

AN ANCESTRAL RITUAL FROM EDFU TEMPLE :
AN INVESTIGATION OF INSCRIPTIONS ON
THE NAOS EXTERIOR .

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AN ANCESTRAL RITUAL FROM EDFU TEMPLE : AN INVESTIGATION OF
INSCRIPTIONS ON THE NAOS EXTERIOR

The temples of the Ptolemaic period are rich in inscriptional material. This is particularly so at Edfu, which is the best-preserved of Egyptian temples.

The aims of this study were to translate a previously unread corpus of Ptolemaic inscriptions, analyse the translated material and make a contribution to our knowledge of the Ptolemaic stage of the Egyptian language. In order to carry out these aims, a translation was made of the whole of the exterior of the Naos of the temple, which comprises of approximately 10% of the Edfu inscriptions.

A brief study of the decoration of Egyptian temples in general has enabled an attempt to be made to trace the physical and mythological origins of such decoration, and to establish its meaning.

A short history and description of Edfu Temple is given. Then, what was observed about the decoration of temples in general is related to Edfu Temple, and a series of "rules" drawn up concerning the layout of scenes upon the walls of the Temple as a whole. Having done this, the "rules" were applied to the exterior of the Naos in order to ascertain the order in which the scenes carved on its walls should be read, and to facilitate the attempt to work out the meaning of the rituals depicted there.

Once the translation of the Naos exterior inscriptions was made, and the "rules" for reading the scenes depicted there were applied, it became apparent that the top three registers of the east and west walls of the Naos exterior contained a long and complex ritual, the introduction to which is found on the first register of these walls. It is with this part of the Naos that the thesis is concerned.

The order in which we have elected to read the scenes on the exterior of the Naos, east and west walls, is as follows: the scenes on Register I are read horizontally along the wall, alternating the west wall with the east wall, beginning with the first scene at the south-west end. The scenes on Registers II, III and IV are read vertically, and boustrophedon, beginning with the first scene on Register II at the southern end of the west wall.

The hypothesis of a horizontal reading for Register I, and a vertical boustrophedon reading for Registers II to IV, is tested by setting out the scenes on the relevant walls in the appropriate order, with as much comment as seemed necessary and relevant (space did not permit as much philological comment as the material warrants). Having done this, it could be seen that such a reading gave a satisfactory and logical sequence of rites which make up the ritual on the Naos.

The conclusion was drawn that the ritual on the first register of the east and west walls of the Naos exterior forms an introduction to the ritual found on the other three registers.

The ritual depicted on Registers II, III and IV is an ancestral ritual carried out in order that the reigning king may rule unchallenged and unchallengable.

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PREFACE

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I am very grateful for the continual encouragement of Mrs Kay Pickavance, without whose help my visit to Edfu Temple would not have been possible. Most of all, I am grateful for the patience and forbearance of my husband and daughter without whose encouragement, together with that of my parents, I would have been unable to complete this long and time-consuming project.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

<u>Ann. Serv.</u>	<u>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte</u>
<u>BIFAO</u>	<u>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale</u>
<u>BJRL</u>	<u>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester</u>
C.D.	E. Chassinat & F. Daumas, <u>Le temple de Dendara</u> vols 1-XVI, Cairo, 1934-65
<u>Chr. d'Ég.</u>	<u>Chronique d'Égypte</u>
E.	E. Chassinat, <u>Le temple d'Edfou</u> vols I-XIV, Cairo, 1892-1934
EES	Egypt Exploration Society, London
<u>ERE</u>	J. Hastings (ed.), <u>Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics</u> , 13 vols, Edinburgh, 1908-1926
<u>JEA</u>	<u>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</u>
<u>JMEOS</u>	<u>Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society</u>
<u>JNES</u>	<u>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</u>
<u>JWCI</u>	<u>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</u>
Mam.	E. Chassinat, <u>Le Mammisi d'Edfou</u> , Cairo, 1910

Mam. Dend.	F. Daumas, <u>Les Mammisis de Dendara</u> , Cairo, 1959
<u>MDAIK</u>	<u>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung, Cairo</u>
P. Ed. Smith	J.H. Breasted, <u>The Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus</u> , 2 vols, Chicago, 1930
<u>PSBA</u>	<u>Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology</u>
<u>Rev. Arch.</u>	<u>Revue Archéologique</u>
<u>Rev. d'Égyptol.</u>	<u>Revue d'Égyptologie</u>
<u>RHR</u>	<u>Revue de l'Histoire des Religions</u>
W/b	A. Erman & H. Grapow, <u>Wörterbuch der aegyptischen Sprache</u> , 7 vols, Leipzig & Berlin, 1926-1963 <u>and Belegstellen</u> , 5 vols, 1937-1953
<u>"ZAS</u>	<u>"Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</u>
H.B.	Horus the Behdetite
L.S.D.	Life, Stability, Dominion
N.T.	No title
R	Register
T.L.	Title lost
3	aleph
2	yodh
1	ayin

INTRODUCTION

The work reported on in the following pages was undertaken with the threefold aims of i) translating a previously unread corpus of inscriptions, ii) analysing the translated material and iii) contributing to our knowledge of the Ptolemaic stage of the Egyptian language.

Ptolemaic was chosen because of the vast amount of inscriptional material found on the walls of the temples of that period as opposed to those of Pharaonic times. This peculiarity of Ptolemaic temples ensures that considerably more information is to be derived from their inscriptions than from the inscriptions of the temples of other periods.

Edfu Temple was chosen because the inscriptions there show Ptolemaic writing in its earliest, and possibly finest, stages; and because Edfu is the best-preserved of Egyptian temples.

Additionally, Edfu is the only temple of the period for which a complete, modern publication is available. This publication was begun by Rochemonteix in the last century and completed by Chassinat almost twenty years

ago. Quotations from the publication throughout this thesis will give volume, page and line number only. For example, EIV,10,2 is Chassinat, "Le temple d'Edfou", volume IV, page 10, second line on the page.

To achieve the aims stated above, a translation has been made of the whole of the exterior of the Naos of Edfu Temple, which has 186 scenes divided into four registers on its north, west and east walls; the south wall is incorporated into the Pronaos. Thus, a translation has been made of approximately 10% of the Edfu inscriptions.

When the translation of the Naos exterior was completed, it became apparent that the inscriptions on the top three registers of its east and west walls recorded a major ritual, the introduction to which was recorded in the texts inscribed on the bottom registers of these walls. It is on this portion of the Naos, therefore, that this thesis is chiefly concentrated.

The following chapters contain a reconstruction of the ritual on the east and west walls of the Naos exterior, illustrated by pertinent quotations from the inscriptions. Space has not permitted the inclusion of either a complete translation or as much commentary on the philological aspects of the inscriptions as the material warrants.

CHAPTER I

THE DECORATION OF EGYPTIAN TEMPLES

The basic decoration of an Egyptian temple reflects its mythological origin. A series of texts found on the interior of the Enclosure Wall at Edfu Temple (Reymond, 1969, Chapter 2) tells us that in the beginning, Chaos reigned. Out of this Chaos, an island emerged - the Island of Trampling - wreathed in darkness and surrounded by the primaeval waters.

Two amorphous beings, the Great One and the Distant One, emerged from the waters. They took up a reed from amongst the flotsam and jetsam surrounding the island, and, having split it in two, stuck one half into the water at the edge of the island.

A falcon then appeared and alighted upon the perch formed from the split reed. Light broke over Chaos and the Great One and the Distant One (the Shebtiw; Jelinková, 1962) acclaimed the Divine Falcon.

A simple reed shelter was built around the falcon sitting on his perch to afford him some protection; and as the waters of Chaos receded, more rooms were added on to the original hut until eventually a whole house was built for the Falcon God. Thus, the first temple came into existence.

From the beginning of the historical period in Egypt,

there were two types of temple. One, the cultus temple, was devoted to the worship of one or more gods; the other, the mortuary temple, was devoted to the worship of a dead king.

The earliest temples were built of reed and mud; later, mud-brick was used. Eventually, the Egyptians learned to build in stone. The oldest stone-built temples were those attached to pyramids as mortuary temples (Murray, 1931, p. 3). Most of the cultus temples of the Old and Middle Kingdoms were built of mud-brick. These have largely disappeared, partly due to the impermanence of mud-brick, and partly due to the fact that the Egyptians tended to build new temples on the sites of old temples, so that the older structures were obliterated by the new.

The temples of the New Kingdom and Late Period were built of stone; those that still stand show that the builders of stone temples never lost sight of the fact that the original temple had been built of reeds and mud; and so they commemorated the original reed temple in the decoration of each stone temple (Jéquier, 1908, pp. 25-41).

The basic decoration of Egyptian temples repeats in stone the building materials used in the original temple, and the landscape of the primaeval Island of Creation. It is also a reflection of the physical world as a whole - the sky, the earth, the natural features and the vegetable forms found on earth (Nelson, 1944, pp. 44-53).

The stone columns of a temple represent in re-grouped

order the reeds that grew round the Primaeval Island. Thus, the bases of these columns are often engraved with marsh plants. A good example of this can be found in the Hypostyle Hall at Dendera Temple (Jéquier, 1924, (iii), Pl. 63).

The columns of a temple can also be said to be copies in stone of the supports used in the earliest buildings. These supports would have been made from tree trunks or bundles of plant stems. Thus, stone columns often have five bands at the top, which theoretically hold together the bunch of stems from which the column is formed.

The varieties of column capital employed reflect this vegetable origin - they are palmiform, lotiform, papyriform, campaniform. The campaniform capital reaches its most elaborate stage in the composite capital of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods; these composite capitals are derived from many varieties of flower, real and imaginary. The temples of Edfu (Jéquier, op. cit., Pls. 20, 21, 28, 29); Kom Ombo (op. cit., Pls. 43 & 44); and Esna (op. cit., Pls. 75 & 76) provide outstanding examples of all these types of capital.

The stone floor of a temple is the earth out of which plants grow. The bases of temple walls often have a dado of lily or lotus plants growing out of the "ground" - the stone floor of the temple (Jéquier, op. cit., Pls. 53 & 62). Lines of human figures proceed along the dados as personified forms of the Nile, or the canals, fields and

nomes of Egypt, all bearing their produce.

The ceilings of Egyptian temples were painted blue and studded with stars to represent the sky.

The walls of a temple reflect the materials used in the building of the original reed shrines. The walls of these primitive shrines were made of interwoven palm-sticks or mats, covered with a thick coating of mud. The tops of the palm-fronds were left unbound, and were therefore free to bend over. The cavetto cornice found in the stone temple imitates this bending over of the palm-fronds (Murray, 1931, p. 10 & Pl. XIX).

The corners of the mud and wattle walls of the early shrines had needed strengthening. This was done by binding together bundles of reeds or palm-sticks and lashing them to the corners of the walls. In stone temples, these reinforcements became the torus-roll (ibid.).

The pylons of Egyptian temples are descended from the towers of mud and woven reeds which once stood outside the primitive reed shrines. The decoration of pylons reproduces in stone the features of reed architecture; thus, the cavetto cornice and the torus-roll can be seen on pylons as well as on walls.

Pylons have a role to play in the interpretation of the temple as a reflection of the physical world. The two wings of a pylon can represent the hills of the horizon behind which the sun rises and sets. This is the case at Edfu, where the Pylon is obviously analagous to

the mountains of B3hw and Manu (EVIII, 91, 15-92, 2).

At Medinet Habu, in the passageway between the wings of the Pylon, there are scenes of adoration of the sun.

On the eastern wall, the sun is rising; on the western wall, it is setting (Derchain, 1966, p. 18).

The mythological origin of the temple is further reflected in several architectural features to be found in many temples, both Pharaonic and Ptolemaic. At Medinet Habu and in the Ptolemaic temples, for instance, there is a slight but distinct rise in floor level from the Hypostyle Hall to the Sanctuary, the floor level of the Sanctuary being higher than that of the rest of the temple. In the temple of Luxor, the nucleus of the temple, from the Hypostyle Hall to the Sanctuary, is set upon a low platform. Viewed from the exterior of the building, this platform can be seen to be decorated with a cornice and torus-roll, just as though it were the top of a wall.

Both of these architectural features would seem to be an attempt to commemorate in stone the original Island of Creation; and, where the Sanctuary is the highest point of a temple, to commemorate the fact that the first sanctuary of the Falcon was set upon the highest point of the Island.

Each temple was surrounded by a high brick wall. At Dendera and Karnak, it can clearly be seen that this wall, the temenos wall, is built in sections, the sections being alternately concave and convex, giving the impression of

wavy lines. It used to be thought that the main purpose of this method of building the wall was practical; it was a device intended to prevent the mud-brick from becoming damp. This theory has recently been discounted (Spencer, 1975, pp. 232-237). If, as Spencer points out, building a wall in concave and convex sections serves no architectural purpose, then this method of building an enclosure wall can be seen as an attempt to represent the waves of the primeval ocean which surrounded the Island of Creation (Barguet, 1962, p. 32); once again, the mythological origin of the temple is emphasised.

The "Birth Houses" or mammisi of the temples of the Late Period were the buildings in which the birth of the child-god of the temple was celebrated annually. They developed from the sanctuary devoted, in Pharaonic temples, to the theogamy ritual, into an independent structure, set usually in front of the temple and at right angles to it (Daumas, 1958).

A typical mammisi from the time of Ptolemy VI consists of a rectangular sanctuary fronted by a square "hall of offerings" (Badawy, 1963, p. 78). A columned corridor or ambulatory runs round the sides and rear of the sanctuary, but is separated from a columned vestibule at the front by two doorways (Badawy, op. cit., p. 89).

The mammisi is an architectural representation of the papyrus thicket in which Isis gave birth to Horus. This can be seen in the ambulatory, the columns of which

represent the papyrus thicket; and in the fact that these columns are papyriform, thus punning on the word w3d - green, young, infant.

It is clear that the various elements of a temple are built according to architectural conventions which symbolise the mythological origin of the temple. At the same time, the temple is capable of a cosmological interpretation.

The basic decoration of Egyptian temples, where it is derived from natural or vegetable forms, or from primitive building methods and materials, must have occurred spontaneously. It has been argued that the primitive shrines were so simple that it is difficult to see that they could have had any elaborate mythical interpretation of their significance, but that, as time went on a more complex theory of the cosmological significance of their decoration was formed (Nelson, 1944, pp. 46-47).

One theory concerning the cosmological significance of a temple holds that each temple represents the home of the gods, and is so constructed as to resemble the sky (Rochmonteix, 1894, p. 16). The columns of a temple are like the mountains which hold up the sky. Like the sky, the temple has four corners; its four cardinal points represent the four regions of the sky. The rooms on the left side of the temple are equated with the eastern part of the sky, those on the right side correspond to the western half. The temple is, like the universe, "le mystique théâtre" in which are enacted the great events pertaining

to Egypt and her prosperity and safety (Rochmonteix, op. cit., p. 20).

The basic decoration, together with some architectural features, of a temple forms the framework for a more particular decoration which has a purpose to fulfil. This decoration consists of reliefs sculpted upon the walls of a temple. These reliefs are of prime importance where the prosperity and safety of Egypt are concerned.

The principle which underlies nearly all reliefs sculpted on the walls of Egyptian temples is one of ensuring, by magical processes, the security and success of Egypt throughout eternity.

Temples were the settings for the celebration of rites and ceremonies designed to ensure the wellbeing of the king and his people (Hornblower, 1932, pp. 21-39). The perpetuation of these rites and ceremonies was provided for by magical methods, by carving representations of them upon temple walls, just as provisions for the dead were assured for eternity by depicting them upon the walls of tombs (Gardiner, 1915, pp. 19-20).

It has been denied that such representations in the tomb had a magical potency (Erman, 1907, pp. 137-138). Concrete evidence for or against the belief is, of course, difficult to obtain. However, conclusions may be drawn from the presence of statues and models in tombs which are manifestly intended to come to life in the Afterworld for the benefit of the deceased; and from the fact that

reliefs and inscriptions are often mutilated, with, for instance, hieroglyphs representing potentially dangerous animals, reptiles or even human-beings, being cut in two or transfixed with daggers to render them impotent (Barb, 1971, pp. 155-156). Such mutilations would have no purpose unless it is admitted that the perpetrators believed that the figures were capable of coming alive magically, and doing harm.

Thus, if the hypothesis that pictures on tomb walls can have a magical potency is accepted, it is reasonable to suppose that the same potency and purpose can be expected in reliefs and inscriptions on temple walls.

This belief gains some support from several inscriptions found in the temples of Edfu and Dendera which infer that the god, or goddess, of the temple is capable of merging with his image carved in stone upon a wall, and thus, presumably, infusing it with his own magical potency.

According to EI,13,7-8, Horus "descends upon his image (bs), he unites (snsn) with his hawk-idol ('hmw)."; in EI,13-14, he "joins with his image (bs) in his boat-shrine, (his) Ka has united with his image (sh_hm)"; and in EI,120,6, "his Ba alights on his image (bs) in them".

EI,327,13-14, speaking of the temple, tells us that Horus "engraves his image (bs) on its walls, he descends upon his image (sh_hm), he joins with (im₃) his hawk-idol, he unites with (hnm) his image (smn) in his shrine". Further reference is made to the temple in EI,328,10-11;

here, Horus "sees his image(s) (sdd) on its walls; he alights upon his house; he unites with his temple; he embraces his image (bs) in his shrine".

According to CDI,34,1-2, Hathor "sees her house, she perceives her temple, she unites with (shn) her image (bs) on the wall(s)". References are made to her joining (shn), alighting on, and settling down on (sndm) her engraved images in CDII,209,4, CDIII,60,2, and CDIII,62,5-6 respectively.

EIV,13,4-5 tells us that the wall of the temple is "inscribed with the Powers (shmw) and the goddesses (nbtyw) who exult over their son; they alight on the inscriptions (htmw) and the choice sayings (d3isw)".

A god could also imbue with his personality reliefs carved on a temple which was not strictly his own. At the Temple of Hathor at Dendera, for example, Harsontus "alights on his similitude (bs) which is engraved on the wall(s) (CDII,58,11-12)" and "he unites with his images (shmw) which are engraved on the walls (CDII,73,7)".

The belief that divinities could become immanent in their statues, or in representations of them carved or painted on temple walls, is well attested for pre-Ptolemaic times also (Junker, 1910, p. 6 foll. and Blackman, 1935, p. 6 foll.). There would seem to be enough evidence to prove that the Egyptians believed that the reliefs carved on temple walls were imbued with a magical potency.

A study, of necessity very brief, of some of the reliefs carved on temple walls will show that the ceremonies and rituals they depict are not carved on the walls in any haphazard way. As far back as the nineteenth century it was claimed that the reliefs of Seti I's temple at Abydos record the rites enacted in that temple (Mariette, I, 1869, pp. 17-18). Other temples of the New Kingdom record upon their walls a summary of the rituals which were once enacted before them (Arnold, 1962). In fact, such reliefs were on "aide mémoire" for the temple officiant (Moret, 1902,(ii),pp. 1-2).

Obviously, not all reliefs may be taken as depicting the literal truth. It is not possible, for instance, that the scenes of sacrifice which decorate the walls of the crypts at Dendera indicate that such scenes were enacted in the crypts themselves, even if the officiant were using models to represent the sacrifices (Derchain, 1962,(i), p. 32).

However, it is accepted today that a relief, or more especially, a text, would not be carved upon a wall of a temple if its presence in that particular place did not have a significance and a precise role to play (Sauneron, 1959,(ii), p. 117).

The temple as a whole can be divided into public, private and sacred sections. The ordinary man or woman was not normally allowed to enter the main body of the temple. The exterior of the enclosure wall and pylons

was all that could be seen by the general public. On certain occasions, privileged people were allowed through the pylon of a temple into the forecourt, which can thus be termed the "private section". Only the king and the priests could enter the "sacred section", that is, those parts of the temple which lie beyond the forecourt as far as the sanctuary.

The exterior walls of temples and pylons, the "public section", were often decorated with scenes showing the king at war or in the chase. In primitive times, an important duty of a chief was to lead his people in the hunt for meat. In later times, scenes of the chase sculpted on temple walls symbolised the ability of the king to provide for his subjects; or symbolised the destruction of enemies and evil in general. The pylons of temples were the show-cases for depicting the triumph of Egypt over her enemies. On the pylon at Edfu, for example, this triumph is enacted by the god, Horus; at Philae, it is enacted by the king (Derchain, 1961, p. 47).

From the earliest times, Egyptian kings had been expected to protect their people against enemies or invaders. At some periods, they initiated the attack against Egypt's enemies and tackled them on their own ground. In Dynasty 12, for instance, the kings of Egypt went beyond their southern border into Nubia; in Dynasty 18, they "extended the boundaries" of Egypt to the east.

It was logical, therefore, to decorate the exteriors of temple walls and pylons with scenes of gods and kings, sculpted on heroic scale, killing or taking captive the enemies of Egypt. In this way, Egypt's triumph was symbolised, the continuation of that triumph was magically ensured, and the Egyptian people could behold their king in his victory and be heartened by it.

At the same time, war scenes carved on exterior walls of temples were thought to give protection, by magical means, to Egypt herself, as symbolised by the temple. Many such scenes demonstrate a purposeful orientation.

In pre-Ptolemaic times, the main threats to Egypt's security came from the South and the West. Therefore, the temples of this period were given greater magical protection on their south and west walls. In Ptolemaic times, attacks were more likely to come from the North or the North-east, and so the north and east sides of a temple were given the magical protection. Such protection took the form of scenes showing the king at war, triumphing over his enemies.

A brief survey of several temples illustrates the point that scenes depicting the king at war are often in a geographically correct position upon the walls of these temples.

At Karnak, the north wall of the exterior of the Hypostyle Hall depicts the Asiatic wars of Seti I - correct geographically, since the Asiatics came from the

lands to the north-west of Egypt.

At Medinet Habu, the exterior of the north wall of the temple depicts Ramesses III's battle against the Sea Peoples - this attack came from the north; his battles against the Libyans, who came from the west, are found on the west wall of the temple.

One would have expected Ramesses III's battle against the Nubians to be depicted on the south wall of the temple; the decorators did not choose to do this, but the war in Nubia is at least on the south end of the west wall.

There can, of course, be no exterior walls at Abu Simbel; but here, again, the war scenes are geographically orientated. The south wall of the first chamber has more unbroken space for decoration; but the Battle of Kadesh is not found there, it is found on the north wall, in its geographically correct place.

The temple at Amara West is incomplete, which is perhaps why the war scenes are found inside the temple, in the Hypostyle Hall. The scenes are of the siege of a Syrian town; and again, they are correctly oriented geographically, being on the north-west wall.

The mammisi of the Late Period temples follow the same geographical discipline. They are representations of the papyrus thicket in which Isis gave birth to Horus (see above, p. 6). This thicket was at Chemmis, near Buto in the northern Delta (Klasens, 1952, pp. 72-73).

The mammisi are orientated purposefully in the following way: the scene of Isis suckling Horus in the thicket is usually found on the rear wall of the sanctuary. At Dendera, Kom Ombo and Philae, the rear wall of the sanctuary is the north wall; at Edfu, it is the south wall. In terms of local orientation, taking into account the flow of the Nile, the rear walls of all these sanctuaries point towards the north where Chemmis was situated (Badawy, 1963, p. 89).

The exterior of a temple was also concerned with the protection of the temple itself; several architectural features of the temple give evidence of this belief. At Dendera and Edfu, for example, the exterior of the Naos is decorated with lion-headed gargoyles. These gargoyles house water-spouts which are intended to remove any water which falls on the roof of the temple; and, in spitting out the water, they symbolically spit out evil away from Egypt.

The pylons of temples also play a part in protecting Egypt from her enemies. At Luxor, for instance, the pylon of the temple faces north. The Battle of Kadesh is depicted on the two wings of this pylon; thus, the pylon is not just an heraldic gateway. It is utilized to orientate the Battle of Kadesh in the correct geographical position and gives the temple, and Egypt, protection on the side most threatened.

An inscription at Edfu temple tells us that its pylons were "engraved after the manner of writing (with) all the rituals for repelling foreigners." (EVII, 19, 3-4).

On the exterior walls of some temples can be found dedicatory inscriptions by the builders of the temples, celebrating the circumstances in which the temple was built (de Wit, 1961). These inscriptions are in the nature of public announcements; hence they are placed logically on the exterior of the temple.

Further instances of the purposeful decoration of a temple can be seen from a brief study of the placing of scenes depicting Foundation Rituals. Scenes of Foundation Rituals are found in many temples, most often engraved upon the walls of the hypostyle halls (Kees, 1922, p. 1 foll.).

Foundation scenes are often linked to scenes depicting the consecration of the temple (Blackman & Fairman, 1946). This is quite logical - the dedication of the temple must be preceded by the process of building it. The main nucleus of a temple was dedicated as soon as it was built. This dedication, and the foundation of the temple, was commemorated in a series of scenes carved on the latest portion of the nucleus of the temple to be built - in most cases, the hypostyle hall.

At Edfu, however, foundation scenes are found in the interiors of the Inner and Outer Hypostyle Halls, and

on the exterior of the Enclosure Wall. The reason for having several sets of Foundation Rituals is quite simple. Edfu temple was built in three stages. First, the Naos was completed, hence the set of foundation scenes in the Inner Hypostyle Hall. Secondly, the Pronaos was completed, hence the set of foundation rituals in the Outer Hypostyle Hall. Thirdly, the rest of the temple, including the Enclosure Wall, was built, hence the third and last set of foundation scenes on this wall.

It is not only the exterior of a temple which is purposefully decorated. The decoration of the rooms and halls within the temple is seldom meaningless. Ptolemaic temples, especially those of Edfu and Dendera, are very well preserved. Extensive inscriptions on the walls of these temples describe the temple in detail and give some hint as to the rituals once carried out within the temple (Fairman, 1954).

In the interior of each temple it can be seen that the decoration of each room depicts, in the correct order, the rituals which were once performed in that room.

Enough evidence can be obtained from the inscriptions in these rooms to demonstrate that not only the decoration of the exterior of the temple had a magical purpose, but also that the decoration of the inner rooms of the temple was never haphazard, but a deliberate attempt to commemorate in stone the rituals once performed there.

In fact, the temple can be regarded as a source book in stone of the ritual and liturgy enacted in the temple, where "every ritual is in the place where it ought to be" (EVII, 12, 6).

CHAPTER II

THE TEMPLE OF EDFU: HISTORY AND GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The Ptolemaic Temple of Horus at Edfu is the best preserved of Egyptian temples. It is situated on the west bank of the Nile, some 62 miles to the south of Luxor, in the town which was once the capital of the Second Nome of Upper Egypt (St Hr). The Ptolemaic temple was dedicated to Horus the Behdetite, a falcon god who was sometimes depicted in purely bird form, more often as a man with the head of a falcon. This temple was built on the site of an earlier temple dedicated to Horus, Hathor of Dendera and Horus sm3 t3wy.

The nucleus of the temple (the Naos), consisting of a sanctuary, a twelve-columned hypostyle hall, two smaller halls and numerous side chapels and chambers, was begun in the reign of Ptolemy III, Euergetes I, in 237 B.C. It was dedicated in 142 B.C. in the reign of Ptolemy VIII, Euergetes II. The Naos formed a complete temple in itself; it is oriented, unusually, from south to north.

Between 140 and 124 B.C. Euergetes II added a large, eighteen-columned, hypostyle hall (the Pronaos) on to the south of the main part of the temple. The exterior of the Pronaos was decorated between 116 and 108 B.C. in the reign of Ptolemy IX, Soter II.

Soter II began the building of the forecourt, the enclosure wall and the pylons in 116 B.C. This section of the temple was dedicated in 71 B.C. by Ptolemy XII, Neos Dionysos.

The decoration of the temple was not completed, and the doors of the Pylons were not hung, until 57 B.C.

The temple thus took 180 years to finish; and it is the only temple of the Ptolemaic period which was completed. Today, it is in an almost perfect state of preservation. Only the obelisks which used to stand before the entrance, and some chapels from the roof, have disappeared; and the paint which was used on the deeply incised reliefs carved on the walls has worn away.

The auxiliary buildings of the temple, which included storehouses, kitchens, abbatoirs and administrative offices, all lie buried under the modern town; as does the sacred lake, and the grove in which the sacred falcons were reared. Part of the mud-brick temenos wall which surrounded the temple precinct still stands today.

Two sets of inscriptions in Edfu Temple itself give detailed information about each part of the temple, including its name, purpose and dimensions. These inscriptions - the "Building Texts" - are found on the soubassements of the east and west walls of the exterior of the Naos (EIV, p. 1-16); and on the soubassements of the east and west walls of the exterior of the Enclosure Wall (EVII, p. 1-20).

A brief description of the temple, utilising information found in the "Building Texts" is given below; a plan of Edfu Temple will be found in Fig. 1. The Arabic numerals in parentheses after the names of parts of the temple refer to the numbered halls and rooms in the plan; the capital letters refer to doors.

The temple is approached from the south; its orientation lay from Orion in the south to the Great Bear in the north. It is entered through a great Pylon which is divided into two wings by a high central doorway (A), the "Great Inscribed Portal" (EVII,19,6). Over this doorway is the Balcony of the Falcon, or Window of Appearances, the most important function of which was to provide the point of display for the newly-chosen Falcon at the Installation of the Sacred Falcon (Ibrahim, 1971, p.104).

Each wing of the Pylon was "120 cubits high by 60 cubits thick ...engraved ... with all the rituals (tp-rd nbw) for repelling foreigners" (EVII,19,2-4). It is decorated in typical manner with scenes of the King, in the presence of Horus the Behdetite, smiting his enemies (Jéquier, 1924,(iii), Pls 14 & 15). Since the King depicted on the Pylon is Ptolemy XII, Neos Dionysos, who probably never waged any wars, the decoration on the Pylon must be purely conventional.

In front of the Pylon there were "two flagstaffs of cedar wood ... worked in bronze from the desert" (EVII,19,7); with "two great obelisks firm before them" (EVII,19,8).

The Pylon opens on to the Forecourt (1) which is surrounded on three sides by a covered colonnade; the inscriptions tell us that there are 32 columns in this colonnade (EVII, 18,8). They run round the south, west and east sides of the Forecourt; their capitals demonstrate several different styles (Jéquier, 1924, (iii), Pls 17-21).

The west and east walls of the Forecourt each have two doors let into them. These doors are

"for coming in and going out, and for enlarging the congregation.

One of them is beautifully decorated, and is opposite the Door of the Golden One (B), Mistress of Dendera, her beautiful entrance for coming into her house to unite with her image in the Great Seat; and also for proceeding to her barque to set off for Behdet (i.e. the Necropolis) in due course." (EVII,18,10-19,2).

The Forecourt was called "The Court of Offerings" (EVII,8,3); "The Court of the Pylon" (EVII,9,4); "The Fortunate Portal of Nut" and "The Place of Overthrowing sfth (Seth)" (EVII,18,8-9).

The Outer Hypostyle Hall, or Pronaos, (2) lies to the north of the Forecourt. It is higher and wider than the

part of the temple which lies to the north of it - the Naos. The Pronaos has "a small door in it, to the east, and 18 beautiful columns uplifting the roof" (EVII,17,12). Twelve of these columns are free-standing in the Hall; the rest are incorporated into the south wall as engaged columns, three on either side of the broken-lintel doorway.

This south wall of the Pronaos is a fine example of a Ptolemaic screen wall. Such walls were not a new idea in Ptolemaic times; they were known to earlier periods. Tuthmosis III was the first to use them (Murray, 1931, p. 12). Examples are found at Medinet Habu (Jéquier, 1924, (ii), Pls. 59 & 80); and in the Temple of Ptah at Karnak (Jéquier, 1924, (ii), Pls. 64-65). This device was particularly popular, however, in the Late Period.

The screen wall in the Pronaos at Edfu rises to about half the height of the columns in the south wall (Jéquier, 1924, (iii), Pls. 24 & 25). The ceiling of the Pronaos is decorated with astronomical motives: the walls are "beautifully inscribed" (EVII,17,12), although the reliefs are not so fine as those in the Inner Hypostyle Hall (5).

The House of the Morning (pr dw3t - 3), in which the King was purified before performing any ritual (Blackman, 1918, (i)) and the House of Books (pr md3t - 4), or temple library, are on the south wall of the Pronaos, to the left (west) and right (east), respectively, of the entrance.

Beyond the Pronaos, to its north, are the halls and chapels which formed the original nucleus of the temple - the Naos.

First, the Great Court (5) or Fore-hall. This is a hypostyle hall containing twelve columns. These columns are more slender than those in other parts of the temple; the lower part of the shaft is narrower than the rest of the column (Jéquier, 1924, (iii), Pls. 31 & 32).

The Great Court, or Inner Hypostyle Hall, had several names. It was called "The Place of Delectation", "The Place of Heart's Desire", "The Plaisance of Re and Horus" (EVII,17,4-5). "The House of Enjoyment" and "The House of Satisfaction" are two more of its names; it was "the place within which the God enjoyed himself" (EIV,13,14-14,1).

In the north-west corner of the Great Court is a Chapel (6), "complete with the work of the Master of the Laboratory (nb'isw(t))" (EVII,17,5-6). In this Chapel, or Laboratory, incense and unguents were prepared for use in the temple; its walls are inscribed with recipes for these preparations.

To the south of the Laboratory, in the south-west corner of the Great Court, is an Antechamber (7). This room has two doors, one leading to the Great Court, the other (C) leading to the Pure Ambulatory, the corridor which runs round the west, north and east sides of this section of the temple. The Antechamber was known as the

Room of the Nile; through Door C, water for libations was brought into the temple every day.

In the north-east corner of the Great Court lies the entrance (D) to a winding stairway which leads to the roof of the temple.

To the south of this stairway lies a passage (E) through which the Daily Offerings were brought into the temple. To the south of Passage E, and opening into it, lies the Treasury (8).. This is

"the beautiful place for gold,
silver, precious stones and
amulets for protection."

(EVII,17,10).

The Great Court, or Inner Hypostyle Hall, leads into the Hall of Offerings (9) which is "inscribed in the interior with the ritual of the divine service (irw n ht-ntr) and all the rites (tp-rd nbw) appropriate to it" (EVII,16,6). The "divine service" celebrated here was the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors (David, 1973, p. 146 foll.).

On the eastern side of this Hall is a winding stairway (F); on the western side is another stairway, approached through an antechamber (10). The God

"(went) forth by the eastern stairway
with his great crown in order to look
at the sun's disk, with his Ennead

behind him; and in order to unite
with his Ba on New Year's Day!"
(EVII,16,7-8).

The most important of the New Year's Day ceremonies took place upon the roof of the temple. On the roof was a small kiosk called the "Place of the First Feast" (EVII,14,4) which played a vital part in the New Year Festival. When the ceremonies on the roof were completed, the God "(came) down and enter(ed) his sanctuary by the right-hand stairway to the west" (EVII,16,8).

To the north of the Hall of Offerings is the Central Hall (11). This Hall was called "The Place where the Gods Repose" and the "Hwt-ms-nht" (EVII,13,13). The statues of the co-templar gods were kept here, each in its own portable shrine.

On the west of the Central Hall is the Chapel of Min (12), which contained "Min together with his equipment and image" (EVII,16,1).

On the east of the Hall is a room called the Food Altar (13). This room is open to the sky; a doorway on its north side leads to a room called the Pure Place (14). In these two square chambers the preliminary rites of the Festival of Raiment and the New Year Festival were performed.

The north wall of the Central Hall is really the façade of the Sanctuary (15); on each side of the façade

is a door leading to the corridor which surrounds the Sanctuary. The façade itself is inscribed with the morning litany (Blackman & Fairman, 1941).

The Sanctuary, known as the "Great Seat", is a rectangular room, complete with its own roof, set within the main body of the temple. It held the Processional Barque of Horus, his portable boat-shrine and a "great shrine (naos) of black stone (i.e. granite)" (EVII,15,5).

Mariette, when he excavated the temple, found this Naos standing off-centre within the Sanctuary; it now stands in the centre of the room. It dates, not from the Ptolemaic period, but from the time of Nectanebos of Dynasty XXX. The Sanctuary was the place where the Daily Ritual was celebrated.

The corridor which runs round the exterior of the Sanctuary gives access to several small chapels which encircle it - the "Mysterious Portals" (sbḥwt št3wt) (EIV,5,11).

The most important of these chapels lies directly on the axis of the temple and immediately behind the Sanctuary. This chapel was called the Mesen Room (16), or "Nedjem-ankh" (EIV,13,2), or "the Mansion of Valour" (EIV,5,1). A statue of Horus as Re-Harakhty stood within the Mesen Room, together with a statue of Hathor. Both statues were "within a mysterious shrine of black stone." (EIV,5,3). Beside them stood "the Falcon of Gold in his shrine" (EIV,13,10). Also found in the Mesen Room were the two

sacred lances of Horus (Alliot, 1954, i, pp. 314-325).

On the west of the Mesen Room lies the Crypt (17) or Štyt-chamber, beyond which, opening out of the Crypt, lies an annexe (18). These rooms were called "the Portals of Iwn (Osiris)" (EIV,5,5). To the south-west of the annexe or "Mansion of the Prince" (EVII,13,3) is the Privy Chamber of the Crypt (19). The Crypt, its annexe and the Privy Chamber were known as "the Palaces of the Pillar (Osiris) in Behdet" (EVII,13,4); they were specially connected with the cult of Osiris.

To the south of the Privy Chamber is the Throne of the Gods (20); and the Menhet Mansion (21) or Raiment Mansion which contained the cadaster of the Nomes and the coloured cloths required during the temple service.

To the east of the Mesen Chamber lies the Mansion of the Leg (22). A door in the east wall of this room leads to the Chapel of Hathor (23) "as a magazine" (EIV,5,8). The Mansion of the Leg was devoted to Khonsu of Behdet.

To the south of the Chapel of Hathor lies the Throne of Re (24) and the Throne Room (25). The evening service was carried out in the Throne of Re; the Throne Room, or Behdet Room, contained the images of Mehyt.

The Naos, Pronaos and Forecourt of the temple are surrounded by a high wall, the southern ends of which form the rear wall of the west and east walls of the colonnades in the Forecourt. This wall is the Girdle, or Enclosure, Wall. It, too, is decorated with reliefs. For instance, the first and second registers of the inner

surface of the western Enclosure Wall contain the Myth of Horus (Blackman & Fairman, 1942-44).

In the south-west corner of the court in front of the temple there is a Mammisi, wherein was commemorated the divine birth of Horus (Daumas, 1958). The building is rectangular in shape. It consists of an antechamber, with a chapel on either side and a staircase on the right leading to the roof. The main chamber is decorated with scenes connected with the birth of the God, and is surrounded by a colonnade made up of composite, lotiform and palmiform columns connected with each other by curtain walls. The columns have a high abacus decorated on all four sides with the figure of the god, Bes (Jéquier, 1924, (iii), Pls. 33-35). The Mammisi is dedicated to Hathor.

The buildings described above formed the nucleus of a vast complex which, according to the "Building Texts", was furnished by Horus the Behdetite himself:

"He has enriched its treasuries with numerous requirements of gold and silver. He has stocked its granaries with corn and emmer, in order to provide excess for its (daily) portions. He has equipped its storehouses with servants performing their tasks without ceasing. He has filled its byres to overflowing with long- and short-horned cattle, to make

their daily portions. He has provided its bird-pools with fat birds, so as to be able to present their choice parts to the temple." (EIV,15,4-7).

The temple itself was built exactly as it should have been:

"its length is perfect, its depth is exactly right, its perimeter is the norm, all its measurements attain perfection. "Perfect of Proportion" men call it by name. Indeed, its foundations are in the place where they always were, even as the ancestors ordained for it." (EIV,4,7-8).

Within the temple, the "monuments" also conform with tradition:

"Their chapels are counted, their halls are laid out, their measurements and their columns are as prescribed, (the positions of) their doors are true, their staircases are fixed, the number of their upper chambers is reckoned and their

doors are known
Their walls are correctly placed,
beautifully inscribed by the leading
craftsmen of the House of Life, all
their decorations being carried out
according to ancient records. Their
ground-plan is exactly as it should
be." (EVII,11,8-12,2).

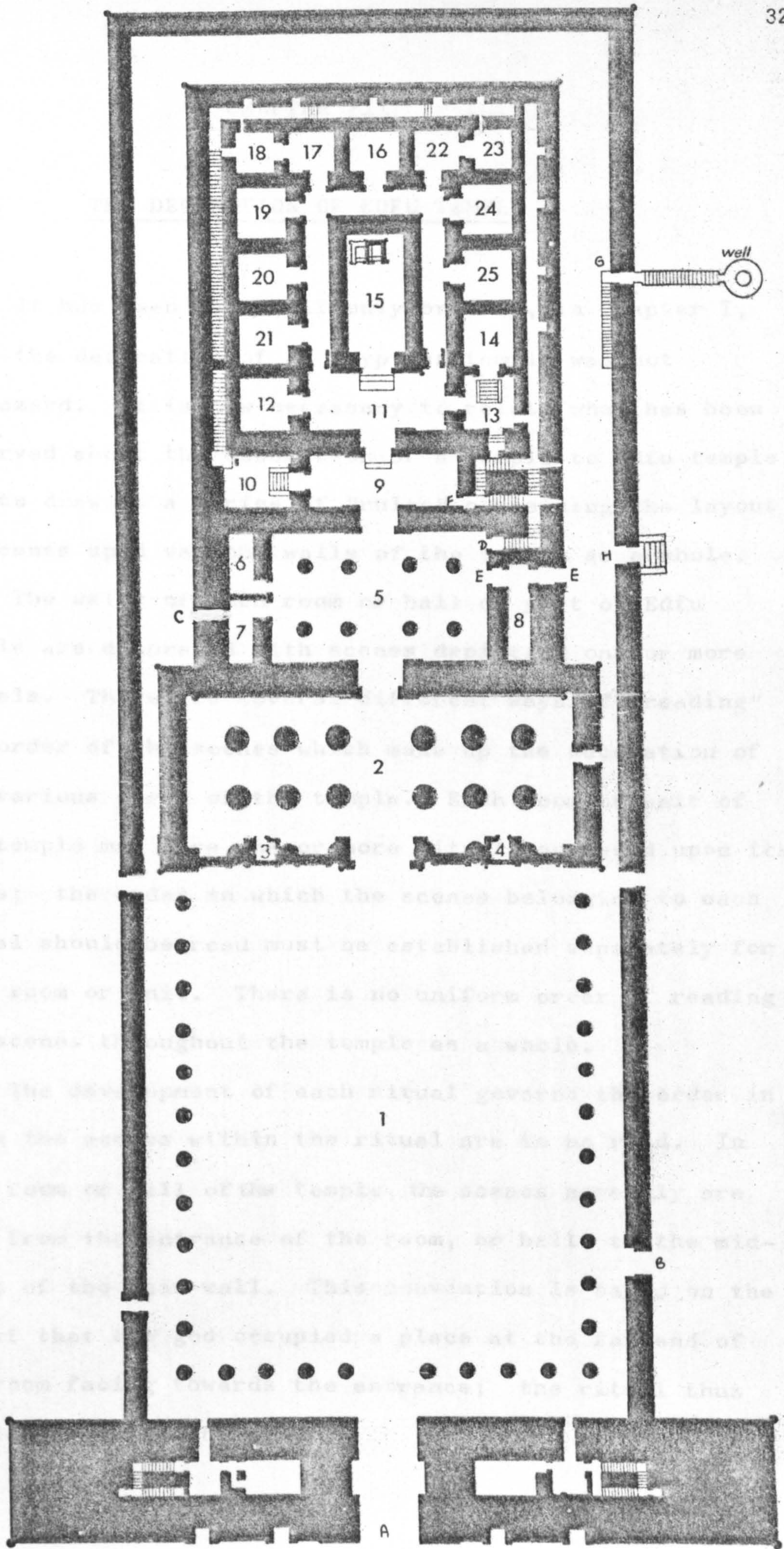
Most important of all,

"the rolls are in their proper places
and every ritual is in the place where
it ought to be!" (EVII,12,6).

This last sentence has a bearing on the subject of this
thesis - can it be said of the Naos that its ritual is
in the place where it ought to be?

KEY

1. Forecourt
2. Pronaos
3. The House of the Morning
4. The House of Books
5. The Great Hall
6. Laboratory
7. Antechamber
8. Treasury
9. Hall of Offerings
10. Antechamber
11. Central Hall
12. Chapel of Min
13. Food Altar
14. Court of the New Year
15. Sanctuary
16. Mesen
17. štyt-chamber (Crypt)
18. Mansion of the Prince
19. Privy Chamber
20. Throne of the Gods
21. Menhet Mansion
22. Mansion of the Leg
23. Chapel of Hathor
24. Chapel of the Throne of Re
25. Behdet (Throne) Room



THE TEMPLE OF EDFU

(After Chassinat)

Figure 1

CHAPTER III

THE DECORATION OF EDFU TEMPLE

It has been shown, if only briefly, in Chapter I, that the decoration of an Egyptian temple was not haphazard. It is now necessary to relate what has been observed about the decoration of a temple to Edfu temple, and to draw up a series of "rules" concerning the layout of scenes upon various walls of the temple as a whole.

The walls of each room or hall or part of Edfu temple are decorated with scenes depicting one or more rituals. There are several different ways of "reading" the order of the scenes which make up the decoration of the various parts of the temple. Each room or unit of the temple may have one or more rituals engraved upon its walls; the order in which the scenes belonging to each ritual should be read must be established separately for each room or unit. There is no uniform order of reading the scenes throughout the temple as a whole.

The development of each ritual governs the order in which the scenes within the ritual are to be read. In each room or hall of the temple, the scenes normally are read from the entrance of the room, or hall, to the mid-point of the rear wall. This convention is based on the belief that the god occupied a place at the far end of the room facing towards the entrance; the ritual thus develops towards the god.

The same general rule applies to the reading of scenes in the temple overall; the sanctuary of the god is in the innermost part of the temple; therefore the order of scenes develops from the outside of the temple towards the inside. It should be noted, however, that there are exceptions to this rule.

An examination of several rituals occurring at Edfu will serve to illustrate the different ways in which the scenes comprising individual rituals may be read, and establish the principles upon which the reading of scenes which make up any ritual may be based.

The rituals to be outlined in this brief survey are as follows: Coronation Rituals; Foundation Rituals; the Daily Ritual; the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors; the New Year Festival.

Coronation Rituals

The three main sources for the reconstruction of the episodes in the coronation of an Egyptian king are as follows:

- (1) the inner surface of the north Enclosure Wall (EVI, 262,5-274,7; 297,12-309,7; EX, Pl. CLIV. EVI, 92,13-104,7; 143,8-157,2; EX, Pl. CXLIX).
- (2) the "Couloir Mystérieux" (EI, 91,5-92,13; 94,15-96,6; 98,14-101,2; 104,5-106,6; 108,6-110,4; 112,4-114,9; EXI, Pls. CCL-CCLVI).

- (3) the Chapel of the Throne of Re (EI, 286, 8-299, 6; EIX, Pl. XXIX a & b).

The order of scenes has been satisfactorily established for each of these three units; each unit is to be read in a different way.

(1) The coronation ritual on the inner surface of the north Enclosure Wall occurs on the first two registers of the wall. It has been reconstructed by Alliot (Alliot, 1954, pp. 561-676) and Ibrahim (Ibrahim, 1971, pp. 73-105), and is, in fact, the Installation of the Sacred Falcon, the annual ceremony in which a falcon was crowned, thereby renewing, symbolically, the coronation of the reigning king (Fairman, 1958, (i), p. 80). Further, and subsequent, episodes in this ritual are found elsewhere in the temple; but the scenes on the inner face of the north Enclosure Wall form the beginning of the ritual.

Alliot considers that eight scenes on this wall form the beginning of the ritual. He reads them register by register, beginning with the outermost scene on the west (left) side; moving across to the outermost scene on the east (right) side; then the inner west (left) scene, followed by the inner east (right) scene, all on the First Register. The four scenes on the Second Register are then read in the same way.

Ibrahim differs in his reconstruction, firstly in deciding that the ritual consists of twelve scenes and not eight; secondly, in his reading of the order of the scenes. He points out that the scenes are arranged in pairs, each pair consisting of a scene showing the king wearing the Red Crown, paralleled by a scene showing the King wearing the White Crown. Alliot begins with a scene showing the king wearing the White Crown; wrongly, because the rites of Upper Egypt were given precedence over those of Lower Egypt, and so Lower Egyptian rites were read first. Ibrahim's point is proved when Alliot's order leads to the god being presented with his meal before being lead into it, an illogical sequence (Ibrahim, 1971, p. 75, n.3).

Thus, Ibrahim's reconstruction of the coronation scenes on the inner face of the north Enclosure Wall, which would seem to be the correct one, begins with the First Register, and reads as follows:

Outer right (east) scene (plus one subsidiary scene)
 Outer left (west) scene (" " " "
 Inner right (east) scene
 Inner left (west) scene

The scenes on the Second Register are read next, in the same order as those on the First Register.

The following diagram will illustrate the order more clearly:

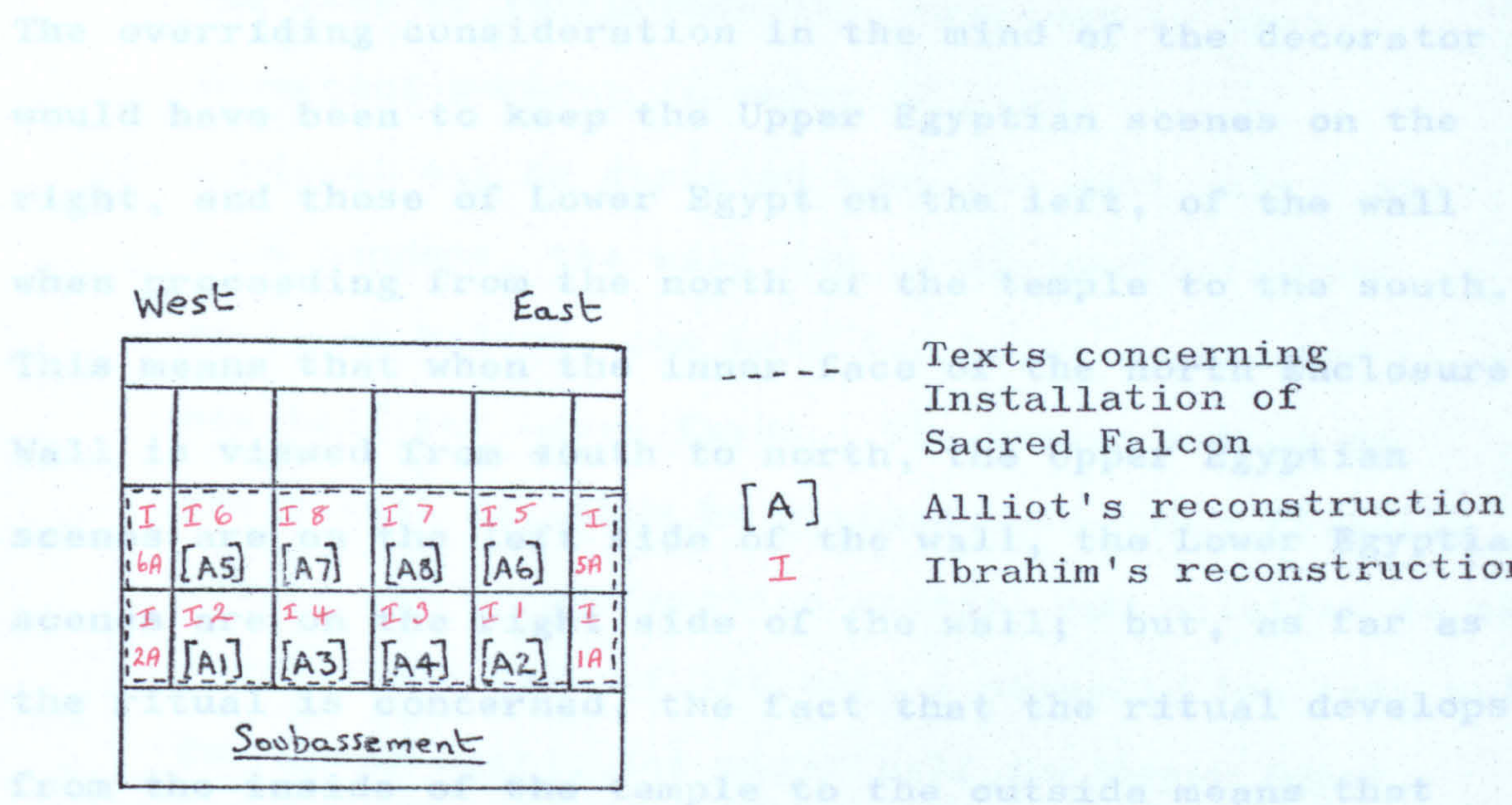


Figure 2 : Disposition of scenes on the North Enclosure Wall, Inner Face

Ibrahim's reconstruction of the coronation scenes on the inner north Enclosure Wall gives us five "rules" for "reading" the order of scenes in a ritual:

1) Scenes may be read register by register, normally

An interesting feature of Ibrahim's reconstruction is that the scenes showing the king wearing the Red Crown are on the east or right-hand side of the wall, the scenes showing the king wearing the White Crown are on the west or left-hand side of the wall. Normally, the positions would be reversed - the right-hand side of a temple, or of a wall within the temple, is for Upper Egypt; the left-hand side is for Lower Egypt.

The apparent discrepancy is explained by the fact that in the Installation of the Sacred Falcon the ritual develops from the inside of the temple to the outside.

The overriding consideration in the mind of the decorator would have been to keep the Upper Egyptian scenes on the right, and those of Lower Egypt on the left, of the wall when proceeding from the north of the temple to the south. This means that when the inner face of the north Enclosure Wall is viewed from south to north, the Upper Egyptian scenes are on the left side of the wall, the Lower Egyptian scenes are on the right side of the wall; but, as far as the ritual is concerned, the fact that the ritual develops from the inside of the temple to the outside means that the convention of having Upper Egyptian scenes on the right, Lower Egyptian scenes on the left, is maintained.

Ibrahim's reconstruction of the coronation scenes on the inner north Enclosure Wall gives us five "rules" for "reading" the order of scenes in a ritual:

- 1) Scenes may be read register by register, normally from bottom register to top register. The Egyptians considered that the bottom register told of events nearest in time, the top register of events furthest away in time. The bottom register, therefore, concerns events or rites which took place before the events or rites in the top register.
- 2) Upper Egypt takes precedence over Lower Egypt, since Lower Egypt had been conquered by Upper Egypt. Thus, Lower Egyptian scenes are read before Upper Egyptian scenes, analagous with the convention that the most important person in a procession walks at

- the rear of the procession, preceded by less important persons in order of rank.
- 3) A ritual may be depicted upon one wall only; when this happens, the wall may be divided into two vertical halves, one half for Upper Egypt, and one half for Lower Egypt. The scenes making up the ritual may then be divided into Upper Egyptian scenes and Lower Egyptian scenes, and allotted to the appropriate half of the wall - normally the left half for Lower Egypt, the right half for Upper Egypt, although this convention can sometimes appear to be broken (see page 38).
 - 4) When a wall is divided into two halves, one for Upper and one for Lower Egypt, the order of reading the scenes begins with the outermost Lower Egyptian scene (normally on the left of the wall), moves across to the outermost Upper Egyptian scene (normally on the right of the wall), and so on, reading inwards, alternately left to right, until the midpoint of the wall is reached.
 - 5) A ritual may progress from place to place within the temple; or from the interior of the temple to somewhere outside the temple. The scenes which make up the ritual on the north face of the interior of the Enclosure Wall concerned with the Installation of the Sacred Falcon are supplemented by other scenes found in various parts of the temple; hence, the

ritual as a whole can be seen to develop from one section of the temple to another.

(2) The coronation ritual in the "Couloir Mystérieux" (i.e. the corridor behind the sanctuary) appears on the three registers of both the east and west walls. These registers are broken up into panels by doors leading to the chambers which open off the corridor, and by the scenes around these doors which contain inscriptions concerned with the rooms into which the doors open.

There are six scenes on each wall concerned with the coronation rites. Ibrahim's reconstruction establishes the following order for reading the scenes:

Register I:	northernmost scene,	west wall
	"	" , east wall
	southernmost	" , west wall
	"	" , east wall

Register II is then read in the same way,
followed by

Register III (Ibrahim, 1971, pp. 26-37).

The following diagram will illustrate the point more clearly:

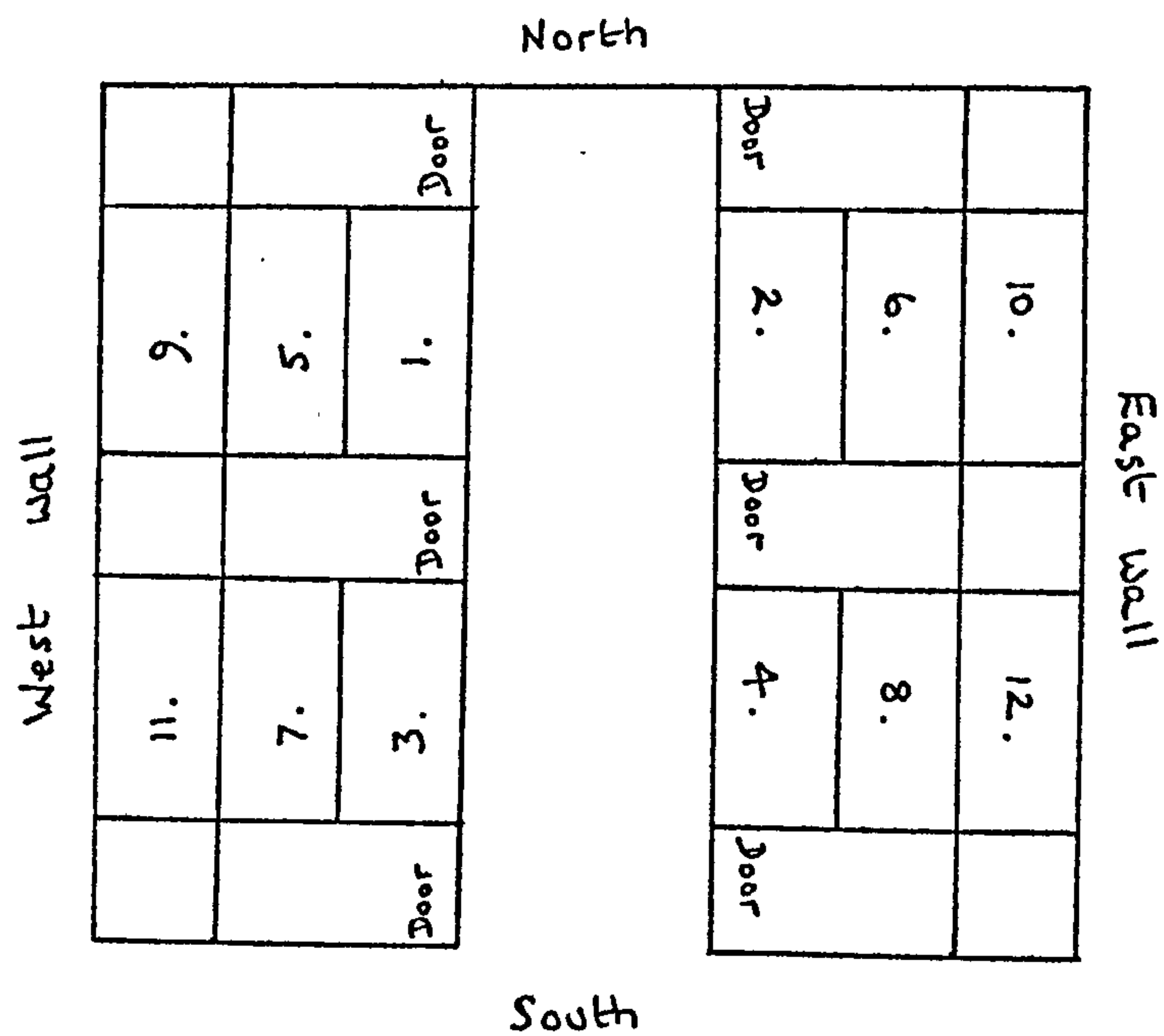


Figure 3 : Disposition of scenes in the "Couloir Mystérieux"

It can be seen from the above reconstruction that the scenes comprising this ritual are read from north to south; in other words, from the inside of the temple towards the outside. This practice is not common.

Two "rules" can be made from the coronation rites in the "Couloir Mystérieux"; they are:

- 1) Where the order of the ritual demands it, scenes may be read from the inside of the temple to the outside.
- 2) The west wall is to be read before the east wall.

This is because the scenes on the west wall usually concern Lower Egypt; those on the east wall concern Upper Egypt. If Upper Egypt is to be given precedence over Lower Egypt (see page 38), then the west wall must be read before the east wall.

It should be noted here that when scenes are read from the outside of the temple to the inside, the terms "west" and "east" are synonymous with "left" and "right". The west/left wall is then the Lower Egyptian wall; the east/right wall is the Upper Egyptian.

However, when scenes are read from the inside of the temple to the outside, as is the case here and on the inner face of the North Enclosure Wall (see page 39), then they must be read from the point of view of one proceeding outwards from the rear or north of the temple. This means that the scenes on his right-hand, or Upper Egyptian, side are on the west side of the temple, and those on his left-hand, or Lower Egyptian, side are on the east side of the temple.

This is what happens with the ritual on the inner face of the north Enclosure Wall (cf. p. 39). The "rule" is

not consistently applied, however. In the present case of the "Couloir Mystérieux", the ritual develops from north to south, but the Lower Egyptian scenes behave as though it were developing from south to north, and appear on the west wall.

(3) The coronation rites depicted in the Chapel of the Throne of Re (Room 24 in plan in Fig. 1) are inscribed on all four walls of the chapel. There are three registers on the north and south walls, each containing one scene; three registers on the east wall, each containing two scenes; and one register only, the top register, on the west wall, since this wall contains the door of the room (Ibrahim, 1971, pp. 37-45).

The scenes are read register by register, starting with the bottom register of the north wall, to the left of the entrance to the room. The disposition of scenes is illustrated in Figure 4.

In the Chapel of the Throne of Re the "rule" demonstrated is that the reading of the ritual may begin on the wall to the left of the entrance to the room; then cross to the wall on the right of the room. Where the wall opposite the door of the room is used, it may be divided into two halves, and the scene on the north or west half of the wall is then read before the scene on the south or east half of the wall. The space above the door of the room is treated in the same way.

The purpose of this form of decoration is to allow a duality to the rituals depicted on the walls. Each rite is enacted first for Lower Egypt, then for Upper Egypt. The necessity for at least part of one wall to be taken up by a door forces the decorator to divide the wall opposite the door into two halves, to maintain the duality of the rites.

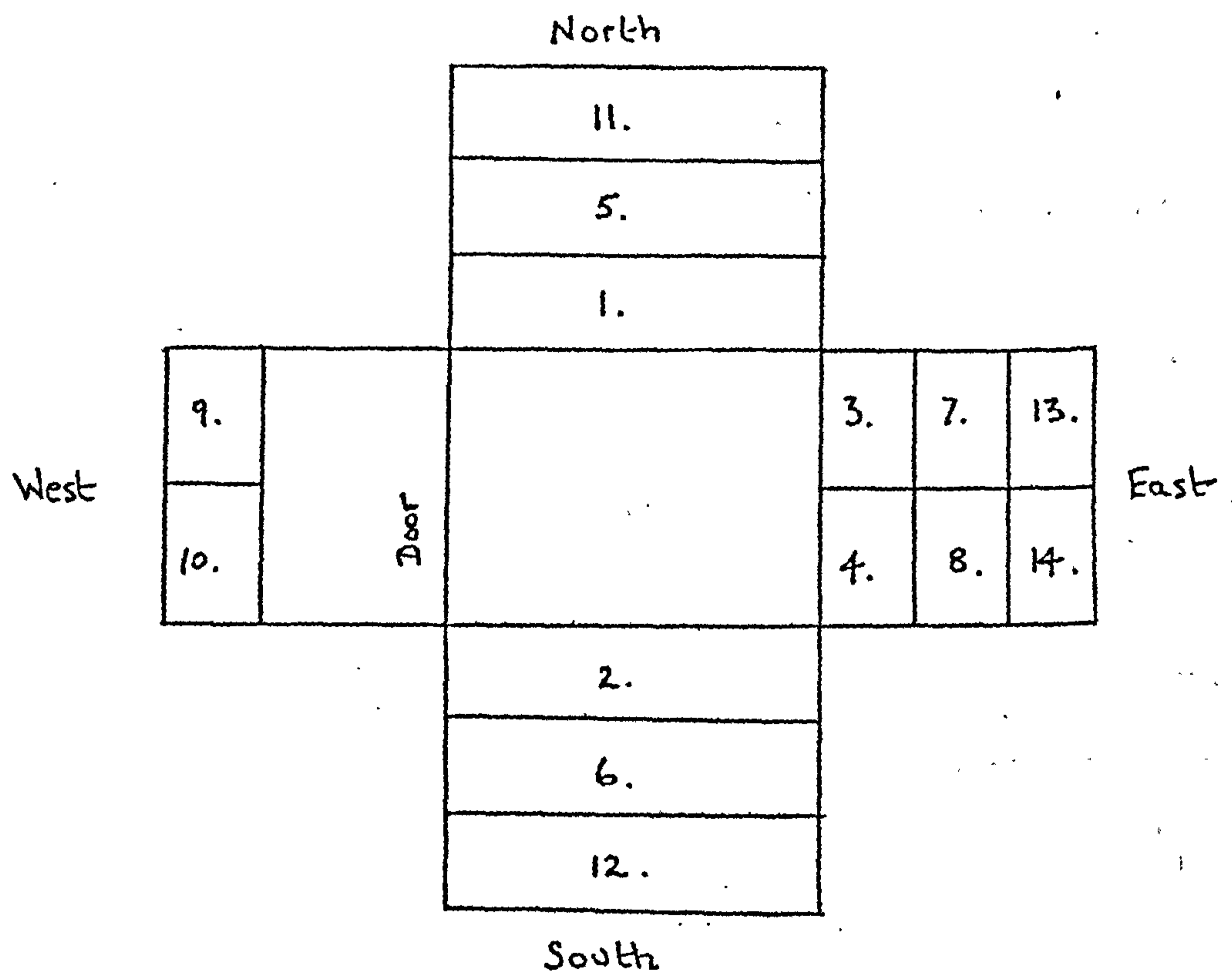


Figure 4 : Disposition of scenes in
the Chapel of the Throne of Re

Foundation Rituals

At Edfu, foundation scenes are found (i) in the Inner Hypostyle Hall, on the south, east and west walls (EII, 29, 9-34, 12; 59, 5-64, 2; EIX, Pl. XL b-e); (ii) in the Outer Hypostyle Hall, on the north wall (EIII, 112, 8-117, 8; 165, 3-170, 1; EIX, Pls. LXII & LXIV); (iii) in the Outer Hypostyle Hall, on the south-west and west walls (EIII, 102, 9-112, 5; EIX, Pls. LVIII & LXI); and (iv) on the exterior of the west side of the Enclosure Wall (EVII, 42, 8-57, 7; E Pls. CLXIII & CLXV). All these foundation scenes are found on the first registers of the walls concerned. The reason for having several sets of foundation scenes has been explained in Chapter II (cf. p. 17).

A logical sequence for the reading of the order of foundation scenes has been established for Abydos temple (David, 1973, pp. 72-74); this order has been found to work at Edfu, also.

(i) The scenes in the Inner Hypostyle Hall (Room 5 in Plan in Fig. 1) are arranged on the first registers of the east, west and south walls. The south wall is divided into two halves by a doorway. The scenes on this wall are arranged on either side of the doorway, three on the left and three on the right. The fourth and subsequent scenes of the ritual follow on the west and east walls of the Hall alternately.

This arrangement allowed the decorator to have a consecutive development of Lower and Upper Egyptian scenes on the west and east walls respectively. Where the titles of the officiating king are preserved, he always bears, on the west wall, titles connected with Lower Egypt, and, on the east wall, titles connected with Upper Egypt. (Ibrahim, 1971, p.196).

The first scene on either side of the doorway is obviously the beginning of the ritual, being one of ḥ' m 'ḥ. Obeying the "rule" of giving Upper Egyptian scenes precedence, the reading must start on the Lower Egyptian side, which is, in this case, the left side. (See p. 38 Rule 2 for the reason why). Hence, the reading of the scenes is: first scene to the left of the doorway; followed by the first scene to the right of the doorway; then the second to the left, followed by the corresponding scene to the right; then the third scene to the left, followed by the third scene to the right of the doorway.

The remaining nine rites which make up the ritual are found in scenes on the west and east walls of the Hall. These scenes are read alternately from wall to wall while progressing along the register, starting with the scene at the southern end of the west wall, which is paralleled by the scene at the southern end of the east wall. The order of scenes discussed above is illustrated in Figure 5.

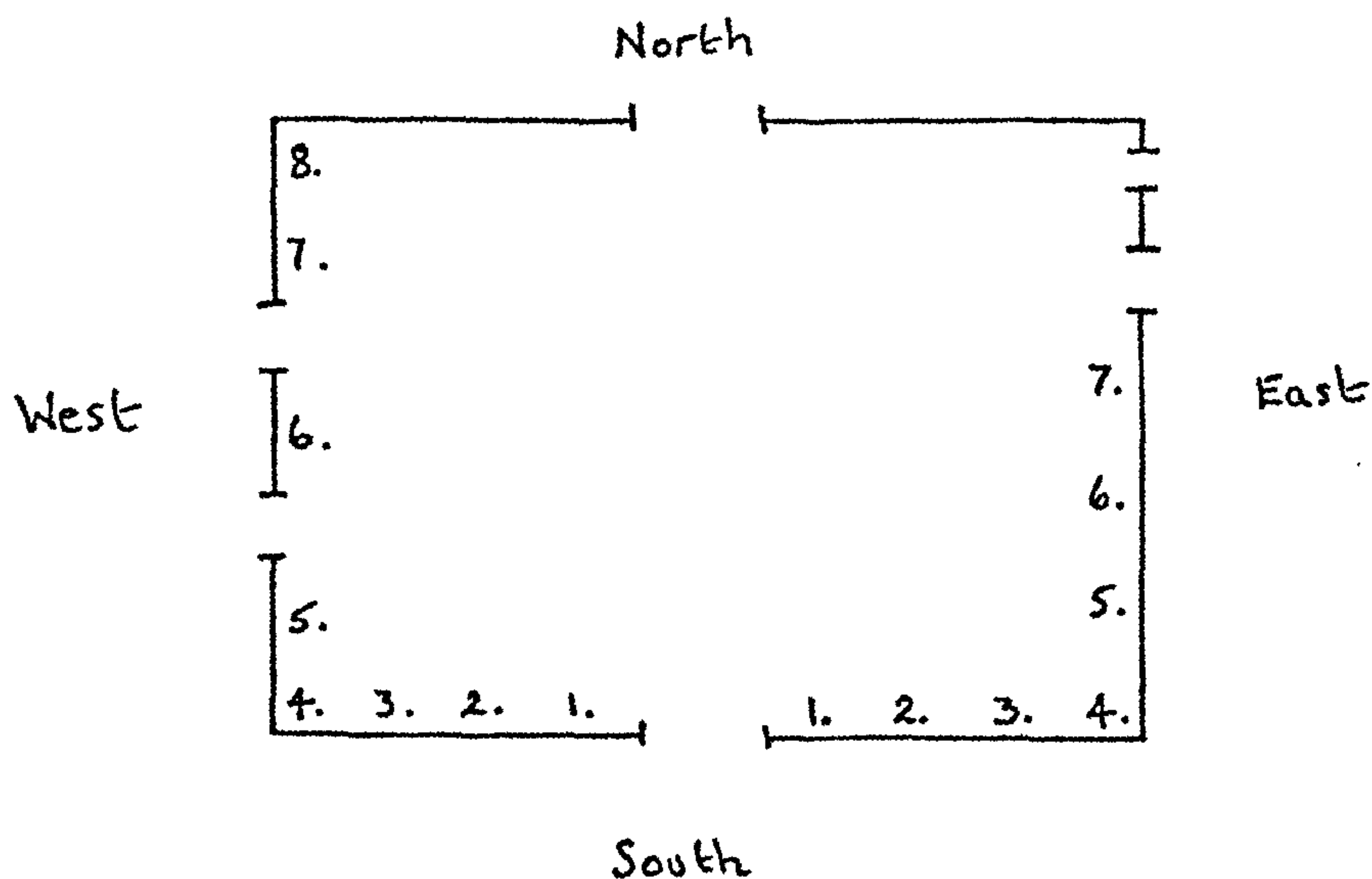


Figure 5 : Disposition of scenes in the
Inner Hypostyle Hall (Reg. I)

Two further "rules" may be made from the reading of the foundation scenes in the Inner Hypostyle Hall:

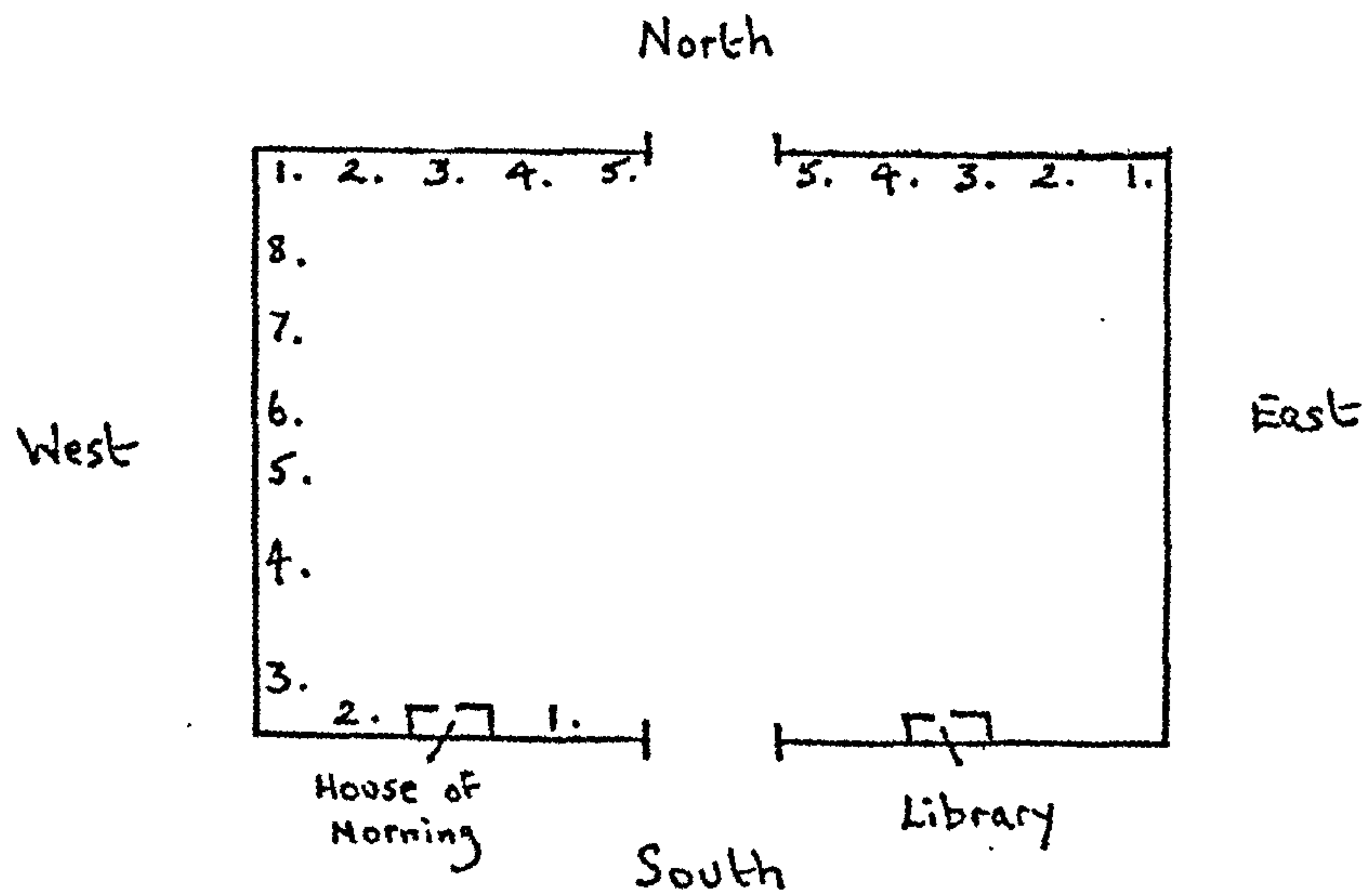
- 1) A ritual may be depicted on only one register on a wall - in this instance, the first register - the rest of the wall being devoted to other rituals.
 - 2) The development of the ritual may proceed from the entrance of a hall around one or more walls of the hall towards the interior of the temple.
- Individual scenes on the walls are read alternately from left to right, beginning with the scene to the left, of the entrance.

(ii) The scenes in the Outer Hypostyle Hall (Room 2 in Plan in Fig. 1) on the north wall, first register, are bisected by a doorway, which thus divides the north wall into two halves. The ten scenes which make up the Foundation Ritual on this wall are divided equally between the two halves of the wall, five scenes on the left, five on the right. As in the Inner Hypostyle Hall, the scenes are read alternately from the left half of the wall to the right half, starting with the scenes in the north west corner of the Hall.

(iii) The foundation scenes in the Outer Hypostyle Hall on the west and south west walls are read along the register, starting with the two scenes on the south west wall and proceeding with the six scenes on the west wall. By so doing, the ritual is able to proceed from the outside of the temple inwards.

Foundation rituals (ii) and (iii) are illustrated in Figure 6.

At first sight, it seems as though there are two sets of Foundation Rituals in the Outer Hypostyle Hall. This is not the case. The north wall of the Outer Hypostyle Hall (or Pronaos) is the south wall of the Naos. Hence, the Foundation Ritual on this wall commemorates the building of the Naos, which was completed 18 years before the Pronaos. The Foundation Ritual on the south-west and west walls of the Hall is a separate commemoration, this time for the building of the Pronaos.



North Wall depicts Foundation Ritual (ii)
(see page 48)

South-west and West Walls depict Foundation
Ritual (iii)
(see page 48)

Figure 6 : Disposition of scenes in the
Outer Hypostyle Hall, Interior,
Register I

This leaves us with the awkward fact that the Naos itself has two sets of foundation rites, one in the conventional place in the Inner Hypostyle Hall and one on what was originally the outer face of the pylon of the Naos. The explanation for these two sets of Foundation Rituals may lie in the fact that after the first Foundation was engraved - sometime between 212 and 206 B.C. when the Naos was decorated - work on the temple was interrupted by disturbances in the Thebaid, which lasted until Year 19 of Ptolemy V, Epiphanes (i.e. 186 B.C.) It may have been felt necessary to rededicate the temple (at this time, the temple consisted of the Naos only) after the disturbances were settled, hence the second set of foundation rites on what was then the exterior of the Naos.

(iv) The foundation and dedication scenes on the exterior of the Enclosure Wall are on one side of the Wall only, the west side. These fourteen scenes are again found on the first register; they are read horizontally along the wall, from south to north.

The "rule" to be drawn from the foundation scenes on the Enclosure Wall is that scenes are not always drawn up in parallel, with sets of scenes for Upper Egypt and for Lower Egypt. The amount of space available would have some bearing on this.

The Daily Ritual

The nineteen scenes which make up the Daily Ritual as depicted at Edfu are found on the west and east walls of the interior of the Sanctuary; they do not occupy the whole of either wall (EI, 24, 16-26, 15; 30, 12-31, 16; 36, 3-37, 6. EXI, Pls. CCXIII-CCXIV; CCIX-CCXX. EI, 40, 3-42, 2; 44, 19-45; 48, 10-49, 19. EXI, Pls. CCXXII-CCXXIV).

In Alliot's reconstruction (Alliot, 1949, Chapter II) the Ritual begins on the first register of the west wall at the southernmost end. The second scene in the Ritual is found in the corresponding position on the east wall. Alliot reads the Ritual horizontally along the first register alternating, scene by scene, from west wall to east wall until scene six is reached.

The six scenes on the second registers are read in the same way, as are the seven scenes on the third registers. There are three scenes on the west wall of the third register, and four scenes on the east wall.

David reconstructs the Daily Ritual at Edfu in a different way from Alliot (David, 1973, pp. 125-130). She has drawn parallels between the sequences found at Edfu, Dendera and Abydos which accord well with each other.

David's reconstruction of the first register is the same as that of Alliot; thus David and Alliot agree on the order of the first six scenes of the Ritual.

They agree that scene seven is above scene one, being the first scene of the second register on the west wall.

Thereafter, David's sequence differs from Alliot's. Instead of proceeding along the second register reading alternately from wall to wall, she reads, as scene eight of the Ritual, the first scene of the third register on the west wall.

The sequence then continues with scenes on the second and third registers of the west wall alternating in pairs with scenes on the corresponding two registers on the east wall. David's version of the Ritual is illustrated in Figure 7.

The "rule" to be drawn from David's reconstruction of the Daily Ritual at Edfu, which has close parallels with the Daily Ritual at Dendera and Abydos, and is, therefore, preferable to Alliot's version, is that a ritual can be made up of scenes on three registers of two walls. The first register can be read horizontally along the wall, alternately from left/west to right/east. The scenes on registers two and three can be read upwards vertically in pairs, the first scenes on both registers on the left/west being read first, thereafter crossing over to read the first scenes on both registers on the right/east wall; repeating the process along both walls until the final scene of the ritual is reached.

The Ritual of the Royal Ancestors

At Edfu, a selection from the scenes which made up this Ritual is found in the Hall of Offerings (Room 9 in Plan in Fig. 1), as the most important feature in the decoration of the east section of the Hall (EI, 456-505; EIX, Pl. XXXV a - c).

EAST WALL

North			South		
		19.	18.	14.	10.
			17.	13.	9.
			6.	4.	2.

WEST WALL

South			North		
8.	12.	16.			
7.	11.	15.			
1.	3.	5.			

----- outline of Daily Ritual (according to David)

Figure 7 : Disposition of scenes in the Sanctuary Interior

The positioning of four episodes from the Ritual helps to establish the direction in which the scenes which make up the Ritual are read. These four episodes are: d̄it kbhw tpy; d̄it kbhw 2-nw; d̄it kbhw 3-nw; d̄it kbhw 4-nw. They are found on the first registers of the east and south walls of the east section of the Hall (EI, 484-486; EIX, Pl. XXXV b - c).

If the scenes were to be read from south to north, from the entrance of the Hall to the interior, we would have an illogical order, with the offering of the fourth libation coming first, and the offering of the first libation coming fourth.

The sequence must, therefore, begin with the scenes to the north of the Hall, nearest the Sanctuary, and proceed southwards along the east wall towards the Inner Hypostyle Hall.

At Dendera, Philae and Kom Ombo, the scenes connected with the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors are found in approximately the same position as those at Edfu; that is, in the chambers corresponding to the Hall of Offerings at Edfu. In these three temples, also, the scenes are read in the same way as those at Edfu. The sequence develops from north to south, from the interior of the temple towards the outside.

The reason for this departure from the normal practice of reading scenes from the entrance of a room to its interior is found at Edfu in a scene on the east wall of the Hall of Offerings - the second scene of the

fourth register of this wall (EI,501). The title of this scene is 'k m hm wdb ht shtp ntrw m sty idt.sn. "Entering while retreating" is one of the concluding rites in the Daily Ritual; and, at Edfu, it forms the preliminary rite to the Reversion of Offerings (Fairman, 1958, p.102). Thus, it would seem that, having performed the Daily Ritual in the Sanctuary, the officiant withdrew backwards from the Sanctuary, and then "entered while retreating" into the Hall of Offerings, and began to perform the Reversion of Offerings to the Royal Ancestors.

The "rule" to be drawn from the sequence of rites in the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors at Edfu, and also at Dendera, Philae and Kom Ombo, is that when the ritual demands it, the sequence of scenes which make up the ritual may be read from the interior of a room or hall towards the entrance.

The New Year Festival

The New Year Festival at Edfu (Fairman, 1954, pp. 183-189) began in the Mesen Room (Room 16 in Plan in Fig. 1), where the officiant performed the opening rites of the Daily Service. The shrines of Horus and Hathor were then carried in procession from the Mesen Room (16), along the corridor surrounding the Sanctuary (15), to the Food Altar (13) and the Pure Place (14), where offerings were made to the two deities, and the toilet episodes of the Daily Ritual were carried out.

The procession then reformed and proceeded from the Food Altar, through the Central Hall (11), to the Hall of Offerings (9). Here, it ascended the winding eastern stairway to the roof. The main part of the ceremony took place on the roof, probably in a kiosk such as the one still in position at Dendera.

At the end of the ceremonies performed on the roof, the procession descended the western stairway into the temple. Here, Alliot (Alliot, 1949, pp. 303-433) concludes the Festival. Fairman, however, suggests a final rite to the New Year Festival (personal communication). This rite, he thinks, took place in the Forecourt (1) of the temple. If his hypothesis is accepted, the rite would explain the order of scenes in the top register, that is, the third register, and the scenes on the soubassements, of the west and east walls of the Forecourt.

These scenes have been published by Chassinat (EV, 87-103-west; 183-200 - east; EX, Pls. CXXIII - CXXV; CXXVIII - CXXX & EV, 12-28; 105-124) in the order in which he has published the rest of the temple - working inwards from the entrance of the temple towards the Sanctuary.

The twenty-two scenes on each of the third registers of the east and west walls of the Forecourt are linked to the soubassements on these walls. The scenes on the soubassements are depictions of "personnages géographiques" and are divided into groups of four, each group being linked to the appropriate scene on the third register.

The aforementioned scenes are, in fact, a list of the Nomes of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Nomes of Lower Egypt appearing on the west wall and those of Upper Egypt on the east wall.

Derchain has discussed the scenes in some detail (Derchain, 1962, (i), pp. 31-65), treating them merely as a geographical list of nomes. He points out that if the scenes are read in Chassinat's published order, they begin with the scenes on the southern end of each wall - on the east wall with the scene concerning the Twenty-second Nome of Upper Egypt (the Knife); and on the west wall, with the Twentieth Nome of Lower Egypt (Soped).

It would be more logical to begin with the first Nomes of Upper and Lower Egypt. This would mean that the scenes would be read from north to south, and not from south to north.

If the scenes in the Forecourt of the Nomes of Upper and Lower Egypt are read from north to south, they follow on naturally from Alliot's last rite in the New Year Festival. The procession would proceed down the Western Stairway and out through the Hypostyle Halls into the Forecourt. Here, Fairman suggests, a roll call of the Nomes of Upper and Lower Egypt could be held as the culminating rite of the Festival. The roll call would begin with the First Nome of Lower Egypt (Memphis) which is found on the third register of the west wall of the Forecourt as the first scene at the northern end.

The second Nome to be called would be the First Nome of Upper Egypt (Elephantine) which is found on the third register of the Forecourt on the northern end of the east wall. The remaining Nomes are found in their correct order by reading along the third registers, alternately from wall to wall, the western wall having precedence over the eastern wall in the reading of each "pair" of Nomes.

It would have been desirable, perhaps, to have had the Lower Egyptian Nomes on the officiant's left-hand side, that is, on the east wall; and the Upper Egyptian Nomes on his right-hand side, on the west wall. This would have been incontrovertible proof that the ritual was progressing from north to south.

However, it may have been thought preferable to keep such an important series of scenes as those concerning the Nomes in their "correct" geographical position, that is, Lower Egyptian Nomes in their "normal" place on the west wall, Upper Egyptian Nomes in their "normal" place on the east wall.

The roll call of Nomes depicted in the Forecourt could serve not only for the culminating rite of the New Year Festival but also as the culminating rite of any ritual where a rededication of the Nomes, and therefore of Egypt, was called for.

Having established a series of "rules" for the reading of scenes in various parts of Edfu Temple, as illustrated by the Rituals discussed above, we must now try to apply

these rules to the exterior of the Naos, in order to ascertain in what order the scenes found there should be read, and to facilitate the attempt to work out the meaning of the ritual or rituals depicted there.

CHAPTER IV

NAOS EXTERIOR : REGISTER I

The Naos of Edfu temple formed the original nucleus of the temple. It was dedicated in 142 B.C.; in 140 B.C. work was begun on building an outer hypostyle hall for the temple. This Hall, or Pronaos, was added on to the south of the Naos. Thus, the south wall of the original temple became the north wall of the Pronaos.

The Naos is orientated from south to north, its two longest walls being on the east and west. The exteriors of the north, east and west walls of the Naos are decorated with elaborate reliefs carved en creux and hieroglyphic texts.

There are three lion-headed gargoyles on each of the east and west walls; and two on the north wall. These gargoyles house water-spouts; they are inscribed with texts designed to give magical protection to the temple (de Wit, 1954).

Along the bottom of all three walls runs a soubassement of "Nils et Porteurs Offrandes" surmounted by two lines of dedicatory inscriptions (Building Texts).

A decorative frieze containing cartouches and winged and crowned cobras runs along the top of the walls.

At the south-west end of the Naos is a door (C in Plan in Fig. 1) which leads from the Pure Ambulatory (EVI, 12, 5; 346, 11-12) into the Room of the Nile (7). This was

the door through which libations were brought every day into the temple.

At the south-east end of the Naos is a door (E) which leads from the Ambulatory through a passageway and into the Great Court (5). The daily offerings were brought into the temple through this door.

All three walls of the exterior of the Naos are divided into four registers; these registers are divided in turn into scenes. The first, or lowest, register on both the east and west walls is divided into eighteen scenes. The second register on these walls is similarly divided into eighteen scenes. The third and fourth registers each have seventeen scenes.

The first register on the north wall is divided into fourteen scenes; the remaining three registers on this wall are each divided into twelve scenes.

It is our contention that the east and west walls of the exterior of the Naos contain two related but nevertheless different rituals. The first of these rituals is found on the first register of the two walls; the second ritual on the remaining three registers. We propose to outline the former ritual in this chapter, and the latter in Chapter V.

The First Register: Naos exterior: east and west walls

One feature which is immediately apparent about the scenes on the First Register is that they are parallel, with each of the scenes on the west wall being matched by a similar scene on the east wall. The following table giving the titles of the scenes will illustrate the point

more clearly; the numbering runs from scene 1 at the south end of each wall to scene 18 at the north end. The scenes in the west wall represent Lower Egypt; and those on the east wall, Upper Egypt (see page 42).

NAOS EXTERIOR : REGISTER I

WEST SIDE: (Lower Egypt)

EAST SIDE: (Upper Egypt)

Scene 1.	<u>pr m 'h</u>	Scene 1.	<u>pr m 'h</u>
" 2.	Baptism	" 2.	Baptism
" 3.	Crowning	" 3.	Crowning
" 4.	Induction	" 4.	Induction
" 5.	<u>m33 ntr</u>	" 5.	<u>m33 ntr</u>
" 6.	<u>sn t3</u>	" 6.	<u>sn t3</u>
" 7.	<u>dw3 ntr</u>	" 7.	<u>dw3 ntr</u>
" 8.	<u>sti ih</u>	" 8.	<u>sti ih</u>
" 9.	<u>sm3 db</u>	" 9.	<u>snty r db</u>
" 10.	<u>sw'b m 4 dšrt nt mw</u>	" 10.	<u>sw'b m 4 nmst nt mw</u>
" 11.	<u>sw'b m 5 t3w mhꜣw nw šrp</u>	" 11.	<u>sw'b m 5 t3w šm' nw nhb</u>
" 12.	<u>irt sntr</u>	" 12.	<u>irt sntr</u>
" 13.	<u>dīt kbꜣw</u>	" 13.	<u>dīt kbꜣw</u>
" 14.	<u>ts ht hr h3wt</u>	" 14.	<u>ts ht hr h3wt</u>
" 15.	<u>hrp i3bt</u>	" 15.	<u>hrp i3bt</u>
" 16.	<u>hw-' r stpw</u>	" 16.	<u>hw-' r stpw</u>
" 17.	<u>f3i-' m šns</u>	" 17.	<u>f3i-' m šns</u>
" 18.	<u>hnk sꜣt</u>	" 18.	<u>hnk sꜣt</u>

It can be established with certainty that the ritual develops horizontally from the south end of each wall towards the north. This is made clear by the fact that the first scene on the southern end of each wall is one of pr m 'h. "Coming forth from the Palace" is a necessary prelude to a ritual.

The three scenes which follow the scenes of pr m 'h on each wall - scenes of Baptism, Crowning and Induction into the presence of the god - reinforce the belief that the scenes on the First Register are read horizontally along the register, since these scenes logically follow each other.

The reading of the scenes on the First Register begins with the scene of pr m 'h on the west wall, in order to give Upper Egypt precedence over Lower Egypt (see Page 38, Rule 2); the second scene to be read is the scene of pr m 'h on the east wall. The ritual then develops horizontally along the register, reading alternately from the west, or Lower Egyptian, side, to the east, or Upper Egyptian, side, until the northern end of the wall is reached.

Thus the order of scenes in the ritual depicted on the first register of the east and west walls of the Naos exterior is as follows:

Scene	1.	<u>pr m 'h</u>	(west wall)
	2.	<u>pr m 'h</u>	(east ")
	3.	Baptism	(west ")
	4.	Baptism	(east ")
	5.	Crowning	(west ")
	6.	Crowning	(east ")
	7.	Induction	(west ")
	8.	Induction	(east ")
	9.	<u>m33 ntr</u>	(west ")
	10.	<u>m33 ntr</u>	(east ")
	11.	<u>sn t3</u>	(west ")
	12.	<u>sn t3</u>	(east ")
	13.	<u>dw3 ntr</u>	(west ")
	14.	<u>dw3 ntr</u>	(east ")
	15.	<u>sti ih</u>	(west ")
	16.	<u>sti ih</u>	(east ")
	17.	<u>sm3 db</u>	(west ")
	18.	<u>snty r db</u>	(east ")
	19.	<u>sw'b m 4 dšrt nt mw</u>	(west ")
	20.	<u>sw'b m 4 nmst nt mw</u>	(east ")
	21.	<u>sw'b m 5 t3w mh_w nw šrp</u>	(west ")
	22.	<u>sw'b m 5 t3w šm' nw nh_b</u>	(east ")
	23.	<u>irt sntr</u>	(west ")
	24.	<u>irt sntr</u>	(east ")
	25.	<u>dīt kbhw</u>	(west ")
	26.	<u>dīt kbhw</u>	(east ")

Scene	27.	<u>ts ht hr h3wt</u>	(west wall)
	28.	<u>ts ht hr h3wt</u>	(east ")
	29.	<u>hrp i3bt</u>	(west ")
	30.	<u>hrp i3bt</u>	(east ")
	31.	<u>hw-' r stpw</u>	(west ")
	32.	<u>hw-' r stpw</u>	(east ")
	33.	<u>f3i-' m šns</u>	(west ")
	34.	<u>f3i-' m šns</u>	(east ")
	35.	<u>hnk sht</u>	(west ")
	36.	<u>hnk sht</u>	(east ")

It can be seen from the table above that scenes with even numbers are Upper Egyptian scenes and are found on the east side of the Naos; those with odd numbers are Lower Egyptian scenes and are found on the west side of the Naos.

The general layout of the reliefs and inscriptions in all the scenes is similar. Each scene is bordered on its left and right sides with a vertical line of inscription. From Scene 9 onwards, these lines conform with the theory propounded by Winter. That is, that ideally the vertical line behind the King (the "Königliche Randzeile" or "King's Line") should display the following pattern:

('nh) ntr nfr son, heir, etc.

Epithets *****

nb h'w (or epithets)

Cartouche

(Winter, 1968, p. 46); and that, ideally, the vertical line behind the God (the "Gotliche Randzeile" or 'God's Line') should display the following pattern:



Epithets *****

God's name

Epithets

(ibid.)

In all scenes the King appears with one or more gods. The first eight scenes form a special group on their own; from Scene 9 onwards, the divinities appearing with the King are as follows:

Horus the Behdetite appears in all scenes

Isis " " Scenes 15 & 16

Hathor " " " 19 & 20

23 & 24

27 & 28

The Queen (Cleopatra III) is in " 31 & 32

Thus Horus's mother, Isis, and his wife, Hathor, appear from time to time with him on this first Register; his father, Osiris, does not appear at all. Each time the two goddesses appear, they are given offerings appropriate to their natures or functions.

With the exception of Scenes 3 and 4, all the scenes have two cartouches carved above and slightly to one side of the King's head. The cartouches in Scenes 1 and 5 have been left blank; those in all the other scenes which have them read:

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt (Heir of the Two Manifest Gods, Chosen of Ptah, Justiciar of Re, Living Image of Amun) , the Son of Re (Ptolemaeus-may-he-live-for-ever, Beloved of Ptah) .

nsw-b²it (i²w' n n²rw²y prwy stp n Pth
i²r-m³'t-R' shm 'nh 'i²mn) s³ R'
(Pt²wlmys mr Pth 'nh dt) .

The King who owns the cartouches, therefore, is Euergetes II, Ptolemy VIII, who reigned, with several interruptions, from 170 to 116 B.C. The dedication of Edfu temple took place during his reign (in 142 B.C.); hence the cartouches on the exterior of the Naos bear his name.

Before coming to a consideration of the meaning of the ritual depicted on the east and west walls of the exterior of the Naos, it is necessary to discuss the scenes of which it is comprised in fuller detail. No attempt will be made to give a complete translation of these scenes; space permits a translation only of those parts of a scene which are intrinsically interesting, or are thought to throw some light on the ritual under discussion.

Naos exterior : east and west walls : Register I

Scene 1. pr m 'h Coming forth from the Palace
EIV, 49, 10-51, 13; EX, Pl. LXXXIV

The King, presumably Ptolemy VIII although the cartouches in this scene have been left blank, wearing the Red Crown of Lower Egypt, is shown leaving the Palace, the door of which is depicted on the far right of the scene. He is preceded by the Four Standards (Frankfort, 1948, pp. 91-93) and the ḥwn-mwt.f priest, who is burning incense.

According to the inscription in the two long vertical lines in front of the King, he is coming forth from the Palace,

"the mace in (his) right hand ... the 3ms-sceptre
in (his) left hand." (EIV, 49, 11-12).

The relief shows the reverse to be true; it is in the parallel scene on the east wall that the King carries the mace in his right hand, the sceptre in his left.

The King commands "those who are upon their standards" to come,

"in order to prepare my way for me that I may
see my father." (EIV, 49, 13).

Scene 2. pr m 'h Coming forth from the Palace
EIV, 202, 4-204, 2; EX, Pl. XC

The King appears on the left of the scene wearing

the White Crown of Lower Egypt. Otherwise, the layout of the scene is similar to that in Scene 1. The text of this scene is badly damaged.

Scene 3. No title A scene of purification
EIV, 51, 15-52, 7; EX, Pl. LXXXIV.

The King (not named in the scene, but presumably Ptolemy VIII) stands between Horus and Thoth. Each of the two divinities holds a hs-vase over the King's head; from these vases a shower of ankh-signs falls.

Horus is on the left of the scene; he addresses the King;

"I purify thy Majesty with these waters which are led forth from the Leg in the Cavern (w'rt m imht i.e. the leg of the dead Osiris, the waters of decomposition exuding from it becoming the Nile) which come forth from Heliopolis upon the eastern side to drive out every evil which pertains to thee."

(EIV, 52, 2-3).

Thoth, on the right of the scene, is called "he who judged the Two Combatants (rhwy i.e. Horus and Seth), who pleases the gods and purifies the Ennead by his actions." (EIV, 52, 4-5). He addresses the King:

"I purify thy body with these waters which come forth from the land in Heliopolis. Neith, Serket, Isis and Nephthys, the four goddesses, cense thy body. Thy evil is driven away; that which is uttered (k3w) by the lips drives away every evil

which pertains to thee." (EIV,52,6-7).

The ritual depicted in this scene has been called "the Baptism of Pharaoh" (Gardiner, 1950). In his discussion of pre-Ptolemaic examples, Gardiner suggests that the rite is not one of simple purification such as any officiant must undergo before taking part in a temple ceremony (Blackman, 1918,(iii)pp. 467-82) but that it is a rite which occurred on a particular occasion "where the royal prerogatives were bestowed or confirmed" - at a Coronation or Sed Festival, for example (Gardiner, 1950, p. 6).

Gardiner's suggestion was confirmed by Nelson (Gardiner, 1950, p. 8) who added the information that the rite "frequently, perhaps generally" was part of a series which may include all or some of the following scenes: 1) Leaving the Palace 2) Purification 3) Induction into the temple 4) Crowning 5) Induction into the presence of Amun.

The Ptolemaic rite under discussion here conforms to this series of rites, with the difference that the Theban god, Amun, has been replaced at Edfu by Horus the Behdetite.

In the pre-Ptolemaic examples of the "Baptism" listed by Gardiner, Thoth appears as officiating god opposite Horus twenty-two times, Seth appears three times. This is not, Gardiner contends, a reason for supposing that Seth is ever found as a substitute for Thoth. It is, rather, an indication that the rite was

quadrilateral, not bilateral; in other words, four gods, representing the cardinal points, would ideally carry out the ceremony. For artistic reasons, only two gods are ever depicted (Gardiner, 1950, p. 11).

This idea of four gods representing the cardinal points may have been translated by the Ptolemaic priests into the four goddesses named by Thoth in the scene under discussion (see page 70).

One feature of the scenes of the "Baptism of Pharaoh" found at Edfu and Philae, and of other scenes both Ptolemaic and pre-Ptolemaic that we have been able to check, is that the officiating gods are depicted standing, not upon the base-line of the reliefs, but on plinths. The reason for this use of plinths is obscure.

Scene 4.	<u>Title lost</u>	This scene is much destroyed, but is clearly one where the King is being purified by Horus and Thoth EIV, 204, 6-12; EX, Pl. XC
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Scene 5.	<u>No title</u>	A scene of crowning the King EIV, 52, 9-15; EX. Pl. LXXXIV
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Nekhbet, wearing the White Crown of Upper Egypt, and Edjo, wearing the Red Crown of Lower Egypt, place the Double Crown upon the head of the King. The cartouches

in this scene have been left blank.

Scene 6.	<u>sm3 mnj m-'b</u>	Joining the Papyrus to the
	<u>nsty</u>	Reed
		EIV, 204, 14-205, 7; EX, Pl. XC

Nekhbet and Edjo place the Double Crown upon the head of the King.

Scene 7.	<u>psdt wtst bs</u>	The Ennead of Wetjeset who
	<u>nsw r msn</u>	induct the King into Mesen
		EIV, 53, 2-54, 12; EX, Pl. LXXXIV- LXXXV

The King, wearing the Red Crown, is lead into Mesen by the four co-templar gods. On the left of the scene stands Horus the Behdetite "great god, lord of heaven, lord of Mesen, He-of-the-Dappled-Plumage who enters into the horizon, pre-eminent in the Conclave (itrtr) of Lower Egypt:" (EIV, 54, 10).

The co-templar gods are ranged two on either side of the King; King and gods stand in front of Horus in the following order : Hathor, Atum, King, Montu, Harsomtus.

The Ennead of Wetjeset are described as

"The Friends of the God who enter into the presence of his ka and present the son to him who begat his body. The fathers of Him-of-the-Dappled-Plumage who are in Set-Hor (i.e. Edfu), who present the

heir to his father who begat him. The four powers of the lord of this land who introduce his Majesty, united as five, the beneficent ancestors pre-eminent in the nome of Wetjeset-Hor (i.e. Edfu nome)." (EIV,53,2-6).

Each of the four gods exhorts the King to enter into the temple of Edfu; Hathor calls the temple the Mansion of Re and Mesen; Atum calls it Wetjeset and Nedjem-Ankh; Montu calls it Wetjeset and Djeba; Harsomtus calls it the Window of the Falcon (sšd n sī3) and the Shrine of Horus (h3yt nt Hr). Each of the gods, with the exception of Montu, gives the King a different reason for entering the temple. Hathor tells him that it is in order to "kiss Him-of-the-Dappled-Plumage" (EIV,53,12); Atum tells him that it is for the purpose of receiving the testament (īmt-pr) from the God (EIV,53,15). Harsomtus tells the King that Horus will "crown (shn) your head with the Two Ladies". (EIV,54,6).

The King's title is "hm-gmḥs-priest of the Falcon of Gold" (EIV,53,8); it has been suggested that hm-gmḥs is a Lower Egyptian priestly title (Ibrahim, 1971, p. 183). This would be appropriate on this, the Lower Egyptian, wall. The Lower Egyptian connection is further emphasised when Horus greets the King by calling him Prince of Lower Egypt (EIV,54,11); he then offers him "Mekhet to protect your body and Depet

to guard your Majesty" (EIV,54,12). Mekhet and Depet are Nekhbet and Edjo, the Two Ladies that Harsomtus had promised the King (see page 73).

Scene 8. ddw db3 ms hm.f The Ghosts of Djeba who
 r štyt lead his Majesty into
 the temple
 EIV,205,9-207,7; EX, Pl. XCI

The King, wearing the White Crown, is led before Horus the Behdetite "lord of heaven, pre-eminent in Wetjeset-Hor, He-of-the-Dappled-Plumage who comes forth from the horizon at the head of the Conclave of Upper Egypt!" (EIV,207,5). Horus stands on the right of the scene; the King and the four gods who are inducting him stand before Horus in the following order: Hathor, Atum, King, Montu, Harpocrates. Harpocrates here replaces Harsomtus who appeared in Scene 7. They are both sons of Horus of Edfu and Hathor, Harsomtus being Horus's heir (Mercer, 1942, p. 124), and Harpocrates, although originally the son of Isis and Osiris (Mercer, 1942, p. 130), is, at Edfu, the "successor of the Behdetite" (EIV,206,12).

The Ghosts of Djeba are
 "the guardians (s3wtyw) of the Sia-falcon (Horus) of prominent position who carry the image of Re to the former Kings of Upper and Lower Egypt. The

divine ancestors of great renown in the Place of Piercing (st wnp i.e. Edfu), who induct (s'r) the Ruler of Nedjem-Ankh. The living kas, great of dignity in Behdet, who conduct (bs) the son to his beloved father, who go to the Palace (mnkbht) as four gods, who reach Behdet united as five." (EIV,205,10-14).

Hathor, Montu and Harsomtus exhort the King to enter the temple, promising him that his path is free of enemies and that he himself is protected. Atum, however, exhorts the King to

"Mount up to the Sanctuary of the divine winged beetle that you may take hold of a Jubilee in the House of Rejoicing." (EIV,206,6-7).

Horus the Behdetite greets the King, calling him "Lord of the Two Lands, Ruler of Upper Egypt" and declares that the doors of the chapel of his shrine are open "so that you may behold my Majesty and I may look upon your form (s'h; in Middle Egyptian means mummy)." (EIV,207,7).

Scene 9. m33 ntr

Beholding the God

EIV,54,14-55,11; EX, Pl. LXXXV

The King stands on the right of the scene facing Horus the Behdetite. The King wears no crown; above his head is a sun's disk supported by two cobras; inscribed below

the disk is the word "Behdet". Horus the Behdetite, standing on the left of the scene, wears the Double Crown and holds a w3s-sceptre in his left hand and an ankh-sign in his right hand.

The offering formula, which is contained in two vertical lines in front of the King, contains the phrases:

"I look upon Re-Harakhte in the Horizon of Eternity (i.e. Edfu). I contemplate (sbk.i) the Falcon in his mysterious image (sšt3.f), I behold the šnbt-falcon, the virile one of the gods, in his shrine (hm.f)." (EIV,54,15-17).

The King's titles are "administrator of Horus the Victorious, the discreet one (sšt3) of his šnbt-falcon, the imy-p-priest sweetly singing (nfr sšsw)" (EIV,55,4). He is also the "man-in-the-prow-of-his-ship" (i.e. Horus's ship; iry-h3t.f) in the capacity of overseer of prophets" (EIV,55,5). The position of the King as high priest is here made clear; none of his priestly titles, however, specifically links him with Lower Egypt, which might have been expected on this wall - imy-p-priest seems to be a title which is interchangeable between Upper and Lower Egypt (Ibrahim, 1971, p. 136).

Horus the Behdetite addresses the King as follows:

"I give you your heart to conceal your nature (šrw.k) and raiment (šrty) to cover (dhn) your limbs." (EIV,55,8).

"I place the fear of you in all who see you and cause the people to tremble at the pronunciation of your name." (EIV,55,10).

Thus, having been inducted into the presence of the God, the King is privileged to look upon him. The sacred nature of this act is emphasised in the formula to the scene where the King calls himself "the discreet one, who does not reveal what he has seen" (tm 'k hr m33.n.f lit: "who does not go forth carrying what he has seen"). (EIV, 55, 1-2).

Scene 10. m33 ntr Beholding the God
EIV, 207, 9-208, 10; EX, Pl. XCI

Horus the Behdetite stands on the right of the scene, the King stands on the left. The accoutrements of Horus are the same as in Scene 9; in the offering formula to the present scene they are described:

"The Double Crown is fixed upon his head. His right hand is powerful while grasping the w3s-sceptre; he holds on (ikn) to the ankh-sign with his left." (EIV, 207, 13-208, 1).

The King is again uncrowned; the sun's disk supported by two cobras is above his head, this time uninscribed. The King's title is lost, but it is stated that he "has the right of entry into the Horizon of Eternity." (EIV, 208, 3).

Horus the Behdetite again offers the King the awe and respect of the people; he further offers the King his "heart (hry-m'kt lit: "what is in its proper place")

to conceal (hb) what (he) sees." (EIV,208,6). Thus is the private nature of the rite again emphasised.

Scene 11. sn t3

Kissing the earth

EIV,55,13-56,9; EX, Pl. LXXXV

The King stands on the right of the scene. He wears the hprš-crown. Above his head is a sun's disk supported by two cobras; below the disk is inscribed the word "Behdet". On the left of the scene stands Horus the Behdetite, wearing the Double Crown, with a w3s-sceptre in his left hand and an ankh-sign in his right.

The King's title is "Overseer (?) of the Prophets of the Falcon, the great of strength who associates with his shrine to kiss the earth." (EIV,56,1). In the offering formula, he states:

"I kiss the earth of Wr-nht. I look upon the glory of the Protector of his Father (Horus).
I embrace the soil in the Mansion of Valour.
I kiss the earth of Set-Weret. I uplift my hands (wn.ḏ rmnw.ḏ lit:"I open my shoulders") to the valiant Falcon. I bend my arms to Him-of-the-Dappled-Plumage." (EIV,55,13-16).

In return, Horus the Behdetite makes the King the following promises:

"I give you Asiatics and Beduin bowing, and the inhabitants of the earth making obeisance to you." (EIV,56,5).

"I give Asiatics in submission (m ndyt lit:"as

servantsⁿ) and mankind subservient (w3h tp)."

(EIV,56,7).

Scene 12. sn t3

Kissing the earth

EIV,209,2-14; EX, Pl. XCI

The reliefs in this scene are similar to those in Scene 11, except that Horus the Behdetite stands on the right of the scene and the King stands on the left. The sun's disk above the King's head is not inscribed "Behdet".

The King's titles are: "Prophet of Horus, the Beautiful One of Horus the Roamer (Hr dbn i.e. Horus in his solar aspect) who travels (š3s) towards Edfu (šns) in his purity." (EIV,209,7). The title "Prophet of Horus" is one we would expect to find in this scene as a parallel to the title "Overseer of Prophets" which was found in Scene 11. (Ibrahim, 1971, p. 181).

Horus promises the King a reward similar to that promised in Scene 11:

"I give you southerners and northerners bowed down, your disaffected ones being thrown down upon the block." (EIV,209,10-11).

"I give you westerners and easterners in obeisance and (š - particle of coordination) the oasis-dwellers carrying their tribute." (EIV,209,12).

Scene 13. dw3 ntr

Adoring the God

EIV,56,11-57,8; EX, Pl.LXXXV

The King stands on the right of the scene facing Horus the Behdetite. He wears no crown. As in scenes 9 & 11, a sun's disk supported by two cobras is above his head; beneath the disk is inscribed "Behdet".

The King makes his adoration of the God in the following words:

"Hail to thee, O Re the Behdetite, O You-of-the-Dappled-Plumage, who shines as gold at dawn

(tp dw3w); Horus, the Mighty Bull in Wetjeset-Hor who gives light (sšp) in the place of darkness (snk). The Youth (hnw) in the early morning,

Khopri at noon, Atum at night (m R' htp hr nhm.f :

"when Re rests upon his lotus "), O King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Horus of the Two Banks (Egypt), great god, lord of the sky - Your beautiful face is pleasing to me." (EIV,56,11-15).

The titles of the King are "the servant of the Falcon, son of the oldest-who-commands (Thoth), at whose utterances the god comes." (EIV,56,17).

"Servant of the Falcon" is here a Lower Egyptian title (Ibrahim, 1971, p. 183).

The connection with Thoth is taken up again in the vertical line behind the King in the relief - the so-called "Königliche Randzeile" (Winter, 1968). Here, the King is called :

"the heir of the Ape (Thoth), the beneficent son of Isdes (Thoth), who knows the knowledge of the Knowing One (Thoth), who understands the understanding of the Understanding One (Thoth), who is versed (ikr) in the excellences of Iker (Thoth), the director (sšm) of ceremonial like the Lord of the Heden Plant (Thoth), Lord of the Emanations of Re (i.e. the Sacred Records)." (EIV,56,17-57,2).

In return for the adoration of the King, Horus the Behdetite declares:

"I give you this land adoring you, the Nine Bows bowed down to your power." (EIV,57,4).

"These are your glories, they are your hymns (sp-n-si3.k) and songs (mtr-r-īm)." (EIV,57,5-6).

Scene 14. dw3 ntr

Adoring the God

EIV,210,7-211,6; EX, Pl. XCI

The reliefs in this scene are similar to those in Scene 13, except that Horus the Behdetite stands on the right of the scene and the King stands on the left. As in Scenes 10 and 12, the sun's disk above the King's head is not inscribed "Behdet".

The titles of the King are "servant of Horus, successor to Tekhen (Thoth), reckoner of magic spells (hmwt-r) like Ipy (Thoth)." (EIV,210,13).

As in Scene 13, the "Königliche Randzeile" continues to link the King with Thoth; the King is:

"the seed of Maaty (Thoth), fashioned by Him-who-is-in-Hermopolis (Thoth), who knows the Records like Isdes (Thoth), who holds the palette (m3sdm) for him, who makes the gods content with the breath of his mouth, lord of praise." (EIV,210,13-211,1).

The title "Servant of Horus" is one which is commonly found in scenes of dw3 ntr (Ibrahim, 1971,181); the other titles of the King, and his epithets found in the "Königliche Randzeile", all connecting him with Thoth, are less common to scenes of dw3 ntr.

Horus's reply to the King is as follows:

"I give you the earth giving thanks (hs R') for your Majesty, all those who inhabit it bowing the head." (EIV,211,2).

"I listen to (ndb.i) your praises (sns.w.k), I embrace my image (i.e. the King), I rejoice when I hear the voice of my heir." (EIV,211,4).

It is not clear why there should be such marked reference to Thoth in these scenes of dw3 ntr. There are over twenty such scenes in the temple as a whole; in only four of them is the King linked with Thoth, being called his son or offspring.

These scenes are i) in the First Hypostyle Hall, where the King is called "offspring of Wpwt" (EIII,36,2);

ii) on the exterior of the north wall of the Naos, where he is again called "offspring of Wpwtj" (EIV, 72,11); iii) on the west wall of the Forecourt, where he is called "son of the Lord of Eshmunen" (EV,41,4); and iv) on the east wall of the Forecourt, where he is called "son of Isden" (EV,142,5).

Nowhere are there so many references to the King's connection with Thoth as there are in Scenes 13 and 14 of the ritual under discussion.

One of Thoth's many functions was to act as the founder of social order (Boylan, 1922, p. 89); it is perhaps this aspect of Thoth which justifies his presence in these two scenes of dw3 ntr; without social order, Horus would not be able to give the King his reward, namely, the earth and all its inhabitants bowed down in submission to him.

Scene 15. sti ih

Spearing the crocodile

EIV,57,10-58,10; EX, Pl. LXXXV

The King, on the right of the scene, stands before Horus the Behdetite, who is on the left. Isis stands behind Horus on the far left of the scene. The King, wearing a hmhm-crown, is in the act of driving a spear into a crocodile (much destroyed). Horus holds in his left hand a sceptre surmounted by a hawk's head with a sun's disk and a harpoon barb on the top of it; in his

right hand he holds a scimitar which has a hawk's head and a sun's disk at its tip. Isis stands behind Horus, her right arm raised, her left hand holding an ankh-sign.

In his original form, Horus the Behdetite is thought to have been a warrior king of Lower Egypt whose battles were fought against the Seth-worshipping kings of Upper Egypt (Junker, 1917, p. 18ff.). Eventually, the legends concerning these battles became solarized; Horus the Behdetite, in destroying his own enemies, destroyed the enemies of the sun-god, Re. Finally, the legends were Osirianised; Horus the Behdetite became identified with Horus, son of Isis and Osiris, whose task was to take revenge upon Seth, the murderer of his father.

This scene reflects the legends concerning Horus and Seth. Seth became the god of evil; one of his forms was that of a crocodile. Thus, in this scene, by killing the crocodile the King is symbolically destroying Seth and evil.

Isis appears in the scene because of her connection with the Horus-Osiris-Seth legend. She is supporting her son, Horus, just as she supported him in his many battles against his uncle, Seth.

In this scene, Horus the Behdetite is identified with Horus son of Isis. Thus, he is called "the drty-falcon" (the Behdetite in one of his hawk forms - EIV,58,10) and "the Beautiful One in Djeba (Edfu)" (EIV,58,4);

but he is also called "the protector of his father, Osiris" (EIV,58,4-5).

The title of the King is eminently suitable to the theme of the scene; it is "valiant harpooner (hnṯty (cf. Ibrahim, 1971, p. 132 and p. 185), the hero of (pr-) who vanquishes him who transgresses against him".

The same aggressive theme is found in the offering formula to the scene, in which the King states:

"The harpooner am I (ḥ3wty ḥm.ḥ cf. Ibrahim, 1971, pp. 131-133) who does what you wish, who smites (sm3) the enemy who is before you, my arms being outstretched with your harpoon, valorous (kn) in making slaughter (š't) upon your enemy. I turn back their arms while your followers eat (wnm) their flesh. I am (twt (ḥ)r.ḥ lit: "the likeness am I") he who slays the enemy of your Majesty; I am one of your crew." (EIV,57,10-15).

In return for the actions of the King, Horus says, "I give you your enemies in hordes under you like Horus the Killer (Hr wnty)." (EIV,58,3-4).

"I strengthen your arms, smiting your defiant ones (btnw-hr.k) and (your) enemies as they pass through your striking power (dndn.k)." (EIV,58,5-6).

Isis joins Horus in rewarding the King, saying,

"I give you your heart established in its place; the enemy trembles in fear of you." (EIV,58,8).

Scene 16. Sti ih

Spearing the crocodile

EIV,211,8-213,4; EX, Pl. XCI

The layout of this scene is the reverse of what it was in the previous scene; the King, Horus the Behdetite and Isis are again depicted, in the same stances.

The theme of the scene is the same as that in Scene 15; in the present scene, however, the King seems to be more closely linked with Horus, son of Isis. Thus, the titles of the King are "valiant fenman, the prowman of his warship who pierces (tbtb) the hot-tempered-ones (t3-r) and those-who-are-in-the-water (crocodiles)." (EIV,212,6). In the "Königliche Randzeile" he is called

"the good god who receives the harpoon, who turns back the arms of the crocodiles and those-who-are-in-the-water; Horus, triumphant, who plunges into battle, who traverses the river in his warship, the adept harpooner valiant and victorious, lord of the flood water (P.)."
(EIV,212,6-8).

Isis offers her protection to the King in the following words:

"I board your ship that I may protect you and guard your body in the Pool of Horus (the sacred lake at Edfu cf. Blackman & Fairman, 1944, p. 17). I make your arms strong in smiting (hr hwnt) the Slaughtering One (hwnt) the enemy of your

father, Osiris." (EIV,213,1-2).

The offering formula to the scene is strongly reminiscent in its wording of parts of the play, the Myth of Horus (Fairman, 1974):

"I grasp my blade, I seize my spear. The heir am I of the Lord of Mesen (Horus the Behdetite). I board my boat in the neighbourhood of the Pool of Horus. I repel (nhm.i nmtt; lit: "I turn back the steps") all those-who-are-in-the-water and kill the crocodiles. I stab (tbtb) the fiery-mouthed and ravening (r hsw; lit: "aggressive mouthed") crocodiles. I pierce their bodies. I slaughter (nbd) their old ones together with their young ones. I slay their females, I smash their eggs. I thrust the knife at the shape of Meg (Seth) ... his meat pieces (are given) to the children of the fenmen - they are your crew, O son of Osiris." (EIV,211,8-212,4).

As in Scene 15, Horus offers the King victory over his enemies:

"I give you my strength to kill your enemies. May your knife (mds) be glad (ndm) bringing about their slaughter." (EIV,212,10-11).

"I cause my spear (hsmn) to be in the head of your enemies, held fast without becoming unloosed." (EIV,212,12-13).

Scene 17. sm3 db

Slaying the hippopotamus

EIV,58,11-59,12; EX, Pl. LXXXVI

The King, wearing an elaborate form of Atef crown, stands on the right of the scene, driving a spear into a hippopotamus. Horus the Behdetite stands on the left of the scene, a w3s-sceptre in his left hand, an ankh-sign in his right.

The theme of this scene is again concerned with the destruction of the forces of evil, this time symbolised by a hippopotamus. That the hippopotamus is in turn symbolising Seth is made clear in the offering formula where reference is made to "the Donkey", an often-used synonym for Seth:

"The Donkey (is hit) by my harpoon. The Wandering Beasts (tnmw i.e. hippopotami) are crushed (tštš), the Raging Beasts (nšny i.e. hippopotami) are in the net, the 3t-beast (hippopotamus) is pierced in his moment. O children of the Fenman (Horus), come speedily (m h̄ms) to eat (wšc) his flesh and drink (s̄m) his gore." (EIV,58,13-59,2).

The King bears the title "the valiant harpooner (ḥ3wty cf. Ibrahim, 1971, p. 131) the hero who carries his spear who shoots accurately (r mdd) against his enemies". The "Königliche Randzeile" enlarges on this; here, the King is the one who

"shoots against the Lower Egyptian Bull (i.e. Seth cf. Blackman & Fairman, 1943, p. 5 note d) ...

the bold fenman who brings the hippopotami to the slaughtering block." (EIV,59,5-6).

The connection between the actions of the King in this scene and those of Horus in his fight against Seth as illustrated in the Myth of Horus is made clear in the titles of Horus the Behdetite; he is the one who "takes to the river in his war galley, who slaughters (npd) Meg (Seth) in the water, who pierces Nehes (Seth) in the Place of Piercing." (EIV,59,9-10).

The vertical line behind Horus the Behdetite, the so-called "Gottliche Randzeile" (Winter, 1968), is interesting in its reference to Horus's war galley; in the "Gottliche Randzeile" Horus is the one

"whom his mother supports, she being the war galley, he being seated in it as the drty-falcon who punishes Dns (Seth)." (EIV,59,11-12).

It is clear from this that Isis actually is the war galley of her son, Horus.

In return for the King's actions, Horus offers him "a canoe (smhy) like Wenty that you may shoot, that your arms may hold fast." (EIV,59,8).

"I make your weapons (db3w) rain down in the middle of the water so that you may make captive the Homosexual (hmty i.e. Seth) by your strength." (EIV,59,10-11).

Thus there is a strong link in this scene with the legend of Horus's fight against Seth. But, of course, harpooning the hippopotamus is an extremely ancient ritual, possibly predating the First Dynasty (Fairman, 1974, p. 35).

Scene 18. snty (=st³) r db Shooting the hippopotamus
EIV, 213, 6-214, 8; EX, Pl. XCII

The King stands on the left of the scene, Horus the Behdetite stands on the right, both accoutred and in the same positions as they were in Scene 17.

The offering formula to this scene bears a close similarity to a speech of Horus in the Prologue to the Myth of Horus (Blackman & Fairman, 1943, p. 5). It has been suggested that the formula under discussion reads like a quotation from a dramatic text (Blackman & Fairman, 1943, p. 28, note 12; cf. also p. 27, note 11):

"I have grasped a harpoon blade of four cubits upon a shaft of seventeen cubits. A stripling am I of seven cubits, standing on the river bank. I have hurled with my right hand and cast with my left. That Homosexual (hmt pfy i.e. Seth) who is (enmeshed) in the rope (nwh), his snout is severed (f3k), his nostrils void. Rejoice, O citizens of Wetjeset." (EIV, 213, 7-11).

A further connection with the Myth of Horus is made in the epithets of Horus; he is the great god "whose

boat is light, he being in it as a child!" (EIV, 214,4). This is an almost exact quotation from a speech of Isis in the Myth of Horus, where she claims that "the boat is light and he who is in it is a child." (Blackman & Fairman, 1943, p. 12).

The King, who is "the mighty harpooner (i3wty), victorious in the river-going boat (hrt-mw)" (EIV, 213,13), is rewarded by Horus as follows:

"I grant that your arm shall hold fast, that your fingers shall never be loosened, O you who appear as King, Horus the Victorious." (EIV, 214,3).

"I put the fear of you into those-who-are-in-the-water. I repulse for you him-who-is-in-the-water." (EIV, 214,6).

Scene 19.	<u>sw'b m 4 dšrt nt. mw</u>	Purification with 4 <u>dšrt</u> -jars of water EIV, 59,14-60,12; EX, Pl. LXXXVI
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The King, wearing a composite crown at the centre of which is a Red Crown, stands on the right of the scene facing Horus the Behdetite. Behind Horus, on the far left of the scene, stands Hathor. The King is holding out a platter upon which are four jars - the dšrt or "red pots".

The main point of interest in this scene of purification with water is the information it affords concerning

the four dšrt-jars; this information is contained in the offering formula, and is as follows:

"The four š'yt-goddesses come to your Majesty so that your image may be purified therewith. One of them is the Nurse (snmty) in Heliopolis (Nephthys); the second and third are Menhet and Bastet; the fourth is the Eye of Horus, Edjo; they are united to protect your head for you."
(EIV,59,15-60,1).

Thus it would seem that the four dšrt-jars are to be identified with the goddesses Nephthys, Menhet, Bastet and Edjo, collectively known as the š'yt.

The King is "the offspring of Edjo who distinguishes the head of Mehyt, the s3b-sh-priest who purifies the divine images." (EIV,60,3). The reference to Edjo is to be expected on this, the Lower Egyptian wall; the title of s3b-sh, however, is somewhat surprising if, as Ibrahim has suggested, it is a title applied to the King in scenes of presenting libation. (Ibrahim, 1971, p. 191). The present scene, which has not been noted by Ibrahim, is one of purification rather than libation.

The theme of purification is found in the "Gottliche Randzeile" where Horus is called the one who

"censes the temples, who protects the kas which are in them; Dwn-'wy who purifies the sanctuary

of the gods and goddesses." (EIV,60,11).

Further, he is the great god who

"purifies the divine images, without whose knowledge none is purified." (EIV,60,7-8).

The King is rewarded by Horus and Hathor. Horus declares

"I give you the four š'yt (see p. 92) nursing your Majesty established upon your throne in the Great House!" (EIV,60,6-7).

"Your limbs are purified from every evil. I cut up your rebellious one upon the execution block." (EIV,60,8).

Hathor declares

"I have purified you so that evil may not apertain to you. I adorn your brow with my beauty." (EIV,60,10).

Scene 20.	<u>sw'b m 4 nmst nt mw</u>	Purification with 4 nemset-jars of water EIV,214,10-215,11; EX, Pl. XCII
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The King again wears a composite crown, this time one which has a White Crown in its centre. He stands on the left of the scene offering a platter upon which are four jars to Horus the Behdetite. Standing behind Horus on the far right of the scene is Hathor.

Again, the main interest of the scene lies in the offering formula:

"The ritual vases reach your Majesty to enrich you, the nhnm-vases that enfold your flesh.

One of them is Selkis in her form; the second is your mother, Neith; the third is Isis; the fourth is Anoukis, abiding upon my arm to purify your body." (EIV,214,11-14).

Just as the four dšrt-jars of the previous scene were identified with four goddesses, so the four nemset-jars of this scene are identified with Selkis, Neith, Isis and Anoukis.

The epithets of the King, namely "the child who came into being in Hedj-Nekhen, reared by the Vulture Goddess (št3t i.e. Nephthys) upon her lap" (EIV,215,2), link him, appropriately on this, the east wall, with Upper Egypt. The "Königliche Randzeile" also links him with Upper Egypt; here, he is stated to be born of the "White One of Nekhen (Nephthys)"; his Protectress "exercises protection in the shape of the White Crown" (EIV,215,3).

Hathor's speech in this scene is similar to that in Scene 19. The speeches and epithets of Horus, however, enlarge upon his role as purifier of divine images (EIV,60,7) and temples (EIV,60,11). In the "Göttliche Randzeile" he is the one who

"censes the shrines, who guards the Powerful Ones in them, the beautiful falcon of the Golden One (Hathor) who purifies the body of his father (Osiris)." (EIV,215,10).

Horus the Behdetite is also

"Horus the Purifier of shd-wr (the Great Illuminator - Osiris), the sweet of life who purifies the divine ancestors (imyw h3t), the Falcon of Gold who purifies his father." (EIV,215,6-7).

In his speeches to the King, he makes his position clear:

"I have acted as the Purifier of the four Horus gods, as Lord of Purification in this land." (EIV,215,5-6).

"Horus, Thoth, Geb and Dwn-'wy - I give them to you to perfume your body." (EIV,215,7).

Scene 21.	<u>sw'b m 5 t3w mhꜥw nw šrp</u>	Purification with 5 Lower Egyptian pellets of Wadi Natrun EIV,60,13- 61,13; EX, Pl. LXXXVI
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The King, standing on the right of the scene, wears a Red Crown which has a feather and a cobra on either side of it, the whole ensemble being poised upon a pair of horns. He is offering five pellets of natron to Horus the Behdetite, who stands on the left of the scene.

The offering formula to the scene reads:

"The five Lower Egyptian pellets of Wadi Natrun purify you. She-of-Pe tramples on (ptpt) your enemies. Neky (nhy cf. W/b II, 290 (1)), Sekhty (the Trapper) and Nekty destroy (hnp) the magical forces (which are harmful to) you. They repel all your ills (nkn). May you stand, neither bowed down nor grown weary. Your illumination (bdw) is the illumination of that Great One, and his abomination shall be your abomination." (EIV, 60,15-61,4).

The four names mentioned in this formula - She-of-Pe, Neky, Sekhty and Nekty - would seem to be names given to the pellets of natron. As there are five pellets one would, of course, expect a fifth name; this, however, is lacking.

Once again, the connection with Lower Egypt is clear in this scene on the west, or Lower Egyptian, wall, both in the first line of the formula, and in the epithets of the King, who is the beneficent god "nursed (3tt) by the Red Crown, who came forth from Pe" (EIV,61,6) and "the child in Chemmis (hby), nursed (mn't) by S'nh-t3wy (Ptah)" (EIV,61,6-7).

In return for the King's offering of natron, Horus offers him protection, victory over his enemies and "the Divine One (ntrt), to make your flesh divine" (EIV,61,12). The "Divine One" here is presumably a

goddess who personifies natron, ntryt being known in Middle Egyptian as a word for natron (P. Ed. Smith, 412).

Scene 22.	<u>sw'b m 5 t3w šm' nw nḥb</u>	Purification with 5 Upper Egyptian pellets of El Kab EIV, 215, 13-216, 12; EX, Pl. XCII
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The King, on the left of the scene, wears a White Crown which, like the Red Crown in the previous scene, is flanked by two cobras and balanced upon a pair of horns. He faces Horus the Behdetite and offers him five pellets of natron.

The offering formula tells us what function each of the pellets performs:

"I walk round you with five pellets of Upper Egypt which grow in the Valley of Hedj-Nekhen. You are made powerful by the first. The second censes you. The third wards off evil from you. The fourth is the smell (fnd, lit: nose) which cuts to pieces (fdk) your enemies. The fifth hacks up (dbdb) your foes." (EIV, 215, 14-216, 3).

The most interesting point about the offering formula is the marked use of alliteration in the five sentences which describe the pellets. Alliteration was a device often used to great effect by the Ptolemaic scribes; the five sentences noted here are good examples of it:

wsr.k m w' snw hr sntr.k hmt. hr hsr hww.k

fdw fnd hr fdk h3'yt diw dbdb dbhyw.k

This scene is on the east, or Upper Egyptian, wall; the epithets of the King reflect the Upper Egyptian aspect. He is "the child of the Vulture Goddess (Nekhbet), the noble nursling of the Protectress, the Maiden who protects his body." (EIV, 216, 5).

In return for the King's offering of natron, Horus says:

"I give you pellets (bhh) abundant. (dns) in your house, powerful natron (ntryt) to make your body divine." (EIV, 216, 8).

"I give you drkd-pellets to destroy (krkr) your enemies (k3w) and a hekat-staff by night for purification." (EIV, 216, 10-11).

Natron, which could be used in its dry state or dissolved in water, was widely employed in Ancient Egypt for purposes of purification (Blackman, 1918, (iii), p. 476, II, 1). It is clear from the contents of Scenes 21 and 22 that it had properties other than those of simple purification. It could destroy enemies and make the royal body divine.

Scene 23. irt sntr

Offering incense

EIV, 61, 15-62, 12; EX, Pl. LXXXVI

The King, on the right of the scene, faces Horus the Behdetite; behind Horus, on the far left of the scene,

stands Hathor. The King is offering incense.

It is clear from the offering formula that although the relief seems to indicate that the King is making his offering to Horus, it is Hathor who is the recipient:

"Purification of the Great One, the Ruler and Mistress of Dendera, the diadem (hryt-tp) of Horus the Behdetite, the queen, (hnt), Meket (a lion-headed goddess) who protects Harakhty, who sets a guard around Him-of-the-Dappled-Plumage, who sits upon the brow of Horus the Judge, the arms of the gods being filled with love of her." (EIV,61,15,18).

It is logical for the offering of incense to be made to Hathor, since she had connections with Punt, the land which produced incense. Hence, she is often called "the mistress of incense" and "the mistress of Punt" (Münster, 1968, p. 39).

As "the mistress of Hedj-Nekhen, pleasantly fragrant (ndm idt) amongst goddesses, whose odour the gods inhale", Hathor replies,

"I reign upon your head in the capacity of the Great Magician when you appear as Horus (i.e. King) at the head of the living." (EIV,62,8-10).

Horus the Behdetite is the Falcon who "merges with his image to breathe in incense" (EIV,62,12); he is the "Lord of Fragrance (idt), who ascends to the sky when he mingles with incense, who enters Theset in the odour (sti)

of myrrh ('ntyw). " (EIV,62,6-7).

Horus's gift to the King in return for incense is, like Hathor's, to do with crowns; he says:

"I give you the sia-cloth bound upon your head.

The Mistress of Byblos (Nbt-kpn i.e. Hathor) protects you (hr irt s3.k)."

"I make you Lord of the Two Horns (a crown) ..."
(EIV,62,7).

Scene 24. irt sntr n <Hwt-Hr> Offering incense to
<Hathor> EIV,216,
14-218,2; EX, Pl. XCII

The King is on the left of the scene offering incense. He faces Horus the Behdetite; Hathor stands behind Horus on the far right of the scene.

As in Scene 23, the offering formula is addressed to Hathor:

"Your incense, O August and Powerful One, Eye of Re, Diadem (mnht) of Him-of-the-Dappled-Plumage. The gods adore you, the goddesses propitiate you. The Mistress (hnwt) are you of them all. I am (nwi= ink) your son, your ornaments are upon my head. May your beautiful face be gracious to me."
(EIV,216,14-217,3).

In a description of Hathor similar to that in Scene 23, she is described as the one "whose perfume (hnm) the gods inhale (hnm), who makes festival-perfume (sty-hb)

for all the gods, it being the perfume which emanates from her." (EIV,217,12-13). Her speech to the King is identical to her speech in Scene 23.

Horus the Behdetite is the drty-falcon "who embraces his image through the scent ('dty) of incense (mnwr)" (EIV,218,2); he is "the lusty one (ndmndm) who is raised up to the sky in the odour of incense (p3d)" (EIV,217,9-10).

He says to the King:

"I give you the Vulture Goddess (št3t i.e. Nekhbet) to stab (hmy) him who violates (š3š) your inviolable soil (š3wk.k št3) and to increase the fear of you." (EIV, 217,8-9).

"I give you the nt-crown that it may enfeeble your opponents, and Arsaphes to increase respect for you." (EIV,217,10-11).

It is interesting to note here that the word for "stab" in the first speech, hmy, (W/b III,284,15) became ϣομτ in Coptic. It must have been pronounced "shmy" in Ptolemaic, a fact which is borne out in the sentence under discussion when one considers the alliteration:

hr hmy š3š š3wk.k št3 hr swr ...

In return for his offering of incense, the King is rewarded, not in kind with, say, the land that produces incense, but with crowns of various kinds.

Scene 25. dīṯ kbḥw

Offering libation

EIV,62,14-63,12; EX, Pl. LXXXVI.

The King, on the right of the scene, stands facing Horus the Behdetite. His left hand is raised in adoration; his right hand holds a ḥs-vase from which he is pouring water onto a small altar which stands on the ground between him and Horus.

The offering formula reads:

"This water, it rejuvenates your flesh; may your Majesty drink (s'm) from the ḥb-ḥrt. The m3'ty-water is in your throat; may your Majesty rejoice because freshwater (ḥbbt) is in your hand. The 'rty-water from the Pool of Horus - may your Majesty live through it." (EIV,62,14-63,2).

The "Königliche Ranzeile" calls the King

"Upper Egyptian King, son of the Upper Egyptian King, who produces inundation water from the Cavern, who inundates the canal (p(3) ḥn, cf. Blackman & Fairman, 1944, pp. 16-17), who floods the districts, who provides the back-waters (phw) of the Edfu Nome and measures out the vases with them, lord of canals (ḥnw, cf. Fairman, 1968, pp. 236-238)." (EIV,63,4-6).

The Upper Egyptian King referred to in the above text is Osiris. It is the waters of decomposition from his leg which form the Nile; the Nile rises at Elephantine in "the Cavern".

The "Gottliche Randzeile" has a theme similar to that of the "Königliche Randzeile"; Horus the Behdetite is the one who:

"brings forth Hapy from his cavern, who makes the fields verdant, who floods the whole of the Two Lands with existing things." (EIV,63,11).

He rewards the King in the following way:

"I grant that Sothis (goddess of Inundation) emits for you the Inundation at its proper season and embraces Anukis (goddess who dispenses cool water) in her time." (EIV,63,8).

"I lead forth a high Nile for you from the Two Caverns every year without ceasing." (EIV,63,10).

Scene 26. dit kbhw

Offering libation

EIV,218,4-219,2; EX, Pl.XCII

The King, on the left of the scene, faces Horus the Behdetite. In his left hand he holds a hs-vase, in his right he holds a mnw-vase; he is pouring water from them onto a small altar at his feet.

The offering formula reads:

"Your libation waters are for the mnw-vase (p3 mnw, cf. Fairman, 1943, pp. 83-85). They come from Elephantine, they flow from the Pool of Horus. May you drink of them, may you live through them, may you be made glad by them. The waters of the Divine Eye are for your offering-table (mn-hr-nw)." (EIV,218,4-7).

The King is again linked with Osiris, as he was in Scene 25; he is "the living image of Osiris who bears the White Crown, the maker of grain through the water which is in him" (EIV,218,10). The "Königliche Randzeile" calls him

"the heir of Anukis, the intelligent child of sh̄t-sšp.f (i.e. Khnum, cf. W/b IV, 264 (9)), who stretches out his arms holding the mnw-vase and the '-vessel, who fills the šps-jars with inundation water, who pours water onto the offering stand before his father, the Winged Beetle, who refreshes him with the Eye of Horus, who fills his vases from the Pool of the Hippopotamus (i.e. the Sacred Lake at Edfu)." (EIV,218,10-12).

Horus's speech has undertones of the belief that the Nile issued from the Two Caverns at Elephantine, and was formed from the leg of Osiris:

"I give you the Inundation led forth from the Cavern (kr̄rt) to cover the Two Lands with the fluids (rdw) of his body." (EIV,218,14).

It is clear from these two scenes that in return for the King's offering of libation, Horus ensures that the source of the libation, the Nile, will be generous with its water.

Scene 27. ts ht hr h3wt

Arranging offerings upon
the altar

EIV,63,14-64,12; EX, Pl.LXXXVII

The King, on the right of the scene, stands with his hands outstretched above the small offering table at his feet. Horus the Behdetite faces him on the left of the scene; Hathor stands behind Horus on the far left.

The offering formula reads as follows:

"Your altars are enriched with thousands of offerings that you may eat (h3m) of them, O Winged Beetle. Meats (h3ww) are upon them that you may smell their odour. Your enemies are fallen upon their execution blocks as you hasten to your shrine. Your adversaries no longer exist, (their) dust (hš) is strewn (sš) before you." (EIV,63,14-18).

It is clear that the King having cleansed the vicinity of the altar with natron, incense and water, the God is now free to partake of his meal.

The formula to the present scene once again demonstrates the Ptolemaic facility for alliteration:

h3wwt.k hwd m h3w nw ht h3m.k im.sn hpwy h3ww

m-ht.sn hnm.k hnm.sn hftyw.k hr m hbt.sn

hh.ti r hm.k (EIV,63,14-17).

The King is the "divine butler (spr wdpw ntr) of the Behdetite, the efficient w'b-priest who carries in the offerings" (EIV,64,3). One would expect a

Lower Egyptian title on this wall; and it has been suggested that spr wdpw ntr could be such a title (Ibrahim, 1971, p.165).

Horus rewards the King with "offerings and provisions without limit, food without end" (EIV,64,7-8); Hathor rewards him by loading his altar with food and endowing the Two Lands with offerings (EIV,64,10).

This theme of plenty is continued in the "Gottliche Randzeile" where Horus is described as

"the husband, lord of copulation (mwt), the bull with many cows (mnmnt)." (EIV,64,11).

Thus Horus provides the meats which the King has arranged upon the altar.

Scene 28. ts ht hr h3wt

Arranging offerings
upon the altar

EIV,219,4-220,4; EX, PL.XCIII

The layout of the scene is as it was in Scene 27, except that the King is on the left, with Horus the Behdetite and Hathor on the right.

The offering formula is as follows:

"Millions of offerings are abiding upon your altar, O Horus of the Horus gods. Come, that you may eat great quantities of the food which is upon your offering table, O Hor-shen. Eat (rdi m hwt = rdi m ht = eat, lit: "place in the belly") thousands of offerings ..." (EIV,219,4-7).

The King's titles are "imy-hnt-priest of the drty-falcon, w'b-priest who comes rejoicing over the bi3-food, sm-priest of the si3-falcon in Hor-maaty, sp-sh-priest of Horus" (EIV, 219, 10-12). The imy-hnt-priest and the sm-priest are often concerned with funerary rites (Blackman, 1918, (ii), 302, XIV, e & f); the sp-sh-priest is one who specialises in presenting libations or terebinth resin (Daumas, 1958, p. 172). None of these functions is carried out in this scene; the title imy-hnt-priest is appropriate in Scene 28 only because it is the Upper Egyptian parallel to the title wdpw-spr of the previous scene (Ibrahim, 1971, p. 137).

Horus's gifts to the King are "food and game (rsf cf. W/b II, 449, 4 & 5) to the limit" (EIV, 219, 16).

Hathor declares:

"I bring food to flood your table (tt), and I provide (htm) your altar with offerings." (EIV, 220, 2).

Scene 29. hrp '3bt

Presenting oblations

EIV, 65, 2-15; EX, Pl. LXXXVII

The King stands on the right of the scene holding in his right hand a hrp-sceptre and in his left a staff. Facing him on the left is Horus the Behdetite. Between them is a heap of offerings.

The offering formula tells us what the oblations consist of:

"Bread is assembled, wine is ready ('pr.ti), oxen and fowl are presented, portions of ibex are cut up, oryx are slain, mst-geese and trp-geese are killed. May you eat (snmh) of these, may you partake (sm3) of these offerings, may you swallow (bng). May (any) fury (which may come against) you be dispersed (wn)." (EIV,65, 2-6).

Horus the Behdetite, the great god who "makes food, who creates provisions" (EIV,65,12) rewards the King in the following words:

"I increase your portions that your throat (htyt) may swallow (shb), that your mouth may be opened to eat (wnm) the offerings." (EIV,65,11).

"I give you your hands offering (dwn) to your throat (nfrt); your gullet (htm-ntt) accepting your gifts." (EIV,65,13).

Scene 30. hrp '3bt

Presenting oblations

EIV,220,6-221,5; EX,

Pl.XCIII

The King, on the left of the scene, holds a hrp-sceptre in his right hand and a mace and staff in his left. Facing him is Horus the Behdetite; between them is a pile of offerings.

The offering formula reads:

"The offerings which I give to your ka, O gmḥs-falcon, thousands of everything being among them. May you partake (ir.k) of them, may you swallow some of them. May you offer food-portions to your Ennead when they are brought to your throne having been removed from your sanctuary. May your Majesty provide food ('nh) (it) being pure." (EIV,220,6-10).

The most interesting part of the formula is the reference to food-portions being offered to the Ennead - a clear case of reversion of offerings (Fairman, 1958,(i), pp. 102ff).

That the reversion of offerings is an important feature of this scene is borne out by the King's titles, which are "hnty-sh-priest of the Falcon of Gold, w'b-3bd-priest of Harakhte" (EIV,220,12). The hntyw-sh-priests seem to have been among those who were entitled to a share of the offerings when they reverted from the God to members of the temple staff. A description of the Ambulatory found in the "Building Texts" on the exterior of the Girdle Wall confirms this belief:

"There is a door (H) to the east ... Provisions are taken out through it after the Reversion (of Offerings), to be distributed among the hntyw-sh-priests." (EVII,18,3-4).

The w'b-3bd-priest does not necessarily have a direct link with the hnty-sh-priest except that, as the

term w'b (Pure One) implies, this priest would be ritually clean for the handling of offerings. w'b-3bd or "monthly priest" is a term worthy of consideration for its own sake.

Until the reign of Ptolemy III, the temple staff was divided into four groups of priests - phylae. Each phyle served in the temple for one month at a time; then it was exempt from temple duties for three months, until its turn came round again (Blackman, 1918, (ii), p. 297, VIII, 3(a)). From the reign of Ptolemy III until, probably, the fall of paganism, there was a fifth phyle (Sauneron, 1960, p. 70). Thus, the w'b-3bd-priests of Edfu temple in the reign of Ptolemy VIII would have been on duty one month in every five.

Horus, in return for the King's offering, promises him the products of a fertile Egypt:

"I give you everything which Heaven gives to the fields, which is produced by the soil, which the land has created." (EIV, 221, 3).

He also promises to take care of the King's followers:

"I increase your provisions, I advance your embalmers, I feed your crew with the offering." (EIV, 221, 1).

Scene 31. hw-' r stpw

Pointing at the choicest
cuts of meat

EIV, 65, 17-66, 16; EX, Pl. LXXXVII

The King, on the right of the scene, stands before Horus the Behdetite, who is on the left. In his right hand the King holds a hrp-sceptre; in his left he holds a staff and a mace. Behind the King, on the far right of the scene, stands the Queen (Cleopatra III). Her right arm is raised in a gesture of adoration; she holds an ankh-sign in her left hand. Between Horus and the King lies a heap of meat consisting of four trussed carcasses and four heads, each of a different, horned, animal.

The offering formula makes it clear which types of animals are represented in the relief:

"The ng-bull is sacrificed (ng), the gazelle (ghs) is cut to pieces (in¹in¹), so that your beak (lit: lips) may be sharp with them. The ibex is slaughtered, the oryx is slain (whw) upon your altar, O You-of-the-Dappled-Plumage. Every enemy of yours is pierced before you. Behold, the Place of Piercing is the name of your temple."

(EIV,65,17-66,3).

It is clear that the choice portions of meat set out before Horus are not simply to satisfy his hunger. They symbolise his enemies; indeed, the oryx especially is identified with Horus's arch-enemy, Seth. It is made obvious in the speech of the Queen that in this case they are all considered to be manifestations of Seth; she says:

"Receive (sšp) them from him, there is no impurity

(iwh) in them. May your Majesty chew (wš') the offering of your son; they are the sacrificial beasts (ihrt cf. W/b III,322 = hr3t) in the shape of Nebed (Seth) - he has slaughtered them at his (appointed moment)." (EIV,66,10-11).

Horus the Behdetite is "the Piercer who pierces the Failure (i.e. Seth), who slays enemies, who cuts to pieces his rebellious ones, who subdues the hot-mouthed ones (t3-rw, crocodiles), who destroys the disaffected ones " (EIV,66,13-14). In this capacity, he offers the King:

"your opponents sacrificed (thš) upon the slaughtering-block. I let my hand fall upon your rebellious ones." (EIV,66,12).

"I drive away (hnb) the Slaughterer (hntty) from the shrine of your Majesty so that you may rule the land at peace in your sanctuary." (EIV,66,14-15).

The second speech of Horus gives us another outstanding example of alliteration:

hnb.ı hntty r h3yt nt hm.k hk3.k t3 htp.ti m hd.k.

Scene 32. hw-' r stpw

Pointing at the choicest cuts of meat

EIV,221,7-222,7; EX, Pl.XCIII

The layout of the scene is similar to that of Scene 31, except that Horus the Behdetite is on the right of the

scene and the King and Queen are on the left and far left. The bottom part of the scene is destroyed, obliterating the feet of the figures and all but the topmost carcase and head.

Much of the offering formula is destroyed, but reference is made to gazelle and antelope being sacrifices (sdm r, lit: "tail in mouth").

The Queen's speech is also destroyed, as is part of Horus's speech. However, enough remains to indicate that Horus offers the King valour and strength:

"I decree that your arms be as strong as my arms when you appear as Lord of the White Crown."
(EIV, 222, 3).

These two scenes of hw- \dot{c} r stpw seem to have as their theme the destruction of the King's enemies, their dismemberment, and the eating of them at a triumphal banquet. The subject of the scenes has been identified as the King's "Grace before Meat" (Blackman, 1945, p. 72), the object of which is to ensure the well-being and prosperity of the King, and, therefore, of Egypt.

Scene 33.	<u>f3i-' m šns</u>	Offering up the "show-bread"
		EIV, 66, 18-67, 13; EX, Pl. LXXXVII

The King, on the right of the scene, offers up a šns-loaf to Horus the Behdetite on the left.

Much of the offering formula is destroyed, but one important sentence remains which identifies the "show-bread" with the Eye of Horus: "I bring you your Eye, the "show-bread" which your Majesty eats (wš'), O Horshen." (EIV,66,18-67,1).

The epithets of the King link him with this Eye of Horus; he is:

"ready of hands (spd 'wy) in performing the works of the Powerful Ones, who offers ('b3) the Eye to Horus the great god." (EIV,67,6).

In the "Königliche Randzeile", he is called

"the offering-priest (mḥnk, cf. Ibrahim, 1971, p. 198, n. 43) of Hor-dua who presents offerings to Harakhte, who stretches out his hands bearing the offerings of his august father, who presents the "show-bread" to the Lord of All-that-exists, who provisions (sdf3) the Banks with food (hw) and game (rsf)." (EIV,67,6-7).

In return for bread, one would expect the God to give the King the wherewithal to provide grain. This he does; at the same time his epithets reflect the God's position as provider of grain. He is, inter alia, "the Upper Egyptian King of Eternity, Ruler of the Banks, led forth in his proper time, the great god who gives food, who inundates all of the Two Lands with his efflux (rdw.f)" (EIV,67,10-11). He promises the King grain in the following words:

"I give you the settlements (whyt, lit: oases) bowed down under their harvest, the granaries (bk3t) overflowing (bk3.ti) in your time." (EIV,67,9-10).

"I give you the Double Granary filled with the barley of Upper and Lower Egypt, your ergastulum (šn') flooded (with provisions)." (EIV,67,11).

As this is the west, or Lower Egyptian, wall, one would expect Horus to be called "Lower Egyptian King"; instead, he is "Upper Egyptian King of Eternity". Again, the text talks of "settlements", using a word which can mean oasis, and which, when used in an extended sense indicates the settlements of Upper Egypt, rather than of Lower Egypt. A comparison with Scene 34 shows that the reverse has happened in this scene (see below p. 117). Did the scribe mix up his walls and put Lower Egyptian references onto the Upper Egyptian wall, and vice versa? Or were the references put there deliberately, to show that the King of Upper Egypt had the power to bring forth grain in Lower Egypt, and that the King of Lower Egypt had the same power in Upper Egypt?

Scene 34. f3i-' m šns

Offering up the "show-bread"

EIV,222,9-223,10; EX, Pl.XCIII

The King, on the left of the scene, offers the "show-bread" to Horus the Beḥdetite who stands facing him on the right.

The offering formula reads as follows:

"O Harakhte, Lord of Wetjeset, take to yourself your Eye. I elevate it towards you.. You are glorious (w3š) in the chewing (wš') of it, you are satisfied (spd) by eating (wnm) it. Your wrath is averted when you consume (snm) it. You call to Wdd that he might bring you in quickly. I hold the Eye of Horus in my hand in purity."
(EIV,222,10-14).

As in Scene 33, the "Eye of Horus" means the "show-bread"; the "Königliche Randzeile" makes further reference to it; the King is the

"imy-p-priest of the bik-falcon who equips the offering-table of Horus the Judge, who extends his arms holding the Eye of Horus, who propitiates Horus the Roamer, who makes the Banks festive with the food which he gives them, Lord of the Eye of Horus." (EIV,223,2-4).

Horus the Behdetite is "Lower Egyptian King of Eternity" (EIV,223,7); he rewards the King in these words:

"I give you the Banks flourishing in their season and dainties (špsw) filling your treasuries."
(EIV,223,6).

"I give you all the offerings (htmw) of the Mounds (i3wt), and the storehouses (mhrw) of the land upon its foundations." (EIV,223,8).

The "Mounds" referred to above are found in the Delta; Horus is called "Lower Egyptian King of Eternity". These two references to Lower Egypt are consistent with each other; but they are not consistent with this, the eastern, or Upper Egyptian, wall.

Scene 35. hnk sht Offering the field
 EIV,67,15-68,13; EX, Pl.LXXXVII

The King, on the right of the scene, holds out the hieroglyphic symbol of three reeds growing side by side (Gardiner, 1957, p. 481, M20) to Horus the Behdetite who stands on the left.

The offering formula reads:

"The district is verdant, planted (srd) with plants ('f3y), corn being abundant (3h3h.ti) therein, persea trees being established within it. Zizyphus and isep-plants are planted within it. Its fields are flooded with flowers. The Behdetite pleasures himself therein." (EIV,67,15-68,4).

The King is "heir (phr nst) to his field at whose voice the Banks flourish" (EIV,68,6); in the "Königliche Randzeile" he is called:

"the ibw-priest whose hand is useful, who opens the canal so that there might be no failure in his grain, who provides plants, vegetables and grain in their season, fertile, without barren areas." (EIV,68,6-7).

The title of the King, ibw-priest, is one which he normally bears when performing agricultural rites (Ibrahim, 1971, p. 134). The most important agricultural rite referred to here is that of opening the canal (wb3-š; cf. Blackman & Fairman, 1950, p. 68, n. 29). Good irrigation of the land, to take full advantage of the Nile floodwater, was vital to Egyptian agriculture. It was one of the King's most important duties to see that irrigation work was carried out effectively.

Horus the Behdetite rewards the King with the fields as they emerge from the inundation water, and the crops which they bear, in the following words:

"I give you Peret with what comes forth in it, and Shomu carrying the corn which it has caused to be made." (EIV,68,9).

"I give you the meadow with everything< that comes forth from it>." (EIV,68,11-12).

Scene 36. hnk sht Offering the field
EIV,223,12-224,14; EX, Pl. XCII

The layout of the scene is the same as that of Scene 35, except that the King stands on the left and Horus the Behdetite stands on the right.

The offering formula reads:

"Your field gleams (wbg) with Upper and Lower Egyptian corn, its harvest (t3b) being of the highest quality. Ankh-grain is flourishing and rdrd-grain is growing apace in it, its stalks

(m3wt) bowed down under their load.

May you rule over Upper Egypt, may you reign over Lower Egypt, may you unite the Two Lands (t3-wy) in Setweret." (EIV,223,12-224,4).

The epithets of the King illustrate his effectiveness in promoting the agriculture of Egypt; he is the good god who

"makes the fields flourish, whose arms are effective in performing the work of the land (šdy = šdwt), who has brought forth fields (h3 n t3), lit: "thousands of land") in thousands of products and hundreds of harvests (šmw) which he stores (shtp) in his Double Granary." (EIV,224,6-7).

In the "Gottliche Randzeile", Horus the Behdetite is described as the lord of food

"who creates arable land, lord of mounds who creates villages (whyw)." (EIV,224,13).

He rewards the King with

"... Mesentet who brings forth millions for you, who creates what exists, creating great quantities!" (EIV,224,9-10);

and with

"... the Nile in spate and grain abundant in the region." (EIV,224,12).

The dedication of a field was one of the most important rites in the Sed Festival. At this Festival, the King took part in a sort of dance, first as King

of Lower Egypt, then as King of Upper Egypt. In the dance, he crossed a field to the four compass points; by doing this he "dedicated the field" and symbolically took control over Egypt, because the field represented Egypt. (Frankfort, 1948, pp. 85-87).

The two scenes of "Offering the field" outlined above do not bear a close resemblance to the "Dedicating the Field" of the Sed Festival. They seem to be much more closely concerned with agricultural rites. Nevertheless, they may epitomize the underlying meaning of the Sed Festival dedication ceremony.

Having presented the evidence, we must now consider the nature of the ritual on the First Register of the east and west walls of the exterior of the Naos; and whether similar rituals, which may be of help in this task, are to be found in corresponding positions in other Ptolemaic temples.

First of all, it must be stated that the First Register of the north wall of the exterior of the Naos at Edfu would seem to contain a separate ritual from that on the east and west walls. The north wall is divided into two vertical halves (see p. 39, Rule 3), with 7 scenes in each half. The outermost scene on the west half (EIV, 68, 16-70, 17; EX, Pl. LXXXVIII) and the outermost scene on the east half (EIV, 224, 17-227, 2; EX, Pl. LXXXIX) are both scenes of pr m 'h. Such a scene must surely denote the beginning of a ritual,

since coming out of his palace is a necessary prelude to any act undertaken by the King in the temple. Hence, the scenes on the north wall of the First Register of the Naos constitute a separate ritual from that depicted by the scenes on the east and west walls.

Throughout the rest of the temple, scenes of pr m 'h or h' m 'h occur in the following places:

Inner Hypostyle Hall (interior); Outer Hypostyle Hall (interior); Forecourt; Enclosure Wall (inner face); Enclosure Wall (outer face).

Scenes of "Coming forth from the Palace" occur in the Mammisi, also, with the following titles:

psd.i. m pr.i and pr.n.i m 'h.

In all cases, the scenes appear on the First Register.

It is obvious from the outset that some of these scenes of pr m 'h or h' m 'h are the introductory scenes in Foundation Rituals. This is the case in the following instances:

- i) Inner Hypostyle Hall (interior): Foundation Rituals appear on the south-west and west walls (EII, 29, 9-34, 12; EIX, Pl. XL, b & d) and the south-east and east walls (EII, 59, 5-64, 2; EIX, Pl. XL, c & e).
- ii) Outer Hypostyle Hall or Pronaos (interior): Foundation Rituals appear on the north wall, east and west halves (EIII, 165, 3-170, 1; EIX, Pl. LXIV and EIII, 112, 8-117, 8; EIX, Pl. LXII).

iii) Enclosure Wall (exterior): Foundation Rituals appear on the west side (EVII,42,8-57,7; E Pl. CLXIII).

Where a scene of "Coming forth from the Palace" is the introductory scene of a Foundation Ritual, it is usually followed directly by scenes of pd sšr, b3 t3 and so on. It is never followed by scenes of Baptism, Crowning and Induction, as it is, for instance, on the exterior of the west and east walls of the Naos.

It is obvious that a scene of "Coming forth from the Palace" may simply be the first scene of a ritual (as it is on the north wall of the exterior of the Naos), but that where it is followed by scenes of Baptism, Crowning and Induction, the four scenes form a significant group. The King does not undergo a Baptism every time he comes forth from the Palace. Where he does undergo a Baptism, then the pr m 'h is not just the prelude to an ordinary ceremony.

It is noteworthy that, of the four sets of "Coming down from the Palace", Baptism, Crowning and Induction scenes, only one appears on an interior wall of the temple. This one set of such scenes is in the interior of the Pronaos, on the south-east and east walls, and forms the introduction to the following group of scenes:

1. h' m 'h
2. Baptism
3. Crowning
4. Induction

5. (m33 ntr)

6. sn t3 (EIII,158,10-164,15; EIX, Pl. LIX).

The other three sets of these scenes are found in the following places; they are all on exterior walls of the temple:

- i) Forecourt: as the first four scenes on the south-west wall, which are followed by two more scenes on this wall, and twenty on the west wall (EV,35,7-59,10; EX, Pl. CXIII); as the first four scenes on the south-east wall, followed by two more scenes on this wall, and eighteen on the east wall (EV, 136,8-158,4; EX, Pl. CXVII).
- ii) Enclosure Wall (inner face); the first three scenes on the eastern side of the wall are, oddly, scenes of rth p'r, hnk 'bb and 'k r hwt-ntr. The fourth scene on the eastern side of the wall is pr m 'h, followed by Baptism, Imposition and Induction, followed by thirteen other scenes (EVI,241,13-262,2; EX, Pl. CLI).
- iii) Enclosure Wall (exterior): as the first four scenes on the eastern side only, followed by twenty-eight other scenes (EVII,189,10-251,9; EX, Pl. CLXXI).
- iv) Mammisi (exterior): as the first four scenes on both the north and south walls,

followed on each wall by four other scenes
(M,84,7-88,18; 68,10-72,18).

Thus scenes of "Coming forth from the Palace" fall into two groups. Group 1 contains those scenes of pr m 'h or h' m 'h which are preludes to rituals such as Foundation Rituals. Group 2 contains those scenes of pr m 'h which are followed by scenes of Baptism, Crowning, and Induction.

It is worth noting here that, with the exception of the scenes on a) the south-east and east walls of the interior of the Pronaos; and b) on the north and south walls of the exterior of the Mammisi, all the scenes of "Coming forth from the Palace", Group 2, are written pr m 'h.

The scene of "Coming forth from the Palace" in a), above, is written h' m 'h and those in b), above, are written pr.n.i m 'h (north wall) and psd.i m pr.i (south wall). It may perhaps be considered that the Mammisi has "rules" of its own, and does not need to be considered here; and that the ritual in the Pronaos is so short, consisting as it does of only six scenes, that it may be an aberration, and in any case can not throw much light on the problem of the significance of such scenes.

This leaves us with the fact that all the important scenes of the Group 2 type write "Coming forth from the Palace" as pr m 'h rather than h' m 'h. They all appear

on exterior walls of the temple.

At first glance one is tempted to think that these Group 2 scenes must have something to do with the Coronation of the King. A closer look at the other scenes in each of the rituals concerned, however, shows that apart from the scenes depicting the crowning, baptism and induction of the King, there are none of those scenes, such as presenting the sword, presenting the testament, inscribing the years of the King, which are so typical of the Coronation Ceremony.

That the scene of Baptism is an episode in rituals which either confer royal prerogatives or confirm them - in the former case, the Coronation Ceremony, perhaps, in the latter, the Sed Festival - has been recognised (Gardiner, 1950, p. 6). It is never simply a scene depicting the ritual purification which an officiant must undergo before carrying out his priestly functions (ibid).

Naos exterior: First Register: east and west walls

Scenes 1 - 8

The scenes of pr m 'h, Baptism, Crowning and Induction which comprise the first eight scenes of the ritual on the First Register of the exterior of the Naos, while not being the introductory scenes of a coronation rite, nevertheless have to be linked with the crowning of the King. They are perhaps to be regarded as a renewal of kingship for the King.

From Scene 9 onwards, the King is no longer a passive member of the scene who submits to having things done to him; he is now an active participant, he is the officiant in the remaining twenty-eight scenes.

Scenes 9 - 14

These are two scenes of m33 ntr, two of sn t3, two of dw3 ntr. Such scenes are the logical consequences of the King's induction into the presence of the God.

The Forecourt (Register 1, west and east sides) demonstrates the same pattern of Group 2 pr m 'h-scenes, followed by a scene of m33 ntr (on the west wall, EV,39, 16-40,14), a scene of sn t3 (on the east wall, EV,140, 16-141,12), and two scenes of dw3 ntr (on the west wall, EV,40,17-41,10; on the east wall, EV,141,15-142,12).

The Enclosure Wall (exterior, Register I, east side) has a similar pattern; the first four scenes are pr m 'h Group 2 scenes, scene 5 is one of sn t3 (EVII, 192,13-193,13), scene 6 is one of dw3 ntr sp 4 (EVII, 193,15-194,13).

Scenes 15 - 18

These are two scenes of sti ih, followed by a scene of sm3 db and a scene of snty r db. The scenes of sti ih on the exterior of the Naos seem to be unique. There are four other scenes in the temple which are concerned with killing a crocodile, but these are scenes of "Killing Meg", that is, Seth, in his form of crocodile.

The four scenes of "Killing Meg" appear on the exterior of the Pronaos (EIV,373), in the Forecourt (EV,169), on the Pylon (EVIII,34) and in the interior of the Pronaos (EIII,137). Thus it can be seen that out of six scenes concerned with the killing of a crocodile, only one appears on an interior wall of the temple.

Apart from the two scenes of "Killing a hippopotamus" which appear on the exterior of the Naos, there are six other such scenes throughout the rest of the temple. Two of these appear on the Pylon (EVIII,26 and 19) one appears on the exterior of the Enclosure Wall (EVII,168) and one on the exterior of the Pronaos (EIV,343). The two remaining scenes appear on a column in the Pronaos (EIII,257) and in the Inner Hypostyle Hall (EII,45).

Thus it can be seen that the vast majority of scenes concerned with the killing of a hippopotamus or a crocodile appear on exterior walls of the temple. This positioning applies to all scenes of killing enemies; evidently, it was felt that the temple would be protected by such scenes, and that the most effective place to site them was on an exterior wall (see further, Chapter V, Scenes 11-14; 23-24; 36; 99-100).

The exterior of the Naos is notable for the fact that it contains more scenes of killing enemies than any other part of the temple. The four scenes in the Ritual at present under discussion epitomise one of the chief

duties of the King - to protect Egypt from her enemies whether they take the shape of evil forces or of human beings.

Scenes 19 - 22

The scenes of sw'b m 4 dšrt nt mw (19), sw'b m 4 nmst nt mw (20), sw'b m 5 t3w mhꜣ mw šrp (21), and sw'b m 5 t3w šm' nw nhb (22) are, of course, scenes of purification, first with water, then with natron. These scenes are most familiar in the context of the Daily Temple Ritual (Blackman, 1919, pp. 27-53), in the Rite of Opening the Mouth (Blackman, 1924, pp. 47-59), or in the Consecration of a Temple (Blackman & Fairman, 1946, pp. 75-91).

Scenes 23 - 24

These are scenes of presenting incense; in all the rituals discussed under the heading "Scenes 19 - 22" they appear in the same order as they do in the ritual on the First Register on the east and west wall of the exterior of the Naos.

The ritual on the exterior of the Naos is not, of course, the Daily Temple Ritual, which is found on the walls of the Sanctuary. Neither is it the Consecration of the Temple, since, amongst other things, it does not have that scene so essential to this Ritual, namely, the "Handing over the House to its Lord".

Ritual purity was such an important aspect of Egyptian temple ceremonies that the six purificatory

rites in the Ritual under discussion could simply be taken at face value as ritual cleansings preparatory to the acts which follow:

At the same time, there may be an underlying aspect which links these scenes to the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony. In order that the God may partake of the meals to be set before him in Scenes 25 - 34, the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony would have to be performed upon his figure carved in the reliefs. The Ceremony of Opening the Mouth would have been performed on these reliefs when the temple was first consecrated (Blackman & Fairman, 1946, p. 90); and henceforward at every New Year's Day Ceremony (Fairman, 1954, p. 187). But perhaps the fact that the forms of purification undergone in Scenes 19 - 24 are so particularly connected with the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony links these scenes to this all-important ritual, just as the same purification scenes link the Daily Ritual to the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony.

Scenes 25 - 34

These are scenes of offering drink and food. Such rites played an important part in all Egyptian temple rituals. Offering food and drink to the god did not just satisfy his hunger and thirst, and, through the Reversion of Offerings from god to priests, feed the temple staff also. The food could also symbolise the enemies of the god, and of Egypt. By eating, for instance, sacrificed animals, the god :

was devouring symbols of the forces of evil (Junker, 1911, pp. 69 ff).

Scenes 35 - 36

The final two scenes in the Ritual are scenes of "Offering the Field", first performed on behalf of Lower Egypt, then on behalf of Upper Egypt. These culminating rites symbolise the rededication of Egypt to the God; and the confirmation of the King as Ruler of Lower Egypt.

Comparison of the Ritual on the First Register of the Naos (east and west walls) with those in other parts of Edfu Temple.

In Edfu Temple as a whole, it is the inner face of the east side of the Enclosure Wall, Register I (EVI, 241,13-262,2) which bears most resemblance to the Ritual on the First Register of the east and west walls of the exterior of the Naos.

The ritual on the Enclosure Wall appears only on the east side of the wall; so we do not have a series of parallel scenes for Upper and Lower Egypt, as we do on the Naos. The comparison between the two rituals is illustrated in the following table:

ENCLOSURE WALLScene

1. pr m 'h
2. Baptism
3. Crowning
4. Induction
5. m33 ntr
6. ms msw
7. h₁nk nh₁b
8. st₃ mr
9. h₁nk rnpwt
10. šms 'ntyw
11. h₁nk ĩrp
12. st k₁b₁hw
13. ts ht
14. hrp ĩ3bt
15. hw-' r stpw
16. f3ĭ-' m šns
17. h₁nk sht

NAOS: WEST WALLScene

1. pr m 'h
3. Baptism
5. Crowning
7. Induction
9. m33 ntr
11. sn t3
13. dw3 ntr
15. stĭ ih
17. sm3 db
19. sw'b m 4
dšrt nt mw
21. sw'b m 5 t3w
m₁hw nw šrp
23. ĭrt sntr
25. dĭt k₁b₁hw
27. ts ht
29. hrp ĩ3bt
31. hw-' r stpw
33. f3ĭ-' m šns
35. h₁nk sht

NAOS: EAST WALLScene

2. pr m 'h
4. Baptism
6. Crowning
8. Induction
10. m33 ntr
12. sn t3
14. dw3 ntr
16. stĭ ih
18. snty r db
20. sw'b m 4
nmst nt mw
22. sw'b m 5 t3w
šm' nw nh₁b
24. ĭrt sntr
26. dĭt k₁b₁hw
28. ts ht
30. hrp ĩ3bt
32. hw-' r stpw
34. f3ĭ-' m šns
36. h₁nk sht

It can be seen that the first five scenes in the Ritual on the Enclosure Wall cover the same ground as the first fourteen scenes on the Naos, with Scenes 11 to 14 on the Naos (two of sn t3, two of dw3 ntr) being coalesced into one scene of m33 ntr on the Enclosure Wall. And that the last six scenes on the Enclosure Wall are identical to the last twelve on the Naos.

The real significance of the two Rituals, and the differences, is found in the intervening scenes. There are no scenes of killing enemies on the Enclosure Wall; and no scenes of purification. Instead, there are scenes such as "Offering the lotus" (Scene 7) and "Offering myrrh" (Scene 10) which have a mortuary aspect. Because of this, the conclusion must be drawn that the Ritual on the Enclosure Wall, discussed above, is a different ritual from that on the Naos.

Comparison of the Ritual on the First Register of the Naos (east and west walls) at Edfu with the rituals depicted in similar positions in other Ptolemaic temples.

Ideally, the Ritual on the Naos at Edfu should be found in the same place, displaying the same order of scenes, in other Ptolemaic temples. Unfortunately, the theory is difficult to test. Of the four major Ptolemaic temples other than Edfu, the Naos at Esna has disappeared, the Naos at Kom Ombo is virtually destroyed. Only those at Dendera and Philae still survive more or less intact.

Dendera does not conform. It is clear at the outset that the ritual depicted on the First Register of the two long walls of its Naos is a Foundation Ritual.

Philae does bear some comparison with Edfu. The temple is dedicated to Isis; hence some of the offerings made are suitable to her, just as some of the offerings made at Edfu are particularly suited to Horus the Behdetite.

The Naos at Philae is smaller than that at Edfu; thus the ritual on the east and west walls of the exterior of the Naos has to be contained in ten scenes per wall, as against the eighteen scenes on each of the east and west walls at Edfu.

PHILAE : NAOS EXTERIOR (Bénédictine, 1893, Pls. XXXII-XXXIV; XXVII-XXXIX)

<u>WEST WALL</u>		<u>EAST WALL</u>	
<u>Scene</u>		<u>Scene</u>	
1.	(lost but presumably <u>pr m 'h</u>)	2. (I)	<u>(pr) m 'h</u>
3.	(lost but presumably Baptism)	4. (II)	Baptism
5. (I)	Crowning	6. (III)	Crowning
7. (II)	Induction	8. (IV)	Induction
9. (III)	T.L. (<u>sh' sššt</u>)	10. (V)	<u>rdit kbhw</u>
11. (IV)	T.L. (<u>rdit kbhw</u>)	12. (VI)	<u>irt sntr</u>
13. (V)	4 lines text only	14. (VII)	<u>(hnk) irtt</u>
15. (VI)	<u>hnk w3dty</u>	16. (VIII)	<u>hnk hdt nt</u>
17. (VII)	<u>sm3 i3bt</u>	18. (IX)	T.L. (<u>hw-' r stpw</u>)
19. (VIII)	<u>rdit pr n nbt.f</u>	20. (X)	<u>hnk sht</u>

(The Roman numerals in brackets denote Bénédite's numbering of the scenes. Scene 5 = Pl. XXXIV; Scenes 7-11 = Pl. XXXIII; Scenes 13-19 = Pl. XXXII. Scenes 2-8 = Pl. XXVII; Scenes 10-14 = Pl. XXVIII; Scenes 16-20 = Pl. XXIX).

The first eight scenes of the Ritual at Philae are identical with the first eight at Edfu.

Scene 9 (Playing the sistra) and Scene 14 (Offering milk) are scenes appropriate to the worship of a goddess, in this case, Isis. They have no exact counterpart in the Ritual at Edfu; but this is expected since Edfu is dedicated to a god, Horus the Behdetite.

Scenes 10 and 11 (rdit kbhw) and Scene 12 (irt sntr) have their counterparts at Edfu in Scenes 23 and 24 (irt sntr) and Scenes 25 and 26 (dit kbhw).

Scene 17 (sm3 i3bt) and Scene 18 (hw-' r stpw) are paralleled at Edfu by Scenes 29 and 30 (hrp i3bt) and Scenes 31 and 32 (hw-' r stpw).

Philae has no scenes of killing enemies; but it has been pointed out already that these scenes seem to be peculiar to Edfu in such profusion as they appear there. This is perhaps because the god of that temple is Horus the Behdetite, a warrior god, who would be more inclined to demonstrate his warlike prowess than a goddess, although Isis has been known to be blood-thirsty in defence of her son, Horus.

Scenes 15 and 16 of the Ritual at Philae are scenes of offering Egypt, represented by various crowns. They are perhaps to be linked with the final scene of h₁nk s₁ht (Scene 20). Edfu has no counterpart to Scenes 15 and 16 at Philae, but, like Philae, Edfu's final scenes (35 and 36) are ones of h₁nk s₁ht.

On the surface, it would seem that the only real difference between the Rituals at Philae and Edfu is found in the penultimate scenes. Scene 35 at Edfu is h₁nk s₁ht; Scene 19 at Philae is rd₁it pr r nbt.f. This would seem to link the Ritual at Philae with the Consecration of the Temple, since "Handing over the House to its Lord" was the culminating rite in this ritual. It has already been concluded that the Ritual on the First Register of the east and west walls of the exterior of the Naos at Edfu is not a Consecration Ritual (see above, p. 128).

The Ritual on the First Register of the east and west walls of the exterior of the Naos at Philae is not, therefore, exactly the same Ritual as that found in the same position at Edfu. Nevertheless, it does bear significant resemblances to the Edfu Ritual.

The differences between the two Rituals may be explained by the fact that the King cannot identify with Isis in the same way as he identifies with Horus. Nor can Isis be expected to react in the same way as Horus. Both Rituals have strong elements of the renewal of Kingship and the dedication of Egypt. Indeed, the

scene of rdit pr n nbt.f at Philae could be interpreted as a dedication of Egypt, since the temple was often thought to be the embodiment of Egypt.

The Ritual depicted on the First Register of the east and west walls of the exterior of the Naos at Edfu is a synopsis of the Coronation Ritual in which the King is reinvested with his rights and duties as King; it is a renewal of his Kingship. It is, further, a statement of intent to protect Egypt against her enemies; and the means by which, magically, the King will be empowered to do this. It is, finally, a dedication ceremony with Egypt herself being dedicated to the God, and the God, in turn, offering Egypt to the King.

The Ritual on this First Register of the Naos is entirely to do with the reigning King; it is a prelude to the Ritual depicted on the remaining three registers of the east and west walls. The Ritual on these three registers expresses the link between the living King and his ancestors. Once the King had performed the Ritual on the First Register, he was confirmed in his Kingship, strengthened against his enemies, and finally empowered to carry out the Ritual depicted on Registers II to IV of the east and west walls of the exterior of the Naos. This Ritual will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER V

NAOS EXTERIOR : REGISTERS II, III and IV

Part I

It is proposed in this chapter to make a detailed analysis of Registers II, III and IV of the west and east walls of the exterior of the Naos.

These registers are each divided into seventeen scenes. Every scene consists of reliefs, en creux, depicting the King as High Priest facing one or more divinities and making an offering suitable to that divinity and to the rite with which the scene is concerned. On the west wall, the divinity is always on the left of the scene, the King being on the right; on the east wall, the position is reversed, the divinity being on the right of the scene, the King on the left. This arrangement allows the divinity always to face southwards, looking towards the main door of the temple, the desideratum of the Egyptian scribe, who would sometimes even turn a hieroglyph depicting a god against the prevailing direction of the surrounding hieroglyphs, so that the god may look out of the temple (e.g. EIV,6,9). In this way, the sculptor could ensure that the divinity always had his face turned towards those who entered the temple, or a room within the temple.

Most of the scenes are more or less equal in size,

with those on the top two registers having to accommodate the gargoyles which are found on the west and east walls of the Naos, three gargoyles to each wall (the north wall has a further two gargoyles); and those on the second registers being affected by Doors C and E (see Plan, Fig. 1). The exception to this general conformity in size is scene 7 (Chassinat's numbering) on all three registers on both east and west walls. These scenes are outstandingly long and contain reliefs depicting large groups of divinities.

The inscriptions in the majority of scenes on Registers II, III and IV conform to the "Idealschema" propounded by Winter, in which the lines of inscription, one behind the King, the other behind the God, show a basic pattern.

On Register II (Winter, 1968, p.48), the vertical line behind the King, the "Königliche Randzeile" or "King's Line", is as follows:

wn s3 R' (Personal Name) | is upon (hr) his throne
 in (place name) * hr & Infinitive, hr & Infinitive,
hr & Infinitive * He is like (sw mī) -- * Epitheta.

The vertical line behind the god, the "Göttliche Randzeile" or "God's Line", is as follows:

wn (God's Name) plus either locality or epitheta
 of the God * hr & Infinitive, hr & Infinitive,
hr & Infinitive * He is (sw m) -- * Epitheta.

On Register III (op. cit., p.50), the "Königliche Randzeile" is as follows, and is peculiar to Ptolemy VIII

at Edfu:

'nh Hr hwn * Epitheta * nbtj wr phty * Epitheta.

The "Gottliche Randzeile" is as follows:

ntr pn šps * Epitheta.

On Register IV (op. cit., p.53), the "Königliche Randzeile" is as follows:

īī.n.ī.hr.k * Epitheta of the God * īn.ī n.k
(offerings) * Epitheta of the God.

The "Gottliche Randzeile" is as follows:

īī.tī m htp * Epitheta of the King * šsp.n.ī
(offerings) * dī.ī n.k (rewards).

The cartouches of the King have been filled in on all the scenes in Registers II to IV of the east and west walls of the Naos exterior. In all cases, they belong to Ptolemy VIII, Euergetes II.

Before a closer study of the inscriptions in the top three registers on the east and west walls of the exterior of the Naos is undertaken, there are two problems to be solved:

- 1) which way are the scenes on these walls to be read; and
- 2) to what extent are the scenes on these walls connected with the scenes on the north wall of the Naos, and on the exterior of the Pronaos. Any consideration of how they link up with the scenes on Register I must be deferred until the closer study referred to above has been completed.

1. Reading the scenes

There are several possible ways in which the scenes on the west and east walls of the exterior of the Naos could be read. Whichever way is chosen, it will be assumed that the scenes are read alternately from wall to wall, beginning with the Lower Egyptian scene, in order to give Upper Egypt precedence (see p.38, Rule 2).

The first choice lies between reading the scenes horizontally along the wall, alternating the west wall with the east wall, scene by scene, until the end of the register is reached; and reading the scenes vertically, starting, say, with the first scene on Register II at the southern end of the west wall, then the first scene on the corresponding register and end of the east wall, followed by the first scene on Register III on each of these walls, followed by the first scene on Register IV.

The choice between a horizontal reading and a vertical reading would seem to be determined by two groups of scenes on each wall. These groups are found on Registers II, III and IV at the seventh scene along from the southern end of both east and west walls; and at the fifteenth scene (Chassinat's numbering). The first group consists of six very large scenes, three on each wall, depicting companies of gods. These scenes are so outstanding a feature of the walls of the Naos

that they must surely be grouped together and read as a unit, as must the second outstanding group of scenes, those at the fifteenth scene from the southern end. These six scenes, three to each wall, depict Kings of Egypt, past and present, and again, must surely be treated as a unit.

Thus, it is our contention that the scenes on the east and west walls of the exterior of the Naos should be read vertically rather than horizontally.

We must now decide where to begin the reading; there are four possible starting places:

- (i) Register II, first scene at the southern end of the wall
- (ii) Register II, first scene at the northern end of the wall
- (iii) Register IV, first scene at the southern end of the wall
- (iv) Register IV, first scene at the northern end of the wall .

Choice (i) is a scene of f3i ht; (ii) is a scene of šms 'ntyw; (iii) is a scene of irt hpt; (iv) is a scene of sm3 štyw. "Slaying the turtle" (sm3 štyw) and "Offering the hpt-diadem" (irt hpt) do not seem to be feasible scenes with which to begin a ritual. A case could be made for starting a ritual with a scene of "Presenting myrrh" (šms 'ntyw), but, in a personal

communication, Professor Fairman has stated that he has never seen an instance of this.

This leaves f3i² ht ("Elevating offerings"), surely a most natural way in which to begin a series of rites which are all basically concerned with giving presents to divinities. The claims of f3i² ht to be the first scene in the Ritual are strengthened if one looks at the other scenes of f3i² ht in Edfu Temple.

There are 28 such scenes throughout the temple; only 9 are found in the middle of their respective registers; the majority of the remaining scenes are found as the first scene on a register, and could very well be the scenes with which the rituals to which they belong begin.

If one begins the Ritual on the exterior of the Naos with the first scene, first register, at the southern end of the wall, then the Ritual must develop from south to north. This being so, the left-hand or Lower Egyptian side, is the west wall of the Naos, whilst the right-hand or Upper Egyptian side is the east wall. In order to give precedence to the Upper Egyptian rites, the first scene of the ritual will begin with the scene of f3i² ht on the west wall of the Naos. (see p.38, Rule 2).

If one begins with Register II, Scene I on the southern end of the west wall, and reads vertically, alternating each scene on the west wall with its counterpart on the east wall as one moves along the wall from south to north, the following order of scenes obtains:

(See table over page: the numbers in brackets denote the scene numbers on the plan found in Fig. 8).

NAOS EXTERIOR : EAST & WEST WALLS
 REGISTERS II, III, IV
 VERTICAL READING

WEST WALL (Lower Egypt)

N	S	WEST WALL (Lower Egypt)																			
		IV	101	95	89	83	77	71	65	59	53	47	41	35	29	23	17	11	5	Door C	
S	N	III	99	93	87	81	75	69	63	57	51	45	39	33	27	21	15	9	3		
		II	97	91	85	79	73	67	61	55	49	43	37	31	25	19	13a	7	1		

EAST WALL (Upper Egypt)

S	N	EAST WALL (Upper Egypt)																			
		IV	6	12	18	24	30	36	42	48	54	60	66	72	78	84	90	96	102		
N	S	III	4	10	16	22	28	34	40	46	52	58	64	70	76	82	88	94	100		
		II	2	8	14	20a	26	32	38	44	50	56	62	68	74	80	86	92	98	Door E	

The titles of the scenes numbered in the diagrams above are given on page 144 foll.

Figure 8

<u>Scene 1</u>	Reg.II	W	Elevating offerings	(1)*
		E	Elevating offerings	(2)
	Reg.III	W	Presenting Truth	(3)
		E	Presenting Truth	(4)
	Reg.IV	W	Offering <u>hpt</u> -diadem	(5)
		E	Offering <u>hpt</u> -diadem	(6)
<u>Scene 2</u>	Reg.II	W	Piercing Nehes	(7)
		E	Piercing Nehes	(8)
	Reg.III	W	Offering incense and libation	(9)
		E	Offering incense and libation	(10)
	Reg.IV	W	Presenting dates	(11)
		E	Presenting dates	(12)
<u>Scene 3</u>	Reg.II	W	(i)(Killing enemy)(ii)(Slaying foreign lands)	(13a&b)
		E	(i)(Killing enemy)(ii)(N.T. ")	(14a&b)
	Reg.III	W	Tying Diadem of Justification	(15)
		E	Presenting Diadem of Justification	(16)
	Reg.IV	W	Presenting <u>ntrt</u> -eye	(17)
		E	Presenting <u>wd3t</u> -eye	(18)
<u>Scene 4</u>	Reg.II	W	Killing Apopis	(19)
		E	Killing Apopis	(20)
	Reg.III	W	Presenting the day-barque	(21)
		E	Presenting the night-barque	(22)
	Reg.IV	W	Presenting <u>'nht</u> -eye	(23)
		E	Offering the staff	(24)

* (Figures in brackets indicate number of scene in Ritual).

<u>Scene 5</u>	Reg.II	W	Presenting (two) mirrors	(25)
		E	Presenting two mirrors	(26)
	Reg.III	W	Presenting milk	(27)
		E	Presenting beer	(28)
	Reg.IV	W	Presenting incense	(29)
		E	Adoring the god	(30)
<u>Scene 6</u>	Reg.II	W	Raising the clepsydra.	(31)
		E	Killing an oryx	(32)
	Reg.III	W	Rattling a sistrum	(33)
		E	Offering the clepsydra	(34)
	Reg.IV	W	Taking the oar	(35)
		E	Offering Truth	(36)
<u>Scene 7</u>	Reg.II	W	Offering incense and libation	(37)
		E	Offering incense and libation	(38)
	Reg.III	W	Tying on the <u>wsh</u> -collar	(39)
		E	Tying on the <u>wsh</u> -collar	(40)
	Reg.IV	W	Presenting lotus	(41)
		E	Adoring the god	(42)
<u>Scene 8</u>	Reg.II	W	Raising the Bull of Heliopolis	(43)
		E	Driving the calves	(44)
	Reg.III	W	Presenting wine	(45)
		E	Presenting lettuces	(46)
	Reg.IV	W	Offering a pendant	(47)
		E	Offering lettuces	(48)
<u>Scene 9</u>	Reg.II	W	Presenting the menu	(49)
		E	Performing "Opening the Mouth"	(50)
	Reg.III	W	Presenting 10 jars <u>md</u> -ointment	(51)
		E	Dragging Sokar	(52)
	Reg.IV	W	Offering L. S. D.	(53)
		E	Presenting a palette and pot	(54)

<u>Scene 10</u>	Reg. II	W	Presenting <u>hpt</u> -diadem	(55)
		E	Presenting life and dominion	(56)
	Reg. III	W	Presenting Two Ladies	(57)
		E	Presenting milk	(58)
	Reg. IV	W	Offering eternity	(59)
		E	Offering vegetables	(60)
<u>Scene 11</u>	Reg. II	W	Presenting a <u>menu</u> -vase	(61)
		E	Presenting a <u>menu</u> -vase	(62)
	Reg. III	W	Setting up the brazier	(63)
		E	Setting up the brazier	(64)
	Reg. IV	W	Playing the rattle and sistrum	(65)
		E	Playing a sistrum	(66)
<u>Scene 12</u>	Reg. II	W	Presenting Two Feathers	(67)
		E	Presenting Two Feathers	(68)
	Reg. III	W	Presenting the Crook and the Flail	(69)
		E	Presenting the Adze of Anubis	(70)
	Reg. IV	W	Presenting the Double Crown	(71)
		E	Offering <u>hpt</u> -diadem	(72)
<u>Scene 13</u>	Reg. II	W	Offering a palette	(73)
		E	Offering a palette	(74)
	Reg. III	W	Presenting papyrus and <u>ro</u> -geese	(75)
		E	Presenting papyrus and <u>ro</u> -geese	(76)
	Reg. IV	W	Presenting <u>hnn</u> -vessel	(77)
		E	Offering incense	(78)
<u>Scene 14</u>	Reg. II	W	Presenting incense	(79)
		E	N.T.	(80)
	Reg. III	W	Fumigating with myrrh	(81)
		E	Offering libation	(82)
	Reg. IV	W	Rattling a sistrum	(83)
		E	Rattling two sistra	(84)

<u>Scene 15</u>	Reg.II	W	Thoth inscribes years of King	(85)
		E	Thoth inscribes years of King	(86)
	Reg.III	W	Presenting <u>mdh</u> and raiment	(87)
		E	Presenting <u>mdh</u> and raiment	(88)
	Reg.IV	W	Offering incense and libation	(89)
		E	Offering incense and libation	(90)
<u>Scene 16</u>	Reg.II	W	Presenting incense	(91)
		E	Presenting incense	(92)
	Reg.III	W	Presenting a fillet of electrum	(93)
		E	Presenting a fillet of electrum	(94)
	Reg.IV	W	Striking the eyeball	(95)
		E	Striking the eyeball	(96)
<u>Scene 17</u>	Reg.II	W	Presenting myrrh	(97)
		E	Presenting myrrh	(98)
	Reg.III	W	Presenting wine	(99)
		E	Presenting wine	(100)
	Reg.IV	W	Slaying the tortoise	(101)
		E	Slaying the tortoise	(102)

(See Fig. 8).

There are several objections to the order of scenes given above; this order shows several inconsistencies and demonstrates from time to time an illogical sequence of scenes:

(i) Scene 2, Register II, west and east, are scenes of "Piercing Nehes" which come in the middle of offering

scenes, six before, four after. Three scenes after those of "Piercing Nehes", at Scene 3 (i) & (ii), Register II, there are another four scenes of killing enemies. These scenes would surely be better placed if they followed on from "Piercing Nehes", thus making a group of rites concerned with killing enemies.

(ii) Scene 3, Register IV, W - "Presenting ntrt-eye" and Scene 3, Register IV, E - "Presenting wd3t-eye" are separated from the scene of "Presenting 'nht-eye" found at Scene 4, Register IV, W. It would be more logical to group together these scenes connected with the offering of eyes.

(iii) Scene 4, Register II, west and east are scenes of "Killing Apopis"; they come before the scenes of "Presenting the day-barque" and "Presenting the night-barque" which appear at Scene 4, Register III, W & E. Apopis was thought to attack the Sun's Barque each morning and evening; each attack was beaten off. It would surely be more logical to present the barques first, so that Apopis may subsequently attack them and be repelled.

(iv) Scenes 5 and 6 on Registers II, III, and IV form a group of scenes in which the King makes offerings to Hathor or forms of Hathor. If read vertically from bottom register to top register, the last scene to be read is Scene 6, Register IV, east, a scene of "Offering Truth". A scene of "Killing an oryx" appears in the middle of the order. It may perhaps be considered desirable to have this group of scenes culminate in the killing of

the oryx.

(v) Scene 8 - if read vertically from bottom to top register, this group of scenes begins with a scene of "Raising the Bull of Heliopolis" and ends with a scene of "Offering lettuces". A better order of reading would allow the ritual to build up to a climax with a scene of "Driving the Calves".

How is one to obtain a better reading of these and other scenes? A reading which would allow each group of scenes to build up to a satisfactory climax, or to fall into a more logical order.

The answer would seem to lie in reading the scenes not only vertically, but boustrophedon. The dictionary definition of boustrophedon is "with alternate lines running contrary ways as in ploughing". The device was well known to the Egyptians and other ancient peoples in their writing and in their pictorial conventions (see Fischer, 1972, p.23, note 4). For instance, boustrophedon was the normal way in which Hittite hieroglyphs were written; and there are several good examples of rows of reliefs arranged in this way (Smith, 1949, Fig. 84a; Gohary, personal communication concerning the Akhenaten temple at Karnak).

If the scenes on the east and west walls of the exterior of the Naos are read vertically, and boustrophedon, the objections outlined above are overcome, and a satisfactory and logical order of scenes is obtained, as follows:

<u>Scene 1</u>	Reg.II	W	Elevating offerings	(1)*
		E	do.	(2)
	Reg.III	W	Presenting Truth	(3)
		E	do.	(4)
	Reg.IV	W	Offering <u>hpt</u> -diadem	(5)
		E	do.	(6)
<u>Scene 2</u>	Reg.IV	W	Presenting dates	(7)
		E	do.	(8)
	Reg.III	W	Offering incense & libation	(9)
		E	do.	(10)
	Reg.II	W	Piercing Nehes	(11)
		E	do.	(12)
<u>Scene 3</u>	Reg.II	W	(i)(Killing enemy)(ii)(Slaying foreign lands)	(13)
		E	(i)(Killing enemy)(ii)(N.T. ")	(14)
	Reg.III	W	Tying Diadem of Justification	(15)
		E	Presenting Diadem of Justification	(16)
	Reg.IV	W	Presenting <u>ntrt</u> -eye	(17)
		E	Presenting <u>wd3t</u> -eye	(18)
<u>Scene 4</u>	Reg.IV	W	Presenting <u>'nht</u> -eye	(19)
		E	Offering the staff	(20)
	Reg.III	W	Presenting the day-barque	(21)
		E	Presenting the night-barque	(22)
	Reg.II	W	Killing Apopis	(23)
		E	do.	(24)

* (Figures in brackets indicate number of scene in Ritual).

<u>Scene 5</u>	Reg.II	W	Presenting two mirrors	(25)
		E	do.	(26)
	Reg.III	W	Presenting milk	(27)
		E	Presenting beer	(28)
	Reg.IV	W	Presenting incense	(29)
		E	Adoring the god	(30)
<u>Scene 6</u>	Reg.IV	W	Taking the oar	(31)
		E	Offering Truth	(32)
	Reg.III	W	Rattling a sistrum	(33)
		E	Offering clepsydra	(34)
	Reg.II	W	Raising clepsydra	(35)
		E	Killing an oryx	(36)
<u>Scene 7</u>	Reg.II	W	Offering incense & libation	(37)
		E	do.	(38)
	Reg.III	W	Tying on the <u>wsh</u> -collar	(39)
		E	do.	(40)
	Reg.IV	W	Presenting lotus	(41)
		E	Adoring the god	(42)
<u>Scene 8</u>	Reg.IV	W	Offering a pendant	(43)
		E	Offering lettuces	(44)
	Reg.III	W	Presenting wine	(45)
		E	Presenting lettuces	(46)
	Reg.II	W	Raising the Bull of Heliopolis	(47)
		E	Driving the calves	(48)
<u>Scene 9</u>	Reg.II	W	Presenting the menu	(49)
		E	"Opening the Mouth"	(50)
	Reg.III	W	Presenting 10 jars <u>md</u> -ointment	(51)
		E	Dragging Sokar	(52)
	Reg.IV	W	Offering L. S. D.	(53)
		E	Presenting palette and pot	(54)

<u>Scene 10</u>	Reg.IV	W	Offering eternity	(55)
		E	Offering vegetables	(56)
	Reg.III	W	Presenting Two Ladies	(57)
		E	Presenting milk	(58)
	Reg.II	W	Presenting <u>hpt</u> -diadem	(59)
		E	Presenting life and dominion	(60)
<u>Scene 11</u>	Reg.II	W	Presenting a <u>menu</u> -vase	(61)
		E	do.	(62)
	Reg.III	W	Setting up the brazier	(63)
		E	do.	(64)
	Reg.IV	W	Playing the rattle and sistrum	(65)
		E	Playing a sistrum	(66)
<u>Scene 12</u>	Reg.IV	W	Presenting the Double Crown	(67)
		E	Offering <u>hpt</u> -diadem	(68)
	Reg.III	W	Presenting the Crook and the Flail	(69)
		E	Presenting the Adze of Anubis	(70)
	Reg.II	W	Presenting Two Feathers	(71)
		E	do.	(72)
<u>Scene 13</u>	Reg.II	W	Offering a palette	(73)
		E	do.	(74)
	Reg.III	W	Presenting papyrus and <u>ro</u> -geese	(75)
		E	do.	(76)
	Reg.IV	W	Presenting <u>hnm</u> -vessel	(77)
		E	Offering incense	(78)
<u>Scene 14</u>	Reg.IV	W	Rattling a sistrum	(79)
		E	Rattling two sistra	(80)
	Reg.III	W	Fumigating with myrrh	(81)
		E	Offering libation	(82)
	Reg.II	W	Presenting incense	(83)
		E	N.T.	(84)

<u>Scene 15</u>	Reg.II	W	Thoth inscribes years of king	(85)
		E	do.	(86)
	Reg.III	W	Presenting <u>mdh</u> and raiment	(87)
		E	do.	(88)
	Reg.IV	W	Offering incense and libation	(89)
		E	do.	(90)
<u>Scene 16</u>	Reg.IV	W	Striking the eyeball	(91)
		E	do.	(92)
	Reg.III	W	Presenting a fillet of electrum	(93)
		E	do.	(94)
	Reg.II	W	Presenting incense	(95)
		E	do.	(96)
<u>Scene 17</u>	Reg.II	W	Presenting myrrh	(97)
		E	do.	(98)
	Reg.III	W	Presenting wine	(99)
		E	do.	(100)
	Reg.IV	W	Slaying the tortoise	(101)
		E	do.	(102)

(See Fig. 12).

2. The Naos in relation to the Pronaos; and to the north wall of the Naos.

We must now consider to what extent the scenes on the east and west walls of the exterior of the Naos are connected with the scenes on (i) the exterior of the Pronaos; and (ii) with the scenes on the north wall of the Naos.

(i) The Pronaos was completed some 82 years after the decoration of the Naos was finished. This need not mean

that the ritual or rituals depicted on the Pronaos are necessarily different from those on the Naos, which could have been left half-completed until the Pronaos was built. Certainly, the theme of the main ritual on the Pronaos, which is a celebration in honour of the ancestral gods of Edfu who created the world (Barguet, 1971, p.31) is linked to that on the Naos. But is it part of one big ritual found on the Naos and Pronaos? If this is the case, then the Pronaos must be read in the same direction as the Naos, that is, from south to north, in order for the two halves of the ritual to link up.

The bottom register on the west and east walls of the Pronaos is decorated with conventional scenes of killing foreigners and other enemies, and must be considered separately from the rest of the Pronaos.

Registers II to IV on the Pronaos (east and west walls) comprise the scenes listed in the following table, in which they are numbered in Chassinat's order, from south to north:

West Wall (EX, Pl.CV)

Reg. Scene

- II 1. Uplifting the sky
 (tw3 pt)
2. Presenting a bouquet
 (ms rrmwy ...)
3. Ceding St-Wrt
 (swd3 st-wrt ...)

East Wall (EX, Pl.CVII)

Reg. Scene

- II 1. Uplifting the sky
 (tw3 pt)
2. Tying wsh-collar
 (ts wsh)
3. Adoring the god
 (dw3 ntr)

West Wall (cont.)Reg. Scene4. Presenting menu-vase(ms p(3)mnw)

5. Uplifting the sky

(tw3 pt)

(EIV, 345-349)

III 1. Pointing at meat

(hw-' r stpw)

2. Presenting clepsydra

(hnk wtt)

3. Stretching the cord

(pd sšr)

4. Offering myrrh

(šms 'ntyw)

5. Seizing oar

(iṯ hpt ...)

(EIV, 350-355)

IV 1. Presenting flowers

(ms p 'nh ...)

2. Presenting sistrum

(hnk sššt)

3. Adoring god

(dw3 ntr)

4. N.T. (Presenting collars)

5. Presenting bouquet

(ms ms ...)

(EIV, 356-360)

East Wall (cont.)Reg. Scene

4. Presenting wine

(hnk ṯrp)

5. Uplifting the sky

(tw3 pt)

(EIV, 376-381)

III 1. Arranging offerings

(sm3 '3bt)2. Presenting mnit-
necklace(hnk mnit)

3. T.L. (Adoration)

4. Presenting fillet

(hnk mh n d'm)

5. Presenting incense

(irt sntr)

(EIV, 382-386)

IV 1. Presenting flowers

2. Presenting 2 mirrors

(hnk wn-hrwy)

3. Presenting palette

(dit gsti ps)

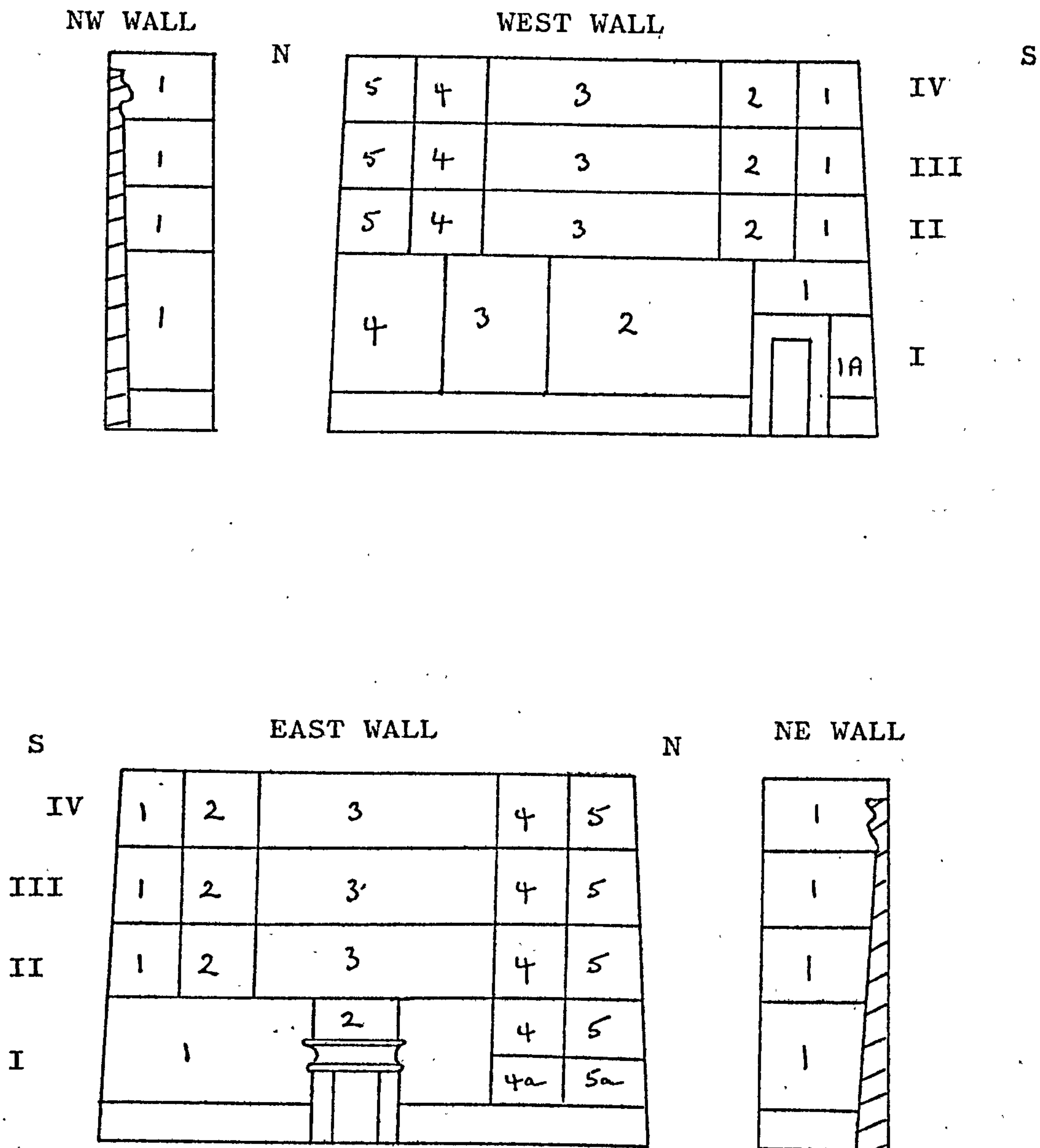
4. Presenting collars

(hnk bb)5. Presenting papyrus
and ro-geese(hnk w3d r3w)

(EIV, 387-392)

The above scenes are set out in Fig. 9.

PRONAOS EXTERIOR



Reading south to north horizontally

Figure 9

The scenes on the north-west and north-east walls of the Pronaos must be linked with either the Naos or the Pronaos; they cannot stand alone. It would seem more likely that they are to be treated as part of the Ritual on the Pronaos. The scenes are as follows:

Pronaos : North Wall (EX, Pl.CVI)

West side

- Reg.I Adoring the god
(dw3 ntr; EIV,344)
- Reg.II Making festival
(irt hts; EIV,349-50)
- Reg.III Presenting diadem of
justification
(hnk mh n m3'-hrw;
EIV,355-56)
- Reg.IV Presenting millions
(hnk hh; EIV,360-61)

East side

- Reg.I Beholding the god
(m33 ntr; EIV,375-76)
- Reg.II Elevating offerings
(f3i ht; EIV,381-82)
- Reg.III Offering myrrh
(šms 'ntyw; EIV,386-87)
- Reg.IV Presenting lotus
(hnk nhb; EIV,392-93)

The above scenes are set out in Fig. 9.

Alternative ways of reading the scenes

Scenes 3 on Registers II, III and IV of the east and west walls of the Pronaos are similar to the big set-pieces found on the exterior of the Naos, and like those scenes, they must surely be kept together as a group and read vertically.

However, if the scenes on the Pronaos are read from south to north, vertically from Register II to Register IV, giving what is normally the Upper Egyptian wall precedence over the Lower Egyptian by reading the west wall first (see page 38), several inconsistencies appear.

On the west wall the third scene on Register II is one of "Ceding St-Wrt to Re, Lord of the Sky, and handing over Wetjeset to the Protector of his Father". If the wall is read from south to north, this scene is followed by one of "Stretching the cord". It is surely more logical to "Stretch the cord" before "Handing over the (temple)".

The theory of reading boustrophedon which seems to have worked so well for the east and west walls of the Naos exterior could be applied to the scenes referred to above, this giving a more satisfactory order. However, even if one reads boustrophedon, but from south to north, a further illogicality comes to light on Register I of the north-west and north-east walls. The scene on the north-west wall is "Adoring the god"; that on the north-east wall is "Beholding the god". Surely, one must see the god before adoring him? Furthermore, on Register II of these walls, a scene of "Making festival" on the north-west wall is read before a scene of "Elevating offerings" on the north-east wall. If the scenes on Register I of the north wall are to be considered as belonging with those on Register I of the east and west walls of the

of the Pronaos, then here again the precedence given by reading south to north would seem to be illogical, since "Elevating offerings" must surely be read before "Making festival".

The objections outlined above to a horizontal, south to north, reading, would seem to indicate that not only is it necessary to read boustrophedon but also in a north to south direction, thus making the east wall the Lower Egyptian wall.

It has been seen already (pp.37-38) that Lower Egyptian scenes are normally found on the west wall of the temple, with Upper Egyptian scenes on the east, but that the terms "west" and "east" are synonymous with "left" and "right", and that where the ritual develops from north to south, Lower Egyptian scenes can be found on a left that is on the east side, and Upper Egyptian scenes on a right that is on the west side, of the temple.

The hypothesis that the Ritual on the east and west walls of the exterior of the Pronaos develops from north to south can be tested by making a study of the priestly titles borne by the King in the scenes sculpted on these walls. It has been established that there were priestly titles peculiar to Upper Egyptian rites and titles peculiar to those of Lower Egypt (Ibrahim, 1971, p.196). If the eastern wall of the Pronaos exterior is the Lower Egyptian wall, as has been suggested above, then one would expect to find the King bearing Lower Egyptian titles in at least some of the scenes on this wall.

The priestly titles of the King found on the exterior of the Pronaos are as follows:

- | | | |
|--------|---------------------|--|
| (i) | <u>ihy w'b</u> | (EIV, 344, 11; Ibrahim, 1971, p.142) |
| (ii) | <u>w'b ihy</u> | (EIV, 358, 1; 378, 8; <u>op. cit.</u> p.145) |
| (iii) | <u>w'b 3bd</u> | (EIV, 376, 2; <u>op. cit.</u> p.153) |
| (iv) | <u>ihy n 3hty</u> | (EIV, 348, 10) |
| (v) | <u>ihy n Hwt-Hr</u> | (EIV, 348, 11) |
| (vi) | <u>ihy n Nbt</u> | (EIV, 348, 11) |
| (vii) | <u>ihy n Wsrt</u> | (EIV, 382, 7) |
| (viii) | <u>w3d n Shmt</u> | (EIV, 357, 7; <u>op. cit.</u> p.152) |
| (ix) | <u>šms n t3-wrt</u> | (EIV, 348, 10; <u>op. cit.</u> p.194) |
| (x) | <u>'k rdwy</u> | (EIV, 344, 11; <u>op. cit.</u> p.150) |
| (xi) | <u>hnw</u> | (EIV, 383, 7; <u>op. cit.</u> p.147) |
| (xii) | <u>hntty</u> | (EIV, 343, 13; <u>op. cit.</u> p.185) |
| (xiii) | <u>hm gmhs</u> | (EIV, 376, 2; 388, 4; <u>op. cit.</u> p.182-183) |
| (xiv) | <u>mr st-hnt</u> | (EIV, 386, 6; <u>op. cit.</u> p.172-174) |
| (xv) | <u>hri sšt3</u> | (EIV, 356, 12; <u>op. cit.</u> p.186-187) |

Ibrahim suggests that titles (i) and (xi) are general priestly titles, and have no particular Upper or Lower Egyptian connotation. They can, therefore, be found on both east and west walls.

Title (xii), hntty, is a title borne by the King in scenes of killing enemies. The examples quoted by Ibrahim come from both east and west walls within the temple; the title, therefore, is found on both Upper and Lower Egyptian walls.

Title (xiii), hm gmhs, is thought to be a Lower Egyptian title.

Title (xiv), mr st-hnt, is also a Lower Egyptian title.

Title (xv), hri sst3, is, Ibrahim suggests a "quite ordinary priestly title for the King" (op. cit. p.187), and may be found, therefore, on both Upper and Lower Egyptian walls.

If the Ritual on the exterior of the west and east walls of the Pronaos had been progressing from south to north, the Lower Egyptian wall would have been the west wall, and one would have expected titles (xiii) and (xiv) above to be found there. This is not so. hm gmhs (title xiii) is found on Register I of the north-east wall of the Pronaos; and in Scene 1 (Chassinat's numbering) of Register IV on the east wall. mr st-hnt (title xiv) is found in Scene 5 of Register III on the east wall.

Since the Lower Egyptian titles of hm gmhs and mr st-hnt are found on the eastern wall of the exterior of the Pronaos, the conclusion must be drawn that this is the Lower Egyptian wall. This being so, the Ritual must be progressing from north to south, to allow the Lower Egyptian titles to be found on the left-hand wall (see p.38).

Reading the east and west walls of the Pronaos exterior boustrophedon, from north to south, alternating the Lower Egyptian wall (east) with the Upper Egyptian (west), and beginning with the Lower Egyptian scene (see p.38), the following order is obtained:

East wall (Lower Egypt)Scene

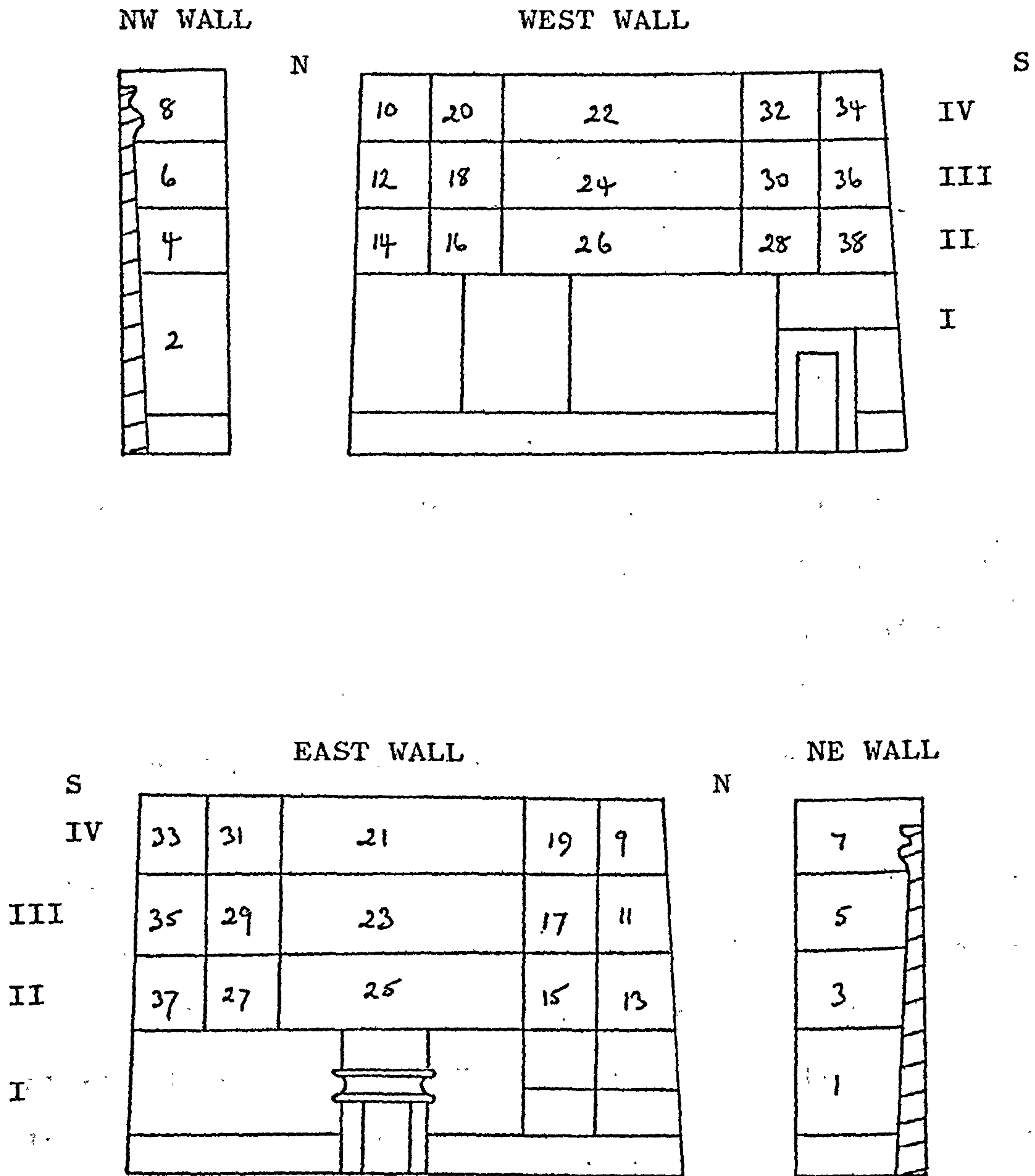
1. Beholding the god
3. Elevating offerings
5. Presenting myrrh
7. Presenting lotus
9. Presenting papyrus & ro-geese
11. Presenting incense
13. Uplifting sky
15. Presenting wine
17. Presenting diadem of electrum
19. Presenting collars
21. Presenting palette
23. (Adoration)
25. Adoring the god
27. Tying wsh-collar
29. Presenting mnit-necklace
31. Presenting 2 mirrors
33. Presenting flowers
35. Arranging offerings
37. Uplifting the sky

West wall (Upper Egypt)Scene

2. Adoring the god
4. Making festival
6. Presenting crown of justification
8. Presenting millions
10. Presenting bouquet
12. Seizing oar
14. Uplifting sky
16. Presenting menu-vase
18. Presenting myrrh
20. (Presenting collars)
22. Adoring the god
24. Stretching the cord
26. Ceding St-Wrt
28. Presenting bouquet
30. Presenting clepsydra
32. Presenting sistra
34. Presenting flowers
36. Pointing at meat
38. Uplifting the sky

The above scenes are set out in Fig. 10.

PRONAOS EXTERIOR



Reading north to south boustrophedon

Figure 10

By reading the scenes in the order set out in Fig. 10 it is clear that the rites follow each other in a logical order. The god is seen before being adored (Scenes 1 and 2); the cord is stretched before the temple is handed over to its lord (Scenes 24 and 26); offerings are arranged upon the altar before the choicest cuts of meat are pointed at (Scenes 35 and 36). In Scenes 28 and 32, Hathor is the recipient of the offerings. By reading the scenes in the way we have, these scenes are grouped together instead of being interspersed with scenes in which other deities are the recipients.

Thus, it is our contention that Registers II to IV of the east and west walls, and Registers I to IV of the north walls, of the Pronaos exterior, like the west and east walls of the Naos exterior, are to be read boustrophedon; but that, unlike the Rituals on the Naos, that on the Pronaos should be read from north to south.

The reason for this direction of reading becomes clear if one considers the nature of the Ritual depicted on the exterior of the Pronaos. The Pronaos was thought to be the home of the ancestral deities of the temple (Reymond, 1963, p.63). These deities were supposed to enter the temple after the ceremony of "Handing over the temple to its Lord". It is considered probable that after the consecration of the temple, a display of the statues of the ancestral deities was made in the Pronaos (op. cit. p.67); it is known that the consecration of the temple took place on the night of

the New Year (Blackman and Fairman, 1946, p.81, n.32).

The statues of the ancestral deities may have stood in the Outer Hypostyle Hall or Pronaos (2 in plan in Fig. 1) until they were taken up as part of the procession to the roof of the temple during the New Year Festival (Fairman, 1954, p.185). After the ceremonies on the roof, the procession reformed and made its way back into the body of the temple down the Western Stairway into the Hall of Offerings (9).

It has been suggested (op. cit. p.188) that after the New Year ceremonies, the statues of the gods were brought out of the temple and displayed to certain privileged people in the Outer Hypostyle Hall, and, possibly in the Forecourt of the temple. The Forecourt would provide much more space than the Outer Hypostyle Hall for such a display.

Our attempt at a reconstruction of what happened at the end of the New Year Festival postulates that when the procession came down the Western Stairway, the priests carrying the statues of Horus and Hathor proceeded to the Forecourt by the direct route through the two Hypostyle Halls (5 and 2). The priests carrying the statues of the ancestral deities of the temple, however, took another, more circuitous, route. They divided into two files and progressed through the Great Court (5) or, as it was sometimes called, the Court of the Festival (EII,11,13), and out into the Pure Ambulatory through doors "C" and "E" of the west and east walls of the Naos respectively.

The two processions, one for Upper Egypt and one for Lower Egypt, would then make their way along that part of the Ambulatory which runs past the exterior of the Pronaos, and into the Forecourt.

Meanwhile, Horus and Hathor, having been the first to reach the Forecourt, had initiated the rites that were to take place there.

The ceremony in the Forecourt was a New Year renewal of loyalty; part of the ceremony consisted of a roll-call of the Nomes of Egypt, lists of which appear on the top Register of the east and west walls of the Forecourt.

By arriving in the Forecourt before the ancestral deities, Horus, as chief god of Edfu Temple, and Hathor, his consort, would be given the most prominent place in the ceremony. It is conjectured that when the ancestral deities finally arrived in the Forecourt, Horus "introduced" them to Egypt, represented by men and women impersonating the Nomes.

It is not possible at this stage of our knowledge to prove that the theory outlined above is correct. However, if one looks at the New Year Festival as a great theatrical display to which certain members of the public may be admitted (op. cit. p.174), our reconstruction of its final stages provides the priesthood with opportunities for liturgical drama. It would also explain why the inscriptions on the west and east walls of the Pronaos exterior should be read from north to south, towards the Forecourt;

and why the top register of the west and east walls of the Forecourt are also to be read from north to south when the other two registers are read south to north (see pp.57-58).

If the Ritual on the Pronaos does develop from north to south, and this seems to be a reasonable hypothesis, then it most certainly does not form part of the same Ritual as that on the Naos, which, as has been demonstrated, reads from south to north.

(ii) It has been shown in Chapter IV that Register I of the north wall of the Naos exterior is to be read horizontally. It seems probable that Registers II to IV may be read in the same way as the top three registers of the other exterior walls of the Naos and Pronaos, that is, boustrophedon.

The top three registers of the north wall of the Naos can be divided vertically into two halves for the purpose of reading the scenes inscribed upon them. The western half has six scenes per register; the eastern half provides the counterbalance. As we have seen in Chapter III, one half of the wall is for Upper Egypt; the other for Lower Egypt (see page 39). In this case, it is the western half of the wall (the right-hand side of a person facing the wall) that is the Lower Egyptian half; the Upper Egyptian half is the eastern or left-hand half. This is made clear on Register I where, in the first scene on that register (one of pr m 'h), the King is shown wearing the Red Crown on the western half

of the wall, and the White Crown on the eastern half. According to the rule referred to on page 39, the wall is read from the outermost scene towards the midpoint of the wall, beginning with the westernmost scene on Register II of the Lower Egyptian half of the wall, moving across to the outermost Upper Egyptian scene.

The third scene from the left on all three registers, and the third scene from the right, are concerned with the Genii of Edfu and Dendera temples, the Four Sons of Horus, and a quartet of gods (Hu, Sia, Maa and Sotmu). As with the big scenes containing companies of gods on the Naos and Pronaos, it is proposed to group these scenes on the north wall of the Naos exterior together in the reading of the order of the Ritual so that it is read vertically rather than horizontally.

Whether the north wall is to be read boustrophedon is debatable; a reasonable order is gained if it is read vertically from Register II to Register IV, always, of course, alternating one half of the wall with the other. However, by reading boustrophedon we can see that the scenes fall into neat groupings of similar sorts of offerings, or groups of offerings made to the same deity; and the following preferred order is obtained:

Western half (Lower Egypt)Scene

1. Uplifting the sky
(tw3 pt; EIV, 95, 6-96, 6)
3. Offering vegetables
(ḥnk rnpwt; EIV, 125, 10-126, 8)
5. Putting incense on fire
(rdit sntr hr sdt; EIV, 151, 6-152, 6)
7. Offering incense
(irt sntr; EIV, 152, 8-153, 2)
9. Presenting wd3t-eye
(ḥnk wd3t; EIV, 126, 10-127, 6)
11. Presenting wsh-collar
(ḥnk wsh; EIV, 96, 8-97, 7)
13. N.T. (Offering to Edfu Genii)
(EIV, 97, 9-98, 13)
15. Presenting meat offerings
(ḥnk w'bt; EIV, 127, 8-128, 15)
17. Reciting the menu
(nīs dbḥw; EIV, 153, 4-154, 6)
19. Offering Upper & Lower Egypt
(ḥnk šm' mḥw; EIV, 154, 8-155, 5)

Eastern half (Upper Egypt)Scene

2. Uplifting the sky
(tw3 pt; EIV, 251, 8-252, 7)
4. Presenting bouquet
(ms ms; EIV, 281, 12-282, 12)
6. Offering incense
(irt sntr; EIV, 307, 9-308, 7)
8. Adoring god
(dw3 ntr; EIV, 308, 9-309, 3)
10. Shaking sistrum
(irt sššt; EIV, 282, 14-283, 8)
12. Presenting wsh-collar
(ḥnk wsh; EIV, 252, 9-253, 6)
14. Presenting bread & beer
(ḥnk t ḥnkt; EIV, 253, 8-254, 9)
16. Adoring the god
(dw3 ntr; EIV, 283, 10-284, 13)
18. Elevating offerings
(f3i ḥt; EIV, 309, 5-310, 7)
20. Bringing in caskets
(st3 mr; EIV, 310, 9-311, 6)

Western half (cont.)Scene

21. Pointing at meat
(hw-' r stpw; EIV, 128,17-129,14)
23. Offering incense & libation
(irt sntr kbhw; EIV, 98, 15-99,15)
25. Presenting mnit-necklace
(hnk mnit; EIV, 100,2-16)
27. Propitiating Sekhmet
(sh' shmt; EIV, 132,5-133,2)
29. N.T.
(EIV, 155,7-156,3)
31. Presenting offerings
('b3 htpw; EIV, 156,5-157,2)
33. Presenting myrrh
(šms 'ntyw; EIV, 133,4-134,2)
35. Offering wine
(hnk irp; EIV, 101,2-17)

EX, Pl. LXXXVIII

Eastern half (cont.)Scene

22. Pointing at meat
(hw-' r stpw; EIV, 284, 15-285,13)
24. Offering Two Ladies
(hnk w3dty; EIV, 254,11-255,10)
26. Presenting mnit-necklace
(hnk mnit; EIV, 255,12-256,9)
28. Rattling sistrum
(sh' sššt; EIV, 288,2-15)
30. Propitiating Sekhmet
(shtp shmt; EIV, 311,8-312,6)
32. Provisions & god's offerings
('3bt htpw-ntr; EIV, 312, 8-313,8)
34. Offering cloths
(hnk mnht; EIV, 288,17-289,16)
36. Presenting offerings
(hnk hrw-¹; EIV, 256,11-257,9)

EX, Pl. LXXXIX

The above scenes are illustrated in Fig. 11.

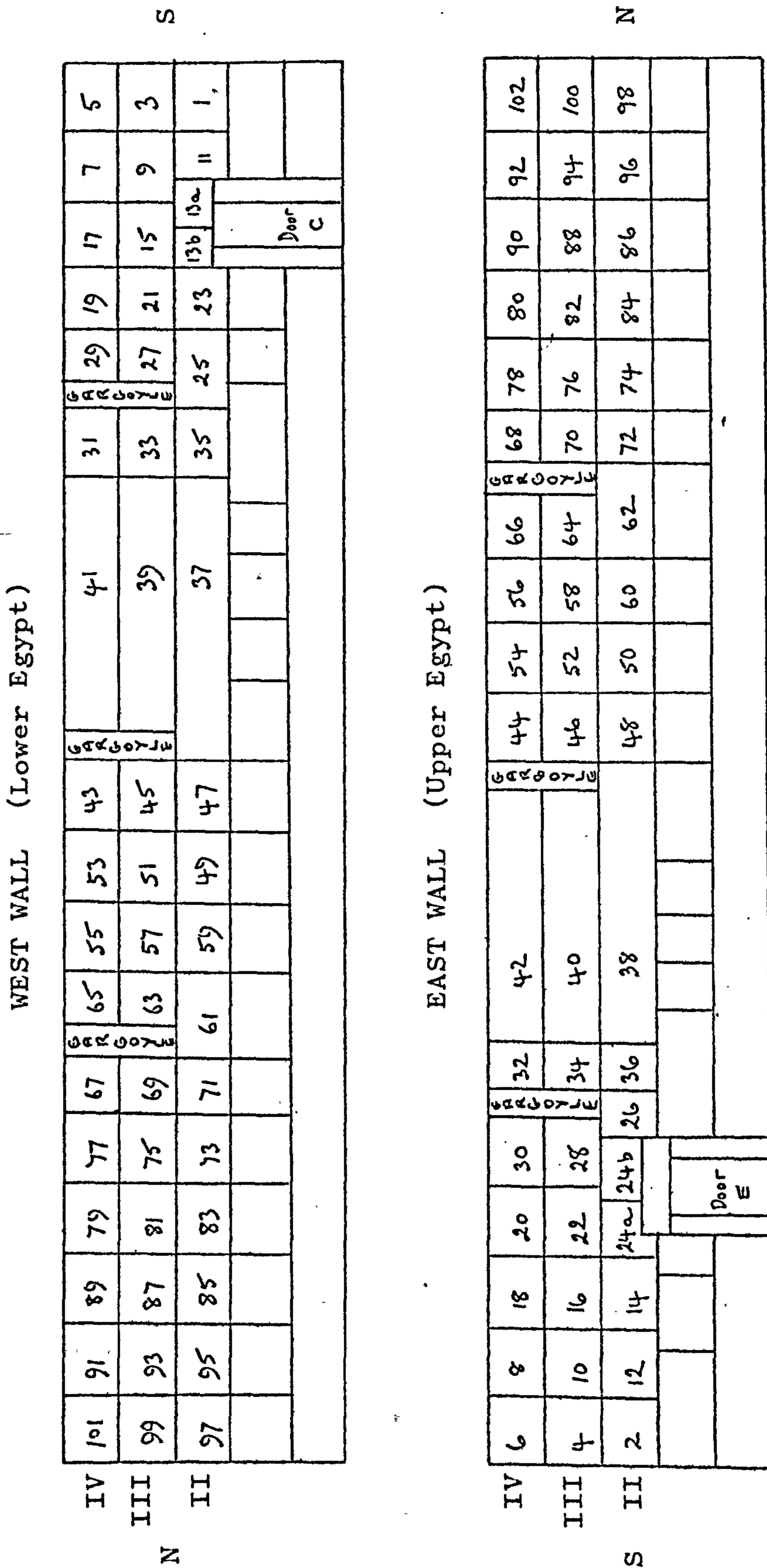
NORTH WALL : NAOS EXTERIOR

<u>East</u>						<u>West</u>								
6	8	18	20	G A R G O Y L E	30	32	31	29	G A R G O Y L E	19	17	7	5	IV
4	10	16	22		28	34	33	27		21	15	9	3	III
2	12	14	24		26	36	35	25		23	13	11	1	II
Upper Egypt						Lower Egypt								

Figure 11

The north wall of the exterior of the Naos is obviously closely concerned with Horus and those divinities and temples connected with him. There is no scene of offering to a dead king; nor is there one in which appears any of those ancestral deities who feature so prominently on the other walls of the Naos and Pronaos. It is probable, therefore, that the Ritual on the north wall of the Naos exterior is one separate from that on the east and west walls.

NAOS EXTERIOR : EAST & WEST WALLS
 REGISTERS II, III, IV
BOUSTROPHEDON READING



The titles of the scenes numbered in the diagram above are given on page 173 foll.

Figure 12

(iii) It is our contention that the Rituals on the north wall of the exterior of the Naos and on the exterior of the Pronaos, though closely linked in theme with that on the west and east walls of the exterior of the Naos, are separate Rituals. The west and east walls of the Naos should, it is suggested, be read from south to north, boustrophedon, alternating each scene on the west wall with its fellow on the east wall. This method of reading gives the following order of scenes in the Ritual:

WEST WALL : Lower Egypt

Scene Episode

1. Elevating offerings
3. Presenting Truth
5. Offering hpt-diadem
7. Presenting dates
9. Offering incense & libation
11. Piercing Nehes
- 13a. (Slaying foreign lands)
- 13b. Killing an enemy
15. Tying Diadem of Justification
17. Presenting nrt-eye
19. Presenting 'nht-eye
21. Presenting day-barque
23. Killing Apopis
25. Presenting two mirrors

EAST WALL : Upper Egypt

Scene Episode

2. Elevating offerings
4. Presenting Truth
6. Offering hpt-diadem
8. Presenting dates
10. Offering incense & libation
12. Piercing Nehes
- 14a. Slaying foreign lands
- 14b. (Killing an enemy)
16. Tying Diadem of Justification
18. Presenting wd3t-eye
20. Offering the staff
22. Presenting night-barque
24. Killing Apopis
26. Presenting two mirrors

WEST WALL : Lower Egypt

(cont.)

Scene Episode

27. Presenting milk
 29. Presenting incense
 31. Taking the oar
 33. Rattling a sistrum
 35. Raising clepsydra
 37. Offering incense and libation
 39. Tying wsh-collar
 41. Presenting lotus
 43. Offering a pendant
 45. Presenting wine
 47. Raising Bull of Heliopolis
 49. Presenting the menu
 51. Presenting 10 jars of md
 53. Offering L.S.D.
 55. Offering hh-symbol
 57. Presenting Two Ladies
 59. Presenting hpt-diadem
 61. Presenting menu-vase
 63. Setting up brazier
 65. Rattling sistrum
 67. Presenting Double Crown
 69. Presenting Crook & Flail
 71. Presenting Two Feathers

EAST WALL : Upper Egypt

(cont.)

Scene Episode

28. Presenting beer
 30. Adoring the god
 32. Offering Truth
 34. Offering clepsydra
 36. Killing an oryx
 38. Offering incense and libation
 40. Tying wsh-collar
 42. Adoring the god
 44. Offering lettuces
 46. Presenting lettuces
 48. Driving the calves
 50. Opening the mouth
 52. Dragging Sokar
 54. Presenting palette & pot
 56. Offering vegetables
 58. Presenting milk
 60. Presenting life & dominion
 62. Presenting menu-vase
 64. Setting up brazier
 66. Playing sistrum
 68. Offering hpt-diadem
 70. Presenting Adze of Anubis
 72. Presenting Two Feathers

WEST WALL : Lower Egypt

(cont.)

Scene Episode

73. Offering palette
 75. Presenting papyrus & ro
 77. Presenting hnm-vessel
 79. Rattling sistrum
 81. Fumigating with myrrh
 83. Presenting incense
 85. Thoth inscribes years
 87. Presenting mdh & raiment
 89. Offering incense & lib.
 91. Striking the eyeball
 93. Presenting fillet
 95. Presenting incense
 97. Presenting myrrh
 99. Presenting wine
 101. Slaying a tortoise

(see Fig. 12)

EAST WALL : Upper Egypt

(cont.)

Scene Episode

74. Offering palette
 76. Presenting papyrus & ro
 78. Offering incense
 80. Rattling 2 sistra
 82. Offering libation
 84. N.T.
 86. Thoth inscribes years
 88. Presenting mdh & raiment
 90. Offering incense & lib.
 92. Striking the eyeball
 94. Presenting fillet
 96. Presenting incense
 98. Presenting myrrh
 100. Presenting wine
 102. Slaying a tortoise

Part II

Having established the probable order of reading the scenes on the top three registers of the east and west walls of the exterior of the Naos, we must now consider what Ritual these scenes represent.

In order to do this, the content of the scenes must be examined. There are seventeen scenes on each of the registers under examination, making a total of 102; space does not permit a detailed examination of all of them. The two criteria which have determined how much attention a scene has received in the following pages have been how important a scene is to the development of the Ritual; and how intrinsically interesting a scene is in itself.

One fact that is immediately noticeable on studying the exterior of the Naos is that there is a close parallelism between the scenes on the east wall and those on the west wall. Twenty-nine scenes on the east wall are exactly parallel to their counterparts on the west wall; others are closely connected to their counterparts, being either successive acts in the Ritual or being linked by the similarity of their themes or texts.

The scenes on the east wall are concerned with Upper Egypt, those on the west wall with Lower Egypt. Hence the display of parallelism - an act in the Ritual may be performed for Upper Egypt on the east wall, the same act being duplicated for Lower Egypt on the west wall.

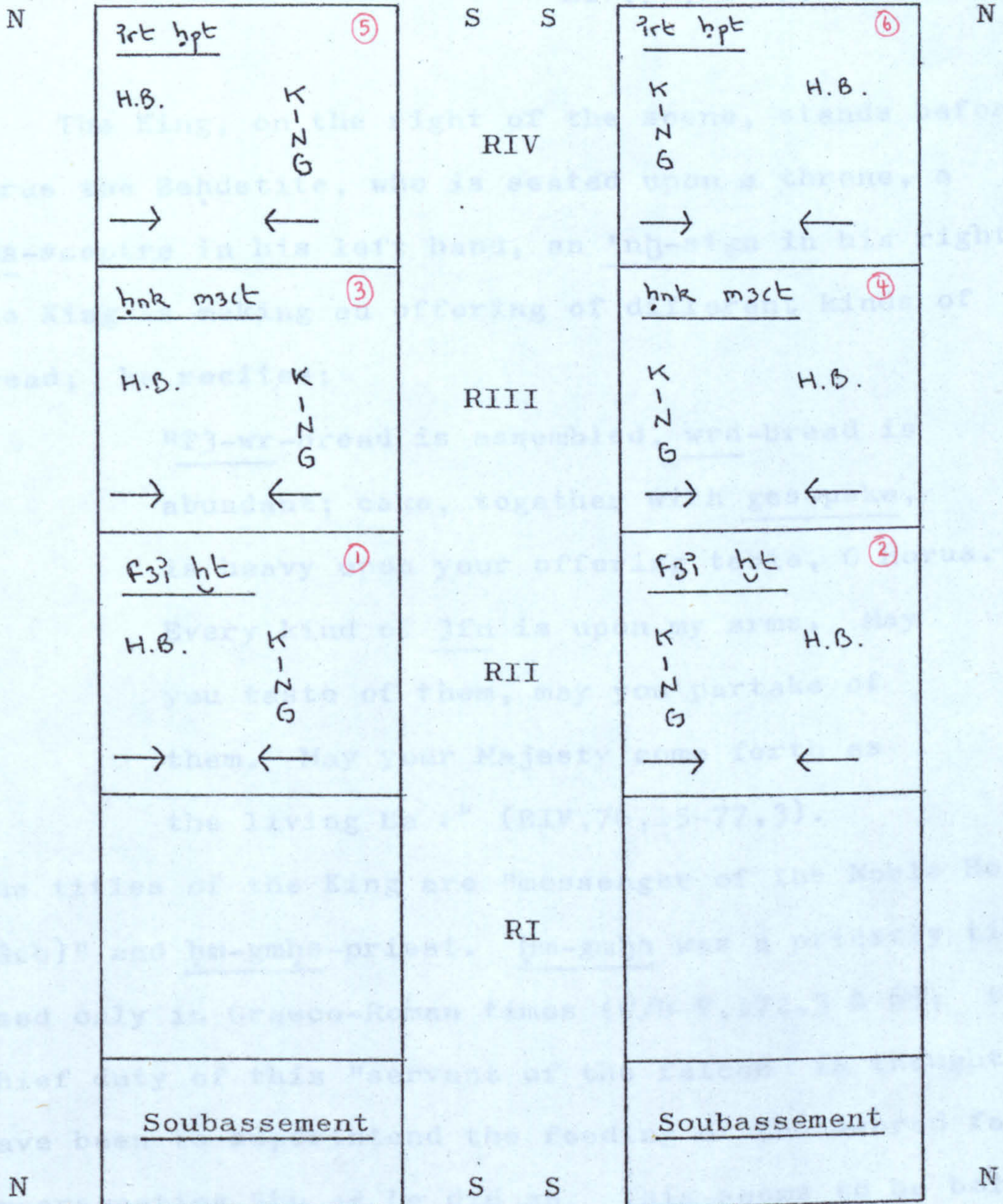
The scenes which we intend to study in some detail in the rest of this chapter have been divided into groups for ease of reference. The arrangement is somewhat arbitrary, the scenes simply being grouped together according to which god or company of gods is receiving the offering.

NAOS EXTERIOR : EAST AND WEST WALLS

Group I : Scenes 1-6

WEST:Lower Egypt

EAST:Upper Egypt



EX, Pl. LXXXIV

EX, Pl. XC

Figure 13

<u>Group I</u>	<u>Scenes 1 - 6</u>	The King (Ptolemy VIII) offers to Horus the Behdetite in all six scenes. (See Fig. 13)
Scene 1.	<u>f3i ht</u>	Elevating offerings EIV,76,15-77,12; EX, Pl.LXXXIV

The King, on the right of the scene, stands before Horus the Behdetite, who is seated upon a throne, a w3s-sceptre in his left hand, an 'nh-sign in his right. The King is making an offering of different kinds of bread; he recites:

"T3-wr-bread is assembled, wrd-bread is abundant; cake, together with ges-peka, is heavy upon your offering table, O Horus. Every kind of 3fn is upon my arms. May you taste of them, may you partake of them. May your Majesty come forth as the living Ba." (EIV,76,15-77,3).

The titles of the King are "messenger of the Noble Heir (Geb)" and hm-gmhs-priest. Hm-gmhs was a priestly title used only in Graeco-Roman times (W/b V,172,5 & 6); the chief duty of this "servant of the falcon" is thought to have been to superintend the feeding of the sacred falcon, impersonating Shu as he did so. This seems to be borne out by the fact that the King in this scene is called "the spit of Shu" (EIV,77,7); that is, the exact likeness or "spitting image" of Shu (Blackman, 1945, p.64 n.29).

Ibrahim tentatively suggests that hm-gmhs is a Lower Egyptian priestly title (Ibrahim, 1971, p.183), which is what one would expect on this west, or Lower Egyptian, wall; and the Lower Egyptian connections are reinforced by the fact that the King is said to be "crowned with the Net-Crown" (EIV,77,6 - h'.ti m nt).

In return for the offerings of bread, Horus the Behdetite gives the King "all the things which heaven gives and earth creates upon your throne in the Great House" (EIV,77,9).

Horus the Behdetite is said to be

"of slaughtering disposition who prevails over millions, very strong when he treads across the battlefields, at whom the hearts of men tremble." (EIV,77,10).

Because he is "lord of fury (dndn) who overthrows (hdb) Nehes and cuts open the throat (iw3yt) of W3wty" Horus is able to subdue the King's disaffected ones, "vanquishing them utterly." (EIV,77,11-12).

Scene 2.

f3i ht

Elevating offerings

EIV,233,8-234,5; EX, Pl.XC

The scene is identical with Scene 1, except that the King is on the left of the scene and Horus the Behdetite is on the right. Again, the King is making an offering of different kinds of bread; he recites:

"The b̄it-bread is Ba-like and without number; every kind of hnf-cake and kfn-loaf is upon my arms. Bread ... without limit and īwr-offering abound for your Ka. May you be magnified (w3š) by them, for you are the Lord of Magnificence (w3š), skilled (rest lost)".
(EIV, 233, 8-12).

The King has no titles in this scene but is given the following series of epithets: "the friend of Aket, the son of the Grain God" (EIV, 233, 14). He is said to be on his throne (bḥdw)

"distributing the portion, arranging the drp-bread and giving the fk3-bread to him (i.e. the Behdetite)". (EIV, 233, 15-16).

The King is like

"the one who performs the burial of Kahetep (Osiris) making ready the offering table (sm) of the gods of Wetjeset". (EIV, 233, 16).

Horus the Behdetite gives the King

"everything that exists upon which I shine upon your serekh in the House of Flame". ;

he is said to be

"the Harpooner who punishes That One in Djeba (i.e. Seth)".

As Kheny-heret he is

"piercing Nehes, slaying (m'm') Meg,
destroying (sswn) his enemies with
his rays";

he is

"Lord of the Two Ladies who raises
up the Two Eyes (i.e. the uraeus)!"
(EIV, 234, 1-4).

The chief interest in these scenes of f3i ht lies in the connection between the offerings, which consist of different kinds of bread and cake, and the god of the grain from which these offerings are made, Osiris (Blackman, 1938). References to Osiris are explicit in the eastern or Upper Egyptian scene, where the King is the son of the Grain God, the friend of Aket, and "like the one who performs the burial of Kahetep". The theme is further developed by references to overthrowing Seth in his guises of Nehes and W3wty (i.e. Wnmty c.f. W/b I, 251, 15) in Scene 1; and "That One in Djeba", Nehes and Meg in Scene 2; Seth, of course, being the fratricidal enemy of Osiris.

There are 28 scenes of f3i ht in different parts of Edfu temple. Only 7 of these scenes contain references to a significant variety of breads and cakes. Two of the scenes are found on the west and east walls of the exterior of the Naos; the offering formulae of these two scenes have been set out above, and in them are

the serekh, lord of graciousness,
the lovable one." (EIV,102,4-7).

The titles of the King are "beneficent god, who raises the plummet (th) for Bnti (the Ape God = Thoth), the child of Him-who-executes-Justice (Thoth), proficient in counsels like Iw" (EIV,102,9).

In the vertical line behind the King - Winter's "Königliche Randzeile" - are inscribed the epithets: "Horus the youth (hwn) ... who overthrows the enemy, a ruler in his childhood who administrates the Two Lands by his wisdom ... the Two Ladies ... more distinguished than his creator, most highly respected of the dwellers upon earth." (EIV,102,10-11).

Horus the Behdetite is said to be the one who "set the Two Lands in order and established the nomes" (EIV, 102,13); he is "lord of love whose order is respected" (EIV,102,14).

In return for the King's offering of Truth, Horus the Behdetite promises to "put down (bhn) Falsehood in Egypt (B3kt) in your time, so that Truth may flourish in your reign." (EIV,102,12).

Scene 4.

hnk m3't

Presenting Truth

EIV,257,13-258,10; EX, Pl.XC

The scene is identical with the parallel scene on the west wall, except that the King stands on the left of the

scene and wears the White Crown of Upper Egypt, as is appropriate on this Upper Egyptian wall. He recites:

"This your Songstress (mrt) is come before your face, your Cavity-which-transmits-food (tpht wdt k3w.k) is in your presence. This is your throat (kbbt) which cools your body, your gullet (š3š3yt) which dispels your thirst. May you eat therewith, may you be drunk therewith. May your body be strong by means of what it has swallowed." (EIV, 257, 13-18).

The titles of the King are "plummet of Tekhney (thny:= Thoth) lord of equity; he is Isden in his rank" (EIV, 258, 2).

In the "Königliche Randzeile" are inscribed such epithets as "son of Isden, master of Judgement, content with Truth ... he whom his father caused to appear in glory in order to put down wrongdoing in this land." (EIV, 258, 3-4).

Horus the Behdetite is said to be "lord of truth who puts down wrongdoing." (EIV, 258, 8).

The offering of Maat was perhaps the most important of all the rites performed during any Ritual. Maat was more than just Truth or Justice. It signified cosmic and social order. The real purpose underlying any religious

ritual in Egypt was to sustain this universal order. Hence the emphasis in Scenes 3 and 4 of the present Ritual on setting the Two Lands in order, and respecting the order established by Horus the Behdetite. In offering Maat, the King was demonstrating his role as champion of cosmic and social order.

In the two scenes under discussion, emphasis is laid on the part played by Thoth in helping to maintain order. The phases of the moon had a profound effect on Egyptian life; thus Thoth, as a moon god, was regarded as the founder of social order and sacred ritual (Boylan, 1922, p.88 foll.) and was clearly linked with Maat. In Scenes 3 and 4, the titles and epithets of the King link him in his turn with Thoth in his various guises of Bnti, Tekhney and Isden; and those of Horus the Behdetite emphasise the theme of Truth, Justice and Order.

A point of interest in Scene 4 lies in the identification of Maat with a meal. The offering of a statuette of Maat can often represent the offering of a meal (Moret, 1902, (i), p.138 foll.).

In Scenes 3 and 4, a great play is made on the various words for Maat in her several aspects.

In Scene 4, she is called mrt (Songstress). The goddess Mrt was identified with the gullet because, in her capacity of songstress, she became the protectress of the throat (Blackman, 1936, p.105). Hence, in Scene 4, m3't,

the meal, is swallowed by mrt, the throat. Further examples of this are found at Edfu and Dendera; two only are quoted here. In EII,45,17, Maat is "Your Songstress who does not abandon you, your Cavity-which-transmits-food (tpht wdt k3w), at sight of which you live". In DII,146,10, she is referred to as "This Songstress" who is "offered before your face, the Cavity-which-transmits-food is before your countenance". She is "this throat (kbbt) which cools (kbb) your body, the gullet (š3š3yt) whereby you eat".

Maat is further identified with the throat with which to eat and breath in Scene 4, where she is the gullet (š3š3yt) and the Cavity-which-transmits-food (tpht wdt k3w).




Two further examples of Maat as š3š3yt are found at EVIII,123,5-6, where she is "the gullet (š3š3yt) of the Falcon"; and at EVII,90,14, where the Falcon-with-the-dappled-plumage is told "this gullet (š3š3yt) is thine".

Maat as tpht wdt k3w is equated with mrt, the Songstress, in Scene 4; another example of this is found at DI,62,10; and similarly at EI,103,14 in the offering formula "Take to yourself M3't, your daughter with whom you are content, your mrt who never deserts you, your Cavity-which-transmits-food (tpht wdt k3w), at sight of whom you live".

The tpht wdt k3w was not only for eating with. Some texts state that it is used for breathing with:

"your Cavity-which-transmits-food ... you breathe in the pleasant air thereby!" (EI,479,1). A similar phrase is found in EI,117,6.

In Scene 3, Maat is called šfyt (Awfulness). Similar examples are found at DIV,174,14-17; at EVI, 310,11 ("this Awfulness who contents all the gods"); and at EV,157,6-7: "Your Maat is for you, O Behdetite, you-of-the-dappled-plumage, Lord of Awe (šfyt). Your Awfulness (šfyt) is for you, your Cavity-which-transmits-food (tpht wdt k3w), which transmits sustenance for you, at sight of whom you live".

One of the most interesting synonyms for Maat is mtwt-k3. Blackman collected many examples of Maat as mtwt-k3, most of which he never published. A visual pun on mtwt "seed"  and k3 "bull"  or  is made much of in all of them. An opportunity is taken here to quote a few of Blackman's examples.

It is quite clear that mtwt-k3 is to be translated as Truth; but the visual pun is often extended by references in the text to bulls.

In Scene 3, Horus is addressed as "Bull of bulls" immediately after reference has been made to Maat being his Truth (mtwt-k3); the text goes on to refer to Horus making maidens pregnant.

A similar theme is found in EIV,232,17, where Horus says to the King "I give you your Truth (mtwt-k3)

impregnating damsels like a bull among cows". In EVII, 91,9, Horus the Behdetite is the "Lord of Awe in St-Wrt, the Bull content with his seed (mtwt-k3)" in a scene of "Offering Truth"; perhaps even here mtwt-k3 should be translated as "Truth" rather than "Seed".

In EVI,310,8-16, Re and the Divine Tribunal are asked to "Take for yourselves Maat ... she is mtwt-k3 over whom the goddesses rejoice ... the daughter of Re". In EVI,161,8-9, the King states "I bring you Maat ... your Cavity-which-transmits-food ... You are the god who does mtwt-k3 and banishes iniquity in this land". In EVIII,4,16-5,1, the King is the one "who bears mtwt-k3 in the presence of the self-engendering bull".

In DIV,51,3, Hathor is addressed thus: "I bring you mtwt-k3 before your face". In DIII,220,15-221,2, Hathor is told that "Awe (šfyt) is with you, O noble lady, Mistress of Awe (šfyt). She sets free your heart from sorrow when offered before you. Your mtwt-k3 is lifted up in your presence".

Scene 5.	<u>irt hpt</u> <i>do hpt</i>	Offering the <u>hpt</u> -diadem EIV,134,6-135,2; EX, Pl.LXXXIV
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The King, on the right of the scene, stands before Horus the Behdetite, who is seated in the same pose as in the first four scenes. The King is making an offering of a replica of the Double Crown balanced on two horns;

he himself is wearing the Double Crown. He recites:

"Take for yourself the White Crown united with the Red Crown, the Upper Egyptian grasping the Lower Egyptian. Your Two Kindly Eyes (i.e. Hathor's eyes, cf. Moret, 1902,(i),p.147) are united with the Two Feathers (i.e. Horus's eyes, cf. Moret, 1902,(i),p.42) upon your head in order to put the fear of you into him who is disloyal to you. Maat crowns you; your Darling Eye is she, O S3b-šwt." (EIV,134,6-9).

The King declares:

"I come to you, O lord of goddesses, who overthrows the enemy in the prow of the boat (Seth), to present to you the hpt-diadem, to increase the fear of you and to put the terror of you into your opponents." (EIV,134,12-13).

Horus the Behdetite, as Upper Egyptian King of the Crown of Upper Egypt and Lower Egyptian King of the Crown of Lower Egypt, accepts the hpt-diadem.

Scene 6. irt hpt Offering the hpt-diadem
EIV,290,4-16; EX, Pl.XC

The King is on the left of the scene; otherwise the poses of the King and Horus the Behdetite are the same as

in the preceding scene. The King recites:

"Take for yourself the Vulture Goddess (št3t) joining with the Diadem (hryt-tp). The Two Ladies unite upon your brow. The Two Feathers (šwty) unite with the šwty-crown so that (hr) your enemy may be non-existent. Your daughter is Maat who makes your beauty. She is never distant from your head, exercising protection over you." (EIV,290,4-7).

Horus the Behdetite accepts the diadem and says:

"I give you the Double Crown to guide the South and the Red Crown to lead the North." (EIV,290,15-16).

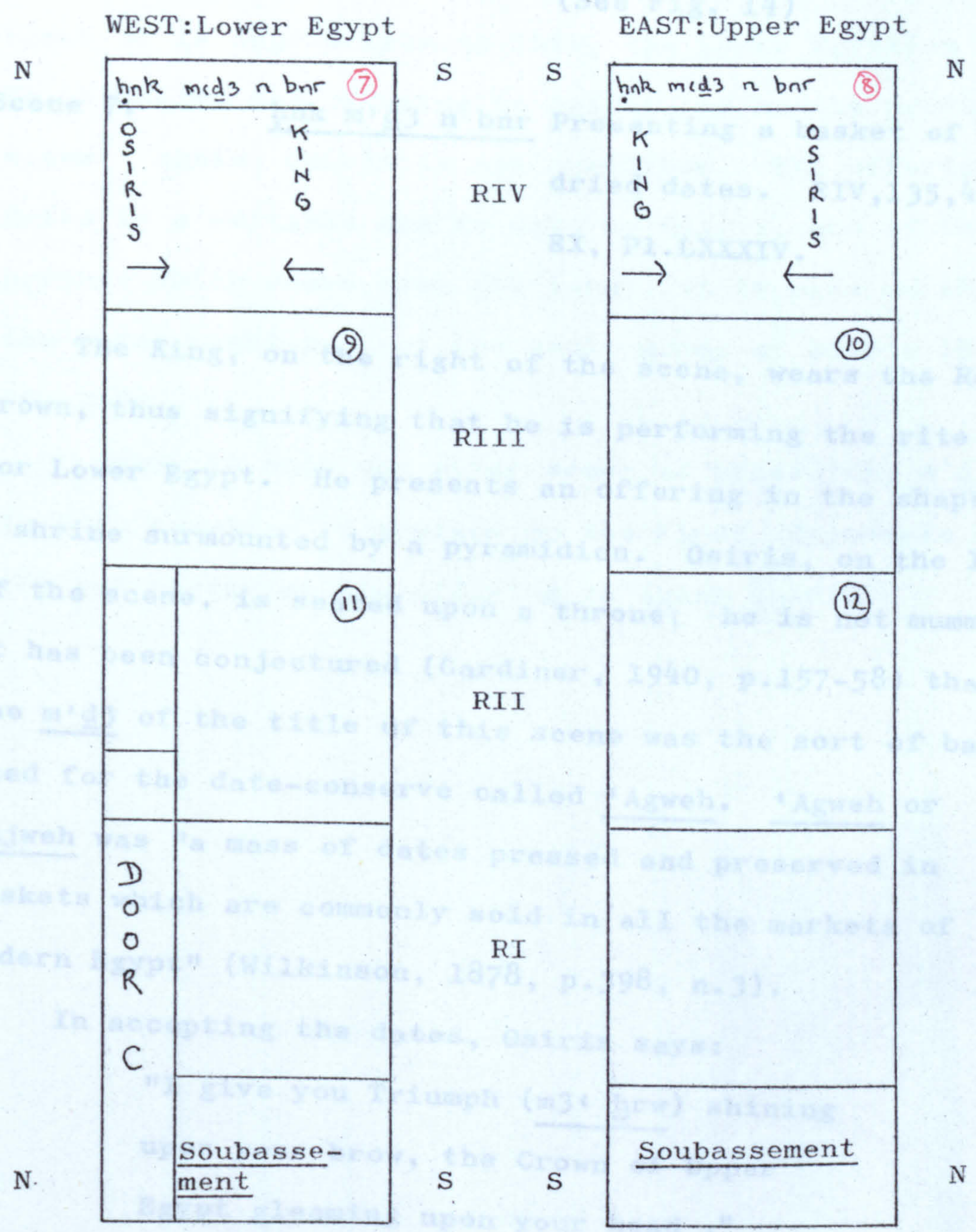
Two further scenes of irt hpt appear on the exterior of the Naos. These scenes are the fifty-ninth and sixty-sixth in the Ritual; they will be discussed when their place in the Ritual is reached.

Other scenes of irt hpt appear in the following places only: on Register III of the east side of the Forecourt (EV,192; EX, Pl.CXIX); on the eleventh column in the west portico (EV,235; EX, Pl.CXXXII); and on the exterior of the Girdle Wall, on the third register of the west wall (EVII,144; EX, Pl.CLXIV) and on the third register of the east wall (EVII,304; EX, Pl.CLXXII).

All these scenes of irt hpt appear on parts of the temple which are open to the sky. The two scenes from the exterior of the Naos outlined above make it clear that by offering the hpt-diadem, the King was enabling the recipient to instil fear into his enemies. It would be logical to put such scenes on the exterior walls of the temple - they were not private, secret scenes but scenes with which to demonstrate power and ward off enemies from the temple and therefore from Egypt herself, since the temple was the embodiment of Egypt.

NAOS EXTERIOR : EAST AND WEST WALLS

Group II : Scenes 7-8



EX, Pl. LXXXIV

EX, Pl. XC

Figure 14

Group II Scenes 7-8 The King (Ptolemy VIII)
 makes an offering to
 Osiris in each of the two
 scenes.
 (See Fig. 14)

Scene 7. h₁nk m'd₃ n bnr Presenting a basket of sun-
 dried dates. EIV,135,4-16;
 EX, Pl.LXXXIV.

The King, on the right of the scene, wears the Red Crown, thus signifying that he is performing the rite for Lower Egypt. He presents an offering in the shape of a shrine surmounted by a pyramidion. Osiris, on the left of the scene, is seated upon a throne; he is not mummiform. It has been conjectured (Gardiner, 1940, p.157-58) that the m'd₃ of the title of this scene was the sort of basket used for the date-conserved called 'Agweh. 'Agweh or adjweh was "a mass of dates pressed and preserved in baskets which are commonly sold in all the markets of modern Egypt" (Wilkinson, 1878, p.398, n.3).

In accepting the dates, Osiris says:

"I give you Triumph (m₃' hrw) shining
 upon your brow, the Crown of Upper
 Egypt gleaming upon your head."
 (EIV,135,13).

Scene 8. hnk m'd3 n bnr Presenting a basket of
sun-dried dates. EIV,
290,18-291,13; EX, Pl.XC

The King, on the left of the scene, wears the White Crown as is appropriate on this, the Upper Egyptian wall. He is making the offering to Osiris, as in the previous scene; again, Osiris is not mummiform. The offering of dates is a suitable one to make to Osiris, god of the produce which comes from the land; it is made so that the dates might protect the noble mummy of Osiris (EIV, 291,2-3).

There is only one other scene of presenting m'd3 n bnr in Edfu temple; it appears on the First Hypostyle Hall; the god receiving the offering is again Osiris.

NAOS EXTERIOR : EAST AND WEST WALLS

Group III : Scenes 9-10

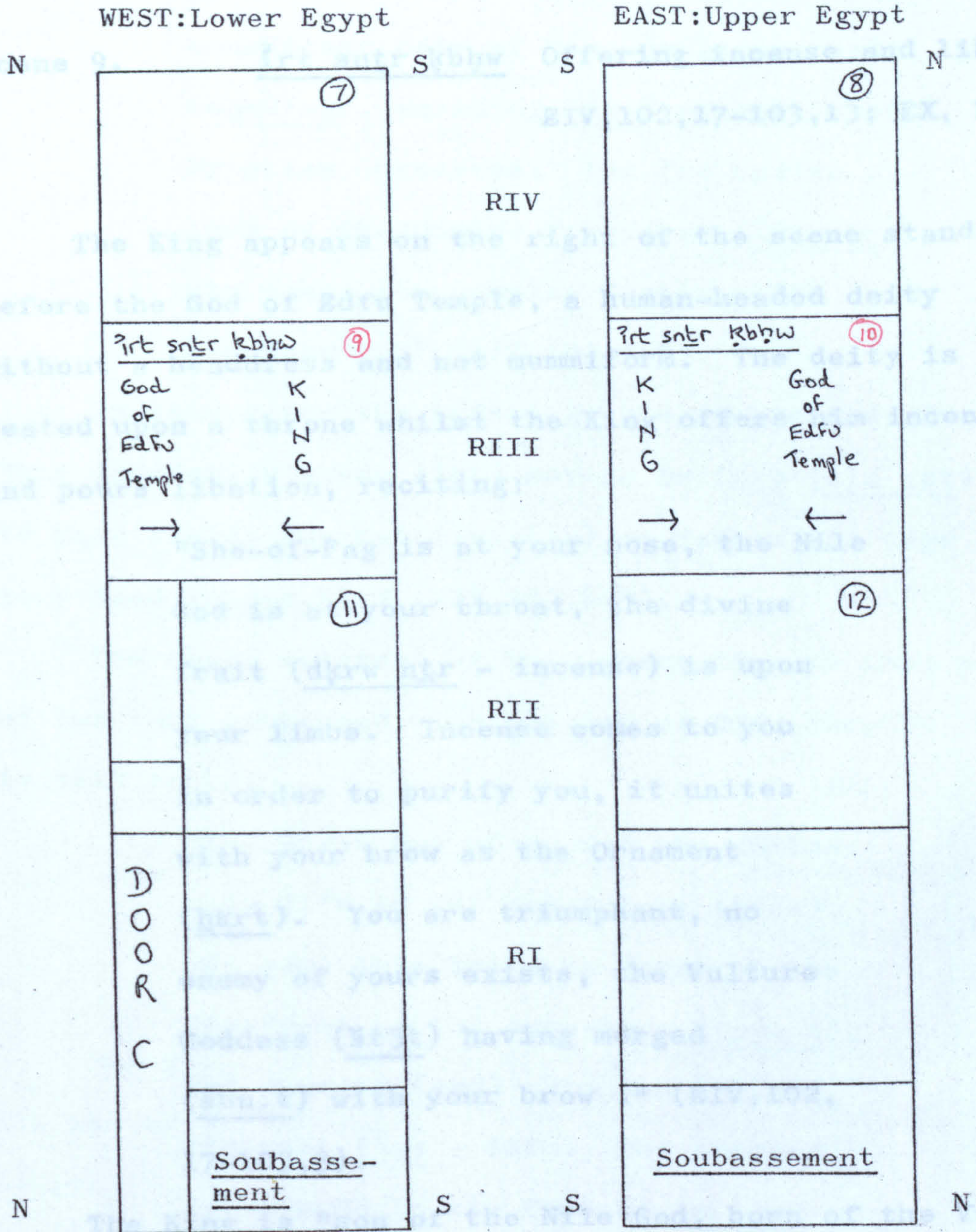


Figure 15

<u>Group III</u>	<u>Scenes 9-10</u>	The King makes an offering to the God of Edfu Temple in each of the two scenes. (See Fig. 15)
Scene 9.	<u>irt sntr kbhw</u>	Offering incense and libation EIV,102,17-103,13; EX, Pl.LXXXIV

The King appears on the right of the scene standing before the God of Edfu Temple, a human-headed deity without a headdress and not mummiform. The deity is seated upon a throne whilst the King offers him incense and pours libation, reciting:

"She-of-Fag is at your nose, the Nile God is at your throat, the divine fruit (dkrw ntr - incense) is upon your limbs. Incense comes to you in order to purify you, it unites with your brow as the Ornament (hkrt). You are triumphant, no enemy of yours exists, the Vulture Goddess (št3t) having merged (šbn.t) with your brow." (EIV,102, 17-103,3).

The King is "son of the Nile God, born of the Vulture Goddess (hwrt) who becomes young again (nḥn) after growing old." (EIV,103,5).

In the vertical line behind the King, his Horus and Two Ladies names are set out according to Winter's "Idealschema" (Winter, 1968, p.50) and are as follows:

"Horus ... the great magician who lifts up the Right Eye together with the Left, beneficent heir of Him-who-lives-again (wḥm-'nh), nursling (3tt) of the Upper Egyptian Sorceress; the Two Ladies ... lord of the divine fragrance (ḥdt ntr) who makes the temples festive with his bounty ..." (EIV,103,5-7).

In return for the offering, the Temple God gives "the inundation water (ḥtt) moving swiftly (sḥn gst) to your field, Nun settling (nn) as far as the edge of your land (nprwt.k). " (EIV,103,8-9).

The chief interest of this scene lies in that part of the text concerned with the God of Edfu Temple. He is said to be:

"the Great One of Behdet who unites with life in the Great Seat (Edfu), who came into being in Tanen at the forefront of the Ancestors (tpyw-'), who guarded (swd3) his son in the Fishpool (šns - Edfu), who emerged afterwards in his form of 'm-t3wy (Thoth), the burier of souls in

their burial place (ihks), abiding in his mummy shape in Djeba from the time of the Ancestors (drtyw) until today." (EIV,103,9-11).

He is:

"the august god preeminent in Wetjeset-Hor, who floods Behdet with food and provisions, who leads Southerners and Northerners to their portions, who gives sustenance to Westerners and Easterners, who provisions (hn) the Ennead that attained being in the Ancestors (tpyw-'), who presents gifts (sfsf 3w) to those who come afterwards (imyw-ht)." (EIV,103,11-13).

Scene 10. irt sntr kbhw Offering incense and libation
EIV;258,12-259,9; EX, Pl.XC

The King, on the left of the scene, stands before the God of Edfu Temple, offering him incense and pouring water.

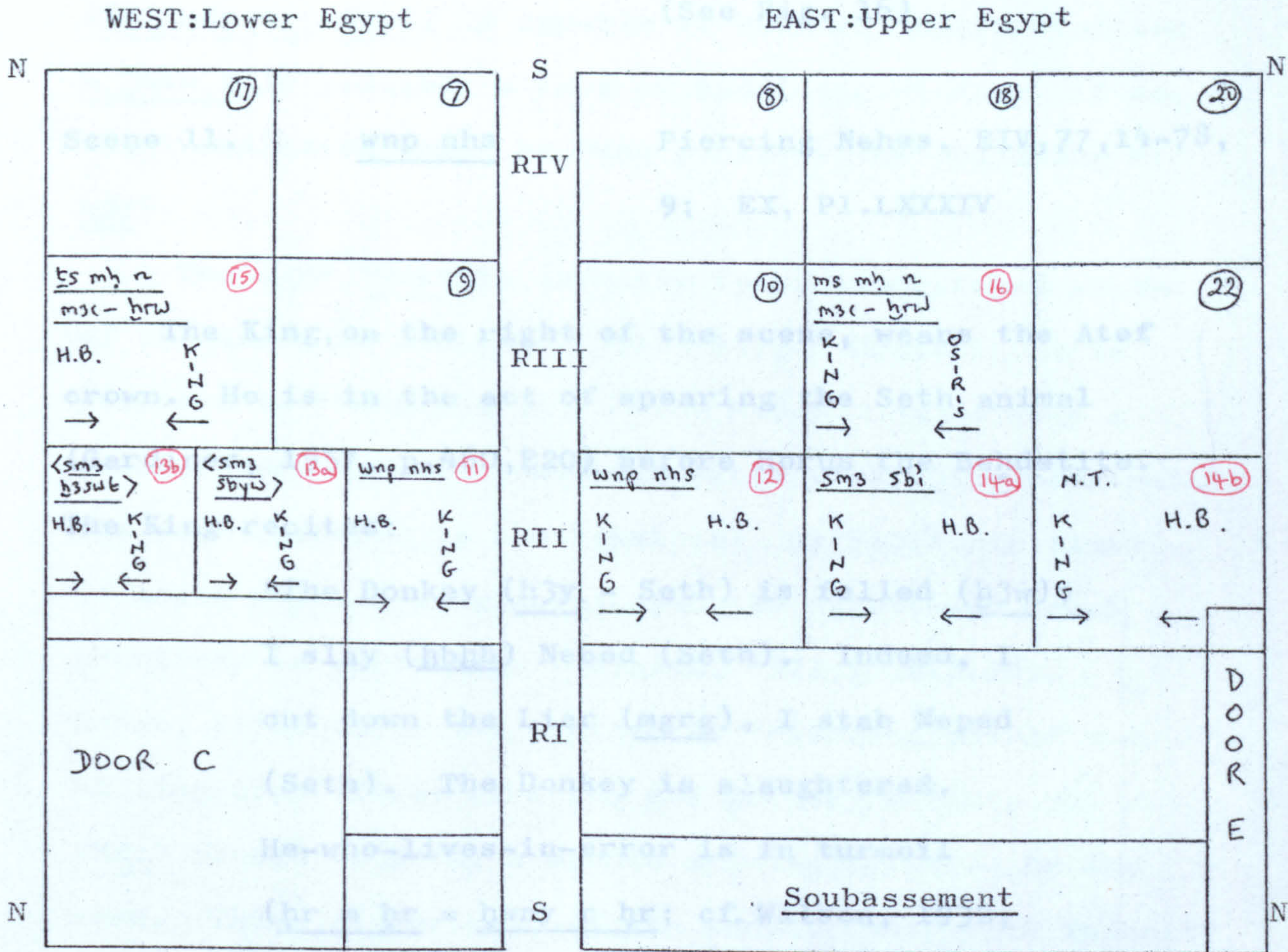
In the offering formula to the scene, incense is called "the Eye of Horus". The King presents it so that

"the Eye of Horus (ḥrt Hr) may waft towards (the) shrine" of the God (EIV, 258, 13-14).

The "Gottliche Randzeile" does not contain references to incense and libation; instead, it rather surprisingly refers to the God of Edfu Temple as the one "who has destroyed Asiatics and ravaged (ḥb) the tribesmen, who turns back ('n) the Asiatics ('mw) and subdues the Libyans (tmḥw) with blows, so that the breath of life may be at the nose of the souls (b3w), permitting the Peaceful Ones (ḥtptyw i.e. the Blessed Dead) to breathe (srk)" (EIV, 259, 7-9).

NAOS EXTERIOR : EAST AND WEST WALLS

Group IV : Scenes 11-16



EX, Pl. LXXXIV

EX, Pl. XC

Figure 16

<u>Group IV</u>	<u>Scenes 11-16</u>	The King makes an offering to Horus the Behdetite in Scenes 11 to 15; and to Osiris in Scene 16. (See Fig. 16)
Scene 11.	<u>wnp nhs</u>	Piercing Nehes. EIV, 77, 14-78, 9; EX, Pl. LXXXIV

The King, on the right of the scene, wears the Atef crown. He is in the act of spearing the Seth animal (Gardiner, 1957, p. 460, E20) before Horus the Behdetite.

The King recites:

"The Donkey (h3y - Seth) is felled (h3w); I slay (hbhb) Nebed (Seth). Indeed, I cut down the Liar (mrgg), I stab Neped (Seth). The Donkey is slaughtered. He-who-lives-in-error is in turmoil (hr m hr = hwny r hr; cf. Wilson, 1932, pp. 56-7) and no longer exists. He-of-the-evil-name is in parlous state, the Pig-animal (š3 - Seth) is slaughtered (m š3d). Horus, Sekhem-Hor (Murray, 1928, p. 2, 12), is triumphant." (EIV, 77, 14-78, 2).

The King is said to be the "replica of the drty- falcon, the Powerful One in the Isle of Fury (Edfu) who punishes Mdy because of his evildoing," (EIV,78,4). The phrase "who punishes Mdy because of his evildoing" (db3 mdy m tmsw.f) is capable of another interpretation: m tmsw.f is possibly a case of Badal apposition; if so, the translation would be "who punishes the evildoing of Mdy".

The word "Mdy" is normally to be interpreted as one of the names of Seth (W/b II,183(14)). However, it is possible to translate it as "the Mede". "Mede" was a general term for the foreign masters of Egypt - originally, the word referred to the Persians; by Ptolemaic times, it meant enemies in general, and the Egyptians' Greek overlords in particular (Ibrahim, 1971,pp.217-18). Hence, although in the context of "Piercing Nehes" and killing other forms of Seth, the primary meaning of "Mdy" should be Seth, a double meaning is given to the word. Thus, the priests of the temple could with impunity symbolically kill their Greek conquerors whilst supposedly killing "Mdy" or Seth.

Horus, Sekhem-Hor, the Spear of Behdet (p(3) sgmh n Bhdt), is said to be the "great mace of Re" who "kills his (i.e. the enemy's) confederates (sm3yt.f) in the desert" (EIV,78,7-8), a further connection with Seth, who in the Late Period was connected with the principle of dryness (Posener, 1962,p.63,col.1).

Scene 12.

wnp nhs

Piercing Nehes. EIV, 234,

7-235,4; EX, Pl.XC

The King, on the left of the scene, adopts the same position before Horus the Behdetite as in Scene 11. The bottom of the scene is destroyed, but presumably the King is again spearing the Seth animal. He recites:

"The Poltroon (hmty - Seth) is repulsed from the Mansion of Horus of the Horus Gods (Edfu) (by) the Servant of Horus. Your h3yt-chamber is joyful, your enemy is destroyed, his confederates are upon the fire. The Place of Piercing (st wnp - Edfu) is in a state of joy, Mhr (Seth) is slain upon the slaughtering-block. Sekhem-Hor is glad." (EIV, 234, 8-12).

The King is said to be the "divine child of Heter-Hor (htr-Hr - the Spear of Horus - W/b III, 202) who slays the Poltroon in the Mansion of the Ruler," (EIV, 234, 14).

Again, Horus, this time as Hd-wr, singles out a form of Seth for killing; he slaughters "the Enemy of Wetjeset" (EIV, 235, 3).

Both in Scene 11 and in Scene 12, enemies in general are dealt with by Horus; in Scene 11, they are "in utter destruction (m 'dw '3w), their confederates being burnt

offerings" (EIV,78,6); in Scene 12, Libyans are given to the King as serfs and "distant foreign lands" (EIV, 234,18-235,1) as his servants.

Five other scenes of "Wnp Nhs" occur at Edfu, in the following places:

- (i) Pronaos exterior, east wall, Register I
(EIV,374; EX, Pl.CVII);
- (ii) Forecourt, east portico, column 14, west
(EV,296; EX, Pl.CXXXIV);
- (iii) Girdle wall, inner face, east, Register II
(EVI,297; EX, Pl.CLIV);
- (iv) Girdle wall, exterior face, west, Register III
(EVII,167; EX, Pl.CLXVIII);
- (v) Girdle wall, exterior face, east, Register III
(EVII,308; EX, Pl.CLXXIII).

Like the scenes of irt hpt (see page 191) these scenes of "Wnp Nhs" appear on parts of the temple which are open to the sky; those on the Girdle wall, Naos and Pronaos especially would seem to be there expressly to protect the Temple of Horus from Seth, the traditional enemy of Horus.

Scene 13a. < sm3 sbyw > < Killing an enemy >
EIV,78,11-79,3; EX, Pl.LXXXIV

This is a small scene which appears above Doorway C (see Fig. 16). Much of it is destroyed; both title and offering

Scene 14a.

sm3 sbi

Killing the enemy.

EIV, 235,6-236,2: EX, Pl. XC

The King, on the left of the scene, presents bound enemies to Horus the Behdetite. The offering formula reads: :

"I slay you, gathered together upon the ground, by means of the 3ms-mace of Horus of Pe and Mesen. I lay you low (nm'.i) and you cannot stand up. I draw my arrow against you. O Eye of Horus, come, that I may receive (sšp.i) a roast of them, those enemies (mdyw) of Him-of-the-Dappled-Plumage." (EIV, 235,6-10).

The epithets of the King continue this theme; he is the "beneficent god who shoots to finish off (wdi r s'rk) like the Great Cackler (ngg wr i.e. Amun; cf. Morenz, 1973, p.178), whose hand is uplifted to cut up the choicest cuts of meat." (EIV, 235,12).

Horus the Behdetite is said to be "in the Throne of the Gods slaying the enemy in Set-Weret, killing the confederates of Nbd (Seth), flaying (mds) their skins (msk.sn), striking fear into the hearts of robbers ('w3y)". (EIV, 235,18-236,1), thus identifying the "enemy" of the title with Seth.

An interesting point, both in the offering formula and in the epithets of the King, are the references to roast

Syria (ḥ3rw) is overthrown. The rebellious foreign lands are exhausted (m bdš). The Shesheru and the 'Aamu lie dead in heaps (sd tp n ; W/b IV, 364, 1 & 2)." (EIV, 236, 4-8).

The King is said to be upon his throne "slaying the Meshwesh (mš3w3š), slaughtering the Shashu (š3sw), stabbing the Tjeker (dkr)" (EIV, 236, 11-12).

Horus the Behdetite is the great god who "slays foreign lands, who repels rebels, who drives out the R'w-ib, who binds the Nubians (tḥsw)" (EIV, 236, 15-16). He gives the King "the Tm3w fallen before (his) throne" (EIV, 236, 14).

The chief feature of Scenes 13b and 14b is the comprehensive list of foreign enemies given in them. A further point of interest lies in the fact that the references to these enemies are placed on appropriate walls; in other words, they demonstrate a correct geographical orientation. This phenomenon in the decoration of Egyptian temples has already been noted (see Chapter I, p.13 foll.).

Hence, in Scene 13b, which is carved on the western wall, the enemies named are mainly Sandfarers and Beduin - those from the western desert, perhaps. In Scene 14b, carved on the eastern wall, the origins of the enemies named (for example, Syria, the Shesheru, the 'Aamu) lie to the east of Egypt.

Scenes of killing an enemy or enemies which are comparable in content to Scenes 13a and 14a occur in the following places only:

- (i) Forecourt, west wall, Reg.I (EV,142; Pl.CXVIII)
- " east " Reg.I (EV,41; Pl.CXIV)
- (ii) Girdle Wall, exterior, west, Reg.III (EVII,262;
Pl.CLXXII)
- " " " east, Reg.II (EVII,149;
Pl.CLXV)

These scenes of killing enemies, like the scenes of "Piercing Nehes" (see p.204) are placed on those walls of the temple which are open to the sky. The purpose of this is twofold - the walls in question are most in need of protection, not being in the safe, interior parts of the temple; and they are the walls where traditionally such scenes of demonstrating the power of the King, and therefore of Egypt, were placed. In so doing, the decorators of the temple were able to ensure that the temple would be magically protected; and that the power of the King was affirmed.

Scene 15. ts mh n m3'-hrw Tying on the Diadem of
Justification. EIV, 103,
15-104,12; EX, Pl.LXXXIV

The King, on the right of the scene, stands before Horus the Behdetite who is seated upon a throne on the left.

The King is offering a diadem to Horus.

The offering formula reads:

"The victorious Behdetite is in Pe
and Mesen and has seized the Two
Lands triumphantly (m m3'-hrw).
He receives (sšp.n.f) the White
Crown of his father, Osiris, appearing
upon the throne of Geb. The sky is
above him, the earth is beneath his
feet. The Nine Bows are united
beneath his sandals)." (EIV,103,
15-104,2).

Horus declares:

"I consign your enemies to Him-of-the-
Sharp-Claws, the valorous one, mighty
of kingship, him with the sharp spit
(m'kt) .". (EIV,104,8-9).

Scene 16. ms mh n m3'-hrw Presenting the Diadem of
Justification
EIV,259,11-260,8; EX, Pl.XC

The King, on the left of the scene, offers a diadem
to Osiris. Osiris is seated upon a throne; he is not
mummiform. The offering formula reads:

"This beautiful diadem shall be
upon your head, tied on for you (by)
your father, the father of the gods,

so that you may take possession
 (sšp.k) of this land by means of
 your brow. You live through the
 love of all the gods when they
 see [...] of Re-Harakhte when he
 brings you the fillet. Praise
 be unto you in (your) capacity of
 the Triumphant One." (EIV, 259,
 12-16).

The King is called "the heir of Geb who gives thanks
 for Egypt, child of the Chief of the Westerners". (EIV,
 259,18).

Osiris, "the Heliopolitan ... who resides in Behdet"
 (EIV, 260,5) replies:

"It is removed from my head so that
 it may be placed upon your head.
 I protect you, I renew your protec-
 tion (mkt.k).!" (EIV, 260,4-5).

The diadems presented in both the above scenes are of
 the kind designated "Type III" by Derchain (Derchain, 1955,
 p.227). He gives a complete translation of Scene 15 on
 page 255 of the work cited, and of Scene 16 on page 272.

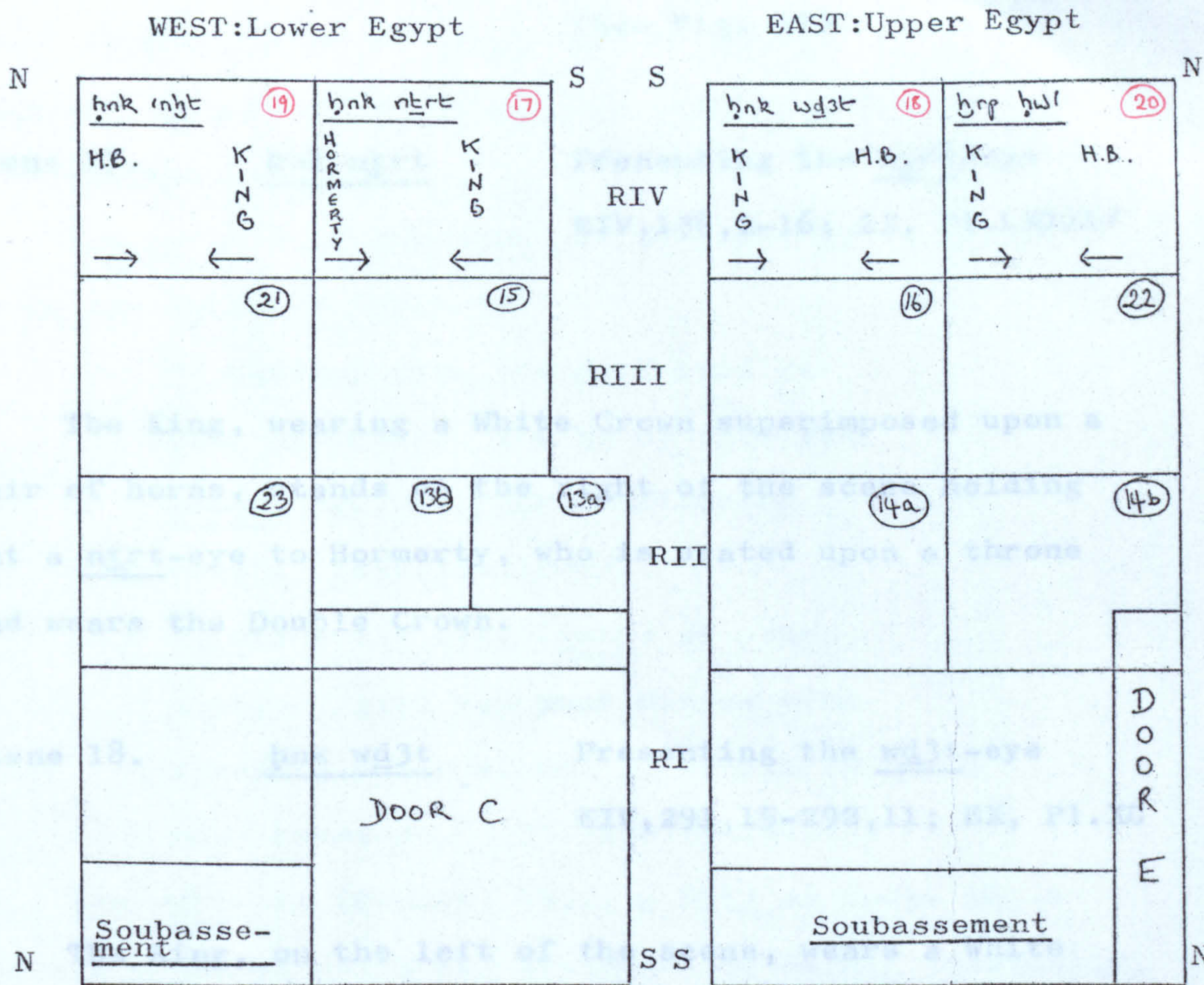
Derchain thinks that the rite of offering the "Diadem
 of Justification" was connected originally with Horus
 (op. cit., p.234), but that eventually it became Osirianised,
 with the Ptolemaic version of the rite being particularly

so (Derchain, op. cit., p.237). Many of the Ptolemaic versions are, in turn, solarised (op. cit., pp. 238-241). Scenes 15 and 16 of the Ritual under discussion do not, however, display a solar aspect. As can be seen in the offering formulae to these Scenes, and by the recipient (Osiris) of the offering in Scene 16, they are closely connected with Osiris.

The purpose of the offering of the Diadem of Justification is, according to Derchain (1955, p.232), to enable the King to overthrow his enemies. Above all, it is an act by means of which the monarchy was legitimised (op. cit., p.243).

NAOS EXTERIOR : EAST AND WEST WALLS

Group V : Scenes 17-20



EX, Pl. LXXXIV

EX, Pl. XC

Figure 17

Group VScenes 17-20

The King offers to Hormerty in Scene 17; and to Horus the Behdetite in the remaining scenes.

(See Fig. 17)

Scene 17.

h_hnk n_htrt

Presenting the n_htrt-eye

EIV, 136, 2-16; EX, Pl. LXXXIV

The King, wearing a White Crown superimposed upon a pair of horns, stands on the right of the scene holding out a n_htrt-eye to Hormerty, who is seated upon a throne and wears the Double Crown.

Scene 18.

h_hnk w_hd3t

Presenting the w_hd3t-eye

EIV, 291, 15-292, 11; EX, Pl. XC

The King, on the left of the scene, wears a White Crown superimposed upon a pair of horns as he did in the preceding scene. He is offering an w_hd3t-eye to Horus the Behdetite.

Scene 19.

h_hnk 'n_hht

Presenting the 'n_hht-eye

EIV, 136, 18-137, 14; EX, Pl. LXXXIV

The King stands on the right of the scene. He is wearing the crown most appropriate to a scene upon this, the western, or Lower Egyptian, wall - the Red Crown.

He is offering an 'nht-eye to Horus the Behdetite, who is seated upon a throne and wears a moon upon his head.

The symbol of an eye, especially the wd3t-eye of Horus, was probably the most common amulet in Egypt, apart from the scarab. They were protective devices, designed especially to be prophylactic against evil and the evil eye.

The purpose of the ntrt-eye of Scene 17 is summed up in the words of Hormerty:

"I destroy your enemy, I burn up your opponents, I make my face red (sdšr) against your disaffected ones". (EIV,136,12-13).

"I blind the eyes (tsty) of your foes; I give you your divine eyes fixed in their place; I overthrow your enemies". (EIV,136,15-16).

The wd3t-eye (Bonnet, 1952, p.854) of Scene 18 is the eye of Horus which was destroyed by Seth. Eventually, Thoth filled (mh) or put together again this eye, which thus became sound once more, hence the name "wd3t", the sound or uninjured eye of Horus.

There are, as might be expected, several references to Seth in the scene. Horus "holds fast Seth" (EIV,292, 9); he prevails over "That Failure (pfy wp sp) ... whose foreleg he slices up". (EIV,292,9-11).

In offering the Eye of Horus, the King is giving the God his vital spirit (Moret, 1902,(i), p.36).

One of the eyes of Horus was thought to be the Moon (Morenz, 1973, p.262); the 'nht-eye of Scene 19 would seem to be that eye. Horus, who wears a moon upon his head in his capacity of owner of the moon eye, is "the one who makes the light which drives away darkness (i.e. moonlight)". (EIV,137,12). He accepts the King's offering with the words:

"I accept your Moon Eye (hnmt.k).

I join with it so that I may

illuminate Egypt (b3kt) with

brightness. I give you sight

(ptr) for ever by day, and vision

(dg3) for eternity by night (snk)".

(EIV,137,13-14).

Scene 20.

hrp hw'

Offering the staff

EIV,292,13-293,10; EX, Pl.XC

The King, wearing a White Crown as is appropriate on this eastern, or Upper Egyptian, wall, stands on the left of the scene before Horus the Behdetite, and offers him a stick.

The offering formula is:

"Take for yourself the staff which I

offer before you, the staff for

killing (hnp) your enemies,
 it being triumphant when
 presented (mtr.ti³) to them.
 I seize (them) myself through
 my power. I bring them; I
 place (them) before you,
 dancing (hr i3wy) woefully (imw)
 behind me." (EIV,292,14-17).

In return for the offering, Horus gives the King,
 "the enemy entwined in (his) mesh (snh) as a catch for
 Khnum in his rope". (EIV,293,6). He accepts the staff,
 saying: "I pierce your rebels, slaying the enemy upon
 your path." (EIV,293,9-10).

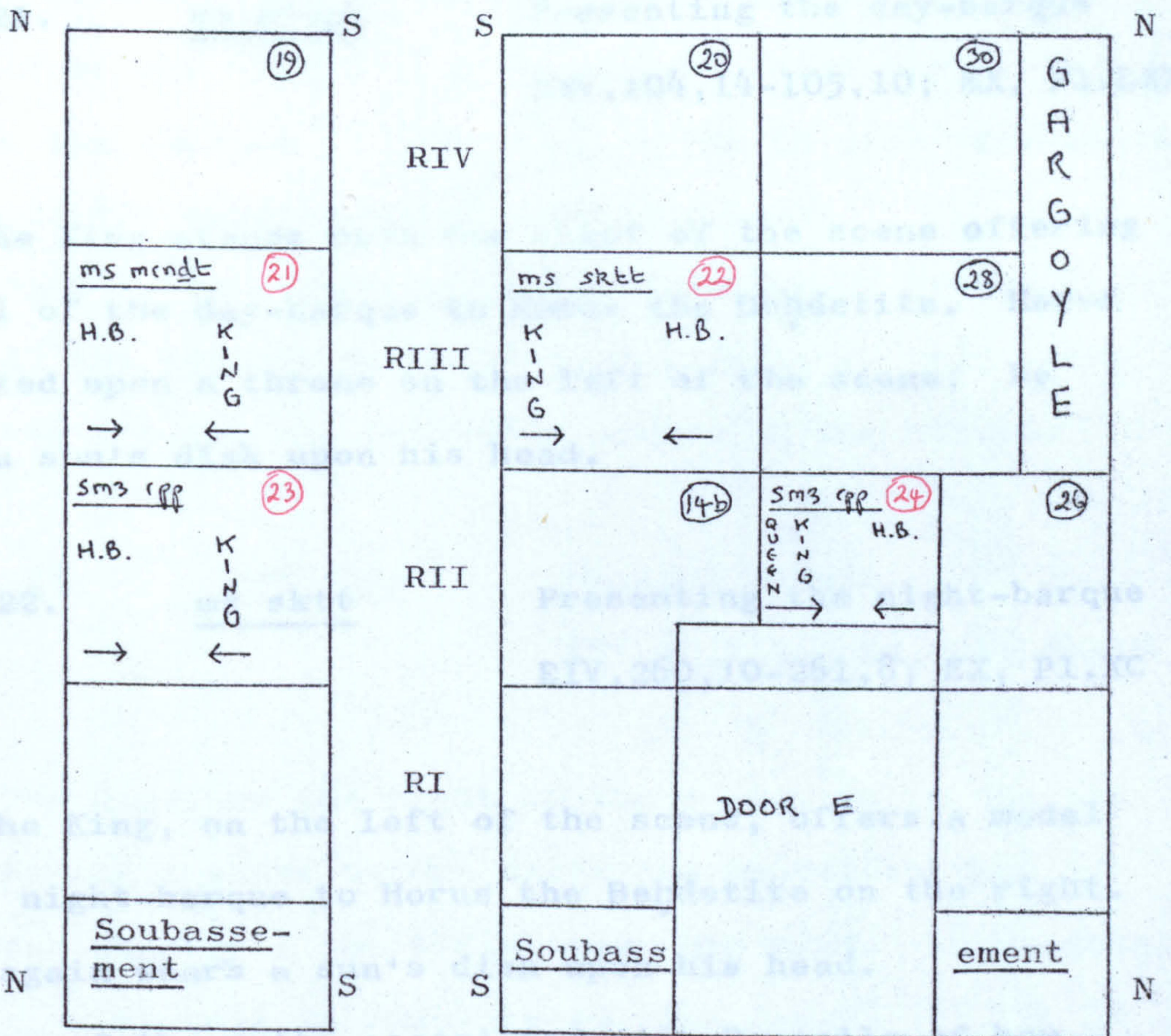
This scene of "Offering the Staff" is the only one
 of its type at Edfu. In the ritual under discussion, it
 seems to be the Upper Egyptian counterpart of Scene 19
 "Offering the 'nht-eye". To maintain an exact parallelism
 between Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt, Scene 20 should have
 consisted of the offering of another eye. Instead,
 "Offering the Staff" provides a culminating rite in the
 group of scenes concerned with offering eyes. The various
 eyes offered in Scenes 17 to 19 provide protection for
 the god; the staff offered in Scene 20 provides him with
 the means of enforcing that protection by enabling him to
 kill his enemies.

NAOS EXTERIOR : EAST AND WEST WALLS

Group VI : Scenes 21-24

WEST:Lower Egypt

EAST:Upper Egypt



EX, Pl. LXXXIV

EX, Pl. XC

Figure 18

<u>Group VI</u>	<u>Scenes 21-24</u>	The King offers to Horus the Behdetite in all four scenes. (See Fig. 18)
Scene 21.	<u>ms m'ndt</u>	Presenting the day-barque EIV, 104, 14-105, 10; EX, Pl. LXXXIV

The King stands upon the right of the scene offering a model of the day-barque to Horus the Behdetite. Horus is seated upon a throne on the left of the scene; he wears a sun's disk upon his head.

Scene 22.	<u>ms sktt</u>	Presenting the night-barque EIV, 260, 10-261, 8; EX, Pl. XC
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The King, on the left of the scene, offers a model of the night-barque to Horus the Behdetite on the right. Horus again wears a sun's disk upon his head.

One of the myths associated with Re tells of how, every morning, the god rises on the eastern bank of the Nile and boards his day-barque. In this, he sails across the sky until evening when he disembarks from the day-barque and boards the night-barque for his nightly journey through the Underworld (Bonnet, 1952, pp. 738-40).

Scenes 21 and 22 of the Ritual are influenced by this myth. In Scene 21, it is Horus the Behdetite in his

capacity of "great sun's disk with radiant beams who traverses the sky every day without growing weary, who rests in the Western Mountain in the day-barque" (EIV,105,7-8), who receives the King's offering of the day-barque. In Scene 22, the night-barque is offered by the King, who is "son of the horizon god ... who elevates the horizon god to the horizon." (EIV,261,1). He is also "the child of Re in the night-barque" (EIV,261,1-2).

Both barques were in constant danger of attack from Apopis, the serpent demon (Posener, 1962, p.12b); hence the need for the two following scenes in the Ritual:

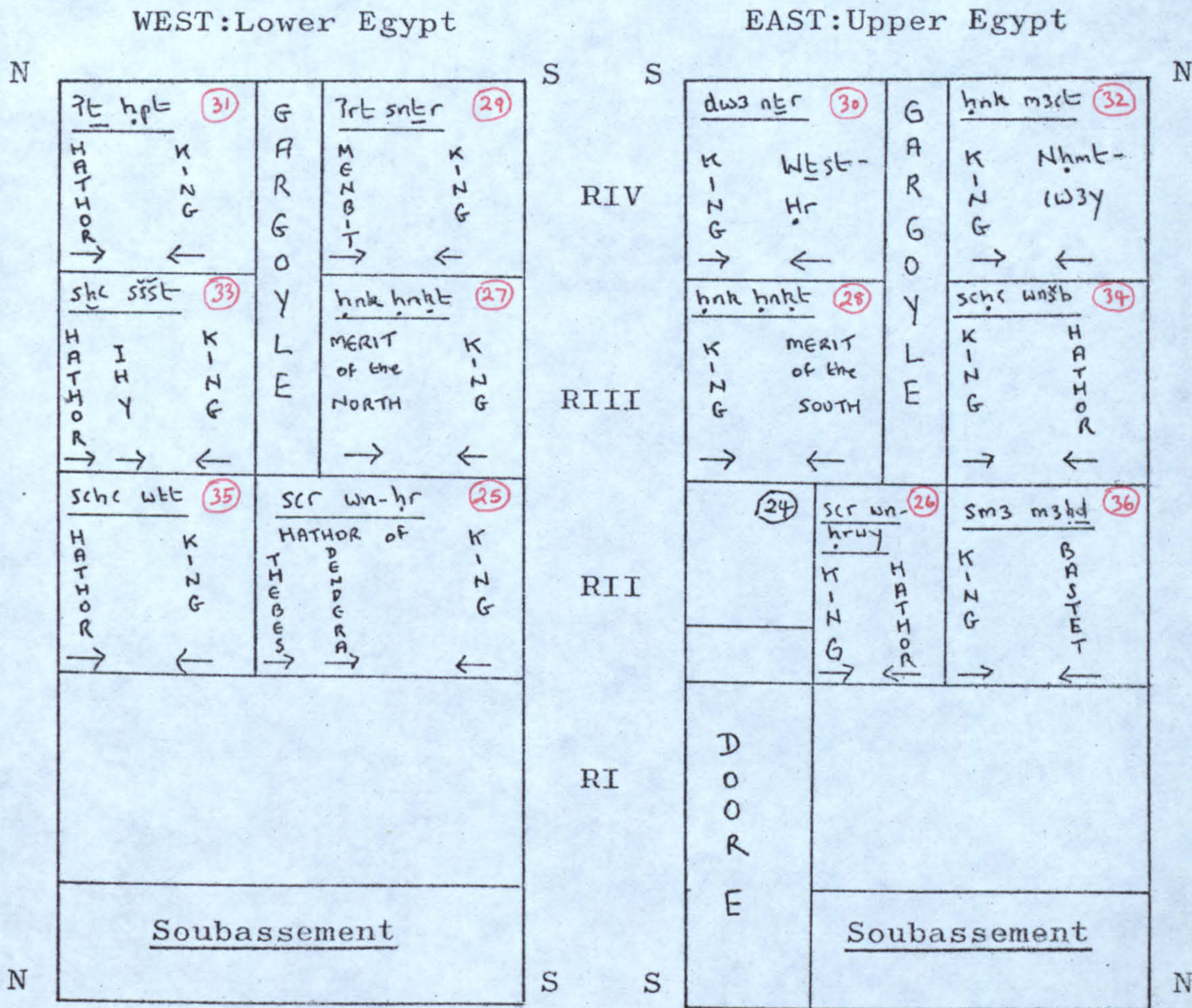
Scene 23. sm3 3pp Killing Apopis
 EIV,80,4-16; EX, Pl.LXXXIV

The King, on the right of the scene, is in the act of spearing a snake before Horus the Behdetite, who is depicted wearing a sun's disk upon his head. He recites:

"Apopis is slaughtered, the day-barque is safe, O Winged Beetle. Your sanctuary is pure. The Evil One (dw-kd - Apopis) is driven away; the wbr-snake (Apopis) is burnt up; the n'y-serpent (Apopis) is annihilated. You traverse the sky unimpeded (n hm n nmtt.k lit: without your

NAOS EXTERIOR : EAST AND WEST WALLS

Group VII : Scenes 25-36



EX, Pls LXXXIV-LXXXV

EX, Pl. XC-XCI

Figure 19

<u>Group VII</u>	<u>Scenes 25-36</u>	The King makes offerings to various goddesses. (See Fig. 19)
Scene 25.	<u>s'r wn-hr</u>	Presenting a mirror (<u>sic</u>) EIV, 81, 2-82, 4; EX, Pls. LXXXIV - LXXXV

The King, on the right, offers two mirrors to Hathor of Dendera on the left, and Hathor of Thebes on the far left, of the scene.

The King is "the child of Henu (Sokar) who propitiates the diadem (hryt-tp), who gladdens the ruler on beholding her face". (EIV, 81, 8). He is "on his throne (sm3t.f) in the Set-Weret of Harakhte, making the Noble One (Hathor) festive, renewing her radiance, prolonging the sight of the Maiden (hwnt - Hathor)". (EIV, 81, 9). The King is "the sun (3hw) and the moon (iwn-h'), the great god who gives light in the darkness (snk)". (EIV, 81, 10).

Hathor of Dendera is "the Eye of Re who resides in Behdet, whose face is beautiful, who makes festive the eyebrows, whose arms are turquoise, whose hair gleams with best quality lapis lazuli". (EIV, 81, 13-14). She offers the King "the sight of the right eye (imntt) by day, and the sight of the left eye (i3bt) by night". (EIV, 81, 12-13).

Hathor of Thebes is "the great One who resides in Thebes, the Eye of Re in Wetjeset-Hor (Edfu), the great female Amun

supporting the moon, elevating Re to his Guiding Eye (sšmt.f - Hathor)". He is like "Hor-nefer, son of Mesentet (ms-ntt - he-who-gives-birth-to-all), with life-giving rays like the Two Luminaries (h3yty - the sun and the moon)". (EIV,238,9-10).


Hathor of Dendera gives the King "the sight of the Vulture Goddess in the morning (ndw), and the vision of Mhnt in the evening (wš3)". (EIV,238,11). The Vulture Goddess is, of course, Nekhbet, tutelary goddess of Upper Egypt; Mhnt is Edjo, tutelary goddess of Lower Egypt.




There is a link here with what Hathor of Dendera gave to the King in the preceding scene. In Scene 25, she offered the sight of the right and left eyes. In Scene 26, the sight is put to use in beholding the Vulture Goddess and Mekhyt. This logical sequence of events also makes it clear that the scene of offering a mirror on the west, or Lower Egyptian, wall comes before the similar scene on the east, or Upper Egyptian, wall.

Scene 27. hnk hnkt

Presenting beer

EIV,105,12-106,7; EX, Pl.LXXXIV

The King, on the right of the scene, stands before Merit of the North and offers her two  vessels. The goddess is in human form, and wears a crown consisting of a clump of papyrus with buds bent down (Gardiner, 1957, p.481, M15), symbolic of Lower Egypt.

In the title of the scene, hnkt is written  ; this is not the usual writing of "beer";  is normally used to denote "milk". From what follows in the offering formula, however,  must be read as "beer" in this instance. The offering formula reads:

"These vessels overflow with h3w-ih̄t-beer; your temple is filled (hn') with nbtj-beer (cf. EIV, 45, 9). May your Majesty be drunk with "the moistener of the flesh" (ntf-h'w cf. W/B II, 356(6-8); a nice figure of speech, akin to the saying "to wet one's whistle") which wards off sickness with sweet beer. May you lift the harp (d3d3t) for yourself with cheerfulness. There is no evil that can harm (gw3) your Majesty before Him-of-the-Dappled-Plumage ."
(EIV, 105, 12-16).

The epithets of the King continue the theme of beer. He is the "son of Menket (the goddess of beer; cf. Bonnet, 1952, p. 452, b) in Athribis (k3km), who establishes <the limbs> of Him-whose-limbs-are-united (Osiris)". (EIV, 106, 1). He is "lord of strong ale (dsrw), lord of love, ruler of beer (wnf), the Elder who presents a beer vessel (b̄i3t) in order to ward off thirst (d3), whose arms are outstretched carrying beer vessels". (EIV, 106, 1-2).

Merit of the North is "Mistress of the Throat, Lady of the Gullet, Mistress of East". (EIV,106,5). Merit is often linked with the throat; she is a songstress, and therefore was made protectress of that part of the body pertaining to singing (Blackman, 1936, p.105).

She is also often equated with Hathor (Bonnet, 1952,p.457,b), which would be appropriate here in a group of scenes concerning the presentation of offerings to Hathor or substitutes for Hathor. Merit of the North is, of course, representing North, or Lower, Egypt, on this the west, or Lower Egyptian, wall.

Scene 28.	<u>h₁nk h₁nk_t</u>	Presenting beer
		EIV,261,10-262,7; EX, Pl.XC

The King, on the left of the scene, offers two jars to Merit of the South. She is in human form, and wears a crown upon her head made up of a group of three sedge (?) plants (Gardiner, 1953,p.73(4)) flanked by two buds which are bent down. Such a crown, formed from one of the emblems of Upper Egypt, is appropriate to this eastern or Upper Egyptian wall; Merit of the South, of course, represents southern, or Upper, Egypt.

In the offering formula to this scene, beer is called "the work of Menkhet which came into being at the Opet Festival". (EIV,261,10-11).

Merit of the South is Tenemet (W/B, V,312), Mistress of Drunkenness; she is, like Merit of the North, a songstress who is exhorted to "chant and keep time (sšp.t dh̄n.t; cf. EV,30,3 for a similar expression) for the šnbt-falcon, Him-of-the-Dappled-Plumage". (EIV,261, 13-14). She is "mistress of the cavern (tp̄ht) of her throat (w̄d-k̄3w)". (EIV,262,5). Thus, like Merit of the North in Scene 27, she is identified with the throat and with Hathor.


Scene 29.	<u>irt sn̄tr</u>	Presenting incense
		EIV,137,16-138,11; EX, Pl.LXXXIV

The King, on the right of the scene, offers incense to Menbit, a goddess with the head of a lioness surmounted by a Red Crown who is the personification of the royal throne. The King wears the White Crown of Upper Egypt on this, the Lower Egyptian, wall. He addresses Menbit thus:

"I come to you to cleanse you and purify you; O Throne (mn-b̄t) in the Mansion of the Throne (hwt isbt). I bring you the White Crown (h̄dt) of Nekheb, and incense (mnwr) which has come forth from Byblos". (EIV, 138,4-5).

Menbit gives the King "the Coiled One exercising protection around (him), the Lord of Upper Egypt protecting (his) flesh". (EIV,138,11).

Scene 30. dw3 ntr Adoring the god
EIV,293,12-294,8; EX, Pl.XC

The King, on the left of the scene, stands with arms upraised in adoration before a goddess who wears upon her head a disk set between two horns and surmounted by the sign  . She is Wtst-Hr, the personification of the Throne of Horus, that is, Edfu Temple.

In the offering formula, Wtst-Hr is referred to as Isis, and as "the mother of Anubis who protects ndm-'nh (Edfu), the protectress of the Protector of his Father (Horus)". (EIV,293,13-14).

There is no particular reference to Upper or Lower Egypt in titles or epithets in, or general contents of, Scene 30. One might have expected some reference to Lower Egypt to counterbalance the offering of a White Crown in Scene 29 on what is normally the Lower Egyptian wall.

Scene 31. it hpt Taking the oar
EIV,138,13-139,9; EX, Pl.LXXXV

The King, on the right of the scene, runs towards Hathor; he wears the White Crown, not, as might be

expected on this, the Lower Egyptian, wall, the Red Crown. In his left hand he holds three staves; each staff is surmounted by a different emblem. The three emblems are the 'nh-, dd- and w3s-signs; the 'nh-sign is in turn surmounted by a bird. In his right hand the King holds a crested ibis (Gardiner, 1957, p.470, G25).

The rite depicted in Scene 31 is an agricultural one; this is made clear in the offering formula:

"Take for yourself the field (3ht), it being glorious with no storm in it, sweet with no evil in it, splendid (sbk.ti) with []; made sleek (sph3.ti), flourishing and black, filled with its constituents (dbhw.s). It is the Divine Eye which has come forth from your body. It joins with your provisions (htm) as your gift." (EIV,138,13-17).

Hathor greets the King as "sovereign, lord of mankind, who creates all food" (EIV,139,8).

The crested ibis held out to Hathor by the King is the personification of 3ht, the field; Hathor accepts the oar for making her powerful and calls it "3ht - the Glorious One" (EIV,139,9). Thus, in a play on words, she links the oar (3ht) with the field (3ht).

Scene 32.

hnk m3'tOffering M3't

EIV, 294, 10-295, 4; EX, Pl. XCI

The King, wearing the White Crown, stands on the left of the scene offering a statuette of the goddess, Maat, to Nhmt-'w3y. Nhmt-'w3y is a goddess of justice who is often identified with Hathor (Boylan, 1922, pp. 208-209). The offering formula reads:

"Take for yourself < this b3t which has issued > from you; She-who-pleases-the-god is your Ka. The Beauteous One ('nt) is on your neck (hh), and the Beauteous One ('nt) is your name. The Other Throat (mrt kt) are you, while your counterpart (snnw.t) is the throat (bgs) of your brother, Shu. Your mysterious form (št3t) is the mysterious form of the Superintendent of the Treasury (hry wdb, i.e. Shu) ."
(EIV, 294, 10-13).

The lacuna in the first line of the offering formula has been restored with the help of a similar expression found in EII, 73, 11.

The King says to Nhmt-'w3y: "I have come to you ... that I may bring you M3't, (that is) the B3t, as your throat-ornament (iry hh.t)" (EIV, 294, 15-16). Thus, the B3t is identified with the m3't-image being offered

to the goddess; in turn, the m3't-image is translated into an ornament for the throat of Nhmt-'w3y.

The mrt is another pendant worn at the throat; but it is also the goddess's throat itself, by which she lives, eats and breathes (see above, p.185).

The connection between throat and food is further emphasised by the reference at the end of the offering formula to the Superintendent of the Treasury, who is Shu in his capacity of hry wdb. The Treasury was the place where food supplies were kept; because of this connection with food, Shu is identified with the throat.

In return for the offering of M3't, Nhmt-'w3y offers the King Truth so that he may "put down iniquity in this land". (EIV,295,1).

Nhmt-'w3y is identified with Hathor, as 'nt, the Beauteous One (EIV,294,11 and 16;295,2); and as irt R', the Eye of Re (EIV,295,2). Thus, she is Hathor in the guise of a goddess of law and justice (Boylan, 1922, p.209).

It is clear from the plays on words which connect M3't with the throat of the goddess that the offering of M3't in this scene is not only the offering of Truth but also the offering of the mysterious gullet through which the divinity breathes and swallows food (ibid.).

presentation of a wnšb is usually made to Hathor. She is connected with Thoth because she is the Right Eye of Re, or the Moon; Thoth, of course, is a moon god. The purpose of the presentation of a wnšb is to pacify Hathor.

How a wnšb is able to pacify Hathor is difficult to explain. According to legend, Hathor quarrelled with Re and retired angrily to Nubia. Thoth was sent to Nubia to pacify Hathor and persuade her to come back to Egypt (Junker, 1917). He went to Ẓwgm in the form of a dog-headed ape called wnš (Junker, 1911, p.22f.). wnš and wnšb may be morphologically related; and the ape which forms part of a wnšb or water clock enables that water clock to become identified with the Nubian legend of the pacification of the angry Hathor (Boylan, 1922, p.145).

Thoth does not appear in the scene of s'h' wnšb under discussion here. Instead, he is represented by the King as a priest whose titles connect him with Thoth; the King is "heart of Ipy, ward (šsr) of Neb-ithy, divine seed of Meky". (EIV, 264, 17) - all epithets of Thoth. Thoth is associated with the wnšb or water clock because he was thought to be the lord and measurer of time (Morenz, 1973, p.270); he is also a lunar deity (Boylan, 1922, p.62ff.). The wnšb used to pacify Hathor is connected with the lunar cult by virtue of the fact that the Hathor of the Nubian legend is the lunar eye of Horus (Boylan, 1922, p.145).

Scene 35. s'h' wtt Raising up the clepsydra
EIV,82,6-83,2; EX, Pl.LXXXV

The King, on the right of the scene, offers a clepsydra to Hathor, as he did in Scene 34. The act in Scene 34 was performed for Upper Egypt; this time, it is performed on behalf of Lower Egypt.

Scene 36. sm3 m3hd Killing an oryx
EIV,238,15-239,11; EX, Pl.XCI

The King, on the left of the scene, stands before Bastet. On an altar in front of the King is an oryx. The King grasps the horns of the oryx in his left hand, and a knife in his right hand, thus adopting the position called "Type I" by Derchain in his review of this rite (Derchain, 1962,(ii),p.8). A complete translation of Scene 36 is given by Derchain (op. cit. pp.49-50).

The rite of killing an oryx was a very ancient one. It had its origins in the time when the king led his people in the chase; the oryx was one of the animals hunted and killed to provide food. During the Old Kingdom, perhaps, the killing of an oryx was carried out so that its horns could be used to decorate the barque of Sokar (op. cit. p.11). Finally, the oryx became associated with the Seth-Horus legend; the oryx became the enemy of the eye of Horus (Junker, 1917,p.37).

In the scene under discussion, the link with the Horus legend is clear in the offering formula:

"The divine eye is divine. The Failure (Seth) is pierced. He-who-snatched-the-wd3t-eye (Seth) no longer exists. Your boat is built, the likeness of the Robber of the wd3t-eye (hnp wd3t - Seth) voyages upon īsr-wr ." (EIV, 238, 15-239, 1).

The King is "like Horus ... who acts while sailing (smh) against the oryx". (EIV, 239, 6).

Bastet "counts the hippopotami as she travels round the canal on her journey". (EIV, 239, 9-10). It is interesting to note the references to sailing in this scene. Such references appear only in scenes of "Killing the oryx" in which Horus of Hebenu or Bastet are the deities receiving the offering. This is not fortuitous (Derchain, 1962, (ii), p. 19); it is probable that there was a link between Hebenu and Bastet's city of Bubastis (op. cit. pp. 19-20).

There was certainly a link between Hebenu, the capital of the XVth Nome of Upper Egypt - the Oryx Nome - and Horus, for Hebenu was the place where Horus gained a great victory over Seth and his followers (Fairman, 1935, pp. 26-36).

The link between Seth, in his manifestations of both

oryx and hippopotamus, Horus, the wd3t-eye, and Hathor is very strong. According to a story recorded in a New Kingdom papyrus, it was Hathor who restored the eyes of Horus after Seth had gouged them out (Gardiner, 1931, p.10, lines 2-9). Thus, in Scene 36, the killing of an oryx, representing the robber of Horus's wd3t-eye, Seth, makes a fitting finale to the group of scenes concerned with making offerings to Hathor in her various guises.

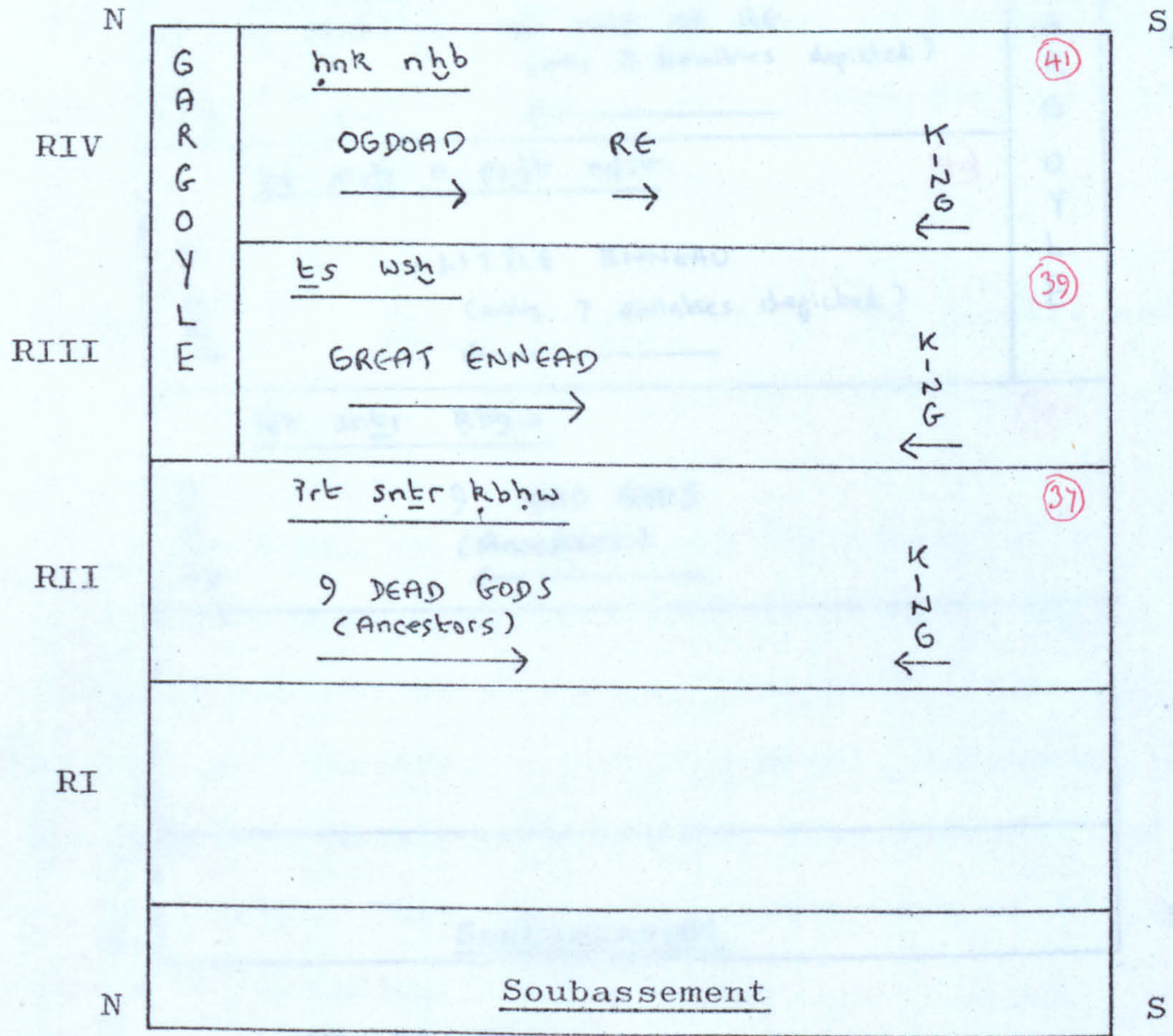
(see over)

NAOS EXTERIOR : EAST AND WEST WALLS

Group VIII : Scenes 37-42

Part (i)

WEST: Lower Egypt



EX, Pl. LXXXV

Figure 20
(i)

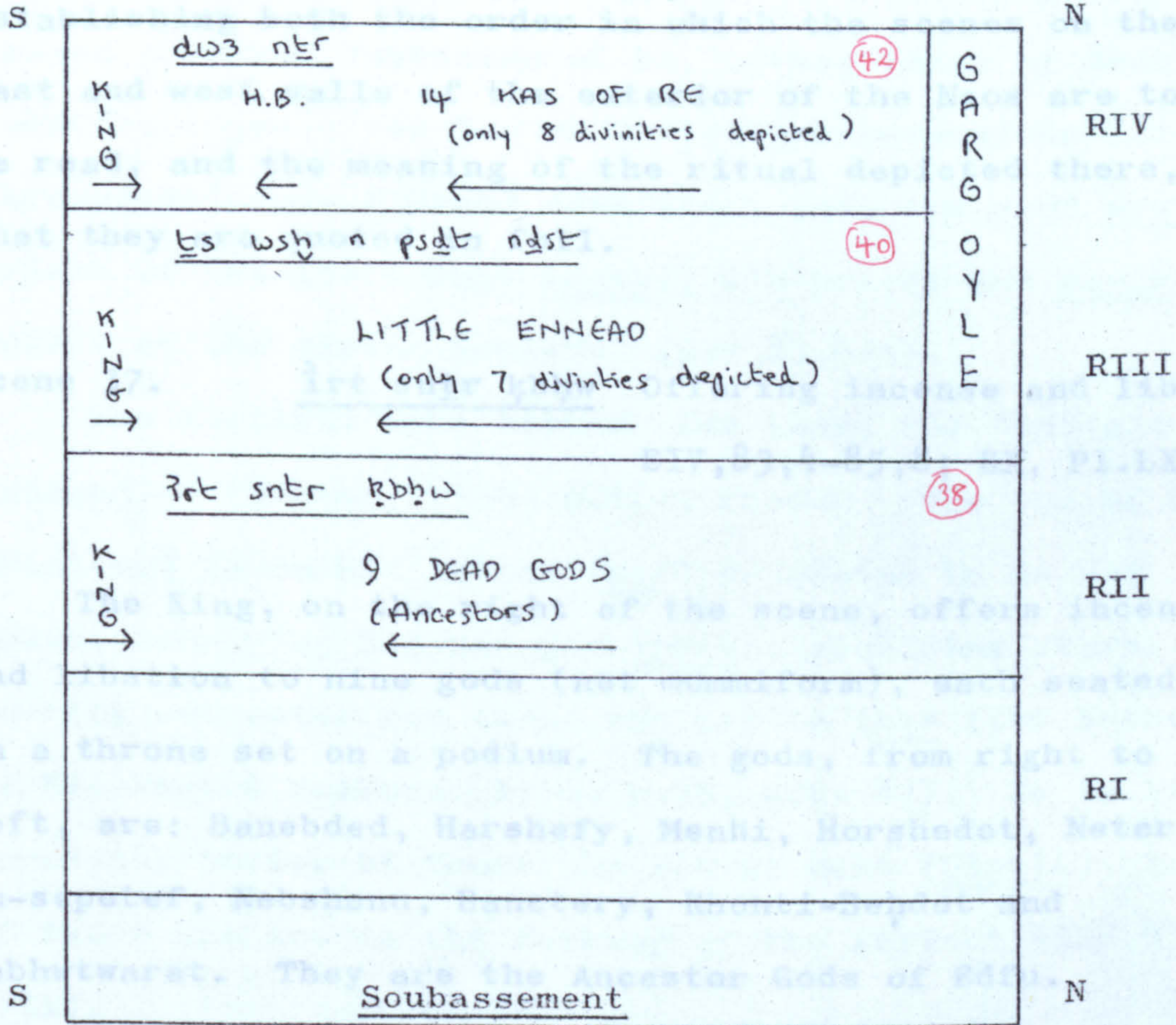
Group VIII Scenes 37-42 The King makes offerings

NAOS EXTERIOR : EAST AND WEST WALLS

Group VIII : Scenes 37-42

Part (ii)

EAST:Upper Egypt



EX, Pl. XCI

Figure 20
(ii)

Group VIII Scenes 37-42 The King makes offerings
to groups of deities.
(See Fig. 20)

These six scenes play such an important part in establishing both the order in which the scenes on the east and west walls of the exterior of the Naos are to be read, and the meaning of the ritual depicted there, that they are quoted in full.

Scene 37. irt sntr kbhw Offering incense and libation
EIV, 83, 4-85, 8; EX, Pl. LXXV

The King, on the right of the scene, offers incense and libation to nine gods (not mummiform), each seated on a throne set on a podium. The gods, from right to left, are: Banebbed, Harshefy, Menhi, Horshedet, Neteraa-em-sepetef, Nebshenu, Banetery, Khonti-Behdet and Nebhwtwaret. They are the Ancestor Gods of Edfu.

The offering formula reads:


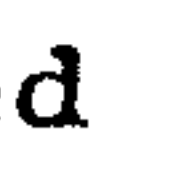
"A pleasant perfume comes to you from
Nekhen so that your nostrils may
inhale it. A high Nile flows forth
for you from the Cavern (krrt -
the "source" of the Nile at
Elephantine); I flood your altar

(h3t) with it. I make libation
for you with what the Two Sisters
(Isis and Nephthys) bring. Incense
and libation." (EIV,83,4-7).

The titles and epithets of the King are: "the King of
Upper and Lower Egypt (Heir of the Two Gods Epiphanes,
Chosen of Ptah, Justiciar of Re, Living Image of Amun)
beneficent god; the Son of Re (Ptolemaeus-may-he-live-
forever-beloved-of Ptah) beneficent god, the good nswty-
priest of the Inert Ones (nnyw), w'b-priest and hm-dw-
priest of the Divine Souls". (EIV,83,8-9).

The vertical line behind the King, the "Königliche
Randzeile" (Winter, 1968, p.48), reads: "The Son of Re
(Ptolemy) is on his throne (p.f) rejoicing in Pe and
Mesen, receiving his panoply (hkrw), acquiring years,
pouring out water for those who are in Ihks (the Netherworld;
cf. Blackman & Fairman, 1950, p.75, note 87). He is like
Horus the burier of those who are at rest (htptiw), lord
of those who are in the doorway of the West". (EIV,83,
9-11).

Two horizontal lines above the nine divinities read:

"For recitation by the Gods of Behdet,
the children of Harakhte, sanctified
in their place in the Divine Mound,
who came forth from Re, who were
created (  ? cf. EIV,83,14) by
Geb and guarded (nbnb) by their

father afterwards.

These, the offspring (wtt) of the Soul in the sky, the children (hrdw) of the Horizon God (3hty) who travels (hn) in the sky, are the old ones of psd-t3 (or perhaps wbn-t3), seed of Horus which came forth from him, who are well-disposed towards (snsn) their tomb ('h't) in (m) the Behdet of Re, who embrace (hpt) Rht in the Horizon of Eternity, who have gone to the Hidden Place in Weben-Hor, whose place is hidden in the Place of Eternity, who are buried in the Secret Place (imntt), [] in the Pure Mountain.

The excellent souls who live in this land are pure, being important (wsh-st) to Him-who-is-upon-his-bier (hr-nmm²it.f). Re commanded that their crypt should be secret; the land has been enriched since their concealment (thny).

The Behdetite reaches Behdet near their Kas so that he may pour out libations to their noble mummies.

The Mistress of Dendera comes (īgh)
to the place where their majesties
are to make offering (hr sf3) to
their sacred souls which abide in
(m) Behdet, <never> perishing upon
earth as the everlasting stars
(m īdrw sb3w; or perhaps m īdrw ntrw
'as the everlasting gods')." (EIV,
83,13-84,6).

Short, vertical lines above the nine divinities, three
to each god, read:

"We give you the lifetime which we
spent in the Hidden Place like Re
upon the Seat of Horus ." (EIV,84,7).

For recitation by Babebeded (B3-nb-ddw) the Great ,
preeminent in Behdet, whose mummy is 36 cubits wide (EIV,
84,7-8).

For recitation by Harshefy (Hr-šfy), the great god
greatly respected who resides in Behdet, the width of whose
body is 9 cubits. (EIV,84,9-10).

For recitation by Menhi (Mnhy), the skilled Butcher
God in the Horizon of Eternity, strong-armed with the skin
of an ape. (EIV,84,11-12).

For recitation by Horshedet (Hr-šdt) the Great, great
god who resides in Behdet, the width of whose body is []
(EIV,84,13).

For recitation by Neteraa-em-sepetef (Ntr-'3-m-spt.f),
beloved by his father, a ruler and lord of 31 cubits. (EIV,
84,14).

For recitation by Nebshenu (Nb-šnw), the holy one who hides (dgs) himself and conceals (h3p) his corpse (h3t) in Southern Behdet. (EIV,85,1-2).

For recitation by Banetery (B3-ntry), the self-engendered of great strength and shining radiance. (EIV, 85,3).

For recitation by Khonti-Behdet (hnty Bhdt) who resides in the Horizon of Eternity of the Gods, preeminent in the Great Ennead. (EIV,85,4).

For recitation by Nebhwtwaret (Nb-hwt-w3rt), who resides in Behdet and hides (imn) his body in Weben-Hor. (EIV,85,5-6).

The vertical line behind the last named god, the "Gottliche Randzeile" (Winter, 1968, p.48) reads:

"The Blameless Souls (b3w ikrw) are in Behdet, hidden (št3t.ti) in the Mansion of the Šnbt-falcon, protecting (hr hw) Mesen, guarding (hr mkt) the Mansion of the Bik-falcon, driving away (hr shri) evil from the Place of Piercing, Kings in the Realm of the Dead (igrt), Rulers of the Upper Desert (hry) where their honoured mummies are interred". (EIV,85,7-8).

"For recitation by the great and mighty
 gods of Behdet who dwell in sanctity
 in the Horizon of Eternity, whose
 corpses (h3t) are hidden (h3p.ti)
 in the Necropolis (h3p-iwti), whose
 souls are in heaven over against them
 (m 'k.sn); the Stalwart-breasted Ones
 (wsr-h3wt) in the Horizon of Eternity,
 the Living Spirits in (m) Behdet, who
 were created and produced by their father,
 Re, who were made by Dfn, whose seed was
 made fertile by the Great Illuminator
 before heaven and earth existed (n hpr pt
hn' t3) or a phallus (dt) emitted or a
 limb moved (n h); who came with (hn')
 Re from the High Hill (k3yt) and were
 born (p'p') in Wen and nursed (rnn) in
 the Pomegranate Tree Nome (n'rt), who
 journeyed through the Two Lands and
 crossed the River, who came to Behdet
 to conceal (r št3) their bodies beside
 the Great Winged Beetle of Gold (ktm),
 who ascended to the sky (nnt) from the
 Throne of Re, who traversed the desert
 (hsb) with S3b-šwt and came to rest in
 the Necropolis (ršt) in the South of

Egypt (B3kt) and gave birth to inhabitants (hryw-t3) for Upper and Lower Egypt.

The Behdetite journeys (ns) with his Uraeus Goddess towards them to pour out water for their kas, they abiding forever and enduring for eternity, without perishing (n mh), like heaven (nnt).

Hundreds of thousands are their years, millions are their life-spans, which are indestructible (ihm), resting in Behdet. Ten thousand are their months, thousands are their days, hundreds and tens are their hours."

(EIV, 240, 3-11).

Short, vertical lines above the nine divinities, four to each god, read:

"Our years which we spend in the Horizon of Eternity are your reign as Ruler of the Living." (EIV, 240, 12).

For recitation by Banebbed, preeminent in the Throne of the Gods, great of strength on the day of battle (EIV, 240, 13-14).

For recitation by Harshefy, great god preeminent in Wtst-Hr, greatly revered in Southern Behdet (EIV, 240, 15-16).

For recitation by Menhi the Great, preeminent in the

Throne of Re, lord of fear in the Southern Region. (EIV, 240,17-18).

For recitation by Horshedet, preeminent in the Pe of Re, eldest in the Place of Piercing. (EIV,241,1-2).

For recitation by Neteraa-em-sepetef, preeminent in the Place of Appearances (st h'), lord of slaughtering those who are in the desert (mrw). (EIV,241,3-4).

For recitation by Nebshenu the Great who hides himself in the Secret Place, who concealed his mummy in the Sacred Land. (EIV,241,5-6).

For recitation by Banetery the self-engendered who created himself, who gave birth to himself, who was brought forth without a creator. (EIV,241,7-8),

For recitation by Khonti-Behdet who resides in the Throne of Atum, who hides his body in Nšny. (EIV,241,9-10).

For recitation by Nebhwtwaret who resides in the Seat of Appearances, his mysterious form concealed in his crypt. (EIV,241,11-12).

The "Gottliche Randzeile" reads:

"The Living Spirits are in Wetjeset; the Ennead in the Throne of Re are protecting Mesen, guarding the Great Seat, watching over what is in them. They are sovereigns of 11,035 provided with their men." (EIV,241,13-14),

The descriptions of the Ancestor Gods given in Scenes 37 and 38 tell us that their names are 1) Banebbed - the Ram who is Lord of Busiris (Gardiner, 1947, II, p.151*);

2) Horshefy - Horus (lord of) Dread; 3) Menhi - the Butcher God; 4) Banetery - the Divine Phoenix; 5) Horshedet - Horus of Shedet (Crocodilopolis); 6) Neteraa-em-sepetef - the Great God in his Nome; 7) Nebshenu - the Lord of Trees; 8) Khonti-Behdet - He-who-presides-in-Behdet; 9) Nebhwtwaret - the Lord of Avaris.

It is interesting to observe that in several texts, the last four gods named above are replaced by forms of Seth. Two of these texts are found inside the Pronaos, on the third architrave on both the east and west sides. (EIII,301,8-15;323,5-12). Here, "the Lord of the Trees" is replaced by "Seth of the Trees" (Gardiner, 1947, II, 31*); the remaining three gods are replaced by "Seth of the Oasis", Seth of Wensy (op. cit., II, p.380) and Seth of Sper-meru (op. cit., II, p.100*). A third text, found in the Privy Chamber of the Crypt (19 in Plan in Fig. 1; EI,173,3-174,7), also names these four forms of Seth.

The texts which contain references to Seth are presumably early versions of the texts found elsewhere in the temple. It is remarkable, particularly in the Ptolemaic period when the cult of Seth was very unpopular, and even more particularly at Edfu, where the emphasis was always on enmity towards Seth, that such references to him can be found.

The information concerning the nine Ancestral Gods of Edfu which is contained in Scenes 37 and 38 is supplemented by that found in several other scenes, in various parts of the temple, which amplify the origins and activities of

the Gods, together with details of their cult.

The most important of these texts are found in the following places:

1. Inner Hypostyle Hall (2) (EII,51,3-52,8)
2. Privy Chamber of the Crypt (19) (EI,173,3-174,7)
3. Central Hall (11) (EI,382,4-15)
4. Forecourt, south-west wall (EV,61,17-63,16)
5. Forecourt, south-east wall (EV,160,12-162,6)
6. Girdle Wall, exterior west (EVII,118,4-119,8)
7. Girdle Wall, exterior east (EVII,279,16-281,2).

All the texts agree that the Ancestral Gods of Edfu were created by Re. They were conceived in Hsrt, the necropolis of Hermopolis (EV,161,10); they were born in Wen (EIV,240,7) and nursed in the Pomegranate Tree Nome (EIV,240,7).

Eventually, they came forth from Neref, the necropolis of Herakleopolis (EV,161,10) and journeyed through the Two Lands. They crossed the River and reached Behdet (EIV,240,7-8), that is Upper Egyptian Behdet, the Nome of Re (EV,161,11). Here, these Upper Egyptian gods gave birth to inhabitants for Upper and Lower Egypt (EIV,240,9).

They died "before their earthly span had been completed, and their souls winged their way to heaven so that they might live among the stars" (EII,51,10-11; similarly EV,161,8 and EVII,118,11).

"The heart of Re became sorrowful at seeing what had happened to his children. His Majesty commanded that their bodies be adorned in the place where they treat them, and

that they be bandaged in Behdet; (he commanded) that their corpses be hallowed there and that calves be driven to tread over their tomb (in order to obliterate it)". (EII,51,11-12).

The secret tomb of the Ancestral Gods is hidden in the Behdet of Re. One text says that it is on the western hill to the south of Wetjeset-Hor (EI,382,11); two others are more specific, saying that it is upon the hill-side to the southwest of Djeba (EII,51,10-11 and EI,173,12).

Re visits the graves of his children, the Ancestral Gods of Edfu, every day. His Diadem Goddess (Hathor) goes with him (EII,51,13; EI,173,13). Re and Hathor make offerings at the entrance to the crypt (EII,51,14; EI,173,13). The grave is not violated, their corpses suffer no damage, the sand is not stripped from their crypt (EI,173,14).

Horus the Behdetite accompanies Hathor to make oblations at the grave of the Ancestral Gods (EV,63,2; 161,11; EVII,118,13-14). Hathor comes at her appointed time, yearly, to pour water for their kas (EVII,280,7-8). One text tells us exactly when this annual visit takes place; it tells us that the corpses of the Ancestral Gods are visited annually on the night of the New Moon Festival in the Third Month of Summer by Hathor and Horus the Behdetite (EI,382,12). This visit, of course, is the one made by Hathor of Dendera to Horus of Edfu for the Sacred Marriage (Fairman, 1954, p.196 foll.).

Scene 39.

ts wshTying on the wsh-collar

EIV,109,9-111,2; EX, Pl.LXXV

The King, on the right of the scene, offers an wsh-collar to the nine divinities who make up the Great Ennead, who are each seated upon a throne set on a podium. The nine divinities are, from right to left, Atum, Shu, Tefnut, Geb, Nut, Osiris, Isis, Nephthys, Horus.

The offering formula reads:

"Raise thyself, O Atum! Your children (stwt) are behind you, your Ennead is assembled around you. W'n-pine cones are at your throat and (m-'b) at your childrens' (throats). Plants (g3bw) for making the god whole are they. I approach you, your son am I, O you who are completed as ten ." (EIV,109,9-12).

The titles and epithets of the King are: "the King of Upper and Lower Egypt (Heir of the Two Gods Epiphanes, Chosen of Ptah, Justiciar of Re, Living Image of Amum)| beneficent god; the Son of Re (Ptolemaeus-may-he-live-forever-beloved-of-Ptah)| beneficent god, seed of the Coiled One (mhnt), child of Khopri, who elevates the Ennead to the Primordial One ." (EIV,109,14).

The "Königliche Randzeile" reads: "Long live Horus the youth who smites the Nine Bows, who destroys the enemy in the Isle of Fury, who puts his arms around the father of his fathers and mothers, he who is in his bow (? imy iwnt.f), namely, the first of them. The Two Ladies of great strength like the Ennead whose position is important (wsh nmtt) in the Province of Heliopolis (hk3-'nd)" (EIV,109,14-16).

Two horizontal lines above the nine divinities read:

"For recitation by the Great Ennead, who brought into being the forms, who initiated the gods, who gave birth to the Primaeval Ones; the self-engendered ones who equipped the Two Lands as whoever they may be (m rn.sn) and in any shape they wished; who came forth from Nun, who sailed south on the North Wind, who dispelled (hsr) darkness, whose names are unknown (n rh k3.sn), rulers of fear, Lords of awe, greatly feared, exalted of majesty, the fathers of the fathers who came into being aforetime; the mothers of the mothers who gave birth at the beginning, whose bodies were made divine in the Mounds of their lands (i.e. the Necropolis?); whose forms abide in their nomes, millions upon millions, fathomless

(n wn ỉn drw.sn), the indestructible
 ones (ỉhm-sk) of Him-who-came-first
 (? n ỉỉ spwy), who gave birth to their
 children, who create food, who give
 provisions to their son, who raise up what
 exists in this land; lords of Wetjeset,
 preeminent in the Place of Piercing,
 sacred of position in the Throne of
 the Gods; noble images who are unknown -
 it is they who judge the Two Lands and
 and established the desert cliffs (mnty)."
 (EIV,110,1-8).

Short, vertical lines above the nine divinities, three
 to each divinity, read:

"We give you the Nine Bows gathered
 together beneath your sandals while
 you seize every land triumphantly".
 (EIV,110,9).

For recitation by Atum, Lord of Heliopolis, great god
 preeminent in Behdet, father of the fathers who created
 existing beings. (EIV,110,9-10).

For recitation by Shu, the eldest son of Re, the
 great god in the Throne of the Gods. (EIV,110,11).

For recitation by Tefnut, the daughter of Re who resides
 in Behdet, lady of heaven, mistress (hnwt) of all the gods
 (EIV,110,12).

For recitation by Geb, prince of the gods, lord of
 dignity in Behdet. (EIV,110,13).

For recitation by Nut the great, who bore the gods, mistress of fate and destiny (nbt š' rnnt) in Set-Weret (EIV,110,14).

For recitation by Osiris, the Pillar God, the great god preeminent in Behdet, who judged (sīpy) the Two Lands, who made what exists. (EIV,110,15).

For recitation by Isis the Great, Ruler in Behdet, Mhnt the diadem (hryt-tp) of her father. (EIV,110,16).

For recitation by Nephthys, Mnht in Wetjeset-Hor, Anoukis who guards the egg. (EIV,110,17).

For recitation by Horus in the Great Mansion, the great god in Behdet, sovereign forever, ruler for eternity. (EIV,110,18).

The "Gottliche Randzeile" reads:

"The great gods, mighty, effective lords of strength in the world; the princes who pass through eternity, who traverse the Two Lands in their wanderings; the Primaeval Ones who created what exists, who made the power of the Stalwart-breasted Ones (wsrw), who begat the Co-templar Gods (s3w.n.sn). They are the gods who created things in order that their services may be performed (hr ir hn.sn) ."
(EIV,111,1-2).

The Great Ennead was Heliopolitan in origin. Atum, the primordial creator-god, begat Shu (air) and Tefnut (moisture); Shu and Tefnut brought forth Geb (earth) and Nut (sky), who in turn produced Osiris, Isis, Nephthys and Seth.

The Ennead featured in Scene 39 does not, of course, name Seth as one of its members, since Seth was regarded as anathema at Edfu, the temple of his rival, Horus.

The Egyptian word for Ennead, psdt, means "a group of nine" gods. At Edfu, it would have been natural to drop one of the gods who made up the original nine gods of the Ennead (preferably Seth) and substitute Horus, thus ensuring for Horus a place in the oldest and most famous ennead.

However, the last line of the offering formula, in which the King addresses the Great Ennead as "you who are completed as ten", shows that, although Seth is neither named in the text nor depicted in the relief, he is not entirely forgotten. The original group of nine gods has simply had Horus added to it, thus forming an Ennead made up of ten gods.

The Great Ennead appears in only one place other than on the exterior of the Naos, and that is on the east wall of the Forecourt, Register II, Scene 6 (Chassinat's numbering; EV, 166-167; EX, Pl. CXVIII), in a scene of "Adoring the God".

Scene 40.	<u>ts wsh n psdt ndst</u>	Tying on the <u>wsh</u> -collar for the Little Ennead EIV, 265, 9-267, 5; EX, Pl. XCI
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The King, on the left of the scene, stands before seven

human-headed gods, each seated upon a throne set on a podium. He offers the gods - the Little Ennead - an wsh-collar. The Little Ennead is made up of nine gods; here, only seven are depicted. This is due to lack of space; this scene is affected by the placing of the two air-vents belonging to the Eastern Stairway, and by a gargoyle at the northern end of the scene. The sculptor could have solved the problem of having to depict nine gods where he had room for only seven by superimposing one figure on top of another in two of the cases; this was a popular device in Ancient Egyptian relief. However, in this instance, the sculptor has simply inscribed above the last two divinities the descriptions of four.

The offering formula reads:

"O Khopri, come, approach your
 offspring (s3wt) begotten in primaeval
 times (m hnty). Your ka is in them,
 your body is behind them, they are
 your children (nww), brought into
 being by you. Place your arm around
 them to protect their flesh forever,
 being eternally in festivity (dt m-'
mkt)". (EIV, 265, 9-14).

The titles and epithets of the King are: "the King of Upper and Lower Egypt (Heir of the Two Gods Epiphanes, Chosen of Ptah, Justiciar of Re, Living Image of Amun) | beneficent god; the Son of Re (Ptolemaeus-may-he-live-forever-beloved-of- Ptah) | beneficent god, who having been

born on the High Hills, reaches the Benben Chapel (at Karnak), image (issnt) of Re and Shu" (EIV, 265, 15-16).

There is no "Königliche Randzeile" in this scene.

Two horizontal lines above the seven divinities read:

"For recitation by the Little
 Ennead, most bull-like of bulls,
 lords of strength, stout-hearted
 in the arena (mtwn), beneficent
 gods who came into being at the
 beginning (š3' dr-'), who were
 created (hpr.sn) before any other
 creation was created (n hpr hprw),
 who created (š3'.sn) themselves, whose
 heads came forth (? pr tp.sn), who
 begat the gods, who begat their
 own flesh; lords of splendour,
 overlords of strength when waging battle,
 who cut up (dbdb) the Nine Bows, who
 bring everything (nn hr nfy, lit:
 "these and those"), at seeing whose
 faces foreign lands tremble, lords of
 fear amongst the Sand-farers (hryw-š')
 and Nebedu-Ked, in dread of whom men
 (nds) tremble (sdd), of exalted power
 who prevail upon the battlefield,
 heroes who subdue him-who-would-enter-
 the-arena; the great Builder Gods (hnmw)

who built in the beginning, who made everything pertaining to (iry) the length of time; the powerful ones, lords of power and might, who first instituted the offerings, who created what exists; Lords of Mesen, preeminent in Set-Weret, the great and famous ones in Weben-Hor, the Sacred Ghosts (ddw dsrw) beyond compare (n wn m rwt.sn), whose kas are the Primaeval Ones." (EIV,265,18-266,7).

Four short vertical lines above opening for air-vent to eastern stairway, to right of King's head, read:

"We give you the throne (hndw) in order to tread upon (hr hnd) foreign lands, and Bht (or B3ht?) bowed down under its handiwork." (EIV,266,8-9).

Short vertical lines above the divinities, three lines to each of the first five gods, six lines to each of the last two, read:

For recitation by the Great Warrior ('h3 wr), lord of battle, great god preeminent in Behdet, who fights for his father in the Place of Piercing. (EIV,266,10).

For recitation by the Little Warrior ('h3 nds), who rules upon the battlefield, the aggressive one (tkk) in Wetjeset-Hor. (EIV,266,11).

For recitation by the Great Magician (wr hk3w), lord of fear (? nwr), lord of the People (p't) in Behdet, director (sšm) of the day of battle. (EIV,266,12).

For recitation by the Radiant Falcon (Hr thn), the protector who protects his father against misfortune (r 3kw) of overwhelming strength in the Isle of Fury (EIV,266,13).

For recitation by the Radiant Lion (m3 thn), the hero, the assailant (khh) in the House of Combat (EIV,266,14).

For recitation by "found missing" (!) (gm ws), who weakens (hwn) foreign lands and pacifies the aggressor (dgdg) in the Red Mound (EIV,266,15).

For recitation by Hnty-²wt (sic), great god and hero, who serves (gnh) his father in Hk3-rwd (EIV,267,1).

For recitation by the Bull of Truth who drives the bulls, the loyal one in the Throne of Atum (EIV,267,2).

For recitation by Iht-ssft, the male, the leader of gangs (iry t3y), the great hero (tnr) in the Place of Piercing (EIV,267,3).

The "Gottliche Randzeile" reads:

"The great, excellent and beneficent gods who created the Sea of H3w-nbw. They are the senior ones of the gods, the males who need no vagina amongst them (n hmt ²m.sn), who came into being from the Nun (nh_y = nny) in the beginning (m š'), the most aged ones since time began (dr b3h)." (EIV,267,4-5).

The Little Ennead is found in only one other place at Edfu. The names of the gods who make up the group of nine are inscribed on the west face of the second architrave

(western side) of the Outer Hypostyle Hall (the interior of the Pronaos; EIII,296,13-15), in a scene of "Adoring the God four times".

The first four gods named in the scene in the Pronaos are the same as those in Scene 40 on the Naos, as are the last three gods. The fifth god in Scene 40 is "the Radiant Lion"; in the Pronaos, the figure of the lion has been replaced by one of a donkey. This is somewhat unexpected, since Seth was often represented by a donkey.

It could be evidence that a form of Seth once appeared among the gods of the Little Ennead, just as the four forms of Seth appeared among the Ancestor Gods in the scenes discussed on page 249. It is interesting to note that two of these scenes are found inside the Pronaos, where "the Radiant Donkey" is found instead of "the Radiant Lion".

The sixth god listed in Scene 40 is denoted by the words "found missing", indicating that the sculptor copied the words straight from the papyrus without realising what he was doing, and without, in that case, attempting to ascertain the name of the missing god. It is amusing to find in the list of gods in the Pronaos that the same mistake has occurred; the fifth god is again named as "found missing" (EIII,296,14). Perhaps his name was lost in the mists of antiquity even to the priests of Edfu Temple.

seed into the egg (bnnt) that you
 had fertilised with your phallus
 (wb3 iw'w) which you plunged (rdi)
 into the Nun, being united all
 together (m kd w'). May your heir
 shine forth in the capacity of the
 stripling". (EIV,139,11-15).

The titles and epithets of the King are: "the King
 of Upper and Lower Egypt (actually written s3 R') (Heir
 of the Two Gods Epiphanes, Chosen of Ptah, Justiciar of
 Re, Living Image of Amun)| beneficent god; the Son of
 Re (actually written nsw bit) (Ptolemaeus-may-he-live-
 forever-beloved-of-Ptah)| beneficent god, the likeness
 of the stripling who attained being in Khopri, who
 elevates the offering for the First Primaeval One".
 (EIV,139,16-140,1).

The "Königliche Randzeile" reads: "I come in peace
 to you, O Primaeval Gods, O company of gods whom Atum
 begat. I bring to you the lotus from (m) the Island of
 the Egg, even your fiery Place of the Ancestor Gods. You
 are the gods (twt ntrw) who first came into being (š')
 at the beginning (m h3t), and all the beings (hprw nb)
 came into being (hpr) after you had come into being
 (m-ht hpr.sn (sic))". (EIV,140,1-3).

Three vertical, and one horizontal, lines above
 Re read:

"I give you all places on which I

shine and all plants that grow
upon the back of the earth."

For recitation by Re the Behdetite, He-with-the-Dappled-Plumage, the Great Lotus, lord of light, he from whose mouth the gods came forth, from whose Divine Eye men came forth, and from whose limbs small game and birds came forth. (EIV,140,4-6).

Two horizontal lines above the eight divinities who make up the Ogdoad read:

"For recitation by the Ogdoad, the Eldest Ones who give adoration to Re, who brought into being everything which had not come forth upon the edge (nprt) of the High Hill; the apes (httw) who acclaim (htt) their heir, the chieftains of the world to the end of time upon it (i.e. the Hill?), who have caused the earth to be apportioned ever since they arose (wbn); the sovereigns of Eternity, the rulers of Everlasting, who created (ts) mountains, who fashioned (ir) that which exists, whose Kingship endures like that of the Two Wanderers (phrty) - millions have passed by since they have reigned (h'); the fathers who fertilised the seed (? wsn mtwt), the mothers who gave birth, the ones who

were first to beget and who created the Egg (swht), the bulls who impregnated the cows which conceived; the Builder Gods (hnmw) who have constructed since primaeval times, the lords of light (sšp) who created (ir) light and radiance, who were first to illumine, who gave the light; the Ones who engendered themselves without a father to fashion them, without a womb to bring them into being; the children of Tanen who created Re, the company (dm3) of the Great Shining One; the lords of Mesen, preeminent ones of Hr-m33, the rulers of Hr-m3'ty." (EIV,140,7-14).

Two vertical lines behind Re's head read:

"We give you the meadows with that which comes from them and the marshes with that which is in them." (EIV,140,7-8).

Short vertical lines above the divinities of the Ogdoad, two lines to the leading god, three to each of the remaining gods, read:

For recitation by Nun (nnw), who was first to come into being before there was yet an opening (? wp), the great god who resides in Wetjeset-Hor. (EIV,140,15).

For recitation by Nunet (nnt), the princess (hryt-tp), who gave birth since primaeval times, the August One, preeminent in the domain of Re. (EIV,140,16).

For recitation by Heh (hhw), the lord of hw-bread, he for whom the evil was driven away (hnp), the great god preeminent in Wetjeset-Hor. (EIV,141,1-2).

For recitation by Hehet (hht), the sovereign preeminent in the Mansion of Hor-nakht, who protects her son from [] (EIV,141,3).

For recitation by Kek (kkw), preeminent in Wr-nht, who destroys the harm of him who makes harm (EIV,141,4-5).

For recitation by Keket (kkwt), the mighty one, preeminent in Wetjeset-Hor, great of dignity, preeminent in Behdet of the South. (EIV,141,6).

For recitation by Naw (nnw), lord of might in the Throne of Re, great of fear in Mesen (EIV,141,7).

For recitation by Naunet (nnwt) the sanctified one, of sacred awe, who keeps safe her son in the Mansion of the Falcon. (EIV,141,8-9).

The "Gottliche Randzeile" reads:



"Welcome, lord of triumph, image
of him who was born in the lotus.
We receive (sšp) your tribute, we
who nursed (3tt) our heir and who caused
Re to appear in the Great Pool.
We give you the field of Sekhmet with
its sbtt-flowers and all the marshes
with their šm3y-flowers." (EIV,141,10-11).

The Ogdoad, a group of eight gods, represents the elemental forces which were in being before the world was created. The town where the legend of the Ogdoad was devised was Hermopolis; in Egyptian, hmnw or "eight-town", in honour of the gods who made up the Ogdoad.

The eight gods are arranged in couples, each couple consisting of a male divinity and his female partner. The male is usually depicted with a frog's head, the female with a serpent's head, the creatures who were self-created and lived in the primaeval waters.

The first couple are Nun and Nunet. Nun was the primordial ocean, the concept of which gave rise to many myths concerning the creation of the world (Morenz, 1973, p.174); and out of which the primaeval island arose (see page 1).

The second and third couples are Heh and Hehet, representing infinite space; and Kek and Keket, representing darkness.

The fourth couple are normally named as Amun and Amaunet, who are thought to represent air (op. cit. p.175). At Edfu, the names Amun and Amaunet are replaced by those of Naw () and Naunet ().

Out of the five scenes at Edfu in which the Ogdoad appear (EIII,312; EIV,139; Ev,84; EVI,175 and 185), the first three are scenes of "Presenting the lotus".

The offering of a lotus to the Ogdoad is eminently suitable. A Hermopolitan legend tells of a lotus which

behind you, the disk in the sky who
illuminates the Two Lands in Mesen,
who guides everyone by his rays, who
makes towns and divides nomes, who
judges the Mounds and the Banks'."

(EIV, 295, 6-9).

The titles and epithets of the King are: "the King of
Upper and Lower Egypt (Heir of the Two Gods Epiphanes,
Chosen of Ptah, Justiciar of Re, Living Image of Amun)|
beneficent god; the Son of Re (Ptolemaeus-may-he-live-
forever-beloved-of-Ptah)| beneficent <god>, who pleases
Re and his Fourteen Kas, who extols his beauty by his
utterances". (EIV, 295, 10-11).

The "Königliche Randzeile" reads: "I come to you,
O gmḥs-falcon, S3b-šwt, with your ennead united behind
you. I adore you, O God in Wetjeset-Hor, my handiwork
is for you who are praised in Set-Weret, powerful image
of the Šḥmw-gods, lord of lords, ruler of rulers'." (EIV,
295, 11-13).

One short horizontal line in front of Horus's head,
and five short vertical lines behind it, read:

"I give you the Heiresses (rpyt)
to exercise protection over you, the
Two Damsels to guard your body'."

For recitation by Horus the Behdetite, great god, lord of
the sky, Horus of the Horus Gods, who removes himself (hr sw)
to the sky (hrt), who was nursed by the Two Sisters, who is

acclaimed by the Horizon Gods, who is supported in the sky
 (tw3 pt sw) by the Two Damsels (rḥty) upon their arms.
 (EIV, 295, 14-16).

"We give you the food and provisions
 of the August Ones enriched by Sothis".
 (EIV, 295, 16-17).

This last speech is obviously made by the Fourteen Kas
 of Re and not by Horus.

Two horizontal lines above the heads of the eight
 divinities who represent the Fourteen Kas of Re read:

"For recitation by the Kas who do the
 work for Re-Harakhty, the Behdetite,
 great god, S3b-šwt, who created their
 bodies, who were begotten in the
 beginning (m š'), who came into being
 before what exists came into being (hpr n
hpr hpr), who were produced in their
 bodily form (bs m dt.sn) before their
 nature had been shaped (n 'd.sn); most
 powerful of the Shmw-gods, who created
 the Builder Gods (hnmw), the secret
 images who hold (thny) Sšm in the sky
 (nnt); who united this land, who
 founded the Nomes, who flooded the
 towns with what exists; Powerful Ones
 of the Powerful Ones, the influential
 gods (idwt) who illumine (wbg)

everything, the Effective Gods
 (spd), the Magicians (hk3w), lords
 of magic (hk3w), who open the mouth
 for their offerings (hr.sn), the
 youths who are everlastingly youthful
 (srnpw), the most aged ones, the
 progenitors and mothers of the mothers
 who gave birth. There are no other
 gods like them (n ky twt.sn), lords
 of the sky (nnt), rulers of the
 universe (htmn), sacred of place in
 the Mansion of the Falcons (sic), who
 make the land verdant, who make the
 soil (bnt) sweet in order to provide
 for the altars of the gods and goddesses."
 (EIV, 295, 18-296, 5).

Short vertical lines above the heads of the
 divinities representing the Fourteen Kas of Re, one line
 to the first divinity, four to each of the remaining
 seven read:

For recitation by K3-hw, who makes Mesen festive with
 food (hw). (EIV, 296, 6).

For recitation by K3-dfy, who provides Djeba with
 sustenance (df3w). (EIV, 296, 7).

For recitation by K3-šps, who ennobles (šps) Nedjem-
 ankh. (EIV, 296, 8); and by K3-šms who apportions [. . .]
 (EIV, 296, 9).

For recitation by $\langle \underline{K3-\overset{2}{ir}-k3w} \rangle$ (the figure of the fifth Ka from the right has an ☉ and a 8 written above his head; the latter sign belongs to $\underline{K3-wd3}$ (see below), the former belongs to the Ka whose name is missing from the hieroglyphic inscription. Comparing the names of the Kas in the present scene with those found in the interior of the Pronaos, it can be established that this Ka is called $\underline{K3-\overset{2}{ir}-k3w}$ - the Ka who makes food (EIII,320, 10). (EIV,296,10);

and by $\underline{K3-wd3}$ [. . .] the Mansion of the Falcon. (EIV,296,11).

For recitation by $\underline{K3-nht}$, the mighty one (\underline{nht}) of $\underline{Wr-nht}$. (EIV,296,12);

and by $\underline{K3-wsr}$, the powerful one (\underline{wsr}) of the Throne ($\underline{\overset{2}{isbt}}$). (EIV,296,13).

For recitation by $\underline{K3-wbn}$, who shines (\underline{wbn}) in Weben-Hor. (EIV,296,14);

and by $\underline{K3-psd}$, who shines (\underline{psd}) in Set-Weret. (EIV,296,15).

For recitation by $\underline{K3-hk3w}$, who protects [. . .] (EIV, 297,1);

and by $\underline{K3-\overset{2}{i}3w}$, who extols ($\underline{s\overset{2}{i}3w}$) the Throne of Atum. (EIV, 297,2).

For recitation by $\underline{K3-thn}$, who makes Hor-maa radiant (\underline{sthn}). (EIV,297,3);

and by $\underline{K3-spd}$, who makes the Mansion of Horus effective (\underline{spd}) (EIV,297,4).

The "Gottliche Randzeile" reads:

"Welcome, O Ruler, son of the Ruler, O
Sovereign beloved by the Shining Ones
(wbnw). We accept (sšp) your praises,
we listen to (ndb) your sayings, we
are happy at hearing your songs
(snsu). We give you length of
kingship upon the throne [(. . .)] after
(?) millions of [(. . .)]." (EIV, 297, 5-6).

The Fourteen Kas of Re appear in three scenes at Edfu. One of these is Scene 42 (Adoring the god), found on the east wall of the Naos, and counterbalanced on the west wall by a scene of "Presenting the lotus" to the Ogdoad. Another is found on Register III, Scene 4 of the south-east wall of the Forecourt (EV, 180-182; EX, Pl. CXVII) and is again a scene of "Adoring the god". It, also, is counterbalanced by a scene of "Presenting the lotus" to the Ogdoad on Register III, Scene 4 of the south-west wall (EIII, 84-86; EX, Pl. CXIII).

The third scene in which the Fourteen Kas of Re appear does not follow the same pattern as the other two. It is found in the interior of the Pronaos, on the west face of the third architrave on the eastern side, and is not a scene of "Adoring the god" but one of "Presenting the Falcon of Gold" (EIII, 320; EX, Pl. LXXX). A scene of "Presenting the lotus" to the Ogdoad is found inside the Pronaos; but it does not counterbalance "Adoring the god", being found on

the east face of the first architrave on the eastern side (EIII,312; EX, Pl. LXXIX).

The arrangement of the scenes concerning the Fourteen Kas, the Ogdoad and the Ancestral Gods on the Naos is very similar to that in the Forecourt. In both places, the Ogdoad appears on a west wall, the Fourteen Kas of Re on an east wall; the Ancestral Gods appear on a lower register than the Ogdoad and the Fourteen Kas.

The Great and Little Enneads do not appear on the walls of the Forecourt, presumably because the Forecourt lacks a fourth register and so there was no room for them.

According to Egyptian pictorial convention, the top register of a relief should refer to events which took place furthest away in time from the standpoint of the beholder. The bottom register should refer to events which happened more recently than those on other registers. This being so, the Ogdoad and the Fourteen Kas of Re, found on Register IV, are older than the Great and Little Enneads found on Register III; these in turn are older than the Ancestral Gods on Register II.

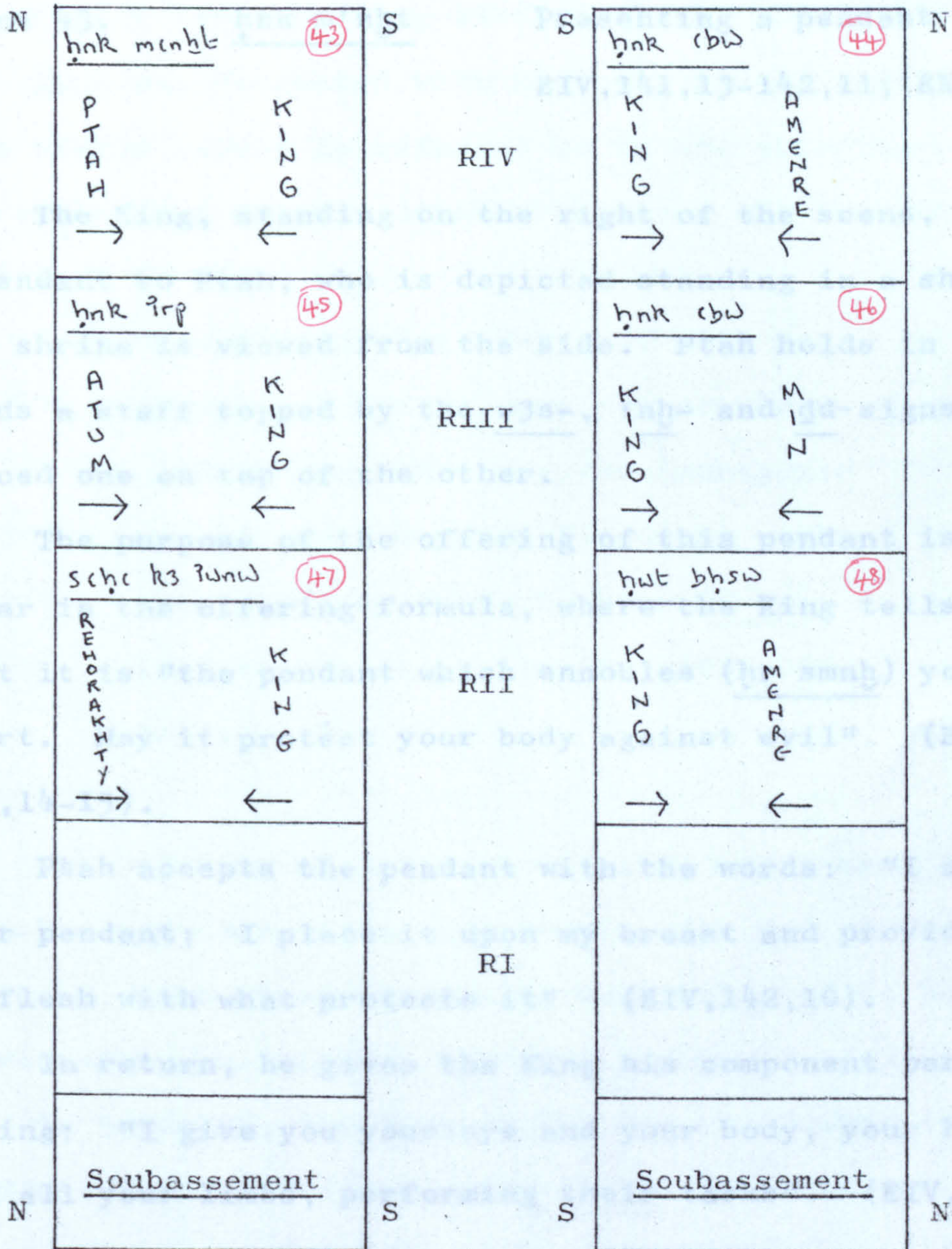
This would accord well with the order in which we have elected to read the Ritual under discussion. Scenes 37 and 38 (Ancestral Gods) are read before Scenes 39 and 40 (Great and Little Enneads), which are read before Scenes 41 and 42 (Ogdoad and Fourteen Kas). On the premise that the most important person comes last in the Ritual (see pp. 38-39), and that the oldest gods are most important, this is the correct order in which to read these scenes.

NAOS EXTERIOR : EAST AND WEST WALLS

Group IX : Scenes 43-48

WEST:Lower Egypt

EAST:Upper Egypt



EX, Pl. LXXXVI

EX, Pl. XCII

Figure 21

<u>Group IX</u>	<u>Scenes 43-48</u>	The King makes offerings to Ptah, Amen-Re, Atum, Min and Re-Horakhty (See Fig. 21)
Scene 43.	<u>h₁nk m'nh₁t</u>	Presenting a pendant EIV, 141, 13-142, 11; EX, Pl. LXXXVI

The King, standing on the right of the scene, offers a pendant to Ptah, who is depicted standing in a shrine. The shrine is viewed from the side. Ptah holds in both hands a staff topped by the w3s-, !nh- and dd- signs, placed one on top of the other.

The purpose of the offering of this pendant is made clear in the offering formula, where the King tells Ptah that it is "the pendant which ennobles (hr smnh) your heart. May it protect your body against evil". (EIV, 141, 14-15).

Ptah accepts the pendant with the words: "I accept your pendant; I place it upon my breast and provide my flesh with what protects it". (EIV, 142, 10).

In return, he gives the King his component parts, saying: "I give you your eye and your body, your hand and all your limbs, performing their tasks". (EIV, 142, 7).

Scene 44.

hnk 'bw

Presenting lettuces

EIV, 297, 13-298, 13; EX, Pl. XCII

The King, on the left of the scene, offers two lettuces to Amen-Re, on the right. Amen-Re stands before an offering table, holding aloft a flail. He is ithyphallic.

Amun was connected with Min, the god of fertility. This virile aspect is referred to in the offering formula, where the King exhorts Amen-Re to taste the lettuces, saying:

"May you inundate Wetjeset with your provisions (df3w), may you copulate with the maidens, may you impregnate the virgins, may you flood the wombs with the seed from the bone (m ks i.e. the erect phallus)." (EIV, 298, 1-4).

The offering of lettuces, in this scene made to Amen-Re, was more often made to Min, the god of fertility; lettuces, with their white sap, were believed to have aphrodisiac qualities.

In Scene 44, the King is the one who "makes the phallus of the Ram (Amun) rise (snhp) in order to impregnate the vegetables of That One (pfy i.e. Seth) whom he has seized" (EIV, 298, 6). According to the

Papyrus Chester Beatty, it was the semen of Horus which was used to impregnate Seth's lettuces. The story of the "Contendings of Horus and Seth" written in the above-mentioned Papyrus, tells of how Seth made a sexual attack on Horus. Isis took revenge by ascertaining from Seth's gardener that the only vegetables Seth ate were lettuces. "And so Isis put Horus's semen upon them. Thereupon, Seth arrived according to his daily custom. He ate the lettuces which he was accustomed to eat. Thereupon he became pregnant with the seed of Horus " (Gardiner, 1931, p.11, lines 11-12). Later, before the Tribunal of the Gods, Thoth calls to the semen of Horus to come forth; and it appears as a golden disk upon Seth's forehead (op. cit., p.12, line 11), thus disgracing Seth before the Divine Tribunal and causing them to find for Horus.

Scene 45.	<u>hnk ṛrp</u>	Presenting wine
		EIV, 113, 6-114, 2; EX, Pl. LXXXVI

The King, on the right of the scene, offers two jars of wine to Atum, who is seated on a throne set upon a podium. Atum is in human shape; he wears the Double Crown upon his head, and holds a w3s-sceptre in his left hand and an ankh-sign in his right.

The offering formula reads:

"The grapevines (š3w) flourish (rwḏ) and wine (š3) from the districts (ww) of Maa-Hor (Edfu).

They are verdant (3h3h.w) for him
 (i.e. for Horus of Maa-Hor) in
 your favourite place, which spews
 out (k'.f) plants laden with their
 harvest and overladen (dns) with
 grapes (wns). There is brought
 to you and presented before you
 the Eye of Horus, namely wine, it
 being pure." (EIV,113,6-11).

The epithets of the King link him with three oases
 noted for their vine growing. He is "Lord of Swnw (Syene
 or Aswan; W/b IV,69), Kenmet (knmt - Khargah oasis; W/b
 V,133) and Desdes (dsds - Bahrije oasis; W/b V,487)"
 (EIV,113,13).

The twelfth episode in the Ritual of Amenophis I
 is one of rwḏ š3, similar to the first line of the
 offering formula of the scene under discussion. The
 offering of wine in the Amenophis I Ritual is said to
 make the gardens prosper (Nelson,1949, p.213); it is,
 therefore, a fertility rite. In Scene 45, the wine
 is obviously intended to secure a bountiful harvest of
 grapes, and thus symbolises fertility.

Scene 46.

hnk 'bw

Presenting lettuces

EIV,270,6-271,4; EX, Pl.XCII

The King, on the left of the scene, offers two lettuces

to Min. The nature of the rite, with its emphasis on fertility, is made abundantly clear in the offering formula:

"These beautiful herbs of yours
are before you. The Plummet God
(Thoth) has embraced them so that
the sun shall be with your body and
your phallus (mt3) be radiant (bk) as
you impregnate (i²ts) the maidens.
May your heart delight in women.
May the vessels (mtwt) of your
phallus (h'w-'nh) come alive so
that you may copulate (wsn) as the
Ba living of births." (EIV,270,6-12).

In return for the lettuces, Min says to the King:

"I give you your phallus (dt), it
being strong in order to impregnate (sti²)
maidens, who rejoice at seeing you."
(EIV,270,17).

"I give you your phallus (nph) to
impregnate (sm3) maidens, your heart
burning with sexual pleasure (hr ndmndm)."
(EIV,271,2-3).

Scene 47.

s'h' k3 iwnw

Raising up the Bull of
Heliopolis

EIV,85,10-86,8; EX, Pl.LXXXVI

The King, on the right of the scene, stands before Re-Horakhty, who is seated on a throne set upon a podium, and who wears the Double Crown upon his hawk's head. The King is holding two staves, each surmounted by a bull's head, by means of a cord passed round the staves, the ends of which are held in the King's hands.

In Group IX, the main theme running through five out of the six scenes is one of fertility. Apart from the fact that bulls are representatives of virility, and that the god receiving the offering in Scene 47 is Re-Horakhty, who was worshipped at Heliopolis in the form of the Mnevis bull, the purpose of the offering of the two bull-headed pillars in Scene 47 does not seem to be one of ensuring fertility.

The King is called "lord of the Heb-Sed, completing the shrines (dryt), raising up statues (mnw), doing the work of his creator. He is like the Son of Horus who was created in the beginning, who exacts offerings consisting of costly stone" (EIV,86,1-2).

In return for the offering of the Bull of Heliopolis, Re-Horakhty says to the King:

"I give you the divine chapels
('hnwty) containing your sacred
image, your handiwork being spread
throughout the Banks!" (EIV,86,4-5).

The closest we get to the idea of fertility is when Re-Horakhty is called "the lusty Ram (b3 sty) preeminent

in Heka-andj". (EIV,86,8).

Scene 48. hwt bhs Driving the calves
EIV,241,16-242,14; EX, Pl.XCII

The King, on the left of the scene, stands before the ithyphallic figure of Amen-Re-Kamephis. In front of the King stand four calves, one above the other. Each of the calves is tethered by a hind leg; the King holds the tethering ropes in his left hand, together with what appears to be a wavy rod. In the King's right hand is a rod, terminating in a snake's head and held parallel to the ground. The calves are labelled "The White", "The Black", "The Red" and "The Speckled".

The significance of the ceremony of "Driving the Calves" has been discussed by Blackman and Fairman (Blackman & Fairman, 1949/50); a full translation of Scene 48 can be found on page 108 of the work cited.

Blackman and Fairman discuss an exceptional scene of "Driving the Calves" from a New Kingdom coffin (op. cit., 1950, p.77), where it is found as an addendum to Heb-Sed scenes. We have seen already, in Scene 47, that there was a reference to the King as lord of the Heb-Sed in this, the Lower Egyptian parallel to Scene 48. This may, or may not, be significant. Scene 47 is the only scene of its type at Edfu, so we are unable to draw parallels between any other scenes of "Raising the Bull of Heliopolis"

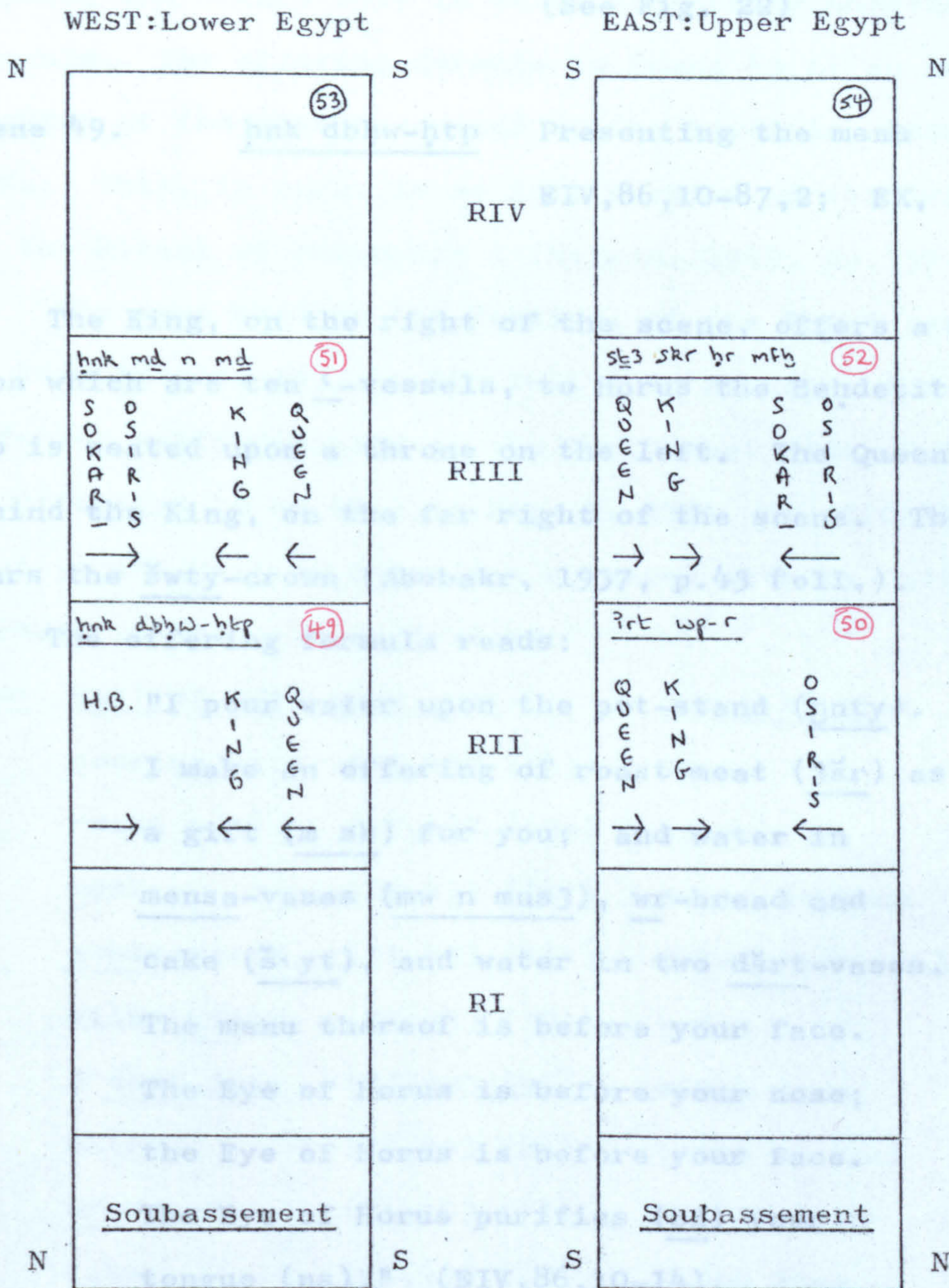
and "Driving the Calves".

The ceremony of "Driving the Calves" was originally an agricultural one, the calves being used on the threshing floor (op. cit. p.79). When the ceremony became Osirianised, the act of threshing grain was confused with the act of driving cattle over the grave of Osiris in order to obliterate all traces of it (op. cit. p.78). Scene 48 is an Osirianised version of the ceremony. Many such versions refer to Horus and Min driving the calves in Heliopolis; one, at least, states that Horus buried his father there (op. cit. p.79). Although there is no such reference in Scene 48, the connection with Heliopolis is found in this scene's counterpart on the west wall of the Naos exterior (Scene 47).

Scene 48 has, like most of the scenes of "Driving the Calves", a funerary element; but it is, above all, a harvest rite, a fertility ceremony.

NAOS EXTERIOR : EAST AND WEST WALLS

Group X : Scenes 49-52



EX, Pl. LXXXVI

EX, Pl. XCII

Figure 22

<u>Group X</u>	<u>Scenes 49-52</u>	The King, accompanied by Queen Cleopatra III, makes offerings to Horus, Osiris and Sokar-Osiris (See Fig. 22)
Scene 49.	<u>h_nk db_hw-ḥtp</u>	Presenting the menu EIV,86,10-87,2; EX, Pl. LXXXVI

The King, on the right of the scene, offers a platter, upon which are ten ḥ-vessels, to Horus the Behdetite, who is seated upon a throne on the left. The Queen stands behind the King, on the far right of the scene. The King wears the šwt_y-crown (Abubakr, 1937, p.43 foll.).

The offering formula reads:

"I pour water upon the pot-stand (ḥnty).
I make an offering of roast meat (ḥšr) as a gift (m sb) for you; and water in mensa-vases (mw n mns3), wr-bread and cake (šyt), and water in two dšrt-vases.
The menu thereof is before your face.
The Eye of Horus is before your nose;
the Eye of Horus is before your face.
The Eye of Horus purifies (bd) your tongue (ns).!" (EIV,86,10-14).

There are two forms of db_hw ḥtp (menu). The first, the "menu of everyday", is the list of offerings presented to the god of a temple each day, at the morning service

(Blackman, 1919); it is usually followed by the htp-dī-nsw ("boon which the king gives" ; Gardiner, 1957, pp.170-173), formula (Nelson, 1949, p.225).

The second type of menu is of a particularly funerary nature, and occurs only in texts concerning ancestor worship. The offering formula to Scene 49 is an abbreviated version of the menu presented to the Royal Ancestors at Edfu; this, in turn, is an Edfu version of the menu used in the Ritual of Amenophis I (Nelson, 1949, pp.327-329).

The menu used in the Festival of the Royal Ancestors at Edfu (David, 1973, p.146 foll.) is found on the offering table depicted on the north-east side of the Hall of Offerings (9 on Plan in Fig. 1; EXII, Pl. CCCLIX). The list in the Hall of Offerings compares with the offering formula to Scene 49 as follows:

<u>Item</u>	<u>Hall of Offerings list</u>	<u>Scene 49 list</u>
1.	pouring water (EI,493 (14))	same
2.	roast meat (EI,493 (13))	same
3.	menu (EI,493 (12))	omits as such
4.	<u>mensa</u> -vases (EI,493 (11))	third item in list
5.	milk (<u>bs3</u>) (EI,493 (10))	omits
6.	2 <u>dšrt</u> -jars (EI,493 (9))	sixth item
7.	natron (EI,493 (8))	omits as such
8.	<u>wr</u> -bread (EI,493,(7))	fourth item
9.	cake (EI,493 (6))	fifth item
13.	Eye of Horus before face (EI,493 (27))	eighth item
15.	menu before face (EI,493 (25))	seventh item.

The link with the Ritual of Amenophis I is made again in the speech of the Queen, when she says: "May you drink of his wine (irp) and chew (wš') his snbit. May your body flourish by means of his milk (irtt)" (EIV,87,1-2). The snbit episode is number 24 in the Ritual of Amenophis I (Gardiner, 1935).

The King is called the one who is "offering the Eye of Horus, presenting the fat (hpn), putting h3-snd upon his fingers (of the god)". (EIV,87,3-4).

The offerings named in the speech of the Queen and the epithets of the King are found in the Hall of Offerings list. "Wine" is found as Item 33 in the List (EI,493 (19)); "snbit" as Item 36 (EI,493 (16)); "milk" as Item 32 (EI,493 (20)); "fat" as Item 30 (EI, 493 (22)); "h3-snd" as Item 34 (EI,493 (18)).

Nelson suggests that snbit could be a liquid, because of its position in the lists of offerings (Nelson, 1949, p.209), but that its determinative in the lists does not suggest a liquid. The reference at Edfu to the God "chewing" the snbit would seem to indicate that snbit is not a liquid, but is more likely to be "a food, honey" as defined in W/b., IV,155.

Scene 50.	<u>irt wp-r</u>	Performing "Opening the Mouth" EIV,242,15-243,14; EX, Pl.XCII
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The King, with the Queen behind him, stands on the

left of the scene. In his left hand he holds a staff and a mace; he points his right hand at Osiris, who is seated on a throne and is not mummiform. The task of "Opening the Mouth" was usually undertaken by the sem-priest (Bonnet, 1952, p.698). The relief of Scene 50 shows the King wearing a kilt only, and not the leopard skin which a sem-priest usually wore. Neither does he hold an adze in his hand, a normal part of a sem-priest's equipment. He again wears the šwty-crown.

The offering formula reads:

"I extend (k'h) my arm to you
 after (m-ht) the completion ('rh)
 of the work. I recite (n²is.n.i)
 the menu (dbhw-htp) after (m-ht)
 I have opened your mouth and
 purified your body. I point
 (di.i.'wy) to the Upper Egyptian
 male ox (ng3w). I take the foreleg
 and the Great of Magic adze (wr hk3w).
 I adorn your head with the Two Feathers?"

(EIV, 242, 16-243, 2).

Scene 49 was one of "Presenting the menu" (hnk dbhw-htp). In the offering formula to Scene 50, the King talks of "reciting the menu" (n²is dbhw-htp). Normally, hnk dbhw-htp and n²is dbhw-htp seem to be interchangeable titles for the same rite. If this is the case here, then it would seem that the rites have each been sculpted on the


wrong wall, since the King says in the offering formula to Scene 50 that he has recited the menu after opening the mouth of the god. On the other hand, if "Presenting the menu" is taken as a different rite from "Reciting the menu", then Scene 49 (Presenting the menu) can quite logically come before Scene 50 (Opening the mouth) as long as it is accepted that the god does not partake of the items on the menu until he has had his mouth opened. This interpretation would mean that the reciting of the menu is not actually given a rite of its own in the Ritual; it is simply represented in the offering formula to Scene 50.

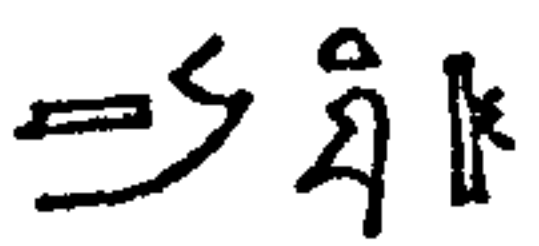
The ceremony of "Opening the Mouth" (Otto, 1960), was undertaken in order to restore to a dead person the use of his mouth in the Afterlife. The idea was extended so that all his organs were revitalized thereby; and further extended to statues and reliefs in temples and tombs.

There were more than one hundred episodes in the Ritual of Opening the Mouth. Only two of them are referred to in the offering formula to Scene 50.

One is the "pointing to the Upper Egyptian male ox" (Episode XXIII, Budge, 1909, p.47 foll.) which was done in order to give the signal for the ox to be slaughtered. The right foreleg was taken because that is where its power was thought to be situated; and the leg was raised towards the statue, or relief, or whatever object was

undergoing the "Opening of the Mouth".

The other episode was taking the Great of Magic adze (Episode XII, op. cit. p.70). This adze was a -shaped rod. By touching a statue with it, the priest complemented the actions of the sculptor.

The offering of Two Feathers (šwty) to Osiris is eminently suitable. The feather is an ideographic substitute for  m3't, truth (Gardiner, 1957, p.474). Osiris, as president at the judgement of the dead, can declare a man m3' hrw, justified (lit: true of voice).

The theme of righteousness is continued in the rest of the scene. The Queen calls the King "the ruler whose heart is filled with equity (tp b²i3)". (EIV,243,9). Osiris is called "Lord of the Mound of Righteousness (i3t gsty = i3t gsw-prw)". (EIV,243,11-12).

Osiris repays the King in kind for the opening of his mouth; he says: "I open your mouth (i.e. the mouth of the King) so that you may sit at ease (hms m wh', lit: sit being unloosened: and therefore able to eat, drink)". He continues: "May your strength be against your enemies". (EIV,243,10).

Scene 51.	<u>hnk md n md</u>	Presenting ten jars of <u>md</u> -ointment EIV,114,4-115,4; EX, Pl.LXXXVI
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The King, with the Queen behind him, stands on the

right of the scene offering a platter with ten '-vessels upon it to Sokar-Osiris, who is hawk-headed, wears an Atef-crown (as does the King), and is wrapped in a long, tight-fitting, shroud, and seated upon a throne. He holds in front of him a sceptre made up of the signs dd, inh and w3s, placed one on top of the other, like the staff held by Ptah in Scene 43.

The origins of Sokar are obscure. He was a local god at Memphis during the Old Kingdom, and at this point he may have been primarily a fertility god (Kees, 1941, p.286; 94 foll.). At an early date, Sokar became associated with Ptah (Holmberg, 1946, p.124 foll.) and both gods were regarded as patrons of artisans (op. cit. p.55 foll.). Eventually, Ptah and Sokar became mortuary gods (op. cit. Chapter VIII).

The mortuary god par excellence was Osiris, who was originally a corn-god (Frazer, 1914, p.97). Just as the corn was thought to die each year, and come to life again in the next, so Osiris, as the personification of corn, became a god who died each year and was resurrected. The death of Osiris resulted in him spending a period in the Underworld before being resurrected. It was a natural development from an enforced sojourn in the Underworld that Osiris should become a god of the dead.

By the popular Egyptian device of syncretism, Sokar and Osiris became identified with each other; and by the time of the Middle Kingdom, Sokar-Osiris had become

identified with Ptah (Holmberg, 1946, p.138 foll.).

Under the Ptolemies, Sokar lost his separate identity, and became little more than a form of Osiris.

The offering of ointments (Moret, 1902, (i), p.191) had a particularly funerary aspect, hence the offering of md to Sokar-Osiris in Scene 51 is apt. It was thought that, just as the ointments used in the embalming process would "bind (the) bones, re-unite (the) limbs and reassemble (the) flesh" (David, 1973, p.99, Scene 14) of the dead man, so ointment applied to his statue would bring the statue to life. This belief underlies the offering of md in the present scene.

The offering formula to Scene 51 lists the various kinds of ointment represented in the title of the scene under the heading "md":

"You are made Ba-like with ibr-
ointment (b3w.k m ibr), you are
restored with md-ointment (m3w.k m md).
Your flesh is made bright with b3k-oil
(b3k.n h'w.k m b3k); you are anointed
with hnm-oil (hnm.k n hnm). The twr-
ointment purifies you (twr twk tw3wt).
Your face is illuminated with best
quality oil and hekenu-oil, it anoints
your flesh (shd hr.k m h3tt hknw rk
hknw.f h'w.k). Festival perfume, it
gladdens your heart (sty sty.f ib.k)."
(EIV, 114, 4-8).

The God holds a crook and a flail; he is seated upon a throne. On the ground between the King and Sokar-Osiris stands the mfh-sledge (Kaplony, 1966, p.157, n. 197) upon which is the Henu-barque of Sokar (Bleeker, 1967, pp.75-81).

The epithets of the King in the "Königliche Randzeile" link him with Osiris. He is the one who "reveals the face of the God in Busiris (ddt)". (EIV,271,13); "the Two Ladies of great strength in Busiris and Thinis (t3-wr)". (EIV,271,14). Busiris, the capital of the IXth Nome of Lower Egypt, was traditionally regarded as the home of Osiris. The Kings of Dynasties I and II came from Thinis in Upper Egypt; they were buried, or at least had a cenotaph, nearby at Abydos, the city which was closely associated with Osiris, and where he had the most important of his many "tombs".

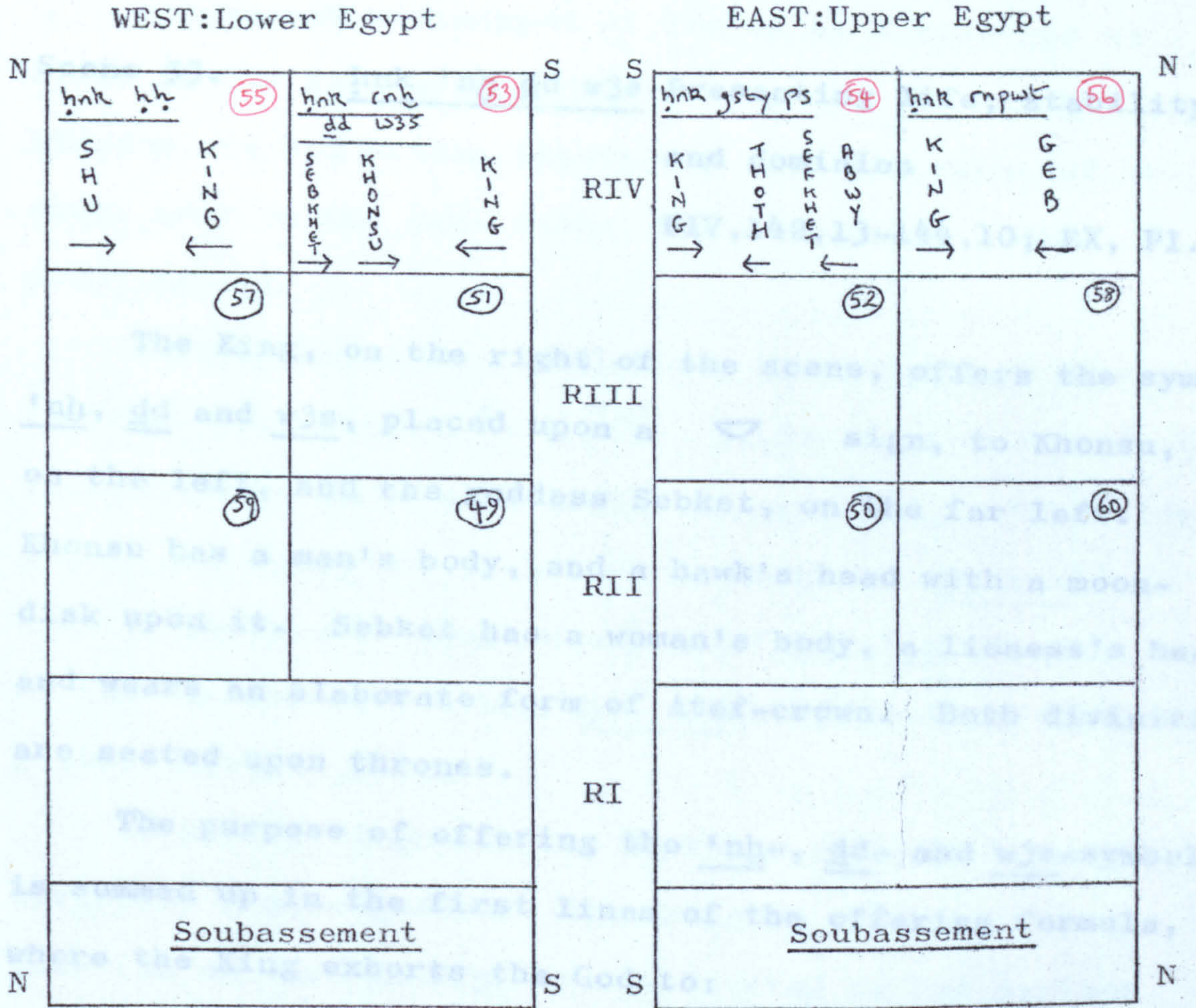
As we saw in Scene 51, Osiris was identified with Ptah. The epithets of the King in Scene 52 continue the association. He is "the child of Twt-h3t (Ptah)" (EIV,271,12); the youth "who runs round the White Walls (Memphis, the city of Ptah)". (EIV,271,13).

Scene 52 has in it echoes of the Festival of Sokar (Gaballa and Kitchen, 1969). "Dragging in Sokar upon the mfh-sledge" corresponds to "Scene III" of the Festival (op. cit., p.51); while the reference to the King running round the White Walls echoes Scenes IV-VI (op. cit., p.52).

The "Gottliche Randzeile" of our Scene 52 refers to Osiris as the one who "slays Nebed (Seth)" (EIV,272,4), thus reflecting the final scene of the Festival of Sokar where Osiris as Sokar is victorious over Seth and his followers (Gaballa & Kitchen, 1969, p.58).

NAOS EXTERIOR : EAST AND WEST WALLS

Group XI : Scenes 53-56




EX, Pl. LXXXVI

EX, Pl. XCII

Figure 23

<u>Group XI</u>	<u>Scenes 53-56</u>	The King makes offerings to Khonsu, Sebket, Thoth, Sefkhet-abwy, Shu and Geb. (See Fig. 23)
Scene 53.	<u>hnk 'nh dd w3s</u>	Presenting life, stability and dominion EIV,142,13-144,10; EX, Pl.LXXXVI

The King, on the right of the scene, offers the symbols 'nh, dd and w3s, placed upon a  sign, to Khonsu, on the left, and the goddess Sebket, on the far left. Khonsu has a man's body, and a hawk's head with a moon-disk upon it. Sebket has a woman's body, a lioness's head, and wears an elaborate form of Atef-crown. Both divinities are seated upon thrones.

The purpose of offering the 'nh-, dd- and w3s-symbols is summed up in the first lines of the offering formula, where the King exhorts the God to:

"Take for yourself Life ('nh)
in order to make your flesh ('t)
live, Stability (dd) to make
your body endure (dd), Dominion
(w3s) likewise which makes your
sacred image (sḥ; cf. Reymond,
1972, p.127 (a)) powerful in your
form." (EIV,142,13-14).

The offering of the symbols was never made to any particular god. There are several scenes of "Offering life, stability and dominion" throughout the temple; the offerings are made to several different gods.

Khonsu was worshipped at Thebes as a moon-god at least as far back as the Middle Kingdom; by the New Kingdom, he had become identified with the moon-god we shall meet in the next Scene, Thoth (Boylan, 1922, p.205 foll.).

Whilst Khonsu is a well-known divinity, his partner in Scene 53, Sebket (𓆎𓆑𓆑𓆑𓆑), is not. Her epithets in this Scene throw some light on her. She is "the oldest god in her form, who lightens the darkness (ḥd snk) at night; the secret image who holds (tḥn) Tḥn (Thoth) in the Mansion of the Leg (ḥwt sbkt; cf. Junker, 1917, p.148)" (EIV,143,7-8).

If Sebket "lightens the darkness at night", she is obviously a moon-goddess. The Mansion of the Leg at Edfu (22 on Plan in Fig. 1) was devoted to her partner in Scene 53, Khonsu. The reference to Sebket's function in this part of the temple being to "hold Tḥn (Thoth)" clearly illustrates the close relationship between Thoth and Khonsu.

Scene 54. ḥnk gsty ps (=p3s) Presenting a palette
and water pot
EIV,298,15-299,15; EX,
Pl.XCII

The King, on the left of the scene, wears a hmhm-crown and offers a scribe's palette and water-pot to Thoth, on the right, and the goddess, Sefkhet-abwy, on the far right. Both divinities are seated upon thrones. Thoth, like the King, wears a hmhm-crown (Abubakr, 1937, p.63 foll.); Sefkhet-abwy wears her characteristic head-dress of a pair of inverted horns over a star-like object (Boylan, 1922, p.212).

The Hermopolitan god, Thoth, often represented, as in this Scene, as a man with the head of an ibis, was, inter alia, a lunar god, lord of wisdom and intellectual pursuits, author of the "divine words", reckoner of time, recorder of annals and laws.

Sefkhet-abwy (op. cit., pp.211-212) was a form of Seshat, the goddess of writing and books who was either a sister or daughter of Thoth. This aspect of the goddess is expressed in the introduction to the speech of the goddess:

"For recitation by Seshat the great,
preeminent in the House of Books (pr md3t),
Mistress of the Emanations of Re (b3w R'
sacred records) who resides in Behdet,
Sefkhet-abwy (sfht-'bw) preeminent in
the Mansion of What-pertains-to-the-rolls
(hwt 3ryw md3t ? the library), Mistress of
books who is in charge of (hrp) inscrip-
tions (wdwt)". (EIV, 299, 12-13).

The palette (gsty), the water and the bowl (mh' = mht) which the King brings to the gods (EIV,299,6) enables them to "reckon (hb) the tribute from the world (htmn) ... divide correctly (šbšb) the Two Mountains (mnty; cf. W/b II, 69) grain by grain (npr n npr) and apportion the Two Lands". (EIV,298,16-299,2).

In return for the offering, Thoth gives the King "the litter (wtst) in Wtst-Hr, the throne (mnbt) in the Mansion of the Throne (hwt isbt)". (EIV,299,8).

In the "Gottliche Randzeile" both gods declare:

"We accept (sšp) the palette (m3sdm)
from the hands of your Majesty. We
inscribe (shf) your inscriptions (htm).
We engrave (ht) your jubilees: in millions
upon millions when you appear (h'.ti) as
Ruler in the House of Rejoicing (pr h')".
(EIV,299,14-15).

The last two sentences of the "Gottliche Randzeile" are particularly interesting because of the alliteration they display:

shf.n m htm.k ht.n hb-sdw.k m hh hr hh
h'.ti m hk3 hnt pr h' .

Scene 55.

hnk hh

Presenting the symbol of
eternity

EIV,143,12-144,6; EX, Pl.LXXXVI

The King, on the right of the scene, offers the

symbol of eternity (Gardiner, 1957, p.449, C11), flanked on either side by the symbol for "year" (op. cit., p.479 M4), to Shu, who is seated upon a throne on the left.

Shu was the god of atmosphere who was the personification of the divine breath which gives life to everything that lives on earth. At an early date, he became linked with Khonsu (Boylan, 1922, pp.207-208). Since Khonsu was identified with Thoth (see page 299), Shu, in his turn, was also identified with him.

Although one would expect the symbol of eternity to confer a long life-span, it is clear that in this Scene it is used to overcome enemies. In the offering formula, the god is exhorted to lift ('r) Hnkt, with whom the symbol is identified, "she being raised (hry.t) against strife (h3'yt)". (EIV,143,13-14).

The speech of Shu continues the theme: "I give you your opponents (btnw) upon the block of the east (hbt i3btt), I send death (? mtr) against them in fury (dndn)". (EIV,144,3-4). The epithets of Shu reflect this fierce attitude; he is the great god "who arranges the slaughter of the enemy in Wetjeset, and slays (hnbb) the evil powers (b3w dw) who are opposed to (n) the Pillars of the Sky". (EIV,144,4-5).

Scene 56.

hnk rnpwt

Presenting vegetables

EIV,299,17-300,11; EX, Pl.XCII

The King, on the left of the scene, wearing an Atef-crown,

offers two clumps of vegetables to Geb, who is seated upon a throne on the right. On this, the Upper Egyptian, wall the god wears a Red Crown surmounted by an Atef-crown.

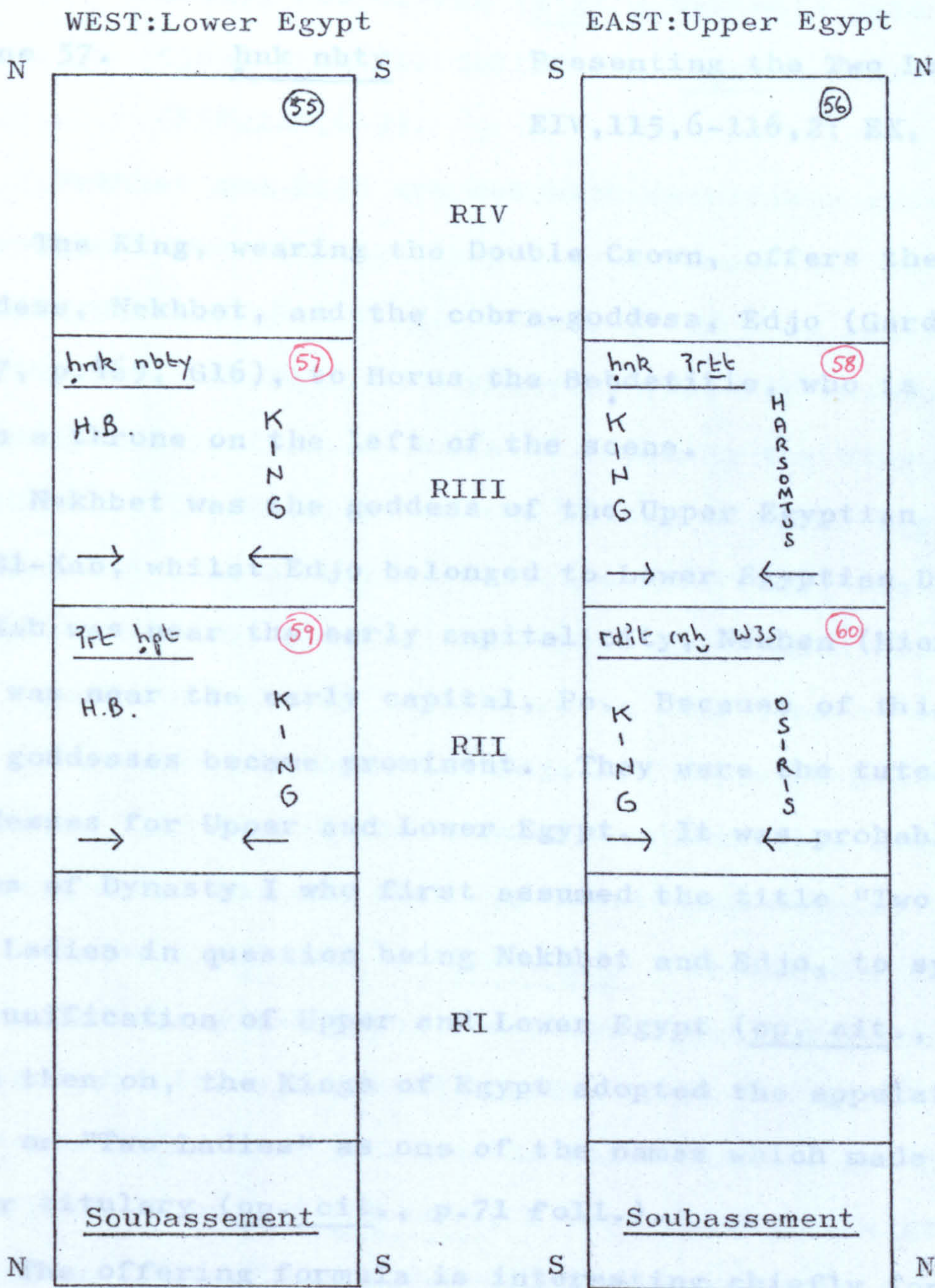
Geb was the earth god, a member, with Shu, of the Heliopolitan Ennead. Vegetables are an appropriate gift for him, since he is the god who produces them, a fact emphasised in the offering formula:

"Take for yourself the vegetables
 (rnpwt) which come forth from you,
wbs-plants (W/b I, 296) from the
 fields (hnbw) which you have created.
 These plants (nwtj = nty) which are
 verdant upon the edge of your cultiva-
 tion (npwt), they have been cut (isp)
 in Hor-Merty. They flourish upon you,
 the field which began (š3') them.
 Your face is radiant with them!.."
 (EIV, 299, 17-300, 3).

Geb takes his place in Group XI alongside Khonsu, Thoth and Shu partly because he is the brother of Shu, more especially because he is linked at Edfu with the worship of Khonsu. We have seen already (page 299) that the Mansion of the Leg was a chapel devoted to the worship of Khonsu. In the present Scene, Geb is called "the aggressive (tkk) Ba who is hidden within the Mansion of the Leg (hwt sbkt)", (EIV, 300, 9), thus linking him with Khonsu.

NAOS EXTERIOR : EAST AND WEST WALLS

Group XII : Scenes 57-60



EX, Pl. LXXXVI

EX, Pl. XCII

Figure 24

<u>Group XII</u>	<u>Scenes 57-60</u>	The King offers various symbols of kingship to Horus, Harsomtus and Osiris. (See Fig. 24)
Scene 57.	<u>hnk nbty</u>	Presenting the Two Ladies EIV, 115, 6-116, 2; EX, Pl. LXXXVI

The King, wearing the Double Crown, offers the vulture-goddess, Nekhbet, and the cobra-goddess, Edjo (Gardiner, 1957, p.469, G16), to Horus the Behdetitie, who is seated upon a throne on the left of the scene.

Nekhbet was the goddess of the Upper Egyptian town of El-Kab, whilst Edjo belonged to Lower Egyptian Dep. El-Kab was near the early capital city, Nekhen (Hieraconpolis); Dep was near the early capital, Pe. Because of this, the two goddesses became prominent. They were the tutelary goddesses for Upper and Lower Egypt. It was probably Menes of Dynasty I who first assumed the title "Two Ladies", the Ladies in question being Nekhbet and Edjo, to symbolise the unification of Upper and Lower Egypt (op. cit., p.73). From then on, the Kings of Egypt adopted the appellation nbty or "Two Ladies" as one of the names which made up their titulary (op. cit., p.71 foll.).

The offering formula is interesting chiefly for the variety of names it uses for the two goddesses:

"The Upper Egyptian Lady (nswt -
Nekhbet) is united (dmd) with the

Lower Egyptian Lady (bītyt - Edjo);
 Nekhbet is beside She-of-Pe (pyt -
 Edjo). Sedjet (sdt) the great (Nekhbet),
 she unites (snsn) with the Maiden (hwnt -
 Edjo), She-of-Fag (f'gt - Nekhbet) joins
 (3bh) with the Coiled One (mhnt - Edjo)."
 (EIV, 115, 6-9).

Nekhbet and Edjo are met with in various guises throughout the temple. They play an important part in the coronation of a king. Scenes 5 and 6 on Register I of the Naos exterior (see pages 71-72), for instance, show them in a typical scene of crowning the King, with Nekhbet as the Mistress of the White, or Upper Egyptian, Crown, and Edjo as Mistress of the Red Crown, the Lower Egyptian diadem, placing the Double Crown upon his head. Both goddesses are in human form in this type of scene.

Sometimes, Nekhbet and Edjo are depicted neither in human form nor in the form of a vulture and cobra respectively, but are both represented as cobras. This is the case in scenes of "hnk w3dty - Presenting the Two Cobra Goddesses (of Upper and Lower Egypt)" of which there are several throughout the temple.

The third type of scene in which Nekhbet and Edjo take part is one of hnk nbty, a type which is relatively uncommon. Apart from Scene 57, discussed here, we are able to trace only two other examples in Edfu temple (see below).

In return for the offering of the Two Ladies in Scene 57, Horus says to the King: "I receive them from you. I place them upon your head. I join together the Two Portions (psš.wy - Upper and Lower Egypt) as your subjects". (EIV,115,16-17).

In one of the other two scenes of h_hnk nbty (Forecourt, EV,43,10-44,8) the God responds in similar vein, offering the King the Two Lands. In the other (Girdle Wall, exterior, EVII,121,9-122,7) he gives the King the w3dty to breath fire against his enemies. Thus, in two out of the three cases, it is the unification of Egypt that the Two Ladies represent.

Scene 58. h_hnk irtt Presenting milk
EIV,272,7-273,2; EX, Pl.XCII

The King, on the left of the scene, wearing the Double Crown, offers two pots of milk to Harsomtus, who is seated on a throne on the right, and wears a hmhm-crown.

Harsomtus (Hr-sm3-t3wy - Horus, the uniter of the Two Lands) was the son of Hathor of Dendera, the consort of Horus of Edfu. Hathor was often depicted as a cow; it is, therefore, appropriate to present milk to her son. The offering formula reads:

"These milk-pots (mhw) are filled with
milk (bnr) from the udder (hfk) of Sekhet-
Hor and the milk (hdw) which issued from

the udder (nphw) of the 3ht-cow
(Hathor) and the young cows (rnnwt)
of Hathor. Drink from them. Rejuvenate
your body and renew your power by means
of them." (EIV,272,7-11).

Milk played an important part in the religious beliefs of the Egyptians, as it did in their diet. Temple reliefs often show a king being suckled by a goddess, symbolising his acceptance as a divinity. An offering of milk gave the king divine life and enabled him to carry out his duties as monarch on earth.

The last sentence of the offering formula illustrates this belief; as does the speech of Harsomtus, in which he states: "I rejuvenate your body, I increase your strength as the greatly loved sovereign (3ity bnr mrt)" (EIV,272,17).

At first sight, the offering of milk would seem to be out of place amongst a group of scenes concerning the offering of the symbols of kingship. However, the brief survey given above of what milk meant to the Ancient Egyptians makes it clear that it, too, can be regarded as a symbol of kingship.

Scene 59.	<u>irt hpt</u>	Offering the <u>hpt</u> -diadem
		EIV,87,11-88,4; EX, Pl.LXXXVI

The King, on the right of the scene, wears a Red Crown flanked by two feathers and superimposed upon a pair

of horns. He offers a diadem to Horus the Behdetite, who is seated on a throne on the left, and wears a hmhm-crown. The diadem which the King holds out to Horus is not, in fact, a "hpt-diadem", as the title of the Scene states; it is a hmhm-crown (Abubakr, 1937, p.63 foll.).

The offering formula does not refer by name to the hmhm-crown which the relief depicts the King holding; it talks, instead, of the "hpt-diadem" of the Scene's title:

"This is your hpt-diadem, enriched with its constituents (ht), which the divine male-child (t3y) has fashioned (nb) by his handiwork ... ". (EIV,87,11-12).

There are 15 scenes of offering hpt-diadems throughout the temple, including four on the exterior of the Naos. In no case does the relief belonging to the scene show a crown which is not known by another name. In the majority of cases, it is the Double Crown or the hmhm-crown which the King is shown to be offering. For example, Scenes 5 and 6 of the Ritual being discussed in these pages show the King offering the Double Crown (see above, p.188 foll.); Scenes 59 and 68 (see below p.321) show him offering the hmhm-crown. One is drawn to the conclusion that such a crown as the "hpt-diadem" did not exist, but that the term "hpt" is generic for a variety of crowns.

Group XIII

Scenes 61-66

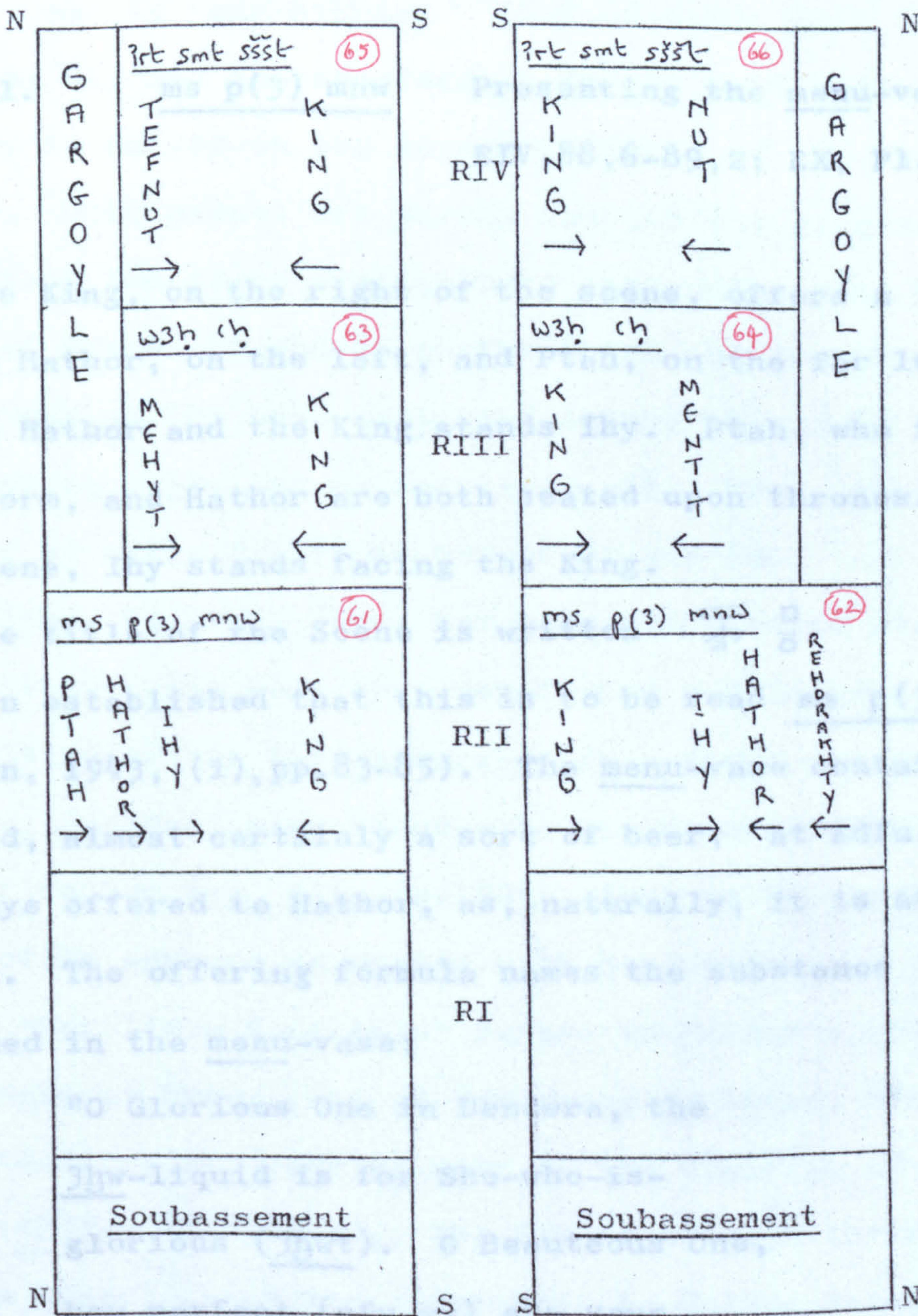
The King makes offerings to

NAOS EXTERIOR : EAST AND WEST WALLS

Group XIII : Scenes 61-66

WEST: Lower Egypt


EAST: Upper Egypt

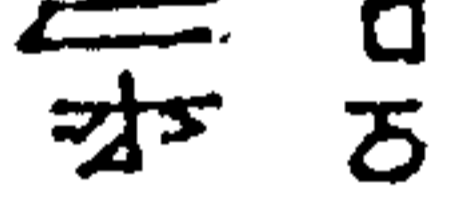


EX, Pl. LXXXVI

EX, Pl. XCII

<u>Group XIII</u>	<u>Scenes 61-66</u>	The King makes offerings to several goddesses, who are accompanied in two scenes by male divinities. (See Fig. 25)
Scene 61.	<u>ms p(3) mnw</u>	Presenting the <u>menu-vase</u> EIV, 88, 6-89, 2; EX, Pl. LXXXVI

The King, on the right of the scene, offers a  vase to Hathor, on the left, and Ptah, on the far left. Between Hathor and the King stands Ihy. Ptah, who is in human form, and Hathor are both seated upon thrones. In this scene, Ihy stands facing the King.

The title of the Scene is written  ; it has been established that this is to be read ms p(3) mnw (Fairman, 1943, (i), pp. 83-85). The menu-vase contained a liquid, almost certainly a sort of beer; at Edfu, it is always offered to Hathor, as, naturally, it is at Dendera. The offering formula names the substance contained in the menu-vase:

"O Glorious One in Dendera, the
3hw-liquid is for She-who-is-
glorious (3hwt). O Beauteous One,
how perfect (nfr.wy) are your
beauties. The goodly sm-priest
intoxicates (snwh) your majesty,

and myrrh drives away the evil
 apertaining to you. May you make
 your journey (smd.t m smdw.t, lit:
 wander in your wanderings) shining
 on the horizon. May you move in the
 sky in your beauty." (EIV,88,6-9).

Scene 61, and its counterpart on the east wall,
 Scene 62, is carved on the second register of the Naos
 exterior. Both scenes are partly beneath the gargoyles
 which affect the space available to the sculptor in his
 carving of Scenes 63 and 65 on the third and fourth registers
 respectively on the west wall, and Scenes 64 and 66 on the
 corresponding registers on the east wall. Thus, there is
 space for an extra figure in Scenes 61 and 62.

In Scene 61, this space has been allotted to Ptah,
 perhaps because his role as a vegetation god (Holmberg,
 1946, p.39) warrants his appearance in a scene connected
 with beer; perhaps also because he was regarded as the
 father of Hathor (op. cit., p.192). Ihy, as the son of
 Hathor, often appears in scenes with his mother.

The "Gottliche Randzeile" refers to Hathor's role
 as a goddess of beer; she is "Mistress of bread, Mistress
 of intoxication, who creates beer as the creation of her
 thought (ib)". (EIV,89,2). The Egyptians made their
 beer from bread, hence the reference to Hathor being
 "Mistress of bread".

Her gifts to the King are not beer or bread; she
 accepts his menu-vase with the words:

"The fat ('dty) is upon the fire perfuming with its odour (knn) the face of the Praised One and warding off evil (dndn). The choicest cuts of meat are upon the fire in the shape (3bwt) of the enemy so that you may look at them. Come forth in amity (pr.t m kd; W/b V, 77) and partake (hsmn) of them. Be glad (hntš), be revived, incline your head." (EIV,116,4-8).

The Egyptians thought that if enemies were eaten, their potency was absorbed by whoever ate them. Although the epithets of the King in Scene 63 speak of him killing enemies - he is the one who "overthrows the enemy of his father, who cuts up (npd) enemies and dismembers their flesh" (EIV,116,10) - these slain enemies were not actually eaten. Such a practice, if it ever existed, died out in Pre-Dynastic times. Instead, pieces of meat were offered to the divinity. These represented the enemies of Egypt, and the eating of the pieces of meat symbolised the eating of the enemy.

The goddess who receives the offering is Mehyt, "the Coiled One (mḥnt), diadem of the Horizon God, Sekhmet the Great, Mistress and Lady of Heaven, the Eye of Re upon the head of him who made her". (EIV,116,14-15). She is thus a uraeus goddess who is identified with Sekhmet, who was regarded as the Eye of Re in rage against his enemies.

"Lady of leaping (hpg), joy (h') and dancing (i3wy)" (EIV,145,2). Hathor is "Lady of leaping (sps), Lady of joy (h''w), Mistress of dancing (i3wy)". (EIV,88,16).

Scene 66. i3rt smt sššt Playing the rattle and sistrum
EIV,300,13-301,7; EX, Pl.XCII

The King, on the left of the scene, holds out a rattle and a sistrum to Nut, who is seated upon a throne on the right.

Nut was, according to Heliopolitan legend, the daughter of Shu and Tefnut. She was a sky goddess, and was sometimes portrayed as a cow standing over the world. Since Hathor was also a sky goddess who sometimes took the form of a cow, she and Nut had much in common, which is perhaps why Nut takes her place in this Group of scenes alongside those goddesses who were regarded as the Eyes of Re.

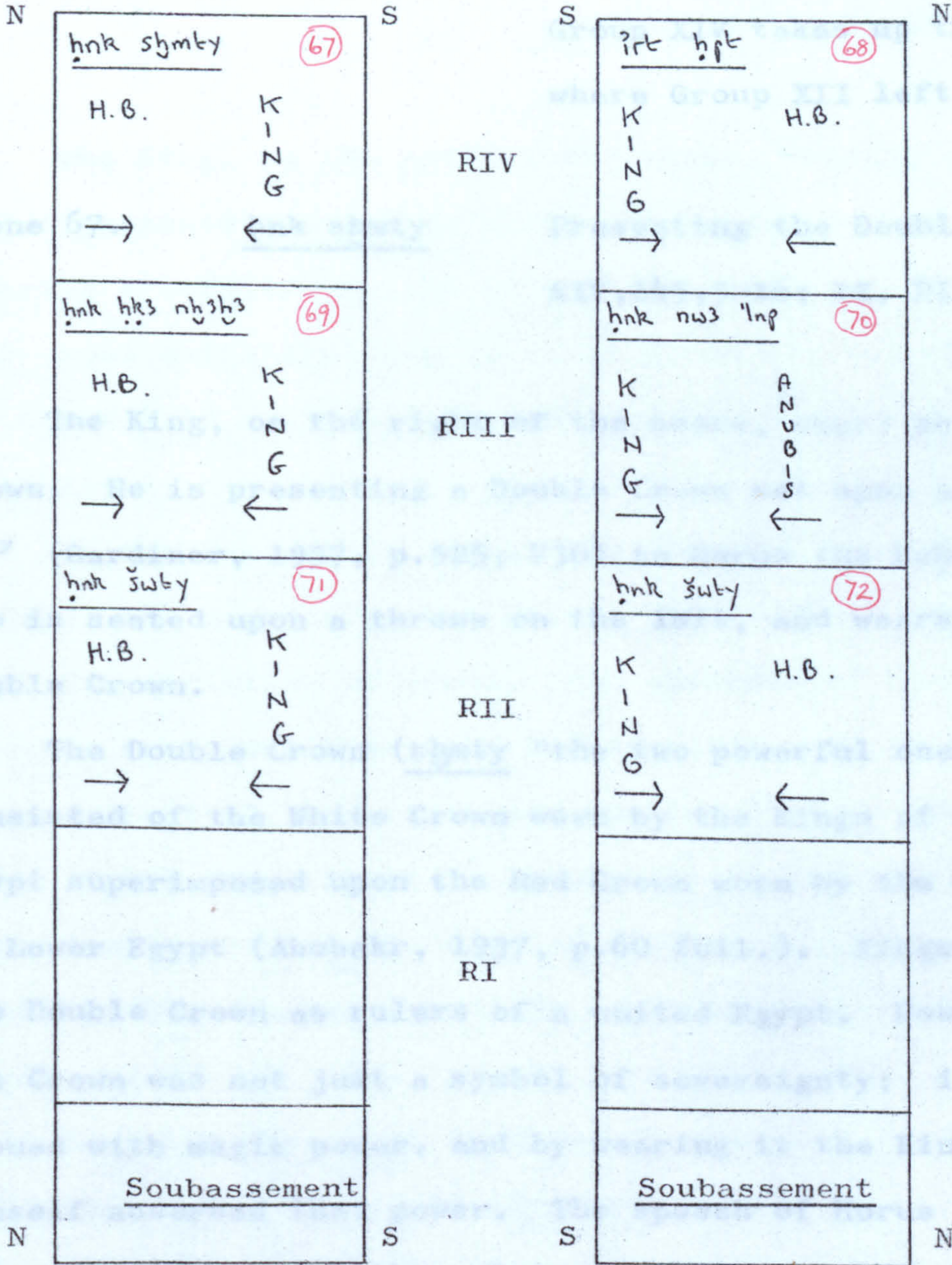
The purpose of the rattle was "to drive away discontent (špt-hpt)", (EIV,300,14); to make the goddess "powerful against enemies ... to ward off evil from around the Divine Eye". (EIV,144,9-10). The sistrum makes the heart of the goddess glad (hntš) (EIV,144,10-11).

NAOS EXTERIOR : EAST AND WEST WALLS

Group XIV : Scenes 67-72

WEST:Lower Egypt

EAST:Upper Egypt



EX, Pl. LXXXVI

EX, Pl. XCII


Figure 26

Group XIV Scenes 67-72 The King offers symbols
of Kingship to Horus in
all scenes except Scene 70,
where Anubis receives an
adze.

(See Fig. 26)

Group XIV takes up the Ritual
where Group XII left off.

Scene 67. hnk shnty Presenting the Double Crown
EIV,145,5-16; EX, Pl.LXXXVI

The King, on the right of the scene, wears an Atef-crown. He is presenting a Double Crown set upon a basket  (Gardiner, 1957, p.525, V30) to Horus the Behdetite, who is seated upon a throne on the left, and wears the Double Crown.

The Double Crown (shnty "the two powerful ones") consisted of the White Crown worn by the kings of Upper Egypt superimposed upon the Red Crown worn by the rulers of Lower Egypt (Abubakr, 1937, p.60 foll.). Kings wore the Double Crown as rulers of a united Egypt. However, the Crown was not just a symbol of sovereignty; it was imbued with magic power, and by wearing it the King himself absorbed that power. The speech of Horus in Scene 67 illustrates the point:

"I give you the Two Great Ones
(wrty i.e. the two crowns which

make up the Double Crown) being great upon your brow, so that they may advance (smnh) the power (b3w) of your majesty". (EIV,145,13).

Scene 68. irt hpt Offering the hpt-diadem
EIV,301,9-302,5; EX, Pl.XCII

The King, on the left of the scene, wearing an Atef-crown, presents a crown to Horus the Behdetite, on the right, wearing a hmhm-crown. As in the other scenes of "irt hpt", the crown which the King is offering is not one which can be identified as a "hpt-diadem". In Scene 68, it is a hmhm-crown.

In the discussion concerning Scene 59 (see above, p.309), the conclusion was drawn that the term "hpt" was used for varieties of crown. The epithets of Horus in the present scene would seem to confirm this. He is called "he of the tall, Atef-crown and the broad hmhm-crown, lord of the Upper Egyptian Crown (šm'-s) and the Lower Egyptian Crown (mḥ-s), Ruler of the Two Feathers, who fashions hpt-diadems (hpwt) in order to distinguish his brow". (EIV,302,3-4).

Scene 59 (irt hpt) is found on the west, or Lower Egyptian, wall; Scene 68 (irt hpt) on the east, or Upper Egyptian, wall. Although it would have been preferable to have had these Scenes as successive acts in the Ritual, the rites of irt hpt are, at least, being performed one for Lower Egypt, the other for Upper Egypt.

Scene 69. h_{nk} h_k3 n_h3h₃ Presenting the crook and
the flail
EIV,119,7-120,2; EX, Pl.LXXXVI

The King, on the right of the scene, holds out on a platter the symbols \uparrow (Gardiner, 1957, p.508, S38) and \nearrow (op. cit. p.510, S45) to Horus the Behdetite on the left. Horus wears the Double Feather crown (Abubakr, 1937, p.44). In his left hand he holds, as usual, a w3s-sceptre, and in his right hand, an ankh-sign. In this scene, he also holds a flail \nearrow in his left hand, and a h_k3-sceptre in his right.

The purposes of the crook and the flail are summed up in the speech of Horus, when he says: "I give you the crook (h_k3) as ruler (h_k3) of this land, the flail (n_h3h₃) in order to rejuvenate your body". (EIV,119,16).

Scene 70. h_{nk} nw3 'Inp Presenting the adze of Anubis
EIV,275,16-276,10; EX, Pl.XCII

The King, on the left of the scene, faces Anubis, on the right. In his left hand, the King holds an ankh-sign; in his right hand he holds an adze (Gardiner, 1957, p.518, U21). The head of Anubis is damaged; however, it does not look as though he is jackal-headed. He wears the Double Crown.

Anubis was the god of the dead who watched over the

necropolis. He had embalmed Osiris, and so, as "he who belongs to the mummy wrappings" and "chief of the divine pavilion (the place where mummification was performed)", he became the god of embalmers. This aspect of Anubis's role is reflected in the epithets given to him in Scene 70. He is:

"Rmnti² who supports (rmn) the Heliopolitan (Osiris) in the divine pavilion (sh ntr), lord of the Red Land (t3 dšrt, i.e. the desert), lord of burial (ks), preeminent in the Necropolis (r-st3w)". (EIV, 276, 8-9).

"Proffering the copper adze of Anubis" is the title of one of the rites in the Opening the Mouth Ceremony. Budge puts it at Ceremony XII and Ceremony XXIV in his version of the Ritual (Budge, 1909). The offering formula of Scene 70 makes it clear that the "adze of Anubis" referred to in the title of the Scene is to be used for the purpose of opening the mouth; the King addresses Anubis as "son of Osiris" and says: "Receive it (the adze) from me to open the mouth of your father". (EIV, 276, 1-2).

Nowhere in Scene 70 is there a reference to any symbol of kingship such as the crowns and sceptres which are featured in the surrounding scenes.

Hence, it is surprising to find this scene of "Presenting the adze of Anubis" in the position which it occupies. As it is the only scene of its kind in Edfu temple, it is not possible to compare its position in the Ritual on the Naos exterior with the position it might occupy in other rituals.

It would seem, however, that it would have been better placed in Group X (see above, p.285 foll.) and that its appearance in Group XIV is anomalous.

Scene 71. h₁nk šwty Presenting the Two Feathers
EIV,89,4-16; EX, Pl.LXXXVI

The King, on the right of the scene, presents a diadem to Horus the Behdetite on the left. The diadem worn by Horus is of the same type as that held by the King. The diadems are not, however, the usual type of Two Feather Crown (Gardiner, 1957, p.50⁴, S9). In spite of the title of the Scene referring to two feathers, the diadems seem to be composed of four tall plumes. A similar type of crown was worn by the King in Scene 13b (see page 205).

Scene 72. h₁nk šwty Presenting the Two Feathers
EIV,245,14-246,8; EX, Pl.XCII

The King, wearing the Double Crown, stands on the left

of the scene and proffers the Two Feather Crown (Abubakr, 1937, p.43 foll.) to Horus the Behdetite, who is seated on a throne on the right, and wears the Two Feather Crown.

The symbol of a feather was often used as an ideographic substitute for Maat, the goddess of Truth. Hence, the Two Feather Crown symbolised the wearer's triumph over his enemies and in the Hall of Judgement.

The offering formulae of Scenes 71 and 72 take up the theme of triumph. In the former, Lower Egyptian, Scene, Horus is addressed as follows:

"This your Eye is bound (mdh.ti)
upon your head, O Great of Triumph
('3 m3'-hrw), son of the Winged
Beetle ('py). You are triumphant
(m3'-hrw.k), you rule this land
as Lower Egyptian King (bity.k t3 pn)
..." (EIV,89,4-5).

In the latter, Upper Egyptian, Scene, the first part of the offering formula reads:

"Your 'nht-eye is yours, embracing
you (htp.ti r-hr.k). Your wd3t-eye
is <fixed> in its place. You come
forth from your Judgement (wpt)
having been declared triumphant
(hrw.k m3') while Nebed (Seth)
is found guilty (m hbn hrw) ..."
(EIV,245,14-16).

The Judgement referred to here is that made between Horus and Seth in the dispute over who should inherit the throne of Egypt after the murder of Osiris (Gardiner, 1931).

In Scene 72, the Upper Egyptian scene, the King is referred to as "the son of Bity-Re" (EIV, 246, 1), a Lower Egyptian title. This is perhaps because originally the Two Feather Crown was a Lower Egyptian diadem (Abubakr, 1937, p. 38 foll.).

Much play is made in both Scenes on the fact that the crown was regarded as an eye. Special attention is paid to the goddesses who personify the fiery Eye of Re, the Uraeus.

In the "Königliche Randzeile" of Scene 71, the King is said to be on his throne "uniting with the Right Eye (wnmt), joining with the Left Eye (i3bt), placing the Lady (hnwt) beside the Living One ('nht). He is like Horus who places the Two Ladies upon his brow, who adorns his head with the Two Maidens (hwnty)."
(EIV, 89, 10-11).

In the "Königliche Randzeile" of Scene 72, he is said to be on his throne "uniting with the Sundered One (ph3t, cf. Fairman, 1944, p. 268 foll.), joining with the Diadem (hryt-tp), placing the Right Eye beside the Left. He is like Horus who places the Two wd3t-eyes upon his head, who crowns (stnw) his brow with the Two Uraei". (EIV, 246, 2-3).

The culmination of the scenes of presenting the symbols of kingship comes in the speech of Horus in the final scene of Group XIV (Scene 72) when he says:

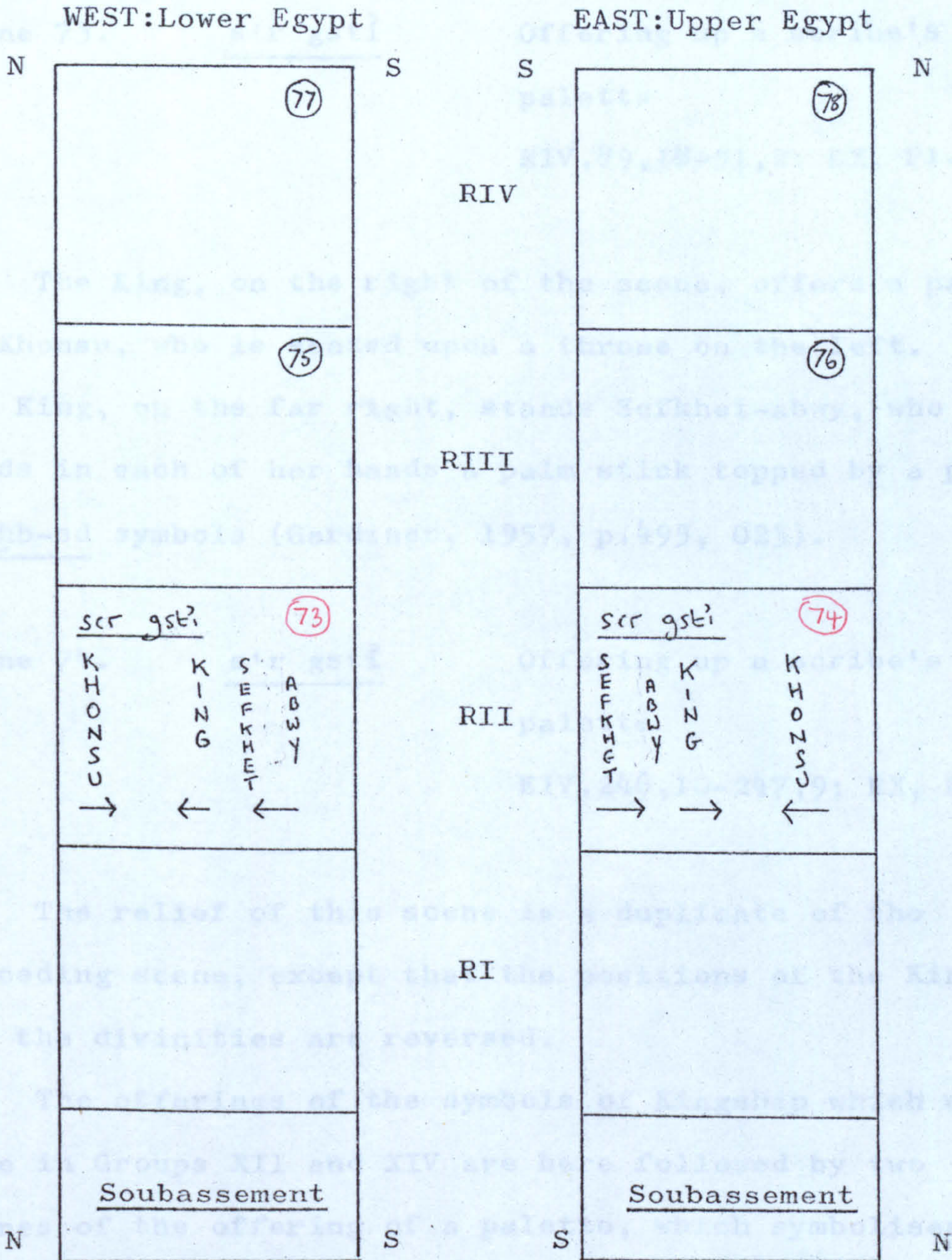
"I grasp the diadem (hpt), I
replace ('n) it upon your head.

I afix it, living between the
Uraei". (EIV, 246, 5).

Having received the Crown, both god and king were enabled to triumph over their enemies, and to rule the Two Lands in triumph (Moret, 1902, (i), p.153).

NAOS EXTERIOR : EAST AND WEST WALLS

Group XV : Scenes 73-74



EX, Pl. LXXXVII

EX, Pl. XCII

Figure 27

<u>Group XV</u>	<u>Scenes 73-74</u>	The King offers a scribe's palette to Khonsu (See Fig. 27)
Scene 73.	<u>s'r gsti</u>	Offering up a scribe's palette EIV, 89, 18-91, 2; EX, Pl. LXXXVII

The King, on the right of the scene, offers a palette to Khonsu, who is seated upon a throne on the left. Behind the King, on the far right, stands Sefkhet-abwy, who holds in each of her hands a palm stick topped by a pair of hb-sd symbols (Gardiner, 1957, p.495, 023).

Scene 74.	<u>s'r gsti</u>	Offering up a scribe's palette EIV, 246, 10-247, 9; EX, Pl. XCIII
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The relief of this scene is a duplicate of the preceding scene, except that the positions of the King and the divinities are reversed.

The offerings of the symbols of Kingship which were made in Groups XII and XIV are here followed by two scenes of the offering of a palette, which symbolises the regulation of the land by the King; and the means by which his years of Kingship are recorded.

The task of recording the years of the king was usually undertaken by Thoth, often accompanied by Seshat (Boylan, 1922, p.210). In Scenes 73 and 74, Khonsu has assumed the duties of Thoth, with whom he was identified (op. cit., p.206); and Seshat has been named by one of her epithets, that of Sefkhet-abwy.

The offering formulae of both scenes make clear the function of the palette. In Scene 73, the King says:


'My writing-board ('n) is established before you, the Two Halves of the Land (ph3t-t3wy - Egypt) being engraved upon it ... Ink (h' m try; lit: that which appears as colour) surrounds it, being equally efficient on all four sides (m r.f 4). You copy (sphr) the Ritual (ht) as you wish (m 3b.k).'" (EIV,90,1-4).

In Scene 74, he addresses the God as follows:

"This is the palette (gsti) which regulates (gsgs) this land. Your fist seizes it, its ruler are you, that you may see (m33) and hear (sdm) by means of M33-sdm (the palette as a divinity). You divide (šbšb) the land by your brightness, you regulate (wd') the nobility, you make the poor

(nmhw) prosperous <and increase> their
portions (pš).\" (EIV, 246, 11-15).

The speeches and rewards given by Sefkhet-abwy are similar in both Scenes, and only one is quoted here. In Scene 73, she says:

"Millions are your years and your
eons (šnw), O Son of Re (Ptolemy).
Your periods (nr²it) are the periods
of Horus in Pe. Your years are the
years of the Horizon God, your Kingship
(written  i.e. using the White
Crown of Upper Egypt on this, the
Lower Egyptian, wall) abiding upon
the Double Horizon, O Lord of the
?Nebet (rest lost).\" (EIV, 90, 11-12).

In return for the offering of a palette, Khonsu, in Scene 73, says to the King:

"I give you your heart (hry-mkt.f; lit: what
is in its proper place), those who have
passed before you (sb²i m hr.k - the Royal
Ancestors) remember you.\" (EIV, 90, 13).

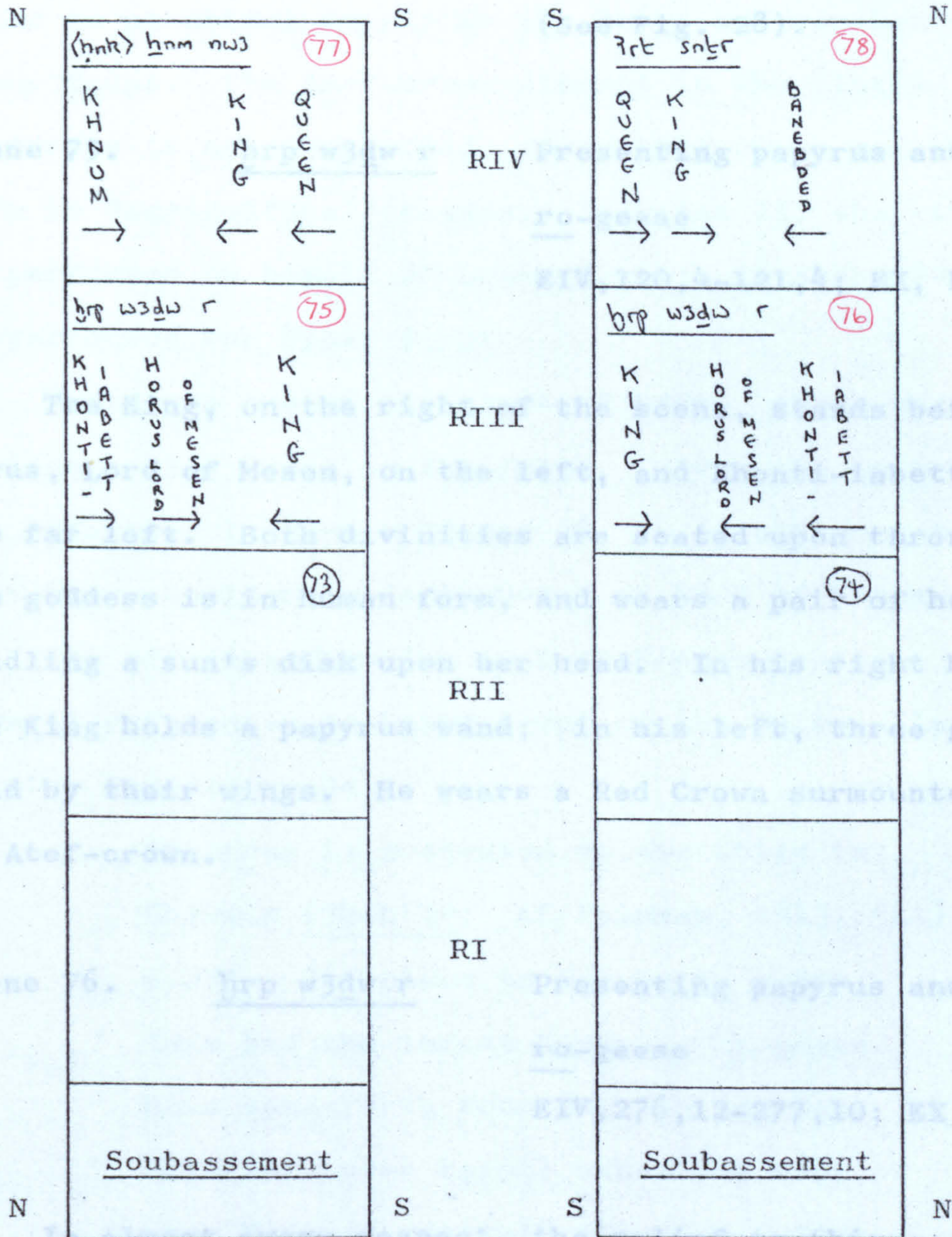
In Scene 74, Khonsu addresses the King as follows:

"I establish your decrees, I register
(sphr) your annals (gnwt) in tens of
thousands, millions, hundreds.\" (EIV, 274, 5).

It is clear that Scenes 73 and 74 are suitably placed in our reconstruction of the order of the Ritual, coming, as they do, immediately after the rites concerned with the offering of the symbols of Kingship.

NAOS EXTERIOR : EAST AND WEST WALLS

Group XVI : Scenes 75-78



EX, Pl. LXXXVII

EX, Pl. XCIII

Figure 28

<u>Group XVI</u>	<u>Scenes 75-78</u>	The King makes offerings to Horus, Khonti-iabett, Khnum and Banebbed. He is accompanied by the Queen in Scenes 77 and 78. (See Fig. 28).
Scene 75.	<u>hrp w3dw r</u>	Presenting papyrus and <u>ro-geese</u> EIV, 120, 4-121, 4; EX, Pl. LXXXVII

The King, on the right of the scene, stands before Horus, Lord of Mesen, on the left, and Khonti-iabett, on the far left. Both divinities are seated upon thrones. The goddess is in human form, and wears a pair of horns cradling a sun's disk upon her head. In his right hand, the King holds a papyrus wand; in his left, three geese, held by their wings. He wears a Red Crown surmounted by an Atef-crown.

Scene 76.	<u>hrp w3dw r</u>	Presenting papyrus and <u>ro-geese</u> EIV, 276, 12-277, 10; EX, Pl. XCIII
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In almost every respect, the relief to this scene is identical with that of Scene 75, except that the King holds three papyrus wands, this time in his left hand, and the layout is the reverse of what it was in the

preceding scene.

The King wears the Red Crown in both scenes, that is, on both the Upper Egyptian, and Lower Egyptian, wall, because the rite of "Presenting papyrus and ro-geese" was obviously a Lower Egyptian one, both items being found in plentiful supply in the Delta and marshes of Lower Egypt. The Atef-crown element in the King's headdress is not unexpected, since this crown was often worn in "agricultural" scenes. In Scene 75, the rite is performed on behalf of Lower Egypt; in Scene 76, it is performed for Upper Egypt.

Mesen was one of the names of Edfu; there was also a place called Mesen in the Delta. Given the nature of the offerings in Scenes 75 and 76, it is appropriate that they should be made to Horus as Lord of Mesen.

The offering formulae to both Scenes contain several references to Lower Egypt or the Delta. In Scene 75, the formula reads:

"Papyrus is presented to the child in Chemmis (3h-bity; cf. Fairman, 1943, (ii), p.273. The place in the Delta where Isis hid the infant Horus). Ro-geese have come forth from the Two Sources. Edjo (of Lower Egypt) makes the body of your Majesty yourself flourish (w3dyt m w3d dt hm.k ds.k) when you eat the ro-geese which have come forth from the

nest. They are the fish-catchers
 (hbs; W/b III, 257) who are loyal
 to you. (wn.sn mw.k; perhaps better
 translated literally as "who are
 upon your water"). Put them upon
 your altar". (EIV, 120; 4-8).

In Scene 76, the offering formula continues the theme:

"I fetter these ro-geese which I have
 lifted up (k3w.n.i) in the marsh
 (š3t); the srw-geese are brought
 down from your pond (mrw) ..."
 (EIV, 276, 12-14).

The epithets of the King associate him with Lower
 Egypt; and, in one case, with the god of fertility, Min.
 The King is "son of the lord of Coptos (Min)" (EIV, 120, 10);
 he is "offspring of Edjo ... who lifts up papyrus (mnhw)
 and marsh-fowl (hnmw)" (EIV, 120, 9 & 10), in Scene 75.
 In Scene 76, he is again "offspring of Edjo" (EIV, 276, 18);
 he is also the one who "comes from the nest in the pools
 (h3wt) of the Delta (i3hw)" (EIV, 277, 2).

Khonti-iabett (hnty-i3btt) is a little-known goddess.
 Her name means "Foremost in the East". Her epithets in
 the two scenes under discussion tell us that she is
 "Mistress of the East ... daughter of Geb ... who protects
beneg-birds (bng; cf W/b I, 464)" (EIV, 121, 1-2). She is
 "the sweet one ... who keeps safe the Great Justified One,
 the Illuminator (hddt) who punishes (hnty) him who is in
 the Place of Retribution" (EIV, 277, 7-8).

hnm- and nw-vases (op. cit., p.530, W24) are entirely appropriate to this god, since, according to the offering formula of Scene 77, these vases are filled with Nile water:

"Take for yourself the hnm-vessel filled (hn') with water (srf). The three nw-vases of your Ka carry (hr) what comes forth from you . . ."
(EIV,146,2-3).

The water from the Nile was, of course, absolutely essential to Egyptian agriculture. Hence the importance of the epithets of the King in this scene, where he is called "child (hnm) of Khnum (hnmw), creation (nhp) of the Potter God (nhp -Khnum), who leads forth water (mw) from Elephantine (h3t-sp3wt)". (EIV,146,8). Of even greater importance is the reciprocal gift of Khnum, who says:

"I rain down (hy = hwy) the Nile for you carrying (hr) grain (npr) and emmer (bd) so that you may increase the divine offerings for the gods".
(EIV,146,15-16).

Thus the theme of fertility and plenty found in Scenes 75 and 76 is continued in Scene 77.

Scene 78. irt sntr Offering incense
EIV,302,7-303,5; EX, Pl.XCIII

The King, on the left of the scene, offers incense to

Banebbed, seated upon a throne on the right. Behind the King, on the far left of the scene, stands the Queen. Banebbed is seated upon a throne; he is ram-headed and wears an Atef-crown. The King, as might be expected on this Upper Egyptian (east) wall, wears the White Crown.

Incense was used in many rituals, often in a purificatory way. It is this aspect which is reflected in the Queen's speech:

"Your son (Ptolemy) elevates incense
(p3d) to you. He purifies your body
with incense (mnwr) ..." (EIV,302,17).

However, Banebbed, who made his first appearance in this Ritual in Scenes 37 and 38 as one of the Ancestral Gods of Edfu (see pages 240 and 245), is, in the present Scene, depicted in his anthropomorphic form, and has a ram's head. Since rams were regarded as symbols of male virility, it is this aspect upon which the offering formula concentrates. Here, the incense is not spoken of as being a purifying agent, but rather as a means by which the virility of the god is enhanced:

"Take for yourself the incense
(sntr), O Ram (b3), Lord of rams,
the offering of Kaneter (k3 ntr -
Osiris), the Ruler of procreation
(wsn). It is your gift which I
bring in (snhp). Your glorious

phallus (ndm), O Ram, which is for
 your seed (mwt), inhales it (i.e. the
 incense). You impregnate (its) maidens
 (nfrw), you make a son from (r) their
 flesh (swt), you create a child (swht n
snbt; lit: a healthy egg)." (EIV, 302,
 7-11).

The last two clauses of the final sentence display the
 alliteration so popular with Ptolemaic scribes:

ir.k s3 r swt.sn shpr.k swht n snbt.

It is obvious that the alliteration has been deliberately
 aimed for. One of the several Egyptian words for flesh,
 create, child, could have been used. Instead, words
 beginning with s have been chosen.

Banebde's gift to the King is in keeping with the
 purpose to which the offering of incense has been put.

He says:

"I give you maidens (rnnwt) who rejoice
 (hntš) at beholding (m33) you, and
 virgins (sptw) who are glad (tfn)
 when you are seen (dg3)."

(EIV, 303, 1-2).

The four scenes which make up Group XVI are arranged
 in an interesting way. Scenes 75 and 76 concern Lower
 Egyptian rites. Scene 77, depicting as it does the
 offering of water which issues from Elephantine in Upper
 Egypt to an Upper Egyptian god, has Upper Egyptian
 connotations. The same can be said for Scene 78. Here,

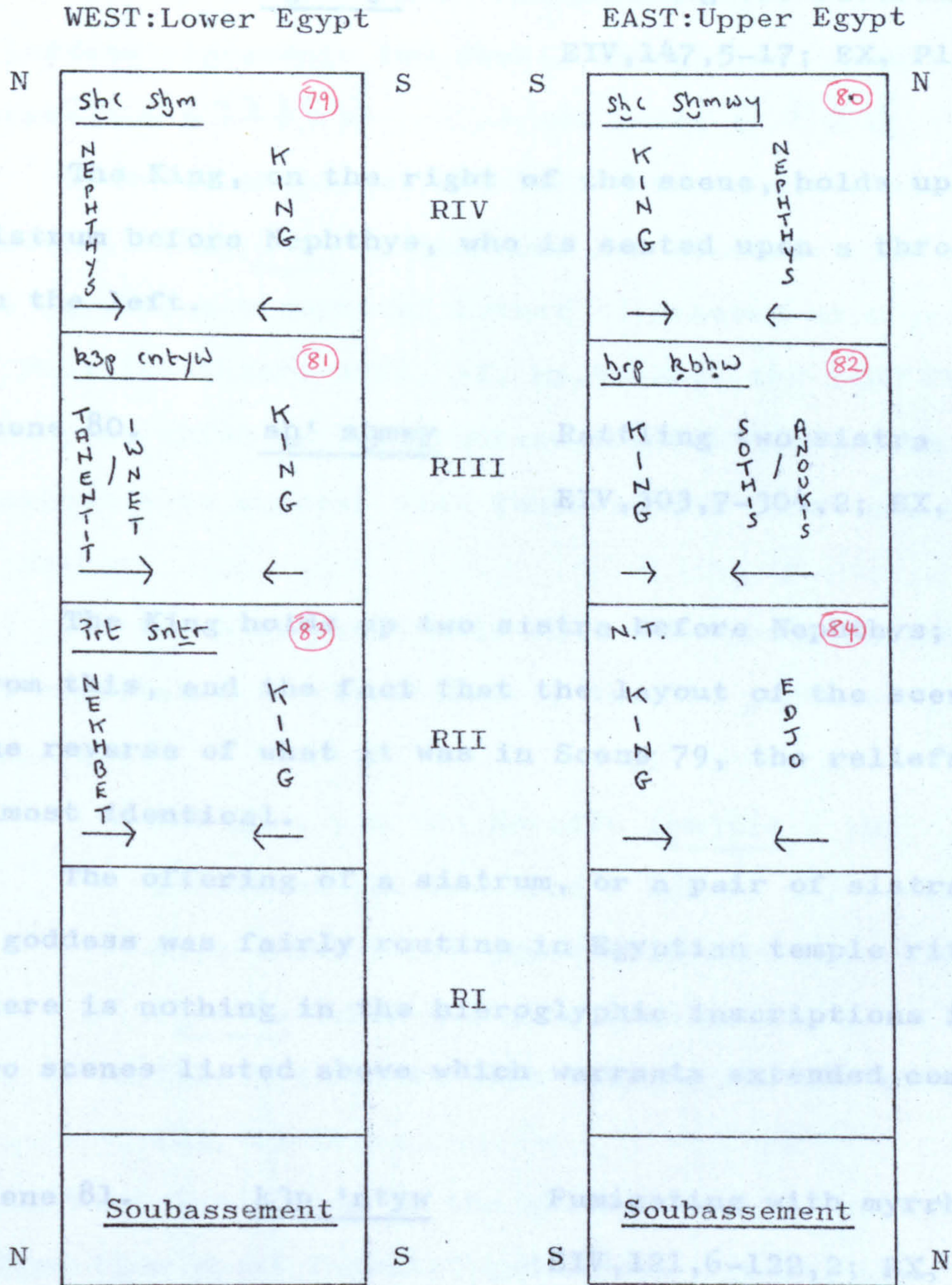
the offering is again made to an Upper Egyptian god; and one of the epithets of the King (nursed by ... the Mistress of the White Crown; EIV,302,13) link him with Upper Egypt.

The overriding consideration in the placing of Scenes 75 to 78 does not seem to have been to put Upper Egyptian rites on the east, or Upper Egyptian, wall, and those of Lower Egypt on the west wall. Instead, in the case of Scene 76, a Lower Egyptian rite is performed on the Upper Egyptian wall; and the King wears the crown appropriate to the rite rather than to the wall, that is the Red Crown of Lower Egypt. In Scene 77, the reverse is the case; an Upper Egyptian rite is performed on the Lower Egyptian wall, with the King wearing the crown of Upper Egypt, the White Crown.

Group XVII : Scenes 79-84 The King makes offerings

NAOS EXTERIOR : EAST AND WEST WALLS

Group XVII : Scenes 79-84



EX, Pl. LXXXVII

EX, Pl. XCIII

Figure 29

Group XVII Scenes 79-84 The King makes offerings
to various goddesses.
(See Fig. 29)

Scene 79. sh' shm Rattling the sistrum
EIV,147,5-17; EX, Pl.LXXXVII

The King, on the right of the scene, holds up a sistrum before Nephthys, who is seated upon a throne on the left.

Scene 80. sh' shmwy Rattling two sistra
EIV,303,7-304,2; EX, Pl.XCIII

The King holds up two sistra before Nephthys; apart from this, and the fact that the layout of the scene is the reverse of what it was in Scene 79, the reliefs are almost identical.

The offering of a sistrum, or a pair of sistra, to a goddess was fairly routine in Egyptian temple rituals. There is nothing in the hieroglyphic inscriptions in the two scenes listed above which warrants extended comment.

Scene 81. k3p 'ntyw Fumigating with myrrh
EIV,121,6-122,2; EX, Pl.LXXXVII

The King, on the right of the scene, is flicking pellets, presumably of myrrh, into a bowl for incense

which has smoke rising from it (Gardiner, 1957, p.501, R7). He stands before the figure of a goddess who is seated upon a throne on the left of the scene, and wears a cobra upon her head. It is clear from the inscriptions to the scene that this single figure of a goddess represents two female divinities, namely, Tanentit (⚡ ⚡ ⚡ ⚡ ⚡) and Iwnet (⚡ ⚡ ⚡).

Tanentit and Iwnet are little-known divinities. However, since Iwnt is the name for Dendera; and since the Egyptians thought of Hathor of Dendera as a goddess of Punt (Gauthier, 1926, II, pp.45-46), the land from whence the myrrh which is being burned in this scene came, it is reasonable to suppose that Tanentit and Iwnet are forms of Hathor.

There are references to Punt throughout the scene, but especially in the speech of the two goddesses, where they say:

"We give you the Kematiu (km3tîw - the people of incense-land - W/b V, 38) bowed down under their produce and the Hebestiu (hbstîw - bearded ones from Punt - W/b III, 255) laden with their gifts." (EIV, 121, 15-16).

The introduction to the above speech gives us some information about Tanentit and Iwnet. In it, they are said to be:

"mysterious of form (irw) in Behdet,
secret of place in Pe and Mesen, sacred
of form (sih) in the Throne of Re,
greatly respected in the Mansion of the
Throne, secret of shape (hpr) in the House
of Horus, hidden of body (dt) in Set-Weret,
the Two Protectresses (hwty; perhaps "the
Two Sanctuary Goddesses") who were created
before the Ancestors, the sacred images
(sddwt) of the gods ." (EIV,121, 16-18).

In Scene 81, the King bears the titles "iry-
priest, overseer of the Behdet of Mesen" (EIV,121,12).
It has been suggested that these are Upper Egyptian
titles (Ibrahim, 1971, pp.138-139 and pp.166-167).
Yet in Scene 81, they appear on the Lower Egyptian wall.

Scene 82. hrp kbhw Presenting libation
EIV,277,12-278,9; EX, Pl.XCIII

The King, on the left of the scene, holds out two
tall water pots (Gardiner, 1957, p.529, W14) to a goddess,
who is seated on a throne on the right of the scene,
wearing a pair of horns enclosing a sun's disk on her
head. As in the previous scene, this figure represents
two divinities; in Scene 82, they are Sothis and Anoukis .

Sothis (spdt : Faulkner, 1962, p.224) is the name
given to the dog-star, Sirius, thus turning it into a

goddess. Sirius was thought to be responsible for the rising of the floodwaters of the Nile; hence, Sothis became the divinity who was closely associated with this all-important event. She became identified with Satis, the consort of Khnum.

Anoukis was worshipped at Elephantine, where, the Egyptians thought, the Nile had its source. She, together with Khnum and Satis/Sothis, was regarded as "the dispenser of cool water coming from Elephantine". This aspect of their role is confirmed by the "Gottliche Randzeile" of Scene 82, where they are said to be:

"the ladies of food in Set-Hor (Edfu)
 who lead forth (bs) the Nile afresh (m rnp)
 so that he shall go forth (bd) each year
 (n= m rnpt) to provision the altars for
 the Primordial Ones (p3wty-tp), who fill
 (hnp) the Sacred Canal (of Edfu; p3 hnw),
 who illumine (sšp) the districts (ww) of
 Horus and (hn') the land (šdy) of Hor-merty,"
 (EIV, 278, 7-9).

The offering of libation water to Anoukis and Sothis is an appropriate one. The water came from a source in Upper Egypt, and is being offered to two Upper Egyptian divinities; the rite in Scene 82 may be considered therefore to be correctly placed on the east, or Upper Egyptian, wall.

Egyptian references. Yet the Scene has been placed on the west, or Lower Egyptian, wall.

The opposite is the case with the following Scene in the Ritual.

Scene 84.	<u>No title</u>	The King offers a stem of papyrus to Edjo. EIV,247,11-248,7; EX, Pl.XCIII
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The King, on the left of the scene, wearing an elaborate form of Red Crown, offers a papyrus stem (Gardiner, 1957, p.480, M13) to Edjo. Edjo is seated upon a throne on the right of the scene; she is in human form, and wears the Red Crown.

This Scene has many Lower Egyptian references. Edjo is called "Edjo in the House of Edjo (pr w3dt - i.e. Buto), Lady (hbt) in Chemmis (hby; cf. Fairman, 1943, (ii), p.273 (b))". (EIV,247,11). She is "Mistress of Pe, Lady of Dep" (EIV,248,4). The King is "offspring of Edjo (w3d n w3dt" (EIV,247,16) and "the sovereign who was born in Chemmis". (EIV,247,17).

The most unusual reference in the Scene is the epithet which Edjo gives herself in her speech to the King, in which she says:

"I give you the lifespan of Horus of Pe. I embrace your head as the Lower Egyptian Vulture (nr²it mh²w)".
(EIV,248,3).

It is usually Nekhbet who takes the form of a vulture, whilst Edjo takes that of a cobra. It is rare for Edjo to be represented as a vulture.

Scene 84 depicts what is indubitably a Lower Egyptian rite. However, it has been placed on the Upper Egyptian wall.

We have seen in Scene 76 that a rite which, in this case, was originally Lower Egyptian in character, could be performed on behalf of Upper Egypt, and therefore placed on the east wall.

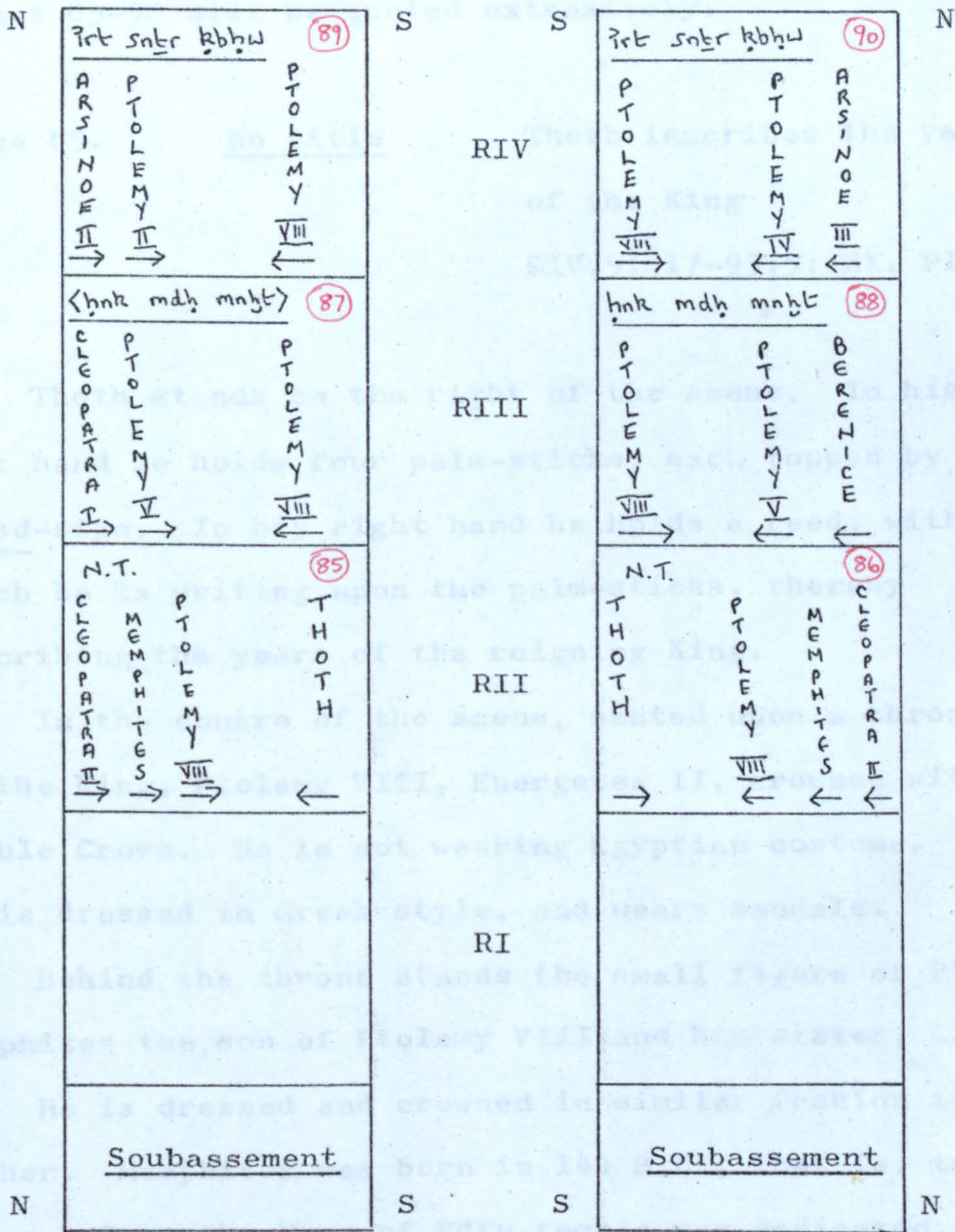
This does not seem to be the case with Scenes 83 and 84. Here, it is possible that the scenes have simply been carved on the wrong walls.

NAOS EXTERIOR : EAST AND WEST WALLS

Group XVIII : Scenes 85-90

WEST: Lower Egypt

EAST: Upper Egypt



EX, Pl. LXXXVII

EX, Pl. XCIII

Group XVIII Scenes 85-90 (See Fig. 30)

Once again we have come to a group of scenes which are as important to the development and interpretation of the Ritual as those scenes in Group VIII. Therefore, Scenes 85-90 will be quoted extensively.

Scene 85.	<u>No title</u>	Thoth inscribes the years of the King EIV, 91, 17-93, 5; EX, Pl. LXXXVII
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Thoth stands on the right of the scene. In his left hand he holds four palm-sticks, each topped by a hb-sd-sign. In his right hand he holds a reed, with which he is writing upon the palm-sticks, thereby inscribing the years of the reigning King.

In the centre of the scene, seated upon a throne, is the King, Ptolemy VIII, Euergetes II, crowned with the Double Crown. He is not wearing Egyptian costume. Instead, he is dressed in Greek style, and wears sandals.

Behind the throne stands the small figure of Ptolemy Memphites the son of Ptolemy VIII and his sister, Cleopatra II. He is dressed and crowned in similar fashion to his father. Memphites was born in 144 B.C., that is, two years before the Naos of Edfu temple was dedicated. He was murdered on the orders of his father in 132 B.C. (Elgood, 1938, pp. 149-50).

On the far left of the scene stands the Queen, Cleopatra II; she, like Euergetes II and Memphites, is wearing sandals.

The Scene has neither title nor offering formula.

The introduction to Thoth's speech is written in three short vertical lines to the left of Thoth's head, and in one short horizontal line above it. It contains nothing remarkable.

Thoth's speech is written in five vertical lines, two of them shorter than the others, in front of Thoth. It reads:

"Long live Horus ←
the Youth
of millions of jubilees, hundreds of years, the beneficent gods (sic) upon the Throne of Horus, King of Upper and Lower Egypt (Euergetes). Hundreds and thousands are your years, you having appeared (h'w.t) as Ruler with the Princess (hn'rpyt). The Son of Re (Ptolemy), thousands are your years (nr̥t) upon the serekh forever. Your annals (gnwt) shall not be repeated for millions upon millions. Your years are hundreds. Your months are the circuit of eternity. Your days are everlasting. Your hours are like (m-snt-r) the Two Luminaries (h3yty;

i.e. the Sun and the Moon),
 imperishable (iḥm.sk) as lords of
 the serekh ." (EIV,92,1-5).

The "Gottliche Randzeile", which in Scene 85 appears on the right of the scene, that is, in a vertical line behind Thoth, reads:

"The Lord of Eshmunen (Thoth) has appeared in the Great Seat (Edfu) as the august god who fashions (nḥp) what exists (wnnwt), giving out plans (wḏ shrw), making excellent the throne, causing the hours of the gods to be regulated (sgsgs). He is the Warder of the Curtain (s3b t3yty i.e. Chief Justice?) who judges between Truth and Evil (iṣf), overseer of the city of gods and goddesses ." (EIV, 92,5-7).

The introduction to the speech of the Two Euergetes is found in the two horizontal lines above their heads; it does not warrant comment.

The cartouches of the King are found to the right of his head. His speech is inscribed in a short, vertical line to the right of the cartouches. In it, he says:

"We grasp the Jubilee (ḥb-sd) from the Lord of the Jubilee (m-' nb ḥb-sd).
 We receive (šsp) the Annals (gnwt) from

the Lord of Annals (m-' nb gnwt)." ."

(EIV,92,11-12).

The Queen is called "Ruler and Mistress of the Two Lands (Cleopatra), Royal Wife (hmt nswt) of the Son of Re (Ptolemy)". (EIV,93,1-2). Her speech is found in a vertical line in front of her body. In it, she says:

"We receive your [lacuna], we grasp your kingship. You are greater than the gods (twt wr.s (=k) r ntrw). The chief are you (tp im.k) of the Brotherly Gods (snsn.wy), the god who made (?) Re, father and mother of every god". (EIV, 93,2-3).

To the right of the infant Memphites's head is a line of inscription and a cartouche which read:

"The living royal Ka, the fellow (snw) of Sw3d-b3, divine seed (mwt ntr) of the lord of this land, eldest King's son, the beloved (Ptolemy)". (EIV,92,13-14).

The "Königliche Randzeile" is found in a vertical line behind the Queen, on the left of the scene. It reads:

"The Beneficent Gods (ntrwy mnḥwy) are in Wetjeset, the Kings are in Nedjem-ankh, seizing hold (itt) of years ('b-ni3w), ruling years, seizing tribute (hb inw) by means of (m) the Kingship.

They are like Re with the God's
Hand (i.e. the Queen) beside him,
and their son Shu (i.e. Memphites)
before them." (EIV, 93, 4-5).

Scene 86.	<u>No title</u>	<p>Thoth inscribes the years of the King, and proffers the <u>mks</u>-container and the testament</p> <p>EIV, 248, 9-249, 9; EX, Pl. XCIII</p>
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In this scene, Thoth appears on the left, while Ptolemy VIII, Euergetes II, the infant Memphites and his mother Cleopatra II are on the right. Otherwise, the scene is almost identical with the one which precedes it, except that Thoth holds three palm sticks, each topped by a hb-sd-sign, in his left hand, and a mks-container in his right. Once again, the King and Memphites are wearing Greek costume; and they, and the Queen, wear sandals.

The Scene has no title or offering formula.

The introduction to Thoth's speech is found in three short vertical lines to the right of his head, and in one short horizontal line above it. It contains a selection of the epithets common to Thoth.

His speech is inscribed in three short vertical lines in front of his legs. In it, he says:

"I make excellent your plans (nt-') upon earth. I perform glorious things for you like Re. I reckon the life-span for you as the lord of destiny and fate (nb š3' rnnt) while you abide upon the throne of Atum. I hold out (dwn) to you the mks-container and the testament (īmyt-pr) of this land. I seize for you the Two Lands to the limit of eternity." (EIV, 248, 10-12).

The "Gottliche Randzeile" is the vertical line on the left of the scene, behind Thoth. It reads:

"<The Judge of the Two Contestants (wp rhwy - Horus and Seth are the contestants, Thoth is the Judge)> is in Wetjeset-Hor, making plans in heaven and earth, providing offerings (hr irt hnw), making excellent (hr smnh) the Two Lands, hastening (hr shh) the births of Lower Egyptian kings (bityw). He is the Lord of the Mansion of the Trap (hwt-ībtt), preeminent in Timuris (t3-mrrt), effective of speech (spd r) in Upper Egyptian Behdet." (EIV, 248, 12-14).

Two short, horizontal lines above, and slightly behind, the King's head, contain a description of the Two Euergetes:

"The Two Beneficent Gods, lords of
 Wetjeset, exalted of position in Set-
 Weret, Upper Egyptian Kings of the Two
 Sources (k̄bhwy - Egypt), Lower Egyptian
 Kings of the Banks (ḳ̄dbw) and the Cities
 (n̄lwt), overlords of the breadth of the
 land, who stand upon ('h̄3 hr) the throne
 of Re (bhdt n R') since the beginning
 as the Prince (hk̄3) and Princess (hk̄3t),
 together with their son, lords of the
 cities [lacuna] the cities and mounds
 for their slaves (r hm.sn; possibly to
 be translated as "for their Majesties")."
 (EIV, 248, 15-17).

The cartouches of the King are found to the left of
 his head. His speech is inscribed in a short vertical
 line to the left of the cartouches, and reads:

"We grasp (hf'.n) the mks-holder from
 the lord of the mks-holder. We take hold
 (ḳ̄kn.n) of the testament (ḳ̄myt-pr) from
 him-who-made-it." (EIV, 249, 1-2).

The Queen is called "King's daughter, King's sister
 and wife (sn̄tt h̄mt nswt), King's mother (mwt nsw), Ruler
 and Mistress of the Two Lands (Cleopatra), sister-wife
 (sn̄tt h̄mt) of the Son of Re (Ptolemy), the Two Beneficent
 Gods (n̄trwy mn̄hwy)". (EIV, 249, 5-6). This description
 is found at the bottom of the vertical line above, and

slightly to the left, of Memphites's head.

The Queen's speech is found in a vertical line in front of the lower part of her body. In it, she says:

"We receive (šsp) your gifts (fḳ3w), we rejoice over your presents (inw), O august god, creator of all that exists (km3 wnnwt twt), lord of commands (hdwt) who appears in Wetjeset, excellent of council (šhr mnḥ), contented with (hry-ib hr) Truth." (EIV, 249, 6-7).

In a vertical line above the infant Memphites's head, the following description of Memphites is inscribed:

"Heir of the King of Upper Egypt (nsw), offspring (wtt) of the Princess (ḥḳ3t), successor (ir-sšm) of the Sole Lord, eldest, living, beloved King's son (Ptolemaios, son of Ptolemaios, may he live forever beloved of Ptah), the beneficent god". (EIV, 249, 3-4).

The "Königliche Randzeile" is found in a vertical line behind the Queen, on the right of the scene. It reads:

"The Two Euergetes (ntrwy mnḥwy) are in Mesen, the sovereigns are in the Throne of Re, grasping the mks-holder, seizing the testament, equipping ('pr) their images (sšm) as lords.

They are like him-who-watches-over-truth
 (sbi²-m3't - Thoth), whose stability (ddt)
 is in his train (ht), the Ennead of Duat,
 Rulers of the Two Lands." (EIV, 249, 8-9).

The most unusual feature of Scenes 85 and 86 is the fact that the male members of the royal family are dressed in Greek costume, and that all three royal participants in the Scenes are wearing sandals.

Great emphasis was placed upon the purity of anyone entering an Egyptian temple. From at least the New Kingdom onwards, punctiliousness over dress was mandatory for priests. It is known that as early as Dynasty IX, a priest was required to wear white sandals during his period of service (Blackman, 1918, (ii), p.481, V7 (h)). However, it can be seen from a survey of temple reliefs that the royal officiants depicted in scenes of religious ritual sculpted on temple walls are normally bare-footed. It would seem that the purity necessary for making offerings to the gods was achieved by the officiant having bare feet, with the divinities in receipt of the offerings being similarly sandal-less.

The sandals worn by the royal family depicted in Scenes 85 and 86 are, presumably, to be regarded not as an item of dress which lessens the purity of the sovereigns, but as part of the Greek costume which they are wearing.

The depiction of the King dressed in Greek costume is very rare. Apart from the two scenes on the Naos

exterior (cf. EXIII, Pl. CCCCXLVI for photograph), we can trace only three others throughout the whole of Edfu Temple. In all five scenes, the King is the recipient of the offerings; he is never depicted in Greek costume while making the offering. The scenes appear in the following places:

- 1) Sanctuary interior, Register I, Scene 4:
 Thoth offers life to Ptolemy IV,
 Philopator, and Arsinoe III (EI, 26,
 17-28, 4; EXI, Pl. CCXV).
- 2) Sanctuary interior, Register II, Scene 4:
 Horus proffers testament to Ptolemy IV,
 Philopator, and Arsinoe III (EI, 31,
 18-32, 9; EXI, Pl. CCXVI).

These two scenes appear on the west wall of the interior of the Sanctuary; they are counterbalanced on the east wall by (i) a scene of Philopator offering incense and libation to his parents, Ptolemy III, Euergetes I, and Berenice II (Register I, Scene 4; EI, 42, 4-18; EX, Pl. CCXXV); and (ii) a scene of Philopator offering ointment and raiment to his grandparents, Ptolemy II, Philadelphus, and Arsinoe II (Register II, Scene 4; EI, 46, 2-10; EXI, Pl. CCVII).

- 3) Girdle Wall interior, Register II, Scene 3:
 Thoth inscribes years of King, Ptolemy X,
 Soter II (EVI, 277, 2-11; EX, pl. CL and EXIV,
 Pl. DXCIV).

Egyptian costume and are bare-footed.

The offering formula is contained in three short vertical lines in front of the King. Part of it, together with the title of the scene, is destroyed.

What remains reads:

"... your ? ... envelopes (dm²) you.
I bandage (wt) your bodies with ...
your bones as lord(s) of the Under-
world (R3-krrt). May you receive the
w'bt-cloth from the w'bt²w. May you
traverse (hns) Amente (imntt) in the
Throne of Re. "Be ye praised," says
Osiris (i3wy.ti r.tn in Wsir) ." (EIV,
122,4-8).

The cartouches of the King are to the left of his head. They are supplemented by a short horizontal line above it, which reads:

"the divine child (hwn) of Hedj-hotep
(Hd-htp - the god of weaving and clothing),
heir of Horus, lord of the laboratory
(i3wy) ." (EIV,122,10).

The "Königliche Randzeile" reads:

"Long live Horus the youth (hwn), lord
of light (sšp), who arrays (htm) the
Shmw in their raiment (iryw), who stands
up in his capacity (m irw.f) of the
Chief of the Mysteries (hr²-sšt3);

cf. Ibrahim, 1971, pp.186-187),
 while giving majesty (šfyt) to his
 father and mother; the Two Ladies of
 great strength, son of the Overseer of
 the Granary, who stretches forth his
 hands while bearing the offering (ḥt)
 of him who made him ." (EIV,122,10-12).

The introduction to the speeches of Epiphanes and
 Cleopatra is found in a horizontal line above their
 heads; only the second half of it is of any particular
 interest; in it, they are said to be:

"..... (the rulers) who give the
 kingship to their son in Ḥwt-Ḥr-nḥt, who
 proffer (dwn) the testament (ḥmyt-pr)
 to the heir, their successor, who go
 to the sky in the 'b-wsḥt of Re to the
 presence of (ḥr) the Great Pillar God
 (Osiris) preeminent in Behdet, their
 heir (ḥr-sšm) abiding upon their throne
 upon earth for the duration (m-drw) of
 the gods"." (EIV,122,15-17).

The speech of Epiphanes is found in a short vertical
 line in front of his head. He says to his son:

"We give you our place (st), our rule
 (ḥk3), our throne (nst) and our testa-
 ment (ḥmyt-pr) in this land"." (EIV,123,
 1-2).

A short horizontal line above the cartouches of the King reads:

"For recitation by the divine royal father, broad of step (wsh nmtt) in the presence of (r-gs) (Onnophris, justified) (Wsr-k3-R'-mry-Imn) (Ptolemaios, justified)." (EIV,132,2).

The epithets and cartouche of the Queen are found to the right of her head; they read:

"For recitation by the royal mother (Cleopatra, justified) justified, the hereditary princess (rpyt) of her brother (Ptolemaios, justified) justified ." (EIV,123,3-4).

Her speech is found in a short vertical line in front of her body; it is damaged, but the theme is the same as that in the speech of Epiphanes.

The "Gottliche Randzeile" reads:

"The Two great and mighty Manifest Gods (ntrwy prwy) in Wts-hhw (Edfu), who visit (hn) the Hidden Embalming-place (H3p-wt3w) in the Behdet of Re, who proceed (igh) to the Crypt (styt) in Mesen, who go and come in Upper Ddw. There is none who can stand at their approach (hs.sn)." (EIV,123,5-6).

"he who performs the burial (ir kst m-ht) for his father and mother, the excellent image of the Overseer of the Horizon". (EIV, 278,16).

The "Königliche Randzeile" reads:

"Long live Horus the youth, lord of incense (p3d), sovereign in the Place-of-Preparing-M_d-ointment, image of Him-who-created-him, likeness of Him-who-begot-him, who performs the Ritual (ir. n ht) for Him-who-fashioned-him, the Two Ladies of great strength, child (h) of the Two Damsels (rhyt - Isis and Nephthys), who arrays Him-who-made-him in the raiment (db3) of Renenet (Rnnt)". (EIV, 278, 16-279,2).

The introduction to the speech of Epiphanes is found in a short horizontal line above his head, and reads:

"For recitation by the Two Manifest Gods (ntrwy prwy), Lower Egyptian Kings (bity) in the Banks, who accomplished great deeds (wr k3wt, lit: great works) in the Place of Piercing (Edfu)". (EIV, 279,4-5).

The speech itself is found in two short vertical lines above his cartouches, which are above and to the left of his head; the lines read:

"We give you our serekh, our house (pr),
our document (mks) and our kingly office
(i²swt) as ruler of the living."

"For recitation by the divine King's
father, (Heir-of-the-Two-Father-loving-
Gods, Chosen-of-Ptah, Powerful-Ka-of-Re,
Living-image-of-Amun) (i²w' n ntrwy mr
i²t stp n Pth wsr k3 R' shm 'nh Imn)
(Ptolemaios, justified), broad of step
in the presence of (r-gs) (Onnophris,
justified)". (EIV,279,6-7).

The cartouches of the Queen are to the left of her
head, her speech is in a short vertical line in front
of the lower part of her body. They read:

"For recitation by the King's mother
(Berenice, justified), the hereditary
princess (rpyt), sister (?) of (Ptolemaios,
justified) : 'The years which we spend in
the Necropolis are your years at the head
of the living'". (EIV,279,8-9).

The "Gottliche Randzeile" reads:

"The Two Manifest Gods, the great,
mighty, and eldest gods who reside in the
Place of Piercing, Kings of Upper Egypt
(nsw šm'), Kings of Lower Egypt (b²tyw mh²w),
Rulers of the Two-Bushes-which-are-joined-
together (b3w dmd m sp i.e. Egypt), at

right of the scene. In his left hand he holds a bowl of incense; in his right, he holds a ḥs-jar, from which he is pouring water onto an offering table. On the left of the scene, Ptolemy II, Philadelphus sits upon a throne. Behind him, on the far left of the scene, stands his wife, Arsinoe II. Both are bare-footed, and dressed in Egyptian costume, as is Euergetes II.

The offering formula is inscribed in two vertical lines in front of the King's legs, and reads:

"Take for yourselves the White One that comes forth from Nekheb, F'gt who comes from Nekhen. The perfume (sty) of Nekhbet (?), may you breathe thereof. The divine essence (ꜥdt ntr) is for your tresses. May you drink the srf-water that comes forth from the Cavern (krrt). Your bodies are like that of the Living Soul (b3) ." (EIV, 148, 2-5).

The cartouches of the King are to the left of his head; his titles and epithets are inscribed in a short horizontal line above his head. They read:

"The King of Upper and Lower Egypt (Euergetes II) beneficent god; the Son of Re (Ptolemy VIII), the beneficent god who stands up in his capacity (ꜥrw) of libationer (kbḥw) in the Great House (pr wr), youthful of body as the young

child (hrd nhn)". (EIV,148,6-7).

The "Königliche Randzeile" reads:

"I come to you, my Ancestor (dfn), who engendered (wtt) my body; and to (m-'b) your Ka, my mother, my nurse (3tyt).

I bring you the p3d-incense that comes forth from Hd-Nhn, the inundation water (wḥm-'nh) poured forth by Satis. You are the creator-gods (hnmw) who created him who brought me into being, the vaginas that created the mothers of the children (? mswt) of Re". (EIV,148,7-9).

The description of the two dead monarchs is found in a horizontal line above their heads; it reads:

"The Brother-loving Gods (ntrwy snwy) in Wetjeset-Hor, greater than the gods in Pe and Mesen, who set up their son(s) as Ruler(s) on their throne as great Rulers after them, the heir of their heir being Lord of this land, imperishable upon earth for ever, protecting Egypt (b3kt), guarding their idols and exercising protection over those who are in their shrines, safeguarding Egypt, protecting (hn) those who are in them (i.e. in the shrines?), increasing the portions (rdit ḥ3w ḥr (?)) of the gods who are among the Forerunners (imyw ḥ3t)". (EIV,148,11-14).

The cartouches of the dead king, and his speech, are found to the right of his head; those of his queen appear to the right of her head. They read:

"The Royal Father, broad of Seat in the presence of Wn-šps, (Powerful Ka of Re, beloved of Amun) | (wsr k3 R' mry Imn) (Ptolemaios) | justified: 'We give you our serekh and appearance as King like the Children of the East (t3 wr)'."

"The sister-wife (Arsinoe) | justified, of the divine royal father (Ptolemaios) | justified: 'We receive (sšp) your gifts (ht), we sit at ease (hms.n m wh' - lit: we sit being unloosened), and our mummies revive (nhp) thereby (im.sn)'." (EIV, 148, 15-18).

The "Göttliche Randzeile" reads:

"Welcome, O offspring of our offspring (wtt n wtt.n). We give you our throne in triumph, you appearing upon earth like the Two Luminaries (h3yty - the sun and the moon) in the sky (hrt), imperishable as lord(s) of the throne (tnt3t), celebrating festivals (hr irt hb) and jubilees (hb-sd), repeating births like Re forever (r' nb)'." (EIV, 149, 1-2).

The "Königliche Randzeile" reads:

"I have come to you, O Progenitor (m3)
of him who created me, and to (m-'b) your
Ka, O Mother (tm3t) of my mother (mwt).
I bring you the Nile led forth from the
Leg and the Divine Essence (īdt ntr -
incense) that is in F'g. You are the
creators (nhpw) who created him who
engendered (wtt) my body, the fathers
and mother(s) of him who first brought
into being (n š3') him who created me".
(EIV, 304, 9-11).

The description of the two dead monarchs is found
in a horizontal line above their heads; it reads:

"The Two Father-loving Gods (ntrwy mr īt),
lords of the Great Seat, of exalted
glory in Wr-nht, the great w'btyw in the
Behdet of Re, the Blessed Ones (htptīw) who
follow Osiris". (EIV, 304, 13-14).

The cartouches of the dead king, and his speech,
are found to the left of his head; those of his queen
are to the left of her head. They read:

"The divine royal father, of high
position (wsh st) in the presence of
(hr) Wn-šps, (Heir of the Two Beneficent
Gods, Chosen of Ptah, Powerful Ka of Re,
Living Image of Amun) (īw' n ntrwy mnḥwy
stp n Pth wsr k3 R' shm 'nh Imn),

(Ptolemaios, justified): 'We give you our sanctuary (sšrt) in the Throne-of-the-Two-Gods, and our rule within the Great Seat'."

"The divine mother (Arsinoe, justified), sister-wife of the Divine Father (Ptolemaios, justified); 'We receive your libations (sms<wn>) cf. W/b IV, 143,10), we breathe your scent (īdt ntr), we rejoice over the greatness of your strength'." (EIV,304, 15-305,2).

The "Gottliche Randzeile" reads:

"Welcome, O son of our son, successor (phr nst) of him whom we brought into being. We smell your incense (sntr), we come forth at your offering (dwn), our hearts rejoice at seeing (dg3) you. We give you our throne (tnt3t) in the Behdet of Re, our throne (īsbt) in the Mansion of the Throne (hwt īsbt)".
(EIV,305,3-4).

In Scene 89, Euergetes II makes offerings to his great-great-grandfather, Ptolemy II, Philadelphus, (reigned 282-246 B.C.), and to Philadelphus's sister and second wife, Arsinoe II. The first wife of Philadelphus, also an Arsinoe, was the daughter of Lysimachus of Thrace, and the mother of the royal heir, Ptolemy III, Euergetes I.

It is this first Arsinoe, therefore, who was the great-great-grandmother of Euergetes II.

In Scene 90, Euergetes II makes offerings to his grandparents, Ptolemy IV, Philopator, (reigned 222-205 B.C.) and Arsinoe III.

Ideally, one would have liked the positions of Ptolemy II and Ptolemy IV to have been reversed, with Ptolemy II appearing in Scene 90, and Ptolemy IV in Scene 89, thus conforming to the "rule" that the "oldest" king appears later in the ritual than a "younger" king.

This "rule" seems to have been observed in Register IV of the group of scenes in the Pronaos which is so similar to Group XVIII on the exterior of the Naos. The scenes in the Pronaos are set out below:

Pronaos interior

West wall (EIX, Pl.LXI)

Reg. II Sc. 4

Thoth inscribes years of King

PVIII & Cleopatra

Reg. III Sc. 4

Incense & libation

PVIII → PV & Cleopatra I

Reg. IV Sc. 4

Ointment & raiment

PVIII → PIV & Arsinoe III

East wall (EIX, Pl.LXIII)

Reg. II Sc. 4

Edjo & Nekhbet crown

PVIII

Reg. III Sc. 4

Incense & libation

PVIII → PIII & Berenice II

Reg IV Sc. 4

Ointment & raiment

PVIII → PII & Arsinoe

From a comparison of the scenes in the Pronaos with those on the Naos, it would seem that Berenice appears correctly in Scene 88 of the Ritual on the Naos, but that Ptolemy V, Epiphanes, has crept in in mistake for Ptolemy III, Euergetes I.

It is obvious that in the last four scenes of Group XVIII, Euergetes II is making offerings, all of a suitably funerary nature, to his Royal Ancestors; and that the Ancestors who appear on the Naos are the same as those who appear inside the Pronaos.

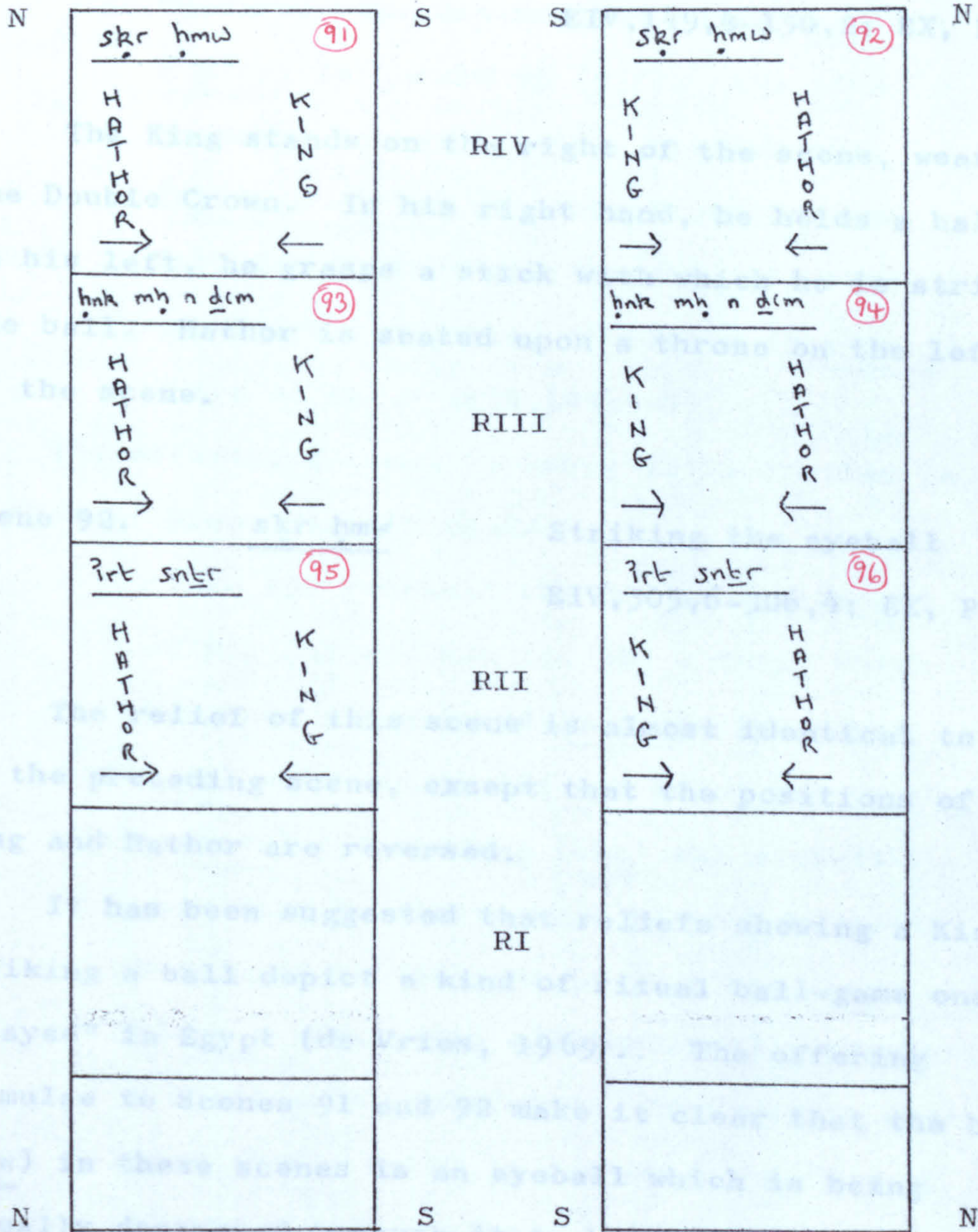
The Royal Ancestors are Ptolemy II to Ptolemy V, together with their queens. Surprisingly, the founder of the Dynasty, Ptolemy I, Soter I, is not represented. Neither is Ptolemy VI, Philometor, the elder brother of Euergetes II, who died in 145 B.C.; nor, not unexpectedly, is Ptolemy VII, Neos Philopator, the son of Philometor, who reigned briefly in 145 B.C., before being disposed of by his uncle, Ptolemy VIII, Euergetes II.

NAOS EXTERIOR : EAST AND WEST WALLS

Group XIX : Scenes 91-96

WEST:Lower Egypt

EAST:Upper Egypt



EX, Pl. LXXXVII

EX, Pl. XCIII

Figure 31

<u>Group XIX</u>	<u>Scenes 91-96</u>	The King makes offerings to Hathor (See Fig. 31)
Scene 91.	<u>skr hmw</u>	Striking the eyeball EIV, 149, 4-150, 2; EX, Pl. LXXXVII

The King stands on the right of the scene, wearing the Double Crown. In his right hand, he holds a ball; in his left, he grasps a stick with which he is striking the ball. Hathor is seated upon a throne on the left of the scene.

Scene 92.	<u>skr hmw</u>	Striking the eyeball EIV, 305, 6-306, 4; EX, Pl. XCIII
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The relief of this scene is almost identical to that of the preceding scene, except that the positions of the King and Hathor are reversed.

It has been suggested that reliefs showing a King striking a ball depict a kind of ritual ball-game once "played" in Egypt (de Vries, 1969). The offering formulae to Scenes 91 and 92 make it clear that the ball (hmw) in these scenes is an eyeball which is being ritually destroyed because it symbolises Seth, who appears in the formulae under various guises.

The offering formula to Scene 91 reads:

"Take for yourself the pupil (of the eye - dfd) of the wbr-snake (= Apopis). It is broken up (ntš; W/b II, 35, 6) so that you may be praised, O Mistress of Dendera. The hot-mouthed snake (r-dfy = r d3fy) is burned up (d3f); the sdf-snake no longer exists. His two eyes (strty = ntrty) are sacrificed and the Evil One is repulsed thereby. His eye is struck. Rejoice, therefore (h'r ir.t), O Eye of Re ." (EIV, 149, 4-8).

The offering formula to Scene 92 is similar in content to that of Scene 91; it reads:

"Take for yourself the divine eye (ntrt) of Nek (nk cf. W/b II, 345 - Seth) which has been slaughtered (m nbd), its pupil (dfd) which is in its eye being cut up (m tsts). I destroy (knb) the eyeball according to the command of your Majesty. I trample on the eyes of That One (ptpt.n.i ptrwy n pfy; note alliteration). Rejoice, O Mistress of jubilation, Mistress of praise. Hent (hnt - Seth) is destroyed (hnt) by my glorious knife (s3ht) ." (EIV, 305, 7-11).

The priestly titles of the King in Scene 91 seem more appropriate to a priest of Hathor as goddess of music than to a Hathor who is presiding over the destruction of

enemies. The King is called "the ihy-priest in the inundation (iwh) who praises (hs n, lit: gives thanks for) the Diadem (hryt-tp - Hathor), the dancer (hbi) of the Mistress of Dendera" (EIV,149,10). This is perhaps the reason why Ibrahim has translated the title of this scene as "Beating the drum" (Ibrahim, 1971, p.142).

The epithets of the King in Scene 92 are those one might expect him to have in this type of scene; he is "the talon ('gt) of the Ornament (hkrt - Hathor) who grasps the eyeball in his hand ..." (EIV,305,13).

Hathor repays the King by destroying his enemies. In the "Gottliche Randzeile" of Scene 91, she declares:

"I slaughter (npd) your disaffected ones. I overthrow my enemies, mutilating (i3t) him who is in your way. I overthrow the men who are in your path." (EIV,150,1-2).

The list of enemies dealt with in the "Gottliche Randzeile" of Scene 92 is more specific; Hathor promises to deliver the Bows of Asia (psd st²), the Mentiu (mnty) and the Four Corners of the Earth (ifd) to be his servants (EIV,306,4).

There are three other scenes of skr hmw in Edfu temple. One is on the Sanctuary exterior (EI,62,5-13); another is in the "Library" (EIII,348,10-14); the third is on the interior of the Girdle Wall (EVI,313,6-17). In all of them, the act of striking the eyeball is carried

have appeared to be a kind of gold (fine gold). Hence, in these two scenes, much is made of Hathor as the goddess of gold. In the offering formula of Scene 94 is found the phrase "The Golden One is the name of your Majesty". (EIV, 279, 14-15).

In Scene 93, the Lower Egyptian scene, Hathor rewards the King as follows:

"I give you the White Crown upon your head, and joy etcetera (hmwt-r) as your reward (r h (?) t.k).". (EIV, 124, 4).

In Scene 94, she says:

"I bring you offerings (htpw) to flood your offering-table providing (sdf3) your Two Lands with provisions (sdf3w).". (EIV, 280, 5).

Scene 95.	<u>irt sntr</u>	Offering incense
		EIV, 93, 7-94, 4; EX, Pl. LXXXVII

The King, on the right of the scene, wearing the hmhm-crown, offers incense to Hathor, who is seated upon a throne on the left.

The offering formula reads:

"The female winged-disk is at your nostrils, O mistress and ruler of the Two Lands, making your scent

pleasant. You are the female Atum
 who traverses the sky and opens the
 heavens with the North wind. The
 perfume of the shrines (īwyt) of
Snwt (? Egypt) is for you. Drops
(dfdft) of myrrh are for your hair."
 (EIV,93,7-10).

The offering of incense is made to Hathor because she is the lady of Punt, the land of incense.

Hathor is often identified with Nekhbet, the vulture goddess of Upper Egypt. It is this aspect of her which is emphasised in this scene, which is perhaps surprising when one considers that Scene 95 appears on the Lower Egyptian (west) wall. The King is the beneficent god "begotten (wtt) by Ikeket (īkht - a vulture goddess; cf. EIV,217,7) in Nekhen, raised by Nekhbet". (EIV,93,13).

Hathor's link with Nekhbet is hinted at in the offering formula where she is said to "open the heavens with the North wind". Aelian considered that vultures could only conceive by means of the North wind.

Hathor is also identified with Maat. In Scene 95, she takes the place of Edjo as Nekhbet's companion in the uraeus of the King, saying:

"I am Maat, beauteous in the company
 of my sister, we having taken our
 place upon your brow". (EIV,94,1).

Scene 96.

irt sntr

Offering incense

EIV, 249, 11-250, 6; EX, Pl. XCIII

The King stands on the left of the scene; Hathor is seated on the right. Otherwise, the relief is the same as that in the preceding scene.

The offering formula reads:

"She-of-Fag is at your nose, making you glad (hr s3w ib.t), O Eye of Atum, Mistress of Dendera. Rejoice, O living one, mistress of life, mistress of all, who overthrows her enemies, who perpetuates her name beside him who brings fire (in sdt), the swift of gait. Men smell the earth to your Majesty' ." (EIV, 249, 11-15).

Once again, the offering of incense is linked with the vulture goddess, Nekhbet (She-of-Fag); this has happened several times in the Ritual under discussion, especially in Scenes 9, 83, 89 and 90. In the present scene, the King's titles continue the connection. He is "the nursling (3tt) of Št3t (the vulture goddess), nursed (hnm) by the Mistress of Hd-nhn (Nekhbet)" (EIV, 249, 17).

In return for the incense, Hathor once again gives the King his uraeus; she says:

"I give you the Ornament (hkrt), beautiful ('n.ti) upon your brow (h3t), the Lady of Fag between your brows (i²nh²y)". "

(EIV, 250, 3).

Scenes 91 to 96 show Hathor in several of her aspects. In Scenes 91 and 92, she appears as a fierce goddess who destroys enemies. In Scenes 93 and 94, she is the goddess of incense, on account of her position as Lady of Punt, and on account of her identification with Nekhbet, the Lady of incense.

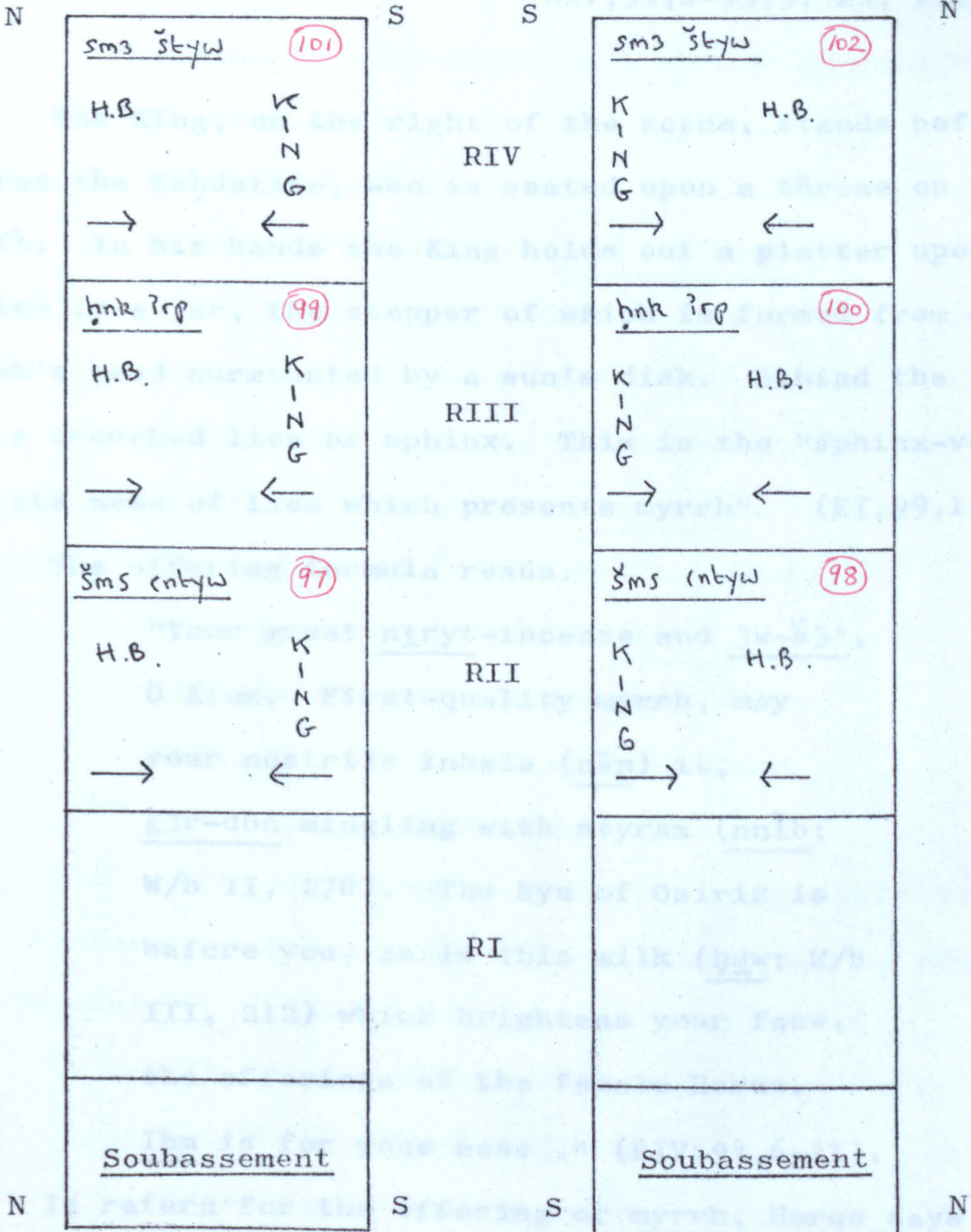
The scenes in Group XIX show a close parallelism, with a scene on the east wall being matched by an identical scene on the west wall. An examination of the contents of the scenes shows that in most of them there is no close connection with Upper or Lower Egypt in, for instance, the titles and epithets of the King. It is obvious, however, that in this Group of scenes, the rites on the eastern wall (Scenes 91, 93 and 95) are performed on behalf of Lower Egypt; and those on the western wall (92, 94 and 96) are performed for Upper Egypt.

NAOS EXTERIOR : EAST AND WEST WALLS

Group XX : Scenes 97-102

WEST: Lower Egypt

EAST: Upper Egypt



EX, Pl. LXXXVII

EX, Pl. XCIII

Figure 32

<u>Group XX</u>	<u>Scenes 97-102</u>	The King makes offerings to Horus the Behdetite (See Fig. 32)
Scene 97	<u>šms 'ntyw</u>	Presenting myrrh EIV, 94, 6-95, 3; EX, Pl. LXXXVII

The King, on the right of the scene, stands before Horus the Behdetite, who is seated upon a throne on the left. In his hands the King holds out a platter upon which is a jar, the stopper of which is formed from a hawk's head surmounted by a sun's disk. Behind the jar is a crouched lion or sphinx. This is the "sphinx-vessel in its name of lion which presents myrrh". (EI, 99, 1).

The offering formula reads:

"Your great ntryt-incense and šw-š3',
O Atum. First-quality myrrh, may
your nostrils inhale (nšp) it,
g3r-dbn mingling with styrax (nnib;
W/b II, 276). The Eye of Osiris is
before you, as is this milk (hdw; W/b
III, 212) which brightens your face,
the offerings of the female Horus.
Ihm is for your nose." (EIV, 94, 6-11).

In return for the offering of myrrh, Horus says to the King:

"I give you the gum-trees (nht) of
God's Land (Punt) laden with

countless harvests (tnnw šmw.sn) ."
(EIV, 94, 17-18).

Scene 98. šms 'ntyw Presenting myrrh
EIV, 250, 8-251, 5; EX, Pl. XCIII

The relief of this scene is a mirror image of that of the preceding scene.

The offering formula reads:

"Myrrh is presented; mš'-n-r-ht
<which comes forth from the eye>
of Atum. It comes forth from your
living eye [lacuna] these [lacuna]
which are brought from t3-n-ht.
Its colour is <light red?>. Your
heart belongs to you, O M3'mm,
without any turmoil in you. (As
for) nhd, its scent is throughout
your body'." (EIV, 250, 8-13).

The colour of the myrrh has been tentatively supplied, the restoration being based upon a text found in the "Laboratory". (EII, 206, 3).

In return for the King's offering, Horus says:

"I give you the Kematiu and the
Asiatics bowed down under their
produce, bearing their baskets
(g3wt) to your palace ('h) ."
(EIV, 251, 1-2).

of the King in Scene 99, in which he is said to be "the great one of the fields (h3 n t3) who makes the Banks flourish" (EIV,124,17) and "the Youth rich ('š3) in districts (hnbwt), replete with (wr) grain, heavy (dns) in offerings (sfhw)". (EIV,124,17-18). Two of the wine-growing areas also are mentioned, in the "Königliche Randzeile", which refers to "Knmt (Khargah oasis) and Dsds (Bahrije oasis) being joined together as his slaves (ndyt)". (EIV,124,18).

The speeches of Horus in both Scenes continue the theme. In Scene 99, he rewards the King in the following words:

"I give you the oasis-dwellers (wh3t³i³w) to act as your slaves (ndyt), heavy-laden (3tp) with presents (3tpw) ." (EIV,125,3-4).

In Scene 100, Horus gives the King "the Kenmetiu (knmt³i³w - dwellers in Khargah oasis) bowed down under their tribute, namely the works (k3t) which are done (hpr) in Kenmet (Khargah)". (EIV,281,506).

The offering formula of Scene 100 is concerned not so much with fertility as with killing enemies. It begins with the phrase "the š3t-vessel (for wine) is at your throat", but continues with

"You cut off (štb) the stones (g(3)sty; i.e. testicles; cf. JEA, 29, 14 note c) of him who

Scenes of sm3 štyw appear in at least six places in Edfu temple, one in each of the Hypostyle Halls (EII,74,4-15 and EIII,4,13-5,6), two on the exterior of the Naos (see above) and two on the exterior of the Girdle Wall (EVII,159,3-160,4; 311,17-312,15). Thus, the majority of such scenes appears on exterior walls of the temple, where, it has already been stated (see above, p.127), the Egyptians liked to place scenes of killing enemies in order to "protect" the temple.

The 102 "scenes" in the Ritual on the top three registers on the east and west walls of the Naos exterior consist of different types of offerings made by the King to various divinities. In return for the offering, the God, in the majority of cases, rewards the King with something similar to that which has been offered to him, as was normal in Egyptian temple ritual (Derchain, 1962, (iii), p.64 foll.).

The types of offering fall into six groups, as follows:

- | | | |
|----|--|---|
| I | Food and drink | (Scenes 1,2,4,7,8,27,28,
32,45,56,99,100) |
| II | Symbols of Kingship
and the maintenance
of order | (Scenes 3,15,16,53,54,
57-60,69,70,73,
74,85,86; Crowns:
5,6,59,67,68,71,72) |

- III Ancestral offerings (Scenes 9,10,37-42,45,
49-52,87-90)
- IV Symbols of protection
and purification (Scenes 17-19,29,78,81,
83,95-98)
- V Symbols of fertility
and virility (Scenes 3,31,43-48,56,
75-78,99-100)
- VI Offerings to goddesses (Scenes 25-36,61-66,
79-84,91-96).

There are nineteen scenes in the Ritual which do not consist of making offerings to a divinity, but are concerned with killing enemies; they are Scenes 11-14b, 15,16,20-24,36,55,91,92,101,102. It has already been pointed out (see pages 127-128) that the exterior of the Naos at Edfu is noteworthy for the number of scenes on it which are concerned with the destruction of enemies and the forces of evil.

The significance of the types of scene on the exterior of the Naos will be discussed in Chapter VI.

Each of the offerings is usually made to that divinity who is particularly associated with the offering. Thus, the type of offering being made at any point in the Ritual usually determines which of Egypt's many hundreds of gods and goddesses appears in the scene. Some of Egypt's more important gods appear in the Ritual. Amun, for instance, receives the offering in Scene 45; Amen-Re in Scenes 44 and 48; Min in Scene 46; Ptah in Scenes 43 and 61; Shu in Scene 55; Geb in Scene 56; Anubis in Scene 70; Khonsu in Scenes 53,73 and 74.

Naturally, the god who appears most often as the recipient of the offering is the god to whom Edfu Temple was dedicated, Horus the Behdetite. Horus, as the Behdetite or in one of his other manifestations, appears in forty-one out of the 102 Scenes in the Ritual.

His consort, Hathor, or one of the goddesses with whom she was identified, appears in over half the scenes in which the offering is made to a female divinity.

Horus's father, Osiris (or Sokar-Osiris) appears in Scenes 7,8,16,50-52,54,60.

The above lists do not take into account those scenes involving companies of gods.

Horus's mother, Isis, does not appear in any scene in the Ritual except for Scene 39, where she appears as a member of the Great Ennead. She appears in only two scenes in the Ritual on the first register (see page 66), thus receiving surprisingly little attention in this part of Edfu Temple.

The consort of Ptolemy VIII, Euergetes II, Cleopatra III, appears in only nine scenes (Scenes 24,49-52,77,78, 85,86) in the Ritual on the top three registers on the east and west walls of the Naos exterior; and in only two scenes in the ritual on Register I (Scenes 31 and 32; see page 110 foll.). She is present in some, but not all, scenes of killing enemies (31 & 32; 24); fertility rites (77 & 78); ancestral rites (49 - 52); and Kingship

rites (85 & 86). There does not seem to be any circumstance in the rite being performed which necessitates the presence of the Queen; her appearance seems to be made quite arbitrarily.

The King wears many different types of crown when performing the rites, not only the well-known diadems such as the Red, White, Double and Atef Crowns, but also the remarkable composite crowns found in the temple reliefs of the Graeco-Roman period.

There has not been time to make a study of the significance of these crowns. However, it has been immediately apparent that there is a remarkable consistency in the wearing of the White and Red Crowns as appropriate according to whether the relief is sculpted on the east or west, Upper or Lower Egyptian, wall.

The King wears the White Crown eleven times in the Ritual, in Scenes 4,8,18,20,30,32,78; and in Scenes 17, 29,31,77. The last four scenes are on the west or Lower Egyptian wall, where one would expect him to wear the Red Crown. However, it is clear that the rites performed in these Scenes were Upper Egyptian in origin. Hence it may have been thought necessary to depict the King wearing the White Crown even though he is "performing" the rite on the Lower Egyptian wall.

The King wears the Red Crown seven times in the

Ritual, in Scenes 3,7,19,21,59,60,84. The last two Scenes in the list appear on the Upper Egyptian (east) wall; Scene 84 has in all probability been carved on the wall in mistake.

A discussion of the meaning and nature of the Ritual depicted on Registers II, III and IV of the east and west walls of the exterior of the Naos will appear in Chapter VI.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

The evidence presented in Chapter I illustrated the belief that the decoration of an Egyptian temple was never haphazard, but an attempt to commemorate in stone the religious rituals once performed there. The observation was made that in this way, the Ancient Egyptian, and especially the priesthood of Ancient Egypt, hoped that, by magical means, the performance of those rituals considered necessary for the well-being of Egypt and her people would be perpetuated for eternity.

In Chapter III, an attempt was made to establish a series of "rules" for "reading" the order of scenes which make up the decoration of different parts of the temple as a whole, so that these "rules" may be applied to the exterior of the Naos. Having done this, it was possible to discern two different, though connected, rituals on the east and west walls of the Naos exterior.

In Chapter IV, it was concluded that the Ritual on Register I on these walls is an introduction to a more important, and larger, Ritual to be found on Registers II, III and IV.

An attempt was made in Chapter V to establish the order in which the scenes on Registers II to IV should

be read. A claim was made that the most satisfactory order is gained when the scenes on these Registers are read from south to north, boustrophedon, alternating each scene on the west wall with its fellow on the east, the scene which begins the Ritual being the first scene at the southern end of the second Register on the west wall. The subsequent examination in detail of the scenes proves, we think, that this way of reading gives a logical order to the sequence of rites which make up the Ritual.

It was also suggested that the Ritual on the Naos is different from that on the Pronaos; but that these Rituals are connected.

The Ritual on the Pronaos is concerned with the ancestral deities of the temple, namely, the Seven Constructor Gods, who appear in a scene of "Stretching the cord" (EIV, 352, 2-353, 15; EX, Pl. CV); the Shebtiw (Jelinková, 1962), who appear in a scene of "Adoring the god" (EIV, 357, 15-359, 8; EX, Pl. CV); the Great Gods, who appear in a scene whose title is lost (EIV, 383, 15-385, 4; EX, Pl. CVII) and in a scene of "Offering the palette" (EIV, 389, 10-391, 2; EX, Pl. CVII).

None of these ancestral deities appears on the Naos; instead, another five sets of "Ancestors" are found there. In Scenes 37 to 42, the ancestral deities who appear are the ancestors of the world - the Great Ennead, the Little Ennead, the Ogdoad and the Fourteen Kas of Re; and the

nine Ancestral Gods of Edfu Temple. In Scenes 85 to 90, Ptolemy VIII, Euergetes II, makes offering to his own immediate, Ptolemaic, ancestors.

It now remains to ascertain the nature of the Ritual which is depicted on the east and west walls of the top three Registers of the Naos exterior. The groups of offerings listed in the previous chapter (see pages 394-95) provide the key.

Group I need not concern us, since the presentation of food and drink was an integral part of any temple ritual. Groups IV to VI also are made up of the types of offerings which may be encountered in many Egyptian temple rituals, protection, purity and fertility being considered essential to the well-being of Egypt. The scenes of killing enemies are also important, and fulfil the same function.

It is Group II (Symbols of Kingship and the maintenance of order) and Group III (Ancestral offerings) which elucidate the nature of the Ritual. These scenes which are concerned with Kingship and Ancestral rites clearly play the most prominent part.

This is not surprising. To the Egyptian, the Kingship was "the kernel of the static order of the world" (Fairman, 1958, (i), p.75). The consequence of this concept of Kingship was that in theory everything in religious and secular life was linked with the King; every religious ceremony was in a sense a royal ritual (Fairman, op. cit., p.76).

At the same time, worship of the ancestors was inextricably bound up with Kingship. It is clear that with certain exceptions, such as the Hyksos rulers, every king of Egypt considered himself as the direct descendant of previous kings, whom he regarded as his "ancestors". It has been claimed that at some point in the making of a king, something happened which made him divine and "linked him directly with all of Egypt's past" (Fairman, op. cit., p.77).

By means of this procedure, Egypt achieved a remarkable stability for over 3,000 years. However, this stability was shaken in 663 B.C. when Assurbanipal the Assyrian sacked Thebes and made Egypt an Assyrian province. For the next 300 years, Egypt made brief resurgences; but in 341 B.C., the Persians deposed the last Pharaoh of Egypt, Nectanebo II, and Egypt ceased to be an independent nation.

In 332 B.C., Alexander of Macedon led his army into Egypt. During the years of foreign invasions, the Greeks had come to the aid of the Egyptians several times. This time, they came as liberators and drove the Persians out of Egypt almost without striking a blow.

The Egyptians must have regarded Alexander's arrival as a present from the gods, a way by which she could regain her freedom and reestablish the natural order of things, as she had done after each previous period of foreign domination. There could have been no suspicion

that she was to be a province of Greece and Rome for a thousand years until the coming of Islam.

Alexander took some pains to propitiate the conquered Egyptians. Whereas the Persians had deeply offended the Egyptians by killing the sacred Apis bull, Alexander, in contrast, sacrificed to the Bull in Memphis, and to other national gods. He made his peace with powerful priesthood by going to Siwah to consult the oracle of Ammon-Re.

Alexander's most important act, from the point of view of the priesthood, was his willingness to recognise the old Egyptian tradition of theogamy. It was made known that the last native king of Egypt, Nectanebo II, had taken the form of a serpent, and had visited the wife of Alexander's earthly father, Philip of Macedon. The son born of this union was Alexander, who was thus a true successor to the native Pharaohs.

However, by the time Alexander died in 323 B.C., Egypt was feeling the weight of the foreign yoke instead of rejoicing in the reinstatement of her own culture.

Five months after Alexander's death, Ptolemy son of Lagus arrived in Egypt. He was the son of Lagus and Arsinoe, a distant connection of the Royal House of Macedon. It had been rumoured that his father was Philip himself. Ptolemy had been one of the Seven Companions of Alexander. After Alexander's death, he left the other Companions to

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quarrel over the division of the empire, and claimed Egypt for himself.

Ptolemy ingratiated himself with the Egyptians by bringing Alexander's body to Egypt, with the stated intention of burying it in Siwah. He also brought back to Egypt some of the statues of Egyptian gods which had been stolen by the Persians.

Ptolemy had to consolidate his position as ruler of Egypt. He could not be certain that he would be left alone by his erstwhile Companions, left to govern Egypt in peace. Ptolemy needed a contented and loyal Egypt to maintain him, to recognise him as ruler.

He could not claim to be of divine descent, as Alexander had done, in order to legitimise his claim to the throne in the eyes of his Egyptian subjects. He could have married an Egyptian princess of royal descent. He did not, and neither did any of his successors.

Ptolemy's main policy was one of "peaceful penetration"(Milne, 1928, p.227). He made no display of armed force; he did not force Greek ideas on the Egyptians, especially in matters of religion and worship. He did not proclaim himself "King" until 304 B.C., when he enclosed his name in a cartouche in inscriptions, and styled himself "Ptulmis, beloved of Amun, Son of Re" (Elgood, 1938, p.33).

Inevitably, under the first three, capable, Ptolemies, the Hellenization of Egypt took place. Meantime, however,

the Egyptians had accepted the Ptolemies as kings; and from an Egyptian standpoint, once the Ptolemies became Pharaohs they were automatically regarded as gods.

The Ptolemies themselves took on the role of god-king only gradually. The first Ptolemy did not subscribe to the notion at all; the second conformed to Egyptian custom by taking the five titles of the Royal Titulary; and by marrying his full sister, a custom totally alien to Greek ideas. Ptolemy IV, Philopator, likewise, made this concession to Egyptian ideas and married his sister, as did almost all of his successors.

The later Ptolemies, from Ptolemy IV onwards, were weak. During the latter half of the three centuries of the Dynasty, they were especially so, constantly indulging in quarrels amongst themselves and making challenges for the throne.

They turned to the priesthood for support. Gradually, the priests became more powerful; and the more powerful they became, the more they had to be appeased. The really important temples in Egypt at this time, both in wealth and popularity, were those of the old Egyptian deities.

These temples maintained a purely Egyptian ritual; they adhered to the old Egyptian style of architecture and decoration. Their inscriptions, in hieroglyphs, followed the old formulae. Their priesthoods were making a concerted effort to perpetuate the old religion. They had learned their lesson, that they could not rely on

memory and custom to carry on the traditional forms of worship in the face of foreign invasion. The old temples must be built anew, and the records must be placed in them, not on rolls of papyrus which could easily be destroyed, but on permanent, everlasting, stone. Hence the abundance of inscription on the walls of temples built in the Graeco-Roman period.

By the time the Naos at Edfu Temple was built, the Ptolemaic kings had accepted the necessity of cooperating with the powerful Egyptian priesthood. Thus, Ptolemy VIII, Euergetes II, must have been very willing to allow himself to be depicted in an ancestral ritual, thus demonstrating his legitimacy as king; and, perhaps more important, demonstrating the legitimacy of the Ptolemaic dynasty and reaffirming its right to govern Egypt. He did this by linking himself to his Ancestors, who represented a link with the Kings of Egypt since time immemorial.

From the point of view of the priesthood, this was a desirable thing. It did not matter to them that the King whose legitimacy was being proclaimed on the Naos of Edfu Temple was a Macedonian, a foreigner; a fact that is made abundantly clear in Scenes 85 and 86 where Euergetes II is depicted wearing Greek dress. To the priests of Egypt, it was Kingship itself and not any individual king which was all-important. By preserving that, they would be preserving Egypt herself against the day when the "Ionian dogs" and all foreigners would be driven

from Egypt, and a true, native-born King would be handed the sacred Kingship of Egypt.

However, the priests may have had doubts about the wisdom of linking the present King only with previous Ptolemaic kings. A way out of this difficulty may have been found by going right back in time, and linking the present King with the ancestor gods. This would explain the presence in the Ritual of the Ancestral Deities who appear in Scenes 37 to 42.

It has been said that the worship of the Ancestors was "a central and basic theme in Egyptian kingship" (Ibrahim, 1971, p.x.). Hence, it is our conclusion that although at first glance the Ritual on the top three registers of the east and west walls of the exterior of the Naos of Edfu Temple has many aspects of a Kingship Ritual, it is above all an Ancestral Ritual, the purpose of which is to ensure the perpetuation of the institution of Kingship. It is supplemented by a preliminary ritual on the first register on each of the walls.

When this great ancestral/kingship ritual was celebrated it is impossible to say. It would seem that ceremonies for the ancestors played an important part in many of the rituals celebrated in the temple - in the Daily Ritual, for instance; and in several of the great annual festivals, such as the Jubilee, the Sacred Marriage, the Festival of Behdet, the New Year Festival

(Fairman, 1958, (i), p.103). The Ritual on the exterior of the Naos is obviously a long and very important one. It has not been possible, however, to identify it from the list in the Edfu Calendar of Festivals (cf. Alliot, 1959, Chapter II). Nor is it possible to determine at this stage where the Ritual may have been carried out. There is not much space between the exterior wall of the Naos and the Girdle Wall for the rites which make up the Ritual to be carried out. One must suppose that the performance of the Ritual took place elsewhere. On the other hand, the Ritual may simply have consisted of a procession of priests progressing along the Ambulatory and reciting the words of the Ritual, not actually making any of the offerings featured in the rites. If this were so, then it is not necessary to look for a place within the temple or its precincts in which the Ritual may have been carried out.

The importance of the ancestors and significance of the Ritual on the Naos is summed up in the words of Fairman (Fairman, 1958, (i), p.104); the presence of the royal ancestors in a ritual being carried out by the King showed that he was accepted by them, "he was of their essence, he was filled with the spirit of the ancestors, and in that spirit he ruled unchallenged and unchallengable".


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