

Long May They Reign

On the Renewal of Kingship in Egypt and Hatti

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Introduction

Throughout the Ancient Near East both kings and the concept of kingship played an important role. It is thus not a surprise that it is a recurring theme in the cultures that made up the Ancient Near East. One of the ways it shows itself is by means of festivals during which kingship was renewed, which could either be the main aim of the festival or part of a specific festival.

Because festivals were social events and functioned as public holidays, they were the perfect moment for the renewal of kingship, since the public would be able to participate and see that their king was still able to reign. Examples of these types of festivals are the Egyptian Heb-Sed and Opet festival, the Hittite Purulliya, and the Babylonian Akitu festival. All of these, except the Heb-Sed, took place on an annual basis, since the Heb-Sed took place during the 30th regnal year and then reoccurred every three years.¹ It is also worth noting that only the Heb-Sed had the renewal of kingship as its main aim and for the other festivals it was an aspect of it.²

The aim of this thesis is to find similarities and differences concerning the renewal of kingship through festivals in the Ancient Near East. However, due to the vast amount of material and the number of festivals, which is too much to cover in this thesis, it is limited to the Egyptian Heb-Sed and Hittite Purulliya. This is based on an earlier comparison made by Volkert Haas, where he directly compares the Egyptian festival with its Hittite counterpart and because both cultures have had extensive contact throughout the Late Bronze Age.³ The Late Bronze Age was characterized by the so called club of great powers, which maintained extensive diplomatic contact with one another, as is demonstrated in the Amarna archives, but in some cases also had military clashes.⁴ Examples of these contacts are the battle of Qadesh, which was the climax of a centuries long rivalry between Egypt and Hatti over control of the Levant, and the subsequent peace treaty between Ramses II and Hattusili III.⁵ Since Haas did not mention the Opet, it initially fell outside the scope of this research, but it ought to be included in future research concerning this topic. This thesis is therefore intended as a basis from which studies can launch similar analyses, but with an expanded scope. Furthermore, this study could help us to

¹ However, this is up for debate, since there are several exceptions. Examples of this are the Heb-Sed of Osorkon II and Amenhotep IV. E. Lange-Athinodorou, *Sedfestritual und Königtum: die Relieffdekoration am Torbau Osorkons II. Im Tempel der Bastet von Bubastis*. (ÄA 75; Wiesbaden, 2019). J. Gohary, *Akhenaten's Sed-festival at Karnak*, (London, 1992).

² G. Reeder, *Running the Heb-Sed*, *KMT* 4 (4), (1993-1994), 60.

³ V. Haas, *Geschichte der Hethitischen Religion*, (Leiden, 1994), 697.

⁴ M. Van De Mierop, *A History of the Ancient Near East ca. 3000-323 BC*, (Oxford, 2016), 137.

⁵ *Idem*, 169.

further understand the concept of kingship in the early states of the Ancient Near East together with the organisation of ruling these early states.

1. Methodology

To approach the study of the Egyptian Heb-Sed and Hittite Purulliya festival a comparative approach based on similarities and differences is necessary, as two different cultures are being examined. The comparison is focussed on the broader and underlying aspects rather than details, due to a disparity in sources and the fact that similar reasoning for rituals could have been expressed differently in the respective cultures.

A potential problem for this comparative approach is the disparity in sources, since the Hittite sources are mostly text based and the Egyptian sources are mostly epigraphical and archaeological, as for instance the temple of Karnak and its inscriptions, which contain references to the Heb-Sed, but also sites like Malqata that were probably built for the Heb-Sed specifically.⁶ This means that in the case of the Hittites we have to reconstruct the festival using the textual sources and our interpretation of these sources. However, on the Egyptian side this problem does not present itself to us due to the well-rounded nature of the sources. This allows us to combine different types of sources to confirm our interpretation, which is harder to do for the Hittite side. Thus, in the case of the Hittites any reconstruction, by other scholars or me, using these textual sources will be indicated as will be done for the Egyptian case. Another problem concerning the Hittite sources is the lack of secondary literature. Almost all literature concerning the Purulliya has been written by Haas and no additional work has been done on the festival. This results in a heavy reliance on Haas and his work, which is complemented by some less extensive studies by other scholars, like Bryce and Beckman, who have worked on Hittite society in general and the myth of Illuyanka respectively.⁷ Contrarily, the Egyptian material is more abundant, but scattered. They consist of epigraphical sources being the reliefs located at Soleb in Nubia, the reliefs of Osorkon II at Bubastis, and Theban Tomb 192. Furthermore, there are archaeological sources like the Djoser complex and textual sources like p.Brooklyn 47.218.50.⁸ All these sources needed to be combined, since almost all of them were discussed in separate articles. This resulted in the creation of table 1.

The main research question guiding this analysis considers: the commonalities and differences between the renewal of kingship during the Egyptian Heb-Sed and

⁶ J.M. Galán, 'The Ancient Egyptian Sed-Festival and the Exemption from Corvee', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 59 (4), (2000), 255-64.

⁷ T. Bryce, *Life and Society in the Hittite World*, (Oxford, 2002). G. Beckman, 'The Anatolian Myth of Illuyanka', *JANES* 14, (1982), 11-25.

⁸ Lange-Anthinodorou, *Sedfestritual and Königtum*. J.D. Degreef, 'The Heb Sed Festival Sequence and pBrooklyn 47.218.50.', *Göttinger Miszellen* 223 (2009), 27-34.

the Hittite Purulliya. To answer this question a basic set of questions consisting of: why, where, what, when, and who, is used, for example: who participated in the Heb-Sed and why? Furthermore, these questions are posed within their respective cultural setting for each individual festival, leaving the comparison for the final conclusions.

2. The Heb-Sed

Before the Heb-Sed is discussed and interpreted in this chapter, a summary of the Ancient Egyptian concept of kingship is required. Ancient Egyptian kingship has always comprised of a strong emphasis on the divine.⁹ However, this did not mean the king and the office of kingship was unable to express any human qualities, such as human error.¹⁰ Nevertheless, the king and his office still held a strong connection to the realm of the divine and were, in some cases, clearly part of the divine. This set him apart from the realm of men, while still being part of it, thus, bridging the gap between the realm of men and that of the gods, which is, for example expressed in his role as high priest.¹¹ Another important aspect of kingship is being the monarch over the two lands, Upper and Lower Egypt, which portrays him as a unifier of these divergent parts.¹² Lastly, the concept of *maat* 'order' plays an important role in the Egyptian concept of kingship.¹³ This is briefly summarized in scenes where the king is seen offering *maat* to gods, which is a way of depicting the king as maintainer of the cosmic order.¹⁴ The maintaining of *maat* was one of the primary tasks of the king, since the failure to uphold *maat* would see the world succumb to chaos.¹⁵

The term Heb-Sed originates from the combination of the Egyptian hieroglyph *hb* (Gardiner W4), which represents an alabaster bowl with columns for a festival pavilion placed on top of it.¹⁶ The subsequent part *sd* is more ambiguous in meaning and has several interpretations. The interpretations are as follows; it represents the Egyptian deity Seth; the term *sd* refers to an animal tail, which is worn by the king as an ornament; or it refers to the coat-like garment worn by the king.¹⁷ Sources depicting the Heb-Sed are attested from the Old Kingdom, starting with Djoser, up to the Late Period ending with the reliefs of Osorkon II at Bubastis.¹⁸ Furthermore, the Heb-Sed is attested for the reigns of Niussere, Amenhotep III, Akhenaten, and

⁹ D.P. Silverman, 'The Nature of Egyptian Kingship', in D. O'Connor & D.P. Silverman (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, (Leiden, 1995), 50.

¹⁰ *Idem*, 51-8.

¹¹ *Idem*, 66-7.

¹² *Idem*, 65.

¹³ J. Baines, 'Kingship, Definition of Culture, and Legitimation', in D. O'Connor & D.P. Silverman (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, (Leiden, 1995), 12.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*. For a more elaborate overview of Egyptian kingship reference: D. O'Connor & D.P. Silverman (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, (Leiden, 1995).

¹⁶ R. Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch – Deutsch*, (Mainz, 2015), 1387.

¹⁷ Lange-Athinodorou, *Sedfestritual und Königtum*, 3.

¹⁸ Lange-Athinodorou, *Sedfestritual und Königtum*. O. Mastenbroek, Het 'Sed-feest' in Voortijd en Oude Rijk, in *De Ibis: nieuwe serie* 17 (3), (1992), 86-98.

Ramses II who celebrated a number of Heb-Seds, with Niussere dating to the Old Kingdom and the other kings to the New Kingdom.¹⁹ Lastly, the sources concerning the Middle Kingdom are very limited and thus leave a gap in our knowledge from this period and in the continuity from the Old Kingdom to the Later Period.²⁰

2.1. The reason for celebrating the festival

It is agreed among scholars that the main reason for celebrating the Heb-Sed was to enact a magical renewal of the king and his kingship.²¹ This renewal was not limited to the king himself and his kingship, but also involved the country of Egypt and its population.²² This renewal according to Mastenbroek and Reeder originated from earlier traditions which stemmed from before the Pre-Dynastic period.²³ This period is characterized by the division between Lower and Upper Egypt, where the Buto-Ma'adi and the Naqada cultures have been found.²⁴ These cultures came into being after the transition from a primarily hunting and gathering lifestyle into farming lifestyle as their primary source for food. The end of the Pre-Dynastic period saw the emergence of the first unified Egyptian state and the start of dynasty 0.²⁵

Certain rites, like the Heb-Sed run, which saw the king run several laps around the Heb-Sed court (fig. 1), had possible Nomadic and Upper Egyptian roots, as is mentioned by Mastenbroek, where the chief would have to show his strength and physical prowess to ensure he remained king. If he was unable to do this, he was to be replaced.²⁶ The reason for this was because the ancestors of the Naqada culture, who lived as hunter-gatherers, depended on hunting for their livelihood and a king or other leader that was unable to provide on this front was unable to look after his people.²⁷ This tradition was continued over time, but lost the aspect of the king having to prove his ability to reign and gained the aspect of a magical renewal.²⁸

¹⁹ E. Hornung, 'Amenhotep III as Renewer of the Sed-Festival', in B. Beaux & N. Grimal (eds.), *Soleb VI Hommages à Michela Schiff Giorgini*, (Cairo, 2013), 89-94. M. Nuzzolo, in P. Der Manuelian & T. Schneider (eds.), *Towards a New History for the Egyptian Old Kingdom. Perspectives on the Pyramid Age*, (Leiden, 2015), 366-92. J. Gohary, *Akhenaten's Sed-festival at Karnak*, (London, 1992).

²⁰ Reeder, *KMT* 4 (4), 62.

²¹ *Idem*, 60.

²² *Ibidem*.

²³ Mastenbroek, *De Ibis: nieuwe serie* 17 (3), 89.

²⁴ K.A. Bard, *An Introduction to the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt*, (Oxford, 2015), 95.

²⁵ *Idem*, 112.

²⁶ *Ibidem*.

²⁷ *Ibidem*.

²⁸ *Idem*, 89-90

However, it did retain some of its original aspects, like the Heb-Sed run.²⁹ The main reason for this was because these people became part of a sedentary society, comprising Ancient Egypt culture. Thus, the emphasis on the hunting of wild animals and the physique required for it was no longer a necessity for survival.³⁰ Nevertheless, it continued to play an important part in royal propaganda, as for instance shown by the hunting scarabs from Amenhotep III, which display his physical prowess and his ability to hunt 'wild' animals.³¹ Bleeker argues that the Heb-Sed mostly fulfilled the function of renewing the king's role as a high priest, due to its magical nature and the evoking of divine life.³² This view is, however, not followed by other Egyptologists, who see the Heb-Sed as a more general renewal of the kingship.³³

Furthermore, the wish to celebrate the Heb-Sed plays an important role in royal iconography and reliefs in temples like Karnak.³⁴ The receiving and granting of the Heb-Sed by the gods, who wish for Heb-Seds for the king or actively give them, serve as a type of legitimization. The gods granting the king Heb-Seds was seen as a divine approval for the monarch's reign and thus these scenes can be seen as a type of propaganda.³⁵

2.2. The location of the festival

The festival itself was celebrated throughout the country and preparations to ensure this was possible were made well in advance.³⁶ However, the king himself would celebrate and partake in the festival at one centralized location.³⁷ However, it appears that this centralized location was the residential area of the current Egyptian king. For example Bubastis was the residential area of the 22nd dynasty, to which Osorkon II belonged.³⁸ Furthermore, the travel of the Upper Egyptian deity Nekhbet to the festival area for the Heb-Sed of Ramesses III, which was located at Pi-Ramesse the

²⁹ *Ibidem*.

³⁰ *Idem*, 88-9. Reeder, *KMT* 4 (4), 60-2. Bard, *Ancient Egypt*, 95.

³¹ Metropolitan Museum of Art <<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/547781>> accessed 11.06.2020.

³² C.J. Bleeker, *Egyptian Festival Enactments of Religious Renewal*, (Leiden, 1967), 122-3.

³³ Reeder, *KMT* 4 (4), 60-70. Lange-Athinodorou, *Sedfestritual und Königtum*, 405-9. Mastenbroek, *De Ibis: Nieuwe serie* 17 (3), 86-98.

³⁴ S. Costa, 'On the Scenes of the King Receiving the Sed-Fests in the Theban Temples of the Ramesside Period' *SAK* 35 (2006), 61-74.

³⁵ *Ibidem*.

³⁶ E. Uphill, 'The Egyptian Sed-Festival Rites', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 24/4, (1965), 368

³⁷ *Idem*, 369.

³⁸ E. Lange-Athinodorou, *Sedfestritual und Königtum*, 1, 6-7.

Ramesseid capital in the Delta, serves as further proof.³⁹ Additionally, it is believed Amenhotep III celebrated his Heb-Sed at his residence at Malqata.⁴⁰ This location consisted of several separate areas which the king would visit over the course of the festival, as we can see depicted on the reliefs of Osorkon II in his temple at Bubastis, which date to his reign during the 22nd dynasty (874-850 B.C.E.).⁴¹ At each area several rites were conducted before the king moved on to the next stage of the festival. Some of these areas were the Heb-Sed court, the palace, which in some cases was built specifically for the festival, and a shrine/chapel area for the statues of the gods, who visited the festival.⁴² An example of this is the visiting of Nekhbet and Wadjet, who were ferried to the festival location from their respective cult centres. The journey of Nekhbet is depicted in the tomb of Setau at Elkab(fig. 2).⁴³

2.2.1. The festival area

The complex of Djoser at Saqqara, which dates to the 3rd dynasty (2635–2570 B.C.E.) gives us a valuable insight into how the festival area might have looked like.⁴⁴ The architecture that is found at the complex of Djoser represents a Heb-Sed court, which is located south of his pyramid (figs 3 and 4). The court contained two ‘daises’, which served as markers for the Heb-Sed run.⁴⁵ Furthermore, the court consisted of dummy chapels, which are located on the eastern side of the court (fig. 5).⁴⁶ North of these dummy chapels the so called houses of the North and South are located, which are also dummy buildings.⁴⁷ The real versions of these buildings were possibly used for the changing of dress by the king.⁴⁸ In later periods these quarters were replaced by an actual palace built for the festival, which is shown on the reliefs from Osorkon II.⁴⁹ It is generally agreed that this Heb-Sed court was not used for the actual Heb-Sed of the king, but rather was meant to be used by the king in the afterlife.⁵⁰ The Heb-Sed court was an important area for the festival. This was because of the Heb-Sed run

³⁹ L. Limme, ‘Elkab, 1937-2007: Seventy Years of Belgian Archaeological Research’ *BMSAES* 9 (2008), 26.

⁴⁰ Hornung, in B. Beaux & N. Grimal (eds.), *Soleb VI*, 89.

⁴¹ E. Lange-Athinodorou, *Sedfestritual und Königtum*, 1-2.

⁴² *Idem*, 366. Uphill, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 24/4, 369.

⁴³ Limme, *BMSAES* 9, 26. Uphill, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 24/4, 369.

⁴⁴ Reeder, *KMT* 4 (4), 63.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁶ H. Goedicke, ‘Zoser’s Funerary Monument 2. The ‘Heb-sed Court’ *BACE* 8 (1997), 36-9.

⁴⁷ *Idem*, 39-40

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁹ Uphill, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 24/4, 369.

⁵⁰ Reeder, *KMT* 4 (4), 63.

that was conducted in this area, which showed the king's vitality and strength.⁵¹ Besides the Heb-Sed court, the palace, which in some cases was built for the festival, was an essential component of the festival area.⁵² This palace was located near the festival area and was used by the king to rest and change attire in between ceremonies.⁵³ In the case of Osorkon II the tomb of the king also was part of the festival area, which was used as the location for the rejuvenation ritual, since the king had to ritualistically die and then be reborn. But it is uncertain if this was a development dating to Osorkon II or if it was already part of the festival before Osorkon II.⁵⁴

2.2.2. The remainder of the country

However, the celebrations were not limited to the festival area and its direct surroundings. Throughout the country smaller chapels were erected where subsidiary rites were conducted.⁵⁵ However, only one such shrine has been found by Chevrier inside the foundation of the third pylon at Karnak.⁵⁶ This is a strong indication that the entire population was able to participate in the festival.⁵⁷ Furthermore, the Heb-Sed was a well-established among the Egyptian festivals. This, allows for a direct comparison between other festivals and the Heb-Sed concerning the public domain of the festival. Because of this it is plausible that the Heb-Sed functioned as a public holiday for the population, which happened during other Egyptian festivals as well.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, sources concerning the public episodes of the Heb-Sed are limited, especially from areas not directly involved in the Heb-Sed. This in turn, does not allow for any definite conclusion concerning this aspect of the festival until more sources are found.

2.3. When was the festival celebrated

Every 30 years the festival would have been celebrated and then repeated every other three years.⁵⁹ Preparations for the festival begun well in advance, at least

⁵¹ *Ibidem.*

⁵² Uphill, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 24/4, 369.

⁵³ Reeder, *KMT* 4 (4), 62.

⁵⁴ Uphill, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 24/4, 377-80.

⁵⁵ *Idem*, 368.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem.*

⁵⁷ *Idem*, 380-2.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem.* H. Jauhiainen, "Do Not Celebrate Your Feast Without Your Neighbours" *A Study of References to Feasts and Festivals in Non-Literary Documents from Ramesside Period Deir el-Medina*, (Helsinki, 2009), 2-3.

⁵⁹ Mastenbroek, *De Ibis: nieuwe serie* 17 (3), 86. Reeder, *KMT* 4 (4), 62.

several years before the actual festival itself.⁶⁰ An example of these preparations are those for the Heb-Sed of Amenhotep III, where there are huge deliveries of food being made about a year in advance for the festival.⁶¹ These deliveries were probably used for food offerings to the gods.⁶² However, the 30 year 'rule' is debated, since it got introduced by Brugsch, based on his interpretation of Heb-Sed related sources, and has simply been copied ever since.⁶³ One possible explanation for this is that the 30 years are a remnant from the earliest stages of the Heb-Sed, where the Heb-Sed was a consequence of a long rule and certainly not a requirement for one, as is mentioned by Goedicke.⁶⁴

2.3.1. Exceptions to the 30 year rule

Nevertheless, there are some exceptions to the regular celebrations in the 30th regnal year. Two examples of this are the Heb-Sed of Osorkon II and the Heb-Sed of Akhenaten, famous for his Amarna reforms, consisting of an early form of monotheism worshipping the Aten solar disk (1350-1332 B.C.E.)⁶⁵ Osorkon II celebrated his Heb-Sed in his 22nd regnal year. This date is based off of the reliefs from Bubastis.⁶⁶ Akhenaten celebrated his Heb-Seds very early on in his reign.⁶⁷ However, his co-regency with his father Amenhotep III is to be taken into account, since this could have influenced the counting of his regnal years and thus had him celebrate his Heb-Sed 'early'.⁶⁸ Did this co-regency play a role in the premature celebration of the festival or not? This is a question we are currently unable to answer, since a lot is still unknown concerning when the festival was celebrated.

A possible explanation for the 'premature' celebrations can be found in the magical renewal or rebirth of the king. This magical renewal might have been a tool that the monarchs employed to strengthen his legitimacy and thus his reign.⁶⁹ Furthermore, if we subscribe to the theory of Mastenbroek, where the festival has its roots in nomadic traditions, it is plausible that the king would have had to defend his

⁶⁰ Uphill, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 24/4, 368.

⁶¹ Hornung, in B. Beaux & N. Grimal (eds.), *Soleb VI*, 89-90.

⁶² Lange-Anthinodorou, *Sedfestritual und Königtum*, 392.

⁶³ *Idem*, 405-6.

⁶⁴ Mastenbroek, *De Ibis: Nieuwe serie* 17 (3), 86-98. Reeder, *KMT* 4 (4), 60-70. Goedicke, *BACE* 8, 44-5.

⁶⁵ B.J. Kemp, 'Spiritual Life at Amarna', in *The City of Akhenaten and Nefertiti: Amarna and its People*, (London, 2012), 231-263.

⁶⁶ Lange-Anthinodorou, *Sedfestritual und Königtum*, 1-2.

⁶⁷ Gohary, *Akhenaten's Sed-festival*, 29-31.

⁶⁸ P. F. Dorman, 'The Long Coregency Revisited: Architectural and Iconographic Conundra in the Tomb of Kheruef', in P. Brand & L. Cooper (eds.), *Causing His Name To Live*, (Leiden, 2009), 65-82.

⁶⁹ Gohary, *Akhenaten's Sed-festival*, 9. Gohary mentions the reassertion of power by the king, which possibly served as a means to strengthen their reign.

right to rule well before his 30th year of rule, thus meaning the 30 year rule is a product of our interpretation and imagination, rather than an actual Ancient Egyptian one, as is mentioned by Lange-Athinodorou and Bleeker.⁷⁰

2.4. The people involved in the festival

Besides the king and queen several groups of priests and other individual were involved in the festival. The reliefs from Osorkon II provide us with a valuable source concerning these people.⁷¹ This is further complemented by other sources like the reliefs of Niussere being the small festival scene at Abu Ghorub, and Amenhotep III at Soleb.⁷² These people ranged from several groups of priests to companions that accompanied the king throughout the festival.⁷³ These companions are most likely officials, which is displayed in the reliefs in Soleb.⁷⁴ These depict a great procession in which the king, statues and standards, priests and a select group of officials took part.⁷⁵ Thus, the people directly involved with the festival consist of a small group of elite, who probably were close to the king.

Another group of people that were involved with the festival, but were not involved directly, was of course the Ancient Egyptian population.⁷⁶ Their role would be that of spectators of the public episodes of the festival or to celebrate the festival in their home city or town.⁷⁷ Besides the erecting of chapels throughout the country, which were used for the conducting of subsidiary rites for the festival, and the public episodes near the festival terrain, which most likely consisted of spectating the processions lead by the king, we do not know much about this part of the celebration.⁷⁸ However, it is safe to assume it was similar to the celebration of other festivals in Ancient Egypt.⁷⁹ The reason for this is because, Egyptian festivals used to

⁷⁰ Mastenbroek, *De Ibis: nieuwe serie* 17 (3), 89. Lange-Anthinodorou, *Sedfestritual und Königtum*, 405-6. Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals*, 113-4.

⁷¹ Lange-Anthinodorou, *Sedfestritual und Königtum*, 389-90.

⁷² Nuzzolo, in Manuelian & Schneider (eds.), *Egyptian Old Kingdom*, 366-92. Hornung, in Beaux & Grimal (eds.), *Soleb VI*, 89-94.

⁷³ Nuzzolo, in P. Der Manuelian & T. Schneider, *Egyptian Old Kingdom*, 372-3. Hornung, in Beaux & Grimal (eds.), *Soleb VI*, 92.

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁷⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁷⁶ Jauhiainen, *Do Not Celebrate*, 2-3. Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals*, 122.

⁷⁷ Examples of local communities celebrating festivals can be found in: Jauhiainen, *Do Not Celebrate*, 131-40. 147-52.

⁷⁸ Uphill, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 24/4, 381.

⁷⁹ Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals*, 50, 122.

have a public element to them. This public element usually took shape in procession during which the gods could be 'seen' together with the king.⁸⁰

2.5. What happened during the celebrations

The reliefs of Osorkon II, Niussere, Amenhotep III and Theban Tomb 192, which belongs to an official named Kheruef, who was in office during the reign of Amenhotep III, provide us with valuable information concerning the events that took place during the festival. Furthermore, pBrooklyn 47.218.50. also provides us with an insight into these events, despite the fact its contents do not directly relate to the Heb-Sed.⁸¹ Table 1 gives an overview of the events mentioned in each individual source.⁸²

The majority of the sources depict a reception of the king by several deities, which marks the opening of the festival.⁸³ This was then followed by an opening procession by the king in which Wepwawet, 'opener of the ways', took part.⁸⁴ Wepwawet, who probably is the oldest Egyptian jackal god, plays an important role in the entire festival, because of his strong connection with leading processions, being either ritual or funerary, which dates all the way back to the 3rd dynasty.⁸⁵ The god also is believed to originate from Upper Egypt, which possibly demonstrates the Upper-Egyptian roots of the festival.⁸⁶ However, the versatility of the god, which shows in the leading of processions during festivals in a more general setting and with a funerary setting, and his war-like nature, do not allow for a clear interpretation of his exact role.⁸⁷ Nevertheless, it is clear that both the ritual function of leading processions and the funerary one suit the Heb-Sed. This is because of the ritualistic rebirth that takes place during the festival.⁸⁸ Another part of the festivities are the Clepsydra offers, also known as water clock offers, given to primarily Nekhbet and Wadjet by the king, since these goddesses are connected with the White

⁸⁰ M.M. Luiselli, *Die Suche nach Gottesnähe: Untersuchungen zur persönlichen Frömmigkeit in Ägypten von der Ersten Zwischenzeit bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches*, (Wiesbaden, 2011), 54-5.

⁸¹ *Ibidem*.

⁸² Lange-Anthinodorou, *Sedfestritual und Königtum*, 389-98. Uphill, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 24/4. Nuzzolo, in P. Der Manuelian & T. Schneider (eds.), *Egyptian Old Kingdom*. Degreef, *Göttinger Miszellen* 223 (2009), 27-34. Hornung, in Beaux & Grimal (eds.), *Soleb VI*.

⁸³ Lange-Anthinodorou, *Sedfestritual und Königtum*, 389-98.

⁸⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁸⁵ R.W. Wilkinson, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt*, (London, 2003), 191.

⁸⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁸⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁸⁸ Reeder, *KMT* 4 (4), 60.

Crown of Upper and Red Crown of Lower Egypt respectively and thus kingship.⁸⁹ Clepsydras were a valuable votive gift, which quite often was given to the deity by the king. Furthermore, these clepsydras were probably used in the temple by the temple staff to help determine the correct times for cultic events, like offerings, for the deities.⁹⁰ The king is also seen seated on the lion throne in all sources, except for Abu Ghorub, which was the site of the 5th dynasty sun temples northwest of Abusir where the reliefs of Niussere were found.⁹¹ However, there is some debate concerning this, since Kuhlman mentions the possible presence of a lion throne in the Abu Ghorub reliefs and Mastenbroek mentions a lion bed that is displayed in these reliefs.⁹² Furthermore, the lion throne displays the worldly power the king holds, which explains its appearance in the Heb-Sed, since the festival was a renewal of the kingship and thus of the king's worldly power.⁹³ In the case of the Abu Ghorub reliefs, the lion bed or throne is directly connected to a renewal ritual.⁹⁴ A similar renewal ritual is also depicted on the reliefs from Bubastis, but this ritual takes place inside the tomb of Osorkon II.⁹⁵

There also were several jubilation processions that took place.⁹⁶ These processions usually marked the transition from one area or scene to another, which is present in all sources, but Abu Ghorub.⁹⁷ The involvement of the Heliopolitan ennead, which includes important deities like the creator deity Atum, once again does appear in all sources except Abu Ghorub.⁹⁸ In the case of the Bubastis reliefs Osorkon II is seen offering incense to the ennead.⁹⁹ The reason for their involvement in the Heb-Sed is due to the strong connection between the kingship and the site of Heliopolis, due to it being the cultic centre of the creator god Atum and one of Egypt's chief deities Ra.¹⁰⁰ A possible explanation for the absence of the ennead at

⁸⁹ Lange-Anthinodorou, *Sedfestritual und Königtum*, 318. Wilkinson, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses*, 213-4, 226-7.

⁹⁰ R. Gautschy, 'The Karnak Clepsydra: Votive Gift or Utilitarian Object?', in K. Gabler (ed.), *Text-Bild-Objekte im archäologischen Kontext: Festschrift für Susanne Bickel*, (Hamburg, 2020), 178-179.

⁹¹ Nuzzolo, in Manuelian & Schneider (eds.), *Egyptian Old Kingdom*, 366-92. Lange-Anthinodorou, *Sedfestritual und Königtum*, 389-98. Bard, *Ancient Egypt*, 166-7.

⁹² K.P. Kuhlman, *Der Thron im Alten Ägypten: Untersuchungen zu Semantik, Ikonographie und Symbolik eines Herrschaftszeichens* (ADAIK 10, Glückstadt, 1977), 61. Mastenbroek, *De Ibis: nieuwe serie* 17 (3), 94-5.

⁹³ Kuhlman, *Der Thron im Alten Ägypten*, 89.

⁹⁴ Mastenbroek, *De Ibis: nieuwe serie* 17 (3), 94.

⁹⁵ Uphill, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 24/4, 377-80.

⁹⁶ Lange-Anthinodorou, *Sedfestritual und Königtum*, 389-98.

⁹⁷ *Ibidem*. Nuzzolo, in P. Der Manuelian & T. Schneider, *Egyptian Old Kingdom*, 366-92.

⁹⁸ *Ibidem*.

⁹⁹ Lange-Anthinodorou, *Sedfestritual und Königtum*, 353.

¹⁰⁰ *Idem*, 353-6. Wilkinson, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses*, 98-9, 205-9.

Abu Ghorub is the different time periods during which the festival transpired and that the involvement of this specific ennead is a later development. However, a detailed study of more Heb-Sed related sources is needed to say this with certainty. The incompleteness of the Abu Ghorub reliefs is also a plausible explanation, since these are in a fragmentary state. Furthermore the sun temples at Abu Ghorub had a connection with Heliopolis, which means the ennead most likely played a role in Niusseré's Heb-Sed.¹⁰¹ Nevertheless, the reason for their presence in later sources is quite clear, since the Egyptian king would call onto all the gods of Egypt to help in his rejuvenation, as is seen in Soleb.¹⁰² There are also several palace episodes and so called throne episodes, where the king is once again being crowned and receives his regalia and the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt.¹⁰³ One interesting observation is the lack of the so called running episode from the New Kingdom sources, since this was one of the core events of the Heb-Sed.¹⁰⁴ However, the reason for this can either be that it is among the missing reliefs from Soleb or that it was not decided to be depicted. The latter interpretation is mentioned by Hornung, since all Heb-Sed reliefs show a selection of the events that transpired during the festival.¹⁰⁵ Amun also makes his appearance in the festival from the New Kingdom onwards.¹⁰⁶ This is not fully unexpected, since Amun played an important role in the state religion from the founding of the New Kingdom onwards and had close ties with kingship.¹⁰⁷

When we look at the scenes and events that happened during the Heb-Sed, it is clear that the festival developed overtime.¹⁰⁸ Some developments like the appearance of Amun are easily explained by the different time periods in which the festival took place, while others, like the absence of the running episode in New Kingdom sources, are not, and require some further research to explain in a satisfactory fashion.¹⁰⁹ The most convincing explanation for their absence is provided by Hornung in his statement that all the Heb-Sed reliefs are a synopsis of what transpired during the festival and the fact that other festivals are also depicted in the case of the Abu Ghorub reliefs.¹¹⁰ Nevertheless, we can say with certainty that the

¹⁰¹ Bard, *Ancient Egypt*, 166.

¹⁰² Hornung, in Beaux & Grimal (eds.), *Soleb VI*, 90.

¹⁰³ Lange-Anthinodorou, *Sedfestritual und Königtum*, 330, 344, 371, 373-6, 380, 388. Degreef, *The Heb Sed Festival Sequence*, 29.

¹⁰⁴ Reeder, *KMT* 4 (4), 63.

¹⁰⁵ Hornung, in Beaux & Grimal (eds.), *Soleb VI*, 93.

¹⁰⁶ Lange-Anthinodorou, *Sedfestritual and Königtum*, 389-98.

¹⁰⁷ Wilkinson, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses*, 92.

¹⁰⁸ Hornung, in Beaux & Grimal (eds.), *Soleb VI*, 94

¹⁰⁹ *Ibidem*.

¹¹⁰ Hornung, in Beaux & Grimal (eds.), *Soleb VI*, 93. Nuzzolo, in P. Der Manuelian & T. Schneider, *Egyptian Old Kingdom*, 381-2.

Bubastis and Soleb reliefs provide the most complete depiction of the Heb-Sed, which can be used as a basis to understanding the festival and what transpired during it.¹¹¹

¹¹¹ Hornung, in Beaux & Grimal (eds.), *Soleb VI*, 93. Lange-Anthinodorou, *Sedfestritual und Königtum*.

3. The Hittite Purulliya

Once again, before the festival in question is discussed, a definition of the Hittite concept of kingship is required. Just like the Egyptian kingship, the Hittite kingship meant that the king was chief priest and commander in chief of the armed forces.¹¹² However, the Hittite king was not divine or part-divine in nature, but was the agent in chief and deputy of the Storm God.¹¹³ Thus, the king was appointed by the divine mandate of the Storm God.¹¹⁴ Furthermore, the king was hidden from public view and probably disconnected from his subjects, which had to do with ritual cleanness.¹¹⁵ This meant that the king's subjects would only be able to see him during processions or other occasions during which he left the palace.¹¹⁶ However, we also need to keep in mind that the majority of our sources concerning the Hittite kings originate from the royal domain, thus, tainting our view of them with a probable bias.¹¹⁷

Lastly, the sources concerning the Purulliya all originate from the area of the Hittite capital of Hattusa.¹¹⁸ Furthermore, they mostly consist of clay tablets, which either contained cuneiform texts of myths that were connected to the festival or actual protocols on how the festival was to be celebrated.¹¹⁹ This displays a disparity concerning the Hittite and Egyptian sources. However, it is important to know that the Purulliya originally was celebrated in Nerik, which was most likely located north of Hattusa (fig. 6), primarily, before other cities like Hattusa became involved.¹²⁰ Since the Purulliya in Nerik is seen as the oldest proto-Hittite new year's festival of which the later Purulliya was a descendant.¹²¹

3.1. The reason for celebrating the Purulliya

The Purulliya was a new year's festival celebrated by the Hittites, which contained a strong emphasis on the renewal of the land of Hatti and the king and his kingship.¹²²

¹¹² T. Bryce, *Life and Society*, 29.

¹¹³ *Idem*, 18, 21.

¹¹⁴ *Ibidem*.

¹¹⁵ *Idem*, 15.

¹¹⁶ *Ibidem*.

¹¹⁷ *Idem*, 12-4.

¹¹⁸ H.G. Güterbock, 'Some Aspects of Hittite Festivals', *XVII RAI*, (1969), 175.

¹¹⁹ *Idem*, 175-7.

¹²⁰ V. Haas, *Geschichte der Hethitischen Religion*, (Leiden, 1994), 696.

¹²¹ V. Haas, *Der Kult von Nerik: Ein Beitrag zur hethitischen Religionsgeschichte*, (Rome, 1970), 43.

¹²² Haas, *Hethitischen Religion*, 696-8.

By celebrating the festival a renewal of the land was achieved thus assuring a successful harvest.¹²³ This becomes even clearer when reading the Anatolian/Hittite myth of Illyanka, in which the Storm God of Nerik and the Serpent Illyanka were the main characters.¹²⁴ The starting lines of the myth are as follows:

{This is} the text of the Purulli (festival) for the [...] of the Storm-god of Heaven, according to Kella, [the 'anointed priest'] of the Storm-god of Nerik: When they speak thus-
"Let the land grow (and) thrive, and let the land be secure (lit. be protected)! – and when it (indeed) grows (and) thrives, they then perform the festival of Purulli."¹²⁵

Later in the myth there are further references to a banquet being held at the Purulliya and also a 'rebirth' of the Storm God after his defeat by the serpent Illyanka.¹²⁶ After his 'rebirth' the Storm God again fights the serpent Illyanka and defeats the serpent.¹²⁷ Furthermore, it is also mentioned that the festival is a reperformance of the first Purulliya, which demonstrate the need to repeat the festival.¹²⁸

3.2. The location of the Purulliya festival

The festival was primarily celebrated in the Hittite capital of Hattusa and, more importantly, the city of Nerik, which was the original cult centre for the Purulliya and the Storm God of Nerik.¹²⁹ Hattusa was located at the heart of the Hittite empire, but the exact location of Nerik is unknown to us (fig. 6).¹³⁰ Inside the city of Hattusa the route from the palace to the main temple in the city was the primary area for the festivities.¹³¹

However, the celebrations were not limited to the capital and Nerik, but also took place in other cities such as Tawiniya, Zippalanda, Arinna, Warkatawi, and Kastama.¹³² Besides their involvement in the Purulliya we do not know much about these cities, since their geographical location, for some of these places, is unknown to us. Locating these cities might help to further understand their role in the festival. However, what is important to keep in mind is that the Hittite empire was not as unified as the Egyptian empire was and consisted of vassal states centred around the

¹²³ *Ibidem.*

¹²⁴ Beckman, *JANES 14*, (1982), 11-25.

¹²⁵ After the translation by Beckman, *JANES 14*, 18.

¹²⁶ *Idem*, 18-20.

¹²⁷ *Ibidem.*

¹²⁸ *Idem*, 19.

¹²⁹ V. Haas, 'Betrachtungen zur Rekonstruktion des hethitischen Frühjahrfestes (EZEN purulliyas)', *ZA 78*, (1988), 285.

¹³⁰ *Idem*, 286-7.

¹³¹ Bryce, *Life and Society*, 187-8.

¹³² Haas, *ZA 78*, 286-7.

heartland.¹³³ Thus, the traveling to these cities might have served the purpose of 'checking in' and to show the king was still alive. However, since the exact location of a lot of these cities are unknown, it is impossible to support this theory until they are found.

3.2.1 Hattusa, Nerik, Tawiniya, Zippalanda, Arinna, Warkatawi and Kastama

Inside the Hittite capital the festival was celebrated in three primary locations. These were the palace, where several rites were conducted the temple of the dead and the so called 'stone house', which appears to be a type of cult building, used for ancestor veneration.¹³⁴ However, the exact function of the 'stone house' is still debated. Here soldiers prepared cattle for the king, for what appears to be a specific rite.¹³⁵ In the other cities the local cultic centres were involved in the festival, which usually were the temples of these cities.¹³⁶ However, in the case of Zippalanda the holy mountains of Zippalanda are involved in the festival rites as well.¹³⁷ Mountains like the holy mountains of Zippalanda were a common phenomenon in Hittite religion.¹³⁸

3.2.2 The remainder of the country

If there were any other celebrations besides the ones in Hattusa and the cities of Nerik, Tawiniya, Zippalanda, Arinna, Warkatawi, and Kastama is unknown. This is due to the fact that the majority of the sources originate from or mention these areas.¹³⁹ However, the aforementioned cities can be seen as the remainder of the country. Looking at figure 6 it is clear that these areas/cities represent a large area of the Hittite empire and the core territory. Thus, it appears that the king did move around the country and celebrated the festival throughout it. With the main component being processions and rites connected with the local cult centre.¹⁴⁰

¹³³ Bryce, *Life and Society*, 9.

¹³⁴ Haas, *Hethitischen Religion*, 720.

¹³⁵ *Idem*, 720-1.

¹³⁶ *Idem*, 729-47.

¹³⁷ *Idem*, 736-7.

¹³⁸ D. Schwemer, 'Quality Assurance Managers at Work: The Hittite Festival Tradition', in G.G.W. Müller (ed.), *Liturgie oder Literatur? Die Kultrituale der Hethiter im transkulturellen Vergleich. Akten eines Werkstattgesprächs an der Akademi der Wissenschaften und der Literatur Mainz, 2.-3. Dezember 2010*, (Wiesbaden, 2010), 1.

¹³⁹ V. Haas, *ZA* 78, 286-7.

¹⁴⁰ Haas, *Hethitischen Religion*, 729-47.

3.3. When was the festival celebrated

The Purulliya was celebrated annually at the start of the Hittite agricultural year, which started at the end of winter and the transition towards spring.¹⁴¹ The reason for this was the requirement for a yearly renewal of the king and his kingship, and the land of Hatti in preparation for the start of the agricultural year.¹⁴² The timely celebration of festivals played an important role in Hittite culture, as is mentioned by Schwemer, since a failure to do so would result in divine punishment.¹⁴³ Thus, it is safe to assume the Purulliya was always celebrated at the same time of year, with minimal to no deviation. Furthermore, the festival lasted for approximately a month.¹⁴⁴ The main reason for the festival taking such a long time was due to the travel from and to the different cities that took part in the festival, by the king.¹⁴⁵

3.4. The people involved in the celebrations

The main people involved in the festival are of course the king and the priesthood.¹⁴⁶ They were directly involved in the important festival rites and one of the main components of the procession that happened in the Hittite capital.¹⁴⁷ The people that were part of this procession were numerous and consisted of dignitaries of the royal realm, the royal bodyguard, the priests and other temple personnel, the singers and other artists, a scribe, and of course the royal couple.¹⁴⁸

Another group of people involved in the celebrations are the Hittite population. These people most likely were involved by watching the procession move through the streets towards the temple, these narrow streets were most likely crowded with people.¹⁴⁹ Fig. 7 shows an artist's reconstruction of the Hittite capital. The procession would be one of the few moments they were able to see their king, since he usually was confined to the palace premises.¹⁵⁰ This might have been a special moment for these people, since they were also able to see the statues of the gods, who would also have been part of the procession.¹⁵¹

¹⁴¹ *Idem*, 284.

¹⁴² Haas, *Hethitischen Religion*, 696.

¹⁴³ Schwemer, in G.G.W. Müller (ed.), *Liturgie oder Literatur?*, 4-6.

¹⁴⁴ Haas, *Hethitischen Religion*, 699

¹⁴⁵ *Ibidem*.

¹⁴⁶ Bryce, *Life and Society*, 187.

¹⁴⁷ *Idem*, 187-8. Haas, *Hethitischen Religion*, 720-36.

¹⁴⁸ Bryce, *Life and Society*, 187.

¹⁴⁹ *Idem*, 189-91.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibidem*.

¹⁵¹ *Ibidem*.

3.5. What happened during the Purulliya

During the festival several rites were conducted in different locations ranging from important structures in the capital Hattusa, like the palace and temple, to the other cities involved in the festival, like Nerik.

The clay tablets from Hattusa offer us a valuable insight into what happened during the festival. Inside the temple of the dead several rites were conducted. These consist of: a complete renewal of the temple and its interior, renewing all the cult objects inside the temple a large amount of cattle and other animals, of which the cattle were slaughtered.¹⁵² Food was also delivered to the temple. Inside the 'stone house' another rite which involved the binding of cattle occurred.¹⁵³

The palace is also a location where several rites were conducted. These rites start with the appearing of the king in the Asusa city gate and a song is sung to greet him.¹⁵⁴ The Asusa city gate originated from the Old-Hittite period, when an Assyrian trade colony was still located in the city of Hattusa. However, the exact reason for the involvement of the city gate in the Purulliya is unknown.¹⁵⁵ There appears to have been a lot of music and song involved in this celebration, as is mentioned by Haas.¹⁵⁶ Afterwards the palace is renewed by means of a specific ritual, which served to cleanse the palace for the start of the new year, which also served to renew the king and the royal family.¹⁵⁷ Once the renewal of the palace had been concluded the next rite, which was a reiteration of the rite conducted during the construction of the palace, was conducted by a zilipuriyatalla-priest, who played an important role in the rites related to the building of a house or a palace.¹⁵⁸ It involves a further cleansing of the palace and offerings being presented.¹⁵⁹ This is followed by the king evoking the goddess Halmasuit, who is a goddess closely related to the kingship and the crown.¹⁶⁰ The contents of this invocation serve as a means to legitimize the king and his rule.¹⁶¹ Lastly, directions for offerings concerning the erection for a palace are found on the clay tablets, which discuss the details of how to conduct these rites.¹⁶²

¹⁵² Haas, *Hethitischen Religion*, 720-2.

¹⁵³ *Ibidem*.

¹⁵⁴ *Idem*, 722.

¹⁵⁵ *Idem*, 617-8.

¹⁵⁶ *Idem*, 722-3.

¹⁵⁷ *Idem*, 723.

¹⁵⁸ *Idem*, 250, 723.

¹⁵⁹ *Idem*, 723-4.

¹⁶⁰ *Idem*, 724-6.

¹⁶¹ *Ibidem*.

¹⁶² *Idem*, 727-8.

Once the rites in the Hittite capital are concluded the king and his household travel to the other cities that are involved in the celebration of the festival.¹⁶³ Upon his arrival in these cities specific rites are conducted. These rites appear to be specific to each city and thus resumption of rites does not appear to occur.¹⁶⁴ However, our knowledge concerning this aspect is very biased, since the festival protocols on the cuneiform tablets are more complete for cities like Tawiniya than Nerik.¹⁶⁵

The first stop was the city of Tawiniya, which is probably located at the place of the Roman town of Tabia/Tavium, the current town of Nefesköy, and is only 15 kilometres from Hattusa.¹⁶⁶ During the celebrations there is a central role for the local deity of Teteshapi.¹⁶⁷ The priests connected with this deity wore several animal masks, while music is being played and songs are being sung.¹⁶⁸ Besides these activities there are several drinking ceremonies dedicated to several deities.¹⁶⁹ This appears to be a specific way of offering to the gods.¹⁷⁰ These drinking ceremonies were always conducted by the royal couple.¹⁷¹ The drinking is done from a specific vessel and is repeated several times.¹⁷² Based off the sources covered by Haas, it appears that these drinking ceremonies were the main component of the rites conducted in Tawiniya.¹⁷³

After the city of Tawiniya the king and his entourage arrive in Zippalanda.¹⁷⁴ Here the king conducted several rites in different sacred buildings and on top of the sacred mountains of Zippalanda.¹⁷⁵ Here another drinking ceremony was conducted and libations were given to the weather god of Zippalanda.¹⁷⁶ The gods related to the weather play a central role in the offerings and libations given and they are assembled for the start of the new year.¹⁷⁷ However, there are several gaps in the ritual texts related to Zippalanda, which need to be taken into account when

¹⁶³ *Idem*, 729-47.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibidem*.

¹⁶⁵ *Idem*, 729-36, 740-2.

¹⁶⁶ Haas, *Hethitischen Religion*, 729.

¹⁶⁷ *Idem*, 730.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibidem*.

¹⁶⁹ *Idem*, 732-6.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibidem*.

¹⁷¹ *Idem*, 670.

¹⁷² *Ibidem*.

¹⁷³ *Idem*, 732-6

¹⁷⁴ *Idem*, 736.

¹⁷⁵ *Idem*, 736-7.

¹⁷⁶ *Idem*, 736-40.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibidem*.

interpreting this part of the festival, since these gaps do not allow for a complete interpretation of all the rites.

Lastly, the king arrives in Nerik, where the final rites by the king are conducted.¹⁷⁸ Here all the gods are gathered and a large banquet with food offerings is held, which shows a strong connection to the myth of Illuyanka.¹⁷⁹ This banquet appears to be the main component of the rites in Nerik, together with the gathering of the gods for this banquet.¹⁸⁰ Furthermore, Haas mentions the strong connection between the Purulliya celebrations and the rites and ceremonies which were conducted in Nerik.¹⁸¹ The text of the myth of Illuyanka also mentions the (re)-performing of the first Purulliya festival.¹⁸² Thus, the celebrations in Nerik most likely still held this function of (re)-celebrating the original Purulliya celebrated by the gods.

The rites in Hanhana and Kasha are distinct when we compare them to the other cities. This is due to the fact that the local governor and the princes are responsible for their rites and not the king.¹⁸³ During the festivities in these cities 12 gods, which are connected with the 12 months of the year, were worshiped.¹⁸⁴ The celebrations in these cities appear to mostly centre around the occupation and work of the shepherd.¹⁸⁵ This is expressed in the moving from herds of sheep and cattle to and from the two cities by the princes.¹⁸⁶ The celebrations lasted for a total of six days, due to the moving of cattle from and to the cities by the princes.¹⁸⁷ During all these days the shepherd aspect plays a central role, except on the fourth day, where a washing ceremony takes centre stage, which is accompanied with music and song.¹⁸⁸ The cultic objects are also being cleansed and cleaned, while the 'song of washing' was being sung, which indicates the need to be cleaned and purified at the start of the new year.¹⁸⁹

¹⁷⁸ *Idem*, 740. Haas, *Der Kult von Nerik*, 45.

¹⁷⁹ *Idem*, 740-2.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibidem*.

¹⁸¹ Haas, *Der Kult von Nerik*, 43-9.

¹⁸² Beckman, *JANES 14*, 19.

¹⁸³ Haas, *Hethitischen Religion*, 742-3.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibidem*.

¹⁸⁵ *Idem*, 743.

¹⁸⁶ *Idem*, 743-7.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibidem*.

¹⁸⁸ *Idem*, 745.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibidem*.

4. Comparison and Conclusion

Before the more specific areas of the festivals are compared with one another, the concept of kingship and the sources need to be discussed. Looking at the concept of kingship we can see some differences and similarities. An important difference is the non-divine nature of the Hittite king compared to the Egyptian king.¹⁹⁰ In the case of the Hittites the king reigned by divine grace, while the Egyptian king was part of the divine in nature, however, he also got given divine approval for his reign.¹⁹¹

When the sources are compared it is clear that there is a huge discrepancy. The Egyptian sources are more well-rounded and consist of epigraphical, like the reliefs from Bubastis, archaeological like the Djoser complex, and textual sources like p.Brooklyn 47.218.50.¹⁹² The Hittite sources are almost fully textual, which limits us in our interpretation of the Purulliya.¹⁹³

4.1. The reasons for celebrating

In the case of the Egyptian Heb-Sed it is clear that the reason for celebrating the festival was to enact a magical renewal of the king and his kingship.¹⁹⁴ However, it was not limited to just the king himself, but also included the country of Egypt.¹⁹⁵ When we look at the Hittite Purulliya it is clear that the renewal of the land for the start of the new agricultural year was the main component.¹⁹⁶ The renewal of the king and his kingship appears to have played a secondary role in the celebrations, which was connected with the myth of Illuyanka.¹⁹⁷ In the case of Egypt however, it is clear that the renewal of the king and kingship weighed heavier than the renewal of the land of Egypt.¹⁹⁸

This demonstrates that both cultures celebrated the festivals for similar reasons, but the priorities were different in each respective culture. Nevertheless, according to

¹⁹⁰ D.P. Silverman, in D. O'Connor & D.P. Silverman (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, 65. Bryce, *Life and Society*, 18, 21.

¹⁹¹ *Ibidem*.

¹⁹² Lange-Anthinodorou, *Sedfestritual and Königtum*. Degreeef, *Göttinger Miszellen* 223 (2009), 27-34.

¹⁹³ Haas, *Hethitischen Religion*, 696-747.

¹⁹⁴ Mastenbroek, *De Ibis: nieuwe serie* 17 (3), 89.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibidem*.

¹⁹⁶ Haas, *Hethitischen Religion*, 696-8.

¹⁹⁷ Beckman, *JANES* 14, 18.

¹⁹⁸ Reeder, *KMT* 4 (4), 60.

Haas the importance of both the renewals of kingship is still comparable with one another.¹⁹⁹

4.2. Where the festivals were celebrated

The Egyptian festival was celebrated in one centralized location, being the city of residence of the king, and where the festival terrain, in some cases, was built specifically for the festival.²⁰⁰ Furthermore, officials from all over Egypt were assembled in this specific area, even gods were ferried over the Nile to the festival area, as is displayed in the tomb of Setau, where we see the journey of the goddess of Upper Egypt, Nekhbet, to the festival area.²⁰¹ All this demonstrates the strong centralization of the Egyptian state, which allowed the celebration to take place in such a manner.²⁰²

The Hittite festival on the other hand did not take place in one centralized location.²⁰³ There were several locations the king visited being; Hattusa, Nerik, Tawiniya, and Zippalanda.²⁰⁴ Here the king visited and conducted rites at the local cult centres and sacred areas, which demonstrates the more decentralized nature of the Hittite empire.²⁰⁵ Where there was the core of the empire centred around Hattusa with vassal states making up the peripheral.²⁰⁶ This shows a huge disparity between the two cultures, based off the locations where the festival was celebrated. However, this difference is most likely more of a political difference than a religious one.

4.3. When the festivals were celebrated

When the Heb-Sed was celebrated is not certain, however, the current consensus is that the festival was celebrated in the 30th regnal year of the king and then repeated every 3 years.²⁰⁷ Nevertheless, the exceptions to this rule, like the Heb-Sed of Osorkon II and Amenhotep IV, later known as Akhenaten, pose a problem.²⁰⁸ The

¹⁹⁹ Haas, *Hethitischen Religion*, 697.

²⁰⁰ Uphill, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 24/4, 369.

²⁰¹ Limme, *BMSAES* 9 (2008), 26.

²⁰² D.P. Silverman, in D. O'Connor & D.P. Silverman (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, 65.

²⁰³ Haas, *Hethitischen Religion*, 720-47.

²⁰⁴ *Ibidem*.

²⁰⁵ *Ibidem*. Bryce, *Life and Society*, 9.

²⁰⁶ Bryce, *Life and Society*, 9.

²⁰⁷ Uphill, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 24/4, 368.

²⁰⁸ Lange-Anthinodorou, *Sedfestritual und Königtum*, 1-2. Gohary, *Akhenaten's Sed-festival*, 29-31.

reality is, however, that it is unknown to us when the Heb-Sed exactly was celebrated, until new evidence is discovered concerning the festival.

On the Hittite side the timing of the festival was a lot more consistent. The festival was celebrated every year at the start of the agricultural year.²⁰⁹ Furthermore, it is also known that the festival lasted an entire month.²¹⁰ This shows a strong contrast with the Heb-Sed, which likely was not celebrated at regular intervals.²¹¹ An explanation for this is that the Purulliya had to be celebrated yearly to renew the earth for a successful harvest, while the Heb-Sed mainly served to renew the king and his kingship.²¹²

4.4. The people involved in the celebrations

During the Egyptian Heb-Sed several individuals took part in the festival. The main group consisted of the king and queen, officials and priests, who were directly involved in the rites and the celebration of the festival.²¹³ However, the remainder of the population most likely did celebrate the festival as well, although not in the same fashion as the previously mentioned group.²¹⁴ An example of this were locally erected chapels for the festival or the watching of the procession for people who lived close to the festival area.²¹⁵

The Purulliya had a similar group of core individuals, however, there was a role for the Hittite princes as well, which is displayed in Hanhana and Kasha.²¹⁶ Contrarily to Egypt however, it is clearer what the role of the rest of the population was. When they lived in the cities where the festival was celebrated they would have watched the procession and took on the role of spectators of this procession.²¹⁷ Outside of these cities not much is known concerning the role of the rest of the population in the celebrations, about which we have more information when we look at Egypt.²¹⁸ Lastly, the spectating of the procession that took place was a special moment for both the Egyptian and Hittite spectators, since the seeing of the god(s),

²⁰⁹ V. Haas, *ZA* 78, 284.

²¹⁰ Haas, *Hethitischen Religion*, 699.

²¹¹ The probability of this statement is discussed in chapter 2, section 3.

²¹² Haas, *Hethitischen Religion*, 696-8. Reeder, *KMT* 4 (4), 60. Schwemer, in G.G.W. Müller (ed.), *Liturgie oder Literatur?*, 4-6.

²¹³ Nuzzolo, in P. Der Manuelian & T. Schneider, *Egyptian Old Kingdom*, 372-3. Hornung, in Beaux & Grimal (eds.), *Soleb VI*, 92.

²¹⁴ Jauhainen, *Do Not Celebrate*, 2-3. Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals*, 122.

²¹⁵ Uphill, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 24/4, 381.

²¹⁶ Bryce, *Life and Society*, 187. Haas, *Hethitischen Religion*, 742-3.

²¹⁷ Bryce, *Life and Society*, 189-91.

²¹⁸ Uphill, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 24/4, 381.

who were represented by their statues, and king was a notable experience for them.²¹⁹

4.5. What happened during the festivals

The events which transpired during the festivals are quite numerous and thus a short synopsis for each festival will be given and then compared with one another. During the Heb-Sed several processions are performed. The jackal god Wepwawet is leading these processions.²²⁰ This deity was already involved in the Heb-Sed in its first iterations and continues to be involved until the Late Period.²²¹ Besides the processions led by Wepwawet, clepsydra offers are given to Nekhbet and Wadjet, who are the goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt.²²² These goddesses are present because of their strong connection with the Egyptian kingship and thus played an important role in the renewal.²²³ Besides the involvement of these goddesses other gods like Amun and the Heliopolitan ennead were involved.²²⁴ Furthermore, the use of the lion throne for the renewal of the king played an important role as well.²²⁵

On the Hittite side processions also played an important role in the celebrations, which in this case, were accompanied by plenty of music and song.²²⁶ However, the king also travelled to other cities and conducted rites in these cities.²²⁷ Some of these rites are so called drinking ceremonies, which had no equivalent in the Heb-Sed.²²⁸ Besides these drinking ceremonies the king also visited several sacred sites, like the mountains of Zippalanda.²²⁹ The rites in Nerik were closely related to the myth of Illuyanka and formed the script for the events that transpired, like the assembling of the gods and the banquet.²³⁰ Lastly, the rites conducted by the princes and the governor in Hanhana and Kasha have no Egyptian equivalent, since there were no designated tasks for the Egyptian princes in the Heb-Sed.²³¹

²¹⁹ Bryce, *Life and Society*, 187. Luiselli, *Die Suche nach Gottesnähe*, 54-5.

²²⁰ Lange-Anthinodorou, *Sedfestritual und Königtum*, 389-98.

²²¹ *Ibidem*. Reference table 1.

²²² Lange-Anthinodorou, *Sedfestritual und Königtum*, 318. Wilkinson, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses*, 213-4, 226-7.

²²³ *Ibidem*.

²²⁴ *Idem*, 389-98. Nuzzolo, in P. Der Manuelian & T. Schneider, *Egyptian Old Kingdom*, 366-92.

²²⁵ Kuhlman, *Der Thron im Alten Ägypten*, 89.

²²⁶ Haas, *Hethitischen Religion*, 722-3.

²²⁷ *Idem*, 696-747.

²²⁸ *Idem*, 669-73.

²²⁹ *Idem*, 736-7.

²³⁰ Haas, *Hethitischen Religion*, 740-2. Haas, *Der Kult von Nerik*, 45.

²³¹ *Idem*, 742-3.

During both festivals processions played an important role. However, their execution was partially different. For the Egyptians we see a specific deity leading the procession, which in some cases was during a jubilation procession, while on the Hittite side song and music were clearly involved in the processions, which is something that is not clearly attested for the Egyptian Heb-Sed, with the exception of the jubilation procession.²³² Furthermore, the Egyptian gods were assembled at the festival area for the renewal of the king and his kingship, while in Hatti the king would visit sacred sites and the deities connected with those sites himself.²³³ This displays that both kings needed and used the assistance of their pantheons in the renewal, but the Egyptian king was able to make the gods come to him from their cult centres and the Hittite king had to come to the gods and their cult centres.²³⁴ Furthermore, there are several cultic objects and rites which have no equivalent in either culture, like the lion throne, which appears to be unique to the Egyptian festival, and the drinking ceremony, which was unique to the Hittite culture.²³⁵ The Hittite festival also appears to have had the myth of Illuyanka at its core and also had a role for the Hittite princes in the celebrations.²³⁶ Similar practices are not attested in the Egyptian Heb-Sed, where there is no myth directly related to the festival and the festival appeared to have developed from worldly needs.²³⁷ Moreover, there are no attestations for involvement of the princes in core rites of the festival. However, in both cultures a banquet was held, which shows a common denominator.²³⁸

4.6. Conclusion

The Egyptian Heb-Sed and the Hittite Purulliya share some commonalities, like the renewal of the king and his kingship, but also the renewal of the land which accompanied it.²³⁹ What is important to note is that in the case of the Purulliya the main focus was on the renewal of the land of Hatti and the renewal of the kingship was only secondary, while in the case of the Heb-Sed this order was reversed.²⁴⁰ Furthermore, both cultures call onto their pantheon to assist in these renewals, which are both expressed in their respective cultural settings, like the assembling of gods or

²³² Haas, *Hethitischen Religion*, 722-3. Lange-Anthinodorou, *Sedfestritual and Königtum*, 389-98.

²³³ *Idem*, 736-7.

²³⁴ Limme, *BMSAES* 9 (2008), 26. *Idem*, 729-47.

²³⁵ *Idem*, 669-73.

²³⁶ Beckman, *JANES* 14, 18. *Idem*, 742-8.

²³⁷ Reeder, *KMT* 4 (4), 60-2. Mastenbroek, *De Ibis: nieuwe serie* 17 (3), 88-9.

²³⁸ Beckman, *JANES* 14, 18. Degreeef, *Göttinger Miszellen* 223 (2009), 30.

²³⁹ Reeder, *KMT* 4 (4), 60. Haas, *Hethitischen Religion*, 696.

²⁴⁰ *Ibidem*.

visiting of cult centres.²⁴¹ Lastly, in both festivals there was a role for the public, which was usually limited to spectating the processions. Since information concerning the public celebrating at home is limited and more research into this aspect is required.

When the actual renewals are observed it is clear that the renewals had similar goals, but were executed differently. This poses a problem when trying to draw any meaningful conclusions concerning these festivals, which is further complicated by the lack of primary literature in the case of the Purulliya and the limited secondary literature, but this also offers opportunities to add to the secondary literature.²⁴² In the case of the Heb-Sed its long history and fragmentary sources pose a different problem. This problem is expressed in the fragmented secondary literature, which consists primarily of shorter articles or monographs which focus on one single collection of reliefs and not on the festival specifically. This problem was tackled during this thesis, which resulted in the creation of table 1.²⁴³ The fact that the Egyptian primary sources are synopsis of the events that transpired also poses a problem, since no cycle of reliefs is 'complete'.²⁴⁴

The only meaningful conclusions that can be drawn is that both festivals involved a renewal of the king and his kingship, but also the respective countries.²⁴⁵ In the case of the Hittites, this renewal had to be enacted every single year, but for the Egyptians the exact timing of the festival is still vague and unclear to us.²⁴⁶ The cultural differences and the different execution of the festivals complicates matters further. This in combination with the problems with primary and secondary sources means that more research has to be conducted for each individual festival before another attempt at a comparison can be made. On the Hittite side this would mean more research is required, which will complement the existing work by Haas and the myth of Illuyanka.²⁴⁷ In the case of the Heb-Sed an attempt must be made to reconstruct the festival in its entirety throughout Egyptian history or at least part of it. Lastly, the location of where the festivals were celebrated demonstrates the two different political situations in which they were celebrated. The Egyptian festival appears to have always been celebrated at one centralized location, being the

²⁴¹ Limme, *BMSAES* 9 (2008), 26. Haas, *Hethitischen Religion*, 729-47.

²⁴² The main sources are Beckman, *JANES* 14, 11-25. Haas, *Hethitischen Religion*, 696-747.

²⁴³ Examples are: Reeder, *KMT* 4 (4), 60-70. Lange-Anthinodorou, *Sedfestritual und Königtum*. Uphill, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 24/4, 365-83.

²⁴⁴ Hornung, in Beaux & Grimal (eds.), *Soleb VI*, 93.

²⁴⁵ Reeder, *KMT* 4 (4), 60. Haas, *Hethitischen Religion*. 696.

²⁴⁶ Lange-Anthinodorou, *Sedfestritual und Königtum*, 405-6. Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals*, 113-4.

²⁴⁷ Haas, *Hethitischen Religion*, 696-747. Haas, *Der Kult von Nerik*. Beckman, *JANES* 14, 11-25.

residence of the king.²⁴⁸ The location thus varies per dynasty and in some cases, per king, but it still is a testament to a strong centralized state, since this location is never outside of the Nile Valley. While the Hittite festival was celebrated throughout the country and saw the king travel to these locations, which in turn can be seen as evidence for the decentralization of the Hittite state, with its core and vassals on the peripheral.²⁴⁹ In conclusion, the Heb-Sed and Purulliya share the aspect of renewing the king and his kingship, and their respective countries, but as this research demonstrates do not share any other commonalities. Rather, there are several differences in the way they are executed, which can all be explained by the culture, the political situation and setting they are celebrated in.

²⁴⁸ Uphill, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 24/4, 369.

²⁴⁹ Haas, *ZA* 78, 286-7.

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Appendix

Table 1

	Bubabtis (LP)	TT 192 (NK)	pBrooklyn (G/R)	Soleb (NK)	Abu Ghorub (OK)
Greeting/reception by the gods	x		x	x	
Clepsydra offers	x		x	x	
Opening procession	x			x	x
Jubilation processions	x	x	x	x	
King on the lion throne	x	x	x	x	x?
Wepwawet involved in processions	x	x	x	x	x
Heliopolitan ennead involved	x		x	x	
Palace episodes	x			x	
Throne episodes	x				x
Running episodes	x				x
Honouring episodes	x			x	x?
Visit to god shrines	x			x	x
God standard processions	x				
Decree proclamation	x			x	
Shrine and chapel of Amun	x			x	
Rebirth scene(s)	x		x		x

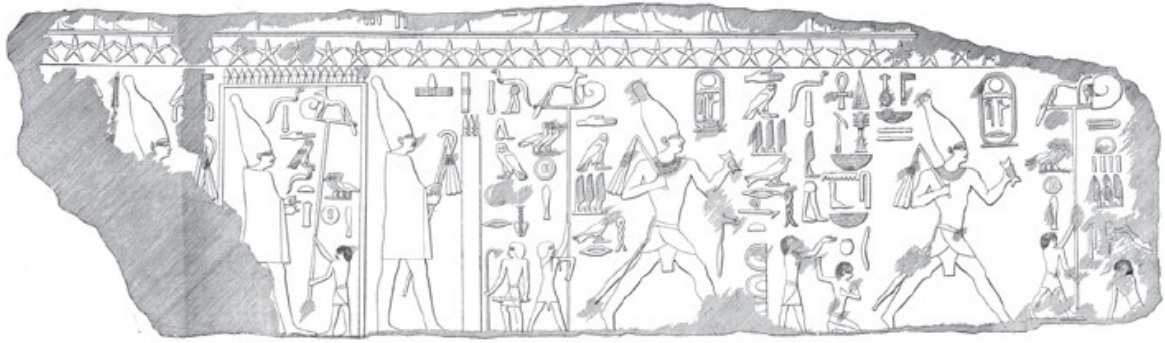


Figure 1, The Heb-Sed run as depicted on the 'small Heb-Sed scene' in the temple of Niussere. From: Nuzzolo, in P. Der Manuelian & T. Schneider, *Egyptian Old Kingdom*.



Figure 2, Nekhbet making the journey to the Heb-Sed festival grounds, as depicted in the tomb of Setau at el-Kab. From: [Limme, ElKab, 1937-2007](#).



Figure 3, The Heb-Sed court in the Djoser complex. Seen from the north-eastern corner. Photo by M. Cornelissen.

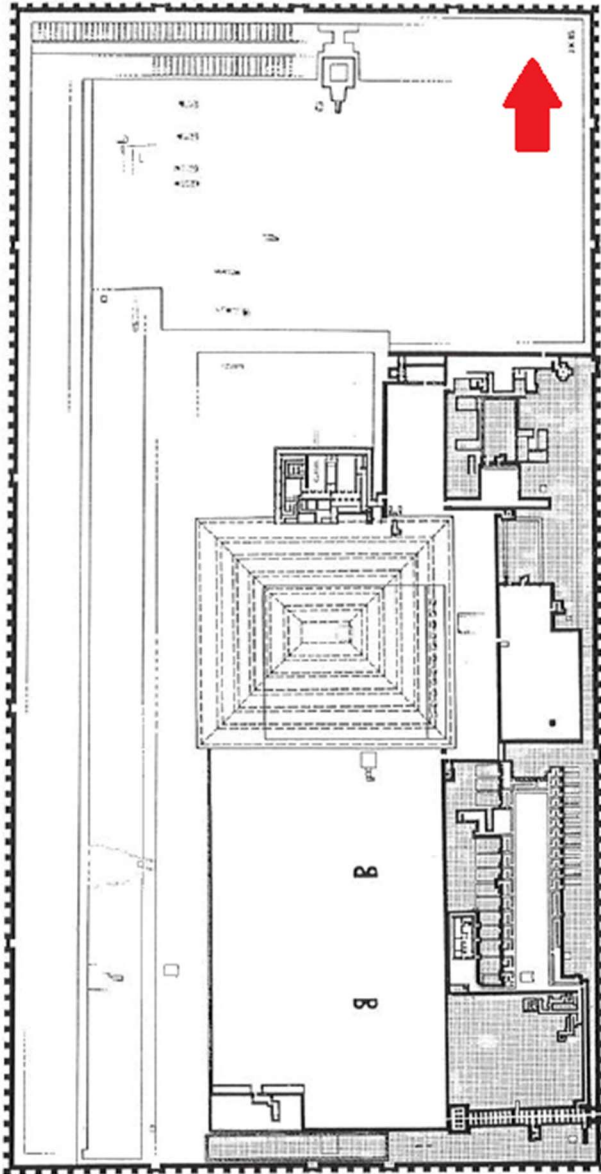


Figure 4, Map of the Djoser complex. From: H. Goedicke, 'Zoser's Funerary Monument 2. The 'Heb-sed Court' BACE 8 (1997), 33-48. Edited to clearly display the north.



Figure 5, The dummy chapels adjacent to the Heb-Sed court, seen from the east. Photo by M. Cornelissen.



Figure 6, Overview of the Hittite world. From: T. Bryce, *Life and Society in the Hittite World*, (Oxford, 2002) ,xiii.



Figure 7, Artist's reconstruction of the Hittite capital of Hattusa. By Balage Balogh.