchs would grant an eternal life to their successors of the living kings on earth. From this perspective, the Egyptians also preferred to celebrate the fertility of the royals, whether living or dead and revive the funerary cult of their ancestors side by side during the festival of the fertility god Min-Kamutef and declaring a new inheritor of the glorified dead kings.

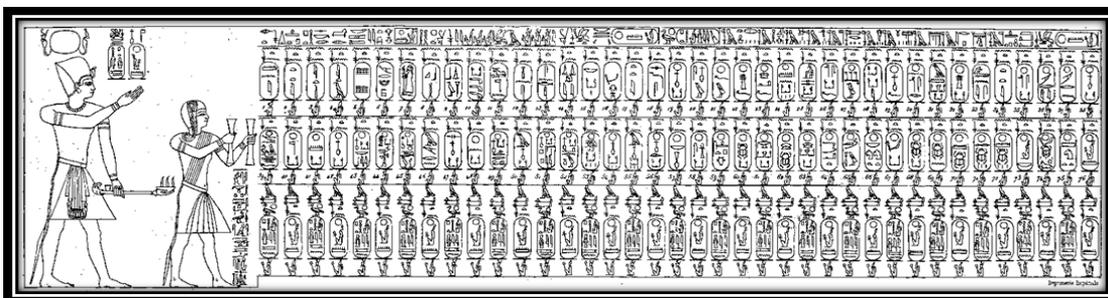
Figures



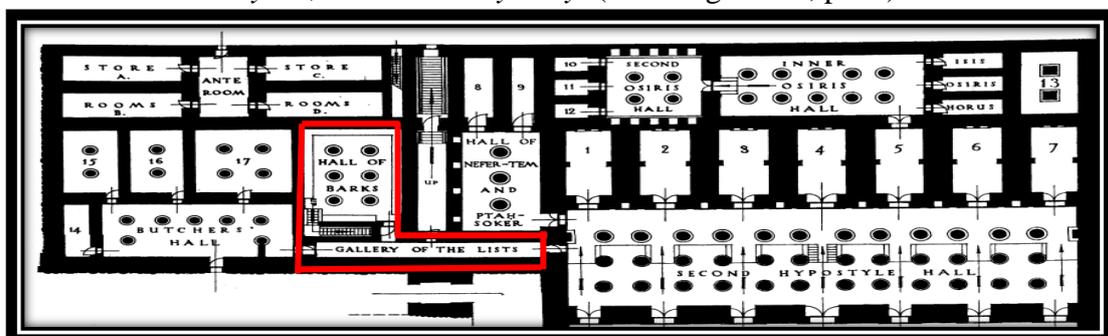
(Fig. 1) Making offerings to of sixty-one dead kings by the reigning king, Thutmose I, Temple of Amun-Re, Karnak, Thebes, Eighteenth Dynasty. (Lepsius 1842, Tf. I).



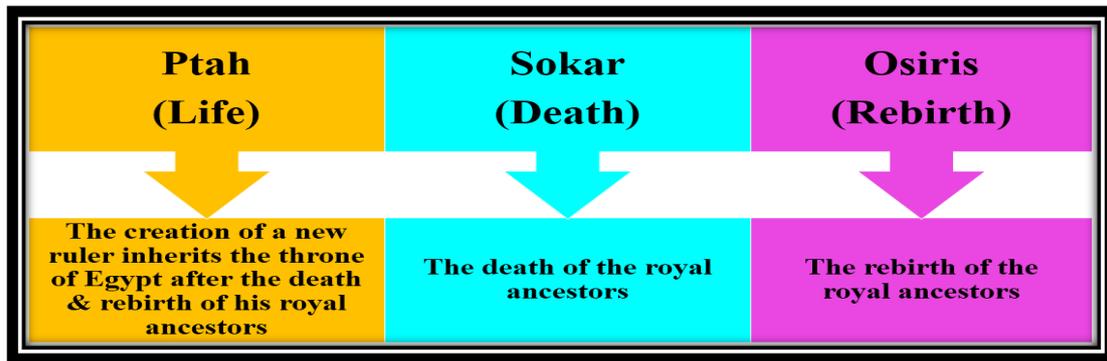
(Fig. 2) Plan of the  Festival Hall of King Thutmose III, Temple of Amun-Re, Karnak, Thebes, Eighteenth Dynasty. (Porter and Moss 1972, pl. XII: 2).



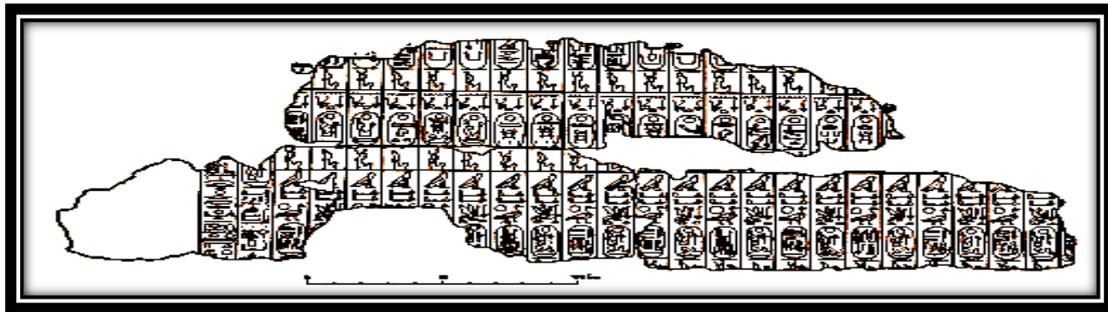
(Fig. 3) Worshipping seventy-six royal cartouches of dead kings by the living king, Seti I, and the hereditary prince, Ramesses II, Mortuary Temple of King Seti I, Abydos, Nineteenth Dynasty. (De Rougé 1866, pl. II).



(Fig. 4) Plan of the South Wing of the Funerary Temple of King Seti I, Abydos, Nineteenth Dynasty. (Calverley, Broome and Gardiner 1933, pl. 1: A).



(Fig. 5) Graphic explain the role of the composite god Ptah-Sokar-Osiris as a personification of the life cycle.



(Fig. 6) Remains of the cartouches of thirty-four dead kings, Funerary Temple of King Ramesses II, Abydos, Nineteenth Dynasty. (James 1970, pl. VIII).



(Fig. 7) Carrying the statues of the reigning king, Ramesses II, together with other nineteen statues of departed kings in a festive procession celebrating fertility and coronation, Ramesseum Temple of King Ramesses II, Thebes, Nineteenth Dynasty. (Rosellini 1844, pls. LXXV-LXXVI).



(Fig. 8) Carrying the statues of the ruling king, Ramesses III, together with other sixteen statues of departed kings in a festive procession celebrating fertility and coronation, Medinet Habu Temple of King Ramesses III, Thebes, Twentieth Dynasty. (The Epigraphic Survey 1940, pl. 196: B).

Bibliography

- Arnold, D. (1997). Royal Cult Complexes of the Old and Middle Kingdoms. In B. E. Schafer (Ed.), *Temples of Ancient Egypt* (31-85). Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.
- Assmann, J. (2005). *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt*. Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press.
- Badawy, A. (1978). *The Tomb of Nyhetep-Ptah at Giza and the Tomb of 'Ankhn 'ahor at Saqqara*. Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California press.
- Baikie, J. (1917). *The Story of the Pharaohs* (2nd ed.). London; A. & C. Black.
- Baines, J. (1995). Kingship, Definition of Culture, and Legitimation. In D. O'Connor, & D. Silverman (Eds.), *Ancient Egyptian kingship* (3-47). Leiden-New York: Brill.
- Bell, L. (1985). Luxor Temple and the Cult of the Royal Ka. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 44(4): 251-294.
- Blyth, E. (2006). *Karnak: Evolution of a Temple*. London; New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group
- Boreux, Ch. (1932a). *Guide-Catalogue Sommaire: Vol. I. Salles du Rez-de-Chaussée, Escalier et Palier du Premier Étage, Salle du Mastaba et Salle de Baouît, Musée du Louvre, Paris. Département des Antiquités Égyptiennes*. Paris: Musées Nationaux.
- Boreux, M. C. (1932b). *Musée National du Louvre: Département des Antiquités Égyptiennes: Guide-Catalogue Sommaire. I. Salles du rez-de-chaussée, escalier et palier du premier étage, salle du Mastaba et salle de Baouît*. Paris: Musées Nationaux, Palais du Louvre.
- Bruyère, B. (1926). *Rapport sur les Fouilles de Deir El Médineh (1924-1925)*. Le Caire: Institut Français d'archéologie Orientale.
- Burton, J. (1825). *Excerpta Hieroglyphica*. Cairo: Unknown Publisher.
- Calverley, A. M., Broome, M. F., & Gardiner, A. H. (1933). *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos: Vol. I. The Chapels of Osiris, Isis and Horus*. London; Chicago: The Egypt Exploration Society.
- Calverley, A. M., Broome, M. F., & Gardiner, A. H. (1935). *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos: Vol. IV. The Second Hypostyle Hall*. London; Chicago: The Egypt Exploration Society.
- Capart, J., & Werbrouck, M. (1930). *Memphis à l'ombre des Pyramides*. Bruxelles: Vromant & Co., éditeurs.
- Champollion, J. (1844). *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie: Notices Descriptives Conformes aux Manuscrits Autographes Rédigés sur les Lieux*. (Tome 1). Paris: Imprimerie et Librairie de Firmin Didot Frères.
- Champollion, J.-F. (1845). *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie, d'après les Dessins Exécutés sur les Lieux*. (Tome 2). Paris: Imprimerie et Librairie de Firmin Didot Frères.
- Clark, R. (1959). *Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Commission des sciences et arts d'Égypte. (1821). *Description de l'égypte ou Recueil des Observations et des Recherches qui Ont été Faites en Égypte Pendant l'expédition*. (Tome 2). Paris: Imprimerie impériale.
- Cullimore, I. (1834). *Chronologia Hieroglyphica, Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom*. (Vol. II. Part II). London: John Murray.
- D'Avannes, E. (1845-1846). Notice sur la Salle des Ancêtres de Thouthmès III. *Revue Archéologique*, II: 5-15.
- D'Avannes, E. (1847). *Monuments Égyptiens, Bas-reliefs, Peintures, Inscriptions, Etc.*. Paris: Imprimerie et Librairie de Firmin Didot Frères.

- Davies, N. G. (1902). *The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi: Part II. Tomb of Zau and Tombs of the Northern Group*. London: Egypt Exploration Fund.
- Davies, N. G. (1973). *The Tomb of Rekh-Mi-Rē at Thebes. (Vol. II)*. New York: Arno Press.
- De Buck, A. (1938). *The Egyptian Coffin Texts: Vol. II. Texts of Spells, 76-163*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- De Morgan, J. (1903). *Fouilles à Dahchour en 1894-1895*. Vienne: A. Holzhausen.
- De Rougé, E. (1847). *Examen de l'ouvrage de M. de Bunsen intitulé: Aegyptens Stelle in der Welt Geschichte, ou, La Place de l'Égypte dans l'histoire du Monde: Suite d'articles Insérés dans les Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne*. Paris: Imprimerie de Edouard Bauruche.
- De Rougé, E. (1866). *Recherches sur les Monuments qu'on Peut Attribuer aux Six Premières Dynasties de Manéthon*. Paris: Imprimerie Impériale.
- Demarée, R. J. (1983). *The 3h ikr n Rc-stelae: on Ancestor Worship in Ancient Egypt*. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.
- Duemichen, J. (1869). *Collections Historische Inschriften Altägyptischer Denkmäler: Folge 2. Nebst Einigen Geographischen und Mythologischen Inschriften*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.
- Dunham, D. (1938). The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo. *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 24: 1-8.
- Ebers, G. M. (1885). *Egypt Descriptive, Historical, and Picturesque. (Vol. II)*. London; Paris; New York; Melbourne: Cassell & Company, Limited.
- Ebers, G. M. (1886). *Cicerone durch das Alte und Neue Ägypten: Eine Lese- und Handbuch für Freunde des Nilandes. (Band 2)*. Leipzig: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, Stuttgart.
- Erman, A. (1927). *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians: Poems, Narratives, and Manuals of Instruction, from the Third and Second Millennia B.C.* Translated by A. M. Blackman. London: Methuen & Co.
- Erman, A., & Grapow, H. (1971). *Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache. (Bands I & V)*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- Faulkner, R. O. (1962). *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*. Oxford: Griffith Institute.
- Faulkner, R. O. (1969). *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts: Vol. I. English Translation*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Faulkner, R. O. (1973). *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts: Vol. 1. Spells 1-354*. Warminster: Aris & Philips.
- Felix, O. (1830). *Notes on Hieroglyphics*. Cairo: Unknown Publisher.
- Frankfort, H. (1948). *Kingship and the Gods: A Study of Ancient Near Eastern Religion as the Integration of Society & Nature*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Gardiner, A. H. (1927). *Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Gauthier, H. (1931). *Les Fêtes du Dieu Min*. Le Caire: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
- Goyon, J.-C. (1972). *Confirmation du pouvoir royal au Nouvel An: [Brooklyn Museum papyrus 47.218.50]*. Le Caire: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
- Greven, L. (1952). *Der Ka in Theologie und Königskult der Ägypter des Alten Reiches*. Glückstadt; Hamburg; New York: Verlag J. J. Augustin.
- Grumach, I. Sh. (1972). *Untersuchungen zur Lebenslehre des Amenope*. München; Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag.

- Haeny, G. (1970). *Basilikale Anlagen in der Ägyptischen Baukunst des Neuen Reiches*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Hall, H. R., Salt, H., Wilkinson, J. G., & von Bunsen, B. (1915). Letters to Sir William Gell from Henry Salt, [Sir] J. G. Wilkinson, and Baron von Bunsen. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, II: 133-167.
- Hannig, R. (2003). *Ägyptisches wörterbuch I: Altes Reich und Erste Zwischenzeit*. Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern.
- Hannig, R. (2006). *Ägyptisches wörterbuch II: Mittleres Reich und Zweite Zwischenzeit*. Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern.
- Harrington, N. (2013). *Living with the Dead: Ancestor Worship and Mortuary Ritual in Ancient Egypt*. Oxford; Oakville: Oxbow Books.
- Hassan, S. (1975a). *Mastabas Ny-`ankh-Pepy and Others*. Cairo: General Organization for Government Printing Offices.
- Hassan, S. (1975b). *Mastabas of Princess Hemet-R' and Others*. Cairo: General Organization for Government Printing Offices.
- Hornblower, G. D. (1923). Traces of a Ka-Belief in Modern Egypt and Old Arabia. In W. M. F. Petrie (Ed.), *Ancient Egypt* (Part III, 426-430). London: Macmillan and Co.
- Hornung, E. (1992). *Idea into Image: Essays on Ancient Egyptian Thought*. New York: Timken Publishers.
- Ideler, L. (1841). *Hermapion: Sive, Rudimenta Hieroglyphicae Veterum Aegyptiorum Literaturae*. Lipsiae: Sumtibus Fr. Chr. Guil. Vogelii.
- James, T. G. H. (1970). *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae Etc.* (Part 9). London: The Trustees of the British Museum.
- Jéquier, G. (1913). *Histoire de la Civilisation Égyptienne: Des Origines à la Conquête d'Alexandre*. Paris: Librairie Payot et Cie.
- Kanawati, N. (1986). *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish: The Cemetery of Akhmim*. (Vol. VI). Sydney: The Ancient History Documentary Research Center, Macquarie University.
- Kanawati, N. (1989). *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish: The Cemetery of Akhmim*. (Vol. IX). Sydney: The Ancient History Documentary Research Center, Macquarie University.
- Kanawati, N. (2005). *Deir el-Gebrawi: Vol. I. The Northern Cliff*. Oxford: Aris & Phillips.
- Kanawati, N. (2007). The Watchers / Dependents of Min of Akhmim in the Old Kingdom. In Z. A. Hawass, & J. Richards (Eds.), *The Archaeology and Art of Ancient Egypt: Essays in Honor of David B. O'Connor* (1-19). Le Caire: Conseil Suprême des Antiquités de l'Égypte.
- Kanawati, N., & Abder-Raziq, M. (2001). *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara: Vol. VII. The Tombs of Shepsiptah, Mereri (Merinebti), Hefi and Others*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips.
- Kanawati, N., & Abder-Raziq, M. (2004). *Mereruka and his Family: Part I. The Tomb of Merytet*. Oxford: Aris & Phillips.
- Keel, O. (1977). *Vögel als Boten: Studien zu Ps 68, 12-14, Gen 8, 6-12, Koh 10, 20 und dem Aussenden von Botenvögeln in Ägypten*. Freiburg Schweiz: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Kees, H. (1956). *Der Götterglaube im Alten Aegypten*. Leipzig: Akademie-Verlag.
- Kitchen, K. A. (1975). *Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical*. (Vol. I). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Kitchen, K. A. (1979). *Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical*. (Vol. II). Oxford: Blackwell.

- Kitchen, K. A. (1980). *Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical*. (Vol. III). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Kitchen, K. A. (1982). *Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical*. (Vol. IV). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Kitchen, K. A. (1983a). *Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical*. (Vol. V). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Kitchen, K. A. (1983b). *Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical*. (Vol. VI). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Kuentz, Ch. (1920). Autour d'une Conception égyptienne Méconnue: l'Akhit ou So-disant Horizon. *Le Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'archéologie Orientale*, 17: 121-190.
- L'Hôte, N. (1840). *Lettres Écrites d'Égypte en 1838 et 1839: Contenant des Observations sur Divers Monuments Égyptiens Nouvellement Explorés et Dessinés*. Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, libraires, imprimeurs de l'Institut de France.
- Leitz, Ch. (2002a). *Lexikon der Ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*. Band III: *p-nbw*. Leuven; Paris; Dudley, MA: Uitgeverij Peeters en Department Oosterse Studies.
- Leitz, Ch. (2002b). *Lexikon der Ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*: Band VII. *š-d*. Leuven; Paris; Dudley, MA: Uitgeverij Peeters en Department Oosterse Studies.
- Lepsius, K. R. (1842). *Auswahl der Wichtigsten Urkunden des Ägyptischen Alterthums Theils zum Erstenmale, Theils nach den Denkmälern Berichtigt*. Leipzig: Georg Wigand.
- Lepsius, K. R. (1852). *Über die Zwölfte Aegyptische Königsdynastie*. Berlin: Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin.
- Lepsius, K. R. (1864). Die Sethos-Tafel con Abydos. *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, II: 81-83.
- Lepsius, K. R. (1972). *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*. (Vol. III). Genève: Éditions de Belles-Lettres.
- Lichtheim, M., (1973). *Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Book of Readings*: Vol. I. *The Old and Middle Kingdoms*. Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California press.
- Mariette, A. (1866). La Nouvelle Table d'Abydos. *Revue Archéologique*, 13: 73-99.
- Mariette, A. (1867). *Fouilles Exécutées en Égypte, en Nubie, et au Soudan, d'après les ordres du Vice-Roi*. (Tome II). Paris: A. Franck.
- Mariette, A. (1869). *Abydos: Description des Fouilles Executées sur l'emplacement de cette Ville*: Tome 1. *Ville antique - Temple de Sési*. Paris: Librairie A. Franck, F. Vieweg, propriétaire.
- Mariette, A. (1878). *Voyage dans la Haute-Egypte Compris Entre le Caire et la Première Cataracte*. Le Caire; Paris: A. Mourès, Imprimeur-Éditeur, Goupil & C^{ie}, Imprimeurs-Éditeurs.
- Maspero, G. (1895). *Histoire Ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient Classique, Les origines: Égypte et Chaldée*. Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie.
- Meeks, D. (1963). Les Quatre Ka du Démiurge Memphite. *Revue d'Égyptologie*, 15: 32-47.
- Mercer, S. A. B. (1949). *The Religion of Ancient Egypt*. London: Luzac & Co. Ltd.
- Mercer, S. A. B. (1952). *The Pyramid Texts: In Translation and Commentary*: Vol. I. *Translation of the Texts*. New York; London; Toronto: Longmans, Green and co.

- Meyer, E. (1904). *Aegyptische Chronologie*. Berlin: Abhandlungen der Königl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Verlag der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Moens, M.-F. (1985). The Procession of the God Min to the ḥtjw-Garden. *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur*, 12: 61-73.
- Moret, A. (1902). *Du Caractère religieux de la Royauté Pharaonique*. Paris: Ernest Leroux.
- Najovits, S. (2003). *Egypt, Trunk of the Tree: Vol. II. A Modern Survey of and Ancient Land*. New York: Algora Publishing.
- Nelson, H. H. (1949). Certain Reliefs at Karnak and Medinet Habu and the Ritual of Amenophis I-(Concluded). *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 8(4): 310-345.
- Nelson, H. H. (1981). *The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak: Vol I. Part 1. The Wall Reliefs*. Chicago; Illinois: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
- Otto, E., (1960). *Das Ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual*. (2 Teile). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Pierret, (1879). *Recueil d' Inscriptions Inédites du Musée Egyptien du Louvre*. (Partie 2). Paris: F. Vieweg, Libraire-Éditeur.
- Porter, B., & Moss, R. L. B. (1972). *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings: Vol. II. Theban Temples*. Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum.
- Porter, B., & Moss, R. L. B. (1991). *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings: Vol. VI. Upper Egypt: Chief Temples*. Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum.
- Quirke, S. (2001). *The Cult of Ra: Sun-worship in Ancient Egypt*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Redford, D. B. (1986). *Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals and Day-Books: A Contribution to the Study of the Egyptian Sense of History*. Mississauga: SSEA Publication IV, Benben Publications.
- Ritner, R. K. (1993). *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*. Chicago, IL: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
- Ritner, R. K. (1994). Denderite Temple Hierarchy and the Family of Theban High Priest Nebwenenef: Block Statue OIM 10729. In D. Silverman (Ed.), *For His Ka: Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer* (205-226). Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
- Roeder, G. (1938). *Der Felsentempel von Bet el-Wali*. Le Caire: Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte.
- Roscher, W. H. (1909-1915). *Ausführliches Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie*. (Band 4). Leipzig: B. G. Teubner.
- Rosellini, I. (1832). *I Monumenti dell'Egitto e della Nubia: Disegnati dalla Spedizione Scientifico-Letteraria Toscana in Egitto; Distribuiti in Ordine di Materie: Parte 1. Monumenti Storici*. Pisa: Presso Niccolo Capurro e C., coi caratteri nuovi di Didot.
- Rosellini, I. (1844). *I Monumenti dell'Egitto e della Nubia. Disegnati dalla Spedizione Scientifico-Letteraria Toscana in Egitto, Distribuiti in Ordine di Materie Interpretati ed Illustrate: Tomo 3. Monumenti del Culto*. Pisa: Presso Niccolo Capurro, con i caratteri di Didot.
- Rossi, F., & Pleyte, W. (1869). *Papyrus de Turin*. Leide: E. J. Brill.
- Holmberg, M. S. (1946). *The god Ptah*. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup.
- Schwaller de Lubicz, R. A. (1982). *Les Temples de Karnak: Contribution à l'étude de la Pensée Pharaonique*. (Vol. II). Paris: Dervy-Livres.

- Sethe, K. H. (1903). *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie: Vol. I. Bearbeitet*, Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.
- Sethe, K. (1908). *Die Altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte: Nach den Papierabdrücken und Photographien des Berliner Museums: Band 1, Text, Erste Hälfte, Spruch 1-468 (Pyr. 1-905)*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.
- Sethe, K. H. (1909). *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie: Vol. IV. Historisch-Biographische Urkunden*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.
- Sethe, K. (1910). *Die Altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte: Nach den Papierabdrücken und Photographien des Berliner Museums: Band 2, Text, Zweite Hälfte, Spruch 469-714 (Pyr. 906-2217)*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.
- Sethe, K. (1928). *Aegyptische Lesestücke zum Gebrauch im Academischen Unterricht: Texte des Mittleren Reiches*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.
- Steindorff, G. (1900). *Die Blütezeit des Pharaonenreichs*. Leipzig: Verlag von Velhagen & Klasing, Bielefeld.
- Steindorff, G. (1905). *The Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*. New York; London: G. Putnam's sons.
- Strudwick, N. C. (2005). *Texts from the Pyramid Age*. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.
- Stuart, V. (1879). *Nile Gleanings: Concerning the Ethnology, History and Art of Ancient Egypt as Revealed by Egyptian Paintings and Bas-reliefs: With Descriptions of Nubia and its Great Rock Temples to the Second Cataract*. Londres: John Murray.
- Tatomir, R. (1997-1999). Soul and Spirit in Ancient Egyptian Religion. An Anthropological Approach. In y R. Bercea, L. Munteanu, Ș. Toader, & S. Al-George (Ed.) *Annals of the Sergiu Al-George Institute of Oriental Studies* (Vols. VI-VIII, 61-72). Bucharest: Institute of Oriental Studies.
- Te Velde, H. (1982). Ptah. *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, IV: 1177-1180.
- The Epigraphic Survey. (1940). *Medinet Habu: Vol. IV. Festival Scenes of Ramses III*. Chicago; Illinois: The University of Chicago press.
- The Epigraphic Survey. (1957). *Medinet Habu: Vol. V. The Temple Proper. Part I. The Portico, the Treasury, and Chapels Adjoining the First Hypostyle Hall with Marginal Material from the Forecourts*. Chicago; Illinois: The University of Chicago press.
- The Epigraphic Survey. (1963). *Medinet Habu: Vol. VI. The Temple Proper. Part II. The Re Chapel, the Royal Mortuary Complex and Adjacent Rooms with Miscellaneous Material from the Pylons, the Forecourts, and the First Hypostyle Hall*. Chicago; Illinois: The University of Chicago press.
- Vandier, J. (1970). *Le Département des Antiquités Égyptiennes, Guide Sommaire*. Paris: Musées Nationaux.
- Wente, E. (1975-1976). A Misplaced Letter to the Dead. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica*, 6(7): 595-600.
- Wiedemann, A. (1887). On a Monument from the First Dynasties of Egypt. *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 9: 180-184.
- Wilkinson, R. H. (1994). *Symbol & Magic in Egyptian Art*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Wilson, (1997). *A Ptolemaic lexikon: A Lexicographical Study of the Texts in the Temple of Edfu*. Leuven: Peeters.
- Young, Th. (1828). *Hieroglyphics Collected by the Egyptian Society*. (Vol. II). London: Howlett and Brimmer.
- Žabkar, L. V. (1968). *A Study of the Ba Concept in Ancient Egyptian Texts*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

Ziegler, Ch. (1990). *Catalogue des Stèles, Peintures et Reliefs Égyptiens*. Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux.

مات الملك؛ خُذ الملك! دعم "التقوى الملكية" في طيبة وأبيدوس خلال عصر الدولة الحديثة

د/ يمنى عادل زكي نصر¹

¹ مدرس، قسم الإرشاد السياحي، كلية السياحة والفنادق، جامعة الإسكندرية

الكلمات الدالة	المستخلص
عبادة ملك حي ميت تعبد	<p>شاركت كل من طيبة وأبيدوس في إحياء ذكرى الملوك الراحلين من قبل سلالتهم من الحكام، وذلك لكونهم أكثر الأماكن قداسة في مصر في عصر الدولة الحديثة. على مر العصور والأجيال، اعتبر الموقعان الدينيان في طيبة وأبيدوس من أهم المناطق التذكارية التي دعمت العبادات الجنائزية لأفراد العائلة المالكة الذين كان يتم تأليهم بعد رحيلهم. كانت طيبة أقدم مركز عبادة بارز لعبادة الملوك الراحلين في المملكة الحديثة بمصر. فابتداءً من الأسرة الثامنة عشرة، أصبحت طيبة مكاناً مقدساً للحج ومركز روحي للطوائف الجنائزية للملوك المؤلهين. ولقد كان الملك تحتمس الثالث أول من قام بتخصيص مكاناً خاصاً في طيبة لتأسيس عبادة أسلافه الملكيين المؤلهين بعد انتقالهم للعالم الآخر. بعد ذلك، استغل كلاً من الملك رمسيس الثاني من الأسرة التاسعة عشرة والملك رمسيس الثالث من الأسرة العشرين أيضاً طيبة كمكان ثابت للعبادة وللعبادة بعبادة الملوك المتوفين. ظهرت أهمية أبيدوس كمدينة رئيسية أخرى تدعم العبادة الجنائزية للعائلة المالكة فقط خلال عصر الأسرة التاسعة عشرة في مصر القديمة. في هذه الفترة، لعب الملك سيتي الأول والملك رمسيس الثاني دوراً مهماً في استخدام أبيدوس كمكان تذكاري جديد لتخليد ذكرى ملوك مصر الراحلين. يجدر بالإشارة أيضاً أنه خلال عصر الدولة الحديثة، قدم اثنان من أهم الآلهة في الديانة المصرية القديمة، بما في ذلك الإله المركب بتاح-سوكر-أوزوريس والإله مين-كا موت إف، مساهمة كبيرة في دعم العبادة الجنائزية للملوك الراحلين في المعابد المقدسة في مصر في كلاً من طيبة وأبيدوس.</p>