# PROCESSION

# المواكب

*Martin Stadler*



Short Citation:
Stadler, 2008, Procession. *UEE.*

Full Citation:
Stadler, Martin, 2008, Procession. In Jacco Dieleman and Willeke Wendrich (eds.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, Los Angeles. http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz001nf7bz

1014 Version 1, December 2008
http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz001nf7bz

# PROCESSION
# المواكب

Martin Stadler

Prozession
procession

*Egyptian processions were performed, and acquired meaning, in a religious context. Funeral processions, for example, symbolized the deceased's transition into the hereafter. The most important processions, however, were the processions of deities that took place during the major feasts, especially those feasts that recurred annually. The deity left his or her sanctuary on these occasions and thus provided the only opportunities for a wider public to have more or less immediate contact with the deity's image, although in most cases it still remained hidden within a shrine. These processions often involved the journey of the principal deity of the town to visit other gods, not uncommonly "deceased" ancestor gods who were buried within the temple's vicinity. The "wedding" of a god and his divine consort provided yet another occasion for a feast for which processions were performed.*

كانت للمواكب المصرية القديمة معانى دينية، فمثلاً المواكب الجنائزية كانت رمزاً معبراً عن إنتقال المتوفي إلى العالم الآخر. اما أهم المواكب كانت مواكب الآلهة أثناء الأعياد الرئيسية التي كانت تقام سنوياً، ولأن الإله كان يترك قدسه فى هذه المناسبات، فقد كانت الفرصة الوحيدة للشعب ان يكون له إتصال مباشر إلى حدٍ ما مع صورة الإله بالرغم من كونها مغطاه داخل ضريحه. هذه المواكب غالباً ما تضمنت رحلة زيارة الإله الرئيسي للبلدة إلى آلهة أخرى، احيانا تكون متوفاه ومدفونة بحرم المعبد. <<زواج>> الإله مع قرينته المقدسة وفرت مناسبة أخرى لإحتفالية كانت تقام لها المواكب.

In ancient Egypt processions were performed, and acquired meaning, in a religious context. They may be categorized as either processions of deities, in which royal processions would be included (fig. 1), or funeral processions. Processions of deities may be subdivided into those that took place within the temple and those that exited the temple. The former were not open to the wider public but had a profound impact on the architectural design of a temple, because the deity's statue was carried around to "visit" interior stations or chapels, or—at least from the Late Period onward—the deity's earthly manifestation was brought to the temple's roof for the cosmic rejuvenation of the god through ritual unification with the sun, as part of the celebration of the rites of the New Year's feast. Alongside these internal processional ways, votive statues were erected by the Egyptian elite to guarantee their permanent (even posthumous) presence in the audience whenever a deity epiphanized.

## *Chronology of Evidence*

Although there is clear evidence for feasts in the Old Kingdom, there are neither textual nor archaeological sources that inform us about processions or allow us to trace

Figure 1. Ramesses III leaving the palace in a palanquin carried by princes and officials during the festival of Min (Great Temple of Ramesses III, Medinet Habu, second court).

processional routes in that period. In fact, the bulk of source material dates to the New Kingdom and particularly to the Ptolemaic Period. This bias in the chronological distribution of the surviving material has, consequently, a bearing on the relative validity of our interpretations and reconstructions. Despite this caution, we may surmise that the basic features of processions were similar before, during, and after the New Kingdom. The so-called Khoiak Festival at Abydos may stand as evidence. For the Middle Kingdom, the procession of the underworld god Osiris during the Khoiak Festival is well documented. The procession can be reconstructed as follows: It left the god's temple at Abydos to visit his desert burial place, called *Pḳr* ("Poker"), located in what is known today as Umm el-Qa'ab, the Pre- and Early Dynastic royal necropolis of Abydos. At this site is situated the tomb of 1st-Dynasty king Djer (2974 – 2927 BCE), which was considered to be that of Osiris from (at least) around 2000 BCE onward. Thus the procession of the deceased royal god Osiris combined both royal and funereal elements. The exact route the procession took to Poker is not entirely certain, but the great number of Middle Kingdom stelae and chapels lining the so-called "terrace of the great god" (*rwd n nṯr ꜥꜣ*) behind the temple of Osiris indicates that here the *nšmt*, the sacred bark of Osiris, passed by—an indication reinforced by the stelae's recurrent formula expressing the dedicatees' hope of seeing the "perfection" (*nfrw*) of Osiris. Seeing Osiris's perfection was a symbol of having passed the judgment at death and of having entered the hereafter. The North and Middle cemeteries adjacent to the Abydene "terrace of the great god" may themselves be seen as flanking the processional way into the desert to the aforementioned tomb of Djer. The procession's exact structure, however, is still quite obscure, because the activities of the feast itself were kept secret. The Khoiak Festival probably comprised multiple processions, with the procession of Wepwawet (*prt Wp-wȝwt*) preceding the "great procession" (*prt ꜥȝt*) of Osiris. It is likely that during these processions the myth of Osiris was dramatically re-enacted, or at least recited. Further evidence, consisting of inscriptions and scenes in the Osiris chapels on the roof of the late Ptolemaic-early Roman Hathor temple at Dendara, may give us some idea of these Khoiak "mysteries." Despite the late date of these attestations there is reason to consider that parts of the texts can be traced as far back as the Middle Kingdom.

## *Forms of Processions*

During the major religious feasts a procession of the deity exiting the temple was the highlight, because it was the only occasion during which the public, who did not have unrestricted temple access, could have more immediate contact with the deity. The deity's statue appeared (*ḫꜥj*) by coming forth (*prj*) from the temple's sanctuary in a ceremonial bark—hence the two Egyptian terms for procession: *sḫꜥy* ("the causing of a god or ruler to appear") and *prt* or *prw* ("a coming forth"). In most cases the divine image was nevertheless hidden in a naos (shrine) that was carried within the bark and was therefore still invisible to the public (fig. 2). On the other hand, reliefs depicting the feasts of the god Min suggest that Min's image was visible during the procession (fig. 3). In Egyptology it has generally been thought that the divine image in the bark and the cult statue in the sanctuary were one and the same image. However, evidence from Karnak suggests that there were two distinct statues—one that remained in the sanctuary, *sšmw jmnw/ḏsrw* ("hidden/secret/sacred image"), and another that was used as a processional statue, *sšmw ḫw* ("the protected image") or *nṯr pn špsj/nṯrt tn špst* ("this venerable god/goddess"). The ceremonial bark was not made for actual rowing or sailing, but for being carried on the shoulders of priests, and had carrying poles for that purpose (fig. 4). For sailing on the Nile, Amun's bark was put onto a boat and pulled by the royal ship.

The processions that exited a temple for destinations outside the temple precinct usually followed internal processions within the temple and were, with some exceptions, part of the major feasts in an annual cycle. Such feasts usually lasted at least 11 days, although longer durations are also known. Temple reliefs show the outward appearance of these events (including their participants), which comprised five basic elements: 1) the temple's principal gods (i.e. the triad) in their processional barks; 2) other deities, represented as standards, preceding the barks; 3) the king; 4) the people who formed the audience; and 5) those who acted in the procession. Those who were actively involved were, for example, priests who bore the processional bark, the standards, or other cultic instruments, the rowing crew (needed when the processional bark was actually transported on the Nile in a larger craft), and singers, musicians, and dancers who accompanied the cult statue. The presence of singers implies the existence of standard hymns that were sung—and indeed texts of hymns for the god in procession are preserved. Some processions involved a journey across the Nile River. In a river procession, the Egyptian term for which was *ẖn(y)t* ("rowing"), the ceremonial bark was put into another bark to be ferried over. Necessary rest periods for those who had to carry the bark provided opportunities for the performance of rituals for the deity (e.g., the presentation of offerings, the burning of incense, and the recitation of hymns; figs. 5 and 6).

Figure 2. The processional bark of Amun Userhat (Great Temple of Ramesses III, Medinet Habu, second court).

*Examples of Processions*

We are particularly well informed about festivals in Thebes due to the documentation provided by the various Theban temples. Some of the associated processions led Amun from his own temple in Karnak, on the east bank, southward to the Luxor temple, or across the river to the temples on the west bank. The occurrence of processions is also suggested by evidence from other sites, such as Memphis, Heliopolis, Thinis, Abydos, and the Nubian sites of Abu Simbel, el-Derr Amada, Gerf Hussein, and Wadi el-Sebua (at some of which Memphite or Theban theology was adapted). That bark processions occurred at each of these sites is not an absolute certainty due to the poor state of preservation of some of the aforementioned places.

Some processions traveled far beyond the temple's vicinity. The most famous such example is the procession of the goddess Hathor of Dendara, attested in a set of scenes

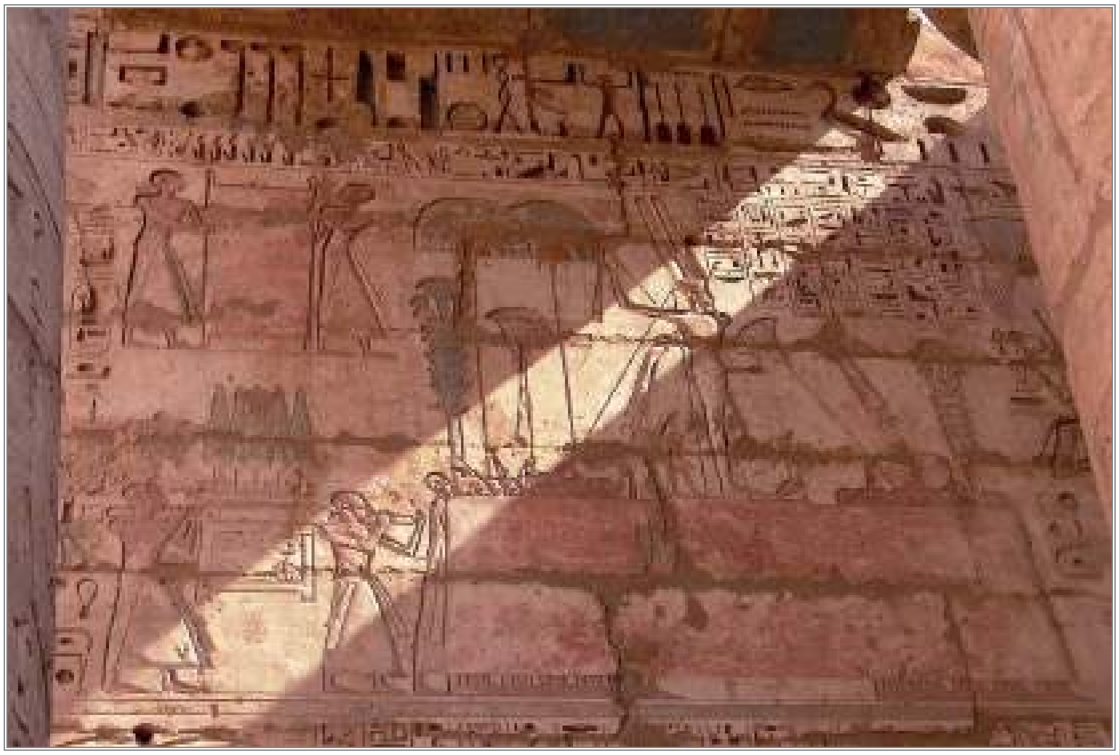

Figure 3. Statue of the god Min in procession with decorated cloth carried by priests (Great Temple of Ramesses III, Medinet Habu, second court).

on the pylon of the Ptolemaic temple of Horus at Edfu. Hathor traveled some 180 kilometers upstream from her temple at Dendara to the temple of Horus of Edfu, her divine consort. Her arrival was the starting point of one of Edfu's five major feasts, each of which lasted for two weeks and was part of a more complex set of feasts and processions in itself. Taking the travel time from Dendara to Edfu and back to Dendara, together with the feast proper, such a procession lasted over several weeks. These events have traditionally been interpreted as constituting a *hieros gamos* feast, that is, the feast of a divine wedding, celebrating the marriage of Horus and Hathor. This interpretation is now open to doubt. The reliefs and inscription may rather be seen as the depiction of a feast during which the principal deities of Edfu left the temple, together with the newly arrived Hathor, to visit the nearby necropolis, where primordial gods were believed to be buried. In the course of the visit, Horus and Hathor made offerings to these primordial gods and performed rituals to rejuvenate them, thereby stimulating a general regeneration.

Although every cultic procession had its particular motivations rooted in the local theology, the festal visit of the chief deity to the burial place of his or her ancestors, such as that described above for Edfu, appears to be a feature common to many processions. At Thebes, for example, Amun, in his particular ithyphallic manifestation as Amun of Luxor (that is, Amenope, *Jmn-jpt*), went from the Luxor temple to the west bank to visit his small temple, *Ḏsr-st*, at Medinet Habu. *Ḏsr-st* was believed to be the burial place of the particular group of primordial gods known as the Hermopolitan Ogdoad. At *Ḏsr-st*, libations and offerings were made in performance of the funerary cult for the Ogdoad. The purpose of the visit, which recurred every ten days rather than annually, was the unification of Amenope, who took the form of the Kamutef-serpent, with the primordial Amun, a member of the Ogdoad. Through this unification the god revitalized himself.

Figure 4. Hatshepsut (now hacked out) welcoming the procession, and Thutmosis III censing before the processional bark of Amun carried by priests (Red Chapel).

Figure 5. Offerings consecrated to Amun in his processional bark (Red Chapel).

In the Theban festival of Opet, Amun came forth from his temple in Karnak and went southward to the Luxor Temple, where he received offerings, was recharged with energy thereby, and confirmed the sovereigns' kingship in return. It has also been speculated that the feast may have celebrated a *hieros gamos,* as suggested by the prominent role played by the "God's Wife," a high-ranking priestess. In the Opet Festival processions Amun either traveled overland or sailed on the river parallel to the bank, apparently depending on the personal preference of the individual ruler. Hatshepsut, for example, took the overland route towards Luxor, then sailed back to Karnak. During her reign (1473 – 1458 BCE) a processional alley was built as a monumental open space for the ritual performance, the layout allowing for a large crowd to witness the events. This structure connected the Karnak temples of Amun, Amun-Kamutef, and Mut to the temple of Luxor, although its configuration was considerably changed by her successors.

Figure 6. Hatshepsut offering a field to Amun in his processional bark and performing a ritual course with the Apis bull; the processional bark rests in a station sanctuary alongside the processional way (Red Chapel).

During the "Beautiful Feast of the Valley," Amun met with Mut and Khons (the three deities of the Theban Triad) at Karnak, and together they crossed the river to the west bank, where barks carrying the cult statues of the deified Amenhotep I ("Amenhotep-of-the-Forecourt") and Ahmose-Nefertari joined them. The procession first visited the reigning king's "house of millions of years" and then proceeded to the houses of millions of years belonging to former rulers, whose barks also joined the group, Accordingly, the itinerary changed with each new sovereign. The procession's ultimate destination was Deir el-Bahri, which in essence is a sanctuary of Hathor. The deceased of the Theban necropolis were believed to partake in this procession and to benefit from the gods' passing by their tombs. In the aforementioned Abydene Khoiak festival, the deceased were also thought to benefit from the divine passing by. Horus and Hathor's journey to the Edfu necropolis is a further parallel.

### *The Political Dimension of Processions*

In addition to their religious significance processions had clear political implications. On the occasion of the Beautiful Feast of the Valley, families gathered at the tombs of their ancestors and held a banquet. The core significance of the Beautiful Feast of the Valley was therefore funerary, yet a strong connection to the royal cult is also evident, demonstrated by the procession's first destination on the west bank—the reigning king's house of millions of years—which thus linked the god's cult with the king's.

The incidental movements of the ceremonial bark as it traveled upon the priests' shoulders were seen as being induced by the deity and were consequently interpreted as expressions of divine will. Processions were thus occasions during which the deity gave oracles on a range of concerns—from the problems of everyday life, to the selection of a new ruler, to the legitimization of royal decisions. Hatshepsut is the first individual to report extensively on how Amun selected and enthroned her as king during a procession. Hatshepsut's instrumentalization of an oracle given during a procession initiated a development resulting in the identification of the feast for Amun's cosmic rejuvenation with the celebration of the king's enthronement. Increasingly, political decisions were made not by the sovereign but by Amun, through oracles, some of which were delivered during processions. There is even reason to assume that in the 20th Dynasty some crown princes were selected by the deity. In the demotic fictional narrative *The Battle for the Prebend of Amun* (Papyrus Spiegelberg), such an oracle to legitimize royal power and activity, given during the occasion of a procession, is described.

In the New Kingdom, the Theban Opet-procession became a demonstration of royal power and splendor, be it by virtue of the architectural framework or the royal presence at the feast. Furthermore Amun's rejuvenation during the feast was associated with a regeneration of royal power. In the reign of Ramesses II (and again in the reign of Ramesses III) this rejuvenation was enhanced by the participation of the king's multitudinous sons, as suggested by temple reliefs. Although it is unlikely that such scenes reflected reality—presumably only some of the princes were present—they nevertheless must have impressively displayed the pharaoh's vigor and the guaranteed endurance of the dynasty.

During the Amarna Period all processions were replaced by the royal family's daily journey from the royal palace to the temple of Aten in Akhetaton (Tell el-Amarna), where the cult was performed. The trek was presented as a divine procession of "a god visiting another god," followed by an offering procession within the Aten temple. From this perspective, the appearance of the royal family in Amarna constituted the apogee of processions as demonstrations of royal power.

*Funeral Processions*

Quite a different sort of procession is the funeral procession. It can be considered a "rite of passage" through which the deceased was prepared for his or her transition into the hereafter and which actually constituted the first steps of that transition. The funeral procession is depicted in the vignette of the *Book of the Dead*, spell 1, a depiction that evolved from a representation of a mere coffin in the early 18th Dynasty to more elaborate scenes showing the tomb as the destination of the procession, the rites performed for the deceased by the ***sem***-priest and the lector priest, the wailing women mourners, and the deceased's tomb equipment being carried along. The vignette also appears in private tombs of the elite. A comparison of scenes in the tomb of 18th-Dynasty king Tutankhamen with those in private (i.e., non-royal) tombs has revealed that royal burial customs were pictorially represented—that is, copied—in private tombs; we therefore do not have depictions of private funerals. This conclusion may be further supported by the fact that, in private tombs, crowns and regalia are among the grave goods depicted—items that certainly would not have been included in non-royal burials. Thus representations of funeral processions were idealized, showing us more of the state to which the deceased aspired than of his or her reality.

# *Bibliographic Notes*

A very concise overview of processions is provided by Stadelmann (1982) and a more detailed one, by Assmann (1991), describing the hierarchy of a procession and giving a calendar of the Theban annual processional feasts (including, however, the now outdated *hieros gamos* interpretation). Sadek (1987) explains how ordinary Egyptians could interact with the deity. Dieter Arnold (1962) discusses the interdependence of feasts and temple architecture. For processions to the temple roof see the detailed study on Edfu by Alliot (1949: 303 - 433) and the corrections to Alliot's reconstruction given by Fairman (1954 - 1955: 184 - 189). Archaeological and textual sources for the processions of the Khoiak Festival in Abydos are treated by Kucharek (2006); for the Abydene temple and a reconstruction of the processional way in the Middle Kingdom see Ziermann (2004). Both of the aforementioned sources supply illustrations. Eaton (2007) discusses the developments in 19th-Dynasty Abydos. For the significance of the tomb of Djer as the burial place of Osiris and the site of royal activity in the Middle Kingdom, see Richards (2005: 39). However, the references provided there (those to German publications in particular) are less than precise and possibly misleading. For an interpretation of the archaeological remains with precise references to excavation reports see Müller (2006). The age of the texts pertaining to the Khoiak Festival has been discussed by Quack (1998), who also provides further references for this feast. An extensive collection and study of the evidence for processions in Thebes has been presented by Cabrol (2001). For the development of Amun's processional bark see Karlshausen (1995). The existence of a processional statue distinct from the cult image has been suggested by Kruchten (1997). For the bark and the standards that were carried during a procession at Abydos see Eaton (2004). Hatshepsut's report on her enthronement has been treated by Gillen (2005a), who also provides an English translation (2005b). Roth (2006) deals with further ideological implications of royal presence during feasts and processions. Felix Arnold (2004) explains how Hatshepsut created an impressive architectural framework that demonstrated her power and connected the Festival of Opet with the royal enthronement. For the selection of crown princes through an oracle in the 20th Dynasty see Jansen-Winkeln (1999), and for the oracle in Papyrus Spiegelberg, see Hoffmann and Quack (2007: 94 - 101), with further references to earlier publications on page 336. Meyer (1998) studies the hymns sung to the god Amun during his procession in the Festival of Opet, and Bell (1997) reconstructs the course of the Opet-procession and discusses its political dimension. The *hieros gamos* hypothesis has been suggested by Murnane (1982) following Wolf (1931: 73ff.). The reliefs depicting the Opet-procession are documented by the Epigraphic Survey (1994). For processions in connection with the houses of millions of years see Ullmann (2002: 664 - 667). For Amenope and his journey to the Ogdoad, see Sethe's study (1929)—still the most comprehensive. The meaning of the Edfu procession of Horus and Hathor of Dendara has been discussed by Kurth (1994); see also Waitkus (1998) for other feasts in Edfu that led processions to the burial place of ancestor gods. Barthelmess (1992) treats the depictions of funeral processions as transitions into the hereafter and Beinlich (2006) analyzes the equipment represented in such scenes.

## *References*


Alliot, Maurice
1949 *Le culte d'Horus à Edfou au temps des Ptolémées*. Vol. 1. Bibliothèque d'étude 20. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

Arnold, Dieter
1962 *Wandrelief und Raumfunktion in ägyptischen Tempeln des Neuen Reiches*. Münchner Ägyptologische Studien 2. Berlin: Bruno Hessling.

Arnold, Felix
2004 Pharaonische Prozessionsstraßen: Mittel der Machtdarstellung unter Königin Hatschepsut. In *Macht der Architektur-Architektur der Macht*, ed. Ernst-Ludwig Schwandner, and Klaus Rheidt, pp. 13 - 23. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.

Assmann, Jan
1991 Das ägyptische Prozessionsfest. In *Das Fest und das Heilige: Religiöse Kontrapunkte zur Alltagswelt*, Studien zum Verstehen fremder Religionen 1, ed. Jan Assmann, and Theo Sundermeier, pp. 105 - 122. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn.

Barthelmess, Petra
1992 *Der Übergang ins Jenseits in den thebanischen Beamtengräbern der Ramessidenzeit*. Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens 2. Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag.

Beinlich, Horst
2006 Zwischen Tod und Grab. *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 34, pp. 17 - 31.

Bell, Lanny
1997 Luxor Temple and the *Opet* -Festival. In *Temples of ancient Egypt*, ed. Byron Shafer, pp. 157 - 176. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Burgos, Franck, and François Larché
2006 *La chapelle rouge: Le sanctuare de barque d'Hatshepsout*. Vol. 1. Paris: Recherche sur les Civilisations.

Cabrol, Agnès
2001 *Les voies processionnelles de Thèbes*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 97. Leuven: Peeters.

Eaton, Katherine
2004 The ritual functions of processional equipment in the Temple of Seti I at Abydos. PhD dissertation, New York University, Graduate School of Arts and Science.
2007 Memorial temples in the sacred landscape of Nineteenth Dynasty Abydos: An overview of processional routes and equipment. In *The archaeology and art of ancient Egypt: Essays in honor of David B. O'Connor*, Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte 36, ed. Zahi Hawass, and Janet Richards, pp. 231 – 250. Cairo: Conseil Suprême des Antiquités de l'Égypte.

Epigraphic Survey, The
1994 *The festival procession of Opet in the collonnade hall*. Oriental Institute Publications 112. Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

Fairman, Herbert
1954- Worship and festivals in an Egyptian temple. *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 37 (1954 - 1955), pp. 165 - 203.

Gillen, Todd
2005a The historical inscription on Queen Hatshepsut's Chapelle Rouge: Part 1: ***bjꜥ.yt*** ("wonder") and the divine oracle. *Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology* 16, pp. 7 - 14.
2005b The historical inscription on Queen Hatshepsut's Chapelle Rouge: Part 2: Translation. *Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology* 16, pp. 15 - 28.

Hoffmann, Friedhelm, and Joachim Quack
2007 *Anthologie der demotischen Literatur*. Einführungen und Quellentexte zur Ägyptologie 4. Münster: LIT.

Jansen-Winkeln, Karl
1999 Die Wahl des Königs durch Orakel in der 20. Dynastie. *Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie Genève* 23, pp. 51 - 61.

Karlshausen, Christina
1995 L'évolution de la barque processionelle d'Amon à la 18e dynastie. *Revue d'Égyptologie* 46, pp. 119 - 138.

Kruchten, Jean-Marie
1997 Profane et sacré dans le temple égyptien: Interrogations et hypothèses à propos du rôle et du fonctionnement du temple égyptien. *Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie Genève* 21, pp. 23 - 37.

Kucharek, Andrea
2006 Die Prozession des Osiris in Abydos: Zur Signifikanz archäologischer Quellen für die Rekonstruktion eines zentralen Festrituals. In *Archäologie und Ritual: Auf der Suche nach der rituellen Handlung in den antiken Kulturen Ägyptens und Griechenlands*, ed. Joannis Mylonopoulos, and Hubert Roeder, pp. 53 - 64. Vienna: Phoibos Verlag.

Kurth, Dieter
1994 Die Reise der Hathor von Dendera nach Edfu. In *Ägyptische Tempel: Struktur, Funktion und Programm (Akten der Ägyptologischen Tempeltagungen in Gosen 1990 und in Mainz 1992)*, Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 37, ed. Rolf Gundlach, and Matthias Rochholz, pp. 211 - 216. Hildesheim: Gerstenberg Verlag.

Meyer, Sibylle

1998 Festlieder zum Auszug Gottes. In *Feste im Tempel: 4. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung, Köln, 10. - 12. Oktober 1996*, Ägypten und Altes Testament 33, ed. Rolf Gundlach, and Matthias Rochholz. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Müller, Vera

2006 Archäologische Relikte kultischer Aktivitäten in Umm el-Qa'ab/Abydos. In *Archäologie und Ritual: auf der Suche nach der rituellen Handlung in den antiken Kulturen Ägyptens und Griechenlands*, ed. Joannis Mylonopoulos, and Hubert Roeder, pp. 37 - 52. Vienna: Phoibos Verlag.

Murnane, William

1982 Opetfest. In *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, Vol. 4 (columns 574 - 579), ed. Wolfgang Helck, and Wolfhard Westendorf. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Porter, Bertha, and Rosalind Moss

1972 *Topographical bibliography of ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic texts, reliefs, and paintings, Volume 2: Theban temples*. Oxford: Griffith Institute. (Second edition, revised; With assistance by Ethel Burney; Originally published 1929.)

Quack, Joachim

1998 Sprach- und redaktionsgeschichtliche Beobachtungen zum Choiak-text von Dendera. In *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists, Cambridge, 3 - 9 September 1995*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 82, ed. Christopher Eyre, pp. 921 - 930. Leuven: Peeters.

Richards, Janet

2005 *Society and death in ancient Egypt: Mortuary landscapes of the Middle Kingdom*. New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Roth, Silke

2006 Der Herrscher im Fest: Zur rituellen Herrschaftslegitimation des ägyptischen Königs und ihrer Außendarstellung im Rahmen von Festen. In *In Pharaos Staat: Festschrift für Rolf Gundlach zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. Dirk Bröckelmann, and Andrea Klug, pp. 205 - 249. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Sadek, Ashraf Iskander

1987 *Popular religion in Egypt during the New Kingdom*. Hildesheimer ägyptologische Beiträge 27. Hildesheim: Gerstenberg.

Sethe, Kurt

1929 *Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis: Eine Untersuchung über Ursprung und Wesen des ägyptischen Götterkönigs*. Berlin: Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Stadelmann, Rainer

1982 Prozessionen. In *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, Vol. 4 (columns 1160 - 1164), ed. Wolfgang Helck, and Wolfhart Westendorf. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Ullmann, Martina

2002 *König für die Ewigkeit: die Häuser der Millionen von Jahren: eine Untersuchung zu Königskult und Tempeltypologie in Ägypten*. Ägypten und Altes Testament 51. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Waitkus, Wolfgang

1998 Zur Deutung von zwei Besuchsfesten der Göttlichen Stätte (*jꜥt-netsśherjt*) von Edfu. In *Feste im Tempel: 4. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung, Köln, 10. - 12. Oktober 1996* 33, ed. Rolf Gundlach, and Matthias Rochholz, pp. 155 - 174. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Wolf, Walther

1931 *Das schöne Fest von Opet: Die Festzugsdarstellung im grossen Säulengange des Tempels von Luksor*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.

Ziermann, Martin
2004 Macht und Architektur: Zwei altägyptische Tempel und ihre städtebauliche Rolle bis zur Wende zum 2. Jt. v. Chr. In *Macht der Architektur - Architektur der Macht*, ed. Ernst-Ludwig Schwandner, and Klaus Rheidt, pp. 34-47. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.

# *Image Credits*

Figure 1 Ramesses III leaving the palace in a palanquin carried by princes and officials during the festival of Min (Great Temple of Ramesses III, Medinet Habu, second court; see Porter and Moss 1972: 499: 96 - 98 I 1). Photo courtesy of the author.

Figure 2 The processional bark of Amun Userhat (Great Temple of Ramesses III, Medinet Habu, second court; see Porter and Moss 1972: 500: 96 - 98 II 2). Photo courtesy of the author.

Figure 3 Statue of the god Min in procession with decorated cloth carried by priests (Great Temple of Ramesses III, Medinet Habu, second court; see Porter and Moss 1972: 499: 96 - 98, I 3). Photo courtesy of the author.

Figure 4 Hatshepsut (now hacked out) welcoming the procession, and Thutmosis III censing before the processional bark of Amun carried by priests (Red Chapel; see Burgos and Larché 2006: 98). Photo courtesy of the author.

Figure 5 Offerings consecrated to Amun in his processional bark (Red Chapel; see Burgos and Larché 2006: 246). Photo courtesy of the author.

Figure 6 Hatshepsut offering a field to Amun in his processional bark and performing a ritual course with the Apis bull; the processional bark rests in a station sanctuary alongside the processional way (Red Chapel; see Burgos and Larché 2006: 110). Photo courtesy of the author.