

# Dates and precursors of the Opet Festival

Masashi FUKAYA \*

## Introduction

The Festival of Opet was one of the most major religious celebrations in Egypt. It lasted as many as twenty-seven days in the middle of the inundation season under Ramses III in the Twentieth Dynasty (Table 1). In this paper, I will first attempt to examine dates attested in various texts from the New Kingdom onwards, and their association with the cycles of the Nile and the moon, the latter of which has not been explored in the context of this celebration. Secondly, its historical development from before the New Kingdom is explored in view that some earlier rituals foreshadowed the Opet Feast.

Egyptian calendrical system was very complex, and thus detailed discussion on this subject is beyond the scope of this article.<sup>(1)</sup> However, it is useful to delineate the civil calendar, because it is relevant to the essential part of the present examination. Often wrongly designated 'the lunisolar calendar', it was neither based on the lunar cycle nor the solar cycle in a strict sense. The year consisted of 365 days, divided into three seasons: Inundation (*3h.t*), Emergence (of crops: *pr.t*), and Harvest (*šmw*). Each season was a group of four months of thirty days. To complement these 360 days, five days, which modern scholars call the epagomenal days, were added to the end of the year. It was not in perfect harmony with the natural cycle due to the lack of an intercalary day to be inserted about every four years (the solar year comprises circa 365.2421 days). As a result, the civil year was gradually dislocated from the natural cycle in the course of history. The discrepancy between them reached a summit 730 years later,

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\*Lecturer, Open University of Japan

when the year was completely reversed. After another 730 years, the calendar eventually came back in the original place. This peculiar period of 1,461 years was called the Sothic cycle by the Greeks after the name of Sirius, the observation of which in the eastern sky marked the Egyptian New Year.

The civil calendar was used as such in coordination with the lunar calendar as well as signals marked by the seasonal cycle. In 1300 BCE (astronomical -1299), roughly corresponding to the very end of the Eighteenth Dynasty or the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty, the civil calendar returned to perfect harmony with the natural cycle (Rose 1999, 89). Hence, it was used with the minimal disharmony of less than two months during the whole New Kingdom (roughly for 480 years from the mid sixteenth to the first half of the eleventh centuries BCE). This seasonal agreement provided religious celebrations with proper settings within the liturgical calendar. This must have been the case particularly for festivals associated with natural phenomena. The New Kingdom saw the operation of ideal time-reckoning, whereby conventional festivals were performed in their original contexts but in new forms in order to bring them into the newly established Theban ideology.

### 1. First attestations and dates of the Opet Festival

Being called 'His Beautiful Festival of Opet' by Egyptians, this feast was celebrated in honor of the supreme god Amun-Re. The earliest attestation is found in the depictions of the Red Chapel of Hatshepsut at Karnak.<sup>(2)</sup> Bell (1997, 161) suggested the possibility that the festival came to be performed earlier than her reign. According to the Tombos Stela, Thutmose I celebrated his accession anniversary on II Akhet 15 in year 2, while a different record from Elephantine tells us that Thutmose III in an unknown year held the Opet Feast from II Akhet 15 to II Akhet 25 (Table 1). The actual accession of Thutmose I is known elsewhere as having taken place on III Peret 21.<sup>(3)</sup> As Spalinger (1995, 279) rightly points out, it seems from the context that that king co-celebrated his accession with the Opet Festival approximately six months after his enthronement.<sup>(4)</sup> Less direct evidence of

the feast may be a stela of Ahmes (Cairo 34001), discovered at Karnak, mentioning the construction of Amun's sacred river-barge Userhat, which appears in texts mostly in association with the Festivals of Opet and the Valley.<sup>(5)</sup>

This festival stressed a specific locality and a seasonal cycle (Fukaya 2007, 102-3). It was celebrated on the east bank of Thebes, more precisely at the temple complexes of Karnak and Luxor, called *ip.t-s.wt* 'Opet of the Thrones' and *ip.t-rsy.t* 'Southern Opet' respectively.<sup>(6)</sup> Amun, along with his consort goddess Mut and their offspring Khonsu, departed Karnak and sailed upstream the Nile to Luxor, located two kilometers to the south of the former temple. The designation of the feast was subsequently used to render II Akhet *p3-n-ip.t* 'the (month) of Opet', later Phaophi in Coptic. In inscriptions accompanying various reliefs depicting this feast, it is said to be an annual feast.<sup>(7)</sup> The relief on the western exterior wall of the temple of Ramses III at Karnak, for instance, includes a passage, as follows:<sup>(8)</sup>

*šhb.n=k w3s.t m m3wt m sn r 3h.t n.t p.t h<sup>c</sup>=i im=s r ip.t rsy.t s.t=i n sp tpy r ir  
hn.t=i nfr n tpy rnp.t s3=i hr h3t=i šsp.n=f wsrw hr hn hry ity šps r htp=f m ip.t  
rsy.t mi R<sup>c</sup> m wbn=f*

You (king) have made Thebes festive anew as passing to the horizon of the sky when I (Amun-Re) appear from therein (Karnak) to Southern Opet, my primordial site, in order to make my beautiful navigation annually. My son is in front of me. He took an oar at the navigation with the august father to cause him to be satisfied at Southern Opet like Re when he rises.

The identification of Luxor temple as where the sun (Re) rises is also inferred from the description of the king being carried on Mesketet, the night-bark of Re.<sup>(9)</sup> A phraseology parallel to this appears in later texts relating to the Opet Feast, including the Book of the Traversing Eternity (P. Leiden T 32, dated to the Roman Period).<sup>(10)</sup>

As already noted, Thutmose III celebrated the festival in an unknown year from II Akhet 15 to 25 for eleven days. Another record on the sixth pylon of Karnak temple records that the same king held the feast on II Akhet 14 in

year 23. According to his annals elsewhere on the enclosure wall around the granite sanctuary at Karnak, he celebrated a new moon festival on I Shemu 21 in year 23 while staying at Megiddo during his Asian war campaign.<sup>(11)</sup> This record proves that II Akhet 14 in that year was a new moon day, as the following calculation testifies.

$$\begin{aligned} \text{I Shemu 21 : II Akhet 14 (148d)} &\approx 5.012\text{m} \\ (148 / 29.530589) &= 5.0117524 \\ \text{d} &= \text{solar day; m} = \text{lunar month} \end{aligned}$$

Being close to Thutmose I's accession anniversary on II Akhet 15, presumably in harmony with the Opet Festival, II Akhet 14 of Thutmose III is likely to have been an echo of the earlier traditions. It was perhaps merely accidental but a very nice coincidence that the initial day of the festival fell on a new moon day in year 23. The lunar calendar governing major events may be found elsewhere. The aforementioned new-moon date at Megiddo was also the day of celebrating Thutmose III's 'royal appearance' (*ḥꜥ.t nsw.t*), whereas it is known from three sources that his accession day was I Shemu 4.<sup>(12)</sup> The lunar calendar was used as such to fix the dates of ceremonies in conjunction with the civil calendar.<sup>(13)</sup> It appears that Thutmose III still favoured to correlate lunar days with major celebrations, many of which came to be fixed to the civil calendar in later times.<sup>(14)</sup>

## 2. II Akhet 19 and the inundation of the Nile

It is also possible that II Akhet 14 belonging to Thutmose III was the eve of the Opet Festival. Indeed, in the calendar of the Medinet Habu temple (hereafter MHC), 'the eve (*ḥꜣw.t*) of Amun's festival at the Festival of Opet' is recorded for II Akhet 18, followed by the first day of the feast next day (Epigraphic Survey 1934, pl. 154, list 28). This calendar further tells us that the festival lasted twenty-four days from II Akhet 19 to III Akhet 12. On the other hand, P. Harris I (XVIIa, 5-6) records the duration of twenty-seven days from II Akhet 19 to III Akhet 15.<sup>(15)</sup> The discrepancy between MHC and this papyrus is explained by the widely accepted view that MHC is a

copy of the now lost calendar at the Ramesseum of Ramses II (Nims 1976, 170), apart from the first five lists mentioning the new endowments of Ramses III (Dolińska 2007, 71).<sup>(16)</sup> Hence, the duration of twenty-four days perhaps belongs not to the Opet Festival under Ramses III but to that under Ramses II. P. Harris I remarks that the festival was invariably celebrated for twenty-seven days through years 1 to 31 of Ramses III, that is to say, during his whole reign.<sup>(17)</sup> If the twenty-four day duration belongs to Ramses II, then the festival might have expanded well into the middle of III Akhet in the course of history since Thutmose III. The elongated duration into the next month is best explained by the ever later occurrence of the peak of the Nile's inundation within the civil calendar.

According to Peden (2001, 170, n. 217), there are eleven fully-dated textual records attesting the high rise of the Nile (*h3y n p3 mw n h'py 3*) at Thebes, primarily from the Ramesside Period. The number is in fact fourteen with additional sources: seven fall in II Akhet and the other seven in III Akhet (Table 2). Their provenance is all the Theban West. Of these, two examples are securely dated to years 1 and 2 of Merenptah, falling on III Akhet 3 and II Akhet 3 respectively. Janssen (1987, 136) suggested that dates fallen in II Akhet are likely to belong to Ramses II, while those in III Akhet should be dated to the late Nineteenth Dynasty to the early or mid Twentieth Dynasty.

Thanks to observations on the Nile during the late nineteenth century before the Aswan Dam was completed in 1901, we know when the inundation of the Nile began and culminated (Janssen 1987). At Thebes the average date of the beginning of inundation is 5 June and that of culmination is 7 September (both Gregorian) (Figure 1). The heliacal rising of Sothis takes place on around 7 July in the Memphite area and on 3 July in the Theban area. Provided that the heliacal rising of Sothis occurs on I Akhet 1, the Nile begins flooding at Thebes on ca. IV Shemu 9 and reaches the highest water level on ca. III Akhet 6. As noted earlier, the synchronization of the civil calendar and the seasonal cycle was realized roughly at the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty, which may explain the reason why Ramses II began the Opet Festival on II Akhet 19, perhaps in anticipation of the high rise of the Nile to take place during the latter half of the

celebration.

This picture agrees with a series of observation records of the nilometer in medieval Cairo over more than 1,200 years since the seventh century, which are thoroughly studied by Popper (1951). At Cairo the Nile reached its maximum water level on 30 September (Gregorian) but could vary between 8 September and 19 October (*ibid.*, 87-8). It could have been slightly later than these dates in pharaonic times, because its gradual shift towards August over time is observed (*ibid.*, 238). The flow of the Nile takes nine to ten days to run from Aswan to Cairo (*ibid.*, 70), thus taking approximately two days between Aswan and Thebes. Accordingly, the day of the highest water level occurred roughly after 3 September at Thebes. At Cairo the inundation of the Nile began on 31 May (Julian), corresponding to 13 June (Gregorian).<sup>(18)</sup> Hence, it was observed on ca. 5 June (Gregorian) at Thebes.

As for the two graffiti dating from years 1 and 2 of Merenptah mentioned above, the Nile began to overflow roughly in the latter half of IV Shemu and reached the apex of water level in the latter half of III Akhet during his reign. This rendition appears to contradict Graffito 862 dated to III Akhet 3 in year 1 and the other unnumbered graffito dated to II Akhet 3 in year 2. These may indicate an early arrival of the Nile's highest water level, otherwise a scribal error. Alternatively, it is not impossible to assume that the Nile's level was officially heralded, measured, and celebrated at some point before it reached the plenitude. It may be of some interest to mention rock inscriptions on the west bank of Gebel Silsila, 65 km north of Aswan, where we find dates pertaining to the inundation of the Nile from the times of Ramses II (year 1), Merenptah (year 1), and Ramses III (year 6).<sup>(19)</sup> These texts invariably relate I Akhet 15 and III Shemu 15 to an offering ritual performed for Hapi, a personified manifestation of the Nile's fertility. The ritual is described as *h3 md3.t h'pi* 'throwing the Book of Hapi' (*KRI* I, 91: 4-6). P. Harris I (XXXVIIb, 1; LIVa, 2; and LXVII, 2) attests this particular book as a list of offerings dedicated at Kheraha (272 in number) and at Memphis.<sup>(20)</sup> It is likely that each date marks the beginning/measurement of the inundation at Gebel Silsila in year 1 of Ramses II.<sup>(21)</sup> Merenptah and Ramses III perhaps copied the inscription of Ramses II when they created their own accounts.

II Akhet 19 seems to have been regarded as the official day of the Opet Festival during the Roman Period, for all evidence from that time attests this date.<sup>(22)</sup> It should be noted, however, that the Roman evidence is only liturgical in nature. Whether or not the feast continued into that period remains open to question. It is also possible that day 19 was a suitable holiday at the weekend.<sup>(23)</sup> The association of the civil calendar with the weekend is attested from a parallel, yet very late, religious ceremony in the time of the Nubian ruler Irike-Amannote (the second half of the fifth century BCE). He celebrated a festival of Amun-Re at Kawa, beginning from II Akhet 30 for twenty-four days, a long duration comparable to the Opet Feast under Ramses III.<sup>(24)</sup> Such a time-consuming festival is unparalleled in Egypt, except Amenhotep III's Sed Feast and Ramses III's accession anniversary.<sup>(25)</sup> Insofar as seasonal festivals are concerned, the Opet Festival was undoubtedly the largest annual festival with regard not only to its duration but also to its scale and socio-religious functions (Fukaya 2012).

### 3. Precursors of the Opet Festival

There is unlikely to be records attesting the Opet Festival in its own name before the New Kingdom, because we have no evidence that the temples of Karnak and Luxor functioned as a co-operative set before that time.<sup>(26)</sup> However, the festival could have been an echo of earlier celebrations and subsequently imbued with new Theban ideologies, because religious innovations seem to have been encouraged by the then emerging cult of Amun-Re and the expansion of religious landscape of his cult centre.<sup>(27)</sup> This is evident in the case of the Valley Festival which had an archetype in the Middle Kingdom.<sup>(28)</sup>

There are three celebrations that might have been a forerunner of the Opet Feast. The first is the *ssp-itrw* known since the Old Kingdom. Being tentatively rendered the 'Taking of the River', this event is mostly evidenced by Lahun papyri from the Middle Kingdom (Luft 1992, 183-8).

The dates listed in Table 4 clearly indicate that the *ssp-itrw* was not fixed to a certain civil date but celebrated within a period of time from the second

half of III Akhet to the first half of IV Akhet. The only exception P. Cairo 86637 may be explained by virtue of its nature not as a historical account but as a magical/liturgical calendar. The variable dates within a given span of time indicate the unequivocal lunar nature of this celebration, taking place in the third lunar cycle from the beginning of the civil calendar (Luft 1992, 188). The denotation including 'river' and its occurrence in the inundation season suggest that the *šsp-itrw* was a seasonal festival celebrated for the flooding of the Nile. Although our knowledge of this event is very limited, some evidence gives us an insight into it. In P. UC 32191 *h.t hšwy n.t šsp-itrw* the 'Evening offering of the Taking of the River' and the *šsp-itrw* 'Taking of the River' are recorded together for the entry of III Akhet.<sup>(29)</sup> The association of the evening offerings with the *šsp-itrw* seems to have continued into later times, as Spalinger (1996, 70) presents. Moreover, this ritual is represented on three Middle Kingdom coffins, all from Upper Egypt.<sup>(30)</sup> Their representations parallel each other, showing an elevated river, on which a ship floats, and a row of human figures facing towards it. Willems (1996, 217-21) rightly explains that two women with their raised arms are Isis and Nephtys on account of their label as the 'Two Kites'. He associates the depiction with the navigation of Sais, a tradition from the Old Kingdom, as well as the Osiride myth.<sup>(31)</sup> Luft (1992, 185-7) translates *šsp-itrw* as 'Leine der Nilmeile' and relates it to the measuring of newly created cultivation lands after the Nile's inundation, opposed by Willems.

It should, however, be noted that the seasonal cycle during the Twelfth Dynasty was not in perfect harmony with the civil calendar. It was rather quite the opposite from it. Based on the results given in the previous section, the inundation of the Nile culminated roughly from the end of IV Peret to the beginning of I Shemu during the reign of Amenemhat III, thus tempting Willems to relate the *šsp-itrw* to the deterioration of the divine power of Osiris and his resurrection. Indeed, on the stela of Sobekhotep VIII of the Sixteenth Dynasty, it is recorded that Karnak temple was flooded with the water of the Nile during (or prior to) the epagomenal days (see Table 2). The *šsp-itrw* is listed among other mortuary festivals in invocation formulae at Theban private tombs from the New Kingdom, but none of them are dated.<sup>(32)</sup>

Evidence perhaps more relevant to Thebes are two other occasions: the Festival of Mentu and the *hnp-s<sup>c</sup>* 'Pouring of the Sand'. Our knowledge of them is again very limited although Mentu was a major deity in the Theban area from before the New Kingdom. His feast fell either in II Akhet or III Akhet (Table 5), while the *hnp-s<sup>c</sup>* exclusively took place in II Akhet (Table 6).

Like the *ssp-itrw*, their occurrence on different days within a given period of time indicates their lunar nature. Strikingly, two sources (P. Berlin 10282 and 10130) mention the two events taking place on the same day, and other evidence suggests a link to the second lunar day, when the first crescent is seen. Moreover, their mortuary nature is implied by the occurrence of the *mnḥ.t* 'Cloth(ing)' following the *hnp-s<sup>c</sup>*. P. Berlin 10248 recto records the *hnp-s<sup>c</sup> n Inpw* 'Pouring of the Sand of Anubis', falling on II Akhet 18 and corresponding to the second lunar day. It is followed by the *mnḥ.t Inpw* 'Clothing Anubis' two days later, both taking place at the mortuary temple of Senusret III. At New Kingdom Thebes, a parallel ritual called the *wš3-s<sup>c</sup>* 'Dispersing of the Sand' is known as having taken place along with another ritual of *sfḥ.t-db3.t* 'Removing of the Garment', suggesting a mortuary cult associated with cult statues (Gabolde 1989, 161).<sup>(33)</sup>

It may be of some interest that before II Akhet was given the eponym of *p3-n-ip.t*, it had been called *mnḥ.t*, as evidenced by P. Ebers, dated to Amenhotep I.<sup>(34)</sup> Remarkably, MHC records *hrw pn n mnḥ.t* 'this day of the Clothing' for the eighth day of the Opet Festival, corresponding to II Akhet 26 (*MH* III, pl. 156, list 34). This was the same day as the Mentu Feast recorded in P. Boulaq 18/S (Table 5). Elsewhere in P. Berlin 10092, dated to the Middle Kingdom, the 'Clothing' is recorded for II Akhet 27 (Luft 1992, 89). The significance of the 'Clothing' in the context of the Opet Feast is not entirely clear. It may signify a moment when divine statues were adorned for rejuvenation. Alternately, Sayed Mohamed (2004, 100–1) regards *mnḥ.t* here as referring to banners tied to the flagstaves of temple pylons, marking a crucial moment of the celebration.

It is far beyond the capacity of this article to explore the pre-New Kingdom history of Thebes, but one may note that the valley temple of Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahari was at times called the 'Mentu temple of Khakaure (Senusret III)' besides its more popular name 'Glorious are the

Seats of Amun' (Winlock 1947, 81, pl. 40/5). Amun's cult emerged at Thebes in the Eleventh Dynasty, but it had never gained importance until Amenemhat I became the founder of the Twelfth Dynasty (*ibid.*, 88). Mentu remained one of the major deities worshipped at Thebes in the New Kingdom and later, but the historical development/decline of his cult in relation to the emergence of Amun has not been fully understood.

### Concluding remark

It is striking that the Opet Festival began on a new moon day in the time of Thutmose III, whereas the initial day seems to have been fixed to the specific date of II Akhet 19 later in the Ramesside Period. The association of this date with the high rise of the Nile is evident not only by seasonal observation, but also by the ideological association of the Opet Festival with the inundation, a manifestation of the primeval water Nun flowing from Luxor (Fukaya 2007, 102-3).

The fixation of lunar celebrations to specific civil dates is also evident in the case of the Wag Festival. According to Posener-Kriéger (1986, 1137) and Luft (1992, 151), there were two kinds of this celebration during the Middle Kingdom: one fixed to I Akhet 18 and the other movable within II or III of Shemu, suggesting its occurrence based on the lunar calendar. MHC records the 'Going Forth of Min' taking place on I Shemu 11, corresponding to a new moon day (*MH* III, pl. 167, list 66). Whether this entry is a historical account of an unknown year of Ramses III or an indication of the fixation of the feast is not clear.<sup>(35)</sup>

The inundation of the Nile undoubtedly remained the centre of attention from inhabitants in the Nile Valley. It is, therefore, not unreasonable for Egyptians to embrace celebrations relating to it from the very beginning of their history. Significantly, all the three rituals before the New Kingdom reveal a mortuary nature, which is hardly evident at the Opet Festival. Whether or not they were the precursors of our festival of Amun cannot easily be concluded. One may posit two possibilities: 1) the Opet Festival developed from a mortuary cult of the Middle Kingdom; 2) or was completely a new invention in the New Kingdom and the three Middle Kingdom rites were distinct celebrations, perhaps associated with the

harvest, not with the inundation of the Nile. Indeed, the natural cycle was reverse to the civil calendar at the beginning of the Middle Kingdom: II Akhet of the civil calendar at that time corresponded to the transitional period from the end of the cultivation season to the harvest.

It is, at least, evident that earlier celebrations remained a significant part of liturgical tradition. Amun's ideology contains quite a few manipulative characteristics, perhaps mirroring the transitional religio-political circumstances at the beginning of the New Kingdom, but it was not introduced all of a sudden. Amun had played a minor and highly conceptual role since the Old Kingdom (PT 301, Pyr. 446c). He gradually developed his personification by reforming and employing earlier ideologies, and as a result replacing old deities. Such is found in the New Year formula where the mortuary role of Osiris is taken by Amun in its new temple version (Fukaya 2014, 263-8). Through the expansion of his cult, Amun was given supremacy over the Egyptian pantheon, and the king, particularly those of the early Eighteenth Dynasty, fully utilized it in order to legitimate his reign. This resulted in the religious and architectural development of the Theban landscape, such as the construction of Hatshepsut's Deir el-Bahari temple and Amenhotep III's Luxor temple, and the ever increasing significance of the civil calendar in line with the ideal natural cycle. The possible reformation of the calendar might have triggered the creation of new religious festivals for Amun at Thebes and other deities on local locations. Hence, it cannot be ruled out that the format of Opet Festival was modelled on any celebrations of earlier times, whether directly or indirectly, although their original mortuary nature received considerable alterations.

Table 1. Dates of the Opet Festival during the New Kingdom and later.

ruler	Dyn.	year	beginning	in progress	ending	duration	remark
Thutmose III <sup>(36)</sup>	18	23	II Akhet 14				new moon day
Thutmose III <sup>(37)</sup>	18		II Akhet 15		II Akhet 25	11	
Seti I <sup>(38)</sup>	19	1	after II Akhet 13				king's visit to Thebes
Ramses II <sup>(39)</sup>	19	1			before III Akhet 23		king's return to the north after the Opet Feast
Ramses II <sup>(40)</sup>	19	23		II Shemu 22			scribal error for the Valley Feast?
Ramses II or III <sup>(41)</sup>			II Akhet 14				oracular session
Sethnakht <sup>(42)</sup>	20	2		III Akhet 1			oracular session
Ramses II <sup>(43)</sup>	20	early	II Akhet 19		III Akhet 12	24	MHC: eve on II Akhet 18; copy of Ramses II's calendar
Ramses III <sup>(44)</sup>	20	late	II Akhet 19		III Akhet 15	27	P. Harris I
Ramses III <sup>(45)</sup>	20	29		II Akhet 23			appointment of the vizier Ta
Ramses IV <sup>(46)</sup>	20	2		III Akhet 11			workmen at DeM received offerings of the Opet Feast
Ramses VI <sup>(47)</sup>	20	3	II Akhet 18				oracular session: I Akhet 18 in original text
Ramses VI <sup>(48)</sup>	20	7		III Akhet 8			oracular session
Ramses IX <sup>(49)</sup>	20	15	after II Akhet 14				river-procession of Amun-Re
unknown <sup>(50)</sup>	late 20		II Akhet 19				dedication/preparation of oxen for Amun
Piankh <sup>(51)</sup>	21	4	on/after II Akhet 14				Piankh's travel to the north
Piankh <sup>(52)</sup>	21	21			III Akhet 2		return journey of Amun
Pinedjem I <sup>(53)</sup>	21	11	after II Akhet 13				Pinedjem I's visit to West Thebes
Pinedjem II <sup>(54)</sup>	21	2?	II Akhet 23?	III Akhet 6?			oracular session at Karnak
Pinedjem II <sup>(55)</sup>	21	5		II Akhet 27?			appearance of the Theban Triad at Luxor
Takelot II <sup>(56)</sup>	23	14		III Akhet 6			vizier Hori entered Karnak
Irike-Amannote <sup>(57)</sup>	5 BC	2	II Akhet 30		III Akhet 23	24	appearance of Amun at Kawa
Ptolemy VI <sup>(58)</sup>	Ptol.		II Akhet 2		III Akhet 1	30	Kom Ombo calendar
Augustus/Nero? <sup>(59)</sup>	Roman		II Akhet 19				Book of Traversing Eternity (P. Leiden T 32)
unknown <sup>(60)</sup>	Roman		II Akhet 19				P. Boulaq 3
unknown <sup>(61)</sup>	Roman		II Akhet 19				Esna calendar
unknown <sup>(62)</sup>	?		II Akhet 19		III Akhet 3	15	Edfu calendar
Christian period <sup>(63)</sup>			II Akhet 13				Triadon

Table 2. Dates of the inundation of the Nile at Thebes,  
mainly from the Ramesside Period.

evidence	date	year	reign (hypothetical)	remark
stela (unnumbered) <sup>(64)</sup>	epagomenal	4	Sobekhotep VIII	
graffito (unnumbered) <sup>(65)</sup>	II Akhet 3	2	Merenptah	
Graffito 1064 <sup>(66)</sup>	II Akhet 4	-	(19 Dyn.)	
Graffito 881 d <sup>(67)</sup>	II Akhet 5	22	(Ramses II)	
graffito (unnumbered) <sup>(68)</sup>	II Akhet 7	10	(Merenptah)	
O. DeM 436 <sup>(69)</sup>	II Akhet 12	-	(Ramses II)	
graffito at Karnak <sup>(70)</sup>	II Akhet 12	5	?	
graffito (unnumbered) <sup>(71)</sup>	II Akhet 13	10	(Merenptah)	
graffito (unnumbered) <sup>(72)</sup>	II Akhet 17	-	(Ramses III)	
Graffito 862 <sup>(73)</sup>	III Akhet 3	1	Merenptah	
Graffito 856 <sup>(74)</sup>	III Akhet 5	7	(Merenptah or R III)	
Graffito 1158 <sup>(75)</sup>	III Akhet 5	18	(Ramses III)	
Graffito 1159 B <sup>(76)</sup>	III Akhet 9	24	(Ramses III)	
Graffito 1154 <sup>(77)</sup>	III Akhet 13	18	(Ramses III)	a ritual for two different forms of Amun
O. Cairo 25801 <sup>(78)</sup>	III Akhet 20	4	(Ramesside)	
Graffito 1160 <sup>(79)</sup>	III Akhet 23	-	(20 Dyn.)	
graffito at Luxor <sup>(80)</sup>	I Peret 2	3	Osorkon III	
Graffito MH 308 <sup>(81)</sup>	III Shemu 9	1	Ptolemaic	<i>p3mw</i> 'inundation' Thissen (1989) dates to 245-242 BCE, the time of Ptolemy III.
	III Shemu 5?	2		
Graffito MH 311 <sup>(82)</sup>	II Shemu 30	2	Ptolemaic	
Graffito MH 312 <sup>(83)</sup>	II Shemu 30	5	Ptolemaic	

Table 3. Estimated seasonal cycle at Thebes in 1300-1299 BCE  
(corresponding to -1299-1298 astronomical).

	I A	II A	III A	IV A	I P	II P	III P	IV P	I S	II S	III S	IV S	E
		①	②	③		④		⑤		⑥		⑦	
Eg. civil	I Akhet1	III Akhet6	III Akhet6	III Akhet21	II Peret20		I Shemu22		IV Shemu8	IV Shemu26			
Julian	14 Jul	18 Sep	2 Oct	30 Dec	31 Mar		15 Jun	3 Jul					
Gregorian	3 Jul	7 Sep	21 Sep	19 Dec	20 Mar		4 Jun	22 Jun					

① heliacal rising of Sothis; ② maximum level of the Nile; ③ autumnal equinox; ④ winter solstice;  
⑤ vernal equinox (harvest in March); ⑥ minimum level of the Nile; ⑦ summer solstice.

Table 4. Dates of the *šsp-itrw*.

source	date	year	reign	provenance
P. Cairo 86637 <sup>(84)</sup>	I Akhet 7	–	Ramses II/III	–
Solar temple of Niuserre <sup>(85)</sup>	[III Akhet]	–	Niuserre	Abu Sir
P. UC 32191 recto <sup>(86)</sup>	III Akhet	35	Amenemhat III	Lahun
P. Berlin 10079 recto <sup>(87)</sup>	III Akhet 25	–	Middle Kingdom	Lahun
P. Berlin 10166 verso <sup>(88)</sup>	III Akhet 25	–	Middle Kingdom	Lahun
P. Berlin 10282 recto <sup>(89)</sup>	IV Akhet [3]	–	Middle Kingdom	Lahun
P. Berlin 10282 recto <sup>(90)</sup>	IV [Akhet]	–	Middle Kingdom	Lahun
P. Berlin 10130 B c recto <sup>(91)</sup>	IV Akhet 11	–	Middle Kingdom	Lahun
P. Berlin 10344 b recto <sup>(92)</sup>	[IV] Akhet 14	–	Middle Kingdom	Lahun
P. Berlin 10001 B verso <sup>(93)</sup>	before Sokar Feast	–	Middle Kingdom	Lahun
P. Berlin 10064 AB recto <sup>(94)</sup>	before <i>šsp-nyr</i> & Sokar Feast	–	Middle Kingdom	Lahun

Table 5. Dates of the Mentu Festival.

source	date	year	reign	provenance	remark
P. Berlin 10282 recto <sup>(95)</sup>	II Akhet 14	–	Middle Kingdom	Lahun	<i>hnp-s̄c</i> (2nd lunar day)
P. Berlin 10130 B c recto <sup>(96)</sup>	II Akhet 22	–	Middle Kingdom	Lahun	<i>hnp-s̄c</i>
P. Boulaq 18/S <sup>(97)</sup>	II Akhet 26-8	3	13 Dyn.	Thebes	
P. Boulaq 18/L <sup>(98)</sup>	III Akhet 17-8	3	Sobekhotep II	Thebes	

Table 6. Dates of the *hnp-s̄c*.

source	date	year	reign	provenance	remark
P. Berlin 10079 recto <sup>(99)</sup>	II Akhet 6	–	Middle Kingdom	Lahun	
P. Berlin 10018 recto <sup>(100)</sup>	II Akhet 6	–	Middle Kingdom	Lahun	followed by <i>mnh.t</i>
P. Berlin 10282 recto <sup>(101)</sup>	II Akhet 14	–	Middle Kingdom	Lahun	Mentu Feast (2nd lunar day)
unnumbered stone fragment <sup>(102)</sup>	II Akhet 16	–	Amenhotep I	Karnak	
P. Berlin 10248 recto <sup>(103)</sup>	II Akhet 18	14	Middle Kingdom	Lahun	2nd lunar day, followed by <i>mnh.t</i> two days later
P. Berlin 10130 B c recto <sup>(104)</sup>	II Akhet 22	–	Middle Kingdom	Lahun	Mentu Feast
P. Berlin 10399 b recto <sup>(105)</sup>	II Akhet	–	Middle Kingdom	Lahun	
P. UC 32191 <sup>(106)</sup>	–	–	Middle Kingdom	Lahun	followed by <i>mnh.t</i>
P. Berlin 10001 B verso <sup>(107)</sup>	–	–	Middle Kingdom	Lahun	2nd lunar day

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## Notes

<sup>(1)</sup> For an overview of the Egyptian calendar, see Parker 1950. More recent and detailed studies have been presented by Depuydt 1997 and Rose 1999.

<sup>(2)</sup> Lacau and Chevrier 1977, blocks 26, 66, 102, 104, 130, 135, 169, 170, 171, 176, 226, 300, and 305. For better photographs and drawings, see Burgos and Larché 2006, vol. 1, 46–53 and 60–5.

<sup>(3)</sup> Stela Cairo 34006 (*Urk.* IV, 81: 4; Went 1990, 27).

<sup>(4)</sup> It is well known that Horemheb celebrated his accession anniversary during the Opet Feast in year 1 (Gardiner 1953). For instances of other New Kingdom rulers, see Fukaya 2012, 203.

<sup>(5)</sup> Stela discovered in Court III at Karnak (PM II<sup>2</sup>, 179; *Urk.* IV, 23: 10–11).

<sup>(6)</sup> Although often translated ‘harem’ in association with the assumed ritual of sacred marriage between a pair of Amun and the queen or that of the king and Hathor, ‘opet’ was in the first instance a general term denoting a confined space or container. Therefore, when applied to temples, it is best to render it ‘sanctuary’. Hence, one may preferably translate *hb ip.t* as the ‘Festival of the Sanctuary(-ries)’. Sethe (1907, 31, n. 2) initially rendered *ip.t* ‘Kapelle’. Gardiner (1908, 127, n. 2; 1925, 4) related it to the sexual nature of Amun and presented the translation ‘harem’ or ‘secret or privy chamber’, followed by



<sup>(17)</sup> Ramses III could not celebrate the Opet Festival in his last regnal year 32, because he died on III Shemu 14 before the festival. MHC was perhaps completed before year 22, based on the fact that the duration of Ramses III's accession anniversary (I Shemu 26) is recorded to have extended from year 22 in P. Harris I, XVIIa: 4. The temple itself is supposed to have been completed by year 12 (Wente 1961, 254, n. 5) or by year 15 (Spalinger 1991, 24, n. 15).

<sup>(18)</sup> Popper (1951, 116, table 6).

<sup>(19)</sup> *KRI* I, 90: 14-6; *LD* III, pls. 175a: 9, 200d: 9, and 218d: 15.

<sup>(20)</sup> Erichsen 1933, 42, 61, and 80; Grandet 1994, vol. 1, 274, 297, and 323. See Popper (1951, 68) for Coptic traditions parallel to this.

<sup>(21)</sup> Janssen (1987, 136) regarded these dates as the days of setting-up the stelae, not of the observations of the Nile.

<sup>(22)</sup> A practice parallel to this may be found in that the Copts regarded 20 June (Julian) as the day of the beginning of the Nile's inundation, regardless of its actual occurrence (Popper 1951, 64-6). On that day the official measurement of the height of water level took place and the results were subsequently announced.

<sup>(23)</sup> See Helck (1964) who presented that the workmen at Deir el-Medina in the Ramesside Period were off duty every ten days.

<sup>(24)</sup> A graffito on the east wall of the south wing of the Hypostyle Hall at the temple of Kawa (Eide, Hägg, and Pierce 1994, vol. 2, 410; Török 1997, 227).

<sup>(25)</sup> According to van Siclen (1973, 291), Amenhotep III's first Sed Feast was celebrated from IV Peret 26 to III Shemu 2 in year 30 for sixty-seven days. Ramses III's accession anniversary lasted twenty days from I Shemu 28 to II Shemu 15 (P. Harris I, XVII a: 3-4; Erichsen 1933, 21: 1; Grandet 1994, vol. 1, 246).

<sup>(26)</sup> An architrave fragment belonging to Sobekhotep I of the Thirteenth Dynasty may indicate the existence of buildings at the site of Luxor temple before the New Kingdom (PM II<sup>2</sup>, 338; Daressy 1926, 8). However, it seems that this fragment does not evidence the origin of that temple, but it was transported from Karnak to be reused for statue bases (Ryholt 1997, 336, n. 1; Pamminger 1992, 129, n. 201). For the origin of Karnak temple, opinions are divided between the Old and the Middle Kingdoms (Daumas 1967; Wildung 1969; Habachi 1974, 214).

<sup>(27)</sup> Callender (2002, 38-9) proposes the possibility that Hatshepsut set up new religious foundations for these feasts, apart from their origins. Keller (2005, 97) also presents that the queen took initiatives to restore religious festivals after the Hyksos age of 'Re's absence', as recorded at Speos Artemidos (*Urk.* IV, 390: 9). Allen (2002, 17), however, takes that account not as evidence of a historical event but as a statement of the queen's accomplishment in removing the last traces of devastation.

<sup>(28)</sup> Schott 1953, 5; Winlock 1947, 88-90; Graefe 1986, 187.

<sup>(29)</sup> Collier and Quirke 2006, 94; Luft 1992, 140.

<sup>(30)</sup> Coffins of Heqata from Qubbat el-Hâwa (A1C); of Iqer from Gebelein (G1T); and of the queen Aashyt from the temple of Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahari (T3C).

<sup>(31)</sup> The Festival of the Two Kites is known to have taken place on IV Akhet 22 to 26 in the time of Alexander IV (P. BM EA 10188 = P. Bremner-Rhind; Faulkner 1936 and 1937; Smith 2009, 104). A similar ceremony called *shꜣ sn.ty* the 'Commemoration of the Two Sisters' took place at Karnak from the evening of day 24 to the morning of day 25 of that month (P. Louvre N 3176; Barguet 1962, 16). They apparently belonged to the Khoiak Feast.

- <sup>(32)</sup> *Urk.* IV, 112: 11, 470: 2, 482: 4, 1034: 8, 1036: 6, and 1518: 13.
- <sup>(33)</sup> The Opening of the Mouth ritual performed for statues also includes references to cloths and sand, on the latter of which statues were laid naked on the first occasion (*sp tpy*) in the House of Gold (Otto 1960, vol. 1, 2, vol. 2, 34; Barthelmeß 1992, 100-5).
- <sup>(34)</sup> Gardiner 1906, 141; Claggett 1995, 215, l. 4.
- <sup>(35)</sup> The calendar of Esna temple contains two entries for the 'Appearance of Min-Amun', taking place on I Shemu 1 and I Shemu 15 (Sauneron 1963, 168-9. ll. 12-3; Grimm 1994, 100-1, L 59, 108-9, L 63; el-Sabban 2000, 165-6).
- <sup>(36)</sup> Sixth pylon of Karnak temple (PM II<sup>2</sup>, 90 (245); *Urk.* IV, 742: 1).
- <sup>(37)</sup> Stone block of a festival list from Elephantine (*LD* III, pl. 43 c; *Urk.* IV, 824: 10).
- <sup>(38)</sup> O. Cairo 25560 (*KRI* IV, 302: 2-3; Černý 1935, 45\*, pl. 29). A date (the second month of an unknown month in year 1) close to this is recorded on a fragmentary stela discovered at Buhen (Smith 1976, 130, pl. 30).
- <sup>(39)</sup> Tomb of *Nb-wnn=f* (TT 157; PM I-1<sup>2</sup>, 267 [8]; Sethe 1907) and the temple of Seti I at Abydos (PM VI, 3 [34-7]; Gauthier 1910, 55; *KRI* II, 325: 5-6).
- <sup>(40)</sup> Bentresh Stela (*KRI* II, 285: 5-6; Wilson 1969, 29, n. 7). Being created in the Persian or Greek time, this stela retrospectively records a tale from the time of Ramses II in a pseudo-archaic style. Wilson understood the date in the context of the Valley Festival, whereas Murnane (1982, 577, n. 9) took it as the date of text composition.
- <sup>(41)</sup> P. Sallier IV (= P. BM 10184); Budge 1922-3, 36; Leitz 1994, 82.
- <sup>(42)</sup> P. BM 10335 (Blackman 1925, 250; *KRI* VII, 416: 7).
- <sup>(43)</sup> Calendar of the Medinet Habu temple (*MH* III, pls. 154 and 156, lists 29-35).
- <sup>(44)</sup> P. Harris I (P. BM 9999), XVIIa: 5-6 (Erichsen 1933, 21: 2-3 for transcription; Grandet 1994, vol. 1, 246 for transcription and translation).
- <sup>(45)</sup> O. Berlin P 10633 (*KRI* V, 530: 1-2). *iw tw hr di.t Bty T3 r Bty n Sm<sup>c</sup> mhy* the 'vizier Ta was promoted to the vizier of the south and north'. According to Wolterman (1996, 164), he had previously been the northern vizier, at latest, from year 16, opposed by Peden (2000, 14) who opts for the southern vizier as his previous career.
- <sup>(46)</sup> O. DeM 46 (*KRI* VI, 122: 12-3).
- <sup>(47)</sup> P. Bibliothèque Nationale 237, Carton 1 (*KRI* VI, 339: 13). I Akhet in the original text is to be amended to II Akhet for a good reason. Association with the Opet Festival is not clear. Černý (1952, 29) and Borghouts (1982, 25) relate this to an oracular session of the deified king Amenhotep I.
- <sup>(48)</sup> Stela Cairo 91927, belonging to the wab-priest of Maat Merimaat (PM II<sup>2</sup>, 13; Vernus 1975, 107).
- <sup>(49)</sup> P. Turin Cat. 1960+2071 (*KRI* VI, 643: 8). This took place in a security crisis caused by Libyans and the Meshwesh tribe raiding into Thebes.
- <sup>(50)</sup> P. Bournemouth 17/1931 (Černý 1939, 65; Wente 1967, 78).
- <sup>(51)</sup> Fragments of a stela from Gebel Barkal (Berlin 1068 and Cairo 47085). PM VII, 218; *Urk.* III, 78-9; Jansen-Winkeln 2007, vol. 2, 351-2.
- <sup>(52)</sup> Stela Cairo 48862 from Gebel Barkal (*Urk.* III, 15: 3; Grimal 1981, 15\*; Jansen-Winkeln 2007, vol. 2, 341).
- <sup>(53)</sup> Graffito 1021 at West Thebes (Spiegelberg 1921; Kitchen 1973, 418; Jansen-Winkeln 2007, vol. 1, 38). The year is misread as 21 by Spiegelberg.
- <sup>(54)</sup> Eastern exterior wall of Court IV at Karnak (PM II<sup>2</sup>, 183 [553]). First published by Naville (1883) and subsequently re-examined by Kruchten (1985 and 1986). Also see Valbelle and Husson 1998, 1061.

<sup>(55)</sup> Eastern exterior wall of Court IV at Karnak (PM II<sup>2</sup>, 183 [553]; Kruchten 1986, 254). This day is recorded as the ninth day of the festival, which means that the festival began on II Akhet 19.

<sup>(56)</sup> P. Berlin 3048 verso (Jansen-Winkel 2007, vol. 2, 170).

<sup>(57)</sup> Graffito on the east wall, south side of the hypostyle hall of temple T (Eide, Hägg and Pierce 1994, vol. 2, 412). Török (1997, 227) relates this ritual to the Opet Festival. Kormyscheva (1998, 85) postulates that the coronation of this king took place in association with the Opet Festival. The king's accession day might have fallen between II Shemu 20 and I Akhet 9. The sequence of the following rituals is:

III Akhet 1 (appearance of Amun-Re and procession in town at dawn);

III Akhet 7 (Irike-Amannote stands alone with Amun-Re);

III Akhet [ ] (offering to Amun-Re; Irike-Amannote comes out of the temple and performs a celebration);

III Akhet 16 (offering to Amun-Re and his oracle-giving);

III Akhet 23 (invocation to Amun-Re).

<sup>(58)</sup> *shꜥ nꜣr pn m hb=f nfr n ꜥk dmi=f m-ht wmn=f m pꜣ tꜣ mhy.t ir n.t-ꜥ=f hꜣp m tꜣy=f ip.t mh sw 2 hꜥ nꜣr pn ir n.t-ꜥ=f ir m.t. ut r 3bd 3-nw 2h.t sw 1 r mh sw 30 hꜣp hr s.t=f* appearance of this god (Horus of Ombos) at His Beautiful Festival of Entering His Town when he is in the north land, performing his rituals, resting at his Opet. The second day: the appearance of this god, performing his rituals, doing likewise until III Akhet 1 to complete 30 days (when) resting in his place' (PM VI, 190 [94]; el-Sabban 2000, 155, pl. 33). Klotz (2008, 574-5) relates this to the Opet Festival.

<sup>(59)</sup> Book of Traversing Eternity (P. Leiden T 32, III 7-9; Stricker 1953, 18; Herbin 1994, 151; Klotz 2008, 576; Smith 2009, 413).

<sup>(60)</sup> P. Boulaq 3, III 22 (= P. Louvre 5.158; Sauneron 1952, 10; Klotz 2008, 575-6).

<sup>(61)</sup> PM VI, 113 (15); Sauneron 1963, 125; Grimm 1994, 40-1; el-Sabban 2000, 161.

<sup>(62)</sup> PM VI, 127 (52), 161 (310); Alliot 1949, 216; Grimm 1994, 40-1; el-Sabban 2000, 174.

<sup>(63)</sup> Liturgical text of Triadon (Wolf 1931, 74-5; Nagel 1983, 45, 311). The date is noted in the original text as corresponding to 9 October.

<sup>(64)</sup> Stela discovered at Karnak temple (Habachi 1974, 207; Baines 1974, 40 and 44; *idem* 1976, 11).

<sup>(65)</sup> Spiegelberg 1898, no. XIX; *KRI* IV, 151: 3.

<sup>(66)</sup> Černý 1956, no. 1064.

<sup>(67)</sup> Spiegelberg 1921, no. 881 d.

<sup>(68)</sup> Spiegelberg 1898, no. XVIII; *KRI* IV, 160: 3.

<sup>(69)</sup> O. DeM 436 (Černý 1935, vol. 5, 26, pl. 25). Janssen (1987, 136) dated this ostrakon to the time of Ramses II, while Černý stood for the Twentieth Dynasty.

<sup>(70)</sup> New Kingdom graffito on a block belonging to a chapel of Senusret I (Cotelle-Michel 2003, 348, fig. 8, pl. 5 b).

<sup>(71)</sup> Spiegelberg 1898, no. XVII; *KRI* IV, 160: 6.

<sup>(72)</sup> Spiegelberg 1898, no. XX; *KRI* V, 484: 13.

<sup>(73)</sup> Spiegelberg 1921, no. 862; *KRI* IV, 150: 14. Merenptah's decree to establish offerings for Amun-Re and Hapi is recorded on a rock stela at Gebel Silsila (*LD* III, pl. 200 d; *KRI* I, 84: 15). It is dated to II Akhet 5 of year 1, a date close to our record.

<sup>(74)</sup> Spiegelberg 1921, no. 856; *KRI* IV, 154: 15.

<sup>(75)</sup> Černý 1956, no. 862; *KRI* V, 468: 8. Helck and Schlott (2002, 237) dates this to the time of Ramses III.

- <sup>(76)</sup> Černý 1956, no. 1159 B; *KRI* V, 492: 13. Helck (2002, 257) dates this to the time of Ramses III.
- <sup>(77)</sup> Černý 1956, 7, pl. 15; *KRI* V, 468: 11. 1) *ʿImn-n-niw.t-p3-hʿpy-n-p3-sr-ʿ3-n-hnty-nfr* 'Amun of Thebes, Hapi of Great Nobleman of Khenty-Nefer'. 2) *ʿImn-n-t3-wdn.t* 'Amun of Offerings'. This was probably a ritual relating to the high rise of the Nile. If the dating to Ramses III posited by Helck and Schlott (2002, 237) is correct, this ritual took place eight days after the high rise of the Nile on III Akhet 5 (Graffito 1158).
- <sup>(78)</sup> *KRI* IV, 405: 2. Černý (1973, 206) dated this to the time of Ramses III, while Gutgesell (1983, vol. 2, 284-5) dates to Seti II or Siptah.
- <sup>(79)</sup> Černý 1956, no. 1160.
- <sup>(80)</sup> Hieratic graffito at Luxor temple (Bell 1975, 244; Jansen-Winkel 2007, vol. 2, 298).
- <sup>(81)</sup> Thissen 1989, 169-71 (no. 308); Edgerton 1937, pl. 85; PM II<sup>2</sup>, 506 (125).
- <sup>(82)</sup> Thissen 1989, 171-2 (no. 311); Edgerton 1937, pl. 86; PM II<sup>2</sup>, 506 (125).
- <sup>(82)</sup> Thissen 1989, 172-3 (no. 312); Edgerton 1937, pl. 86; PM II<sup>2</sup>, 506, pillar in Room 5 (h).
- <sup>(84)</sup> Leitz 1994, 18.
- <sup>(85)</sup> Helck 1977, 73, pl. 2, l. 3, pl. 3, l. 3. His restoration of the text is open to question.
- <sup>(86)</sup> *h.t h3wy n.t šsp-itrw* 'Evening offering at the 'Taking of River' followed by the *šsp-itrw* (P. UC 32191; Luft 1992, 140; Collier and Quirke 2006, 94).
- <sup>(87)</sup> Luft 1992, 86.
- <sup>(88)</sup> Luft 1992, 104.
- <sup>(89)</sup> Luft 1992, 116. On the previous day is held *h3w n.t šsp itrw* the 'Night of the Taking of River', preceded by *hn.t Hwt-hr* the 'Rowing of Hathor' on IV Akhet 1.
- <sup>(90)</sup> Luft 1992, 116.
- <sup>(91)</sup> Luft 1992, 99.
- <sup>(92)</sup> Luft 1992, 120.
- <sup>(93)</sup> Luft 1992, 26-30.
- <sup>(94)</sup> Luft 1992, 78-81.
- <sup>(95)</sup> Luft 1992, 116. Krauss 2006, 423. Weinstein (1973, 421-3) presented that a layer of clean sand was used to cover objects in the foundation deposit.
- <sup>(96)</sup> Luft 1992, 99.
- <sup>(97)</sup> Smaller manuscript of P. Boulaq 18 (= Cairo 6139; Scharff 1922, 63, pls. 5\*\*-8\*\*, 12-25). The sequence of the feast is: 1st day) ritual of Mentu at Medamud; 2nd day) Mentu visits the palace (at Karnak?); 3rd day) Mentu returns to Medamud (*mnmn r m3dw*). The scenes of this festival are depicted in TT 31 (PM I-1<sup>2</sup>, 47 (4-6); Davies and Gardiner 1948, 12-9, pls. 11-3), as follows: 1) outward river procession to Tod (*drty*); 2) offering at Tod; 3) return river procession from Tod to Armant (*iwnt*); 4) landing and returning to the temple of Thutmose III; 5) offering to Thutmose III's bark in a shrine.
- <sup>(98)</sup> Larger manuscript of P. Boulaq 18 (= Cairo 6139; Scharff 1922, pls. 17\*\*-23\*\*, 59-74; Quirke 1990, 20-1). Krauss (2006, 422-4) associates these dates with the new moon.
- <sup>(99)</sup> Luft 1992, 60. P. Berlin 10344 b recto (Luft 1992, 120) and P. UC 32191 (Collier and Quirke 2006, 94) record the *hnp-šr* and the *mnh.t* together. P. Berlin 10001 B verso indicates that this was a lunar celebration (Luft 1992, 27).
- <sup>(100)</sup> Luft 1992, 86.
- <sup>(101)</sup> Luft 1992, 116.
- <sup>(102)</sup> Spalinger 1992, 5, pl. I.
- <sup>(103)</sup> Luft 1992, 112. This was the second lunar day, followed by the *mnh.t* of Anubis on the fourth lunar day. Krauss (2006, 424) dates this to the time of to Senusret III.

<sup>(104)</sup> Luft 1992, 99.

<sup>(105)</sup> Luft 1992, 124

<sup>(106)</sup> Collier and Quirke 2006, 94.

<sup>(107)</sup> Luft 1992, 27.