

## Two texts dealing with the mythical ancestors\*

*By*

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I have divided the ancestors, before, <sup>1</sup> into two groups :

1. The Royal Ancestors i.e. the kingly ancestors or in other words the dead kings, or still much better the divine co poration of which the kings on dying, became a member.

The evidence that has been discussed before, in a brief way, suggests that the kingship of the reigning king resided in his predecessor. In other words, his kingly office is derived from and inherent in his ancestors, and it was in the establishment and preservation of the direct link with the ancestors that his claim to rule resided

2. The Mythical Ancestors or as they sometimes were called the "Divine Souls" or the "Children of Re" or simply the "Ancestors", the subject of our present study.

I should like to remind the reader that these are the ancestors whom we have met before in the Festival of Behdet within the framework of the Festival of the Sacred Marriage <sup>2</sup>.

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\* *E.* Refers to Edfu, the numbers without brackets refer to the Footnotes while those in brackets refer to the transliteration.

In the same time, it is not inappropriate that this essay, as well as the previous ones<sup>3</sup>, should close the discussion of these ancestors. In the preparation of it I have been increasingly impressed by immense part played by the ancestors and the ancestor cult in the institution of kingship in Pharaonic Egypt. So, it is only a preliminary study to introduce these Mythical Ancestors to the reader, waiting for the due time to present a complete study to cover both of them i.e. the Royal Ancestors ; and the Mythical Ones.

To introduce the Mythical Ancestors, we are lucky enough to find a series of no less than twelve special texts from Edfu Temple which throw abundant light on them<sup>4</sup>.

Who were these beings ?

Why were there processions to visit them ?

What was their role ?

Where was their burial place ?

Our special group of texts leave us in no doubt as to the answer to all these questions.

Most of these texts are in scenes of burning incense and pouring libation, the incense symbolising the offering of food to the gods, and the libations that they had been given life and strength.

Fortunately it is not hard to find an answer to our questions. The divine souls, we are told repeatedly were the children of Re, who came forth from Atum, sometimes they are simply

called the ancestors. They were nine in number and were of more than normal size, the senior one for instance, the god Banebbed, having a mummy of 36 cubits, i.e. approximately 75 feet. They are named to us as well.

These ancestor gods were none of them of local origin, but it is of the utmost interest, particularly for the history of the kingship, to note that they were all Upper Egyptian and that not one of them was from the Delta.

We are told also that they died in Edfu and they were embalmed and buried there at the express orders of Re in order to prosper Egypt.

There was a procession to an upper temple, sacred mounds and sacred grove associated with them, all these lay on the desert edge to the west or south west of the ancient town and temple of Edfu.

The procession to the upper temple was to enable Horus and Hathor to visit a necropolis, not a necropolis of ordinary mortals but one in which were buried the divine souls to whom special offerings were made. Horus and Hathor visited them, the texts tell us, because they were the mortuary priests of these divine souls.

These Mythical Ancestors, as we have just mentioned, were nine in number and they were named for us too, but it is an extraordinary fact that in the earlier versions no less than four of them are forms of Seth. This is indeed remarkable in the Ptolemaic Period when the Seth cult was particularly unpopular, and above all at Edfu where the main emphasis is always violent enmity towards Seth. This paradox was apparently appreciated, for the later versions show that the Seth forms are replaced by others, though in a very disguised way.

The reason for this change seems to be that the Egyptians were, of course, well aware that their ruler was a foreigner. They shared the hatred of the priesthood for foreign rule, but they have been conquered, and were waiting for the due moment to overthrow the foreigners and their rule.

Apart from the religious motive the Egyptians were treated badly: there was discrimination between the Greeks and the Egyptians in many ways, in social life, and in military service too<sup>5</sup>. Life was hard in Ptolemaic Egypt as Edly<sup>6</sup> said and "at no time since their days of imperial greatness in the second millennium B.C. have the Egyptians made first rate soldiers<sup>7</sup>", until the Battle of Raphia 217 B.C. proved that Egyptian troops, as well as Greeks, could acquit themselves bravely and honourably in war and make a major contribution to the victory. The Egyptians returned to Egypt with new confidence in their military abilities. They also returned in a dangerous frame of mind. Polybios says that they were looking for a ruler, a leader who would bring about their independence, and soon revolts began to break out<sup>8</sup>.

The Battle of Raphia not only restored the confidence and pride of the Egyptians in their military ability, it also led to an even more pronounced rejection of the Seth cult. This is well brought out in our texts of the ancestor gods of Edfu, where as I have mentioned above that it is an extraordinary fact that in the earlier versions at Edfu no less than four of these nine gods are forms of Seth. It is undoubtedly significant that all versions after the middle of the reign of Ptolemy VI, i.e. after the Battle of Raphia, eliminate those forms of Seth and replace them by other names

To deal with the whole lot of these texts at the present time

seems very difficult, because neither the time nor the space allows us to make it. But a quick review<sup>9</sup> concerning the twelve texts of these ancestors seems, also, very useful; taking two<sup>10</sup> of them as examples: the first one belongs to the earlier versions, while the second belongs to the later versions to support this theory from one side and to throw more light on their aspect from the other side

The first text is located in the second Hypostyle Hall of Edfu Temple, south well, 4th register (*E*, II, 51, 3-52, 9). See pls. I-III.

The king is represented on the left of the scene, standing, facing right, wearing the Double Crown, burning incense and pouring libation to the nine ancestor gods of Edfu, who are standing in front of him and facing left in a mummiform.

The scene is entitled in this way:

A. Title: "(1) Presenting incense and libation to [the great gods], and offerings to those who are in their tomb". (*E*. II, 51, 3-4)

B. The King: "(2) Horus, the strong youth"

King of Upper and Lower Egypt (heir of the beneficent god) son of Re (the beloved of Isis). Son of the Behdetite, born of Hather, who pours (11) libation to those who are in Behdet. As long as the good god (the beloved of Isis) exists they will exist as kings at the head of the living. He is like Horus, who makes offerings to the dwellers of the underworld". (*E*. II, 51. 5-8).

C. Divinities: "(3) Words to be said by the living gods, who came forth from Re, the Ennead, the children of Atum,

concealed in their crypt on the hill side to the south west of *D63*. When the god set his seal to their (destiny)? before their earthly span had been completed, their souls winged their way to heaven, so that they might live among the stars. The heart of Re became sad at seeing what had happened to his children, and his majesty ordered that their corpses should be adorned in the place where they (=nen) treat them, to bandage (them) in Behdet, to conceal their corpses there, and to drive calves<sup>12</sup> to tread upon their tomb. The sacred grove concealing their crypt like that which is in Heliopolis<sup>13</sup>, namely the great divine mound of Behdet which hides the (corpses of the caverns. Re goes there, his diadem goddess being with him in order to salute his children the great august and holy corpses that rest in Behdet always. When their offering has been made at the entrance to their crypt they live (again), they are happy and praise them and shey (Re and Hathor) hear their (i.e. the ancestors) petition the time of their return occurs". (*E. II, 51, 9 - 15*).

1. *B3 nb ddw* " (4) Words to be said by Banebdeh. The first of his brothers. I give thee the length of life of Re as king". (*E. II, 51, 16*).

2. *Hry-s f* " (5) Words to be said by Harshaphes. I give thee the kingship of Atum while wearing the Double Crown". (*E. II, 51, 17*).

3. *Bnw* " (6) Words to be said by Benenw (=the phoenix), the self-created. I give thee the years of the lord of all as a ruler". (*E. II, 52, 1*).

4. *'Imnhy* " (7) Words to be said by Imenhy (=the bucher-god). I cause thee to renew thy youth like Khepry". (*E. II, 52, 2*).

5. *'ntywy* " (8) Words to be said by Antywy. I give thee what the right eye sees by day". (*E. II, 52, 3*).

6. *Sth* " (9) (Words to be said by Seth of the trees. I give thee the whole circuit of what the lord of all has made". (E. 11, 52, 4).

7. *Sth* " (10) Words to be said by Seth of the Oasis. I give thee what the left eye beholds at night". (E. 11, 52, 5).

8. *Sih* " (11) Words to be said by Seth of *Wnw*.<sup>14</sup> I give thee every place to the limit of the sun shine". (E. 11, 52, 6)

9. *Sth* " (12) For recitation by Seth of *spr-mrw*<sup>15</sup>. I give thee all what the Two Shining Ones see". (E. 11, 52, 7).

A vertical line behind the divinities :

" (13) These are the great and holly gods, who are upon the hill side, they are the august souls,<sup>16</sup> namely the children of Atum, Horus and Hather being their<sup>17</sup> funerary priests". (E. II, 52, 8—9)

The second scene is represented on the exterior of the Naos, west wall, second register. In this scene we find that the king is represented on the right, standing, facing left, wearing the Double Crown, presenting incense and pouring libation to the nine divinities (=the ancestors) who sit in front of him, facing right, each one of them seizes in his right hand the *'nh*-sign and holds in the left hand the *w3s*-sceptre. (E. IV. 83, 4 — 85, 8); pls. IV—VII.

The scene is entitled in this way :

A. Title and formula : " (14) Presenting incense and libation.

For recitation : The pleasant perfume comes to you from Nekhen in order that your nostrils may inhale it. I cause a high inundation to issue for you from the source. I flood your altars with it. I make libation for you with what the two sisters bring (namely) the desired incense and libation. (*E. IV, 83, 4—7*).

B. The king : “ (15) King of Upper and Lower Egypt (heir of the two shining gods, chosen of Ptah, justiciar of Re, living image of Amun) (the beneficent god, son of Re (Ptolemy, may he live forever; beloved of Ptah). The beneficent god. The good *nswty-18* priest of the tired ones, the *w‘b*-priest and the mortuary priest of the living (or divine) souls. The son of Re (Ptolemy, may he live forever, beloved of Ptah) is upon his throne, rejoicing in Pe and Mesen, taking his insignia, acquiring years, pouring out libation to those who are in the netherworld. He is like Horus, the burier of those who are at rest, lord of the inhabitants in the entry of the west.”

Behind him : “ (16) May all protection, life, dominion surround him like Re forever”.

Above him is the solar disk :

“ (17) The Behdetite, the great god, lord of heaven”.

(*E. IV, 83, 8—12*)

C, Divinities : “ (18) For recitation :

The gods of Bahdet.

The Children of H-rakhty, sacred in their abode in the divine mound.

Who came forth from Re.



Who have their being in . . . . . ?

Whom their father protected afterwards.

These are the offsprings of the soul which is in the sky.

The youths of the Table god *tty* (or of the horizon god *3hty*).

The gods who cross the sky.

The aged ones of the shining one (or of the illuminator of the land *psd-t3*).

Who have become old

The offspring(s) of Horus

Who came forth from him.

Who visits their tomb in the Throne of Re, and whom the burial ground embraces in *3ht-hh*.

Who have gone to the underworld in *Wbn-Hr*.

Whose abode is hidden in the abode of eternity.

Who are buried in them in the underworld.

Whose [embalming booth] is in the pure mountain.

Pure are the excellent souls who are in this land.

Of the prominent position in the presence of Osiris 19.

Re commanded to conceal their crypt (or Re commanded that their crypt has to be concealed).

The land was blessed from the very time of their concealment.

The Behdetite reaches Behdet to their Ka(s) that he may pour out libation for their excellent corpses, and the mistress of Dendera visits the place where their majesties are, in order to make offerings to their divine soul(s).

They abiding in Behdet [without] perishing forever upon earth and for the duration of the gods (or in the boundaries of the gods)" (E. IV, 83, 13—84,6)

1. *B3 nb ddw* " (19) We give thee the span of life which we spend in the otherworld like Re upon the seat of Horus.

Words to be said by Banebdeh, the great in Behdet, his mummy is of 86 cubits" (E. IV, 84, 7—8)

2. *Hry-s. f* " (20) Words to be said by Harshaphes, the great god, of great dignity, residing in Behdet, the width of his body is 9 cubits" (E. IV, 84, 9—10)

3. *Imnhy* " (21) Words to be said by the skillful bucher-god, in *3ht-hh* of the strong arm, with the skin of baboon," (E. IV, 84, 11—12)

4. *Hr-sdty* " (22) Words to be said by Harshedit, the great, the great god, residing in Behdet, the width of his body is [13 cubits] " (E. IV, 84, 13)

5. *Nir-'3-m-sp3t f* " (23) For recitation by the great god in his nome, who loves his father, the ruler, the possessor (owner or lord) of 31 cubits" (E. IV, 84, 14)

6. *Nb smw* " (24) Words to be said by the lord of the trees, the holly one, who conceals himself and who hides his corpse in the southern Behdet" (E. IV, 85; 1—2)

7. *B3-ntry* " (25) Words to be said by the *B3-ntry*, the self createsd, great of power, with shining radiance" (E. IV. 85,3)

8. *Hnty-Bhdt* " (26) Words to be said by *Hnty-Bhdt*, who resides in *3ht-hh* of the gods, who is at the head of the great ennead." (E. IV, 85,4)

9. *Nb-hwt-w'rt* " (27) Words to be said by the lord of Avaris (*Hwt-w'rt*), residing in Behdet, who conceals his body in *Wbn-Hr*" (E. IV, 85,5)

A vertical line behind the nine ancestors :

" (28) The excellent souls are in Behdet, being concealed in the mansion of *snbty*, protecting Mesen, guarding the mansion of the falcon, driving away evil from the place of piercing. They are the lord(s) of the necropolis, the rulers of the desert plateau, whose honoured mummies are buried in the desert (lit. 'the desert is joined with their excellent mummy(es)') (E. IV, 85, 7--8)

## REVIEW OF THE TWELVE TEXTS DEALING WITH THE MYTHICAL ANCESTORS

### NAMES OF THE DIVINITIES

E. 1, 173,3 - 174.7 *B3 nb ddw Hry-ss f Bnw 'Imnhy [ntywy]* <sup>20</sup>

*Sth n wh3t*

King Ptolemy IV,

*Sth n n3 snw*

Philopator presents two adzes of

*Sth n wnw*

Anubis to Osiris accompanied by Isis, both seated enthroned upon a podium, behind them stand nine mummiform gods.

*Sth m spr-mrw*

E. 1, 382, 4-15

King Ptolemy IV,

Philopator offers incense and libation to nine mummiform divinities.

*E. 11, 51, 3 - 52, 9 B3 nb ddw Hry-s f Bnw 'Imnhy 'nlywy*

*Sth n snw*

King Ptolemy IV,

*Sth n whst*

Philopator offers incense and

*Sth n wnw*

libation to nine mummiform divinities.

*Sth n spr-mrw*

*E. 111, 301, 8—16 B3 nb ddw Hry-s'f Bnw ('I) mnhy Hr-Sdty*

*[Sth n snw]*

King Ptolemy VI

*Sth n whst*

presents incense and libation to

*[Sth] n wns<sup>21</sup>*

the excellent souls (=the nine divinities).

*Sth n spr-mrw*

*E. 111, {2}, 5—12 B3 nb ddw Hry-s'f Bnw ('I) mnhy Hr-Sdty*

*Sth n snw*

King Ptolemy VI

*Sth n whst*

presents incense and libation to

*Sth n wns*

the gods of Behdet.

*Sth n spr-mrw*

*E. IV, 83, 4 - 85, 8 B3 nb ddw Hry-s'f ('I) mnhy Hr-sdty*

King Ptolemy VI, Philometor *ntr '3 m spat f Nb snw B3* offers incense and libation to the *ntry Hnty Bhdt Nb hwt w'rt* nine gods (not mummiform) each seated on a throne set on a podium.

*E. IV, 102, 17-103, 13<sup>22</sup> P3 ntr n hwt ntr wr n Bhdt*

Ptolemy VI, Philometor offers "Who has his being in incense and libation to the god of *T3 tm* before the ancestors" the great temple of Edfu, a human-headed divinity. (E. IV, 103, 10)

"The burier of the souls (or who buried the souls) in

their place of burial) ” (E. IV, 103, 11)

“Who has his being in the ancestors” (E. IV. 10, 13)

E. IV, 239,13 – 241, 14 *B3 nb ddw Hry-s·f ('I)mnhy*

Ptolemy VI, Philometor offers *Hr-sdty ntr '3 m sp 3t.f Nb snw* incense and libation to the senior *Bnnw Hnty Bhdt nb hwt-w'rt* ones. The nine divinities seated on thrones, each throne standing on its own podium.

E. V; 61, 17 – 63, 16 *[B3] nb ddw Hry-s·f 'Imnhy*

A king (cartouches blank) offers *[Hr-sdty] Ntr '3 m sp3t f Nb* incense and libation to the great *snw Bnnw Hnty Bhdt Nb* and senior gods of Behdet. *hwt-w'rt*

E. V, 160, 12 – 162,6 *B3 nb ddw Hry-s·f 'Imnhy*

A king (cartouches blank) offers *'ntywy ntr'3 m sp3t f Nb snw* incense and libation to the great, *Bnnw Hnty Bhdt Nb hwt-w'rt* and beneficent gods of Behdet.

E. VII, 118,4 – 119,8 *B3 nb ddw Hry s f ('I)mnhy*

Ptolemy, Soter. 11 *Hr-sdty Ntr '3 m sp3t f* presents incense and libation *Nb snw Bnnw [Hnty] Bhdt Nb* to the gods of Behdet. *hwt w'rt*

E. VII, 279, 16 – 281,2 *B3 nb ddw Hry s f ('I)mnhy*

Ptolemy Alexander offers *[23. . . . .] Ntr '3 m sp3t f* incense and libation to the nine dead *Nb snw Bnnw Hnty-Bhdt Nb* gods of Edfu (=souls of Behdet). *hwt-w'rt*

Thus, after reviewing these texts, it is an extraordinary fact, as I have mentioned before, that in the earlier versions no less than four of these nine gods are forms of Seth; which indeed seems remarkable in the Ptolemaic Period when Seth cult was particularly unpopular, and above all at Edfu where the main emphasis was always violent enmity towards Seth-

This paradox was apparently appreciated, for the latter versions showed that the Seth forms were replaced by others, though in a very thinly disguised way.

The four forms of Seth as mentioned in the above review are :

1. Seth of the trees (near or at Kasr as Sayyad, see *Onomastica*, 11, pp 31, 32 (344) ).

2. Seth of the oasis.

3. Seth of *Wnw* ( one of the cult places of Seth, see *Onomastica*, 11, p. 31 (343 D) ).

4. Seth of *Spr-mrw* (*spr-mrw* was first mentioned in Ramesside times, and from then onwards evidently the most important town in the region given by earlier and later nome-lists as the XIXth nome. The deity of both town and nome was Seth. See *Onomastica*, II, p. 110 (388) ).

These were the four forms of Seth which were mentioned in the earlier versions, in at least four of the texts of the ancestors, but in the later versions we find instead of them the following four gods :

1 *Ntr '3 m sp3t f* (The great god in his nome).

2. *Nb snw* (Lord of the trees)

3. *Hnty-Bhdt* (Pre-eminent in Behdet).

4. *Nb hwt w'rt* (Lord of Avaris).

But one feels, nevertheless, the very thin relation between some of them and the god Seth himself; such as "Seth of the trees" in the earlier versions and "Lord of the trees" in the later versions, and Moreover the lord of *hwt-w'rt* (i.e. Avaris) was indeed Seth.

The reason of this replacement seems very historical more than dogmatic, because under Ptolemy IV the four forms of Seth were mentioned, while under Ptolemy VI only two short texts referred to these four forms, then these four forms were replaced by the other four gods just mentioned above.

The historical reason for this change was the reaction of the Battle of Raphia<sup>24</sup> (217 B.C. under the reign of king Ptolemy IV) when attempts of Antiochus III to invade Palestine were decisively defeated at this battle (on the 22<sup>nd</sup> June 217 B. C.), in which for the first time native Egyptian troops served in the Ptolemaic army, this was a great stimulus to Egyptian nationalism and sparked off the first of the long series of native feeling, especially in the Thebaide, always the breeding-ground of Egyptian nationalism. The Egyptians, for the first time, were treated as the military equals of the Greeks, had acquired a new conceit of themselves, and thus one cannot notice any direct mention to Seth, that god of evil after the reign of Ptolemy VI.

## TRANSL. TRATON<sup>3</sup>

(1) ixt sntr kbhw n [ntrw wrw] pr-hrw n imyw ist. sn

(2) Hr bwnw kn.

nsw bit (iw' ntr manh) s3 R' (p(3) mr 3st) s3 Bhdty ms n  
Hwt-Hr kb n imyw Bhd t wan ntr ntr (p(3) mr 3st) wnn. sn m  
nsw hnty 'nhw sw mī Hr w3h ht n tpyw-' sfsf-3w n dw3tyw.

(3) dd mdw in ntrw 'nhw pri m R' psdt msw Itm st3 m styt.  
sn hry mnt hr rsy imnt n Db3 dr ntr r db' shrw.sn n rf skm  
tp-t3 .sn pr b3 .sn m 'py r hrt 'nh sn m-' 'nhw w3 ib sn R' r  
dw hr m33 hpr n nsw.f wd n hm.f r hts h3t.sn m bw ir.sn im nwdt  
m Bhd t dsr h3t sa im hwt blsw r hhy ist sn st3 -st hr st3 styt.sn  
mitt ntt m Iwn i3t ntry wrt Bhd t h3p h3t n ntrw krtyw R' sm  
im hry-tp.f hr f r nd ht n msw f n3 h3t 'j(w) spsw ntry nty htp  
m Bhd t r'-nb w3h.sn ht r rw styt sn 'nh-sn hr.sn dw3.sn swt sdm sn  
spr.sn r hpr tr n iw.sn is.

(4) dd mdw in B3 nb ddw typ n snw.f  
di.n. i n.k 'h'w n R' m nsw.

(5) dd mdw in Hry-s.f  
di.n. i n.k nsyt n 'ltm hr shmty.

(6) dd mdw in Bnnw hpr ds.f  
di.n. i n.k rnpwt n nb r-dr m 'hk3.

(7) dd mdw in 'Imnhy  
di.i whm.k rapy mi hpri.

(8) dd mdw in 'ntywy  
di.n. i n.k m33 n wmnt m hrw.

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\* Because of the shortage of italicized script, we have been obliged to use the normal characters in printing this transliteration.



- (9) dd mdw in Sth n snw  
di.n. i n.k sn nb n irt nb n irt nb- r -dr.
- (10) dd mdw in Sth n wh3t  
di.n. i n.k ptr n i3bt m grh.
- (11) dd mdw in Sth n wnw  
di.n. i n.k bw nb n dr 3hw.
- (12) ddw in Sth n spr-marw  
di.n. i n.k m33 nb n h3yty.
- (13) wnn nn ntrw dsrw hry mnt sw m b3w spsw m msw 'Itm  
Hr Hwt-Hr m hnk. sn.
- (14) irt sntr kbhw dd mdw iw sti nfr r. tn m Nhn sns n hnty.  
tn im.f bs. i n. tn hp'y wr m krrt b'h.i h3wt (or wdhw).  
tn im.f kbh.i n.tn m in snty sntr kbhw mrw.
- (15) nsw bit (iw' n ntrwy stp n Pth ir m3't R' shm 'nh n  
'lman) ntr mnh s3 R' (Ptolemy 'nh dt mry Pth) ntr mnh  
nswty nfr n nnyw w'b huk n b3w 'nhw s3 R' (Ptolemy  
'nh dt mry Pth) hr p.f h" .tw m-hnt P Msn hr ssp hkrw f  
hr itt rnpwt hr sty mw n nty m ihks sw mi Hr sm3-t3  
n htptyw nb wndwt m r-'3 imntt.
- (16) s3 'nh w3s h3 .f nb mi R' dt.
- (17) Bhdty ntr '3 nb pt.
- (18) dd mdw n Bhd msw Hr-3hty dsr-st. sn m i3t ntry pri  
m R' hpr m . . . . . nbab in it.sn m-ht wtyw nn nt b3  
m pt msw n Tty (or 3hty) rtrw ha hrt nbhw nt psd-t3  
i3w wtt Hr pry im f sns (m) h't. sn m Bhdw n R' hpt  
rst m 3ht-hh sm r imnt m Wbn-Hr imn st sn m st-hh  
sm3-t3 im.sn m imnt [w'bt]. sn m w'bt w'bw b3w ikrw  
wn m t3 pn wsh st hr hry nmyt.f wd n.R' r st3 sty sn  
sikr t3 dr thn. sn spr Bhdty r Bhd hr k3(w) sn sty n.f

kbhw n s'hw sn ikr(w) ikh nb(t) 'Iwnt r bw hr  
hm ntr.sn hr sfsf-3w n b3 (w) sn dsr (w) mn. tw m Bhdt  
[hm] sky dt tp-t3 m drw ntrw.

- (19) di.n n k 'h'w ir.n hnt imnt mi R' hr st Hr  
dd mdw in B3 nb ddw wr hnty Bhdt s'h'f m mh 36.
- (20) dd mdw in Hry-s.f ntr '3 '3 sfyt hry-ib Bhdt wsh dt. f  
m mh 9.
- (21) dd mdw in ('I) ml.hy mnh m 3ht-hh wr-'3 inm n ' 'n.
- (22) dd mdw in Hr-sdty wr ntr '3 hry-ib Bhdt wsh h'w. f  
m [mh 13].
- (23) dd mdw in Ntr-'3-m sp3t.f hk3 nb mh 31.
- (24) dd mdw in Nb snw dsr sdg.sw ds.f h3p h3t f m Bhdt rsy.
- (25) dd mdw in B3 ntry hpr ds.f '3 phty thn im3w.
- (26) dd mdw (i)n Hnty-Bhdt hry-ib 3ht-hh ntrw hnty psdt wrt.
- (27) dd mdw in Nb Hwt-w'rt hry-ib Bhdt imm dt.f m Wbn-Hr.
- (28) wn b3w ikrw hnt Bhdt st3 .tw m hwt-snbty hr hw Msn  
hr mk hwt-bik hr shr dw h3 st-wnp swt m nb (w) igrt  
hk3w n hrt sma3 smyt m s'h (w). sn ikr(w).

## FOOTNOTES

1. See Mohiy Ibrahim, "King makes offering to his ancestors" in *Société Égyptienne d'Etudss Historique*, No. 23 (1976), pp. 3-10
2. See Mohiy Ibrahim, "The Festival of the Secred Marriage in Edfu" (in Arabic) in *Magazine of the Faculty of arrchaeology*, II. (1977), pp.
3. See above nos. 1,2 ; sce also Mohiy Ibrahim, "An oblation offered to reigning king king and queen" in First International Congress of Egyptology (Cairo 1976).
4. See the review on pp.
5. S.K. Eddy, *The King is dead : Studies. in the Near Eastern Resistance to Hellenism 334-31 B C.* (Nebraska 1981), 260 ; 302 ff ; H.I. Bell, *Egypt from Ate Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest : A Study in the Diffusion and Decay of Hellenism* (Oxford 1956), 36-37.
6. Eddy, *op. cit.*, 306
7. Bell, *Egypt*, 35.
8. For the Battle of Raphia see Eddy, *op. cit.*, 297 ; Bell, *Egypt*, 57-58 ; Bell, *Cults and Creeds in Craaco Roman Egypt* (Livrpool 1957), 53-54.
9. See below on pp.
10. See *E.* II,51,3-52,9 ; *E.* IV, 83,4-85,8 ; See our pls. I-VII.
11. It might be also *sty m.w.*

12. For the significance of the driving of the calves see A.M. Blackman and H.W. Fairman, "The significance of the ceremony of 'Hwt-Bhs.' in the Temple of Horus at Edfu" in *J E A.* 35,98-112; 36, 63-81.

13. Very important witness that a sacred grove was in Heliopolis as in Edfu and Philae too. This shows that the cult of the ancestors was spreading throughout Egypt, see Mohiy Ibrahim, "Festival of the Sacred Marriage" in *Magazine of the Faculty of Archaeology. II.*

14. For *wnw* see below p.

15. For *spr-mrw* see below p.

16. *N* is for *m*.

17. To be read *hnk* = mortuary priest, see Cardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus*, II, 111-113, esp. 112.

It happened also in Shoshenk stela as *hnkw* = endowments, see Blackman, *J.E.A.* 27, pl. 10 (No. 4d); P. 48 (No. 24).

18. For *nswtj* priest, see Blackman, *J.E.A.* 11,214. The *nswtj* priest was the priest of *Hry-s.f.* See also *wb.* II, 334 (9).

19. Lit. means "of prominent position in the presence of him who is upon his bier" i.e. 'Osiris'.

20. Cf. *E.* II,51,3 - 52,9.

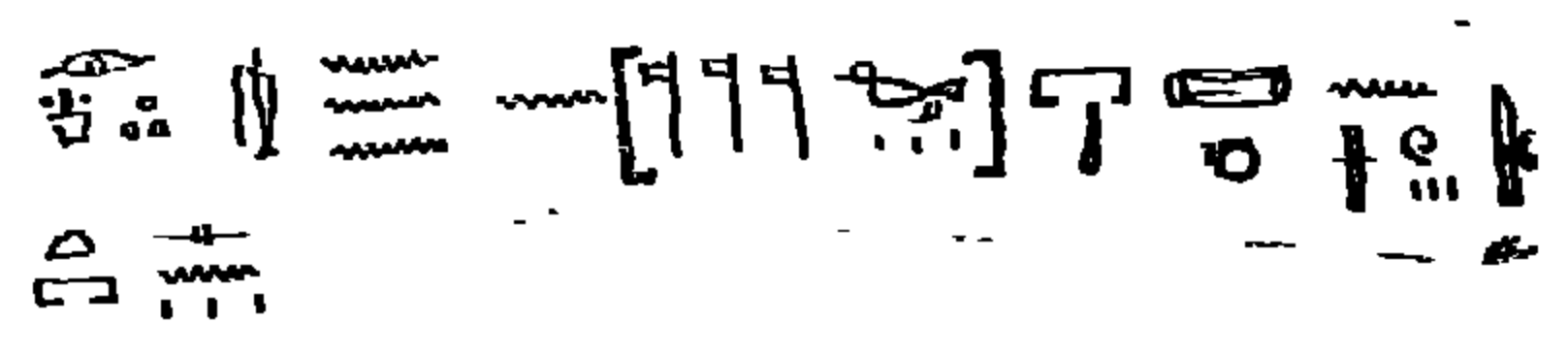
21. For *wnsy* see *Onomastica*, II, p. 111.

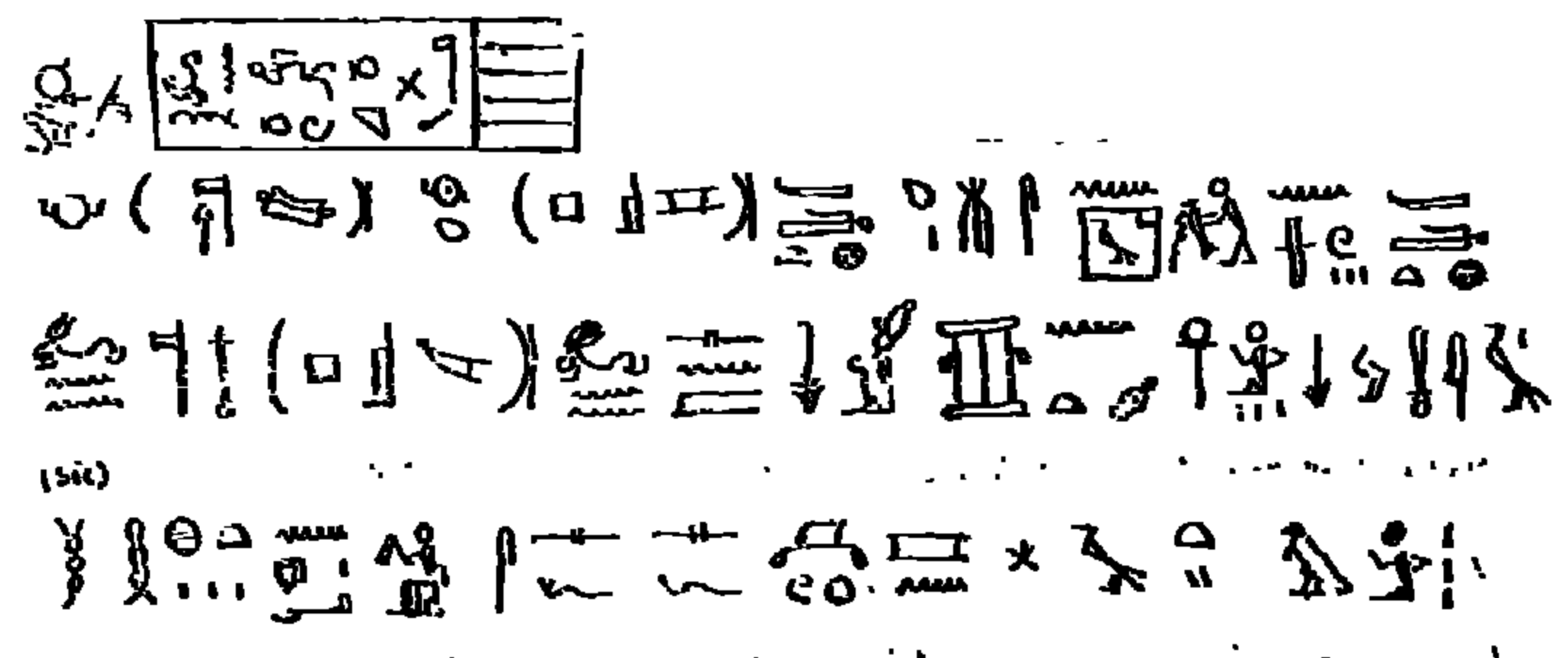
22. This text will be discussed in a forthcoming paper.

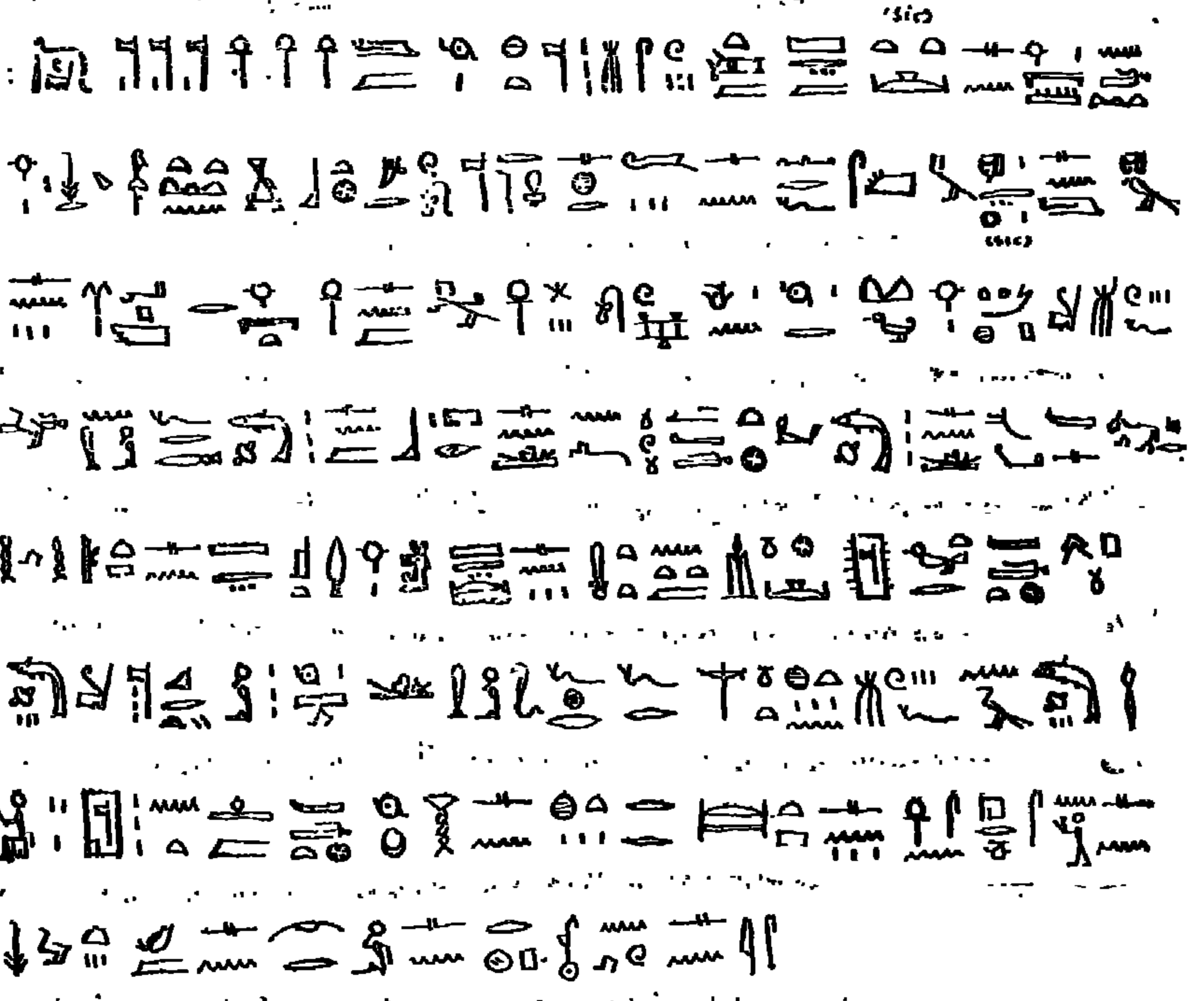
23. Either '*ntywy*' or '*Hr-sdiy*'.

24. For the Battle of Raphis see No. 8 above.

Second Hypostyle Hall  
(E. II, 51, 3 - 52, 9)

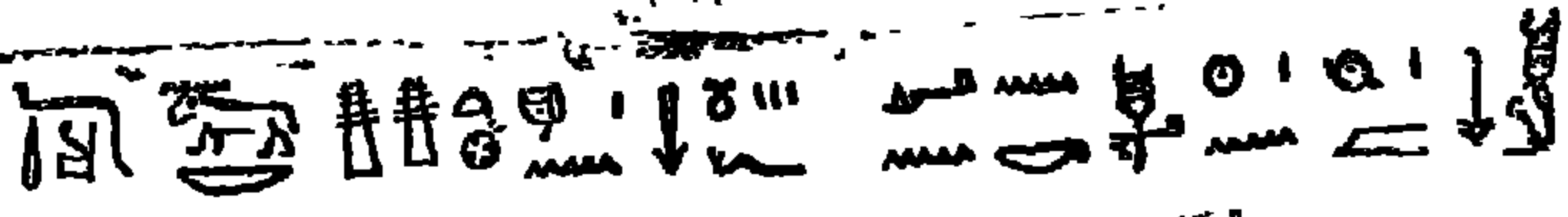
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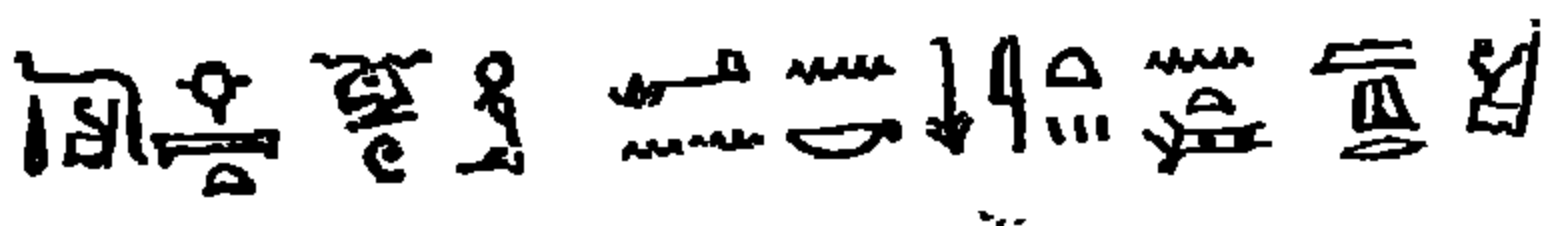
The King: 

Divinities: 


The signs placed between the square brackets are traced in the reversed order of the rest of the inscription

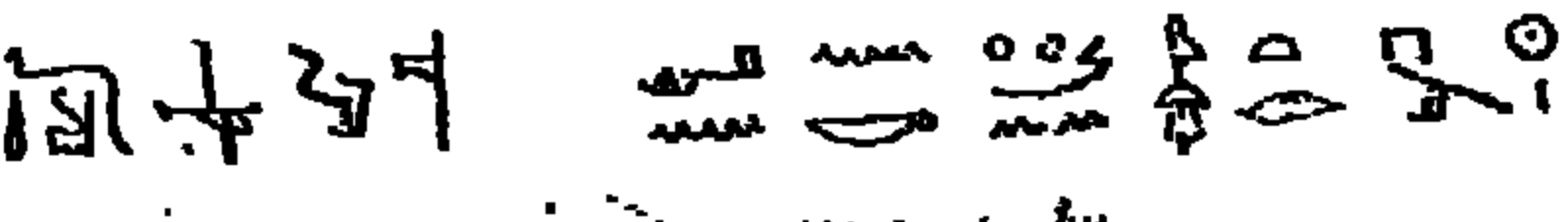


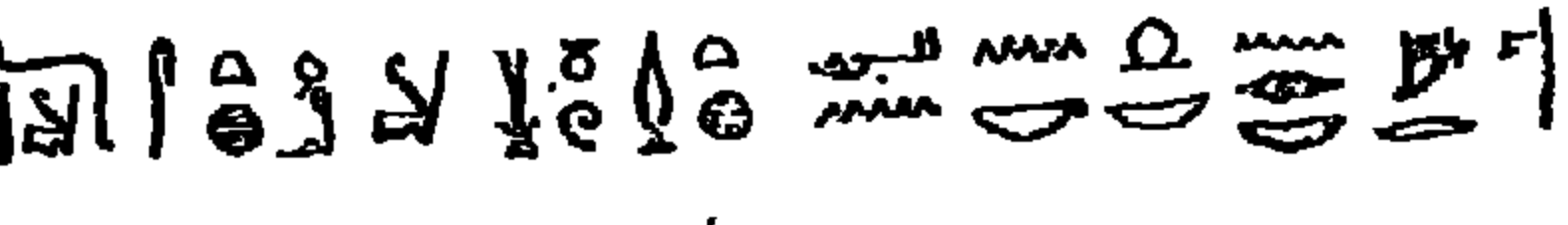
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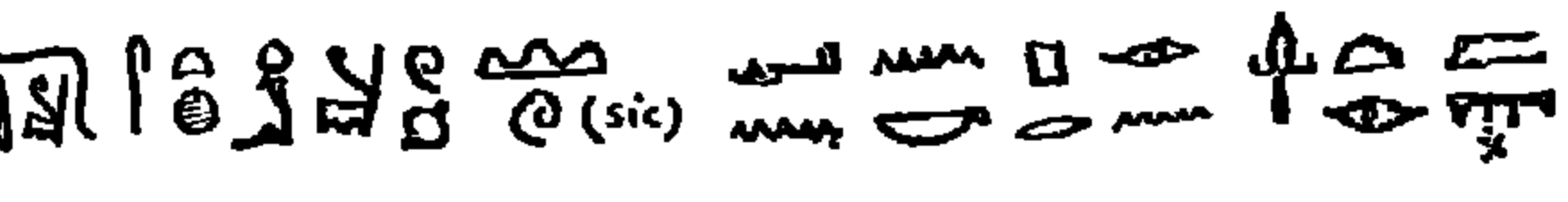
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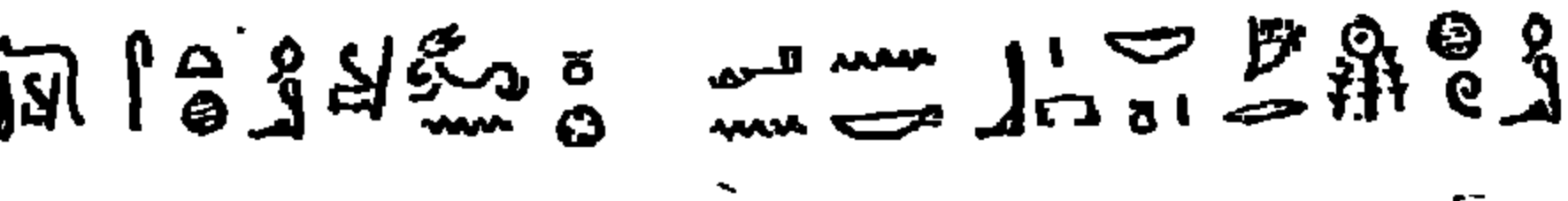
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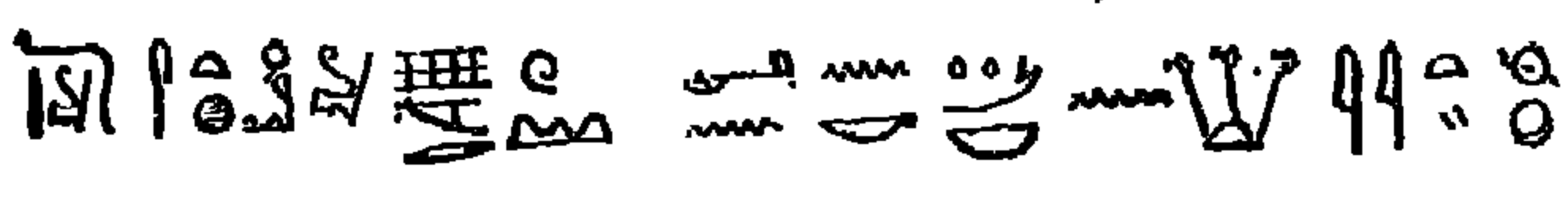
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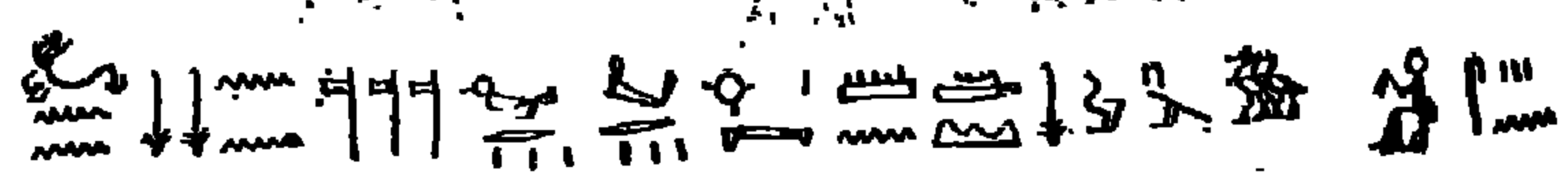
5. Antywy: 

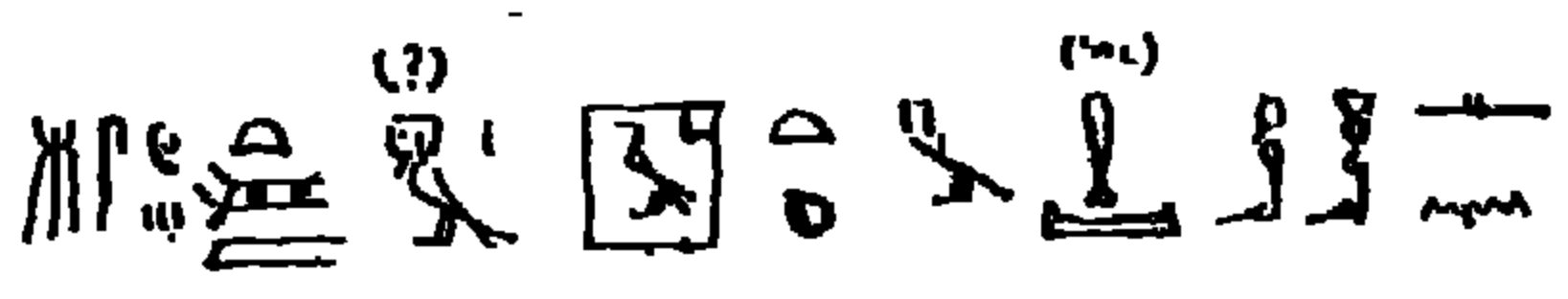
6. Seth: 

7. Seth: 

8. Seth: 

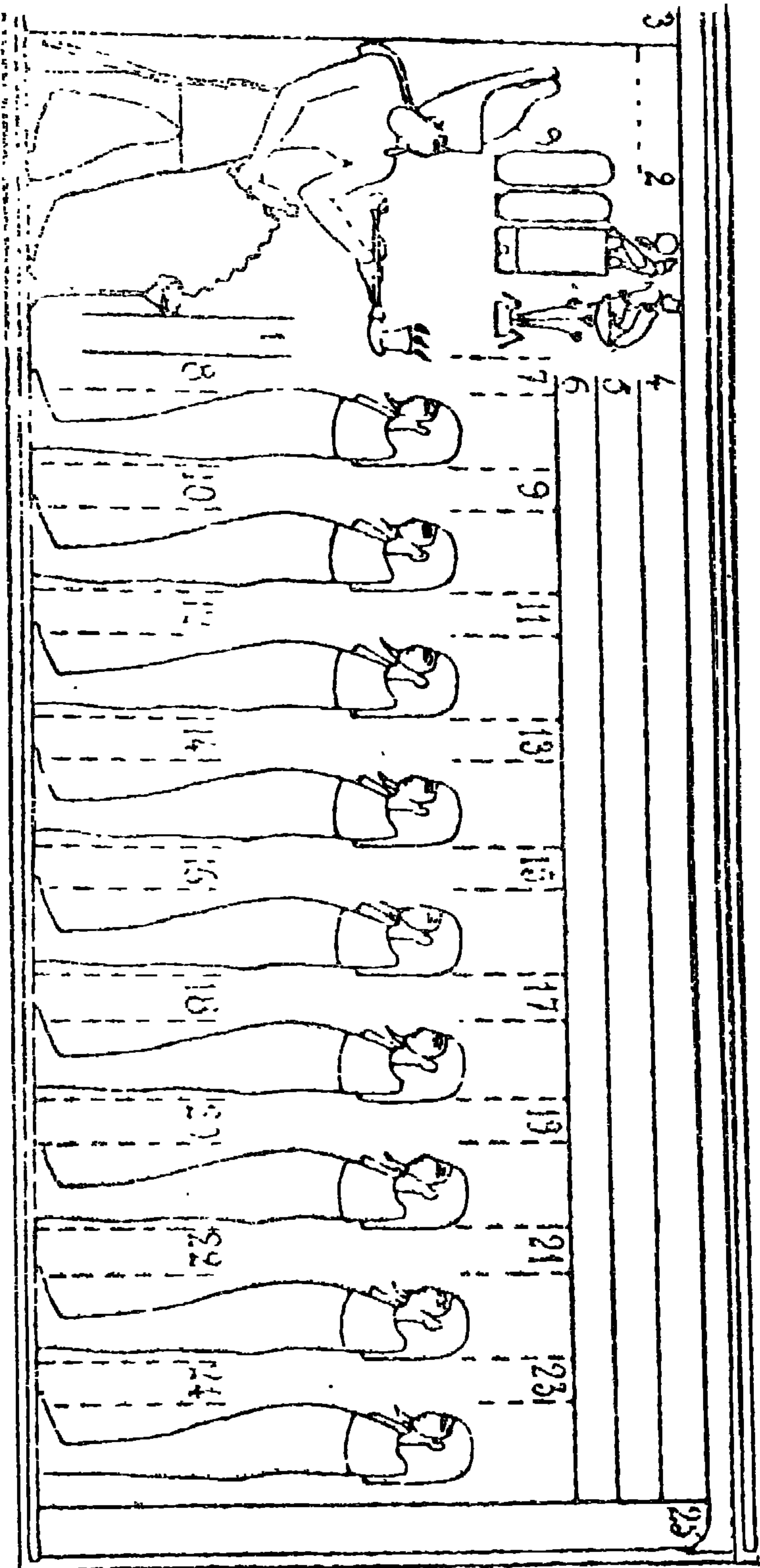
9. Seth: 











From Chassinat, *Edfu*, IX, pl. XL d



Exterior of Naos  
(E. IV, 83.4 - 85.8)

Title and Formula:

ⲉⲓ ⲙⲓ ⲛⲁⲟⲥ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲛⲓⲛⲟⲩ

ⲛⲁⲟⲥ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲛⲓⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲛⲓⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲛⲓⲛⲟⲩ

ⲛⲁⲟⲥ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲛⲓⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲛⲓⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲛⲓⲛⲟⲩ

ⲛⲁⲟⲥ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲛⲓⲛⲟⲩ

The King: ⲉⲓⲛⲁⲟⲥ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲛⲓⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲛⲓⲛⲟⲩ

ⲛⲁⲟⲥ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲛⲓⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲛⲓⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲛⲓⲛⲟⲩ

ⲛⲁⲟⲥ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲛⲓⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲛⲓⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲛⲓⲛⲟⲩ

ⲛⲁⲟⲥ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲛⲓⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲛⲓⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲛⲓⲛⲟⲩ

ⲛⲁⲟⲥ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲛⲓⲛⲟⲩ Behind him ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲛⲓⲛⲟⲩ

above him is the solar disk ⲛⲁⲟⲥ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲛⲓⲛⲟⲩ

Divinities: ⲛⲁⲟⲥ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲛⲓⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲛⲓⲛⲟⲩ

ⲛⲁⲟⲥ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲛⲓⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲛⲓⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲛⲓⲛⲟⲩ

ⲛⲁⲟⲥ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲛⲓⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲛⲓⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲛⲓⲛⲟⲩ



1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

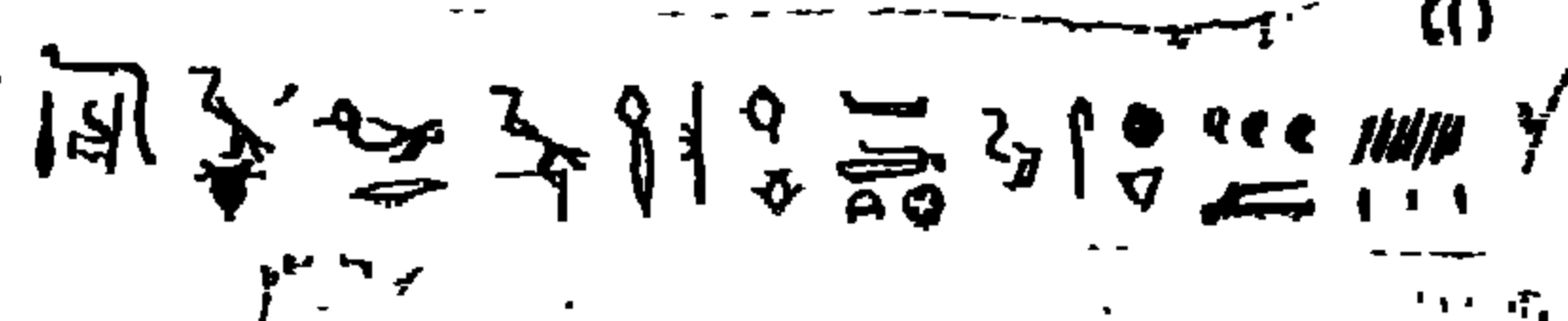
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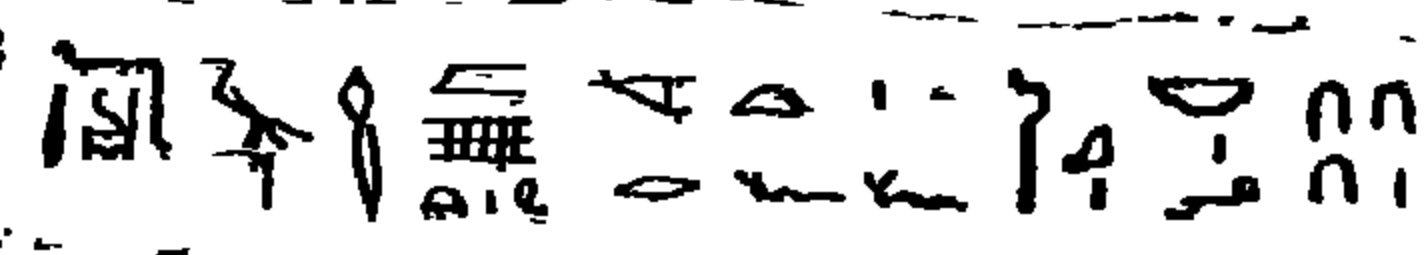
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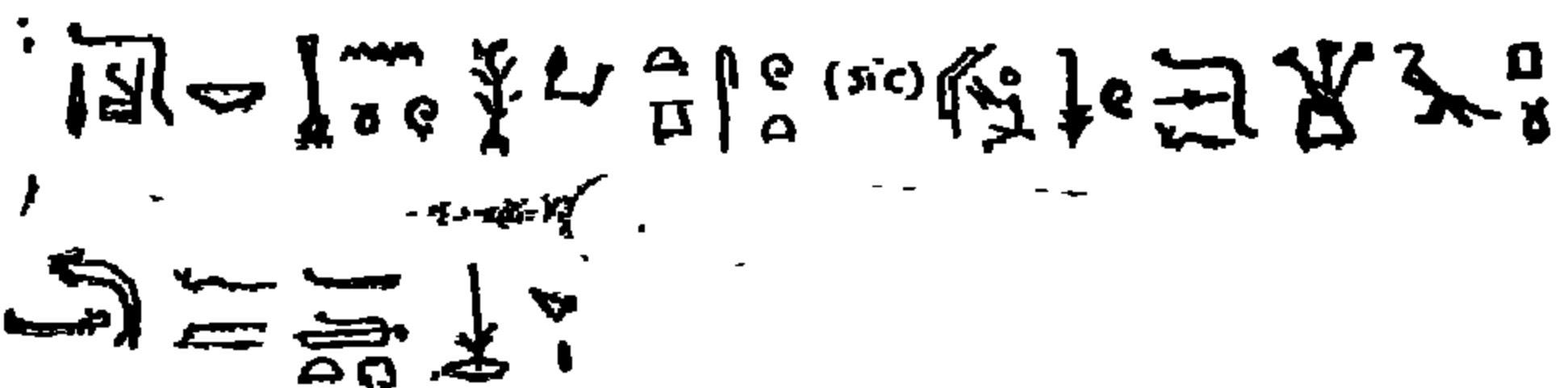
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3 Imeshy 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

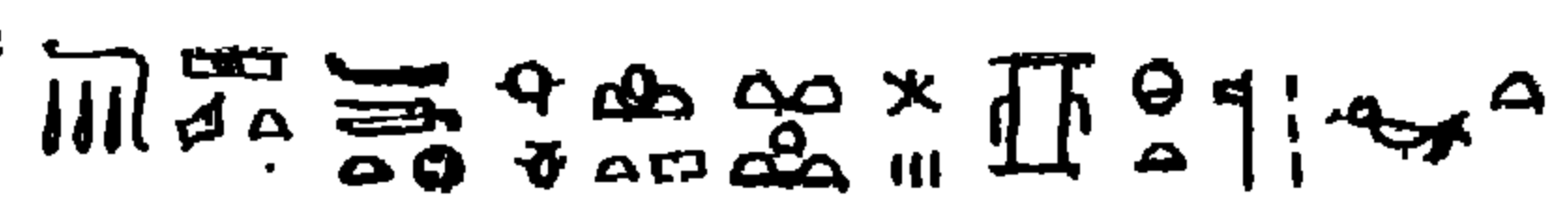


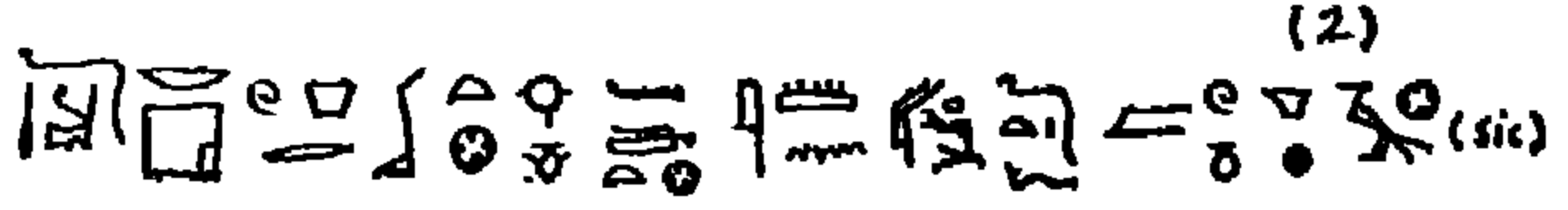
4. Harshedy :  (1)

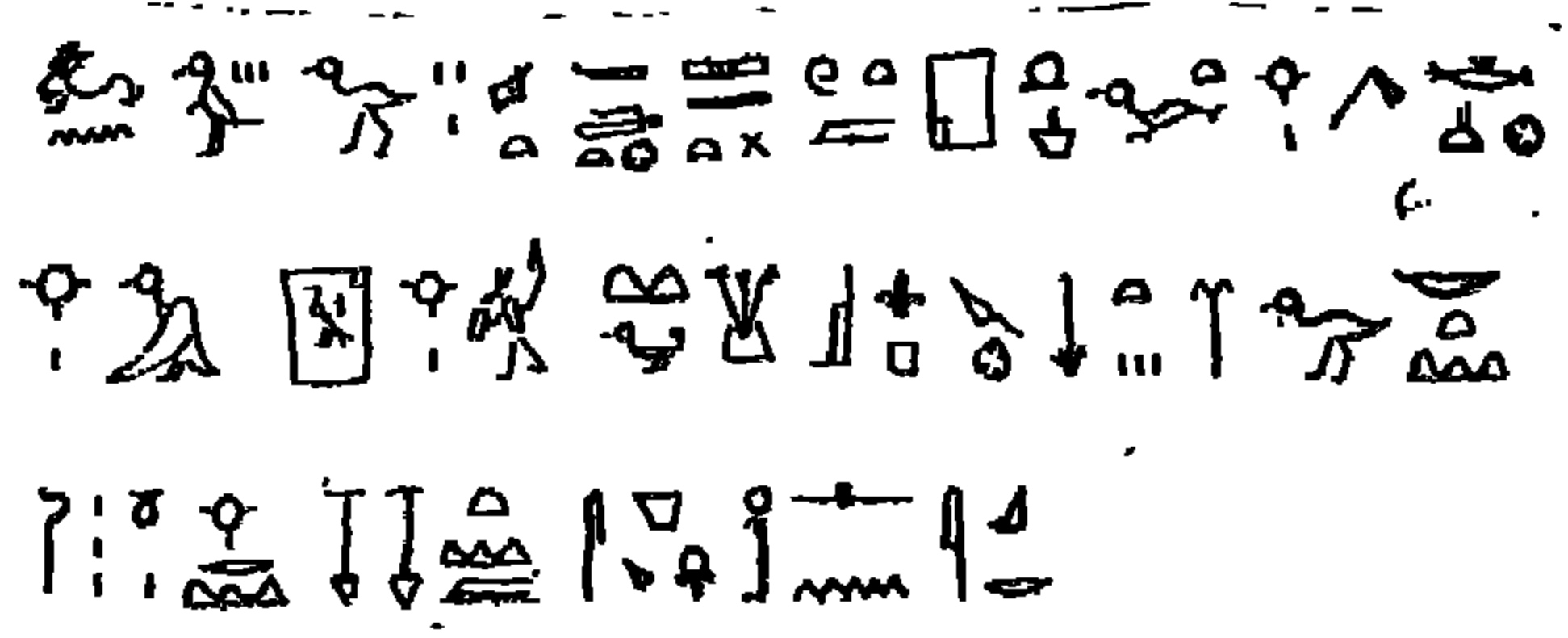
5. Neter-AA-Em-Spat-ef : 



6. Neb-Shenw : 

7. Ba-Netry : 

8. Khenty-Behdet : 

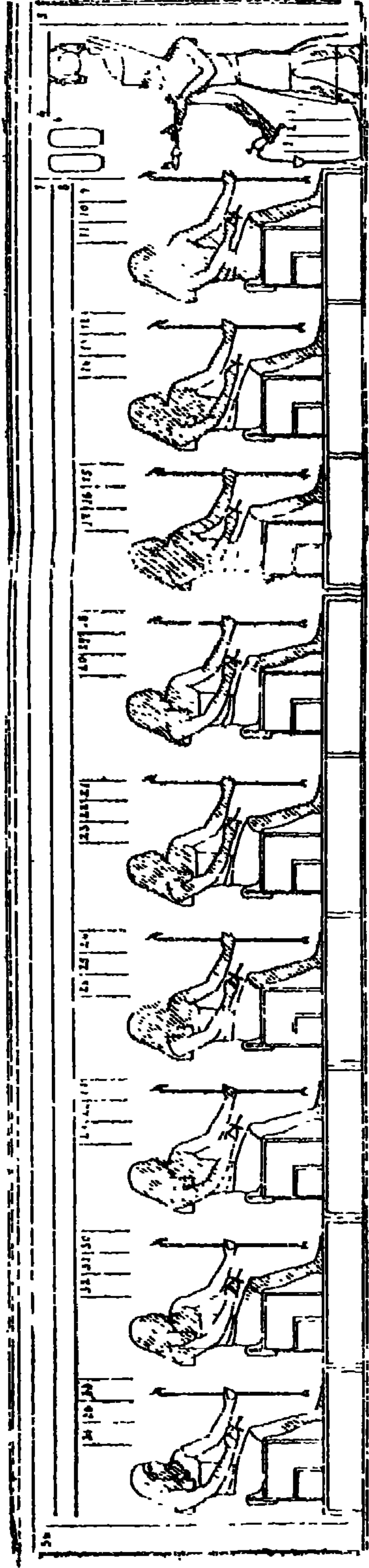
9. Neb-Hwt-W<sup>c</sup>ret :  (2)



(1) Read  (collated) >  
 (2) It is a mistake for  See E. IV, 85, note 2







From Chassinat, *Edfu*, X, pl. LXXXV