"THE HOUSE OF THE MORNING"

BY AYLWARD M. BLACKMAN, D.Litt.

As I have pointed out in a recent article, the Pharaoh had to undergo purification before officiating in a temple. Inscriptions in the temples of Edfu and Philae, and two passages in the famous Piankhi Stele inform us that the purification took place in a special chamber of the temple called (pr-dwlt). The two last mentioned passages are as follows:—"His majesty proceeded to the House of [Ptah]; his purification was performed in the pr-dwlt, there were performed for him all the ceremonies that are performed for a king. (Then) he entered into the temple"; "(He) came in procession to the House of Re, and entered the temple with loud acclamation, the chief lector praising the god and repelling those hostile to the king. The (rite of the) pr-dwlt was performed, the self-sacrifice was fastened on, and he (the king) was purified with incense and cool water." See also the following passage in the so-called Papyrus of the "Hathorine Maid":—"Hathor N., thy purification is performed in the pr-dwlt of the king, and thou livest." Reliefs depicting the purification of the Pharaoh in the pr-dwlt occur in a number of temples. They show that he was robed and crowned as well as purified; in fact the pr-dwlt was a ceremonial Toilet-chamber.

A not uncommon title in the Old Kingdom, but not known outside that period, except in the archaistic inscriptions of the XXVIth Dynasty, is (here sit?) w pr-dwit, Supervisor of the Mysteries of the pr-dwlt. The following is a list of all the persons I know of who bore this title. The other titles that are closely associated with it follow each name in the order of their occurrence.

2 Kees, Recueil de Travaux, vol. xxxvi, pp. 4-8.
3 Demmer, Kunsprachwissenschaft, p. 10.
5 Schiaparelli, Libri dei Riti, p. 103.
6 Schiaparelli, Libri dei Riti, p. 138.
8 E.g., Demmer, Der Urkundenschatz der Pharaonen, Pl. III, above seated figure.
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1. IV-V. Kinuer
2. IV. Thouti
3. IV. Dobsen
4. IV. Innemin
5. IV-V. Nini
6. IV-V. Sethu
7. V. Khnumhotep
8. V. Rekhboth

Unique Friend, Controller of the Palace, Supervisor of the Mysteries of the pre-dynastic (Egyptian Stelae in the Brit. Mus., Part I, Pl. 4). K. was a son of Nebet, a Vizier and Chief Justice, and superintendent of that king’s pyramid.

(c) Unique Friend, Chief Nekhebite, Supervisor etc., Keeper of the Crown (op. cit., Pl. 40, c).

(b) Friend, Controller of the Palace, Supervisor of the Contributions in the House of Life (op. cit., Pl. 63, c).

(a) Unique Friend, Chief Lector, Supervisor etc., Keeper of the Crown, Who adorns Horus (op. cit., Pl. 32, a).

B) Unique Friend, Supervisor etc., Controller of the Palace (op. cit., Pl. 86, b).

(c) Unique Friend, Supervisor etc., Controller of the Palace (op. cit., Pl. 87).

(d) Unique Friend, Supervisor etc., Controller of the Palace (op. cit., Pl. 34, a).

(e) Unique Friend, Controller of the Palace, Supervisor etc., Keeper of the Crown, Who adorns Horus, Supervisor of the Contributions in the House of Life (op. cit., Pl. 36, c).

He was a “king’s oldest son” and also bears the titles of Vizier, Chief Justice, Controller of the Palace, and Lector.

(a) Unique Friend, Controller of the Palace, Supervisor etc., Keeper of the Crown (op. cit., Pl. 35).

(b) Unique Friend, Controller of the Palace, Supervisor etc., Keeper of the Crown, Who adorns Horus, Supervisor of the Contributions in the House of Life (op. cit., Pl. 37, a).

He was also an Inspector of the solar-priests of the sun-temple of Userkaf.

He was also a Superintendent of the King’s Linen, Superintendent of the King’s Adornment, Superintendent of the Bathroom of Pharaoh, a re-b-priest of the pyramid of the same king, and a re-b-priest of the pyramid of Nebu.

1 See Index, Beiträge zur Ägyptischen Sprache, vol. 40, p. 125. The title of Khnumhotep, the Younger, line 7 ill. (Egypt. Stelae in the Brit. Mus., Part II, Pl. 9), closely associates this title with the priesthood of the royal diadems etc., “supporting the white crown in the presence of the chief Nekhebites, second of the red crown in the presence…cautious in his speech, wise in the presence of the red crown, when wearing the badge of the palace…to appear in all the courts and at all times.”


3 See Manetho, Les Monarchies des Anciens Egyptiens.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Title</th>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>V.</td>
<td>Sekhemkhet</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(a) Unique Friend, Controller of the Palace, Supervisor etc. (Top., Pt. II, Pl. 41, 4).</td>
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<td>(b) Chief Lector of his Father, Unique Friend, Supervisor etc. (op. cit., Pl. 41, 4).</td>
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<td>He was a King's son, Vizier, and Chief Justice, and also bore the title &quot;Ameko the Embalmer&quot; (op. cit., Pl. 43).</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>V.</td>
<td>Wedjytah</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Unique Friend, Keeper of the Crown, Supervisor etc. (Max., Most., pp. 269 foll.). He was also a Vizier, Chief Justice, Chief Lector, and Scribe of the (God's Book.</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>V.</td>
<td>Kemremet</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>(a) Unique Friend, Chief Nekhebite, His Lord's favourite Controller of the Palace, Supervisor etc., Supervisor of the Contributions in the House of Life (Max., Most., p. 176). He was also a prophet of the pyramid of Nuserret.</td>
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<td>(b) Beloved Unique Friend, His Lord's favourite Keeper of the Crown, Unique Friend, Lector, His Lord's favourite Supervisor etc. (loc. cit.).</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(c) Unique Friend, Keeper of the Crown, Unique Friend, Chief Nekhebite, Supervisor etc. (op. cit., Pl. 60).</td>
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<td>(d) Unique Friend, Keeper of the Crown, Chief Nekhebite, Superintendent of all the King's Adornment, Director of the Wig-makers of the King, Supervisor etc. (op. cit., Pl. 83).</td>
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<td>(e) Director of Pharaoh's Wig-makers, Supervisor etc., Chief Nekhebite, Controller of the Palace (op. cit., Pl. 52).</td>
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<td>(f) Unique Friend, Keeper of the Crown, Director of the Wig-makers of Pharaoh, Supervisor etc. (M. O., p. 6). Ti was also a superintendent of the pyramid of Nefertar, superintendent of the prophet of that pyramid, and superintendent of the pyramid of Nespertah. He was moreover superintendent of the sun-temple of Salyret, Neferirka, Nefruret, and Nuseret (op. cit., p. 6).</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>V.</td>
<td>Tapenreikh</td>
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<td>Keeper of the Crown, Supervisor etc., Controller of the Palace, Servant of the Throne (Boucharier, Das Grab des Königs Re-Deret, p. 139).</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>V.</td>
<td>Ti</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(a) Unique Friend, Supervisor etc. (Smitakan, Das Grab des Ti, Pl. 37).</td>
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<td>(b) Beloved Unique Friend, His Lord's favourite Keeper of the Crown, Unique Friend, Lector, His Lord's favourite Supervisor etc. (loc. cit.).</td>
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<td>(c) Unique Friend, Keeper of the Crown, Unique Friend, Chief Nekhebite, Supervisor etc. (op. cit., Pl. 61).</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(d) Unique Friend, Keeper of the Crown, Chief Nekhebite, Superintendent of all the King's Adornment, Director of the Wig-makers of the King, Supervisor etc. (op. cit., Pl. 82).</td>
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<td>(e) Director of Pharaoh's Wig-makers, Supervisor etc., Chief Nekhebite, Controller of the Palace (op. cit., Pl. 51).</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(f) Unique Friend, Keeper of the Crown, Director of the Wig-makers of Pharaoh, Supervisor etc. (M. O., p. 6).</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>V.</td>
<td>Perneh</td>
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<td>Unique Friend, Chief Nekhebite, Keeper of the Crown, Supervisor etc. (op. cit.). He also adorns the King (The Tomb of Perneh, published by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, fig. 28, p. 89).</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>V.</td>
<td>Isetkuk</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>V.</td>
<td>Khnum</td>
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<td>Superintendent of the scribe (&quot;&quot;) of the King, Friend, Supervisor etc. (M., Most., p. 130). He was also Superintendent of the right (a royal head-gem) and Superintendent of the Chamber of the four-supernat.</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>V—VI.</td>
<td>Shedu</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>King's son of his body, Unique Friend, Supervisor etc. (op. cit., p. 303).</td>
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As the list shows, the title Supervisor of the pr-dwlt is closely associated with the well-known one Unique Friend (var. Friend). It was sometimes borne by persons of the highest rank, as in the case of nos. 1, 4, 9, 17, 18, all of whom held the offices of Vizier and Chief Justice, and four of whom were sons of kings. The Supervisor of the pr-dwlt was evidently, therefore, a functionary whose relations with the Pharaoh were of an intimate nature.

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

1 This has already been remarked on by Gardiner, Notes on the Story of Sinuhe, p. 109.
2 See Gardiner, loc. cit.
Again, we find this title standing next, or in close proximity, to those of Khor, the Keeper of the Crown (nos. 3, 7, 10, 13, 14), He who adorns Horus, i.e., the king (no. 3; cf. no. 14), Superintendent of all the adornment of the King (no. 13; cf. no. 8), Director of the wig-makers of the King, van Pharaoh (no. 13), Superintendent of the adornment of the Pharaoh (no. 13), Superintendent of the King's wardrobe (no. 13; of. no. 8), Superintendent of the King's linen, Superintendent of the King's alabaster, and Superintendent of the Pharaoh's bath-room; and Khemu (no. 16) those of Superintendent of the Royal head-dress called ḫbt, and Superintendent of the chamber of the brass-sceptre.

Though not closely associated with it in the respective enumerations of their offices, it should be noted that, in addition to the title Supervisor of the pr-dwlt, Kikheftka (no. 8) here among other titles those of Superintendent of the King's linen, Superintendent of the King's adornment, and Superintendent of the Pharaoh's bath-room; and Khemu (no. 16) those of Superintendent of the chamber of the brass-sceptre.

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

What is the literal meaning of the compound pr-dwlt? Most authorities seem to connect the element pr-dwlt with the infinitive pr-dwlt "to adore," and translate the whole by "House of Adoration." But no word pr-dwlt with the meaning "adoration" is to be found in the lexicons; indeed, so far as I can ascertain, no feminine derivative of pr-dwlt "to adore" occurs at all, except of course in the title ḫwt-ntr "Votaries of the God," where pr-dwlt must be the fem. imperfect active participle and should really be transcribed pr-dwlt. The fact that the office of Supervisor of the pr-dwlt is combined with the care of the King's diadem, wigs, ornaments, apparel, and the superintendence of his bath-room, indicates that pr-dwlt has the same meaning here as in the inscriptions referred to at the beginning of the article, namely that of Toilet-chamber, or, in other words the Old Kingdom title was the apartment or group of apartments in his palace wherein the Pharaoh was assisted at his daily toilet by specially privileged courtiers.

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The only support for the rendering "House of Adoration" is afforded by two writings of the compound, one occurring in the passage from the very late Papyrus of the "Hathorienne Sais," quoted in full on p. 148, and the other in a passage in the Story of Sinohe. In the former instance pr-dwlt is determined with 𓊪, viz. 𓊪 𓊪 𓊪 𓊪 𓊪 𓊪 𓊪 𓊪, thus: 𓊪 𓊪 𓊪 𓊪 𓊪 𓊪 𓊪 𓊪 𓊪 𓊪 𓊪 𓊪 𓊪 𓊪 𓊪 𓊪. In all other instances that I know of, except one, the determinative of pr-dwlt is 𓊪, or else there is no determinative at all. In that one exceptional instance pr-dwlt is determined with 𓊪, thus: 𓊪 𓊪 𓊪 𓊪 𓊪 𓊪 𓊪 𓊪 𓊪 𓊪 𓊪 𓊪 𓊪 𓊪 𓊪 𓊪.

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

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

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

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

1. GARDEN, Notes on the Story of Sinohe, p. 108.
2. Lappock, Das Leben aus Ägypten und Äthiopien, Part II, PL 35.
3. Borchardt, Berliner Papyri, p. 1621; Reisner, Ägyptocheopische Glauben, p. 149.

When this paper was more than half written I found that Griffith (op. cit., p. 401) also favours the rendering "House of the Morning.

1. Thus an inscription at Philae, which is concerned with the boreal washing of the Pharaoh, the embodiment of the sun-god, speaks of Thoth as "the Thoth of Ref." (H. SCHAEFFER, Magna Graeca, p. 10).


See the writer's NEW PAPYRI, PTOLEMAIC (EGYPTIAN) IN HISTORICAL, op. cit., p. 209.

See BLACKMAN, op. cit., p. 100, note 107, and of the lustration formula which states that the water "bears the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, "the sun every day" (ibid., p. 100).

Journ. of Egypt. Arch., v.
For example:- Hymns to the sun-god are commonly prefaced by the following or similar words: "Praise (ānš) of Re, when he ariseth in the eastern horizon of heaven, by N., who saw," and then follows the actual hymn.

Piankhi informs us that he went at dawn "very early" (det detš) to make offering to Atmn at Khâr'eba, and that on another occasion he "went to the High Sand-hill in Heliopolis and made a great offering on the High Sand-hill in Heliopolis in the presence of Re at his rising." It is most significant that before making this offering to Re at dawn "he purified himself in the Cool Pool, and washed his face in the Stream of Nun, in which Re washes his face."

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

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

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

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

1 Hedley, Book of the Dead, Hieroglyphic Text, pp. 1, 3, 6, 8, 39; cf. p. 11, line 5 foll.; Davies, El-Amarna, vol. II, p. 289, Pt. X.LV.
4 See Barbe, Ägypten und der Sudan, ed. 1913, p. 267.
5 The modern felúkh still arises at dawn to pray, and before praying squats upon the bank of the Nile or of a canal to perform his ablutions. May we not recognize in these acts a survival from the days of his sun-worshipping ancestors?
6 See the writer's art. Rechtwahrheiten (Egyptia) in Hastings, op. cit., p. 790.
7 See Breasted, History of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt, p. 17.
8 E.g., "Re, who saw, (ānsš) Re when he ariseth in the eastern horizon of heaven, by N., who saw,"..."The gods rise up early to adore her." (Erman, loc. cit.), where there is evidently a play on the two-fold meaning of the root detš.
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Dawn is perhaps also indicated by a passage in the Pyramid Texts which represents the dead Pharaoh as washing himself when the sun-god appears in the horizon. Finally my suggestion is supported by a passage in the biographical inscription of Khentemsernti., which implies that the Opening of the Mouth, a rite derived in its main features from that of the pr-dwlt, was performed at dawn. The passage speaks of Khentemsernti as "Great sun in the House of Gold (the sculptors' workshop) when the god is born (or fashioned) in the morning".

How came it about that the same name was assigned to the toilet-chamber or chambers of an Old Kingdom royal palace as to the temple-vestry? The following seems to be the right explanation.

The residence of the Heliopolitan king, since he was also, of course, high-priest of the sun-god, was doubtless attached to the temple of that divinity. The House of the Morning (pr-dwlt), therefore, was as much an adjunct of the one building as of the other. The belief that the king was the embodiment of the sun-god, and the custom concomitant thereof of ceremonially washing and arraying him every day in the early morning, were still maintained after Heliopolis ceased to be the seat of the central government and when in consequence the royal residence was separated from the sun-temple. Accordingly the name "House of the Morning" was assigned to the group of apartments in the palace in which the king's morning toilet took place.

That I am right in ascribing a ceremonial significance to the Pharaoh's daily morning toilet during the Old Kingdom is indicated by the fact that the title Supervisor of the pr-dwlt is often closely associated with that of Chief Lector, var. Lector (nos. 3, 4, 9, 10, 18–20, 23); in the case of nos. 3, 18–20, and 23, the latter title or its variant immediately precedes the former. In this connection it should be pointed out that a lector figured at the ceremonial toilet performed in the temple pr-dwlt. For example, in a fragmentary relief from the sun-temple of Nuserrer a lector is depicted officiating at the washing of the Pharaoh's feet: a purificatory episode in the Sed-festival and one that doubtless took place in the pr-dwlt of that temple. Again, Psusennes Stele, line 103, associates the recitations of a lector with the purification of the Pharaoh in the pr-dwlt of the sun-temple at Heliopolis. It is also to be noted that many Supervisors of the pr-dwlt were distinctly priestly persons, namely nos. 7, 11, 18, 22; see also below, p. 164.

After the fall of the Sixth Dynasty the religious aspect of the Pharaoh's early morning toilet seems to have been entirely lost sight of. This was probably due to the seat of government shifting from Memphis to Harkhopolis Magna, when accordingly the influence of the Heliopolitan priests would have waned, owing to the distance between their city and the new capital. The office of Supervisor of the pr-dwlt was not, it would seem, held by any officials of the Theban Pharaohs of the Middle Kingdom, and pr-dwlt as the name of the toilet apartments in the royal palace appears to have fallen out of use. However, in the Story of Sinahe a parallel compound "prasyuty-dwlt," "Cabinet of the Morning,"
is employed to denote the toilet-chambers in the house of a Middle Kingdom prince. But not a vestige of any religious significance seems to have been attached to this "cabinet"; it was simply a place where a person bathed, dressed, and was shaved.

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

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

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

1 Gardiner, Notes on the Story of Sinuhe, pp. 106 foll.
2 See Gardiner, op. cit., p. 182.
3 Gardiner, op. cit., p. 182.
4 See above, p. 146.
5 See the writer's art. Khentokhmos (Egyptian), in Hastings, op. cit., p. 797; Eusebius, Handbook of Egyptian Religion, p. 661.
6 See the writer's art. Purification (Egyptian), in Hastings, op. cit., p. 478.
8 E.g., Schaeffer, op. cit., p. 32 = Piankhi Stele, line 104.
9 The formula that the priest recited when he offered the figure is clearly of solar origin; see Montet, Rituel du culte solaire, Journal des Egypt., pp. 136 fodi.
10 See above, p. 397.
11 See above, pp. 118 foll., where, in discussing the wearing of masks by priests, I might have referred...
to the sun-god and was identified with Nun, the primaeval ocean out of which the god had in the first instance been born. By means of the lustration the king was, as we have seen (p. 153), thought to be reborn and at the same time to be endowed with solar qualities. The lustrators, as they poured the water over the king, repeated formulae which represent him as imbued with life and good fortune and rejuvenated like the sun-god, or which assert that his purification is that of the gods Horus, Thoth, and Seth themselves, and also that of a god called Sepa, who was closely connected somehow or other with the Heliopolitan sun-cult. The incense-smoke not only purified the king, but through its medium he was brought into communion with the four above-mentioned gods and their ions and also with his own ka. The natron, so one of the formulæ pronounced at its presentation informs us, is that of those same four gods, indeed it has been chewed and spat out by Horus and Seth, and when the king himself has chewed it his mouth becomes "like the mouth of a calf of milk on the day it was born." The natron also divinized the recipient. The king was thus regenerated, brought into contact with the gods and imbued with their unearthly qualities, and his mouth was made fit to pronounce the formulæ that accompanied the various ritual acts and to chant the hymns in praise of the god. So much for the Rite of the pre-dwt in so far as it concerned the living king.

Before the dead king could ascend to heaven, where he was assimilated to, or identified with, the sun-god, or else hold the position of the god's son, it was thought necessary for him to undergo the same lustration as that undergone by the living king in the pre-dwt, and at the hands of the same gods. The rite of preparing the dead king's body for burial was therefore as nearly a replica as possible of the ceremonial toilet of the living king. This comes out clearly in the scene representing the purification of the dead Dhuthotpe, whose place in the archetype of that scene would have been occupied by a figure of the Pharaoh, cf. also the passage already quoted on p. 148 which speaks of the deceased as being "purified in the pre-dwt of the king."—a statement which suggests that pre-dwt could be used to denote the embalmer's workshop, viewed as the place in which the body was in the statement of the historian Appian about a certain Volusius, who escaped arrest by assuming the garb of a priest of Isis, which consisted of a long line garment and a mask in the form of a dog's head (Pliny, Natural History, vol. ii, p. 85, note E).

1 BLACKMAN, op. cit., pp. 87 foll.; especially note the lustration formulæ quoted from Junger, Studienmachen, p. 67, and referred to in note 5, p. 153 of this article.
2 See "His oratory proceeded to Heliopolis upon the hill of Khor'sheb, upon the road that Sepa takes to Kher'abu," BLACKMAN, op. cit., p. 37; also KEES, op. cit., vol. xxxvi, pp. 12 foll.
3 Ibid. 
4 See above, p. XVIII, pp. 117 foll.
washed before or during embalmment. This suggestion is possibly further supported by part of an inscription that accompanies one out of the numerous representations of funerary ceremonies in the tomb-chapel of Reichmire\(^1\). Some of these ceremonies may well have taken place while the body was being prepared for burial; they do not appear to be arranged with any particular regard for the order of their actual occurrence.

Beside a lector, standing book in hand, are the words in question—"Going on land by the lector in front of the pr-dwlt." Beyond the inscription stands a group of mortuary officiants, consisting of a sen-priest, a father-of-the-god, an insinbkeb, the two female mourners who impersonated Isis and Nephthys, and lastly the lector himself. Immediately in front of them is a building which the two female mourners are fumigating with incense. This building is doubtless the pr-dwlt mentioned in the neighbouring inscription. The embalmer's workshop is usually called wcbI, the Place of Purification, or pr nfr, the Good House, or else more fully the Place of Purification of the Good House\(^2\). It is perhaps worth pointing out that the representation of the funerary pr-dwlt in this scene in Reichmire\('s tomb-chapel (Fig. 1) closely resembles the representation of the wcbI in a scene in the tomb-chapel of the youngest of the three Ppi\(\text{to{khs} at M\(\text{ir}\) (Fig. 2).

Through the lustral washing as we learn from a number of religious texts, the dead like the living king was reborn and acquired solar qualities and characteristics\(^3\). He was supposed, however, to be reborn not only once, i.e. before his body was buried, but, like the sun-god himself with whom he was closely associated, he was believed to undergo lustration and be reborn every day. Accordingly one would expect the performance of a rite based upon that of the pr-dwlt to have taken place daily in the chapel or temple attached to the king's tomb. Apparently this is exactly what did occur.

But it was impossible to wash the corpse itself at this daily performance, as it lay inaccessible in the vault at the top of the burial-pit. Accordingly a libation of water poured out in the cultus-Tomb-Chapel of Pe-picotkh. This building, or rather what remains of it, has been described in detail by the writer (ibid., p. 399). When the corpse decayed, or if it were destroyed, the rite would have lacked reality; it would have been felt that there must be an intact body to which the officiants might direct their thoughts and acts\(^4\)—indeed if the body were not intact the daily rebirth, and therefore the continuance of the posthumous existence, of the deceased would have been regarded as seriously imperilled if

\[^{1}\text{VIREY, Le Tombeau de Rekhmara, Pl. XXV III, bottom register; see also KEEN, Recueil de Travaux, vol. xxxvi, p. 14.}
\[^{2}\text{DAVIES-SMITH, The Tomb of Amenemhet, pp. 35, 57.}
\[^{3}\text{See the writer's art. PRIEST, PRIESTHOOD (Egyptian), in HASTINSS, op. cit., p. 301; xiv, (b).}
\[^{4}\text{See DAVIES-SMITH, op. cit., p. 41, note 4; BLACKMAN, The Rock Tombs of Nubia, vol. I, p. 8.}
\[^{5}\text{BLACKMAN, Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, vol. xxiv, p. 625d.}
\[^{6}\text{Ibid., p. 61 with note 39 and p. 62.}
\[^{7}\text{For a somewhat similar idea see W. S. BLACKMAN, The Magical and Ceremonial Uses of Fire, in Folk-Lore, vol. xxvii, pp. 298-302.}\]
THE HOUSE OF THE MORNING

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

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

The practical identity of the Rite of the Opening of the Mouth with that of the pre-doll was fully realized by the Egyptians themselves. Thus in an inscription of the Nineteenth Dynasty the name pre-doll, House of the Morning, is assigned to the place in which the Opening of the Mouth of an Apis-bull was performed.

How closely the Egyptians connected a statue with the person it represented appears in the following quotation:

He (Ptah) formed their (the gods') body of every kind of wood, every kind of stone, every kind of metal.

The view that mummification was of Solar rather than Osirian origin finds some support in the tradition that it was the sun-god Re who sent Amentis to embalm Osiris (HARMANDY, Development of Religion and Thought, p. 280). Again according to Pyc., §§ 725-726, 1600-1604, Osiris was raised to life by Re, and a passage in a text published by JUSSER, Ötterdekret über das Abaton, p. 57, mentions the mummification and burial of Osiris with the gods of Heliopolis.

Again according to Pyc., §§ 721 c, 1500-1504, Osiris was raised to life, and a passage in a text published by JUSSER, Ötterdekret über das Abaton, p. 57, connects the mummification and burial of Osiris with the gods of Heliopolis.

According to the version on the coffin of Bubastis incense was also burnt before the immersion (BUDGE, The Book of Opening the Mouth, vol. 1, p. 1; DAVIES-GARDINER, op. cit., pp. 57 f.).

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In Old Kingdom times the portrait-statue (there were often several statues) was placed for safety's sake in a walled-up chamber that generally adjoined the cult-room. No doubt this practice dates from the time when portrait-statues were first employed in the funerary cult. The only communication between the statue-chamber and the cult-room was a narrow slit or squint; sometimes, as in the mastabeh of Ti, there were as many as three squints. As to the purpose for which the squint served see the writer's article in the Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, vol. III, pp. 555 foll.

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

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

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

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

As for the fourth month, last day, the raising of the 5th column (takes place) in Bastet, on this day of entering Osiris in the Region of Bush in the vault under the falcon-kerchief, for it is on this day that the divine body (of Osiris) enters into him after the burning of Osiris (Lotter, Recueil de Travaux vol. IV, p. 22).

1 E.g. see STEINDORF, Der Grab des Ti, Blatt 1.
2 See e.g. Murray, Supposse Ruins, Part I, Pl. XVIII, p. 36.
4 Pps, §§ 16ULL.
The pouring out of water over the officiant's hands and the burning of incense had become the traditional way of beginning the daily or periodical service for the dead. In the combination of the older and newer rites these two acts retained their customary position. But after them were inserted two episodes, which, as we have seen, were characteristic marks of the Rite of the pr-dwât, episodes representing the lustral washing of the king and the purification of his mouth with natron. The rite was performed in front of the so-called false door (through which the dead had access to the world of the living) and not, as in the case of the daily temple liturgy, in the presence of a cultus-statue. For, as we have seen, the statue was placed in a walled-up chamber and was almost as inaccessible as the corpse. The lustral washing, therefore, as already stated on p. 158, took the form of a libation. The burning of incense, which usually followed directly after the lustration, was omitted here (probably because incense had been burnt just previously), and the officiants passed straight on to the offering of natron for the purification of the mouth. In recognition of the presence of the statues in the adjoining compartment, the officiants next produced certain implements that were used as the Opening of the Mouth. After the presentation of food and drink, by means of which the Opening of the Mouth was completed, the dead king, according to the texts in the pyramid of Neferkare, was furnished with various ceremonial garments and with royal insignia. The next series of episodes, the offering of unguents, cosmetics, and napkins, are preliminaries of the old funerary banquet. But, together with the acts immediately preceding, they also bear a general resemblance to what must have followed the purifying of the king's mouth at his daily toilet in the pr-dwât. The rite ended with the serving up of the banquet.

It might have been expected that when the use of a portrait-statue was introduced into the funerary cult, the rite, as in the case of divinities, would have been performed in its presence, and that the lustral water would have been sprinkled on it. But it must be borne in mind that there was this difference between the cult of divinities and the cult of dead kings: if the cultus-statue of a divinity were to have been destroyed or to have perished with age it would have been replaced, for the worship of a divinity was for the benefit of the community; the maintenance of the cult of dead kings, however, was in most cases for their own benefit only, and their successors could hardly, therefore, be expected to renew their statues if any mishap befell them, whereas the only safe course was to wall them up. In certain cases at Abydos there was no statue-chamber, the persons buried therein apparently not being furnished with statues. Instead, a stele with a figure of the deceased carved upon it was erected in the cult-room. The continued existence of the deceased was evidently linked with these cases, with the stele. Hence it too was walled up with blocks of stone to preserve it from damage or destruction (Junker, Vorberichte über die zweite Abteilung des Papyrus von Giebel, pp. 44 foll., with Pl. III).

In the Opening of the Mouth the statue was anointed, clothed, adorned with his jewelled collar, bracelets, etc., presented with the fara-sceptre and arrayed in a wig or in the wig of the highest priest of the royal diadem; see above, pp. 148 and 150, and cf. Borchard, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 40-63; Moser, op. cit., pp. 179 foll., and 228 foll.
We can now understand why in the tomb-chapel of Petamenope the formulae written above the so-called "List of Offerings" are preceded by the following line of text: -

"Formula: the House of the Morning (pr-dwit), what is requested in the way of offerings, the purifying of the banquet-table, for the ka of.... Petamenope the justified."  

The reason is that into the "List of Offerings," which is really a collection of directions for the due celebration of the funerary banquet, has been incorporated a version of the Rite of the pr-dwit.

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

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

As we have seen, several of the local divinities were identified with the sun-god. Now the king in one aspect was regarded as the son of the sun-god; he was therefore regarded as the son of the gods identified with the sun-god. This idea of sonship would soon affect the relationship of the king with all divinities, whether male or female. The king was also the high-priest of the sun-god, and he became high-priest of the local divinities by the same process as that by which he came to be regarded as their son. The local high-priesthoods also, of course, devolved upon the Pharaoh as the supreme head of the centralized government of Egypt, in whom were united all the political and religious...
functions that once belonged to the local chiefs. As their son and high-priest he, or his deputy, would naturally have performed the same rite on behalf of the local divinities as in the first instance on behalf of the sun-god.

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

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

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

The daily service on behalf of the dead king had, as is shown by **Pyr. §§ 18 foll.,** been completely Osirianized by the end of the Fifth Dynasty. Accordingly the water used for the libation which preceded the offering of natron and which was substituted for the lustral washing of the king's body, is not identified with the water of a sacred solar pool nor associated with Horus, Thoth, Seth, and Sepe, but is said to be the moisture that has exuded from Osiris. By means of this water the dead king identified with Osiris receives back his vital fluid and his heart is no longer still (wrd), but beats again. That this libation actually does represent the old Heliopolitan lustration is shown by the fact that it is followed by the offering of natron (which act represents the purification of the mouth by the chewing of that substance), and also by the fact that the formulae pronounced when the natron was offered are the same as those recited when lustration in the Rite of the pr-d wilt, and in the closely connected Opening of the Mouth and daily temple liturgy. In these two last-mentioned rites, and in the version of the Rite of the pr-d wilt preserved at Edfu, the formulae pronounced during the lustration was likewise Osirianized. The water used for sprinkling the living king and the dead king's portrait

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1 See the writer's art. *Petrie, Predynastic (Egyptian),* in *Hastings, op. cit.,* p. 289.
5 *Pyr.,* § 22 foll.
statue, is still associated with Horus, Thoth, Seth, and Osiris, but it is also said to unite the bones, adjust the head to the bones, and make the person, statue, or divinity "complete" (tn) in every particular. Thus, to the Heliopolitan formula which described the washing of the king etc. to division associated with the sun-cult, was tacked on an Osirian formula which represented the object of the lustration as a disembodied corpse that was being revivified. A similar Osirian formula was repeated at the lateral washing of the dead king, as I have shown on p. 119 of this volume of the Journal.

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

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

(a) We have seen that the title Supervisor of the pr-dwlt is closely associated with that of Unique Friend (var. Friend). In the relief referred to on p. 155, which depicts the washing of king Nuserre's feet in the pr-dwlt of his sun-temple, it is a Friend who holds the can for feet-ablations. Khnumhotpe (no. 7), a Friend, Controller of the Palace, Keeper of the Crown etc., was an Inspector of the we6-priests of Userkaf's sun-temple, while Emnemtika (no. 8), also a Friend and Controller of the Palace, besides being a Superintendent of the king's linen, the king's adornment, and the bath-room of Pharaoh, was a we6 priest of Sahure's sun-temple. Again Ti (no. 13) in addition to being a Unique Friend, Controller of the Palace, and the courtier responsible for the care of the Pharaoh's wigs and diadem, was Superintendent of the sun-temples of Sahuree, Neferirkerer, Nefrurer, and Nuserre. It is most probable, therefore, that these three functionaries not only supervised the mysteries in the pr-dwlt of the palace, but those in the pr-dwlt of the temples to which they were attached. Lastly Emnor of Dendera (no. 25), apart from that of Nemesanch (odyn), bears no titles that are not priestly, most of them being connected with the cult of Hathor. A purely local notable, as Emnor appears to have been, could hardly have officiated at the toilet of his sovereign in distant Memphis or Hemshekelopolis. In his case, therefore, Supervisor of the pr-dwlt possibly means that he took part in the ceremonies of the pr-dwlt in Hathor's temple at Dendera, when the Pharaoh came to visit the goddess and to exercise before her his high-priestly office.

(b) Kenefer (no. 1) certainly assisted the king at his daily morning toilet, as the association of the title Supervisor of the pr-dwlt with those of Unique Friend and Controller of the Palace indicates. But his being a Superintendent of his father king Snefru's pyramid suggests that he also officiated at the funerary Rite of the pr-dwlt. The same funerary function may also be assigned to Emnemtika (no. 8); see also above under a), who was a we6-priest of the pyramid of Sahure; Kemronet (no. 11), a prophet of the pyramid of Nuserre; Ti (no. 13), superintendent of the pyramid of Neferrkerer, superintendent of the prophets of that pyramid, and superintendent of the pyramid of Nuserre; Issakhef (no. 21), an official of the pyramid of Ptui 1; Sesh (no. 22), an inspector of the pyramid of Ptui 1; Morekhef (no. 18), an inspector of the prophets of Teti's pyramid; and above all to Sekhemesker (no. 9), who bore the title of Anubis the Embalmer, i.e. he was the chief officiant at the Rite of Embalming.
The above-mentioned Kenofer and Sekhankkar霏ify, also Iunmin (no. 4) and Sethu (no. 17), were sons of kings, in which connection it should be remembered that it is his sons who are represented as assisting at the washing of the dead Djehuty of El-Bersheh, and who, on the analogy of the procedure followed at the court, would have acted in the same capacity when he was alive.

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

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

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

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

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\[ \text{See above, pp. 118, 123.} \]

\[ \text{LAMARZEAU, Deuxiéme Part II, Pl. 4 foll. Metsheute statue is in the Berlin Museum, as are also the reliefs from his mausoleum. (LAMARZEAU, loc. cit., and MÉLET, The Dawn of Civilization, ed. 1894, p. 390).} \]

\[ \text{See M. A. WILLIAms, The Birth of Beehke, pp. 100 foll. and 114 foll.} \]