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ABSTRACT

الصيغ المعنونة لمناظر التعبد الملكية في المعابد المصرية القديمة منذ عصر الدولة القديمة حتى نهاية العصر المتأخر يتناول هذا البحث عرض ودراسة ست صيغ لغوية قام الباحث بتصنيفها خلال حصره مناظر تعبد الملوك في المعابد المصرية منذ عصر الدولة القديمة حتى نهاية العصر المتأخر. وقد ظهرت هذه الصيغ كعنوان لمناظر التعبد الملكية حيث أظهرت الدراسة اختلاف الصيغ الست في المعنى، كما اقتصر ظهور بعضها في مناظر ملوك بعينهم. وتهدف الدراسة إلى مناقشة وتحليل التطورات والتغييرات التي طرأت على صيغ التعبد محل الدراسة في مصر القديمة.

[EN] This paper aims to discuss the adoration formulae that appear as titles introducing the royal adoration scenes in ancient Egyptian temples from the Old Kingdom till the end of the Late Period. Six different linguistic formulae were collected during this study. They vary in meaning and some appear only in specific kings' scenes. The study demonstrates these six types, confirms their development and points out their modifications and changes in ancient Egypt.

KEYWORDS: Adoration, worshipping, king, deity, temple, *dw³-ntr*, kissing the ground.

I. INTRODUCTION

In this paper, I discuss the development of the royal adoration formulae that appear as a title introducing the adoration scenes. Six formulae were collated during this study¹ to describe the king during worshipping. These formulas vary in meaning and usage. The earliest formula defines the aggregate of adorations, which range between two and four formula specifies the adored deity such as, * 1, dw3-Wsir-Wnn-Nfr, «Adoring Osiris Wennnefer». The third type defines the adoring king and the adored god as, * \mathbb{Z}^{\bullet} \mathbb{Z}^{\bullet} Imn-R^c ir.f di 'nh, «Adoring the god [four times] by the king of Upper Egypt, lord of two lands (Usermaatre-Setepenre) to his father Amun-Re, that is what he did, may life is given to him». While the fourth formula combines the adored deities with the adoration time, as *#— MB BRI—, dw3.f R^c-hr-3h.ty m wbn.f «He adores Re-Hararkhty when he rises». The fifth one includes «kissing the ground before the deity» in the formula, for example $rac{1}{2}$ $rac{1}$ $rac{1}$ $rac{1}{2}$ $rac{1}$ $rac{1}$ $rac{1}$ $rac{1}$ $rac{1}$ $rac{1}$ $rac{$ ground, placing himself upon the belly to kiss the ground and to touch it with his fingers». Finally, the sixth formula is brief and only refers to the adoration significance as, sanctuaries shines while the adoring of the god; that is what he did; may he is given life like Re».

Nevertheless, it is essential to point out that the adoration rituals were described not only in temple scenes, but also in the pyramids texts², royal tombs scenes³ and royal funerary stelae⁴. Correspondingly, the adoration process was done by the individuals in their private tombs and funerary stelae⁵. According to Chauvet, the *dw3-ntr* «*Adoring the god*» in the private tombs bears two different meanings: one refers to «praise the god», and the other could mean «to thank the god» ⁶.

II. DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS OF THE ADORATION FORMULAE

1- First Formula [TAB 1]

The First Formula was the most familiar one; it stated the number of adoration performed by the king or his representatives during the daily rituals to the god statue. Based on the collected data, the maximum adorations time performed by the king was four, and the minimum was two, possibly done every day⁷.

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¹ For documentation of these formulae, see: [TABLES 1-6].

² SETHE 1908: Pt. 254 §§ 285c; Pt. 504 §§ 1087d-e.

³ LD 1900-1913: vol.6, BL 134; LD 1900-1913: vol.7, BL 234; BAINES & MALEK 1980: 100; SHAW 2000: 288.

⁴ Mariette 1880: Pl. 27; Petri 1903: Pl. XXXII.3.

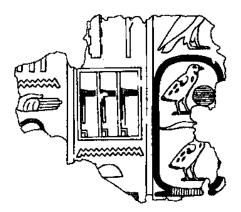
⁵ For the privates' adoration scene features see: GUNN 1916: 81-94; BAINES 1987: 79-98.

⁶ Chauvet 2015: 74–78.

⁷ For all details about the references of these data see: [TABLE 1] in this article.

A. Adoring the God Four Times

The formula *dw3-ntr sp fdw «Adoring the god four times»*, is the most common from the Old kingdom to the late period. According to Ćwiek, the earliest possible example of a royal adoration scene is on a Fourth Dynasty broken limestone block found at Lisht and belonging to Khufu⁸ [FIGURE 1].



[FIGURE 1]: Limestone block bearing the oldest adoration formula, dating back to Khufu. GEODICKE 1971: 20, Nº. 5.

As Ćwiek mentions, in the third column we read: (...) 4? n dw3 (...), «Four times? of adoring (...)». The earliest complete formula of «Adoring the god four times» appears in Senusret I's adoration scenes in the White Chapel at Karnak. The text is vertical between the king and the worshipped deity. The Middle Kingdom examples appear in two forms: (1 king) and (1) In some cases, this formula was extended with other expressions such as (1) king) and (1) In some cases, this formula was extended with other expressions such as (1) king) and (1) In some cases, this formula was extended with other expressions such as (1) king) and (1) In some cases, this formula was extended with other expressions such as (1) king) and (1) In some cases, this formula was extended with other expressions such as (1) king) and (1) In some cases, this formula was extended with other expressions such as (1) king) and (1) In some cases, this formula was extended with other expressions such as (1) king) and (1) In some cases, this formula was extended with other expressions such as (1) king) and (1) In some cases, this formula was extended with other expressions such as (1) king) and (1) In some cases, this formula was extended with other expressions such as (1) king) and (1) in some cases, this formula was extended with other expressions such as (1) king) and (1) in some cases, this formula was extended with other expressions such as (1) king) and (1) in some cases, this formula was extended with other expressions such as (1) king) and (1) in some cases, this formula was extended with other expressions such as (1) king) and (1) in some cases, this formula was extended with other expressions are some cases, this formula was extended with other expressions are some cases, this formula was extended with other expressions are some cases, this formula was extended with other expressions are some cases, this formula was extended with other expressions are some cases, this formula was extended with other expressions are some cases, this formula wa

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⁸ Unfortunately, due to the rare preservation of Old Kingdom temples, no explicit royal adoration scenes, except this one that Čwiek mentions. ĆWIEK 2003: 241.

⁹ LACAU & CHEVRIER: 1969, PL. 2, 27, 36, 41.

¹⁰ ČERNÝ 1955: PL. XXV, XXVI.

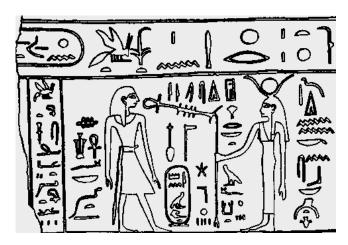
¹¹ LACAU & CHEVRIER 1969: PL. 34.

¹² LACAU & CHEVRIER 1969: PL. 34.

¹³ Based on Teeter, the early examples of this formula are dated to Senusret I. Its different forms appear with various offerings, including incense, libations, cakes, wine, milk and bread. The meaning changes according to *ir*, *di* 'nħ, and whether the f refers to the donor or the recipient. The translations of *ir*, *f* di 'nħ in the middle kingdom are «he makes given life» and «He who has given life. «While during the New Kingdom and the Late Period, it could be translated as it is done for him as the one who has given life. «He may make given life» and «He shall act for him who has given life». TEETER 1997: 55-9.

¹⁴ Werner 1985: Fig. 8.

In Senusret III and Amenemhat II's scenes at Serabit el-Khadim, a more straightforward form* [FIGURE 2].



[FIGURE 2]: Amenmhat III adores Hathor. ČERNÝ 1955: PL. XXV.

dw3-ntr sp fdw, also occurs in Seti I's scenes. The most interesting new form occurs in Seti I's small temple at Reddisiaa¹⁶, It is inscribed **[FIGURE 3]**.



[FIGURE 3]: Seti I adores Isis. LD 1900-1913: vol.6, ABTH III, 141.

¹⁵ ČERNÝ 1955: PL. XXV, XXVI.

¹⁶ LD 1900-1913: vol. 6: ABTH III, 141.

Here, the figure of the king was utilized as a part of the adoration formula to Isis. It could be a cryptographic inscription¹⁷. In this example, the author assumes that the inscriber replaced the verb * *

Seti I's formula «adoring the god four times» mentions three female adored deities. One is dedicated to Isis with the hymn [10], 20 [dw3]-ntr.t n sp fdw, «Adoring the goddess four times». Strangely, the other two appeared with Horus and Re-Harakhty. They are inscribed consecutively read * [12], dw3-ntr.t sp fdw, «Adoring the goddess four times» and [12], [dw3]-ntr.t sp fdw, «Adoring the goddess four times». The adoring female formula used with these two male gods could be mistaken here²³.

The formula «adoring the god four times» appeared in Ramses II's scenes in new hieroglyphic writings such as * $^{\circ}$ $^{\circ}$

The adoring four times formula of Merenptah demonstrates that each king of the Nineteenth Dynasty had an exceptional adoring performance. Merenptah made two changes to the formula. Firstly, he joined two formulae of different rites $-m33 \ dw3-ntr \ sp$ fdw, «Seeing and adoring the god four times». This form appears in two different ways as $3 \times 10^{10} \ and 3 \times 10^{1$

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¹⁷ Cryptography was very well known in ancient Egypt from the third dynasty, but was used extensively during the Ramesside Period. For more details see: TATERKA 2015: 71-89.

¹⁸ BORCHARDT 1913: Pl. 1, 5, 7, 12; EL-KHADRAGY 2001: 187, N° . 2.

¹⁹ EL-Khadragy 2001: 187-201.

²⁰ Calverley & Broome 1933: Pl. 20

²¹ Calverley & Broome 1933: Pl. 28.

²² Calverley & Broome 1935: Pl. 16.

²³ This explanation is supported by the king's hymns for Horus and Re-Harakhty, which speaks about Hathor's role in the destruction of mankind story. BLEEKER 1973: 48-51; LICHTHEIM 1976: 199-200.

²⁴ Donadoni et Al. 1975: Pl. XIII.

²⁵ EISSA 2017: PL.105.

²⁶ Nelson 1981: Pl.100.

²⁸ Frankfort: 1933, Pl. LXXIII.

One of the most noteworthy results of this paper is that there are no adoring scenes to Thoth from Thutmose I to Thutmose IV, although their names are derived from the god's name. This could be comprehended by Nectanebo I's adoration formula mentioned above, which explains that the utterance is hymned by the god Thoth himself.

As it well known, when carrying out certain religious rites, Thoth's role as hry-hp(.t) (lector priest)³² was assumed by the king. Another form of this title appears as hry-hp-wr-m-Bt-ntryt «Great lector priest in the gods' hill»³³. That means all Thutmoses, whose names are derived from the word Thoth cannot be depicted as the adorer king to Thoth.

Although the formula *dw³-ntr* occurs in the non-royal context³⁴, the formula *dw³-ntr sp fdw*, «*Adoring the god four times*», is usually used as a recitation of the king. It was found twice only in a non-royal context from Abydos. The first use was by Second Intermediate Period private individuals depicted adoring Min-Harnakht with *dw³-ntr sp fdw*³⁵. This may reflect kingship weakness during that period. In the absence of a strong central ruler, private individuals may have usurped what were traditionally royal formulae on their own stelae³⁶. The second example is a unique scene in the northern wall of the second hypostyle hall of Seti I's temple at Abydos. The adoration process is marked by six deities, Isis, Imentet, and Nephthys on the left and Maat and Renpet on the right, while Osiris is seated, being adored. Both Maat and Renpet adore Osiris with *dw³-ntr sp fdw in ntr.wt* «Adoring the God four times by the goddesses».

DOI: 10.21608/JGUAA2.2022.138896.1106

²⁹ EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY 1964: Pl. 491.

³⁰ *LD* 1900-1913: vol.10, ABTH V, 8.

³¹ NAVILLE 1885: PL. 1.

³² BOYLAN 1922: 143.

³³ *LGG*. 2002: vol. 6, 38; *LGG* 2002: vol. 8, 718.

³⁴ Chauvet 2015: 74-78.

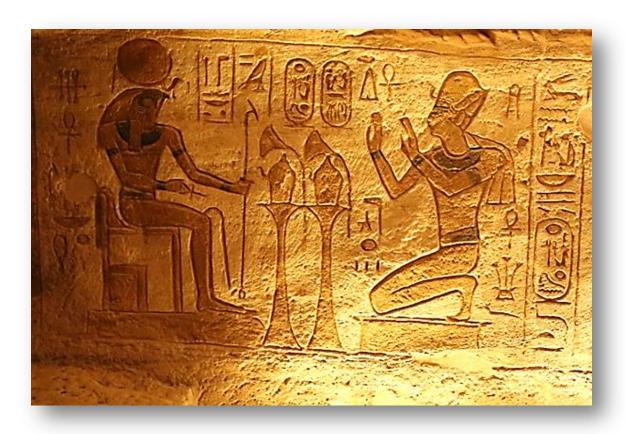
³⁵ Gauthier 1931: 562; Cramer 1936: 87-8; Simpson 1974: 20-2, Pls. 65, 67, 82, (ANOCs 49.2, 65.4 & 67.1); Aufrere 1986: 26-7.

³⁶ For more details about the political situation of the Second Intermediate Period, see: RYHOLT 1997; ABDEL WHAB & EISSA 2017: 181-193.

Adoring the God Three Times

The data collated in this study shows that the adoration formula «*Adoring the god three times*» is rare compared to the formula «*Adoring the god four times*»; it only appears in four scenes. The earliest adoration formula was with Ahmose I worshipping Min in Horus temple at Buhen³⁷, It is inscribed * IIII, *

The second is with Thutmose III adoring Horus Lord of Baki at El-Lessiya chapel³⁸. It reads 3×11^{-1} , 3×11^{-1} ,



[FIGURE 4]: Ramses II adores Re-Harakhty. ©Center of Documentation of the Ministry of Antiquities Egypt.

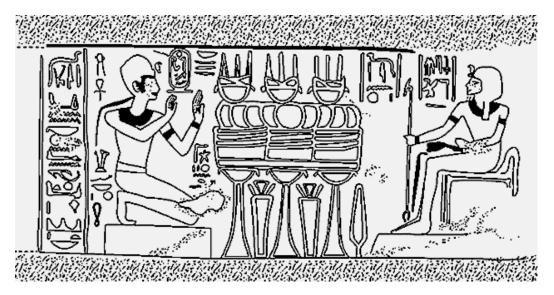
³⁷ MACIVER & WOOLLEY 1911: PL. 35.

³⁸ EL-Achiery & Aly & Dewachter 1968: Pl. XI,d2.

³⁹ An unpublished scene in room 4 of the northern rooms at the Grand Temple of Abu Simbel.

⁴⁰ NAVILLE 1891: PL. XLVII.

B. Adoring the God Two Times



[FIGURE 5]: Ramses II adores himself. EISSA 2023: FIG. 1.

The adorer king Ramses II hymns his defied form by saying $* \mathbb{R}^n$, dw3-ntr sp snw n it.f, «Adoring the god two times to his father». The adored god is sitting on his throne outside a shrine in complete human form. The inscription before the god reads \mathbb{R}^n \mathbb{R}^n

Generally, the adoration formulae of Ramses II represented him as a member of the deities' realm⁴³. The equivalency is clear when he added *«to his father»* and *«to his mother»*. The author assumes that Ramses II praised himself only two times rather than four to be far from an absolute deity. Ramses II also showed his human personality by being an ordinary king, son of the god through the expression *«to his father»*, which is added to the adoration formula. Interestingly, the appearance of Ramses II's name outside the cartouche, in the same way the deities' names were written, could be another method reflecting the divinity of Ramses II. The writing of royal names without cartouches is recognized as deliberately reflecting the orthography of their divine names and highlighting the divine persona of the king named⁴⁴.

⁴¹ MARRITTE 1869: PL. 38a.

⁴² This scene is discussed in detail in a forthcoming article by the author entitled «Did Ramses II Really Adore himself? Clear Evidence from Abu-Simbel», forthcoming 2022.

⁴³ For more details about the artistic methods that showed Ramses II as a god, see: HABACHI 1969: 1-10.

⁴⁴ GIORGINI 1998: PL. 260-261.

This method was clearly used with Amenhotep III and Tutankhamen in the Eighteenth Dynasty and Seti I and Ramses II in the Nineteenth Dynasty⁴⁵.

Ramses II's name as a deified king was also written outside a cartouche on the stela of Nakht found in the forecourt of the temple of Aksha at Nubia, built by Ramses II. This stela shows Nakht adoring Ramses II, who united with Amun (belongs to) Wser-maat-Re Setep-en-Re⁴⁶. Ramses II was deified during his lifetime. Similarly, Amenhotep III, at his temple in Soleb, presented offerings to himself as «*Nebmaatre*, *the great god*», and his name was written without a cartouche. These scenes show that the king established himself as a god and was worshipped as such while still alive⁴⁷.

Generally, it is noteworthy that most of the first adoration formula type includes adoring four times, while four examples mention the adoration three times and only two examples of adoration two times. Sethe mentions that the number four has many religious connotations; it was mainly related to the four cardinal directions, north, south, east and west⁴⁸. The number four was also involved with many royal religious rites, such as purification, sailing through the Nile, burning of incense, and it was used with different offerings, such as bread, jars four times, the ritual of four magic bricks, and rituals of throwing balls and shooting arrows in four directions⁴⁹. The question then arises if the kings were adored four times under the four compass directions, and what does it mean when they are worshipped only two or three times? I suggest that «four times» refers to four different times of the day: dawn, sunrise, noon, and sunset. While the formula «adoring god three times» expresses completeness and perfection because the value of the number three was a signifier of plurality – or unity expressed in plurality⁵⁰. This is apparent, for instance, in hieroglyphic writing: to express the plural, an ideogram may be repeated three times or have three strokes placed after the sign for the noun⁵¹. So, we can say that the three strokes under the sp sign refer to the complete plurality of the required times of worship during the day and therefore mean the same as four times.

2- Second Formula [TAB 2]

The second adoration formula mentions the names of the adored deities. The earliest example dates to Mentuhotep II. The scene shows the king praising Amun-Min in his temple at Deir El-Bahari, saying, $\sqrt[3]{6} \times \sqrt[3]{m}$ $dw3-ntr\ Imn\ [...]$, «Adoring the god, Amun-[...]»⁵².

The second use of this formula was by Senusret I, who adores Amun with f(x) = f(x) + f(x) +

DOI: 10.21608/JGUAA2.2022.138896.1106

 $^{^{45}}$ Bell 1985: 42 N° . 5.

⁴⁶ FUSCALDO 1990: 19-34.

⁴⁷ GIORGINI 1998: PL. 260-61.

⁴⁸ Sethe 1916: 31-32.

⁴⁹ The symbolism of the number four in Ancient Egyptian is discussed in detail in SETHE 1916: 31-32; RAGAIE 2007.

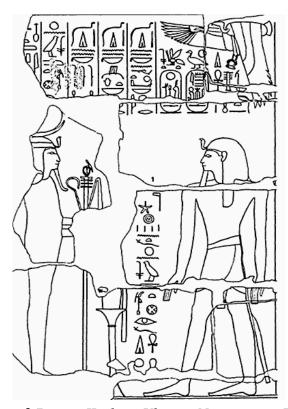
⁵⁰ SALES 2012: 118.

⁵¹ TE-VELDE 1971: 80.

⁵² NAVILLE 1910: PL. Vc.

⁵³ LACAU & CHEVRIER 1969: PL. 41.

The last two examples show Ramses II adoring Isis and Amun-Re. He adores Isis in the Grand Temple of Abu-Simbel with * $^{\circ}$ $^{\circ}$ $^{\circ}$ $^{\circ}$, dw3-ntr(.t) n mw.t.f $^{\circ}$ 3st wr(.t) nb.t p.t, $^{\circ}$ Adoring the goddess, to his mother Isis, the greatest and the lady of heaven»; while he adores Amun-Re at the great hypostyle hall at Karnak with * $^{\circ}$ $^{\circ}$



[FIGURE 6]: Ramses II adores Khonsu. NELSON 1981: PL. 100.

⁵⁴ Although the adoration formula mentions the adored god as Amun, the king's hymn mentions him as Amun-Re, see: LACAU & CHEVRIER 1969; PL. 41.

⁵⁵ BARGUET 1962: PL. XVIB.

⁵⁶ Calverley & Broome 1938: Pl.13.

⁵⁷ DONADONI & et Al. 1975 : PL. XXVII.

⁵⁸ Nelson & Murnane 1981: Pl. 36.

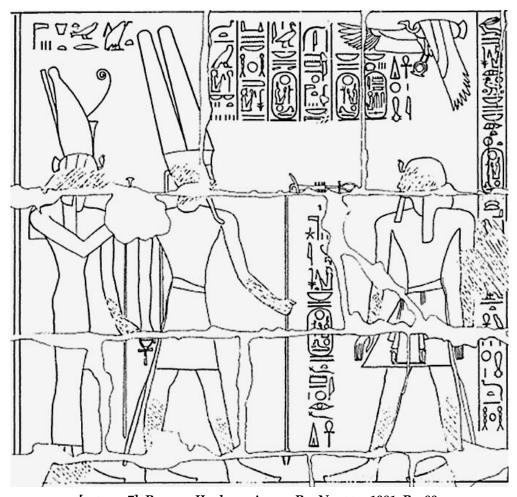
⁵⁹ EISSA 2017: 162.

⁶⁰ NELSON 1981: PL. 100.

Third Formula [TAB 3]

This formula uses the adorer king's names or titles besides the adored god's name. There are four examples of adoration formulas with royal names or titles. Two of them dated to the reign of Seti I, the third one belongs to Ramses II, and the last one is dedicated to Ramses III. Both scenes of Seti I is from his temple at Abydos with, *** Roberts of Roberts o

Similarly, Ramses II's adored Amun-Re with * TWN FOR STATE OF 63, dw3-ntr [sp fdw] in nsw.t nb-t3.wy (Wsr-m3°.t-R° stp-n-R°) n it f Imn-R° ir f di 'nh, «Adoring the god [four times] by the King of Upper Egypt, lord of two lands (Usermaatre-Setepenre) to his father Amun-Re, that is what he did, may life is given to him» [FIGURE 7].



[FIGURE 7]: Ramses II adores Amun-Re. Nelson 1981: Pl. 89.

Finally, Ramses III adores Re with [2] [64, dw3-R^c in s3 R^c nb-h^c.w (R^c-ms-s(w).hk3 Iwn), «Adoring Re by the son of Re, Lord of crowns (Ramses ruler of Thebes)».

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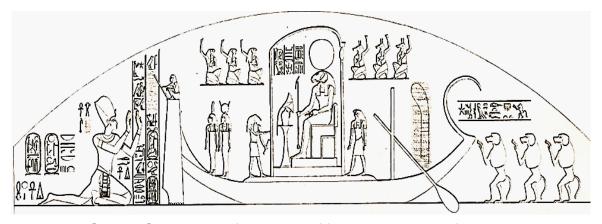
⁶¹ CALVERLEY & BROOME 1938: PL. 12a.

⁶² CALVERLEY & BROOME 1958: Pl. 47.

⁶³ NELSON 1981: PL. 89.

⁶⁴ EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY 1963: PL. 421c.

Fourth Formula [TAB 4]



[FIGURE 8]: Ramses II adores Re-Harakhty. LD 1900-1913: vol. 7, ABTH III, 181.

It seems that the fourth formulae are strongly related to the rising and setting of the solar deities. That bears indications of two probable interpretations. First of which, notice that all of words imn.t «west», 3h.t «horizon» and 3h.t i3bt.t «eastern horizon» refer to places on the horizon. The second one, which the author support, notices that these formulae refer to the timing of the royal adoration activities, which is supported if we consider the meaning of each formula. In other words, the meaning of the refers to rising when the daytime starts. Furthermore, the meaning of the right when the nighttime begins.

⁶⁵ This type of adoration formulae that mentions both the names of the adored deities and the adoration time is very common in sun hymns in privates' tombs during the New Kingdom; for details see: ASSMANN 1971: 1-34.

 $^{^{66}\} LD$ 1900-1913: vol.7, abth III, 181.

⁶⁷ ISKANDER & GOELET 2015: Pl. 4.2.15.

⁶⁸ EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY 1963: PL. 421c.

⁶⁹ I see that his resting refers to the sunset time.

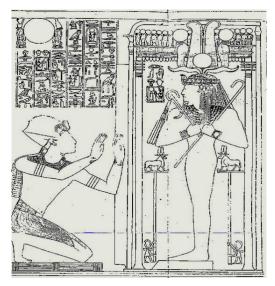
⁷⁰ EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY 1963: PL. 431.

⁷¹ EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY 1963: PL. 433.

So, these formulae enhanced that «adoring god four times» refers to four different times during the day rather than four directions.

Fifth Formula [TAB 5]

The fifth royal adoration formula, «Utterance of kissing the ground, placing himself upon the belly to kiss the ground», is used only by Seti I and its first part was used by Siptah⁷⁴. The earliest royal scene mentions this formula dates to Seti I; however, various as I 2 75, such appeared forms in Seti I's scenes, The state of the formula has two forms. The short one was, r(3)-n sn t3 rdi.t hr h.t sn t3, «Utterance of kissing the ground, placing himself upon the belly to kiss the ground», while the long one was, r(3)-n sn t3 rdi.t hr h.t sn t3 m db c .w.f, «Utterance of kissing the ground, placing himself upon the belly to kiss the ground and to touch it with his fingers». Strangely, none of Seti's scenes with the formula «Kissing the ground, laying on the belly and kissing the ground» actually show him in this position [FIGURE 9].



[FIGURE 9]: Seti I adores Osiris. CALVERLEY & BROOME 1935: Pl. 13.

DOI: 10.21608/JGUAA2.2022.138896.1106

⁷² ASSMANN 2009: 156-185.

⁷³ BECKERATH 1984: 88-97.

⁷⁴ It is important to note that the earliest mention of kissing the ground rite dates back to the Middle Kingdom. In other words, Sinuhe's story is the oldest known text that mentions the pose of lying prostrate on the ground. It mentions that Sinuhe directly laid on his belly and prostrated on the ground when he saw the king sitting in his golden kiosk, see: TAWFIK 1973: 77-80; LICHTHEIM 1973: 231; TOBIN 1995: 175, N^o.59.

⁷⁵ CALVERLEY & BROOME 1933: Pl. 4.

⁷⁶ Calverley & Broome 1935: Pl. 13.

⁷⁷ CALVERLEY & BROOME 1935: Pl. 14.



[FIGURE 10]: Siptah adores Amun-Re. LD 1900-1913: vol 6, ABTH III, 202a.

According to Dimitri Meeks, *dw*³ is more closely related to royal adoration activities than *Bw*, which is generally used, with some exceptions ⁸¹, in non-royal tombs and private funerary stelae⁸², According to Violaine Chauvet, the idiom of *dw*³-*ntr* beard two different meanings in the private tombs along the idiomatic use: one is «to praise the god» and the other is «to thank the god»⁸³.

Furthermore, the earliest known example of *dw*³ in a temple is dated to Khufu,⁸⁴ while the earliest attestation of *Bw* appears in Sahure's temple at Abusir, the scene shows a group of men adore the king's name ⁸⁵.

The second part of Siptah's adoration formula reads *snt t3 n k3.f*, *«Kissing the ground for his ka»*. Strangely, this formula is dedicated to the Ka of the god, not the god himself. The earliest use of this formula was in Sinuhe's tale⁸⁶.

DOI: 10.21608/JGUAA2.2022.138896.1106

⁷⁸ Vergnieux & Gondran 1997: 73-75, 170-173.

⁷⁹ *LD* 1900-1913: vol. 7, ABTH III, 202a.

⁸⁰ For the private adoration scene features see BAINES 1987: 79–98; GUNN 1916: 81-94.

⁸¹ MEEKS 2000: 9-23.

⁸² SIMPSON 1974: 20-2, PL. 67, 65, 82, (ANOC 49.2, 65.4, 67.1).

⁸³ CHAUVET 2015: 74-78.

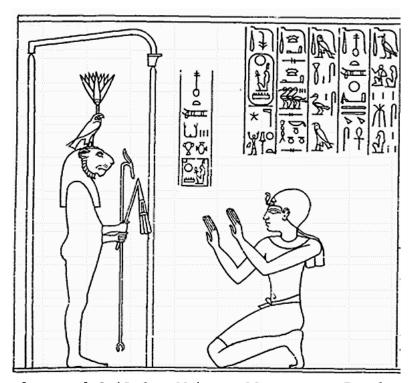
⁸⁴ ĆWIEK 2003: 241.

⁸⁵ BORCHARDT 1913: 12.

Alike, the earliest mention of Aten appeared in the same text ⁸⁷. Therefore, there might be a connection between Aten, kissing the grounds and lying on the belly, which raises the question of whether the actual depiction of royal prostration and kissing the ground was only connected with worshipping Aten? considering that Akhenaten was the only king depicted kissing the ground and lying on his belly? ⁸⁸.

Sixth Formula [TAB 6]

The Sixth and last type of royal adoration formulae is brief and has no specific category. According to the available data, only two examples were found. The first one belongs to Thutmose III adoring Hathor with his with his what he did only mi R^c, «The sanctuary of the sanctuaries shines while the adoring of the god; that is what he did; may he be given life like Re». The second shows Seti I adoring Nefertum at Abydos with high power his shm.t, «Adoring the god, raising the strength» [FIGURE 11]. According to Christian Leitz, who translated k3 shm.t, to «the one with high power», this title appeared for the first time in the New Kingdom, and it was only used with Re and Re-Harakhty 91.



[FIGURE 11]: Seti I adores Nefertum. MARRITTE 1869: Pl. 39b.

⁸⁶ Lichtheim 1973: 231; Tobin 1995: 175, №. 59.

⁸⁷ TAWFIK 1973: 77-80.

⁸⁸ EISSA 2017: 209-19.

⁸⁹ NAVILLE 1904: PL. XCII.

⁹⁰ MARRITTE 1869: PL. 39b.

⁹¹ *LGG* 2002: vol. 7, 168.

III. CONCLUSIONS

Six royal adoration formulae were used to introduce worshiping scenes in temples from the old kingdom throughout the end of Late Period.

The most earlier and standard was the formula that determines the number of the adoration times, especially «Adoring the god four times». The formula 'Adoring the god three times' appeared in only four royal scenes. Moreover, the formula 'adoring the god two times'. the formula 'adoring the god two times' is used exclusively by Seti I at his temple in Abydos and by Ramses II at the Grand Temple of Abu-Simbel. The earliest examples of the adorer king's formula with their names or titles dated to the Nineteenth Dynasty. One could notice that the formula determining the adoration times was related to solar deities and restricted to the Rameside period. Few of these formulae mentioned the names of the adorer kings and the adored deities.

Eventually, based on the surveyed scenes, one could conclude that: The formula "Adoring the god four times" is the earliest to appear, 95% of the Eighteenth Dynasty surveyed scenes are entitled with this formula, and it was used during the Third Intermediate and the Late Periods. However, the formula "adoring the god four times" appeared with the adoration formula, which mentions the adored deities in the Middle Kingdom scenes. Finally, Seti I and Ramses II utilized new adoration formulae. Some of them did not use after that, like the formula "adoring the god two times" and the added phrase "to his father" or "to his mother" that distinguishable Ramses II's scenes. On the other hand, some of these formulae continued to be used subsequently, like "kissing the ground", which entitles Siptah's scene and the formulae that combine the adored deities with the time of the adoration, which distinguished Ramses III's adoration scenes.

Adore god four times							
King	Deities	Temple Adoration Formula		Bibliography			
Senwsrt I	Amun-Re	White Chapel	ጓ ⊹∰	LACAU & CHEVRIER 1969: Pl. 2, 27 (right side)			
Senwsrt I	Atum-Amun	W. Chapel	7*iii	LACAU & CHEVRIER 1969: Pl. 2, 27 (left side)			
Senwsrt I	Amun-Re	W. Chapel	<u>`</u> `∏* <u></u>	LACAU & CHEVRIER 1969: Pl. 34 (right side)			
Senwsrt I	Amun-Re	W. Chapel	<u>`</u> `∏* <u></u>	LACAU & CHEVRIER 1969: Pl. 34 (left side)			
Senwsrt I	Amun-Re	W. Chapel	7*;;;	LACAU & CHEVRIER 1969: Pl. 36 (right side)			
Senwsrt I	Amun-Re	W. Chapel	7*;;;	LACAU & CHEVRIER 1969: Pl. 36 (left side)			
Senwsrt I	Amun-Re	W. Chapel	7**	LACAU & CHEVRIER 1969: PL. 41 (right side)			
Senwsrt III	Montu	Medamud	7 × 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	Werner 1985: Fig. 8.			
Senwesrt III	Hathor	Serabit el- Khadim	*7	ČERNY 1955: PL. XXV			
Amenemhat III	Hathor	Serabit el- Khadim	*100	ČERNY 1955: PL. XXVI.			
Ahmose I	Horus	Buhen	*100	RANDALL-MACIVER & WOOLLEY 1911: Pl. 35.			
Amenhotep I	Amun	Karnak	/////* * (III)	BARGUET 1962: PL. XXXVIII			
Amenhotep I	Amun-Re	Karnak	<u>~</u> £\}	LETELLIER & LARCHÉ 2013: Pl. 263 (669)			
Amenhotep I	Amun-Re	Karnak	7★;;;	LETELLIER, LARCHÉ 2013: Pl. 263 (669)			
Amenhotep I	Amun	Karnak	7*iii	LETELLIER, LARCHÉ 2013: Pl. 25, 33.			
Thutmose I	Anubis	D. Bahari	7* ®	NAVILLE 1895: PL. IX.			
Hatshepsut	Isis	Buhen	7*;;;	CAMINOS 1974: Pl. 64.			
Hatshepsut	Amun-Re	Red Chapel	7*@	BURGOS & LARCHE 2014: 60.			
Hatshepsut	Amun-Re	R. Chapel	7*;;;	BURGOS & LARCHE 2014: 188.			
Hatshepsut	Amun-Re	R. Chapel	7*;;;	BURGOS & LARCHE 2014: 178.			

Hatshepsut	Amunet	R. Chapel	7⊁!!!	BURGOS & LARCHE 2014: 71.
Hatshepsut	Sobek	R. Chapel	7*;;;	BURGOS & LARCHE 2014: 116.
Hatshepsut	Amun-Re	D. Bahari	7*;;;	NAVILLE 1901: PL. XCIX
Thutmose III	Horus	Buhen	7*	CAMINOS 1974: Pl. 44.
Thutmose III	Horus	El-Lessiya	7****	EL-ACHIERY & ALY & DEWACHTER 1968: PL. XXXV.
Thutmose III	Re-Harakhty	Amada	7*	ALY & ABDEL-HAMID & DEWACHTER: 1967: Fig. 20-2.
Thutmose III	Amun	Amada	7*	ALY & ABDEL-HAMID & DEWACHTER: 1967: FIG. J10.
Thutmose III	Montu	Armant	\$×₩	Mond & Mayer 1940: Pl. CIII.
Thutmose III	Amun-Re	Karnak	7****	LEGRAIN 1902: PL. XIIIB.
Thutmose III	Amun-Re	R. Chapel	าีกิ* ๓	BURGOS & LARCHE 2014: 62.
Thutmose III	Sopdu	Karnak	7****	<i>LD</i> 1900-1913: VOL.5, ABTH III, 35.
Thutmose III	Amun	D. Bahari	7*iii	NAVILLE 1906: PL. CXXIII.
Thutmose III	Amun	D. Bahari	7*;;;	NAVILLE 1897: PL. XXIX.
Thutmose III	Hathor	D. Bahari	7*;;;	NAVILLE 1901: PL. XCIX.
Thutmose III	Hathor	D. Bahari	7*;;;	NAVILLE 1907: PL. 28E.
Thutmose III	Amun-Re	R. Chapel	7*;;;	BURGOS & LARCHE 2014: 191.
Thutmose IV	Re-Harakhty	Amada	÷ 100	ALY & ABDEL-HAMID & DEWACHTER: 1967: C2.
Thutmose IV	Ptah	Amada	*1 <u>@</u>	ALY & ABDEL-HAMID & DEWACHTER: 1967: C37-8.
Thutmose IV	Amun-Re	Karnak	7*	LETELLIER & LARCHÉ 2013: Pl. 5.
Thutmose IV	Amun-Re	Karnak	7*	LETELLIER & LARCHÉ 2013: Pl. 7.
Thutmose IV	Amun-Re	Karnak	ן∗ייי	LETELLIER & LARCHÉ 2013: PLS. 34, 38.
Thutmose IV	Amun-Re	Karnak	7*////	LETELLIER & LARCHÉ 2013: Pl. 67.
Thutmose IV	Amun	Karnak	7*(iii	CHEVRIER 1951: Fig. 4.
Amenhotep III	Amun	Soleb	สิ*ใฒื	GIORGINI 1998: Pl. 28.
Amenhotep III	Amun-Re	Qurna	קֿ±וווו BICKEL 1997: Pl. 80.	
Amenhotep	Amun-Re	Luxor	7*;;;	Brunner 1977: Pl. 70.
L	L.	II.	1	I .

III				
Seti I	Isis	Abydos	W Lini	CALVERIEY & BROOME 1933: PL. 20.
Seti I	Horus	Abydos	* \$ 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6	CALVERIEY & BROOME 1933: Pl. 28.
Seti I	Re-Harakhty	Abydos	7****	CALVERIEY & BROOME 1935: Pl. 14.
Seti I	Re-Harakhty	Abydos		CALVERIEY& BROOME 1935: Pl. 16.
Seti I	Ptah	Abydos	*1	CALVERIEY& BROOME 1935: Pl. 27.
Seti I	Ptah	Abydos		CALVERIEY& BROOME 1935: Pl. 27.
Seti I	Ptah	Abydos	7**	CALVERIEY& BROOME 1935: Pl. 33.
Seti I	Nefertum	Abydos	*] [®]	CALVERIEY& BROOME 1935: Pl. 37 (Eastern Jamb)
Seti I	Nefertum	Abydos	1×m	CALVERIEY& BROOME 1935: Pl. 37 (Western Jamb)
Seti I	Soker	Abydos	1×m	Unpublished scene in Soker's chapel at Seti I's temple at Abydos.
Seti I	Soker	Abydos]∗ເ	Unpublished scene in Soker's chapel at Seti I's temple at Abydos.
Seti I	Isis	Reddisia	1 0	LD 1900-1913: VOL.6, ABTH III, 141.
Seti I	Re-Harakhty	Qurna	*7.	One of Seti I's funerary stela at the open court of the king's temple at Qurna.
Ramses II	Amun-Khent	Abou Simbel	*1	DONADONI & EL-ACHIRIE & LEBLANC & ABDEL-HAMID 1975: PL. XV.
Ramses II	Re-Harakhty	Abou Simbel	₩ ₽₽	DONADONI & EL-ACHIRIE & LEBLANC & ABDEL-HAMID 1975: PL. XIII.
Ramses II		Abou Simbel	*1	DONADONI & EL-ACHIRIE & LEBLANC & ABDEL-HAMID 1975: PL. XXXIV.
Ramses II	Thoth	Abou Simbel	*1	DONADONI & EL-ACHIRIE & LEBLANC & ABDEL-HAMID 1975: PL. XXXIII.
Ramses II	Thoth	Abou Simbel	*100	DONADONI & EL-ACHIRIE & LEBLANC & ABDEL-HAMID 1975: PL. XXXI.
Ramses II	Ptah	Abou Simbel	*102	EGBERTS 1995: Pl. 53.
Ramses II	Amu-Re	Abou Simbel	*1	EISSA 2017: FIG. 102.
Ramses II	Re-Harakhty	Abou Simbel	*1000	EISSA 2017: FIG. 103.
Ramses II	Re-Harakhty	Abou Simbel	*7	EISSA 2017: FIG. 104.
Ramses II	Thoth	Abou Simbel	*7~(_^)\0	EISSA 2017: FIG. 105.

Ramses II	Khonsu	Karnak	Karnak		NELSON 1981: PL. 100.		
Merenptah	Osiris	Osireion		୬ ⊁¶∷	Frankfort 1933: Pl. LXXIII.		
Merenptah	Osiris	Osireion		୬ ★¶®	Frankfort 1933: Pl. LXXIII.		
Merenptah	Re-Harakhty	Osireion		7 - 57 *	Frankfort 1933: Pl. LXXIII.		
Merenptah	Re-Harakhty	Osireion		★ ®	Frankfort 1933: Pl. LXXIII.		
Ramses III	Amun-Re	Habu		3×1111	EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY 1964: PL. 491.		
Taharqo	Hathor	Barkal		7×00	LD 1900-1913: VOL. 10 ABTH III, 8.		
Taharqo	Nefertum- Harakhty			7* ®	LAMING MACADAM 1955: PL. XVIIc.		
Nectanebo I				h~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~	NAVILLE 1885: FIG .1.		
	Adore god three times						
Ahomse I	Min Buhen		*	7111	RANDALL-MACIVER & WOOLLEY 1911: Pl. 35.		
Thutmose III	Horus	El-Lessiya	9	* !!!	EL-ACHIERY& ALY & DEWACHTER 1968: Pl. XI, d2.		
Ramses II	Re- Harakhty	Abou Simbel	9	⊁ !!!	Unpublished Scene at room 4, the northern rooms at The Grand temple of Abu-Simbel.		
Oserkon	Bastet	Bastet Bubastet		⇒ {*	NAVILLE 1891: PL. XLVII.		
Adore god two times							
Seti I	Nefertu Abydos m		*		MARRITTE 1869: Pl. 38A		
Ramses II	Ramses II/Re	Abou Simbel	*		EISSA 2023: FIG. 1.		

[TABLE 1]: Adoration formulae use the number of the adoration times. © Rabee Eissa.

King	Deities	Temple	Adoration Formula	Bibliography
Mentuhotep II	Amun-Min	D. Bahari		Arnold 1977: Pl. 25.
Senwsrt I	Amun	W. Chapel	=£*(__\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\	LACAU & CHEVRIER 1969: Pl. 41.
Thutmose III	Amun-Re	Karnak	√ * ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑	BARGUET 1962: PL. XVIB.
Seti I	Osiris	Abydos	`	CALVERLEY & BROOME 1938: Pl. 13.
Ramses II	Isis	Abou Simbel	*70221082	DONADONI & EL-ACHIRIE & LEBLANC & ABDEL-HAMID 1975: PL. XXVII.
Ramses II	Amen-Re	Karnak	*(@@oo!!!](一}()	NELSON 1981: PL. 36.

[Table 2]: Adoration formulae mention the adored deities © Rabee Eissa.

King	Deities	Temple	Adoration Formula	Bibliography
Seti I	Amun-Re	Abydos	* \	CALVERLEY & BROOME 1958: PL.47.
Seti I	Osiris	Abydos	**************************************	CALVERLEY & BROOME 1938: PL.12A.
Ramses II	Amun-Re	Karnak		NELSON 1981: PL. 89.
Ramses III	Atum	Habu		EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY 1963: PL. 421C.

[TABLE 3]: Adoration formulae use the adorer kings with their names or titles beside the adored deities. ©Rabee Eissa

King	Deities	Temple	Adoration formula	Bibliography
Ramses II	Re	Abydos	*°~~~~~	ISKANDER & GOELET 2015: PL. 4.2.15.
Ramses II	Re-Harakhty	E-Seboua	-L\\\\ 2\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\	LD VII: ABTH, 181.
Ramses III	Atum	Habu		EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY 1963: PL. 421C.
Ramses III	Re	Habu	T-CL2-Rift	EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY 1963: PL. 431 (Right
				side).
Ramses III	Re	Habu	**************************************	EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY 1963: PL. 431.
Ramses III	Re-Harakhty	Habu		EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY 1963: PL. 433.

[TABLE 4]: Adoration formulae combine the adored deities with the time of the adoration © Rabee Eissa.

King	Deities	Temple	Adoration formula	Bibliography
Seti I	Osiris	Abydos		CALVERLEY & BROOME 1933: Pl. 4.
Seti I	Osiris	Abydos		CALVERLEY & BROOME 1933: Pl. 13.
Seti I	Isis	Abydos		CALVERLEY & BROOME 1933: Pl. 18.
Seti I	Horus	Abydos		CALVERLEY & BROOME 1933: Pl. 26.
Seti I	Amun-Re	Abydos		CALVERLEY & BROOME 1933: Pl. 4.
Seti I	Re-Harakhty	Abydos		CALVERLEY & BROOME 1933: Pl. 14.
Seti I	Ptah	Abydos		CALVERLEY & BROOME 1935: Pl. 22.
Siptah	Amun-Re	Silsilah		LD 1900-1913: vol.6, ABTH, 202.

[TABLE 5]: Adoration formulae of kissing the ground and lying on belly before the deities © Rabee Eissa.

King	Deities	Temple	Adoration formula	Bibliography
Thutmose III	Hathor	Dier el Bahari		NAVILLE 1901: PL. XCII.
Seti I	Nefertum	Abydos	*70);	MARRITTE 1869: Pl. 38B.

[TABLE 6]: Brief Adoration formulae ©Rabee Eissa.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

My sincere thanks are due to my colleagues Piers Litherland (New Kingdom Research Foundation) and Richard Redding (Michigan University) for their reviewing the English of this paper.

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